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OF THE  
**Viking Society**

**VOL. VII.**

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

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**EIGHTEENTH SESSION, 1910.**

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**MEETING, JANUARY 14TH, 1910.**

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

A paper was read on "Norse Elements in English Dialects" (A Survey of the Subject) : by Professor G. T. Flom, A.M., Ph.D., of the University of Illinois, printed on pp. 6-24. A discussion followed, in which the President, Mr. James Gray, Miss M. Keith Dowding and Mr. A. W. Johnston took part.

A paper was read on "Finds and Excavations of Heathen Temples in Iceland," by Professor Finnur Jónsson and Captain Daniel Bruun, printed on pp. 25-37, with illustrations.

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**MEETING, FEBRUARY 25TH, 1910.**

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

The President gave his Inaugural Address on "Recent Theories of Havelok," which will be printed in the next SAGA-BOOK. A vote of thanks to the President was moved by Professor W. P. Ker and seconded by Miss Hull. A discussion followed, in which Mr. James Gray and Mr. A. F. Major took part.

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**MEETING, MARCH 14TH, 1910.**

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

Mr. Wm. Barnes Steveni, M.J.I., read a paper on "The Vikings in Russia," which will be printed in the next SAGA-BOOK. A discussion followed, in which

Mr. A. W. Johnston, Dr. Jón Stefánsson, Mr. W. F. Kirby, Mr. A. F. Major, Mr. F. P. Marchant, Mr. John Marshall, and Mrs. L. Zettersten took part.

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#### ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, APRIL 15TH, 1910.

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

The Annual General Meeting was held in the King's Weigh House Rooms, on Friday, April 15th, at 8 p.m.

Professor Allen Mawer, M.A., read a paper on "The Scandinavian Kingdom of Northumbria, which is printed on pp. 38-64. On the motion of the Chairman, a hearty vote of thanks was unanimously accorded to Professor Mawer for his paper.

The Annual Report and Balance Sheet were presented to the meeting, and after amendment were approved and adopted; and have been printed in the YEAR-BOOK, 1909-10, pp. 6-11.

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

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#### MEETING, MAY 6TH, 1910.

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

Mr. Edward Lovett gave a lecture on "The Folklore of the Horse"; illustrated by lantern slides.

The lecturer began by referring to the brass ornaments so commonly worn by cart horses in the present day. These, he said, might be divided into two classes: the original, and very old type; and the modern variations of and deviations from the same.

These "brasses," which were originally charms or amulets against the Evil Eye, were worn upon the martingale or upon the forehead of the horse.

The patterns of these amulets were extremely suggestive of lunar and solar symbols, and Mr. Lovett considered that they were survivals of sun and moon

worship! He showed many lantern slides of these, not only from the British Islands, but from Italy and other countries.

The modern brasses were altogether meaningless, being often portraits of well-known persons or the monogram of the firm to whom the horses belonged.

The lecturer then referred to the plumes, or tufts, worn upon the heads by the horses of farmers and others.

Such plumes, or feathers, were to be found also in Italy and Syria, and a series of slides was then shown not only of recent examples, but of Early English, Roman, Greek, Assyrian, and Egyptian forms, going as far back as 2000 years B.C.

Mr. Lovett then described the numerous horse charms of Naples, and showed how the hippocampus (or "sea horse") had become associated with the real horse, by the myth that Neptune or Poseidon was the creator of the horse. He found the hippocampus was a powerful amulet in the coast towns, but not in inland towns of Italy.

On the Lido, Venice, the lecturer found dried sea horses tied up in threes with red worsted and sold "for luck"!

Again! The Venetian gondolas carry upon each gunwale a brass sea horse, with reins held by a brass hand, distinctly suggestive of Neptune's chariot.

Mr. Lovett considered also that the curious and characteristic prow of the gondola was evolved from the hippocampus, for he had seen in the museum at Murano a very old engraving in which the prow was an exact copy of the sea horse.

Many other examples were shown to illustrate the evolution of this myth.

The lecturer then showed photographs bearing upon the connection of horse superstition with the sun chariot from Russia and Northern India, and concluded by referring to the superstitious belief in the horse shoe

and to the curious superstitions connected with the ailments of horses.

He said also that amulets and charms against mishap had now been transferred to the motor-car, which bid fair to be productive of even more superstition than the horse had ever been.

The lecture was illustrated by about forty original photo-lantern slides.

A discussion followed, in which Mr. W. F. Kirby, Mr. A. W. Johnston, Mr. W. Barnes Steveni, and Mr. F. P. Marchant took part. The President moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Lovett for his lecture, to which he responded.

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## TESTIMONIAL DINNER

TO

MR. EIRÍKR MAGNÚSSON, M.A., JUNE 21ST, 1910.

A Dinner was held at the Florence Restaurant on Tuesday, June 21st, at 7-15 p.m., to present Mr. Eiríkr Magnússon with a testimonial, a report of which is printed in the Year-book for 1909-10, page 23, with an illustration of the illuminated address.

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## NOVEMBER 18TH, 1910.

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

Mr. Eiríkr Magnússon, M.A., read a narrative poem from his translation of "King Fialar," an Epic in Five Cantos, by Johan Ludvig Runeberg, the great National Poet of Finland. A resumé is printed on pp. 65-84.

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## MEETING, DECEMBER 16TH, 1910.

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

Professor I. Gollancz having been appointed one of the first two Fellows of the Albert Kahn Travelling Fellowships, resigned his Presidency in order to undertake



his tour round the world in 1911. Professor Gollancz in resigning the Chair, thanked the members for the kindness shown to him during his Presidency.

The election by the Council, of Mr. W. F. Kirby, senior Vice-President, as President, was unanimously confirmed by the General Meeting.

Mr. W. F. Kirby then took the Chair and thanked the members for the honour they had conferred on him by electing him as President, in succession to Professor Gollancz.

On the motion of the new President, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Professor Gollancz for the service he had rendered the Club during his tenure of office.

Mr. J. Storer Clouston, B.A., then read a paper on "Odal Orkney," which is printed on pp. 85-100. In the discussion which followed, Mr. W. Barnes Stevni, Mr. A. W. Johnston and Dr. Jón Stefánsson took part.

Mr. R. L. Bremner read a paper on "Notes on the Battle of Largs," which is printed on pp. 101-110, with a map.

Mr. Johnston proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Bremner for his paper, which was seconded by Dr. Jón Stefánsson and carried.

A paper was also read on "Miniatures from Icelandic Manuscripts": by Dr. Harry Fett, which is printed on pp. 111-126, with illustrations.

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### CORRECTION.

SAGA-BOOK, Vol. VI., Part II.—The Council regret that an obvious error in the translation of Professor Bugge's paper on Havelok escaped their notice. Page 259, line 4, for *King's herdsman* (*hirdmænd*) read *King's men*.

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*The Council of the Viking Club do not hold themselves responsible for statements or opinions appearing in papers in the SAGA-BOOK, the Authors alone being answerable for the same.*

# NORSE ELEMENTS IN ENGLISH DIALECTS.

(A SURVEY OF THE STUDY).

By Professor GEORGE T. FLOM, A.M., Ph.D.

*The University of Illinois.*

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THE scientific study of Scandinavian-English linguistic relations dates, as we know, from Erik Brate's memorable treatise on Northern loanwords in the *Ormulum* published in Paul and Braune's *Beiträge* in 1883. In that work the author formulated certain phonological tests and applied these in a study of the vocabulary of one particular Middle English monument with such sound philological method, that his verdict became definitive in the great majority of the two hundred and forty words there discussed. The criteria Brate adopted were principally formal. They were, in part, such as are based upon differences between English and Norse which find their explanation in a primitive differentiation in North Germanic, as e.g., *trigg*, 'faithful, secure,' from Old Danish *trygger* (or Old Norse *tryggr*) as opposed to Old English *treow*; or, again, they were based upon specific English or West Saxon development where Old Norse, and indeed all the Scandinavian languages at that time, represented an earlier condition, as O.E. *ā* = O.N. *æi* (Germanic *ai*); O.E. *ea* = O.N. *qu* (Germanic *au*), or the West Saxon palatalization of *k* (*c*), *sk*, and *g* in e.g. *cirice*, 'church,' *scîr*, 'clear' and *zeat*, 'gate.' The orthographic principles which find such consistent expression in the *Ormulum* supplied the investigator of its Norse elements with tests which are not elsewhere available and made possible a more exact determination of the Scandinavian provenience of a series

of words whose normal spelling would have nothing to stamp them as un-English. Thus *hannd* 'hand' and *ganngen*, 'to go,' as not sharing in the Middle English vowel lengthening before *nd* and *ng*, are therefore not from native Middle English *hānd* and *gāng*, but from Old Danish *hand* and *gangæ*, which have the corresponding short vowel, such lengthening not having operated in Scandinavian linguistic territory.<sup>1</sup>

Brate's results were a distinct and a very significant contribution both to the history of English and to the study of its Scandinavian element. It showed that Scandinavian words were present in large numbers in that particular monument of Midland English and therefore also that Scandinavian influence was very extensive in that particular region. It established by formal criteria the Scandinavian origin of a body of Middle English words, most of which were in general use, many of which passed into standard speech, not a few of which, finally, are still current in the modern dialects, particularly of the North of England. The conservative attitude of the author and the method he employed had a healthy effect upon the study at a time when etymological vagaries of all sorts were to be met with wherever Norse-English relations were discussed. I cannot help regretting, however, that Brate's investigation was not followed by similar studies of the Scandinavian element in other Midland and Northern texts. Such special investigations would have been materially facilitated by the fact that the ground had already been broken and the problems stated—as far as Midland English was concerned. Investigations of Northern texts would, however, have had to be carried on in the light of knowledge of the varied development of native English in all parts of Northern England and Scotland. Had such studies been made we should have been able to determine with far greater

<sup>1</sup> Possible shortening in certain cases as a native change is, however, considered by the author. See discussion, § 9.

accuracy than we now can, the extent and the nature of the Scandinavian factor in English texts and in modern English speech, and therefore also incidentally the extent of the racial admixture of English, Norsemen, and Danes, in the different parts of England and Scotland in the age of Viking settlement.

The bearing of Brate's results upon the study of the Scandinavian element in northern English dialects was, in part, quite indirect. Only to a limited extent are the criteria that obtain in Midland Middle English, also applicable to the Northern dialects of to-day. The history of these dialects is so different from that of Southern English that the problems one is confronted with here are of quite another character. And the details of that history for the different parts of Northern England and Scotland have as yet been investigated only in part. The investigator, therefore, is constantly beset with difficulties, which are often of such a character as to make it impossible for him to decide with anything like certainty, upon the history of the form and the ultimate source of the word.<sup>1</sup>

Scandinavian contributions to the vocabulary of Northern English were of course extensive, and the evidence of Scandinavian influence, even beyond the domain of the vocabulary, are clear. But it becomes increasingly difficult as we go northward to determine to what extent such influence is present, or even to decide, in many cases, whether a word is borrowed or not, for the simple reason that criteria which farther south are conclusive, here fail utterly of proving anything. There were even in Old English times certain significant differences between West Saxon and Old Northumbrian. These were due, in part, to the absence in the North of certain changes that characterise the Saxon form of Old English. They were, however, also due in no small measure to the development in the North of certain progressive features

<sup>1</sup> See also chapter vi. in Wyld's admirable volume on *The Historical Study of the Mother Tongue*, New York, 1906.

which are lacking in Southern Old English, and only gradually become established there in the Middle English period. It is important for us to bear in mind that English was even in its origins a somewhat composite language, Germanic to be sure, but growing up out of several dialects that already on the continent may be assumed to have taken on distinct individualities. Thus, while the Anglo-Frisian group occupies a position intermediate between German on the one hand and North-Germanic on the other, the South and the North of England exhibit linguistically a character, according to which the former is more purely West Germanic, while Northern or Anglian Old English has entered upon a course of development along lines which were already fully established within the Scandinavian branch.

The most striking fact of Northern English in the latter part of the Old English period is the extent to which the old grammatical forms have been levelled and the suffixal symbols of inflexion been replaced by prepositions. No doubt we have here to do with the influence of race mixture (as Celtic and English), so in part at least. To what extent it may also be due to the inability of the Scandinavians to learn the English inflexions and to the introduction by them of prepositions which to them were clearer, it would of course not be easy to say. We can conceive that they as invaders did not make much effort at mastering the English forms; and also that the English, while acquiring the language of the invaders and becoming themselves bilingual, soon lost the mastery over their own inflexional forms and gradually lapsed into what was at first, of course, laxer ways of speech.

The early development of the phrasal possessive (*of* + dative) in the North is no doubt in a measure due to the speech of the Scandinavian settlers in which prepositional constructions were farther advanced than in English. This has been suggested recently by C. E. Bale in a thesis on *The Syntax of the Genitive Case*

*in the Lindisfarne Gospels*, University of Iowa, 1907. With racial and linguistic conditions as they were in the Danelaw, during the last two centuries of the O.E. period and later, it need not surprise us that the Scandinavians should have had a very definite influence upon English syntactical development as well as upon the inflexions. In his *Growth and Structure of the English Language*, which, it seems to me, represents the maturest product of English scholarship upon the history of English that we have, Otto Jespersen discussed briefly certain cases of probable Danish influence upon some fundamental features of word-order and structure in English. While a series of investigations would have to be undertaken before we should be equipped with sufficient evidence on which to base a definitive verdict on the points in question, there are several cases where the probability of Scandinavian influence is exceedingly strong. The pre-position of the dependent genitive is something that quite early becomes characteristic of the Scandinavian languages as opposed to the post-position of the genitive in German. There is good reason for believing with Jespersen that the pre-positive genitive, which on English soil first appears in the North, has some relation to the same word order in Old Norse-Danish. I believe, nevertheless, that also this phenomenon demands a fuller investigation. But these things belong more especially to the domain of the history of English as a whole, and have been mentioned here only because they would seem to represent early Scandinavian features in Northern English, and are especially interesting because they also are among the many Northern contributions to literary English.

On the side of vocabulary and phraseology Northern English, particularly the modern dialects, contain much that is quite foreign to the South and to standard speech. Here the material is much more tangible and cases of loan are often very clear. Idiomatic expressions and

combinations of words that are un-English, but which are characteristic of Norse may with certainty be put down as loans. But also here care must be exercised. We must be sure that these are and always have been contrary to English modes of expression. We must, furthermore, have the necessary evidence that they were established in Norse at the time when Norse influence was operative in English. A clear case in point is the Cumberland expression *lig on*, 'to be of importance.' A thing is said to 'lig on' when it is important that it should be done. It is a combination of a verb and a preposition (resp, adverb) which is nowhere evidenced in pure English. Its source is clearly the O.N. *liggja á*, 'to be important or urgent'; examples, *mér liggr á*, it is important for me—and *mun þar stórt á liggja*, 'it is an urgent or serious matter.'<sup>1</sup> But the cases are not always so simple. A glance through the pages of some of the early glossaries published by the English Dialect Society shows that early collectors were often, and indeed could at that time not help being, misled by Norse and English dialectal parallels. We recognise now that many of these turns of expression were also good English once, and appear in dialectal speech at the present time as survivals from past periods of English.

I said above that the question of loan in the vocabulary is a more tangible one. And yet also here each separate word requires to be weighed carefully and the forms are often elusive enough. For here the question is in a very large number of cases closely bound up with the whole problem of the phonology of Northern English. The most conspicuous departure of the North away from the vowel-system of the South is that which affected the O.E. *ā*. In southern and central England and in standard speech the long *ā* changed by process of progressive rounding until in standard English the

<sup>1</sup>The example is taken from my article on "Etymological Notes on some English Dialect Words" in Vol. IV., pp. 10-19 of *The Journal of Germanic Philology*.

resultant vowel is  $\bar{o}^u$ , while in the extreme South the rounding advanced to the form  $\bar{u}$ , or  $u^o$ . The Northern process was, as we know, a very different one. Here the  $\bar{a}$  undergoes a change of progressive palatalization, until the resultant form is  $\bar{e}$ , or in some localities  $\bar{i}$ . Here, then, in words of the type 'stone' (*stuon*); *staine* (*sti<sup>2</sup>n*); 'home' (*huom*); *hame* (*hi<sup>2</sup>m*) the North and the South of England have separated as far as they possibly could.

The development thus outlined is one which not only differentiated Northern English from standard speech, but also brought its vowel system a long step nearer to that of the Scandinavian languages. It gave to a whole category of English words, including the preterite singular of the strong verbs of the first gradation series (type O.E. *drīfan*, *drāf*, O.N. *drīfa*, *dræiv*), a Scandinavian appearance, while in reality they were native English forms. It is, therefore, not surprising that early collectors of dialect texts should have come to regard all such words as derived from Old Norse; *haime* from O.N. *hæim*, *haile* from O.N. *hæil*, *raive* from O.N. *ræif*, thus run the etymological equations. The fact that some of these words, as *strade* (< *strīdan*), did not exist in O.N. only served as evidence of the very far-reaching character of the Norse influence in this group of words;—the native vowel  $\bar{o}$  in literary English, had been supplanted by the Norse vowel ( $\bar{æi}[ei] > e$ ). No one believes now any longer that Northern dialectal  $\bar{e}$  is, even in the remotest way, due to the O.N. vowel; but it is less than a score of years ago since that view was given up. While any one of these words, in so far as it has an O.N. equivalent, *might* be from O.N., the theory that the native English vowel had in all such words been supplanted, is, we now know, quite untenable, and indeed, in itself a very unlikely theory. For the sounds of a language are rarely influenced by those of another. It has not been shown



that a single English vowel has been modified in its course of development by Norse influence.<sup>1</sup>

The conservative character of Northern English on the side of certain consonants, according to which it remains closer to Scandinavian conditions, while the South has made radical departures therefrom, has given still greater trouble to the student of the loan elements of the dialects. The Scandinavian *appearance* of a word became its principal test of origin, and while the correct source is often pointed out, the results are more often wholly erroneous. Thus Robert Ferguson in *The Dialect of Cumberland* (London, 1873), correctly derives the preposition *amell* 'between, among,' from O.N. *amilli*, and the verb *fest* 'to send out cattle to other farms to be grazed' from O.N. *festa*, 'to settle, stipulate, make a bargain'; but he is also led so far astray as to find the source of Cumberland *yable* or *able* in O.N. *afla*, which, he says, denotes both 'to be able and to possess or acquire.' Such words as *kist*, 'chest,' *rig*, 'ridge' and *mirk*, 'dark,' are (of course, erroneously) regularly equated with the corresponding O.N. words in such dialect works as William Dickinson's *Glossary of Words and Phrases of Cumberland* (Whitehaven, 1859), *The Dialect of Leeds* published by John Russell Smith (London, 1862), and Wm. Carr's *Dialect of Craven* (1828). In this practice of finding in the Norse stem the source of English words, wherever possible, these authors were, however, merely following in the footsteps of James Jamieson's once much celebrated *Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language*. According to this writer it was Old Scandinavian that was the parent speech of Lowland Scottish (and Northern English) and he saw in the Old Norse and the "Sveo-Gothic" stems

<sup>1</sup> It is, of course, quite a different question as to whether the vowel of a group of words frequently associated, or of an inflexional category (as the preterite of a strong verb class) may have had its form modified by the same group or class in Norse.

the nearest related forms of the ancient language of Lowland Scotland.

While the attribution of almost every specifically dialectal feature of Northern English to Scandinavian influence was erroneous, and often had its source in a false conception of the relation that originally obtained between the two languages, we of to-day need to be on our guard, perhaps, lest we go too far in the other extreme. I find sometimes now evidence of an undue effort to force dialectal words and forms of expression into the mould of Old and (native) Middle English words. That Scandinavian elements are present in very considerable number in the dialects of the North and the Northern Midlands, has once for all been established. That the Northerner rarely speaks an English sentence without using one or more Norse words, is well known. That the influence extends even beyond the vocabulary into the inflexions and other structural features of his daily speech, we also know. We know that a considerable portion of that which gives Northern English its distinct individuality is of Scandinavian origin and owes its presence there to extensive racial admixture<sup>1</sup>; so extensive indeed that in Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland the Scandinavian element undoubtedly preponderated. But we also know that a still larger number of those things which are characteristically Northern in English, have arisen by process of regular development on the basis of native Old English material. The problem becomes one of sifting the two, separating the one from the other by the aid of all the available facts relative to English dialectal laws and changes and in the light of all available information bearing upon the subject.

The first scholarly effort to explain English dialectal words from Old Norse appears, I believe, in the Cleasby-

<sup>1</sup> I am aware that I am using the word race here somewhat too narrowly, for in 'race,' Norseman and Englishman, and the Northern German, are one in origin.

Vigfusson *Icelandic-English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1873). It was natural that Vigfusson, an Icelander, should have been attracted to that study. Under almost every article in the Dictionary are given Early English or dialectal words whose forms are illustrated by the O.N. words. The great interest that subsequently came to attach to the study among Anglicists was no doubt first inspired by this pioneer work of Vigfusson. In 1876 Rev. W. W. Skeat issued a pamphlet as a supplement to the Oxford dictionary, entitled: *A List of English Words, the Etymology of which is illustrated by comparison with Icelandic*. This list, which was intended chiefly to throw light on literary English, included a large amount of dialect material, which had been gathered for the most part from Haliwell's *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial English*. The index, as Reverend Skeat informs us in the Preface, had been prepared under the guidance of Dr. Vigfusson, and Skeat disclaims any wish to decide on the nature of the relation that exists between the words compared. In this list was brought together for the first time a very considerable body of dialect words with their Norse parallels, the true origin of many of these being here also suggested in the stem cited for illustration. The author exercised great care, however, refraining in almost every single case from indicating etymological equations. The compilation was intended "only to clear the way for more discriminating treatment; and," he continues, "I am of the opinion that the present state of English etymology is such, that all haste, over-confidence and dogmatism are much to be avoided." In his *Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* (1882), and in numerous editions of Middle English texts (as *Chaucer*, *Havelok the Dane*, Barbour's *Bruce*), Skeat has supplied many a helpful hint and pointed out the specific Scandinavian source of many a M.E. word which still lives on in the dialects, although he too has at times gone a little too far in the attribution of English words to Norse sources.

In their *Icelandic Prose Reader* (pages 558-559), published in 1879, Vigfusson and Powell dealt briefly with Norse words in English. They gave there a list of loans and offer certain rules by which to decide the source of a word. These are interesting as being, I believe, the first effort at formulating definite criteria. They are, however, rather general in character as "the absence of the words in Anglo-Saxon poetry," the "Norse character" of a word, and "phonetic reasons," the latter being illustrated by the words *odd*, *happy*, *ransack*, *skin*, *raise*, *fellow*, *window*, *steak*, and *breath*. Four years later appeared Brate's investigation upon the *Ormulum*, which defined much more specifically a series of tests based on form and meaning, and which gave a truly scientific basis for the future study of the subject. I have above spoken of the significance of Brate's work, at the same time pointing out, however, that his tests, definitive as they were for the M.E. monument in question, are wholly inadequate for English dialects. Until the phonology of the dialects could be much more fully investigated than had yet been done, the study of its vocabulary and forms with reference to loan-elements could never be satisfactorily conducted. Scientific certainty was possible in none of the considerable number of cases where the peculiar development of the North had obliterated the phonological differences that once existed as between English and Norse.

During the next decade a series of publications appeared which represented a great forward step in English dialect study. These were, first, a series, a dialect investigations, among which must be especially mentioned Joseph Wright's *A Grammar of the Dialect of Windhill*, issued by *The English Dialect Society* in 1892. Wright aimed to furnish specialists in English philology with an accurate account of the phonology and accidence of a particular dialect. The great value of the work lay in the method of treatment and in the accuracy of the work, guaranteed, as it was, by the

author's statement in the preface, that "I spoke the dialect pure and simple until I was practically grown up."<sup>1</sup>

Of still greater significance for the study of English dialects as a whole was the work of Alexander J. Ellis on *Early English Pronunciation* (1889), particularly Volume V. which treated of *The Existing Phonology of English Dialects*, of which an abridgment under the title: *English Dialects, their Homes and Sounds*, was published the following year, Ellis's monumental work is too well known to require anything but a mention here by me. As an effort at investigating the correspondence of writing with speech from the oldest period down to existing received and dialectal forms with a systematic notation of spoken sounds, it stands without a parallel in any other country. It is due in a considerable measure to that work that the historical study of English sounds, and particularly of that of the dialects, has been carried forward with so much success in recent years. It may be in place here to observe that the first studies which found embodiment in Ellis's treatment of dialect pronunciation were begun as far back as 1868, and in 1875 he presented before the Philological Society a paper on the classification of English dialects. This was followed in subsequent years by papers upon various English dialects before the same body down to 1884, those for the three last years being on the dialects of the Midlands and the eastern counties (April, 1882), the Dialects of the northern counties (March, 1883), and those of the Lowlands of Scotland in April, 1884. The founding of *The English Dialect Society* was due very largely, I believe, to the work of Alexander Ellis.

In this connection there also suggests itself the name

<sup>1</sup>Incidentally Wright's *Grammar* frequently throws light upon the Norse element in the Windhill Dialect. Among the words shown to be Norse are *lake* 'to play' pronounced *le<sup>2</sup>k*, and 'weak' pronounced *we<sup>2</sup>k*, for the O.E. *ā* is in Windhill *u<sup>2</sup>*.

of the German scholar, Karl Luick, who, on the basis of the material contained in Ellis, has contributed more perhaps than any other scholar to the elucidation of modern dialectal and standard English.<sup>1</sup>

The time now seemed to have arrived for a more thorough study of Scandinavian elements in English. And so we find appearing during the next few years four doctoral dissertations bearing more or less directly upon the subject. The first of these, namely, Jakob Jakobsen's *Det norrøne Sprog på Shetland*, Copenhagen, 1897, a most scholarly work, I shall merely mention here, because it deals with dialect material that is late<sup>2</sup> and of a wholly different nature from that of the English Scottish mainland. The problems here met with fall in a class by themselves, having, as they do, to deal with the present survivals of that Insular Norse which was actually spoken in the Shetlands and the Orkneys until about a hundred and fifty years ago.

From Cambridge University there appeared the following year the first systematic study of the Scandinavian element in English dialects. The work was that of Arnold Wall, and the material here gathered together was based upon the various glossaries published by the Dialect Society. Mr. Wall adopted in part Brate's tests, adding others on form and distribution, and divided the whole number of words investigated into two lists: one of such words as seemed to the author to be of undoubted Scandinavian origin; this list contained about five hundred words; the other one of about two hundred words, which might be of Scandinavian origin, but whose form did not admit of definite conclusions. The extensive field covered by Wall's work, and the complexity of the material in question, made a thorough-going investi-

<sup>1</sup> Thus, e.g., in *Untersuchungen zur englischen Lautgeschichte*, Strassburg, 1896, and in several articles in *Archiv. für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*.

<sup>2</sup> Late in the sense of being so recently a part of living Norse speech—the *Norn* of Shetland. For fuller account of Jakobsen's work see my review in *Modern Language Notes*, 1902, 110-113.

gation of each word, based on all its variants, extremely difficult.<sup>1</sup> He made some valuable observations upon such questions as popular Old English and non-palatization in the Northern dialects; of the latter much more could have been made, however, by an examination of Ellis's phonetic notations and Wright's Grammar. His brief treatment of the question of O.N. *æi*, O.E. *ā*, and words of the type *stane*, *hail*, etc. (§33-35) was quite inadequate, and in part antiquated. But the work represents, nevertheless, a genuine and welcome contribution because of the extensive lists of dialect words offered.

The third and fourth doctorate theses referred to above both appeared in 1900. One of these was my own work upon *Scandinavian Influence on Southern Lowland Scotch*, which was published as Number I. in *Columbia University Germanic Studies*; the investigations, the results of which were embodied in this thesis, were carried on during a year of study in England, Denmark, and Germany in 1898-1899. The second was an exhaustive study by Erik Björkman, Part I. of which appeared under the title *Scandinavian Loan-words in Middle English*, from Uppsala University in 1900; Part II. was published in 1902.

My own investigation was an attempt at determining the extent of the Norse element in the English language north of the border, as represented in Scottish literature from Barbour to Burns; to a limited extent Lowland dialect words were included by way of illustration. In addition to the tests of form that seemed to me applicable I used others of meaning and distribution, stressing, as I believe, the latter somewhat unduly, and being led thereby in some cases to decide for the Scandinavian origin of words I now feel are capable of a different

<sup>1</sup> A sufficient examination of the dialectal forms of the words *goun*, 'heed,' *fested*, 'engaged,' *gob*, 'to prate,' *rait*, 'to soak flax,' f.e., would have shown clearly that these are of Norse origin, though relegated to "List B" of doubtful cases by Wall. On the other hand, some of the words of "List A" are hardly of Norse origin.

explanation. My word-list indicates that there are about four hundred and fifty words of Norse source in Scottish literature, the majority of which are still current in the dialects of the Lowlands, particularly the counties of Roxburgh, Dumfries, Kircudbright and Ayr. The nature of my material was in some important cases such, that the solution of the Norse or English origin of a word was possible only by a study of the dialectal phonology of the stems in question. One especially interesting problem lay in the question of the source of a number of words with the stem-vowel  $\bar{e}$  variously spelled, *ai*, *ay*, *ei*, *ey*, or *a* with the final *e*. The phonology of Norse loans showed that O.N. *ai* and O.E.  $\bar{a}$  both appear as  $\bar{e}$ . The test of sound therefore does not here operate. Were *haile*, *laike*, *haime*, *hailse* (to greet) from O.N. *hæil*, *læik*, *hæim*, *hæilsa*, or were they from O.E. *hāl*, *lāc*, *hām*, *healsian*?

The number of this class of words was considerable. The test of orthography set up for the dialects by Wall, according to which the representatives of O.E.  $\bar{a}$  do not appear with the diphthongal spelling, fails, in the Scottish loans, where there is no such practice observed. O.E.  $\bar{a}$  and O.N. *æi* have completely coincided at an early time in Scotland, and are nowhere differentiated in the written symbols. A reference to Ellis's interlinear texts showed me that the two sounds did not coincide everywhere in Scotland and England. In Ellis's D33 in Southern Scotland,<sup>1</sup> which includes Roxburgh, Selkirk and the eastern two-thirds of Dumfries, the modern representatives of O.E.  $\bar{a}$  and O.N. *æi* are kept apart to this day, the former being pronounced with a fracture (as *hiēm*, e.g.), while the latter preserved the *e*-vowel. A similar separation of the two is also found to exist in Dialect 31 (= Westmoreland, Cumberland, except the northern extremity, northern Lancashire, the hilly parts of Western Yorkshire and South Durham). The test of form which here is preserved, then, may also

<sup>1</sup> The Dialect treated in Murray's *The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland*.



be applied to the same words in other parts of Southern Scotland and Northern England.<sup>1</sup> Specifically it may be said that the use of the test to the material in my lists showed that Sco. *haime*, *baine*, *haile*, and *staine*, are native words; they regularly have the forms *heeam*, *beean*, etc., in the regions specified. Notable instances which are shown to be of Norse derivation are: *blaike*, 'yellow, pale,' (O.N. *blæikr*); *claime*, 'to adhere,' (O.N. *klæima*); *flay*, 'to frighten,' (O.N. *fleya*); *laike*, 'to play,' (O.N. *læika*); *lave*, 'remainder,' (O.N. *læifr*); *rate*, 'to bleach,' (O.N. *röyta*)<sup>2</sup>; *slake*, 'to smear, daub,' (O.N. *slæikja*); *slape*, 'slippery,' (O.N. *slæipr*); *snape*, 'to restrain,' (O.N. *snöypa*).

The date of the fracture has a bearing upon the question of loan-words also. Clearly the base was  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{e}$  or the much more recent  $\bar{i}$ . F. J. Curtis (*Anglia* XVI. and XVII.), in a study of the *Clariodus*, believed the fracture to have arisen on the basis of  $\bar{i}$ ; that is, it is a diphthongal development of  $i$ . Luick, however, holds that it was the  $\bar{e}$ -vowel that developed the fracture. It seems clear to me that the point of departure must have been  $\bar{e}$  or  $\bar{e}$ . Were  $\bar{i}$  the basis of the fracture we must assume two M.E.  $\bar{e}$ 's, one from O.E.  $\bar{a}$ , the other from O.N. *ai*; the latter would then have to be assumed to have been diphthongal, and later to have become simplified to  $\bar{e}$ . In this case it becomes difficult to see how M.E.  $\bar{e}$  (< O.E.  $\bar{a}$ ) should have become  $\bar{e}^i$  without coinciding with M.E.  $\bar{e}^i$  (<  $\bar{e}$ ) on the way. Even if we assume that the M.E.  $\bar{e}$  < O.E.  $\bar{a}$  was an open one (=  $\bar{e}$ ) and M.E.  $\bar{e}$  from O.N. *ai* was close, =  $\bar{e}$ , the difficulty would still be the same. A proof of the fact that the fracture began on the basis of  $\bar{e}$  lies in its distribution in the modern dialects. Thus I find that the fracture  $e\bar{e}$ ,  $a\bar{e}$ , etc., is established to-day in much wider extent than that of  $i\bar{e}$ , which indicates that

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps, however, only within a certain distance, as where the racial conditions were quite different other considerations again enter.

<sup>2</sup> Not from L. German *roten*.

the latter is but the last stage of palatalization of a falling diphthong, which started as  $\bar{e}^i$ .<sup>1</sup> In other words the fracture of vowels is a characteristic of northern English dialects; its scope goes far beyond that of *i*, and existed long before  $i\bar{o}$  appeared as a fracture-vowel. Where the O.E.  $\bar{a}$  and O.N.  $\bar{æ}i$  have coincided the process must have been :

O.E.  $\bar{a} > \bar{ē} > \bar{e}$

O.N.  $\bar{æ}i > \bar{ē}^i > \bar{e}^i > \bar{e}$  ; while, where they were always distinguished, the process probably was—

O.E.  $\bar{a} > \bar{ē} > \bar{ē}\bar{o} > \bar{e}\bar{o} > i\bar{o}$  and

O.N.  $\bar{æ}i > \bar{ē}^i > \bar{e}^i > \bar{e}$ .

This will also make clear why  $\bar{e}^i$  of late M.E. could not have coincided with the vowel which was the equivalent of O.E.  $\bar{a}$ , for this had already assumed too distinct an individuality in the direction of a falling diphthong.<sup>2</sup>

It may be observed that, as Luick has shown, *-aik* became  $\bar{e}k$  in late M.E. times, after which a further fronting of the vowel took place before the consonant *k*; hence the dialect form *feak*, "to twitch," from O.N. *föykja*, "to rush, drive away." The word *weak* and *bleak* are to be similarly explained, while the form *steak* would seem to have come from regions where the vowel  $\bar{e}$  prevailed also before *k*.<sup>3</sup>

Time will not permit of discussing Björkman's contributions to the study in his *Scandinavian Loan Words*, a work which has received well-merited recognition among Anglicists everywhere. I have, furthermore, spoken somewhat in detail of it in two reviews in American journals<sup>4</sup> and do not need to repeat myself here.

<sup>1</sup> For illustrations see *The English Dialect Grammar*.

<sup>2</sup> For a general study of the O.N. diphthongs in English, see article by Luick in *Archiv. f. d. St. d. n. Sprachen*, CVII., pages 322-329.

<sup>3</sup> But see Björkman, index, under each word, Kluge-Lutz *English Etymology* under *bleach*, *steak* and *weak*, and *Archiv*, CVII., p. 327.

<sup>4</sup> Review of Part I. in *The Modern Language Notes* XVII., 386-391, and of Part II. in *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, V., 422-426.

Björkman's work is a more exhaustive study than any previous one, and was productive of very valuable results. The author dealt only incidentally, however, with dialect material, and it does not carry with it in these parts the same evidence of deep and conscientious study that his presentation of the M.E. material does everywhere. But no student of Norse-English relations can hereafter afford to remain in ignorance of Björkman's study on Scandinavian loanwords.

Finally, I mention, with the pleasure that every student of English dialects must feel at our possession of these works, the *English Dialect Dictionary* and the *English Dialect Grammar*, ably edited by Professor Joseph Wright of Oxford. These works represent the crowning point of the great work of the *English Dialect Society*. The former must be the constant guide of the dialect student in all questions of the distribution of dialect words and their occurrence in dialect literature. The latter will supply him with a wealth of information on the dialect phonology of a very large body of words (2,431) common to standard and dialectal speech. I cannot help voicing my regret, however, that, excellent as these works are, they were not gotten up on even broader lines. The *Dialect Dictionary* should, I believe, have had every variant pronunciation of dialect words fully recorded in phonetic transcription with reference to the home of each of such variant forms. The usefulness of the *Dialect Grammar* would have been immeasurably enhanced as regards the source and history of words if its scope had not been confined to words which the dialects have in common with literary English.

This limitation is felt especially in the study of loanwords. A very large proportion of these are confined to the dialects. As a result the *Dialect Grammar* fails to give evidence at all in our quest after the true history of this group of dialect words. And, furthermore, the dialects have for decades gradually been becoming

replaced by standard English. We are met then, again, with the question of contamination in the dialect forms of those words which the dialects now have in common with standard speech. For genuine dialect material we are thrown back upon the Dialect Dictionary; but here we miss again the accurate notation of dialectal pronunciation. While recognizing the very great worth of these works, representing years of arduous labour by patriotic and scholarly men, and feeling, as we all do, that we could not now get along without them, I believe we are lacking something yet before the dialects of England can be made to yield all the light that they contain toward the elucidation of the history of English speech. I have already indicated the kind of detailed investigations which we now need. And specifically do I believe that we ought to have undertaken such detailed investigations for those most interesting and instructive of dialects which, because of greater remoteness from the centre of culture and literary influence, have best been able to live their own life and to preserve their peculiar individuality with the nearest approach to purity. And among these are undoubtedly the dialects of the North of England, of the North of Scotland, and of the Isles.

*The Viking Club*, which is carrying forward with such signal success the work of elucidating the cultural relations of Great Britain and the Scandinavian North, is in a position, as no other learned organization is, to undertake such studies of those dialects that have been stamped in a special degree by the language of the Vikings.

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## FINDS AND EXCAVATIONS OF HEATHEN TEMPLES IN ICELAND.<sup>1</sup>

By PROFESSOR FINNUR JÓNSSON and CAPTAIN DANIEL BRUUN.

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NOWHERE in Scandinavia, except in Iceland, have remains of heathen temples been found.

In the summer of 1908, Professor Finnur Jónsson and Captain Daniel Bruun dug out a temple ruin, near the farm of Hofstaðir, by Lake Mývatn, in North-Eastern Iceland. The ruins are situated in the homefield of the farm, about 200 metres north-east of the farm-houses. The temple ruin formed an oblong square, running north and south, with an outhouse at its north end. The diggers cut the sod away in square pieces till the floor was reached, leaving the walls. These were 1.75 m. in thickness, rising 70 to 95 cm. above the floor. Length of this hall 36.3 m., breadth from 5.85 m. to 8.25 m. Along the walls ran benches of turf, rising 25 to 35 cm. above the floor. There was a stamped floor, along the middle of which a space  $1\frac{3}{4}$  m. broad, lower than the rest of the floor, was covered with charcoal. Stones, indicating a double row of pillars, distant 5 to 6 m. from each other, were found. There were six to seven inner pillars, on which the roof rested, besides the outer pillars. The middle nave, with the long fires, is 2 m. broad, the side naves 2.65 to 3 m. In the centre of the hall the main fireplace, formed by flat stones, was situated. A pit near it contained bones and charcoal. Several other minor fireplaces were in the hall.

The outhouse, corresponding to the choir of a

<sup>1</sup> Abridged and translated into English from the *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1909, of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen.

Christian church, was 6.2 m. long and 4 m. broad. A low wall, with no door, separated it from the hall. It is probable that during a banquet in the hall, the men



FIG. 1.—THE SITE OF THE TEMPLE ON THE EDGE OF THE HOME-FIELD, WHERE THE HILLS RISE TOWARDS THE EAST.

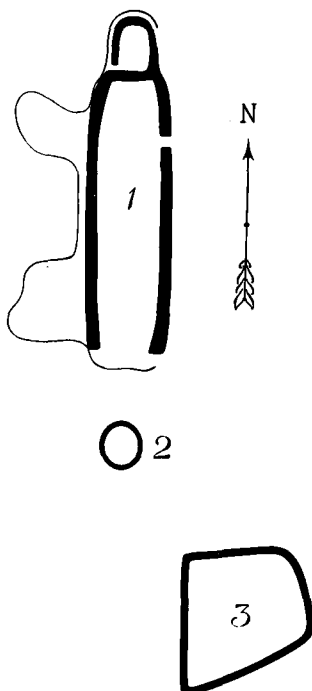


FIG. 2.—THE RUINS AT HOFSTAÐIR.

seated there, would be able to see the carved images of the gods within. The entrance to this sanctuary was by a door in the south-west, from the outside. There were flat stones and charcoal, indicating a fireplace in the sanctuary.

These ruins pointed out by tradition as those of a temple, correspond to what we should expect from descriptions in the old literature. Every temple had a banquet hall, where banquets were held while the gods stood in a smaller house adjoining it. It is situated on the edge of the homefield, so that the visitors on horseback need not pass through the private ground.

The long fires ran along the middle of the hall, beginning about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  m. from its south end, and continuing till they reached opposite the door in the eastern wall. Thus there were no long fires in the north end of the hall. A *daïs*, rising 24 to 35 cm. above the floor, filled the space between the double row of pillars, supporting the roof. A row of stones marks this. In front of the *daïs*, which was used for seating accommodation, tables were placed during meals. This accommodation would be doubled if wooden benches were placed on the other side of these tables. Giving each person a space of  $\frac{3}{4}$  m. the two *daïses* would hold about 100 seats, and the wooden benches a similar number.

Fireplaces for cooking food were found at the north end and at the south end of the long fires, besides the one in the centre of the hall.

It is not surprising that few objects were found. The temple of *Hofstaðir* was not in use for more than a century, and only at the annual festivals. Whetstones, iron nails, scissors, heaps of bones of oxen, sheep and goats, a few being bones of horses, pigs and cod, all these were found.

Snorre's description of a temple in *Heimskringla* elucidates the find:—<sup>1</sup>*Hakon the Good Saga*. Chapter XVI.

<sup>1</sup> Morris and Magnússon's *Heimskringla*, Vol. I., p. 165.



FIG. 3.—THE SITE OF THE TEMPLE, AS SEEN FROM SOUTH TO NORTH.

In the wall on the right the layers of turf are visible. The stone supports of some of the inner pillars are seen on the ground.



Earl Sigurd of Ladir was much given to blood-offerings, and so had been Hakon, his father. Earl Sigurd upheld all feasts of blood-offering there in Throndheim on the king's behalf. It was the olden custom that when a blood-offering should be, all the bonders should come to the place where was the Temple, bringing with them all the victuals they had need of while the feast should last; and at that feast should all men have ale



FIG. 4.—PART OF THE WESTERN DÄIS IN THE MAIN BUILDING;  
SEEN FROM NORTH TO SOUTH.

with them. There also was slain cattle of every kind, and horses withal; and all the blood that came from them was called hlaut, but hlaut-bowls were they called wherein the blood stood, and the hlaut-tein, a rod made in the fashion of a sprinkler. With all the hlaut should the stalls of the gods be reddened, and the walls of the temple within and without, and the men-folk also besprinkled; but the flesh was to be cooked for the feast-

ing of men. Fires were to be made in the midst of the floor of the temple, with cauldrons thereover, and the health cups should be borne over the fire. But he who made the feast and was the lord thereof, should sign the



FIG. 5.—THE ENTRANCE DOOR (P) OF THE MAIN BUILDING, WITH THE SLABS TO MARK THE THRESHOLD.

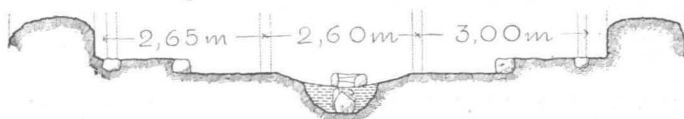


FIG. 6.—SECTION, WEST TO EAST, THROUGH THE MAIN BUILDING (A) NEAR THE MAIN FIRE-PLACE (H).

The position of the inner and outer pillars is indicated by the dotted lines.

cups and all the meat; and first should be drunken Odin's cup for the victory and dominion of the king, and then the cup of Niord and the cup of Frey for plentiful seasons and peace. Thereafter were many men wont to drink the Bragi-cup; and men drank also

a cup to their kinsmen dead, who had been noble, and that was called the Cup of Memory. Now Earl Sigurd was the most bounteous of men, and he did a deed that

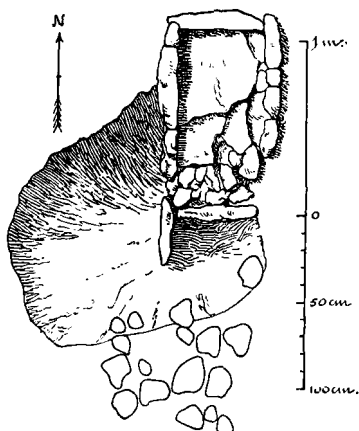


FIG. 7.—THE MAIN FIRE-PLACE (H),  
WITH THE ASH-PIT.

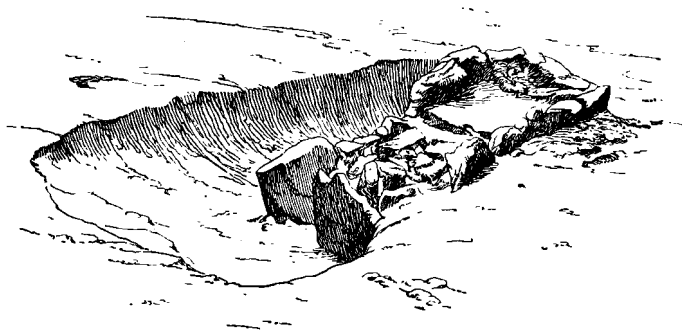


FIG. 8.—THE MAIN FIRE-PLACE (H), WITH THE ASH-PIT UNCOVERED.  
(Seen from South-East.)

was great of fame, whereas he made great feast of sacrifice at Ladir; and alone sustained all the costs thereof.

Chapter XVIII. The Bonders compel King Hakon to Blood-offering.

But on the morrow, when men went to table, the bonders thronged the king, bidding him eat horse flesh, and in no wise the king would. Then they bade him drink the broth thereof, but this would he none the more. Then would they have him eat of the dripping, but he would not; and it went nigh to their falling on him. Then strove Earl Sigurd to appease them, and bade them lay the storm; but the king he bade gape

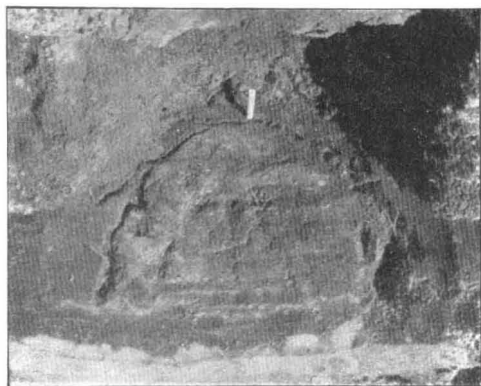


FIG. 9.—SECTION, FROM SOUTH TO NORTH,  
THROUGH THE PIT (L)  
(Seen from East to West.)

over a kettle-bow, whereas the reek of seething had gone up from the horse flesh, so that the kettle-bow was all greasy. Then went the king thereto, and spread a linen cloth over the kettle-bow, and gaped thereover, and then went back to the high-seat; but neither side was well pleased thereat.

The *Eyrbyggja Saga* gives a description, too: "The Story of the Ere-dwellers." Chapter IV.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Morris and Magnússon, "The Ere-dwellers," p. 8-9.

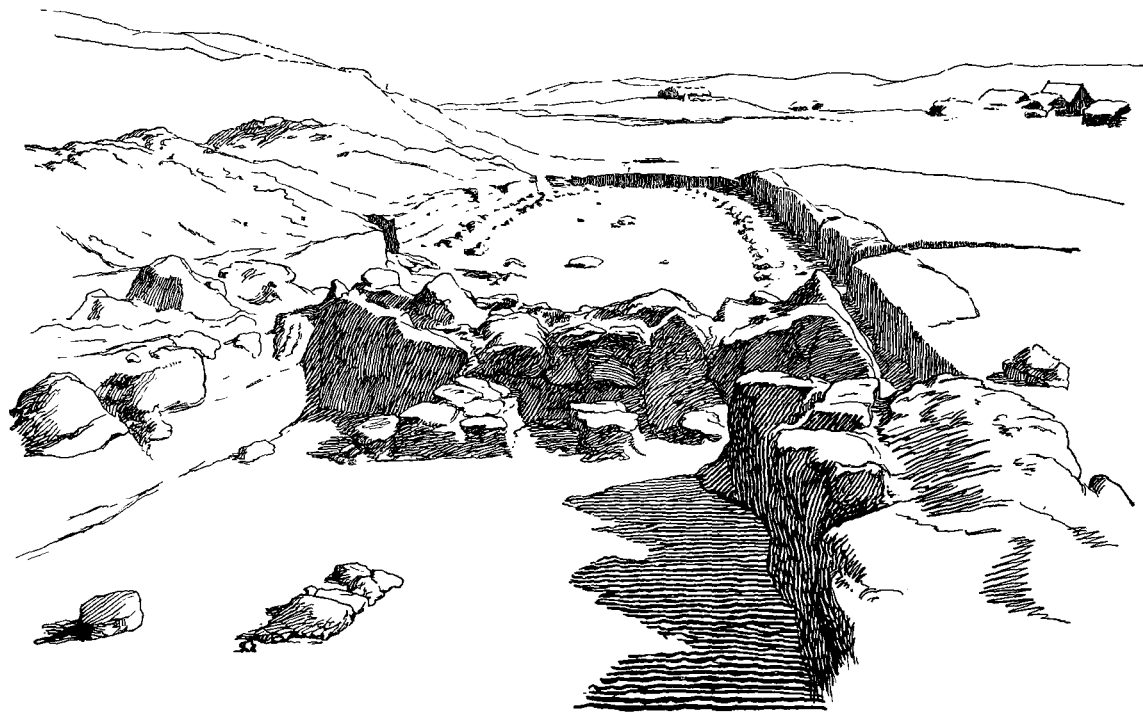


FIG. 10.—THE SITE OF THE TEMPLE, EXCAVATED. (Seen from North to South).  
In the foreground is the Sanctuary (C). The farm-houses are seen on the right in the home-field.

Thereafter Thorolf fared with fire through his land out from Staff-river in the west, and east to that river which is now called Thors-river, and settled his ship-mates there. But he set up for himself a great house at Templewick, which he called Templestead. There he let build a temple, and a mighty house it was. There was a door in the side-wall and nearer to one end thereof. Within the door stood the pillars of the high-seat, and nails were therein; they were called the Gods'

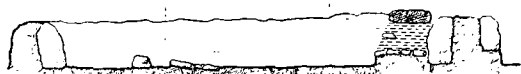


FIG. 11.—SECTION, NORTH TO SOUTH, THROUGH THE SANCTUARY (C).

The dotted lines indicate the floor and walls of a stable built thereon.

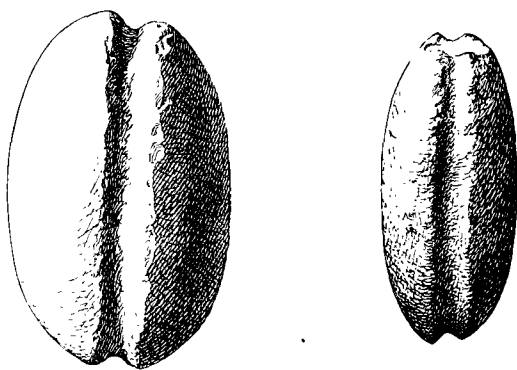


FIG. 12 AND 13.—STONE IMPLEMENTS.

nails. There within was a great sanctuary. But off the inmost house there was another house, of that fashion whereof now is the choir of a church, and there stood a stall in the midst of the floor in the fashion of an altar, and thereon lay a ring without a join that weighed twenty ounces, and on that men swear all oaths; and that ring must the chief have on his arm at all man-motes.

On the stall should also stand the blood-bowl, and therein the blood-rod was, like unto a sprinkler, and therewith should be sprinkled from the bowl that blood which is called "Hlaut," which was that kind of blood which flowed when those beasts were smitten who were sacrificed to the Gods. But round about the stall were the Gods arrayed in the Holy Place.

To that temple must all men pay toll, and be bound to follow the temple-priest in all farings even as now are the thingmen of chiefs. But the chief must uphold

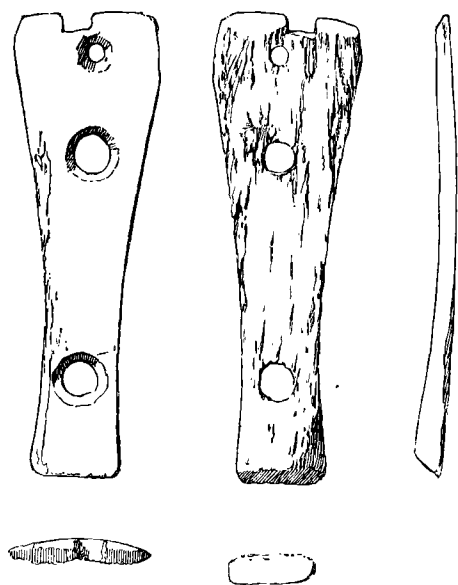


FIG. 14.—BONE IMPLEMENTS.

the temple at his own charges, so that it should not go to waste, and hold therein feasts of sacrifice.

*Viga-Glum's Saga.* Chapter XXIV.

Whoever had to take the "temple oath" laid hold with his hand of the silver ring, which was stained red with the blood of the cattle sacrificed, and

which ought not to weigh less than three ounces. Then Glum said word for word thus: "I name Asgrim to bear witness, and Gizor in the second place to bear witness, that I take the 'temple oath' on the ring, and I say it to the God" (Thor).

The farm names in hof (temple), and those in which hof enters into a compound, *e.g.*, Hofstaðir, indicate where temples are situated. By law there were only 36 (later 39) chieftain temple priests (*goði*, plural *goðar*) in Iceland, three in every *þing*, thing district. There were no doubt other temples than the official ones belonging to great families.

Subjoined is a list of the Place-names in Iceland, in which Temple (Hof) occurs by itself or in compounds, arranged according to Thing districts.

I. Kjalarnessþing: 1, Hof (Kjalarnes); 2, Hof (Rosmhvalanes); 3, Hofstaðir (in the vicinity of Reykjavík).

II. Þverárþing: 1, Hofstaðir (in Hálsasveit); 2, Hofstaðir (Myrasysla).

III. Þórsnesþing: 1, Hofstaðir (Hnappadalssysla); 2, Hofstaðir (Snæfells nessýsla); 3, Hofstaðir (*ibidem*).

IV. Þorskafjarðarþing: 1-2, Hofstaðir (Bardastrandasýsla); 3, Hof (Isafjarðs); 4, Hofstaðir (Strandasysla).

V. Húnavatsþing: 1, Hof (in Midfjord); 2, Hof (in Vatsdal); 3, Hof (Skagaströnd).

VI. Hegranesþing: 1-3, Hof: three places; 4, Hofstaðir.

VII. Vaðlaþing: 1-2, Hof, two places (Svarfadardalur, Hörgárdalur).

VIII. Þingeyjarþing: 1, Hof; 2, Hofstaðir; 3, Hofgarðar.

IX. Krakalækjarþing: 1-2 Hof, two places (in Vopnafjord, Fell); 3, Hofteigr.

X. Múlaþing: 1-3, Hof, three places (Mjoafjord, Nordfjord, Alptafjord).

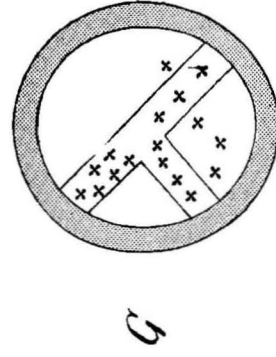
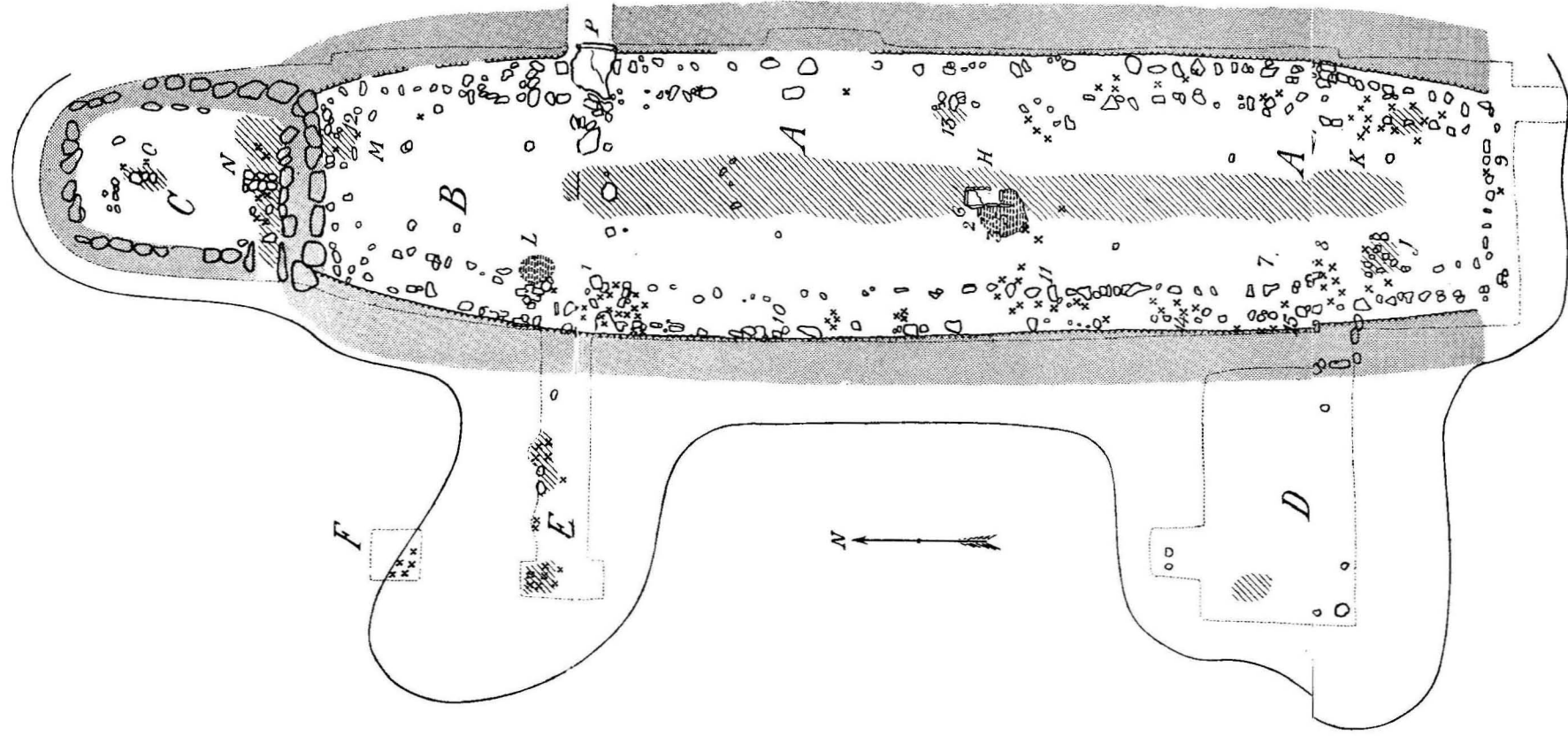
XI. Skaptafellsþing: 1, Hof; 2, Hoffell, 3, Hofstaðir.

XII. Rangárþing: 1, Hof.

XIII. Arnessþing: 1, Hof.

We will conclude by giving a brief survey of the sites visited and measured by Bruun and Jónsson, which traditionally were called "hof," or by a name that points to the existence of a hof; only in two cases have they made excavations, which is the only way to





decide whether there has been a temple or not. We print in italics the names of the sites where there is some probability of a temple having been situated there.

Hofstaðir (in Gulbringu-sysla).  
*Hof* (in Kjalarnes).  
*Hofstaðir* (in Hálsasveit, Borgarfjörð-sysla).  
Hofstaðir (Myrasysla).  
*Norðtunga* (ibidem).  
*Hofstaðir* (Hnappadal-sysla).  
*Hofgarðar* (Snæfellsnes-sysla).  
Hofstaðir (ibidem).  
*Bersatunga* (Dalasysla).  
Ljárskógar (ibid.).  
Rútsstaðir (ibid.).  
Hofstaðir (Barðastrandasysla).  
*Höfði* (in the Dyrafjörð).  
Melstaðir (in Miðfjörð, Hunavatnssysla).  
*Hof* (in Skagaströnd, ibid.).  
*Hof* (in Vatnsdal, ibid.).  
*Hof* (in Hjaltadal, Skagafjörðsysla).  
Hofstaðir (the same sysla).  
*Hof* (in Svarfadardal, Eyjafjörðsysla).  
*Hof* (in South Þingeyjarsysla).  
Ljósavatn (ibidem).  
*Hof* (in Vopnafjörð; North Mulasysla).  
*Hof* (in Fell, ibidem).  
*Hofteigr* (ibidem).  
Freysnes (ibid.).  
Aðalból (ibid.).  
Bersastaðir (ibid.).  
*Mjóvanes* (South Mulasysla).  
*Hof* (in Mjóafjörð, ibid.).  
*Úthlið* (in Arnessysla).  
*Fossnes* (ibid.).  
*Hörghálsur* (South Þingeyjarsysla).

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## THE SCANDINAVIAN KINGDOM OF NORTHUMBRIA.

BY PROFESSOR ALLEN MAWER, M.A., Vice-President.

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THE earliest mention of the appearance of Viking raiders in Northumbria is that found under the year 793 in MSS. D, E and F of the Chronicle, where, after stating the marvellous portents seen in Northumbria in that year, the entry runs in E:—

“And a little later in the same year, on the 8th of January, the church of God on the island of Lindisfarne was grievously destroyed by the ravages of the heathen men, with robbery and slaying of men.”

In the next year, 794, we read of further incursions into Northumbria, when the monastery of St. Paul at Jarrow, founded by Ecgfrith, King of Northumbria, at the junction of the Don and Tyne, was destroyed. Vengeance was, however, close at hand, for one of their leaders was slain, several of their ships were wrecked in a great storm so that many of the crews were drowned, while others escaped by swimming ashore. This disaster was regarded by the pious as a judgment on them for the sack at Lindisfarne, while the close connection of the two disasters is brought out in an interesting reference found in the letters of Alcuin, once head of the monastic school at York, and now in the service of Charlemagne. Writing from abroad to the monks of Wearmouth and Jarrow when news reached him of the sack of Lindisfarne, he had warned them that their turn might come next, because they dwelt close to the sea-coast whence these plagues first take their rise.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Alcuin Epist., Nos. 19, 20, 21.

The devastation of two of the great centres of religion and learning in the North of England soon became widely known, and there are numerous references to it. These ravages are recorded in the *Annals of Lindisfarne*<sup>1</sup> and in *Simeon of Durham*,<sup>2</sup> both of which give what is a more likely date for these invasions, viz., the 9th of June, while *Simeon* adds the slight touch that they came from a northern region. The *Annals of Ulster* also refer to these attacks when at this time they speak of a devastation of the whole of the island of Britain by heathens.<sup>3</sup>

There can be little doubt that these invaders were Norwegians rather than Danes. If already in 787 or thereabouts we find Norwegians from Hóρθaland in Dorset, others visiting the island of Skye and Lambey Island off Dublin in 795<sup>4</sup> and the Isle of Man in 798,<sup>5</sup> we have every reason to suppose that the invaders of Northumbria were Norwegians rather than Danes. This would agree too with *Simeon of Durham*'s account of the direction from which they came, a description which could hardly be applied to invaders from Denmark.

After these two raids there is complete silence for some sixty or seventy years as to any attacks made by the Vikings on Northumbria. This silence may in part be due simply to the scantiness of our records for Northern events—the history of the North is almost a blank during this period—but it is probably due also to the fact that the Vikings from Norway were busily engaged elsewhere during these years. This was the time when they established their kingdoms in Ireland, and no sooner were they fairly settled there than they had to fight for their very existence against fresh invaders—Danes or black foreigners—who tried to oust them from their new-won territories.

It is not indeed until the year 867 that we again hear

<sup>1</sup> *Pertz*, xix., 505.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Dunelm*, Eccl. ii., 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Ann. Ult.* 793.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 794.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 797.

of Viking raiders in the North, and then the trouble there is only part of the great storm of invasion which swept over England, Southern Scotland, and Ireland at this time. The great "here" first took up its quarters in East Anglia, but in the year 567 it turned northwards, crossed the Humber, and attacked York. The work of the Danes there was rendered easier by a civil war. Osberht, the rightful king, had been deposed, and one Aelle, not belonging to the royal family, had been chosen king in his place. The Northumbrians were divided in their allegiance, and the result was that the Vikings captured the strong city of York without much trouble, and it was given up to plunder and pillage. This, according to the *Annals of Lindisfarne*,<sup>1</sup> took place in November. (In the *History of St. Cuthbert*<sup>2</sup> we are told that the leader in this attack was Ubbe "dux Fresicorum," a statement which tallies with that of the *Annals of Lindisfarne* that the army of 867 was the same as that which had landed in Sheppey in 855, for the latter, according to the same authority, was composed of Danes and Frisians under the leadership of Healfdene, Ubbe, and Ingwar. It is perhaps worth noting that Igwar was the leader, according to Ethelweard,<sup>3</sup> in the siege of York). In face of a common foe the rival kings seem to have patched up their differences, and early in March (probably of 868) they made a combined effort to relieve York. They gathered a large army, made their way into the city, and drove out the Danes. That success, however, was but short-lived. Later in March the Danes returned to the attack; much fighting took place both inside and outside the city, and in the end the two Northumbrian kings were slain and the remnant of their army was forced to come to terms with the Danes. If we may trust the *Fragments of Irish Annals*,<sup>4</sup> the death of Aelle was due to treachery on the

<sup>1</sup> Pertz, xix., 506.

<sup>2</sup> § 10.

<sup>3</sup> Ethelweard, IV., 2.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. O'Connor, p. 173.

part of one of his followers. This is very probable considering the uncertain position in which he stood. The Saxon Chronicle and Simeon of Durham make but one fight—an attempt to seize York, in which the two Northumbrian kings were slain, but the Annals of Lindisfarne are very explicit in their statements about the two battles, and it is quite possible that the Chronicle has rolled the two into one. The capture of York, and its successful retention in face of a determined effort at recovery on the part of the Northumbrians, was a great event in the annals of the Scandinavian invasions, and we find it recorded not only in English and Continental annals, but also in Irish and Welsh chronicles.

Still more interesting is the mention of this expedition in Scandinavian Saga and in Saxo's History. There it is represented as an expedition of vengeance undertaken by the sons of the great Viking, Ragnarr Loðbrók, when that chieftain had been cast into a snake-pit by King Hella. The identity of the sons of Ragnarr Loðbrók with the great leaders—Healfdene, Ívarr and Ubbe—may be clearly established. How far there is any element of truth in the other story it is difficult to say, but we may mention that there is some evidence outside Saxo and the Sagas for bringing Ragnarr into connexion with the British Isles, not long before the siege of York.

After the definite conquest of York the Danes set up a puppet king, Ecgberht, in Northumbria, but his rule extended only over that part of Northumbria which lay north of the Tyne, and in the year 873 the Northumbrians drove him and his supporter, Archbishop Wulfhere, out of the district, choosing a new king, Ricsig, in his stead.

Hitherto the Vikings had not advanced north of the Tyne. York had been the centre from which their raids were made, and the Tyne seems to have been the northern boundary of their activity, but a change took

place in 875. Healfdene, one of the sons of Ragnarr Loðbrók, advancing from Repton, where a large part of his forces were encamped, took ship and sailed up the Tyne with a large fleet. They spent the winter in the neighbourhood of Tynemouth, and devastated the whole of northern Northumbria, a district which hitherto had remained undisturbed. "Wyrceforsford" is named as the westernmost point on the Tyne reached by Healfdene's vessel. Its identification is, however, uncertain.

News of the arrival of the Danes at Tynemouth soon spread up the Northumbrian coast, and Bishop Eardulf of Lindisfarne, preseeing the future destruction of the church at Lindisfarne and the ravaging of the whole diocese, arranged for the removal of the body of St. Cuthbert from its shrine. For seven years it was carried from place to place and ultimately found a resting place at Chester-le-Street in 883. As soon as the body of St. Cuthbert was removed, a storm of rapine and plunder fell not only upon Lindisfarne, but upon the whole of Northumbria, and monasteries and churches were everywhere destroyed and burnt and their inmates killed. The ravages covered the whole land from the North Sea to the Solway Firth, and were directed not only against Northumbria proper but also against the Picts and the inhabitants of Strathclyde. The encounter with the Picts is mentioned in the Annals of Ulster,<sup>1</sup> where we are told of an encounter of the Picts with the Black Foreigners and a great slaughter of the Picts. This entry would point to the presence of a large Danish element in the army of Healfdene, for the Irish Annals always distinguish carefully between the Black Foreigners or Danes and the White Foreigners or Norsemen. There is also another entry made this year in the Ulster Annals, which tells us that Oistin, son of Amlaibh, King of the Norsemen, was slain by Alband. There can be no doubt that this

<sup>1</sup> Ann. Ult. 874.

is Healfdene, and that while devastating Northumbria he managed to take some part in the great struggle between Danes and Norsemen, which was then going on in Ireland. After a brief reign Healfdene's kingdom came to a sudden end. According to Simeon of Durham<sup>1</sup> the vengeance of God fell upon him for his treatment of the lands of St. Cuthbert. He was afflicted with madness and grievous bodily pains. His body exhaled such evil odours that he was hated of all his followers, and in the end he was expelled from his kingdom and fled with three ships from the mouth of the Tyne, perishing with all his followers soon afterwards. The diseases, mental and bodily, of Healfdene, doubtless existed largely in the pious imagination of Simeon, but there is no doubt about the fact of his expulsion and ensuing death. It coincides exactly with the mention in the Annals of Ulster (sub anno 877) that Albann, King of the Black Gentiles, was slain in a battle between Danes and Norsemen on Strangford Lough.

After the expulsion of Healfdene there would seem to have been an interregnum of some six years, and then there came a vision of St. Cuthbert to Eadred, abbot of Carlisle, bidding him cross the Tyne to the army of the Danes, and there find out the boy Guthred, son of Harthacnut, whom the Danes had sold to a certain widow. Having paid the price of his liberty he was to bring him before an assembly of the whole host and there, when he had been elected by the people, an arm ring was to be placed on his right arm, and he was to be appointed to the kingdom. The ceremony was to be performed at a place called "Oswiesdune." Abbot Eadred carried out the instructions given him, and Guthred was appointed king.<sup>2</sup> The tract, "*De Primo Saxonum Adventu*," used by Simeon, tells us that Guthred was of royal birth. His reign was one of great piety, and he gave much land

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Dunelm Eccl., II., 12, 13.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 13.



for the use of St. Cuthbert, declaring his right of sanctuary over the whole of the territory between the Wear and the Tyne. The chief incident of his reign was a campaign against the Scots, in which their army was swallowed up, apparently by an earthquake. This earthquake is probably mentioned in the "War of the Gaedhil and the Gael,"<sup>1</sup> where we are told that just after the death of Healfdene in Ireland, the foreigners went to Scotland and won a victory over the men of Alba, in which Constantine, King of Alba, fell. It was on this occasion that the earth burst open beneath the men of Alba. There can be little doubt that Guthred, whose Scandinavian origin is certain, was co-operating with Viking invaders from Ireland in an attack on the Scots. His reign terminated in 894, and then, according to Simeon of Durham, the government of his realm was taken over by King Alfred. That the kingdom of Northumbria was to some extent dependent upon Alfred, even during the rule of Guthred, seems to be established by the evidence of the Guthred-Cnut coins, which have the inscription "Elfred-Rex" on the obverse and "Cnut-Rex" on the reverse. Strangely enough the name of Alfred is not to be found in the coins of that Siefred who is believed to have been Guthred's successor.

Dr. Steenstrup, in his "Normannerne,"<sup>2</sup> has brought the story of the election of Guthred into connection with the story of Knútr-hinn-fundni, told in the *Jómsvíkinga Saga* and in *Olaf Trygvason's Saga*.<sup>3</sup> The story in the latter is briefly as follows: Gormr, the childless, a vassal of Charlemagne, has a friend Earl Arnfinnr. The latter has a child by an incestuous alliance with his sister. The child is exposed in the woods and is found by some members of the household of Gormr. It is by him called Knútr, because of a ring found on him when he was discovered. Gormr is succeeded by this adopted child, known commonly as Knútr-hinn-fundni

<sup>1</sup> C. 25.<sup>2</sup> II. 95 ff.<sup>3</sup> *Flateyjarbók*, I., c. 61, 62.

of Thraelaknútr. His son was Gormr-hinn-heimski or hinn-ríki, who held the kingdom under the sons of Ragnarr Lothbrók. He was specially friendly with Sigurðr ormr-í-auga, and became the foster-father of Sigurðr's son Knútr, called Hörthaknútr, because born in Hörd in Jutland. Gormr was succeeded by Hörthaknútr. The latter called his son Gormr after the name of his own foster-father. This last Gormr was Gormr the Old, who married Thyra, daughter of Earl Klakkharaldr. He died early in the 10th century, and he and his queen lie buried in the famous barrows at Jellinge, in S. Jutland.

In Jómsvikinga Saga we have the same story of Arnfinnr and his child. Gormr is succeeded by Knútr. The latter had a son Gormr-hinn-heimski, known later as Gorm the Old. Gorm the Old married Thyra, daughter of Klakkharaldr, Earl of Hollsetuland.

In bringing these stories into connexion with that of Guthred, Dr. Steenstrup points out that:—

(1) Knútr is known as Thraela-Knútr or Slave-Knútr, while Guthred, though of royal birth, is represented as having been sold into slavery, and it is necessary that he should be redeemed to liberty; nevertheless each attains royal power.

(2) Guthred is a son of Harthacnut, while Knútr is the adopted son of Gormr. Many Danish annals, as well as Adam of Bremen, seem to apply the names Hardecnuth and Wrm (or Gormr) to the same men.

(3) The Guthred of the Chronicles must be identified with the Cnut of the Dano-Northumbrian coins. These coins certainly belong to a period close to the time of Guthred, and there is no other person of the name Cnut known to whom they might be referred. This then would point to the identity of Guthred and Knútr-hinn-fundni. It should be added that Dr. Steenstrup's arguments for identifying Guthred and Cnut are sufficiently convincing, but his explanation of the two-

fold name Guthred-Cnut, as due to the adoption by the heathen Cnut of a Christian-name Guthred at baptism can hardly be considered valid. He quotes several examples of such double names, but in all of them alike one name is distinctively Christian, whereas the name Guthred is by no means so.

(4) We have traces elsewhere in Scandinavian tradition of this Northumbrian line of succession. He instances :—

(a) The *Chronicle of Roskilde*, which tells of a king Sven, who came from Norway and invaded England, expelling its king Ethelred, and taking the kingdom. His sons Gorm and Harthacnut conquered Denmark and slew its king Haldanus. Gorm took Denmark and Harthacnut England. It is perhaps somewhat forcing the story to see in it a reflection of the events leading up to the accession of Guthred-Cnut after the expulsion and death of Healfdene. The Sven from Norway is perhaps due to a perversion of Adam of Bremen's Hardegon, son of Svein, coming from Norway, who reigned in Denmark at the end of the 9th century, with some confusion of this Svein with the later one, who did expel Ethelred the Unready from England.

(b) In Olaf Trygvason's Saga we are told that Gormr, son of Thraela-knútr, held his realm under Ragnarr Loðbrók's sons, and was the foster-father of Hörða-knútr, son of Sigurðr ormr-í-auga. Echoes of this story are to be found perhaps in Sven Aggeson, who makes Sigurðr ormr-í-auga marry a daughter of the King of Denmark. This story Dr. Steenstrup would refer to Northumbria.

In discussing these stories, with the interpretation placed upon them, there are two points on which special stress must be laid.

(1) In all forms alike of the story the name Knútr, either by itself or in combination with some other element, is of continual occurrence. Guthred is the son of Harthacnut and seems himself to be called Cnut in

his coins. Sigurthr ormr-í-auga has a son Hörðaknútr, Gorm the Old is called by Adam of Bremen Hardegon and Hardecnuth, Thietmar and Widukind call the same person Cnuto, while Gormr-hinn-heimski, the foster-father of Hörthaknútr, was himself the son of Knútr-hinn-fundni or Thraela-knútr, Gormo Anglicus is a son of Cnuto, and Gorm the Old has a son Knútr. The name itself seems to have puzzled the old chroniclers and saga-writers, for they tell us that it was now used for the first time, and they give various suggestions as to its origin.

We have seen that the suggestion that the alternative names found in the case of certain persons bearing this name may be due to baptism is untenable. May we not suggest that the second name Knútr or Hörðaknútr was not simply an alternative name for the persons who bore it, but was rather a name belonging to a whole family and borne by its various members? Sometimes they are spoken of under their own name, sometimes under that of their family, and sometimes both are used together.

(2) The story in Simeon of Durham as to the election of Guthred-Cnut is in many ways open to suspicion, but in none more so than in the fact that he is represented as being still but a boy and not a free one at that, and that his selection, putting aside the story of supernatural intervention, seems to have been a purely arbitrary one. Such choice of a ruler of a turbulent nation of pirates and adventurers seems extremely unlikely unless he had some real claim to the kingship. Do we not perhaps find traces of such a claim in the single phrase, "regius puer," used of this youth in the tract "De primo Saxonum adventu," and in the story told by Sven Aggeson of Sigurðr ormr-í-auga, and his son Knútr, or (as he is called in Langfedgatal, the Heimskringla, and the Tháttr af Ragnarssonum) Hörðaknútr. It is almost impossible to find room for that story in the history of Denmark

itself. Is it not possible that it was told in the original instance of Sigurðr and his marriage with Blæja or Heluna (this is the name according to Olaf Tryggvason's saga), daughter of Ella, King of Northumbria? If such a marriage did take place and a son was born to Blæja about the year 868, *i.e.*, a year after the York expedition and the death of Aelle, he would be about fifteen years old in 883, and would have a strong claim to the Northumbrian throne after the expulsion and death of Healfdene, for not only would he be the grandson of the old Northumbrian king, but he would also be nephew to the late ruler of Northumbria, since Healfdene was brother to Sigurthormr-í-auga; he would therefore be acceptable both to Danes and English.

The one difficulty in this theory is that Simeon of Durham makes Guthred-Cnút to be a son of Harthacnut and not of Sigurðr. We must, therefore, suppose either that the name Harthacnut was borne also by Sigurthr, or, as I think is perhaps the more likely, that the "Guthred filius Harthacnut," is a mistake for Guthred Harthacnut, due to the author's or the scribe's misunderstanding of the double name, and his endeavouring to explain it away. I may also hazard the suggestion that the widow to whom Abbot Eadred gave the money was Blæja, and that the money, which is represented as the price of freedom, was in reality the price of legitimation of Blæja's son, who was the offspring of an irregular union.

The history of Northumbria after the death of Guthred-Cnut (about the year 894) is as obscure and uncertain as it was during his reign and previous to it.

From the evidence of Dano-Northumbrian coins it seems that Cnut was succeeded in that realm by one Siefred(us) or Sievert. Some coins have been found with Cnut Rex on the obverse and Siefredus on the reverse. Others, minted either at York or Evreux in

Normandy (the identification of Evraici is uncertain) have only Siefredus rex or Sievert on them. It was suggested by Haigh<sup>1</sup> that this Siefred is the "Sigferth piratus" who is mentioned by Ethelweard as raiding from Northumbria in 894.<sup>2</sup> The date would suit well, and we must suppose him to have ruled for a time in conjunction with Guthred-Cnut, probably first as a subordinate, since he is not called "rex" on the coins which bear both their names, and then as sole sovereign. If we are to believe Simeon of Durham, who says that on the death of Guthred Alfred took over the sovereignty, he was not an independent ruler, but in that case it is somewhat remarkable that, while some of the coins of Guthred-Cnut have the name of Alfred on them, those of Siefred do not bear that name at all. Who this Siefred was or how he reigned it is difficult to say. The Annals of Ulster in 893<sup>3</sup> speak of great dissensions among the foreigners of Dublin, some being for Sitriucc, the son of Imhar, others for Earl Sichfrith. What was the cause at issue or what were its results we do not know. Sitriucc seems to have left Ireland in a time, however, as his return to that country is mentioned in 894.<sup>4</sup> Earl Sichfrith may at the same time have sought a fresh field for his activities and have taken service in Northumbria under King Guthred, where we find him active during the years 894-5, but without further evidence this must remain purely a conjecture. With the coins of Cnut and Siefred found in the great Cuerdale hoard (dating from the early part of the reign of Edward the Elder) is a coin with the inscription "Sitric Comes."<sup>5</sup> It is possible that this "Sitric Comes" is to be identified with the Sitriucc, son of Imhar, just mentioned, who returned to Ireland (it is not stated whence) in 894. Two years later he was slain by other Norsemen, *i.e.*, probably by the party of his rival Sichfrith. Again we cannot

<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia Aeliana*, VII.      <sup>2</sup> Ethelweard, IV., 3.      <sup>3</sup> Ann. Ult. 892.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, 893.

<sup>5</sup> Keary, Catalogue of A.S. Coins, I., 230, 231.

do more than suggest the possibility owing to the lack of direct evidence.<sup>1</sup>

The chief point of interest in these identifications is that if true they would bring Northumbria into definite contact with the Norwegian kingdom of Dublin and show that the Norse element was asserting itself at the expense of the Danish, for though Guthred-Cnut's family were undoubtedly of Norse origin, they appear in history as the leaders of Danish rather than of Norse invaders.

How long Siefred and perhaps Sitric ruled in Northumbria we cannot say, but it would seem that at any rate by the year 911 they were both dead, for in the account of those who fell in the fight at Tettenhall or Wednesfield, we find mention of two kings Eohric and Healden, who seem to be represented as ruling in Northumbria. The twofold kingship was perhaps of the same nature as that of Guthred-Cnut and Siefred noted above.

It should be remarked here that the northern part of Northumbria—*i.e.*, North of the Tyne, the old district of Bernicia seems never to have passed under Viking rule. Good evidence of this is still to be found in place-nomenclature. The tributary streams of the Tyne are all burns not becks, those of the Wear are with few exceptions burns not becks, while those of the

<sup>1</sup> There is perhaps some confusion in the Irish annals themselves as to the fortunes of these two men—Sichfrith and Sitriucc. The Annals of Ulster (887) tell us that in that year Sichfrith, son of Imhar, was slain by his brother with treachery. We then have the story of dissensions between the son of Imhar and Earl Sichfrith in 892, of the return of the son of Imhar to Ireland in 893, and of the killing of Sitriucc by other Norsemen in 895. Dr. Steenstrup (II., 143) points out that it is suspicious that two sons of Imhar should thus be killed by comrades in similar fashion and that the "*Chronicon Scotorum*" has only the 888 notice while the "*Four Masters*" has that of 891. Is it possible that the entry in the annals of Ulster is a mistake, and that Sichfrith was not slain in 888, but is the Sichfrith of 892? As the son of Ivarr he would then have a strong claim not only to an Irish kingship but also to Northumbria, since he would be cousin to Guthred-Cnut.

Tees are uniformly becks. In Weardale there is a curious intermediate stage in such forms as Beechburn Beck and Bedburn Beck. Undoubtedly these were originally Beechburn and Bedburn; then as Scandinavian influence spread from the South the force of the old suffix "burn" was forgotten, and the new Scandinavian term "beck" was added. North Northumbria probably remained entirely independent until the year 885, when we are told that all England, except that part which was in possession of the Danes, submitted to Alfred. The History of St. Cuthbert speaks of its earl Eadulf as the good friend of Alfred, and says that these relations were maintained between Ealdred and Edward, their respective sons. The centre of his authority was of course at Bamborough.

When in the reign of Edward the Elder, that monarch and his sister busied themselves with the task of curbing Danish power in East Anglia and the Midlands, Northumbria once more suffered attack, when a certain heathen king, Regenwaldus, invaded Northumbria with a large number of ships and seized the lands of Ealdred, son of the Eadulf of Bamborough mentioned above. Ealdred took refuge in Scotland and sought the aid of King Constantine. Together they advanced towards Regenwaldus, but were defeated at the battle of Corbridge-on-Tyne, near Hexham.<sup>1</sup> The date of the battle is determined by the entry in the Annals of Ulster, which tell us that in the year 918 Ragnall,<sup>2</sup> king of the Black Foreigners, and two earls, Ottir and Graggaba, left Ireland and went against Alba, *i.e.*, Scotland. The men of Alba defeated them

<sup>1</sup> History of St. Cuthbert, § 22. The Pictish Chronicle (Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, ed. Skene, p. 9) refers to this fight—"Bellum Tinemore factum est in xviii. anno inter Constantinum et Ragnall et Scotti habuerunt victoriam." The result is different, but the site of the battle and the names of the combatants allow of little doubt that this refers to the battle of Corbridge-on-Tyne.

<sup>2</sup> For the chronology of the reign of Regenwald-Ragnall I accept the carefully weighed conclusions of Dr. Steenstrup (III., 18-25).



on the banks of the Tyne. The forces of the invaders were in four battalions. The whole army was defeated, but Ragnall, commanding the fourth division, was more successful than the rest. The contradictory accounts of the results of the battle may perhaps be explained by the account in the Irish Annals, which would suggest that one division out of the four was successful. In his *History of the Kings* Simeon of Durham,<sup>1</sup> under the year 912, says that King Reingwald and Earl Oter and Oswl Cracabam attacked and destroyed Dunblin. Dr. Steenstrup has shown that the date of this entry is wrong, and identified "Dunblin" with Dunblane in Perthshire. In support of this theory he says that the river Tyne of the Irish Annals is the Tyne in East Lothian and not the English Tyne. This seems impossible, as Simeon tells us that the battle took place at "Corebrig." Corbridge, on the English Tyne, is well known, but there is no such place in Scotland. Dunblane may be right, as Ragnall certainly did visit Scotland in this year. This Ragnall came from Ireland, where we have definite record of his activities,<sup>2</sup> and there he is always spoken of as the grandson of Imhar, *i.e.*, of Ivarr beinlausi, the son of Ragnarr Loðbrók, who died in 873. After his victory at Corbridge, Ragnall or Rægenwald, as he is called by the English writers, advanced on York, which he won in 919 or 920,<sup>3</sup> and about the same time he took into his own possession the lands of St. Cuthbert, handing them over to his followers, Scula and Onlafbald.<sup>4</sup> The southern portion from Castle Eden to Billingham in Teesdale went to Scula, that from Castle Eden to the

<sup>1</sup> S.D. Hist. Regum, § 82.

<sup>2</sup> Ann. Ult., 913.

<sup>3</sup> Simeon of Durham, Hist. Regum, § 83, says 919, the Chronicle (E) puts it in 923. As the Chronicle is at least two years out in 921 when speaking of Sitric, it is probable that the chronology of Simeon is here more correct. Regenwald was dead by 921. (The form "Rex Inguald" in the *Historia Regum* is doubtless a corruption of Regenwald).

<sup>4</sup> Hist. Dun. Eccl. II., 16. Hist. of St. Cuthbert, § 23.

Wear was given to Onlafbald. The latter seems to have been an ardent pagan, and we are told how he entered St. Cuthbert's church in the presence of Bishop Cuthheard and the whole congregation, crying out "What power has that dead fellow Cuthbert over me? I swear by my mighty gods Thor and Othin that from this time forth I will be your greatest enemy." But when he turned to leave the church the power of St. Cuthbert fell upon him and soon after he perished miserably. It was during the reign of Edward the Elder also that a certain Edred, son of Rixincus, made a raid westwards towards the mountains and slew a certain noble named Eardulf, carrying off his wife. He took refuge under the patronage of St. Cuthbert, and for three years cultivated lands granted him from Chester-le-Street to the Derwent, thence South to the Wear, then to the Roman Road called Deorstrete, south-westwards, and also a certain farm at Gainford in Teesdale. At the end of three years, however, his tenancy was brought to a violent conclusion. He was attacked by King Rægenwald and Edred, and a large number of English were slain in a second battle of Corbridge. King Rægenwald died in 921 according to the *Annals of Ulster*,<sup>1</sup> and this enables us to check the chronology of the *A.S. Chronicle* at this point, for we read in the *Winchester Chronicle* (s.a. 924), that in that year Rægenald, and the sons of Eadulf of Bamborough, and all those dwelling in Northumbria, whether English, Danes, or Norwegians, and the Welsh of Strathclyde submitted to the rule of King Edward as their father and lord. It may be noted that the *Irish Annals* at this point call Ragnall king of the White and Black foreigners, which agrees precisely with the mention in the *A.S. Chronicle* of the presence at this time in Northumbria of both Danes and Norwegians.

At the same time that Rægenwald was ruling at York another Scandinavian leader, Sitric by name, appeared

<sup>1</sup> *Ann. Ult.* 920.

in Cheshire. This Sihtric destroyed Davenport in 920,<sup>1</sup> a statement which fits in well with the Irish Annals, which tell us that in 920 Sitriuc left Dublin through Divine power, *i.e.*, (probably) having been driven thence by the Irish.<sup>2</sup> This Sitriuc, or Sitric Gale, was like Ragnall, a grandson of Imhar, *i.e.*, of Ivarr heinlausi, but it is impossible to say if he and Ragnall were brothers or cousins.

Sihtric remained in England and seems to have succeeded to the power of Regenwald on the latter's death in 921, for in 925, the first year of the reign of Aethelstan, he is spoken of as king of the Northumbrians, and held a friendly conference with that king at Tamworth. Their friendship was strengthened by the marriage of Sihtric with Athelstan's sister.<sup>3</sup> Sihtric died soon after—in 926 or 927—and Aethelstan then took the Northumbrian kingdom under his rule, receiving the submission of all Northumbria, including the part ruled by Ealdred of Bamborough by the river Eamont in Cumberland, at the foot of Ulleswater.<sup>4</sup>

At this point William of Malmesbury, in his *Gesta Rēgum*, has a long episode peculiar to himself.<sup>5</sup> He tells us that on the death of Sihtricus his son Analafus went to Ireland, and his brother Godefridus to Scotland. Ambassadors were sent to Constantine, King of the Scots, demanding, with threats of war, the surrender of the fugitives. A conference was held at Dacre, standing on Dacre Beck (a tributary of the Eamont), at which the Scots submitted to the English and the son of Constantine was baptised. Godefridus, however, escaped, and besieged York unsuccessfully. He was himself then besieged in a fort, but escaped the vigilance of the besiegers and took to piracy. Godefridus, after suffering much hardship by sea and land, came to the royal court and submitted to

<sup>1</sup> S.D. Hist. Regum, § 83.

<sup>2</sup> Ann. Ult. 919.

<sup>3</sup> Chron. 925, D.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 926 D, *ibid*, 926.

<sup>5</sup> W. of M. *Gesta Regum*, II., c. 134.

Aethelstan. He was well received, but after four days returned to his piracy.

Dr. Steenstrup has shown that William of Malmesbury's submission at Dacre is the same as the Chronicle's submission at Eamont<sup>1</sup>; the geographical proximity of the two places, apart from the identity of the incidents associated with them, would compel us to this conclusion. As William of Malmesbury is of special historical value for the reign of Aethelstan, since he used an old and perhaps contemporary poem for his account of that sovereign, his narrative is worthy of careful study.<sup>2</sup>

The Chronicle (D. 926) tells us of the submission at Eamont, but E and F tell us that 927 King Aethelstan drove out King Guthfrith. Now since D gives the year of the death of Edward the Elder as 924, while E and F give it as 925,<sup>3</sup> it is quite possible that the 926 entry in D and the 927 entry in E and F belong to the same year, and that we ought to connect the expulsion of Guthfrith more closely, at least in point of time, with the submission at Eamont. This would bring the Chronicle into harmony with the story in William of Malmesbury.

We find further confirmation of that writer when we turn to the Irish Annals. In 927,<sup>4</sup> the year of the death of Sihtric, Gothfrith retired from Dublin, but returned in six months. This Gothfrith was first mentioned in 918, and again in 921 and 924,<sup>5</sup> where he is called a grandson of Imhar. This would point to his being a brother of Sihtric, again confirming the statements of William of Malmesbury.<sup>6</sup> Whether Gothfrith remained in Ireland after his return in 927 or 928

<sup>1</sup> U.S., III., 26-9.    <sup>2</sup> Stubbs' Introduction to W. of M., II., LX.—LXV.

<sup>3</sup> As a matter of fact E gives it both under 924 and 925.

<sup>4</sup> Ann. Ult. 926.

<sup>5</sup> *ib.* 917, 920, 923.

<sup>6</sup> Florence of Worcester (anno 926) and the fragment 'De primo Saxonum adventu' (S.D. II., 377) call him a *son* of Sihtric; from the above evidence this seems to be wrong.

is uncertain, but we certainly find him again in 930.<sup>1</sup> William of Malmesbury makes no statement about the time covered by the adventures of Godefridus, but I see no reason why they should not have fallen within the six months of his absence from Ireland. Gothfrith may actually have been in England at the time of his brother's death and have sought the help of the Scottish king in securing his Northumbrian realm. The Scots would seem to have been forced by Aethelstan's threats to give up their alliance with Gothfrith and to make submission at Eamont or Dacre. After a few months' vain struggling to secure the Northumbrian kingdom without the aid of the Scottish king, Gothfrith returned to Ireland. Wherever we have the means of checking William of Malmesbury we find him to be right here, so, considering his good authority at this time, we must accept the general truth of his story.

Gothfrith lived until the year 934,<sup>2</sup> when we are told that Gothfrith, grandson of Imhar, a most cruel king of the Norsemen, died of anguish. His power passed to his son Amhlaeibh, first mentioned in 933, and again spoken of in 937.<sup>3</sup> He is commonly known as Anlaf Godfredsson or Godfreyson.

William of Malmesbury's Onalafus, son of Sihtricus (known to history generally as Anlaf Sihtricsson) does not appear in the Irish Annals for some ten years or more, and the historian's statement that he went to Ireland is unsupported. There is, however, no inherent improbability in it, and his visit may have been but a short one.

According to Florence of Worcester, whose authority is not, however, very good, Anlaf Sihtricsson settled in Scotland, where he married the daughter of Constantine, king of the Scots. So far does he seem to be identified with the Scots, that in Egil's Saga (where he is called Olaf the Red),<sup>1</sup> he is actually called king

<sup>1</sup> Ann. Ult., 929.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 933.

<sup>3</sup> F.W. 931, 935.

<sup>4</sup> C.51. This reference is due to Dr. Todd, *War of the Gaedhil and the Gael*, p. 281.

of the Scots, and is said to have had a Scottish father and a Danish mother. He is said also to have been a descendant of Ragnarr Lothbrók, which is correct, since he is represented in the Annals as a descendant of Imhar, *i.e.*, of Ivarr beinlausi, the son of Ragnarr Lothbrók (pp. 106-7). The alliance of Anlaf Sihtricsson with King Constantine would seem to have alarmed King Aethelstan, for we find that king going to Scotland in 934 with a large force by sea and land, and ravaging much of the country.<sup>1</sup> Aethelstan's expedition failed in its object: Constantine continued to intrigue, and by the year 937 a great confederation of Scots, Strathclyde Welsh, and Scandinavian settlers was formed against Aethelstan. Not only did Anlaf Sihtricsson take part in this confederation, but Anlaf Godfreyson from Ireland gave help to the opponents of Aethelstan.

In 937<sup>2</sup> Amhlaeibh, son of Gothfrith, after overthrowing the power of Amhlaeibh of the Scabby Head, leader of the Danes of Lough Ree, forced many of them to return with him to Dublin, and together they left that fortress and went to England,<sup>3</sup> their forces numbering some six hundred and fifteen vessels.<sup>4</sup>

If Florence of Worcester<sup>5</sup> can be relied on, Anlaf Sihtricsson also came to England and sailed up the Humber, but this statement stands unconfirmed by any other authority, and the Humber lies rather far away from any possible rendezvous of Scots, Strathclyde Welsh, and invading Norsemen. It is possible that Florence has here confused Anlaf Godfreysson with Anlaf Sihtricsson, and has placed the landing on the east side of England as a more probable landing place for a prince coming from Scotland than would be one on the west coast. Anlaf Godfreysson would probably land on the west coast in the same way that Sihtric did some fifteen years before.

<sup>1</sup> A.S. Chron., 934. S.D. Hist. Regum, 934.

<sup>2</sup> F.W., 935.

<sup>3</sup> Todd (u.s. p. 281).

<sup>4</sup> Hist. Eccl. Dun., II., 18.

<sup>5</sup> F.W., I., 232.

The actual course of the campaign of Aethelstan against his numerous opponents it is impossible to determine, especially as the site of "Brunanburh," at which the decisive battle of the campaign was fought, is still uncertain.<sup>1</sup> The most probable identification that has as yet been suggested is that the battle was fought at Brunswark or Birrenswark Hill in south-east Dumfriesshire,<sup>2</sup> where the forces of the Scots, Strathclyde Welsh, and Norwegians had united to give battle. The result was a complete victory for the forces of Aethelstan and his brother Edmund, who was fighting by his side. Constantine's son, five kings, and seven jarls were among the slain.<sup>3</sup> William of Malmesbury says that almost the whole host of the allies was killed, except a few who escaped, and were saved by professing Christianity. The Annals of Ulster themselves tell us that many thousands of Norsemen were slain, and that King Amhlaibh escaped with but a few followers.<sup>4</sup>

In the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (MSS. A, B, C, D) we have a poem celebrating this victory, which it calls the greatest victory since the Angles and Saxons first came to Britain from the east. It tells of the alliance

<sup>1</sup> The controversy on this point has recently been renewed in the *Scottish Historical Review*.

<sup>2</sup> Simeon of Durham (Hist. Dun. Eccl.) says that the fight took place at a spot called "Etbrunnanwerc," i.e. æt Brunnanwerc or "Brunnanbyrig" by "Weondune"; Ethelweard gives the name as "Brunandune," and the Pictish Chronicle the same in its later and inverted form "Ðuinbrunde." Egils saga (c. 52) gives the name as "Vinheiði við Vinuskóga," which suggests connection with Weondune. No places which could be identified with "Vinheiði" or "Weondune" have as yet been discovered in the neighbourhood of Birrenswark Hill. The "werc" is still to be seen in the remains of an old Roman camp which stands on the hill or "dun" of Birrenswark.

<sup>3</sup> William of Malmesbury (§ 131) names Constantine himself among those who fell, but this must be a mistake, as the later history of Constantine is known (Pictish Chronicle, u.s.). He also gives the number of jarls as xii. in place of the vii. in the Chronicle, probably owing to the common confusion of v and x.

<sup>4</sup> Ann. Ult., 936.

between Norwegian and Scot, of the coming of Anlaf with his host over the sea and of the mighty slaughter in the battle. It tells also of the hurried return home of Constantine, lamenting the death of his son, and of the headlong flight of the defeated Anlaf to his kingdom in Dublin, and praises the valour of King Aethelstan and the "ætheling" Edmund. England had been freed from its greatest danger since the days of King Alfred and his struggle against Guthrum.<sup>1</sup>

The Chronicle knows of but one Anlaf and tells of his flight to Dublin. This was Anlaf Godfreyson, for we learn from the Irish annals that Amhlaibh, son of Gothfrith, returned to Ireland in 938.<sup>2</sup> The silence both of the Chronicle and of the Irish annals as to Anlaf Sihtricsson would point again to a mistake on the part of Florence of Worcester when he makes that prince be present at the battle of Brunanburh.

The career of Anlaf Godfreyson after his flight from Brunanburh was but a short one. He returned to Ireland in 938 (v. supra), but in 941 he once more invaded Britain. There he ravaged the district of Tynningham in Haddingtonshire, and destroyed the Church of St. Balther, but died shortly after.<sup>3</sup>

The career of Anlaf Sihtricsson had only just begun. In 940 Amhlaeibh, the son of Sitriucc, known under the

<sup>1</sup> The recurrence of a crisis in the fortunes of England in her relation to Scandinavian invaders may perhaps be responsible for the revival of the old story of Alfred and his visit to the camp of Guthrum in the disguise of a harper. It is now told in inverted form (W.M., § 131) of king Anlaf, who pays a visit in disguise to the camp of king Aethelstan. He is recognised by one of Aethelstan's followers, the king changes his quarters, and Anlaf in mistake kills a bishop who has unwittingly occupied them. He almost secures the king, but the alarm is raised and Anlaf takes flight.

<sup>2</sup> Ann. Ult. 937.

<sup>3</sup> S.D. Hist. Regum, 941 (Olilaf vastata ecclesia Sancti Balteri et incensa Tiningham mox periit). That this Olilaf was Anlaf Godfreyson is seen from the fact that Simeon of Durham goes on to speak of Anlaf Sihtricsson as a different person, who about this time was ruling the Northumbrians. For his death year see Ann. Clonmacnoise (934); Ann. Cambriae (942) (Todd, u.s. p. 283); Chron. E (942); Hist. Regum (941).



nickname of "Cuaran," left Ireland and went to York.<sup>1</sup> His arrival took place just after the death of Aethelstan, during the reign of his brother Edmund, and he was chosen king by the Northumbrians. The Chronicle<sup>2</sup> speaks of him as Anlaf of Ireland and tells how the Northumbrians broke their allegiance and chose him as king. Simeon of Durham<sup>3</sup> puts his coming to York in the year 939, probably a year too early. Simeon's narrative would imply that this Anlaf was Anlaf Godfreyson, and so would the story in the tract "*De Primo Saxonum adventu*,"<sup>4</sup> but as the Four Masters state distinctly that it was Anlaf Cwiran (*i.e.*, Anlaf Sihtricsson) who went to York, this must be an instance of the common confusion of the two Anlafs.

From York Anlaf proceeded south to the district of the five boroughs. He besieged Northampton without success, marched to Tamworth, which he destroyed, and then returned eastwards to Leicester. Here he was met by Edmund with his army. The king laid siege to the town and almost had the enemy in his power, when they escaped from the fort under cover of darkness. A peaceful settlement was now made through the good offices of Oda of Canterbury<sup>5</sup> and Wulfstan of York. Wulfstan had at first supported Anlaf, for in the Chronicle we are told that both Anlaf and Wulfstan were besieged in Leicester, but now he united with the semi-Danish Oda to bring about terms between Northmen and English.<sup>6</sup>

Simeon states that a division of the kingdom was now made whereby Edmund took England south of Watling Street and Anlaf the district north of it. This division seems incredible, especially in face of the poem inserted sub anno 942 in the Chronicle (MSS. A, B, C, D). There can be little doubt that the story told

<sup>1</sup> F.W., 938. <sup>2</sup> 941 D. <sup>3</sup> Hist. Regum., §§ 93, 94. <sup>4</sup> S.D. II., 377.

<sup>5</sup> The mention of Oda as Archbishop shows that this event must have taken place after his accession to that office in 942.

<sup>6</sup> S.D. Hist. Regum., II., 93-4.

there of the reconquest of Northern Mercia by Edmund refers to the compact made by him with Anlaf as a result of this campaign, while the next entry in the Chronicle tells of another term of that compact, viz., the baptism of Anlaf. Rather we suppose that Simeon misunderstood the nature of that compact and imagined that it was a reversion to the state of affairs which was established by the peace of Alfred and Guthrum, when Watling Street did, to a large extent, form the boundary between the English and Scandinavian districts. Again, the whole course of the campaign points to Anlaf having been driven out of Northern Mercia after some transient success there, and Edmund would certainly not have retired south of Watling Street after such a campaign.

We must now turn to the poem itself. Its substance is briefly as follows:—

“In this year King Edmund acquired Mercia, south of a line from Dore (S.E. of Sheffield, in North Derbyshire) to Whitwell (N.E. Derbyshire), and thence to the Humber, including the five boroughs—Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford and Derby. Before this the Danes had by force been held subject to the Norwegians, in captivity under the heathen for a long time until they were released by Edmund.”

There can be little doubt that in the phrase “Dene wæron ær under Norðmannum nyde gebegde,” the reading “Dene” in MSS. A, C, D is correct, and not the “Denum” of MS. B. Mr. Plummer<sup>1</sup> says that the phrase “the Danes were subject to the Northmen” is without meaning; it is not so if we take “Northmen” in the sense in which Alfred uses it in the *Orosius*, and in which the Chronicle (sub anno 924) undoubtedly uses it, viz., that of “Norwegians.” Indeed it is the exact term required here, for these Danish boroughs which were in name at least, Christian, had now for some time been subject to attacks from the heathen

<sup>1</sup> II., 143.

Norwegian princes who had from time to time invaded Northern England from their settlements in Ireland. Those who read "Denum" in this passage against the preponderance of MS. evidence, besides numerous other difficulties, have to explain how these Norwegian invaders could be spoken of as Danes; the liberation of the five boroughs from *Danish* rule was due not to Edmund but to Edward the Elder.

The hopes of a southward advance by these Norwegian invaders were now at an end, and peaceable relations were established between Edmund and the Norwegian rulers of Northumbria. The peace was confirmed by the baptism of King Anlaf and a good deal later by the confirmation of King Rægenald. This Rægenald was, according to the Chronicle and other authorities, the son of Guthferth,<sup>1</sup> that is probably of Gothfrith, the father of Anlaf Godfredsson and brother of Sihtric; he would in that case be the cousin of Anlaf Sihtricsson.

The new arrangement was not long lived, for in 943 the Northumbrians drove out Anlaf,<sup>2</sup> and in 944 or 945 Edmund drove out both Anlaf Sihtricsson and Rægenald Godfredsson, taking the whole of Northumbria into his own hands.<sup>3</sup>

Anlaf retired to Ireland, where he is found in 945 at Dublin,<sup>4</sup> and we hear further of his activity in that country in 946 and 947.<sup>5</sup> In the latter year he and his followers in Dublin were routed, and it was probably in consequence of this defeat that he returned to England, where we find mention of his arrival in Northumbria in the chronicle (E) sub anno 949. But before Anlaf returned to England other important events had taken place. On the death of Edmund in 946 his brother Eadred succeeded him, and after traversing Northumbria brought it into submission to himself. In 947 Eadred met Archbishop Wulfstan

<sup>1</sup> A. 944.<sup>2</sup> S. D. Hist. Regum., 943<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 945. A. 944.<sup>4</sup> Ann. Ult. 944.<sup>5</sup> F. M. 944; Ann. Ult. 946.

and the Northumbrian "witan" at Tanshelf, near Pontefract, in Yorkshire. The "witan" pledged their allegiance to Eadred and bound themselves to him by oaths. Nevertheless, within a short time they threw pledges and oaths to the wind and accepted as their king one "Yric," *i.e.*, probably Eric Blood-axe, son of Harold Blue-tooth.<sup>1</sup> In 948 Eadred ravaged Northumbria on account of the perfidy of the Northumbrians, and during the ravaging the minster of St. Wilfrid at Ripon was burned.

On its return southwards the royal army was overtaken by the Danish forces from York and a rearguard action was fought at Castleford,<sup>2</sup> in which many fell. The king was so angry, that he wished to renew the campaign and lay waste the whole district, but when the Northumbrians heard of that they left Eric and made terms with King Eadred.<sup>3</sup>

Just about this time Anlaf Cwiran returned to Northumbria. The exact date is uncertain: E, our only authority at this point, states that it was in 949, but as in 948 it is two years in advance of the true date of Edmund's death, there is probably a similar mistake in this entry, and the true year should perhaps be 947, following more closely on his retirement from Dublin.<sup>4</sup> Anlaf's reign was not a long one, for three years later (in 950 or 952) he was expelled, and Yric, son of Harold, was once more made king in his stead. Yric's

<sup>1</sup> D. 947.

<sup>2</sup> "Ceasterford" in the Chronicle; identified with Castleford by Mr. Stevenson, in the Historical Atlas of Modern Europe.

<sup>3</sup> D. 948. S.D. Hist. Regum places this event in the year 950; it may be that the events recorded in D. 948 extended over more than two years.

<sup>4</sup> Writers in the 12th and 13th centuries were as confused and uncertain about the history of this period as we ourselves. This is well seen in the tract "*De primo Saxonum adventu*," where the ravaging of Northumbria is made the consequence not of Eric's succession, but of Anlaf's return, and the expulsion of Anlaf is the result of this harrying, and not the work of the Northumbrians themselves.

reign was equally short, for in 952 (or 954)<sup>1</sup> he was expelled by the Northumbrians, and Eadred finally took over the rule of Northumbria.

The attempt to establish a Norwegian kingdom in Northumbria had failed, and henceforth that district was directly under the rule of the English king, and earls were appointed in his name.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the earlier date is again the truer one, since S.D. says that in that year the line of Northumbrian kings came to an end and that henceforth Northumbria was ruled by earls.

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# KING FIALAR.

TRANSLATED

By EIRÍKR MAGNÚSSON, M.A.,  
Vice-President and Hon. Life Member.

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AT the meeting on November 18th, Professor I. Gollancz in the chair, Mr. Magnússon read to the Club his translation of "Kung Fialar," an epic in five cantos by the Finnish poet, J. L. Runeberg. The following is a brief summary of the tragic story, the first and fifth cantos of which deal with events within the kingdom of the West-Goths in Sweden ("Gothfolk"); the second, third, and fourth with men and matters within the ancient Ossianic kingdom of Morven in the Western Highlands of Scotland. The King of the Gothfolk is Fialar, a resistless conqueror, an unbeliever, a beneficent, but terribly self-willed tyrant, whose experience in war has taught him that humanity's highest interest is Peace, a policy to which he devotes the latter part of his long reign. He is the father of two children, a son, Hialmar, and a daughter, Gerda. The King of Morven is the aged, blind Morannaí, residing at the capital city of Selma, father of three sons, Gall the hunter, Rurmar of the harp, and Clesamor of the sword, and fosterfather of Oihonna, "Maiden of the Waves" (Gael. Oigh, maiden, tonna, wave).

Ossianic influence is perceptibly present throughout the poem.

## SCENE I.—VOW. DEFIANCE OF THE WILL OF THE GODS.

The story begins with "mighty-hearted" Fialar, surrounded by a number of his warriors holding a great Yule-feast at his hall. The most notable character

among the king's entourage was Siolf, the "year-encumbered slayer of hosts," who, throughout the poem, enjoys the privilege of correcting, reproofing, admonishing Fialar with impunity. At the midnight hour—"the hour of vows"—Fialar, horn in hand, rises to address his men. He describes his brilliant military career, notably a battle with the army of Morven, which took place at a time when most of his listeners were as yet hardly "old enough to hunt down butterflies on flowery meads," a battle which, begun at dawn of day, did not come to an end

Till in the western sky the evening cloud  
Swam pale, and on the sword's abundant harvest  
The crescent moon cast down her glance of peace!

Morven's army was clean swept off the earth, while of Fialar's he himself only and Siolf were still left standing. He went on

Harrying lands that winter never harried.

And fared still farther than the summer fares, ever victorious until hoary age made her first appearance, when he took a wife with whom he had a son, Hialmar, and a daughter, Gerda, both of which, when the story begins,

Play with flowers still on their mother's grave.

But now he is tired of war and the glories thereof, his name

Has tired the lips of bards, the harp possesses  
No fresh tones more for further triumphs left.

He desires quiet and rest; his tempestuous day is at its eve; seas and lands subjected to his sway

Must learn the tidings of my evening's calm.

Old Siolf rises indignant at Fialar's declaration, reminding the King that above the cairn there is no peace in life; Erin was up in revolt against the King, Biarms made red with blood the oceans in defiance of

Fialar's authority; the game of life was ever an exacting one;

Woe for thy strength untimely broken, king!

Fialar, with a proud smile, took from the weapon-decked pillar his bow, and shot from it an arrow which, flying through the endlong hall, struck a shield,

Hit on the opposite wall, while deep behind it  
The arrow quivered in the pine-wood's pith.

So much for the King's untimely broken strength!

Resuming the horn, he declared now in a mighty voice: Peace . . . my will 'tis to protect:

Extended huts and guarded groves and acres  
Of golden ears shall be my triumphs now!

Within my country fenced about shall grow  
What sweet and soft was sown in human breast,  
And weakness blossom safe, while strength, by sparing  
The sword, shall but in mercy take delight.

In my own will I heretofore believed,  
In that same will I still believe; in war  
It ruled the course of death; indomitable  
In peace it shall direct the course of life.

Should violence rear a threatening arm, or vice  
Go safe, should law be broken in my realm,  
Or decent hallowed order be outraged—  
Let Fialar sink forgot, and Fialar's oath!

Well meant as this vow was there was the fatal fault about it that the standing invocation: "So help me Frey and Niord and the Almighty God" (Thór) was omitted. Fialar had, in fact, committed a *crimen laesae majestatis divinae*. No sooner had he resumed his seat than into the hall walks an unbidden guest in the person of Dargar, the Seer, who without ceremony strides straight up to the King. Dwarflike of stature at the door, he grows taller for every step he takes, and stands, to the dismay of the hall company, giantlike at last before the King. He is a "blending" of a human being and a sprite.

Quiet, but unconcerned, Dargar delivers to Fialar a message from the offended eternal Powers to the effect



that though in his oath he had forgotten that *they* dispense the lot of man, yet he will come himself to learn before "the barrow's night holds in her keep his fleeting greatness, how it is even they that play as they please with man's defiant and scornful vows of but a bubble's weight." For though

Author of happy ordered state, he shall  
Behold a day when, stained with guilt, his race  
Is quenched in shame, his only son embracing  
As bride his sister to a fiery breast.

At this terrible message

The hall was hushed; the eye beheld a sight  
Such as is witnessed when a storm of hail  
Has swept along and calm, again returning,  
Sinks chilly down upon a whitened land.

Stunned by the blow, Fialar sat a while silent, "Until, with grief subdued, he raised his voice." He ordered both his children to be brought to him.

"I must behold them both, I mean between them  
To make a choice, for—one of them shall die."

Awaiting the arrival of the children Fialar addresses himself to the dread Seer, bidding him take back an insolent message to the "cloud-gods" whom he is resolved to defy. He dismisses Dargar unhurt—the sanctity of the hour protecting him—but challenges him to present himself in person on the day when "Fialar marks himself for death," before his hand lies on the sword benumbed, "And for thy dark lie thou shalt have thy due!"

With his children on either knee Fialar's father-heart fails to carry out his decision, and amidst distraction he stares vacantly abroad till Siolf, in tears, delivers him out of the dilemma:—

When, king, thou restest with enfeebled arm,  
One day, must Hialmar bear thy sword, and guard  
Thy land, and wake the memory of Fialar  
Afar, where else it might incline to sleep.

Delay no longer then to make thy choice.  
Sheer on the foreshore stands the precipice,  
Beneath it waits the chilly wave in silence,  
There, like a spark, thy daughter's life goes out.

He took away  
The smiling victim from her father's knee;  
The portal opened and the night enfolded  
Soon in her silent gloom the old man's way.

Fialar forbids, under dire penalties, any mention of the dreadful event or even a mere utterance of his daughter's name,

“And of the fate that had befallen his daughter  
None on the wide earth heard a word, a sound.”

SCENE II.—SELMA, THE CAPITAL OF MORVEN.

## WOONG OF OIHONNA.

The city of heroes, Selma, mirrors in the waves of Crona its lofty gleaming towers. The hall, where Fingal throned aforetime, is bright still, and yet there are wandering in it, in dismal mood, the three sons of Morannal, the aged and blind ruler of the land of song.

Gall of the hunt, the oldest of them, betrays a gloomy presence. Rurmar of the harp is wan with grief. Clesamor, lately returned from the wars, broods in silence defiantly.

They send each other only stealthy glances; threats are kindled in their looks; thunders, deeply hidden in their bosoms, await the hour to flash forth in lightning. Wherefore can mirth not thrive in the palace, nor concord in the glowing morning's calm? Why is it, that a brother must frown whenever his looks fall on a brother?

Behold, within the burg there blooms a maiden, with whom each of the brothers is most passionately in love. Whose, then, is she to be, the "Maid of Selma," who shall cull the rose-bud of the groves, whose fate is it to be to breathe the cool fragrance of the breeze wafting about the banks of the streams of Morven?

Fearing the wrath of the spirit of Fingal watching

over the fate of Morven, the brothers agree, at last, rather than to plunge the realm into intestine war, to submit to their father the cause of their quarrel and to let him decide whose wife the "Maid of Selma" is to be, seeing that only one of them can obtain her hand. They further agree to abide by the father's decision without further spite.

Having explained their trouble to their blind father, he remained silent for a while, but at length delivered the reply :—

Free did the ocean give to me Oihonna,  
She saw but freedom on the waves' expanse,  
And unrestrained she has been left to mirror  
Her childhood freely in our tranquil streams.

She, like a breeze, has strayed about the billows;  
Like fragrant air around our smiling shores;  
And she has been to me a very sunbeam  
Amidst the darkness of my waning life.

Free must the Breeze be left to wings uplifted,  
The Fragrance, in the arms of space to soar,  
The Beam, to choose itself the path it follows—  
Oihonna shall not be compelled by me !

He orders them to go in person, each in his turn of age, to Oihonna, and thus to leave the decision of the matter to herself, enjoining them to keep like men to the agreement, not to break the peace whatever the answer be. They obeyed.

There sat by Crona, in a cooling hollow  
The lock-befluttered maiden of the sea.  
And there stood Gall in all his stately presence  
Before the young girl's coyly startled gaze.

Wilt thou, Oihonna, be my life's companion?  
The hunter loves thee, rosy-tinted cloud !  
The Prince of lofty mountain heights entreats thee  
To be a sharer in his paths' delights.

Saw'st thou the joyful sights of airy regions  
High from the mountains in the morning hour?  
Saw'st thou the sunbeams ever reawakened  
Drink up the dewiness of quivering fogs?

Rememberest thou the woodland sounds, when breezes  
Touch, passing, with their wings the trembling leaves,  
When birds are joyful, and intoxicated

The brooklet bounds along between the rocks. . . .

O, maiden, if thou love the dusky evening,  
The twinkling lustre of the pallid stars,  
Then come with me, and from the top of Mallmor  
We'll watch together how the night is born.

O often have I sat upon the mountain,  
When in the west his glittering gate the Sun  
Had shut, and slowly had the glow of evening  
Faded away upon the sombre cloud;

Have drunk the coolness of the evening's breathing,  
Beheld the shadows straying through the vales,  
And round the ocean of the nightly silence  
Have left my thoughts at liberty to roam.

On cloud-high summits life is life of beauty,  
And breathing easy in the fragrant wood;  
Be thou my plighted troth, and I shall open  
Unto thy heart a world of high delight!

Oihonna declares herself delighted with Gall's romantic dominion, but more so with the songs of minstrels and memories of heroes from by-gone days; and as for the pleasures of hunting they were most enjoyable to her when she directed herself her wanderings over the moors of Morven. "Go!" A maiden huntress wants nothing beyond her bow, arrows and quiver.

Rurmar, the sentimentalist, after complaining appealingly of his love-sickness and distressful state of heart, promises that if Oihonna accept his suit, his song shall loudly

Ring out as in the joyful days it rang,  
Shall be again endowed with wings and carry  
The name of Rurmar down the tide of time.

Oihonna's answer was unsympathetic. She bade him pour out his heart's distress to sleepy flowers at eve; she was delighted with song only

When with the clang and clash of striking swords  
The harp resounds, and victories come rushing  
In stormy riot o'er the minstrel's lips.

Go,

Thou, youth of sighing, as no consolation  
For sorrow, such as thine she has to spare.

Then it was the turn of Clesamor, the youngest of the brothers, the haughty prince of battles. He pretended to no eloquence. His victories were never won by words.

Among the shielded hosts on bloody fields,  
His tongue was silent, and to speak the language  
Of death was left unto the sword alone.

Even now, he said, wars were awaiting him, but before going he desired to embrace Oihonna as his bride. But Oihonna excused herself; she had great admiration for his great martial qualities, but she had no love for him beyond a sister's, and how could she be a brother's wife? But she confesses to Clesamor that she has a lover, unknown to her in person, somewhere far away, and that

Most like a cloud from the horizon's bound,  
Or like a stormy blast down from the mountains  
Without a warning thought he will appear."

### SCENE III. THE SAGA OF HIALMAR.

Accompanied by song-skilled Gylnandyne Oihonna has been hunting in Lora's dale along the banks of Crona and has shot a stag; and now is taking rest after a toilsome day. She bids Gylnandyne entertain her with some cheerful song until the moon rises and lights up the moorland pathways. But Gylnandyne mourns a lover who, after he once set his eye on Oihonna, proved a faithless lover and who, when Oihonna had not even a responsive glance to cast at him, took his own life by an arrow stolen from Oihonna's quiver. Oihonna, disliking the sadness of her friend's song, proposes to tell her a fresh tale through which is blowing a breeze from the mountains of the north. This saga she had learnt from contemporary minstrelsy:—

In Lochlin, *i.e.*, Scandinavia, sat in peaceful rule of his realm a once famous conqueror, Fialar, so entirely devoted to the policy of peace, that his sword was rusting in the scabbard and his war-galleys lay stripped

about the shore. He had an only son, young in years as yet who, one day, stepped up before his father with the request :—

Build me a dragon, father, fit me out,  
The paths of thine own youth allure my fancy ;  
My arm is strong, hot boils my blood. Away  
I long out of the sultry dale of home !

Fialar frowns in silence. His son grew warmer :—

Grant my prayer, O father,  
I can no longer tarry fameless here  
And hear thee only in the minstrels' songs.

His father's shield is already light for him, he pleads, his bow he bends like a twig.

The world where thou thy victories hast won  
Is open still, with room for Hialmar's too.

Fialar answers sternly :—

I swore that peace should be protected,  
My day was stormy ; in a world becalmed  
Shall joyful beam my life's declining sun.  
I cherish peace ; go, youth, pay heed to that !  
Behold its face upon my smiling land !

Hialmar grows passionate :—

Who gives thee right to sacrifice thy son  
Unto Oblivion's night, to fate of silence ?  
My life, thy gift, take back ; a deedless life  
I yield thee ; but the boon was worth no more.  
'Tis hard to die forgot without a name,  
But so to live is harder still, O father !  
Look not so dark ! This life I cannot live.  
I can obey, and I obey, and—die !

After a long pause, Fialar vouchsafes an icy reply :—

The ship, thou crav'st, I give thee ; she has been  
Laid up since first I went on viking cruise.  
Her keel is cracked, her bottom grown with grass,  
And through her sides the light of day is streaming.  
Up, take her, fly o'er seas and seek thy name  
'Mong foreign sounds, fore'er forgot of me !

Hialmar runs off to his father's court where idle warriors were engaged at play, and cries :—

Who's here who still loves memories of war?  
Who joins me for the boundless ocean's path  
To play a game thereon with shield and steel?

In his father's words he describes the ship he has got :—

But victories are won by men, not keels,  
And safest is of ways the conqueror's way.

And up went an enthusiastic shout :—

To sea, to war, to victories, abroad!  
And soon from half-sunk craft, on waves defied,  
The crew beheld their dwindling native shore!

Fialar, perfectly furious at his son's presumption to break the King's law of undisturbable peace, gathers round him a weaponed band of warriors to punish the law-breaker, and fits out in haste a war galley in pursuit of Hialmar. He scoured the seas for three days, and on the fourth fell in with a warship of the Biarms, the captain of which thundered out the challenge :—

Prepare for fight, King Fialar        insolently  
Thy son has slain our king and seized his ship;  
Atone his deed, give up thine own, and die!

A fight ensued, and equal fought with equal; yet Fialar's host grew thinner until, surrounded by his bodyguard alone, he fought only for a glorious fall. But then a heretofore unnoticed craft came into view, shaping her course straight for the fighting ships.

The stem was gilt, the sail of purple cloth,  
And from the top the Gothic wimple streamed;

and here was Hialmar commanding the royal galley he had won from the Biarms. He speedily put the Biarm keel out of action and won for his father the victory he had lost when Hialmar arrived. But this did in no way assuage the anger of the offended tyrant :—

Not yet my sword may rest . . . the boldest of the foes  
I still behold here standing unsubdued.

The Biarm was not my enemy . . .

I went 'gainst him who boldly mocked my will  
And made a plaything of the oath I swore. . .

Step forth! thy father calls thee out to fight,  
Unsheath against him now the sword he gave thee,  
Or else, come humbled hither, bend thy knee  
And die with guilt atoned here at his feet.

A murmur of dissent rose, but died away again,  
among Hialmar's followers.

Then laid the victor, Hialmar, sword and shield  
Upon the ship's blood-flooded deck in silence;  
And stepped unweaponed to his father forth  
And fell on knee obeisant at his feet.

Fialar dealt him, what he meant to be his death-blow,  
on the helmet, but failed to split the protection of the  
head. Angrier still he ordered Hialmar to undo his  
helm, and Hialmar did so—

And stood defenceless, and his only guard  
Was frank and smiling calm upon his face.

Lo, now he flinched, the ancient man! His sword,  
For death-blow raised, descended on the victim  
As faint as though it wished to lie at rest  
On his luxuriant ringlets' yellow bed.

From that time forward bold and free the youth  
Proceeds from strand to strand o'er foreign waters.

And in Fialar's hall henceforth minstrelsy is busy only  
with the great achievements of the young hero Hialmar,  
while famous Fialar shines by the absence of his name  
from all historic song celebrating contemporary events.

As Oihonna finished her "saga," a messenger from  
her foster-father, Morannal, made his appearance,  
bidding her return home before the dawn of next day;  
for at the royal residence of Selma King Morannal had  
three times smitten shield, and war-cry was passing  
from lip to lip. But he knew no more. Oihonna,  
"with brightened face," sent the messenger back to  
Morannal with the word: "She sees within his tower  
how dawns to-morrow's morn."



SCENE IV. HIALMAR DECLARES WAR. OUTCAST  
OIHONNA. BATTLE. MORANNAL'S RACE EXTINCT.

Oihonna makes her appearance before her foster-father at the Tower of Shelma at the appointed hour. He is in a sad prophetic mood, instinctively feeling that the day is the last in his life. "What," questions Oihonna, was the reason that she was so urgently wanted? Morannal answers:—

O daughter, war indeed is now upon us !

"Hialmar of the Sagas" was already at Innishonna with Lochlin's host ; thence he had sent the message:—

Arise, thou, monarch of illustrious Morven,  
And call thy people instantly to arms !  
Out of the North a wind is freshly blowing ;  
When on the waters dawns to-morrow's day  
Know, king, a thunder-cloud of sails it carries  
Apace against thy tremor-stricken shore.

Asks Oihonna, "What is the cause that the hero of her dreams threatens so Morannal's realm?" And receives for an answer:—

A treasure  
I own, and unto that he layeth claim ;  
In minstrels' tones the fame of it has sounded  
And lured the passion of the youthful prince,

whose further declaration he begs Oihonna take heed-fully to heart:—

Over waves I sped  
To countries smiling in the sun, and even  
Unto the winter's ice-encumbered homes.  
But wheresoe'er I came was heard resounding  
In song, in Saga-lore, thy daughter's name ;  
Was heard the wailing of rejected lovers,  
The pain of weaklings treated with disdain ;  
Indignant then I made on oath a promise  
To take the scornful girl myself for bride.  
Give heed to due protection for thy daughter,  
For Hialmar's is a wooing by the sword !  
This is his threat !

Morannal then bewails his age and infirmities, and speculates between hope and doubt what account Morven will render of herself, and how far his sons may acquit themselves valiantly in the coming contest. At hearing, as he thinks,

Some sound of clanging steel round Lora's strand,

he bids Oihonna look out and tell him what she sees.

She cast abroad her glance, and in a quiver  
Of sweet delight she scanned the brightened space;  
Against her face before the morning's mirror  
There broke the rosy sheen of sunny day.

I see, O father, how a host is marching  
Down from the mountains at as slow a pace  
As is a cloud's that moves towards the valley  
And hides within it thunderbolts and storm.

And on hearing this Morannal lifts his voice in devout invocation to "the monarch of the Heaven," the Sun, and in prayer for the success of his sons, that they may

Go cheerfully along the path of heroes,  
And trace the steps that Fingal's race had trod—  
All here is evanescence, but eternal  
Remains the fame of mighty deeds alone!

And he winds up by sad reflection on old age which

Is like a flame that dwindles;  
Upon the homestead hearth it flickers faint,  
And burning out is covered up with ashes,  
And then is to forgetfulness consigned!

But presently the scene changes. A thunderstorm of great violence breaks out, which Oihonna describes:—

O, Father, on the northernmost horizon  
Night now ascends the firmament again.  
The beam of day is quivering with terror,  
And is in flight upon the billows' crests . . .  
steely grey  
Stands out Garmallas needle and is shaking  
The lather of the breakers from its crown . . .

Against the black cloud only, far away,  
 There breaks at times what seems a shooting glimmer,  
 A flash reflected by a seagull's wing .

And now Morannal, for the first time in his life, takes the opportunity, reminded by the storm, of telling Oihonna how she ever came to be his fosterling.

There was an infamous robber, named Darg, who, prowling about the seas, was, wheresoever he came, outside the law of civilised humanity. He was discovered infesting Morvenian waters, and King Morannal himself took command of war-galley to punish the hated adventurer. In the pursuit a lightning set fire to Darg's ship, from which he with a tender maiden child on his arm had to jump into the "waves' yawning grave," with the result that the humane Morannal saved both on board his own ship. Here, overcome with exhaustion, the robber speaks:—

One prayer, however, I desire to utter  
 For her who grieves alone on earth my fall.

It is not mine the blood that thou beholdest  
 Within her cheeks. The guilt of his own life  
 The outlawed, persecuted evil-doer  
 Has left for heritage to none on earth.

She was, one stormy Yule-eve, given to me  
 By night-veiled sea, when, in the shelter dread  
 Of Vidar's head-land, I had gone to anchor  
 Hard at the foot of Fialar's kingly burg.

After thus informing Oihonna of the secret surrounding her babyhood, Morannal's attention is drawn to the sounds from the battle just commencing on the strand beneath the windows of his tower in Selma. Having raged for a while the crash of encountering steel weapons dies down into a lull, and Morannal is anxious to know the cause. Oihonna answers:—

Father, now thou must rejoice,  
 Anon, anon will Hialmar of the Sagas  
 Be but a bloodless shade upon the clouds.

He's yielding, and his helm is split in sunder,  
 He is beset by all thy sons, O king!  
 He fights alone; and at the princes' contest  
 A blank amazement reigneth over all. . . .

In wrath he smote the shield he bore in youth ;

Turned gloomy then the face of Morven's ruler,  
He raised his voice, and sternly he commanded  
An instant truce throughout the stricken field.  
"What," he exclaimed, "must with disgrace be covered  
Morannal's hoary head?"

"And must the song in praise of Fingal's kindred  
Flee past the evening of my life in fright,  
Lest it should run the risk of your dishonour  
Tainting the beaming splendour of its wings;

"And lest in Lochlin's country-sides the Saga,  
When telling of the noble Hialmar's fall,  
Should scornfully record how, single-handed  
In fight with you, all three of you, he fell."

Morannal commands his sons to fight Hialmar singly in turn and leave the fortune of their weapons to the arbitrament of Fate. Obedient to the father's behest they sink, one after the other, beneath Hialmar's blows. And as Oihonna breaks the news to the aged father he pours from a broken heart his death-song, glorying in the prospect of being able without shame to meet the spirits of his ancestors within the azure palace of the stars.

And gently fell his head of hoary whiteness  
Upon his shoulder, and his eye was closed ;  
And the illumined spirit of the monarch  
Flew happy to the mansions of the clouds.

SCENE V. FIALAR'S DISILLUSION. OIHONNA'S AND  
HIALMAR'S HONOUR. ATONEMENT.

Fialar, now exceeding aged, is assisted by his men-at-arms up to the top of Mount Telmar, on a bright, sunny day, that he may have a last glance at his happy, prosperous land, that

Lay at his feet in festal robes arrayed ;  
And with a face, sweet as a grateful daughter's,  
It raised its looks towards its hoary sire.  
O'er balmy dales the sun was shining brightly,  
And o'er a wide expanse of glassy lakes.  
'Twixt hillocks blue meandering waters shimmered,  
And harvest waved by harvest on the fields.

The sight moved Fialar to tears, and in selfish pride he took to himself alone the credit for the enchanting sight unfolded to his gaze by bounteous nature.

For his boastfulness he is taken to task by Siolf :—

Before high gods, O king, abase thy spirit !  
Thy very greatness was a gift from them ;  
For Frey it was, that clothed the field in verdure.  
All-father fenced thy country's peace alone.

'Twas Thor's, the vigour that of yore thou thoughtest  
Was thine, when mighty thou stood'st forth in fight ;  
What by thyself thou could'st do, was—forgotten  
To fall, as falls a tree in trackless wood.

Fialar, after pondering a while, answers more sternly defiant than ever :—

“ I've heard of powers that no man e'er set eyes on,  
In dreamt-of phantoms I am bid to trust.  
Unwont am I to put my faith in others,  
In my own bosom I have found my stay.  
Thus men I swayed, and snatched the very rudder  
Of Fate from gods who threatened me in vain.”

It was nothing to make much ado about that Fialar grew older, his shoulder heavier, his locks more white ; that was the ordinary course of things. He then reverts to his intention of committing that act of self-immolation to Odinn which he had long contemplated. He

Let fall upon the rock his royal mantle,  
And to the day laid bare his scarry breast.

But having unsheathed his sword he recalls the tryst arranged between him and Dargar, the Seer, at that unlooked-for visit of the latter to Fialar's hall many a year ago.

“ Had he, indeed, the wisdom he professes,  
He now would know the hour and keep his tryst ;  
He's pledged to stand before my sword, ere mightless  
Th' avenger's lightning rests in withered hand.”

And at the word a ghostly figure was seen slowly gliding along the valley and mounting the slope and

making its way up to the spot where Fialar was seated. The King was struck with wonder; his hand and sword sank to the ground. Dargar, coolly confident, addresses the King:—"Commanded by thee to come, here thou beholdest me!"

"A long time thou, O king, hast left me waiting;  
Since former years thy frailty has advanced.  
Hast thou succeeded in thy work's fulfilment,  
And is the oath thou sworest still maintained?  
Hast thou laid out for life the path it follows,  
Turned gods and godly counsels into clouds?"

King Fialar, with a forced laugh, asks: "But on what breeze was born unto thine ear my challenge, the very moment it had passed my lips?" But without awaiting a reply, he continues: "Still thou hast come, that is enough. An answer unto thy question in return I give."

And in a long, self-praising address, he bids Dargar observe all the wonderful blessings which his reign of Peace has conferred upon his happy realm. The powers of the sword are substituted by those of law and order; where force was victor, law is victor now. Chaste manners are cultivated, mercy practiced, peaceful labour honoured.

"But more: the threat, that from thy gods thou borest,  
Has vanished into nothing, e'en as smoke.  
My son enclasps no sister in his bosom,  
Upon my head is weighing no disgrace.

The azure deep conceals my only daughter,  
But over regions of subjected waves  
His father's pride, the spotless, song-exalted  
Hialmar from triumph unto triumph speeds."

"But one more vow still unfulfilled remaineth .  
Come hither, Durgar, and atone thine outrage:  
To expiate thy lie I crave thy blood."

The ancient Seer, confessing to a sense of weariness of life, prays the King to stay execution of his threat for but one hour:—

"That hour I crave for thine own sake, O king.  
Delay revenge till one more witness cometh

Thy final triumph's splendour to enhance;  
Delay, till Hialmar comes, his father's honour,  
Not long to wait, he is not far away ! ”

Therewith Dargar lifted calmly up his hand, pointing to the main.

“ And Fialar's men broke out in stormy shouting :  
‘ Lo Gothfolk's drakes with Hialmar heave in sight ! ’ ”

Amidst the general rejoicing of his men King Fialar looked gloomy ;

“ And thoughtful, dark and hushed he viewed the ships.”

But mustering what courage he could, King Fialar turns again to Dargar, saying :—

“ Thou spak'st of Hialmar. Well, then, his arrival  
Shall serve my triumphs splendour to enhance.  
With Sun and Sea and Earth to bear the witness  
Here shall he stand and judge between us twain.”

This was no sooner said than Hialmar appeared in person, not weapon-decked, and beaming with youth and health and happiness, but with uncovered head without a shield,

The pallor of his face was like the moonshine  
In cloudless winter night upon the snow.  
He looked as weird as from the grave some spectre,  
And in his hand he bore a bloody sword.

In broken voice Fialar bade his son welcome. He would fain have seen him looking differently ; but no matter what his news were, he was delighted to see him. He feared that he must be suffering from serious wounds

“ That drain the fountains of thy vigour,  
Since quivering shows thy lip and white thy cheek.”

Hialmar, labouring under intense grief, confesses that though he had been hurt by no weapon,

“ Yet deeply wounded bleeds my heart to death.”

He would fain, he continued, hide his face from the light of day ; he recoiled from looking his father in the

face, and yet he yearned to confess to him his guilt; and to that yearning it was due that still he bore life and was breathing yet. He tells his father briefly his life-story; how his progress had been one of constant victories; how he had dethroned kings and enthroned others; how through the loud praises by contemporary minstrelsy and Saga-tellers of the beauty and highmindedness of the daughter of Morannal, the blind King of Morven, he had fallen in love with her and waged war for her with Morven's host; how he had overcome in fight the three sons of Morannal, taken on board the King's daughter Oihonna and celebrated marriage with her on foam-covered sea. He gives a glowing description of his rapturous happiness, and then turns to the unforeseen tragedy of his life:—

But woe was near at hand. I took the rudder,  
One night, and sat behind it sunk in dreams;  
None kept the watch save, by my side, Oihonna,  
One lonely star looked on us from on high.

“My wedded bride then took my hand:—O Hialmar,  
Why art thou ever dearer to my soul?  
Early indeed thou wast Oihonna's hero,  
Ere she beheld thy glances she was thine.

“Why is my love no longer self-consistent!  
Because I then had courage to conceal  
What unto thee I dreaded to discover,  
Lest thou shouldst scorn me with indignant pride.

“I was so happy then, and more than Hialmar  
Was unto me my own delight as yet.  
Morannal I was proud to call my father,  
As king-begotten I became thy bride.

“In vain I now should try to hide in silence  
What then I was too timid to unfold.  
All things I could endure and all things suffer,  
But thee, O Hialmar, I cannot deceive.

Put me away, reject me! Know, my father  
Was not Morannal, not a king, I ween;  
This blood that now within my heart is seething  
Was once, perchance, that of a common slave.

“Against thy homeland's shore, close to the castle,  
Where thou in kingly splendour wilt reside,  
'Neath Vidar's crag I, on a stormy Yule-night,  
Was snatched up from the waves, an outcast child.”



This story left the identity of Oihonna with Gerda, Fialar's daughter, beyond all doubt. The sequence of the dreadful discovery Hialmar indicates with masterly brevity :—

“ Nay, blanch thou not, my father,  
Her blood upon my sword thou here behold'st.  
My ocean-bride, Oihonna, Maid of Morven,  
Was thine own daughter, was my sister, king !

“ She wished to die ; to die for me. I bring thee  
Her greeting.'—He was silent. But his steel,  
Like lightning, hid itself within his bosom,  
And on the rock he sank to rest in death.”

Fialar sits a long while, incapable of movement or speech. But at length he pours out his repentant soul in a sincere confession of conversion to a firm belief in the all-victorious power of the Eternal gods ; winding up with the sigh of relief—“ To you I go ! ”

“ And with his sword he calmly  
Cut runes into his breast of many scars.  
Rushed from the deep the fountains of his bosom,  
And warm with Hialmar's mixed the Father's blood.  
Upon the North lay bright the summer evening,  
And calm was settled over land and sea.  
Beyond the wood the sun concealed his radiance  
And like the day King FIALAR'S life went out ! ”

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## ODAL ORKNEY.

By J. STORER CLOUSTON, B.A.

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THE scope of this paper may be defined as an attempt to discover from reliable evidence—and reliable evidence alone—what actually were the social conditions and the political framework of Orkney in Norse times. Stress is laid on the reliability of the evidence because there already exist several picturesque accounts of this vanished society, sound enough in many particulars, but written unfortunately before the modern spirit of critical inquiry had permeated as far as the local antiquary. The most vivid, best written, and most often quoted of these accounts is that given by Balfour in his introduction to the *Oppressions of Orkney and Shetland*. The salient features are (in his own words) these:—

“ The Althing was the simple prototype of a modern Parliament, but the assembly was primary and not representative ; and the Estates met and voted together as in one chamber. . . . The Odallers and Odal-born were the Commons of Orkney and Zetland. . . who constituted the numerical strength of the Althing. There is no class in Europe exactly analagous to this—the Odals-maðr, Bondi, or *Peasant Noble* of Orkney and of Norway. He was a Peasant, for he tilled his own land, and claimed no distinction above his free neighbours ; but he was also noble, for there was no hereditary order superior to his own. . . . The King might wed the Odaller's daughter or match his own daughter to the Odal-born without disparagement. . . . The Jarl might be deemed less free and therefore less noble, for he owed something to the grace of a human superior. The Bondi in his Odal was *sui juris* and in the one-chambered Parliament of the Althing had a vote and voice as potential as King or Jarl. . . . ”

In this account two peculiar characteristics are conspicuous : The democratic equality of all landowners—the “ peasant-nobles,” as our author calls them—an equality alike of birth, rank, and influence ; and the

primary nature of their governing and judicial assemblies. In modern language, every voter was a member. This description, it may be said at once, is so at variance with the known facts that (in spite of its picturesqueness) we must unfortunately dismiss it altogether and make a fresh start. It is quoted in order to illustrate fairly what is the still current theory, and to justify this present inquiry.

At the outset of our inquiry there is this word of caution to be remembered; that the Norse period covered probably much more than seven centuries, and that naturally the conditions existing at the beginning were not exactly those existing at the end. At the same time, the direct evidence is so scanty that one must risk an occasional inference as to what probably existed, say in the 13th century, from a fact gleaned from the 15th.

The line of argument I shall follow is this: first to see what the conditions actually were in the mother country of Norway; then, with a glance at Iceland by the way to check one's inferences, to consult Orkney records (documentary records, not the statements of antiquaries) and see how far the facts bear out the reasonable expectation that that part of the Norse dominion should resemble the rest.

*Early Norway.* Beginning with ancient Norway before it was reorganised by Harald Harfager and his successors, I cannot do better than summarise the account given by Professor Taranger,<sup>1</sup> an account which in turn condenses the results of Scandinavian scholarship. At that early date the people of Norway were divided into three classes: the free, the half-free, and the thralls, of which only the first class counted politically. This free class, again, fell into two divisions, the nobles and the free-born bonder; the free-bonder forming the general mass of the landowners. As for the nobles, they had at that time, says Professor

<sup>1</sup> Udsight over Den Norske Rets Historie.

Taranger, no particular class privileges, but consisted of the actually ruling families, who, on account of their power, wealth, and valour, compelled greater consideration, and out of whom arose the kings, princes, and priests. We thus find at the very outset that our "peasant-nobles" are divisible into peasants *and* nobles, and one might just as well talk of bread and jam as a homogeneous compound. The chief members of the noble or chieftain class—the titled aristocracy, as it were—were the petty kings or jarls who ruled the small kingdoms into which Norway was then divided, and the *hersir* or hereditary lords of the various districts of which these kingdoms were composed. As for the *things* or moots, they appear at this date to have been primary, in the sense that all the landowners attended them, though it would also appear that their rulers took the initiative in legislation. But on these points the evidence is scant and the historian cautious.

*Saga-Time Norway.* This then was the condition of the first settlers in Orkney and Shetland. But in the 9th century they were subjugated by Harfager, placed under one of his earls, and became a part of the reorganised Norse dominion. What now were the features of this new consolidated Norway? Still following Prof. Taranger's summary, we find the following changes made by King Harald and his son Hakon the Good. Each of the twenty-five chief divisions of Norway was placed under an earl, and under each earl were at the least four *hersir*—or lendemen, as they now came to be called, a title finally changed into that of baron. These were semi-feudal nobles, obeyed and respected by the bonder as the descendants of their old hereditary chieftains, and bearing to the king the relation of crown vassals. In addition to their odal inheritances, they held from him grants of crown land on condition of military service, and they were referred to as the king's "umbothmen"; that is, men who held the king's commission. They seem, in fact,

to have had some of the characteristics both of Highland chiefs and feudal barons, though in both directions their authority was (in earlier days at any rate) limited by the power and independence of the bonder class below them. This bonder class was divided into two: haulds and free-born bonder; while below these again came freedmen's sons, and finally freedmen; each class being conveniently distinguished by the fine one paid for killing a member of it, and the division of the churchyard in which the body was interred. Finally, holding a position between the lenders and the bonder, but not apparently forming a distinct class in themselves, stood the king's other umbothmen; his sysselmen and aarmen, officials corresponding more or less to sheriffs and stewards of the crown revenues. Surely we are here at the very opposite pole from democratic equality.

*The Norwegian Lawthing.* A still more important change was made in the substitution of the *Lagtings* or Lawthings for the old primary folk things. Regarding these, Professor Taranger says: "The organisation of the Lawthings was a landmark in constitutional history. It was in fact based on the representative principle and the payment of members. The representatives were called 'named-men,' because they were named or nominated each for his district, and the number from every district was prescribed by law; as was also the amount of their allowance, which varied according to the length of journey they had to make, and was paid by the commons in provisions and money. The delegates were nominated by the king's umbothmen, but they represented the people. The king was represented by his umbothmen (lenders and aarmen), and the church by bishops and priests." Once the Lawthing was assembled, there was then chosen out of it (again by the king's umbothmen) a smaller selection, who formed the really vital part of the assembly—the High Court of Justice and the tribunal which

interpreted and amended the laws. This selection was called *Lögrétta*, and its members the *lögréttumenn*. They, again, were apportioned so many from each district.

*Iceland.* Such was the Norwegian model, and we should naturally expect to find its essential features reproduced in the Norwegian dependencies of Orkney and Shetland, even though the details might be modified. But before proceeding to examine the earldom records, it is well to take the precaution of glancing for a moment at Iceland, where we can see the Norwegian settlers working out their own destiny and providing themselves with a constitution after the tradition of their forefathers. The analogy is valuable, for although Orkney and Shetland were, unlike Iceland, part of the Norse dominion, they were settled under similar circumstances and must have contained among their early population the same predominance of refugee chieftains. In Iceland, as is well known, the country was divided into a number of jurisdictions called *goðorðs*, ruled by hereditary chieftains or *goðar*. The Althing—the Icelandic equivalent of the Lawthings—was attended, it is true, by all the bonder of the *goðorðs*, but their presence seems to have been chiefly useful in providing their liege-lord with a convincing argument for treating his decisions with respect. The actual parliament and courts of justice were composed entirely of the *goðar* and their nominees; they were, in fact, purely aristocratic assemblies, undiluted by the large infusion of bonder delegates found in Norway. Doubtless this was the result of the fact that (speaking generally) it was the chieftains who fled from the conquering Harfager and the bonder who stayed at home.

*Orkney Social Classes.* In the *Orkneyinga Saga*, which covers the history of the islands down to the early part of the 13th century, we have abundant proof that during this period the aristocratic element was not only strong but dominant. Each man who makes any figure

in the Saga—Havard Gunnarson, Swein of Gairsay, Sigurd of Westness, and the rest—is described as well-born or noble; and in one conclusive passage we have the distinction specifically drawn between the rikismen, or nobles, and the bonder or yeomen.<sup>1</sup> There is no mention of lendermen, except once in a priest-written life of St. Magnus—of no great value as evidence; but we find a distinctive word "*gæðingar*," frequently used of the greater chieftains. It means generically noblemen, but its peculiar use in Orkney led so distinguished a scholar as Vigfusson to conclude that it was the equivalent of lendermen or barons. That this was the case is strongly borne out by the fact that whenever this phrase is used it is in connection with the earls: "the earl summoned *his* *Gæðingar*," "so and so were *Gæðingar* of the earl." We have no positive proof, but it seems pretty certain that these *Gæðingar* were semi-feudal vassals of the earl, just as the lendermen were of the king. With regard to the bonder, there seems to have been no division into haulds and free-born bonder; while as for lawthings the Saga is a blank on the subject; so that we are forced to depend on much later evidence.

After the close of the saga period, the curtain descends upon the stage of Orkney history. For 150 years we know nothing, and even then the curtain only lifts at long intervals for brief and tantalising glimpses. Still, we are able to get consistent and recurring testimony to one thing, and that is the continued existence of an aristocratic governing class; even though the individual members of it were steadily diminishing in importance owing to the odal laws, which gave all the children shares in their father's property. As the Orkney noble's pedigree grew longer his acres grew fewer, till in the course of centuries he had become a very different person from Swein of Gairsay with his

<sup>1</sup> "en flestir rikis-menn, ok sva bændr," *Icelandic Sagas*, Vol. I. Rolls Edition, ch. 77.

eighty retainers and his power of making and unmaking earls. At the same time he maintained the same proportional relation to the bonder, since their farms were likewise sub-divided. Meanwhile, the estates of the church and earl expanded and expanded till they covered probably more than half of Orkney, awaiting the hour when they were to be feued out to immigrant Scotchmen who should thereby become in their turn the island magnates.

*Later Glimpses.* The first of the brief glimpses is an agreement drawn up at Kirkwall in the year 1369, between the Bishop of Orkney and Hakon Jonsson, the Norwegian Governor. Among a series of alternate concessions by either party, occurs this clause: "It was also ordained and agreed that the lord bishop and the noblest, or mightiest (*rikest*) men in Orkney and Shetland shall be first and foremost in every council (*ráð*) henceforth, as regards the king, the church, and the people, according to the laws and customs of the land." From this it is clear that in the said councils were two not always harmonious elements, the Norwegian officials, and the local nobility headed by the bishop; that "home rule" was secured by the predominance of the latter element; that the Church had astutely identified itself with the native interests; and that the bonder, as distinguished from the *rikest* men, had no direct finger in the government pie.

Another glimpse is afforded by the complaint of Orkney in 1426, wherein it is stated that twenty-four *goðamen* (nobles or magnates) were prepared to accompany Menzies of Weem to Norway and testify against his misrule. Thus we again find this class forming the natural representatives of the Orkneymen; and we may further conclude that if twenty-four of them could be spared they must at this time have been fairly numerous. The odal laws, in fact, were doing their work of making two chieftains sprout where one had grown before: each, unfortunately, half the original



size. Still, in the Diploma of 1446, the words "*proceres*" and "*nobiles*" make an imposing show on paper, and have since given rise to several plausible speculations on the part of writers misled by the "peasant-noble" legend and naturally somewhat puzzled as to the reasons which caused the learned Latinist, who wrote the Diploma, to differentiate between those suppositious rustic patricians and the "*populus ac communitas*." In point of sober fact, the mere use of the phrases by the learned cleric in question is sufficient in itself, when the point is deliberately considered, to explode the legend.

*The Orkney Laws.* We now come to the actual and proveable constitution of the Orkney Lawthing, so far as we have the facts to go upon. The evidence is confined to the beginning of the 16th century, when the Lawthing had probably ceased to do much legislative business and become practically the High Court of Justice in the islands. Still, the old laws remained in force, and though in all likelihood there had been minor alterations, there is no indication throughout the previous centuries of any revolutionary constitutional change.

In the first place we are confronted by the question, what were the old laws? That they were essentially the same as those of Norway is clear from recorded legal points decided in the Orkney courts. But that they differed in some particulars is proved by at least two statements in the Orkneyinga Saga. (a) "Then he (Earl Hakon) set up in the Orkneys new laws, which pleased the bonder much better than those that had been before." (b) "Kol gave him that advice that the earl (Rognvald) should bring in a law." Differences in the form of the administrative courts we actually do find, and we are justified in accepting them frankly as local characteristics, rather than trying to twist the evidence so as to fit the letter of the Norwegian code.

In the second place, we must be careful not to assume

rashly that Orkney and Shetland were precisely alike. Shetland was administered directly from Norway for nearly 200 years (1195 to 1379); the titles of the officials differed—we find no mention of Fouds and hardly any of Lawrikmen in Orkney, and none of Roithmen in Shetland; and finally, while the Orkney Lawthing was able to pronounce “final dome,” cases could be appealed from Shetland to Bergen.

*The Shetland Lawthing.* Of this the following description is given in the *Complaints* of 1576. “This Lawting is the principall court haldin in the cuntrie in the haille zeir, to the quhilk all men aucht to cum, bath Mayneland and Yles, that hes land and heritage or grit takkis of the king”; and it is further stated that a fine was inflicted upon all who were absent. Again, further on in the same *Complaints*, there is reference to “ane lawting and comown assemblie of the haille cuntrie.” This is not the Lawthing of delegates known to Norway. It rather reminds one of the local Norwegian *things*, at which attendance was compulsory upon all the landowners of the district, and in connection with which a “wapenshaw” was held. Possibly during the period of direct Norwegian administration the Shetland Lawthing was subject to the same regulations as these.

But, just as in the Norwegian Lawthings, the essential feature was the Lögrétta. We learn from the *Complaints* that a Lawrik man (lögréttu-man) “was ane necessar officiar in everie severale Yle and parochie of the cuntrie, chosin with the commoun consent and electioun of the Fowde and Commownis.” By 1576 he had become primarily a local official in his own district, yet his very name makes it certain that his original function was that of member of the lögrétta; while his distribution makes it equally clear that he was a representative delegate.

*The Orkney Lawthing.* There is no direct evidence whether or not the attendance of all landowners was

compulsory in Orkney. No mention is made of the ingenious Lord Robert Stewart taking advantage of the fines on absentees to increase his revenue, as did Lawrence Bruce in Shetland; there is no reference anywhere to such a general gathering; and the analogy with the minor Norwegian *things* would not hold good in this case. There is also this curious distinction, that "forcop" is found among the burdens on Orkney land, but not on Shetland land. "Forcop" is simply a corruption of the Norse and Icelandic *Þingfararkauþ*, the tax levied on the bonder for the payment of delegates' expenses when they went to the Lawthing or Althing.<sup>1</sup> Its absence in Shetland seems to emphasise the general and compulsory attendance there; its presence in Orkney would seem to indicate a different system. But that is all one can say. The court we read of in documents as the Lawthing was, strictly speaking, the lögrétta of the Lawthing, and it is on the constitution of this that the ensuing evidence bears. Yet since there is no proof of the existence of any more popular and general assembly, much less of what it consisted, it will be more convenient to use the familiar word Lawthing throughout.

Our evidence consists of three "Domes," dempt in the years 1509, 1514, and 1516, together with a brief quotation from a dome of 1510. Strictly speaking, the first of these is not a dome dempt at the actual Lawthing. It is described as "ane ogane and dome dempt at Saba and Toab;" but the constitution of the court and the proceedings generally are so exactly similar, that we are not only able to apply the deed to our particular case, but also to deduce the conclusion that though only one special court held at Kirkwall during the month of June was officially styled the Lawthing, others of a pre-

<sup>1</sup> The statement by some authors that "forcop" went to pay the Lawman's salary has neither evidence nor analogy to support it. The first syllable in itself is sufficient to confute it, since *farar* means "the men who fare" (to the thing).

cisely similar nature were held at other seasons and places. I do not mean by these the minor and purely local courts—the bailie courts, as they came to be called—but a kind of alternative head court, instituted doubtless to meet the inconvenience of waiting till the annual Lawthing came round.

The chief features of the Lawthing, then, were these. The court consisted of a variable number of “Roithmen”—a corruption of the Norse *ráðmenn*, or councillors. The term “lawrikman” is only met with twice in Orkney records.<sup>1</sup> From their functions, these roithmen were clearly the same officials under a different name, though why that designation should have been used instead, we can but guess. Possibly it was a relic of the days when the earl and his councillors formed the island executive; or it may conceivably have been an imitation of the nomenclature in the Bergen court which disposed of Shetland appeals (see O.L. Records, Nos. 33 and 41), and which was composed of the Gulathing Lawman and the *ráðmen* of Bergen. Generally the Roithmen were presided over by the Lawman, but this was not inevitably the case, for in the 1516 decree he is absent. They are variously styled “the worthiest and best of the land, goderytt landed men and Roithmen” (1509)—“XIV. of the worthiest” (1510)—“ane certane of famous, discreet, and unsuspected persons, of Roithmen and Roithmen’s sons” (1514), and “ane certane of worthy persons” (1516). Their number, as I say, varied. In 1509 there were 17 names “with others divers”; in 1514, 13 altogether; in 1516, 20 names “with others divers”; and in 1510, 14 altogether. The reason of this variation may perhaps be discovered by an investigation of the old Norwegian law codes; or perhaps it was a

<sup>1</sup> Three lawrikmen (see Appendix B) append their seals to the Diploma in 1446, and Robert Isbister, lawrikman, is found in a Stenness baillie court decree of 1576.

local peculiarity. In default of any evidence, I can only offer the guess that the suitors may have had the right of challenging such Roithmen as they thought might be partial, and that it was exercised to a varying extent. A careful study of the families whose members are found upon the Lawthing, shows that these three chance decrees<sup>1</sup> include almost all those families known to have been of good standing at the time; there are moreover no more than two or three names in the whole collection, regarding which there are not good grounds for the presumption that they were people of some position; only two or three, in fact, of whom one simply knows nothing.

The phrase "Roithmen and Roithmen's sons" applied to the members of the Lawthing in 1514, is notable. On the face of it, it suggests that they were a hereditary body—a kind of House of Lords; but this would imply a very wide divergence from the Norwegian model. Possibly it was used as a guarantee that only the best native talent was employed; no mere "ferry-loupers," but men well able to adjudicate on the nicer points of odal law. At the same time, whatever the explanation, we can hardly escape from the conclusion that at this period the Orkney Lawthing was a deliberately undemocratic body. It may have been so always:—it is inherently likely enough that the Icelandic Althing is a nearer analogy than the Norwegian Lawthings; but in any event the odds are long that only families originally well endowed with land, and with an heiress-marrying tradition, can have stood the strain of centuries of odal sub-division, and that by the 16th century the bonder class were in too poor a way to contribute legislators.

But a study of the names gives considerably further information than this. The native surnames on these lists were almost all taken from known landed estates, while most of the Scotch families can be specifically

<sup>1</sup> No names are mentioned in 1510.

identified with certain properties, so that in all but a very few cases one is able to tell the district from which a Roithman hailed. The result of this examination is to leave no reasonable doubt that they were delegates sent from the various parishes and islands up to the Lawthing at Kirkwall, or wherever else the High Court was held. On each occasion they come from all over Orkney—hardly a parish is unrepresented, and in only one instance are there more than two representatives of any one district. In fact, two is exceptional; generally it is one per parish; and I am even inclined to think that in cases where there is more than one name associated with a district, the extra man was probably delegate from some other district in which he also held property. This is supported by the fact that we find no names associated with certain parishes and islands where the land was almost wholly bishopric or earldom, and where there were no local landowners of importance; and yet these surely must have been represented on the Lawthing by someone.

These are the chief facts concerning Odal Orkney so far as I have been able to collect them, and from them it has been the endeavour of this paper to draw a few reasonable inferences. The very facts in themselves—every fact found in Saga, or statute, or document—lead us at least to one inevitable conclusion: that the “peasant-noble” and his primeval assemblies must henceforth be relegated to the realm of romance.

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*Appendixes illustrating the Constitution of the  
Orkney Lawthing.*

A.

The following Table shows the districts of Orkney in which the various Roithmen are known to have held property. In almost every case it was either their chief property or the only landed estate with which they can be identified. The

exceptions are entered under each parish with which they were connected, and a question-mark put against the name. It must be remembered:—(a) that in the 1509 and 1516 decrees there were a few names not recorded in the documents; (b) that almost certainly each court did not consist of all the available Roithmen, but only of a certain proportion; (c) that certain districts are entirely unrepresented in this Table, and certain others unrepresented in one or other of the decrees, and that their Roithmen may reasonably be expected to be either among the unrecorded or unidentified names, or among the plural representatives of other districts (*e.g.*, St. Andrews in 1516).

	1509.	1514.	1516.
<b>Burray</b> .	Robert Yorston .	. . . .	Robert Yorston
<b>Deerness</b> .	Thomas Hallay .	Magnus Aitken? . .	Andrew or Peter Paplay?
<b>Firth</b> .	{ William Heddle . Kolbein Grimbister	Andrew Scarth . . . .	Adam Sclater
<b>Harray</b>	John Flett of Harray	{ John Flett of Harray Magnus Aitken? . . .	
<b>Holm and Paplay</b> (Two districts)	John Garrioch of Holm	. . . .	{ John Sinclair of Air Andrew or Peter Paplay?
<b>North Isles</b> (various parishes and islands)		{ Henry Craigie . . . Thomas Craigie . . . Nicol Craigie	{ Thomas Craigie Thomas Mure William Fotheringham
<b>Orphir</b>	Piers Louttit	Piers Louttit . . .	Andrew Hall
<b>Rendall</b>	John Rendall	. . . .	James Rendall
<b>St. Andrews</b> .	John Yenstay .	Henry Foubister	{ Henry Foubister John Yenstay Olay Yenstay Alexander Fraser
<b>Sandwick</b> (Two districts, North and South) .	{ Thomas Sinclair of Tenston John Norn?	{ Andrew Linklater Alexander Housgarth . . . .	{ Andrew Linklater, Yr. John Norn?
<b>South Ronaldsay</b> (Two parishes)	{ Andrew Halcro . Magnus Cromarty	{ Magnus Cawra (probably Cromarty of Cara) . John Berstane	Magnus Cromarty
<b>Stenness</b> .	Richard Ireland	William Clouston .	David Louttit?
<b>Stromness</b> .	{ Alexander Sinclair of Stromness John Norn?		John Norn?
Cannot be identified .	{ Thomas Adamson Andrew Reid		{ John Adamson Peter Brandeson

The decree of 1509 is printed in the *Scottish Journal*, April 22nd, 1848 and *Orkney and Shetland Records*, January, 1911; that of 1514 in *Mackenzie's Grievances*, *Hibbert's Shetland*, and *Orkney and Shetland Records*, January, 1911, and reproduced in facsimile in *Scottish Historical MSS.*; and that of 1516 is printed in Vol. V. of the *Spalding Miscellany*.



## B.

To illustrate the representative nature of the names in the foregoing decrees and the standing of the families to which they belong, the following lists are added. They contain all the surnames mentioned in the other recorded gatherings of representative Orkneymen during the Norse and early Scotch periods (excluding a few patronymics and rare place-surnames which subsequently disappeared altogether, and in all probability were changed into something else). To accentuate the point, the names found in the Lawthing decrees are printed in italics. (1) From the list of arbiters in the quarrel between the Bishop and Governor in 1369:—*Ireland, Mure, Paplay, Sinclair*, Irvine. (2) From a list of "principal men" who "with many others" were present at an agreement between the Governor and Earl's Mandatory about 1426:—*Mure, Heddle*, Sutherland, *Craigie*, Irvine, *Flett, Linklater*. (3) Lawmen of Orkney:—Kirkness, *Rendall, Craigie, Hall*. (4) Lawrikmen who appended their seals to the diploma in 1446:—Tulloch, *Craigie, Fotheringham*. (5) Leaders in the Orkney army at Summerdale (1529) who were respited in 1539, and also are known to have been Orkney landowners:—*Sinclair, Craigie, Rendall, Sclater, Cromarty*, Peirson, *Yorston, Louttit, Paplay, Garrioch, Berstane*. Other evidence less easily condensed, but to the same effect, is available regarding most of the remaining names in the decrees; and further information concerning these families in general may be found in two papers upon "The Odal Families of Orkney" (*Old-love Miscellany*, Vol. II., pp. 155 and 227).

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# NOTES ON THE BATTLE OF LARGS.

By ROBERT L. BREMNER, M.A.

## I.—HISTORICAL RECORDS.

*THE Scottish Sources* of any value are three in number, viz.:—The Chronicle of Melrose; The Scotichronicon of John De Fordun and Wyntoun's Chronicle.

(a) *The Chronicle of Melrose* (731-1275) has been twice edited. It was first published by Bishop Fell (Oxford, 1684) and again for the Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1835). Presumably the Chronicle was completed before the original Abbey of Melrose was destroyed by the English in 1322. Its account of the battle is contained in three sentences, which relate that in the year of our Lord 1263, Haco, King of Norway, came with an immense multitude of ships through the Western Sea to make war upon the King of Scotland; that in truth (as Haco himself acknowledged) not human power, but divine grace, repelled him, wrecking his ships and scattering death throughout his army, so that those who had convened for battle on the third day after the feast of St. Michael were conquered and overthrown. Wherefore they were forced to make for their ships along with their wounded and dead and to turn homeward more shamefully than they had come.

(b) *The Scotichronicon*. Nothing is known of either Fordun or his continuator, who is commonly supposed to have been Walter Bower, Abbot of Inchcolm. Fordun was probably a Chantry Priest of the Cathedral of Aberdeen. He wrote the first five books and apparently the first 23 chapters of Book VI. between the years 1384 and 1387, i.e., 120 years after the battle. This section of the work ends with the death of King

David, 1153, and therefore does not include an account of the battle. Fordun left a mass of additional material, and his continuator, who was born in 1385, edited this, interpolating many inferior additions of his own. He began the work in 1441, and finished it in 1447. The most accessible editions are the Folio Edition in two volumes by Walter Goodall, published in 1759, and Skene's Edition in the *Historians of Scotland Series*, Volume I. of which contains the text, with a learned account of the manuscripts, and Volume IV. the English translation. These were published in 1872-3. In Skene's Edition a considerable amount of matter contained in the earlier edition is omitted as consisting of worthless interpolations of the unknown continuator.

(c) *Wyntoun's Chronicle* (in rhyme) completed about 1420. Andrew de Wyntoun was a canon of St. Andrew's. The best edition of Wyntoun is in the same Series, and is edited by David Laing.

The later histories of Boece (1526) and Buchanan (c. 1582) are of no independent value for this period. They contain many obvious exaggerations.

*Norse Sources.* The Saga of Hákon Hákon's son, written by Sturla, the Law Man, nephew of Snorri Sturlason, the famous historian of the Kings of Norway, at the command of Hákon's son and successor, Magnus, King of Norway. This work was begun in the Spring of 1264 and probably finished in 1265. Extracts from two MSS.—the Flatey and Frisian—were published with a translation by the Revd. James Johnstone, A.M., Chaplain to the British Embassy in Copenhagen in 1782. The little book is now out of print. By far the best edition of the complete Saga is that by Gudbrand Vigfússon in the *Rolls Series of Public Records*. It is No. 88 of the *Series of Chronicles and Memorials*, Volume II., and contains the text and a learned discussion of the MS. sources. Volume IV. contains an excellent translation by the

late Sir George Webbe Dasent, D.C.L., with a historical introduction.

The Saga account, it will be observed, is a contemporary chronicle, unmistakably derived from the reports of eye-witnesses, and therefore immeasurably more worthy of credit than the Scottish accounts.

## II.—DATE AND PARTICULARS OF BATTLE, TAKEN FROM THE SAGA.

The year 1263 is proved correct from the mention of the Annular Eclipse on August 5 at Ronaldsvoe. Michaelmas, 1263, fell upon Saturday, 29th September.

*Monday, 1st October.*

Heavy gale (supposed to be raised by witchcraft) began to blow at night, while half of Hákon's fleet lay at anchor in Cumbrae Sound.

*Tuesday, 2nd October.*

A transport broke from its moorings and went ashore in the morning after dashing against King Hákon's flagship and carrying away its figurehead. During the day five others went ashore. They were attacked by Scots. Hákon's ship had to put out eight anchors. Hákon landed on Cumbrae in his boat and had mass sung. Weather slackened a little. Hákon sent some men ashore. Scots retreated. Norsemen were on shore all that evening and early part of night.

*Wednesday, 3rd October.*

Scots had partially pillaged transport. Norsemen landed in morning. Salvaged remainder of cargo. Scots came down in great force. Main fight took place. Northmen retired from hillock. Death of Hákon of Stein. Gallantry and Death of Perus (*i.e.*, Sir Piers de Curry, a Scottish Knight). Storm continued. Eilif of Naustadal landed. Norsemen began to gather force. As day wore away, attack made by Norsemen on hillock

now occupied by the Scots. The Scots retreated to the fells. The Norse returned to their ships.

*Thursday, 4th October.*

King Hákon let carry the dead to a Kirk (til Kirkju). "The Thursday after" (*i.e.*, after the battle) Loch Long contingent returned. Sixty ships had been sent up Loch Long before Hákon's squadron sailed from Lamlash to Cumbrae. Ten of them were wrecked in the same gale.

*Friday, 5th October.*

King sent his guests ashore to burn the wrecks. King and Fleet sailed to Lamlash, the weather being now good.

Nothing in the Saga indicates that the Northmen considered themselves defeated. Hákon, when at Lamlash met a (second) deputation from Ireland urging him to sail thither and help the Irish<sup>1</sup> against their English oppressors. He himself was inclined to go; but the plan was over-ruled in Council. So the fleet sailed northwards through the Isles, and as each of his Sudrean allies took his leave Hákon confirmed him in his fiefs.

That the Battle of Largs was not the decisive moment marking the end of the Norse domination of the Sudreys, which had lasted for four centuries, is sufficiently shown by the fact that two years later (1265) negotiations were open between Alexander III., the King of Scotland, and Magnus of Norway, to treat for the *purchase* of the overlordship of the Isles. By the Treaty of 1266 the overlordship of the Sudreys was sold for the sum of 4,000 marks down and a yearly payment of 100 marks. The fact that King Magnus of Man, threatened by Alexander immediately after

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.*, The Ostmen or Norse settlers who, as Prof. Alex. Bugge has shown, had wonderfully preserved their nationality, and still regarded Scandinavia as their mother country. (Aarbøger for n. Oldkyndighed og Historie, 1904, pp. 230, 249.)

Hákon's death, had yielded allegiance to the Scottish monarch, was in all probability the circumstance that chiefly decided Magnus of Norway to sell his patrimonial possessions.

### III.—ALLEGED RELICS.

The only relic of the Battle which possesses the least claim to authenticity is the Gallowgate Mound. This is an artificial mound behind Gallowhill Place close to the shore and to the north of the Gogo Burn.<sup>1</sup> It is about 15 feet high by 75 feet long and 27 feet broad.

It is close to the site of the old Parish Church of Largs. According to Mr. John Dillon, whose careful, and upon the whole, excellent account of the Battle, was published in Vol. II. of *Archæologica Scotica*, pp. 350 *et seqq* (1823) "the only church near (the battlefield) was the church of Largs, which appears from the chartularies of Glasgow and Paisley to have existed before 1263." Its revenues were in 1265 gifted to the Bishop of Glasgow. In 1318 they were transferred by Walter, the Steward of Scotland, to the Abbey of Paisley, "for the safety of his soul and the soul of Marjorie his spouse." The mound was excavated in 1873 by Dr. John S. Phené of Chelsea, a well-known archæologist, who discovered burnt clay and charcoal from oak, interspersed with flakes of bright green, supposed to be copper or bronze, probably "remnants of armour," and some substances supposed to be bones—some partly and some wholly calcined.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Jón Stefánsson suggests that the true origin of *Gogo* might be *Gaukú* = Cuckoo Burn. Regarding this Mr. Craig says: "The suggestion that *Gogo* is *Gauk-ú*, cuckoo river, strengthened by the Gowk craigs may be a likely derivation, all the more so that the stretch of land between the *Gogo* and *Hailie* is a favourite haunt of the bird." Still he is unwilling to give up the *Gjá* derivation, as it describes the burn and its characteristics so fitly. He also says: "*Flot* or *Flote* is, I think, what is now known as the Moor-burn, the more so that the farm of Flatt is in the immediate vicinity."

Human teeth were also found. Dr. Phené, in a letter to "The Times," states that "when the centre of the mound was reached, it was one mass of fat unctuous earth, dotted all over with red and black, formed by pieces of the burnt clay and charcoal." These discoveries appear to have convinced the excavator that the Norsemen were buried in this mound.

The arguments against this theory are (first) that there were many other churches, or at all events cells or places of devotion, in the vicinity, some of them nearer the battlefield, some dating to the Culdee period, and one of these was probably in the grounds of Hailie (which *perhaps* means Haly, Holy), and may have been known as St. Margaret's Chapel; (second) that the Mound being over a mile from the probable battleground is too far off, especially as the Gogo is impassable after heavy rains; (third) that the Mound is too large to have been constructed in the time at the Norsemen's disposal.

I am inclined to think that none of these arguments have much weight.

(First) Cells and small chapels are not churches. I have seen no evidence of the multitude of holy places, except the more or less fantastic derivations of place names, originally suggested, I believe, by Mr. Lytteil.

(Second) The most of the fighting took place along the shore, and there was nothing to hinder the bodies being carried in the ships' boats to the place of interment. The numbers of slain Norsemen cannot have been so very numerous. In all probability not more than 1,500 at the outside were engaged in the running fight. Munch (Chron. Manniae, p. 125) admits that there was nothing to hinder the bodies being removed to the church, but thinks they were carried to Bute and buried there. There is nothing whatever in the Saga to suggest this. The Chronicle of Melrose, above quoted, however, indicates that the dead and wounded were removed to the ships (quoted by Munch, p. 123).

(Third) It does not appear to me at all improbable that a grave and mound of earth of such dimensions could have been erected in the course of one day. The Norsemen had a host of willing workers, and the whole of Thursday (and possibly part of Friday) may have been spent in the work.

It is much to be desired that this mound should be properly excavated by qualified archæologists.

Two other alleged relics, viz.:—An enormous tumulus of stones known as St. Margaret's Law, formerly existing on the grounds of Haylie, but removed in 1780, and the Curling Hall monolith were both quite obviously pre-historic monuments of the neolithic period. The former was a chambered cairn and contained stone cists, etc.; and since its demolition in 1780 the central chamber at its base, composed of large slabs, which still remain *in situ*, has been absurdly called Haco's tomb.

#### IV.—PLACE NAMES.

There are few place-names in Largs and neighbourhood of distinctly Norse origin, and none that can with any likelihood be attributed to the date of the Battle. If I am right in my conjecture that Hawking Craig, a few miles south, close to which the famous Hunterston Brooch was found, is a corruption of Hakon's Craig, that might be an exception; though there is nothing in the Saga to connect King Hakon Hakonsson with that particular spot.

The only place-name referable to the great fight is not Norse at all, viz.:—"Killing Craig," on the rising ground, about half-a-mile from the shore, one of the knolls on which might well be the hillock that was held alternately by the Scots and the Norsemen.

But a little north of Largs, where Noddsdale or Brisbane Glen stretches up to the high moorland that lies between Largs and Greenock, there are traces of



an early settlement of Northmen.<sup>1</sup> We know that in the ninth century the southern part of the Cumbrian Kingdom and Galloway and indeed the fringe of the West Coast mainland from the Mull of Galloway to Cape Wrath, were dotted with colonies of Northmen. The whole district about Largs in the ninth century formed part of the British or Cymric Kingdom of which Alclutha or Dumbarton (Dun Breatan, the fort of the Britons) was the capital. In the year 870, Olaf the White, Norse King of Dublin, besieged Alclutha, and after a fourth months siege reduced the fortress. It may well be that some of his tough old sea-dogs set covetous eyes on the fine farm lands on the side of the wide firth and determined to end their days on the fertile slopes that front the Cumbraes, the Kumreyar or Cymric isles, as the Norsemen called them.

At all events it would not be strange that a Thord and a Thorgil, a Bersi and a lady Hallgerda, an Ottarr, a Knút and a Svein should have "taken land" and set up their garths and their sheep folds on the "hlíðir" or slopes of Skelmorlie, Noddale, Haylie and Fairlie.

#### NORSE NAMES IN AND NEAR NODDSDALE OR BRISBANE GLEN.

*Noddsdale*, locally pronounced Noddle or Noddale = Nautadal or Nautsdal, *i.e.*, Neat-dale, Cattle-dale; *cp.* Nautholt, Nautabú, Nautaklif, etc., in Iceland. (Pont's Map c. 1600 Nodsdal).

*Halkert Glen*, two miles up from mouth of Noddale Burn on right bank = Hallgerðr. (Pont : Halkertden).

*Stockerlie Glen*, next glen on same back = Stakka-hlíð (pron. Stacka-leethe), a place-name in Iceland, = the slope of the stacks (of hay, etc.). (Pont : Stokorth).

*Outerwards Farm*, about two miles still further up

<sup>1</sup> My attention was first directed to this by Mr. Matthew Craig, Seaforth, Largs, a gentleman extremely well informed in the local antiquities; and the following list is the result of a study of the six-inch Ordnance maps.

Noddale Burn on the same bank, might be Ottarsgarðr, *i.e.*, Ottar's farm or Otrargarðr, *i.e.*, Otter-farm; *cp.* in Iceland Ottarsstaðir, Otrardalr, etc. (Pont: Vtterward).

*Black Fell* = a hill half a mile to the east.

*Tourgill* (a farm and stream), a little lower down on left bank of Noddale Burn = Thor's gil (gully), Thora's gil.

*Slanghill Burn*, tributary of Tourgill Burn, Slangi = serpent (Slanga-gil?).

*Slanger Burn*, quite near, tributary to Greeto Burn, same as above.

*Bessel Moor*. Where these burns take their rise; *cp.* Bessastaðir, for Bersastaðir, Bear-stead or Bersi's stead, a common name in Iceland (Bessa-mýrr?).

*Girtley Hill and Langley Hill*. Two little eminences in the moor = Grjót-hlíð, stone slope, and Langahlíð, long slope.

*Wooy Hill*. Another little eminence close to the above = Quoy, in Orkney, Shetland and Cumberland = Kví, a sheep fold; *cp.* Kvía and Kvíabekkr in Iceland.

*Gowk Craigs* = gaukr, cuckoo.

*Thortermere Burn*, tributary of the Greeto Burn = Thorðar-mýrr, Thord's moss. (Pont: Thortermeer).

*Greeto Burn*. Quite evidently Grjótá = stoney stream, a common place-name in Iceland.

*Swinside* = Svein's síða.

*Whitlie Burn*, a tributary of the Noddale Burn, a little below Tourgill, might be Hvíthlíð, white slope; *cp.* Hvít-staðir, etc., in Iceland.

*Nitslie Hill*, farther to the south, might be Knút's hlíð.

*Flatt*, a farm immediately to the N. of the Gogo = Flöt. (Pont: Flot or Flote).

*Meigle Bay* = Mjógil, narrow gil, Professor Ker

suggests, because it corresponds to the natural features of the place, also phonetically and phonologically.

#### OTHER NORSE NAMES NEAR LARGS.

*Gogo Burn*, locally supposed to be derived from *gjá*, a rift or chasm. Dr. Jón Stefánsson suggests *Gauk-á*, i.e., Cuckoo River.

*Haylie*, commonly derived from Scots *haly*, i.e., holy. It is, however, most unusual for a place-name to be formed by an isolated adjective. I conjecture, *Hey-hlíð*, hay-slope.

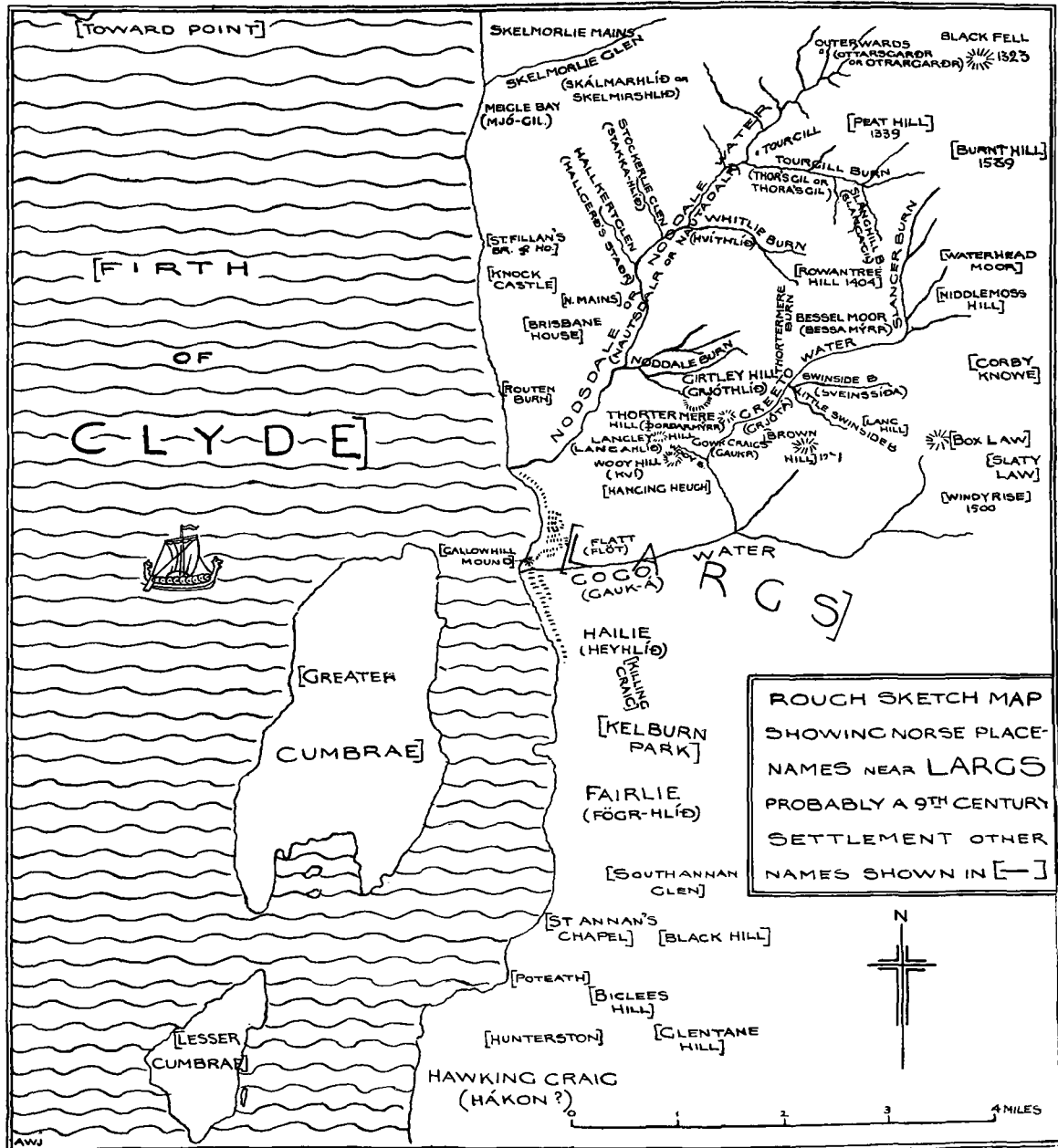
*Swinsholm*, about a mile farther to the east, might well be Svein's *hólmr*.

*Skelmorlie*, a few miles north of Largs, the steep ground at the back of Wemyss Bay (*circa* 1400 A.D. Skelmorley. Pont's Map: Skelmoirluy, Skelmurlay, and Skelmorly). Johnston, "Place-Names of Scotland," doubtfully conjectures "shelter, lee-side of the great rock," from Gaelic and Ir.sceilig mòr. But *Skálmar-nes* and *Skálmardalr*, etc., are place-names in Iceland and *Skálmar-hlíð*, "the slope of the sword" is the obvious derivation. Cp. Skelmersdale (Schelmeresdale), which occurs in a group of names belonging to a Norse colony, of which there is no historical record, north of the Mersey. Mr. Collingwood (Scandinavian Britain, p. 197) derives it from *Skálmýrrsdalr*. Mr. Sephton, with greater probability, from *Skelmir* = rascal, the supposed nickname of a settler.

*Fairlie*, two miles south of Largs, is probably *Fögr-hlíð* = fair slope, or *Faerhlíð* = sheep slope.

Still further south, near West Kilbride, lies Hunterston estate, where was found in 1826 the famous Hunterston brooch, the most beautiful relic of the Norse period, now preserved in the Antiquarian Museum in Edinburgh. Close by is:—

*Hawking Craig*, which I conjecture may be a corruption of Hákon's Craig.



# MINIATURES FROM ICELANDIC MANUSCRIPTS.

## PART I.

By DR. HARRY FETT.

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IN the picture, which little by little we shall be able to draw of our Norse culture, the Icelandic part must take its place by itself. In one département, it will even be one of the chief sources. In Norway, the style of the late Middle Age has, as it were, continued the old romanesque tradition. The very popular character of this style has, in a way, fettered the artistic imagination of the country district. In the Sættersdalen we have it pure and clear, often in a somewhat degenerated form. The rich ornamentation in Gudbrandsdal may have arisen as a new impulse from the Louis XIV. style, which was grafted on the old interlacings, etc. But the strange life of the romanesque ornamentation in popular art, the fate of this ornamentation through the Ages, can nowhere be studied so clearly as in the Icelandic miniatures. Where our material only gives hints—and we have many such hints where it is indefinite, or changes its character, there the Icelandic material seems fixed and harmonious. The ornamental picture of the style of the late Middle Age does partly find its complement in the late rich Icelandic art, namely, the old conservative character of it. From natural science it is also known that such older groups continue under new conditions, that specially in isolated places an older flora and fauna may continue their special evolution—as obsolescent—after they have disappeared long ago elsewhere. Such forgotten examples or styles are also found in Norway and in Iceland; romanesque ornamentation is found,

even in the nineteenth century, which has lived through Gothic, late Middle Age, Renaissance, Baroque and Rococo. Similar phenomena are found elsewhere. In Graubünden, in Switzerland, *e.g.*, such remains of romanesque style are found as late as our own time.

From an artistic point of view, there is in Icelandic art, something of the same that is seen in language and literature, *viz.*, that they flourish on the basis of the old Norse romanesque culture. The near connection of this culture with Norway is undoubted, and, we have here probably something similar to that which Gaston Paris<sup>1</sup> speaks of as regards France and England, *viz.*, that several of the oldest French poems are preserved in Anglo-Norman copies.

Into this interesting group, in the romanesque style, there comes a little, as it were, Gothic intermezzo. It is the great Norwegian art of the 13th century. Of our pictorial art of this time, we have preserved a series of interesting remains, both entire ceiling pictures and altar frontals. Bendixen has published some of the last in his interesting articles in the year-books of the Bergen Museum, without determining their style. It is clear we have also had miniature painting. Literary production was at this time very extensive, and several of our books of that time are beautifully illuminated. In the Bergen town law of 1273 painters, "pentarar," are mentioned; they had to live in a certain district. The manuscript speaks of all kinds of painters, "skripta, meistarar," which may mean people who sold illuminated books.<sup>2</sup> Law codes excepted, destruction seems to have overtaken the bulk of our Norwegian manuscripts, but we have preserved a richly illuminated law manuscript, *viz.*, the beautiful so-called Codex Hardenbergianus, gl. Kgl. S. 1154 fol.,<sup>3</sup> in the Royal

<sup>1</sup> Gaston Paris: *Esquisse historique de la littérature Française au Moyen Age*. Paris, 1905, s. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Bendixen: *Bergen Museums Aarb.*, 1889, nr. 2, s. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Norges gl. Love IV., s. 389.

Library, Copenhagen. This is the only one which shows how rich was the Gothic Norwegian art of illumination. There are eleven miniatures in initials painted on gold ground, and one on blue ground. The first picture on page 2 shows King Magnus sitting



FIG. 1.—KING MAGNUS HANDING OVER THE CODE OF LAWS.

In the Introduction to a Norwegian Law Manuscript, gl., Kgl. sml. 1154 fol., Royal Library, Copenhagen.

on his throne and handing over the code of laws (fig. 1); in the margin are various animals. Page 4 is a picture common in law-books—Christ as Judge. It is part of those Judgment Day pictures that were shown in town

halls, and in law courts, in the Middle Ages, and thence passed into law MSS. King and bishop kneel down underneath. In the margin, knights are fighting. Before the section dealing with Christianity (the section which caused strife between king and clergy), one sees the king with the sword of justice and the orb, opposite the bishop with his crozier. The clergy wanted everything relating to church law to come from the bishops, and be based altogether on the canonical law. Here, as so often, both in reality and in art, king and bishop stand opposite each other, in this case to form the initial **P**. Before the Defence section, p. 18, there are armed warriors in a ship. Before the Weregild section, p. 30, which says that no one may injure another without being punished, the king is seen giving one of his subjects this code of laws. Before the Inheritance section are two drawings; a young heir is clasping the king's hand, p. 47, and on page 51 a judge and an heir divide the inheritance; while above we see the chests with the property and the money. Before the Land section, p. 63, concerning land redeemed from another, a man is seen coming with his treasures to redeem the land; and in the Tenant section the landlord is seen negotiating with the tenant. Before the Trade section, p. 101, two figures are seen, buying and selling a piece of cloth. In the Thieves section, p. 113, there is a thief tied to a post, in the act of being flogged; some people are present at the punishment. The manuscript is probably from Bergen, date about 1330. Storm surmises that it was written for Bishop Thorstein (who died 1349). It is in style nearest to the later group of altar frontals, the two from Aardal<sup>1</sup> and the one from Roldal. The wavy lines of the draperies are there too, and the style shows the later development of the Franco-English illumination, which in the reign of Magnus the Law-mender reached us. The question is whether we have had older illuminations. This, I think, we may assert. We have

<sup>1</sup>Bendixen: Berg. Museums Aarb., 1889, no. 2, and 1893, no. 8.



a series of altar frontals in a definite early Gothic style, which shows that the art of painting was eagerly cultivated in Norway under Hakon Hakonsson. But we have other evidence. In the Icelandic, somewhat degenerated style of portraiture in illuminations, early Gothic motives are seen far into the 14th century. Everything goes to show that the Gothic-Icelandic art of illumination is connected with the Norwegian, and that this artistically weak group is of historical interest to us, as a contribution towards completing the picture of the art of illumination in Norway, in the 13th century.

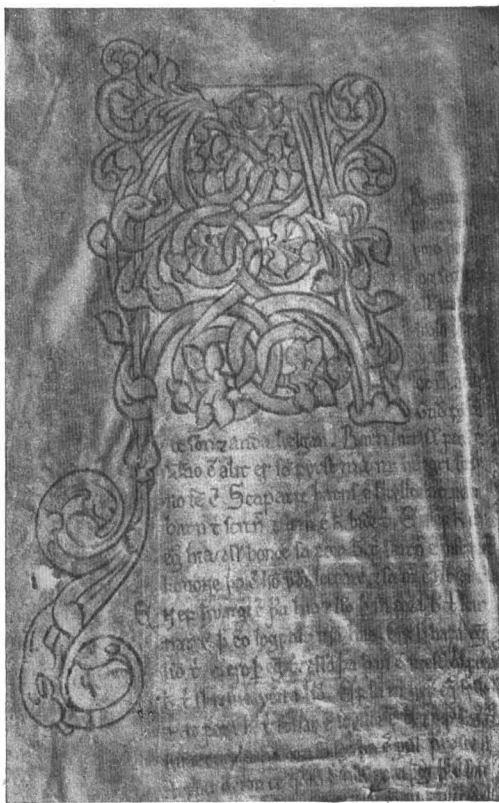


FIG. 2.—INITIAL, FROM STADARHOLSBOK.  
About 1280. A.M. 334 fol. Author's Photograph.

We will now look at the Icelandic illuminations in their connection with the Norwegian. If one wants to see old romanesque illuminations of books, one may find them in Stadarholsbok, A.M. 334. Dr. K. Kaalund

dates it 1260-80,<sup>1</sup> Gustav Storm<sup>2</sup> 14th century. Here are many ornamental varieties of the style we know best in Norway, from our (Stavkirke) church portals. In some places, even in this antique manuscript, hints of a later decoration are visible, *e.g.*, p. 27; as a whole the manuscript has several of the fine fixed decorative

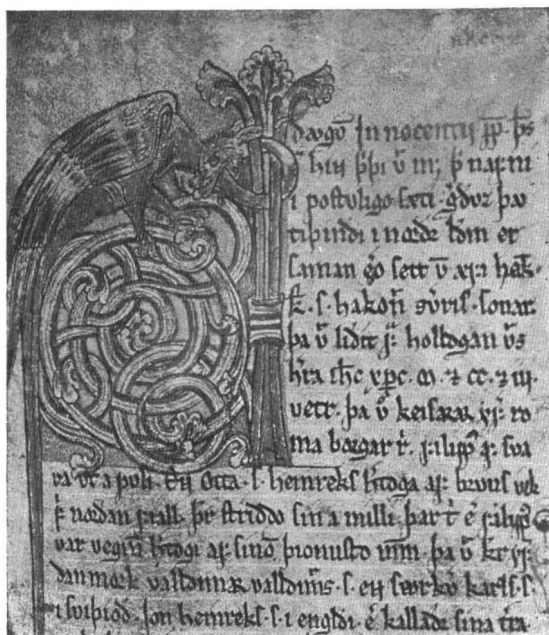


FIG. 3—INITIAL FROM THE CORDEX FRISIANUS.  
Beginning of the 14th Century. Author's Photograph.

combinations which probably had long prevailed in Norwegian works, and which continued in Iceland for a long time. In the initial letter A, wide scrolls are interlaced in an antique design (fig. 2). The famous Codex Frisianus, A.M. 45 fol., is also fine and interesting; it is

<sup>1</sup> Katalog over den Arnamagneansk haandskriftsamling. Kbh. 1888, s. 275.

<sup>2</sup> Norges Gamle Love, IV., s. 531.

written in 1300, or shortly after, by an Icelander, who was staying in Norway.<sup>1</sup> It is also quite romanesque in design. It is finer and richer than the Stadarholzbok. There are several pretty compositions, and some of them survive a long time; a few of the motives are found as late as the Gudbrandsdal style, but the later Gothic art, as it developed in Norway, probably influenced this Icelander during his visit. The initial, page 84, which is filled with old interlacings (fig. 3), shows the style of the 12th century, is almost of an especial Norse design.

With the Gothic art, portraiture came more and more to the front in Norway. As the romanesque style, found in a series of Icelandic manuscripts, is preserved in Norway, in still another way, viz., in the portals of the *Stavkirke*, similarly this pictorial art can be studied in Norway in a series of altar frontals. Here can be followed the development of the style, from Early Gothic to Gothic, and on to later forms. The same we shall find in the Icelandic manuscripts, sometimes very late, so that it is difficult to determine the age of the style, because later ideas have, as it were, obscured the original design. It is clear that these, in a way, reproduce the Norwegian style; this style is best seen in a sitting figure, with the globe in the left hand, the right hand lifted to give the blessing (fig. 4), in page 59. A.M. 679, 4to. The figure, with the free treatment of its drapery, all the many little folds, is found in our Early Gothic figures of the Saviour, the carved figure in Kinn Kirke<sup>2</sup> and the painted figure of the altar frontal of Hitterdal,<sup>3</sup> and on the ceiling in Torpe Kirke. The nearest akin seems to be the altar frontal in Ulvik.<sup>4</sup> Here is a typical Early Gothic drawing, in a manuscript of the 13th century. The manuscript is written in

<sup>1</sup> Codex Frisianus. Edited by C. R. Unger, preface. Storm: Snorre Sturlasson's *Historie Eskrivning*. Copenhagen, 1873, s. 210.

<sup>2</sup> Fett: Norges Kirker.

<sup>3</sup> The same. Fig. 306.

<sup>4</sup> Bendixen; Bergens Museum Aarbok, 1893, No. 8.

Latin, possibly in Norway. The design is in a purer style than is generally found in the Icelandic drawings. The figure itself is also very interesting. It is either the God-father or Christ. Some time passed before they



FIG. 4.—CHRIST OR GOD THE FATHER,  
FROM ORDO ECCLESIASTICI.

13th Century. A.M. 479 4to. Author's Photograph.

dared to delineate God the Father. In the oldest time, in representing e.g. the Creation only the hand of God was seen. When they began to represent God, it was entirely the same figure as Christ.<sup>1</sup> Christ is represented with a book, and, God the Father with the globe in His hand. This figure dates back to the romanesque beardless Christ. The question is, if the representation of God the Father dates back so far as to the beardless Christ. In the Latin manuscript in Beauvais called

Augustino Genesis, of the 11th century, there is the same beardless figure with the globe in his hand, and Didrou

<sup>1</sup> Didrou: *Christian Iconography*, English Edition. London, 1886, I., S. 214.

thinks that this is an early representation of God.<sup>1</sup> But the portrait of the Father is borrowed from that of the Son. Later it is differentiated by the addition of the long beard and a crown on his head, which in Germany has developed into an Imperial crown. Besides the interest in the design, it is a pictorial memento, of the time when God was portrayed as similar to Christ, an early stage in the representation of God the Father, which is interesting for iconography.

The important manuscript of St. Olaf's Saga, A.M. 68 fol., has on its first page: St. Olaf seated. (Fig. 5). The figure is



FIG. 5.—KING OLAF THE HOLY, FROM ST. OLAF'S SAGA.

Beginning of the 14th Century. A.M. 68 fol.  
Author's photograph.

of Early Gothic character. The sleeve hanging from the left arm, the folds round the waist, the oval motives on the right knee, show this. At the same time, the influence of the wider folds of draperies in

<sup>1</sup> Didrou: *Christian Iconography*, English Edition. London, 1886, I. S. 212.

the later Gothic can be seen. St. Olaf is seated holding an axe and an orb. The motive is related to the preceding picture, and is one of the numerous seated figures of St. Olaf known. The manuscript dates from the beginning of the 14th century. The wavy treatment of the line seems to be most similar to that of the



FIG. 6.—ST. ANDREW, FROM ST. ANDREW'S SAGA.

First half of the 14th Century. A.M. 646, 4to.

Author's photograph.

altar frontal of Kaupanger<sup>1</sup> with the coronation of Mary. The crowns are similar in form. On this altar frontal are found two representations of the life of St. Olaf, the Battle of Stiklestad, and also one of his miracles. This would seem to be traces of representations of St. Olaf in Early Gothic, and we may take

it for certain that we have had complete Early Gothic St. Olaf-altar-frontals, just as one is preserved in Norwegian Later Gothic, in Copenhagen. It is the picture of the King sitting on the throne, which we, in Norway,

<sup>1</sup> Bendixen : Bergens Museum Aarbok, 1905, No. 12.

otherwise only know, in the Early Gothic, manner in a series of sculptures and in the representations of the altar frontal in Kaupanger.

A.M. 646 4to contains the Saga of the Apostle Andrew, which is introduced with a representation of Andrew's Crucifixion, which also in its main motives is Early Gothic (fig. 6). It is peculiar that the Kaupanger altar frontal has the same representation. Yet still one representation of this altar frontal is from the legend of St. Nicholas. It only occurs in Norway on this occasion. In an Icelandic manuscript from about 1400, in the Royal Library of Stockholm,<sup>1</sup> there are pictures representing St. Nicholas. I have not had occasion to



FIG. 7.—TWO REPRESENTATIONS OF THE CRUCIFIXION, FROM A RITUAL BOOK OF THE BEGINNING OF THE 14TH CENTURY.

A.M. 241A, fol. Author's photograph.

see these miniatures, but if they, too, are Early Gothic in character, it becomes still more probable that a certain group in the West of Norway may have influenced these Icelandic miniatures.<sup>2</sup> To this Early Gothic group belong, also, some miniatures in MS. A.M. 241 a fol. (fig. 7), eight small pictures of the Passion. They

<sup>1</sup> Gödel: Catalogue of Early Icelandic and Early Norwegian Manuscripts in the Royal Library, Stockholm, p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> I have recently seen these miniatures, which belong to the best Icelandic Illumination left us. The manuscript is dated about 1400, but is undoubtedly of an Early Gothic character. St. Nicolas in the Kaupanger altar-frontal and the one in the manuscript have the same style, the same motive, and probably spring from the same source.

represent the Kiss of Judas, the exhibition before the people, Christ before Pilate, Christ carrying His Cross, the Crucifixion, Mary and John at the Cross, the taking down from the Cross and laying in the grave. We have these motives in the Early Gothic group, in altar frontals from Hauge church,<sup>1</sup> from Nes church,<sup>2</sup> and in the



FIG. 8.—THE CRUCIFIXION, FROM A LATIN CALENDAR, ABOUT 1300.

A.M. 249D, fol. Author's photograph.

A.M. 249 d. fol. (fig. 8) is also Early Gothic in the draperies of the Madonna; calendar A.M. 249 c. fol. has a severe representation of a Madonna (fig. 9). The catalogue of the Arnamagnean collection dates the manuscript about

altar frontal from Eid church, Christ's persecutors are represented in profile while the typical Early Gothic motives, with the cloak below trailing over the field, is not seen so often in Norway. There is a trace of it in the altar frontal in Nes church. Here two of the pictures are given; the raising of the cross, and, the crucifixion itself.

Another crucifixion from a Latin calendar,

<sup>1</sup> Bendixen: Bergens Museum. Aarboger, 1905, No. 12.

Fett: Norges Kirker, in Mid. Fig. 308.



the beginning of the 13th century. It is in excellent severe style, the crown and the whole arrangement is of early date. We have here, the beginning of the wide flowing draperies, so the work probably belongs to the period which, in my book on "Sculpture in Norway under the Sverre family," I called the second Early Gothic style,

date about 1250. This representation differs somewhat from the earlier sitting figures with their flowing lines. We come to a more architectonic style, with better defined lines, a style we have well represented in a somewhat later stage in the altar-frontal of Hammer church.<sup>1</sup> There is thus another Early Gothic influence here. The representa-



FIG. 9.—MADONNA, FROM A LATIN CALENDAR,  
FIRST HALF OF THE 13TH CENTURY.  
A.M. 249C, fol. Author's photograph.

tion of the Madonna is also interesting, as showing the artistic arrangement of the relation between mother and child. The romanesque Madonna has the child solemnly sitting on her lap. It was tried in various

<sup>1</sup> Bendixen : Bergens Museums, Aarbog, 1905, No. 12.

ways to put more life into the picture, to produce a kind of interaction between mother and son. Here as often an old Byzantine motive was resorted to, the child, as it were, hiding itself behind the draperies of the mother's arm. In Byzantine art this motive was often used to express tender relations; our picture has taken the motive, but preserved, at the same time, the old romanesque solemnity, without expressing any tenderness between the child and the mother.

Then there is a series of illuminated Icelandic law codes. The style in the above-named Norwegian law codes, with the late Gothic forms, clearly recurs in Icelandic. The question is, if among the later illuminated Icelandic law codes, one also can find in the same way as in these miniatures, motives which are older than the style of Magnus the Lawmender, which runs into the Early Gothic of Hakon Hakonsson. I think I see behind the interesting miniatures of H. S. gl. klg. MSS. 3269, a 4to in the Royal Library in Copenhagen, Early Gothic prototypes. It is known that several laws were written down under Hakon Hakonsson, and the style in our altar frontals can be determined. Both representations and manner differ from the pictures of the later law codes, and are clearly of an older type. This law code is dated from the 14th century. The designs are romanesque, and not as in other law codes, often late Gothic. Of course it is difficult to make conclusions about style in primitive art, but the whole arrangement of pictures seems to make it likely that other miniatures are their prototypes. In contrast to the more solemn arrangement in "*Codex Hardenbergianus*," with the persons arranged two and two in pairs, there are here lively scenes with representations drawn from life (figs. 10-13). First, King Magnus handing over the code of laws. Instead of king and bishop in the Christianity section, there is the old motive of the fight between good and evil—a warrior fighting the dragon of heathendom.

It is a typical old motive in manner and matter. In the Manslaying section, there is no affirmation of the rights of man, as in the Norwegian law code, but the deed itself is represented. A man is pierced through with a sword. We see a whale being divided, see a trading scene with



FIG. 10.—THE KING HANDING OVER THE LAWS.

JONSBOK GL. KGL. SAML.

3269A, 4to. 14th Century.

weighing scales, a merchant ship, and finally a thief being punished by hanging. But they differ from the Norse codes. Before I go through the various foreign law codes, I cannot determine the time or the group to which

the work belongs, but it seems to me clear that it is an older type. Probably it is connected with the Anglo-French Early Gothic style, which Hakon Hakonsson brought into Norway, and I think we have in these artistically inferior miniatures, memories of the kind of illuminations used in law codes at the time of this king. This I conclude from the Early Gothic treatment of the drapery on which the designs seem based, rather than from the antique arrangements of the representation itself, which so clearly differs from later work, and, finally, from the strong influence of the romanesque designs in this, so to speak, Gothic group.

In what manner did this later Gothic style come to Norway? Here is one of the few places, in the history of Norwegian art in the Middle Ages, where the written sources help us as a guide.



FIG. 11.—A WARRIOR FIGHTING A DRAGON, FROM THE CHRISTIANITY SECTION.

GL. KGL. SAML.

3269A, 4to.

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

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## NINETEENTH SESSION, 1911.

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### MEETING, JANUARY 20TH, 1911.

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

Mr. Edward Lovett, F.R.H.S., gave a lecture on "The Origin and Folk-lore of Boats," illustrated by lantern slides.

The lecturer said:—

Time was when mankind had no knowledge of water travel; all his peregrinations and excursions being over land areas. In all probability the suggestion for the first boat was a floating tree-trunk; then it would naturally follow that a hollowed-out tree-trunk floated better than a solid one. Here we have the "dug-out" so wide in its geographical distribution, the typical pre-historic boat! The earliest Egyptian boat, however, appears to have been formed of bundles of rushes tied up "fore and aft" and spread out "amidships." These boats, smeared with clay and bitumen, were used for wild-fowling on the shallow waters of the Delta. Mr. Lovett considered that the dead bodies of animals floating vertebræ-down may have suggested the built boat with its keel and ribs, figure head and "skin," and he showed many pictures of early boats, all of which were of the animal form. The most primitive types of this boat, in a very crude form, exist to-day in the "Coracle" of Wales and the "Curragh" of North Ireland, both of which, until comparatively recently, were actually covered with the skins of animals, replaced to-day by tarred canvas. The propulsion was in all probability suggested by the webbed

feet of water-birds; he had seen paddles in which the structure of the foot had been carefully copied. He also considered that the use of wind was suggested by a man standing up in a boat and holding out a mat by both arms! Indeed, the word "yard-arm" would suggest this. Mr. Lovett said that when he was at Venice he saw a boat near Chioggia actually being sailed in this very way. He then referred to the use of boats in the burial of the dead, and described the well-known Viking ship and the funeral boats of the Ancient Egyptians. In Shetland they still have an interesting annual custom called "Up-helli-a," in which two large boat models (one ancient and the other modern) figure; after a day of processions and ceremonial the boats are burned. Then followed some pictures of recent funeral boats from Venice. Reference was made to the custom of "saluting the quarter-deck" in the Navy. This was not the saluting of a superior officer, but was based upon the fact that the stern of the ship was the Holy Place, and, indeed, at one time, was the chapel or the shrine. On the rivers of China the poorest boatman will not allow a stranger to desecrate the littel railed-off spot in the stern. At Chioggia, all the fishing boats have a board enclosing this sacred spot, and such boards are brightly painted with Biblical subjects, such as "The Last Supper." The modern slang expression, "Up before the Beak," was a survival of the Roman plan of having the seat of Justice ornamented by the projecting rostrum (beak or nose) of a galley. Even now our auctioneer's desk is called a rostrum. Concerning the connection between the power of the Evil Eye and boats: it was well known that sailors were exceedingly superstitious, and this may be said to apply to the sailors of every nation. It was once thought that storms and tempests were caused by demons, and even in Northern Siberia this still holds good. It became necessary then to ward off the influence of these demons, and the eye was a potent

charm. Talking of luck for the boats, he had seen horse-shoes nailed to the masts of fishing craft on our South Coast. At Chioggia he noticed that all the fishing boats had large eyes of wood—painted—fixed, one on each bow. The old Roman galleys, too, had eyes painted on them, as also have many of the smaller craft of the South Pacific Islands. He described the boat “*ex Votos*,” given by grateful sailors on safe return from a voyage. In Holland and Belgium these may still be seen in some of the churches. Amongst the Flemish fishermen “*Santa Claus*” comes, not in a reindeer sledge, but in a boat, and cake models of this boat are given to the children on December 6th.

The lecture was illustrated by a large series of original photographic lantern slides of the various subjects described, together with another series of slides of toy-model boats, such as Kayak, Umiak, Canoe, Coracle, Curragh, Coble, and other primitive types, and strongly emphasized the educational advantage in the proposed Folk Museum of using toys and toy models to illustrate as far as possible the history of folk objects. Such collections would attract, interest, and instruct children as well as adults.

A discussion followed in which the President, and Mr. James Gray, Mr. Johnston, and Mr. W. Barnes Steveni took part. Mr. Johnston proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Lovett for his lecture, which was seconded by Dr. Jón Stefánsson, and carried by acclamation.

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#### MEETING, FEBRUARY 17TH, 1911.

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

A paper was read on “Two Derivations” (English-Latin: Scaldingi—Old English: Wicing), by Professor Erik Björkman. Printed on pp. 132-40.

“Costumes, Jewels, and Furniture in Viking Times,” by Dr. Alexander Bugge. Printed on pp. 141-76.

“Miniatures from Icelandic Manuscripts,” Part II., by Dr. Harry Fett. Printed on pp. 177-205. Illustrated.

Professor Collingwood's water-colour sketches of costumes of the Viking Period, which were sketched for the “Danish Scene” in Festival of Empire, were exhibited; also Dr. Fett's illustrated book of miniatures from Icelandic manuscripts.

The Chairman moved a vote of thanks to the authors for their papers, which was heartily responded to.

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#### MEETING, MARCH 17TH, 1911.

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

The Chairman gave his Inaugural Address on “William Herbert and his Scandinavian Poetry.”

On a motion by Mr. F. P. Marchant, a vote of thanks was put to the meeting, which was seconded by Mr. W. Barnes Steveni, and carried by acclamation. Printed on pp. 206-20.

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#### ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, MAY 19TH, 1911.

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

The Annual Meeting was held in the King's Weigh House Rooms, on Friday, May 19th, at 8 p.m.

The Annual Report and Balance Sheet was presented to the meeting, and was approved and adopted unanimously.

The officers of the club, nominated by the Council for the ensuing year, were unanimously elected (Mr. J. A. Fallows and Mr. Douglas C. Stedman acting as scrutineers); and have been printed with the Annual Report in the YEAR-BOOK, 1910-11, pp. 4-21.

A vote of thanks to the out-going members of Council, Professor Auchterlonie and Dr. Laughton, was carried in the usual manner.



A paper was read on "Early English Influence on the Danish Church," by the Rev. A. V. Storm. Printed on pp. 220-31.

A discussion followed, in which Mr. J. A. Fallows and Mr. F. P. Marchant took part; Mr. A. W. Johnston proposed a vote of thanks to Pastor Storm for his paper, and to Mr. W. R. L. Lowe for kindly reading it, which was seconded by Mr. J. P. Emslie and carried by acclamation. To which Mr. Lowe responded.

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#### MEETING, NOVEMBER 17TH, 1911.

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

Dr. H. Buergel Goodwin, Ph.D., gave a lecture on "Scandinavian Races and Nationalities," illustrated by coloured lantern slides.

Mr. W. R. L. Lowe, Mr. W. Barnes Steveni, and Mr. A. W. Johnston took part in the discussion; to which Dr. Goodwin replied.

The Chairman moved a vote of thanks to Dr. Goodwin for his lecture, which was carried by acclamation.

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#### MEETING, DECEMBER 15TH, 1911.

A paper was read on "Anglo-Saxon Silver Coins from the Eleventh Century in a Silver-hoard from Ryfylke, Norway," by Dr. A. W. Brøgger. Printed on pp. 232-46.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. W. R. L. Lowe and Mr. A. W. Taylor took part.

The President moved a vote of thanks to Dr. Brøgger for his paper, and to Mr. A. W. Johnston for reading it, which was accorded in the usual manner.

During the evening Norwegian, Swedish, Danish, and Finnish Folk-Songs were contributed by Mr. Pasi Jääskeläinen, a Finnish minstrel on a visit to London, to the accompaniment of the Kantele.

## TWO DERIVATIONS.

By PROFESSOR ERIK BJÖRKMAN.

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ENGLISH-LATIN: SCALDINGI.—OLD ENGLISH: WĪCING.

This name for the Vikings occurs in the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* worked up by Symeon of Durham, in the following places:—

(1) Post hoc bellum dedit Egfridus rex Sancto Cuthberto Carrum, et quidquid ad eam pertinet. Et habuit eum in summa veneratione quamdiu vixit, ipse et tota sua cognatio, donec eo defuncto venerunt Scaldingi et Eboracam civitatem fregerunt, et terram vastaverunt (Symeonis Monachi Opera omnia, edidit Thomas Arnold London 1882 i Rerum Britannicarum Medii ævi Scriptores or Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland, during the Middle Ages, I, p. 200 [Rolls Series]; Publications of the Surtees Society, vol. 51, S. 141).

(2) Priusquam Scaldingi venerunt in Anglicam terram dederunt Ceol-vulfus rex et episcopus Estred sancto Cuthberto quattuor villas, scilicet Wudacestre, et Hwitincham et Eadwulfineham, et Ecgwulfincham, et ecclesias harum villarum consecravit idem episcopus (Arnold I, p. 202; Surtees Society p. 143).

(3) Occiso igitur Ælle, et fratre ejus Osberto, nullus de cognatione eorum regnavit, obtinente hoc apud Deum Sancto Cuthberto, in quem multum peccaverant, quia Scaldingi omnes prope Anglos in meridiana et aquilonari parte occiderunt, ecclesias fregerunt et spoliaverunt. Igitur Halfdene rex Danorum in Tinam intravit, et usque Wyrcesforde navigavit, omnia vastans, et contra Sanctum Cuthbertum crudeliter peccans. Sed mox ira Dei et sancti confessoris super eum venit. Nam adeo coepit insanire et sætere, quod totus eum exercitus suus a se expulit, et longe in mare fugavit, nec postea comparuit (Arnold I S. 202 f.; Surtees Society s. 143).

THE events told in connection with the *Scaldingi* belong to the ninth century, and apparently the name *Scaldingi* itself dates from this time, though of course it may be later, as the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* is supposed to date from the second half of the tenth century.

The above-named *Halfdene* was the brother of the famous son of Lodbrok, Ingvar, and according to some sources Ubbi was another brother.

Another name for the Vikings is doubtless connected with *Scaldingi*, namely *Scaldi*, which occurs in *Annales Lindisfarnenses* A. 532-993 under A.D. 911: *Scaldi Rollo duce possident Normanniam* (Pertz, *Mon. Hist. Germ.* XIX, p. 506).

There are two derivations of *Scaldingi*. One is from the river name, *Schelde*, Lat. *Scaldis* (Old English *Scald*, *Saxon Chronicle*, 883). Lappenberg, *Geschichte von England* I., p. 212 gives this derivation, and the other, too. Storm, *Kritische Bidrag*, p. 81, decidedly prefers this derivation to the other. The name *Scaldingi* would thus indicate a Norse Settlement in the delta of the Schelde, and, also, that the Viking expeditions to England issued thence, especially those of Halfdene, Ingvar and Ubbi. Also Steenstrup, *Normannerne* II., p. 178, thinks it is very probable: "It has been shown above that Vikings in England came from Frisland, and about this time a name for Vikings in England occurs, *Scaldingi*, supposed, perhaps rightly, to denote warriors from the Schelde (*Scaldis*) tracts." In II. p. 283, footnote, he supports this view: "Here I may refer to A. Lindisfarnenses 911, Pertz XIX, 506: *Scaldi Rollo duce possident Normanniam*; as *Scaldingi* is the name of the Danish-English Vikings of the Schelde, this gives a hint of the origin of Rollo and his warriors. We find the same derivation in Ducange VII. p. 329. "*Scaldingi*, Dani, seu Normanni, sic appellati quod ad Scaldim amnem positis castris diu ibi morati sunt ann. 833." According to Pertz, l.c. *Scaldi* means "fortasse Normanni ad Scaldim siti."

The second derivation is given alternately by Lappenberg, l.c., who connects it with Norse *Skiöldungar*, thus also Arnold I. p. 200, footnote 1, Plummer, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles* II., p. 85, who connect it with O.E. *Scyldingas*. In his edition of Asser (Oxford, 1904), W. H. Stevenson supports this derivation: "it (*Scaldingi*) is much more probably a somewhat corrupted form of

*Skiöldungar*, the *Scyldingas* of Beowulf, the name of the royal race of the Danes, and, by extension, of the Danes themselves." This derivation is supported by Collingwood's, "Scandinavian Britain," Lond., 1908, p. 124: "The tenth-century History of St. Cuthbert which calls him (*i.e.* Halfdene) and his brother *Scaldingi*, Skjöldungs, says that in the end he became mad and unpopular with his army."

Neither of these derivations seems to me convincing. The derivation from *Schelde*, *Scaldis* has no ground to support it beyond the mere form. I must agree with Stevenson that no evidence whatever exists that the Vikings were called after this river. The second derivation might seem more probable for this reason that *Skiöldungar*, as a name of Danish sea-kings, might easily be extended to the Viking army. But on linguistic grounds, this derivation is impossible; we should expect \**Sceldingi* or an anglicized \**Scyldingi*, not *Scaldingi*.

Hence we must look for a derivation that may satisfy us both *formaliter* and *realiter*. It is known that the Vikings in England (and why not also on the continent?) were named after their ships and often merely called "ship-farers, ship-men."

The following examples show this: *Scipflotan* Sax. Chron. 937 (the poem on the Brunanburgh battle) denotes Northmen, also (in the poem) merely *flotan*, sailors. *Sciphere*, ship-army, is a usual Old English name for the Vikings, but may also be used for the English fleet. *Here*, however, denotes exclusively, or almost exclusively, Viking troops. The English troops were called *fyrð*, and their fleet *scipfyrð* (also *sciphere*).

*Flotmann* (properly sailor, cp. *flotan* above), is, just as *wicing*, a gloss of Lat. *pirata* in Wright-Wülcker, Anglo-Saxon and Old Eng. Vocab. 2 Ed. 1884, col. 311; cp. *flotmann*, pirate, in Dodd, A Glossary of Wulfstan's Homilies, p. 63.

*Æscmann*, shipman, sailor, viking, pirate, Sax. Chron. 921, pl. *æscmen* Wr. Voc. (*piratici wicinsceaþan, sæsceaþan, æscmen*), from *æsc*, Viking ship, Sax. (Chron. 897 (*þa het Aelfred cyng timbran langscipu ongen þa æscas*)), *æsc*, *dromo*, Wr. Voc. It is interesting to find that this name was also used on the continent, to judge from *ascomanni, piratæ*, in the Lex salica (cp. Schrader, Reallexikon, p. 715).

*Scegðmann*, pirate, viking, identic with O.E. *wicing*, together with which it is a gloss of *pirata*, Bosw. Toller, p. 828, Wr. Voc.; from O.E. *scegð*, a light, swift vessel, a loanword from Scand. *skeið* (Björkman, Scand. Loanwords, p. 38).

We must then consider if *Scaldingi* can be derived from any word meaning a ship. Such a word exists; it seems to be found exclusively among the continental Teutons, but that is no objection to my derivation, since *Scaldingi* may have had its origin on the continent, and thence reached Symeon of Durham through literature. Oral transference of it to England is also possible.

This word is Old Saxon, Old Low Frankish *\*skalda*, the existence of which is proved by the following words: Dutch *schouw*, ferry, from Middle Dutch *schoude*<sup>1</sup>; Middle Low German *schalde*, boat, ferry, is given in Grimm's Wörterbuch under *schalte*, which according to him has a similar meaning in many High German dialects. The glosses *naves longe schaldin* in Heinrici Summarium (Rieger, Germania 9, p. 26), *dromones scaltûn, scaldun, schaldin* (Heinr. Summ., Steinmeyer and Sievers Ahd. Gl. III., p. 163) belong here. Also New High German *schältich*, Kahn, Nachen, der durch ein unbefestigtes Steuerruder (Schalte) regiert wird, Flussfahrzeug überhaupt (Grimm, Schmeller), also contracted as *schelch*. Middle High German *schelding*, Flussfahrzeug (Lexer) also occurs.

<sup>1</sup> Franck, Et. Wb. p. 862. For phonetics compare Dutch *vouwen* < *faldan*. Franck also gives a Rhenish *schalde*.

This Low German \**skalda* has also reached Scandinavia. Snorri, in his Edda, gives *skalda* among the names for ships (*skipa heiti*, Sn. E, Arnarnagn. I., p. 582, II., p. 481, 565, 624); it is not likely that the word is Scandinavian, since it does not occur there otherwise.

Low German \**skalda* originally denotes a vessel that is pulled along with a punting pole, and is the same as O.H.G. *scaltscif* pontonium, Fahrzeug (z. Flussübersetzen), das mit der Stange fortgestossen wird.<sup>1</sup> It is formed from the verb *schalten*, O.H.G. *scaltan*, which in Sievers' glossary to Tatian is rendered by "rudern,"<sup>2</sup> Old Saxon *skaldan*, to punt a ship along<sup>3</sup>; this verb is used in many parts of Germany to denote the pulling along of a vessel by means of a punting-pole.

The following will further elucidate this word: German *schalte*, f. Ruderstange, Stange, welche dazu dient ein Schiff an das Ufer zu ziehen oder vom Lande abzustossen, which name was subsequently transferred to the boat punted along by a pole (Grimm); this, however, seems to me very doubtful; I am inclined to think both *schalte*, a boat, and *schalte*, Ruderstange, lange Schiebestange der Schiffer, are derived, independently of each other, from the verb *schalten*, the first as a synonym of *schaltschiff*, the second as a synonym of M.H.G. *schaltbom*, M.L.G. *schaltbom*, Ruderstange (Grimm) or M.H.G. *schaltruoder* (Schade). German *schalte*, Schleusenbrett, Schleuse, G. *schalter*, Schiebefenster, M.H.G. *schalter*, *schelter*, Riegel, G. *schaltjahr*, leap-

<sup>1</sup> Cp. the gloss: *pontonium scaltscif* (Heinr. Summ.) Rieger Germania 9 s. 26. Steinmeyer and Sievers Ahd Gl. III. p. 164.

<sup>2</sup> Tatian 19.6: *scalt thaz skef in tiufi* 'duc in altum.'

<sup>3</sup> Heliand v. 2381 ff.:

*ak gēng imo thō the gōdo    endi is jungaron mid imu,  
friðu-barn' godes,    themu flōde nāhor  
an ēn skip innan,    endi it scaldan hēt  
lande rūmur,    that ina thea liudi sō flū,  
thioda ni thrungi.*

year, are all connected. See Kluge, Et. Wb. Grimm's Wb. and Falk and Torp, under *skalte*.

Morphologically no objection can be taken to my derivation of *Scaldingi*, *Scaldi*. The first seems to be a Low German name, originating chiefly on the coast of the North Sea (the present Holland and parts of Belgium). Old Low Frankish and Old Frisian morphology is very little known; the possibility of forming from *\*skalda*, ship, a noun *\*skalding*, a member of the crew of such a ship, cannot be doubted. *Scaldi* may be a direct Latin derivation of *\*scalda*, perhaps for *\*scaldii*.

Semasiologically, objection might be taken to my derivation. *\*Skalda* did not expressly mean a Viking ship, but a vessel in use by the Continental Teutons, punted along by a pole or punt. The answer to this is that the pirates who visited the coast of Frisland (present Holland and present Belgium) and came up the rivers to plunder, often could not reach the coast, not even enter the bays and river mouths, except by punting their ships along like a Low-German *\*skalda*. With extensive shallows along the coast, *\*skalda* was clearly the only form of ship known, and the only crews known were *skaldingar*.

*Scaldingi* was thus originally a Low-German name meaning "shipmen." O.E. *butsecarl*, boatman, mariner, Sax. Chron. 1052 C., 1066 C.D.E. is also certainly of Continental origin, though it is impossible to decide whether *butse*, which is found in several European languages, came to England by way of Low-German or French; cp. M.E. *buss*, a vessel of burden (The Oxford Dictionary). Several words for various kinds of ship and shipping spread already in the early Middle Ages to nations where they did not originate. Without discussing further this well-known fact, I will quote some M.H.G. glosses in the

above-named Heinrici Summarium (Rieger, Germania 9 p. 26, Steinmeyer and Sievers Ahd. Gl. III. p. 163): *snacgum*, *snaggum*, *snegchun*, *snacgin*, *rostrate naves* (identical with Old W. Scand. *snekkia*, a kind of longship or *skeið*, French *esneque*), *buzo*, *paro* (cp. O.E. *butsecarl*, O.W. Scand. *buza*), *gnarrun*, *gnarren*, *mioparo* (= Gr. *μυοπάριον*, a light pirate vessel), in which I find Old Danish *knorr*, O.W. Scand. *knörr* (gen. *knarrar*), a large ship, O.E. *cneor*, a small warship.

If then *Scaldingi* originates in a continental Teutonic dialect on the North Sea, one is inclined to look for a similar origin of other names for the Vikings. There is the word *Viking* itself. It is remarkable that the word is found in England long before a Viking landed in that country. It occurs in the oldest Old English glosses (Epinal, Erfurt, Corpus)<sup>1</sup> and must have been known to Englishmen in the first half of the eighth century, nearly a century before the Viking expeditions to England began, namely, in 787. We thus reach a time when Norse Vikings were unknown to Europe. Chance contingents of Danes or other Scandinavians, joining in Saxon raids on the shores of Britain before the Viking time, do not count here, any more than the Scandinavian expedition to these tracts, mentioned by Gregory of Tours, under Chochilaicus (Hygeālc, Huggleikr), about A.D. 515. This expedition, little as we know of it, was hardly an ordinary Viking raid, and did not give rise to the word *wicing*.

It is obvious that *wicing*, pirate, in the oldest O.E. glosses cannot have reached England directly from Scandinavia and hardly indirectly, either; Viking as denoting a Norse pirate was at that time unknown. *Wicinga cynn*, the name of a tribe in Widsiþ seems (if the word is identical) to indicate that the name existed at the time of the migrations of the fourth century. It

<sup>1</sup> Epinal; *uucingsceadan*, *piraticum*; Erf. *uucingsceadae*, *piraticam*, (Sweet, O.E.T. 84), Corpus: *wicingsceaðan*, *piraticam* (Sweet 87).



is worth mentioning that the tribe of Reuben is called *sæwicingas* in the Old English Exodus.

Since *wicing* at any rate existed in England in the eighth century, possibly earlier, it seems natural to seek its origin in those parts of the Teutonic world which before the Viking time were pre-eminently exposed to pirates. This was the case with the old so-called *litus saxonicum*, i.e. those coasts of Northern France and Belgium (to the Schelde) which were visited by Saxon pirates long before the Viking time, and according to others also certain parts of the opposite coast of Britain,<sup>1</sup> but also the continuation of the North Sea Coast, north of Schelde (Holland and Frisland) which cannot have escaped from piracy during the troubled times when the Anglo-Saxons migrated to England (5th and 6th centuries) or later on. Teutonic pirates are mentioned by Plinius (Hist. nat. XVI., 203); these precursors of the Vikings embarked in vessels made out of one single tree, some of which could hold 30 persons. Saxon pirates are mentioned in the 4th century, and their raids continued during the two following centuries. In these circumstances it is not impossible that *wicing* originated in the Teutonic countries that were visited by the Saxons, or with the Saxons or other Teutonic pirates.<sup>2</sup>

*Viking* became later on quite international, a technical term which was also adopted by the Norsemen, and used *par excellence* of the Norse warriors who in the ninth and tenth century made war in the British Isles and in present Normandy. The word is also found in Friesland (Old Frisian *Witsing*, *Wising*).<sup>3</sup> I will not let myself be

<sup>1</sup> Hoops, Waldbäume und Kulturpflanzen, p. 580.

<sup>2</sup> The Frisians were important at sea in the eighth century, also as pirates.

<sup>3</sup> This form is remarkable, as it has passed through the Old Frisian assibilation *k > ts* which indicates that the word had belonged to Frisian vocabulary for a considerable time. It is not impossible that the word originated with the Frisians.

tempted to say more about *wicing* here. But as for its original meaning, *skalding* being a pirate who punts his ship over shallows on the coast, might not *wicing* mean approximately the same, *i.e.*, one who punted his ship into shallow bays (*wic*) or river mouths? In these shallow waters the pirate vessels were specially protected against wind and waves where they stopped. This favours the old derivation from *vik*, bay. But the foundations for this are too unsafe, nor can I discuss here another derivation which is possible, though less probable, namely from Teutonic *wic* (from Latin *vicus*) which in English and possibly also on the continent was used in the meaning of "an occasional dwelling place, camp, camp site"; cp. Old English *wīcstōw*, camp, encampment.

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# COSTUMES, JEWELS, AND FURNITURE IN VIKING TIMES.

By DR. ALEXANDER BUGGE.

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NOTHING travels so quickly from land to land as fashion in clothing, jewellery, and furniture, and the arrangement of the house. When people that have lived long without intercourse with the rest of the world, come into close contact with foreign nations, of perhaps higher culture, then these things are amongst the first to be borrowed. The Vikings who, with all the impulsiveness of youth, rushed into the tumult of life, loved wine, women, magnificence, and fine clothing. They were vain, and rejoiced like children in all kinds of gorgeous display. When Olaf, the twelve-year-old son of Hoskuld and Melkorka, rode to the Al-thing the first time, every one turned round to look at him, he was so handsome, and his clothes and weapons were so splendid; his father then gave him a nick-name, and called him (*pái*) peacock<sup>1</sup>; and this name stuck to him during his lifetime. This is told in *Laxdæla Saga*. But there was no hidden irony in this nick-name, as people might be inclined to think nowadays; on the contrary, it expressed an admiration for the handsome and beautifully-dressed boy. Later, also, we have interesting evidence how eager our ancestors were to imitate foreign fashions in dress, viz., the Norwegian king, Magnus Barefoot, this Viking, born too late for Viking Times (died 1103). "So say men that whenas King Magnus came back from his West-Viking, he held

<sup>1</sup> The same nick-name was also used in England and in Denmark. *Robertus Pa de Scardeburgh* is mentioned 1333 (*Surtees Soc.*, Vol. 33, p. 302), *Johannes dictus paa* of Esrom is mentioned 1290 (*Codex Esromiensis*, edited by O. Nielsen, p. 281).

mostly to the fashion of raiment as was wont in Western Europe, and many of his men likewise. They would go bare-legged in the street, and had short kirtles and over-cloaks. So men called him Magnus Barefoot, or Bareleg.”<sup>1</sup>

The dress described here is the same as that which is still worn in the Highlands of Scotland. It is therefore natural that, in Viking times, perhaps in no department were there so many words borrowed, and so much foreign influence as in everything relating to clothes, jewels and furniture, yet we must not think that the Norse people had nothing of this before. Long before the Viking Period the Scandinavian peoples knew the art of weaving, not only simple wadmél, but also finer cloth; and to make beautiful trinkets and ornaments, and to adorn the house with fine wood-carving. From the earliest times down to our days, the peasants in the Scandinavian countries have themselves woven the material for their clothes, from the wool that was spun on the farm. This cloth was called *vaðmál*. Already in the Bronze Age, they knew how to dye the wool, but how it was done, and to what extent the clothes were coloured, cannot be decided now.<sup>2</sup> So much only can be stated, as already then, that they, besides coarse stuff, had fine fabrics. From the later Roman Iron Age (3rd or 4th century of our era), cloth has been found in Norway, which is coloured with a brownish Iceland moss (*Atralia Islandica*), and must have been woven in Norway. From the 4th century, red-brown two-ply cloth has been found, and also cloth that has been coloured yellow-brown.

How developed the art of weaving was in Norway about 600 a. Chr. may be inferred from a find in western Norway (Evebø, Gloppen, Nordfjord). In the well-

<sup>1</sup> Heimskringla, Magnus Saga Berfoets, c. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Hjorth, Undersøgelser af forhistorisk Tøi og Tøirester (Stavanger Museums Aarsberetning, 1908), p. 9.

built sepulchral chamber the dead chieftain was found lying in a coat of reddish brown cloth, with green squares woven into it. The coat was open in the front, and was held together by hooks of silver. Along the front was a border with animals woven into it; the colour of this seems to have been brown and green. The collar of the coat was likewise figured, and had squares of silver-thread. The corners of the coat were set with fringes.<sup>1</sup> In one of the oldest bog-finds of South-Jutland (3rd century of our era) there has likewise been found a complete dress of a man which, however, differs from the dress of the Enebö-find. The coat of the Torsbjerg-find is not open in the front, and has sleeves of a thicker and finer cloth. Besides the coat were found trousers that reached from the body to the ankle, and were woven of a coarser stuff. The trousers were held together round the body by a girdle, and had socks, woolly on the inner side, sewn to them. Around the shoulders was a cap with long fringe. It is highly probable that people in Norway before the Viking Age already used breeches (an. *brók*, pl. *broekr*) and hose (an. *hósa*) that reached from the knee to the tiptoe. The word *brók*, which is also found in Anglo-Saxon (*brôc*), is probably a German word. Latin-*braca*, *bracca*, which is a Celtic loan-word, has most likely come to Gaul from the Germans. The word *brók* and *hosa* as well as *höltr* ("hat") are found in Norwegian place-names that seem to be older than the Viking Age.

In the Viking Age other vegetable dyes were used. In the Oseberg ship berries of the woad-plant, which contain indigo-blue (*Isatis tinctoria*), were found. Remains of cloth found in Denmark, showing traces of yellow and dark green colours,<sup>2</sup> are also discovered. From these finds it appears that the red and brown were the

<sup>1</sup>G. Gustafson. The Enebö-find and some other grave-finds from Gloppen. Bergen's Museums Annual Report for 1889.

<sup>2</sup>Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed, 1900, s. 276.

prevailing colours of old, and next to them green. The Sagas often mention wadmél, which was dyed with dark brown or red-brown stripes (*mórent vaðmál*); red-brown cloth (*mórauðr*) is also mentioned.

We can also see that there were several kinds of wadmél in Iceland, a superior sort (*hafnarváð*), a coarser sort specially used for export, *söluváð*, *vöruváð*, or *þakkaváðmál*, and finally *bragðarváð*, the finest cloth, which had woven designs in it.

Roman influence was probably strong during the first centuries of our era, also in regard to dress, and it taught the Norse people, among other things, to weave fine borders and designs into their cloth. A piece of woollen cloth woven with zoomorphic designs (thus woven in Norway), as above mentioned, is preserved in Bergen's Museum. Another piece of the sixth century is illustrated in O. Rygh, *Antiquités Norvégiennes* (fig. 833). Yet, already at this time, foreign cloth probably reached Norway.<sup>1</sup>

Excavations in Hafslo (Sogn) have brought to light cloth with many-coloured borders, scroll border, which points to foreign work; the find dates from the sixth century.<sup>1</sup>

During the Viking Age much foreign cloth was imported to Norway, especially for the use of kings and chieftains. The wadmél, woven at home on the farm, could not, even if it was dyed, vie in splendour and bright colours with the foreign, especially with the cloth from the Netherlands. And the most costly and beautiful of all fabrics, silk, could not be got at home in Norway. Silk appears first in the Viking Age. In graves from times earlier than the Viking Age no remains of silk have been found.<sup>2</sup> It is doubtful, and it cannot be decided on linguistic grounds, if the word *silki* came to Scandinavia from Eastern or from Western

<sup>1</sup> Kindly communicated by Dr. Schetelig, Bergen.

<sup>2</sup> Th. Thomsen, *Vävede stoffe fra jernalderen* (Aarb. f. nord. Oldk., 1900), p. 257 f.

Europe. Silk is in Anglo-Saxon called *seolc* or *seoloc*, a word that is closely akin to *silki*. On the other hand, there is the Church-Slavonic form *selkie*, which seems to be connected with Mongolian *sirgek*, Manchurian *sirghé*, Chinese *sir*, Korean *sir*. It is therefore most probable that the word *silki* came from Eastern Europe, and that trade with the Arabs through Russia first brought silk fabrics in larger quantities to Scandinavia. The Anglo-Saxon word would then be borrowed from the Norse. But probably in the Viking Age much silk came to Scandinavia from Western Europe also. The home of the silk is, as is well known, China. But at the beginning of the Viking Age the silk industry had spread over the whole Orient, and was introduced into Sicily and Spain by the Moors.<sup>1</sup>

The Norwegians in Ireland who traded much abroad, delighted in splendid clothes, and had many foreign ornaments. When the Irish plundered Limerick in 968, they took away with them the jewels, and the most valuable property of the Norse settlers there, their foreign saddles, their gold and silver, their beautiful woven clothes of all colours and kinds, their satin and silk clothes, beautiful and variegated, scarlet and green, and also all kinds of garments.<sup>2</sup> It is not probable that the Norwegians in Ireland traded with the Eastern Europe; it is more likely that the above mentioned fabrics were imported from Spain, as we know that they had intercourse with the South of France and Spain.<sup>3</sup> Norse tales that reached the Arabs point to this, and it is well known that the Moors in Spain were eminent in skin and leather-work.<sup>3</sup> The foreign saddles (*a sadlaici allmarda*) have therefore probably been Spanish. The same is most likely the case with the silks. The silks of the Norwegians in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Heyd, *Gesch. des Levantehandels im mittelalter* II, 649, ff. and 682 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cogadh Gaedhel, ed. Todd (Rolls Series) p. 78-79.

<sup>3</sup> Cordova in Spain, Cordwain derives its name from this City.

Ireland are mentioned several times. When the Irish in the year 1000 had taken and plundered Dublin, the poem about it says: We brought silks out of their fortress (" *Tugsam siccir as a dún* ").<sup>1</sup>

In the Eddic poem *Rígsþula*, silk is mentioned the first time in old Norwegian poetry. It says, about the birth of the young Jarl, son of the chieftain (st. 34): *Svein ól Móðir, silki vafði*. As it is commonly accepted that the Lay of Rig was composed among Celts in the British Isles, we may conclude that the silk wrapped round the new-born child came from Spain *via* Ireland; also elsewhere silk is mentioned in the Viking Age, which probably came to Norway from Western Europe. Thus the chieftain, Arinbjorn, in Western Norway, gave to Egil Skallagrimsson a silk cloak set with gold buttons. Egil says about it in the verse:

Sjalfáraði lét slæðor	"The chieftain of his free will
Silki drengr of fengit	gave a gold-buttoned
Gull Knappaðar greppe.	silk cloak to the warrior."

Arinbjorn had then just returned from England, so we may conclude that the silk cloak came from there. Silk was, of course, far more expensive in the Viking Age than now. It was used for head-bands and also for wrist-bands, and for narrow borders sewn on woollen cloth. The scald, Einar Skálaglam, in a poem 986, calls Hakon jarl "the righteous silk-band adorned chieftain." In a grave at Mammen in Viborg Co. in Denmark there has been found a bolstered sewn bracelet of silk (illustrated in Aarböger for nordisk Oldkyndighed, 1869, p. 5). Finds show that chieftains in the Scandinavian countries, usually, were dressed in silk. Thus in Denmark in the four Viking Age graves, *e.g.*, in the royal graves of Jellinge, and in Norway, in the Oseberg and the Gokstad ship, and other finds, remains of silk have been found.

Most of the foreign clothes used by the Norwegians

<sup>1</sup> Cogadh Gaedhel, p. 112 f.



and Icelanders in the Viking Age probably came from France and the Netherlands. In Flanders, Brabant, and adjoining parts of present France there were famous looms, which were already known in the Roman Period. The art of weaving existed in these countries from that time throughout the Middle Ages. In the time of Charlemagne the so-called Frisian cloth (*pallia fresonica*) was known all over Europe, even by the Arabs. Professor Pirenne, in Ghent, has shown that this cloth was woven in Flanders, but Frisian traders made them known in foreign markets. From Dorestad and Quentovic, whose trade which flourished throughout the Viking Age, a good deal of the cloth came to Scandinavia. The Norse languages prove this. In *Sigurðarkviða Skamma* (verse 66), Brynhild asks to have her body wrapped in a cloth that is called *valarípt*, and it is *vel fäð*, i.e., beautifully coloured: this word cannot, as some scholars think, signify "funeral cloth," and come from *valr*, the field of the slain; it should then be *valrípt*, and not *valarípt*; and even *valrípt* would probably be cloth from Valland (the usual name of France), as *valskikkja* is the same as *völsk skikkja*. Also it seems as if *vala* in *valarípt* answers to *Vala* in the following line, where it is the genitive of *Valir* (the inhabitants of France or the reign of the Franks):—

*Valarípt vel fäð*  
*Ok Vala mengi.*

English cloth is often mentioned in the sagas.<sup>1</sup> But these accounts are not conclusive, and probably date from the twelfth century, at which time we know from reliable sources that linen and cloth were exported to

<sup>1</sup> Thus in Egil's Saga (chap. 17), Thorolf Kveldulfsson sends a ship to England to purchase cloth and other commodities. In the Eyrbyggjasaga (chap. 50) it is told that in the year 1000, a ship arrived in Iceland from Dublin with Hebridean and Irish men on board. A Hebridean woman, by name Thorgunna, was also on board; she brought with her a large chest of bed-linen, among which were "English sheets" (*Enskar blæjur*).

Iceland from England.<sup>1</sup> In Domesday Book cloth-weavers are only mentioned in Stamford, one of the Five Boroughs that formed a Viking settlement. It is possible that looms were introduced into Stamford by the Norsemen.

The Northmen liked to get a variety of coloured clothing from abroad, which they could not make themselves. Purple and scarlet were in high favour. The word *skarlat*, *skallat*, scarlet, is not mentioned in the oldest scaldic poetry, but scarlet seems still to have been known in the Viking Age. In the sagas it is often mentioned that chieftains were dressed in scarlet clothes. Kjartan, when he came to Olaf Tryggvason, was dressed in a scarlet kirtle (*i skarlatskyrtli rauðum*) (*Laxdæla Saga*, chapter 40). I have before mentioned that the Norwegians in Ireland used scarlet cloth. The word itself is of Romanesque origin; it is in Mediæval Latin *scarlatum*, and in Middle English *scarlat*, and in Old French *escarlate*. We are unable to decide whether the word came into Scandinavian languages from French or English. Scarlet and purple cloth had always to be imported when required. Thus, in *Haraldskvæði* (st. 19), it is mentioned that the scalds of Harald Fair-hair were dressed in red cloaks with fine borders (*á feldum rauðum vel fagrrenðuðum*), it is probable that the cloth of these cloaks was not woven in Norway, but like the weapons that Harald's enemies bore in Hafsr-fjord, and like the customs of Harald's court, came from Western Europe.

<sup>1</sup> It is not generally known that cloth and linen in the 12th century already were exported from England. The Icelandic laws (*Grágas*), however, mention English linen (*enskt lerept*). At the middle of the 12th century Svein Asleifarson and Hakon, a son of Harald, the earl of Orkney, made a Viking expedition to the Hebrides. Not far from the Isle of Man they met two English ships which were sailing to Dublin. The cargo consisted of English cloth and was very rich (*Flateyjarbók* II, p. 512 f.) That this story is historical we may a.o. infer from the fact that the ships are called *kjólar* (English *keel*, a word still used in the meaning of "ship" in Yorkshire).

Other kinds of cloth is also mentioned in the Viking Age, which may have been imported from Western Europe. In several places in the Eddaic and Scaldic poetry, a costly cloth used by chieftains is mentioned, called *guðvefr*, which is probably the same as Anglo-Saxon *godwebb*, which means a kind of fine cloth.

The sagas also mention very frequently, cloaks and other fine garments, which Norse chieftains in the Viking Age carried away from foreign lands, or obtained as a gift from foreign kings. In *Gunnlaug's saga Ormstungu* (chapter 7), it is mentioned that King Ethelred, in England, gave Gunnlaug, as a reward for poetry, a scarlet cloak, lined with the best furs, and decked with borders to the hem. This cloak, it is well known, plays a great part in *Gunnlaug Saga*. Gunnlaug gave it to Helga the Fair, and she had it spread out before her, to look at, before she died. Also in Dublin, Gunnlaug got a beautiful costume, as a reward for poetry; King Sigtrygg gave him his own dress of new scarlet. The kirtle was finished with a border, and the cloak was lined with costly furs (*Gunnlaug's Saga*, Chapter 8). When Egil had recited his poem concerning King Athelstan in England, the king gave him a costly cloak (*Egil's Saga*, Chapter 55). When Kjartan returned home to Iceland, King Olaf's sister, Ingibjörg, gave him, for Gudrun Ovifsdauhter, in a bag of godweb (*þar var guðvefjarþoki um útan*), a white head-dress wrought with gold (*motr hvítan, gullofin*). (*Laxdæla*, chapter 43).

The word *motr*, a kind of cap or bonnet, is of foreign origin, and perhaps related to Lat. *almutia*, *almutium*, a head-dress originally worn by clergymen, later on also by laymen, Ital. *almussa*, Portuguese *mursa*. From the Portuguese word may perhaps be inferred that there has existed a word *mutia* or *mutium* which would correspond to *motr*. It is most likely that King Olaf Tryggvason had got this costly head-dress in Eastern Europe. It must not be forgotten that the

Scandinavian peoples during the Viking and the early middle ages got Oriental and Byzantine silk and gold woven fabric in Russia, especially in Novgorod, the chief place of the transit trade between the Orient and Northern and Western Europe. In the Oseberg ship are found pieces of a tapestry which, according to Professor Gustafson, is of Oriental origin. In the year 1017 a Norwegian merchant, called Gudleik the Russian (*gerðski*) sailed to Russia in order to purchase silk (*pell*=Lat. *pallium*) that was intended for a festive garb to King Olaf Haraldson.<sup>1</sup> Gotland, the centre of the Baltic trade, was especially rich in Oriental fabric. The ancient "Gutalag" (the law of Gotland) mentions golden head-dresses (*gullaf*), the same as the above mentioned *motr*?, silk ribbons, silk damask (*pell*) and scarlet.<sup>2</sup>

Together, with the foreign cloth, foreign fashions also came to the North. First I must describe, briefly, the dress of the common people in the Viking Age, it was the same all over the North. The man usually wore a shirt, and over that a kirtle (*kyrtill*) and breeches; these were usually called *brækr*, reaching a little below the knee, and fastened round the waist by a band or belt; sometimes they were in one piece to the foot, they were then called *leistabrækr*; otherwise people wore socks (*sokkr*, *leistr*) on their feet; sometimes hose (*hosur*) were worn, long stockings which reached up to the knee; over that they usually wore a long full cloak. The men often wore a hat (*hötr*). The women wore first a chemise (*særkr*); their kirtles reached the feet, and were fastened round the waist with a belt. They did not wear any hats; but frequently other kinds of head-gear. Men and women usually wore on their feet shoes of leather or skin. During the Viking Age there must have been a good many changes in this simple dress.

<sup>1</sup> Heimskringla, Olaf's saga helga, ch. 66.

<sup>2</sup> Gutalag och Gutasaga, ed. by H. Pipping, p. 61.

The descriptions of Norse chieftains at the end of the tenth century show that they were dressed in foreign—mostly English—fashions. The Danish king Svein Fork-beard got his nick-name because he wore his beard cleft like a fork (*tjuga*), in Anglo-Saxon fashion. Silk bands, embroidered in gold, were worn round the forehead, by preference set with a precious stone in the centre—that which Starkad had despised at the Danish court—became, during the reign of Earl Hakon in Norway, an indispensable part of the dress of the chieftains; and even in Iceland, the great land-owners would wear jewels hanging down on their foreheads (*Ennitingl*, *Landnáma* 3 ch. 10). New articles of dress and new modes had been introduced. The following list of foreign words will prove this. I give them in alphabetical order.

*Kápa*. An outer-garment or cloak usually provided with a hood or head-covering. The word occurs for the first time in *Krákumál* (st. 18), which was probably composed in the 12th century, and in a verse in *Orvarrodd's Saga* (*Fornaldarsögur* II., pp. 225). But it is probably older, and had already come into the language in Norway and Iceland at the end of the Viking Age. It is mentioned in the Norse farm-names of the Middle Ages; thus in *Kaapegot* (*Kápukot*) in Raade in Smalenene, which is already mentioned about 1400 (*Rygh*, *Norske Gaardnavne* I., pp. 330). In Ramnes, in Jarlsberg and Larvik County, two farms are found close together, *Kaape* and *Hette* (an. *hetta*, a kind of cloak). That the fashion to wear a cloak was new towards the end of the Viking Age, we also see from the fact that one of the Joms-Vikings was called *Sigurðr Kápa*. The word *Kápa* is of Romanesque origin; it was possibly used in the vulgar Latin, and is *capa* in mediæval latin; in Old French *cape*, *chape*; Italian *cappa*, and Spanish *capa*. The word probably came directly to the North from France; it is unknown in Anglo-Saxon, and does not occur until Middle

English. It also occurs in Old Swedish (in the laws) in the form *Kápa*, and means then : hood. The Old Danish form of the word is *Kaabe*. I cannot decide when the word first came into those languages. The word *Kappe*, which in its origin is the same, came in much later than *Kápa*.

This garment was generally used in the Middle Ages by men and women, laymen and clergymen. The cloak which has been found represented in the catacombs of Rome, was at first without a hood. Yet the hood is mentioned in the Middle Ages. The cloak, with the hood, was specially used by the clergy and also in travelling. I am unable to decide whether this garment was introduced by the Northmen themselves from abroad or by the first clergymen who came to the North.

*Kellir*. A verse by the famous Icelandic poet, Kormak, who lived in the middle of the 10th century, says :—

“*Fiöll eru fjarðar kelle falden,*”

The mountains are covered with ice.

*Kelle* is, according to Professor Sophus Bugge, dative of a nominative *Kellir*, which is again derived from the Irish *caille* f. veil. This word is again derived from the Latin *pallium*. Latin *p* becomes regularly *c* in Irish, e.g., in the Latin *purpur* = Irish *corcur*. The word is also found in Middle English *kelle*, *calle*, hair-net. It is not easy to decide whether the word was taken from Anglo-Saxon or directly from Irish. Besides Kormak, it is only found in some verses of Snorre's Edda (I. 573), as a name for helmet (Odin's hat). In Iceland, after Kormak's time, it has probably been only used in poetry, or possibly by Norsemen in the West. The above explanation is, however, rather uncertain. It is, according to Professor Hjalmar Falk, more likely that *kellir* means “helmet,” and is derived from Lat. *galea*, Old French *cale*, “a small bonnet.”

*Klæði*, n., cloth garment, cloth fabric. The word

must have been used in the North in the Viking Age. It occurs in a verse in the saga of Gunnlaug Ormsunga (Chapter 11), where it stands for bed-clothes. And in a verse in *Olaf Tryggvason's Saga* (Chapter 21), where *Hamðis Klæði* denotes armour. The word *klæði*, cloth, which is now found in Norwegian, Icelandic and Danish, is probably a loan-word in Norse. Professor Sophus Bugge and others have supposed that it was borrowed from Anglo-Saxon.

*Laz*, ribbons. *Egil Saga* (Chapter 78), says: *Egill . . . hefði fustans kyrtíl rauðan, þröngvan upphlutinn, ok laz á síðu* (Egill wore a red fustian kirtle, with a narrow upper part, and ribbons at the sides). The word *laz*, which does not occur in the old scaldic poetry, but often in prose, is of Romance origin, and is derived from old French *laz* (*las laqs*, from Latin *laqueus*), whence also the English *lace* is derived. Originally Norse, on the other hand, is another word which also means "ribbons," and occurs in the scaldic poetry, *hlad*.

*Mottull*, mantle. This word occurs in a verse by Kormak in the 10th century (*mottul-skaut*, mantle-skirt). We may also conclude that this word came to the North in the Viking Age, from the fact that the Danish historian, Saxo, who wrote about 1190-1200, speaks of *Matullus*, *Finarchiae dux*. Some time must have passed before this fabulous story was told, and yet a longer time must have passed before it could have become a personal name. The word also occurs in old Swedish, in the form of *mantel*, *mattul*, and in old Danish in the form *mantel*. The word probably came from German into Danish (Middle-High-German, *mantel*), but to Iceland and Norway from Western Europe. The scald Kormak, in his poems, uses many words of English and Irish origin. As the word *mottull* occurs first in Kormak's poems, that is a reason for thinking it is a loan-word from Anglo-Saxon *mentel* (Middle English *mantel*). That the

Norsemen on the British Islands have used the word *mǫttull* very early, we may conclude, as it passed from Norwegian into Old Irish *matal*. The word occurs very frequently in the "Book of Rights," which describes Irish society in the beginning of the eleventh century. We may then conclude that the Norwegians in Ireland had introduced mantles in the tenth century, and that this foreign fashion spread from the Norwegians to the Irish, as a garment fit for kings to wear. Like most fashions, this one came from France. Old-High-German *mantel* and Anglo-Saxon *mentel* are both derived from Medieval-Latin *mantum*, *mantellum*, *mantellus*; Old-French *mantel*). The West European mantle was in the ninth and tenth century square or half-round, and held together with a buckle and fastened on one shoulder.

*Olpa*, a kind of cloak or cape. This word appears in a verse in Hallfred's Saga (Flateyjarbók I., p. 307), and must have been already in use about the end of the Viking Age; later it often happens in prose. The verse runs thus:—

*En ís ólpu grænni  
Ek fekk dreng til strengja.*

Professor S. Bugge told me that the word *ólpa* was possibly of Romance origin. It is probably connected with the Old French *voleper* (= French *enveloppe*), envelope. One might think of Latin *vulpes*; Old French *volpe* f. fox. The word can also be used for fox-skin, but it never means a cloak of fox-skin. As Hallfred's Saga says: The *ólpa* was green; that perhaps also shows that these clothes did not originate in Norway or Iceland. The home-spun cloth was seldom dyed green. It is, however, strange that the *v* has disappeared. In Swabien, a grey coat worn by the peasants is, as Professor Falk informs me, called *wolf*.

*Sokkr*, *sock*. This word does not occur in old poetry, but about 1115 an Orkney man was called *Sighvatr Sokki* (Flateyjarbók I., p. 431); this nick-



name is derived from *sokkr*. As the word *sokkr* was already used as a nick-name in about 1100, it may probably have been in the language some time, and may have come into it at the end of the Viking Age. The word is derived from Latin *soccus*. It probably came to the Scandinavian countries from England, as the form is the same as the Anglo-Saxon *socc* (sock). The Danish form *sokke* is probably from Low-German.

The word *sekk*, sack, is common in all the Scandinavian languages. It occurs late in poetry, but is frequently found in the Sagas. It must have come to the North long before the Viking Age, being an old place-name in many parts of Norway, e.g., *Sækken*, a fjord inlet in Bremsnes parish in Søndhordland, and a sound between Hvaler and Bohuslen and the island *Sekken* in Veø parish in Romsdalen; still this last word is feminine as other names of islands. That *sekk* is borrowed from Anglo-Saxon may be seen from the vowel, which corresponds to Anglo-Saxon *sæcc*. The Old High German form of the word is *sac*. The Anglo-Saxon is borrowed from Latin *saccus*; derived through Greek *sakkos*; from Phenician-Hebrew *sak*. There was a time, about two thousand years ago, when sacks were unknown in Norway. If the island *Sekken* is the same word, it certainly existed in Norway many hundreds of years before the Viking Age.

Lastly, I must mention a word, of which the origin, however, is very doubtful, *ársalr*, *ársali* or *assali*. It occurs the first time in *Guðrúnarkviða II.* (st. 25), where Grimhild says to Guðrun, when offering compensation for the slaying of Sigurd:—

Gef ek þér, Guðrún,  
gull at þiggja,  
fiolð alls fiár  
at fýður dauðan,  
bringa rauða,  
Hloðvés sali,  
ársal allan  
at jöfur fallinn.

The meaning of the word *ársalr* in this passage is not clear; but elsewhere it seems to mean a kind of woven cloth, used for bed-hanging. Several scholars have been of the opinion that the word is connected with the town of *Arras* in the North of France, which had famous looms in the Middle Ages. But the difficulty is that *Arras* was called *Atrebatas* by the Romans. In the tenth century this had not yet become *Arras*, but something like \**Adrevats*. *Ársalr* might be derived from \**adrevats-sagulum* (*sagulum*=a short military cloak, also later used of woven cloth). There are traces of *Sagulum* in the Romance languages. The verse in *Guðrúnarkviða*, where *Hlōðvés* occurs in one line, and *ársal allan* in the next one, seems to show that *ársalr* was looked upon as a compound of *salr*. *Hlōðvés sali*, the halls of Louis, point to France, and to the Carolingian Emperors. *Arras* is in English used exactly like *ársalr*, namely, of woven tapestry, and especially of bed-hangings. In *Cymbeline* (Act II., scene II.), Jachim, hidden, got into Imogen's bedroom, and appears when she is asleep; he looked around the room, and says:—

“To note the chamber I will write all down:—  
Such and such pictures;—there the window;—such  
Th' adornment of her bed;—the arras, figures.”

There cannot be any doubt that *arras* means here the woven tapestry that hung around the bed. In *Hamlet* (Act IV., scene I.), *arras* means a curtain (“behind the *arras* hearing something stir”). All agree that *arras* is called after the town of *Arras* in the North of France. If that is so, the similarity between *arras* and *ársalr* is too great to be fortuitous. *Ársalr* must in some way be derived from *Arras* or *Atrebatas*. Professor S. Bugge thinks that the Norsemen could have adopted it, in the form *aðr-salr*. This could become *ársalr*, as *hvaðrir* became *hvárir*.

It was not only cloth and dress that the Norsemen got from abroad, they also learnt new ways of dyeing

the wool and cloth. In the Oseberg ship woad-berries were found. The inhabitants of Vestfold at the Christiania Fiord had probably become acquainted with the woad (*isatis tinctoria*) in France, where, as we see from the Capitularies of Charlemagne, it was cultivated. On the other hand, Scotch and Irish process of dyeing were adopted in Shetland and the Faroes. Purple dye was invented by the Phenicians, according to tradition; from the Orient it spread over Europe. The Greeks learnt it first, and the Romans from the Greeks. The purple dye became known in Europe through Rome, and the Norwegian word *purpur* ("purple"), which came to Norway through Germany and Denmark, is derived from Latin through intermediate stages. Ireland learnt the purple dye from the Romans in Britain; *purpura* in Irish became *corcur*.

Red cloth is mentioned early in Ireland, e.g., by the poet MacLiag (about 1000). The Irish probably called red cloth purple, even if it was not the red dye of the genuine purple shell. In its place the Irish most likely used a kind of lichen, which dyes red or red-brown; *corcur* in Gaelic means: (1) purple, scarlet, (2) lichen for dyeing.

The word and the art of red dyeing came to Scotland from Ireland; from Scotland it spread to the Shetlands, where *korkji* means a kind of lichen that grows on rocks, and is used for dyeing (*lichen tartareus*). From there it spread to the Faroes, where *korkji* is the name of a lichen or moss that dyes a red or red-brown. The same word is found in Norwegian dialects in the form *korke*, *korkje*, and means a kind of rock-lichen used for dyeing. All these words are derived from Gaelic *corcur*.

It appears from the foregoing investigation that the Northmen of the Viking period obtained silks and the finer kinds of cloth from abroad, as well from Western as from Eastern Europe, for the use of their chieftains and great men. At the same time foreign fashions gained a footing and helped to transform the costume

of the chiefs in conformity with the customs prevailing in other countries. Most of these new garments and fashions came, as we have seen, from the Carolingian Empire, though sometimes by way of England. But a few came directly from England itself. It is easiest to point out the results of foreign influence in the cases of Norway and Iceland. As for Denmark, that country was, it seems, powerfully affected in the Middle Ages by new and mighty influences coming from Germany. Thus it was that foreign terms, which had perhaps been introduced at an earlier period into the Danish language, were then replaced to a great extent by words of German origin. And from Denmark the same influences spread to Norway, and in part also to Sweden.

Everything in the shape of ornaments or jewellery is closely connected with dress. From the earliest times the Scandinavians used to wear many kinds of ornaments, especially buckles, brooches, rings and necklaces. Even a long time before the Viking period they imported gold ornaments, glass beads, and other adornments from foreign lands. The raids of the Vikings brought to the North a great quantity of gold and silver, in the shape of ornaments of all kinds. The collections at Christiania, Bergen, Stockholm, Copenhagen, etc., contain a great number of such ornaments, which came to the North from Western Europe during the Viking period. They include not only objects expressly devised from the beginning for ornamental purposes, but also other things which the Northmen have turned into personal adornments, such as book clasps, coins pierced with holes, and so forth. At the same time many foreign words gained a footing in the Scandinavian countries when the ornaments in question first made their appearance. Most of these words occur in the poetic Edda, and were certainly used by the Norsemen in Western Europe. In the sagas and other later writings few of them are found. These words are not so much tokens of a permanent influence exerted over

the whole of the North, as of an influence which affected the Scandinavians, who travelled in Western Europe, and especially those who visited the British Isles.

I am now going to enumerate in alphabetical order the foreign words, by which ornaments are designated. *Dálkr* m., a clasp, by means of which a cloak is fastened over the shoulders (Latin *Spina*). The word makes its first appearance in the writings of Cormac the Skald, who says in one of his poems:—*Drengr ungr stal mik dalke*.<sup>1</sup> “A young man stole my clasp.”

The word is also found later on as meaning “a cloak pin, a buckle,” in a few passages in the sagas, but it does not seem to have been known in Sweden or Denmark. On the other hand it was employed by the Northmen of the British Isles.

In the neighbourhood of Largs, where king Haakon Hakonsson, as is well known, was defeated by the Scots in 1263, a beautiful silver-gilt buckle was found bearing the following inscription in runic characters:

“*Malbriþa a dalk þana,*” *i.e.*

Mælbrigde is the owner of this buckle.

The owner's Gaelic name shows that the buckle cannot have belonged to one of the Norwegians who fought at Largs. It is more likely to have been the property of a Northman from the Hebrides, whose Norse-speaking inhabitants often bore Celtic names. Professor S. Bugge supposes that the word *dálkr* is taken from the Anglo-Saxon *dalc*, m. a brooch or bracelet, and that this word again is connected with the Old Irish word *delg* or *dealg*, which too means “a breast pin, a buckle.”

*Gim*. In the Lay of Völund (st. 6), it is said of Völund the smith:—“*Han sló gull rautt við gim fastan.*”

These lines may properly be translated as follows:—

He struck the red gold  
And clasped it round the hard gem.

<sup>1</sup> Cormac's Saga, ch. 25 (st. 2).

The word *gim* is, according to Professor S. Bugge, the same as the Anglo-Saxon *gimm*, and the English *gem*, a precious stone. The word is derived from the Latin, and is identical with the Latin *gemma*. The word only occurs once in the Lay of Völund (Weland), and was certainly never used in ordinary conversation either in Norway or Iceland. It is indigenous to the British Isles, where the Scandinavian settlers in Northumbria, Mercia, and East Anglia naturally borrowed many words connected with civilised life from the Anglo-Saxons. On the other hand, a word compounded with *gim*, and one which also means a precious stone, namely *gimsteinn*, is often found not only in the poetry of the skalds, but also in the sagas. The same word has also, in the forms of *gimsten* and *gemsten*, been adopted by the Old Swedish and Old Danish languages. It is probably derived from the Anglo-Saxon *gimstan*, a precious stone. *Sigli*, n. a kind of ornament. This word occurs more than once in the Eddic poems. In the Flyting of Loki (*Lokasenna*), st. 20, we read :—

“*Sveinn inn hvíti  
er þer sigli gaf.*”

And again in the short Lay of Sigurd there is a passage :—

“*Ek gef hverri  
um hroðit sigli  
bók ok blæju  
biartar váðir.*”

The word *sigli* is not a genuine Norse word. It is borrowed from the Anglo-Saxon *sigle*, n., “a necklace.”<sup>1</sup> In the opinion of some scholars, the Anglo-Saxon word is derived from another Anglo-Saxon word, namely, *sigel*, “sun.” Others are of the opinion that *sigle*, as well as the Anglo-Saxon *sig(e)l*, n. “brooch, bracelet,” which so closely resembles it in meaning, are both derived from the Latin. They are possibly connected with the Latin *sigillum*. As the

<sup>1</sup> S. Bugge. *Studier over de nordiske Gule-og Heltesagns opr.*, s. 4.

word *sigli* is only found in the Eddic poems, it might have seemed probable that it was a poetical word, and that it was never used in ordinary conversation in the North. Such, however, can scarcely have been the case. On a buckle from Strand in Aafjord, of the shape which was universal during the latter part of the Iron Age, is a Runic inscription, which runs as follows, **NIKTINT\*TIPI**, i.e., *Siklisahaili*.

The late Professor O. Rygh read this inscription as follows: *sigli sá hailli* (i.e., *heilli*), "may he have a fortunate journey (sail)."<sup>1</sup> Professor S. Bugge held that *sá* in that connection is very objectionable. Moreover, the word *heilli* (dative of *heill*, n.) is never used in that sense by itself, but always in connection with an adjective, such as *góðu heilli*, *illu heilli*, etc. He explains the inscription as follows:—*siklis*, pronounced *siglis* from *sigli*, n., "an ornament," and the relative pronoun *es*; *a*, i.e., *á*, "owns". *Hail*, pronounced *hæill*, substantive, "good luck". Either: *sigli's á, hæill í*, i.e., (*þeim*) *er sigli á, (er) heill í*, "for him who owns the ornament there is luck in it."

In any case we possess in this inscription, which is from the ninth or tenth century, a testimony showing that an important word relating to a civilised art had been acclimatised in Norway in the Viking Period.

The above short list of words shows us, as do also discoveries which have been made, that the Norsemen who settled in England, obtained new ornaments for their houses and their persons, as well as precious stones from abroad. The Eddic poems, from which we derive most of our knowledge about these matters, seem to point, by the foreign terms which they employ, to frequent communications with England, but not so much with other countries. But there also came to the North from the countries of Western Europe, and especially from Valland (France), much gold and jewellery during the Viking Period. We gather this not

<sup>1</sup>Foreningen for norske fortidsmindesmerkens bevaring, 1872, s. 58.

only from the discoveries which have been made by archæologists, but also from the expressions used in the poems, *e.g.*, in the Lay of Hyndla, where it is said of young Ottar and of Angantyr, "they have pledged the treasure of the Valir."<sup>1</sup>

"Þeir hafa veðjat  
Vala málmi  
Óttar ungi  
ok Angantýr."

*Valbaugar*, "rings from Valland," are used in the Lay of Atli, st. 28, as a synonym for "gold rings." Detter and Heinzel take this for granted in their commentary on the Eddic Poems.

The passage runs as follows:—

*I veltandi vatni  
lýsash valbaugar  
heldr en á höndum gull  
skini Húna börnum.*

Others are of the opinion that *val* in *valbaugar* comes from *valr*, a battle-field, on which the dead lie, and that the word really means, "death rings, death-bringing rings." When, however, the rings are thrown into the water, they cannot cause any further disasters. They only lie at the bottom of the river and shine like red gold. I believe myself that "*val*" here has the same meaning as, *e.g.*, *valbygg*, *i.e.*, barley from Valland (France).

Thus we see that the chieftains and great men of the North were not restricted to the use of homespun frieze for their clothing. When they appeared in all their glory at high festivals, they were clad in silk, scarlet, or costly and brightly coloured material from Eastern Europe, the Netherlands, and France. Their garments were often outlined with gold thread or gold-coloured ribbons,<sup>2</sup> which they must have got from abroad.

<sup>1</sup> Hyndl. st. 9 Valir is, as is well known, the ordinary name for the inhabitants of France.

<sup>2</sup> Egil's Saga p. 67. The suit of clothes which Egil received from Arinbjörn had slæður gervar af silki ok gullsauðar miðk.



There was nothing in a Northern chieftain's dress to show that he belonged to an uncivilised people who stood outside ordinary European civilisation. "Fine feathers make fine birds," says an old proverb. And it is true enough, for there is nothing which shows the degree of the civilisation of the Scandinavian peoples and their connection with Western Europe so plainly as their dress. And now, having examined the dress of the nobles, let us take a glimpse of the chieftain's hall. Let us imagine that we are walking with the god Rig, over green paths until we come to the chieftain's abode. It is quite true that the Lay of Rig, which is the most important source of our knowledge as regards the furniture of the dwellings of the chiefs during the Viking Period, was, according to the general opinion, composed in the British Isles for a chieftain there. The difference, however, between a Norwegian chieftain's dwelling on one of the Orkney Islands, or in the North of Scotland, and a similar dwelling in Norway or Iceland cannot have been so very great. Besides this, most of the great men in Norway had relations and friends in the West. We possess, too, partly in the Eddic poems, and partly in other specimens of Icelandic literature, other descriptions of the halls of the great. The method of construction was the old one. Along the walls there stood rows of benches, which were still covered with straw on high festivals, and that even in the royal hall. The open hearth was in the middle of the floor. From it the smoke rose into the outside air through the louvre. Besides the louvre there were other openings or vents in ancient times, through which light and fresh air streamed in (*vindauga*). A word which must have been incorporated into the Irish from the Norse language as far back as the Viking Period because (*fuindeog*=Old Norse *vindauga*) is rendered in Old Irish glossaries as *haec fenistra*. But though the method of construction was the old one, very much that was new, which had been introduced as a consequence

of the Viking raids in Western Europe, was to be seen in the furniture of a chieftain's palace. The royal palaces of England and France were looked upon by the Viking chiefs as the finest that they had ever seen, and it was their splendours that they strove to imitate.

First of all there was the Imperial palace of the Carolingians. Even after the empire of Charlemagne had been divided and his real power had vanished, it is quite certain that the Emperor was still the greatest and most powerful of monarchs in the eyes of the Northmen. His name *Carolus* (Charles) continued to be for the Northmen in Ireland and the Isle of Man, the very symbol of royal power. In Dublin the sword of Carlous was preserved.

It is no wonder then that Grimhild, when wishing to entice Gudrun by offering her the greatest splendours imaginable, names among them *Hlǫðvés salir*, the palace of Louis (Lay of Gudrun II. 26). *Hlǫðvér* is the Northern form of the Frankish Ludwig, the name of Louis the Pious, and of many others of the Carolingians. By *Hlǫðvés salir* is meant the Imperial Palace of the Carolingians, which the Northmen pictured to themselves as a vast hall of unattainable magnificence. The splendid tapestries, with their gold embroideries and pictures of battles, which they saw in the countries of Western Europe, made a specially deep impression upon the Scandinavians. In the second Lay of Gudrun, we are told how she went after Sigurd's death to Denmark. There Thora Haakonsdatter sought to console her in various ways, among other things, by occupying her time with needlework and embroidery. Gudrun narrates as follows:—

Hón mér at gamni	She to delight me
gullbókaði	Gold embroidered
sali suðrœna	Southland Halls
ok svani danska ;	and Danish Swans.
hǫfðu vit á skriptum	We set in the pictures
þat er skatar léku	The deeds of the warriors,
ok á hannyrðum	And with our hands wrought

hilmis þegna,	The men of the prince,
randir rauða	And their red shields,
rekka Húna,	The Hunnish youths,
hiǫrdrótt, hialmdrótt,	A sworded company, a helmed company
hilmis fylgju.	And the chief's guards.

Skip Sigmundar	Sigismund's ship
skriðu frá landi,	Put off from the land,
gyltar grímur,	With gilded heads,
grafnir stafnar ;	And carved bows,
byrðu vit á borða	We broidered on the tapestry
þat er þeir þorðusk	The terrible strife
Sigarr ok Siggeir	'Twixt Sigar and Sigeir
suðr á Fívi.	Southwards in Fife.

The Oseberg find and similar Swedish finds, f. i., from the Island of Björkö in Mälaren, seem to show that the women of the Scandinavian countries were well acquainted with the art of embroidery. It seems, however, that in this passage in the Lay of Gudrun allusion is made to a foreign influence affecting art. The word *skript* (*höfðu vit á skriptum*) is of foreign origin. *Skript*, f., originally means in Old Norse "a picture, a painting" (*pictura*), and *skrifa*, "to cover with pictures, to paint." It was at first used as meaning a picture on church banners, etc. In the Middle Ages, the word usually, as the Anglo-Saxon *script*, signifies "confession, public penance." Foreign influence is probably also to be traced in the word *gullbóka*, which, judging from the context, must mean to work in gold, probably as a kind of embroidery. To make gold thread<sup>1</sup> was an Oriental art during the earlier part of the Middle Ages. One of the greatest authorities on the history of Eastern trade and civilisation, W. Heyd, writes in his *Geschichte des Levante-handels im Mittelalter* (History of the Trade of the Levant during the Middle Ages):—

"Mediæval craftsmen understood full well how to flatten gold and silver by dint of hammering and

<sup>1</sup>Gering in his glossary of the Eddic poems, translates *gullbóka*, as to "embroider with gold."

stretching into thin plates. Narrow strips of metal prepared in this way used to be attached to strings made of the chopped entrails of cattle which had been slaughtered. As the strings were concealed and only the precious metal round it was visible, it was supposed that the strings consisted exclusively of pure spun gold or silver. Thus this material was known by the name of *or, argent filé*. It was used for outlining arabesques or borders on robes or carpets. Brocade was also woven with it. The best known seat of this manufacture was the island of Cyprus, for which reason the expression *or de Chypre* was used synonymously with *or filé*." We thus perceive that gold brocade and gold embroideries originally came from the East, and that gold thread was used to trace out borders and arabesques. On the other hand they never, so far as I know, employed gold thread to depict whole scenes with men and animals. This falls in very well with the words of the Lay of Gudrun: *Hón mér at gamni gullbókaði sali suðræna ok svani danska*. Only the halls of the Southrons and the Danish swans were embroidered in gold. The armed warriors, Sigismund's ships, the fighting between Sigar and Siggeir, etc., were on the other hand woven or embroidered in ordinary thread. The word *gullbóka* is not used of this. The words are: *hofðu vit á skriptum . . . ok á hannyrðum og byrðu vit á borða*. Animals, and especially birds, were often embroidered in mediæval times with gold thread on tapestry. In one of Viollet-le-Duc's books there is a picture of a chasuble from the treasury of St. Sernin's, Toulouse. On it are represented falcons and pelicans in gold thread.<sup>1</sup> On other fabrics golden lions and leopards are to be seen.<sup>2</sup>

The Venetians were those who, above all others, brought costly silks with figures embroidered in gold and silver thread to Western Europe. Right down to

<sup>1</sup> Viollet-Le-Duc, *Dictionnaire du mobilier français*, III., 7, pl. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, III., pl. 9 and 12.

the eleventh century the Venetians had factories at Limoges and Périgueux, whence they sent Oriental fabrics all over France and even to England.<sup>1</sup> The peoples of Western Europe soon learnt how to embroider in gold thread. The Anglo-Saxons were masters of this art in the earliest times, so much so that their productions excited admiration on the Continent.

There is still preserved beautiful work dating from the time of Alfred the Great. Such gold-embroidered stuffs were, above all, used for the service of the church or in royal palaces.

Indeed, there was a special establishment in which gold embroideries were worked for the use of the king and queen. Nor must it be forgotten that in Norway itself gold thread has been found. The discoveries at Tune have brought to light materials made partly of wool and partly of silk, and a matted gold-coloured ribbon and two small tassels with gold thread. A discovery in the parish of Vangsnes proved the existence of cords of genuine gold thread.<sup>2</sup> Both parts are of real gold thread. Such thread was certainly not used merely for cords or lace sewn on to the fabric. It was doubtless also employed in the representation of figures by means of woven fabrics or embroidery, such as those mentioned in the Lay of Gudrun. At Björkö, Sweden, there has been found a golden hart embroidered on silk, probably from about 900 A.D.

Both in France and in England, during the tenth and eleventh centuries, people understood how to weave into and embroider tapestries, with representations of men and animals. This art had certainly come from Greece and the Orient. Most people have heard of the celebrated "Bayeux tapestry," upon which are depicted

<sup>1</sup> Ibid, p. 356 ff, cf. Heyd, II., p. 682 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Lappenberg. History of England, I., p. 623.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the Report of the Union for the preservation of the Historical Monuments of Norway (Foreningen til norske fortidsminders bevaring) for 1867. Dr. H. Schetelig kindly drew my attention to the above report.

William the Conqueror's invasion of England, the Battle of Hastings, and so forth. Upon this there are represented, as upon the embroidery alluded to in the Lay of Gudrun, ships setting out from land, battles and fierce blows, and the warriors who follow their chieftain. The Bayeux tapestry was, however, woven later than the time at which the Lay of Gudrun was probably composed.

In England similar tapestries were known as early as the tenth century. After the Battle of Maldon (991), at which heroic Brihtnod fell, his widow stitched or embroidered a pall, which she presented to the Cathedral of Ely, and on which she had depicted her husband's deeds of valour.<sup>1</sup> So also the description of the embroideries worked by Gudrun and Tora Haakonsdatter bears distinct witness to foreign influences. Woven tapestries representing various scenes were, however, also to be found in Norway, at any rate towards the close of the Viking Period. Thus it was that there hung in the hall of King Olaf Haraldsson (St. Olaf), a tapestry, on which was depicted Sigurd killing the dragon Fafne.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, the whole art of wood-carving was developed on native soil. The whole scheme of carved wooden decorations of the Oseberg ship (beginning of the ninth century) is of native origin, and the same was doubtless the case with the carvings which adorned the palaces of the kings and chieftains. Both images and forms have, as Dr. Schetelig writes to me, been carried out in the ornamental style, which was the only one at the disposal of the artists. Their contemporaries have seen in these extremely conventional carvings a special meaning. The historical representations were treated as pure ornament. On the other hand, it is not quite so certain that the whole of the luxuriant ornamentation

<sup>1</sup> *Historia Eliensis*, II., 7. *Cortinam gestis viri sui intextam atque depositam depictam in memoriam probitatis ejus huic ecclesiæ donavit*; cf. Freeman, I., p. 303.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Otte Brudstykker af Olaf den helliges Saga* ed. G. Storm.

has been filled with life in the eyes of those living at the time, or has had an intelligible meaning, as being in accordance with the imagination or thought of the time. The decorative style was the artistic style of the time being, and ought also to suffice when historical representations were needed.

It seems, however, possible that these historical representations came to be used more widely in the course of the tenth century. The sagas mention Olaf Paa's hall at Hjardarholt as something new in Iceland. In the *Njálsaga* (c. 119), composed about 1000 A.D., an Icelander named Torkell Hall is mentioned as having depicted above his bed his doughty deeds in foreign lands. It is possible that foreign, and especially Western influence, is traceable in this fact. In France and England pictorial representations of such a character were certainly very common.

Taking it as a whole, foreign intercourse had set its mark upon the furniture of the hall. If we cast a glance round the hall of a Norse chieftain of the 10th century, we see a great chest (Old Norse "*kista*," f.) standing on the floor, and containing tools, ornaments, and other articles. The word "*kista*" occurs first in the Lay of Valund (stanza 21 and 23), in which it is mentioned that the smith, Valund, kept his ornaments in a chest. It is said of the sons of Nidad, when they came to see all the beautiful things belonging to Valund: *Kómu til kistu krofðu lukla*, they came to the chest, they asked for the key. In the discourse of Sigurd with the battle nymph (*Sigrdrifumál*, st. 34) *kista* is used of a coffin. This word, which is still commonly used in Denmark, Norway and Sweden, had already been naturalised in Norway during the Viking Period. It is derived, like so many words relating to civilised life, in the very first instance from the Greek (*κίστη*). From that language it was borrowed by the Latin (*cista*). The Romans introduced the word among the Teutonic peoples. It occurs both in Old-

High-German (*chista*) and in Anglo-Saxon (*ciest*, *ciste*). The word probably came from England to the North. Not only were the Northmen of the Viking Period in much more active connexion with England than with Germany, besides there also are *kiste* to be found in the Lay of Valund, where appear for the first time several other words of Anglo-Saxon origin.<sup>1</sup>

The O'd Norse word *ørk*, f. (Old Swedish and Old Danish *ark*), is a word of nearly the same meaning as *kista*. It first occurs in poetry at a comparatively recent period, but it certainly came to the North at the same time as *kista*. One of the proofs of this is that the word *ark* is frequently found in the Old Swedish laws. The word is derived from the Latin *arca*. It came to the Germans very early, at the same time as *cista*, together with the article which it designated. The word doubtless came to the Scandinavian countries partly from the Anglo-Saxon (*earc*, f., *arc*. m.).<sup>2</sup>

In the corner of the chieftain's hall, on a shelf, the visitor would see costly flagons. Thus we read concerning the sorrow of Gudrun on the death of Sigurd, in the short Lay of Sigurd, st. 29 :

“*svá sló hón sváran*  
*sinni hendi*  
*at kváðu við*  
*kalkar í vrá.*”

The word *kalkr*, m. (Old Swedish *kalker*, Old Danish *kalk*) is borrowed from the Anglo-Saxon (*calic*, *cæl(i)c*), which word itself is derived from the Latin *calix*. The word *kalkr* occurs in a number of the Eddic poems. The Lay of Atli (st. 34) relates how Gudrun went to meet Atli bearing a golden cup (*með gyltum kalki*). In the Lay of Ríg (st. 31) the wife of the chieftain set before her guest goblets covered with precious metal (*varðir kalkar*).

<sup>1</sup> See S. Bugge's treatise on the Story of Völund in the Saga Book of the Viking Club, London.

<sup>2</sup> The word *skrin* (Latin *scrinium*), a shrine, seems to have been introduced with Christianity into the North. It comes directly from the Anglo-Saxon *scrin*.



Sometimes these goblets were made of glass or rock crystal, and were likewise imported from abroad. A "cup" of this kind was in the possession of the giant Hyme. The goblet was so hard that no mortal man could break it to pieces. The god, Thor, however, succeeded in doing this after many an effort. As it runs in the Lay of Hymi, st. 29:—

<p>"En Hlórriðe; er at hondum kom brátt lét bresta brattstein gleri."</p>	<p>"But Hlorriðe (<i>i.e.</i> Thor) when he Had graspèd it, At once with the glass Made a breach in the pillar."</p>
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We learn from this passage that the goblet was made of rock crystal or glass (*gler*). Crystal cups of this kind were also called *hrímkalkar*. In the Flyting of Loki (str. 53), the story runs that the Goddess Sif, in order to soften the angry Loki, and silence his evil tongue, offered him a cup of mead with the following words:—

"Heill ver þú nú, Loki!  
 Ok tak við hrímkalki  
 Fullum forns mjaðar!"

Gerd, who became the wife of Frey, uses exactly the same words in the Discourse of Skírnismál (str. 37). Professor S. Bugge has shown that *hrímkalkr* is a translation of *calix crystallinus*.<sup>1</sup> May it not be possible that this was translated into the Anglo-Saxon word *hrīmcalic*? It would seem from the use of the word *kalkr*, that it was during the expeditions of the Vikings in the West of Europe that the Northmen learnt to make use of such drinking vessels. Glass goblets were, however, imported to the Scandinavian countries several centuries before the Viking Ages, mostly from the Netherlands, and were used side by side with the drinking horns, that probably likewise were imported. This is also indicated by the fact that Hymi's cup is called "the circular way for the wine"

<sup>1</sup>S. Bugge. Studier, p. 4.

(*vinferill valr*).<sup>1</sup> The Northmen learnt to drink wine during the Viking Period, even though the word wine probably came earlier to the North. Steenstrup, in his book about the Normans (I., pp. 184 sq.), cites numerous cases to show how fond the Northmen were of wine, and how one was certain during the vintage to meet the Vikings near the estuary of the Loire and in other regions where the vine was cultivated. A typical case is that of the Viking, King Godfred, who requested the Emperor Charles in 865 to make over to him Coblenz and other rich wine producing districts near the Rhine, as Friesland, which he had held in fee, did not afford him the wine for which he longed. We know too how the Northmen of Ireland imported wine from France about the year 900. King Cormac of Munster, who died at the beginning of the tenth century, speaks in his celebrated Glossary of a liquid measure which was used in the wine trade by the Norse-men and Franks.<sup>2</sup> A hundred years later the poet Mac Liag relates in a poem about King Brian, how the Northmen of Limerick had to pay a daily tribute of a barrel of red wine to Brian. The Northmen of Dublin, on the other hand, were obliged to pay 150 vats of wine as tribute, probably once a year.

It is in imitation of the customs of the royal palaces of Western Europe that wine is set before the god Rig, as recorded in the Lay of Rig (st. 31), or when, in another poem it is related of Odin, that he drinks nothing but wine<sup>3</sup> :—

“*En við vín eitt  
vaþngöfugr  
Óðinn æ lifr.*”

In the Lament of King Eirik (*Eiríksmál*) which was certainly composed in England, Odin, when awaiting the arrival of Eric Blood-Axe at Valhalla, is described

<sup>1</sup> Lay of Hymí., str. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Cormac's Glossary trans. by J. O'Donovan ed. by Whitley Stokes, p. 67 (s. v. Epscop final).

<sup>3</sup> Discourse of Grimnir (st. 19).

as bidding the Valkyries set forth the wine. We see from this that it was upon their journeys in the West, and under foreign influence, that Northmen learned to appreciate wine. So it came to pass that from that time forward wine was poured out in king's palaces and drunk in cups. Roman merchants had, however, many centuries before that time, imported wine to Denmark. But let us take a closer survey of the table and its furniture.

It was, it would seem, the custom in the North not to use fixed tables, which stood all day in the hall. On the contrary, when meals were to be served, small tables were set up, which were removed at the conclusion of the meal.

In the Lay of Rig (st. 31 sq.) the table and the serving of a meal are described as follows:—

Þa tók Moðir  
merktr dúk,  
hvítan af hofri,  
hulði bið;  
hon tók at þat  
hleifa þunna,  
hvíta af hveiti  
ok hulði dúk.  
  
Fram setti hón  
fulla skutla,  
silfri varða,  
á bið,  
fán fleski  
ok fugla steikta;  
vín var í kornu,  
varðir hálkar,  
drukk ok dæmdu,  
dagr var á sinnum.

The table (*bið*) is first set forth. It is covered with white linen cloth adorned with embroidery, which is probably coloured.<sup>1</sup> On the cloth white wheaten loaves are laid. Then dishes adorned with silver (*skutlar silfri varðir*) and full of meat are placed upon the table, as

<sup>1</sup> It is thus that Fritzner in his Dictionary explains merktr dúkr.

well as wine in a jug (*vin var í kǫnnu*), and goblets bound in precious metal (*varðir kalkar*).

We find here perhaps signs of foreign influence. Among the Anglo-Saxon, too, the table was removed after the meal. In a riddle composed by an Anglo-Saxon writer of the eighth century, a table is represented as speaking. While speaking it has four feet, and it is covered with a fair cloth. Afterwards it is deprived of its adornments and loses its feet. In other words, it is removed :—

De Mensa.

Multiferis omnes dapibus saturare solesco,  
 Quadrupedem hinc felix ditem me sanxerit ætas,  
 Esse tamen pulcris fatim dum vestibus orner,  
 Certatim me prædones spoliare solescunt ;  
 Raptus nudata exuviis mox membra relinquunt.<sup>1</sup>

Pictures of Anglo-Saxon feasts in old manuscripts show, it seems to me, that the arrangement of the tabl. among the Anglo-Saxons was exactly the same as that which is described in the Lay of Rig. We see the table-cloth with its embroidered border, and dishes containing fish and other kinds of food. The roast meat is offered by the servants to the guests at the end of spits and eaten, as it seems, on loaves, as may be seen in a whole series of drawings in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. Other drawings show us how the drinks were poured out of jugs.<sup>2</sup>

It is not only these mere external resemblances which cause me to come to the conclusion that the chieftain commemorated in the Lay of Rig was influenced as regards the arrangement of his table by the customs which prevailed in the British Isles. If we examine the description in the Lay of Rig a little more closely, our theory will be confirmed. As regards the table-cloth, I will only say that it was adorned with coloured embroideries in the same way as among the Anglo-Saxons. Wheat was not grown in Norway during the

<sup>1</sup> Th. Wright. *Hist. of English Culture*, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* figg. 19, 20, 22 and 67.

earlier part of the Middle Ages, but was mostly imported from England. Wheat was, however, only eaten by rich people in England at that time. The same was certainly the case in Ireland, where it seems as though the Northmen in particular made use of wheat. During the winter of 942-943, King Muirchertach made his celebrated progress through Ireland, as described in a contemporary poem. He came with his men to Dublin and encamped outside the walls. While they lay there the Northmen of Dublin were obliged to supply them with all kinds of food, such as hams, meat, and cheese of the highest quality. Special mention is made of a supply of "good and sufficient wheat" (*do chruitnecht chain, chóir*).<sup>1</sup> The meat is, in the Lay of Rig, set forth on a sort of flat dish made of silver, or rather, it may be, bound with silver (*fulla skutla, silfri varða*). The word *skutill*, m., has been taken from the Anglo-Saxon *scutel*, m., a dish. This is derived from the Latin *scutella* or *scutula*,<sup>2</sup> which has the same meaning as *skutill*. In prose *skutill* is used to mean small tables, such as were brought out at meal-times. The word *kanna*, f., a can, is also a foreign word, and is most probably derived from the Anglo-Saxon *canna*. The word likewise occurs in Old High German (*channa*). In the opinion of some scholars, it is a word borrowed from the Latin *canna*, a reed. Goblets (*kalkar*) bear witness, as I have already mentioned, to the presence of foreign influences.

The influence of Western Europe on the Scandinavian countries during the Viking Age has probably been over-rated by my late father, Sophus Bugge, as well as by myself in earlier works. The Oseberg find and other recent discoveries show that the Norsemen long before that time already were as civilised as the Anglo-

<sup>1</sup> Poem about the progress of Muirchertach, ed. E. Hogan, S. J. Verses 12-13.

<sup>2</sup> *Pogatscher*. Zur Lautlehre der griechischen, lateinischen, und romanischen Lehnwörter im Altenglischen, § 11.

Saxons and the Franks. The influence from civilised Europe began during the first centuries of our era, when Roman commodities first reached to the Scandinavian countries, and was continued during the Migration period, when Goths and other northern peoples (*e.g.*, the Eruls) founded kingdoms in Southern Europe. It must also not be forgotten that there was already, about A.D. 600, an important trade between the British Islands and Norway and Gotland. That Western Europe during the Viking Age, especially through the Norse settlements on the British Islands and in France, has exercised a much greater influence upon the Scandinavian peoples than in previous times can, however, not be doubted. But the Western influence was, if perhaps the strongest, not the only one. There were also a southern, and—not to forget—a powerful eastern influence (from Byzantium and the Arabs).

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# MINIATURES FROM ICELANDIC MANUSCRIPTS.

## PART II.

By DR. HARRY FETT.

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Hakon Hakonsson worked with a definite aim upon introducing into Norway a new, rich Gothic culture and art. Like all princes who are lovers of art, he had his connections abroad; one of these must have been Mathew of Paris, one of the finest and most gifted characters of the English Middle Age. He was a monk of St. Albans, and also the greatest English historian of his time—known as diplomatist, politician, and courtier. In his historical works, in which Norwegian matters are often treated, he was an excellent storyteller, with an animated, picturesque style and with a flow of critical remarks on men and matters. He was also one of the greatest artists of his time. *Gesta Abbatum* says so directly: Hakon Hakonsson appears to have got to know this man early, whose nature was a little akin to that of Leonardo; we do not know how, but we find there is an intimate friendship between them; he visited the King in 1248. Munch thinks it likely that he was the literary adviser of the King, and I have in a lecture to the Royal Society, 12th November, 1909, shown that he was also his adviser in art. His style is found in several places in Norway, and I have stated it as probable that he made the design for the west front of Trondhjem Cathedral; so that his visit could not have been a short one, and it is clear that this visit by one of the most highly gifted and artistic personalities of the times must have left its mark in Norway. I think the

influence of his style can be traced in several places in Norwegian art. I cannot decide whether the King got his artist friend to send over gifted pupils early in his reign, or whether the king sent Norwegians himself to England to learn. Until I have thoroughly studied his style in England, I cannot decide which works are influenced by his style and by that of his pupils. His style is clearly visible in the above miniatures, especially in God the Father, or Christ with the globe, where all the



FIG. 12.—MAN-SLAYING, FROM THE  
CRIMINAL LAW SECTION.  
Gl. Kgl. Saml. 3269A, 4to.

flowing draperies recall his own work with the Later Gothic free treatment of the draperies. The same is seen in fig. 7, where one of the figures by the side of Christ, is identical with one found in a design by Mathew. The style and the historical material show that the rich school of art in St. Albans is the origin of our Norwegian

school; and I think it is very probable that the King had among his scribes who did the new translations, his court-painters; that, in other words, it is an Anglo-Norwegian court style of which we have traces in these miniatures, and in the oldest altar-frontal, and paintings on the ceilings.

The next group of Icelandic manuscripts is clearly under High Gothic influence. Both their style and history point back to originals in Norway, especially two groups



of illuminated manuscripts, viz.: Jonsbok and Stjorn, both of which as literature have been derived from Norway.

Jonsbok consists of the old Icelandic laws and the new Norwegian laws worked together by Magnus the Law-mender. It was finished in 1280, and brought over to Iceland by the Law-man Jon Einarson, after whom it was called: "Jonsbok." The law-book which was sent from Norway to Iceland, was no doubt as beautiful

as it was possible to make it at that time in Bergen. Stjorn, too, goes back to various Norwegian translations. Others Hakon V. had translated into Norwegian, for the pleasure of intelligent men who did not know Latin. The King wished that passages from this book should be read aloud at his table, so that good men should obtain instruction from the house and dwelling of God, that is, from holy writ. Stjorn itself is based on translations of Peter Comestors "*Historia Scholastica*"; Vincenz de Beauvais "*Speculum Historiale*" and "*Speculum Naturale*"; Augustin "*De Civitate Dei*" and Isidor of Sevilas "*Etymologist*." It is these two groups of manuscripts, Jonsbok and Stjorn, which form a group in which the influence of the High Gothic art of illumination is clearly seen; and in this, together with the Norwegian law-code, I think we can see the after-glow of the High Gothic art of illumination,



FIG. 13.—NAVIGATION, FROM THE NAVAL SECTION.

Gl. Kgl. Saml. 3269 A. 4to.

a continuation of the court style of Hakon Hakonsson which was in use under the succeeding kings of the Sverre family, and of which we have highly interesting mementoes in our High Gothic altar-frontals.



FIG. 14.—CATTLE DEALING.

In the border is a man, a woman and an animal: from the Trade Section, Gl. Kgl. Saml. 3269A, 4to.

If one asks which English group is the nearest prototype of the illuminations of the Stjorn manuscripts, one must point to the court style, which, under French influence, developed in England. French motives are vigorously treated in England, and many manuscripts, also law-manuscripts, in this style are preserved. Here is represented Queen Isabella's English Psalter, of the time of Hakon V., now kept in the Hof and Statsbibliotek in Munich (cod. gall. 16) and this is really a prototype of the Stjorn manuscripts. It is this style which, in our High Gothic art, came over and formed our altar-frontals and miniatures. The Stjorn manuscripts of Hakon V., which he had translated and read aloud to his courtiers, were probably also influenced from the English court style, since this style is visible in the Icelandic books. Of course the English workmanship is firmer and finer, with more figures in the initials, and is richer, on the whole, than the Stjorn illuminations; but the border-work, the grotesque figures along the border, with interlaced leaves and figures along the foot, the fall of the draperies, and the designs show undoubted connections. If the history of our Gothic pictorial art is ever to be written as a whole, this group must be minutely studied. At present only vague indications can be given.

Stjorn manuscript A.M. 227 fol. is marked by the same Anglo-Gothic miniature style as the Norwegian law-code. The same long branches along the borders, ending in foliage; animals and birds, small hunting scenes and such-like, occur as in our law-code. The treatment of the dress is High Gothic, and the placing of two figures opposite each other, which is typical of our law-code, occurs frequently. The first figure on page 1 represents the Day of Judgment (Fig. 16), which also occurs in the law-code. Though this Stjorn manuscript is later than the law-code, it seems to be derived from a

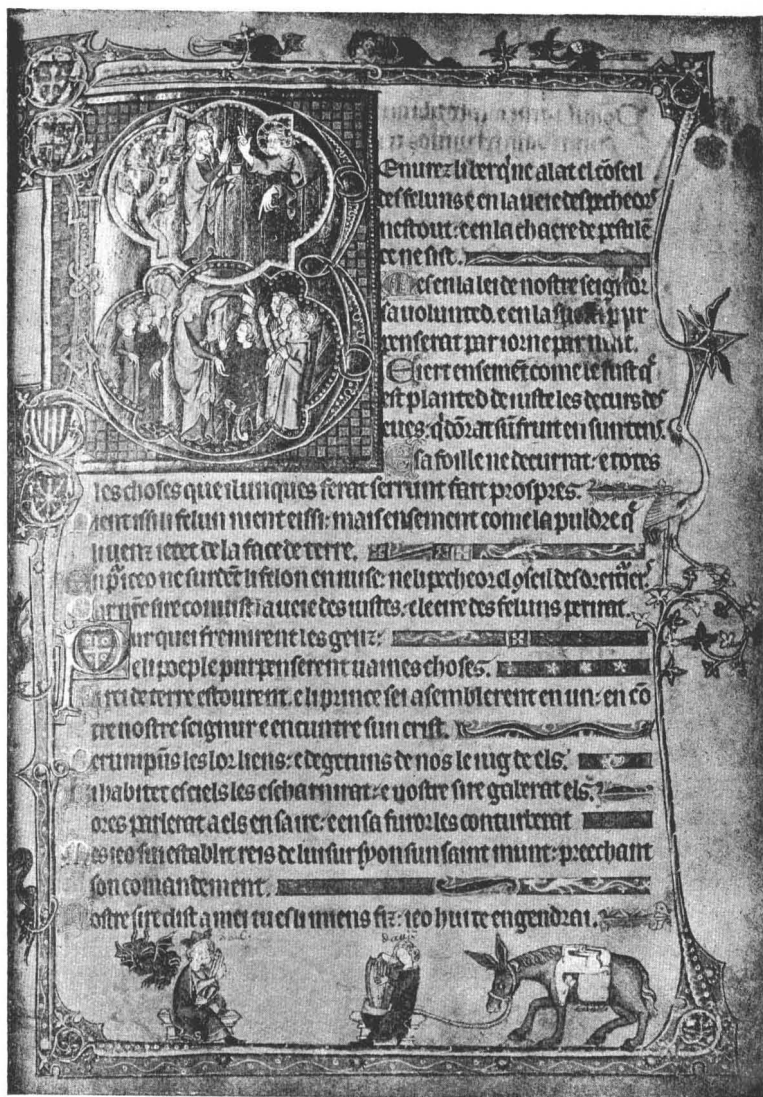
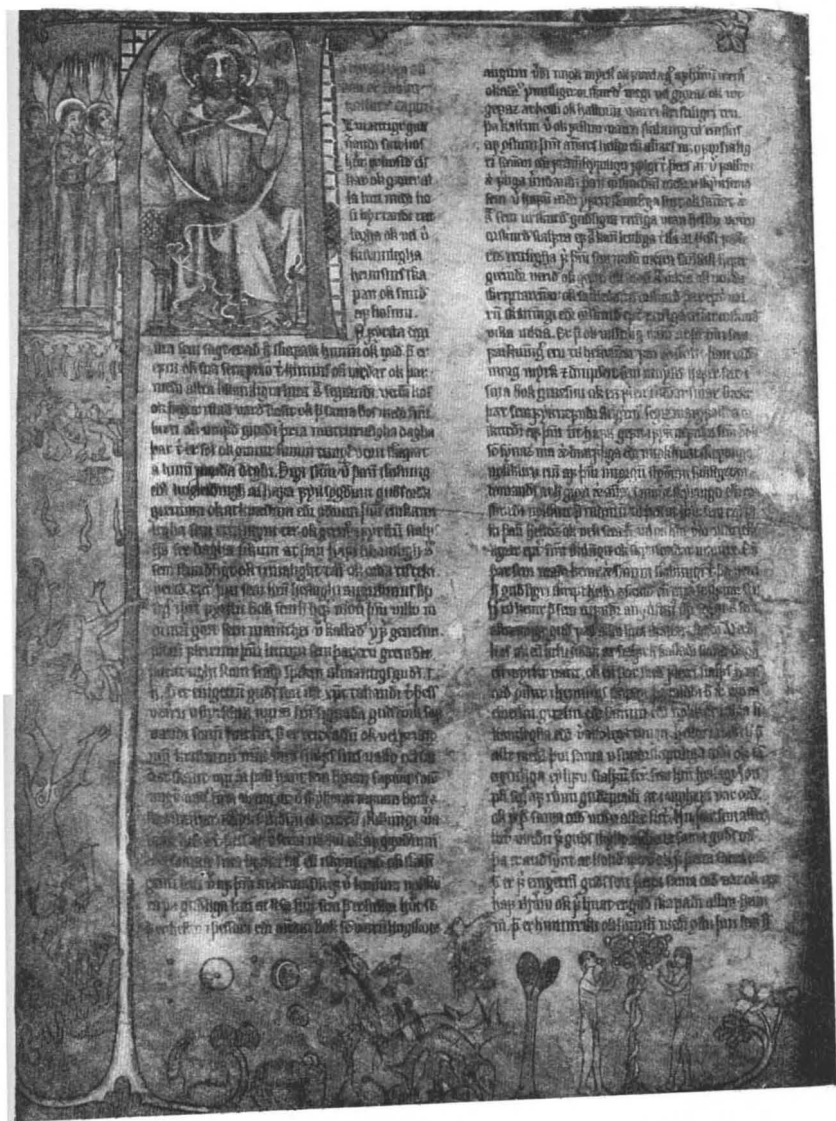


FIG. 15.—THE CORONATION OF SAUL, FROM QUEEN ISABELLA'S PSALTER.  
 English work, from about 1310. Hof und Staatsbibliothek, München.  
 Cod. gall 16. Teufel's photograph.



16.—CHRIST ON THE THRONE, WITH THE EVIL ANGELS FALLING INTO HELL; TOGETHER WITH THE FALL OF MAN.

Stjorn, 227 fol. 14th Century. Author's Photograph.

somewhat older style than the one found in our law-codes. The folds in the last-mentioned are more free and flowing. The motive is the same in the Stjorn law-codes, but here, like that, somewhat better defined and older. By the side of Christ stand angels singing, along the border the doomed ones are hurled down. At the foot of the manuscript the Creation is represented, and the "fall of man"; also Abraham offering up his sacrifices, God the Father, Esau, Jacob and Rebecca, God speaking to Joshua,<sup>1</sup> Saul being anointed. The whole representation bears a strong impression of the style which is found in our altar-frontals of High Gothic character. It is the Franco-English style. We possess several works of this group, and it is probable that we also had miniatures in the Stjorn manuscripts, which at that time were illuminated in Norway. As our pictorial art is an interesting branch of the Anglo-French art, similarly the Icelandic art is derived from the Norwegian art, and this Stjorn manuscript is so closely related to Norwegian art, that I do not think it is too bold to see in it, if not a copy of, yet one derived from Norwegian Stjorn manuscripts. In any case it evidently belongs to our Norwegian school of art. Different, and doubtless of a more Icelandic character, is A.M. 226, also a Stjorn MS. Still, it belongs to the Gothic MSS., and is in the same style as the preceding MS. But it is as if the old Romanesque popular art, which at all times has reigned in Icelandic art, enters again. On the whole we have here again popular art in contrast to Gothic art of the higher classes.

In several cases we find a different composition in the pictures of the MSS. A.M. 226 and 227.

For instance, in Isaac, Jacob and Rebecca, in 227. Rebecca stands outside the composition proper, she stands in the margin, while all three figures stand together in

<sup>1</sup>Pallaeografisk, Atlas III.



FIG. 17.—CHRIST ON THE THRONE; WITH ANIMALS AND A HUNTING-SCENE  
ROUND THE BORDER.  
14th Century. A.M. 226 fol.







226. There is a development from greater freedom to more strictly defined forms.

On the first page (fig. 17) God the Father is represented in a mandorla; along the border a series of animals form a frieze, a motive taken from popular art, and later on used in Norway. At the foot of the MS. an archer is hunting; a Gothic miniature motive. The famous *Flatey-book* is related in style to this MS. It also has the Gothic ground-work, but the old Romanesque crops up continually, as if it were a kind of popular art. The MS. is written 1387-94 by the priests Jon Thordarson and Magnus Thorhallsson. It is the last named who has done the illuminations. There is a series of smaller pictures, a monk at his desk, armed men along the gun-wale of a ship, an archer, a monk with a long staff, and a warrior with a lance. Also a representation of the battle of Sticklestad, and a portrait of Hakon the old and one of Harald Hair-fair. Also in the *Flatey-book*, the influence of the Norwegian court



FIG. 19.—ST. OLAF, FROM THE ARNAR-BÆLISBOK, 1350-1400.

A.M. 135 4to. Author's Photograph.

Also a representation of the battle of Sticklestad, and a portrait of Hakon the old and one of Harald Hair-fair. Also in the *Flatey-book*, the influence of the Norwegian court

style is visible; the elegant initials with graceful lines and feathery trails, are found in Norwegian MSS. But the Icelandic characteristics crop up. The Initial introducing Harald Hair-fair saga (fig. 18) represents the King sitting on his throne, and by his side, probably, a page handing the King a beaker. At the foot of the



FIG. 20.—THE CRUCIFIXION, FROM A LATIN CALENDAR.

13th Century. A.M. 249, E. fol.

Author's Photograph.

page are Gothic figures, known from the *Stjorn* MSS., and which are typically Gothic. The ornamentation along the margin is Romanesque reminiscences. In contrast to the earlier figure St. Olaf is the Holy King, in A.M. 135, 4to., in the High Gothic style. The folds fall more heavily, and the figure is set in architecture. The picture is from the second half of the 14th Century (fig. 19). In the crucifixion (fig. 20)

is shown the High Gothic taste which then exercised a strong influence upon Icelandic art, for a short time. The last picture is from A.M. 249 e.

Of the Icelandic law MSS., it is the so-called *Belgsdalsbok* A.M. 347, fol. which strikingly shows the

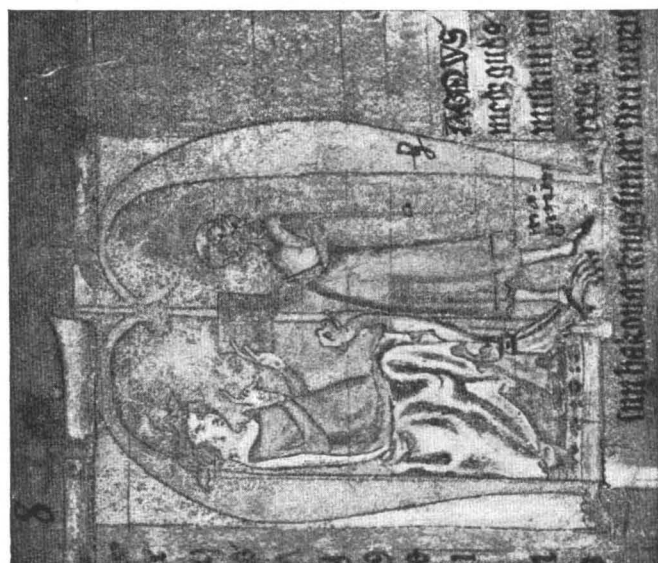


FIG. 21.—THE KING HANDS OVER THE LAWS.  
JONSBOK, ABOUT 1400.  
A.M. 347 fol.



FIG. 22.—THE KING AND BISHOP, FROM THE CHRISTIANITY  
SECTION. A.M. 247 fol.

connection with the Norwegian law MS., Codex Hardenbergianus. It is written in the last half of the 14th Century. From an artistic point of view these Icelandic miniatures do not stand very high, but they are interesting because they are almost direct copies from the fine Norwegian law MSS. On page 8 the king

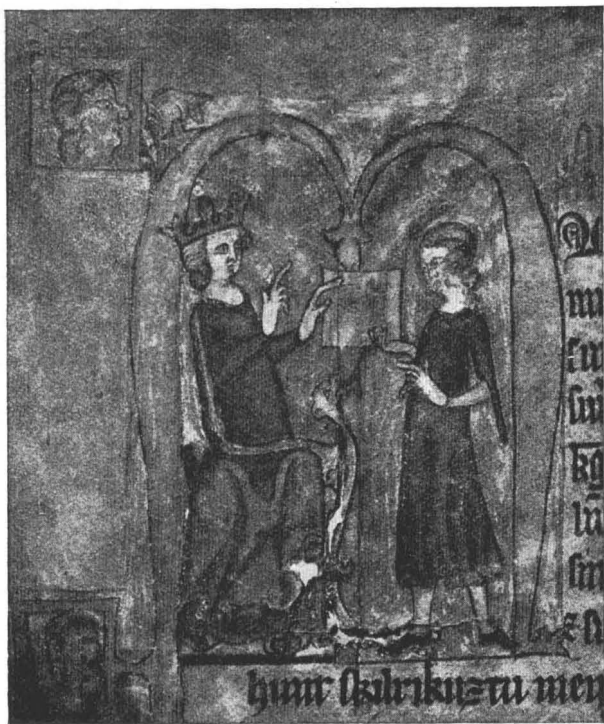


FIG. 23.—THE KING HANDS OVER THE LAW.  
14th Century, A.M. 343 fol.

hands over the code of laws, exactly as in the representation in the Norwegian MS. (Fig. 21). On page 9 is Christ on the Throne, a part of the Judgment Day picture, which was much favoured in the law-codes, and is also found in the Norwegian. The Christian Section is quite the same as in the Codex Hardenbergianus, with

King and bishop standing opposite each other (Fig. 22). The illustrations of the Personal-rights Section and the Thieves Section have some of the older motives. On the whole this MS. is a strong proof of the influence of Norwegian illumination. So too is Svalbardsbok A.M. 343 fol. though not quite to the same degree as Belgsdalsbok. It is from the first half of the 14th Century. Here, too, King Magnus hands over the new code (Fig. 23). On pages 14 and 84 there is a Man-slaying Scene and an Imprisonment Scene in the Personal-rights Section and the Thieves Section, with scenes of daily life. The design inclines towards the Romanesque. The High Gothic branches along the margin do not occur. The older Skaalholtsbok A.M. 351 fol., has a picture on page 2, which we recognise as Norwegian with some changes. The bishop and the king introduce the Christian Section. Here the king has become St. Olaf (Fig. 24), sitting on his throne. The bishop stands at the foot of the throne. As the Christian Section of this MS. is missing, this picture introduces the Thingfaring Section. The designs are elegant and good, with several Romanesque combinations.

Several copies of Jonsbok seem to be influenced, partly by the older Early Gothic motives found in Gl. Kgl. S. 3269, a 4to, and partly by the High Gothic motives. Out of these varied motives Icelandic masterpieces grew up, original and more Icelandic in character than anything else. While Iceland nationalized the Romanesque art, it is only here that Gothic, and mainly late Gothic, acquired an Icelandic character.

It cannot be denied that, with few exceptions, the Icelanders did not treat the Gothic style with artistic freedom. It is as if it did not suit their temperament so well, while the Romanesque came natural to them. Still there is one exception, the splendid Skardsbok, A.M. 350, fol. It too, is in Jonsbok. There were two groups in Jonsbok, one which I take to be the older, and which is

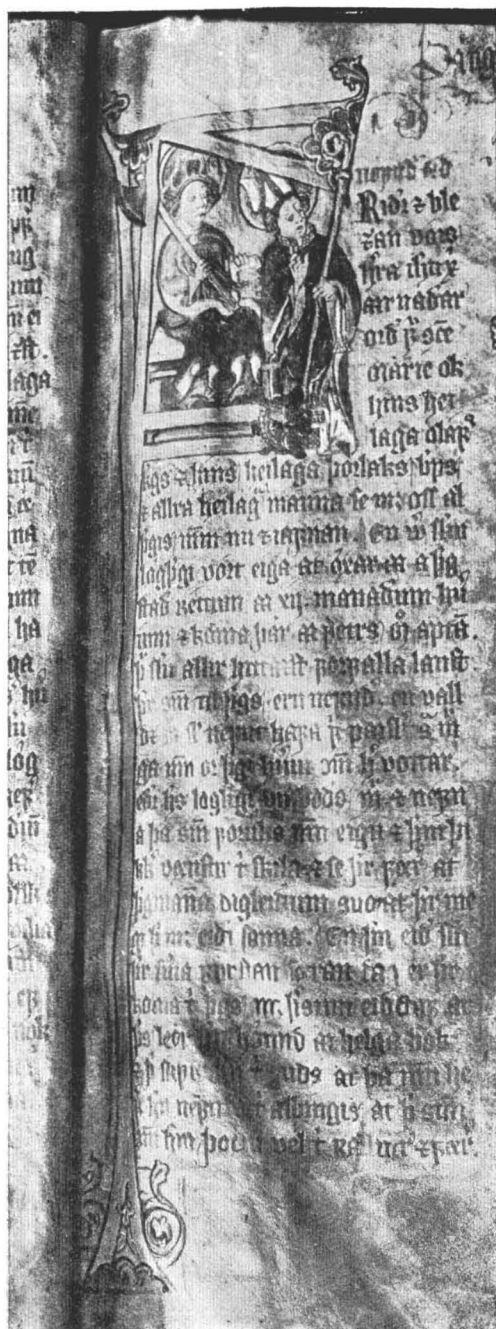


FIG. 24.—KING AND BISHOP. AN INITIAL, FROM JONSBOK.

1350-1400. A.M. 351. Author's photograph.



FIG. 25.—AN OLD MAN IS HELPED BY A YOUNGER MAN. BELOW  
IS A WOMAN AND A CHILD.  
Section treating of the duty of providing for one's family. A.M. 350, fol.

only found in late MSS., and another influenced by the later High Gothic. In this MS. there is a characteristic mixture of both groups, and at the same time clearly a further development. The MS. has a late Gothic character, and at the same time it shows the old Romanesque, though not slavishly; it gives full and free play to the imagination and it has more character of its own than any other MS. in Iceland; it is probably the most interesting work produced by the Icelandic art of illumination. Instead of the King who hands over the code, this law-code is introduced by a characteristic late Gothic Annunciation. On page 9 of the Personal-rights Section, the payment of fines is seen below a knight who is in the act of man-slaying. On page 27, concerning charity, a young man is seen helping an old man, while a woman and a child are standing below (Fig. 25). On page 31 a young man is seen claiming his Udal-right. Then we see land being leased, a whale being cut up, men striking a bargain, a boat being built, a father saying good-bye to his son who is going on a trading journey. Fig. 26 is a picture from the Thieves Section; a criminal is led, bound before a judge. At the foot of the page he appears in chains, in the margin he is hanged, while slaves circle round his body. The design is elegant, with a Romanesque ground motive, but original and freely treated as never before, nor later in Icelandic art. In the second picture there is the same richness of design (Fig. 27). The introduction to Hirdskraa is Magnus Lagabøter handing his new code of laws to a courtier. It is in the design that the artist specially shows his talent and his ability to render humorous scenes; there is something anecdotal, and partly witty, in his manner of arranging his groups. One almost believes it is intentional, when as an introduction to the chapters on marriage he uses the design of an old ugly Romanesque dragon.



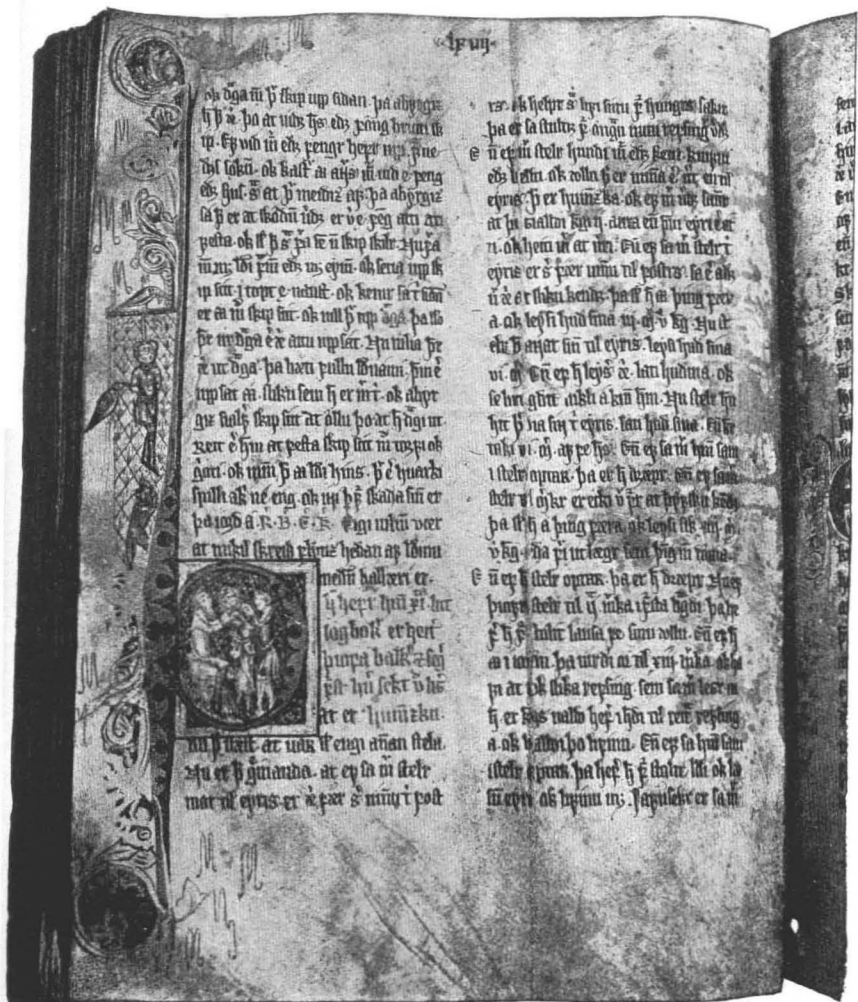


FIG. 26.—THE PUNISHMENT OF EVIL-DOERS; FROM THE THIEVES SECTION.

Representing: Imprisonment, hanging, and a man in fetters. A.M. 350, fol. Author's photograph.

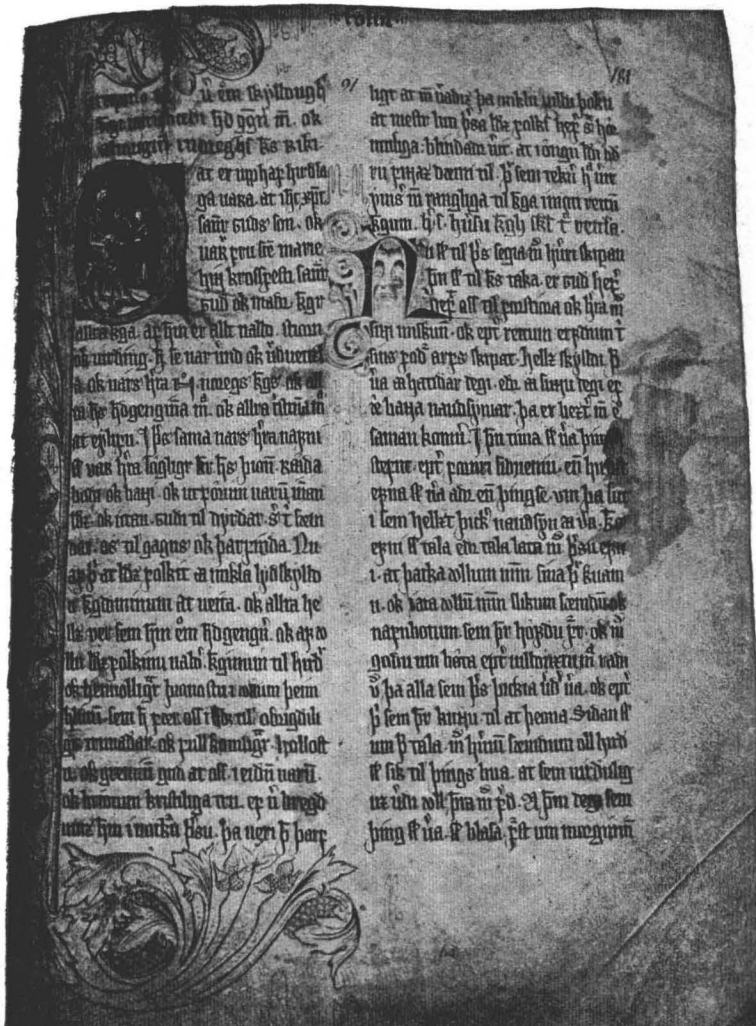


FIG. 27.—KING MAGNUS HANDS OVER THE COURT-LAWS (HIRDSKRAA) TO A COURTIER.

A.M. 350, fol. Author's photograph.

It is in a similar humour to his other miniatures and designs. This manuscript seems to be done by a lively, original, Icelandic and late-Gothic artist. Yet it cannot be denied that the style of his figures is connected, in various points, with the corresponding one in Norway. In the altar frontal of Røldal church we find this evolution towards late-Gothic. Figures and postures became more angular and lengthened, sometimes



FIG. 28.—THE CRUCIFIXION.  
1300-50, Gl. Kgl. Sml. 3270, 4to.

affectation comes in, with the numerous motives of a late style. This is clearly seen in Jonsbok illustrations of Gl. Kel. 3270, 4to., (Fig. 28), which is related to the above-named MS. Another picture in this style yet somewhat more High-Gothic, is Fig. 29, A.M. 233 a. fol. It is John the Baptist with a female and male saint, and a

youth at his feet. The design is full and we have also an example of a Norwegian altar frontal from Tjugum Church.

After this Gothic Intermezzo in the Icelandic MSS., the old Romanesque decorative feeling again comes to the



FIG. 29.—JOHN THE BAPTIST, WITH A MALE AND FEMALE SAINT, UNDERNEATH IS A SMALL FIGURE. FROM JOHN THE BAPTIST'S SAGA.

14th. A.M. 233, a fol. Author's photograph.

fore. This characteristic conservative design evolved in all its richness. Not only in book craft, but in metal and wood we have the same rich designs. To examine the

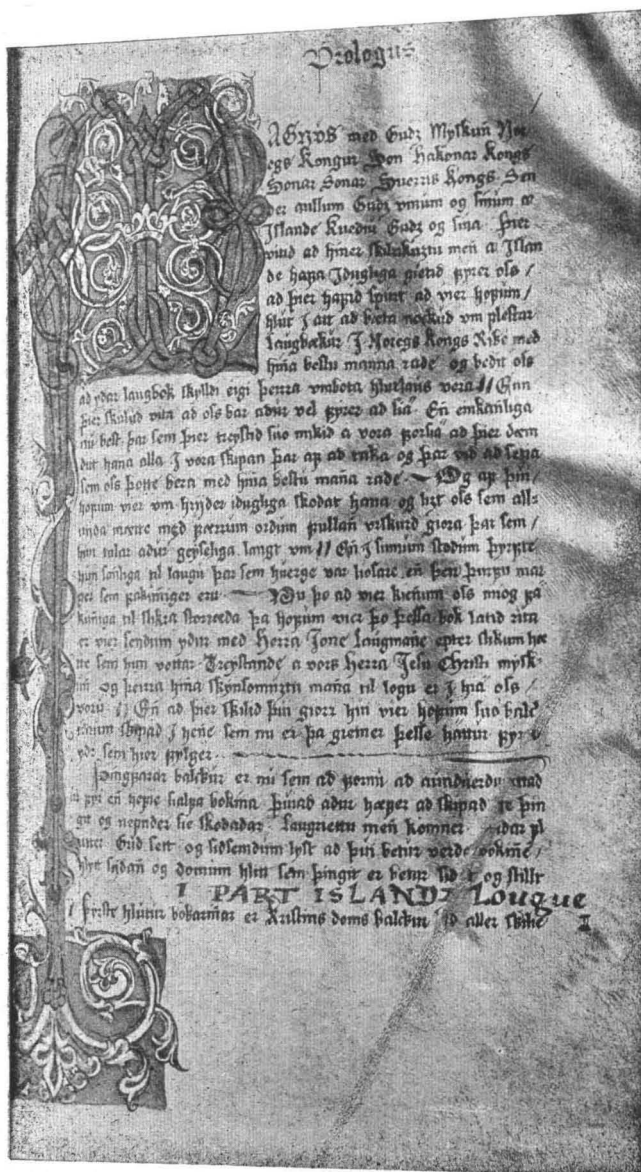


FIG. 30.—INITIAL FROM JONSBOK.  
 16th Century. A.M. 342, fol. Author's photograph.

links with the past and the new forms, should be a grateful task, for us it is of the greatest interest. But the Icelandic material is richer and less influenced from the outside than the Norwegian. In Iceland is found Romanesque in pure culture through five hundred years, if the little Gothic Intermezzo is excepted. We are always studying new developments of style, and the continual movements of art interest us specially in modern times.

But the conservativeness of style is also of importance, and development, with strict limitations, has all the serious slowness of primitive culture. It is imposing, like Egyptian art. It is remarkable how high on the average the purely artistic faculty rises. My task has been to give a resumé of the Gothic inter-

mezzo, which is so clearly connected with our own rich art, and in which we have tried to show that the Icelandic material, in places, supplies what is lacking. A few words yet about the Later-Icelandic book-craft.

When the Renaissance came to Iceland, it became not the classical, but the Romanesque Renaissance. But the



FIG. 31.—INITIAL: FROM JONSBOK.  
Beginning of the 17th Century. Gl. Kgl.  
Sml. 3274 a 4to.



Romanesque evolved out of the classic from the same sources, yet the Romanesque design has quite a different heavy, complicated and formal character. Sometimes there is a glimpse of Renaissance in the heavy Icelandic design. Jonsbok A.M. 3420 fol. (Fig. 30), shows this. It is Romanesque but a fresh breath of Renaissance runs through

the whole book, which is sixteenth century. Still finer is the design in Gl. Kgl. Sml. 3274 a 4to of the beginning of the seventeenth century. A fine artist has been influenced by the rich figures of the Renaissance as they are shown in Flemish baroque. Round these figures clings the Romanesque design, as full of life and youthful as ever. The book is paradox in style. The Romanesque, which has defeated Gothic, seems in the first MS. to be influenced by the Renaissance, and in the last to unite with the style of the figures of the time, but then only apparently. The Romanesque remained, and also defeated Renaissance and baroque. The colours may

be brighter and the whole may look merrier than the old Romanesque design did, but the conservative

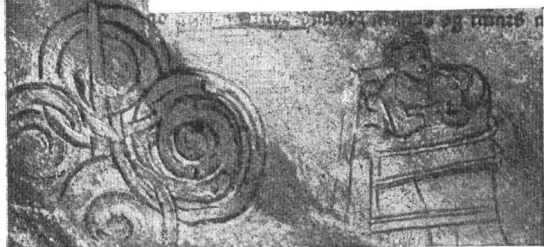


FIG. 32.—INITIAL, WITH A PRIEST IN THE PULPIT; FROM JONSBOK.

Late 16th Century. A.M. 345, fol. Author's photograph.

line of the scrolls was preserved. Fig. 31 shows the Romanesque scrolls, winding round the Renaissance figures, where at the same time the interest of the Renaissance for the nude shows itself in characteristic manner. Fig. 32 shows the old hard winding scroll of the end of the sixteenth century, A.M. 348, fol. In the same MS. is found a pen and ink sketch of the Norwegian kings Sverre, Haakon, Magnus and Erik, as the Icelandic people imagined them. They are Renaissance monarchs with long beards. Magnus Lagabøter is depicted with a moustache (fig. 33). St. Olaf sitting like a king on playing cards, surrounded by Romanesque ornament (fig. 34), is also in Jonsbok of the last half of the sixteenth century. Two more pictures may serve to show the last stages of St. Olaf's figure. We have seen him as a seated Late-Gothic King, and also High-Gothic. In



FIG. 33.—THE KINGS SVERRE, HAAKON, MAGNUS, AND ERIK. JONSBOK, 1550-1600.

A.M. 345, fol. Author's photograph.



A.M. 160, 4to, fifteenth century (fig. 35), St. Olaf is seen in plate-armour, influenced by the Hanseatic Olaf-type; but while he is standing in the latter, he is

seated in the former example, as the old tradition demanded. The chair and the border of the picture show the somewhat confused popular art.

There is an Olaf of the seventeenth century design by the priest Jon Erlendsson, A.M. 163, 4to. (Fig. 36). The old King is seated in his Gothic

costume with his axe and dragon, but both the saint and the dragon show clearly that they no longer live in the age of perpetual war; they have advanced with the times. The terrible dragon of heathen times has an elegant and civilized head, and St. Olaf looks tired. One sees that his Gothic days are numbered, also Valhalla is represented in a way that clearly shows, that the naïve and merry motives of the peasant style, give character to the last home of the Vikings (Fig. 37) A.M. 738, 4to., the MS. is of 1680, and also contains a series of pictures of gods and goddesses.

It was King Sverre who broke down the Romanesque culture in Norway, and his

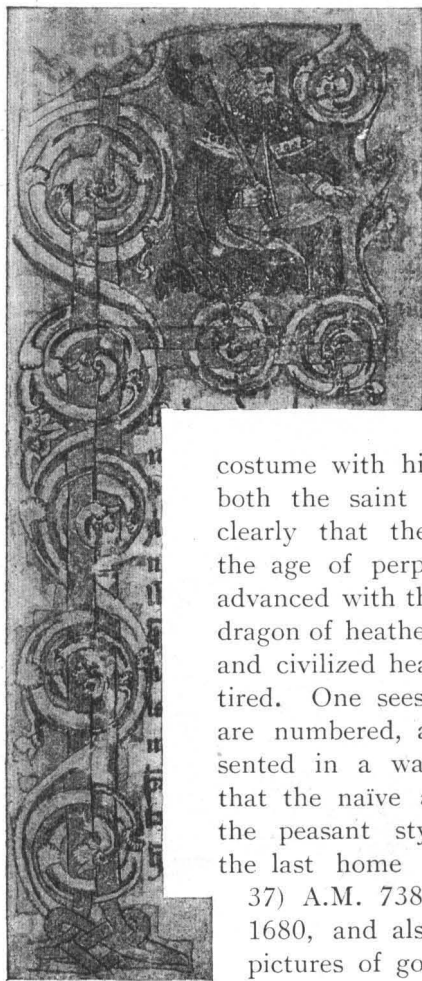


FIG. 34.—ST. OLAF: FROM  
JONSBOK, 1550-1600.  
Steph. 12. Author's photograph.



FIG. 36.—ST. OLAF: FROM JONSBOK.  
17th Century. A.M. 163, 4to.  
Author's photograph.



FIG. 35.—ST. OLAF: FROM JONSBOK.  
15th Century. A.M. 160 a 4to.  
Author's photograph.

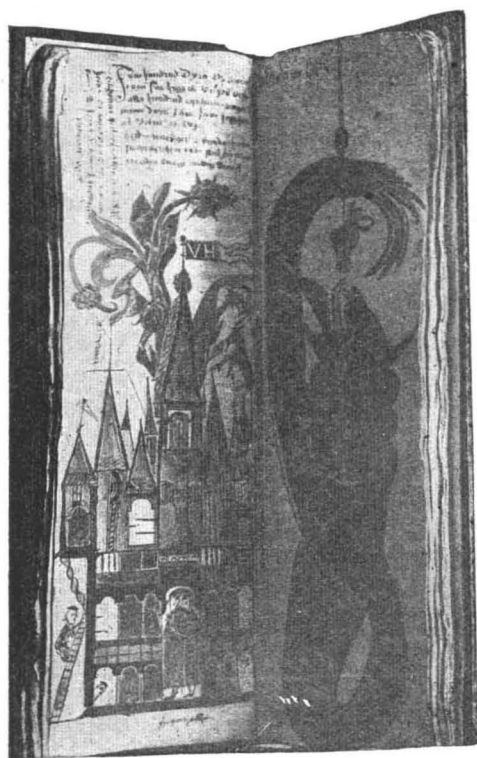


FIG. 37.—VALHAL AND THE MIDGARD-SERPENT.  
Paper manuscript, written in 1680. A.M. 738, 4to.  
Author's photograph.

family felt the responsibility of this, for they helped forward the new Gothic culture in Norway. The rich thirteenth century in Norway is due to their support. The movement also reached Iceland. I have used Icelandic book-craft to show these movements of style. The old Romanesque art, its connection with Norway, its evolution and strong conservatism, in short, the history of this dialect in

art, is another page in the history of Norse-Icelandic art, which also deserves a thorough examination. That side has only been touched upon here, but in it lies the wealth of Icelandic design.

# WILLIAM HERBERT AND HIS SCANDINAVIAN POETRY.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

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

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LADIES and Gentlemen of the Viking Club,—  
When I learned that it was a general desire that I should offer you an address this evening, I thought over various subjects of interest, and finally decided to speak to you respecting William Herbert, who did so much to popularise the knowledge of Northern literature in England at the beginning of the last century. Previous to that time, we had very little material in English, perhaps the most important being Gray's Odes, "The Fatal Sisters" and "The Descent of Odin," and a small volume entitled "Five Pieces of Runic Poetry," published in 1763, and containing "The Incantation of Hervor," "The Dying Ode of Ragnar Lodbrok," "The Ransome of Egill the Scald," "The Funeral Song of Hacon," and "The Complaint of Harald." A translation of the "Lodbroka-Quida," by James Johnstone, was also published at Copenhagen in 1782, which went through several editions. Nor must we forget Bishop Percy's translation of Mallet's "Northern Antiquities." About the beginning of the 19th century several workers were in the field, and among others, A. S. Cottle, Frank Sayers, Walter Scott, and his coadjutors Henry Weber and R. Jamieson, and William Herbert. The Hon. and Rev. William Herbert, who was born in 1778, and died in 1847, was the third son of the first Earl of Carnarvon. He was an extremely accomplished and versatile man, and made his mark in politics, religion, and natural history, especially botany; as well as in

literature, and his works include, besides original poetry in English, Latin, and Greek, translations from Greek, Icelandic, Danish, German, Italian, Spanish, &c. Ultimately he became Dean of Manchester.

William Herbert was educated at Eton, and his first publications appeared in a collection of Latin and Greek verse, edited under the title of "*Musæ Etonenses seu carmina delectus nunc primum in lucem editus*" (3 vols., 1795, reprinted, with additions, in two volumes, in 1817). To the first edition no editor's name is attached; the second was edited by William Herbert. Several poems in these volumes are by William Herbert himself, and one or two of older date by William Herbert (Lord Carnarvon), his father.

These Latin and Greek poems are classical imitations, and contain no Scandinavian allusions; nor does Herbert's Latin Prize Poem, "*Rhenus*," printed in 1797 (?), which is included (in English) in a volume of translations of Latin Prize Poems, published at Oxford in 1831.

Herbert did not neglect his classical studies after leaving Eton and Oxford, and in 1801 he published a small volume entitled "*Ossiani Darthula Græce reddita, accedunt Miscellanea*." *Darthula* extends to 252 lines in Greek hexameters. The *Miscellanea* include various Latin and Greek poems, one being "*Rhenus*," but none of those published in the "*Musæ Etonenses*," and none relating to Scandinavian studies. As late as 1820 Herbert published "*Iris, a Latin Ode*."

Herbert early turned his attention to Scandinavian literature, and in 1804 and 1806 he published two small volumes of "*Select Icelandic Poetry, translated from the Originals*," dedicated (in Danish) to the Hon. C. Anker of Copenhagen. The most important poems in the first part are the "*Song of Thrym*," and the opening of the "*Descent of Odin*," both from the *Edda* of *Sæmund*; the combat of *Hjalmar* and *Oddur* with *Angantyr* and his brothers (from the *Hervarar Saga*,

on which Herbert afterwards founded his important poem of *Helga*), and the *Death of Hacon*.

I may quote the opening of the "*Song of Thrym*" as a specimen:—

Wrath waxed Thor, when his sleep was flown,  
And he found his trusty hammer gone;  
He smote his brow, his beard he shook,  
The son of earth 'gan round him look,  
And this the first word that he spoke;  
"Now listen to what I tell thee, Loke;  
Which neither on earth below is known,  
Nor in Heaven above; my hammer's gone."  
Their way to Freyia's bower they took,  
And this the first word that he spoke:  
"Thou, Freyia, must lend a winged robe,  
To seek my hammer round the globe!"

Here in the mention of the "globe," to which there is no reference in the original, we already have an illustration of the way in which Herbert often intrudes incongruous classical, religious and modern ideas into the old poetry. We shall find this error very pronounced in some of his later poems.

There is a translation of a Danish paraphrase of the "*Song of Thrym*," in Prior's "*Ancient Danish Ballads*" (Vol. I., pp. 5-10), under the title of "*Thor of Asgard*."

The *Death of Hacon* is given in a different metre, from which I quote a few stanzas, relating to the *Valkyriur*, especially as I propose later to quote Herbert's own account of them.

"Couching her lance quoth Gondul fair,  
"The crew of heaven be now encreased;  
Stout Hacon, with his countless host,  
Is bidden hence to Odin's feast."

The monarch heard the fatal words,  
The steel-clad maids of slaughter bore;  
All thoughtful on their steeds they sate,  
And held their glittering shields before.

"Why thus " (he said) " the war divide?  
From Heaven we merit victory!"

"Thy force (quoth Skogul) we upheld,  
We bade thy mighty foemen fly."

"Fair sisters (cried the virgin bright),  
Ride we to heaven's immortal domes!  
Hear Odin! Lo, to grace thy court,  
The king of men, the victor, comes."

"Haste Braga and Hermoder, haste!  
To meet the chief " (quoth Odin) "go  
Hither he wends, whose sturdy arm  
Has wrought full many a champion woe."

You will no doubt remember a passage parallel to the last verse in a much finer poem, the *Eiriksmal*, translated in Dasent's "*Story of Burnt Njal*," ii. pp. 383-387, in which Odin sends two heroes to meet Eric on his way to Valhalla:—

Sigmund and Sinfjötli  
Up with you lithely,  
Out with you cheerily,  
Eric to greet.  
Bid him in blithely,  
See! he steps wearily,  
All up the rain-arch,  
Long is the day's march,—  
Dreary the journey  
'Neath buckler and byrnie,  
Hasten to bear up our chosen one's feet.

To return to the *Hakonarmal*, I may mention that there is a very free translation by F. Scarlet Potter in "*Once a Week*" (Vol. XIII., pp. 434-436, October, 1865). There is also a good version of the *Haraldsmal* in "*Once a Week*" (Vol. VII., pp. 152-154, August 2, 1862) by George Borrow.

The last stanza of the *Hakonarmal* reads very oddly to modern ears. It is thus translated by Herbert:—

Wealth perishes, and kindred die;  
Desert grows every hill and dale;  
With heathen gods let Hacon sit,  
And melancholy swains bewail!

The poem was written at the time of the conflict between the old and new religions, and the original actually reads :—

“Sizt Hakon för  
Með heidin goð.”

I may add that a somewhat similar expression is applied to the Berserker in the *Haraldsmal*, “*Ulfheðnar*.” Borrow translates this word “wolf-heathens,” but in the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, Vigfusson and York Powell render it as “wolf-coats.”

The second part of Herbert's translations includes Skirner's Expedition, Brynhilda's Ride to Hell, the Song of Ragnar Lodbrock, the Song of Harald the Hardy, &c. (This rendering of Hardrade is odd, and I cannot explain it).

From Skirner's Expedition I quote two stanzas from the word-contest between Skirner and Gerda :—

Skirner sung.

“Gerda, for thee this wonderous ring  
Burnt on young Balder's pile I bring;  
On each ninth night shall other eight  
Drop from it, all of equal weight.”

Gerda sung.

“I take not, I, that wonderous ring,  
Though it from Balder's pile you bring.  
Gold lack not I in Gymer's bower;  
Enough for me my father's dower.”

In 1804 Herbert printed a small volume of “Translations from the German, Danish, &c., to which is added Miscellaneous Poetry,” and in 1806 he published a second volume of “Miscellaneous Poetry.” The first part includes a translation of the Danish ballad of Sir Ebba, of which a different version is translated by Prior (“Ancient Danish Ballads” ii. pp. 171-176) under the title of “Sir Ebbe's Daughters.” It is a semi-historical



legend of two girls who slew two brother-knights who had insulted them while their father was absent on a pilgrimage.

None of the other poems in Herbert's two volumes of miscellaneous poetry deal with Scandinavian subjects, except one or two unimportant translations from Danish; nor do the following poems, published in separate small volumes in 1822: "*Pia del Pietro, a Tale*," "*The Guahiba, a Tale in Verse*," and "*Julia Montalban, a Tale*."

Another publication of Herbert's in 1822, however, deserves a passing mention. This is "*The Wierd Wanderer of Jutland, a Tragedy*." It is a dramatic poem in blank verse, founded on a Danish drama by Ingemann (*Löveridderen*), dealing with a *motif* which is extremely common in Northern literature; the misfortunes of two lovers who discover later that they are brother and sister.

We now come to the best known and most interesting of Herbert's works, "*Helga, a Poem in Seven Cantos*," 1815, of which a second edition was published, not "in the following year," as stated in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, but in 1820.

The *Hervarar Saga* relates how the Berserk Angantyr and his brothers sailed to Sweden to carry off Ingebiörg, the daughter of King Aun, whom one of the brothers had vowed to marry. At the king's table were sitting two great warriors, Hialmar, the High-Minded, and Oddur, the Far-Travelled, or Orvar-Odd. Hialmar besought the king to grant his daughter's hand to him, rather than to the Berserk Hiorvardur; and the king asked his daughter to decide between them. She chose Hialmar, and Hiorvardur then challenged him to a duel on an island; and finally Hialmar and Oddur met the brothers. Hialmar then fought with Angantyr as the leader of the Berserker, while Oddur challenged the other brothers one by one, and slew them all, being clad in a magic silk dress, which no weapon could

penetrate. Oddur then buried the Berserker in a mound, and carried back Hjalmar's body to Sweden. Ingebiörg would not survive him, and killed herself.

When Angantyr's infant daughter Hervor was grown up, she visited her father's tomb, and claimed from him the dwarf-sword Tyrfing, which could never be drawn without taking one or more lives. (Compare the story of Angelfyr and Helmer Kamp in Prior's *Danish Ballads*, i., pp. 193-204).

Prior writes "the celebrated Hervor, whose visit to her father's tomb is described in a subsequent part of the Saga, and has been paraphrased by Gray," but I think this is an error, for I do not find it in any edition of Gray's works which I have consulted. It is possible, however, that Prior alluded to "The Incantation of Hervor," which is one of the "Five Pieces of Runic Poetry" already referred to, and which may perhaps be by Gray.

Herbert's poem of Helga is founded on the first part of the *Hervarar Saga*, but is greatly altered, expanded, and embellished, and I will now give a brief outline of the story.

Ingva, the King of Sweden, is holding high festival in his hall at Yule-tide, when Angantyr the Berserk, accompanied by his brothers, enters the hall, and demands the hand of Helga, Ingva's beautiful daughter. Ingva calls on his champions to come forward in her defence, and Hjalmar challenges Angantyr to a duel to the death, with the maiden as the prize of the victor. Hjalmar was one of three great warriors who guarded Sweden, but Asbiorn (a hero introduced by Herbert into the story) was incapacitated by sickness, and Orvarod was fighting abroad. Asbiorn and Helga had both long been admirers of Helga, but she favoured Hjalmar, and was greatly alarmed at the prospect of the coming fight. When night fell she left the palace, and crept down to the eastern gate of Hell, where lay the Vala in her grave;

and the Vala responded to her cry, and declared that Hialmar must seek a magic falchion from a pigmy race in the North. Helga was carried back to her bed by protecting powers, but Odin appeared to her in a dream, upbraided her for her impious daring, and threatened that she should lose her reason if she betrayed the secret. During a bear-hunt on the following day, Helga met Hialmar, and of course told her secret, losing her reason as Odin had foretold. Then Hialmar travelled to the north, till he reached the cave of the dwarfs, and carried off a sword inscribed with the words, "Angantyr's Bane," though the dwarf chief declared that its wielder would speedily perish. After Hialmar had secured the sword, a voluptuous fairyland opened before him, where an attempt was made to deprive him of it, but he resisted in time, and carried off the sword in safety. During Hialmar's absence, Orvarod had returned, and Asbiorn had recovered his health. Asbiorn begged the king to allow him to fight Angantyr in Hialmar's absence, but the king declared that he could not go back on his word. Nevertheless Asbiorn carried his suit to the mad Helga, but without success. Next day Hialmar himself returned, and the fierce Orvarod insisted on his setting sail at once, to meet Angantyr on the island of Samsoe, without further delay. When they landed, Hialmar was greeted by the Valkyriur, who were invisible to Orvarod. Orvarod rallied his comrade on his softness; but they at once encountered Angantyr and his brothers. Hialmar met Angantyr, who attacked him with his mace, and when it was cloven by Hialmar's sword, he overbalanced and fell. Hialmar chivalrously allowed him to rise, when Angantyr drew his own magic sword, Tifing, likewise forged by dwarfs. While Hialmar and Angantyr were fighting, Orvarod pretended to fly, and drew off Angantyr's brothers in pursuit, turning round and slaying them one by one with his own arrows till they had all fallen,

when he returned to watch the great fight between Hialmar and Angantyr. Both were grievously wounded, and when Angantyr at last fell, Hialmar could only utter his last wishes to Orvarod before he too expired, and was borne to Valhalla, looking back mournfully on Helga's bower, and on his own bleeding corpse on Samsøe's shore.

Orvarod then buried Angantyr and his brothers in a common tomb, and carried Hialmar's body back to Sweden, where he was met by Asbiorn. When Hialmar's corpse was brought to Helga, her memory returned, and she cast one look of reproach on Asbiorn, and died. She was buried with Hialmar in the same tomb, and Asbiorn fell upon his sword.

Helga is written in a very even rhymed metre, and as a specimen I will quote from Canto VI. part of the passage relating to the Valkyriur, which I consider one of the best in the book :—

I ween they had not paced a rood,  
When close beside Hialmar stood,  
On steeds that seemed as fleet as light,  
Six maids in complete armour dight.  
Their chargers of ethereal birth,  
Paw'd with impatient hoof the earth,  
And snorting fiercely, gan to neigh,  
As if they heard the battle bray,  
And burned to join the bloody fray.  
But they unmoved and silent sate,  
With pensive brow and look sedate;  
Proudly each couched her glittering spear,  
And seemed to know nor hope nor fear;  
So mildly firm their placid air,  
So resolute, yet heavenly fair.  
But not one ray of pity's beam  
From their dark eyelids seemed to gleam;  
Nor gentle mercy's melting tear,  
Nor love might ever harbour there.  
Was never beauteous woman's face  
So stern and yet so passionless !

Afterwards, Hialmar says to the incredulous Orvarod :—

“ Orvarod, thy friend must fall and bleed !  
Yet not Angantyr's force I fear,  
But Gondula's immortal spear.  
I see the stern Valkyriur nigh,  
All arm'd and pointing to the sky;  
Virgins of fate, that choose the slain,  
They bid me hence to Odin's train.”

I may perhaps add that I do not remember hearing of any instance of the appearance of the Valkyriur on a battlefield in modern times.

Two short poems of considerable merit are included in the same volume as *Helga*. One is “ *The Song of Vala*,” and consists of twenty-five stanzas based on selected strophes of the *Völuspá*, but greatly embellished and modernised. I will quote a few stanzas :—

Who is he by heaven's high portal,  
Beaming like the light of morn ?  
'Tis Heimdallar's form immortal,  
Shrill resounds his golden horn.

Say, proud wardour robed in glory,  
Are the foes of nature nigh ?  
Have they climbed the mountains hoary ?  
Have they stormed the vaulted sky ?

On the wings of tempest riding,  
Surtur spreads his fiery spell ;  
Elves in secret caves are hiding,  
Odin meets the wolf of hell.

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

These few stanzas exhibit Herbert's mannerisms ; the Norse Gods, of course, are not immortal ; “ *glory* ” appears to be used in a conventional theological sense ; and “ *golden horn* ” looks like a gratuitous substitution for “ *Giallar horn*,” the resounding horn. Heimdall's teeth were of gold, but we are not told what his horn was made of.

The other poem, “ *Brynhilda*,” only runs to 204

long lines, but I regard it not only as by far the finest poem that Herbert has written, but as one of the finest poems that I have seen on the whole Nibelungen epos. It extends from the enchantment of Brynhilda to her mounting the funeral pyre of Sigurd, and I will read you the account of the attack of Gunnar and Sigurd on the enchanted castle. (Brynhilda in this legend is the prototype of the Sleeping Beauty).

Who is it that spurs his dark steed at the fire?  
 Who is it, whose wishes thus boldly a-pire  
 To the chamber of shields, where the beautiful maid  
 By the spell of the mighty defenceless is laid?  
 Is it Sigurd the valiant, the slayer of kings,  
 With the spoils of the Dragon, his gold and his rings?  
 Or is it bold Gunnar, who vainly assays  
 On the horse of good Sigurd to rush through the blaze?  
 The steed knows his master in field or in stall,  
 No other hands rein him, no other spurs gall.  
 He brooks not the warrior that pricks his dark side,  
 Be he prince, be he chieftain of might and of pride.  
 How he neighs! how he plunges, and tosses his mane!  
 How he foams! how he lashes his flank with disdain,  
 O crest-fallen Gunnar, thou liest on the plain!  
 Through the furnace no warrior, save Sigurd, may ride,  
 Let his valour for thee win the spell-guarded bride!  
 He has mounted his war-horse, the beauteous and bold,  
 His buckler and harness are studded with gold.  
 A dragon all writhing in gore is his crest,  
 A dragon is burnish'd in gold on his breast;  
 The furnace grows redder, the flames crackle round,  
 But the horse and the rider plunge thro' at one bound.  
 He has reached the dark canopy's shield-covered shade,  
 Where spell-bound the beautiful damsel is laid,  
 He has kissed her closed eyelids and called her his bride,  
 He has stretched his bold limbs in the gloom by her side.

Herbert's next poem, "Hedin, or the Spectre of the Tomb, a Tale told from the Danish History" (1820), is a story of a feud between Högni (called Harald by Herbert) and Hedin, who had married his daughter Hilda. Hedin is slain by Harald, and Hilda recalls them to life by spells, when they commence their combat afresh; and every night her ghost rouses them

to renew the fray. Herbert's poem is written in sixty-nine eight-syllable stanzas, of which I quote stanza IX., from a speech of Harald, as a specimen. These events are said to have happened in the year 360, in the reign of Frode the Third, of Denmark.

Stanza IX.

I had one gem preserved with precious care,  
My hope, my treasure. Who so fit to wear  
That jewel as my friend? with partial voice  
Him unsolicited I bade rejoice;  
My heart's best pride, the darling of my sight,  
Was freely proffered by a parent's choice.  
A form so perfect, and a mind so bright,  
She seemed a living beam of heaven's immortal light.

In 1842 Herbert published his collected "*Works, excepting those on Botany and Natural History, with additions and alterations by the Author,*" 3 vols. The first volume contains "*Horæ Scandiæ, or Works relating to Old Scandinavian Literature.*" In addition to those already mentioned, this volume includes three important translations from the heroic lays of the Edda, which were apparently not previously published, and which I will now briefly notice.

Third Song of Sigurd, 1839.

From this I quote part of Brynhilda's dying instructions to Gunnar:—

"Husband, one boon I ask of thee,  
The last which shall be craved by me.  
So broad a structure from the ground  
Raise thou, that ample space be found;  
Space for every one that dies  
To grace great Sigurd's obsequies;  
Veils and bucklers let them bear,  
To strew thereon, and vestments rare;  
Broidered robes, and a chosen train  
Of men and women fitly slain;  
And burn the glorious Hun by the side  
Of me, his first betrothed bride;  
Burn on the other side of the king  
My slaves bedecked with jewel and ring!

Two slaves and two hawks at the brave man's head,  
 So shall we honor the mighty dead !  
 But between us be there laid  
 The sharp and gold-adorned blade,  
 As when, bride and bridegroom hight,  
 First we shared one couch at night.

The Song of Attila, 1839.

From this I quote two strophes, relating to the death of Hagen :—

25.

Hagen stout, the helmet-forged,  
 Smiled as they cut his heart to the quick,  
 Small thought had he of wailing ;  
 All bloody from his breast they tore it,  
 And on a plate to Gunnar bore it.

26.

Then serene quoth Gunnar, lord  
 Of many a Nibelungen spear ;  
 " I hold the heart of Hagen here,  
 Not like that of base Hialler ;  
 Little quakes it on the platter,  
 In his breast it quaked not so."

Volunder's Song, 1840.

Concerning this poem, Herbert remarks : " This ode is improperly placed first in the volume of the Tragic Edda, for it refers (st. 13) to the capture of the gold of Fafner on Gnita heath (see Gripis-spa, st. 11), near the Rhine, by Attila (under the mystic name Sigurd) on his horse Grana, which is the subject of Fafnismal." As a specimen I quote stanzas 35 and 36 :—

35.—Niduder speaks.

Fouler word thou couldst not speak !  
 Fain would I that evil wreak !  
 But who, his courser tall bestriding,  
 Can seize thee, thus in mid-air riding ?  
 Who can smite thee from beneath,  
 While wafted to the clouds ?

36.

Volunder smiling soared on high,  
 Niduder sat down with a sigh.



The second volume of Herbert's works includes "Horæ Pierinæ, or Poetry on various subjects."

Here I find Pia del Pietro, Julia Montalban, The Guahiba, the Wanderer of Jutland, and short pieces in English, Latin, Greek and Italian, including Darthula, Iris, &c., and also two short Latin pieces, dated 1831 and 1841 respectively, relating to Attila, the first being a translation of a passage in Herbert's "Attila," book III., and the second entitled "Hilda Attilæ."

The third volume of Herbert's collected works includes the largest of his poems, his great epic of "Attila, King of the Huns," in twelve books; first published in 1838. It runs to 271 pages, and is followed by "Attila and his Predecessors, an historical treatise," forming a commentary extending to page 553. The poem, which is semi-historical, is written in ordinary blank verse, and I do not propose to-night to discuss it at length, nor to read any passages from it. In the historical treatise Herbert regards Attila as the prototype of Arthur, Sigurd, and a variety of other heroes, a point of view on which I am quite incompetent to express an opinion, but which does not seem to commend itself to my mind.

As regards Herbert's scientific work, his most important publications relate to crocuses and other bulbous plants. I am told that the illustrations to his work on Amaryllidaceæ, were coloured after specimens in his herbarium, instead of after living plants.

Among Herbert's miscellaneous publications is a small volume of four sermons, which seem to me to be of no particular merit, and which contain nothing relating to Scandinavian subjects.

There is a good account of William Herbert, which I have consulted, in the Dictionary of National Biography.

## EARLY ENGLISH INFLUENCE ON THE DANISH CHURCH.

BY REV. A. V. STORM.

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BEFORE beginning this paper I must ask the indulgence of my old friends of the Viking Club, as this paper contains nothing original on my part. It is simply founded upon the original work by Miss Ellen Jørgensen of Copenhagen, who obtained the gold medal of the Royal Society of Denmark, for an essay upon "Foreign Influence upon the Danish Church during the earliest period of its development." Miss Jørgensen's work originally appeared in answer to a thesis set by the Danish Royal Society of Sciences, which ran as follows: "What foreign influences have affected the Danish Church as regards its internal administration, its Canon Law, its Church Language, and Liturgy?" To this was added a request that special attention should be paid to the question of the influence of the Anglo-Saxon Church upon her Danish sister; on analysing Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical documents and reading biographies and monastic chronicles of the tenth and eleventh centuries, doubts arose with regard to the view commonly taken as to the position of the Anglo-Saxon Church, and another theory became current, based, as it was, upon the researches of English investigators. For a long time English historians and theologians have been occupied with the question concerning the connexion between the Anglo-Saxon Church and the countries beyond the seas. They have made great efforts to collect and examine all evidence which proves that developments in both churches proceeded upon parallel lines. The study of English Church history is not confined to the Anglo-Saxon

Church. It also includes the developments in the churches of all Western countries. The epoch under investigation may be divided into two periods. The earlier period is that of the first beginnings of the Danish Church, and ends with its organisation under Svend Estridssön. It is bounded by the Norman Conquest of England in 1066. The first part of this period is a time when German influence predominated. The life of St. Ansgar and Adam of Bremen's account of the Lives of the Bishops of Hamburg are the main sources of our knowledge of the Ecclesiastical History of Denmark at this time. Adam concludes his history about 1075 A.D. The later period ending about the middle of the thirteenth century, is one in which a number of different foreign influences prevailed.

During the earlier period we are at the mercy of scanty and uncontrolled traditions. When, too, we turn to the rich Anglo-Saxon sources, hoping to find some information there as regards the development of the Danish Church, we meet with disappointment. They tell us nothing of Mission work in Denmark. We should, however, be unduly hasty if we concluded from this silence that the Anglo-Saxon Church took scarcely any part in the conversion of Denmark. How little did the Anglo-Saxons report at home as to their good work among the Germans, and how few and scanty are the notices in the English chronicles concerning the foundation of the Norwegian Church?

The Anglo-Saxon Church as a whole sent out no missionaries. Individuals went out filled with burning zeal or called beyond the seas by some prince or other. Over against the Anglo-Saxon Church may be set the Archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen, with its organised mission work, its fixed aims, and its traditions. The ecclesiastical history of the North presents considerable difficulties. With a view to solving some of these, the Theological Faculty of the University of Christiania in

the year 1886 set the following thesis. It was entitled "On the influence of the Anglo-Saxon Church upon the Norwegian Church." The extent of the investigation was limited by the wording of the title.

Professor A. Taranger, who took the question up, did not exceed the prescribed limits, but confined his researches to the Churches of England and Norway. Onesidedness has, however, its advantages. In the essay in question we see the Anglo-Saxon Church with its organisation and legislation contrasted with the Norwegian Church. Taranger's work became important in the field of ecclesiastical research both in Norway and in Sweden. By exciting controversy it called forth fresh inquiries. In view of the present state of the scientific controversy, the words of the man who was one of the first to narrate the history of the foundation of the Danish Church are of special importance. It is therefore only due to Adam of Bremen to examine his writings first when trying to find out by what nations the Danish Church was influenced during the earliest period of its existence. The name of St. Ansgar must rank first in Danish Church history. He had the enthusiastic tendencies which, despite defeat and failure, are ever directed towards an ideal object, and he had courage enough to begin a work which was at first looked upon as foolish.

It is a matter of small importance whether he accomplished more or less of his task within the boundaries of Denmark. In any case he led the way. Others followed in his footsteps. A period of nearly a hundred years, namely, from the death of St. Ansgar to the foundation of the first dioceses in Denmark, is scarcely mentioned in Adam's book, "*Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiæ pontificum.*" As, however, Adam often mentions "the hard times," and as the two advances of the Hamburg Mission are said to have coincided with the campaigns of the Emperors Henry I. and Otto II. against the Danes, there is ground to

believe that either the work had not thriven, or that it had come altogether to an end. The establishment of dioceses ushers in a new period, inasmuch as starting points for preaching and organisation are thus set up in the country itself. Danish tradition preserves a few vague memories of Anglo-Saxon mission work amongst the Danes. This testimony cannot be weakened by Adam's silence. The Church in Hamburg did not trouble about a few foreign priests. Jealousy was, however, aroused as soon as kings such as Svend and Canute began to go to England in search of bishops. The new period includes the time when England and Denmark were united. Adam relates that King Canute brought over "many bishops." Svend Aagesön also speaks of "many bishops and clerics." We know too that the nameless priests of the eleventh century have left their impress upon our liturgy and the scattered reminiscences of Anglo-Saxon ritual which are still to be traced, and partly due to them, partly to the Danish colony in the Danelaw, and to priests who travelled backwards and forwards over the North Sea. As to the many English bishops, they are not easily accounted for. Danish tradition knows of no other bishops than the three whom Adam mentions.

These bear German names, and would hardly have been partial to Anglo-Saxon customs.

The time of King Svend Estridssön and Archbishop Adelbert of Hamburg forms the next period. In Denmark regular mission work was at an end. Church organisation was in the process of completion under the auspices of the king. During times of adversity King Svend had learnt to reckon with real factors and to be content with the attainable. He strengthened the connection with Rome without breaking off too hastily the ties which united Denmark with the see of Hamburg-Bremen. In contrast to him may be set Archbishop Adelbert, who, though a great ecclesiastical

statesman and missionary, yet sadly degenerated at the very end of his life owing to pride, ambition, and flattery.

The Viking period lasted for 300 years, and in the course of three centuries nations may alter their whole way of thinking. The younger generations, who were themselves Christian, were more susceptible to the influence exercised by other Christians than were their ancestors, whose first encounters with Christians had taken place when they were out on piratical or trading expeditions. The conflict between Christianity and Paganism has been well depicted by S. Bugge, A. Olrik, and K. Maurer.

The question now before us is "by what direct ecclesiastical influences were Church customs formed in Denmark?" Our investigation must at first be limited to the later Viking period and to those colonies that did not sever their connection with the mother country. The temporary settlement in Flanders, the colonies in France and Ireland cannot be included in our survey. The settlement known as the Danelaw, and the united kingdom of England and Denmark will, however, engage our attention. At the same time it may be doubted whether we are right to make a distinction between the settlements in Ireland, France, and Flanders, and the colonies in England. We are best acquainted with the state of affairs in England. In the Anglo-Saxon chronicles the fierce paganism of the invaders and their eventual conversion to Christianity are alike recorded. The song of King Canute in his boat beneath the walls of the Monastery of Ely on the clear winter's day tells us what Christianity had become for the Danes. The Book of Ely gives us but a hasty sketch, but in the Vita Oswaldi, by Eadmer, the personality of Archbishop Oswald of York is clearly and fully portrayed. When reading it we are surprised at the excellent picture which it affords us of the Northman Oswald. The lively growing boy, his

early years at Winchester, when his friends crowd round the fine open-handed youth—then his rupture with his companions and the sudden interruption of the merry life which he had led—and finally the years of his manhood spent in toil and asceticism, during which he still bore himself as a king among men—all these things are described for us. Oswald was related to the foremost churchman of his time. Odo of Canterbury and Oscytel of York, both of them Northmen, are also mentioned as benefactors of churches and monasteries, in the chronicles, documents, and memorials of the time. There were rich possibilities at the time of union. The time when the rupture came was also not without significance, as many Danes returned home after the sons of Canute had ceased to reign over England. It should also be mentioned that the Norwegians and Danes were differently situated as regards influences emanating from the Anglo-Saxon Church. During the eleventh century the Danes went mostly to Southern and Eastern England, where church life flourished greatly after the days of Dunstan and Aethelwold. The Norwegians on the other hand mostly emigrated to the West and North. Little is known about direct influences emanating from the Irish Church. The Norwegians must, however, have received indirect Celtic influences through the Church of Northumbria, where traces of Irish mission work during the sixth and seventh centuries might yet be found. The Northern Church had a character of its own, but it was not so rich and varied as that of the Southern Church. Who would compare York with Winchester about the year 1000?

Too much emphasis cannot be laid upon the differences between the Norwegians and the Danes at this period. Thus it should be remembered that King Olaf Tryggvason was confirmed by St. Alphege, the disciple of St. Ethelwold, at Andover, in 994, and may have been influenced by the ecclesiastical customs of

the South of England. Two names of missionaries brought from England by St. Olaf are of German origin, and are tokens of the connexion between the Anglo-Saxon Church and the churches of the Continent. A yet greater difference between the Danish and Norwegian churches is due to the isolated position of Norway. This led to the long-continued retention of impulses once received. Life in Denmark on the other hand was more varied and many-sided.

The later period from 1050 to 1250 was one during which the conditions were more favourable to foreign influence than had previously been the case. Inter-course with foreign countries was of frequent occurrence. The old relations with Germany were by no means broken off when the see of Lund was raised to metropolitan rank in 1103, and Denmark received an archbishop of her own. A new connection was formed about this time with France, apparently through Archbishop Eskil of Lund.

The Cistercian Abbey of Herrisvad in Scania was founded about 1144 by Eskil, who was a friend and correspondent of St. Bernard. Esrom followed, after Eskil had revisited France. Both monasteries were founded by monks from Citeaux and Clairvaux. The archbishop also tried to induce some Carthusians to settle in Denmark. Herrisvad and Esrom were the mother houses of many other monasteries. French monks came to Denmark. Young Danes went to Paris for their education, while others entered the abbeys of Citeaux and Clairvaux, often seeking refuge there from sorrow and adversity. Evidence of the intercourse between France and Denmark may also be found in the letters of Stephen of Tournay to Canute VI., of Absalom, of Bishop Valdemar of Schleswig, of Omer of Ribe, of Archbishop Peter Sunnesön of Lund, and of St. William, Abbot of Æbelholt. It is evident that the connection was of recent date. Stephen greatly wondered at the young and vigorous



new nation, and the memories of the devastations of the Northmen had not yet entirely died out.

A third way by which ecclesiastical influence came to Denmark was by the well-known route over the North Sea. At first there seemed to be a certain coolness between England and Denmark. Discontented Anglo-Saxon priests were constantly taking refuge in Denmark. The letter, which St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, on the subject addressed to Archbishop Asser, is calm and prudent, nor did the claims to the English crown put forth by the Danish kings ever prove an obstacle to a good understanding with the Anglo-Norman Church. Just as we read many Danish names in French obituaries, so also we find in the *Liber Vitae* of Durham among many names which bear witness to Northern colonisation and Norman conquest, the following two, namely, "Eiric, rex Danorum, Botild Regina." King Eric Eiegod sent to Evesham for monks to people the Benedictine monastery, which he founded at Odense in 1100, and he invited the abbots, priors, and regular clergy of England to send efficient workers across the sea to raise up the Danish Church from its fallen state. The Cistercian order had quickly spread all over England, and by means of this order new associations were formed between that country and Denmark. Several English Cistercian monks settled in Denmark. The second and third abbots of Sorö and the first abbot of Öm were Englishmen. The third abbot of Öm is said to have come from Normandy. Little is heard about studies in England. It is in Dominican records of the thirteenth century that Oxford is mentioned for the first time as a place of resort for young Danes. We learn, however, from Saxo's preface that Archbishop Andreas Sunnesön had studied in Italy, France, and England.

In the eleventh century great steps were taken towards the unification of the Western Church owing to the monarchical and centralising tendencies of the Papacy.

The power of the Pope was ever on the increase, and there was a growing tendency towards liturgical uniformity. This tendency, however, was neither firm nor constant.

The state of the various national churches before the centralising process began is an interesting subject of enquiry. Let us see how it was with the Anglo-Saxon Church before it was drawn into the general movement. The idea of a theocratic state, the influence of the king upon canon law, his appointment to clerical offices, the amalgamation of the synod with the Witenagemot—all these may seem to be features peculiar to the Anglo-Saxon Church. Such, however, is not the case. The Church was similarly situated in the Frankish empire under the Carlovingians, and in Germany under the Saxon and Salic emperors. The king governs the Church, but his hand is guided by her dignitaries. We know how fervently King Canute embraced the theocratic idea. The power of clerical ideas was very great. The standard of the reformers of that time was a very high one. The oft-quoted theory of the tolerance of the Anglo-Saxon Church, which is exclusively based upon the letter of Pope Gregory I. to Mellitus, has but slight foundation in fact. It was certainly not tolerance or prudence which caused men such as Olaf Tryggvason and St. Olaf to do their utmost to Christianise Norway, nor was it tolerance, but rather the most burning zeal which inspired the great work done by Anglo-Saxon missionaries on the Continent during the eighth century. There is a difference between Anglo-Saxon Church customs and those of the Frankish empire with regard to bishops' sees and the relation of the bishop to his diocese. In the Roman Empire, the Church spread abroad from the big cities in which the bishop governed his diocese with absolute power. Roman centralisation had become a heritage of the Church. In England there were some towns in which bishops resided, but in many dioceses the bishop lived in a village.

In one respect especially the Anglo-Saxon Church was peculiarly situated.

Clerical courts for the trial of clerics were unknown there, except in the case of offences against ecclesiastical discipline, which were always referred to the judgment of the bishop. The bishop and the ealdorman sat side by side in the scirgemot and laid down the law with regard to both ecclesiastical and civil matters. The ecclesiastical and civil laws were closely connected. The State punished offenders against the laws of the Church by compelling them to do penance by depriving them of the protection of the law, or by inflicting fines; or, it may be, the punishment inflicted by the State was added to the penance exacted by the Church.

There is nothing peculiar in the fact of the State punishing disobedience to the precepts of the Church.

This system had, however, been developed to a greater extent in England than elsewhere, as the Anglo-Saxons, thanks to the Celtic influence, used to do private penance. Indeed they scarcely knew anything of the public penances, which the Carolingian reformers had revived upon the Continent.

A similarly close connection between the Church and State existed in Denmark at least until the close of the twelfth century. It was not till later that quarrels broke out between the Church and the State. In conclusion I wish to draw attention to the following evidences as to the intimate connection which subsisted between the churches of England and Denmark.

The Benedictine monks of Odense were brought to Denmark by King Eric Eiegod (who died in 1103) from Evesham Abbey. The connection between Evesham and Odense continued to exist for centuries, and the election of the prior of Odense was confirmed at Evesham.

In England it was the custom to dedicate the same church to two or more saints, as in the case of the cathedral of Winchester. This was also done in the

case of the cathedrals of Roskilde and Odense in Denmark.

In the baptismal ritual used in the diocese of Roskilde it was the custom for the priest, before baptising the child, to trace a cross with his thumb upon the right hand of the child, saying "Accipe signaculum sancte crucis in manu tua dextera, quo te signes, et de adversario tuo defendas, ut habeas vitam eternam et vivas cum deo in secula seculorum. Amen."

A similar ceremony is described in the Stowe Missal as being used in the Irish Church at least as early as the ninth century. The form of baptism contained in the Stowe Missal or parts of it may have been used in England before the coming of St. Augustine, and, in some parts of the country, for a long time afterwards.

There is also a likeness between the ceremonial for a wedding which was in use in the pre-Reformation Church of Denmark and that which is contained in the Sarum Manual.

In both cases the bridal pair await the coming of the priest outside the church door. There he blesses the ring, which the bridegroom places first on the thumb, then on the second, and finally on the third finger of the bride, where he leaves it, saying some such words as "With this ryng I the wed, and this gold and silver I the geue, and with my body I the worship, and with all my worldely cathel I the endowe."

Mass followed, in the course of which a special blessing was pronounced upon the bride and bridegroom. The marriage customs of France are somewhat similar.

With regard to the English saints who were honoured in Denmark, we find the following, namely, the Venerable Bede and St. John of Beverley at Viborg, St. Birinus and St. Thomas of Canterbury at Lund, as also the latter at Ribe, Roskilde, and Aarhus.

One of earliest Danish historical writings, the *Passio Sancti Canuti* tells us how the relics of St. Alban were

kept in the Church of St. Alban at Odense. Aelnoth says that the relics both of St. Oswald and of St. Alban were kept over the high altar of St. Alban's, Odense. The cultus of St. Botolph, who was born in East Anglia, was evidently brought to Denmark by settlers returning from England, churches dedicated to him being found in Danish settlements, in London, Lincolnshire, Northampton, Norfolk, and Essex. In Denmark an Augustinian nunnery at Viborg, a parish church at Aalborg, which still bears his name, and other churches were dedicated to him. His feast day on June 17 was a great festival at Aalborg.

Lastly, the liturgical terms formerly used in Denmark show strong traces of Anglo-Saxon influence.

Such are the old Danish words, *rökælse*, *incense*, *guðfaður*, *godfather*, *guðmoður*, *godmother*, *biskopdom*, *diocese*, *ærkibiskup*, *halægdom*, *relic*, *kristendom*, *scrift*, *confession*, *calck*, *chalice*, *disc*, *þaten*. As to the last word, its compound *huseldisc*, *eucharistic þaten*, is peculiarly English.

The old Danish word *kors* (cross) seems to be derived from the Irish *cros*. Such are a few of the tokens of Anglo-Saxon influence upon the Church of Denmark during the earliest period of its history. That the union between the two churches in the past may be an earnest of unity and concord between the two peoples, both descended from the Vikings, in the future is my most sincere and constant desire.

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# ANGLO-SAXON SILVER COINS FROM THE XIth CENTURY IN A SILVER- HOARD FROM RYFYLKE, NORWAY.

By DR. A. W. BRØGGER.

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THE silver-hoard described in the following paper was found in the year 1907 on a little island, named Foldøen, in Ryfylke, about twenty-eight miles north-east of Stavanger. It was dug out of an uncultivated and somewhat marshy place, where the plough, passing over the spot, brought it to light. It consists of nearly 800 silver coins and fragments of silver rings, &c.

Of the silver coins four were *Norwegian* (Harald Haardraade, 1047-1066), 99 *Danish* (from Canute to Svein Estrithsson 1047-1075), 532 *German* (German, Netherlandish, Bohemian, etc.), minted in the earlier part of the eleventh century. There were 135 *Anglo-Saxon* coins belonging to Æthelred II. (the Unready), Canute, Harold Harefoot, Harthacnute, and Edward the Confessor (1042-1066), and besides there was one *Irish* coin from Dublin (Sigtrygg Silkiskeggi). In addition there is one *Hungarian* (St. Stefanus) and three *Cufic* silver coins (about 1000).

Before I give a description of the Anglo-Saxon coins in this find, I must briefly mention the early history of coinage in Scandinavia, and its relation to the great quantities of foreign coins, which were imported as a result of the Viking raids. We get our knowledge of this history from the silver-hoards of that time, and it is evident that in the series of these hoards is reflected the salient features of the communications between the northern countries and Western Europe in the Viking Age. The importation of silver coins

from Western Europe to Scandinavia in the Viking period (800-1050) might be divided into two periods—one weak, the early period of the importation of coins in the eighth and the ninth centuries, and one vigorous, concentrated in the time between 980 to 1050.

The first named importation is of special significance as illustrating the earliest historical communications between the Anglo-Saxons and the Norsemen.<sup>1</sup> Neither the finds nor the number of coins in them are very great, and cannot at all be compared with the richness of the silver-finds from the second period of coin importation. The coins belong to various kings of Northumbria, Mercia and Wessex, before and after the year 800, and it is obvious that they were brought to Norway (where they are generally found in tumuli) as personal ornaments and not for use as coins.

The second period, from 980-1050, is represented by a lot of silver-hoards, generally found in moors. According to P. Hauberg, who has treated the Danish coinage of this time in an excellent work<sup>2</sup>; up till 1900 nearly 20,000 coins were found in Denmark, and more than 95,000 in Sweden; of these coins 67,000 were from Gothland. In Norway we know of about 10,000 silver coins of the same period, distributed in fifteen finds.

This sudden increase of imported silver coins is certainly owing to the last energies of the Viking Expeditions towards the end of the tenth century. These expeditions promoted a lively commercial connexion between Scandinavia and the western countries, and just at this time the Scandinavians began more and more to use coins in commercial life. This is the reason why such enormous quantities of West European

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Brøgger: *Angelsaksiske mynter fra VIII.-IX. Aarh-i-Norden*. Norsk historisk tidsskrift, 1912.

<sup>2</sup> P. Hauberg; *Myntforhold og Udmyntninger i Danmark indtil 1146*. Det kgl. danske videnskabernes selskabs skrifter. VI. Række. Historisk-filosofisk Afdeling. V. Bind. København, 1900.

coins found their way to the Scandinavian countries in this period. On the whole, this last period of silver coin importation shows how fruitful to the northern countries was their acquaintance with the more elaborate western culture. Soon after this great importation of English and German coins, the national coinage of the three Scandinavian countries began, as a direct result of the intimate connexions of the Viking Age with more advanced communities.

P. Hauberg ascribes the great importation of foreign coins in the period dealt with (980-1050) to commercial connexions, but he also points to the important fact that just between the years 990 to 1018 the English were paying the famous *Danegjeld* (*danegelt*) to the Norse Vikings. We are only told about the greater sums which were paid, and if we only reckon those of which exact information is existing from the first payment after the defeat at Edington in 991 to the last taxation during Canute in 1018—the *danegelt* amounts to 403,067 pounds of silver, *i.e.*, in present money about £9,921,649! All these amounts were yielded partly in money and partly in articles of value in weight. In the year 1900 about 30,000 *English* coins were known from Scandinavia, dating from the period in question, and of course being only a small fraction of the enormous quantities that were got in this way.

It is evident, however, that commerce was the most important factor in this great acquisition of silver coins, as we learn that nearly double that number of *German* coins, *viz.*, 60,000, reached Scandinavia in the same period. In Western Germany no regular *danegelt* was paid, though of course tributes and robberies had their part in this great amount. But to judge from historical information we have no reason to believe that the main part of these coins—from Germany, the Netherlands, Lorraine, Bohemia, &c.—have come to us in any other way than by regular commerce. Thanks to the place-names on the coins we are also able to dis-



tinguish the great commercial routes, along which the German towns were flourishing in the tenth and eleventh centuries—especially in the Rhine valley, where cities like Cologne, Mainz, Speier, etc., have displayed much commercial activity.

This great importation of foreign coins in the latter part of the Viking Age has given rise to the national coinage of the Scandinavian countries. It is to be remarked that the earliest coins of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark were minted by Englishmen after English types. Regarding Denmark this is quite natural, as the conquest of England by Canute the Great brought this country into the most intimate connexion with Denmark. But the earliest coins of national production are older than those of Canute—the great penninge from Swein I.—which are imitated from English types and struck by English minters.

The earliest Norwegian coins were silver pennies, and the first ruler who minted them was Earl Haakon Sigurdsson (970-995). From his reign, and from those of his successors (Olav Tryggvason 995-1000, Olav the Saint 1016-1029), we know only of a few silver coins. Generally speaking, we may conclude that there has not been any regular coinage in these years, because there was an enormous quantity of foreign coins in currency in the country, supplying the demands of legal tender. The king who, in Norway, introduced a real national coinage was Harald Haardraade 1047-1066. He began a regular coinage in the first year of his government at Nidaros, now Trondhjem, then the capital of the Norwegian kingdom. The coins were minted by Norwegians, and the basis of the coinage was the national *mark brendr silfrs*, a unit of weight differing from the foreign mark. This mark was divided into 8 *aurar*, each of 3 *ortuger*, each of which was further divided into 10 *penninge*, so that the *mark* contain 240 *penninge*.

A detailed description of all the coins in the new silver-hoard from Foldøen is given by me in "Aarbøger for nordisk old-kyndighed, 1910," København. It remains to be mentioned that the various groups of coins point to the fact that the hoard from Foldøen must have been buried *c.* 1055, and not before 1051, but not very much later than the year 1055. The *Anglo-Saxon coins* are of some interest, as some of them are really "new," in the sense that they have not been observed before in earlier silver-hoards in Scandinavia.

The work of *B. E. Hildebrand* (*Anglosachisiska Mynt i Svenska Kongliga Myntkabinettet. Ny upplaga. Stockholm 1881*) is referred to in the following description. The obverse inscription is given with the letters and numbers relating to the list in Hildebrand of each king. The reverse inscription is given fully. References are also given to the great work: *Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum. Anglo-Saxon Series. Vol. I.-II. London, 1893.*

## AETHELRED II. (the Unready, 978-1016).

### CANTERBURY.

1.  $2\frac{2}{3}$  Type C. Hildebrand 146 f. obv. a, 10.  
   . ÆDVOLD M'OC . . .

### LINCOLN.

2. Type D. Hildebrand 1623 var. obv. irr. 18, 63, 66.  
   + ÆLFSIC M $\bar{O}$  OLINC. W. 1, 8 g.
3. Type E. Hildebrand 1754 var. obv. a, irr. 26, irr.  
   + EDELBRIC M $\bar{O}$  LINC. W. 1, 3 g.

The obv. inscr. contains ÆICL which is not mentioned by Hildebrand.

### LONDON.

4. Type D. Hildebrand 2707. Obv. a, 5.  
   + LEOFRYD M'O LVND. W. 1, 3 g.

*THETFORD.*

5. Type A. Hildebrand 3758. Obv. o, 5.  
+ LEOFRIC MO ON DEO. W. 1, 2 g.

*WINCHESTER.*

6. Type A. Hildebrand 4270. Obv. a, 4.  
+ LEOFVOLD ON VINCZ. W. 1, 2 g.

*BARBARIAN.*

7. Type D. Thomsen, Catalogue de la collection de monnaies de feu C. J. Thomsen, Copenhagen, 1876, T. III., p. 21, No. 9021, 9022. Obv. OCLDLONODO.  
Rev. . OILVLOH : FH. W. 1, 6 g.

*CANUTE (1016-1035).*

*COLCHESTER.*

8. Type I. *New.* Obv. Hildebrand b.  
Rev.: + GODRIC ON COLEC. W. 1, 15 g.

Neither Hildebrand, nor catalogue of English Coins know an I-type from Colchester with the name of Godric. Godric has, however, minted at Colchester, types E, G and H.

*DOVER.*

9. Type H. Hildebrand 328. Obv. b.  
+ ETSICE ON DOFR. W. 1, 15 g.

*EXETER.*

10. Type H. Hildebrand 385. Obv. b.  
+ EDVINE ON EC+EC. W. 1, 1 g.

*YORK.*

- 11-20. V<sup>o</sup> In the Foldø-board, were 10 Coins from Canute and 15 from Edward the Confessor. The specimens in question are well-known from earlier finds and belong to the following types and numbers.

Type E. Hildebr. 451. Obv. a, 7.

+ ARNCETEL·O EO. W. 1, 1 g.

Type H. Hildebr. 462. Obv. a.

+ ARNNCETEL ON EO. W. 1, 05 g. Perforated in the edge.

Type E. Hildebr. 477. Obv. a, 8.

+ ASGVT OEOFR V: W. 1, 3 g.

Type G. Hildebr. 494. Obv. a, 4.

+ BRIHTNOD M·O EO. W. 1, 05 g. The minter's name generally written Brehtnod.

- Type G. Hildebr. 511. Obv. a, 3.  
 + CETEL M<sup>o</sup> EOFR<sup>o</sup>IC. W. o, 95 g.  
 Type I. Hildebr. 620. Obv. a, 4.  
 + GRIMOLF M<sup>o</sup> EOFR.  
 Type I. Hildebr. 631. Obv. a, 2, irr. 41.  
 + GRIMVLF ONN EOFR<sup>o</sup>.  
 Type I. Hildebr. 804. Obv. b.  
 + DVRGRIM ON EOF. W. 1, 05 g.  
<sup>3/4</sup> Type G. Hildebr. 815. Ob. a, 4.  
 + TOOCA M (<sup>o</sup>EO) FR.  
 Type H. Hildebr. 864, var. Obv. a, 2.  
 + <sup>o</sup>VVLNOD ON EOFER.

## IPSWICH.

21. Type E. *New*. Obv.: + CNVT REX ANGL.  
 Rev.: + BRANTI<sup>o</sup>NC O GIP. W. o., 95 g.  
 Branting or Brænting has minted E-types for Canute at Southwark. His name is, however, not found among the coins from Ipswich by Hildebrand, or catalogue of Engl. Coins.

## LEICESTER.

22. Type G. Hildebrand 1435. Obv. a, 3, irr. 33.  
 + <sup>o</sup>VVLNOÐ ON LEICST. W. o, 9 g.

## LONDON.

- 23-28. 6 coins of Canutes in the Foldø-hoard were from London. They belong to the following types:—  
 Type G. Hildebr. 1950. Obv. b, 2.  
 + ÆLF<sup>o</sup>IC ON LVNND. W. 1, 05 g.  
 Type G. Hildebr. 2483. Obv. a, 1.  
 + GOD<sup>o</sup>INE ON LVND. W. 1, 05 g. Perforated in the edge.  
 Type G. Hildebr. 2609. Obv. a, 1.  
 + LEOMRED ON LVN.  
 Type E. Hildebr. 2718, var. Obv. i, a, 7.  
 + S<sup>o</sup>ETINC ON OLV. W. 1, 05 g.  
 Type E. Hildebr. 2786. Obv. a, 7.  
 + <sup>o</sup>VVL<sup>o</sup>FINE LVND. W. 1, 15 g.  
<sup>3/4</sup> Type G. Catalogue of Engl. coins, 446 foll.  
 Rev.: COE . . IC ON VN. It does not exactly correspond with any known variety.

## OXFORD.

29. Type H. Hildebr. 3038 var. Obv. a.  
 + LIFINC ON OCX. W. 1, 05 g.

*NOTTINGHAM.*

30. Type G. Hildebr. 3205 var. Obv. a, 2.  
+ BRUNIC ON SNOTIN.

*STAMFORD.*

31. Type H. Hildebr. 3254. Obv. a.  
+ FÆRGRIM ON STAN. W. 1, 05 g.  
32. Type H. Hildebr. 3293. Obv. b.  
+ LEOFDÆII ON STA. W. 1, 05 g.

*THETFORD.*

33. Type G. Hildebr. 3448. Obv. b. 1.  
+ ÆLFVINE ONN ðEO. W. 1, 05, g.  
34.  $\frac{1}{2}$  (cut). Type G. Hildebr. 3463<sup>2</sup>. Rev. NSTAN ON . . .  
Surely BRVNSTAN ON ðEO.

*WINCHESTER.*

35. Type I. Hildebr. 3744, var. obv. a, 2.  
+ GODEMAN ON VINCE. W. 0, 9. g.  
36. Type H. Hildebr. 3748. Obv. b, irr. 45.  
+ GODVINE ON VIN. W. 1, 20 g.  
37. Type G. Hildebr. 3790 var. Obv. a, 8, 2.  
+ LEOFVINE ON VIN. W. 1, 15 g.

In addition there are 5 more indefinite fragments of coins  
(No. 38 to 42) from Canute.

*HAROLD I. (1035-1039).*

*CANTERBURY.*

43. Type A. *New.* Obv. + HAROLD REX.  
Rev. + CETELL ON CENTVA. W. 0, 9 g.

Neither Hildebrand nor Catalogue of Engl. coins have any  
A-types with the name of CETELL. He has however minted  
other types in Canterbury for Harold, and he generally writes  
his name CYTEL.

*DERBY.*

44. Type B. *New.* Obv. + HAROLD RECX.  
Rev. + LEOFRIC ON ðEO. W. 0, 95 g.

The name of Leofric on coins from Derby has not been  
known before.

45.  $\frac{1}{2}$  Type A. Hildebrand 92. Obv. a, irr. 28.  
(SVE)RTINC ON ðE.

*JEDBURGH.*

46. Type B. Hildebrand 256. Obv. b, irr. 29.  
+ LEOMÆR ON IOÐ. W. 1, 1 g.

*HERTFORD.*

47. Type B. Hildebrand 290. Obv. b, irr. 29.  
+ DEORSIE ON HEOR. W. o, 7 g.

*LINCOLN.*

48. Type A. Hildebrand 493, var. Obv. a.  
+ FVLFRIC ON LINC. W. 1, 1 g.

*LONDON.*

49. Type A. Hildebrand 503. Obv. a.  
+ ELFVOLD ON LVNDE. W. 1, 1 g.
50. Type A. Hildebr. 614. Obv. a.  
+ GODMAN ON LVNDEN. W. 1, 1 g.
51. Type B. Hildebr. 617. Obv. b, irr. 29.  
+ GODRIG ON LVN. W. 1, 1 g.
52. Type A. Hildebr. 674. Obv. a, irr. 27, 1.  
+ LEOFRIC ON LVNDE. W. o, 9 g.
- One coin 53 ( $1\frac{1}{2}$  cut) from Harold, type B, is indeterminable.

*HARTHACNUTE (1039-1042).**CANTERBURY.*

54. Type A. Hildebrand 15. Obv. a, var.  
+ LEOFRIC ON GA·XN~~V~~. W. 1, 15 g.

*LINCOLN.*

55. Type B. Hildebrand 98. Obv. irr. 7, 10.  
+ SÆVERTINC ON LINC. W. 1, 20 g.

*LONDON.*

56. Type B. Hildebrand 120. Obv. irr. 6.  
+ GOLDSIGE ON LVND. W. 1, 1 g.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR (1042-1066).

CANTERBURY.

57. Type E. *New*. Obv.: EDVHERD REX.  
Rev.: + LEOFVINE ON CENE. W. 3, 9 g.  
This type was not known when *Hildebrand's* book was published. It was, however, observed in the year 1868, in another Norwegian silverfind, from Eastern Norway. Cfr. my treatise in Aarbøger, 1910, p. 266.
58. Type C. Catalogue of English Coins, II. p. 344 No. 59, var.  
Obv.: EDVHERRDEX.  
Rev.: + MAN: ON CÆNCTE. W. 1, 0 g.  
Besides these two Canterbury-coins a little fragment (about  $\frac{1}{4}$ ) of an E-type might be referred to Canterbury (59).

DERBY.

60. Type E. Hildebrand 71, var. Obv. h, i.  
+ FROME ON DEORBE. W. 1, 1 g.
61. Type A. Hildebrand 73. Obv. h, i.  
+ GODRIC ON DEORB. W. 1, 1 g.

YORK.

- 62, 63. Type E. Hildebrand 102. One specimen has obv. inscr. like 11, i, rev.: ÆLFVINEE ON EOFERI. (W. 1, 75 g). The other has obv. f, k, rev.: ÆLFVINE ON EOFERV. (W. 1, 75 g).
64. Type A. Hildebrand 103. Obv. f, i.  
+ ÆDELVINE ON EOF. W. 1, 0 g.
65. Type E. Thomsen, Catalogue, etc., 9445, var.  
Obv. f, ir, 71. Rev.: + ARCIL ON EOFER. W. 1, 1 g.  
On the reverse side a little ring in one field of the cross.  
Cfr. Hildebrand 105.
66. Type A. *New*. Obv. EDVVERD REX. A.  
Rev.: BEORN ON EOFER. W. 1, 15 g.  
Beorn has minted a D-type at York.  
On the rev. a little ring in the field.
67. Type C. Thomsen, Catalogue 9449, var.  
Obv.: EDVIVEREX. Rev.: EOL ON EOFERVICE.  
W. 0, 85 g. Cfr. Ruding, Annals of the coinage of Britain, London, 1819, Vol. VI. pl. 25, fig. 21.

68. Type E. *New.* Obv.: EDYERD REX.  
Rev.: EOLFNOÐ ON EOFE. W. 1, 75 g.  
Minters of this name are not known by Hildebrand, Catalogue, etc. On the reverse side a little ring in one of the crossfields.
69. Type C. Hildebrand 140 var. Obv.: DYRVERX.  
Rev.: + OÐIN ON EOFEREI. W. 1, 1 g.
70. Type E. Ruding, *Annals of the coinage of Britain*, vol. vi. pl. 24, fig. 8. Obv.: EDYERD REX.  
Rev.: SCVLA ON EOFERYIC. W. 1, 8 g!
71. Type E. Hildebrand 154. Obv. f. irr. 71.  
+ STYRCOL ON EOFER. W. 1, 8 g!
72. Type E. Hildebrand 155. Obv. h. i.  
+ STYRCOL ON EOFERYI. W. 1, 75 g.
73. Type E. Catalogue of Engl. Coins, p. 364.  
No. 318. Obv.: EDYARD REX.  
Rev.: ÐORR ON EOFRYIC. W. 1, 1 g.  
On the reverse side a little ring in a crossfield.
74. Type E. Catalogue of Engl. Coins p. 364.  
No. 314 foll. var. Obv.: EDYARD REX.  
Rev.: VLFCETEL ON EOFR. W. 1, 3 g.  
On the reverse side a little ring in a crossfield.
75. Type E. *New.* Obv.: EDYERD RX.  
Rev.: + GO. ON EFRYICIC. W. 1, 8 g.  
On the reverse side a little ring in a crossfield. The name might be read GOD.
76. Type A. *New.*  
Rev.: + IOCIL ON EOFRYI.  
A little ring in the field on the rev.

The name of the minter must be compared with IOCITEL, who has minted several of the later types of Edward from G to L. This is an important fact, as it is mentioned above, that the Foldø hoard did not contain coins of a later date than Edward's E-types. It is, however, to be supposed that this makes no difference as to the chronology of the hoard as fixed above.

#### IPSWICH.

77. Type E. *New.* Obv. + EDYRD REX.  
Rev.: + LOFYOLD ON GIPESYI. W. 1, 05 g.

#### HASTINGS.

78. Type A. Hildebrand 209. Obv. irr. 26, 29, 1.  
+ LEOFYINE ON ÆSTIC. W. 0, 95 g.



HERTFORD.

79. Type D. Hildebrand 221, var. Obv. c. k.  
+ DRSIIE ON REOR. W. o, 85 g.
80. Type C. Catalogue of Engl. coins, p. 380, No. 553. Obv. h, i.  
+ GODMAN ON HEOR. W. 1, 15 g.

LEICESTER.

81. Type B. Hildebrand 225 var. Obv. f. irr. 67.  
+ ÆLFSI ON LEICES. W. 1, 05 g.
82. Type A. *New*. Obv. : EDYERD REXA.  
Rev. . + BRVNINC ON LEICE. W. 1, 15 g.

LINCOLN.

83. Type 3. Hildebrand 292 var. Obv. f. k.  
+ AVTTI ON LINCOL. W. 1, o g.
84. Type C. Hildebrand 301 var. Obv. h, i.  
+ BRIHTRC ON LINCOL. W. o, 95 g.
85. Type A. Hildebrand 304. Obv. h, i.  
+ COLGRIM ON LINC. W. 1, o g.
- 86, 87. Type E. Obv. : EDYARD REX. Rev. .  
+ COLGRIM ON LINCO. Two specimens, weight 1, 1 g.
- This type has not been described by Hildebrand, nor in Catalogue of Engl. coins. It is however, found in a silver-hoard of the XIth century at Sandø in the Færøes, and described by the late director, C. *Herbst*, in *Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed*, 1863 p. 376.

88. Type B. Hildebrand 327 var. Obv. irr. 49, irr. 67.  
+ GODRIC ON LIN. W. 1, 1 g.
- 89-93. Type E. Hildebrand 338 var.  
89 : Obv. f. irr. 71, + GODRIC ON LINCO. W. 1, 1 g.  
90 : Obv. f. k. + GODRIC ON LINCO. W. 1, 05 g.  
91 : Obv. f. k. + GODRIC ON LINCOL. W. 1, 05 g.  
92 : Obv. f. irr. 72. Rev. like 92. W. 1, o g.  
93 : Obv. not distinguishable. W. o, 95 g.
94. Type D. Hildebrand 351. Obv. irr. 17, i.  
+ LEFVINE ON LNNC. W. 1, 05 g.
95. Type E. Hildebrand 358 var. Obv. f. i.  
+ MANNA ON LINCO. W. 1, o g.
96. Type B. *New*. Obv. . EDYRDR.  
Rev. : OSFERD ON LIN. W. 1, 15 g.

97. Type E. *New*. Obv. : EDVARD RECX.  
Rev. : OÐBERN ON LINCO. W. 1, 0 g.
98. Type E. Hildebrand 371 var. Obv. f. irr. 71.  
+ OÐGRIM ON LINCOL. W. 1, 05 g.
99. Type C. Ruding, Annals of the coinage of England, VI. pl. 25,  
fig. 23 var. Obv. EDVARD REX.  
Rev. : ÐVRIGRIM ON LINC. W. 0, 75 g.

## LONDON.

100. Type A. Hildebrand 402. Obv. . h, i, 1.  
+ ÆLFGAR ON LVNDE. W. 1, 15 g.
101. Type C. *New*. Obv. . EDVARD REX.  
Rev. : ÆLFRIC ON LVNDEN. W. 1, 15 g.  
Cfr. Catalogue of Engl. coins no. 870.
102. Type C. Hildebrand 415. Obv. h, i.  
+ ÆLFFINE ON LVNDE. W. 1, 15 g.
103. Type B. Hildebrand. 419 var. Obv. irr. 24.  
K. + ÆLFFOLD ON LVND. W. 0, 9 g.
104. Type B. Catalogue p. 399 no. 789. Obv. h. irr. 71.  
+ BINRED ON LVN. W. 1, 0. g.
105. Type C, var. a. Hildebrand 431 var. Obv. h. i.  
+ BRIHTRED ON LVND. W. 1, 0 g.
106. Type E. Hildebrand 457 var. Obv. irr. 49, i.  
+ EADMVND ON LVND. W. 0, 9 g.  
On the reverse side two points in two of the angles.
107. (Fragm) Type D. Hildebrand 469 var. Obv. f. k ?  
+ EDRIC ON LVNDE. In the cross : XACX.
108. (Fragm) Type C. Hildebrand 479. Obv. : h. irr. 71.  
+ EDVINE ON LVNDE.
109. Type C. Catalogue p. 403, no. 857.  
Obv. : irr. 17, 77. + EGELVI ON LVNDE. W. 01, 95 g.
110. Type E. Ruding pl. 24, fig. 7. Obv. : irr. 49, i.  
+ GODEVINE ON LVN. W. 0, 9 g.
111. Type E. Ruding pl. 24, fig. 6. Obv. . irr. 49, i.  
+ VVLFVARN ON LVND. W. 0, 9 g.
112. Type E. Catalogue p. 408, no. 947, var.  
Obv. irr. 49, i. + VVLFVINE ON LVN. W. 0, 9 g.
113. Type C. Hildebrand 584. Obv. : f, i, 1.  
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*NORWICH.*

114. Type E. Hildebrand 609 var. Obv. irr. 41, 71.  
+ ÐORORD O NORÐY. W. 1, 1 g.

*OXFORD.*

115. Type C. Hildebrand 616 var. Obv. h. irr. 75.  
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*ROCHESTER.*

116. Type A. *New.* Obverse: barbarian inscr.  
Rev.: GODVINE ON ROFE. W. 1, 0 g.

*SANDWIC.*

117. Type A. Hildebrand 637 var. Obv. not distinguishable.  
Rev.: LIOFVINE ON SANDVIC. W. 1, 05 o. g.

*SHREWSBURY.*

118. Type B. *New.* Obv.: EDVARD RE.  
Rev.: + VVLMÆR ON SCR. W. 1, 2 g.

*STAMFORD.*

119. Type D. Hildebrand 685 var. Obv. irr. 5, k.  
+ GODVINE ON ZTA. W. 1, 05 g.
120. Type A. *New.* Obv. EDVERD REX. Rev.:  
+ HVRTIN ON STAN. W. 1, 0 g.
- This name of the minter has not been observed before.
121. Type A. Hildebrand 697 var. Obv. h, i, 1.  
+ ÐVRSTAN ON SAN. W. 1, 15 g.

*SOUTHWARK.*

122. Type A. *New.* Obv.: EDVERD REX. A.  
Rev.: + ÆLFRIC ON SVÐGE. W. 1, 1 g.

*WALLINGFORD.*

123. Type A. Hildebrand 745 var. Obv. irr. 26, i, 1.  
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124. Type A. *New.* Obv.: EDVERD REXA. Rev.:  
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*WILTON.*

125. Type E. *New.* Obv. EDVERD REX.  
Rev.: ÆLFOLD ON VILTV.  
Cfr. Catalogue of Engl. coins No. 1337.

## WINCHESTER.

126. Type C. Catalogue p. 444, No. 1382. Obv. cannot be distinguished.

Rev. : GODVINE ON VINC. W. 1, 10 g.

127.  $\frac{3}{4}$  Seems to be the same as the preceding type.

128. Type E. *New*. Obv. : EDVARD REX.

Rev. + VICMC ON VINER. W. 1, 1 g.

Unknown minter.

To these 128 must be added 7 coins or fragments of coins, one evidently from York, one from Lincoln, one from Hamton, and barbarian. All from the reign of Edward the Confessor. The *Irish* coin (136) dates from *Sigtrygg Silkiskeggi*, King at Dublin, 989-1029. It corresponds with Hildebrand No. 47.

Type = Æthelred D. Obv. b, 24. Rev. : + FÆREMIN M·O DYFLI.  
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- gamli, hinn (the old)—Hakon, Gormr.
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- heimski (foolish ?)—Gormr.

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- morauðr**, red-brown cloth, in *Sagas*, 144.
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- Morven**, Ossianic kingdom of, Scotland, 65.
- motr**, O.N., cap, deriv. [cf. Gael *muidse*, from Scotch *mutch*, Ger. *mütze*], *m. hvítan*, *gullofin*, a white head-dress wrought with gold, 149.
- mottull**, O.N., mantle; *mottull-skaut*, mantle-skirt, O. Swedish, *mantel*, *mattul*; O. Dan. *mantel*; Dan. from German, *mantel*; Icel. and Nor. from W. Europe, from A.S., *mentel*; M.E., *mantel*. From Nor. to O. Ir., *matal*, 153. Norse in Ireland introduced mantels in 10th cent., originally fashion derived from France, 154; see *mentel*.
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- North Isles**, Orkney, 99.
- Northmen** = Norwegians, in Alfred's *Orosius* and *A.S. Chron.*, 941, 61.
- Northumbria**: Scandinavian kingdom, 2, 38-64; Viking raids by Norwegians, 793, 38, 39; by Danes, 867, 40; kingdom founded by Danes, 41; Ecgberht, 41; Ricsig, 873, 41; extent of realm, 41; Healfdene, 875, 42; expelled, slain, 877, 43; Guthred, son of Harthacnut, 43, d. 894, 44; Siefred, d. c. 911, 49, 50; Eohric and Healden, 911, 50; Regenwaldus, 912, 51, 52, d. 921, 53; English, Danes and Norwegians submitted to king Edward, 924, 53; northern part, i.e., north of the Tyne, the old district of Bernicia, not under Viking rule, supported by place-names, 50, probably remained independent till 885, 51; in reign of Edward the elder, Regenwaldus invaded Northumbria, 51; Sitric succeeded Ragnall, 921, d. 926-7, when N. came under Athelstan, 54; Gothfrith, d. 934, 56; Anlaf, son of Gothfrith returned to Dublin, 938, 58, 59, d. c. 941, 59. Anlaf Sihtricsson, 60, driven out, 944, finally expelled, 950 or 952, 62; Regenald, son of Gothfrith, 62, driven out, 944-5, 62; Eric, c. 947, 63, expelled, 952 or 954, when kingdom taken over by king Eadred, after which it was ruled by earls under the English king, 64; influence of church of N. on Norwegians, 225; coins in Norway, 233; dialect, 8.
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- olpa**, O.N., a cloak or cape, in use about end of Viking Age (word of Romance origin, O.Fr. *volepr* = Fr. *enveloppe*, envelope, Lat. *vulpes*, O.Fr. *volpe*, fox, fox-skin), green, 154.
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- Reuben**, tribe of, called *sawicingas* in O.E. Exodus, 139.
- Ribe**, St. Thomas of Canterbury venerated at, 230, Omer of, 226.
- Ricsig**, king of Northumbria, 873, 41.
- Rig**, the god has wine placed before him, 172.
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- Ripon**, minster of St. Wilfrid, burned by King Eadred, 947, 63.
- Rixincus**, father of Edred, Northumbria, c. 920, 53.
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- Ryfylke**, Norway, A.S. coins found, 232.
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- Saba**, Orkney, 94.
- saddles from Spain, 145.
- Sækken**, name of (1) fjord inlet in Bremsnes Søndhordland, (2) sound between Hvaler and Bohuslen, and (3) an island Sekken, in Vø, Romsdalen; deriv. from *sekk*, a sack, 155.
- særkr*, O.N., chemise, in women's folk-dress, 150.
- sæsceapan*, 135.
- Sætersdalen**, Norway, art, 111.
- Sawicingas*, tribe of Reuben in O.E. Exodus, 139.
- Saga-time, Norway, 87.
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- St. Cuthbert, History of*, 51 and n.
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- St. Thomas of Canterbury**, venerated at Lund, Ribe, Roskilde and Aarhus, 230.
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- salv*, O.N., hall, in Hlōðvės sali, *Guðrúnarkviða*, 155, 156.
- sanctuary of Icelandic *hof*, 25.
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- Sandwic**, coin minted of Edward confessor, 245.
- Sandwick**, Orkney, 99.
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- Saxon pirates, before Viking Period, raided coasts of France Britain, North Sea coast north of Schelde, 139.
- Saxonicum litus*, coasts of Northern France and Belgium to the Schelde, visited by Saxon pirates long before Viking time, 139.
- Saxonum Adventu, De Primo*, 43, 47, 63 n.
- Sayers, Frank Norse work, 206.
- scaldi*, vikings 133.
- scaldingi. L.G., shipmen. deriv., by Björkman, from \**skalda*, a ship, 132, 137.
- scaltscif*, O.H.G., punt. river-boat, from which verb. *schalten*. O.H.G. *scaltan*, O. Saxon *skaldan*, to punt a ship, 136.
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- Scardeburgh, Robertus Pa de, *pa* = peacock, 141.
- Scarth, Andrew, Firth, Orkney, 1509, 99.
- scegð*, O.E., a light, swift vessel, loanword from Scand. *skeið*, 135.
- scegðmann*, O.E., pirate = O.E., *wicing*, 135.
- schalde*, M.L. German, boat ferry; glosses: *naves longe schaldin*, *dromones scaltun*, *scaldun*, *schaldin*, 135.
- schaldin*, *naves longe*, 135.
- schaltbom*, M.L.G. *schaltbom*, punt-pole, synonym *schalte*, punt-pole, 136.
- schalte*, oar, punt-pole, name transferred to the punt-boat, or derived independently from verb *schalten*, 136.

- schalte*, German, sluice, connected with *schalten*, to punt, 136.
- schalter*, *scheller*, M.H.G., a rail, connected with *schalten*, to punt, 136.
- schältich*, N.H. German, boat, river-boat, contracted *schelch*, also *schelding*, river boat, 135.
- schaltjahr*, G., leap-year, connected with *schalten*, to punt, 136.
- schaltsschiff*, synonym *schalte*, boat, 136.
- Schelde**, river, deriv. of *scaldingi*, indicating Norse settlement in the delta. 133; visited by Saxon pirates. 139.
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- schouw*, Dutch, *schoude*, Middle Dutch, ferry, 135.
- scipgyrd*, English fleet, 134.
- sciphære*, ship-army, usual O.E. name for vikings, 134.
- scipflotan*, Northmen in *A.S. Chron.*, 134.
- Scirgemot, bishop & saldorman side by side, 229.
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- Scula, follower of Ragnall, got St. Cuthbert's land, 919, 52.
- scutel*, A.S., a dish, from which O.N. *skutill* deriv., 175.
- scyldingas*, O.E., connected with *scaldingi*, 133.
- sekk*, O.N., a sack, common in all Scand. languages, late in poetry, frequent in sagas, came north long before Viking Age, being an old place-name, from A.S. *sæcc*, borrowed from Lat. *saccus*, 155.
- Selma**, capital of Morven, "King Fialar," 65.
- Sheppey**, Danes and Fresians landed, 855, led by Healfdene, Ubbe and Ingwar, 40.
- Shetland**: dialect, 18; directly under Norway, 1195-1379, with *fouds* and *lawthing*, 93; *up-helli-a*, boat custom, 128; red dye, *korkji* derived from Scotland and Ireland 157.
- ship-farers English name for vikings, 134.
- ship-men, English name for vikings, 134.
- ship terms, in early Middle Ages spread to nations where they did not originate, 137, 138.
- shoes of leather, or skin in men's and women's folk-dress in Viking Age, 150.
- Shrewsbury**, coin minted of Edward confessor, 245.
- Siberia**, Northern, belief in demons, 128.
- Sichfrith, earl, Dublin, 893, 49.
- Sicily**, silk introduced by Moors, 145.
- Siefred, of Northumbria, may have been earl Sichfrith in Dublin, 894; described as Sitric comes on Northumbrian coins, 49.
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- Sigferth, piratus, raided Northumbria, 894 (Ethelweard), 49.
- Sigismund's ship, *Lay of Gudrun*, 165, 166.
- sigli, O.N., kind of ornament, in poetry, from A.S. *sigle*, a necklace, from *sigel*, sun, or both deriv. from Lat. *sigillum*, 160, 161.

- Sigrðrífumái*, *kista mentd* as coffin, 169.
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- Sigurðr ormr-i-auga** [son of Ragnarr Loðbrók] friendly with Knútr hinn fundni, 45, 47; his wife Bløja, or Heluna dau. of Ella king of Northumbria, 48.
- Sigurd*, *Lay of*, sorrow of Gudrun, 170.
- Sigurðarkviða Skamma*, body wrapped in beautifully coloured cloth, 147.
- siklisahaili*, runic inscription on buckle, 9th or 10th cent., readings by Bugge and Rygh, 161.
- silk**, first appears in Norway in Viking Age, in earlier graves none found, 144.
- silki*, silk, word came to Norway from Eastern Europe by trade with Arabs through Russia. A.S. *seolc* or *seoloc*, prob. borrowed from Norse 144, 145.
- Simeon**, of Durham, Viking raids, 39, 43; election of Guthred-Cnut, 47, 48, 52; Brunanburh, 58 and n., 59, 60; division of England between Edmund and Anlaf, 60; on *scaldingi*, or vikings, 132, 135.
- Sinclair**, person-name in Orkney, 1369, 1529, 100.
- Sinclair**, Alexr., of Stromness, Orkney, 1509, 99.
- Sinclair**, John, of Air, Orkney, 1516, 99.
- Sinclair**, Thos., of Tenston, Sandwick, Orkney, 1509, 99.
- Siolf**, "King Fialar," 66.
- Sitric Gale**, Scandinavian leader, Cheshire, destroyed Davenport, 920, left Dublin, 920, grandson of Imhar, i.e., Ívarr beinlausí, and brother or cousin of Ragnall, whom he succeeded as king of Northumbria 921, conferred with
- Aethelstan at Tamworth 925, whose sister he married, d. 926-7, 53; see **Sigtrygg silkiskeggie**
- Sitriucc**, son of Imhar, in Dublin 893, left Ireland and returned 894; slain by Norsemen 2 years later, 49.
- Sitric**, his son Aualafus, his brother Godefridus, 51.
- Skaalhóttibók*, Icelandic picture mentioned, 191.
- skald**: of Harald Hair-fair, dressed in red cloak, with fine border, 148; rewarded with scarlet cloak, 149.
- skalda*, ship, Snorra *Edda*, deriv. L. German \**skalda*, 136.
- \**skalda*, O Saxon, O.L. Frankish, from which deriv. *scaldingi* and Dutch. *schouw*, etc., 135; Low German \**skalda*, originally vessel shoved along by punting-pole = O.H.G. *scaltscif*, pontonium, river-boat, 136.
- Skaptafellsþing**, Iceland, place-names in Hof, 36.
- Skarðsbók*, Icelandic MS., 191.
- skarlat*, *skallat*, scarlet, not mentd. in oldest skaldic poetry, but known in Viking Age often in Sagas, 148; word of Romanesque origin deriv. 148.
- skarlataskyrtili rauðum*, worn by Kjartan, 148.
- Skeat**, W. W., A list of English words, the etymology of which is illustrated by comparison with Icelandic, 15; Etymological Dictionary of the English language, 15.
- Skelmorlie**, Largs, Norse deriv., 110.
- skiöldungar*, deriv. of *scaldingi*, 193.
- skript*, O.N., picture, painting, in embroidery, in a verse, 164; at first used for picture on church banner, A.S. *script*, confession, 165, 166.
- skutill*, O.N., a dish, *skutlar silfri varðir*, dishes adorned with silver, for meat, etc., placed on table, 173, 175; deriv. from A.S. *scutel* from Lat. *scutella*, 175.
- Skye**, Norwegians in, 795, 39.
- slæður* O.N., a gown that trails along ground, 162 n.
- Slanger Burn**, Largs, Norse deriv., 109.

- Slanghill**, Largs, Norse deriv., 109.  
*snacgum, snaggun, snegchan, snacgin*, O.H.G. glosses, *rostrate naves* = O.W. Scand. *snekkia*, a kind of longship, French *esneque*, 138.  
*snekkia*, O.W. Scand., a kind of longship or *skeid*, 138.  
**Snorra Edda**, *kellir*, name of Odin's helmet, an Irish word, 152.  
**Snorri Sturlason**, editor of *Heimskringla*, 102.  
*sokkr*, O.N., sock, in men's folk-dress, 150; not in old poetry, but one Orkneyman. *Sighvatr* nicknamed *Sokkr* in 1115, from Lat. *soccus*, A.S. *socc*, so word prob. came from England, 155.  
**Southwark**, coin minted of Edward confessor, 245.  
*sólvað*, coarse wadmel, Iceland, 144.  
**Sorø**, English abbots of, 227.  
**Spain**, silk introduced by Moors, 145.  
*Speculum Historiale*, *Speculum Naturale*, Vincenz de Beauvais 179.  
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**Starkad**, despised gem-set head band in Danish court, 151.  
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**Steenstrup**, on election of Guthred as king of Northumbria, 883, 44; chron. of Regenwald-Ragnall, 51 n. 2; on William of Malmesbury, 55; deriv. *scaldingi*, 133; on vikings fond of wine 172.  
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**Strand**, Aafjord, Norway, buckle with runic inscription, 161.  
**Strangford Lough**, Ireland, battle between Danes and Norsemen, 877, 43.  
**Strathclyde**, attacked by Black Foreigners (Danes) of Northumbria, 874, 42; Welsh of, submitted to King Edward, 924, 53.  
**Stromness**, Orkney, 99.  
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**Swabien**, grey coat called *wolf*, cf. *olpa*, 154.  
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**Swertinc**, minter, Lincoln, temp. Harthacnut, 240.

- Swesing, minter, London, *temp.* Canute, 238.
- Swinsholm**, Largs, Norse deriv., 110.
- Swinside**, Largs, Norse deriv., 109.
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- tempests, caused by demons, 128.
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- Thetford**, coins minted of Aethelred, 237; Canute, 239.
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- Thora Haakonsdatter, needlework, 164.
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- ljúga*, O.N. fork-beard, an A.S. fashion, 151.
- Tjugum Church**, Norway, altar frontal, 198.
- Toab**, Orkney, 94.
- Tooca, minter, York, *temp.* Canute, 238.
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- Torsbjerg**, burial mound, find of clothing, 143.
- Tourgill**, Largs, Norse deriv., 109.
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- Tullock, name of a lawrikman in Orkney, 1446.
- Tune**, Norway, gold thread found, 167.
- Tyne**, till 873, the northern boundary of Vikings of Northumbria, 41; Healfdene sailed up Tyne, 875, and devastated northern Northumbria, 42; tributary streams all *burns* not *becks*, 50.
- Tyne**, in East Lothian, 52.
- Ubbe, "dux Fresicorum," led Danish Vikings in attack on York, 867, 40; landed in Sheppey 855, 40; identified as son of Ragnarr Loðbrók, 41, 132.
- Ulfætel, minter, York, *temp.* Edward conf., 242.
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- Ulster*, *Annals of*. Viking raids, 39, 49, 50 n, 51; regarding Ragnall, 53.
- Ulvik**, Norway, altar frontal, 117.
- umiak*, boat, 129
- up-belli-a (day), boat custom in Shetland, 128; [old Scots legal term, *upheiliday*, the first day after the Christmas holidays].
- Úthlið**, site of hof, Árnessýsla, Iceland, 37.
- uicingsceadae*, O.E. gloss Erfurt, *piraticam*, 138 and n.



*uicingsceadan*, O.E. gloss. Epinal, *piraticum*, 138 and n.

**Vaðlaþing**, Iceland, place-names in Hof, 36.

**vaðmál** Norwegian homespun, 142; *mórent v.*, *mórouðr*, 144; Icel. varieties: *hafnarváð*, *söluváð*, *vöruváð*, *pakkav.* and *bragðarváð*, 144; *valarípt vel fáð*, 147; *guðvefr*, 149.

*Vala*, the song of, W. Herbert, 215.

*valarípt*, a cloth which was *vel fáð*, i.e., beautifully coloured (deriv. *Vala* gen. of *Valir*, inhabitants of France) mentd. *Sigurðarkviða Shamma*, 147.

*valbaugar*, rings from Valland, deriv. 162.

*valbygg*, O.N., barley from Valland (France), 162.

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**Valhalla**, arrival of Eric blood-axe, 172, 173; illus. from *Jonsbók*, 1680, 203, 205.

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**Venice**, boat-sail, 128; quarter-deck religious pictures, 128.

**Vestfold**, Christiania Fiord, inhabitants became acquainted with woad berries for dye in France, 157.

**Viborg**, ven. Bede and St. John of Beverley venerated, 230; Augustinian nunnery, 231.

Vigfusson's *Icelandic-English Dictionary*, Norse elements in English dialects, 14, 15; *Icelandic Prose Reader*, do., 16.

Viking period, 300 years, 224; 800-1050, 233.

vikings: in England named after their ships and called ship-

farers, ship-men — *scipflotan*, *flotan*, *sciphære*, 134; if *scalungr*, pirates, originates in continental Teutonic dialect on North Sea, then other names for the vikings may be of similar origin, e.g., *viking* itself, found in England long before vikings landed in 787, 138; see wicing; character, 141; clothing, 130, 140-176; (Norwegians or white foreigners) raid Northumbria, 793, 38; (Danes or black foreigners) 867, 40; occupy Tynemouth, 875, 42; after 883 ravaged Lindisfarne and whole of Northumbria, extending from North Sea to Solway Firth, also attacked Picts and people of Strathclyde, 42; struggle between Danes and Norwegians in Ireland, 874, 43.

Vincenz de Bauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, 179.

*vindauga*, O.N., window, borrowed into O. Irish *fuindeog* [Gaelic *uinneag*], 163.

**Vinheiði**, (Weondune) Brunanburh, 58.

Viollet-le-Duc, chasuble, 166.

**Völand**, *Lay of*, *gim* mentd., 159; *kist*, 169; several A.S. words used for first time, 170.

*vöruváð*, coarse wadmal, in Iceland, 144.

*votos*, ex, boat given by grateful sailor, 129.

Wall, Arnold, English dialect, 18.

**Wallingford**, coin minted of Edward the confessor, 245.

Walter, steward of Scotland, transferred revenues of Largs church to Paisley Abbey, 1318, for repose of soul of his wife Marjorie, 105.

**Wilton**, coin minted of Edward confessor, 245.

**Watling Street**, 60; boundary between English and Scandinavians, 61.

**Wear**, tributary streams *burns* not *beck*s. 50; St. Cuthbert's lands, 53.

**Weardale**, names in *beck* and *burn*, 51.

Weber, Henry, Norse work, 206.

**Wednesfield**, battle, 911, 50.

- Weondune**, (Vinheidi), Brunanburh, 58 n
- Western influence** on Scandinavian countries during Viking Age, prob. over-rated by prof. S. Bugge, and dr. A. Bugge in earlier works, 175.
- wheat**, Norse loaf of, 173; not grown in Norway during earlier part Middle Ages, but imported from England, 174, 175; only eat by rich in England and Ireland 175
- White Foreigners** or Gentiles (Norwegians), 42, etc.
- Whitlie Burn**, Largs, Norse deriv., 109.
- Whitwell**, Derbyshire, 61.
- wicing**, O.E., c. first half of 8th cent., pirate, cannot have reached England directly or indirectly from Scandinavia, because *viking* as denoting a Norse pirate then unknown. *hicinga cynn* in Widsiþ indicates name existed at time of migrations in 4th cent., 132, 138; origin to be sought in that part of Teutonic world most exposed to raids, e.g., *litus saxonium*, coast of Northern France and Belgium, etc., 139; Teutonic pirates mentioned by Pliny. The name is found in Friesland, O. Frisian, *witsing*, *wising*, 139 and n 3.; original meaning probably same as that of *scaldingi*, one who punts his ship into shallow bays (*wic*) or river mouths, in shallow bays protected from wind and waves, favours old derivation *wik*, bay; but Teutonic *wic*, from Lat. *vicus*, an occasional dwelling-place, camp, cf. O.E. *wicstow*, camp, encampment, 140.
- wicingsceadan*, O.E. gloss, Corpus, *piraticam*, 138.
- wicinsceapan*, 135.
- Wicme** (unknown), minter, Winchester, temp. Edward conf., 246.
- Widsiþ**, *wicinga cynn*, name of a tribe, 138.
- Widukind**, on Canute, 47.
- Winchester**, archbp. Oswald, early years, 225, dedication. 229; coins minted of Aethelred 237; of Canute, 239; and of Edward conf., 246
- wine measure used by Norse in Ireland, c. 900, 172.
- witan**, held by King Eadred and Northumbrians at Tanshelf, 947, 62.
- witenagemot**, amalgamation of synod with, 228.
- woad-berries**, *isatis tinctora*, found in Oseberg ship, Norse prob. became acquainted with it in France where it was cultivated, 143, 157.
- wood-carving art** developed in Norway Oseberg ship, beginning 9th cent., 163.
- Woog Hill**, Largs, Norse deriv., 109.
- Wörterbuch**, Grimm's, 135.
- Wright**, Joseph, English dialect works, 16 19, 23.
- Wright**, Th., A.S. table customs, 174 n
- Wright-Wülcker**, A.S. and O.E. *Vocab.*, 134.
- wrist-bands** of silk, Viking Age, 146.
- Wudacestre**, 132.
- Wulfrec**, minter, Lincoln; temp. Harold I., 240.
- Wulfhere**, archbishop, driven out of Northumbria, 873, 41.
- Wulfwarrn**, minter, London, temp. Edward conf., 244.
- Wulfstan** of York, peace between Edmund and Anlaf, c. 942, 60; met king Eadred, 947, 62; *Homilies*, glossary, 134.
- Wulfwine**, minter, London, temp. Canute, 238.
- Wulmær**, minter, Shrewsbury, temp. Edward conf., 245.
- Wulnoð**, minter, York, temp. Canute, 238.
- Wulnoð**, minter, Leicester, temp. Canute, 238.
- Wulsic**, minter, London, temp. Edward conf., 244.
- Wyntoun**, Andrew de, a canon of St. Andrews, author of *Chronicle* in rhyme, completed 1420, on battle of Largs, 101, 102.
- Wyrceforsford**, westernmost point on Tyne reached by Healfdene's ship, 875, 42.
- yard-arm**, origin, 128.
- Yenstay**, John, St. Andrews, Orkney, 1509, 99.

- Yenstey. Olay. St. Andrew's, Orkney, 1516, 99.
- York, taken by Danish Vikings 867, 40; retaken by Northumbrian kings, 868, and taken again by the Danes when the two kings were slain, 40; coins of Siefred, 48; taken by Ragnall, 919 or 920, 52; besieged by Godefridus, 54; Anlaf Sietricsson at, 940, 59; Oswald, archbp., 224; coins minted of Canute, 237; of Edward conf., 241, 242
- Yorston, a leader in Orkney, 1529, 100.
- Yorston, Robert, Burray, Orkney, 1509 1516, 99.
- Yric, probably Eric Blood-axe, son of Harald Blue-tooth, taken as king by Northumbrians, 947, 63; thrown over, again king 950 or 952, 63; expelled 952 or 954, 64.

Compiled by A. W. J.

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## ERRATA.

SAGA-BOOK VI., 259, l. 4, for *King's herdsmen* (hirdmænd) read *King's men*.

p. 40, l. 5, read 867.

p. 45, l. 1, for *of* read *or*.

p. 90, l. 1, read *Gunnason*.

p. 91, l. 9 from foot, for *goðamen* read *góðir menn*.

p. 92, l. 6 from foot, *in* should read *up*, 'bring up a law,' i.e., bring up an existing law (for re-consideration), or 'bring an existing law under consideration'.—A. W. J.

p. 138, l. 10 from foot, read *Hygelac*.

p. 149, l. 13 from foot, read *Osvífsdaughter* (O.N. Ósvífrsdóttir).

p. 169, l. 12, read *Torkell Hak*.

