

THE VIKING AGE IN THE ISLE OF MAN



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THE VIKING AGE IN THE ISLE OF MAN

Select papers from The Ninth Viking Congress, Isle of Man, 4-14 July 1981,

edited by

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Foreword

The Ninth Viking Congress met in Douglas, Isle of Man, 4–14 July 1981. Since a good many of the papers read at the Congress dealt with aspects of the Viking Age in the Island and its immediate world, the Committee thought it would be most practical to restrict the published proceedings to them and to produce a smaller but more coherent volume than has been customary. They were encouraged toward this decision by the consent of the Members and by the quality of the other papers, which was such as to ensure their publication elsewhere as a matter of course. It is with pleasure that we now see them appearing under other auspices and, on behalf of the Congress, we should like to take this opportunity of thanking these Members for their contributions: Egil Bakka, Alan Binns, Charlotte Blindheim, Martin Blindheim, Signe Horn Fuglesang, Richard Hall, Ólafur Halldórsson, John Hunter, Sigrid Kaland, Jónas Kristjánsson, Basil Megaw, Magne Oftedal, Lene Rold and Kolbjørn Skaare.

In other respects the Congress was about as coherent as it usually is. That observation in no way lessens the deep gratitude felt by all Members to innumerable good people on the Island. The Congress was royally entertained by The Manx Museum and National Trust, Mr and Mrs Robin S. Bigland, the Swedish community in the Isle of Man, the Speaker of the House of Keys and Lady Kerruish, the Lieutenant Governor and Lady Cecil, the Isle of Man Tourist Board, Dr and Mrs D. M. Wilson and the Peel Viking Celtic Association. The invitation to participate in the Tynwald ceremony was accepted with great pleasure. Some Members, chiefly from Norway, thought that our presence conferred a legitimacy on the proceedings that these had not enjoyed for eight centuries or more.

Special thanks must be accorded to Marshall Cubbon and Frank Cowin, the human encyclopedias who conducted us on our tours. They were aided and abetted by many others, most notably by Ulla Corkill, who acted as the indefatigable local secretary, and Marjorie Caygill, of the British Museum, who played a comparable role in London. We also benefited from the moral support and practical help given in the Island by Robert Quayle, Robert Curphey and the Manx Government Property Trustees.

The Committee would finally like to acknowledge with the utmost appreciation the grants which made the Congress possible, from the Isle of Man Government, the British Academy, the Dame Bertha Phillpotts Memorial Fund of Cambridge University and the Dorothea Coke Research Fund of University College London; and a further grant towards publication of this volume from the Dorothea Coke Publication Fund of Cambridge University. We are grateful too to the Council of the Viking Society for Northern Research who generously undertook to make the volume a Society publication.

The Editors have performed their ungrateful task with the devotion which Members of the Congress have come to expect. They have not achieved complete consistency but, considering how little heed some of the contributors paid to the editorial instructions sent to them at an early stage, they can modestly claim to have worked wonders all the same.

It is with great sadness that we record the death of Aslak Liestøl in February 1983: *manná rýnstr, drengur harða góðr.*

David Wilson
on behalf of the
Organising Committee

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The archaeology of the Vikings in the Isle of Man

MARSHALL CUBBON

This introductory survey aimed to set the scene for the programme of specialist papers and site visits arranged for the 1981 Viking Congress in the Isle of Man. In particular topics which form the subject of specialist contributions to this volume are only dealt with in a summary manner.¹

The Isle of Man, with its safe harbours and rich agricultural land, as an island, and in its nodal position at the centre of the Irish Sea, would have offered attractions to the Norse Vikings who sailed southwards through the Hebrides into the Irish Sea basin. The reference in the Irish annals to the sacking of *Inis Patraic* in 798 is now generally accepted as referring to the islet in Dublin Bay rather than to Peel, but the source makes it nonetheless clear that Viking incursions were taking place in the Irish Sea by the end of the eighth century. While no direct evidence of raiding can be produced from Man itself, it is most unlikely that it would have escaped the attention of Viking plunderers. Even though the relatively limited wealth of the Celtic monastery of Maughold and the other Christian centres in Man, compared particularly with the impressive richness of the major Irish monasteries, would probably have offered some degree of protection, the outstanding quality and sophistication of the crucifixion carving from the hermitage site on the Calf of Man indicates that the Isle of Man was not unfamiliar with the high-quality art of the late eighth-century Celtic church.

As skilled, practical seamen the Vikings would have certainly taken cognisance of the good natural harbourages around the coast of the Island. In the area of the northern lowland the shelter from the prevailing southwesterly winds afforded by the wide sweep of Ramsey bay, and the anchorage at the mouth of the Sulby river, would doubtless attract them and in this connection the excavation of a series of timber Norse-style houses excavated on a small defended promontory at the Vowlan, just north of Ramsey,² appears to represent a wintering base used successively during the transitional period between raiding and permanent settlement (fig. 6).

The long sandy beaches of the glacial lowland of the north of the Isle of Man offered ideal landing areas, while the fertility of this northern plain would make it inherently the most attractive area for settlement by the Viking incomers. That Norse settlement was heaviest here appears to be borne out by the distribution of pagan Viking burial mounds, by the place-names, and by the distribution of the tenth- to early eleventh-century Norse cross-slabs.

As late as the twentieth century the concentration of Norse settlement in this area was still just discernible in the physical anthropology of the native population.³ However it appears clear from the place-name evidence⁴ that Norse settlement was widespread in the Isle of Man, and a small Norse-type farmstead on marginal land at about 210 m above sea-level at Doarlish Cashen, Patrick, excavated by Gelling,⁵ indicates that late-comers could do little more than establish small landholdings in the marginal uplands.

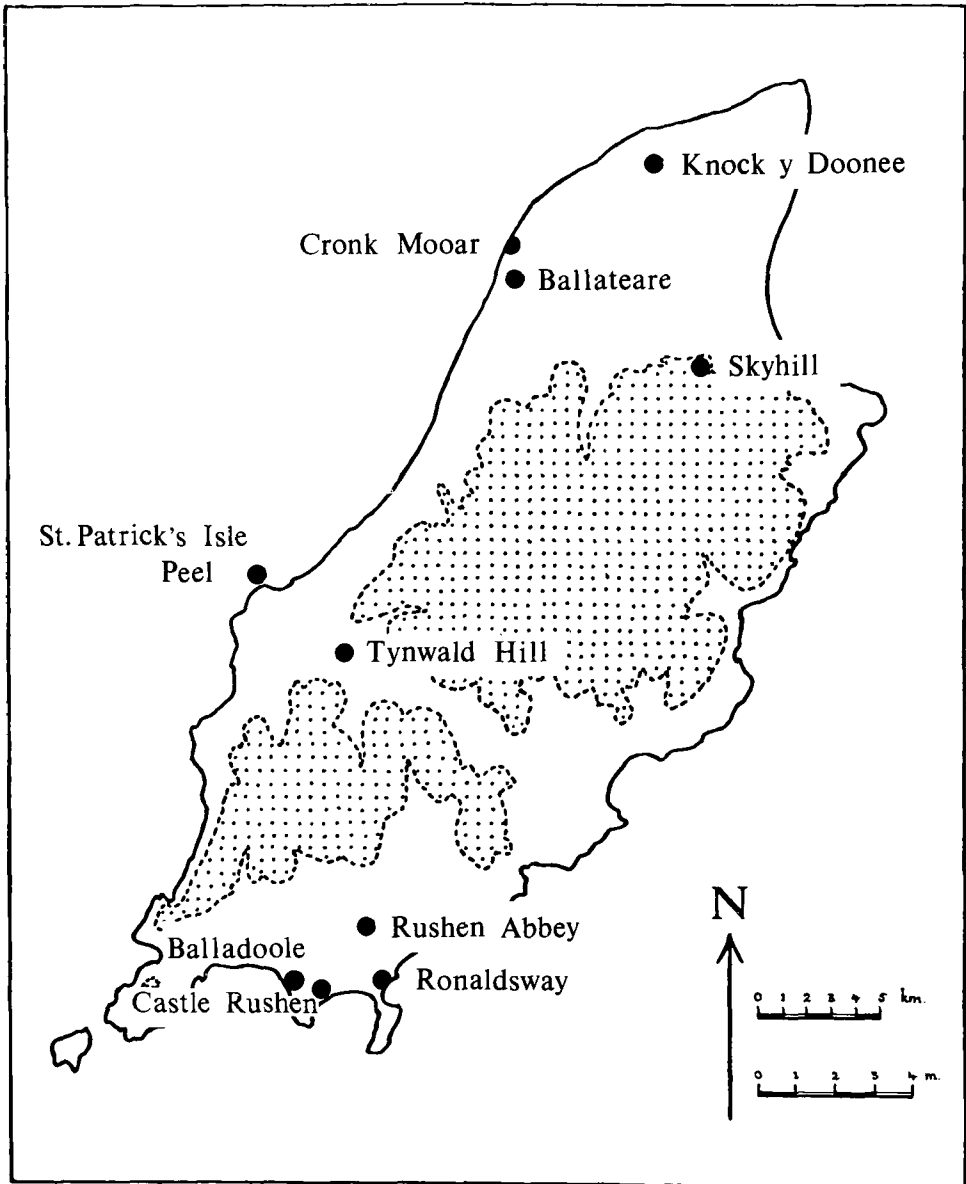


Fig. 1. The Isle of Man, with some important sites of the Viking period.

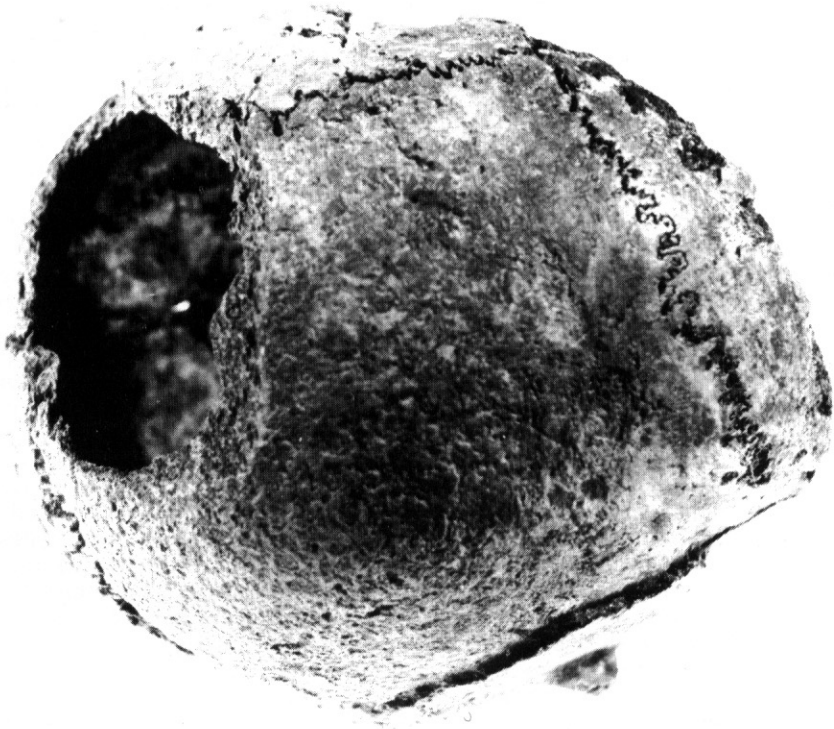


Fig. 2. Young woman's skull from Ballateare, showing slash-mark. Ph: Manx Museum.

Pagan burial mounds

The burial mounds of what appear to have been the first generation of Norse settlers, characteristically sited on low hills overlooking the sea, provide graphic evidence that they clung to the pagan religious beliefs of their Scandinavian homeland. Knowledge of this type of site was greatly increased by three excavations by Gerhard Bersu between 1944 and 1946.⁶ His sites were dated to the late ninth or early tenth century.

At Ballateare, Jurby, excavation showed that a burial mound about 12 m in diameter and 3 m high covered a pit in which a Viking had been buried in a wooden coffin or a timber burial chamber. He had apparently been dressed in a cloak, secured at the chest by a bronze ringed pin (figs. 1–2, pp. 28–9 below). His knife and throwing spear were in the coffin, as was also his silver-decorated sword in its wooden and leather scabbard. This sword had been deliberately broken into three pieces before being placed inside the coffin. A leather baldric or shoulder sling attached to the scabbard had apparently also been buried with the warrior, of which the bronze strap-distributor and strap-ends survived. At the bottom of the grave-pit two thrusting-spears were found beside the coffin (apparently too long to be placed inside), as well as traces of his shield: an iron boss showing evidence of two heavy blows, and a number of small fragments of wood and leather bearing traces of paint.

The grave-pit having been filled with soil, the memorial mound was then formed entirely of top sods, not from the immediate area of the mound, which Bersu suggested may have represented a sacrifice from the fields of the settler's farmstead. He estimated that an area of 500 m² would have had to be cleared for this purpose. A soil stain and packing stones marked the position of a wooden memorial post in the top of the mound. Near the top of the mound a layer of cremated animal bone (cattle, horse, sheep and dog) testified to a sacrifice of his livestock, while at one point this layer of cremated bone covered and partly incorporated the extended skeleton of a young woman, the back of whose skull had been cut away by a sharp implement (fig. 2). This appears to be a clear instance of a young woman sacrificed as part of the ritual associated with a male burial. The skull was identified as from a female probably between 20 and 30 years of age,⁷ while a recent examination of the surviving dentition of the male in the coffin indicates that he was probably between 20 and 25 years of age.⁸

At Cronk Mooar, Jurby, beneath the site of a previously-removed burial mound, Bersu excavated another burial pit which contained a wooden grave-chamber which enclosed the remains of a Viking burial. This produced a similar range of grave goods: a sword, within a scabbard ornamented with a raised pattern in the *cuir bouilli* technique, a bronze strap-distributor and a strap-end from a shoulder sling, a spear, a shield, an iron knife and a bronze ringed cloak-pin (figs. 1–2, pp. 28–9 below). The metal oxides of some of these objects had preserved remnants of textile, showing that the dead warrior had been wearing a shaggy, woollen cloak.⁹ This excavation also yielded evidence of plough-furrows in previously undisturbed soil, suggesting that the burial had been sited on the settler's newly-cultivated land, possibly pointing to agricultural changes brought about by Norse settlement in Man.

At Balladoole, Arbory, Bersu excavated the remains of a Viking boat burial. Though the timber had decayed, the outline and general dimensions of the vessel (approx. 11 m × 3 m) could be ascertained from the plotting of the rusted iron clinch-rivets, with a line of nails near the long axis of the boat. The skeletons of both a man and a woman were found in the ship. The grave-goods showed this to be a male burial, and included a set of horse harness, including a range of decorated bronze strap-ends and apparently two ornamental bronze mounts originally decorated with *champlevé* enamel, as well as iron stirrups and spurs. The typical bronze ringed cloak-pin was found (figs. 1–2, pp. 28–9 below), and gilt bronze buckles suggested that the man had been buried wearing his spurs. His silver-gilt belt buckle is of typical continental Carolingian workmanship. Other finds included an iron cauldron, a flint strike-a-light, a small stone hone, a shield and two iron knives. A remarkable feature of the Balladoole boat burial however (which exhibited no evidence of any disturbance of the grave prior to excavation) was the absence of any offensive weapon: no sword, spear, or axe.

This pagan boat burial was positioned directly on top of stone-sided lintel graves of a Celtic Christian cemetery, from the disturbance of which it was clear that this cemetery only

VIKING WEAPONS

- † SWORD
- | SPEAR
- Ɔ AXE
- SHIELD

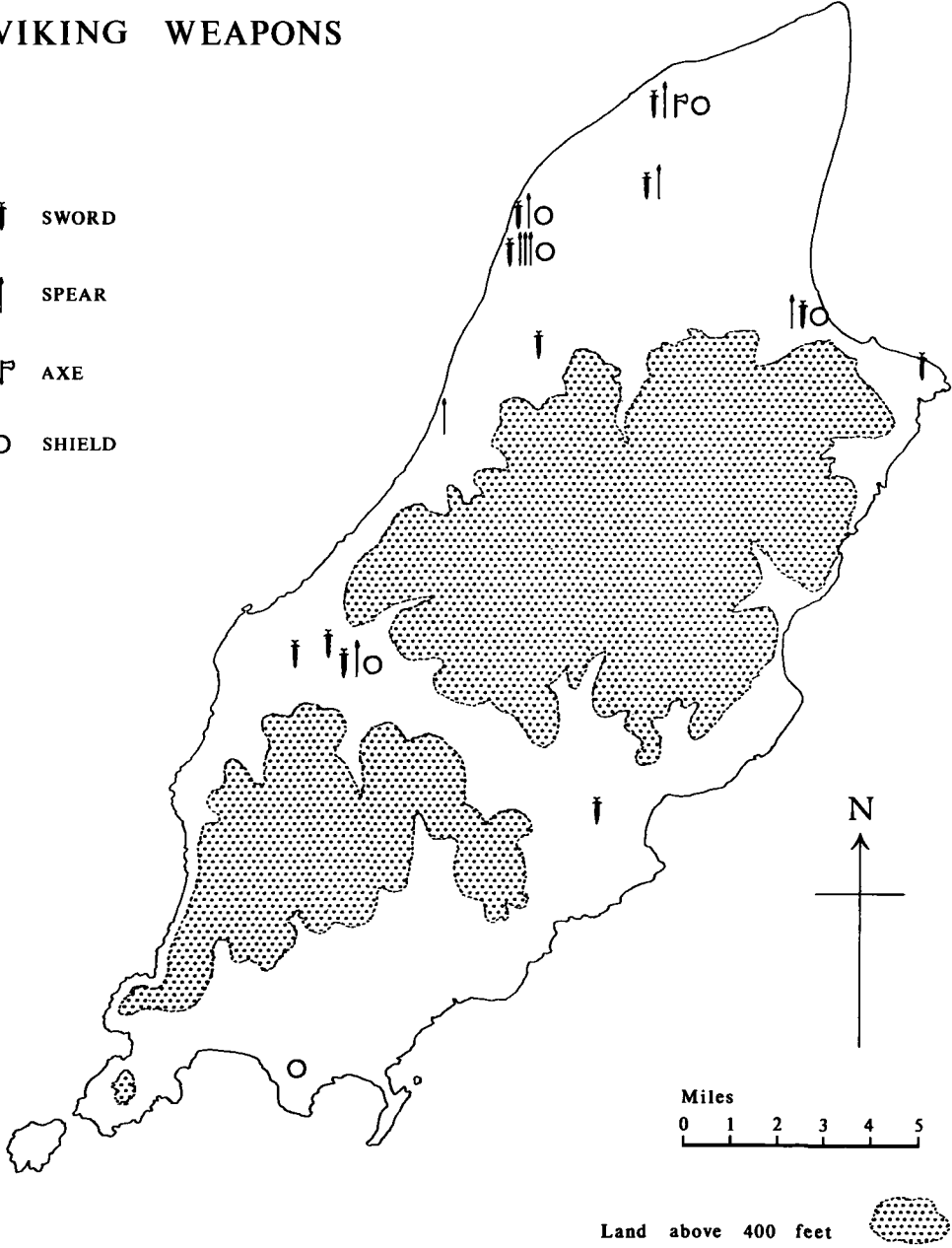


Fig. 3. Viking weapons found in the Isle of Man (only surviving weapons are shown).

just pre-dated the pagan boat burial (feet and hands from the Christian graves had been disturbed while still articulated). It is not clear whether the choice of site for the Viking burial was a deliberate slighting of the burial ground of the earlier Celtic inhabitants in this part of the Island, or whether the choice of a low hilltop with a view of the sea had produced a fortuitous juxtaposing of the Celtic Christian graves and the pagan Norse boat burial. The re-establishment of Christianity in the area is graphically attested by an early Christian keeill or chapel, which may be dated on structural evidence to the eleventh century, some 70 m to the west of the boat burial on the same low hill.

A comparable Viking boat burial in the Isle of Man had been dug by P. M. C. Kermodé in 1927 at Knock y Doonee, Andreas.¹⁰ The grave goods included a sword, battle axe, spear, knife, shield boss, smith's hammer and tongs, an iron cauldron, a silver-inlaid bronze cloak-pin (fig. 3, pp. 30–1 below), a set of harness and a lead fishing-line weight.

Other Viking weapons found in the Isle of Man (fig. 3) may mostly be regarded as probably deriving from pagan burials. In some instances they are recorded as having been recovered from mounds (e.g. Ballachrink, Jurby),¹¹ while in others their find spot suggests a grave beneath a pre-existing mound exposed by ploughing or other work (e.g. Ballabrooie, Patrick,¹² Ballaugh village¹³). In some instances weapons have been recovered from Christian churchyards, and this may well indicate that in the tenth century the church was prepared to accept tacitly the Viking custom of burying weapons with the dead in order to establish the acceptance of Christian burial grounds in the Manx community.

A recent discovery however, at Claghbane near Ramsey,¹⁴ where excavation following a chance find revealed a sword, spear-head and shield-boss (together with a single bead) undisturbed in a position where they were clearly not part of a burial, suggests some form of cenotaph burial of weapons. Though the sword is of Petersen's type L, suggesting a late ninth-century date for the weapon, its burial may perhaps have occurred as late as the mid-tenth century, when Christian beliefs were superseding long-standing Scandinavian practices.

Settlement pattern and houses

In the absence of documentary evidence from the Isle of Man relating to the pre-Viking Celtic period and to the period of Norse settlement, it is difficult to be certain of the extent to which the Norse settlers took over a pre-existing settlement pattern or established a new one. The basic Manx farmland division, the quarterland, certainly appears to have been established from the period of the Norse settlement, if not before. There appears to be, for example, a close correlation between the distribution of quarterland farms and pagan Norse burial mounds along the coastal ridge of the parish of Jurby. The quarterlands were sub-divisions of a larger unit known as a *treen*¹⁵ (cf. p. 81 below), and Marstrander in particular has drawn attention to the broad correlation that exists between the distribution of *treens* and that of the keeills (early Christian chapels) which functioned in the Isle of Man following the tenth-century adoption of Christianity by the Norse settlers.¹⁶

The basic quarterland farmsteads have continued to exist on their original sites and possibilities of investigation are consequently limited. Only one typical Norse farmstead (apparently an abandoned farm) at the Braaid, Marown is known in Man (fig. 4). Here a circular house, in traditional Celtic style, appears to have been taken over and superseded by a large boat-shaped hall in the Norse tradition. Its wide, curving long walls are stone-faced and earth-cored, while its gable walls were apparently of tongue-and-grooved timber with turf.¹⁷ The adjoining rectangular structure may be another Norse house, but is more probably a large stable or byre.

A number of smaller, isolated buildings on defended promontory sites are known in the Isle of Man.¹⁸ The wall footings of Norse houses survived and have been excavated at Cronk ny Merriu¹⁹ (fig. 5) and the Cashtal, Ballagawne, Garwick,²⁰ while excavation revealed the foundation of broadly similar houses at Close ny Chollagh, Malew²¹ and Cass ny Hawin, Malew²² (fig. 6).

It is uncertain whether it is reasonable to regard all these buildings as small homesteads, or whether instead they were military or administrative structures possibly related to a coastal

defence organisation, dating perhaps from the period of the Norse kingdom in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries.

Mention has been made of Gelling's excavation of a small Norse farmstead at Doarlish Cashen, Patrick, on marginal land over 200 m above sea-level.²³ The existence of a corn drying kiln near the house showed that arable farming was being practised on this fairly inhospitable site. No close dating of the farmstead was established, its attribution to the Norse settlement being based on its aisled type of house. It does however certainly suggest that late settlement in the Isle of Man had to extend into the marginal hill land.

That the upland pastures were used for summer grazing is clear from Gelling's survey of shieling sites, and the excavation of typical huts at Block Eary and Injebreck.²⁴ The recovery of a coin of Stephen of England, of 1135–41, from one of the Block Eary huts indicates that the extended occupation of the shielings certainly included the period of the Norse kingdom of Man.

The re-introduction of Christianity

The Celtic inhabitants of the Isle of Man prior to the Norse settlement had been Christian for several centuries. As shown above, the first Norse settlers were buried in accordance with Scandinavian custom. The archaeological evidence suggests however that few Scandinavian womenfolk got as far south as Man: there is no example of a pagan female grave from Man to date, and the majority of female names recorded in the Manx runic inscriptions are Celtic rather than Scandinavian. It seems likely that the Norse settlers in Man intermarried with the local Celtic women, and it is therefore not surprising that Christian beliefs were being re-established in the Island by the second quarter of the tenth century.



Fig. 4. Norse farmstead at the Braaid. Ph: Manx Museum.



Fig. 5. Norse house on promontory fort at Cronk ny Merriu. Ph: Manx Technical Publications.

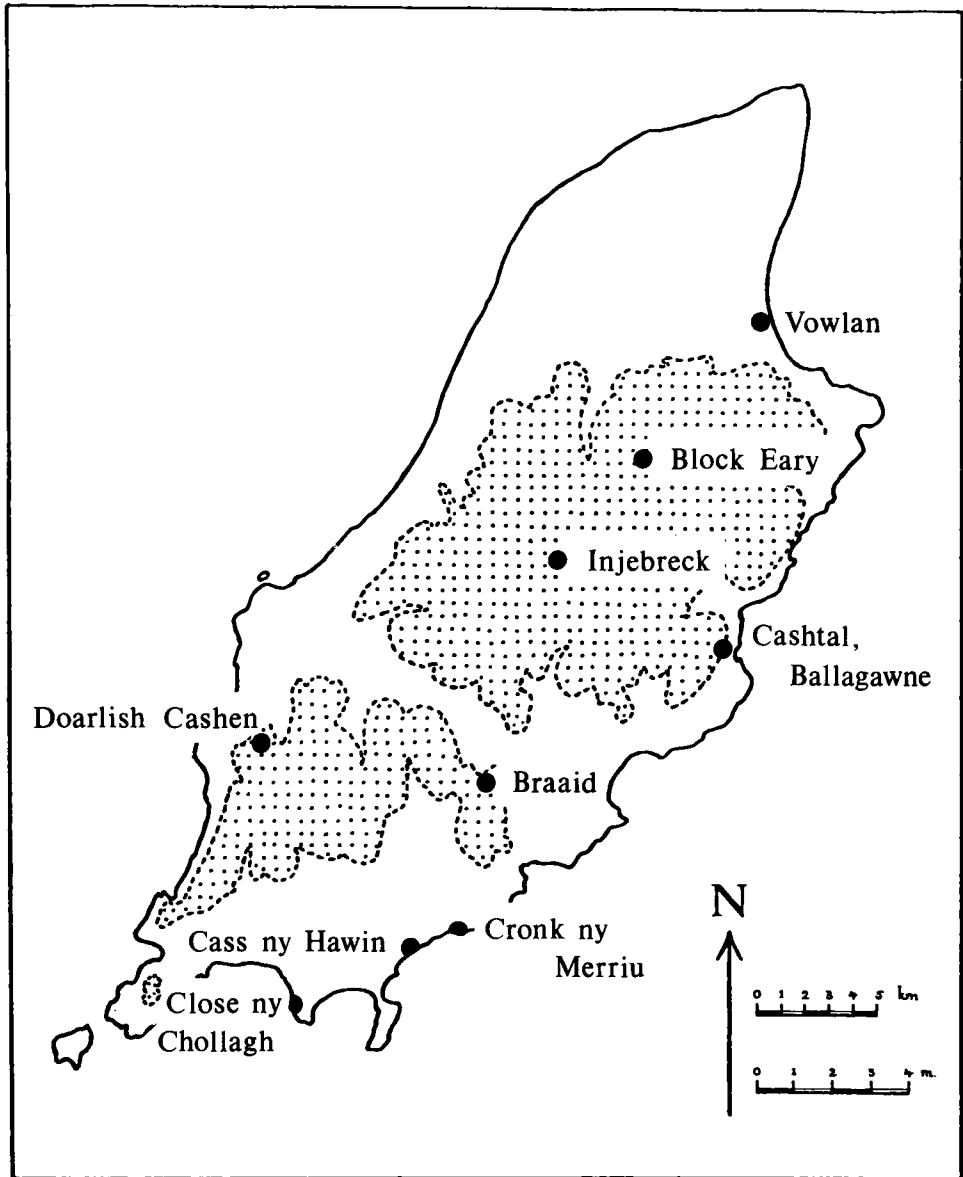


Fig. 6. Norse houses and shielings: excavated sites in the Isle of Man.

The earlier Celtic practice of erecting carved stone cross-slabs on the graves of the dead was revived, but was now continued by sculptors drawing also on Scandinavian tradition, introducing Scandinavian art motifs and elements of animal and figurative ornament, which include some recognisable scenes from Norse mythology and folklore (cf. figs. 1–6, pp. 95–105 below). Many of these cross-slabs bear memorial inscriptions in runes in the Norse language²⁵ (see pp. 133–46 below).

The widespread distribution of some 174 small chapels, or keeills,²⁶ appears to date to this period of Norse adoption of Christianity; probably only a minority of these keeill sites were in use prior to the Norse settlement.

The distribution of tenth- and early eleventh-century cross-slabs appears to indicate that certain keeill sites, which in the twelfth century were to develop into parish centres, were already then becoming pre-eminent in their localities, and this may suggest that the long-standing, non-parochial ecclesiastical organisation of the Celtic church of western Britain was beginning to decline in Man.

Coins and hoards

Some twenty hoards which may be dated to the Norse period have been found in the Isle of Man²⁷ (cf. figs. 1–2, pp. 54–5 below). These usually comprise silver coins, with in a few instances associated silver personal ornaments,²⁸ or plain silver “currency rings” which apparently circulated in place of coinage in the Northern and Western Isles of Scotland in the late tenth and eleventh centuries. The Ballaquayle, Douglas hoard found in 1894 was much the largest and richest Manx hoard discovered to date (figs. 8–9, pp. 66–7 below). In addition to coin-hoards a bracelet and portions of two necklets of twisted silver were found together at Ballacamaish, Andreas in 1868, while an individual find of a gold imitation (Frisian?) of a Carolingian *mancus* of Louis the Pious was discovered in Maughold churchyard in 1884 — it had probably been lost by the middle of the ninth century.²⁹ An isolated silver currency ring was found at Peel (fig. 4, p. 58 below). A plaited gold Viking-Age finger-ring was found at Greeba, German, in 1981.

The numismatic content of these hoards (where the actual coins survive) makes quite close datings possible. They suggest that particular periods, from which unretrieved hoards have come down to modern times, were troubled and unsettled (fig. 3, p. 55 below). Two uncertain early finds may perhaps be of the ninth or early tenth century. Five hoards can be dated between 960 and 1000, and eleven between 1025 and 1075 (see p. 55 below).

Manx hoards usually contain Anglo-Saxon coins, with in several instances the Hiberno-Norse coins of the kingdom of Dublin, while the Kirk Michael 1972–5 hoard also included Normandy deniers.³⁰ Of particular interest, arising from the discovery of this hoard, is Dolley’s recognition of a distinctive Hiberno-Manx eleventh-century coinage, derived from the Hiberno-Norse coinage of Dublin³¹ (fig. 5, p. 59 below). The establishment of an eleventh-century mint in the Isle of Man, in the absence of any urban centre, perhaps appears surprising, but the evidence for the origin of these coins in Man seems firm, and a mint must have been associated with the seat of political power in Man in the second quarter of the eleventh century, probably on St Patrick’s Isle at Peel.

The Norse kingdom

By the eleventh century, although Manx documentary sources are silent prior to 1066 and relevant external references are scanty and obscure, it seems clear that the political importance of Man was growing particularly in relation to the Norse kingdom of Dublin, but also in relation to York, the Western Isles of Scotland and indeed to the Northern Isles of Orkney and Shetland.

The tidal islet of Holmepatruck or St Patrick’s Isle at Peel, controlling the entrance to the river mouth, the only sheltered harbour on the west coast of the Isle of Man, developed into one of the two major seats of political power in Man. Its importance is also indicated by the fact that it became the pre-eminent ecclesiastical centre in Man, the site of the cathedral of the Norse diocese of Sodor and Man. Its ecclesiastical importance in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries is shown by the erection there of a church *in antis*, in the style of Irish

tenth-century cathedrals, associated with an Irish-type round tower (its castellated top, just below the level of its original conical top, is a late medieval alteration). In the twelfth century St German's Cathedral, in the Gothic tradition, was erected (enlarged and extended in the mid-thirteenth and late fourteenth centuries), to serve the diocese of Sodor, i.e. of the Sudreyjar, which (like the kingdom) embraced all the Western Isles of Scotland, and which from 1153 until the fourteenth century came under the archbishopric of Nidaros, later Trondheim.

The seat of secular power seems to have moved to the southeast of Man by the late twelfth century, with the establishment of the strong stone-built Castle Rushen at what became known as Castletown, at the mouth of the Silverburn. This river mouth, however, was not an easy landing place in the days of sail, and the principal harbour in the southeast of the island was two miles to the east at Ronaldsway, with safe deep-water entry and shelter from all winds but the northeast. Peel continued as a military strong point, as well as the site of the cathedral, though even Peel's ecclesiastical status must have been partially offset by the establishment in the mid-twelfth century of the Cistercian abbey of Rushen, some two miles north of Castletown.

The kingdom of Man and the Isles had been firmly established by Godred Crovan's victory at Skyhill in 1079, and his descendants were to continue to rule in Man until 1265. The outline historical events of the period are recorded in the *Manx Chronicle*, compiled in the mid-thirteenth century (extended by later hands to the fourteenth century) probably by a monk of Rushen Abbey. Norwegian royal power was reasserted by Magnus Bareleg's expedition to the west, which brought him to Man in 1098, when the *Chronicle* records he forced the men of Galloway, in southwest Scotland, to ship timber to Man for the construction of forts. After internecine strife the local dynasty was firmly re-established in the long reign of Olaf I from (probably) 1113 to 1153. In 1156 Argyll reduced the power of the kingdom by seizing the island groups of Mull and Islay (with other islands), but Lewis and Skye remained under the rule of the king of Man. The extension of England's political interests into Ireland in the twelfth century led to its increasing involvement in the Irish Sea area, while the growth in the power of Scotland in the thirteenth century saw its influence increasing, especially in the Western Isles. An attempt was made to reassert the often probably nominal suzerainty of Norway by Hákon's ill-fated expedition in 1263, which ended with the Scottish naval victory at Largs on the Clyde. Magnus, king of Man and the Isles, had fought on the Norwegian side at Largs, resulting in his islands then passing under Scottish control. Alexander III of Scotland permitted Magnus to continue to rule in Man until his death in 1265, when the Scottish king extended his rule to include Man. The Norwegian interest in all the Isles and Man was formally purchased by the Scottish crown in 1266. The final end of the Godred Crovan dynasty occurred in 1275, when the Manx under Godred, son of Magnus, rebelled against the Scots. The rebels were however defeated in a battle at Ronaldsway in which Godred, the last male descendant of the Crovan line, was slain.

Tynwald

Throughout the period when the Norse kingdom of Man and the Isles is historically attested it seems clear that rule was exercised through a Tynwald assembly, possessing features characteristic of the *thing* organisations established throughout the Norse colonies in the west. In the absence of documentary sources it is impossible to be precise about when a Manx Tynwald was first set up.³² It seems likely that a centralised political organisation would have been in existence by the second half of the tenth century, but at least local *thing* organisations are likely to have been in operation from the late ninth-century Norse settlement, and a central Manx Tynwald could have existed prior to the traditional founding of the Icelandic Althing in 930. Later Scottish documents, in association with the early fifteenth-century records of the Stanley kings of Man,³³ make it clear that the medieval Manx Tynwald was composed of sixteen representatives from Man and sixteen from the Sudreyjar. The twelfth-century loss of Mull and Islay to Argyll reduced the representatives of the Isles to eight, and the total to twenty-four — the number still retained as the number of seats in the Keys (the lower house of the Manx parliament) to the present day.

The annual open-air Tynwald is held at the time-honoured site at St Johns (fig. 7) on 5 July — Midsummer Day by the old calendar, adjusted in the middle ages to the nearest major church festival, the Feast of St John the Baptist. After service in the chapel all members of the government, with other dignitaries, pass along the processional way (traditionally strewn with rushes) to the four-tiered artificial Tynwald Hill, from which all new laws are proclaimed in the Manx and English languages to the crowd assembled on the adjoining fair field. The ceremony symbolises an unbroken tradition of the Tynwald administration established by the Viking settlers in Man, and as such is an event of outstanding historical interest.

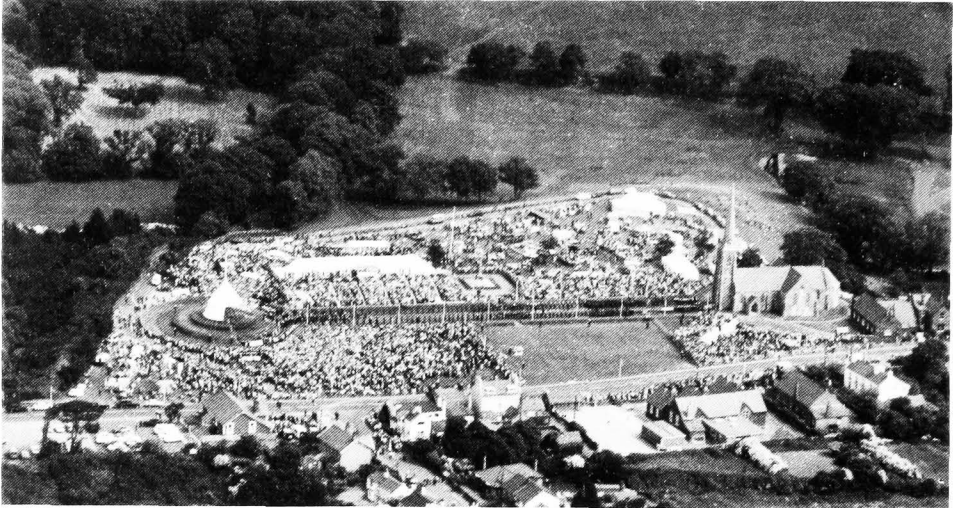


Fig. 7. The Tynwald ceremony. Ph: Manx Technical Publications.

Notes

1. For general treatments of the period in the Isle of Man see Basil and Eleanor Megaw, 'The Norse Heritage in the Isle of Man', *The Early Cultures of North West Europe* (H. M. Chadwick Memorial Studies, 1950), 143–70; and also David M. Wilson, *The Viking Age in the Isle of Man* (1974).
2. Gerhard Bersu, 'A Promontory Fort on the Shore of Ramsey Bay, Isle of Man', *Antiquaries Journal* XXIX (1949), 62–79.
3. Elwyn Davies and H. J. Fleure, 'A Report on an Anthropometric Survey of the Isle of Man', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* LXVI (1936), 129–87.
4. Note for example the *staðr* names in C. J. S. Marstrander 'Det Norske Landnâm på Man', *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* VI (1932), 330, 335.
5. P. S. Gelling, 'A Norse Homestead near Doarlish Cashen, Kirk Patrick, Isle of Man', *Medieval Archaeology* XIV (1970), 74–82.
6. Gerhard Bersu and David M. Wilson, *Three Viking Graves in the Isle of Man* (1966).
7. Dr R. D. Teare, in Bersu and Wilson (1966), 47–8, where it is indicated that the clean removal of bone from the skull suggested that it was supported on the inside by solid brain tissue, and on the outside by undecomposed scalp; so if the wound had not been the cause of death it must have occurred within forty-eight hours after it.
8. Dr D. A. Lunt, Department of Oral Biology, University of Glasgow, *Journal of the Manx Museum* (forthcoming).
9. The staple of the wool was the same as that of the *loghtan*, the native Manx breed of sheep — though it was not possible to prove that the wool was from this particular breed.
10. P. M. C. Kermodé, 'Ship-Burial in the Isle of Man', *Antiquaries Journal* X (1930), 126–33. The possibility that another Viking boat burial was replaced by the later construction of a Christian chapel within the original mound was pointed out by Bersu, from consideration of Bruce's detailed records of his excavation of Cronkyn Howe, Lezayre (J. R. Bruce and W. Cubbon, 'Cronk ny Howe', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* LXXXV (1930), 267–308).
11. B. R. S. Megaw, 'Weapons of the Viking Age found in Man', *Journal of the Manx Museum* III:53 (1937), 234–6, and Wilson (1974), Appendix A, 44–5.
12. A. M. Cubbon, 'A Sword from Ballabrooie, Patrick', *Journal of the Manx Museum* VI: 81 (1965), 249–53.
13. J. Anderson, 'Notes on the Relics of the Viking Period . . .', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* X (1872–4), 567–8.
14. A. M. Cubbon, 'Find of a Viking Sword, Spear and Shield . . .', *Proceedings Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society* VIII:4 (1982), 439–57.
15. Elwyn Davies, 'Treens and Quarterlands: A Study of the Land System of the Isle of Man', *Transactions and Papers, Institute of British Geographers* XXII (1956), 97–116.
16. C. J. S. Marstrander, 'Treen og Keeill', *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* VIII (1937), 287–500. But note also B. R. S. Megaw, 'Norsemen and Native in the Kingdom of the Isles: A Re-assessment of the Manx Evidence', *Man and Environment in the Isle of Man* (BAR British Series LIV, 1978), 279–88; and Lowe, pp. 124–6 below.
17. P. S. Gelling, 'Re-excavation of a Viking house at the Braaid', *Journal of the Manx Museum* VI:80 (1964), 201–5.
18. The internal sizes of Norse houses found in the Isle of Man are as follows: Braaid 21 m × 9 m and 16 m × 5.5 m; Cronk ny Merriu 11 m × 4.3 m; Cashtal, Ballagawne, Garwick 13 m × 5.5 m; Close ny Chollagh 12 m × 4.9 m; Cass ny Hawin c. 10 m × 4.5 m; Doarlish Cashen 7 m × 3 m. In the case of the Vowlan site (see note 2) only soil staining survived, which would include the presumed wooden walls of these structures, the overall dimensions of which were 9 m × 4.8 m, 7.8 m × 4.1 m, 9.8 m × 5.3 m, 10 m × 5.4 m, 10 m × 5 m, c. 10.5 m × c. 5.6 m.
19. P. S. Gelling, 'Excavation of a promontory fort at Port Grenaugh, Isle of Man', *Proceedings Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society* V: 3 (1952), 307–15.

20. G. Bersu, also A. M. Cubbon, 'The Cashtal, Ballagawne, Garwick', *Proceedings Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society* VII:1 (1966), 88–119.
21. P. S. Gelling, 'Excavation of a Promontory Fort at Scarlett, Castletown, Isle of Man', *Proceedings Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society* V:5 (1957), 571–5.
22. P. S. Gelling 'Excavation of a promontory fort at Cass ny Hawin, Isle of Man', *Proceedings Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society* VI: 1 (1959), 28–38.
23. P. S. Gelling (1970), 74–82.
24. P. S. Gelling, 'Medieval shielings in the Isle of Man', *Medieval Archaeology* VI–VII (1964), 156–72.
25. P. M. C. Kermodé, *Manx Crosses* (1907); H. Shetelig, 'Manx Crosses — Relating to Great Britain and Norway', *Saga-Book of the Viking Society* IX (1920–25), 253–74; D. M. Wilson and O. Klint-Jensen, *Viking Art* (second ed., 1980).
26. *Manx Archaeological Survey: Keeills and Burial Grounds*: P. M. C. Kermodé, I–V (1909–35; re-issued 1968); J. R. Bruce, VI (1968).
27. Michael Dolley, 'The Pattern of Viking-Age Coin-Hoards from the Isle of Man', *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin* (1975), 296–302 and 337–40.
28. One bracelet of the Ballaquayle, Douglas, hoard is of twisted gold and silver.
29. Dolley (1975), 297.
30. A. M. Cubbon and Michael Dolley, 'The 1972 Kirk Michael Viking Treasure Trove', *Journal of the Manx Museum* VIII:89 (1980), 5–20.
31. M. Dolley, 'A Hiberno-Manx Coinage of the Eleventh Century', *Numismatic Chronicle*, seventh series, XVI (1976), 75–84.
32. Indeed, elements of the Manx Tynwald may well pre-date the Norse settlement of the Isle of Man, see B. R. S. Megaw (1978), 287–8.
33. W. Cubbon and B. R. S. Megaw, 'The Western Isles and the Growth of the Manx Parliament', *Journal of the Manx Museum* V:66 (1942), 57–62.

The Hiberno-Norse pins from the Isle of Man

THOMAS FANNING

The three Viking burial mounds excavated in the early 1940s by the late Professor Gerhard Bersu and subsequently published by David Wilson (Bersu and Wilson 1966) contained a rich assemblage of grave-goods. Among the less spectacular objects from these graves are three bronze ringed pins — one from each of the three mounds at Balladoole, Ballateare and Cronk Mooar. A portion of another bronze pin of a type related to the pseudo-penannular brooches was discovered by Kermode (1930) in the ship-burial at Knock y Doonee. Although they could be regarded as “unremarkable”, these pins nevertheless belong to a significant type of Celtic dress-pin adopted by the Vikings and found in considerable numbers along the western sea-board frequented by Norsemen in the ninth and tenth centuries A.D.

This short paper contains descriptive notes on these Manx pins and a consideration of their burial contexts in relation to the method and manner of their use as dress-fasteners. I shall also discuss the wider implications of their cultural context and distribution pattern in the light of my earlier studies of Irish and Scandinavian ringed pins (Fanning 1969 and 1974-5).¹

The pins are preserved in the Manx Museum, Douglas, together with the other material from the Viking graves from which they come. The descriptions which follow are based on my examination of them in July 1981.²

Balladoole. Reg. No. 66-372-32 (figs. 1,1 and 2,1).

The upper portion of the pin is circular in cross-section changing to a rectangular section before tapering to a point. This lower portion of the shank is incised with a double vertical groove on each face. There is a marked curvature along the entire length. The pin-head, originally of square or polyhedral form, is now broken but it is clear that it was perforated. There are traces of a thin incised line on one side.

The ring is lozenge-shaped in cross-section with small narrowed terminals which were inserted into the pin-head, allowing the ring a free swivel motion. Very lightly incised lines cover the external and internal faces of the ring. Surviving length of pin: 13.4 cm; width of ring: 2.2 cm.

This pin was among the grave-goods found with the skeletal remains of the male Viking in the Balladoole boat-burial. The body of the warrior had been laid out in the bottom of the boat and the ringed pin was discovered between the knees of the skeleton (Bersu and Wilson 1966, 7) and so almost certainly not *in situ*. If it had been utilized to fasten a cloak on the body (textile fragments were found in the grave), it would have finished up somewhere between the neck and shoulder bones as in the next burial.

Ballateare. Reg. No. 66-373-10 (figs. 1,2 and 2,2).

This pin is fairly well preserved but the shank, which is sub-circular in cross-section, is broken and the point damaged. The polyhedral-shaped head has sharply-cut, unworn facets

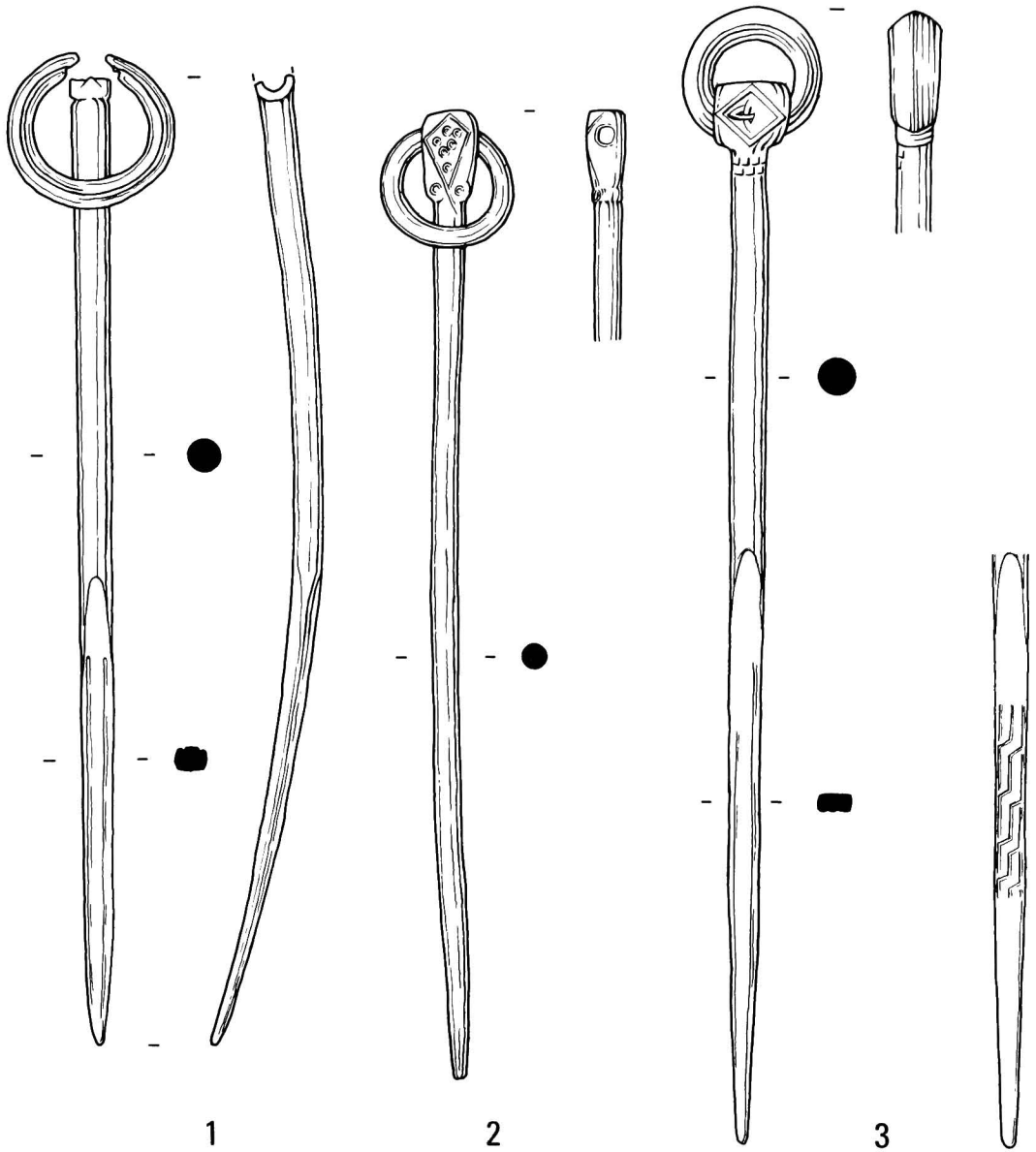


Fig. 1. Bronze ringed pins from (1) Balladoole, (2) Ballateare, and (3) Cronk Moorar. Sc. 1:1.



1



2



3

Fig. 2. Heads of (1) Balladoole, (2) Ballateare, and (3) Cronk Mooar ringed pins. Phh: Manx Museum.

outlining the central kite-shaped panels. This panel is decorated on both main faces with a group of six bored dots. These are arranged in a cruciform design on one side and in a rather haphazard fashion on the opposite panel, as if the craftsman had blundered somewhat in the design. The slightly raised collar below the pin-head is also bored at each extremity.

The ring, circular in cross-section, is undecorated and its narrowed ends are held in the sockets in the side of the head. It swivelled freely in the pin-head when in use. Surviving length of pin: 13.3 cm; width of ring: 1.8 cm.

This pin was found among the grave-goods associated with the skeletal remains at Ballateare. The remains had been placed in a wooden coffin in a pit and covered by a mound of turves. Little more than the skull of the male Viking (presumed to be a farmer) had survived at the western end of the coffin and the ringed pin was discovered beside these fragmentary remains (Bersu and Wilson 1966, 50).

Cronk Mooar. Reg. No. 66-374-10 (figs. 1,3 and 2,3).

The upper portion of the pin is circular in cross-section; it was broken in several places in antiquity and the point is missing. The lower half is sub-rectangular in section and the two main faces are decorated with an incised step-pattern defined by vertical grooves. Only traces of this ornament survive. The large polyhedral head is partly corroded, but there are traces of incised borders to the facets and what appears to be an interlaced quatrefoil knot on one of the central lozenge-shaped panels. Below the head are two bands of billeting outlined by horizontal grooves.

The close-fitting ring is lozenge-shaped in section and undecorated. It is butted into the sockets in the side of the head and is now immovable through corrosion. Surviving length of pin: 14.5 cm; width of ring: 1.9 cm.

The pin was discovered along with other grave-goods in the central burial pit of the mound at Cronk Mooar. An extended male interment had been placed in a timber coffin with the head to the west and the ringed pin was found approximately *in situ* in the region of the chest bones of the skeleton (Bersu and Wilson 1966, 68).

Knock y Doonee. Reg. No. 2774 (fig. 3).

Only a portion of the ring of this pin survives. The pin itself has entirely disappeared except for the looped-over head which is still attached to the ring. The latter is sub-circular in cross-section and widens so that its lower portion assumes the shape of an expanded terminal ending in a circular disc. Both the terminal and central disk are recessed, presumably for enamel settings. On the back the terminal is decorated with an encircled marigold design. The expanded terminal feature was originally matched by a similar recess on the opposite side of the central disc so giving the ring, when complete, a pseudo-penannular appearance. Width of ring: 4 cm.

This pin was found in the boat-burial at Knock y Doonee in a thin layer of pale brown soil at the base of the mound and close to the sword, shield-boss and spearhead. Close by were some small fragments of a human skull (Kermode 1930, 131). According to the excavator, the Norse settler was buried in a boat, accompanied by his weapons, and belted and dressed in a cloak fastened by a cloak-pin.

The pins in the undisturbed Ballateare and Cronk Mooar graves are of interest to us in considering how and where in the dress such fasteners were worn. Their respective positions in the burials, the former near the shoulder and the latter beside the chest bones, can be regarded as closely approximating to the original positions of the pins when fastened on the garment covering the corpse. This evidence illustrates the position in which the ringed pin was worn, with the pin inserted through the folds of the cloak across the front of the chest and near the right shoulder. Further corroborative details concerning the position of ringed pins in Viking graves come from the cemetery at Birka (Arbman 1940, grave 1007).

Certain figured panels on Irish high crosses dating from the late ninth or early tenth century throw some further light on this matter and pose a number of questions as to the

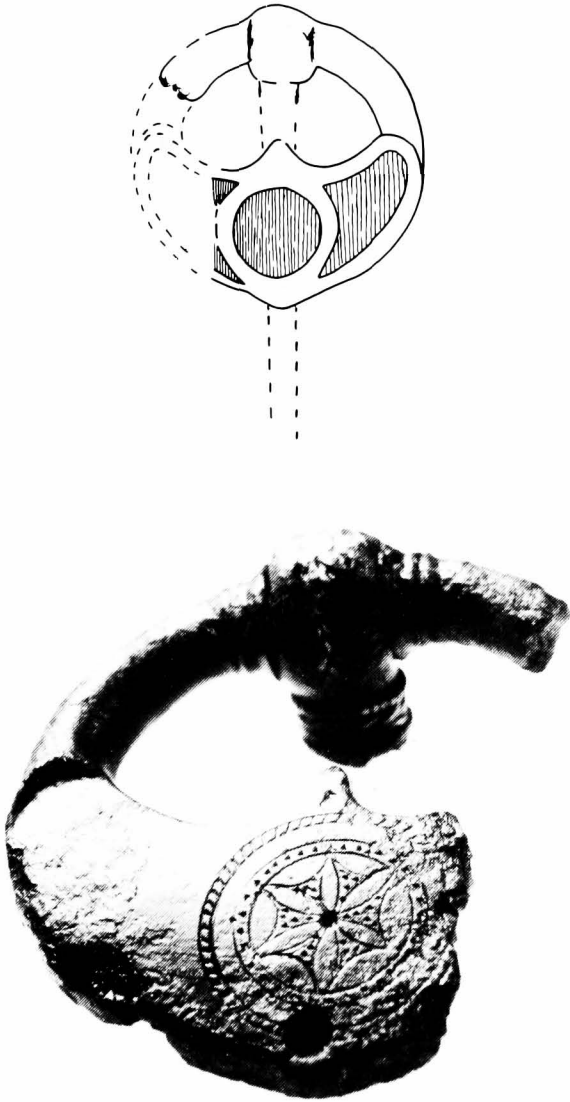


Fig. 3. Pseudo-penannular pin from Knock y Doonee. Front above (sc. 1:1), back below. Ph: Manx Museum.

manner of securing such pins. A scene on the so-called Broken or West Cross at Kells, Co. Meath, depicting the Baptism of Christ (Roe 1975, pl. xiv) has two ecclesiastics wearing a cloak or *brat*, the customary overgarment of the Irish nobility of Early Christian times. The textile remains from Cronk Mooar, identified as from a shaggy cloak, appear to have belonged to a similar garment. On the high cross the cloaks appear to be fastened by simple ringed pins (though the details of the carving are now quite faint). They do show, however, that the pin was inserted with its point upwards through the lapped-over folds of the cloak. This manner of wearing a pin or a brooch is likewise indicated on the Cross of Muireadach at Monasterboice, Co. Louth, where the scene showing the Arrest of Christ still retains the carved details of a brooch (probably of penannular form) with its pin pointing upwards (Henry 1967, pl. 79). In the Ballateare grave the ringed pin lay with its point downwards, possibly an atypical position due to the fact that the cloak was used as a form of shroud around the corpse. When worn as simple everyday ornaments, the pins from Balladoole, Ballateare and Cronk Mooar (and also the more brooch-like example from Knock y Doonee) would have functioned as proper dress-fasteners for the thick shaggy cloaks worn by both the Irish and Norse of that period. However, because the rings were annular, they could not assist in securing the fastening by swivelling under the pin as in a penannular brooch. Whether the pin was inserted with its point upwards (as the carvings suggest) or at some other angle, it would tend to undo even in a thick cloak unless some special device was employed. A deliberate bend in the lower shank of the pin would produce the desired effect, and there are many examples of such a deliberate bending or curving over of the lower shank of the ringed pin (e.g. a specimen from High Street, Dublin — Ó Ríordáin 1976, pl. 12, 1). The curvature noted on the Balladoole pin may have had this purpose.

Another possible method of securing the fastening in the cloak was by attaching some form of cord to the ring which could then be looped over the protruding point of the pin to prevent it from slipping out. Such an attachment would give the small ring of the ringed pin a practical and not merely an ornamental role. The use of a string, or probably a chain in the case of the more elaborate pseudo-penannular brooches, has already been argued by Stevenson (1968, 2) for the Westness and Tara brooches, and commented on by Wilson 1983. Actual evidence of a string or cord attachment has survived on a ringed pin from a Viking grave at Tjørnuvik in the Faroes (Dahl and Rasmussen 1956, fig. 8) — incidentally, a pin which is quite comparable in form and decoration to the examples from Ballateare and Cronk Mooar.

Wilson's convincingly cautious assessment of the date of the Manx graves (including Knock y Doonee) to the period A.D. 850–950 (Bersu and Wilson 1966, 85–7) is of particular belongs to a type of pin unrelated to the other three specimens and is obviously a form derived from the pseudo-penannular brooches. Analogous pins are known from native Irish contexts such as Lagore Crannog, Co. Meath (Hencken 1950, fig. 18a) and Cahercommaun stone fort, Co. Clare (Hencken 1938, fig. 19, no. 575). Similar and related forms occur in Viking graves in Norway (Rygh 1885, no. 688; Petersen 1928, fig. 216). Some of the Scandinavian specimens may be loot from Ireland, and some may be traded goods (cf. Blindheim 1976, 27), but the majority probably result from another process and demonstrate Norse adoption of certain Celtic fashions in dress ornament (Graham-Campbell 1975, 46). Detailed analysis of the form, ornament and condition of these pseudo-penannular pins is badly needed, and this should also cover those of Irish provenance. Such analysis could yield criteria enabling one to distinguish between the insular and the Norse examples.

The three pins from Balladoole, Ballateare and Cronk Mooar belong to a distinctive sub-type of one of the main groups of Irish ringed pins classified (Fanning 1969, 6 and 10) as the plain-ringed, polyhedral-headed form. This type of ringed pin is known from pre-Viking contexts in Ireland (e.g. the seventh-century Early Christian stratum at Ballinderry Crannog No. 2, Co. Offaly — Hencken 1942, fig. 18, no. 651). It is probably derived from the two earlier forms, *viz.* the spiral-ringed baluster-headed and the plain-ringed loop-headed (Fanning 1974–5, 215). Other Irish examples of the polyhedral-headed variety such as the pin from the ring fort at Lissue, Co. Antrim, excavated by Bersu (1947, 50, fig. 10,1) and the well-preserved specimens from Ballinderry Crannog No.1, Co. Westmeath (Hencken 1936,

144, fig. 14C) are from securely-dated tenth-century levels. Together with some examples from tenth-century Viking levels in Dublin (Ó Ríordáin 1976, 138) and a pin from the Early Christian occupation material at Knowth, Co. Meath (Eogan 1968, fig. 39, 200), these polyhedral-headed Irish pins are closely comparable to the Manx pins and illustrate the close links that must have existed between the Irish and Norse as a consequence of trade or workshop exchange at the time.

Some of the plain-ringed polyhedral-headed pins have, like the Balladoole specimen, very simple, almost cubical heads, but others have more pronounced facets and decorative motives like the dots or a quatrefoil knot on the Ballateare and Cronk Mooar pins. The specific form exemplified by the Cronk Mooar pin, with its large pin-head and small close-fitting ring, is indicative of a typological progression towards a pin-form with a kidney-shaped ring, which ultimately evolves in the eleventh and twelfth centuries into a stick-pin form with immovable ring (e.g. Ó Ríordáin 1976, pl. 12, 5 and 6). Although one must be cautious in attempting a chronological sequence for these various pin-types, there is an increasing body of stratified material to support such a typological progression (Fanning 1974-5, 216). The three Manx pins are central to these arguments and the dating offered for the graves fits nicely with the evidence from the professionally excavated Irish sites.

Among insular Viking material from Great Britain parallels to the Manx pins are not too difficult to locate. The polyhedral-headed type is known from finds at Chester (Bu'lock 1972, fig. 12) and York (Waterman 1959, figs. 11, 13 and 14). The form is the dominant one from Viking contexts in western Scotland,³ and both the silver specimen from the Skail hoard, Orkney (Grieg 1940, 129, fig. 59) and the recent grave-find from Buckquoy, Orkney (Ritchie 1976, 223-4) confirm the dating bracket for the Manx pins.

The extension of this distribution pattern coincides almost perfectly with the northern and western sea-routes of the Norse settlers and traders of the tenth century. To be coupled with the examples from Scotland already noted are pins from South and North Uist and others from Jarlshof, Shetland (Hamilton 1956, 152). The pin from the Faroes has already been mentioned, and the majority of the Icelandic pins appear to be of the polyhedral-headed form (Eldjárn 1956, fig. 139). To complete the distribution of plain-ringed polyhedral-headed pins (fig. 4) there is the important find from the Norse site at L'Anse aux Meadows in Newfoundland (Ingstad 1970, fig. 29). Although very worn, it can be seen that the plain ring is held in a small perforated polyhedral or cubical head. The deposit of this simple Hiberno-Norse dress-fastener at this short-lived settlement on the extremity of Norse expansion westwards is dated by the radio-carbon method to A.D. 1000 ± 90.

It seems clear from the foregoing contextual and distributional evidence that the polyhedral-headed form of ringed pin represents an adoption by the Vikings of an Irish form of dress-fastener. It was not indeed the sole form copied by the Norsemen — the very common plain-ringed loop-headed variety and a sub-type with a knobbed ring were also adopted and have been found not only in Viking graves in Ireland (e.g. Islandbridge — Coffey and Armstrong 1910, fig. 23; Donnybrook — Hall 1978, fig. 6c; and Larne — Fanning 1970, fig. 2a) but, significantly enough, also in Viking Age graves and settlements in Norway itself (Petersen 1928, fig. 225; Blindheim 1976, fig. 16). These two types may have been the earliest forms adopted by the Norse and can possibly be dated to the ninth century. The polyhedral-headed form is, however, noticeably absent from the Viking homelands in Norway. Since its *floruit* is largely the tenth and early eleventh centuries, its absence in Norway probably reflects the contraction of the sphere of interest and influence of the Hiberno-Norse in that period.

Finally, whether we are speaking of the late ninth or the tenth century, the Irish-Norse transmission of ideas about the form and decoration of objects, reflected in these simple dress-pins, is part of the wider exchange which resulted from more permanent Viking settlement in Ireland. This settlement was, as far as we can judge, confined to the coastal townships and one looks in vain for finds in rural contexts, whether grave or habitation sites, such as we have in the Isle of Man or western Scotland. The polyhedral-headed pin-form — illustrated by the three examples from the Manx graves — appears to have been the popular form among the Hiberno-Norse settlers who were expelled from Dublin after its capture by

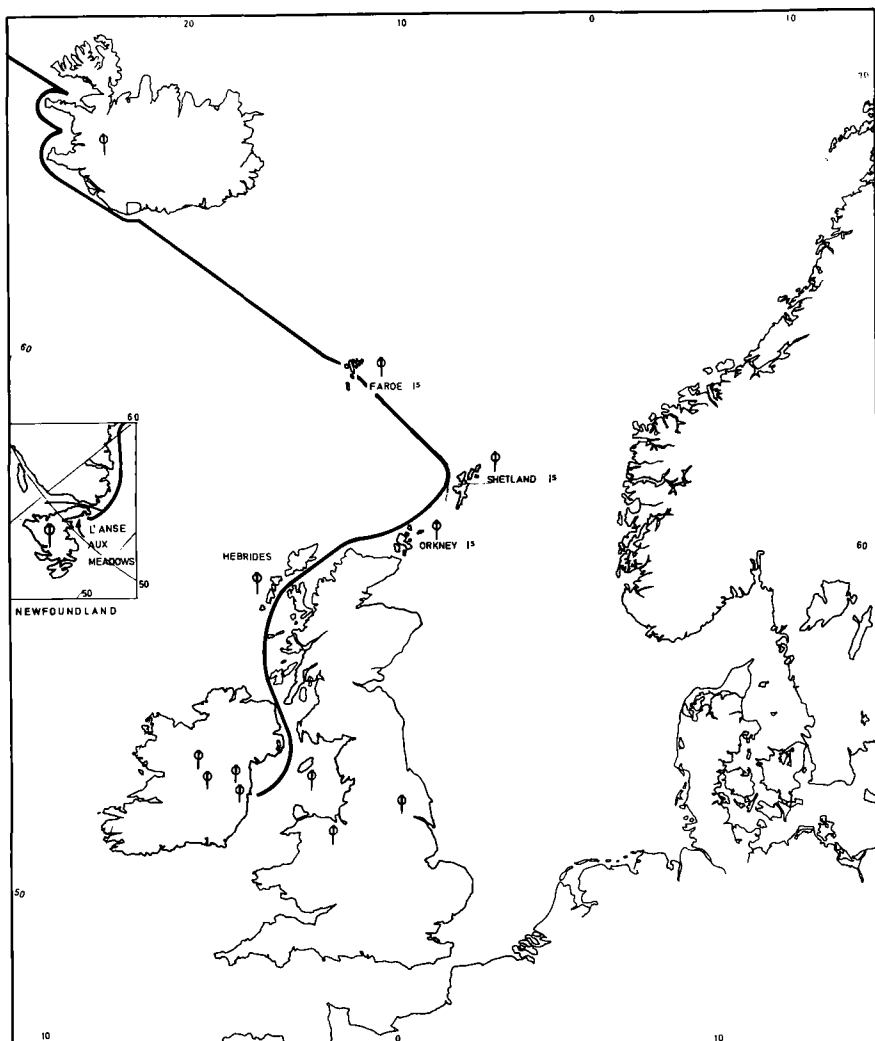


Fig. 4. The western sea-route of the Vikings (after Gwyn Jones), with the distribution of plain-ringed polyhedral-headed pins (symbols indicate major find-spots).

the Irish in 903 (Smyth 1975, 60). Some of these Hiberno-Norsemen, who, as we have seen, were already receptive to Irish fashions in dress ornament, may have gone to the Isle of Man. Others went further afield to settle in the Western Isles and some are known to have taken part in the settlement of Iceland. The distribution pattern of the plain-ringed, polyhedral-headed pin-form follows this Atlantic route and, more important still, provides us with at least one archaeological expression of the movement of these Hiberno-Norse settlers and seafarers of the tenth century.

Notes

1. The corpus of Irish ringed pins has been updated and the revised text will be submitted shortly to the Royal Irish Academy for publication in their Proceedings.
2. The writer is grateful to Mr Marshall Cubbon, Director of the Manx Museum, for the facility to examine the pins, and to Miss Angela Gallagher and Mr Marcus Carey for their assistance with the final drawings.
3. See now T. Fanning, 'Some aspects of the bronze ringed pin in Scotland', in A. O'Connor and D. Clarke (eds), *From the Stone Age to the 'Forty-five* (1983), 324-42.

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Scandinavian settlement in the Isle of Man and North-west England: the place-name evidence

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For the two centuries between 1066, when Godred Crovan sought refuge on Man after the Norwegian defeat at the Battle of Stamford Bridge, and 1266, when the Norwegians finally ceded the island to the King of Scotland by the Treaty of Perth, the history of the Scandinavian kingdom of Man is comparatively well documented, first and foremost in the *Chronicles of the Kings of Man and the Isles* (Broderick 1979). For the preceding two and a half centuries, however, the written sources are silent. We do not even know when Viking settlers first arrived on Man. It seems likely, however, that the settlement would have begun early in the ninth century, at about the same time as the Norse settlement of the Northern and Western Isles. Man was a natural stage on the sailing-route from Norway to Ireland and the Vikings were certainly raiding Ireland about this time (cf. Sawyer 1970, 86). A reference in the Irish Annals to the burning of *Inis Patraic* in 798 was earlier thought to refer to St Patrick's Isle off the west coast of Man but is now considered more likely to refer to Holmpatrick off the Dublin coast (Megaw and Megaw 1950, 145).

To fill out the picture of the Scandinavian settlement of Man in the period before the *Chronicles* take up their narrative, resort has to be made to archaeology and place-names. Convenient summaries of the rich archaeological evidence, which includes pagan graves from the ninth and early tenth centuries, carved Christian cross-slabs, mostly from the period between 930 and 1000, and silver hoards, are given elsewhere in this volume. The place-name evidence has also been the subject of much discussion. There is a very large number of Scandinavian place-names in the island and, although these are mostly only recorded in late sources and need to be used with caution, they have been subjected to such expert examination that it has now become possible for an outsider to exploit them — with due circumspection. The first to attempt a full-scale treatment of the place-names of Man was the Manxman, J.J. Kneen (Kneen 1925–9). Kneen's painstaking collection of recorded forms, local pronunciations and information about the localities was soon supplemented by the work of Carl Marstrander, who was able to subject the name-forms to close analysis in the light of his knowledge of Irish and Norse (Marstrander 1932, 1934). Almost forty years went by before a new study of the place-names was published, this time by Margaret Gelling, a scholar with an intimate knowledge of the island (Gelling 1970–71). Dr Gelling concentrated on the names recorded in early sources and demonstrated the unreliability of two documents which Kneen and Marstrander had thought to be genuine. Her conclusions provoked a response in 1976 from Basil Megaw, a scholar with a comprehensive knowledge of Man and its history (Megaw 1976), and the final exchanges in the debate between Gelling and Megaw were published two years later (M. Gelling 1978; B. Megaw 1978). All that I shall have to say about the place-names of Man in the present paper will be indebted to the published work of the four above-mentioned scholars and to correspondence and discussions with the late Eleanor Megaw. It is their knowledge of Manx toponymy, the Manx language, and the history and topography of the island that has made it possible for an Englishwoman

based in Copenhagen to formulate her own views on the place-name evidence for Norse settlement in Man. Perched on the shoulders of such giants, even a myopic dwarf may be vouchsafed a glimpse of the truth.

The questions we should most like the place-names to answer are the following:

1. When and where did the first Vikings settle in Man?
2. Whom did they find there and how did they treat these people?
3. Where did the Vikings come from?

My aim is to discuss the feasibility of exploiting place-names to provide an answer to these questions, to summarise the present state of research in the field of Manx place-name studies, and to offer a few tentative suggestions about the relationship between Scandinavian names in Man and those in Northwest England.

As far as the date of the Norse settlement of Man is concerned, it is natural to look first to see whether the Scandinavian names found in Man are similar to those found in any or all of the Norse Atlantic colonies. Many years ago W.F.H. Nicolaisen argued that the distribution maps of settlement names in *-staðir*, *-setr* and *-bólstaðr* in the Northern and Western Isles reveal the gradual extension of Norse settlement, with the names in *-staðir* belonging to the earliest period because of their very restricted distribution, the rather more widespread names in *-setr* occupying a medial position, and the pattern of names in *-bólstaðr*, which occur in all the areas where Scandinavian place-names are found, forming the definitive map of Norse settlement in the Isles (Nicolaisen 1969, 10–14). This might suggest that the Norse settlement of Man was early and that the period of immigration was shortlived, since there are a number of names in *-staðir* but none in *-setr* and only one doubtful instance in *-bólstaðr* (Bravost, which may reflect development to *-bost*). I have recently argued, however, that the distribution pattern of the three types of name in the Isles can be explained otherwise than as a reflection of their chronological stratification (Fellows-Jensen 1983). The element *-setr* (like *-sætr* from which it is difficult to distinguish it in place-names in the British Isles) seems to have been connected with shieling-drift or at least with the pastoral aspect of agriculture (cf. Sandnes 1956, 84), and I have argued that the terms might not have been thought appropriate to the kind of settlements found or established in lands such as Man and Iceland from which the generics are absent. In Man, however, the absence of the term may simply reflect the survival of the Gaelic word for shieling, *áirigh*, Manx *eary*. The rarity of names in *-bólstaðr* in Man may reflect the fact that this element normally denoted a small farm or a division of a larger unit and that the survival rate of such names was not high. Alternatively, the element may not have been considered suitable for the kind of settlement that would be occupied by the Norse aristocracy on Man. It does not occur very frequently in early names in Iceland, where six of the eight names containing it in *Landnámabók* are the stereotype name *Breiðabólstaðr* (Bandle 1977a, 55). The comparative absence of the generic from Man need not mean that Norse settlement there had ceased before it had become popular as a name-forming element in the Isles. It is true that names containing *-bólstaðr* in Scandinavia seem to be younger than the majority of names in *-staðir* (Hellberg 1967, 364), but this does not necessarily mean that there is the same relationship between the names containing these two elements in the island colonies. W.F.H. Nicolaisen has recently made the important point that the placing of the individual generics in the chronological sequence of Norwegian farm-names is of little relevance for the determination of the relative chronology of the generics in newly-settled areas. All that is of significance for settlement chronology in the colonies is the way the elements behave in their new setting and particularly how long they survive there as creative elements (Nicolaisen 1980, 224).

Does this mean, then, that the place-names can tell us nothing about the date of the Norse settlement of Man? There are certainly no names containing the demonstrably archaic generics *-heimr* and *-vin*, not even such stereotype formations as **sól-heimr* and **leik-vin* which are found in the Scottish Isles (Jakobsen 1901, 106; 1936, 54; Wainwright 1962, 135). It should not be forgotten, however, that there is some indication that the first settlements to be established in the Northern and Western Isles were not given primary habitative names at

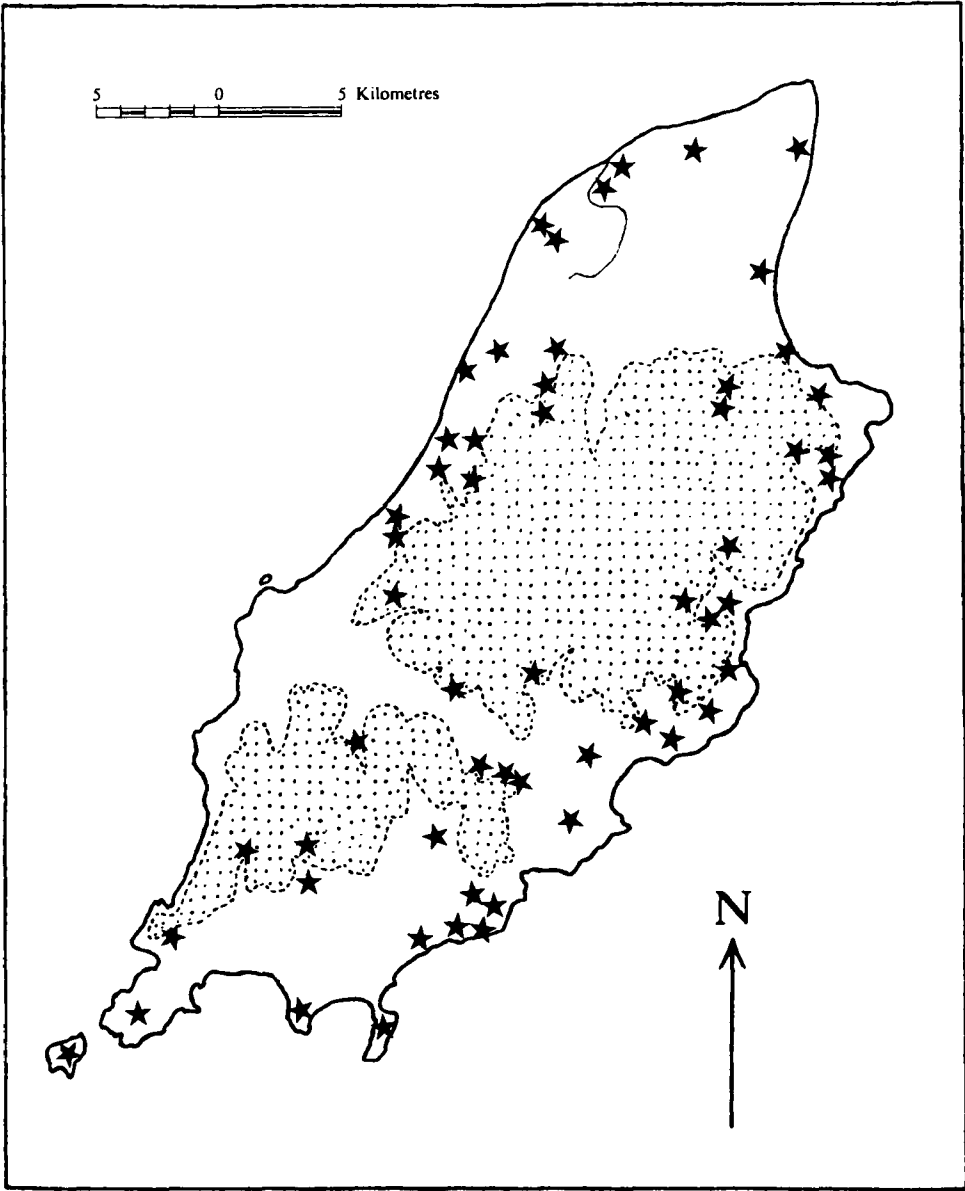


Fig. 1. The distribution of Scandinavian topographical place-names in Man.

all but topographical names that must originally have described their sites (Fellows-Jensen 1983; cf. Nicolaisen 1979–80, 112). It may be noted that many of the largest and oldest farms in Iceland have such topographical names. Among the 384 church-farms, for example, there are 20 with names in *-dalr*, 20 with names in *-nes*, 22 in *-holt*, 20 in *-fell* and 10 in *-eyri* (Lárusson 1939, 68), and among the farm-names recorded in *Landnámabók*, begun about the year 1100, there are many simplex topographical names, including the following names which make multiple appearances: *Hvammr* (6), *Eyri*, *Hóll*, *Höfði* (5), *Foss*, *Holt* (4), and *Drangar*, *Fell*, *Hólmr*, *Melar*, *Múli*, *Skarð* and *Tunga* (3) (Rafnsson 1974, 193). In Man, too, there are many treens with Scandinavian topographical names, some simplex, some compound, and they have a fairly general distribution, only avoiding the high ground, the marshy area in Lezayre and the hinterland of Peel (fig. 1). Of the Scandinavian names borne by Manx treens in the sixteenth century, for example, no less than 58% are topographical names (calculated from the information in Marstrander 1932, 301–6, omitting double names and names of doubtful etymology). Of the topographical elements common in Icelandic place-names, the following make frequent appearances in Manx names: *vík* (28), *dalr* (22), *fell* (15), *á* (10), *nes*, *hóll*, *höfði* (6), and *eyrr*, a side-form of *eyri* (3) (Marstrander 1932, 266–76; M. Gelling 1978, 256; Lárusson 1939, 65). The great problem with topographical treen- and farm-names as evidence for settlement history is that they are impossible to date. The names themselves can have been coined at any time in the period during which Norse was spoken on the island and there is no way of knowing whether the name has always been borne by a settlement or whether it was transferred at a comparatively late date from a topographical feature. Even though the names cannot be used to date the progress of settlement, it is important to bear in mind that the settlement pattern that can be deduced from the plotting on a map of the distribution of various types of habitative name is incomplete and that it may well be that it is the oldest settlements which are lacking (cf. the English evidence discussed by Cox 1975–6, 66, and Fellows Jensen 1978b, 27–30).

In his study of the place-names of Orkney, Hugh Marwick argued that the generic *bær* was one of the first Scandinavian generics to be used to form settlement names there. I have argued in turn that names in *-bær* tend to be secondary names that had replaced an older name for a primary farm, perhaps after the older name had come to denote a parish or some other fairly extensive area (Fellows-Jensen 1983). This is particularly frequently the case with the simplex name **bær* and the compound name **húsa-bær*, but neither of these occurs on Man. A secondary name which was given to a settlement in which the incoming Vikings found a church on their arrival is **kirkju-bær* (cf. Fellows Jensen 1978a, 355). There is one instance in Man, Kirby in Braddan. It is not, of course, necessary to assume that the Vikings had already been converted to Christianity at the time when they bestowed the name Kirby, but it should be noted that in spite of the fact that there is a good deal of archaeological evidence for Norse paganism in Man in the ninth century (Wilson 1974, 28–9), there is only one possible heathen Norse place-name, *Aust*. Its etymology is obscure but the recorded forms (*Auste* 1515, *Aust*, *Oust* 1703) could have developed from an original **hof-staðr*, a name which is of frequent occurrence in Iceland. Although the Scandinavian word *hof* n. denotes a heathen temple, it has been argued that in Icelandic place-names the element may have had a political and economic significance rather than a religious one (Rafnsson 1974, 192–3), and the same may have been true in Man. Marstrander suggested that *Aust* may have been the site of the king's residence, which is thought to have been somewhere near Ramsey Bay (Marstrander 1932, 249–50).

There are about a dozen names in *-staðir* in Man. The documentation for most of the names is as poor as that for *Aust* and the interpretation of the names and the calculation of their total are therefore uncertain. Their distribution pattern is interesting (fig. 2). All except two of them are found in the north of the island, not in the administrative division known as the Northside but in the geographical north — that is they lie north of a line running from Peel to Douglas. The Swedish scholar Lars Hellberg has argued that the generic *-staðir* originally had a topographical significance and denoted fields in meadowland. He has pointed out that the extreme north of the Isle of Man is a low-lying and well-watered area, where such a generic would be appropriate, and has compared this area with the west of the

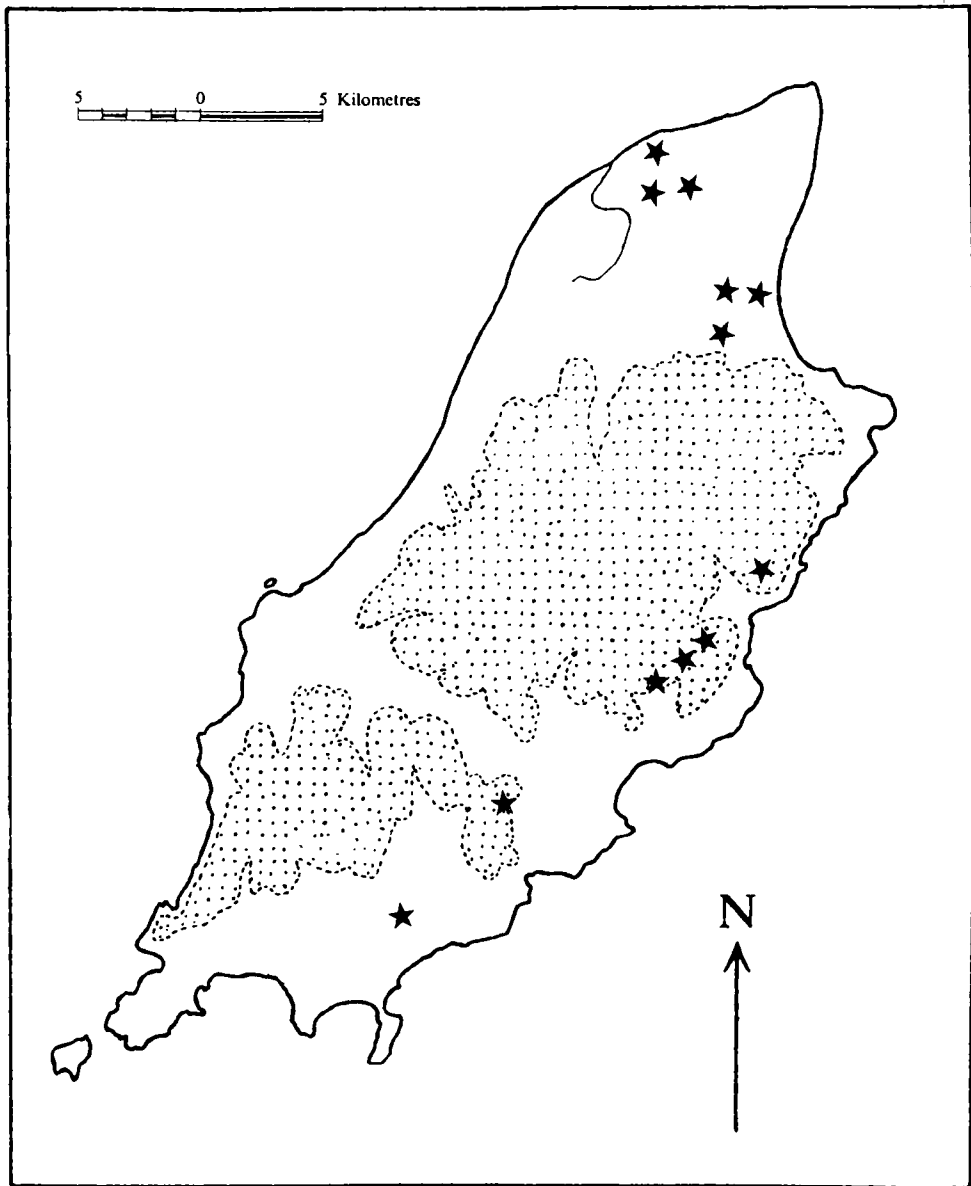


Fig. 2. The distribution of place-names in *-staðir* in Man.

Orkney Mainland, which is also low-lying and damp and where *staðir*-names also abound (Hellberg 1967, 282).

This explanation of the generic seems too restrictive, however. Magnus Olsen suggested long ago that the farms with names in *-staðir* in Norway might represent small settlement units detached from an old estate centre (Olsen 1926, 83–94) and it seems likely that this was also the case in Man, where the localities with names in *-staðir* are still only farms and have not developed into villages, unlike so many of the places with names in *-bý* (Marstrander 1932, 330). Perhaps these *staðir*-farms were similar to those in Iceland; there they seem to have been of low status and looked upon merely as a source of income and power for their owners, who actually lived on primary farms (Lárusson 1939, 67–8; Rafnsson 1974, 193; Sigmundsson 1979). Such dependent farms may have been granted by powerful men to their followers in return for regular agricultural or military services or for rent, or as a reward for services rendered. The fact that *-staðir* is very frequently combined with a personal name also supports the suggestion that the *staðir*-farms were secondary dependent settlements. The etymologies of the Manx *staðir*-names are often rather doubtful, but in almost every case the most likely candidate as specific is a personal name (e.g. *Grettir* in *Gretch*, *Liótólfr* in *Leodest*). I would suggest that the generic *-staðir* had the same kind of function in Man and the Isles as *-bý* had in the Scandinavian colonies in England. Both generics are frequently compounded with personal names and both seem to denote some kind of secondary settlement. The date at which the names were coined cannot be determined, although it seems likely that they date from fairly soon after the period when the first Viking settlers either took over existing estate-centres or established primary farms.

This brings us to the question as to who had lived in and worked such estate-centres before the arrival of the Vikings. Ogam inscriptions from Man dating from the fifth century reveal the presence of Gaelic speakers, probably living side by side with speakers of a Brittonic dialect (Jackson 1951, 77). The place-names can provide very little information. There are many Gaelic place-names in Man — approximately one-third of the treen-names and 90% of the quarterland-names recorded in the early sixteenth century (Marstrander 1932, 307 and 315) — but only three of the Gaelic names can be shown to be of pre-Norse origin. These are the name of the island itself, which is probably pre-Celtic, the sheading- and parish-name Rushen, and the treen-name Douglas (M. Gelling 1978, 257). Several other of the Gaelic names may already have been in existence before the arrival of the Vikings, but there is nothing about their recorded forms to prove that this was so. The reasons for this lack of demonstrably pre-Norse names have been the subject of an urbane and erudite debate between Margaret Gelling and Basil Megaw. Margaret Gelling opened by arguing that the predominance of Scandinavian names in the early records and the young nature of the majority of the Gaelic names combine to indicate a relatively slight Gaelic survival during the period of Viking rule, with Norse the dominant language from c.900 to c.1300 and dying out some time in the fifteenth century. This would seem to imply the reintroduction of the Gaelic language to Man at some time after the end of the period of Norse rule (Gelling 1970–71). Basil Megaw, however, demonstrated that one of the documents used by Mrs Gelling was a century older than had previously been thought, showing that Gaelic names were much more common at the end of the thirteenth century than she had assumed (Megaw 1976). Megaw also noted that the Gaelic names recorded in the early sources are much more frequently borne by natural features than by settlements and he took this fact as evidence that Gaelic held its own among the peasant population of Man throughout the period of Norse rule and that the Viking settlement was accomplished by a Scandinavian mercenary force of comparatively modest size. He considered that the native population must have continued to live under much the same organisational forms as before the invasion and to refer to natural features by the Gaelic names with which they were familiar. This view receives some support from the fact that while two-thirds of the treen-names in the sixteenth century were still of Norse origin, less than 10% of the quarterland-names were Norse (Marstrander 1932, 315, 330–1). Noting that there is never more than one quarterland with a Norse name in any individual treen, Marstrander argued that the quarterlands were inhabited by native Gaelic-speaking people, who were the source of labour on the major

farms of the Norse aristocracy (Marstrander 1934, 292).

There is also evidence to show that there was contact at a higher social level between the Norse and the native Manx in the Viking period. After their conversion to Christianity in the tenth century, Viking settlers with Scandinavian names were buried with Christian gravestones in Christian churchyards. The inscriptions on the crosses show that a Viking might give his son a Gaelic name (Marstrander 1937a; Wilson 1967, 39–41; 1970–73, 17; Page 1978–80, 196). One stone at Braddan commemorates a man called Fiak (Gaelic *Fiacc*), who was the son of *Þorleifr hnakki* and brother's son of *Hafr*. On the other hand, a man with a Gaelic name might give his son a Scandinavian one. Another stone at Braddan was erected to the memory of *ufoak sun krinai*s (Scandinavian *Ofeigr* and Gaelic *Crínán*). Such intermarriage, occurring in the social class that could afford such funeral monuments, suggests that men and women of Gaelic origin and sympathies could achieve a reasonably high standing on the island and were not merely a semi-servile labour reserve. Basil Megaw drew attention to the significant fact that several of the kings of the Norse dynasty on Man had Gaelic by-names, such as Crovan (**crobh-bhán*), Don (**donn*), Duf (**dubh*), while none had Scandinavian by-names, although their forenames were always Scandinavian (Megaw 1976, 16–17). There is also some evidence for the formation of patronymics by the prefixing of Gaelic *Mac* to Scandinavian personal names. There is a reference, for example, in a document from c.1280 to *villa Mac Akoen*, i.e. “Mac Hákon's estate”. Further, the crosses on which some of the names are recorded and the fact that the runic inscriptions refer to the raising of a “cross” rather than a “stone”, the normal term in inscriptions in Scandinavia, are additional indications of a marked Gaelic influence on the Norsemen of Man (Page 1978–80, 196).

Basil Megaw was surely correct to stress the continuity of Gaelic settlement on the island, although I would argue that the band of mercenaries that he postulates as responsible for the Norse settlement of the island would hardly have been able to impose so many Scandinavian place-names on a predominantly Gaelic-speaking population. The number of Scandinavian place-names, their widespread distribution, and the very humble nature of such Norse settlements as the one excavated at Doarlish Cashen (Gelling 1970 and 1977), all combine to show that the Norse settlement must have been very considerable and involved all levels of society. Margaret Gelling has rightly contrasted the Scandinavian influence on Manx place-names with the minimal effect made by the Norman aristocracy on the place-names of England after the Conquest. The Viking settlement of the Danelaw made a much greater impression on English toponymy than the Norman Conquest did, but even in those areas where Scandinavian settlement was densest, namely the North Riding of Yorkshire, where about 44% of the major settlement names are purely Scandinavian (Fellows Jensen 1978b, 37), and Lindsey, where the percentage is 45 (Fellows Jensen 1978a, 232), the Scandinavian imprint on the nomenclature is considerably less marked than in Man, where two-thirds of the treen-names are Norse.

Margaret Gelling suggested that if there had been a marked Gaelic survival in the Norse period, then the hypothetical pre-Norse Gaelic names for places in Man whose surviving names are Norse should have emerged into general use, after Norse speech had died out on the island (Gelling 1970–71, 138). There is no reason why they should have done so. Once the Norse place-names used by the aristocracy had been adopted by a Gaelic-speaking population, they would continue to function perfectly satisfactorily as names, even after the extinction of the Norse language on the island had made them lexically opaque. There is no record of the re-emergence of the original English names of villages that had been renamed by the Vikings in the Danelaw once English had reasserted its position as the dominant language in the area. By that time the Danish names must have become generally accepted by the whole population. What the non-re-emergence of Gaelic names indicates is not that there were no surviving Gaelic-speakers but that the Vikings must have been both influential enough and numerous enough to have been able to impose their names on the surviving native population.

An important question which has not yet found an answer is the antiquity of most of the Gaelic treen-names. Eleanor Megaw drew my attention to the fact that in Man the primary

centres of Norse archaeological remains, both early ones such as pagan burials and later ones such as cross-slabs, are found along the west coast in treens which, with the exception of Jurby, have Gaelic names in *Balla-*. Even Tynwald is in a *Balla*-treen (Megaw and Megaw 1950, fig. 13). Along the east coast of Man, on the other hand, there are comparatively few Norse archaeological remains, but most of the treens have Scandinavian names. This suggests that the Vikings must have settled all over the island, irrespective of earlier settlement, and that the treens with Gaelic names are likely to be of pre-Norse establishment, but there is no way of determining whether or not the treen-names recorded in the early sixteenth century, as opposed to the treens themselves, are of pre-Norse origin. By far and away the most frequently occurring generic in these names is *Balla-*. Liam Price has argued that there was no evidence for the use of the word *baile* to form place-names in Ireland before the middle of the twelfth century (Price 1963) and this led Margaret Gelling to treat the Manx names in *Balla-* which are found in transcripts of early sources as constructions by post-medieval forgers. Some of the names in *Balla-* are quite definitely young, containing as they do surnames of English or Anglo-Norman origin (Gelling 1970–1, 132). W.F.H. Nicolaisen, however, has recently suggested that some of the names containing *baile* in Galloway may derive from the pre-Norse period (Nicolaisen 1976, 133) and if this is so, some of the Manx *Balla*-names might also be old. Two other Gaelic generics which Nicolaisen has suggested might have been brought to Galloway from Ireland in the pre-Norse period of settlement are *sliabh* and *carraig* (Nicolaisen 1976, 39–46), and Manx names containing these elements may also be of pre-Norse formation. It is probably significant that the Gaelic generic *achadh*, which is demonstrably young, is not found at all in Manx names. This would seem to support Megaw's theory of Gaelic survival in Man rather than the reintroduction of Gaelic after about 1300 (Megaw 1976, 16).

It is possible, then, that some of the Manx names containing the generics *baile*, *sliabh* and *carraig* antedate the Norse settlement, but it should be noted that none of these generics was carried by the Viking settlers to their colonies in non-Gaelic-speaking areas such as England and Iceland. One Gaelic generic which the Vikings did take with them, both to England and the Faroes, is *áirigh*, Manx *eary*. Eleanor Megaw has suggested that the Manx *earys* originated as shielings on open land beyond the settled area, but that their character changed as the Viking settlers occupied the land intervening between settlement and shieling and perhaps even the shieling itself (E. Megaw 1978). The existence of the Gaelic word for shieling was proposed by Eleanor Megaw as a possible explanation for the absence of place-names in *-sátr* from Man. Examining the distribution of Norse place-names in, on the one hand, *-sátr* and, on the other hand, *-árgi*, the form taken by *áirigh* as a loan-word in Norse, she demonstrated that several of the areas which lack *sátr*-names have names in *-árgi*. In these areas the Scandinavian word *sátr* must have been unable to displace the Gaelic word, either because of the survival of large numbers of Gaelic speakers or because there was some characteristic feature about shieling-drift in the islands for which *árgi* was a more appropriate word than *sátr*. Eric Cregeen has suggested that the Gaelic term was adopted because shieling work was normally performed by women and, for the earliest settlers in Man and the Isles at least, that would have meant native women speaking a Celtic language, who would naturally have continued to use their own Gaelic word for their place of work (reported in E. Megaw 1978, 339). While this is a reasonable explanation for the original borrowing of the Gaelic term, it hardly explains why the Vikings should have taken the word with them to non-Gaelic-speaking areas. I would argue that there must have been something characteristic about the location or the function of the shielings in Man and the Isles that caused the Viking settlers to refer to them by the Gaelic term rather than by a Scandinavian word such as *sátr* or *sel* (Fellows Jensen 1977–8, 23–25; 1980b, 67–74). It may have denoted what is now referred to in Norway as a *heimseter*, a shieling close to the home-farm that was used for short grazing-periods as soon as the pasture allowed it in the spring and on the way home from the mountain or summer *seter* in the autumn. This would explain why places with names in *eary* in Man tend to lie in considerably better situations than do the deserted Viking-period shieling-sites that have been excavated by Peter Gelling. Eleanor Megaw argued that the favourable sites of places with names in *eary* show that they

must antedate the moorland shielings and may antedate the arrival of the Vikings (E. Megaw 1978, 335). It is clear that such sites would have been exploited before the establishment of the moorland shielings, but this does not necessarily mean that the *early*-localities originated as shielings. Peter Gelling has suggested that the use of *early* in a farm-name may simply mean that there was a shieling in the vicinity, normally a little higher up the stream, as at Block Eary (Gelling 1962–3, 167). There is no way of determining whether or not the generic *early* was in use in Man in the Viking period. In Scotland there are a few place-names in which Gaelic *áirigh* would seem to be compounded with a Scandinavian specific in Germanic word-order, for example *kjarni* “kernel” in Kernsary, *smjör* “butter” in Smirsary (Watson 1904, 233–34), and in Orkney place-names the element is occasionally inflected as though it were a Norse word (Marwick 1952, 165), but there are no such definite pointers to Norse origin in the Manx names. While there are one or two Manx names in which the element is compounded with a Scandinavian personal name or word (Aryhorkell — *Þorkell*, Arestane — *Steinn* or *steinn*), the order of the elements shows that these are Gaelic formations. All of the Manx names in *early* may be post-Norse formations, but the absence from Man of any Norse names containing words for “shieling” may indicate that the Gaelic word was current on the island in the Viking period, for the archaeological evidence has led Peter Gelling to suggest that transhumance may have owed its main development in Man to the Norse settlers (P. Gelling 1962–3, 172), at a period when Man was so densely populated that even marginal land had to be exploited (P. Gelling 1970, 81). My own view is that the word *áirigh* was probably known on the island in the Norse period and that a few of the names in *early* may also date from this period. The possibility exists, however, that Peter Gelling’s alternative suggestion, that transhumance may not have culminated in Man until appreciably later than the Norse period, is the correct one. This would fit well with the complete absence from the island not only of Scandinavian names in *-sátr* or *-sel*, but also of *early*-names in forms betraying Scandinavian coinage.

Although it has to be admitted that the place-names do not in themselves provide conclusive evidence for a Gaelic survival throughout the Norse period in Man, the general pattern of names on the island suggests that while the majority of the treens received Norse names that were also used by the Gaelic population, the quarterland farms and minor natural features continued to have Gaelic names. Minor names would, of course, have had the greatest chance of surviving unaltered, since they would have been of little interest to the foreign rulers (cf. Fellows Jensen 1980a, 207). The most problematical names are the Gaelic treen-names, particularly the many names in *Balla-*. Are these pre-Norse names that survived the Viking invasions or are they post-Norse replacements of Norse names? Judging from the rents levied on the individual treens c.1500 (Marstrander 1937b, 291–301), the *Balla*-treens must have had a pretty high status and are therefore not likely to be young formations. To me it seems far more likely that these and the other Gaelic-named treens bear up-dated Gaelic names rather than new Gaelic names that have replaced Norse ones. As Margaret Gelling notes, in those regions of the British Isles where Celtic languages were spoken continuously for centuries the place-names were kept up to date in a manner which differs greatly from the treatment of Germanic names in England (M. Gelling 1978, 256). Here it was comparatively rare for the names of nucleated settlements to be changed, even when their lexical meaning had become opaque (cf. Fellows Jensen 1980a, 206–7). As R.L. Thomson has argued, the Gaelic renaissance in Man would seem to have been the result of a shift in the relative prestige of the two languages, Manx and Norse, and not of an immigration of Gaelic-speakers into a totally Scandinavianised island in the thirteenth century (Thomson 1978).

Finally, I should like to ask what the place-names can tell us about the nationality of the Viking settlers in Man. It has been generally assumed that the majority of the settlers were Norwegians, who had sailed first to Shetland and Orkney and then along the chain of islands off the western coast of Scotland until they reached Man. No Manx place-names contain words for Norwegians or Danes, but the onomastic material is in general agreement with the view that the settlement was basically Norwegian. While most of the generics and specifics contained in the Manx names were common to West and East Scandinavian in the Viking

period, there are a number of topographical terms which are not found in Danish place-names, e.g. *drangr* m. "pointed rock" in Drone and *gjá* f. "cleft in coastline" in Giau, Ghaw, etc. The elements in which nasal assimilation took place more generally in Norwegian in the Viking period than in Danish only appear in forms with assimilation in Manx place-names. These are *brattr* "steep" (<*brant-*), probably in Bradda, *brekka* f. "hill-slope" (<*brink*) in Sulbrick, earlier *Sanrebreck*, *klettr* m. "rock" (<*klint-*) in Clett, and *slakki* m. "hollow in the ground" (<*slank-*) in Slack (cf. Kolb 1969). Marstrander has drawn attention to a number of personal names which are found as specifics in Manx place-names and which are typically or exclusively West Scandinavian (Marstrander 1932, 286-7). His lists can be shortened by the omission of specifics which are more likely to be appellatives than personal names, e.g. gen.pl. *dýra* rather than *Dýri* in Jurby (cf. Derby), *dalr* rather than *Dalli* in Dalby, gen.pl. *lamba* rather than *Lambi* in Lambfell, and of personal names which are in fact recorded in Danish sources, e.g. *Gautr*, *Løgmaðr* and *Magnús* (Fellows Jensen 1968, 98, 183, 192). Even so, there are still enough typically West Scandinavian names to confirm the overwhelmingly Norwegian nature of the settlement. The occurrence of the typically Danish feminine personal name *Tófa* on a runic stone from Andreas does suggest, however, an East Scandinavian presence on the island (cf. Page 1978-80, 188, 196).

There is only one feature about the Scandinavian place-names in Man that suggests Danish influence and this is the group of names in *-bý*. On the face of it it might be thought that the very form taken by this element in Manx names was in itself sufficient to prove a Danish origin for them. The normal West Scandinavian form is *-bær*, while the normal form in East Scandinavia and East Norway is the side-form *-bý(r)*. As pointed out by Marstrander, however, the vowel of *bær* would have been represented by *ē* by the Gaelic-speaking Manx and this *ē* would have been weakened to *i* in unstressed position in the second element of a compound name (Marstrander 1932, 111). It should be noted that while in Orkney and Shetland the generic *bær* as a simplex name takes the forms Bay and Bea, as the second element of a compound name it is normally spelt *-bi* or *-by*. This means that the form taken by the element in the Manx names has no significance for the determination of the nationality of the namers. There are other factors, however, which point to Denmark — or rather to the Danelaw — as the origin for the Manx names in *-bý*.

The element *-bær*, *-bý* is of frequent occurrence in all the Scandinavian countries but, whereas in Denmark it had come to be used of a village by the Viking period as well as of an isolated farmhouse, the Norwegians seem to have used it mainly of a single farm or of an area of cultivated land (*KLNM* s.v. *by*). Norwegians did take the element with them to their Atlantic colonies, but it is of fairly rare occurrence in the Northern and Western Isles, except for the secondary names, simplex **bær* and compound **húsa-bær* (Fellows-Jensen 1983). It is true that the generic became very common in Iceland in the later period, but Oskar Bandle has shown that only twelve names in *-bær* are recorded in *Landnámabók* and he has suggested that the generic was displaced from favour in Iceland in the settlement period by *-staðir*. Its re-emergence as a place-name-forming generic simply reflects the fact that the appellative *bær* became the common Icelandic term for a farm (Bandle 1977a, 54, 62; 1977b, 61-2). In the Danelaw, however, names in *-bý* are extremely common and the frequent occurrence of such names in Cumberland, Westmorland and Dumfriesshire may well reflect a movement of expansion from the Danelaw northwestwards along the Eden valley to the Carlisle plain, with further dissemination from there southwards along the coastal plain of Cumberland and northwards into eastern Dumfriesshire. I now suggest that the Manx names in *-bý* also reflect immigration ultimately from the Danelaw. Marstrander has tentatively linked the names with Godred Crovan's partition of the island in 1079 by which his own followers were granted large farms in the south of the island, while the native Manxmen retained the northern part of the island (Marstrander 1932, 327) It is not inconceivable that Godred's followers would give such settlements as were granted to them names in *-bý*. Judging by the rents that were levied on them, these settlements with names in *-bý* were among the more considerable ones on Man; six of them had been subdivided or expanded into two or three parts by 1500, and eight of them contained ten or more tenements. Such establishments are hardly likely to have been made on virgin land in the late eleventh

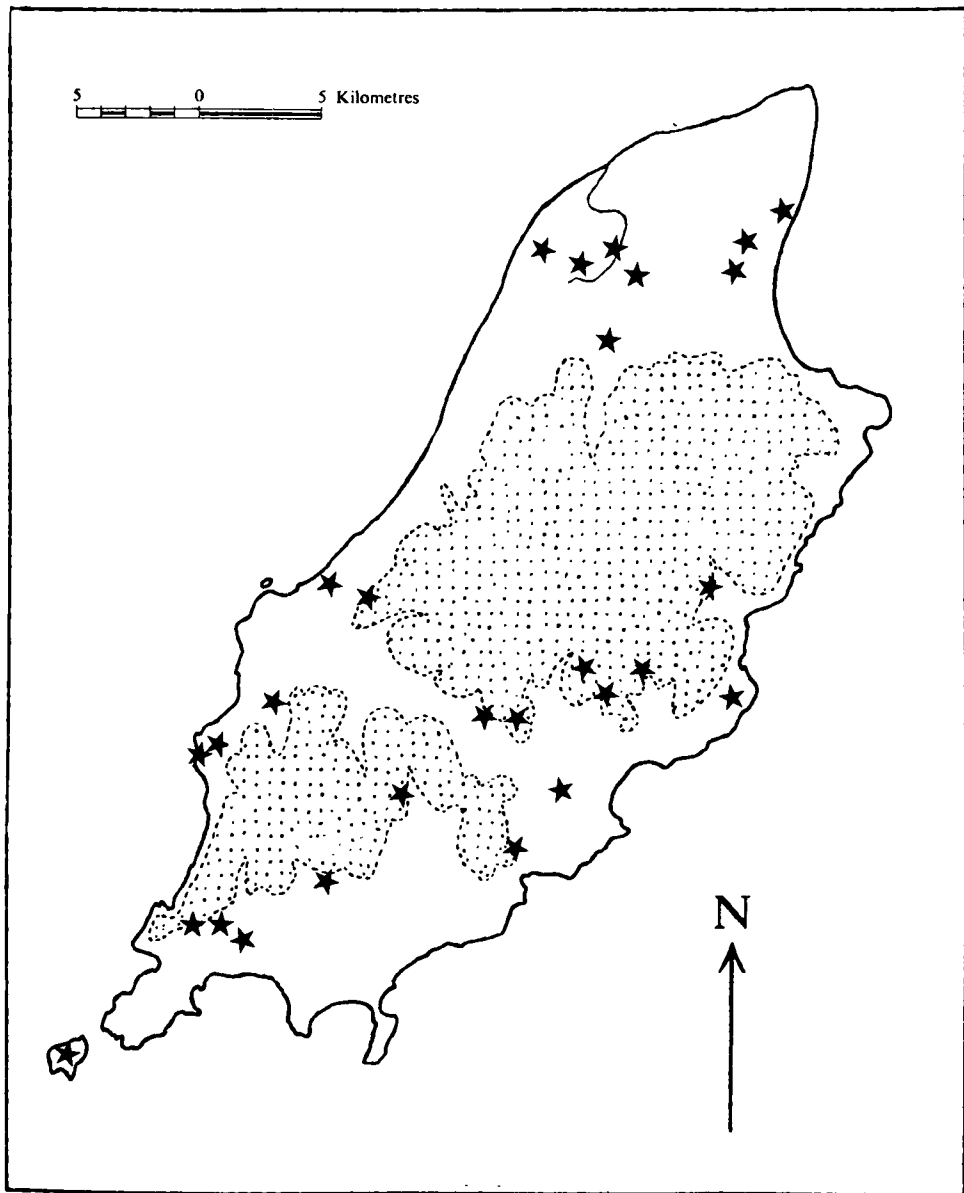


Fig. 3. The distribution of place-names in *by* in Man.

century and it is perhaps doubtful whether a prosperous estate that had been in Norse hands for two centuries or more would have undergone a change of name just because it had passed into the hands of a new lord from the Danelaw in 1079. Nor does Marstrander's theory explain the way in which the *býs* tend to fill out gaps left in the distribution pattern of the Scandinavian topographical names, with a cluster of eight names in the northern lowlands and five names in the Peel area (fig. 3). I should be more inclined to accept an earlier date for the coining of the Manx names in *-bý* and to look upon them as names given to secondary dependent settlements — perhaps in some cases units detached from an old estate. One possible reason for their coining might be an influx of settlers after the expulsion of the Vikings from Dublin in 902. It is very likely that some of these Vikings would have sought refuge in Man (Smyth 1975, 61) and, although the Vikings who settled in Ireland do not seem to have used *-bær* or *-bý* to form place-names, there is known to have been much coming and going between Dublin and York, and the Vikings expelled from Dublin can hardly have been without some knowledge of the Danelaw and its nomenclature. That there was further immigration from Ireland in the period between 1025 and 1075 to the north of Man is suggested by the hoards from this period containing Hiberno-Norse coins (Dolley 1975, 337–8). A further possibility is that there had been immigration from northern England in the tenth century. The Ballaquayle (Douglas) silver hoard, for example, would seem to have shown a preponderance of coins from mints in the northwest of England (Dolley 1969, 123; cf. p. 57 below). It was Eleanor Megaw who first drew my attention to the numerous parallels between the Manx names in *-bý* and *bý*-names in England. Of the twenty-eight Manx *býs* no fewer than thirteen have exact parallels in England, and these parallels are all found either in Northwest England or North Yorkshire. The thirteen are 2 Colbys, 2 Crosbys, Dalby, Jurby, Kirby, Raby/Rheaby, Surby and 3 Sulbys. Of these names Crosby, Raby/Rheaby, Surby and Sulby are all of particularly frequent occurrence in the northwest of England. I would argue that immigrants from the Scandinavian areas of England brought these names, or perhaps merely the generic *bý* and a range of specifics, with them and used them to supplement the topographical names and the names in *-staðir* that had been introduced earlier by settlers from Norway or the Northern and Western Isles.

It must not be forgotten, however, that name parallels between Man and England need not necessarily reflect the indebtedness of Man to the Scandinavian colonies in England. The possibility also exists that some of the names in England reflect an immigration from Man. I suggest that just such a Manx influence is to be seen in the place-names of the Wirral in Cheshire and Southwest Lancashire. There is an account in an Irish source, which is supported by references in Welsh sources, of the settlement in Wirral of a band of Vikings under the leadership of Ingimund. These Vikings had become fugitives after the expulsion from Dublin in 902 (Wainwright 1948, 145–69; Dodgson 1956–7, 304–6; Smyth 1975, 61–2, 76; Radner 1978, 166–73, 206–7). Ingimund is said to have first tried to settle in North Wales but to have been driven off by the Welsh king. Whereupon he made his way to Wirral and was granted land there upon which to settle by Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians. Ingimund later became envious of the better land round Chester that was in English hands and he laid seige to Chester in company with Norwegians and Danes. It is recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* that the English restored Chester in 907 and that they fortified Eddisbury in 914 and Runcorn in 915. These actions must in part have been to contain the Norse settlers in Wirral but they can also be seen as contributions to the general defence of Mercia from the permanent threat of attack from the Irish Sea. Ingimund and his followers were hardly the first or the last Norsemen to settle in Wirral and the coastal plains of Lancashire.

That the Scandinavian settlers in these areas came from the Irish Sea area in general and perhaps from Man in particular is suggested by a number of the place-names they coined. Irby in Wirral is a compound of the Scandinavian folk-name *Írar* “Irishmen, Vikings from Ireland”, and the generic *-bý*, possibly replacing English *byrig*, which is found in some recorded forms (PNCh 4, 264). Not far from Irby is Noctorum, whose name would seem to be a purely Irish-Gaelic formation (PNCh 4, 268–9). The dominant Scandinavian generic in both Wirral and Southwest Lancashire is *-bý*, a generic which, as we have seen, was not used by the Vikings in Ireland and not particularly frequently by those in the Northern and

Western Isles. The *býs* in Cheshire and Lancashire are isolated from the main concentrations of *býs* in East England and it seems hardly likely that all the names can have been coined by the Danes with whom Ingimund formed a temporary and faithless alliance against the English. That the Danes could only have been a minority element of the population of Wirral is suggested by the place-name Denhall (*Danewell* 1184; PNCh 4, 220; "the Danes' spring") in the parish of Ness. This name would only be sufficiently distinctive if there were comparatively few Danes in the region. It is possible, then, that the names in *-bý* were coined by Vikings from Man. Several of them have exact parallels in the island. These are: Crosby, West Derby, Kirkby, Roby and Sowerby in Lancashire and West Kirby, Kirby (now Wallasey) and Raby in Cheshire. Even if a connection between these *bý*-names is likely, however, there is no way of knowing whether England borrowed from Man or Man from England. There are however other Scandinavian names in Northwest England which can with a greater degree of probability be claimed to have been introduced from Man or the Isles. There are a number of names in *-ærgi*, the Scandinavian loan from Gaelic *áirigh*. In Wirral we find Arrowe (PNCh 4, 261) and in South Lancashire no less than seven compound names in *-staðir*. There are two Scandinavian names, Croxteth and Toxteth, which may well contain *-staðir* but which have generally been explained as containing *-stǫð* f. "landing-place", on the grounds that there is no evidence for the occurrence of *-staðir* in the Lake District, which is also generally assumed to have been settled by Norwegians (cf. PNL a 17). If some of the settlers came from Man, however, they may have brought the generic *-staðir* with them. The fact that the place-name Thingwall occurs in both Wirral and Lancashire (fig. 4) also points to settlers from Man or the Isles, who would have been familiar with both the name and the concept. John Dodgson has plausibly suggested that Raby in Cheshire and Roby in Lancashire marked the inland boundaries of the Norse enclaves whose local administration

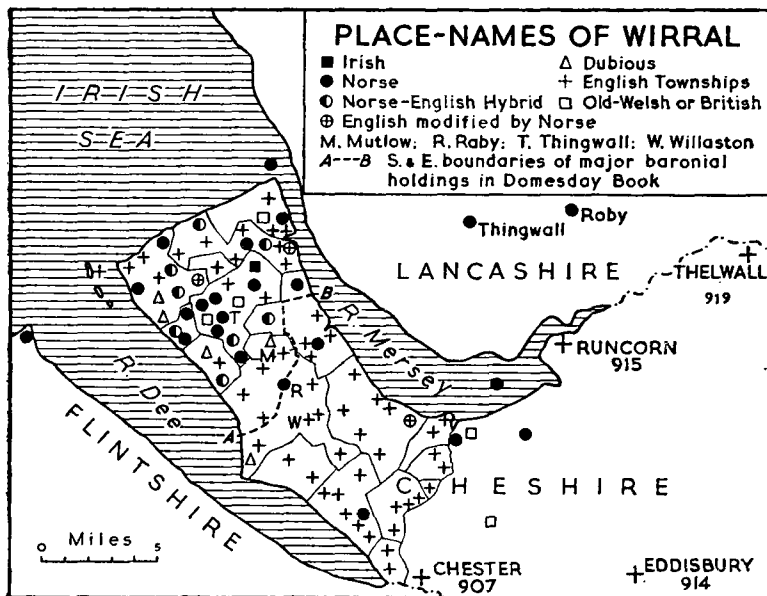


Fig. 4. Place-names of Wirral, Cheshire. Reproduced from Dodgson (1953-7), 306.

centred on the two Thingwalls (Dodgson 1956–7, 312). Finally, one very minor point of contact between Man and Wirral might be mentioned. There is a township in Wirral called Frankby. Ekwall interpreted this name as “Franki’s *bý*” from the Old Danish personal name *Franki* (DEPN). Dodgson, arguing that an Old Danish personal name would be remarkable in the Wirral, suggested that the place-name means “Frenchman’s *bý*” and pointed to an entry in Domesday Book recording that a Frenchman had a holding in the manor of Caldý — a holding which may later have come to be known as Frankby (PNCh 4, 287–8). Dodgson’s explanation is attractive but requires the name to be a post-Conquest formation. He notes as an alternative explanation that if the place-name had been formed early in the tenth century, it might possibly contain an unassimilated West Scandinavian form **Franki* of the personal name. The West Scandinavian name *Frakki* is a rare one and the earliest record noted in Lind’s dictionary is that on the shaft of a Manx cross at Braddan dating from the late tenth or early eleventh century (Lind 1905–15). The name stands in the accusative case — *fraka* — with the rune representing nasalised *a* in the first syllable. This suggests that a nasal sound would still have been heard in pronunciation and it may well be a *Franki* from Man who settled at Frankby in the Wirral. Taken individually Frankby, the other *bý*-names, the names that may contain *-staðir*, the *érgi*-names and the two Thingwalls can all be explained in a way that does not necessarily involve Manx immigrants as the namers. Taken together I would argue however that they suggest that the “Irishmen” who are recalled in the name Irby and who coined the name Noctorum may have come from Man. It is probably not without significance that so-called inversion compounds such as Noctorum, in which the generic precedes the specific in the order common in younger Celtic place-names, are extremely rare in Wirral and Lancashire. The purely Celtic Noctorum is an isolated example in Wirral and the only instances in Lancashire are the names of two lost places in Ainsdale on the coast (Ekwall 1918, 46). Inversion compounds occur much more frequently in Cumbria, and Alfred Smyth has argued that their distribution represents an extension of the concentration of similar place-names in the Norse settlements of Galloway (Smyth 1975, 81). The comparative absence of such names from Wirral and Lancashire may indicate that the Norse settlers in these areas did not in the main come from Cumbria or the Scottish Isles. Since these settlers did bring the Gaelic element *áirigh* with them, however, and this element is not likely to have been brought from Ireland, it is possible to argue that they are most likely to have come from Man. Inversion compounds involving Scandinavian elements cannot be proved to have existed in the island before c.1280, however, and it is possible that they betray the influence on Man of Galloway names in *Kirk*-, either directly or through the medium of Scandinavian names in Cumberland (cf. MacQueen 1959; Gelling 1970–71, 173).

If my tentative explanations of the demonstrable links between Manx names and those around the Mersey can be accepted, then the names in Wirral and South Lancashire seem to represent the final stage of an anti-clockwise progression of Scandinavian settlement names from the Danelaw across the Pennines to Morecambe Bay and Man, where a Scoto-Norwegian influence made itself felt, and then back again across the Irish Sea to England.

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The Viking-Age silver hoards of the Isle of Man

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At the Eighth Viking Congress, Professor Michael Dolley spoke on the Viking-Age coin-hoards of the Isle of Man and of the existence of an eleventh-century Hiberno-Manx coinage (Dolley 1981). The purpose of this paper is to review the evidence of these Manx coin-hoards, taking into account their non-numismatic contents, and to extend the survey to those silver objects found without coins, in an attempt to bring the totality of this evidence to bear on our understanding of the settlement history and economic role of the Isle of Man during the Viking Age.

Following intensive periods of research on the Island in 1974 and 1975, Dolley has published a series of papers on numerous aspects of the Manx Viking-Age coin-hoards and from these can be established the existence of seventeen (now eighteen) such hoards, mapped and listed in figs. 1 and 2. They are also plotted here by decade (fig. 3) to demonstrate the chronology of their deposition.¹

The first hoard on this list is of uncertain but probably early date, found perhaps at the Kella (no. 1), although Dolley's 1975 listing of the Manx hoards is headed by a different shadowy find, from Knockaloe (Dolley 1975b, 296–8). This hoard is omitted here on the following grounds.

The existence of the Knockaloe "hoard" was first advanced by Thompson who included it in his *Inventory* (1956, no. 226), without any indication of the nature of the extremely poor evidence on which the entry was based. Nevertheless, it failed to find acceptance with either Dolley or Wilson until 1975, when Dolley abandoned his scepticism and suggested that, although a Roman or Dark Age date could not be excluded, there no longer existed "any formal reason why the coins and ornaments found on that occasion should not have been concealed as late as the ninth or even the early tenth century" (Dolley 1975b, 296–8); he has, however, subsequently argued that it was more probably deposited in the eleventh century (Dolley 1979c, 291; 1981, 178). The evidence for this hoard's existence consists solely of a footnote in *The Manx Society* (V (1860), 52), which reads "I have been informed that Mr. Curran, (1820,) of Knock Aaloe, in Glenfaba, has some similar ornaments and coins in his possession."

There is thus no clear authority on which to advance a hoard found at Knockaloe other than a secondhand report of an extremely imprecise nature, which leaves two questions outstanding. First, were the ornaments and coins necessarily associated? And second, what date(s) were the ornaments and coins? There is no further evidence concerning association or the coins, but the ornaments are likened to the illustration in the same volume (pl.ii, fig.4) of a plain gold "ear-ring" found that year on Kentraa farm, consisting of a pear-shaped penannular ring with pointed terminals. This object is without parallel among Viking-Age gold and silver ornaments, but it is somewhat similar to two plain penannular gold rings attributed to the Bronze Age, from Folkestone and Dover in Kent (Hawkes 1961, 456–7, 471, pl. I, 6–7), tentatively ascribed to an Aegean origin (Branigan 1970, 95–7).² Professor

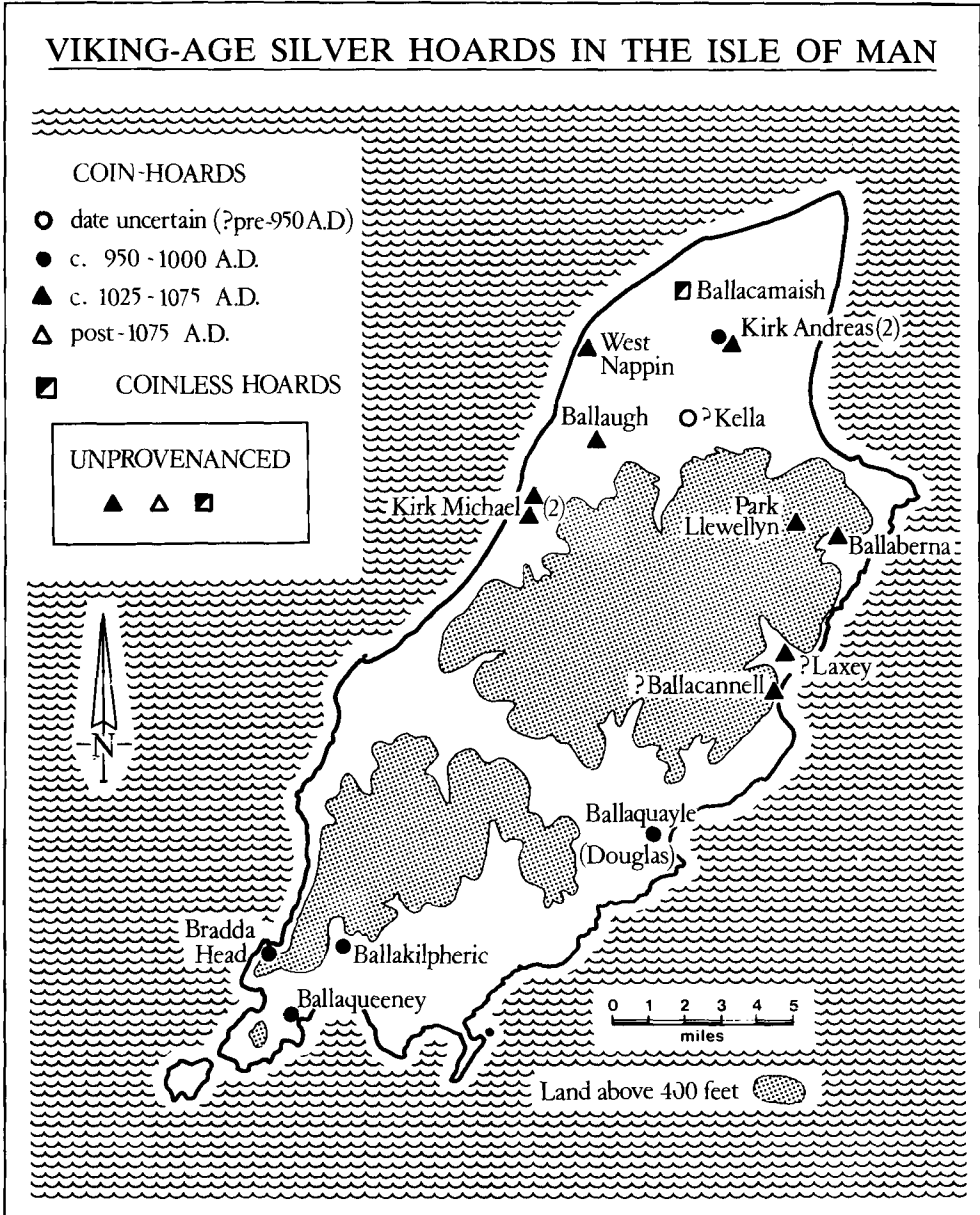


Fig. 1. Map of the Viking-Age hoards of the Isle of Man (adapted from Cubbon and Dolley 1980, fig. 1). The 1982 St Patrick's Isle, Peel, hoard is not shown.

1. The Kella (?), 1750	late 9th/early 10th C.
2. Ballaqueeney, 1874	960s
3. Kirk Andreas, 1866	970s
4. Ballakilpheric, pre 1885	970s
5. Ballaquayle (Douglas), 1894	970s
6. Bradda Head, 1848	990s
7. Park Llewellyn, 1835	1030s
8. Ballacannell (?), 1786	1030s
9. West Nappin, pre 1900	1040s
9a. St Patrick's Isle, Peel, 1982	1040s
10. Kirk Andreas, 1874	1040s
11. No provenance, pre 1783	1040s
12. Ballaberna, 1834	1040s
13. Ballaugh, 1772	1060s
14. Kirk Michael, 1972/75	1060s
15. Laxey (?), pre 1950	1060s
16. Kirk Michael, 1834	1070s
17. No provenance, 18th C.	late 11th/early 12th C.
<i>Coinless hoards</i>	
18. No provenance, pre 1842	—
19. Ballacamaish, 1868	—

Fig. 2. List of Viking-Age hoards on the Isle of Man (see Appendices A and B for references).

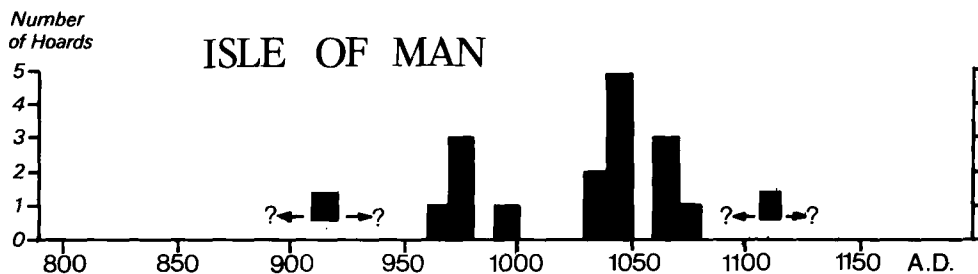


Fig. 3. Deposition of Viking-Age coin-hoards on the Isle of Man, by decades (c. 800-1170).

Keith Branigan has kindly written to me about the Kentraa ring. He says that its "form is one found, in gold and other metals, in the Aegean in the period from EH.II-LH/LM. This example *could* be an Aegean import but its pear-shaped form is rather different to the Aegean crescentic rings, and on balance an Aegean origin seems unlikely." Meanwhile Professor Christopher Hawkes is exploring possible parallels amongst Iberian "pendants" (*colgantes*) dating towards the middle of the first millennium B.C. In the absence of the object itself, and given its simple form and lack of ornament, it seems unlikely that it will prove possible to establish it quite firmly as an exotic import (or insular copy of such), but there seems little doubt that its closest known parallels are of the Bronze Age or of the local earliest Iron Age.

This conclusion might be thought to throw some light on the date of the "similar ornaments" in Curran's possession, but they are *not* said to be identical, and it is not even stated that they are of gold. It therefore remains a slight possibility that fragments of Viking Age "ring-money" or other hack-silver, bent out of shape,³ *might* have been said in 1860 to be "similar" in appearance to the Kentraa ring, perfect though it was when illustrated. One is brought up against the fact that the author of this reference, H. R. Oswald, had not himself seen Curran's collection. It follows therefore that the uncertainties surrounding the Knockaloe "hoard" are such that it is best to omit it once again from the list of Viking-Age hoards on the Isle of Man.

In the absence of the Knockaloe "hoard", the list (fig. 2) is headed by a find of silver coins made in 1750, in Kirk Christ Lezayre parish, perhaps at the Kella (Dolley 1975b, 298). The Atholl papers in the Manx Museum associate its discovery with a grave containing a sword and an axe, but there is much to commend Wilson's suggestion (1974, 18, 44, 46) that these are in fact separate finds. The hoard consisted of thirty-nine coins, described by J. F. Crellin in the nineteenth century as "of the Heptarchy"; a fortieth larger coin might possibly have been a Kufic *dirham*. The hoard is thus most likely to have been deposited in the late ninth or early tenth century, within the bracket *c.*875–*c.*975.

At the same time, Dolley (1975b, 298) was careful to point out "the shadow of a chance" that the anomalous outsize coin was "one of the Hiberno-Norse pennies struck on exceptionally wide flans which seem to have occurred in the 1834 find from Kirk Michael" (no. 16). The idea that the Kella(?) hoard might have consisted of Hiberno-Norse coins of Dublin gradually grew in Dolley's favour (1976c, 12, 19) until in his 1977 paper to the Eighth Viking Congress (1981, 178), he stated categorically that "shadowy ninth-century hoards in the early records [i.e. Knockaloe and the Kella(?)] on closer examination have turned out all to belong to the eleventh century". This "shadow of a chance" gained substance on distributional grounds alone, for an eleventh-century date "fits" the pattern of hoarding observed by Dolley for the northern Manx hoards (fig. 1) better than the earlier date, previously proposed, which leaves it as the only hoard likely to have been deposited on Man before the 960s/970s (nos. 2–5).

In abandoning his original preference for a late ninth-century date for the Kella(?) hoard, Dolley has not so far countered in detail his original carefully argued case, in particular there stands unchallenged his observation (1975b, 298) that Crellin's use of the formula "of the Heptarchy" to describe thirty-nine of the coins "may be assumed to possess a measure of deliberation and precision". In addition, as Dolley also pointed out (1975b, 298), there remains the possible relevance to this hoard of the unprovenanced Burgred penny in the Manx Museum. On balance therefore the arguments for an early date still seem the stronger, and so Dolley's original dating of the Kella(?) hoard is accepted here, even if it leaves it as the only known hoard probably deposited before the 960s.

The first main phase of hoard deposition (fig. 3) opens with the Ballaqueeney (1874) hoard and extends down to the millennium; this phase contains five hoards (nos. 2–6) of which only one is known to have contained objects other than coins (no. 5). This emphasis on coin rather than ingots or ornaments in the Manx hoards of the tenth century is far more characteristic of the Irish than of the Scottish hoards of this period (Graham-Campbell 1976a, fig. 2; 1976b, 127).

The Ballaqueeney find (no. 2) represents a medium-sized coin-hoard with over forty-three

coins and coin-fragments, consisting of Eadred, Eadwig and a few of Eadgar, suggesting a deposition date in the early 960s (Dolley 1975b, 298–9, and see Appendix),⁴ as well as Viking coins that include one of the two Erik Bloodaxe pennies found on Man (Dolley 1976d; see also hoard no. 5), and a tenth-century coin from Melle (Dolley 1975a, 190–1).⁵ There is no reference to a container, or to a non-numismatic element in this hoard, but it was scattered in 1874 during the removal of gravel from a low hillock, apparently the site of a keeill graveyard, in connection with the extension to Port Erin of the Douglas-Castletown narrow-gauge railway.

The next three hoards (nos. 3–5) all appear to have been deposited in the 970s, ending with coins of Eadgar, of which the first to be discussed is the earlier of the two hoards (nos. 3 and 10) found in Kirk Andreas churchyard. Clay (1869, 43–4) records that “nearly 100 pieces were thrown out in one spadeful of earth” whilst the foundations were being dug in 1866 for the new church tower, built some five metres from the church itself. Once again there is no reference either to a container or to a non-numismatic element, but most of the contents are said to have been purloined by the workmen. It is, however, remarked by Clay (1869, 44) that “along with these coins were also found some horses teeth, bits of charred wood, and black earth, which indicated burning”, and it is presumably this statement that forms the basis for Dolley’s (1975a, 147) comment that “there is a doubtful association with one or more cremation burials possibly Viking in date”, although such material must surely represent no more than general occupation debris. The surviving coins consist of Eadwig and Eadgar and representatives of an Imitative Series, copying Eadgar, that dates essentially from the 970s, struck possibly in the Irish Sea area (Dolley 1979b); the same series is represented also in the numismatically analogous Ballaquayle hoard (no. 5) and is discussed further below. Before turning to the Ballaquayle hoard, however, mention must be made of a nineteenth-century discovery of coins of Eadgar said to have been found in a lintel-grave at Keeill Pherick, Ballakilpheric (no. 4), about which nothing more is known.

The Ballaquayle (Douglas) hoard is by far the largest and best-known of the Manx Viking-Age silver hoards, consisting as concealed of several hundred coins in addition to an important group of rings, hack-silver and a small ingot (figs. 8–9), to be discussed later in this paper. The coins are of Æthelstan, Eadmund, Eadred and Eadwig, but predominantly of Eadgar (with an overwhelming proportion from north-western mints), together with “the odd Viking penny struck at York” (Dolley 1969; 1976d) and the Imitative Series referred to above (Dolley 1975a, 191–2). However, only a proportion of the coins and ornaments were surrendered to the authorities following their discovery in a small cist of slate flags by a labourer, during the construction of a house in 1894 at Ballaquayle (Derby Road), then on the outskirts of Douglas. It is one of the numerous hoards ending with coins of Eadgar (959–75) deposited in Ireland, around the Irish Sea and in the Western Isles, linked by Dolley (1969, 122) to “some series of disasters” in the 970s culminating in the Battle of Tara (980).⁶ Dolley’s repeated preference (1966, 51, no. 112; 1975a, 192; 1975b, 299) for seeing its deposition as having taken place c.975 is followed here, rather than Wilson’s (1974, 40) alternative hypothesis that links its burial to the attack on Man in 982 by Earl Sigurd of Orkney, although as Dolley admits (1979b, 549) this suggestion cannot yet be excluded.

Clay’s (1869, 41–3) account of the discovery in 1848 of a hoard on Bradda Head (no. 6), in the south-west of the island, merits extensive quotation:

As far as can be ascertained, there were several hundreds [of coins], but mostly broken, the coins lying near the surface, by a small hill, and being trodden upon by sheep. The bulk of these coins were sold to a watchmaker, who melted them down. If they were in any vessel or box originally, it was completely destroyed, the coins being found together in a sort of roll. No other articles were said to be discovered with them.

Only seven coins survive of this major hoard (Dolley 1975b, 299), although a few others were listed in the nineteenth century (Thompson 1956, no. 320). From a combination of the available sources, Dolley (1980c, 18) has concluded that “the Wessex element is dominant, but it is equally clear that there is a significant admixture of coin from northern England”, and that burial took place c.995; he has further concluded that the Bradda Head hoard corroborates the suggestion that Olaf Tryggvason’s return to Norway was by way of the Irish



Fig. 4. “Ring-money” and fragments from the West Nappin hoard (top left), Peel (top right), and the Kirk Michael 1972/75 hoard (below). Ph: Manx Museum.

Sea, after he had made his peace with King Æthelræd at Andover in the winter of 994/5, the hoard seemingly being derived in part from the Danegeld then paid.⁷

There follows a gap of over thirty years in the sequence of hoards (fig. 3) before the third phase begins with the concealment about 1030 of the Park Llewellyn hoard (no. 7). Dolley (1976b) has resolved the confusion surrounding this hoard and that from nearby Ballaberna (no. 12) and has demonstrated that it was found in 1835 below and a little to the south-west of North Barrule; seven coins survive in the Manx Museum of those originally concealed in a ram’s horn, consisting of a mixture of Anglo-Saxon and Hiberno-Norse pennies, together with the earliest known Hiberno-Manx specimens (discussed below).

The Ballacannell(?) hoard from Kirk Lonan parish (no. 8) is reconstructed by Dolley (1975b, 300) from eighteenth-century sources, following Wilson (1974, 38, 46), and is dated by him to the 1030s “on the analogy of the apparently similar hoard from Kirk Andreas” (no. 10). The hoard consisted of 233 whole coins and four fragments, “the great majority of them almost certainly Hiberno-Norse”, but there is reference to a square coin which, in the light of the contents of the Kirk Michael 1972/75 hoard (no. 14), was quite possibly an eleventh-century Rouen *denier* from Normandy.

A small hoard deposited in a little mound on the West Nappin (no. 9), and dating from the early 1040s (Cubbon and Dolley 1980, 12), has been reconstructed by Dolley (1977a) from documentary evidence in the Manx Museum; five Hiberno-Norse and two Hiberno-Manx pennies were found together with an Anglo-Saxon fragment and a plain penannular silver ring which had previously been thought to be a single-find (fig. 4).^{7a}



Fig. 5. Hiberno-Manx coins from the Kirk Michael 1972/75 hoard. Ph: Manx Museum.

The second of the two hoards from Kirk Andreas churchyard (no. 10) was found during the digging of a Radcliffe grave in 1874. Forty-one coins survive in the Manx Museum, consisting of Hiberno-Norse, Hiberno-Manx and Anglo-Saxon pennies, several of which are perforated — a feature “unprecedented in the case of eleventh-century coins discovered in the Anglo-Celtic Isles” (Dolley 1976a, 77), except for a coin in the unprovenanced hoard (no. 11) discussed below. This parcel suggests concealment of the hoard towards the end of the 1040s, but it only forms part of the original find which was dispersed on discovery, despite attempts made by the police to collect it together, as is evident from the Head Constable’s report to the Lieutenant-Governor preserved amongst the Government Office Papers deposited in the Manx Museum.⁸ This report, hitherto unnoticed, makes it clear that, in addition to “a great number of old coins”, the hoard contained “some old rings”, which are also referred to as “silver bracelets”. Despite the fact that a postscript to the report refers to both coins and rings as having come into the Chief Constable’s possession, the subsequent fate of the rings is unknown. It is presumably the dispersal of this hoard that is referred to by the Lieutenant-Governor in a letter to the Secretary to the Treasury (22 March 1876) quoted below in Appendix C.

To the same general period belongs a shadowy hoard (no. 11) of whose contents nothing is known except that they included Hiberno-Manx coins, one of which is pierced and exhibits traces of a suspension loop (cf. hoard no. 10). This hoard is advanced by Dolley as “a major ‘middle-period’ hoard [1040s] discovered before 1783, but perhaps not as early as 1714, which is the source of the seven Hunter coins [Hunterian Museum, Glasgow] and most if not all of the unprovenanced coins in other cabinets. This hoard we may suppose to have been Manx” (Dolley 1976a, 78).

The last of this group of hoards from the 1030s and 1040s was found by workmen extracting iron ore at Ballaberna in 1834 (no. 12), now properly disentangled by Dolley (1976b) from its confusion with the Park Llewellyn hoard (no. 7), found in the same parish in the following year. It consists of a small find of Hiberno-Norse coins contained in one or more “small urns”, concealed at the end of the 1040s.

There are three coin-hoards (nos. 13–15) known to have been deposited on Man during the 1060s. The earliest of these (no. 13) is an eighteenth-century find, long known as “Mrs. Governor Wood’s hoard” from the donor of two pennies of Edward the Confessor and two Hiberno-Norse(?) coins to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland; the donor was the widow of John Wood who had been Governor of the Isle of Man from 1761 until his death in 1777 (Dolley 1975b, 301–2). These coins are now considered by Dolley (1979c, 291) to be derived from a hoard known to have been discovered on Man during John Wood’s governorship, for which the evidence is “a peremptory note of 1772 from the Receiver General to the Clerk of the Rolls enjoining surrender to the Attorney General of thirty-seven ‘ancient coins’ found near Ballaugh” (Dolley 1977b, 177).

In 1972 a grave-digger in Kirk Michael churchyard found a hoard (no. 14) of coins and rings (figs. 4–5) in a context which was not identified and re-excavated until 1975. The circumstances surrounding its discovery, its subsequent history (in so far as it is yet fully known), and a detailed description and analysis of its contents are contained in an important paper by Cubbon and Dolley (1980) which is the source for what follows. The hoard was buried in a linen bag, or had been wrapped in a linen cloth, and consisted of at least eighty-one coins (including fragments), together with two complete and three fragmentary plain silver rings (fig. 4, discussed below). The coins comprise twenty-two Anglo-Saxon, fourteen Normandy *deniers* and three fragments, twenty-one Hiberno-Norse and twenty-one Hiberno-Manx (fig. 5). The Anglo-Saxon pennies span the tenth and eleventh centuries and are all from the north-east or east of England which led to the suggestion that they “very probably had been brought together in Orkney, and finally assembled there in the early 1060s”. The Hiberno-Norse coins fall within Phases II and III of Dolley’s series (1966, 92–145), with a single example of a penny from Phase V that is perhaps a decade later in date than the others. The Hiberno-Manx coinage (fig. 5) was recognised by Dolley (1976a) as a consequence of the discovery of this hoard and its examples are fully representative of the series which began c.1025 and was finished by 1040. The Normandy *deniers* are mostly, if not

all, from Rouen and belong to a phase dated c.1020-c.1050. The great majority of the Kirk Michael coins were struck between 1020 and 1050, with six earlier and two later in date, leading to the conclusion that the hoard was deposited in the 1060s.

The last of the hoards recorded from this decade (no. 15) was “discovered in the first half of this century somewhere in the general area of Laxey” and consists of “a group of seven Hiberno-Norse coins belonging to the later 1060s” (Dolley 1975b, 302). These came to light in a Laxey resident’s private collection and nothing more is known of the circumstances of their discovery, of any container, or of the other contents (if any) of the hoard.

The demolition of the old church at Kirk Michael and the digging up of its foundations in 1834 brought about the discovery of a substantial coin-hoard (no. 16) which was dispersed by the workmen.⁹ The coins seem to have been Hiberno-Norse of Dolley Phase V, except for a small element of Hiberno-Manx (Dolley 1976a, 76, 83) which would have been more than thirty years old when the hoard was “apparently concealed towards the end of the third quarter of the eleventh century” (Dolley 1976a, 76), that is at about the time of Skyehill, the 1079 victory of Godred Crovan that marked the end of the Manx Viking Age proper (Cubbon and Dolley 1980, 20; Dolley 1980b; 1981, 74).

There then follows a remarkable absence of coin-hoards from Man from 1080 until the last quarter of the twelfth century, “despite the fact that the Hiberno-Norse coinage of Dublin extended at least as late as the middle of the twelfth century” (Dolley 1975b, 302). This total lack may well be to some extent illusory for “a parcel of [Hiberno-Norse] coins in Edinburgh does suggest the eighteenth-century discovery of at least one and perhaps two hoards from the intervening years” (Dolley 1976a, 82). A paper on these Edinburgh coins is promised by Dolley, with W. A. Seaby, but it seems reasonable to accept one such unprovenanced hoard for the present (no. 17) to close the sequence of Viking-Age coin-hoards found on the Isle of Man (fig. 3).

The Hiberno-Manx coins that form an element in the Manx coin-hoards from the 1030s onwards were identified by Dolley as a group derived, but distinct, from the Hiberno-Norse coins of Dublin, on stylistic, distributional and metrological grounds that are fully laid out in the *Numismatic Chronicle* CXXXVI (1976), 75–84. Dolley’s suggestion that there was on Man “an *atelier* producing dies for an Insular coinage associated provisionally with the 1030s” (Dolley 1980a, 88) did not meet with universal acceptance, particularly among some archaeologists conditioned by the belief that moneying is necessarily an urban-based activity. There were of course no urban centres on Man in the eleventh century, but Dolley (1981, 175) has drawn his critics’ attention to known eleventh-century exceptions to this pattern in Scandinavia and Finland. In fact all that is involved in Dolley’s suggestion is that in the 1020s a Dublin moneyer removed a set of used dies to Man where they were put to further use, and were copied by a single hand over a short period, chiefly during the 1030s. The essential criterion for the recognition of these coins is “the initial cross of the obverse legend which is composed of four pellets instead of wedges or triangles” (Dolley 1976a, 75), together with other less distinctive features (fig. 5). Dolley (1980a) has since tentatively suggested a second type for the Hiberno-Manx series, represented by four coins in the Kirk Andreas (1874) hoard (no. 10) which share an obverse die, being a direct imitation of the Anglo-Saxon *Short Cross* type.

That such an event took place a generation after minting began in Dublin (c.997) need not necessarily surprise, for it is apparent from the hoard evidence that Man is numismatically, during the second and third quarters of the eleventh century, to be regarded in its Norse context as an offshore island of Ireland rather than as the southernmost of the Hebrides, although the hoards do reveal continuing Scoto-Viking contacts discussed below. Man is quite simply richer in finds of Hiberno-Norse coins than any part of Britain. The implications of this fact and the existence of the Hiberno-Manx coinage have suggested to Dolley that there was a dynastic takeover of Man by a representative of Dublin’s royal house, detaching Man from its Orcadian alignment for a period of almost fifty years (Dolley 1975b, 338–9; 1976a, 82–3; 1976b, 19–21; 1981, 176). This event is considered by him to have taken place after the battle of Clontarf in 1014, when both the leader of the Manx contingent and Earl Sigurd of Orkney were killed — “within a decade or so of the *débâcle* of Clontarf the

Hiberno-Norse were in a position to reassert their authority over the Island" (1979c, 291). This close relationship between Dublin and Man was brought to an end, it is suggested, by Godred Crovan's victory and takeover of Man in 1079. It is indeed notable that after several decades during which the Hiberno-Norse coins of Dublin circulated on Man in quantity, their supply seems to have been curtailed, but then they are not found in Scotland either which is likewise without known hoards for most of this period (Graham-Campbell 1976b, fig. 2).

The hoards containing these Hiberno-Norse and Hiberno-Manx coins are all from the geographical northern half of the Island, whereas the earlier hoards can be seen to be more generally distributed (fig. 1). It is therefore in the north of the Island that Dolley has suggested (1976a, 83) that the Manx "mint" was situated if indeed "the two men and a boy" envisaged as having been involved in the process actually required a fixed base for their simple operation. It has been argued (Dolley 1981, 175–6) that Scoto-Viking "ring-money" reaching Man (see below) was presenting problems within a monetary economy and that "conversion into coin was an obvious solution to the difficulty, and especially when specie commanded over bullion a premium which may well have been of the order of fifty per cent". Under such circumstances, and without an urban centre to operate from, a moneyer might possibly have practised in the manner of other travelling specialists, working wherever his services were required to strike silver into coin.

The one type of ornament that is present in all four of the Manx coin-hoards containing non-numismatic material is silver rings — arm-rings or "bracelets" — indeed it is the only type of object other than coins recorded in those three hoards (nos. 6, 9 and 14) that were deposited after Ballaquayle (no. 5). In the case of the two latest, West Nappin and Kirk Michael 1972/75, these rings are of the plain penannular "ring-money" type (fig. 4) which is also present in the Ballaquayle hoard (figs. 8–9). It is thus reasonable to suppose that it was this type that was also present in the intermediate Bradda Head hoard (no. 6), which was deposited during the middle of its main period of circulation (950–1050). Further support for this suggestion may be derived from the fact that this type of ring is represented by five out of the six arm-rings found either singly or in coinless hoards on Man. For to these examples from coin-hoards must be added a lost group of four complete examples (no. 18), and a single-find of a fragment from outside the walls of Peel Castle (fig. 4).¹⁰

The four lost examples are known only from a detailed drawing that forms part (page 25) of Sir William Betham's *Sketch-Book of Antiquities*, now in the National Library of Ireland (fig. 6).¹¹ Betham was born in 1779, but came to Dublin at an early age and does not appear to have had any Manx connection; he died in 1853. The dated drawings in his sketch-book range from 1824 to 1842, a period from which there is no record of such "ring-money" having been found on Man. They are here regarded as having constituted a coinless hoard (no. 18), although the possibility exists that they derived from any one of the Kirk Michael 1834, Ballaberna 1834, and Park Llewellyn 1835 hoards, all of which were found whilst Betham's sketch-book was being compiled and all of which were deposited whilst "ring-money" was in circulation (c.925–c.1075); for none of them was properly recorded on discovery. Indeed it is worth noting that the bulk of the latter two hoards (nos. 12 and 7) left the Island immediately after their discovery, through the agency of a certain Mrs Rachel Looney, a publican and a collector of antiquities, whose own "cabinet seems to have been dispersed in Douglas without proper record on the eve of her departure, for the Antipodes" in 1842 (Dolley 1976b).

The "ring-money" in question appears to include all three main varieties, *i.e.* of circular cross-section with straight-cut terminals (fig. 6, nos. II and III); and of lozenge-shaped cross-section with pointed, but externally flattened, spatulate terminals (fig. 6, no. IV); and of lozenge-shaped cross-section with plain pointed terminals (fig. 6, no. V).¹² The West Nappin ring belongs to the first of these varieties, the Peel fragment to the second (see Appendix B); the Kirk Michael rings and fragments are also of the first variety, with the exception of one hoop fragment of lozenge-shaped section (fig. 4). The Ballaquayle hoard includes both the first two varieties (fig. 9), but also two hybrids, one of which has a lozenge-shaped cross-section and straight-cut terminals (fig. 8, left), and the other of which has an

unusual section with curved outer face and faceted inner face, with straight-cut terminals (fig. 8, right). The detailed significance of these "ring-money" varieties and their weights is now being investigated by Miss Olwyn Owen, as part of a University of Durham Ph.D. thesis on the Viking-Age hoards of the Northern Isles, on the basis of preliminary studies by Graham-Campbell (1976b, 125–6) and Warner (1976); specific comment on the Manx "ring-money" specimens would thus be premature at this stage. It is, however, necessary to consider further their wider implications.

The preliminary studies referred to above established that "ring-money" is predominantly a Scoto-Viking phenomenon, particularly of the period 950–1050 (within the general bracket of *c.*925–*c.*1075); in the eleventh century it apparently existed in Scotland to the exclusion of all other types of ring larger than finger-rings, as also appears to have been the case on Man. Warner's statistical analyses led him to the conclusion (1976, 141) that "we are quite justified in concluding that the manufacturers of these arm-rings were aiming at this target [24.0 ± 0.8 gm], although the standard deviation of the production, 5 gm, suggests that they were not too careful about their accuracy." The suggestion is therefore that they served as a form of currency, based on a Scandinavian Viking-Age "ounce" of about 24 gm (Brøgger 1921), in the Northern and Western Isles, most notably during the period when the Hiberno-Norse coins of Dublin and the Hiberno-Manx coinage were in circulation, although its origins were earlier.¹³ The presence of "ring-money" on Man in numbers scarcely less than the total for the whole of Ireland suggests continued contacts with Norse Scotland during the eleventh century and Dolley (1981, 175–6) has drawn attention to the problems that such rings might have presented to a developing monetary economy (see above), at a time when Man "had been wrested from economic dependence on the Orkney jarldom" (1980a, 88). That these links remained is also suggested by Dolley's argument (above) that the Anglo-Saxon coins in the Kirk Michael 1972/75 hoard (no. 14) had come to Man from Orkney and not directly from England. It is unsafe, therefore, to consider these links as being greatly reduced on the grounds that eleventh-century Hiberno-Norse and Hiberno-Manx coins are not found in Scotland, when much of the "ring-money" might well have been made by melting down these very coins; all types of coins are rare in Scotland at this date, although among them the occasional specimen of Harald hardrádi's (Skaare 1976, nos. 186–8) illustrates continuing contacts between Scotland and Norway. There is therefore no absolute reason why the Hiberno-Norse coins that reached Norway in the eleventh century (Dolley 1966, 60–3) should not have travelled the traditional northern route; thus one need not be driven by negative evidence to postulate alternatives, such as by way of York.

Dolley (1979b, 549) has found it "tempting to associate" the introduction of "ring-money" to the Irish Sea area "with Sigurd the Stout's extension of the Orkney jarldom to take in the Southern Hebrides and, after 989, Man itself", linking its appearance also to the discontinuance of the Imitative Series of coins, copied from Eadgar issues, represented in the Kirk Andreas 1866 and Ballaquayle hoards (see nos. 3 and 5, above). In addition to its presence in these two Manx hoards of the 970s, this Imitative Series is recorded in the Irish Sea area (its probable source) from the Chester 1950 hoard, deposited *c.*970 (see below); the other three hoards which contain these coins are all from the Hebrides — Machrie, Islay (*c.*975); Iona (*c.*986); and Inch Kenneth (*c.*1000). Unfortunately the coins of Eadgar which formed part of the Skye 1850 hoard are lost, so that it is not known whether the Imitative Series was amongst them, although the hoard did contain "ring-money" (Graham-Campbell, forthcoming), as did the Inch Kenneth hoard. It is thus evident that both the Imitative Series and "ring-money" were circulating at the same time, in both the Hebrides and the Irish Sea area, for the Ballaquayle and Chester hoards contain "ring-money" as well. It follows from these two-way links that there existed close connections between the Hebrides and Man already in the 970s, even before Sigurd's attack on Man in 982, when he took tribute there, and certainly before 989 by which time six out of the seven potentially relevant hoards had been deposited.

Before turning to a fuller discussion of the other silver objects in the Ballaquayle hoard, there remains one coinless hoard to be taken into consideration (no. 19), discovered in 1868 in a marl pit at Ballacamaish, Andreas. It consists of the remains of two neck-rings and a

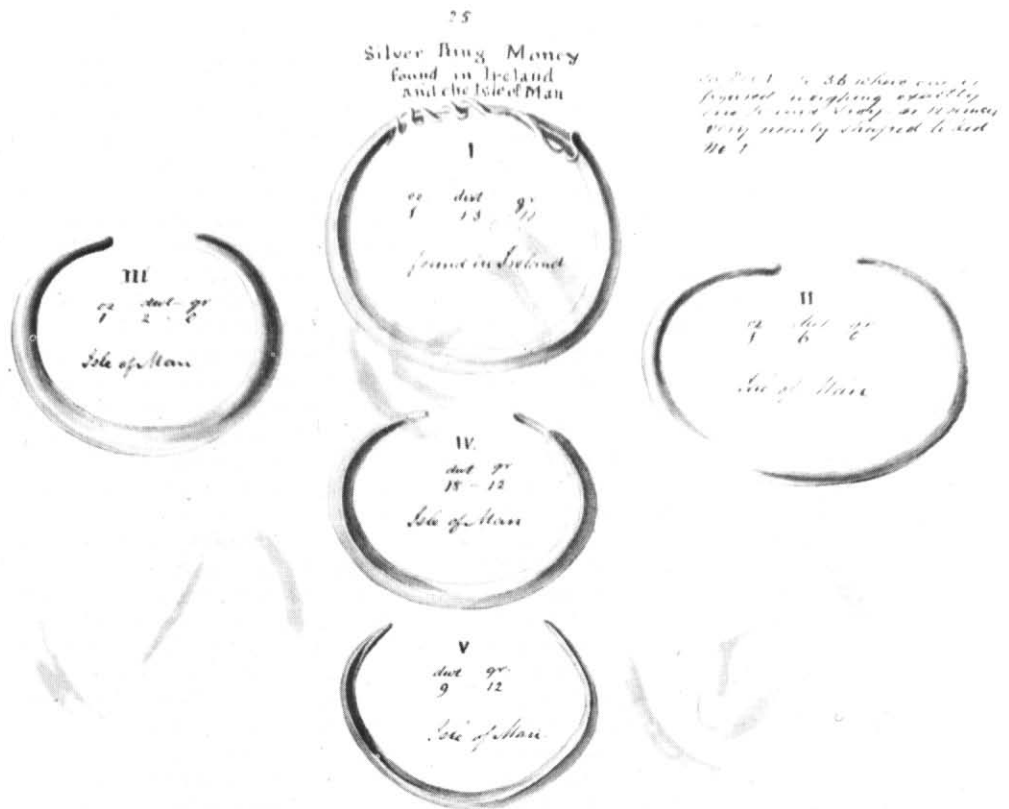


Fig. 6. Silver "ring-money" from the Isle of Man (nos. II-V), from W. Betham's *Sketch-Book of Antiquities*. Ph: National Library of Ireland.



Fig. 7. The Ballacamaish (1868) silver hoard. Ph: British Museum.



Fig. 8. Gold and silver rings, and hack-silver, from the Ballaquayle (Douglas) hoard in the British Museum. Ph: British Museum.

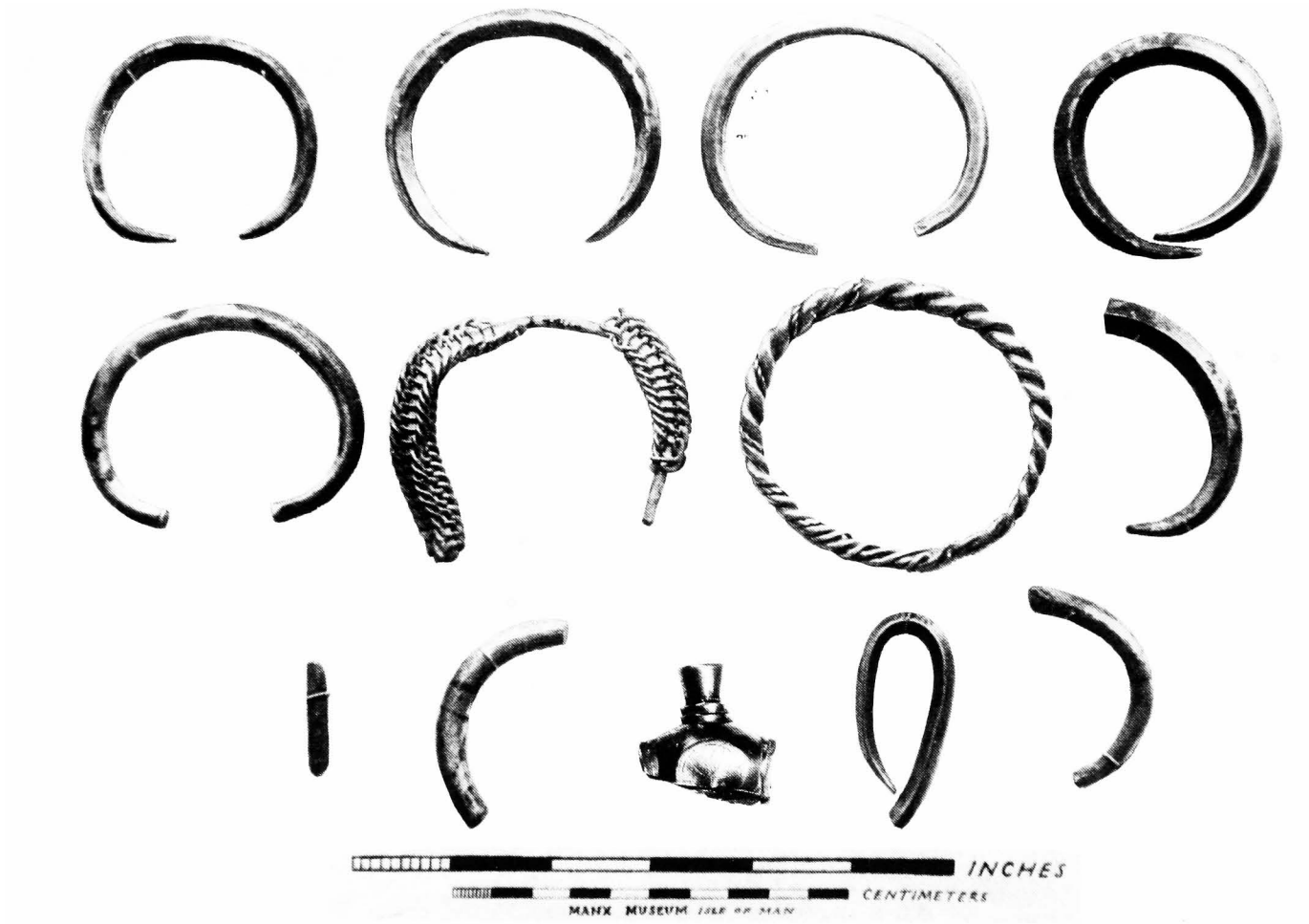


Fig. 9. Silver rings, hack-silver and ingot. from the Ballaquayle (Douglas) hoard in the Manx Museum. Ph: Manx Museum.

penannular arm-ring (fig. 7), all made of twisted silver rods (see Appendix C for details). Wilson commented (1974, 38) that "this small hoard is difficult to date, but on general grounds it should belong to the tenth or eleventh century". This wide bracket may perhaps be refined by reference to equivalent objects found in coin-dated hoards in western Britain, for the neck-rings are closely paralleled by that in the Halton Moor, Lancashire, hoard which was deposited c.1025 (VA IV, fig. 14; Thompson 1956, no. 181, pl. xv), and the arm-ring is of an unusual type that is also known from a hoard (found together with an example of "ring-money") concealed near Port Glasgow in c. 975? (Graham-Campbell 1976b, 122, 130). One should also note the presence of such neck-rings (and "ring-money") in the Skail, Orkney, hoard of c. 950 with its probable Manx connections which are discussed below. There is no positive evidence for the deposition of any rings more elaborate than "ring-money" on Man after the period of the Ballaquayle hoard (nor in Ireland for that matter); it is the same in Scotland after the millennium. In this light it seems probable that the Ballacamaish hoard would have been deposited sometime between c.950 and c.1025, quite possibly during the troubled 970s.

Further comment is called for on the unusual form of the Ballacamaish arm-ring (fig. 7); although its construction is the familiar one of twisted rods and wires, it has globular terminals for which there are no apparent parallels amongst the Viking-Age silver finds from Scandinavia. Apart from the Port Glasgow example referred to above, there is one other insular parallel, from Long Wittenham, Berkshire (*Oxoniensia* XXIII (1958), fig. 40, 133). I have suggested in passing that these three rings *might* represent a type of tenth-century Anglo-Saxon arm-ring (*Archaeological Journal* CIII (1976), 285), for we know little of such ornaments, but it could equally well be argued that they represent a tenth-century Manx type, so that their identity must remain an open question until further evidence is forthcoming.

The Ballaquayle hoard (no. 5), commonly known as the Douglas hoard, contains twenty-one objects other than its several hundred coins. These are divided between the British Museum (fig. 8) and the Manx Museum (fig. 9). The Manx Museum holds five examples of "ring-money", three of which fall within 3 gm of two of Warner's "ounces" target (see above), and the smallest of which weighs just under an "ounce"; it also has five fragments. The two other complete objects in its possession consist of a small ingot (only 3.0 cm long) and an annular arm-ring, made from two rods twisted together with the addition of a pair of twisted wires (part missing) laid between them, in the same manner as the only gold object from the hoard, an annular gold arm-ring, now in the British Museum, which has an expanded terminal plate with stamped ornament. The final two objects from the hoard amongst the Manx Museum's holdings consist of part of an elaborate silver arm-ring made from seven rods plaited together to form a three-sided cage around a central rod, in a technique paralleled by the complete gold arm-ring from Virginia, Co. Cavan (VA III, 104-5) and a gold fragment also from Ireland (VA III, 104), and of half the pin-head of a plain "ball-type" brooch which has a hexafoil within two concentric circles lightly compass-incised on its flat reverse and a crudely incised cruciform motif on its pin-top (Megaw 1938, pl. 144). The British Museum holds a further two fragments of "ball-type" brooches (for which type see Graham-Campbell 1983); one is a socketed pin-shaft for the type of pin-head cast with a tenon, whilst the other is an ornate example of the type in which the pin-head and pin-shaft are cast in one, with a brambled front and an incised roundel on the reverse consisting of a symmetrical angular fret within a beaded border; the pin-top is also ornamented with the same fret-pattern within a circle (Megaw 1938, pl. 144). The British Museum's other objects from this hoard include the gold arm-ring already mentioned, which is exactly paralleled in Norway by a ring from the Vulu, Sør-Trøndelag, hoard (Grieg 1929, no. 104b, fig. 58). In addition there are two unusually heavy examples of "ring-money"; the one at 90 gm weighs somewhat short of the 96 gm which would be four "ounces", but the other at 71.5 gm weighs three "ounces" to within a half gram. The three other objects consist of a plain annular arm-ring of the common type which has its ends in a "slip-knot", a simple penannular finger-ring, and a terminal fragment from a neck-ring made from two pairs of twisted rods, placed side by side, with a pair of twisted wires

bordered on either side by a fine wire laid between the rods in each pair.

The Ballaquayle hoard forms a classic example of a mixed Viking-Age silver hoard, containing all four diagnostic elements in combination: coins, ingot(s), complete ornaments, and hack-silver, as does the Skaill, Orkney, hoard of c. 950 (see below). The Ballaquayle hoard has the rare addition of a gold arm-ring, but it is similar in this respect to the coinless Vulu, Sør-Trøndelag, hoard from Norway with its gold and silver rings and a complete "ball-type" brooch, most probably deposited in the mid-tenth century (Grieg 1929, no. 104). In conclusion, we can follow Wilson (1974, 40) in his suggestion that "it is possible that the Douglas hoard is the treasure of a single family who were one of the richest in the community living on what was later one of the rich medieval farms of the island."

The Chester 1950 hoard (Thompson 1956, no. 86; Webster 1953) merits further consideration in the light of this discussion of the Ballaquayle hoard with which it shares many parallels both numismatic and non-numismatic. It contained over 500 coins which, like



Fig. 10. Reverse of a silver pin-head from a "ball-type" brooch, believed to be from the Skaill hoard, Orkney. Ph: National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland.

Ballaquayle, consist predominantly of Anglo-Saxon issues, some of the Imitative Series already noted, and the odd Viking coin of York, with the addition of three continental coins (including two *deniers* of Melle, like that in the Ballaqueeney hoard of the 960s). The range and combination of the coins suggest that this hoard was deposited a few years before Ballaquayle, in c. 970. The non-numismatic traits in common consist of the presence in both hoards of hack-silver fragments of "ring-money", "ball-type" brooches, and a ring of twisted rods, but the large number of ingots (over forty) in Chester contrasts with the single specimen in Ballaquayle. Such a large mixed silver hoard looks as out of place in north-west England as it would do in Ireland by the 970s, and it thus seems probable that it would have formed the property of a Norseman from Scotland or Man, and most likely from the latter on the analogy of the Ballaquayle hoard.

The presence of "ball-type" brooch fragments in both these hoards provides the background for a suggestion that some or all of the twenty such brooches and fragments in the Skail, Orkney, hoard of c.950 were made on Man in the 940s (VA II, figs. 60–1; Thompson 1956, no. 322; Graham-Campbell 1976b, 119–21). This hypothesis is based on a combination of distributional and stylistic considerations, and has been stimulated by the recent acquisition by the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland of two such fragments believed to be from the hoard, although previously unrecorded (Graham-Campbell, forthcoming). One of the two new pin-heads in question (fig. 10) provides an extremely close parallel for the details of the ornament on the Ballaquayle pin-head, which are also paralleled on the largest known pin-head from a "ball-type" brooch, that from near Urlingford, Co.Kilkenny, Ireland (VA III, 131; Graham-Campbell 1976a, 72, 74), down to its pin-top ornament. A roundel containing a related fret-pattern to those on the Ballaquayle, Skail and Urlingford pin-heads is to be found on a native Irish "motif-piece" or "trial-piece" from Lissue, Co.Antrim (O'Meadhra 1979, no.130), whereas the interlace patterns are paralleled on tenth-century "motif-pieces" from Dublin (e.g. O'Meadhra 1979, no.30), as also on the Manx Viking-Age memorial stones.

Three of the Skail "ball-type" brooches have elaborate zoomorphic ornament incised on their pin-heads and terminals (and the new complete pin has a closely related animal-head sketched on its pin-head). This elaborate Jellinge/Mammen-style ornament (fig. 11), which is closely paralleled by the ornament of the Kirk Braddan crosses (Wilson and Klindt-Jensen 1966/80, figs. 52 and 55), "is seemingly all from the hand of one man. It is probable that he worked or was trained in the Irish Sea area for, apart from the stylistic parallels with the Manx crosses, it is that area which is the main focus of insular 'thistle-brooch' finds" (Graham-Campbell 1976b, 121). The insular distribution of silver "ball-type" brooches, which includes the brambled variety or so-called "thistle-brooch", is mapped by Graham-Campbell (1983, fig. 133). There are fifteen finds from Ireland, six finds from northern England, including three complete brooches (and many fragments from three hoards), and on Man there is the Ballaquayle hoard with its three fragments. Although there are so many examples represented in the Skail hoard, it is only one of two finds of such silver brooches from Scotland (the other being a single brooch from Shetland). It is therefore apparent that the main area of distribution of these extravagant and ostentatious brooches is around the Irish Sea, including Ireland where the brooch type originated, the Isle of Man and Cumbria — the very area that was particularly rich in silver by the mid-tenth century as a result of the economic development of Dublin and York under Scandinavian rule, with the apparent exception of Man itself where the first main phase of hoards has been seen to date only from the 960s and 970s (nos. 2–5).

It is becoming increasingly clear that the Skail craftsman must have been trained, in what Arbman (1962, 139) once called typical "insular Jellinge style",¹⁴ in the Isle of Man, for only on Man can the exceedingly fine quality of his distinctive work be matched, albeit in a different medium. There are no other finds of metalwork or of sculpture from Scotland to begin to compare with the Skail ornament and new studies of the wealth of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture of northern England (Bailey 1980 and refs.) show that it cannot be matched there. The publication of many of the tenth-century Dublin "motif-pieces" (O'Meadhra 1979) has demonstrated that this type of elaborate animal ornament was not

apparently being practised in the Hiberno-Norse capital either. It is thus on the Isle of Man that these Skaill “ball-type” brooches are most likely to have been made, although naturally the possibility cannot be ruled out that a craftsman from Man was working in Orkney in the 940s. Nevertheless, it follows from this attribution that there must have been silver enough in Man by the mid-tenth century to have enabled patrons to commission ostentatious ornaments so as to have provided such a craftsman with training in the manufacture and decoration of “ball-type” brooches.

When the deposition pattern of Manx coin-hoards (fig. 3) is compared with that of the Viking-Age hoards of Scotland (Graham-Campbell 1976b, fig. 2) and of Ireland (Graham-Campbell 1976a, fig. 2), it is observable that there is a scarcity of ninth- and early tenth-century coin-hoards in all three areas of Norse settlement. It was suggested for Ireland that the coin-hoard evidence gives only an incomplete picture of the silver in circulation for that period, chiefly on the evidence of the numerous silver penannular brooches and Hiberno-Viking silver arm-rings then in use (Graham-Campbell 1976a, 51–4). No Hiberno-Viking arm-ring or fragment has been found on Man and the same is true for the contemporary bossed penannular brooches, which are known from hoards and single-finds all around the Irish Sea (Graham-Campbell 1975, fig. 13). Dolley (1976c, 12–14; 1981, 178) has pointed out that neither Kufic *dirhams*¹⁵ nor the so-called “St Peter” coins of York

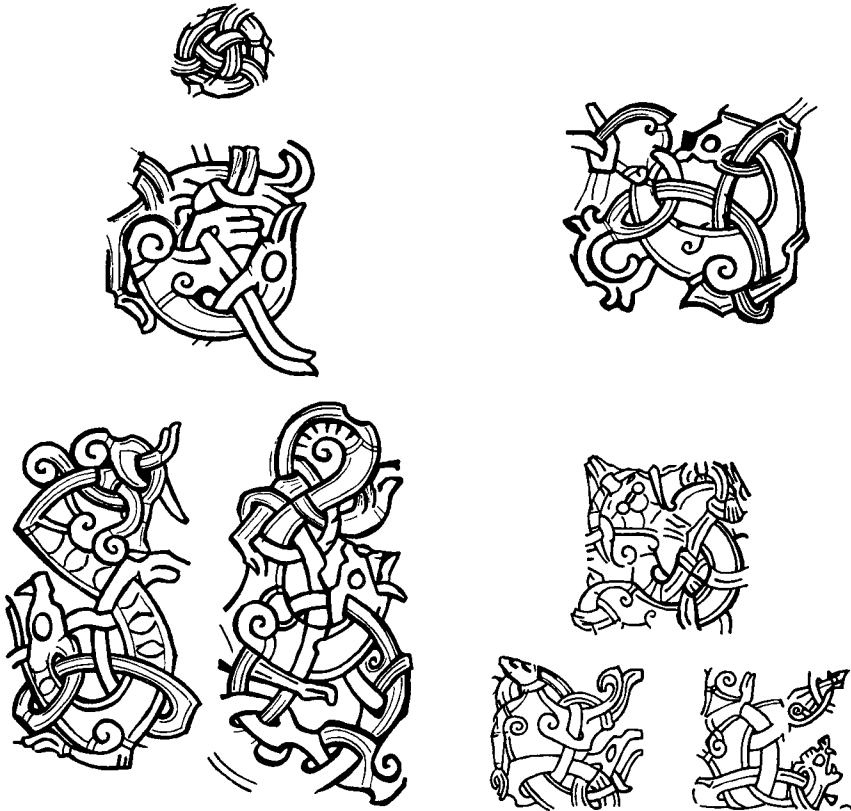


Fig. 11. Ornament from “ball-type” brooches in the Skaill hoard, Orkney. Sc. 3:4.

(c.905–c.925) are known to have been found on Man, either in hoards or as single-finds, although they too are known from all around the Irish Sea (Dolley 1976c, Map A). Thus the numismatic and non-numismatic negative evidence coincide to suggest “the policy of the low profile” by the first generations of Norse settlers who would have been primarily concerned with their new land-holdings rather than with piracy or commerce, as was also the case in Scotland. The one probably early hoard (no. 1) need be no earlier in date than the early tenth century and its deposition might therefore have been connected in some way with the Norse expulsion from Dublin in 902, when Ingemund and his followers came to Man before attacking the Wirral.

Following the Norse settlement of north-west England and the re-establishment of Dublin, the Isle of Man was conveniently located athwart the Irish Sea trade-routes that ran both north-south and east-west — not unlike Gotland’s advantageous position in the Baltic. Man seems to have benefited greatly from Dublin’s developing commerce with the English and with the then Viking kingdom of York, by taking advantage of the potential of its location for trade, toll and piracy. If the possibility, raised by the Skail brooches, that there was silver available in some quantity on Man by the 940s is found acceptable, then hoarding on Man must have begun soon after Dublin’s trade started to expand; this period of rising wealth may also be reflected in the early development of Manx Viking sculpture (cf. pp. 175–87 below).

For a period during the first half of the eleventh century, Manx silver ceased to be made into ornaments and was struck into coin, following the practice of Dublin. From this, and from the many Hiberno-Norse coins in the Manx hoards of the 1030s to the 1070s, we can deduce with Dolley that Man had fallen under the influence of Dublin, even though “ring-money” continued to find its way south to show that Man was maintaining its northern links.

This phase of coin-hoard deposition on Man came to an end, as indicated above, with Godred Crovan’s seizure of the Crown of Man in 1079; “fifty years with perhaps fourteen hoards [?eleven]⁶ are followed by a blank century [?no. 17], and this surely is something to be remarked even if it cannot be altogether explained” (Dolley 1976c, 19). In fact the numismatic map of Man remains almost blank, “with one trifling exception” (a coin-hoard deposited c.1180), until the very end of the thirteenth century when coin began once again to circulate on the Island in any quantity (Dolley 1976c, 21; 1981, 174–5). It remains for the archaeologist to observe that the breaking of the relationship between Man and Dublin, on which the Island’s second period of prosperity in the Viking Age had been based, cut its direct access to silver, for the substantial passing trade no longer existed to be exploited as it had in the tenth century, when it provided the basis for Man’s first period of prosperity. Dublin’s main trade no longer ran north-south and east-west across the Irish Sea, for the trade-routes to the south had been developed — to France and Bristol. The end of the Viking Age in Man is characterised, as was its beginning, by self-sufficiency.

Notes

1. This paper could not have been written without the work undertaken on the Isle of Man by Professor Michael Dolley; the extent to which I have drawn on it will be evident from my frequent references to and quotations from his extensive bibliography. In particular I am grateful for, and have been dependent on, his discussions of the coins and their evidence for the deposition dates of the hoards. Professor Dolley kindly read and commented on my paper in draft, but he must not be held responsible for any unacknowledged opinions contained within, and I hope that the few areas in which we diverge are fully indicated. Dr David Wilson has also been generous with his knowledge of Manx Viking-Age antiquities, and in addition I am most grateful to both him and Eva Wilson for their hospitality during two visits to the Island. My researches in the Manx Museum were made possible through the kindness and patient cooperation

- of the Director, Mr Marshall Cubbon, and his assistant, Dr Larch Garrad; in the Library, I was guided to new discoveries in the archives by Miss Ann Harrison. Finally, I must thank Mrs Leslie Webster for her assistance in studying the Manx material in the British Museum and for making available to me the results of her work, and that of the Research Laboratory, on the Ballacamaish hoard (see Appendix C).
2. I am grateful to Professor George Eogan for his advice that no such ornament is known from the Bronze Age in Ireland and for drawing my attention to this paper by Professor Christopher Hawkes (1961). Professor Hawkes kindly directed me to the paper by Professor Keith Branigan (1970), inviting him to comment on the Kentraa example for me, whilst he prepares a note on it for publication elsewhere.
 3. E.g. the bent silver ingot in the Iona Abbey hoard, of c.986 (Thompson 1956, no. 198, pl.xvi,a), could be said to be "similar" in appearance to the Kentraa ring, despite its irregular form.
 4. Full bibliographical details will not be provided in the text for individual hoards, but may be found in Appendices A and B.
 5. This is the earliest certain example of the few continental coins known from Manx hoards (cf. Kirk Michael 1972/75 (no. 14), deposited in the 1060s), for the ninth-century imitation (?Frisian) of a Carolingian *mancus* of Louis the Pious discovered in Kirk Maughold churchyard in 1884 was a single-find (Dolley 1975a, 190; 1975b, 297). See also note 15.
 6. To Dolley's list of these 970s hoards there should be added the 1850 Skye hoard which is now known to have been of Eadgar (Graham-Campbell, forthcoming); also omitted is the 1950 Chester hoard, discussed below.
 7. Dolley has thus withdrawn his earlier suggestion (1975b, 299) that this hoard was associated with a Danish pillaging of Man, as having been "premature — if not without validity" (1980c, 18).
 - 7a. For the contemporary coin-hoard, no. 9a, excavated on St Patrick's Isle, Peel Castle, in 1982, see Addenda, p. 80 below.
 8. Government Office Papers (GO 29/86): Police 1874. Report from the Head Constable (Capt. D. Monro) to the Lieutenant-Governor (H.B. Loch, Esq., C.B.) dated 24 June 1874, with a postscript dated 25 June.
 9. Churches and churchyards were clearly favoured locations for the burial of hoards during the Viking Age on the Isle of Man, as noted by Cubbon (Cubbon and Dolley 1980, 10).
 10. This cut ring-fragment has not been fully published (see Appendix B). The only other single-find of a Viking-Age ring on record from Man is a gold finger-ring from Greeba. See Addenda, p. 80 below.
 11. I am grateful to Professor Michael Herity for information on this manuscript which he first brought to my attention (National Library of Ireland, Tx 1959).
 12. It is, however, not possible to be certain from the Betham drawing whether this fourth ring is not in fact a further specimen of the second variety, in which case the third variety would be unrepresented amongst the Manx finds of "ring-money".
 13. The earliest examples of true "ring-money" in a coin-hoard are from Grimestad, Vestfold, Norway, deposited c.930 (Skaare 1976, no.43).
 14. I have pointed to the many Mammen-style characteristics in the Skaill designs (Graham-Campbell 1976b, 121) and Fuglesang (1978, 207; 1981, 88–9) believes that they should probably be attributed to the Mammen style, although this is not accepted in the second edition of Wilson and Klindt-Jensen (1980, 23).
 15. With the possible exception of the outsize coin in the Kella(?) hoard (no. 2), although if this hoard is early (as is accepted here), this coin might alternatively have been a sub-Carolingian *denier* from Lombardy (Dolley 1976b, 298).
 16. To reach this total of fourteen eleventh-century hoards (in comparison with the eleven listed here: nos. 7–16), Dolley has included both the Knockaloe and the Kella(?) hoards, as well as an unspecified find of silver coins at Corrony or Corrody, Kirk Christ Lezayre (Folk-Life Survey records), and a hoard deduced from an early eighteenth-

century field-name “Close e Nergid” (Manx *close yn argid* — “field of silver”), at the meaning of the same parish with Kirk Andreas (Dolley 1976c, 19). He was of course writing before the discovery of the 1982 St Patrick’s Isle hoard.

Appendix A. Principal modern references for Manx Viking-Age coin-hoards (as fig. 2).

1. *The Kella(?)*, Kirk Christ Lezayre parish. Dolley 1975b, no.2; 1976c, 12, 19; 1979c, 291; 1981, 178; Wilson 1974, 18, 44, 46.
2. *Ballaqueeney (Port St. Mary)*, Kirk Christ Rushen parish. Dolley 1966, no.92; 1975a, 190–91; 1975b, no.3; 1976a; 1976d; 1979a; 1979b, 549; Thompson 1956, no.24; Wilson 1974, 36, 46.
3. *Kirk Andreas church-tower*, Kirk Andreas parish. Dolley 1966, no.97; 1975a, 146–7; 1975b, no.4; 1979b; Thompson 1956, no.8; Wilson 1974, 36, 46.
4. *Ballakilpheric*, Rushen parish. Bruce 1968, 48; Dolley 1979a, 124.
5. *Ballaquayle, Douglas, Kirk Onchan (“Conchan”) parish*. Dolley 1966, no.112; 1969; 1975a, 191–2; 1975b, no.5; 1975c; 1976a; 1976d; 1979b, 549; Kermodé 1911; Megaw 1938; Thompson 1956, no.127; VA IV, 51–3, figs.17–22; Wilson 1974, 36, 38–40, 46, fig.20 (bottom). (See also Appendix B.)
6. *Bradda Head*, Kirk Christ Rushen parish. Dolley 1966, no.129; 1975b, no.6; 1980c; Thompson 1956, no.320; Wilson 1974, 36, 46.
7. *Park Llewellyn*, Kirk Maughold parish. Dolley 1966, no.134; 1975b, no.7; 1976a, 76; 1976b; Thompson 1956, no.22; Wilson 1974, 36, 46.
8. *Ballacannell(?)*, Kirk Lonan parish. Dolley 1975b, no.8; Wilson 1974, 36, 38, 46.
9. *West Nappin, Jurby parish*. Cubbon and Dolley 1980, 12; Dolley 1975b, no.10; 1976a, 76; 1977b; VA IV, 53; Wilson 1974, 38, 46. (See also Appendix B.)
- 9a. *St Patrick’s Isle, Peel Castle*. See Addenda, p. 80 below.
10. *Kirk Andreas churchyard*, Kirk Andreas parish. Cubbon and Dolley 1980, 12; Dolley 1966, no.161; 1975b, no.9; 1976a, 76, 77; 1980a; Thompson 1956, no.9; Wilson 1974, 36, 46. (See also Appendix B.)
11. *No provenance*. Dolley 1976a, 77, 78.
12. *Ballaberna*, Kirk Maughold parish. Dolley 1975b, no.11; 1976b; 1979c.
13. *Ballaugh parish*. Dolley 1975b, no.12; 1977b, 177; 1979c, 291; Wilson 1974, 46.
14. *Kirk Michael churchyard*, Kirk Michael parish. Cubbon and Dolley 1980; Dolley 1976a, 75–6. (See also Appendix B.)
15. *Laxey(?)*, Kirk Lonan parish. Dolley 1975b, no.13; Wilson 1974, 38, 46.
16. *Kirk Michael churchyard*, Kirk Michael parish. Cubbon and Dolley 1980, 12, 20; Dolley 1966, no.194; 1975b, no.14; 1976a, 76, 83; 1976c, 18; 1980b; Thompson 1956, no.224; Wilson 1974, 36, 38, 46.
17. *No provenance*. Dolley 1976a, 82.

Appendix B. Viking-Age gold and silver objects (other than coins) from the Isle of Man.

I. *Coin-hoards* (from Appendix A).

No. 5. Ballaquayle (Douglas). Deposited c.975. Objects listed by Kermodé (1911), illustrated by Megaw (1938), listed and illustrated in VA IV, 51–3, figs. 17–22.

British Museum: 95, 8–9, 1–8 (fig. 8).

1. Annular gold arm-ring (broken) made from two rods (diam: 0.4 cm) twisted together, with a pair of twisted wires laid between them, linked by an expanded plate ornamented by a row of stamped opposed triangles on its outer face. Diam: 7.8 cm.

2. Cut fragment (approximately half) of a silver neck-ring made from two pairs of twisted rods laid side by side and fused into a plain terminal with a hooked end;

between the two rods in each pair is a pair of twisted wires with a finer wire laid on either side. Original ring diam: c.15 cm.

3. Annular silver arm-ring of lozenge-shaped section (0.6 cm), tapering to rod-shaped ends which are twisted together. Diam: 8.3 cm.

4. Penannular silver arm-ring ("ring-money") of lozenge-shaped section, with slightly flattened inner angle, tapering from 1.0 to 0.6 cm straight-cut ends. Diam: 8.1 cm.

5. Penannular silver arm-ring ("ring-money") of sub-circular cross-section, with curved outer face and faceted inner face, tapering from 0.8 to 0.5 cm straight-cut ends. Diam: 7.3 cm.

6. Penannular silver finger-ring made from a plain rod tapering from 0.3 to 0.2 cm straight-cut ends. Diam: 2.3 cm.

7. Silver pin-head from a "ball-type" penannular brooch, cast with its pin which is cut through. The front of the pin-head is brambled by criss-cross filing; the reverse is ornamented with an angular fret-pattern, within a roundel with a beaded border; the fret is repeated on the pin-top within a plain border. There are bands of incised zig-zags and chevrons around the upper and lower collars. Length: 11.3 cm.

8. Complete worn silver pin from a "ball-type" penannular brooch. Its upper end is socketed for attachment to a pin-head tenon (cf. the Skail pin-head: fig. 10); the shaft is circular in section, becoming hexagonal and then lozenge-shaped before tapering to its point. Length: c.48 cm.

Manx Museum: 4408 - 4419, 4421 (fig. 9).

4408. Fragment cut from the silver pin-head of a "ball-type" penannular brooch. The front is plain; the flattened reverse is incised with a hexafoil within two concentric circles. The pin-top has a crudely incised cruciform motif. The stepped collars are plain. Width: 3.6 cm.

4409. Annular silver arm-ring made from two rods twisted together, with a pair of twisted wires laid between them. Diam: 7.9 cm.

4410. Silver ring fragment, cut at both ends, consisting of a rod within a three-sided frame plaited from seven rods. Diam: 7.6 cm.

4411. Penannular silver arm-ring ("ring-money") of lozenge-shaped section (0.8 cm), but with flattened inner angle; the terminals are pointed, with spatulate outer face. Diam: 7.1 cm.

4412. Penannular silver arm-ring ("ring-money") of hexagonal section (0.8 cm), tapering to pointed terminals with spatulate outer face. Diam: 5.7 cm (bent).

4413. Penannular silver arm-ring ("ring-money") of lozenge-shaped section (0.6 cm), tapering to pointed terminals with flattened outer face. Diam: 6.0 cm.

4414. Penannular silver arm-ring ("ring-money") of octagonal section (0.9 × 0.75 cm) tapering to straight-cut square terminals (0.4 cm). Diam: 7.3 cm.

4415. Cut fragment from a penannular silver arm-ring ("ring-money") of lozenge-shaped section (0.9 cm), tapering to a pointed terminal with flattened outer face. Length: 6.2 cm.

4416. Cut and bent fragment from a penannular silver arm-ring ("ring-money") of lozenge-shaped section (0.7 × 0.6 cm), tapering to a pointed terminal with flattened outer face. Length: 5.5 cm.

4417. Fragment of a silver ring (? "ring-money"), of circular section (0.8 cm), cut off at both ends; it has a greenish patina. Length: 5.8 cm.

4418. Cut fragment from a penannular silver arm-ring ("ring-money") of circular section (0.7 cm), tapering to a straight-cut terminal (0.45 cm); it has a greenish patina (as 4417). Length: 5.2 cm.

4419. Small silver ingot of trapezoidal section (max. 0.6 cm), with rounded ends; some surface bronze corrosion. Length: 3.0 cm.

4421. Penannular silver arm-ring ("ring-money") of circular section (0.7 cm) tapering to 0.5 cm, with terminals that are hammered flat and thus flare slightly (0.6 cm). Diam: 7.1 cm.

No. 9. *West Nappin*. Deposited "later 1040s". Manx Museum: 4396 (Dolley 1977a, 58, pl. B,3). Penannular silver arm-ring ("ring-money") of circular section (0.6 cm), tapering to straight-cut terminals (0.3 cm). Diam: 5.6 cm (fig. 4, top left).

No. 10. *Kirk Andreas, 1874*. Deposited c.1048. Reported to have contained "some old rings" or "silver bracelets" (see note 8 above); these are not known to have survived.

No. 14. *Kirk Michael, 1972/75*. Deposited c.1066. Manx Museum: IOMMM 76–85 to 89 (fig. 4, above): listed in Cubbon and Dolley 1980, 8.

85. Penannular silver arm-ring ("ring-money") of circular section (0.8 cm), tapering to straight-cut ends (0.45 cm). Diam: 7.4 cm.

86. Penannular silver arm-ring ("ring-money") of rounded section (0.8 cm), tapering to straight-cut ends (0.4 × 0.3 cm), slightly flattened on its inner and outer face. The ring has fractured into two pieces. Diam: 6.7 cm.

87. Fractured fragment of penannular silver arm-ring ("ring-money") of circular section (0.5 cm), tapering to a straight-cut terminal (0.4 × 0.3 cm), slightly flattened on its inner and outer face. Diam: 6.4 cm.

88. Fragment of penannular silver arm-ring ("ring-money") of lozenge-shaped section, with flattened angles, tapering to a straight-cut terminal (0.4 cm); the other end is half cut-through and then broken. Length: 2.5 cm.

89. Fragment of silver rod (diam: 0.55 cm), cut and broken at both ends. The fragment is curved; it is probably derived from a piece of "ring-money", as nos. 76–85 and 76–86 (above).

II. *Coinless hoards* (as listed in fig. 2).

No. 18. *No provenance*. Four silver penannular arm-rings ("ring-money") illustrated in Sir William Betham's *Sketch-Book of Antiquities*, p.25 (see note 11 above, and fig. 6), numbered II – V; the rings are not known to have survived.

II and III. These rings both appear to be of circular section, tapering to straight-cut terminals. Diam: c.8.1 and c.6.7 cm.

IV. This ring appears to be of lozenge-shaped section, with flattened angles, tapering to pointed terminals, with spatulate (or simply flattened) outer face. Diam: c.6.8 cm.

V. This ring appears to be of lozenge-shaped section, tapering to pointed terminals (see note 12 above). Diam: c.6.5 cm.

No. 19. *Ballacamaish, Kirk Andreas parish*. See Appendix C for further details; first listed in *Manx Note Book* (1885), 40, 71; then by Kermodé (1911, 440); listed and illustrated in *VA IV*, 53, figs. 22–3; Kinvig 1944, fig. 25; Wilson 1974, 38, 46.

British Museum: 1870, 10–14, 1–2 (fig. 7).

1a. Penannular silver neck-ring in three pieces, two of which are joined by a nineteenth-century repair, both terminals having been cut from the hoop which is made from four pairs of twisted rods, tapering from a maximum thickness of 0.17 cm to 0.15 cm. The attached terminal is in the form of a flat expanded plate from which projects a spiral hook; the outer surface of the terminal-plate is ornamented with five rows of ring-stamping. Diam: c.13.5 cm.

1b. Detached terminal from the above neck-ring (1a) in the form of a flat expanded plate with a notched edge to form a hook; its outer surface is ornamented with four rows of ring-stamping. Length: 4.8 cm.

1c. Fragment cut from the hoop of a silver neck-ring made from four pairs of twisted rods, tapering from a maximum thickness of 0.2 cm to 0.14 cm at one end and 0.16 cm at the other. Length: 17.8 cm.

2. Penannular silver arm-ring made from three rods twisted together, with

three pairs of twisted wires, one between each rod. The ends are fitted into truncated bi-conical knob-shaped terminals. Diam: 7.3 cm.

III. *Single-finds* (see also Addenda, p. 80 below).

Peel (from outside the walls of the castle). Listed in Wilson 1974, 46; and in Cubbon and Dolley 1980, 8, note 7.

Manx Museum (ex Cowley collection): 55-334 (fig. 4, top right). Cut fragment of penannular silver arm-ring ("ring-money") of lozenge-shaped section (0.7 × 0.8 cm), tapering to a pointed, spatulate terminal. Length: 5.9 cm.

Appendix C. The Ballacamaish hoard (fig. 7).

The Ballacamaish, Andreas hoard was found by labourers in a marl pit in 1868 (see Appendix B for description and references). Amongst the correspondence between Government House and the Treasury, now on deposit in the Manx Museum, there is preserved the draft of a letter dated 27 July 1870, initialled by H. B. Loch the Lieutenant-Governor, concerning this silver hoard.¹ It states that:

The articles have been placed in my possession. They consist of

1. An ornament in very perfect preservation of plaited silver — it appears to have been worn as a necklace.
2. A large portion of a similar ornament.
3. A solid silver bangle in very perfect preservation.

Their united weight is very nearly nine ounces.

Their receipt is acknowledged by the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury on 12 August 1870. The Treasury wrote on 20 August stating that their metallic value was £2.2.1 "and that directions will be given to the Paymaster General to pay that sum either to the finder, or to the farmer who is said to have purchased them". However, the British Museum valued them at six guineas in a letter to the Treasury of 22 August acknowledging receipt of "the silver ornaments". The British Museum register for 14 October 1870 records their purchase (as Treasure Trove) for £6.6.0., but lists the objects as:

1. Silver two portions of a plaited torque Anglo-Saxon period, hook at one end. L lft. 10½.
2. Silver armlet, twisted with small twist along grooves, globular ends. D3.

The British Museum thus seems to have decided that what appeared to the Manx authorities to be the remains of two neck-rings were in fact fragments of a single ornament. It was presumably then that they were pinned together to form the object illustrated in VA IV, fig. 22, and accepted as such by Wilson (1974, 38, 46).

In 1981 the Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities submitted this ring to the British Museum's Research Laboratory, unhappy about the reluctance of the reconstruction to maintain its form, with the query as to whether it might have been incorrectly re-assembled. Independently, the author raised with the Department the problem of the number of pieces in the hoard indicated by the above correspondence. On being dismantled, it appeared that the four pieces did in fact belong to two neck-rings, one complete (although with its terminals cut off) and another represented only by the mid-part of its hoop. Small areas of the four pieces were then examined by X-ray fluorescence.² The analytical results obtained were as follows:

	% Silver	% Copper	% Gold	% Lead
1870, 10-14, 1a hoop	98.2	1.3	0.4	0.1
1870, 10-14, 1a terminal (on hoop)	98.9	0.6	0.4	0.1
1870, 10-14, 1b terminal	98.5	1.1	0.3	0.1
1870, 10-14, 1c hoop frag.	95.8	3.3	0.7	0.3

The two terminals are similar in composition and are close to that of the hoop to which one clearly fits: its nineteenth-century repair (with an inserted rod, attached with solder and a brass pin) has consequently been left untouched. The other terminal could well have fitted onto the other end of the hoop, but this cannot be demonstrated conclusively. There can, however, be little doubt that it does belong to the same ring, for in form it is the "female" to pair with the terminal attached to the hoop, and both have the same ring-stamped ornament made by a stamp with a lopsided centre. The difference in the alloy of the two hoops is "slight, but probably significant" and thus it "may belong to a separate ring". This suggestion is substantiated by detailed measurements of the four pairs of twisted rods from which each is formed. The hoop with terminal has rods with a maximum diameter of 17 mm, tapering at both ends to 15 mm; the second hoop is constituted from rods with a maximum diameter of 20 mm, tapering to 16 mm at one end and 14 mm at the other. It is thus not possible that they could originally have been joined to form a single ring. The conclusion is therefore that the Ballacamaish hoard consisted of one neck-ring, cut into three pieces, a fragment of a second similar ring, and a complete arm-ring (fig. 7).

It remains to record the unfortunate consequences of the discovery of the Ballacamaish hoard, resulting from the poor reward (£2.2.1) paid by the Treasury on that occasion. The Lieutenant-Governor wrote, on 22 March 1876,³ to the Secretary to the Treasury to complain that the small amount that had been paid had "led to the loss and destruction of a large quantity of valuable coins as well as ornaments that would have been preserved if the value they command in the market had been found for them". The Lieutenant-Governor's annoyance was fuelled by the fact that the Treasury had made £4.3.11 on the deal, from the £6.6.0 received by them from the British Museum! During this period (1870–76) there are two Viking-Age hoards known to have been found on Man, both in 1874, at Ballaqueeney (no. 2) and at Kirk Andreas (no. 10); the latter hoard contained ornaments, although they no longer survive (see above), and it is probable that it is to its dispersal that the Lieutenant-Governor was referring.

Notes

1. Treasury Correspondence 1870–71 (GO 20/4).
2. This analysis was undertaken by M. Cowell, whose report is quoted here with kind permission (Ref: File 4774).
3. Treasury Correspondence 1876–77 (GO 23/14).

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Addenda

Appendix A (p. 74): coin-hoard no. 9a.

During excavations on St Patrick's Isle (Peel Castle) in 1982, reported in *The Work of the Rescue Archaeology Unit at Peel Castle, Isle of Man* (Liverpool University Rescue Archaeology Unit, 1982), a hoard of forty-two Hiberno-Norse coins was discovered apparently buried in a roll (cf. the Bradda Head hoard (no. 6), p. 57 above). The deposition of this hoard is dated to the 1040s by Mr W. A. Seaby (publication forthcoming).

Appendix B(III): single-finds (p. 77).

A Viking-Age finger-ring of plaited gold rods was found in 1981 in a field at Greeba in the parish of German; it has been acquired by the Manx Museum following the Treasure Trove Inquest in 1983. Publication forthcoming by Mr A. M. Cubbon.

Note. I am most grateful to Mr Cubbon, Director of the Manx Museum, for permission to refer to these finds in advance of their full publication.

Two aspects of Manx traditional life

MARGARET KILLIP

The aspects of Manx life to be discussed here are the basic ones of farming and fishing, not so much from the point of view of how they were done as to show their place in the traditional life of the Island. These activities were so closely combined and inter-related, that it is almost impossible to deal with them separately, to write of one without mentioning the other, and indeed to do so would give a very incomplete picture of Island life from quite early times. This dual way of life began in the distant past in the Isle of Man and lasted until the mid-nineteenth century, when the two occupations drew apart and developed on separate lines as industries. The fishing reached a peak of prosperity in the second half of last century, with some thousands employed in and dependent upon it, then declined towards 1900 because of lack of capital for investment as the industry became more competitive, and because of other opportunities for employment, with mining on the increase, and the building trade prospering as the towns and villages grew to meet the demands of a developing tourist industry.

The old way must have been followed for centuries, even in those times in our unsettled history when it would seem improbable that any normal kind of life could be maintained, particularly during the disturbed years of the Anglo-Scottish wars before the Stanley Lordship of Man, when the Island changed hands many times. It was a period during which Manx life and institutions were thrown into confusion: a state of affairs which the Stanleys later tried to turn to their advantage by attempting to change the people's tenure of their land from customary freehold to leasehold.

The ancient land-system was based on the *treen* and the quarterland, four quarters averaging eighty acres each in a larger division, the *treen*. Each tenant paid a tax or rent out of one or two quarterlands or a portion of one. The quarter in Manx Gaelic is *kerroo*, a word found in a few present-day farm-names with a qualifying word, e.g. *keyl* "narrow", *chirrym* "dry", *doo* "black", occasionally *lieh-kerroo* "half a quarterland", but these names made a late appearance in manorial records, in the eighteenth, even nineteenth, century. However, earlier, in the sixteenth century, lettings in smaller units of the quarterland — halves, quarters, even sixths — occurred fairly frequently,¹ though without any permanent fragmentation of the quarterland, so that it remained the chief unit of land on which the obligations and dues of tenants to both Church and State were based.

The Manx quarterland was and is composed of lands of varying qualities, since they extend from river bank to mountain foot, or from the shore inland. These holdings, with rights of way to a water supply, the turf-grounds, the shore, the mill and the church, lay open until the seventeenth or eighteenth century in most cases, their boundaries known but undefined. Enclosure of the land was urged upon the people by law from the fifteenth century,² but it was not accomplished for another two hundred years, and it was done by taking oral evidence from the people themselves — they knew the extent of each holding and the rocks, trees, streams or other natural landmarks that defined their area. It had been the custom to

fold animals on the open land within low hedges built of sods, a mode of building to which the Manx farmer became exclusively inclined. It took stringent legislation to induce him to go in for more permanent construction in stone. It is significant that the Manx language has no native word for a wall, but contains an interesting variety of words related to the building of the sod fence which remains in use today, particularly in the north of the Island, and sod and earth hedges re-inforced with stone, frequently topped with gorse, are, along with later-built stone walls, characteristic features of the present-day field pattern.

Writers on life in the Isle of Man in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, whilst deploring the Manxman's addiction to the sea and fishing as an obstacle to the serious pursuit and improvement of agriculture, yet paint a favourable picture of farming life at the time, as it had been followed by countless generations of Manx people. An account of 1695 lists among the Island's advantages, abundance of grain, an industrious people, a surplus of both cattle and grain for export,³ but this picture of plenty and prosperity must be received with caution. The people's expectations of prosperity were not excessive; trade both within and outside the Island was restricted, and since the writer stresses the inhabitants' hospitality to strangers and charitableness to each other, it should be remembered that these very qualities no doubt developed during periods of privation when without them people would have perished from want.

In the eighteenth century agricultural improvers and innovators made their appearance, and introduced new breeds of cattle, sheep and horses to replace the small indigenous black cattle and the brown or *loghtan* sheep, and the small ponies native to the Island. Crops grown previously had been oats and barley, some rye, a little wheat on the better lands. The people lived mostly on barleymeal and oatmeal, milk products when obtainable, and on fish, chiefly herrings; on these latter and potatoes when they became generally grown they mainly depended. Meat was in very short supply and was scarcely eaten at all by poorer people. Living in all its aspects had been frugal and simple, and people supplied all their own needs. For shelter they made a thatched sod- or stone-built house, depending on the availability of building materials. Turf for fuel was dug in turf-grounds on the hills and in the central and northern marshlands. Wood in early days was scarce in the Isle of Man (plantations and hedgerows mostly date from the eighteenth century), so driftwood was obtained from the shore and *darrags*, pieces of bog-oak, from the wet lands, both much prized for building and for firewood. Candles, rush-lights and home-made lamps provided light. There was poverty, sometimes famine and destitution, but there was also neighbourliness and mutual help. Work was on a communal basis: people had their share in the tools and implements of work. Farmers combined in forming a plough-team and quarterland occupiers shared in the use of a corn-drying kiln.

This way of life, for which there is only comparatively late written evidence, was long-established when the Stanleys inherited the Island in 1405 and became its overlords and administrators and tried to turn it to some account. Sir John Stanley willed that the land be allocated annually to the tenants in good time so that the people would be able to work the ground to advantage and not lose their profit from it nor he his.⁴ All subsequent legislation was to this end, the Lord's profit: the early letting of the land, its fencing, the construction of the traditional cattle and sheep folds and parish pinfolds and their repair and upkeep were all measures aimed at increasing the efficiency with which work on the land was carried on, so that people would produce enough for their own needs, but more especially so that they would be able to meet their Lord's rent requirements.

Much of the information obtainable about life in the Island at this period is contained in the laws, the first written version of the old Breast Laws, committed to writing in the early fifteenth century.⁵ They deal with many aspects of life: the details of Tynwald Court procedure, the obligations to the Lord of Man of the ecclesiastical barons who were extensive land-holders in the Island in pre-Reformation days. They regulate the dues and duties of the Church and the clergy, the trade and defence of the Island, and matters of closest concern to the people themselves: the land, its holding, inheritance, and cultivation, and the fishing, the two spheres of labour by which the people lived and from which both Church and State exacted a large part of their revenues. They reflect the rather chaotic state

of a system of farming based on unenclosed or inadequately enclosed land with its resultant evils of late leasing, uncertain boundaries, trespass and damage by livestock, and loss of profit. The court records of land administration for this and the subsequent periods, dealing with disputes arising out of these problems, document the turbulent progress of Manx agriculture from subsistence farming to the more productive days of the industry in the later nineteenth and early twentieth century.

The Lords of Man had other sources of revenue besides rent on land. These included mills and brewing, river- and sea-fishing and mines, supplies of grain and fuel and a yearly allocation of beef from each quarterland to provision the castle garrisons at Peel and Castletown, as well as fines and death duties and dues of labour for repair work. The basic unit on which these were levied was the quarterland farm with in most cases proportionate charges for those living on "Intack" or lately enclosed land, on crofts and in cottages.

Agriculture provided the background to Island life, and there was little chance of making any break with this traditional way of living. The law prohibited unlicensed emigration, and people were pressed into the service of the Lord of Man in the cultivation of the land either as tenants or servants. However, alongside it and deeply rooted in the Island's past was the fishing, particularly the herring fishing, though inshore, long-line and river-fishing were also carried on. William Blundell remarked that "the sea feedeth more of the Manksmen than the land",⁶ and economically the fishing was of greater importance than agriculture, considerable quantities of fish being exported and much consumed at home. It is however the herring fishing that is under consideration here, in whose original organization the quarterland farmer had a special part to play. By the nineteenth century when the herring fleet was centred chiefly in the ports of Peel and Port St Mary, the nature of the Manx fishing industry had changed. Around 1850 certain boat builders and owners tried extending the fishermen's activities beyond Manx waters and sent boats to fish for mackerel to the southern Irish coasts and for herring to the Shetland Islands. In the herring fishery as it was traditionally carried on, the boats sailed not only from the main ports of the Island but from creeks and beaches all round the coast. Lack of harbour and landing facilities were among the numerous hardships of the fisherman's lot, and not only at the smaller creeks but at the main ports too adverse winds and storms could prevent them leaving and returning with consequent loss of markets and profit from their work, and not infrequently lead to shipwreck and drowning. The Manx herring fishing had been in no sense a private or individual pursuit. It was highly organized and carried on under the supervision of Church and State, and subject always to strict regulations. While the Lord of Man claimed a return from the herring fishing only, the Church exacted a tithe on fishing of all kinds. The Lord's requirement was termed the "Castle Maze". A "maze" or *mease* was six hundred and twenty fish, so five long hundreds out of every five *mease* caught had to go to provision the castle garrisons, a demand first made in 1417.⁷ The civil authorities were much concerned that the fishing should be diligently and profitably pursued, and orders were issued at various times to this end. In 1687 boat-masters were reminded of an earlier decree that they must have their boats and nets in readiness for the fishing about all parts of the Island and must pursue it by all possible means; those who did not attend at sea were to be fined £3. It was the quarterland farm that was the unit on which this order was based: each was required to supply eight fathoms of net of a specified depth and mesh size, furnished with corks and buoys. This demand had been re-asserted in 1610 and at the same time regulations were laid down as to actual fishing procedure and conduct: where and when to shoot the nets; the obligations on every boat's crew to spread the word when fish were sighted; the penalties for contravention of the fishing laws and for bad language and violence at sea.⁸

The Church authorities kept an equally strict control over fish catches. The higher clergy were able to select a boat for their own use tithe-free on two occasions, at Easter and during the herring fishing season. All other boats had to surrender tithe on their catches wherever they landed.⁹ These church exactions on the fishing were of ancient standing, dating back to the thirteenth century, when a fish tithe was added to the list of tithes on produce from the land.¹⁰

It has been suggested, and indeed convincingly demonstrated, that the highly organized

nature of the Manx herring fishery is a legacy from the period of Norse rule in the Island, and the mustering of the fleet derives from the ancient Norse institution of *leiðangr* "ship-levy", originally a fleet for defence equipped and manned by the landholders, to be called out in time of invasion, declining later into partial use in annual forays.¹¹ It is interesting to note in this connection that the official name for the boat traditionally used in the Manx herring fishing, undecked, of five to seven tons, with four sweeps and a square sail, and known locally as a square-sail, was the herring *scowte* a word believed to derive from the Norse word *skúta*, used of an auxiliary naval vessel.¹²

Seen in this historical perspective, though he was the occupier, wholly or in part, of a quarterland farm, the Manxman's addiction to a sea-going life was natural and inevitable. His attempt at this dual role of farmer and fisherman to the detriment of the land, so much deplored by later writers on Manx agriculture, appears in the earlier years of Stanley rule to have been considered advantageous. While the Lord's profit in rent or kind could scarcely be looked for from both sources, in bad times it was expected that one might compensate for the failure of the other.¹³

The annual departure of the men for defence at sea, later for the herring fishing during the summer months, meant that from early time women assumed responsibility for the land and stock during their absence, in addition to their normal care of the house and family: a circumstance that probably contributed to their far from inferior status in Island life and their entitlement to some legal and economic privileges.

The Act of Settlement of 1704 put an end to the land dispute, confirming the people's claim to a freehold tenure.¹⁴ The quarterland farm, discounting those used up in town and village development, has retained its nature and identity and may still be characterized as, in one writer's phrase, "land of the highest denomination in the Island", though it no longer provides the connecting link between two major aspects of Island life.

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Notes

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| 1. Talbot (1924). | 8. Gill (1883), 74. |
| 2. Gill (1883), 49, 56. | 9. Gill (1883), 141. |
| 3. Camden (1871), 13. | 10. Harrison (1871), 181. |
| 4. Gill (1883), 14. | 11. Megaw (1941), 100. |
| 5. Gill (1883), 3–4. | 12. Megaw (1941), 101. |
| 6. Blundell (1876), 52 | 13. Gill (1883), 74. |
| 7. Gill (1883), 5. | 14. Gill (1883), 161. |

An Iona rune stone and the world of Man and the Isles

ASLAK LIESTØL

A memorial rune stone (fig. 1) which, as far as I know, is the most recent to be discovered in Britain, was brought to my knowledge by our gracious host, Dr David Wilson. That was back in the early seventies at the memorable Seventh Viking Congress in Dublin. I asked his opinion of the date of the ornamental cross on the stone. He was rather vague about it and I got the impression that he would welcome a date based on the inscription itself. I shall touch on that subject in my paper, but I am afraid that in the end the runologist may well be as vague as the hesitant art-historian.

The stone was found on Iona, and recently Ian Fisher in Edinburgh has very kindly provided me with details of the find and with an extensive list of relevant literature on cross-slabs with similar or related ornament.¹

The rune stone is made of a slab of Torridonian flagstone. The rectangular cross-slab seems to have measured 1.11 m by 0.77 m. It is no longer intact and what is preserved is about half of it. This particular section was found in 1962, although a smaller fragment, since lost, was in existence in 1877. A rubbing exists which permits it to be fitted into a drawing reconstructing the ornament (fig. 2).

The decoration consists of a cross made up of an endless ribbon with knotted terminals and a separate interlaced square ring at the centre. At the terminals separate ribbon rings in figures-of-eight are interlaced within the knots. A plain border runs along the sides of the slab, and along the border of the longer side there is a runic inscription. A few runes are missing at the end because the corner of the slab is broken off, but there is no difficulty in filling in the missing part. The inscription has the ordinary type of formula found on most memorial rune stones: "NN raised this stone in memory of . . ." But this is not a standing stone and the inscription has a variant verb, "laid", and preposition, "over":

× kali × auluis × sunr × laþi × stan × þinsi × ubir × fukl × bruþur (× sin ×).
In normalised Old Norse: *Kali Qlvissonr lagði stein þensi yfir Fogl, bróður sinn*. That is, "Kali Qlvissonr laid this stone over Fogl, his brother."

There are no real problems in reading the runes. But the tendency of such flagstones to split has caused us some inconvenience. We meet it in the very first word where the second rune is damaged by flaking. A reading *kili* has been suggested, which could be identified as a first element well known in Celtic compound personal names, *Gilla/Gille* "servant", borrowed in Norse as *Gilli*. But closer examination of the damaged part shows traces of an oblique line to the left of the staff of the second rune. There seems no doubt, therefore, that the rune is an *ár*-rune ʀ, with a one-sided left-hand twig. The other two *ár*-runes in the inscription have a crossing or double-sided twig ʀ. It is fairly common to find the two variants used in the same inscription before a long variant was adopted as a character for the sound /æ/. This reading gives the personal name *Kali*, which we find elsewhere among the Scandinavian-speaking people of the Isles, as we shall see.

A more extensive flaking has removed part of the word *laþi*, but this spelling is easily made



Fig. 1. The Iona rune stone. Ph: A. Liestøl.

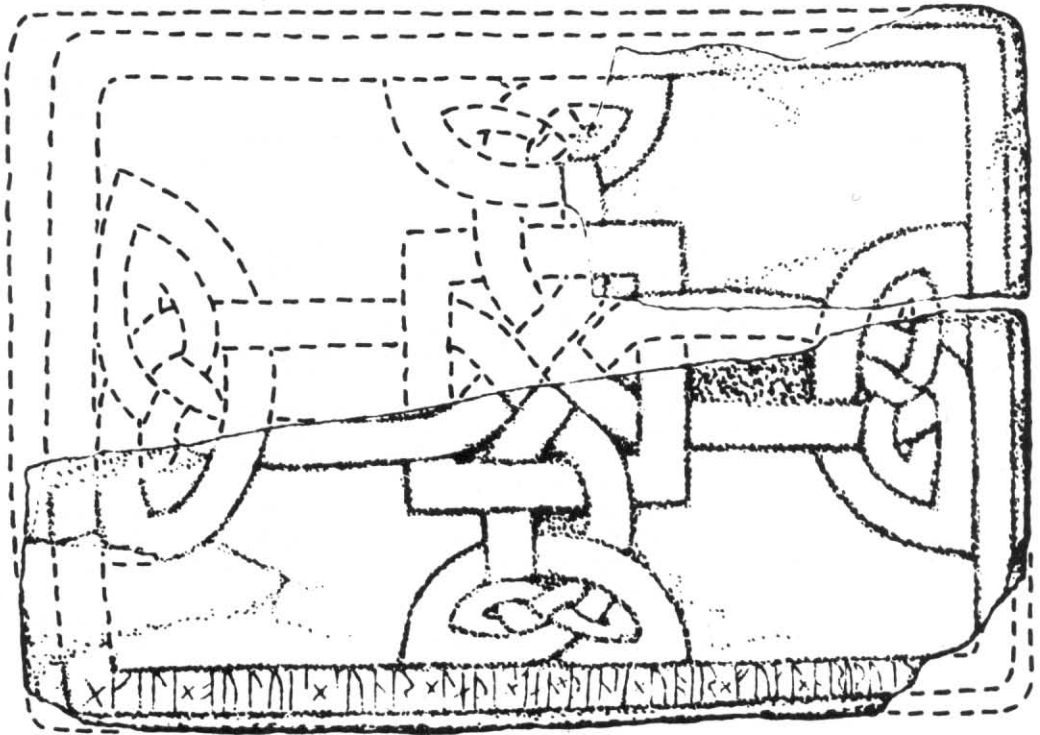


Fig. 2. Reconstruction of the Iona rune stone, by Ian G. Scott.

out from the remains. The last of the preserved words also seems to have been damaged by flaking. However, this must have happened when the runes were chiselled, because they have been re-cut on the deeper new face. When we study this part closer (fig. 3), we find that the carver himself was responsible for the flaking. The fact is that he made a mistake by leaving out the first *r* *R* in the word *bruþur*, writing *bupur* instead. He felt this had to be corrected and so chiselled out the three middle runes *ᚱᚷᚱ*. Marks of the chisel's edge can be clearly seen in the upper part of the writing space. Some traces of the original runes are visible: the stave of the first *ᚱ*, nearly the whole of *ᚷ*, and the lower part of the stave in the following *ᚱ*. The four correct runes *Rᚱᚷᚱ* have then been squeezed in between the first and last runes to give the reading *bruþur*.

The missing part of the allocated space would give just about enough room for the missing pronoun *sin* 'ᚱ', with a division mark preceding it and a cross following it to finish off the line and act as a pendant to the initial saltire cross.

As I said, there are no real problems connected with reading the inscription. The information it was meant to impart is really of limited interest to us. None of the three men mentioned is known from other sources and, as far as we are concerned, the renown the surviving brother sought to enhance is of help only in a general sense. What we learn is that two Scandinavian-speaking brothers had social status and wealth enough to acquire a burial place near the shrine of St Columba and close to the road leading from the cathedral to the princely cemetery of *Reilig Odráin*. The three men, *Qlvir* and his sons *Kali* and *Fogll* — *þeir feðgar* as their kinsmen would probably have said — must have belonged to a leading family in the district. If a saga about the South Hebrides had been put together, we might know more about them. Now they are only names. However, these names also belong to men who played a part in the dramatic history of the Isles some generations later. These younger men were contemporaries and seem to have flourished around the middle of the twelfth century.

Some of their doings are recorded in the *Orkneyinga saga*, the saga of the earls of Orkney. They all seem in some way to have special connections with the Hebrides and with other Scandinavian communities around the Irish Sea. Bearing in mind the widespread custom of keeping names within families, we may be tempted to consider the possibility that the men of the saga were descendants or younger relatives of the Iona *feðgar*.

Kali was the original name of the notable Earl *Rognvaldr* (died 1158), who built St Magnus' Cathedral in Kirkwall. He was son of a sister of St Magnús, but he was named after his grandfather, *Kali Sæbjarnarson*, who followed King Magnús berbeinn on his expedition to the Isles and the Isle of Man in 1098. According to the saga, this older *Kali* was wounded in the Anglesey battle between Magnús and English earls and subsequently died of his wounds in the Hebrides. His grandson *Kali* — later Earl *Rognvaldr* — also took part in several voyages to the British Isles, and in Grimsby he befriended a certain *Gillachrist* (*Gillikristr* in Norse form), who claimed to be a son of King Magnús berbeinn. This man eventually became king of Norway, where he was known as *Haraldr gilli*. *Kali* had the name *Rognvaldr* and the earldom of Orkney bestowed on him by King *Sigurðr Jórsalafari* (died 1130), but it was not until *Haraldr gilli* became sole ruler of Norway in 1135 that *Rognvaldr* tried to claim his earldom. The intrigues and political manoeuvring in this attempt seem to show that *Rognvaldr* had solid ties with families of the Isles, and I think it is reasonable to suspect that this was not solely through his princely mother, even though the saga says that the family of his father, *Kolr Kalason*, came from *Agðir* in South Norway. *Kolr* was the strategist behind the venture and must have had intimate knowledge of the affairs of the Isles, more so than could be expected of a purely Norwegian chieftain.

In the saga an *Qlvir*, nicknamed *rósta*, appears as an ally of Earl *Rognvaldr* in his first unsuccessful attempt to claim the earldom. He was a close relative of the Orkney earls, grandson of the notable and scheming lady, *Frakokk*. They had a seat in Sutherland and obviously very strong connections in the Hebrides.

The *Fogll* in the saga is said to have lived in Lewis, along with his father, *Ljótólfr*. *Fogll* plays a minor part in the saga, but his name is interesting. It means simply "bird" and as a personal name is known in the West Norse area only on the Iona stone and here in the *Orkneyinga saga*, though it is attested in pre-conquest England and known in medieval



Fig. 3. Detail of *bruþur*. Ph: A. Liestøl.

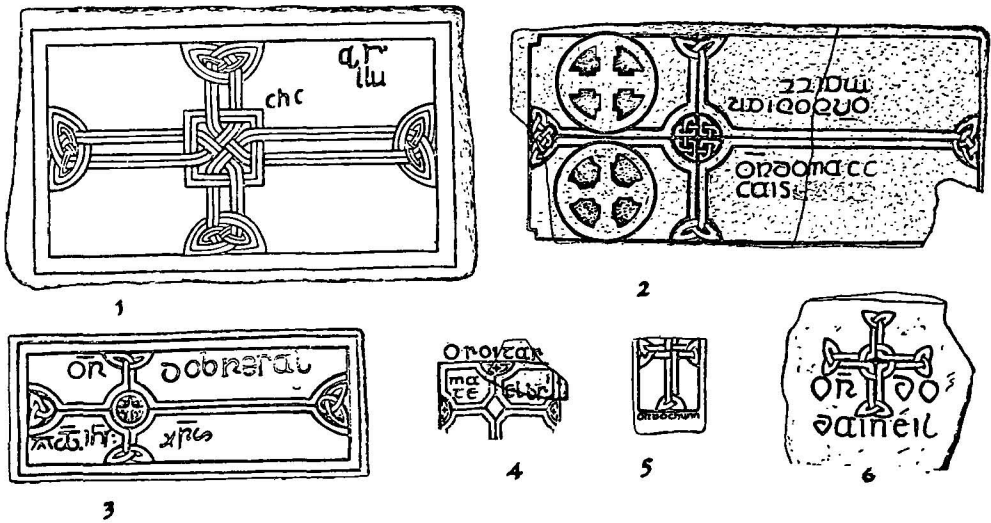


Fig. 4. “Expansional” cross-slabs: from (1) Iona; (2–3) Glendalough, Co. Wicklow; (4) Inis Cealtra, Co. Clare; (5–6) Clonmacnois, Co. Offaly. From Lionard (1960–61), fig. 26.

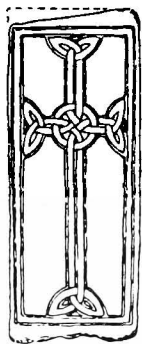


Fig. 5 (above). "Expansional" cross-slab at Reefert Church, Glendalough, Co. Wicklow. From H. G. Leask, *Glendalough, Co. Wicklow* (National Monuments Guide), fig. 18.

Fig. 6 (below). Broken cross-slab from Papil, Shetland. Ph: Shetland Museum.



Fig. 7. The decorated side of the Kilbar cross, Barra. Ph: National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland.

Danish and Swedish examples. I have chosen the form *Fogll*, not the more common *Fugll*, in normalising the runic *fukl*, because the saga has *Fogll* throughout. If we stretch the notion of keeping and echoing names within families, we may also wonder about the name of *Fogll*'s father, *Ljótólfr*, and the possibility of connections between him and the family of *Qlvir rósta*: *Qlvir*'s father was *Þorljótr* and his mother's father was *Ljótr níðingr* in Sutherland.

What I am suggesting is the possibility of a family link, however distant, between the *Kali*, *Fogll* and *Qlvir* of the twelfth century and the three men mentioned on the Iona stone.

Some may think I am going a little too far in suggesting such family links over the ages and in relying so extensively on details in the saga. But nevertheless the names put a sort of framework around the three men of the prestigious burial on Iona. And they also bridge the world of Man and the Isles. How many generations then separated the two *Fogll*s and the two *Kalis* and the two *Qlvirs*? We are back to the tricky question of dating. We may approach it from two directions, first from runology, then from art history.

Two unusual spellings on the Iona stone are probably merely the result of a very common type of error, straightforward omission of a rune. The form *stan* for *stain* is easily explained in that way. When the carver had carved *stai* ᚱᚰ, he attached the twig of the *n*-rune to the stave already there instead of carving a new one. It is a sort of haplography which we meet, for example, in the Norwegian *Njærheim I* inscription, which has *stan* alongside *stainar*.² The form *lahpi* for *lahþi* is probably another mis-spelling of similar kind, cf. the correction of *bupur* to *brupur* later in the inscription. These errors do not help much in our search for dating evidence.

The form of the demonstrative *þinsi* is also unusual. All inscriptions in the Isles have variants of the form *þenna*, except one from Kirk German which has *þensi*. This inscription is clearly of later date than the majority of Manx crosses. In Norway the form is found on two stones: the ornamental *Vang* stone, which we can date with reasonable safety to the beginning of the eleventh century;³ and the *Kull* stone which dates itself by saying, "Twelve winters had Christianity been in Norway . . ." The only snag is that we do not know what the carver meant here by his reference to *kristindómr*. We should not however expect the inscription to be from much after the year 1000 nor, at most, more than two generations before it. Now, the form *þensi* is very common in tenth-century Denmark.⁴ It therefore seems more reasonable to suppose that our examples of *þensi* in the Isles show a direct or indirect connection with Danes than to postulate links with Norwegians employing a peculiar and un-Norse form. What this might mean in terms of absolute chronology, I will not venture to say.

The spelling of genitive *Qlvir* with initial *áss-úrr* ᚱᚰ certainly reflects the effects of *u*-mutation on */a/*. In the early Viking Age the initial phoneme of the rune name *áss* probably had the distinctive features [+ low] and [+ nasal], but a new feature — [+ rounded] — was developing which ultimately created a new phoneme. This "roundedness" may have accounted for the choice of that particular rune. The feature [+ nasal] was irrelevant. For further stress on the "roundedness" the *úrr*-rune was added. That character was used in Viking Age inscriptions for all phonemes with the feature [+ rounded], as e.g. in this Iona inscription: for long */ð/* in *bróður*, for short */u/* or */o/* in *sunr/sonr* and *Fugll/Fogll*, for short */y/* in *yfir*, and for unstressed */u/* in *bróður*. The digraph expression of the product of the mutation is common in Viking Age inscriptions, but usually with the runes *ár* and *úrr* ᚱᚰ, as e.g. in the uniquely Manx inscription from Kirk Michael (pp. 140, 179 below), where the island's name is written *maun*. This spelling, which seems to have become traditional, may reflect some intermediary stage in the development of the mutation. Later, when the formation of the mutation product was complete, the rune *ansur/áss* alone could represent that product, as in the Shetland inscription from *Cunningburgh*. There the *áss*-rune is used alone in *fqður* and in the second element of the name *Þorbjörn*, while the *úrr*-rune is chosen for */o/* in the first element, *Þor-*, in the same name. The Iona inscription has a mixture of the two orthographies, and so has the inscription on the Manx Ballaugh cross (fig. 2, p. 182 and p. 140 below). Here the first phoneme in *Óláfr* or *Áleifr* is represented by the same digraph as in *Qlvir* on the Iona stone. But there is no real parallel between them. In *Qlvir* the initial vowel was short and not nasalised, whereas in *Áleifr* it was long and

nasalised, so that the *áss*-rune was bound to seem the best choice.

Some people would perhaps say that chronologically this places the Iona inscription between Gautr's crosses on the Isle of Man and the Shetland Cunningsburgh stone. This could furnish a left-hand dating bracket quite near to the right-hand bracket given by the latest use of the *úrr*-rune for the /o/ phoneme, *viz.* the very first part of the eleventh century. I am not particularly fond of that kind of reasoning. In my opinion there is a tendency to over-precise dating. The effects of tradition, social and geographical variation, personal habits and so on, are beyond our knowledge and are too often disregarded. In our context we must also take into account the inconsistencies of Manx rune-writing. All we can say is that, although the runological material for dating the Iona stone is rather inconclusive, it seems at least to point to the tenth century — that is, to a time more or less contemporary with the bulk of the Manx crosses.

A closer study of the ornamental cross on the slab may help us a little further. Although I am certainly venturing onto unsafe ground, I will try to sketch some outlines, chiefly in the hope of triggering off a debate among the art-historians.

In the Abbey Museum on Iona there is another cross-slab with the same cross-design but lacking runes (fig. 4, 1). The one is probably a copy of the other. They belong to what Lionard calls “expansional” crosses, crosses with expansions at the terminals and the centre.⁶ Most of them are found at Clonmacnois. The nearest parallels to the Iona crosses, however, are not found in the large Clonmacnois collection but at Glendalough (figs. 4, 2–3, and 5), south of Dublin, and at Papil in Shetland⁷ (fig. 6). They have two features in common: the knotted terminals and the separate interlaced central ring. These features are also found on Manx crosses. Kermode has given Gautr credit for developing the knotted patterns, and he points to the Ballaugh cross as a perfect example⁸ (fig. 2, p. 182 below). Wilson has stressed the free ring motif and shows Gautr's Kirk Michael cross as an example⁹ (fig. 1, p. 179 below). As to dating these parallels, David Wilson, like Haakon Shetelig, has placed the Manx crosses within rather narrow limits, 940–1000¹⁰ (but cf. now p. 185 below), and Charles Thomas has reckoned the Papil cross-slab to be “of pre-Norse date”.¹¹ The Irish parallels are not properly dated, although Ó hÉailidhe suggests the early eleventh century for the Glendalough examples.¹²

Another cross should perhaps be considered in this discussion. On the island of Barra in the Outer Hebrides an ornamental cross with a runic inscription was found, the Kilbar cross (fig. 7). It has been suggested that it was this type of decoration, plaited and knotted ornament on a Celtic cross, which inspired Gautr and his school of artists. In this connection we should bear in mind the short distance across the sea from Barra to Iona and also remember that this route takes us past the island of Coll, the probable birthplace of Bjørn, the father of Gautr.¹³ Is it possible that the Kilbar cross was made by Bjørn? He might have been a professional carver who moved to the wealthier and more attractive Isle of Man to build up a reputation and to instruct his son in his craft.

When discussing the background of the Manx crosses, we should perhaps also take into account the monastic centre at Iona and its daughter-houses to the north. In this context the Papil and Iona cross-slabs may be good witnesses and important elements in the discussion of early communication between Scandinavians and Celtic church-society. The cross-designers might have found useful elements on traditional Celtic crosses, elements they could easily merge with the kind of ornament they were accustomed to in their traditional carving. Here I should like to voice my opinion that most carving contemporary with the Manx crosses was probably executed in wood, regrettably not surviving for us to study.

After this digression I must conclude my venture into the deep waters of art-history. An overall appreciation of the ornament seems, at least to me, to point to a dating which goes well with the runological evidence: the tenth century, and possibly its latter half.

This means that those early notables in the Isles, known to us as Ólvir, Kali and Fogl, may have lived some four to six generations before their namesakes of the twelfth century. If we think of a date towards 1000, for example, then in terms of family links the Sæbjørn of the saga, Earl Rognvaldr's great-grandfather, could have been a contemporary of Kali Ólvisson's children.

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Notes

1. See now the *Inventory*, 16–17, 190 (nos. 6, 69).
2. *NlyR* II 145.
3. *NlyR* I 235.
4. *NlyR* IV 283.
5. *DR*, Text, 707.
6. Lionard (1960–61), 128–36.
7. Lionard (1960–61), 129, fig. 26; Ó hÉailidhe (1973), 61–2; Small (1973), 29, 42, pl. xv.
8. Kermode (1907), 40.
9. Wilson (1970–73), 8.
10. Wilson (1970–73), 18.
11. Small (1973), 29.
12. Ó hÉailidhe (1973), 61.
13. Olsen (1954), 183–4, 227.

On the iconography of the Manx crosses

SUE MARGESON

Despite ingenious attempts by P.M.C. Kermodé in his invaluable *Manx Crosses* of 1907, and by others since, to identify the scenes carved on the slate crosses and cross-slabs of the Viking period on the Isle of Man, many seem to defy identification under closer scrutiny. If they remain cryptic, however, it is partly the result of the carving technique itself, where motifs are presented without division into episodes and often in an apparently disjointed fashion so that it can be difficult to determine which motifs belong together or even which are narrative and which decorative. This is particularly true of the combined animal and figurative motifs. It is this characteristic of Manx pictorial tradition which led to Kermodé's often rather fanciful identifications. An indiscriminate use of Norse literary sources to support these gave them a spurious reliability, which has perhaps accounted for their longevity. Hardly any attention has been paid to the iconography other than to the well-known group of carvings illustrating parts of the story of Sigurðr Fáfnisbani. The crosses appear frequently enough in books on the Viking Age, and that they bear pictures of Óðinn, Þórr, Gerðr and Heimdallr is taken for granted, but there has been no critical analysis, perhaps because of the attention focussed on the Sigurðr carvings. Even the latter have suffered, however, as the result of being viewed with a retrospective eye, with the "developed" version of the *Völsung* legend as found in early medieval carvings in Sweden and Norway in mind. They have been seen as interesting forerunners of the later cycle, but because of their "sketchiness" have not been given due credit as one of the most important groups of carvings in the entire corpus: they are in fact the earliest record we have of several episodes from the *Völsung* legend, in either art or literature. Furthermore, their "sketchiness" should not blind us to the skill with which the craftsmen presented the pictures nor to the command they held over the medium.

One of the major problems we encounter in dealing with the Manx memorial stones is that so many are only fragments. The slate of which they are made fractures very easily, and many stones were re-used as building material, or as markers for later graves. Relatively few complete crosses survive, where the original decorative programme can be seen intact. Thus it is difficult to be sure where the emphasis lay in the original scheme. Fragmentary scenes are of course open to many divergent interpretations, and it has often proved tempting to make attributions to a particular story rather than leave them as unidentifiable.

Thus one must approach the iconography of the Manx memorial stones armed with considerable caution. In the case of fragmentary scenes, recognisable attributes must be present before identifications can be certain. Iconography and literature should go hand in hand and, used carefully, the pictorial and the written sources can complement each other. But since only a tiny proportion of the tenth-century iconographic and literary corpus survives, it is impossible to find a corresponding literary source for every pictorial motif or scene; obvious though this is, it has often been ignored, as shown by the haphazard use of literary sources in the past.

“Mythological” scenes

The most complete monument generally included in the “mythological” corpus is the cross at Bride but there are also fragments at Jurby, Kirk Andreas, Maughold and elsewhere. However, the only convincing iconography is on the Kirk Andreas fragment 128 (102)¹ (fig. 1). There seems little doubt that a pagan scene — Óðinn, with spear and raven, his foot in the jaws of Fenrir, the wolf — is counter-balanced by a Christian scene on the other face: a figure holding a book and a cross, with a fish alongside, and serpents above and below. The exact interpretation of the two scenes juxtaposed in this way may never be clear, since we presumably have only less than half the original programme.

Another figure has been identified as Óðinn, or related to the Óðinn cult. A fragmentary slab at Jurby 125 (98) shows a man with a pole over his shoulder. From the pole dangles a body. Óðinn’s traditional association with hanging renders this a possible identification but we cannot be sure because so little remains. Nor can we be sure if the female figure above is to be associated with the man below, though her trailing dress is characteristic of representations of women in the Viking period. The presence of a boar and a hart may indicate the remains of a hunt scene (see below), but there is no way of knowing if all the motifs are linked in a single narrative.

On another Jurby fragment 127 (99), a man with a sword, blowing a horn, has been identified as Heimdallr, the watchman of the gods. The position of this figure at the top of the slab between the cross-arms may make him equivalent to the cockerels at the top of other crosses, such as Kirk Michael 129 (101), Bride 124 (97) and Kirk Andreas 131 (103), a motif associated with Christian tradition, and presumably symbolising awakening or calling. If this is Heimdallr, it may be a parallel drawn from the Norse repertoire, but there seems little to support the identification.

On a fragment from Kirk Michael 123 a female in a trailing dress and holding a staff is shown above a saddled horse, with reins knotted into a triquetra. The female figure has been identified as Gerðr, and the horse as that of the god Freyr who wooed her.² However, apart from the fact that her staff appears to have roots and a bud, which could be argued to have links with Freyr, the god of fertility, no distinctive attribute is present. Because the scene is only a fragment, there is even more reason for caution. (See fig. 3, p. 184 below.)

The only other god supposedly represented is Þórr, on the great cross at Bride 124 (97) (fig. 2). This stone is virtually complete, and decorated with a complex and involved programme. Kermodé identified all the figures as characters from Norse myth and legend, including the death of Svanhildr, Ragnarøk, and Þórr’s encounters with *Miðgarðsormr*. None of these identifications has any validity when analysed closely. The pictorial technique of the Manx craftsmen is shown superbly here, and we must note the juxtaposition of pictures and decorative elements, such as spirals and panels of interlace, so as to cover the entire surface of the stone and the consequent difficulty of disentangling the involved iconography. With this before us, we can see all too clearly the danger of identifying fragmentary scenes, where we have no idea of the original scheme. Much work remains to be done on this stone, so I will concentrate here on the supposed Þórr iconography.

Kermodé identified the figure on the right of the cross-stem on face A as Þórr carrying the ox-head bait in his hand on his way to board Hymir’s boat to go fishing for *Miðgarðsormr*. He claimed that the World Serpent itself was represented by the serpent forming the step-pattern border of this face of the cross. When we examine the figure closely, however, we discover that there is an incised satchel on its chest (which may be compared with Christian figures on Irish and North English crosses), and that the object carried in his hand looks nothing like an ox-head! There may well be a more plausible Christian source for this figure.

Kermodé identified another Þórr scene on face B (top left): the final battle with *Miðgarðsormr* at Ragnarøk. The identification rests on the fact that “Þórr” has his back to a serpent, thus indicating his avoidance of the World Serpent’s poisonous fumes. These seem shaky grounds. Near-contemporary Þórr iconography from other parts of the Viking kingdoms (the slab in Gosforth church, Cumbria, the rock at Hørdum in Jutland, Denmark,



Fig. 1. Andreas 128.



Face A



Face B

Fig. 2. Bride 124.



Fig. 3. Jurby 119.



Fig. 4. Malew 120.

and the stone in Altuna churchyard, Uppland, Sweden) has clearly defined attributes such as the hammer, Þórr's foot through the bottom of the boat, the bait on the end of the line, and so on.

Even though we can dismiss the Þórr identifications, we cannot ignore the possibility that the decoration of the Bride cross alludes to Norse myth. The grotesque figure below the "Þórr" on face B resembles the bound figure on a stone at Kirkby Stephen in Yorkshire, for instance, but it still proves difficult to be sure whether a specific mythological or legendary figure was intended. However, from the range of the decorative repertoire, it would seem that both Celtic and Norse influences played their part.

Human figures and animals

There are also representations of men and women on the crosses. Several female figures with trailing dresses occur, as on the so-called "Gerðr" fragment at Kirk Michael 123, on the Jurby "Heimdallr" fragment 127 (99) (on the reverse), and on Jurby 125 (98) above the hanging man. A man with a shield appears at the top of the inscription face on Joalf's cross at Kirk Michael 132 (105). Two men with swords occur on Grim's cross in memory of Hromund, Kirk Michael 126 (100). Horsemen are depicted on Joalf's cross and on Sandulf's cross at Kirk Andreas 131 (103). Some of these figures may be part of a narrative, others may in fact represent the people commemorated. I return to this point on p. 105 below.

Many of the animals are carved in a semi-naturalistic style. The popular hart and hound scene may have Christian affinities (with comparisons in Irish and Northern English material). It appears on face A of the Bride stone and on the Mal Lumkun slab at Kirk Michael 130 (104), where it appears together with a harpist, possibly David the psalmist. The appearance of this scene on Joalf's cross at Kirk Michael and on Sandulf's cross at Kirk Andreas, in conjunction with the human figures, warriors and horsemen mentioned above and with numerous other finely carved animals, suggests another possibility. It is worth considering whether these scenes symbolise the wealth and status of the man commemorated. This will be discussed later.

The Sigurðr legend in the Isle of Man

We are on much safer ground in dealing with the group of Sigurðr carvings on the Isle of Man. This is partly because certain key episodes retained their popularity throughout the late Viking period and the early middle ages, so that it is possible to isolate distinctive attributes and thus to make firm identifications.

There are four cross fragments decorated with Sigurðr iconography. The earliest at Jurby 119 (93) and Malew 120 (94) were probably made shortly after AD 950 and may be associated with Gautr's workshop.³ Kirk Andreas 121 (95) may be of similar date to the Malew cross, on the comparison of its animal ornament with the Jellinge-style beast on Malew. One from Ramsey, now at Maughold, 122 (96), is probably closer to the year 1000, with elements of the Mammen style in its decoration.

Jurby 119 (93)

See fig. 3. The dragon Fáfnir is shown as a serpent placed vertically to the right of the cross-stem. The hero Sigurðr crouches in a curve of the serpent's body, thus effectively beneath it, separated from the serpent by a semicircular band representing the ground, with a gap apparently indicating the pit from which, according to later literary sources, Sigurðr killed Fáfnir. The sword, held horizontally, is plunged into the body of the serpent. Beneath this scene is a very worn human figure, possibly holding a spear(?), and below that a saddled horse. There is no way of knowing whether these motifs belong to the Sigurðr story, though there is a strong possibility that they do since Sigurðr's horse (Grani) appears on all the other carvings in this group.

Malew 120 (94)

See fig. 4. This cross is very worn. On the right of the cross-stem at the base of the panel, the serpent is shown vertically with Sigurðr again in a curve of its body, with the semicircular band representing the ground so that Sigurðr was effectively in a pit beneath Fáfnir. The sword is shown as a single incised line. Above, Sigurðr roasts the dragon's heart. He wears a conical helmet and one hand is held to his face, the thumb level with his mouth. He holds a horizontal rod in the other hand with at least one triangular "flame" (compare Kirk Andreas). The horse to the left of the cross-stem is probably Grani.

Kirk Andreas 121 (95)

See fig. 5. The dragon-killing is shown in the same way, with the exception that the band representing the ground and the pit is missing, and the sword is more elaborate with a broader blade. Sigurðr is only a half-length figure because the cross is broken at this point (and now embedded in concrete). The heart-roasting scene above is the most complete version of this episode in the Manx corpus. Sigurðr, in a conical helmet, roasts three slices of heart over flames represented by three triangles. The thumb of his other hand is in his mouth. Above his shoulder is the incised head of a bird (whose warning about the treacherous Reginn Sigurðr was able to understand as the dragon's hot blood touched his tongue), and above that, a horse's head and neck. The ground has not been cut away here and the bird and horse are only incised, but that need not mean that the scene was unfinished, since elsewhere both incised and two-dimensional motifs occur together (as on the great cross at Bride already mentioned). It does raise the interesting possibility that the incised motifs were added by a second hand. Perhaps this also applies to the runic graffiti on the horse's neck: the runes read *kan*, which presumably stands for Grani.⁴ This is the only runic inscription on any of the Manx crosses which has any bearing on the pictures.

On the reverse is a bound figure surrounded by snakes, a scene placed (unusually) in the centre of the cross-stem. Because of the Sigurðr scenes on the other face, it is at least plausible to identify this as Gunnarr who died heroically in the snake-pen, even though his distinctive attribute, the lyre or harp, is missing.

Ramsey, now Maughold 122 (96)

See fig. 6. Part of a cross survives with a number of motifs presented in a loose and rather incoherent fashion. However, though one must remain circumspect, it seems likely that the motifs belong to the Sigurðr cycle. Some of the motifs at the top of the face are smith's tools: bellows, two pairs of tongs and a hammer. Previously these have been interpreted as birds' feathers.⁵ Below is a horse with a chest(?) on its back. A diagonal band with three or four rings on it separates this from the spread-eagled animal below, shown with a fish in its mouth; a squatting human figure to the right has a raised hand. All these could have a place in the Vǫlsung legend: Otr eating a salmon with Loki beside him throwing a stone; Grani with the treasure chest(?), and the tools of Reginn the smith. It has been suggested that the diagonal band with rings is a debased representation of the spit with slices of heart. The band is more likely to be a debased form of interlace, such as appears on the cross-arms of the Bride cross, face A.

The significance of this group of carvings is that they are the earliest definite Vǫlsung iconography to have survived. None of the attempts to identify Sigurðr and Gunnarr on bracteates, picture-stones and other carvings of early date (such as the Oseberg cart) is convincing, because they lack distinctive attributes which denote specific characters and specific narratives.⁶ Together with the Halton cross in Lancashire of c. 1000, the Manx carvings testify to the currency of several linked episodes of the Vǫlsung legend in the tenth century. Otherwise there are only fragmentary and sporadic references in the scanty contemporary literary sources. From these pictures, we can postulate the form of elements of the legend in the tenth century, as follows:

(1) *The otter and the salmon* (Maughold)

The otter is not shown again in surviving pictures until the thirteenth-century doorways from the stave churches at Lardal and Mæl in South Norway, unless we count the rather anonymous quadruped on the eleventh-century Ramsund rock in Sweden. Furthermore, this is the only representation of this particular episode — an episode which after all set the whole story in motion (Loki killed Otr as he ate a salmon, and had to pay a *geld* — later to be Fáfñir's treasure — as told in the opening prose of *Reginismál*). On the Lardal and Mæl doorways it is the payment of Otr's atonement that is shown, with the stretched-out otter-skin surrounded by the gold. The first mention of the otter in literature is in the late twelfth- or thirteenth-century prose of *Reginismál* (the verse is probably not older than the eleventh century.) A reference to otter-*geld* occurs in a stanza of *Bjarkamál* of problematic date, but probably of the twelfth or thirteenth century.

(2) *Reginn the smith* (elements at Maughold and Kirk Andreas)

Reginn himself is not shown on the Manx crosses but the presence of smith's tools on the Maughold fragment and of the bird who warns Sigurðr of Reginn's treachery on the Kirk Andreas cross suggests that his role in the story was familiar. Reginn is shown in his smithy on the slightly later cross at Halton, and (beheaded) with tools on the Ramsund rock. These examples are eleventh century, probably contemporary with the verse of *Reginismál*.

(3) *The dragon-killing* (Jurby, Malew, Kirk Andreas)

The distinctive element in this scene as shown in all the later carvings and as told in all the literary sources is that Sigurðr killed the dragon from beneath as it *crawled* to water, from a pit which he had dug. On the stave-church doorways the pit is represented by the medallion frame which encloses the scene; on the stone capital from Lunde church in Telemark, three pits are shown as crescents (the variant with several pits is only known in literature in *Vǫlsunga saga*). The earliest literary reference is in the prose of *Fáfnismál*, of the late twelfth or thirteenth century. Yet here on these tenth-century carvings, the positioning of Sigurðr beside a vertical serpent is an ingenious way of representing this episode with precise attention to narrative detail in the narrow, restricting panels on each side of the cross-stems which are the only areas free for decoration. It shows the craftsman's command of the medium in that the limitations of the cross-slab "format" are used to make a narrative point.



Fig. 5. Andreas 121.



Fig. 6. Maughold 122.

(Incidentally, the serpents of the Manx examples are much closer to the description in *Fáfnismál* of the crawling Fáfnir than the winged biped dragons of the romanesque carvings.)

(4) *The heart-roasting* (Malew, Kirk Andreas)

Three rings of heart on a spit seem to be a West Norse speciality, since the motif occurs on the Halton cross, and on the stave-church carvings but not on the eleventh-century rock at Ramsund, where they evidently cooked their hearts whole. Sigurðr holding his thumb in his mouth is an iconographic quirk that persists throughout the corpus, though the literary sources always refer to his fingers in his mouth (the earliest reference is probably the prose of *Fáfnismál*). The bird who warns Sigurðr of Reginn's treachery accompanies the heart-roasting scene on Kirk Andreas as on the twelfth-century Hylestad doorway. It first appears in literature in the eleventh-century(?) verse of *Fáfnismál*.

(5) *The horse Grani and the treasure* (Malew, Jurby(?), Kirk Andreas, Maughold)

The presence of Sigurðr's horse, Grani, perhaps refers obliquely to the treasure which Sigurðr won from Fáfnir; the treasure-chest itself, possibly shown at Maughold, is always depicted in the later "developed" iconography. There are isolated references in contemporary literature to Grani, as in *Völundarkviða* (tenth century), where references to Grani and gold suggest Grani's role in carrying off Fáfnir's treasure. In *Atlakviða*, perhaps composed about 900, gold and Gnitahēiðr (where Sigurðr killed Fáfnir) are linked.

(6) *Gunnarr* (Kirk Andreas?)

This is the only instance where known literary accounts antedate surviving pictures: the death of Gunnarr (and his brother Högni) is already linked to the story of a treasure hoard in *Atlakviða*.

Thus the Sigurðr carvings of the mid-to-late tenth-century date on the Isle of Man contain most of the key elements of each episode as shown in later pictures and as told in literature. The otter and salmon motif is a unique occurrence in the surviving corpus of Völsung iconography.

Interpretation of the pictorial carvings

The Viking period crosses were a relatively short-lived tradition.⁷ Gautr's work was done c. 930–50 and some of the pictorial crosses were made only slightly later. The Sigurðr crosses at Jurby and Malew and Joalf's cross at Kirk Michael may all be associated with Gautr's workshop, shortly after 950. The Kirk Andreas Sigurðr cross may be of similar date. The Bride cross has been considered too clumsy to be the work of Gautr,⁸ but is also from c. 950. Some motifs used by Gautr are to be found on Grim's cross at Kirk Michael and on the "hanging man" fragment at Jurby, but they are probably by another hand. The Maughold Sigurðr cross of c. 1000 is one of the latest on Man, and David Wilson sees the tradition dying out around 1020 (cf. p. 185 below).

The fact that the crosses under consideration are the product of a fairly short period, and that so many can be associated with the work of one man and his workshop,⁹ is of considerable interest for the iconography and its interpretation, for it shows that they were produced in response to largely the same situation. The combination of pagan and Christian elements, of Celtic and Viking influences and inscriptions,¹⁰ is a response to a mingling of peoples and traditions: it suggests that we should hesitate to foist on the pictures an allegorical interpretation of conflict between old and new gods.

All the material discussed occurs on Christian monuments, the pictures decorating the narrow panels on each side of the cross-stems. What survives is often misleading because only fragmentary, but from the complete or near complete crosses it is notable that the cross is the only formal element and as such dominates, and that otherwise the decoration is presented without divisions in a fluent mixture of human figures, animals and interlace, in both vertical and horizontal planes (often on the same cross). The motifs were obviously

thought congruous with a Christian framework. Some Christian pictures survive, like the figure with cross and book on the Kirk Andreas fragment, the Christ figures on Kirk Michael 129 (101) and on Grim's cross at Kirk Michael 126 (100), and probably also the harpist on the Mal Lumkun cross at Kirk Michael 130 (104), but it is difficult to be sure of the emphasis when so many scenes are only fragments. One example, the Kirk Andreas cross where Óðinn counterbalances a Christian figure, shows us that pagan and Christian material is apparently given equal prominence. This may indicate that the two images were seen as equivalent by the craftsman (rather than as the triumph of new over old) and perhaps even as aspects of the same theme in two idioms. We can take this further when we look at the "secular" pictures. Given that they occur on memorial stones, it is a reasonable supposition that the lively scenes around the crosses contain references to the lives of the people commemorated. Thus the animals and hunt scenes may recall the status of the man or woman to whose memory the cross was erected, hunting being an appropriate symbol of social standing, and the rows of animals a suitable reflection of wealth. Some of the human figures may be those commemorated. The heroic deeds of Sigurðr and even representations of the gods (might they not have been seen as semi-historical antecedents of the well-to-do?) may have been intended to enhance the memory of the dead. The idea of the heart-roasting as a mystical counterpart to the Eucharist seems rather far-fetched.¹¹

An analogy to this suggested interpretation is provided by the eighth-century picture-stones of Gotland, though they are earlier and have no Christian form or allusion. Despite the fact that there are no inscriptions, these are undoubtedly memorial stones, decorated with series of scenes, usually in horizontal bands (though often many scenes are shown in each band). Some at least are of mythological import: Sleipnir, Óðinn's eight-legged horse, female figures with drinking-horns perhaps representing valkyries welcoming heroes to Valhall, scenes of Völundr and perhaps also of Loki.¹² There are battles between warriors on land, sea-battles and individual combat, and presumably some depict actual events in the lives of those commemorated. The mythological and heroic scenes were no doubt intended to celebrate the deeds of the man commemorated, and to enhance his memory.

That this was so finds support in a literary parallel — also inscribed in stone — of the ninth century. The splendid inscription on the Rök stone in Östergötland in Sweden refers to a number of mythological and heroic stories, as if recalled by the father to celebrate his dead son, to whom the monument was made. The inscription is cryptic, full of "allusions in compressed form",¹³ and the stories are unknown to us today.

This earlier literary analogy is helpful in trying to understand the Manx crosses. The compressed allusions of the Rök stone characterise too the iconography of the crosses. We can judge just how compressed the pictorial technique is by comparing the Manx Sigurðr iconography with the "developed" form of the legend in pictures of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, where episodes are shown with a new attention to narrative sequence and, particularly in the later examples, with a clear division of one episode from another.

The technique of compressed allusion is one aspect of the Manx craftsman's skill, showing to the full his mastery of the medium in using the limited space to such good effect. What has been taken for sketchiness, even incompetence, on the part of the stone-carvers of Man (resulting in iconographic irregularities which thus permitted all sorts of unjustifiable identifications — such as Þórr and the ox-head" on the Bride cross) is much more likely to reflect our own ignorance of current stories. We should hardly be surprised if some scenes on the crosses, and especially those on fragments, remain "wrapped in oblivion".¹⁴

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Notes

1. The crosses are numbered as in Wilson (1970–73), with their current numbers first, followed in brackets by their numbers in Kermodé's corpus.
2. Cubbon (1971), 30.
3. Wilson (1970–73), 5; see below, p. 180.
4. I am indebted to Ray Page for pointing this out to me.
5. Wilson (1970–73), 14.
6. Margeson (1980), 184–5.
7. Wilson (1970–73), 6, 14; and see below, p. 185.
8. Wilson (1970–73), 9.
9. Much work remains to be done on the technical aspects of the carving, along the lines of Richard Bailey's work in Yorkshire, Bailey (1980), 238–56.
10. Wilson (1970–73), 17.
11. Bailey (1980), 125, and in Roesdahl *et al.* (1981), 86.
12. Buisson (1976).
13. Jansson (1962), 15.
14. Jansson (1962), 15.

The survey and excavations at Keeill Vael, Druidale in their context

CHRISTOPHER D. MORRIS

Introduction

Survey and excavations took place at the site of Keeill Vael, Druidale, Michael (fig. 1) in March 1979, June–July 1979 and March–April 1980. The work was carried out at the invitation of the Manx Museum and financed by the Museum and the University of Durham, and an Interim Report was published shortly before the meeting of the Viking Congress in the Isle of Man in July 1981.¹ A considerable part of the paper delivered on that occasion was based upon that Report, and hence is not repeated here. Since the termination of the excavation there has been little opportunity for processing and analysing the material, and therefore this paper, necessarily abbreviated and revised, should be seen as a supplement to the Interim Report rather than as a definitive statement. A Final Report on the work will be published in due course, when it may be expected that a number of aspects of both these interim accounts will be modified. This paper includes a summary statement based on the account of the Druidale Survey by Norman Emery,² and two appendices by Christopher E. Lowe and by Ross Trench-Jellicoe, have been added as summary interim statements on particular aspects of their research that relate to the work at this site.³ The main theme of this paper is that the archaeological results from the site are best understood in a wider context, both within the valley and the parish of Kirk Michael, and more generally in a secular as well as an ecclesiastical setting.

The Druidale Survey

As can be seen from figs. 1 and 2, Keeill Vael is situated in the northern uplands of the Isle of Man near the headwaters of the Sulby River, which flows northwards and then eastwards to the sea at Ramsey. It is, in fact, surrounded on all sides by high ground: Slieau Dhoo to the west, Injebreck Hill and Beinn-y-Phot to the south, and Snaefell to the east overshadow the area. Here many old field-boundaries may still be seen (fig. 4) and tributaries to the west of the Sulby River break up the landscape into natural units, upon each of which can be seen the buildings of an agricultural settlement: Crammag, Close, Druidale and Forester's Lodge. Two similar settlements, Creggan and Lhergyrhenny, were situated to the east of the Sulby River and a second keeill-site is to be seen at Creggan. It is evident that this upland area, now largely deserted, was nevertheless an important area of common land in the past, for it is divided between four parishes in three sheadings (fig. 3).

Rapid surveys were carried out in 1980 of a number of features of the area, which are the subject of a separate report.⁴ A number of the field-boundaries originally visible on the ground were destroyed in the operations of the contractors for the Druidale Reservoir, and the opportunity was taken to examine these (fig. 2). The sections, cleaned up and drawn, of both the north-south boundary (fig. 5, section 1) running along the break of the slope on the

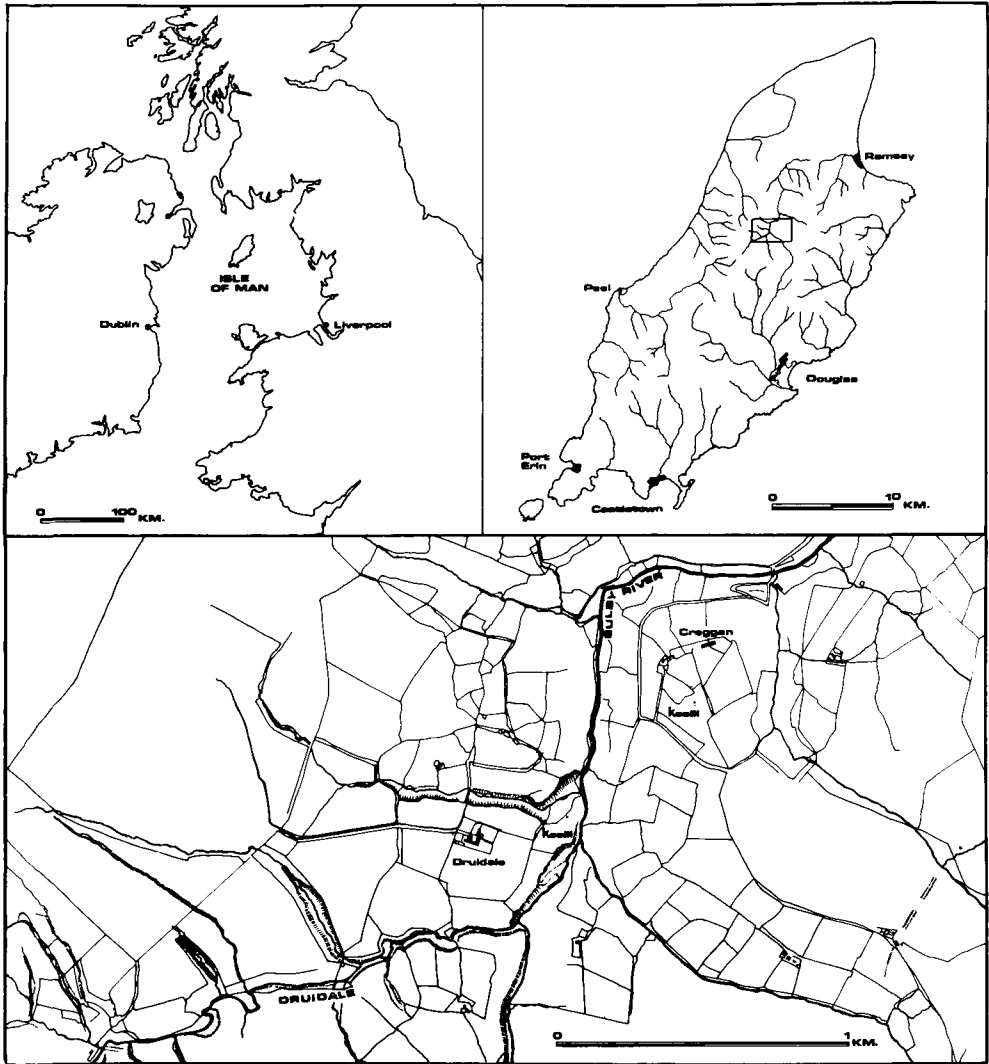


Fig. 1. Location of Druidale.

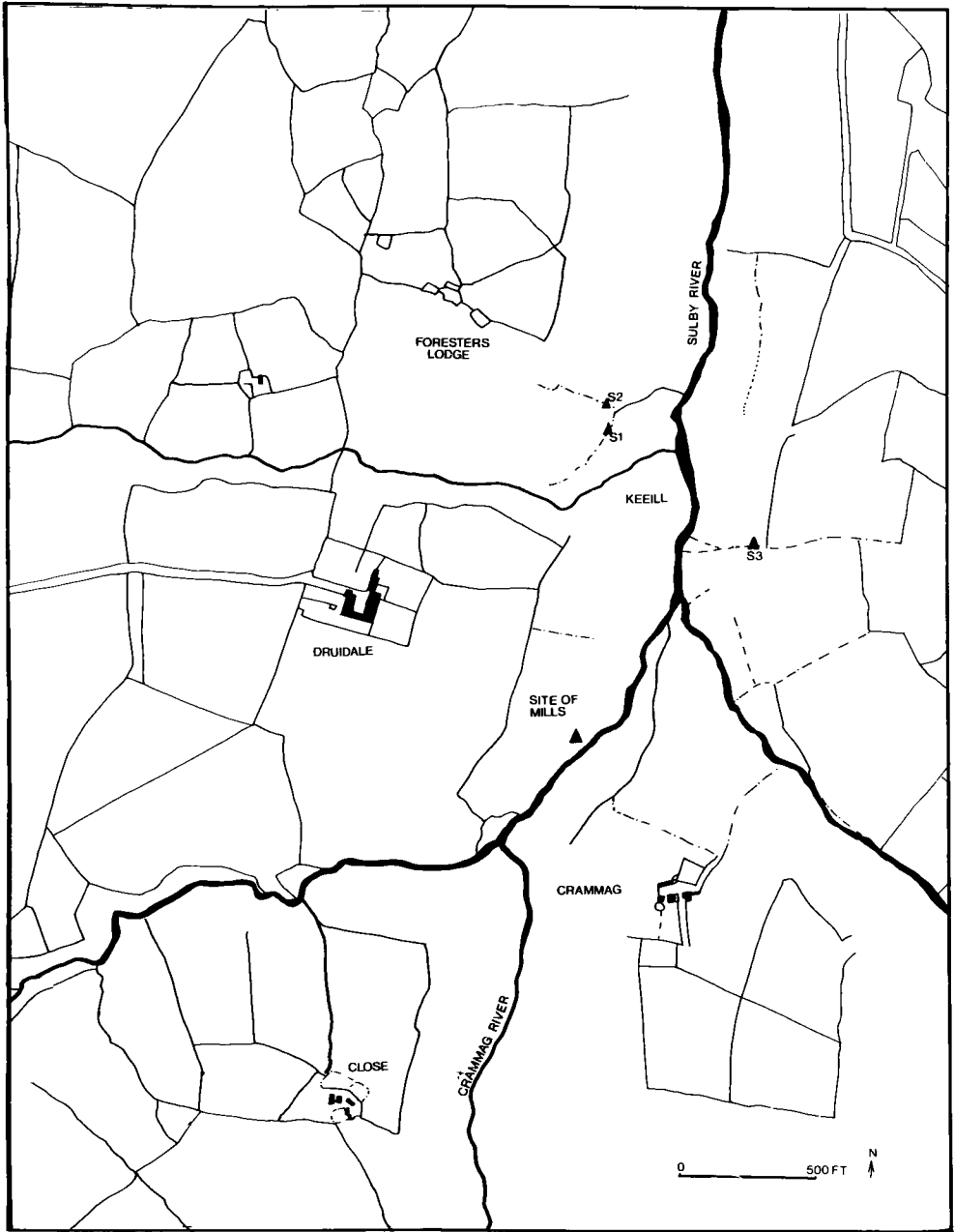
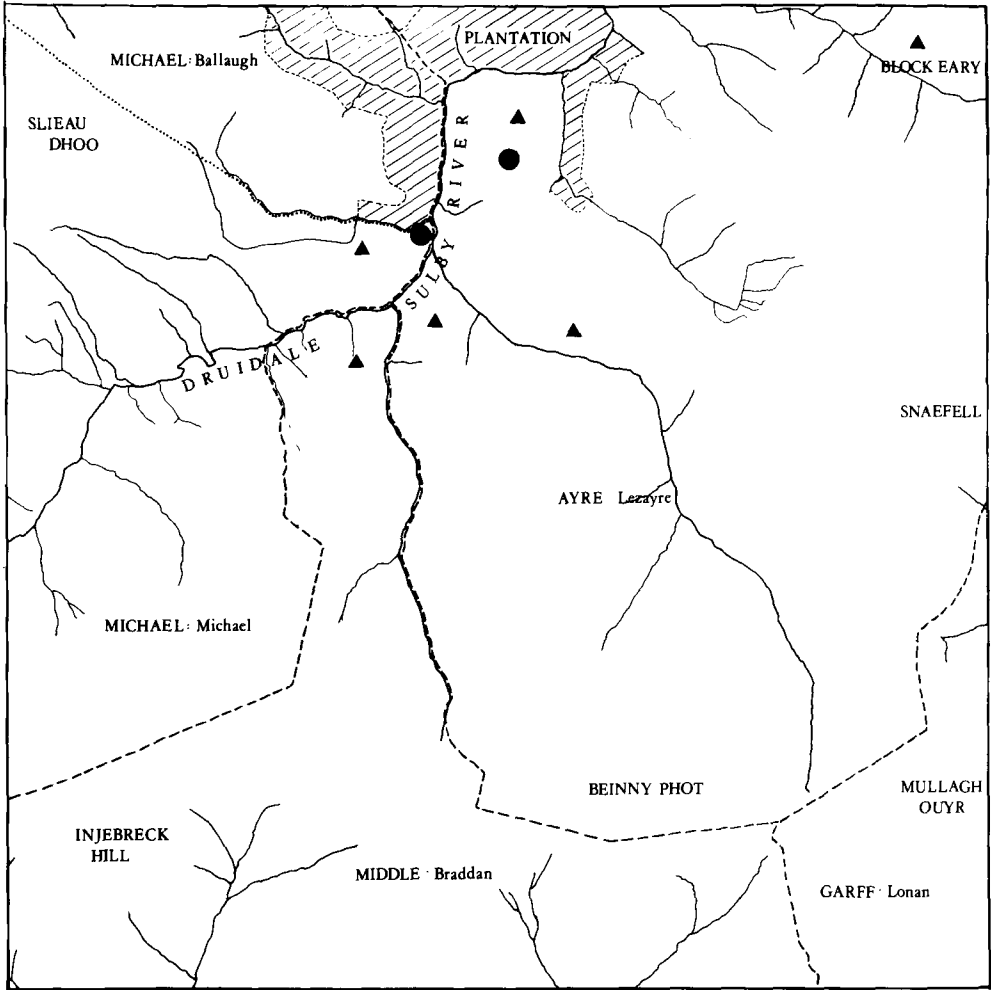


Fig. 2. Druidale survey 1980.



SULBY AND DRUIDALE

Sheadings and Parishes.

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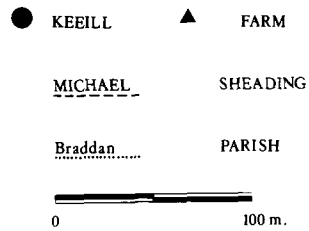


Fig. 3. Sulby and Druidale: sheadings and parishes.

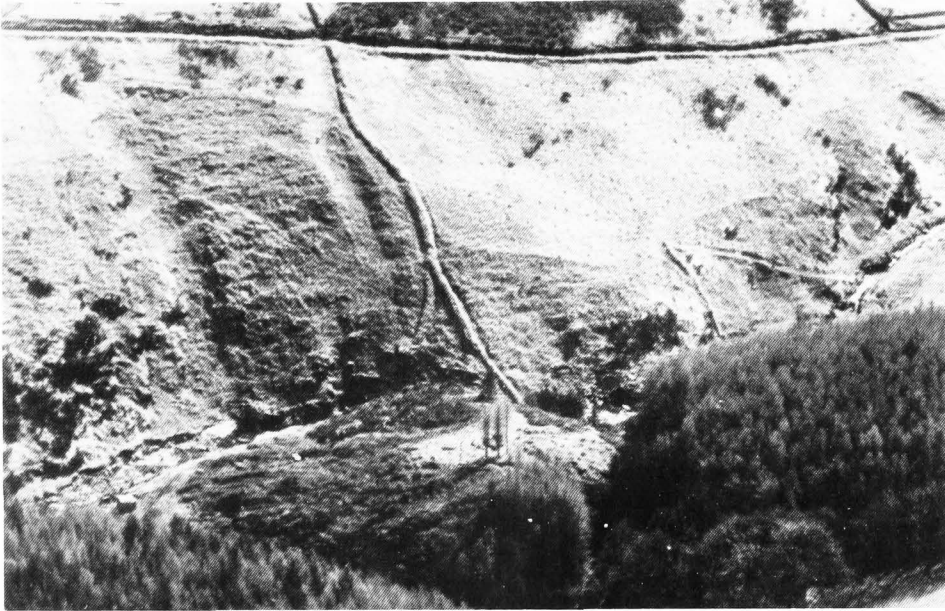


Fig. 4. Druidale: air photograph from south-west, showing keeill-site (mid foreground), Sulby River and boundaries. Ph: Manx Technical Publications Ltd.

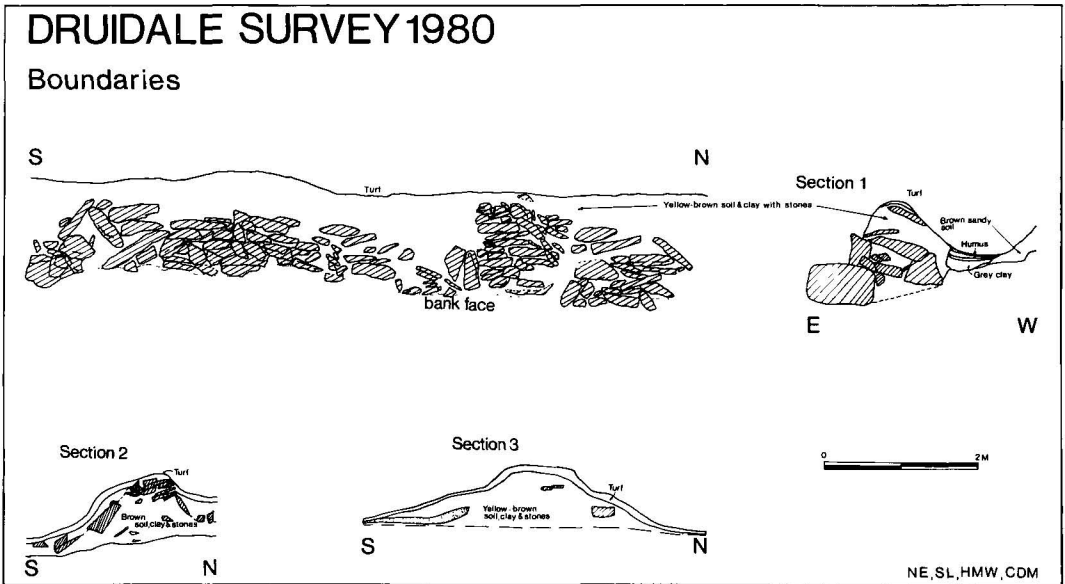


Fig. 5. Druidale survey 1980: boundaries.

west side of the valley, and of the east-west boundary (fig. 5, section 2) running up and down the slope there, show some variations. The north-south boundary, a broad bank of earth and turf, had a large quantity of rubble forming a rough facing, and spreading into the body of the bank, whereas the east-west bank was of turf and earth, with a few scattered stones. On the east side of the river a two-phase bank running up and down the slope was largely composed of earth, with only a few stones (fig. 5, section 3). Some of these boundaries were, then, examples of the sod hedges alluded to by other writers,⁵ and the stone-facing for the large bank, apparently a main enclosure division, was presumably a later variant on the basic form.

All three deserted farms to the west of the Sulby River have now been examined. B.R.S. Megaw described "The Deserted Homestead of 'Iliam y Close'" in 1942,⁶ and the 1980 survey by N. Emery supplements this with a record of its condition forty years later, and a plan of the associated corn-drying kiln. In plan and size, this kiln is very similar to the kiln excavated in 1951–2 at Forester's Lodge.⁷ That kiln was later restored in a clearing in the plantation, but other buildings of the farm have since been destroyed. The farmstead of Crammag was also surveyed by N. Emery, and a plan produced, together with details of the machinery for a horse-powered threshing-machine. Below this farm, and the junction of the Crammag River with the Druidale branch of the Sulby River, are two watermills. Again a rapid up-to-date survey was carried out (by L.J. Edwards and N.F. Pearson) of these buildings and associated ground features on the north bank of the river. Work had been undertaken in the 1940s under the direction of B.R.S. Megaw, and general accounts published of the horizontal mills.⁸ The two in Druidale were probably first operated by the farms of Close and Druidale — although, as with the corn-drying kilns, it may be expected that such facilities would be available to other farms in the neighbourhood.

In sum, although only a partial survey was possible, records have been made of significant elements of the total evidence for this area of what has been described as "the more self-sufficient farm economy of the traditional way of life in the Island".⁹ At present we do not have enough information to decide how far this farm economy, essentially of the period from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, had developed out of an earlier system. Recent writers have suggested it may have emerged from the summer-pasture areas of the medieval shielings.¹⁰ In the area around the headwaters of the Sulby River, Peter Gelling has identified a large number of groups of shieling-mounds,¹¹ and has excavated at Block Eary and Injebreck.¹² As he has pointed out, it is significant that Block Eary retains the Manx equivalent of old Irish *áirge* "shieling, hill-pasture", and that the old name for Druidale was *Aryhorkell*.¹³

Some of the implications of the distribution of shieling-mounds and *eary*-names in relation to altitude, first alluded to by Elwyn Davies,¹⁴ have been further explored by Eleanor Megaw, and she suggested that either they may represent two shieling-zones or the ends of a gradual expansion of the area of permanent settlement.¹⁵ Dating the process archaeologically is difficult: at present a coin of Stephen is all that can be used for Block Eary,¹⁶ and Dr Larch Garrad has suggested that "on ceramic evidence the farmsteads high above the Sulby river . . . could well have been established during the temporary improvement in the climate about 1050–1250".¹⁷ Mary Higham has emphasised, for northwest England, that names in *áirge*- may in fact be permanent settlements, and not seasonal,¹⁸ and in the Island many of the Earys were so by c.1500.¹⁹ Since several Eary names have personal names as the specific, thus suggesting they were individually-owned properties, and since Keeill Vael is situated on land within the treen of *Aryhorkell*, "Thorkell's shieling", it is clear that this keeill-site has to be seen in relation both to the settlement-patterns of the immediate area and to the land-divisions of the parish of Kirk Michael.

Survey of immediate area around Keeill Vael

A brief account has already been given in the Interim Report of the circumstances surrounding the surveys and excavations of 1979 and 1980, and the fact noted that the initial survey in 1979 was limited to areas cleared of trees. In 1980, despite destruction of the area

to the west, it was possible to extend the survey to the northeast and encompass a larger area; a revised plan can now be presented (fig. 6). This shows more clearly the position of the keeill in relation to the spur of land upon which it is situated, and a bank located along the eastern edge of the spur which was subsequently examined in excavation. As no bank was encountered in survey or excavation to the north of the keeill, it seems likely that this bank may have been intended to prevent stock from falling down the cliff rather than to provide a symbolic enclosure of the area. Profiles of the site emphasise the topographical situation of the keeill (fig. 7).

Towards the end of the work in 1980, a systematic search for *Chibbyr Vael*, "St Michael's well", was made. It had not been located in 1979 in the area to the west of the keeill where it was indicated by P.M.C. Kermode,²⁰ and the area to the south and west were afforested. In 1980 two spring-lines from the bedrock were examined, c.25 m to the south and c.50 m to the southwest of the keeill. Although certainty is not possible, the plan of the one to the southwest suggests it is the likely location (fig. 8), and has the merit of approximating to the position on one Ordnance Survey map. Unfortunately, no dating evidence was recovered from the vicinity of this spring-line.

Excavations around the keeill

The accompanying map (fig. 9) based on one supplied by the surveying contractors, G.H. Hill Ltd, shows the area affected by the new reservoir and emphasises the position of the keeill-site at its centre. It is perhaps surprising, therefore, that no plans were made to remove the spur of land upon which it stood until work was underway in the summer of 1979. It emphasises the practical difficulties under which excavation was resumed in 1980 when difficulties were multiplied by freak wintry weather. One casualty of the construction work between July 1979 and March 1980 was the upper plateau area (fig. 6). Given the topography — as emphasised by the survey — this was one area where graves might have been placed in the past. Discussions with the engineering contractors, although inconclusive because of the absence of archaeological expertise on site at the time, strongly suggest that no obvious human remains were encountered during the contractors' work on the plateau. It is, of course, possible that degraded human remains would not have been detected, and that rock-cut graves would not have been sufficiently distinct from the natural fissures in the bedrock to be recognised. Despite the disturbance to the area, it was decided to clear to bedrock an area 15 m by 1.5 m across the centre of the plateau, in order to ascertain if there were any obvious grave-cuts in the underlying bedrock. No cuts were found, despite assiduous clearing of fissures in the rock, and there were no indications that any of these fissures might themselves have been utilised for graves, as in the case of the prehistoric burials at Chapel Hill, Balladoole.²¹ This, together with the admittedly unsatisfactory evidence from the contractors and the observation in 1979 that no upright slabs were present which might have been grave-markers, weighs the balance of probability heavily in favour of an absence of graves in this area.

In part, this examination of the disturbed upper southern plateau was carried out as a final attempt to locate graves in association with the keeill. At Keeill Woirrey, Maughold (in Cornaa), simple, plain, upright slate grave-markers are visible between the keeill and the outer enclosure.²² At two places, north and northeast of Keeill Vael, similar upright slate slabs had been located in 1979. A thorough examination of the areas around them was made in 1980, and there was no indication whatsoever that they were associated with graves — indeed the one to the northeast was the topmost stone of the bank on the cliff-edge just where it turned a right-angle on the corner above the river.

In addition, the whole of the available area to the north and west of the keeill was stripped to bedrock, and a large proportion of the sloping area to the east of the keeill (fig. 6). Not only were no graves located but no other archaeological features either, apart from the boundary bank already referred to. Such humps on the ground as were prominent turned out in all cases to be natural outcrops of bedrock covered with vegetation. It is an inescapable fact that excavation located no structures and no graves in association with the keeill and its

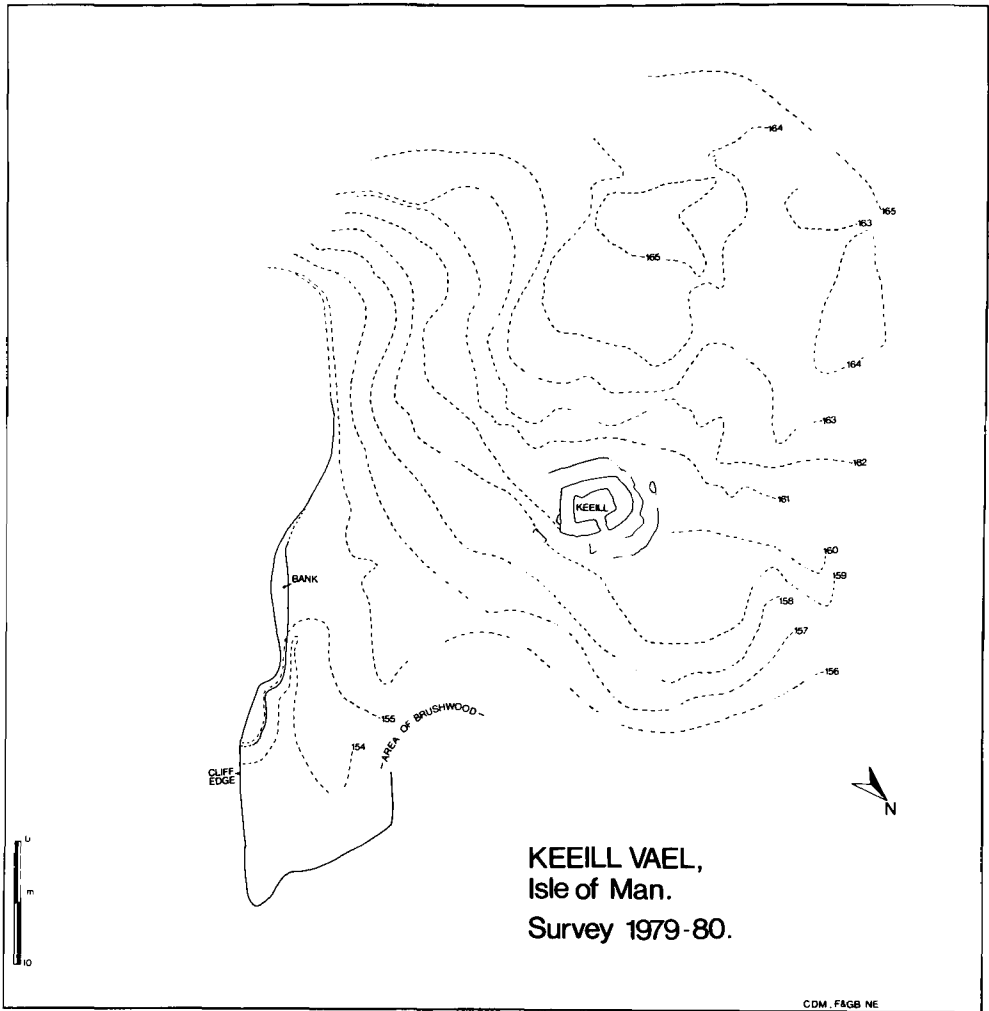


Fig. 6. Keeill Vael, Druidale, Michael: site survey 1979-80.

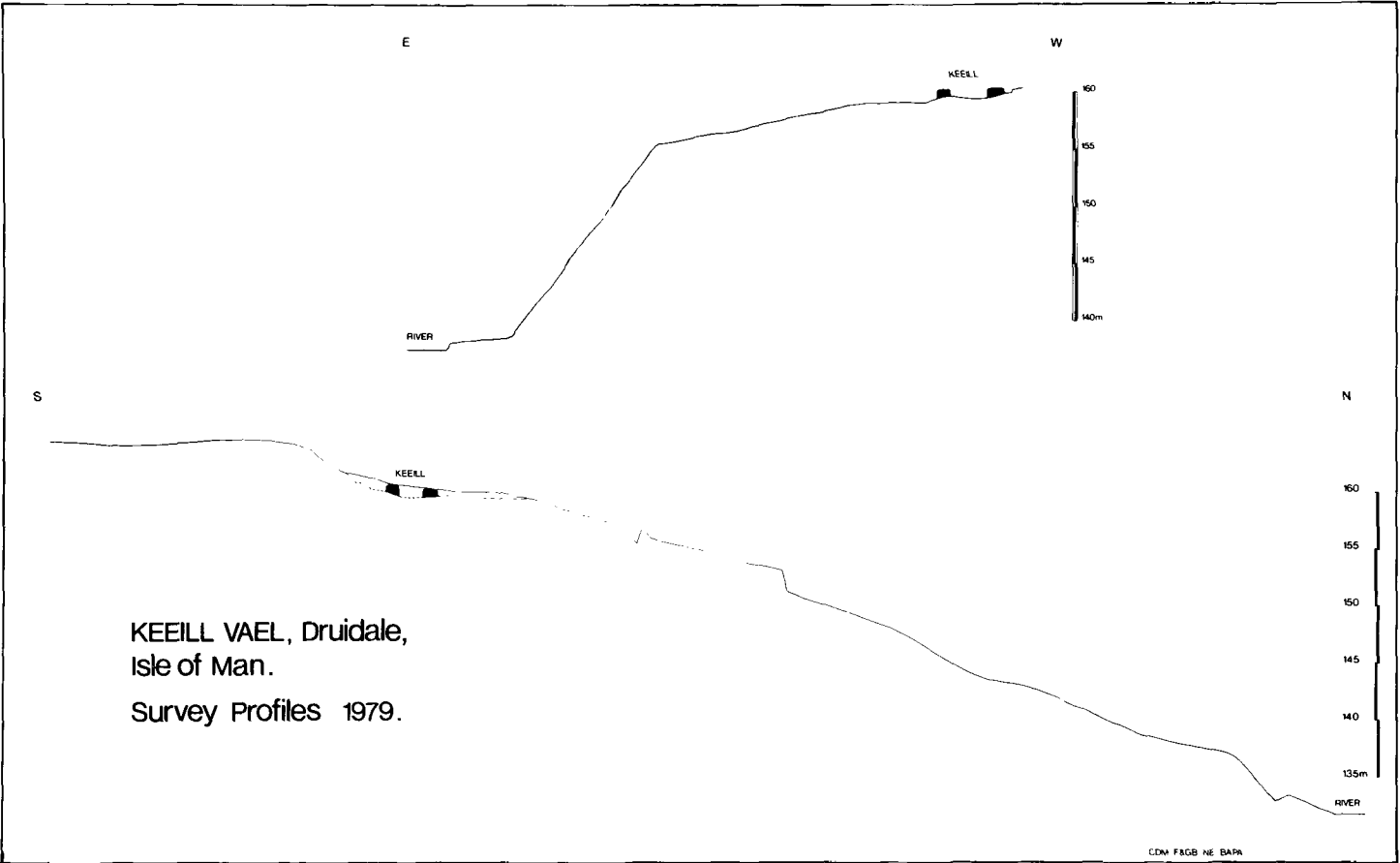


Fig. 7. Keeill Vael, Druidale, Michael: survey profiles 1979.

DRUIDALE SURVEY 1980

Chibbyr Vael.

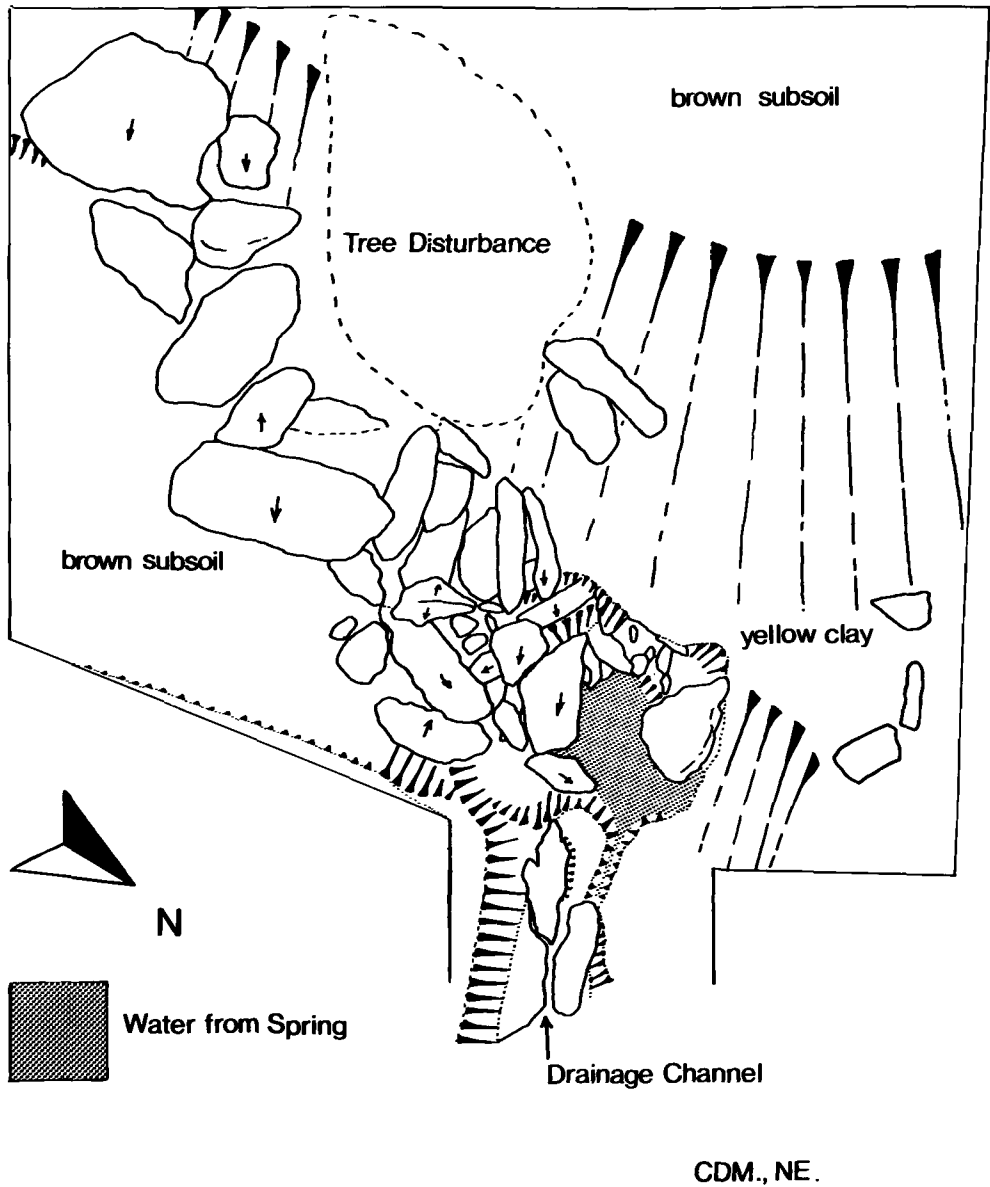


Fig. 8. Druidale survey 1980: Chibbyr Vael.

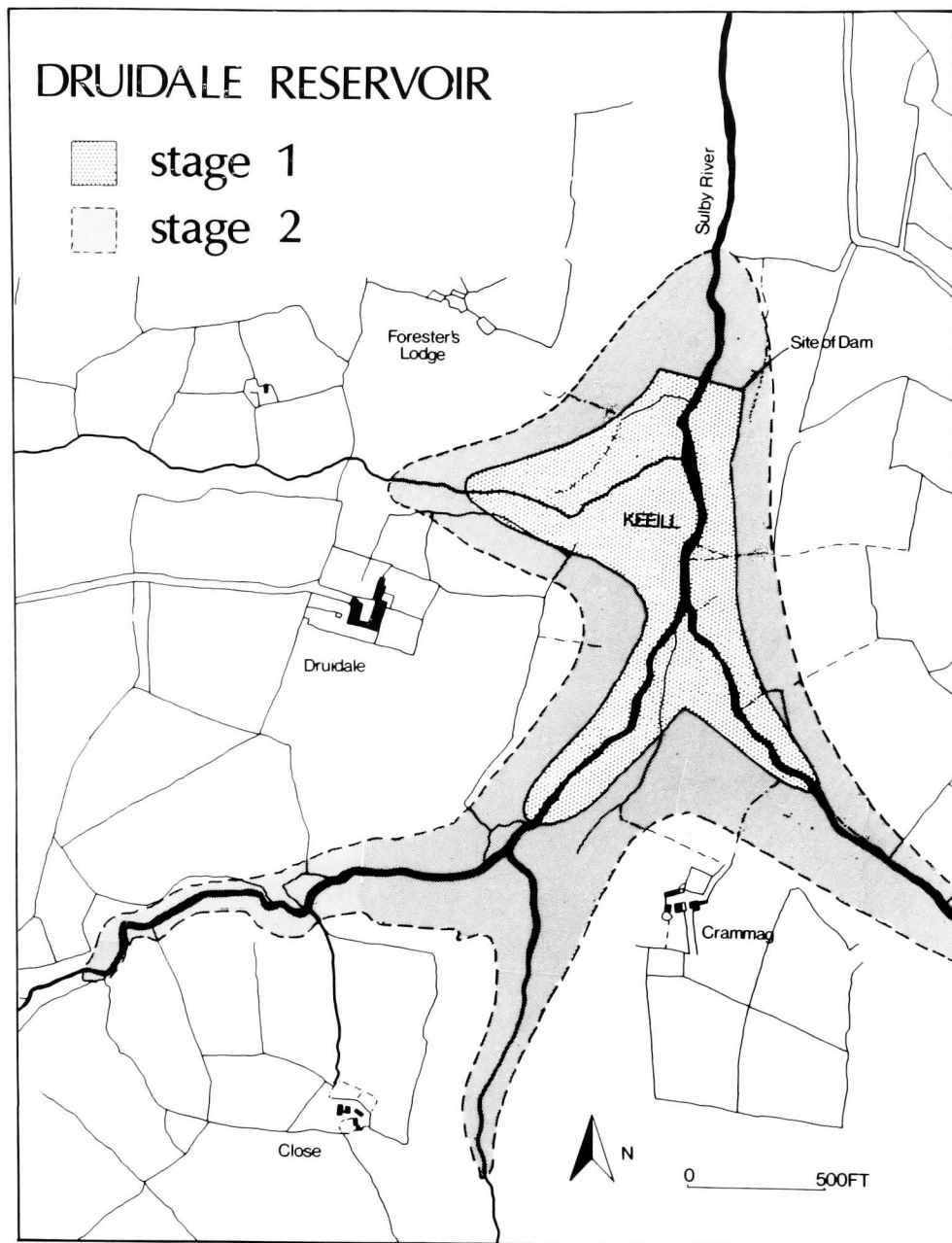


Fig. 9. Druidale Reservoir: areas to be flooded in two stages.



Fig. 10. Keeill Vael Druidale, Michael: general view of later phase of keeill from west. Ph: C.D. Morris.



Fig. 11. Keeill Vael, Druidale, Michael: detail photograph of east face of entrance from south-west. Ph: C.D. Morris.

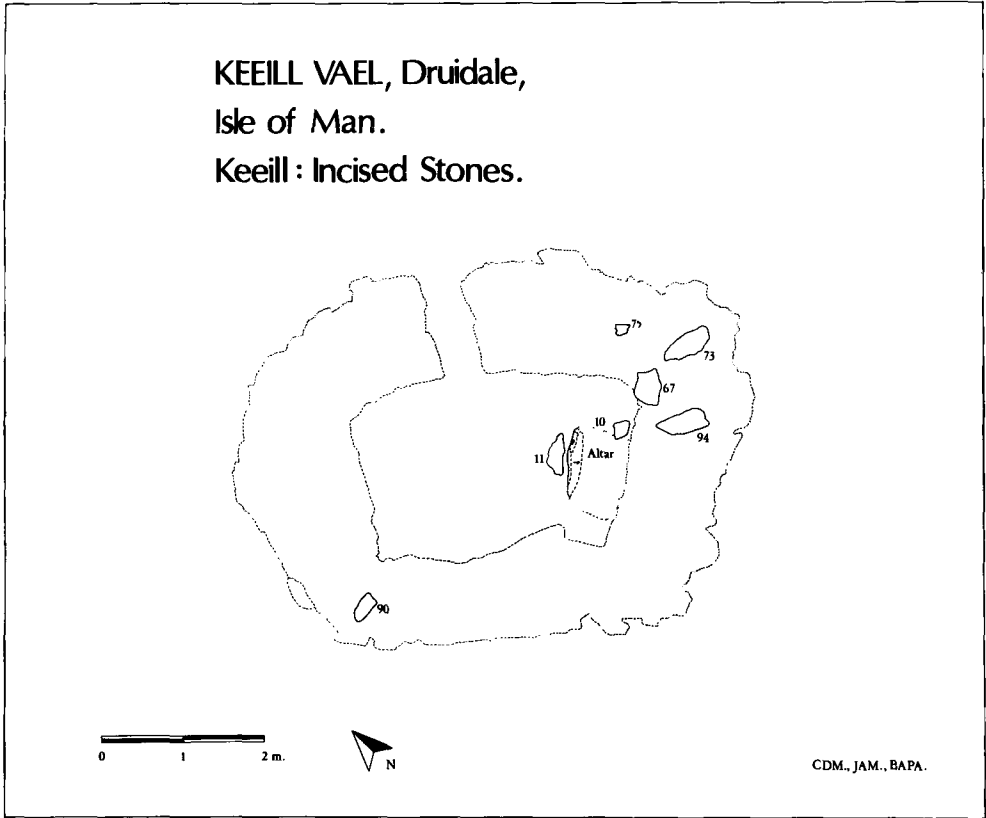


Fig. 12. Keeill Vael, Druidale, Michael: incised stones and altar area.

predecessor on the same site, although the natural topography would have allowed the positioning of such there.

Excavations of the keeill and "enclosing" wall

A description of the major features encountered in excavation has already been published in the Interim Report; here this will simply be amplified by the addition of illustrative material. Fig. 10 shows the keeill in its latest stage, and fig. 11 a detail of the wall at the entrance area, where the later addition, marked by a large upright stone, is quite clear. Fig. 12 shows, in plan, the location of the incised stones (see Appendix 2 below) and fig. 13 shows the early phase of the keeill in relation to the outline of the later phase. It was notable that all the re-used cross-slabs were built in face downwards, and that no incised stones were found in the walls of the early keeill. Unsatisfactory though they may be as chronological indicators, the six cross-slabs and the one merels board constitute the major finds from the keeill.

It was quite clear in excavation that the apparent "enclosing" wall was, in fact, an earlier feature of the site, and fig. 14 shows the relationship of the stones of this structure to the outlines of the two keeills. There was no indication whatsoever that this phase of usage was ecclesiastical, and the likelihood is that it was some sort of domestic structure. Although it was not possible within the time-limits for the excavation to clear the whole area enclosed by and under the walls of this structure, a number of features were located on the natural ground surface. These included burnt patches, post-holes and pits, one of which contained wood-charcoal identified by my colleague, Alison M. Donaldson, as hazel (*corylus avellana*). Some of these features were probably associated with the circular structure, but others were earlier, most notably a large pit filled with wood-charcoal, identified by Mrs Donaldson as hazel (*corylus avellana*) and willow (*Salix sp.*), and carbonised grains, predominantly of barley (*hordeum polystichum*). Mrs Donaldson notes that the barley is a 6-row, hulled variety, one widely cultivated in the prehistoric period, but gradually replaced in Britain by 2-row forms from the later medieval period. This material is to be utilised for carbon-14 determinations, since it will provide a *terminus post quem* for the pre-keeill structure, and is the only available dating medium for the primary phase of occupation of the site.

Discussion

At this stage it is too early to make definitive statements about the parallels for this site in its various phases, or to draw wide-ranging conclusions about their significance. However, at least some of the questions that arise are clear, even if answers to them cannot as yet be given.

The basic sequence of occupation of the site has been outlined, based upon stratigraphical considerations. Sections taken through the walls of the keeill and the "enclosing" wall have established this sequence, and, although there are particular questions outstanding (such as the precise phasing of some stones to the south, where bedrock protruded through the thin turf cover), the sequence will be demonstrated in the Final Report. However, if the relative chronology is clear, absolute chronology remains a problem. We can be confident that a *terminus post quem* will be given by carbon-14 determinations, but we have no *terminus ante quem*, no final date for the re-use of the later keeill. The re-used grave-slabs are the major finds and relate to the later phase of the keeill, but they cannot be closely dated (see Appendix 2 below).

As to the nature of the basic structures encountered, the most intriguing is, of course, the pre-keeill structure. The use of large upright stones in a circular structure can be instanced at the Braaid,²³ but the difference of relative scale of the two structures is too large to permit direct comparison of form as opposed to technique. Since the technique was also noted in the construction of parts of Keeill Vael, Arbory (at Chapel Hill, Balladoole),²⁴ perhaps too much should not be made of this as yet. However, it raises intriguing questions about *that* structure, for although it is not known if that keeill was placed on the site of an earlier structure, it is clear that it was within an Iron Age defensive enclosure and near to structures

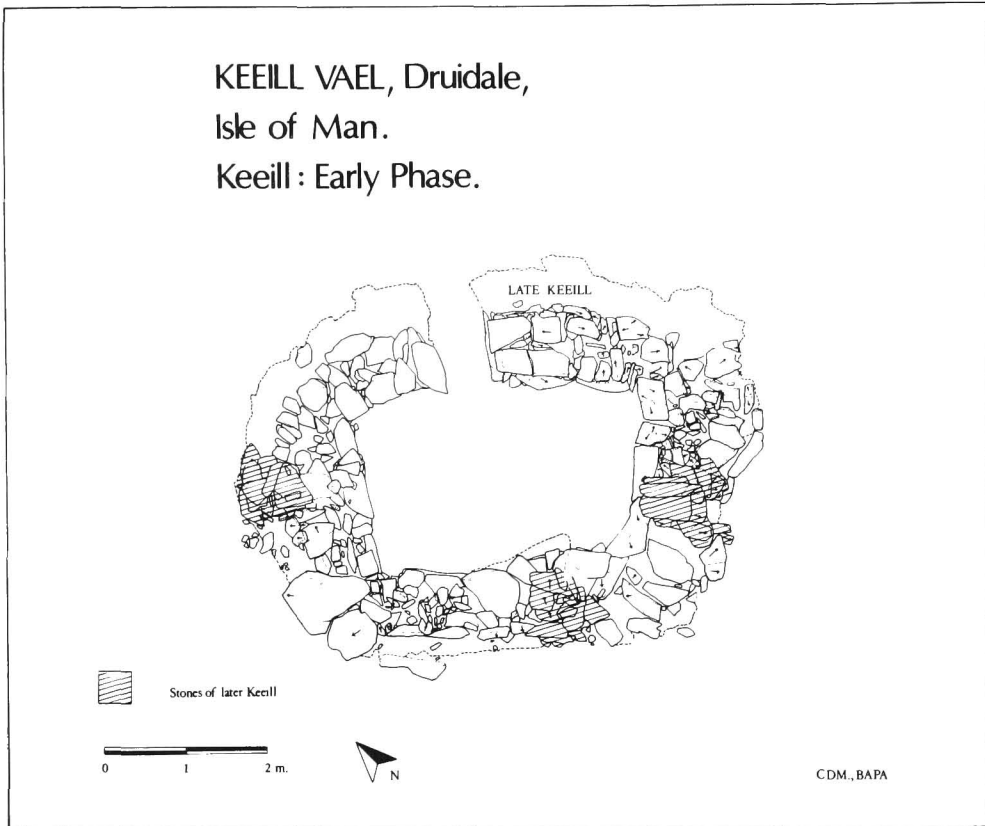


Fig. 13. Keeill Vael, Druidale, Michael: plan of early phase of keeill.

and occupation débris of that date.²⁵ Perhaps the clearest parallel to this structure in the Isle of Man may be the foundation of the circular hut of Period 1 of Mound A at Block Eary,²⁶ on which Peter Gelling's comment is intriguing: "It is very tempting to regard it as an impermanent version of the iron-age circular hut . . . If there were anything in this surmise, this round hut would be the only hint which excavation has provided of a pre-Norse shieling . . ."²⁷

There is, at first sight, little that is unusual about the keeill-building. However, its minute size and the curious fact that it was re-built without any internal expansion of its size are noteworthy. At this stage one can but speculate that the additions to the walls on the outside — particularly to the north — were functional, i.e. intended to shore up a collapsing structure. But while this speculative explanation fits certain facts (the slope to the north and east, the evidence for packing at the east end) it does not account satisfactorily for others, most notably the re-use of the incised slabs. If these had simply been discarded stones lying around the site, there would surely have been a random distribution and usage, but their spatial distribution and upside-down placing in the walls suggest deliberate selection.

The slabs themselves raise several questions, some of which are alluded to below (Appendix 2). If a good parallel for their re-use and some of the close parallels for their designs and layout are provided by grave-markers from the graveyard at Cronk yn How,²⁸ it has to be reiterated that no graveyard was encountered on the site excavated at Keeill Vael,

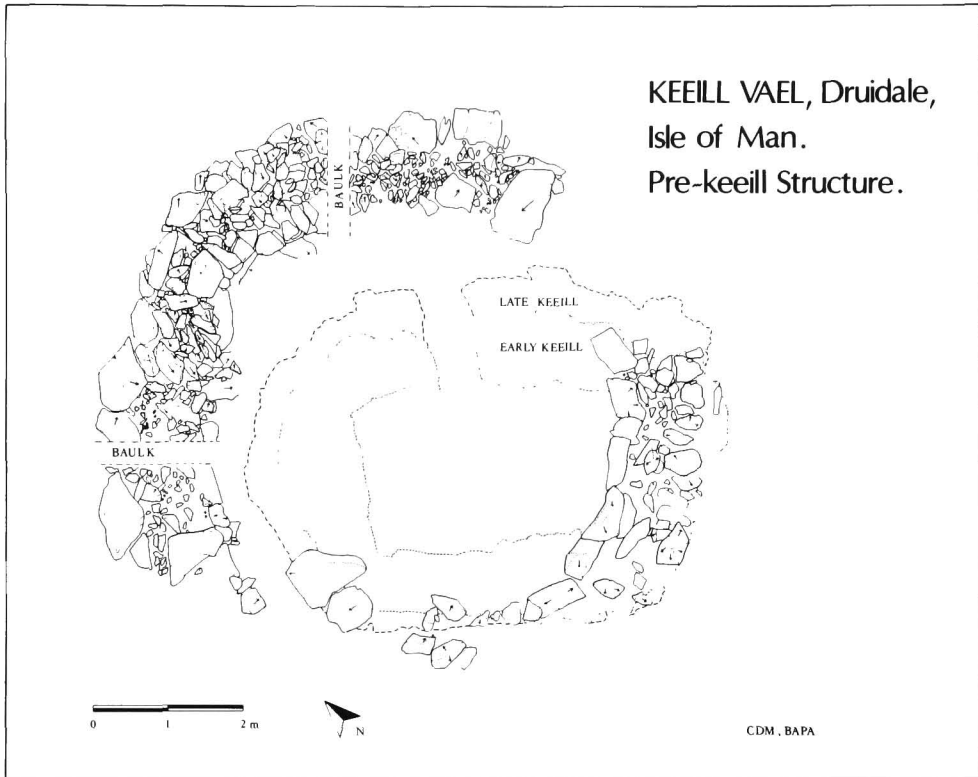


Fig. 14. Keeill Vael, Druidale, Michael: plan of pre-keeill structure, as excavated.

Druidale. While they may have been brought to the site from a graveyard elsewhere, one would suggest that that it is unlikely to have been far distant, unless very particular circumstances, which necessarily we cannot know, were operating. While most keeills are found in association with graveyards, graveyards are also found on their own (e.g. Glentraugh, Santon),²⁹ and so it could be that there was a graveyard somewhere else in the vicinity of Keeill Vael. Another intriguing aspect is the discovery of the variant merels board. Similar boards have been found nearby at the Block Eary site and at the probable keeill at Cronk yn How³⁰ as well as more recently at Braddan.³¹

Consideration of our particular keeill-site must necessarily be set against the general picture for the Island. It is common knowledge that there are a very large number of keeills — perhaps as many as 200 — and when the sites are plotted, an impressive picture emerges.³² Most keeills, of course, are in lowland situations, but a significant minority are in similar upland situations to Keeill Vael, Druidale, and their disposition deserves further attention. In the past, the origin of the keeills has been associated with the activities of the early Celtic Church,³³ but later work has tended to emphasise that the structures themselves give no archaeological corroboration of a pre-Norse date.³⁴ At the same time, suggestions have been made, particularly by C.J.S. Marstrander, that there was a direct relationship between the siting of keeills and the existence of treens.³⁵ Again, later work by J.R. Bruce in the sheading of Rushen has tended to question this relationship,³⁶ and an interim summary of current research, as it applies to Kirk Michael parish, is given by Christopher Lowe in Appendix 1.

There is no doubt that the administrative organisation was fundamental to the

organisation of the farming community, just as it may well have been fundamental to the provision for the spiritual needs of that community. Elwyn Davies has considered this in some detail.³⁷ As has been stressed above, the upland area of the headwaters of the Sulby River was divided between several parishes and sheadings (fig. 3). It seems likely that in the early middle ages this area was one of seasonal occupation, and that at some stage later in the medieval period settlement became permanent. Around 1500, the treen of *Aryhorkell* was linked by ownership to the treen of *Leyre* on the Kirk Michael coast.³⁸ It does not seem entirely irrelevant, therefore, to point out the similarity between the pre-keeill structure and the shieling structure at Block Eary, and to note the specific relationship that could obtain between outlying or detached portions of treens (four of which had Eary names) and the lowland farms. Both Eleanor Megaw³⁹ and Basil Megaw⁴⁰ have noted this in relation to rights of burial within part of the parish churchyard at Lezayre. Is it too speculative to suggest that a similar process may have been at work in the parish of Michael in the outlying treen of *Aryhorkell* in the upland pastures above Sulby and Druidale? This interpretation would at least give some coherence to the archaeological evidence, which reveals a minute keeill built out of and over an earlier circular structure — a structure resembling that of the Block Eary shieling — and no trace of graves associated with it. Keeill Vael might then have served an upland pastoral community who worked in the vicinity on a seasonal basis rather than a permanently settled agricultural community. Although many more questions remain to be answered, the importance of the site may well turn out ultimately to lie not in its intrinsic archaeological value but in its significance in a wider context of upland settlement.

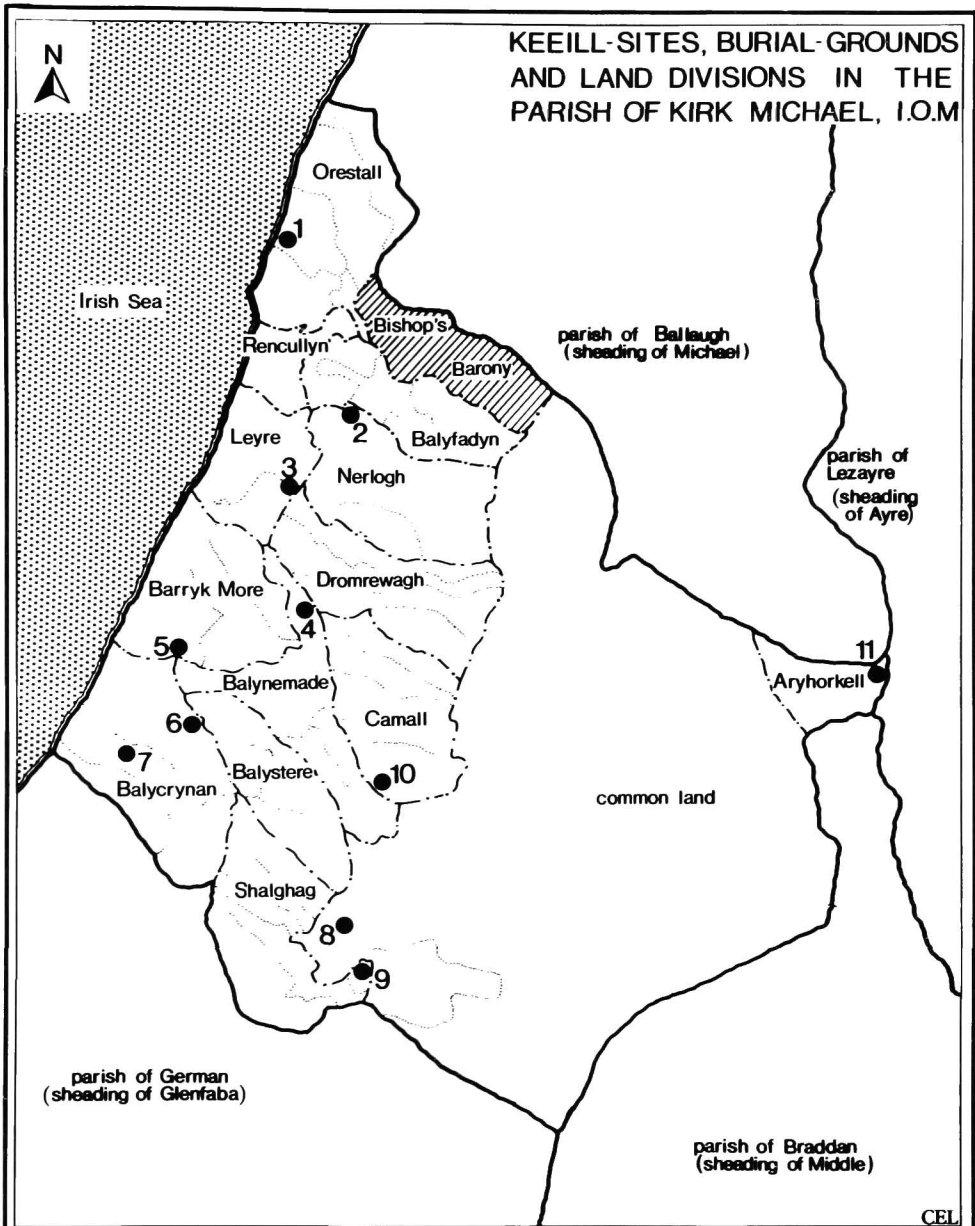
Appendix 1. The problem of keeills and treens.

By Christopher E. Lowe.

The keeill-treen relationship was first effectively discussed by C.J.S. Marstrander in his 1937 monograph. Save for one or two notable exceptions, his proposition that there was a keeill in every treen has gone largely unchallenged. It is however important to realise that, when one views a distribution-map of the keeills, which are notionally attributable to the period c. 500–1200, and of the treen-divisions, whose extent cannot be accurately determined before the fifteenth century, one is examining a set of data which has accumulated over a number of centuries. Some allowance, it is true, was made by Marstrander concerning the treen-divisions; he made very little concerning the keeills or keeill-sites. It may be said that a fundamental problem raised by his work is how far it is necessary to believe that these sites were contemporary.

Fig. 15 shows Kermode's plotting of the Kirk Michael keeill-sites and burial grounds, putative or otherwise;⁴¹ I have added one site but excluded two other additional identifications. Like Cregeen before him,⁴² Bruce has argued that "the siting of the keeills, whenever or by whom they were sited, is related to the cultivable, and hence inhabited, areas which then or later came to be known as treen-lands."⁴³ This is certainly true in most cases but some qualification is needed. The Kirk Michael analysis would support the notion that the siting of Keeills is hardly random but, while they may be in the midst of cultivable land, there is some evidence to suggest that their builders avoided prime agricultural land for their actual location. It may also be noted, although this may merely reflect the above observation, that the sites have a peripheral distribution within the quarterlands. Preliminary study of other parishes seems to suggest that this is a fairly common feature. The keeill-sites thus seem to have some relation to quarterland boundaries, though the precise relationship is not easy to analyse. We may link it however with Davies's observations on the coincidence of wells with these same boundaries,⁴⁴ and believe that both features give some support to Megaw's views on the antiquity of the quarterland.⁴⁵ But it is not a feature which helps to define the relationship of keeill or quarterland to the treen, nor does it help to date the keeills more closely.

Marstrander's analysis and conclusions were ultimately based on the work of Kermode.



		boundaries	
			sheading/parish
			tree
			quarterland
1 Keeill Pharlane	7 Cronk-y-Killey		
2 Cronk-y-Croghee	8 Ballaquiggen		
3 Parish church	9 Cronk ny Fedjag		
4 Cooldarragh	10 Ballakilleyclieau		
5 Glen Moar	11 Keeill Vael		
6 Cabbal Pherick			

Fig. 15. Kirk Michael Parish: keeill-sites, burial-grounds and land divisions.

This dependence has long been recognised in the discussion of the dating of Manx sculpture.⁴⁶ It has not been so generally recognised that Marstrander's work on keeills and treens is similarly dependent. A preliminary study of the material now suggests that not all the sites included by Kermodé are unequivocally early Christian in date. Kermodé acknowledged this himself to some extent: he dismissed Kirk Michael sites 5 and 8 (fig. 15), for example, and Marstrander followed him in this. But other sites proposed by Kermodé and accepted by Marstrander have been subsequently dismissed by J. R. Bruce on grounds of inadequate evidence.

Reassessment of Marstrander's data-base is long overdue. His inclusion of lintel-grave burials or cemeteries, the majority of which are poorly recorded, particularly warrants closer examination. Keeill-less burial grounds were invariably taken by Kermodé to indicate that an original keeill had disappeared. He developed this view by suggesting that the keeill on such sites had been built only of sods and wattles and never replaced by a more permanent structure.⁴⁷ It may be significant in this context that, on re-examination, at least some of Kermodé's "pottery" has proved to be daub.⁴⁸ An alternative view might see such keeill-less burial grounds as "undeveloped enclosed" or "unenclosed" cemeteries, classes of field-monument much discussed in recent years, most notably by Charles Thomas.⁴⁹ The suggestion is implicit in Thomas's and Kermodé's interpretations (though it will be ultimately important to distinguish between them) that such sites may sometimes pre-date cemeteries with an associated keeill. This consideration may then provide one means — to be used with all caution — of importing some kind of relative chronology into the material. Abandonment of sites — if that is what is involved — may as a corollary have implications for shifts in population centres and for changes, both of expansion and contraction, in the use of agricultural land. In a historical context it may be related also to the Megaw's suggestion that the Norse settlement "altered the density of the farming community and the distribution of farm holdings".⁵⁰ Another explanation has however been proposed by Bruce, who suggests that the keeill-less cemeteries may be relatively late and attributable to the desire of "simple folk" to be buried "in ill-defined areas somewhere near the old sites".⁵¹

Both the "abandonment theory" and the "late unauthorised burial theory" seriously affect Marstrander's distributional analysis, since approximately one-third of the keeill-site corpus is based on lintel-grave evidence or place-name evidence of the site's function as a burial ground. It is also possible of course that keeills once associated with burial grounds have disappeared as a result of agricultural activity or have not come to light because of the limited nature of the excavation of sites.

Many problems thus remain and certainties are few and far between — so few in fact that Megaw has recently said, "At present all that is certain is that the keeill burial-ground sites are pre-parochial, and a number — but by no means all — have produced evidence of use before the ninth century."⁵² Few would deny that the relationship of keeill to treen is important since, theoretically at least, it may tell us something not only of the attitude of the native population to the early Christian Church but also of the attitude of both people and Church to the Scandinavian settlement of Man. But until one can be sure of the social and historical context with which one is dealing, it would be dangerous to say more.

Appendix 2. The cross-slabs from Keeill Vael.

By Ross Trench-Jellicoe.

The six slate cross-slabs from Keeill Vael comprise an interesting group which may be usefully compared with other cross-slabs in the Manx series. The most notable parallels are those from the nearby site of Cronk yn How, Balleigh, Lezayre parish,⁵³ some 9.5 km distant, whose close similarity is in many ways striking. The slabs in these two groups are also for the most part dissimilar to slabs from further afield.

The Keeill Vael group was retrieved from the later phase of the structure at the northeast corner of the site, or from their tumbled position may be deemed to come from that source.

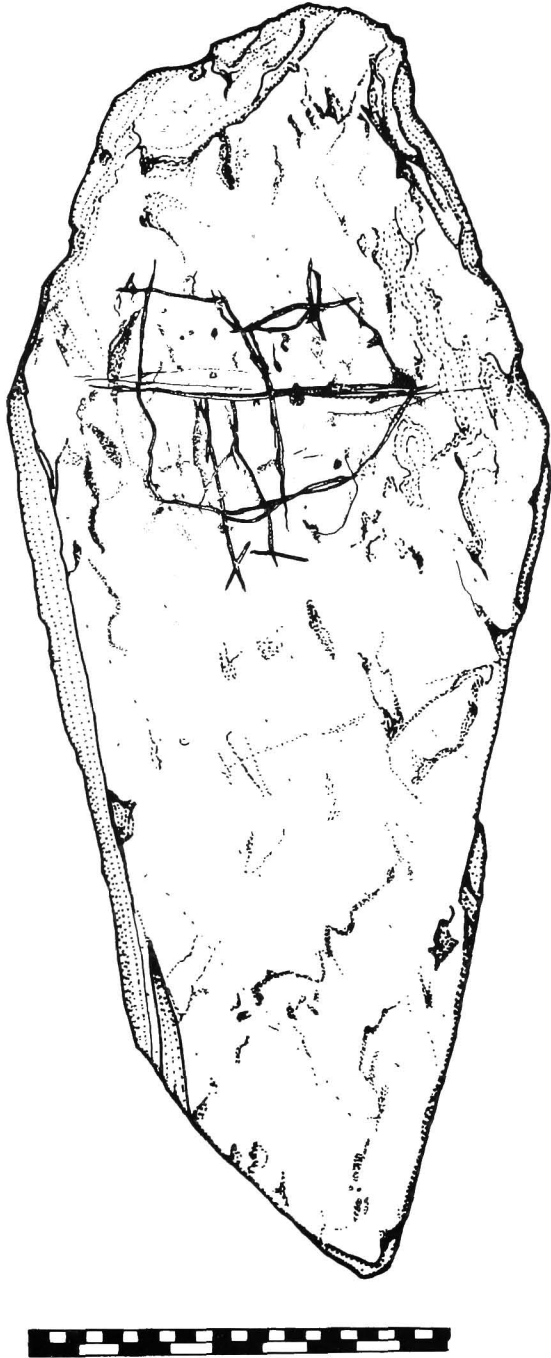


Fig. 16. Keeill Vael, Druidale, Michael: incised cross-slab KV80AG-73.

There is one exception: a slab found centrally placed immediately in front of the altar. Full comment on the original use of these slabs will be left to a subsequent discussion, but here it is relevant to note that slabs of this type from similar contexts appear to have been used either as memorials or as grave-markers.⁵⁴ This type of slab has previously been included in the pre-Scandinavian series⁵⁵ — there is certainly nothing distinctly Scandinavian about them.

Three of the six slabs appear to be complete or substantially so. The other three, although still bearing complete, or in one case largely complete, crosses, seem to have considerable portions missing. This conclusion is strengthened by the position of the cross on the slab surface. Despite the edge fractures, the cross-bearing surface has not been substantially damaged and all the figuring, except on the altar cross-slab, is perfectly clear.

Five of the six crosses are primary in form,⁵⁶ although the one from in front of the altar is difficult to define: it may have had channelled arms with circular, deepened terminals. All the other primary crosses have been scratched with a sharp knife-point — rather than cut — and the lines then intensified by multiple scratching. In proportion the vertical member is always longer than the horizontal. Even the simplest of these (KV79AB-10) shows evidence of consolidation in its bifurcation. The more complicated, like KV80AG-75, offer ample evidence of multiple scratching with many parallel cuts and some bifurcation; one (KV80AG-67) also has scratches which are related to, but not aligned with, the cross. All the crosses display an acceptable level of distortion considering the rough, unprepared nature of the surface.

The simple crosses at Keeill Vael are similar to the simplest at Maughold and Michael, but the cutting at these latter sites is deeper and more precise. The Keeill Vael technique of light scratching is best paralleled at Cronk yn How, as is each of the cross-types, from the simplest examples to those with multiple scratching and even the offset scored. Keeill Vael possesses, however, none of the outline crosses which are found at the sister site. It may well be significant that both these sites were thoroughly excavated with modern archaeological techniques, and that both groups of finds come from sites where they had been re-used in the fabric of buildings, possibly of similar date.

The most interesting slab from Keeill Vael (KV80AG-73) bears a cross very different in style from the others, with a noticeably different cutting technique (fig. 16). It may perhaps be best described as a poorly executed ring-cross to which two crosslets have been added, hanging beyond the ring from the left horizontal cross-arm. This feature is unique in the Manx series. There are also two vertical cuts at right-angles on the upper right-hand quadrant. The horizontal arms of the cross are longer than the vertical and all the arms pass beyond the ring. The ring itself is very distorted, resembling an irregular “U” topped by a separate horizontal comprising two discontinuous halves, crossing the loop at either end. Despite multiple grooves in several members, the cutting is deeper than on the other crosses. Although this cross cannot be closely paralleled at Cronk yn How, the latter site does possess what appears to be a distorted ring-cross which shows some similarities to KV80AG-73.

The simplicity, crude execution and distorted design of this group of crosses suggest a remoteness from any sophisticated centre of carving or iconography — or, as Kermodé suggested, “they appear to be the work of amateurs, possibly near relations”.⁵⁷

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Notes

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2. Emery (forthcoming).
3. The appendices indicate some of the aspects most relevant to the present theme. The research of Christopher Lowe and Ross Trench-Jellicoe covers of course wider ground; it is hoped to include more definitive statements from them in the Final Report.
4. Emery (forthcoming).
5. B.R.S. Megaw (1939) and (1969); Killip (1969) and p. 82 above; Quayle (1979), ch. 3.
6. B.R.S. Megaw (1942).
7. Cubbon and Megaw (1969).
8. B.R.S. Megaw (1940) and (1944).
9. Cubbon and Megaw (1969), 115.
10. P.S. Gelling (1960–61), 124–5; Cubbon and Megaw (1969), 116; E.M. Megaw (1978), 331–3, 339.
11. P.S. Gelling (1962–3), 169–70 and map, fig. 63.
12. P.S. Gelling (1962–3).
13. P.S. Gelling (1960–61), 124, and (1962–3), 167–9; M. Gelling (1971), 173.
14. Davies (1956), 111.
15. E.M. Megaw (1978), 328–9, 337–8.
16. P.S. Gelling (1962–3), 171–2.
17. Garrad (1970–72), 668.
18. Higham (1978).
19. E.M. Megaw (1978), 331. — G. Fellows Jensen (1977–8), 24–5, (1980), 70–2, has

- developed the idea that *earys* might represent low-lying shielings.
20. Kermodé (1930), 22–3.
 21. Bruce (1970–72), 646–9.
 22. Kermodé (1915), 33.
 23. Fleure and Dunlop (1942); P.S. Gelling (1964), 201.
 24. Bruce (1970–72), 41–2.
 25. Bruce (1968), 41–2.
 26. P.S. Gelling (1962–3), 161–2.
 27. P.S. Gelling (1962–3), 171.
 28. Bruce and Cubbon (1930), 290, 297–9. The Final Report will contain a full discussion of the incised slabs (by R. Trench-Jellicoe) and the merels board (by A.M. Cubbon).
 29. Garrad (1978).
 30. Cubbon (1959–60).
 31. Personal communication from A.M. Cubbon.
 32. See e.g. Kinvig (1975), 50, fig. 9. Christopher Lowe has a new distribution map in preparation.
 33. Marstrander (1937), 416–7.
 34. B.R.S. Megaw (1950), 171–2; Megaw and Megaw (1950), 154–5; Bruce (1968), 71; B.R.S. Megaw (1976), 36–7, and (1978), 297–8.
 35. Marstrander (1937) and (1938), 3–4; Megaw and Megaw (1950), 154.
 36. Bruce (1968), 74–5.
 37. Davies (1956).
 38. E.M. Megaw (1978), 331–2.
 39. E.M. Megaw (1978), 331.
 40. Personal communication.
 41. Kermodé (1911) and (1930).
 42. Cregeen (1950–51).
 43. Bruce (1968), 74.
 44. Davies (1956), 103.
 45. B.R.S. Megaw (1978), 296–7.
 46. Megaw and Megaw (1950), 150–51; B.R.S. Megaw (1978), 298.
 47. Kermodé and Herdman (1914), 82.
 48. B.R.S. Megaw (1978), 298; personal communication from L.S. Garrad.
 49. Thomas (1971).
 50. Megaw and Megaw (1950), 154.
 51. Bruce (1968), 73.
 52. B.R.S. Megaw (1978), 281.
 53. Bruce and Cubbon (1930), 276, 278–80, 284, 290, 294, and Appendix A, 297–9.
 54. Kermodé (1907).
 55. Kermodé (1928), 358; Bruce and Cubbon (1930), 297.
 56. Thomas (1971), 112–8, 124.
 57. Kermodé (1928), 358.

The Manx rune-stones

R.I. PAGE

In an elegant article in the *New Yorker*, the American writer Calvin Trillin began, "There are no trained runologists in Maine. " He continued more tactfully, "A lack of runologists is nothing for a state to be ashamed of; there aren't many anywhere." Much the same applies to the Isle of Man, and indeed to Great Britain, and this is perhaps the reason why there is still no adequate study of the Manx runes. Among archaeologists and other non-literate scientists there is the belief that if you can read one rune you can read them all, and that someone who can write on English runes should have no difficulties with Norse ones. I have rebutted this view myself (though arguing in the opposite direction) for I have from time to time rebuked northern runologists for thinking that their expertise in Scandinavian runes gave them authority to discuss Anglo-Saxon ones. No doubt this paper will give some of them a chance to get their own back, but I would like cunningly to draw their teeth by admitting that what follows is an amateur Viking runologist's account of the material. Indeed, I deliberately omit from it the two Manx rune-stones that I can speak of with some authority — the Anglo-Saxon incised slabs with English runes at Maughold.¹

The standard edition of the Scandinavian runic inscriptions of Man must still be that of Magnus Olsen,² though it leaves a lot of room for improvement. It was published in 1954, but in using it we must bear in mind that the work derives from the collections made during a visit as far back as 1911, and that thereafter the inscriptions were studied only through the medium of squeezes, tracings and photographs. To the material gathered on the 1911 journey was added whatever came from new finds, which were therefore known only at second hand. So much Olsen tells us in his introduction or in the course of his text. Being human, Olsen was capable of error; being distant from his primary sources, he was liable to fall into it. Hence there are mistakes of detail in his descriptions of the Manx inscriptions; particularly in minor and not easily distinguishable things like punctuation crosses and points, but also occasionally in the exact shapes of the runic letters themselves.³ Because Olsen does not give consistent close descriptions of his texts, there is the problem of how he treats damaged or weathered letters where the detail is no longer clear (and to this can be added the problem that there is still no consistent or consistently applied system of transliteration of runes, nor one that would enable the reader readily to judge just how much is visible and how much conjectural).⁴ In such points it is as well to be on one's guard against taking Olsen's account as final. He does not give any extensive consideration of the known history of his inscribed stones. Occasionally he refers to early pictures of damaged or worn stones which can be used to provide details no longer clear or certain. This is an important problem that needs thorough examination — the value of early drawings, rubbings and photographs for establishing the Manx runic corpus (and photographs will, of course, have a different value from drawings here, while there are also the casts to explore). In three cases, Braddan III (MM 136, Kermodé 109), Andreas III (MM 128, Kermodé 102) and Jurby (MM 127, Kermodé 99), the stones have been badly damaged since they were first recorded; here

it is clear that certain early reproductions are valuable. But there are many other cases where early students of the crosses recorded minor details that are no longer to be made out (the sort of thing that enables us to distinguish one runic form from another — the small staves that mark **a** or **n** from **i**) and here we should check the competence and accuracy of the earlier student to determine his ability to record what he saw rather than what he wanted to see. This sort of work has never been systematically done, and is only now in progress.

Clearly I have some, on the whole minor, reservations about Olsen's account of the Manx corpus. Similar reservations apply to Ingrid Sanness Johnsen's collection of the material which forms part of her book *Stutruner i Vikingtidens Innskrifter* (1968). In her case, moreover, I echo Aslak Liestøl's uncertainty, which he expressed in his very detailed, not to say crushing, review of her book, as to whether Dr Johnsen had in all cases seen the inscription she transcribed, to what extent she relied on earlier scholars for her readings.⁵ Valuable though both studies are, they fall some way short of a definitive account of the Manx runes. I certainly have not achieved one; in what follows I confine my discussion to a general view of the corpus, and suggest a few conclusions that are important for the wider context of Norse civilisation on the Isle of Man.⁶

One problem of the Manx corpus I have already drawn attention to: the reason for the large number of rune-stones on the island, considering its tiny size. There are, may I remind you, at least 31 rune-stones in the Manx corpus, not all crosses. Two of them Olsen dates to the post-Viking Age, and there is probably another late stone as well.⁷ Two are only tiny fragments which yield nothing of importance either philologically or runologically. That still leaves 26 or so substantial rune-stones surviving, and to this we can probably add one that was recorded c.1700 and which does not, apparently, survive.⁸ There are also one or two stones with runic graffiti on them to be added to the corpus, though graffiti are always hard to date, and I shall return to these later.⁹ Let us stick at the moment to the figure of 26, and compare this with the Viking Age rune-stones elsewhere. For Norway, the most closely related area runologically to Man, exact numbers are hard to establish because of problems of dating, but *Norges Innskrifter med de yngre Runer* gives, say, 40 Viking Age rune-stones for the whole of Norway, of which some seven are known only from early drawings since they apparently no longer exist. They are recorded only from the fairly plentiful early reports wherein Norway is richer than the Isle of Man. Thus there are, say, 33 extant Viking Age rune-stones in Norway compared with, say, 26 in the Isle of Man; a staggering comparison.

Johnsen's list in *Stutruner* provides a different sort of statistic, but one equally surprising. She includes 22 stones and fragments from Sweden, 24 from Norway, 7 from a great *Vesterhavsområde* which includes Greenland, the Faroes, the Scots islands and Ireland, and 25 from the Isle of Man. Even using crude sampling methods like these the Manx numbers look significant. Elsewhere I have tentatively suggested that the plenty of Manx stones arises from local conditions, from the fact that they combine two energetic traditions. There is a local Celtic one of raising crosses, and an incoming Norse one of raising runic memorials.¹⁰ In Man this combined practice, deriving from the intimate contact of the two peoples, is fruitful in the numbers of runic crosses it produces. To this theory I might add a refinement that the Church, with its stress on the written record, rendered the runic tradition more fruitful than it might otherwise be; that far from banning runic as being a pagan type of script (as has sometimes been thought), the Church welcomed any method of recording for Christian purposes. There is a similar development in the Anglo-Saxon runic tradition of northern England.¹¹ Yet however one may refine the idea, it remains a naive one, a simple explanation of a more complex phenomenon. It may have some truth in it, but the material needs further examination.

As the numbers I have quoted show, most Manx inscriptions are in the type of runes that Johnsen calls *stutruner*, which are also called *kortkvistruner*, short-twig runes. Some have wished to identify a variant of this type which is common to Man and the southwest of Norway, a variant they call for convenience the Man-Jær runes. This is less a type than a particular selection of items from the total number of rune forms available, a particular choice of the forms for **b**, **h**, **m** and **ǰ**; and I again agree with Liestøl in finding it hard to identify a specific selection of rune forms in short or damaged inscriptions which may retain

no examples of certain significant letters.¹² Hence it is convenient to think of these inscriptions simply as *kortkvistruner/stuttruner* without any further qualification.¹³

One aspect of the Manx inscriptions encourages us to treat them as a coherent group. A core of inscriptions has the common commemoration formula, *N . . . reisti kross þenna ept(ir) M . . .*, "N . . . put this cross up in memory of M . . ." The person who raised the monument and the dead one commemorated may be further defined by adding the relationship to some other person (wife, son, nephew, daughter), or by giving a nickname (*hnakki, inn svarti*). To this primary commemoration text may be put a second one giving more information about one of these people, or adding the name of the man who made the monument or cut the runes. Of the Manx stones at least sixteen have inscriptions that fit this matrix exactly or are fragments that are fully compatible with it. To this number may be added one or two remains on fragmentary stones that look like the second, additional, texts of similar memorials; and there are a couple of variants, one (Kirk Michael II, MM 101, Kermodé 74) telling that the stone was put up for the raiser's own benefit, and a second (Maughold V, MM 175) that has a commemorative formula in rather different terms but of the same general effect. So it may be said that most of the Manx rune-stones show a fairly common runic formula of an accepted pattern. The formula used is similar to that on many Norwegian rune-stones of the Viking Age, the only difference being that there the rune-masters use the word *steinn* "stone", rather than *kross* "cross". This is not surprising in that for much of the Viking Age the Norwegians were pagan and would not need to refer to crosses, but it is worthy of note that even Norwegian runic crosses of the late Viking Age continue to use *steinn* and to avoid *kross*. So, as for that, do the Danish ones. The word *kross* seems typical of the Viking rune-stones of the west. Outside Man it is found in the two Scots inscriptions from Inchmarnock, Buteshire, and Kilbar, Barra (fig. 7, p. 90 above), as well as on the Irish stone at Killaloe, Co. Clare (and indeed, the use of *kross* could have spread from Man to these other places). It is reasonable, therefore, to take it as a Celticism introduced into Norse usage, and so it gives coherence to the Manx examples — they apply a common Norse formula of commemoration, with a common Celtic variation of wording.

It is perhaps worth noting that in some minor characteristics too — the sort of detail that might well be taught by a school of rune-masters — Manx agrees with Norwegian usage. I am thinking here of the way the Manx rune-carvers employ punctuation points, using within the same inscription single, double and no points at all, or sometimes dividing off syntactically linked groups of words by their punctuation system. A word too on the lay-out of the runes on the Manx stones. Sixteen of the Manx corpus have their texts cut along the edge of a slab, that is to say on the very narrow side of a comparatively slim stone. In thirteen cases the inscription runs from the base upwards, in one from the top down; in two others the stone is too fragmentary for us to be sure which. Thus there is a common pattern for a memorial stone, a slab shape, with decoration (but no inscription) on face and back, and with the inscription running up (much less often down) one side (fig. 1, p. 179 below). This general pattern is also found in Scandinavia. It is virtually never used in Denmark, only if the narrow side of a slab holds part of a longer inscription which also occupies part of the face,¹⁴ but it is quite common in Norway, in the western provinces of Vest-Agder and Rogaland as well as in the more inland and easterly areas of Opland and Buskerud. In Norway, I think, the inscription always runs upwards.

In this aspect of design we could well see the practice of the home-land repeated, but repeated with variation. However, the Manx crosses have a second common pattern of lay-out of the inscription. This time it is set on the face of the slab. In this type the rectangular slab has a sculptured cross in relief on its face, together with other ornamentation. The inscription is also on the face, running upwards and filling the space to one side of the stem of the relief cross (fig. 2, p. 182 below). There are six examples of this general design on Man, and it is a type not to be found in Norway (or again Denmark) in the Viking Age. Where an inscription does run up the face on a Norwegian stone, the arrangement is different. I do not know what modern ideas of this second general design of cross (and inscription) are, but Shetelig, writing in 1954 though expressing arguments formulated years earlier, suggested that it was the Vikings who brought to Man the

sculptured relief cross on the face of a slab, and that they got the idea from Scotland where similar memorial stones are to be found.¹⁵ I note that in his conference paper D.M. Wilson is more cautious, and speaks only of influences “from the regions round the Irish Sea”.¹⁶ At any rate it is clear, from this brief examination of the runic crosses, that they show both tradition and innovation in their inscriptions.

Among the inscriptions there are, side by side with those clearly derived from Norse exemplars with a Celtic element added, others which are quite different in a number of ways, and which show that the Scandinavian occupation of Man was anything but a simple affair. Among the earliest specimens of the Manx runic crosses is usually claimed to be Kirk Michael II (fig. 1, p. 182 below) whose memorial formula has the added clause **kaut×kirþi: þana:auk ala:imaun×** “Gautr made this and all in Man”. It is argued, presumably by scholars who believe all they hear in television commercials, that if Gautr claimed to have made all the runic crosses in Man, there could at any rate not be a lot of others standing about made by earlier sculptors. Hence this must be one of the first generation of runic crosses.¹⁷

A man Gautr is named on a second cross, Andreas I (MM 99, Kermodé 73), **kautr:kar[þi]:sunr:biarnar fra:kuli[:]** “Gautr made me, son of Björn of Kollr” (wherever Kollr may have been).¹⁸ These two men are usually equated and I think rightly, and in that case we have two contemporary inscriptions, cut on crosses made by the same man (though I note that the inscriptions are not said to be by the same man). Looking at the two inscriptions in full, we find there are already varieties of form.

Kirk Michael II: **×mail:brikti:sunr:apakans:smiþ:raisti:kṛus:þana: fur:salu:sina:sin: brukuin: kaut× kirþi:þana:auk ala:imaun×**

Andreas I: the inscription is unfortunately badly weathered and partly unrecoverable: []
þ[an]a:[aft]ufaik:fauþur:sin:in:kautr:kar[þi]:sunr:biarnar fra:kuli[:]

There are already a few variations in rune usage and spelling, in accordance, in the forms of letters and in the style of the inscriptions. As examples of spelling variations I quote Kirk Michael II *þana* against Andreas I *þana*; Kirk Michael II has *kirþi*; Olsen, and I provisionally, read Andreas I *karþi* but I am not certain about the vowel *a* here, and would wish to reconsider the reading carefully. As for accordance, Andreas I has *kautr* but Kirk Michael II loses the nominative singular ending in *kaut* (and also some ending, nominative or genitive singular, in *smiþ*); both retain the ending of *sunr*. As to rune forms, Kirk Michael II has the form **ṫ** *a*, save for two examples of **ṫ** in significant parts of the inscription, the name forms *mailbrikti* and *kaut*;¹⁹ Andreas I has only **ṫ**, except for a possible case of **ṫ** in *karþi*. There is one small comment to make on the style of the characters in the two inscriptions: Kirk Michael II has straight lines for the arms of letters like **f**, **k**, **ʀ**, **ṫ**; Andreas I seems to have curved lines, **ʀ**, **ṫ** though it is hard to be sure because of the poor state of preservation of that stone. Here is another case where a thorough examination of the forms is needed. The two texts look to be by different rune-carvers, but that is a very subjective comment.

There are other runic crosses, as Kirk Michael I (MM 102, Kermodé 75) and Braddan I (MM 112, Kermodé 86) which have been ascribed to Gautr on stylistic grounds,²⁰ and their texts would add a little to the suggestion of diversity I have noted here. However, it is best not to use them to develop the point since not everyone is so convinced by stylistic arguments. Let us stick instead to the evidence of Kirk Michael II and Andreas I. We should not expect too much consistency on the part of any rune-master. Yet I would suggest that these two monuments, by their variant styles, indicate that in the earliest recorded runic times for the island there was a runic tradition that was not a simple one. There was more than one rune-master involved. Several different usages combine. Here it is important to look again at Gautr's claim. He does not say he made all the Manx runic monuments of his time, only that he made all the crosses. Behind the monuments that survive there may be a more extensive, but fugitive, runic tradition.²¹ From the statistics I have quoted, it seems to have been one mainly of the use of *kortkvistruner*, short-twig runes, and this set of traditions

certainly continued fruitful in Man, at least into the twelfth century. However, short-twig runes are not the only type of Scandinavian runes on the island, and when we look at a later cross, Maughold IV (MM 142), we find the tradition more complex than before, for that cross has a different set of runes and a variant formula. In fact it has several inscriptions on it, but here I am concerned with the two major ones only, since they, presumably, are contemporary with the carving of the cross, while the others, being more casual, are probably later additions:

1. **heþin:seti:krus:þiṇa:eftir:tutur:sina** “Heðinn put up this cross in memory of his daughter”
2. **arni:risti:runar:þisar** “Arni cut these runes”.

In these inscriptions the runes are not the Norse *kortkvistruner* but are from (or perhaps it is better to say are strongly influenced by) the common or normal or Danish rune types. In making this remark I am commenting on the forms only, not on their provenance, since Danish rune forms occur in Norway too, on such prestigious monuments as the Dynna stone, where they are mixed with *kortkvistruner*, and the Alstad I stone.²² Thus Maughold IV’s runes are clearly distinguishable from the Manx rune forms dealt with hitherto, notably with their **a** and **n** forms, **ʰ**, **ʱ** and their **t**-rune **ṽ**. On the other hand the Maughold IV rune-master used the *kortkvistrune* form of **s** **ʰ**. And he introduced the dotted form **h** for **e**. The latter is important as a dating point, since it seems to have entered Danish usage c.1000,²³ and Norwegian somewhat later.²⁴ So here we have an apparently up-to-date rune-master using new forms as well as those from a different runic tradition. Another significant variation on this stone is in the commemorative formula. The word for putting up the cross is not “raised”, *reisti*, but “set”, *setti*. The verb is very rare in Norwegian formulae, but relatively common in Viking Age Denmark and Sweden (and as for that in Anglo-Saxon England). Probably significant too is the verb that Arni used for “carved”, *risti*, from the weak verb *rista* rather than the strong verb *rista*. This verb occurs on one of the inscriptions from Knestang, Buskerud, which is provisionally dated to c.1190. Otherwise, says *Norges Innskrifter med de yngre Runer*, it is “yderst svakt bevidnet i gammelnorsk, og først i langt senere tid enn 12te årh.” (it occurs very rarely in Old Norse, and then not till a long time after the twelfth century),²⁵ though the couple of other Norwegian epigraphical examples are not easily datable. On the other hand it is common in medieval Sweden and Denmark, in Swedish inscriptions from the eleventh century onwards, while there is a solitary early Danish example, Tillitse, Lolland, which *Danmarks Runeindskrifter* puts in the period 1050–1150.²⁶ The Maughold IV inscriptions are obviously exotic in the Manx setting, suggesting perhaps Danish influence. Yet these are not pure Danish runes, as is shown by a possible single **a**-form **ʰ**,²⁷ but more certainly by the **s**-form **ʰ**. The commemorative text uses the Manx-Norse word *kross*, and the lay-out of the text is that common in Man but rare elsewhere, the runes running upwards on one side of the stem of a relief cross on the slab face. Again there seems here a mixture of tradition and innovation, though it is a new one.

More exotic still in its rune-forms is the Kirk Michael III (MM 130, Kermodé 104) stone with its pair of inscriptions:

1. **mal:lymkun:raisti:krus:þena:efter:mal:mury:fustra:sine:totortufkals:kona:is:þiṣl:ati+**
2. **[b]etra:es:laifa:fustra:kuþan:þan:son:ilan+**

These texts are long enough to have several significant letter forms, including **a**, **n**, **t** and **s**. They also show the dotted **e**, and, what is a little disturbing, a dotted rune which I transcribe, without prejudice, as **y**. At least, I identify the latter, though Olsen doesn’t, but then his account of this stone is not his best work, which is surprising since it is one of the better preserved of the Manx texts.²⁸

The second of these texts presents no problems of understanding: “it is better to leave a good foster-son than a bad son”, apparently a proverb, but at any rate an undeniable truth. The first is more difficult because, frankly, this is rotten Old Norse. It begins all right, “Mallymkun raised this cross in memory of Malmury (whatever the final vowel of this name form is)”, but then founders on the grammar. The names *Mallymkun* and *Malmury* are

troublesome because we do not know the sex of these characters. The names could be either male or female since the first element is the Celtic word for “servant”, and a servant could be of either sex. The Celtic sources that supply us with examples of personal names are sex-biased, having more male than female citations. *Mallymkun* has baffled Celtic scholars to whom I have submitted it, though earlier commentators chiefly produced, for its second element, the name form *Lomchon*.²⁹ *Malmury* means “servant of Mary”, and here one might possibly prefer a female identification. So we get a reading “N (male?) put this cross up in memory of M (female?)” after which the grammatical trouble begins. It would be natural to take *frustra sine* as in apposition to *Malmury*. The ending of *sine* is, however, impossible, whatever sex *frustra* is. If *frustra* is accusative, as it should be in this interpretation, its form is that of a masculine and it must mean “foster-son” as in the second inscription. In that case *Malmury* would be masculine (which is possible from the name citations in Celtic records but would require us to reconsider the tentative interpretation of the text). The text then continues *totor tufkals* “daughter of Dufgal”, with the word *totor* in the accusative, which adds a further confusion. The text ends *kona is apisl ati*, “the wife whom Apisl married”, with the word *kona*, “wife” in the nominative. Thus we could perhaps re-order the text and give the reading, “Mallymkun, daughter of Dufgal, the wife whom Apisl married, set up this cross in memory of Malmury her foster-son”. This reading involves (1) the clear error in *sine*; (2) taking the whole phrase *totor tufkals kona is apisl ati* as defining *Mallymkun* rather than the immediately preceding *Malmury* (which is possible if a bit unlikely); (3) having an embarrassing accusative *totor* (as I read it) instead of a nominative. The relationship to the second text is also embarrassing, since that inscription implies that the dead have left a living foster-son, whereas on this reading the commemorative wording implies it is the foster-mother who survived. The alternative is to follow Olsen, who read, “M. erected this cross after his foster-mother, M., Dufgal’s daughter, the wife whom Adils married”. Here you must assume (1) the same clear error in *sine*, and (2) that *frustra* and *kona*, in apposition to the accusative *Malmury*, are in the nominative instead of the expected accusative, but that *totor*, agreeing with them, is nevertheless correctly declined.

Whatever we do we are faced with grammatical problems, and we must finally admit that whoever framed the text for this stone was a poor writer of classical Old Norse. There was, as I have shown, grammatical imprecision on early Manx stones, as early indeed as Gautr’s, whose name sometimes has the classical nominative ending *-r* and sometimes not; and one of whose stones has the endlingless form *smiþ* whose function in the sentence is thus rendered uncertain. It may be that (as some have assumed) this gives evidence of a breakdown, even as early as the tenth century, of the strict system of accidence in Old Norse such as might be expected if that language were being used in a community of mixed Norse-Celtic speakers. On this argument Kirk Michael III would be showing progressive development of a demotic Norse, with more marked decline in the inflexional pattern.³⁰ There is a further implication, of some importance: that though this is an inscription by a rune-master trained in techniques untypical of Man,³¹ he used his script to record a distinctively Manx speech. His text has the local word *kross*. Yet again there is the combination of tradition and innovation.

Finally, I make a jump to the latest Manx runic texts. Maughold I (MM 145, Kermodé 115) and II (MM 144, Kermodé 114) are linked together by their content, though their find-spots are some miles apart. Maughold (Corna valley) II names Christ and three Celtic saints, Malachi, Patrick and Adamnan. The latest of these is Malachi if he is correctly identified with the archbishop of Armagh who died in 1148. What time it took for a cult of him with the other two saints to develop I do not know, nor how it reached Man, direct from Ireland or from the west coast of Scotland where Malachi was popular. But in any case it can presumably not be before the mid-twelfth century, which is thus the earliest date for these two stones. For so late a date they show an archaic group of runes, with a *futhark* which is a pure example of short-twig runes (with the omission of the otiose symbol for palatal R); there is no sign of the later runic developments that begin to show themselves c.1000 — the use of the dotted *e* or the rather later dotted *y*, the even later dotted *k* and *b* runes, or the use of the character † for the open *æ* sound. In other words, if the rune-master Iuan of these inscriptions is using runes current in Man in the twelfth century (and not merely

demonstrating his skill in an archaic script along with ogam), his characters descend directly from the earliest Manx runes and are uninfluenced by most later developments on the mainland of Norway. They even show no influence from the rune types of Maughold IV and Kirk Michael III.

We might support this theory — that the later Manx runes in general show relatively little development — on two types of evidence:

1. The Manx rune-stones that I have not examined here are based on the short-twig *futhark* with little change. A couple show the dotted e (German (Peel) II, MM 140, Kermodé 112 and Onchan, MM 141, Kermodé 113), and the latter may also evidence the use of æ though the reading is not clear. A few of the inscriptions have the *ansur* rune for the vowel o, displacing here the rune u in that function. Apart from these they show nothing of the considerable development of rune use that is characteristic of post-millennium medieval runology in Norway or indeed Denmark. In other words, there is no clear sign that, after the period 1000–1050, there was much runic contact between Man and the Viking homelands.
2. Some Manx stones have runic graffiti. They are often faint and confused. Most have been discovered only in recent years, and so have not been properly studied. There are probably more to be found by careful search.³² Inevitably graffiti are undatable, or at best only to be dated with difficulty. Hence they have limited use as evidence, but for all that they should not be ignored. In some ways the most intriguing of the graffiti are those on the Maughold IV and German (St John's) I (MM 107, Kermodé 81) stones. In these it looks as though someone tried to make copies of the main inscriptions — this is clearer in the Maughold case than in St John's. It is possible that some of the later Manx inscriptions were cut by men who had learned their runes in this way, from observing how the script was used in earlier times, rather than by men who had been taught by visiting Vikings or who had trained in Norway itself.

The material I have taken here from the Manx runes is slight, and it would be absurd to draw from it any very general conclusions. Moreover, I am acutely aware that much work remains to be done on the chronology of the Manx rune-stones, viewing them both as artefacts and linguistic records. The relationship between Manx runic traditions and those of mainland Scandinavia needs reconsideration; here I have assumed that new runic styles developed in Scandinavia and moved then to Man, but it may have been the other way round. Nevertheless, it is worth summing up the material I have presented to see what it amounts to, and to offer it to the archaeologists and historians to find out how well it fits their theories of the Viking presence in Man.

(a) The earliest surviving runes, from the tenth century, show a clear connection with Norway, as has long been recognised. At the same time they show Norsemen accommodating to a western tradition which has strong Celtic elements. Within the runic usage there is already some diversity of practice, showing that the introduction of the script was not a simple one.

(b) c.1000 the runic tradition is affected by new techniques, suggesting incoming rune-using groups trained in different, perhaps newer, ways of using the script. These in turn adapt to some degree to the western tradition.

(c) Perhaps the mainstream of runic tradition on the island flows from (a) through the twelfth century, showing no strong influence from (b) or from newer runic usages developing in Norway.

Can we see from this a general pattern of Viking settlement, vigorous and strong, with close links to western Norway but accommodating itself to Celtic manners; a settlement which responds to different Viking stimuli for some period c.1000, but then continues in some isolation?

Appendix I. The Manx runic inscriptions.

The following are provisional transcripts only. It is not possible, in such simple transcriptions, to indicate clearly how much is certain, how much likely from the verbal context, how much to be supplied from the fragmentary remains on the stone, how much derives from dependable early reproductions, and so on. Punctuation is particularly precarious. Final transcripts will differ in matters of detail like these, and will have to be accompanied by careful description. Meanwhile these are presented for the guidance of readers.

Andreas I (MM 99, Kermodé 73): [] þ [a n] a: [a ft] u f a i k : f a u þ u r : s i n : i n :
k a u t r : k a r [þ] i : s u n r : b i a r n a r f r a : k u l i i [:]

Andreas II (MM 131, Kermodé 103): s a n t : u l f : h i n : s u a r t i : r a i s t i : k r u s : þ a n a :
a f t i r : a r i n : b i a u r k . k u i n u : s i n a + the graffito u [.] k : a u [.] : a k s (or b k s)

Andreas III (MM 128, Kermodé 102): þ u r u a l t r : r [a i s t i] k r u s : þ []

Andreas IV (MM 113, Kermodé 87): [] a i s [t] i [k] r u s : þ a i n a : a f t i r
[]

Ballaugh (MM 106, Kermodé 77): a u l a i b r : l i u t u l b s u n r : r [a i] s [t i k] r s . þ l n a :
a i f t i r . [] | b : s u n [s] i n

Braddan I (MM 112, Kermodé 86): þ u r [] : r a i s t i : k r u s : þ a n a : i f t : u f a a k :
s u n : k r i n a i s

Braddan II (MM 138, Kermodé 110): [] n r o s k i t i l : u i l t i : i : t r i k u : | a i þ s o a r a :
s i i n

Braddan III (MM 136, Kermodé 109): u t r : r i s t i : k r u s : þ a n a : a f t : f r a [k] a
[: f] a þ [u r s i n : i n :] þ [u r b i a u r n :]

Braddan IV (MM 135, Kermodé 108): b u r l i b r : n h a k i : r i s t i : k r u s : þ a n a : a f t [:]
f i a k : s u [n] s i n : þ r u þ u r : s u n : h a b r s × I H S V S

Bride (MM 118, Kermodé 92): [t] r u i a n : s u r [t] u f k a l s : r a i s t i k r s þ i n a : a f [t]
a þ m i u [.] : k u n u s i [n]

German (St John's) I (MM 107, Kermodé 81): [] i n a s r u þ r : r a i s t : r u n a r :
þ s a r × [] + graffito

German (Peel) II (MM 140, Kermodé 112): [] u s : þ e n s e . e f t e r . a s r i þ i : k u n u
s i n a . t u t u r u t []

Jurby (MM 127, Kermodé 99): [] u n s i n : i n : a n a n : r a i t i | [] a f t i r
þ u r b]

Kirk Michael I (MM 102, Kermodé 75): [] k r u s : þ n a : a f [t i r :]

Kirk Michael II (MM 101, Kermodé 74): × m a i l : b r i k t i : s u n r : a þ a k a n s : s m i þ :
r a i s t i : k r u s : þ a n a : f u r : s a l u : s i n a : s i n : b r u k u i n : k a u t × | k i r þ i : þ a n a :
a u k | a l a : i m a u n ×

Kirk Michael III (MM 130, Kermodé 104): 1. m a l : l y m k u n : r a i s t i : k r u s : þ e n a :
e f t e r : m a l : m u r y : f u s t r a : s i n e : t o t o r t u f k a l s : k o n a : i s : a þ i s l : a t i +
2. [.] e t r a : e s : l a i f a : f u s t r a : k u þ a n : þ a n : s o n : i l a n +

Kirk Michael IV (MM 126, Kermodé 100): [] k r i m : r i s t i : k r u s : þ n a : i f t : r u m u
[]

Kirk Michael V (MM 132, Kermodé 105): + i u a l f i r : s u n r : þ u r u l f s : h i n s : r a u þ a :
r i s t i : k r u s : þ a n a : a f t : f r i þ u : m u þ u r : s i n a +

Kirk Michael VI (MM 129, Kermodé 101): [] k r i m s : i n s : s u a r t a ×

Kirk Michael VIII (MM 123): [] : [a i] f t i r m u [.] u []

Marown (Rhyne) (MM 139, Kermode 111): þ u r b i a u r n : r i s t i : k r u s : þ æ []

Maughold I (MM 145, Kermode 115): 1. [] i u a n + b r i s t + r a i s t i + þ a s i r + r u n u r +
2. [f] u þ æ r k h n i a s t b m l +

Maughold (Corna valley) II (MM 144, Kermode 114): + k r i s þ : m a l a k i : o k b a þ r i k :
a þ æ n m a n x | : [n a l] s a u þ . a [.] : i u a n . b r i s t . i k u r n a þ a l

Maughold IV (MM 142): 1. h e þ i n : s e t i : k r u s : þ i n æ : e f t i r : t u t u r : s i n æ
[] l a . l i []
2. a r n i : r i s t i : r u n a r : þ i s a r
3. s i k u þ r
4. l i f i l t + g r a f f i t i

Maughold V (MM 175): k u a n s u n r x m a i l b [] a k [] + k i r þ i + l i k + t i n n i f t i r
+ | + k u i n a s i n a +

Onchan (MM 141, Kermode 113): 1. [] a s u n r x r a i s t i x i f t [k] u [i] n u s i n æ x |
m u r k i a l u x m []
2. þ u r i þ x r a i s t x r u n e [.] x
3. k r u []
4. x i s u k r i s t
5. x u k i k a t x a u k r a þ i k r [.] t
6. An uncertain group that has been read, perhaps correctly, $\widehat{a}l æ n s$

Omitted from this list are: the cryptic text Andreas V (MM 111, Kermode 84); the fragments Balleigh (MM 159), Braddan V (MM 176), Kirk Michael VII (MM 110, Kermode 85), Maughold (Ballagilly) III (MM 133, Kermode 106).

There are also ogam inscriptions on Kirk Michael III and Maughold I.

Appendix II. Manx futharks, and significant variants.

1. *Kortkvistruner (stuttruner, short-twig runes)*: Andreas I, II, III, IV, Ballaugh, Braddan I, II, III, IV, Bride, German (St John's) I, German (Peel) II, Jurby, Kirk Michael I, II, IV, V, VI, Marown (Rhyne), Maughold I, II (Corna valley), V, Onchan.

f u þ æ / o r k h n i a s t b m l r
 f n þ f r r t t l t ' 7 4 Y t r
 t

German (Peel) II and Onchan have also $\ddot{t}e$ (with no examples of h), while Onchan may have one example of $\ddot{t}æ$. Of course, not all inscriptions have examples of all significant forms, and some characters, as h , m , are fairly rare; there is only a single example of r , and that in a badly damaged part of a text.

2. *Mixed runes*: Maughold IV.

f u þ æ r k h n i a s t b m l r
 f n þ æ r r * t l t ' t t

This inscription has also $\ddot{t}e$.

3. *Danish (common, normal) runes*: Kirk Michael III.

f u þ o r k h n i a s t b m l r
 f n þ f r r x l t n t Y t

This inscription has also $\ddot{t}e$, and, I think, $n ?y$.

4. Indeterminate or too fragmentary: Balleigh, Braddan V, Kirk Michael VII, VIII, Maughold (Ballagilley) III.
5. Cryptic runes: Andreas V.

Appendix III. A note on the grammar of the Manx rune-stones.

The irregular grammar of Kirk Michael III must be seen in the context of other non-classical forms in Manx inscriptions. These are:

- (i) The nominative of strong masculine nouns has lost its *-r* inflexion in *santulf* Andreas II, *kaut* Kirk Michael II, *[k]rim* Kirk Michael IV. Perhaps appropriate here is the loss of *-r* in the feminine (?) *þurip* Onchan, and there is also the form of uncertain status *lifilt* Maughold IV. Onchan has the endings *krist*, but a Norse form was probably not intended there because preceding it is the Old Irish form *isu* (Jesus). A different development is the glide vowel that has, apparently, formed between stem and ending in *iualfir* Kirk Michael V, if that is a form of *Íóálfr* as Lind assumes.³³
- (ii) The genitive singular of a strong masculine noun has lost its *-s* ending in *smiþ* Kirk Michael II if, as seems likely from the word order, that word agrees with *þakans* rather than with the nominative *mailbrikti*. If it is in apposition to *mailbrikti*, *smiþ* should appear as a further example under (i) above.
- (iii) The oblique form of the weak feminine noun is not signalled in *kuina sina* Maughold V.
- (iv) The vowel of the ending of *rune[.]* (for *runar*) Onchan is imprecise.

In general, however, the Manx rune-masters get their grammar right in these sorts of cases. For instance:

- (i) Inflexional *-r* is retained in *kautr*, *sunr* Andreas I, *þjruualtr* Andreas III, *qulaibr*, *liutulbsunr* Ballaugh, *utr* Braddan III, *þurlibr* Braddan IV, *su(n)r* Bride, *qsrubr* German (St John's) I, *sunr* (contrast *kaut*) Kirk Michael II, *sunr* Kirk Michael V, *sikuþr* Maughold IV, *sunr* Maughold V, *sunr* Onchan.
- (ii) Correct *-s* genitive forms occur in *habrs* Braddan IV, *þurulfs hins rauþa* Kirk Michael V, *krimns ins suarta* Kirk Michael VI; and in the Celtic names *krinais(?)* Braddan I, *[t]ufkals* Bride, *þakans* (contrast *smiþ*) Kirk Michael II, *tufkals* Kirk Michael III.
- (iii) Correct oblique feminine forms occur in *kuinu sina* Andreas II, *kunu* Bride, *kunu sina* German (Peel) II, *salu sina* Kirk Michael II, *friþu* Kirk Michael V, *[k]u[i]nu sina* Onchan.
- (iv) The correct plural *runar* occurs in German (St John's) I, Maughold IV.

Indeed, on the whole the grammar of the Manx stones is quite good, with correct, or at least adequate, forms given for nouns, adjectives and demonstratives. Apart from the forms quoted above, only *triku* Braddan II has been called in question. This word, if it is *tryggvar*, a word normally found only in the plural, should have the ending *-um*.

Magnus Olsen tentatively attributed the appearance of non-classical forms to Celtic influence.³⁴ The Norse and the Celts, he argued, formed a bilingual community, but the two languages had differing inflexional systems. Consequently, the strict Norse inflexional pattern was disturbed. In contrast, D.A. Seip drew attention to a parallel break-down of inflexional patternings that is recorded in the early Norwegian written texts.³⁵ Inflexional *-r*, he noted, is lost in the common assimilation to *l* and *n* (as indeed in *roskítill* Braddan II, *þurbiaurn* Marown (Rhyne)), and there are less regular assimilations as in *son*, *sæl* for the common *sonr*, *sælr*. *-r* is lost, in written texts c.1200, when there is another *r* in the neighbourhood, as in *burð*, *stýrc*, *prest*; and also in some loanwords, as *biscop*. In the fourteenth century there is more widespread evidence of loss of *-r*, though a strong scribal tradition helps its retention. Again, the earliest Norwegian and Icelandic manuscript texts show occasional loss of *-s* in the genitive of nouns whose stem ends in *ð*, as genitives *guð*, *æið*. Variations between *-a* and *-u/o* forms in feminine nouns is shown by such accusatives as *kirkia*, *kona*, *tunga*, and such nominatives as *þionasto*, *sálo*. Hence, Seip implies (though it is

left to C.J.S. Marstrander to say it firmly)³⁶ the non-classical Manx forms are probably not caused by Celtic influence; they show the early appearance in Man of Norse forms that are to occur in the later written texts of the mainland of Norway.

Seip did not use as evidence the Viking Age runic texts of Norway, nor could he, for there was no support in them. Thus he quoted no forms before the beginning of the twelfth century, the earliest date of his manuscript material. The evidence of the Norwegian language as recorded in the Viking Age runes of Norway is interesting. As presented in *Norges Innskrifter med de yngre Runer* these inscriptions do not show the inflexional decline recorded in Man. Most important, the *-r* ending is always given to appropriate masculine nominatives. Particularly interesting in this connection is a text on Njærheim I which reads **in:ulfríkr: | srkþukrk**, interpreted as *en Ulfrekr sorgþungr g(erði)* “and Ulfrekr, heavy with grief, made (this cross)”.³⁷ Though the rune-master had to shorten his text because of lack of space, he nevertheless included the *-r* ending of *sorgþungr*; if *-r* had been optional at this date, he might well have omitted it. There are, I think, no Norwegian epigraphical cases to parallel the genitive *smiþ*. Oblique weak feminines have the proper endings, though there are few examples on the Norwegian Viking Age stones. The plural *runar* only occurs, though again examples are rare.³⁸ Thus it seems that some of the Manx crosses show a rather different grammatical tradition from that of the Norwegian monuments.

In reassessing his position in 1954, Olsen pointed out that “in the Norse settlements from Greenland to Orkney the nominative *-r*, and inflexion of women’s names, were not affected by such disintegrating influences until far out into the Middle Ages. These settlements, however, had been seized and occupied by Norsemen only.”³⁹ Hence he reassessed his belief that the Manx break-down of inflexions was the effect of mixing with Celtic speakers. He added the support of the Killaloe cross in Ireland, which has the endingless nominative *þurkrim*, and presumably also shows Celtic influence since it has a second inscription in Irish and in ogam. The material from the Western Isles is a less sure support, for the relationship between Celt and Norsemen in these areas is less easy to define.⁴⁰ Such runic inscriptions as survive from them seem to retain inflexional *-r*.

Where Olsen argued for the influence of “a dominant bilingual population”, Marstrander seems to believe that the sloppiness of some Manx grammar shows only that the Manx rune-masters had a less secure tradition of spelling. Either of these is, of course, a perfectly possible explanation.

To the decline of grammatical precision in the inflexional endings a parallel may be found in certain inscriptions from Anglo-Scandinavian England, notably that of the Pennington, Lancashire, tympanum, whose bastard Norse shows loss of inflexion and confusion of grammatical gender.⁴¹ The specific case of the loss of nominative *-r* in Manx texts we could explain as interference from Celtic morphology, since Celtic does not signal the difference between nominative and accusative in its *o*-stem nouns. However, if names are anything to go by — and they are an uncertain guide — the decline in grammatical precision does not link specifically to a Celtic population. Andreas II, with its nominative *santulf*, has only Norse names, and so, as far as can be seen, has Kirk Michael IV with its nominative **[k]rim**. Kirk Michael II has the correct *sunr* in the Celtic group *mailbrikti sunr apakans*, but omits the ending from the Norse *kaut*. Bride on the other hand seems to have only Celtic names, but gets the grammatical forms *su(n)r* and *kunu* right, while Maughold V also has *sunr* in a Celtic name context. Olsen’s thesis is not clearly upheld.

There is objection also to Marstrander’s view that the Manx rune-masters, in their formal texts, were readier to represent aspects of spoken Norse than their Norwegian contemporaries working in a firmer spelling tradition. From Seip’s material it seems that, where the stem of a noun ended in *n*, there was likelihood of early loss of *-r*. Yet *sunr* always retains its inflexional ending where it occurs in Manx inscriptions, even on Kirk Michael II where *kaut* loses *-r*. Indeed, whereas **[k]rim** Kirk Michael IV and *þuriþ* Onchan might be excused as examples of early loss of *-r* caused by a neighbouring *r* in the word, there seems no reason why either *kaut* or *santulf* should have lost their inflexions early.

There is of course no necessary conflict between the Olsen and Marstrander positions. The Celtic presence could have speeded up the inflexional decline of Manx Norse just as, in the

opinion of some, the Scandinavian occupation of much of north, midland and eastern England led to a loss of the Old English inflexions earlier there than in the south and west. At the same time, the Manx rune-masters may have had a less formal training, or have developed a freer tradition, or simply had a more varied background of runic practice than those of mainland Norway. The two factors combined could have led to the peculiarities of grammar in the Manx inscriptions.

How then do the grammatical peculiarities of Kirk Michael III look in the light of this discussion?

1. The Kirk Michael rune-master uses a different runic *futhark* from the other Manx inscriptions, and moreover one that has the late rune *y*. He presumably adapted his text to fit local practices, but only to a limited degree — the lay-out of his text is quite un-Manx. Thus he may not have had a detailed knowledge of the runic tradition common in Man, and it is all the more remarkable that his language shares grammatical irregularities with other Manx inscriptions.

2. He commemorates a family with Celtic names, though he uses some version of the Norse tongue, and even quotes a Norse proverb. One member of the family was married to a man with a Norse name.

3. The forms *fustra* and *kona* can be defended as feminine accusatives on the analogy of *kuina* on Maughold V, an inscription that uses short-twig runes but does not employ the common Manx memorial formula. Maughold V also records Celtic names. The Kirk Michael III accusative singular *sine* cannot be defended, though perhaps it shows the same confusion of unstressed *e* for *a* as does *runef.]* for *runar* Onchan.

4. Though the grammatical and/or phonological irregularities of Kirk Michael III can be paralleled elsewhere in Manx texts, yet the incidence of irregularity in the Kirk Michael text is marginally higher than elsewhere. The rune-master may have been a stranger to Manx dialect, and misunderstood some of its peculiarities.⁴²

Notes

The following titles are abbreviated throughout:

- P.M.C. Kermodé, *Manx Crosses* (1907);
 L. Jacobsen and E. Moltke, *Danmarks Runeindskrifter* (1941–2);
 M. Olsen, 'Runic Inscriptions in Great Britain, Ireland and the Isle of Man', *Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland* VI (1954), 153–233;
 M. Olsen, *et al.*, *Norges Innskrifter med de yngre Runer* (1941–60);
 R.I. Page, *An Introduction to English Runes* (1973);
 R.I. Page, 'Some Thoughts on Manx Runes', *Saga-Book of the Viking Society* XX 3 (1980), 179–99;
 R.I. Page, 'More Thoughts on Manx Runes', *Michigan Germanic Studies* VII (1981), 129–36.

1. Kermodé (1907), 110–11, 217–18; see also Page (1973), 142, 146.
2. Olsen (1954), 182–232. In the present article I use Olsen's naming and numbering of the crosses for the convenience of runologists, but I also add, for completeness of reference, the catalogue number given by the Manx Museum and National Trust (in the style MM 136) and the number in Kermodé (1907) (in the style Kermodé 109). On naming see also Page (1980), 189–91, where I modify Olsen's style slightly.
3. Punctuation is a problem, particularly in poorly preserved inscriptions, but for examples of Olsen's inaccuracy where he is clearly wrong cf. with mine his transcriptions of Maughold I (MM 145, Kermodé 115) and Maughold II (MM 144, Kermodé 114). Occasionally he gives an inaccurate letter form as in, for instance, his transcripts of Maughold IV (MM 142) and Kirk Michael III (MM 130, Kermodé 104). Further on this see Page (1981), 130–2.

4. Problems of transcribing runes are discussed in C.W. Thompson, 'On Transcribing Runic Inscriptions', *Michigan Germanic Studies* VII (1981), 89–97 and the subsequent debate. There is still room for experiment as new methods of type-setting and reproduction are developed. In the present article I am not consistent, for I use a more rigorous style in my transcripts in Appendix I above than I do in my citations of inscription forms in the course of my text. My remarks at the beginning of Appendix I should also be kept in mind.
5. *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* XXIII (1969), 171–80, particularly 173.
6. Provisional texts of the inscriptions are in Appendix I above.
7. Olsen's late rune-stones are Maughold I and II, though he lists them wrongly as Marown I and II (Olsen (1954), 153). The more recently found Maughold V stone (MM 175) may also be late: see A.M. Cubbon, 'Viking Runes: Outstanding New Discovery at Maughold', *Journal of the Manx Museum* VII (1966), 25. Onchan also presents problems. Olsen (1954), 194 says that it "is an old Celtic cross . . . which has later been inscribed with runes." D.M. Wilson tells me that he disagrees. More than one hand cut the runes on this cross, but the roughly carved decoration could, I think, be by the same hand as some of the roughly cut characters.
8. Page (1980), 187–9. In that article I suggested that this early drawing represented the now fragmentary Andreas IV (MM 113, Kermodé 87), but I now think I was wrong. The difficulties of equating the two are (a) Andreas IV's rune **ᚱ** in **aftir** compared with, apparently, **aftir** in the drawing, (b) the mention, in the brief early description, of "Animals Engraven on the other parts of the same [cross]", whereas Andreas IV now shows no sign of having had animal ornament.
9. See p. 139. The discovery of some of these graffiti has led to a more intensive examination of the surfaces of known Manx crosses, and we may expect more examples to be announced in the future. On the other hand, it is not always easy to distinguish graffiti runes from casual scratches on the stone surface.
10. Page (1980), 196–7. Perhaps we should also consider the possibility of influence from an English runic tradition, from which only the two Maughold stones survive on Man.
11. Page (1973), 34–5.
12. *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* XXIII (1969), 175.
13. Appendix II has a brief account of the different types of runes used in the Manx inscriptions.
14. Though one might note as an exception the Lund I stone: Jacobsen and Moltke (1941–2), no. 314 and plates 723–8.
15. H. Shetelig, 'The Norse Style of Ornamentation in the Viking Settlements', *Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland* VI (1954), 123–5. The Gran Kirke IV stone has a text cut along the left-hand edge of its face, and this could, I suppose, supply a tentative Norwegian model for the Manx crosses, though there are problems of chronology (Olsen *et al.* (1941–60) I, 187).
16. See p. 178 below.
17. See pp. 178–82 below.
18. C.J.S. Marstrander had varying opinions on the subject, each expressed with his usual certainty. In 'Kilaloe korset og de norske Kolonier i Irland', *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* IV (1930), 379 he argued from the place-name that Gautr "var hjemmehørende på øen" (was a native of the island); some years later, in 'Suderøyingen Gaut Bjørnson', *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* X (1938), 381 he asserted that Gautr was "sikkert suderøying" (clearly a Hebridean) from the island of Coll.
19. Cf. the mixture of rune-forms on the Norwegian Dynna stone: Olsen *et al.* (1941–60), I 198.
20. See p. 180 below.
21. See p. 16 above for the Ballateare "memorial post".
22. Olsen *et al.* (1941–60) I, 139–44.
23. Jacobsen and Moltke (1941–2), col. 951. There is, of course, always the possibility that

- this development reached Man from Scandinavian England; the dotted *e* occurs, for example, on the Skelton in Cleveland sundial: R.I. Page, 'How Long did the Scandinavian Language Survive in England? The Epigraphical Evidence', *England before the Conquest: Studies . . . presented to Dorothy Whitelock* (1971), 174 and ref.
24. Olsen *et al.* (1941–60) V, 243.
 25. Olsen *et al.* (1941–60) II, 88.
 26. Jacobsen and Moltke (1941–2), col. 699.
 27. Olsen (1954), 207 reads this *a*-rune in the name **arni**, but I rather think it is a badly formed *ʀ*. Of course, Olsen never saw the Maughold IV inscription and had to rely on published reports.
 28. For instance, Olsen (1954), 216 shows the *n*-rune *ʀ* in the name **mallymkun**, though *ʀ* is quite clear on the inscription. I differ significantly in reading, for Olsen's **totir**: the group **totor**; see here Page. (1981), 132.
 29. I am indebted to David Dumville here. *Lomchon* could be the genitive of a name *Lomchu* (*Lommchú*), recorded as that of a disciple of St Patrick: J. O'Hanlon, *Lives of the Irish Saints* (1875–) I, 151.
 30. Appendix III above discusses the grammatical problems in more detail.
 31. It is perhaps worth remarking that the lay-out of inscriptions on the Kirk Michael III stone is not characteristic of the Manx runic crosses.
 32. Page (1981), 132–4.
 33. I omit from consideration in this section Maughold I and II (Corna valley), which are generally considered late. Also I ignore some uncertain readings and interpretations as, for example, Maughold V's *liktinniftir* which A.M. Cubbon and Aslak Liestøl take to be a form of *leg þenna aftir*, "this grave-stone to the memory of . . ." (Cubbon (1966), 24–5). I am not sure that *leg* can mean "grave-stone" rather than "grave", and a grave would not be in memory of anyone, rather it would contain someone. The interpretation *tinn(a)* as *þenna* involves an unusual *t* for *þ*, and a disturbing doubling of *n*. *Leg* is a neuter word, so if we take the Cubbon-Liestøl reading, here is another case of grammatical confusion. I also leave out of consideration the endingless accusative of the feminine noun *arinbiaurk*, Andreas II, partly because the ending of *Arinbiqrqu* is of uncertain status.
 34. Originally in 'Om Sproget i de manske Runeindskrifter', *Forhandlinger i Videnskabs-selskabet i Christiania* (1909), no. 1.
 35. 'Norske Paralleller til de uregelmessige Fleksjonsformer i manske og irske Runeindskrifter', *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* IV (1930), 401–4.
 36. Marstrander (1930), 385–7.
 37. Olsen *et al.* (1941–60) III, 146.
 38. The Danish runic evidence seems to support the Norwegian on these points. According to the *formlære* section of Jacobsen and Moltke (1941–2): (a) inflexional *-r* usually remains, save in loan-words, nouns ending in *-l*, *-r*, *-n*, and moneyers' names where there may be English influence; (b) the genitive singular inflexional *-s* remains, except in an odd case where the following noun begins with *-s*; (c) the oblique weak feminine ending is *-u* or *-o*, with a possible late exception in the form *mæss(æ)*; (d) the accusative plural *runar* is usual.
 39. Olsen (1954), 224.
 40. Compare, for instance, the situation in Skye as assessed by A. Small, 'Norse Settlement in Skye', *Les Vikings et leur Civilisation* (1976), 29–37, where he argues for co-existence of Vikings and Celts, with that described on the archaeological evidence of the Udal, N. Uist, where I.A. Crawford deduces a complete destruction of Celtic culture and its replacement by Norse, 'War or Peace — Viking Colonisation in the Northern and Western Isles of Scotland reviewed', *Proceedings of the Eighth Viking Congress* (1981), 259–69.
 41. Page (1971), 171–2.
 42. I would like to thank the British Academy for its generous grant from the Small Grants Research Fund in the Humanities which enabled me to carry out the field work for this paper.

To what extent did the *balley/balla (baile)** names in the Isle of Man supplant place-names of Norse origin?

PER SVEAAS ANDERSEN

I. *Main trends in modern research*

A number of important contributions to the study of the history of the Isle of Man during the Norse period have appeared in recent years. I would like to draw attention to three of these publications, because they illustrate both the broad interest taken in this phase of Manx history by different specialists and at the same time the dominant trend in recent research. These papers are B.R.S. Megaw's 'Norseman and Native in the Kingdom of the Isles', M. Gelling's 'Norse and Gaelic in Medieval Man: the Place-Name Evidence', and P.S. Gelling's 'Celtic Continuity in the Isle of Man'.¹ We see that the key-words here are *Celtic*, *native*, and *continuity*, while *Norse* is important rather as a catalysing agent. In other words, there seems to be a mounting interest in the Celtic roots of the island's culture, with research focussed on Celtic survival through the Norse period (c. 850–1266). The historian Basil Megaw makes reference to the *native* Celts. The place-name scholar Margaret Gelling discusses the conditions for the *Gaelic* language in the island. The archaeologist Peter Gelling propounds a theory of "the recuperation of Gaelic . . . perhaps through contacts with the less Scandinavianised parts of the [Scottish] Isles". There is a consensus of opinion about the importance of the Celtic renaissance in the late middle ages; there is some disagreement as to the point of departure of this revival; and there is considerable difference of opinion on the relations between the Celts and the immigrant Scandinavians. It is a matter of fact, however, that very little can be said about the native Celts without having recourse to sources dealing mainly with Norse settlement and Norse political organization. It is therefore quite logical to start any enquiry into Celtic continuity by posing this presumably pertinent question: To what extent did the Norse presence in Man during almost 400 years influence life in the island? It is probably impossible to give a tolerably rational answer without concentrating on the problems connected with the phases of Norse settlement in Man. The really amazing fact is, after all, that the Norse population apparently retained its language, social organization and culture, and the Norse kings of Man their political system, for such a long period in the midst of an Anglo-Irish-Scottish sea domain (fig. 1).

Recent research has been concerned with the linguistic background in order to assess the conditions for a survival of Celtic. According to M. Gelling, Norse was the dominant language from about 900 until about 1300.² B. Megaw on the other hand is convinced that Norse speech was chiefly restricted to "the ruling circle and . . . the chief landowners", while

*The spelling of the element *balla* (Manx *balley*) has changed over the centuries. In medieval documents it is generally *bale*, *bali*, in the Manorial Roll c.1500 *baly*. In the seventeenth century the modern form *balla* seems common.

the population at large continued to speak Gaelic throughout the whole period of Norse rule. The Viking colonization of Man was accordingly the result of one or more settlement-waves of soldier-colonists, possibly "invited by the then rulers of the island to assist them as allies or mercenaries".³

The basis for the arguments of both scholars is mainly the place-name material, although Megaw also draws on a wide range of other sources to support his thesis. The crux of the matter to both scholars, as to all scholars concerned with the social history of Man in the

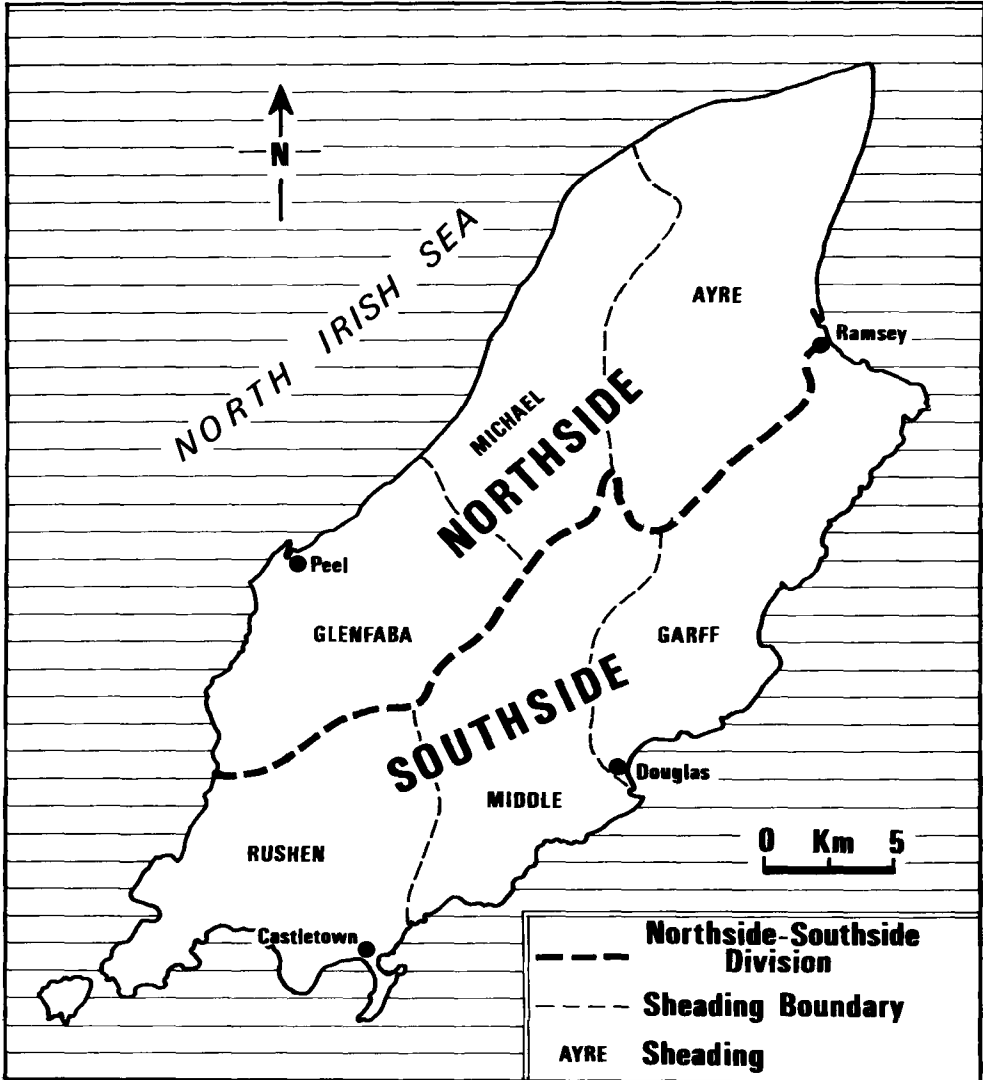


Fig. 1. The medieval administrative divisions of the Isle of Man: the shadings.

Norse period, is the question of the proportions of the respective population groups. And this question is further complicated by the possibility that the immigrants had a mixed ethnic background. Indications in Irish and Welsh annals and later in the *Manx Chronicle* establish beyond doubt the Gaelic-Norse background of at least the late and post-Viking Age incomers. We shall probably never be in a position to know whether most of the immigrants came directly from Scandinavia or from settlement areas in the Scottish isles and Ireland. To sum up, then, my impression of earlier and recent research: the rather prolonged debate has resulted in two main theories, one in favour of a considerable Celtic survival, the other in favour of a strong Norse presence in the island.

II. Sources, main problem and hypothesis

What is of principal importance in this discussion is the way in which the sources have been turned to new account, and the fact that quantitative sources like archaeological finds, place-names, and coins now constitute the main arsenal of research. It is a general interest in the problem rather than adequate local insight which provides the incentive for the model I should like to present of the early phase of the Norse settlement in Man. I would define the "early phase" as the time from about 850 to 1079, presumably the period in which any mass Norse immigration and settlement took place. I shall be drawing on different sources, but chiefly on the place-name and rental material. Consequently retrogression is a desirable method, although beset with risks.

Anyone examining a modern map of the Isle of Man will be struck by the profusion of habitation- or settlement-names containing the element *balla*. And if a map had been available from the end of the middle ages, the impression of its numerical dominance as a settlement-name would be hardly less. As a generic it is common in place-names in all regions where a Gaelic language is or has been spoken, thus in Ireland, Scotland, and possibly Northwest England. I am not going to discuss its etymology in an Irish context on the basis of its Irish form (*baile*). But its medieval signification in Man is important, because it seems to imply a certain social pattern of settlement in the island. In his *Dictionary of the Manks Language* (1835) Archibald Cregeen translated the word *balla/balley* into "a town, an estate", with the additional question: "Has this word any analogy to *Boal* or *Boalley*? (a wall or fence). Perhaps an estate or town was not called so until it was fenced round, or walled."⁴ Kneen in his *Place-Names of the Isle of Man* (1925-9) consistently renders *balla* (*baile*) as "farm" In the high middle ages and towards the end of the Norse period *balley/balla* must have primarily signified a certain social unit, the family farm-dwelling with its cultivated and fenced-in land around it (the infields).⁵ The social topography of Man to the north and south of the mountain range from Ramsey Bay to Niarbyl Bay would be dotted with family farms of this type. A great number of the farms would probably have Gaelic names attached to them, some (spelt *bali* or *bale*) containing the generic *balley/balla*. But most of the settlement names in the thirteenth century would still be Norse. This assertion is probably sufficiently substantiated by place-name material taken from that important document, which for some time now has been the focus of research, the *Limites seu divisiones terrarum monachorum de Russyn*, dated by Megaw to about 1280. I will now proceed to comment (with the author's permission) on tables of the *Limites* place-names given by Megaw in his article of 1978 (figs. 2 and 3).

In connection with the Malew Abbeylands in Arbory and Malew parishes the document contains 12 settlement-names. Of these at least three appear to be Gaelic: *Aryeuzryn*, *Balesalach*, *Byulthan*(?), and six Norse: *Trollatofthar*, *Oxrayzer*, *Totmanby*, *Herynstaze*, *Cornama*(?), *Bylozen*(?). The remaining three names, *villa castelli*, *villa MacAkoen*, *villa Thorkel* (or *Kyrkemychel*), seem to be latinized Norse names, although clearly influenced by Gaelic in word-order (inverted forms), the use of the patronymic *Mac*, and orthography. Whether the Latin term *villa* should be translated into a Gaelic or Norse appellative is difficult to say. It is possible that the scribe of the *Limites* document has given a translation of the Norse generic *bær/býr* or *staðir*. In the very same document there is a reference to the villa "que vocatur Greta staz". But we also know that by 1643 the *villa MacAkoen* had developed into *Ballakagin* — unfortunately it is not possible to date more closely the

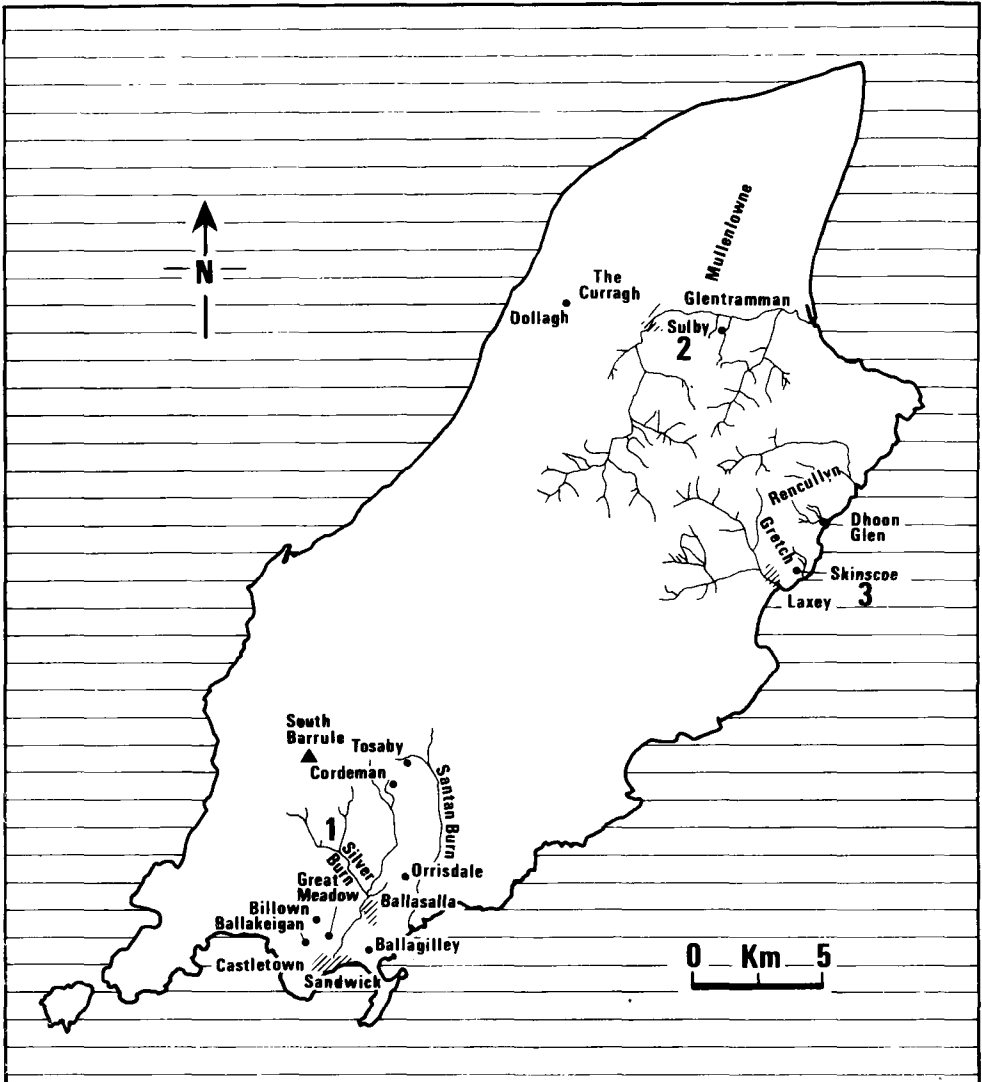


Fig. 2. The Abbeyland Bounds of c.1280 (publ. with the kind permission of Dr M. Gelling and the Manx Museum).

Gaelic	Norse	Norse with Gaelic word-order	Latinised	Uncertain forms	Total
I. Malew Abbeylands					
1 Russyn (abbey, river, castle) [mod. Rushen]	4 Oxwath (ford) N 5 Trollatofthar (hbn)	NG 14 Kyrkemychel; or villam Thorkel (hbn)	16 villam castelli [1511 Castelland alias Scarclowte; mod. Scarl] (hbn)	N 19 Bylozen [mod. Billown] (hbn)	
G 2 Aryeuzryn (hbn) [1511 Arernan (?-*uran)]	6 Staynarhea 7 Fanc (glen) 8 Worzefel (mountain)	[1511 Kyrke- Mychell] 15 Crosyuor	17 pratum monachorum [1867 Abbey Meadow]	20 Hentr(a)e (arable land) 21 Mouro (stream) [mod. Awin Ruy]	
G 3 Balesalach Balesalazc (hbn) Balesalzc [mod. Ballasalla]	[c.1316 Warthfel, mod. Barrule] 9 Rozefel [mod. Granite Mountain] N 10 Oxrayzer (hbn) (Kneen: Ballanicholas) [mod. Shenvalla] N 11 Totmanby [1511 Totnamby, mod. Tosaby] (hbn) 12 Corna (river) [mod. Santanburn] N 13 Herynstaze [mod. Orrisdale] (hbn)		18 villam MacAkoen (hbn) [mod. Ballakeigen] (14) villam Thorkel; alias Kyrkemychel (hbn)	N 22 Cornama(n) [mod. Cordeman] (hbn) G 23 Byulthan [mod. Balthane] (hbn)	
3	10	2	4	5	24

Fig. 3. Manx place-names of c. 1280 from the *Abbeyland Bounds* (British Library Cotton MS Julius A vii, sec. 4).

For abbreviations see note 1 below.

Fig. 3 (continued).

Gaelic	Norse	Norse with Gaelic word-order	Latinised	Uncertain forms	Total
II. <i>Sulby, or Myrescogh, Abbeylands (Lezayre parish)</i>					
24 Hescana[-]appayze Hescanakeppage (lake) [1703 Cappagh]	32 Myrosco (wood) [1505 Myrescogh]	NG 35 Kyrkecrist [c.1257/1505 villa de Kyrcrest juxta Ramsa] (hbn)		36 Munenyrzana 37 Rozelean 38 Duppolla (on stream)	
25 Kor (wood)	N 33 Bryseth (stream of) (hbn?)				
26 Leabba *Aukonalkay	N 34 Sulaby (river of) (hbn)				
G 27 Glennadroman [mod. Glentramman] (hbn)	[mod. Sulby river]				
28 Karrayclveth (rock)					
29 Leathkostray					
G 30 Hath Ary- gegormane (hbn)					
31 Duffloch [cf. 1703 Dolla(u)gh]					
8	3	1	-	3	15

Fig. 3 (continued).

Gaelic	Norse	Norse with Gaelic word-order	Latinised	Uncertain forms	Total
<i>III. Skinscoe Abbeylands (Lonan and Maughold parishes)</i>					
G 39 Rynkurlyn [mod. Rencullen] (hbn)	N 40 Skynnescor [mod. Skinscoe] (hbn) 41 Laxa (harbour, river) [mod. Laxey]	N 44 Tofthar Asmund [c.1154 Asmundertoftes; mod. Ballellin] (hbn)	45 Cappellam sancti Nicholai [1643 Crotkill Nicholas] (hbn?)		
	N 42 Gretastaz (<i>villam</i>) [1511 Grettest (treen) mod. Gretch (farms)] (hbn)				
	43 Orumsouz (arable land) [c.1200 Ormeshau; mod. Barony Howe]				
1	4	1	1	–	7
Totals 12	17	4	5	8	46

introduction of the *balla* element into the compound.

As regards the Sulaby/Myrescogh Abbeylands in Lezayre parish the document of the Rushen monks refers to only three, possibly four, settlement-names. Two of these, *Glennadroman* and *Hath Arygegormane*, are probably settlement-names, and they are certainly Gaelic. *Sulaby* is the only certain Norse settlement-name mentioned in this region, though *Bryseth* may be another. In defining the *limites* of the Skinscoe Abbeylands in Lonan and Maughold parishes the scribe refers to four settlement-names, one Gaelic: *Rynkurlyn*, and three Norse: *Skynnescor*, *Greta staz*, and *Tofthar Asmund*.

It is tempting to draw certain tentative inferences from the thirteenth-century *Limites* document about the contemporary place-name geography of Man. First, the place-name evidence indicates a mixed linguistic toponymy. Second, the habitation-names seem to point to a certain bilingual background for the farm tenants or holders. Third, the Norse place-name forms seem partly fossilized in both orthography and inflections, while the Gaelic place-name elements seem to be in living use. (This impression may be erroneous, however, for the scribe may not have been a native of the island.) Fourth, as a consequence of what has just been said, there must have been a certain mobility of language in Man from a Norn dialect towards what was later to emerge as modern Manx.

Symptomatic of the advance of Gaelic settlement-names, partly at the expense of previous Norse farm-names, are the *balley/balla* names. I will not deny, of course, that the *ballas* or (Manx pl.) *baljyn* were part of the toponymical nomenclature of the island even before the thirteenth century, but I do not think they represented a very numerous place-name group. Liam Price (1963) and John MacQueen (1973) both assume that *baile* or *bal* emerged rather late as a settlement-name element in Ireland and Southwest Scotland. They point to the twelfth century as the time when it came into more general use in these parts of the British Isles.⁶ By 1500 there is no doubt that *baly/balla* is the most frequent designation for old and new settlements in Man. By this time the majority of the so-called quarterland farms were *bally* compounds. Even among the sixteenth-century treen-names about 20% (36 out of 175 treens) had *baly/balla* as a first element. This was hardly the case in the thirteenth century; and it was definitely not the case in the early Norse period.

It is my assumption therefore that a relatively great number of *balla* names among the treens have replaced Norse settlement-names that were characteristic of the family-farm unit. In an unknown number of cases these *balla* names may possibly represent the habitations of the first Norse settlers. I shall consequently restrict my analysis to the treen-names, as rendered in T. Talbot's edition of the *Manorial Roll of the Isle of Man 1511–1515* (1924).

III. *Treens, treen-farms, and the first settlement phase (until 1080)*

Why assume that the majority of treen-names represent the names of older and more prosperous farms in the Norse period? As we all know, the treen was an administrative division, created for the purpose of taxation by the lay, and possibly the ecclesiastical, masters of the island. There has been some disagreement as to the etymology of the term and also as to the time of the introduction of this unit into the territorial taxation system of Man. As a taxation division it was not without parallel in the Gaelic-speaking areas of the British Isles. And in the Hebrides the corresponding division was known as *tirunga* (or *teroung*), literally "ounce land". Even in Orkney and Shetland this taxation unit existed, here under a Norse designation, the *eyrisland* ("ounce land").⁷ It will serve no useful purpose here to continue the discussion about the Gaelic versus the Norse origins of the old Manx taxation system. Suffice it to say that the treen-system probably served the Norse kings of Man and the church they established as a useful taxation arrangement, possibly as early as the eleventh century.

What must be considered of greater interest in our attempt to establish a credible framework for early Norse settlement in Man is the practicability of the taxation system. How did the treen function as a tax-collection area? In the Icelandic saga-traditions about Norway and in the early Norwegian regional laws there are references to the earliest form of taxation. The tax was imposed on each taxable *caput*, or, as it was phrased in *Fagrskinna* (ch. 11)⁸ and in the *Law of the Gulathing* (§ 9),⁹ on each “nose” (*nef*). It is also a fact that in the eleventh century, as in the preceding period and in the centuries that followed, the taxes or rents, although they were assessed in weights of precious metal or in money (*mark, tirunga, ørtog, penny*), they were usually paid in kind, in produce. Produce amounting to an ounce of silver (from an ounce land or treen in the Isle of Man) would probably not be paid personally by every individual in the treen-district, but collectively by the chief land-owner or the householder on behalf of his family and other dependants. My model of early Norse Man would thus be an island of chief land-owners or treen-farmers, controlling local affairs and therefore responsible for the taxes due from the treen-district. The names of the original treen-farms may have survived to some extent in the records known today as the *Manorial Roll 1511–1515* (Talbot 1924).

The problem now is to identify in the *Manorial Roll* some of the old treen-farms of the early Norse period (c. 850–1079). Some of the treens have a very low rental value and this, combined with linguistic and other criteria, makes it likely that they are of somewhat later origin. I could mention a few: Le Garre, Rushen p. (ON *Garðrinn* = the dwelling) rental value 5s. 8d., Renmolyn, Rushen p. (G. = mill division), rental value 2s. 4d., Ardrenk, Ballaugh p. (G. or Ir. *ard rinnce* = hill of dancing), rental value 6s. 8d., as compared to prosperous treens like Balydoill, Arbory p., and Soulby, Lezayre p., both with a rental value of 117s. 8d.

At this point it will be convenient to introduce certain criteria which may decide whether certain farms whose names were later adopted as treen-names were possibly early Norse settlements. The following features may be considered significant:

1. The treen-name is a typical Norse habitation-name of a type well known in Scandinavia.
2. The treen-name is no longer extant as a name of a quarterland farm, or any other farm in the area, although the treen-name itself indicates habitation.
3. The treen-farm has a situation not far removed from the coast or a navigable river.¹⁰ The first Norse settlers would probably not care to lose sight of their boats.
4. The treen has a relatively high rental value: i.e., an assessment above the average rental value of 57.8s. per treen.

IV. *Treen-farms with the Norse generics staðir and býr/bær*

We may first test the criteria on a group of treens with Norse farm-name elements, *staðir* and *býr/bær*, in their names.

The *Manorial Roll* contains nine treens, where the *staðir* element can be detected with some certainty. *Staðir* was one of the most productive settlement-name generics in Norway and the Norwegian colonies in the west and southwest, especially Iceland. The treen-farms of this class are seen in figs. 4 and 5.

The *Manorial Roll* contains 19 *býr/bær* treens, which may be said to represent old settlement-names. The element is very common in all the mainland Scandinavian countries and very common too in the Atlantic islands colonised from Norway, especially Iceland. It is the most productive generic in the Danelaw and is also well represented in the northern Scottish islands, in Cumbria and, as we know, in the Isle of Man. See figs. 6 and 7.

Fig. 4. *staðir* treens (c.1515).

Name in Manorial Roll	ON form ¹¹	Parish	Distance from coast or river	Rental value	Present-day settlement = x
NORTH SIDE					
Brausta	Brandsstaðir or Brautstaðir	Andreas	3 km	26s.	x
Leodest + Alia Leodest	Ljótólfstaðir		2.3 km (1 km from the Lhen)	71s. 6d. + 63s. 4d. = 134s. 10d.	x
Grest	Greipsstaðir	Lezayre	0.5 km	88s. 10d.	x
Alkest	Hallkelsstaðir		c. 2 km?	106s.	lost
Auste	Auðsstaðir or Hofstaðir(?)		c. 2 km	77s. 10d.	x
SOUTH SIDE					
Ulyst (mod. Collooneys)	Ulfstaðir	Braddan	3.2 km (1.7 km from R. Dubglass, R. Dhoo)	60s. 2d.	x
Grestest	Grettisstaðir	Lonan	1 km (close to Abbey-lands)	55s. 10d.	x
Morest	Móreksstaðir(?) or Morisstaðir(?)		0.8 km?	54s.	lost
Shonest	Sjónarstaðir(?)		1.7 km	8s.	x

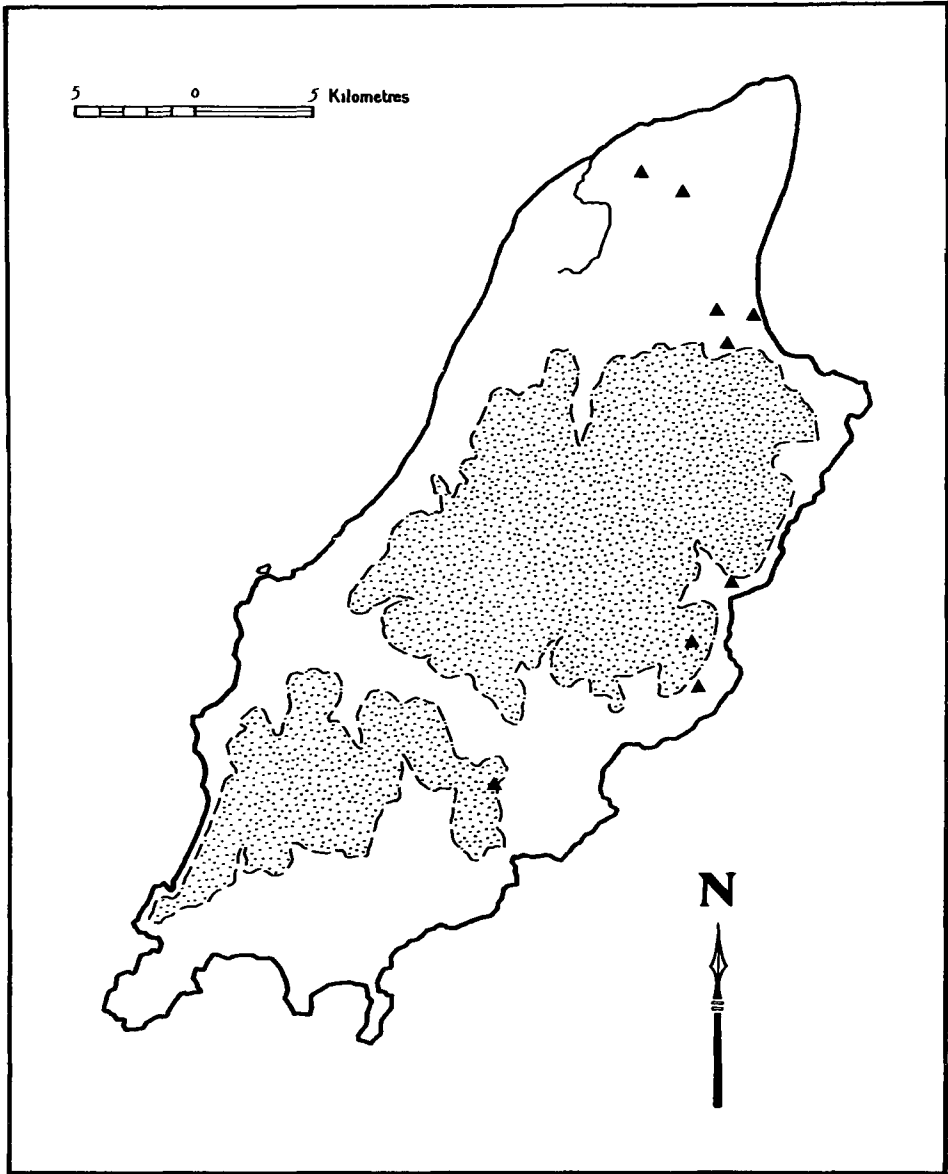


Fig. 5. Treen farm-names with generics in *stadiir*.

Fig. 6. *býr/bær* treens (c.1515).

Name in Manorial Roll	ON form ¹²	Parish	Distance from coast or river	Rental value	Present-day settlement = x
NORTH SIDE					
Cregby	G. creg + býr/bær	Andreas	5 km (1.5 km? from the Lhen)	51s. 2d.	x
Rygby	Hryggjarbær (?)	Bride	2 km	74s. 2d.	x
Grenby	Grænibær (?)		1.4 km	52s. 3d.	x
Crosby More + Crosby Beg	Krossbær		0.8 km	95s. 2d. + 72s. 4d. = 167s. 6d.	x
Soulby + Alia Soulby	Súlubær(?)	Lezayre	5.3 km (on the R. Sulby)	117s. 8d. + 100s. 8d. = 218s. 4d.	x
(Jurby	Dýrabær	Jurby = parish name	?	?	lost)
Le Soulby	Súlubær (?)	Jurby	3.5 km (near the Lhen)	35s.	Part of Soulby, Lezayre p.? lost
Slekby	Slæykjubær(?) or Slakkabær(?)		2.5 km (1.5 km? from the Lhen)	58s. 4d.	lost
Raby	Rábær	Patrick	1 km	84s. 8d.	x
Dalby + Alia Dalby	Dalbær		0.8 km	77s. 6d. + 79s. = 156s. 6d.	x
(Brottby	Brotbær (?)	German	close to coast	?	lost)

Fig. 6 (continued).

Name in Manorial Roll	ON form	Parish	Distance from coast or river	Rental value	Present-day settlement = x
SOUTH SIDE					
Saureby	Saurbær	Rushen	1 km	101s. 2d.	x
Scaleby	Skálabær(?)		1.8 km (1.2 km from R. Colby)	92s.	x
Colby	Kollabær	Arbory	1.5 km (on R. Colby)	84s. 6d.	x
Totnamby (mod. Tosaby)	Toftamannabær(?) (< Toftir?)	Malew	6 km	35s. 4d.	x
Grenby	Grænubær		4 km (2 km from Silver Burn)	63s. 10d.	x
Trolby (Woods Atlas 1867: Trollaby)	Trollabær	Marown	4.8 km (1.5 km? from R. Dhoo)	46s. 2d.	x
Gresby + Alia Gresby	Greipsbær(?)	Braddan	close to coast north of Port Soderick	67s. 8d. + 20s. 6d. = 88s. 2d.	lost
Slekby	Slæykjubær(?) or Slakkabær(?)	Onchan	3.5 km	80s.	x
Colby + Alia Colby	Kollabær	Lonan	close to coast	43s. 8d. + 65s. 2d. = 108s. 10d.	lost
Raby + Alia Raby	Rábær		1.8 km?	48s. 6d. + 50s. 8d. = 99s. 2d.	lost

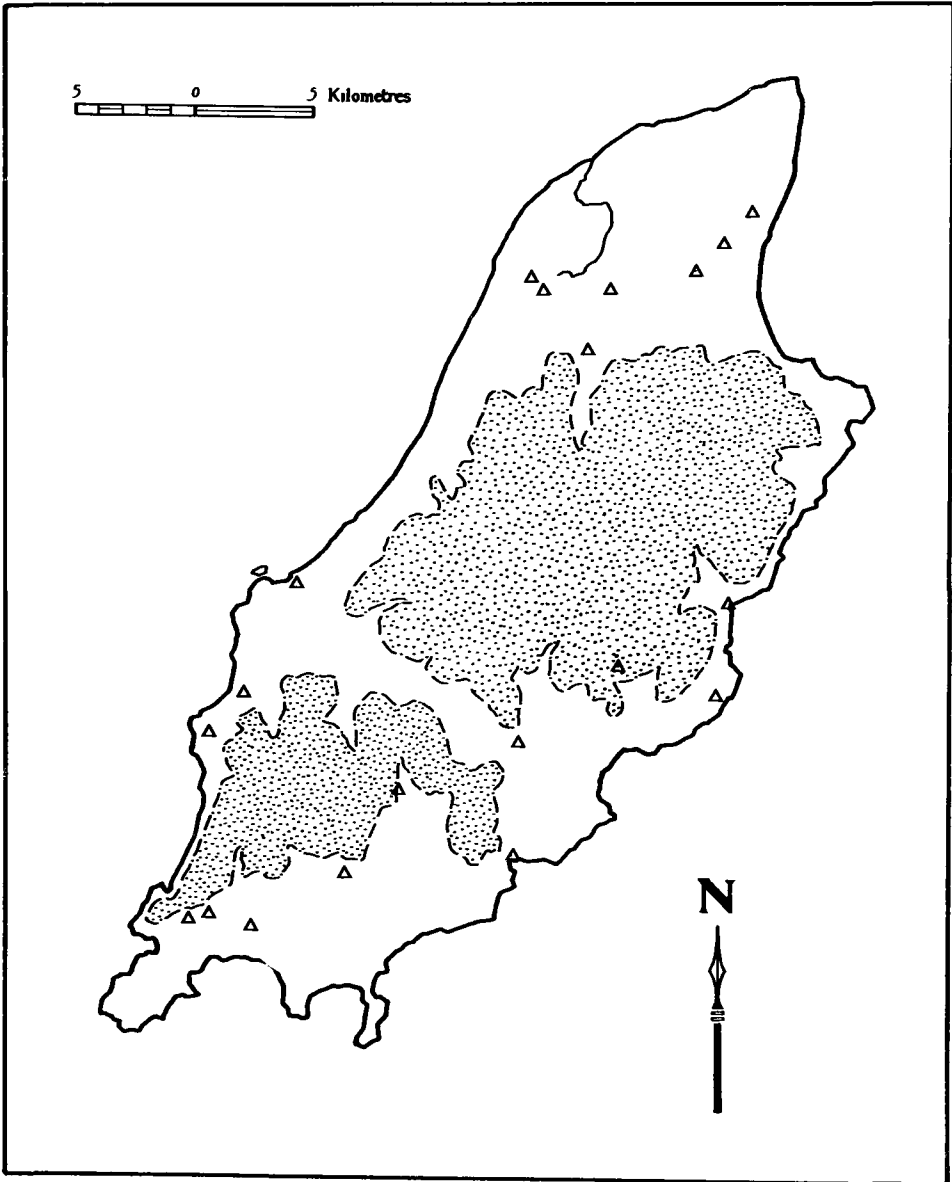


Fig. 7. Treen farm-names with generics in *býrbær*.

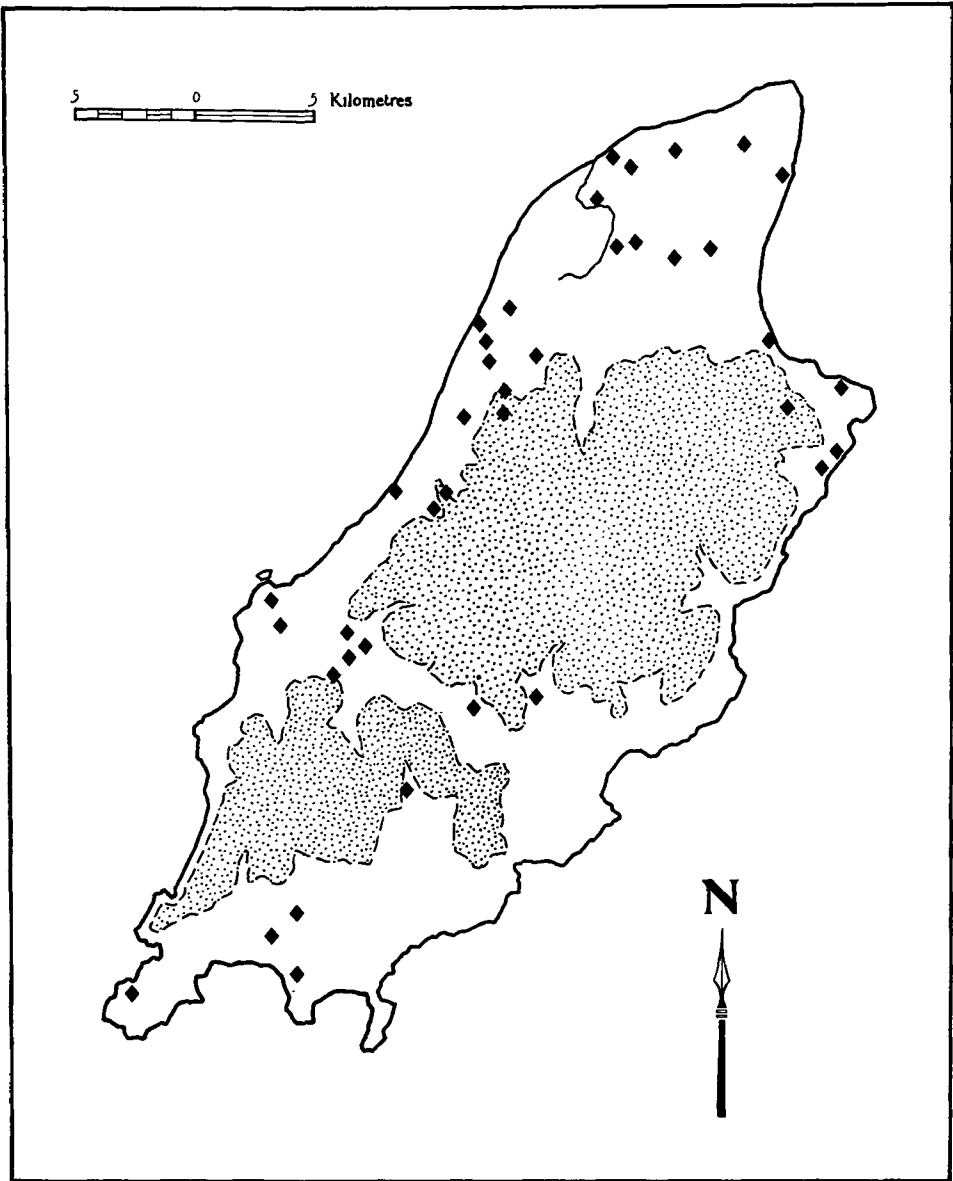


Fig. 8. Treen farm-names with generics in *balla*.

Fig. 9. *balla* treens (c.1515).

Name in Manorial Roll	Meaning ¹³	Parish	Distance from coast or river	Rental value	Present-day settlement = x
NORTH SIDE Balynessar (and mod. Bal- laseyre) Kyrke Asston	Farm of the craftsmen	Andreas	3.1 km (coastal: Kyrke As- ston)	92s. 2d.	x (K.A. lost)
Balydorghan	Dorghan's farm		coastal	60s. 4d.	lost
Balylanmore (mod. Ballalhen)	Great Lhen farm		0.3	63s.	x
Balyhamyg (mod. Bal- lamegagh)	Harbour Bay		close to coast	45s. 11d.	x
Balyhestyn	Hestin's or Eysteinn's farm		"	77s. 4d.	lost?
Balytyrm (mod. Ballacot- tier)	Dry farm		2.5 km	26s. 8d.	x?
Balyquarres (mod. Balla- coarey)	Quarre's farm		2.2 km	74s. 9d.	x
Balywarynagh	"Watch and ward" farm?	Bride	coastal	98s.	lost
Baly Lamyn	Lamyn's or Lagman's farm		2.1 km	84s 7d.	x
Balymony	Peat farm	Ballaugh	1 km	97s. 10d.	x
Balyskebag (mod. Ballakoig)	Shipwick- farm?		coastal	65s.	x
Balycurrin (mod. Ballacurn)	Mc Curry's farm		2.5 km	38s.	x
Balycane (Balylagh)	Cain's farm Farm at the lake	Parish name	1.2 km -	78s. 10p. -	x (x)
Balyterson	Farm of the cross or the crossing?	Ballaugh	2.5 km	62s. 6d.	x
Balyvall (mod. Balla- volley)	Farm at the road		3.1 km	79s. 2d.	x
Balyfadyn (mod. Ballafa- geen)	Faden's farm	Michael	1.5 km	73s. 6d.	x
Balynemade (mod. Barre- garrow)	Farm of the dogs?		2.3 km	64s.	x
Balystere or Balyscere	Farm of the craftsmen		2.2 km	68s. 6d.	x

Fig. 9 (continued).

Balycrynan (mod. Ballacarnane)	Crynan's farm	Michael	0.5 km	67s. 4d.	x	
Balytersyn	Farm of the staff or cross? Farm of the crossing?	German	0.8 km (on R. Neb, close to Ballacross Abbey-land farm)	26s. 8d.	x	
Balydoyne	Doyne's farm = Ballahowin?		4.5 km (close to R. Neb)	67s. 6d.	lost	
Balykebag	Farm of the dock?		5.7 km (c. 1.5 km to R. Neb)	48s. 3d.	lost	
Balydorgan (mod. Ballagarraghyn)	Dorgan's farm		6 km (c. 2km to R. Neb)	54s. 4d.	x	
Baly More (mod. Balla Moar)	More's farm or Great farm	Patrick	2.5 km (on R. Neb)	96s.	x	
Balyhig	Teig's farm (from Ir. Tadhg)		6.3 km (on Foxdale R.)	25s. 10d.	x	
SOUTH SIDE						
Shanball (a) = Shen Baly (mod. Shenvalley)	Old farm	Rushen	0.7 km	87s.	x	
Balydoill (mod. Balladoole)	Black stream farm or (Ir.) Dubhghaill's farm?	Arbory	0.8 km	117s. 8d.	x	
Balyfaden (mod. Ballafodda)	(Ir.) Páidín's farm		2.4 km	92s. 4d.	x	
Baly Carmyk (mod. Ballagarmin)	Cormac's farm		1.8 km	68s. 6d.	x	
Baly Nicholas	Nicholas' farm	Marown	5.7 km	33s.	x	
Balytersyn	Cross farm or Staff farm? Farm of the crossing?		? (adjoined Barony of St Tri-nian's)	46s. 9d.	lost	
Baly Yeman (mod. Ballayemy; today Eyreton)	(Ir.) Eamonn's farm		6.5 km (also adjoins this barony)	44s. 8d.	x	
Balywre (mod. Ballure)	Baly-evar = yew-tree farm or (ON) Ífar's farm	Maughold	coastal	106s. 11d.	x	

Fig. 9 (continued).

Balygill	Mc Gill's or (ON) Gilli's farm	Maughold	2 km	64s.		x
Balyfayle (mod. Ballafayle- e-Callow)	Fayle's farm		0.5 km	48s.	3d.	x
Balyskebag (mod. Ballaskeig)	Shipwick farm		0.6 km	61s.	4d.	x
Balytersyn	Cross or Staff farm? Farm of the crossing?		0.5 km (adjoins Barony of St Bee's)	26s.	8d.	x

V. Treen-farms with the Gaelic generic *baly/balla*

As mentioned above (p. 150), 20% of treen-names (36 from a total of 175) had *baly* as a first element in the early sixteenth century. Some of the specifics of these treen-names, e.g. family names, show the late origin of the names. And in a few cases the low rental value of the *balla* treen, its situation or other criteria testify to its late origin as a detachment from an older treen. It is essential to repeat and stress the fact that in all settlement-names compounded with *balley/balla* in the Norse period (before 1266), the element generally meant "farm". And it should probably also be stressed that as name-formations most of the *balla* farm-names are young. It is my assumption that most of the treens with *balla* as a generic belong to the relatively select groups of primary farms in Man. The urgent question would then naturally be: Do they represent the continuation of a Gaelic name-tradition, or have these names replaced former Norse farm-names? See figs. 8 and 9.

Baile as a generic in settlement-names in the Hebrides (the other part of the Kingdom of Man and the Isles) seems generally to be a phenomenon of the late middle ages and early modern period.¹⁴

VI. Farm-names with generics in *staðir*, *býr/bær*, and *balla* — a comparison

The tables presented here in figs. 4, 6 and 9 contain names from three of the most conspicuous farm-name classes in the Isle of Man and should be statistically sufficient for some conclusions as to the relationship between the socially important Gaelic and Norse settlement-names during the Norse period. The *staðir*, *bær* and *balla* treens represent 38% of the total number of early sixteenth-century treens.

It is assumed in this paper that the Norse or Scandinavian farm-name classes are the oldest. Let us therefore focus our attention on the farm-names that are treen-names (the *staðir* and *býr/bær* treens). We may notice that both treen-name groups have continued well into the modern period under the same Norse name more or less disguised. In most cases the original treen-settlement is still a local farm today. Very few treen-farms of these two groups have disappeared — Morest in Lonan p., Sleky in Jurby p., and Gresby in Braddan p. Property boundaries may have changed by 1515, as the *alia*-designation of certain *staðir* and *býr/bær* treens indicates. And some changes may also be due to donations of land to church institutions. But generally speaking the *staðir* and *býr/bær* treens seem to represent much of the land of the primary farms. There is another striking similarity between the treen-farms in *staðir* and *býr/bær*. Excepting Braust in Andreas p., Totnamby in Malew p., and Sleky in Onchan p., they are all situated 2 km or less from the coast or from presumably navigable water (Tooley 1974, 34).

But there are also some essential differences between the two groups. Whereas most of the *staðir* treens are compounded with personal names, most of the *býr/bær* treens have a topographical or descriptive specific. Whereas the *staðir* treens known from c. 1515 have an average rental value of 73.5s. per treen, the *býr/bær* treens come out at 90s. per unit.¹⁵

However, both groups have treen-assessments above the total average of 57.8s.

Apart from Shonest in Lonan p., Trolby in Marown p., Totnamby in Malew p., Le Soulby in Jurby p., Braust and possibly Cregby in Andreas p., all the treen-farms of these two groups seem to be quite old and probably date from the early phase of settlement. And with very few reservations these farm-names must be older than the treen farm-names of the *balla*-type. This, however, does not imply that the *balla* treen-farms are necessarily younger than the *staðir* and *býr/bær* treen-farms. This contention is supported by some important facts about the early sixteenth-century treens. As already pointed out by Marstrander,¹⁶ all *alia* treen-names (of 1515) have a Norse or Scandinavian background. On the other hand, the *alia*-designation is completely unknown among the treen-names of the *balla* group. The *alia* system implies a typical Norse custom of dividing a farm between two or more members of the family within such a settlement unit. In Norway and also in the Norse settlement areas of the Northern and Western Isles of Scotland this would give rise to farm-names denoting partition: names such as Nordby (Northby), Sørby (Southby), Østby (Eastby), Vestby (Westby), Storaker (Bigfield), Lilleaker (Littlefield), Melby (Middleby), Myklebust (Big settlement). The compiler of the 1511–15 *Manorial Roll* probably had at his disposal older rental lists, some of them possibly written in Latin. The use of the *alia* designation reflects previous writers' failing familiarity with Norse naming customs. It is interesting to note that some of the *balla* farm-names seem to have been coined in imitation of Norse ways — *Balley Moar*, *Balley Meanagh*, *Balley Beg*.

The only conclusion to be drawn from the distance of the different treen-farms from the sea is one of parity. Whereas the *býr/bær* treen-farms are (or were) situated an average 2 km from the sea, the *staðir* treen-farms are closer to the coast (or to navigable water) at 1.5 km. The *balla* treen-farms come inbetween with an average distance of 1.8 km.

A more remarkable fact is the dominance of the *balla* treen-farms along the northwest coast of Man from Peel to the Point of Ayre in what is considered an area of solid Norse settlement. This is evidenced to some extent by the relatively large number of grave-mounds and the results of the excavation of some of them,¹⁷ and also by the concentration of runic cross-slabs¹⁸ and Viking Age silver hoards in this region.¹⁹ The farms as such were probably primary farms of the first phase of Norse settlement, but the archaeological facts would make me hesitate before accepting the *balla* treen-names as their original names.

It is also of some interest to observe the losses which the three groups of treen-names have sustained in the course of the centuries:

The *staðir* group: Alkest in Lezayre p. and Morest in Lonan p.

The *býr/bær* group: Slekby in Jurby p., Brottbý in German p., Gresby in Braddan p., Colby (+ *Alia* Colby) and Raby (+ *Alia* Raby) in Lonan p.

The *balla* group: Balydorghan and Balyhestyn in Andreas p., Balywarynagh in Bride p., Balydoyne and Balykebag in German p., and Balytersyn in Marown p.

There are relatively fewer losses among the *balla* treen-names (13.5%) than among the *staðir* and *býr/bær* groups (20% and 28% respectively). This seems to confirm the impression that the *balla* group of settlement-names is somewhat younger than those of the other two groups. At the same time, closer examination of the *balla* treen-farms in most cases bears out their possible primary status as *landnám* farms. Hence it would be natural to infer that most of the *balla* treen-farms previously had other names, most likely Norse (or Scandinavian).

There are other characteristics of the *balla* treens which strengthen the argument that these names were coined as farm-names somewhat later than those of the *staðir* and *býr/bær* groups. Whereas most of the preserved *staðir* and *býr/bær* farm-names have become treen-names, only a small fraction of Man's older farm-names in *balla* (i.e. known from before 1500) have been converted into treen-names. If we consider the average rental value of the *balla* treens in 1511–15, a figure of 65.7s. per treen places it above the general treen average of 57.8s.; but it is distinctly lower than the rental averages of the *staðir* treens (73.5s.) and the *býr/bær* treens (90s.). This may imply that a great number of *balla* treen-farms either belong to a somewhat younger phase in the early settlement period

(possibly a time of internal expansion), or represent the farmsteads of the followers of the *landnám* chieftains.

The question now is whether these *balla* farms from the very beginning had *balla* names (or other Gaelic names which were later changed into *balla* compounds), or whether they originally had Norse names. There are certain indications that most of the later *balla* treen-farms originally had Norse names.

The *balla* treen-names may be divided into four groups according to the characteristics of the specific:

1. The specific contains a surname.
2. It is formed from a personal name.
3. It describes a climatic or topographical feature or an economic characteristic.
4. It indicates some sort of function or activity.

As to the treen-farms of the first group, e.g. Balydorghan and Balyquarres in Andreas p., Balydorgan and Balydoyne in German p., Balycurryn and Balycane in Ballaugh p., and Balyfayle in Maughold p., it is reasonable to assume that they had other names in the Norse period, and furthermore that a Norse name is more likely than a Gaelic one.

The second group are formed with personal names: Balyhestyn (Hestin's farm, or *Eysteinsstaðir*?) in Andreas p., Balyfadyn (Faden's farm?) and Baly Crynan (Crynan's farm) in Michael p., Balyhig (Teig's farm) in Patrick p., Balyfaden (Paidin's/Padyn's [Little Patrick's] farm) and Baly Carmyk (Cormac's farm) in Arbory p., Baly Nicholas and Baly Yeman (Eamonn's farm) in Marown p., and Balygill (Gilli's farm? < *Gillastaðir*?) and Balywre (Baly evar = Yewtree farm? or more likely *Ífarsstaðir* > Euastad? [1154]) in Maughold p. Six of these specifics are traditional Irish names, and their presence in Man may possibly be of some antiquity, going back to the Norse period. Some Irish names were adopted by the early settlers of Iceland — Kormakr, Kylán, Koðrán, Niáll, to mention a few of them. Two of the personal names may have a Norse background — Balyhestyn (< *Eysteinsstaðir*?) and Balywre (< *Ífarsstaðir*?).

The third group of *balla* names consists of eight, possibly nine, treen-names with specifics of a descriptive kind: Balydoill (the farm at the black stream?) in Arbory p., Balywre (< baly evar — yewtree farm?) in Maughold p., Baly More (big farm) in Patrick p., Balykebag (farm of the dock?) in German p., Balynemad (farm of the dogs?) in Michael p., Balyvall (the farm at the road?) and Balymony (turf or peat farm) in Ballaugh p., Balylanmore (great farm on the Lhen?) and Balytyrm (dry farm) in Andreas p. Although the majority of the treen farm-names of this group may be original Gaelic place-names in the Isle of Man, it is also possible that they represent transformations of Norse farm-names. Balydoill with its nearby Viking boat-grave may be such a farm-name — *Svartárstaðir*? As noted above, Balywre may represent *Ífarsstaðir*. Balykebag might be *Súrubær*, Balynemad *Hundastaðir*, Balyvall *Brautarstaðir*, Balymony *Torfastaðir*, and Balytyrm *Þurr(u)staðir*.

Finally there is a quite distinctive group of *balla* treen-names which have a specific signifying some sort of activity. Balynessar in Andreas p. and Balystere in Michael p., are two names which may indicate farms where certain crafts were practised (or the surname of the owner of the farm); Balyhamyg in Andreas p. may possibly refer to a farm at a (good) harbour; Baly Lamyn in Bride p. may be the farm of the lawman (or the farm of some owner with the personal name Lagman); Balytersyn in Ballaugh p., German p., Marown p. and Maughold p. may mean the farm at the crossing (of some topographical impediment, for instance a river) or refer to a staffland farm; Balyskebag in Maughold p. and Ballaugh p. possibly means the farm at the levy-ship bay. Finally there is Balywarynagh in Bride p. The origin of its specific is quite obscure, but as the lost farm seems to have been situated close to *Cronk ny arrey laa*, "hill of the day-watch", the farm itself was probably connected with this activity in some way or other and hence derived its "watch and ward" name from it. At least four of the treen-names in this group may have been transformed from a Norse place-name into a Gaelic (Manx) form: Balyhamyg (< *Hafnarvíkrbær*?), Baly Lamyn (< *Lögmannsstaðir*?), Balyskebag (< *Skeiðavágsbær*?), and Balywarynagh (< *Varðhaldsbær*?).

What conclusions might be drawn from the analysis given above of the *balla* treen-names?

It is hardly to be doubted that most of them have replaced earlier farm-names. Furthermore, there are indications that most of these treen farm-names would have been Norse, at least prior to 1150. A few of them may have been Irish (Irish-Norse or Irish-Manx), as the specifics seem to indicate a connection with Irish naming practices.

Having studied thus far the treen-names, 70 in all, in *staðir*, *býr/bær*, and *balla*, we may conclude that in most cases they represent Norse farms, that the single-farm pattern points to Norse immigration, and that throughout the first settlement phase (until c. 1080) the majority of these farms bore Norse names. The further consideration that some 90 out of the remaining 105 treen-names have a Norse etymology enhances the probability that there was a massive Norse land-taking during the ninth and tenth centuries. Both the archaeological finds and the cross-slab runic inscriptions would hardly weaken this probability.

The thesis of an extensive Norse immigration would have a somewhat firmer basis, if it could be argued with some certainty that many of the older *balla* farm-names had replaced Norse farm-names in *bólstaðr*, as was the case in the Hebrides. In these Western Isles the habitation-names in *bólstaðr* are the most numerous of the Norse settlement-names (see note 14). However, the only possible occurrence of this farm-name in Man is Bravost in Lezayre p. (< *Brúarbólstaðr*? — the farm at the bridge).²⁰ As a farm-name it is now lost, but the farm was probably situated in the same area as the modern farms of Clanagh and Cooilbane.²¹

Notes

1. M. Gelling, 'Norse and Gaelic in Medieval Man: the Place-Name Evidence', P. Davey (ed.), *Man and Environment in the Isle of Man II* (BAR British Series LIV, 1978), 251–64. P.S. Gelling, 'Celtic Continuity in the Isle of Man', L. Laing (ed.), *Studies in Celtic Continuity* (BAR British Series XXXVII, 1977), 77–82. B.R.S. Megaw, 'Norseman and Native in the Kingdom of the Isles. A Re-assessment of the Manx Evidence', P. Davey (ed.), *Man and Environment . . .* (1978), 265–314 (first published under the same title in *Scottish Studies* XX, 1976, 1–44). — In the text and figures of the present paper the following abbreviations are used: d. pence; G. Gaelic; hbn habitation-name; Ir. Irish; mod. modern; (O)N (Old) Norse; p. parish; s. shillings.
2. M. Gelling, 'The Place-Names of the Isle of Man', *Journal of the Manx Museum* VII (1970–71), 130–39, 168–75.
3. Megaw (1978), 288.
4. A. Cregeen, *A Dictionary of the Manks Language* (1835), 23. R.L. Thomson points out to me that Cregeen's remarks were necessarily speculative, and that *boalley* (Gaelic *balla*) is in fact the loan-form of English "wall".
5. *Balley/balla* thus appears to have the same basic meaning as Norwegian *gard/gård* (ON *garðr*), which means "fence" and is also the common word for "farm".
6. L. Price, 'A Note on the Use of the Word *baile* in Place-Names', *Celtica* VI (1963), 119–26. J. MacQueen, 'The Gaelic Speakers of Galloway and Carrick', *Scottish Studies* XVII (1973), 17–33.
7. B. Smith, *Scat and Scattalds: Land Taxation and Land Divisions in Medieval Shetland* (unpublished; 1977?), (5–6).
8. Finnur Jónsson (ed.), *Fagrskinna* (1902–3), 34.
9. R. Keyser og P.A. Munch (eds), *Norges gamle Love indtil 1387 I* (1847), 7.
10. It appears possible to assume that the sea-level in the Irish Sea basin was c. 5 m above the present O.D. during the ninth and tenth centuries: see M.J. Tooley, 'Sea-level changes during the last 9000 years in northwest England', *Geographical Journal* CXL (1974), 34. Taking into account the tidal maximum, this must imply that the lower course of many Manx rivers was navigable in the Viking Age.
11. The interpretations are mostly derived from C. Marstrander, 'Det norske landnåm på Man', *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* VI (1932).

12. Similarly derived from Marstrander (1932).
13. The meanings are chiefly derived from J.J. Kneen, *The Place-Names of the Isle of Man* (1925–9).
14. Mr David Olson, a graduate student at the Institute of History, University of Oslo, is studying Norse settlements in certain areas of the Hebrides. He has found examples of very late changes from a Norse to a Gaelic settlement-name. On Islay, for instance, Balmartin replaced Stanepols (ON *Steinabólstaðr*) between 1507 and 1686. He has noted some 200 *baly* names. These have probably replaced either other Gaelic settlement-names or in many cases Norse names. A considerable number (c. 100) of *bólstaðr* names remain in the Hebrides (represented by terminations like *bost*, *bus*, *poll*, *bolts*), but it seems not unreasonable to infer that more must have existed and that they — possibly with some *staðir* names — have been supplanted by *baly* names.
15. In this assessment the *staðir* and *býr/bær* trees that are recorded as *alia* are included with the “primary” trees of the same name.
16. Marstrander (1932), 310–11.
17. P.M.C. Kermode, ‘A ship-burial in the Isle of Man’, *Antiquaries Journal* X (1930), 126–33. G. Bersu and D.M. Wilson, *Three Viking Graves in the Isle of Man* (Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph Series I, 1966). See also pp. 16, 18 above.
18. D.M. Wilson, ‘Manx Memorial Stones of the Viking Period’, *Saga-Book of the Viking Society for Northern Research* XVIII (1970–73), 1–18. Cf. pp. 133–46, 175–87 in the present volume.
19. A.M. Cubbon and M. Dolley, ‘The 1972 Kirk Michael Viking Treasure Trove’, *Journal of the Manx Museum* VIII:89 (1980), 5–20. Cf. also pp. 53–80 above.
20. Marstrander (1932), 243.
21. Kneen (1925–9), 508.

The continuity of Manx

R.L. THOMSON

As I am to speak on the continuity of Manx I begin this afternoon with a demonstration of the fact by saying *Shee nyn mea gys Ellan Vannin* "Welcome to the Isle of Man", *bea as slaynt diuish ooilley!*

This lecture is only a shadow of what it was intended to be. It had been arranged that David Greene and I should share the subject between us, he to speak about the morphological evidence, and I about the lexical. It is a great disappointment to me, and a loss to us all, that by reason of his sudden death on 13 June 1981 we shall now never know what he was going to say on the subject. In a recent letter he told me that he had collected a good deal of material from my latest book on the language,¹ but unfortunately without mentioning what particular topics he meant to speak about, or what use he meant to make of the evidence.

The common title of our contributions, "The Continuity of Manx", was his choice, and it perhaps requires some explanation. After all, Manx has continued in some form to the present day, even if T.F. O'Rahilly could write in 1932, "Manx hardly deserved to live. When a language surrenders itself to foreign idiom, and when all its speakers become bilingual, the penalty is death."² Thanks to the exceptional longevity of several of our native speakers the end of the tradition of naturally acquired Manx was postponed for another forty years after O'Rahilly wrote those words, though it must be admitted that his comment that "some of the Manx that has been printed is merely English disguised in a Manx vocabulary" has more than a grain of truth in it, and is true not only of material produced during the last hundred years or so by enthusiasts who were not native speakers, but also of the recorded language of the tradition-bearers themselves. I forbear to illustrate this point.

The record of Manx goes back only to the sixteenth century (like that of Scottish Gaelic) with an historical poem inferentially composed at that time,³ and more securely to the beginning of the seventeenth century with Bishop Phillips's manuscript translation of the Book of Common Prayer.⁴ Before and after this, from the inception of the Stanley régime at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the language of record is English with Latin a poor second, and the vernacular occurs only where it is unavoidable, in personal and place-names (and perhaps not always there) and in the occasional technical term, or in abusive words complained of by some offended litigant. Phillips was the first foreign student of Manx known to us, and he was a Welshman like his successors: Edward Lhuyd had material collected for him here, a copy of which has recently come to light⁵ and a little of which found its way into his *Archaiologia Britannica* of 1707; the third of the series is Sir John Rhys who collected here between 1886 and 1893.

Manx was therefore the vernacular of the Island in the later middle ages and down to modern times. Starting from the other end, it is a reasonable conjecture, given the position of the Island within the embrace of the three Brythonic territories of Galloway (Strathclyde or Rheged), Cumbria and North Wales, that it too was Brythonic in its earliest Celtic period.

The most satisfactory forms of proof of this, undeniably British place-names or inscriptions, are lacking, though there are traces of a connection with Welsh dynasties during the Dark Ages. That the advent of Gaelic to the Island is early is shown by the number of ogam inscriptions, and the fact that one of these, from Knock y Doonee in Andreas, has a parallel inscription in Latin letters, implying a Christian Brythonic presence at the same time as the (possibly pagan) Irish one, has been taken to confirm that an earlier British population was invaded by Gaelic speakers as part of the Irish expansion from the fourth century onwards. It is further thought that the two linguistic communities co-existed for a length of time which cannot be determined, until the British one became submerged — the opposite result from that which obtained in Wales, but the parallel of that in Scotland. The natural assumption would be that this successful introduction of Gaelic from Ireland, perhaps specifically from Ulster, persisted, largely unattested by any record, until it surfaced again in the later middle ages.

Some doubt, however, has been cast on this assumption of continuity by two articles⁶ in which Dr Margaret Gelling examined the Manx place-names recorded from the beginning down to the fourteenth century. Her conclusions include the following statements:

If, during these centuries, Man is to be considered a predominantly Gaelic-speaking kingdom under Norse rule, the evidence for this must be sought elsewhere than in the place-names.

The evidence of the runic inscriptions agrees with that of the place-names in pointing to a relatively slight Gaelic linguistic survival during the period of Norse rule.

She also quotes with approval Marstrander's view that Norse was the predominant language of Man from c.900 to c.1300, and died out only in the fifteenth century. Confronted by the fact that after the Norse period "it is Gaelic, not English, which emerges as the language of the Island" and considering as she does, that Gaelic virtually disappeared during the Norse period, she is forced to conclude that "considerable immigration by Gaelic speakers from Scotland or Ireland from 1266 onwards seems to be the likeliest cause of this language change."

We could easily spend several lectures reviewing the evidence and considering the validity of Dr Gelling's arguments from it. This has already been done on several occasions, and the general conclusions are that her assessment is exaggerated and that, while no one can deny the existence of Norse in Man and its survival in a great many place-names, there is no need to assume re-gaelicisation of the Island in the thirteenth century.

This then is the question of the continuity of Manx which appears in today's title, a continuity in which David Greene firmly and even fiercely believed, and was prepared to defend. I now have to indicate what I think he might have said as well as repeating some of my own arguments.

This is not an historical or an archaeological argument, but a linguistic one, and as such one might think it had in a way been settled before ever it broke out, for Professor Jackson in 1951⁸ demonstrated very convincingly that Manx in many significant respects agrees with Scottish Gaelic against Irish, to the extent that he postulated an East Gaelic unity comprising the two of them. Their joint innovations, he considered, were not likely to be older than the twelfth or early thirteenth century. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries they continued to develop as a single language, but probably by the fifteenth, and certainly by the sixteenth, they had become separated. These conclusions, of course, are not inconsistent with a late reintroduction of Gaelic to Man from Galloway in the thirteenth century, but at the same time they lend no support to it, for we are not dealing here with two separate languages, Irish and Scottish Gaelic, and saying that Manx is an offshoot of one rather than the other, but rather we are dealing with a single language. Professor Jackson's "Common Gaelic", lasting as a living tongue until the thirteenth century, after which it begins to break up. To call the features that Manx and Scottish Gaelic share "innovations", as I did just now, is perhaps misleading: if they really were such, i.e. complete novelties, then Manx might be seen as an offshoot of Scottish Gaelic, but in fact they are common choices of items current in Common Gaelic, where Irish has generally made a different choice from the same range of

possibilities. Furthermore, early Manx is actually more advanced than early Scottish Gaelic, even if this may be partly due to the extent to which early Scottish Gaelic as a written language felt bound to adhere as far as possible to the standards of contemporary literary Irish, whereas Manx had no such inhibitions.

What we need to establish the continuity of Manx, therefore, is evidence that some Old or Middle Irish features in morphology, vocabulary, or syntax, not surviving in Scottish Gaelic, are nevertheless found in Manx. Such evidence would establish Manx as rooted in Common Gaelic, and not merely as an offshoot of Scottish Gaelic at a late stage when that language had itself parted company with Irish. Given the very unconservative nature of Manx it would be unreasonable to expect much evidence of this kind but I think there is a little.

For example, in the morphology of the verb Manx has retained one example of the *s*-future in *lhisagh* "ought" from *dlig-*, and Phillips has another in *assagh* "would eat" from *ith-*, as well as *ghiaragh* "would see", apparently based on a Middle Irish future or subjunctive stem. Contrariwise, the Middle Irish dependent present in *-ann*, which was certainly known and used in Scotland also, whether it was fully at home there or not, does not occur at all in Manx, which retained the earlier zero ending. Manx also retained 1st sing. pres. *-ym*, against Scottish Gaelic *-idh mi* (though the counterpart of the latter may be found in recent use among native speakers as part of the breakdown of earlier standard usage). Manx also developed into a complete system the use of *jannoo* "do" as an auxiliary, alternative to the four inflected tenses, and uses it with a frequency and freedom untypical of the other Gaelic languages, but the germ of the construction is found in Middle Irish.

Down to the middle of the eighteenth century, after which its use becomes less certain, the periphrastic verb forms insert a fossilized object pronoun when the object has preceded the verb, typically in relative clauses when the relative is accusative, giving either *y* with auxiliary "do", or *dy* with auxiliary "be": *yn thie ren mee y chreck* "the house I sold", *yn thie ta mee dy chreck* "the house I am selling". Into the early eighteenth century this applied also in the perfect with *er* and auxiliary "be": *yn thie ta mee er ny chreck* "the house I have sold", but this is subsequently removed by revising editors. The construction has Middle Irish parallels.

The nominalising construction can be used jussively in the third person, as *yn Chiarn dy dy chlashtyn's* "may the Lord hear thee", parallels to which go back to Old Irish.

In mutation, Manx retains, most fully with the voiceless stops, less so with the voiced ones in verbal forms, the original type of nasal mutation, whereas early Scottish Gaelic already shows signs of having abandoned the Common Gaelic system and created a new one.

Manx shares with Scottish Gaelic the abandonment of *ro-* as a perfective particle, retaining the lenition which followed it, and preserving before vowels and lenited *f* the consonant of the *do-* which replaced *ro-*; Manx does not, however, share either the Scottish Gaelic doubling of this *do-* or its retention before consonants when following other preverbal elements such as the negative.

For myself, I should like to turn from the now exhaustively discussed place-name evidence to a brief consideration of personal names, i.e. patronymic surnames, for the establishment of which in Man there is some evidence by the second half of the fourteenth century, and then to pass on to vocabulary in general.

I owe to Professor Dolley the idea that there might be some information to be extracted from the similarity or otherwise of Manx surnames to those of Ireland and Scotland. We are greatly indebted here to J.J. Kneen's work⁹ and I have used his collections up to approximately the middle of the seventeenth century. As a check on Irish and Scottish parallels we have Maclysaght and Black respectively.

Any name, whatever the origin of the genitive element, which exhibits the prefixed *Ó* or *Mac* clearly circulated in a Gaelic context. About 140 such names are common to both Man and Ireland, but something over fifty of them are known to be current in Scotland also, and are the product of a general Gaelic tradition of name-giving. About forty of the Irish *Mac*-names not found in Scotland, when they can be assigned to a particular part of Ireland, turn out to belong overwhelmingly to Ulster (in its fullest sense).

Another fifty or so names are paralleled in Scotland but not in Ireland and perhaps a couple of dozen appear to be peculiar to Man, and exhibit the whole range of sources,

Gaelic, Norse, Norman, English and biblical, in their genitival element.

Comparison of the general vocabulary of Manx with that of the rest of Gaelic is limited in several ways. The Linguistic Atlas of Ireland¹⁰ maps only a limited number of items, and because of the way the editors chose to present their collections any other information requires the consultation of eighty-odd places in the other three volumes for every word one is interested in. I have confined myself to mapped items, only some of which are of lexical importance. The eastern areas of Ireland, which might be most relevant to Manx, are those in which evidence is thinnest on the ground, and from the Scottish side the material gathered for the Linguistic Survey of Scotland has yet to be published in any form.

There are a few correspondences between Man and Rathlin, and therefore presumably between Man and Scotland since Rathlin is acknowledged to be a Scottish dialect: *creck*, R. *reic* "sell", against Ir. *diol*; *edyr*, R. *eidir* "at all"; *sheeabin*, R. *siapunn* "soap"; a monosyllabic form of *Gailck* is shared with R. only; the future sense of *heeym*, R. *chi mi*, and the form of the verb-noun *fakin*, both normal in Scotland, are not found elsewhere in Ireland; *uinnag* "window", without *f-*, is shared with R. and one adjoining location; *palchey* in the sense of "plentiful" is R.; *soalt* "barn" is found in Ireland only in R., though it occurs as a place-name and must once have been generally current; *berchagh* "rich" is shared with R., whereas the usual Irish synonym equals Manx *souyr* "comfortable"; *dealan* (*Dé*) "butterfly" is Scottish Gaelic and R., and is found once in Lhuyd for Manx; *mwaagh* "hare" is shared with Scottish Gaelic but is apparently not in use anywhere in Ireland; *frass* "shower" is Scottish Gaelic *frois* and R. only; *anmagh* "late" has no Irish parallel but is Scottish Gaelic; *cur-my-ner* "behold" is most closely paralleled in R., though forms with *fá nd-* occur in Munster and the northeast.

One or two others belong to the same area of Ulster without being restricted to Rathlin: *tonnag* "duck" R. and N.E., against Irish *lacha*; *cosney* "earn, win" in E. Ulster and N. Donegal; *scouan* "lungs" in the N.E. and Donegal; *ersooyl* "away, gone" is restricted to Ulster. A rather larger group of words is associated in a general way with the north of Ireland: *spoiy* "castrate", *earrag* "pullet" (Ir. "chicken"), *shellan* "bee", *ennagh* "some", *sheshheragh(t)* "plough-team", *chyndaa* "turn", *farrar* "a wake", *sniengan* "ant" (with *sn-* instead of *sh-*), *lhemeen* "moth" (with unlenited *-m-*), *calmane* "pigeon", *hig* "comes, will come" (in this form and lenited), *darrag* "fishing-line", *erbee* "any", *gobbag* "dogfish".

Sometimes the form most like Manx extends somewhat further south on the west of Ireland to include Mayo, Galway, Roscommon, Clare and the like, i.e. Connaught as well as Ulster: examples are *ollagh* "cattle", *lhey* "calf", *blieaun* "to milk", *cuinnag* "a churn", *creeney* "wise", *moddey* "dog", *sheillym* "I think", *bwilleen* "loaf", *brynlaadee* "dream", Phillips *agh y be*, later *er-be* "were it not that", *ry-hoi* "for", *loaghrane* "handle of a flail", *dy chooilley* "every", *crottagh* "curlew", *cheet* (i.e. *tidheacht*) "come", *famyragh* "seaweed", *feoghaig* "periwinkle", *cooney* "help", *shynnagh* "fox", *broghe* "dirty" (also Galway), and the distinction between *eddin* and *baaish* as "face" and "forehead" (Galway).

There is thus a general agreement between the evidence of surnames and that of vocabulary as to geographical distribution of Irish parallels. The distribution of variant terms for the same thing is of unknown date in Ireland for the evidence of the middle ages seems to show one uniform literary language over the whole country. The variations within this language which the poets permitted themselves, or stigmatized as faulty, are presumably genuine local variants, but we do not know where they were localised. Some dialects would be more conservative than others in certain respects; in the matter of inflection, for example, this is true of Munster, and the same may have been true in vocabulary. It is therefore interesting to note agreements between Manx and Munster Irish as against probable innovations in the rest of Ireland, when the Manx and Munster terms are usually normal also in the earlier literary language. Such are *gounstyrnee* "bark", *jeeaghyn* "look", *reayrt* "view", *jeen* "wedge", *jarrood* "forget" (elsewhere with unlenited *-m-*), *clou* "tongs", *gour* "for", Phillips *ghon* "for", *arrane y ghoail* "sing", *cuin* "when?", *re* "moon". Others are found both in Munster and Connaught, as *skian* "wing", *cabbyl* "horse", *bayr* "road", *scoarnagh* "throat", *dooney* "shut", *jaagh* "smoke" (with lenited *-th-*), *foast* "still", *sheel* "seed", *jerrinagh* "last" (i.e. *déidheannach* re-formed on the basis of *deireadh*), *undaag* "nettle", *filley* "fold".

In a few cases Manx has retained an older word which none of the modern Irish dialects appears to use: *colbagh* "heifer" (except for three places in S. Clare), *lhesh* "hip", *eayst* "moon", *flighey* "rain", *chiarrey* "dry spell". For "new" Munster and Connaught preserve the equivalent of Manx *noa*, while Ulster prefers the equivalent of Manx *oor*; Manx has both and preserves the original distinction of sense.

Manx agrees with Scottish Gaelic in using the present-tense forms of Common Gaelic only in future meaning (with trifling exceptions), and in developing a periphrasis with *atá* for the present tense. This feature can be seen as a possible import from Scotland, but it need not be so if there is any truth in Greene's suggestion that it is a reflex of a Brythonic substratum, for then it would be equally native to Man.

The one important respect in which Manx departs from the East Gaelic unity is in regard to stress. Here it inclines more toward Irish. While Scottish Gaelic continues the traditional Gaelic stress accent on the first syllable of all words, and accompanies this by a reduction in the length of originally long but unstressed vowels, Irish tends to retain these long vowels and innovatively shifts the stress onto them. Manx exhibits both types: long suffixes may be shortened and remain unstressed, or they may remain long and become stressed; double forms of the suffixes result. This stress shift is not a feature of Northern Irish so that the identity of much dialectal vocabulary and of many surnames with those of Man cannot mean that Ulster is their source. On the other hand, the accent shift cannot be an import from Scotland, where all the other non-Irish peculiarities of Manx are paralleled. It can most naturally be interpreted as evidence that Gaelic has a continuous history in Man from before the Viking period, through to the thirteenth century, sharing in the developments that differentiate East Gaelic from Irish in most respects, but not entirely in the shortening of unstressed syllables or the decline of the nasal mutation or one or two other small points mentioned earlier, but in these respects adopting a more conservative and therefore "Irish" position.

Given the probability of this interpretation the evidence from surnames can be seen to accord with it. The older Irish *Ó*-names are losing *Ó* or replacing it by an East Gaelic *Mac* in the earliest Manx evidence; the association of a large number of names with Ulster reflects either (or both) the Scottish connection with that province or/and the preference in that area, as in East Gaelic, for lenition of the personal name after *Mac*. On the very natural assumption of an affinity with Western Scotland and the rest of the kingdom and diocese of the Isles the Scottish surnames, including those of Norse origin also current in Gaelic Scotland, require no explanation — they are exactly what we should expect.

There seems to me to be no bar to viewing Manx as the direct descendant of a Gaelic brought to the Island from Ireland and gradually adopted by a previously Brythonic-speaking population during the sixth to eighth centuries, retaining a connection with Ireland and Scotland during this period, being settled by incomers of Norse speech who probably became extensively bilingual in the tenth to thirteenth centuries, during which period Gaelic continued in use as the language of the pre-Norse population which kept up its contacts with the Gaelic of the rest of the Isles. The decline of Norse was sealed by the transfer to Scottish sovereignty in 1266, after which the language of administration and government is Latin and then English.

Two factors, the continuation of a large number of Norse place-names in anglicised form, and the great impoverishment of Manx vocabulary (while at the same time there is no significant penetration of that vocabulary by Norse loan-words), suggest that there may have been a horizontal class division in Man during the Norse period, an upper class predominantly of Norse origin but intermarried with Gaels (either in Man or previously in the Hebrides and Ireland), bilingual, but favouring Norse as the language of their contacts abroad and in their name-giving, and a lower class consisting of a more purely Gaelic-speaking tenantry and peasantry. The apex of this social pyramid was removed and replaced several times during the century and a half after 1266, though there was evidently sufficient official continuity, but the lower classes presumably remained undisturbed. The Gaelic-Norse kings may have patronised Gaelic learning as was expected of their class; their Anglo-Norman and Scoto-Norman successors probably did not, since there was no

Gaelic-speaking aristocracy with whom they could intermarry and, as in Ireland, become thoroughly Gaelic themselves. Thus Gaelic in Man became simply the language of the peasantry, unused for any but everyday mundane concerns and so ceasing to maintain in use all that related to traditional learning and literature. Despite a late flowering for religious purposes in the eighteenth century Manx can be said never to have recovered from the blow to its social standing inflicted probably during the Norse period, most certainly repeated in the centuries following.

1. R.L. Thomson, *Lessoonyn Sodjey 'sy Ghailck Vanninagh: a linguistic commentary on the Manx translations of St John's Gospel* (1981).
2. T.F. O'Rahilly, *Irish Dialects Past and Present* (1932), 121.
3. R.L. Thomson, 'The Manx Traditionary Ballad', *Etudes celtiques* IX (1961), 521–48; X (1962), 60–87.
4. A.W. Moore and John Rhÿs, *The Book of Common Prayer in Manx Gaelic* . (1893–4).
5. Dafydd Ifans and R.L. Thomson, 'Edward Lhuyd's *Geirieu Manaweg*', *Studia Celtica* XIV/XV (1979/80), 129–167.
6. Margaret Gelling, 'The Place-Names of the Isle of Man', *Journal of the Manx Museum* VII (1970–71), 130–39, 168–75, especially 138–9.
7. Gelling (1970–71), 173–4.
8. K.H. Jackson, 'Common Gaelic', *Proceedings of the British Academy* XXXVII (1951), 89, 92.
9. J.J. Kneen, *Manx Personal Names* (1937).
10. Heinrich Wagner, *Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects* I (1958).

The art of the Manx crosses of the Viking Age

DAVID M. WILSON

In 1971 I published a paper which was intended to be preliminary to a new corpus of the Viking Age sculptures of the Isle of Man.¹ I then wrote that the corpus would “take some years to prepare” It will still take a number of years to prepare, but the occasion of the Congress made it appropriate to survey the field again, particularly in view of recent work by (amongst others) Page² and Margeson;³ and in view of further modifications to my own understanding of the problems of this material.

The exact number of carved stones of the Viking Age which exist today or have been recorded in the last three hundred years is not known. Page, adventuring into this realm of higher metaphysics in his survey of Manx runes, has counted some thirty-one inscriptions.⁴ Certainly some stones recorded in the past are now missing, some may have been badly described or illustrated, some survive only in fragmentary condition, while others are not easily datable. A total of seventy might be a fair guess, but some fundamental problems of identification remain to be solved.

The stones are mostly carved from the Manx slate series, an Ordovician geological formation.⁵ This series is so complicated that it is practically impossible to locate with any accuracy either the quarries or the exact area of the island from which they came. Most of the slate used in these sculptures is so bedded that it splits easily into thin flags, often producing a smooth surface. The stone is relatively soft and can be easily carved with an iron tool. Only rarely (as occasionally at points of interlace) is there any attempt to render the ornament three-dimensionally. Otherwise, the ornament is normally carved in a crisp two-dimensional fashion at an average depth of one centimetre. Because of the nature of the bedding of the slate its surface often flakes away and this, combined with normal wear in the harsh Manx wind, has often reduced the ornament to nothing as in the case of the Ballaqueeney, Port St Mary, stone (Rushen 100 (76)).⁶ In many cases, however, one may be pleasantly surprised at the quality of the surviving carving, either because the sculptor had used the bedding of the stone intelligently or, perhaps more frequently, because the stone was buried soon after it had been carved.

A few stones are carved from geological series other than slates, notably limestones, including at least one of limestone from the Pooyl Vaaish area, near Castletown, found at Maughold some twenty miles to the north. If the soft red Peel sandstones were used by the Viking Age sculptors, examples of such crosses have not been found or have weathered beyond recognition. Work on the identification of the various stones and slates used in the series has been started, but will take a long time to complete, if indeed it is possible to do so, because of the undifferentiated nature of the slate mentioned above. No imported stone appears to have been used by the Viking Age sculptors.

Carved stones of Viking Age date occur in every parish of the island, save Arbory, but Kirk Michael and Maughold are particularly rich in them. I cannot trace any that are now in their original position: they were all memorial stones and we must assume that they normally

stood in churchyards or burial grounds, perhaps (but not certainly) as grave-markers. This assumption may, however, be false: some may merely be memorial stones, erected in a public or private place to advertise pious works or memorialise a death.⁷ Most are now mounted under cover in the parish churches: only at Lonan and Port St Mary are stones still displayed out of doors. (The Maughold group, however, suffers from being enclosed in a kind of summer-house with one wall open to all the elements — they should be moved.) A few stones have been removed or donated to the Manx Museum, which has general curatorial oversight of the monuments.

The Scandinavian slabs of the Isle of Man have been long recognised by antiquarians, being depicted apparently for the first time in the 1722 Gibson edition of Camden's *Britannia*. Gibson's information derived from Thomas Wilson (the most famous bishop of the diocese of Sodor and Man) who, being something of a polymath, had recognised the runic inscriptions on some of the stones for what they were. The first book devoted to them was a slim work by W. Kinnebrook published in 1841. In 1852 the remarkable geologist, J.G. Cumming, published his *Runic and other monumental remains of the Isle of Man* — a rather slight work. P.A. Munch in the 1840s was the first to attempt a proper interpretation of the inscriptions and his work was used in 1852 by J.J.A. Worsaae, who had also studied casts then available at Edinburgh and Canon's Ashby.⁸ The earliest published photographs appear to be those of Robert Paterson in his *Manx Antiquities* of 1863 and these are sometimes useful in providing information concerning the exact location of the crosses at that time. There was a considerable discussion of both the stones and their inscriptions in the latter part of the nineteenth century, a discussion which culminated in 1907 with P.M.C. Kermodé's monumental work, *Manx Crosses*. In this book Kermodé carefully catalogued and discussed the corpus and it remains to this day the principal source-book for the series. Magnus Olsen's paper in Haakon Shetelig's *Viking Antiquities*⁹ in 1954 was the next major substantial publication of the runic inscriptions, which will be superseded by Raymond Page's definitive work some time in the 1990s!

The crosses then have not been neglected. The stones found after Kermodé's catalogue was published have been faithfully recorded in various journals, the most recent addition to the bibliography being A.M. Cubbon's paper in *The Journal of the Manx Museum*, 1966.¹⁰ Some time about the turn of the century I hope to produce a replacement for the Viking Age section of Kermodé. Rather before then, I trust, Ross Trench-Jellicoe will complete his survey of the pre-Scandinavian crosses.

Besides a thorough and painstaking catalogue of the series, a number of questions regarding the sculptures need to be answered; the purpose of this paper is to ventilate some of them. These seem to be the main questions:

1. Can we identify the Viking Age stones?
2. What is the origin of the idea of the Manx memorial stones of this type?
3. What cultural and stylistic influences are present in the stones, and how do they relate to each other?
4. How many of the scenes carved on the stones can be identified iconographically?

The first question, concerning the identity of the Viking Age crosses, might appear naïve, but it is by no means easy to place some of them within the series. Where there is a runic inscription in Scandinavian runes (as on Onchan 141 (113) — which I believe to be, in part at least, executed at the same time as the plainly carved cross), or where we have ornament which is clearly of Viking style (as, for example, Maughold 108 (82)), or which is influenced by such, we can surely identify the Scandinavian series. But others are more difficult to place, particularly when all we are presented with is a simple wheel-headed cross, or even a more elaborate one, as for example Maughold 68. Those few slabs with more or less elaborate spirals on either side of the base of the shaft, as for example Lonan 71 (49) (possibly from Glenroy), can safely be placed in the Viking Age series. Not only are they paralleled in general terms by spirals in similar situation on incised Scandinavian slabs (as for example Remmene, Västergötland, Sweden¹¹) but they also occur in the Manx series (for example on Maughold 97 in association with ornament of a purely Viking style). But similar

spirals occur on Irish stones at a rather early date and our argument must be pursued with care.¹² A great many plain shafts and slabs may, I am afraid, never be ascribed with any confidence to the Scandinavian — or indeed any other — series, although typological study (for example of the head) may ultimately lead to more successful identification. It is clear, however, that some of the attributions made by Kermode and his successors demand careful re-examination before the corpus is finally re-shaped.

The second question concerns the origins of the idea of the Manx series. Slabs and crosses were certainly carved in the island itself before the Scandinavians appeared there. Some were apparently influenced from Ireland. The most famous of these pieces is the crucifixion slab found on the Calf of Man in the late eighteenth century, Rushen 61(50). Presumably originally an altar frontal, it survives as a fragment and depicts Christ on the Cross. Christ is fully clothed, has a forked beard, no nimbus and is flanked on one side by the spear-bearer. It is closely connected both in iconography and style with a series of Irish plaques, particularly those from near Athlone¹³ and Clonmacnoise.¹⁴ There is little doubt that the iconography and ornament of this fascinating slab is Irish. There is nothing remotely similar in ornamental detail in England, and I place it with the metalwork series surrounding the Soiscél Molaise.¹⁵ Its date must be late eighth or ninth century. However, because of the interlace on the chest, the heavy beaded borders of the panels on the thighs, even the forked beard, it might be difficult to place it unequivocally in a non-Scandinavian milieu. Although it might be worthwhile looking once again at its individual ornamental details there seems to be nothing specifically Scandinavian in the decoration of the Calf of Man crucifix. The stone is important in that it points to one of the areas of origin of the Manx series — Ireland, whence also presumably came the idea of the simple incised slab¹⁶ — a problematic series with which Ross Trench-Jellicoe is struggling — but there seems little doubt that this is a common cultural trait of the Irish Sea.¹⁷ Other Irish or Welsh influences may be seen in the Manx stones which bear inscriptions in the ogam alphabet.¹⁸

But there is also Anglo-Saxon influence in the Manx series. The first Christian ornamental sculpture in the British Isles was produced in England towards the end of the seventh century. There is no real evidence that Irish sculpture was earlier in date than that from England and the connection between England and Ireland is real and rarely confusing. Purely English stylistic influence in the stone carving of the Isle of Man before the Viking Age is uncommon. One cross (practically impossible to photograph) is Maughold 42(25), which bears a name, “blagmon”, carved in English runes within an incised circle which encloses an incised cross made up of four arcs of a circle. The arms of the cross are lightly incised with triquetra knots — a common enough English motif. The explanation of this Anglo-Saxon presence, which has not been investigated with the thoroughness it deserves, is irrelevant to the main theme of this paper, but it emphasises that there was English ornamental influence in the Isle of Man before the Vikings arrived there.

This English influence is apparently more robustly expressed in a fragmentary cross-head, Santon 95(68), which was probably found at a keill on Balnahow. The stone bears the remains of a wheel-headed cross executed in relief; like Maughold 42(25) it encloses a triquetra in each arm. Parallels to this form of interlace and composition are found in England.¹⁹ Cumming²⁰ following Oswald,²¹ illustrates it with a rider and some rather irregular bunches of interlace below the completed head. This portion of the stone is now missing and Oswald, the owner, is recorded as saying that the lower half of the cross had been stolen. Oswald's drawing is poor and clearly misunderstood, but the irregularity of the interlace below the head makes it possible to interpret the stone as of Viking Age date. That there was clearly something below the head is demonstrated by a slight trace of some such feature on the surviving fragment. If Oswald's drawing does indeed indicate Scandinavian influence on the Santan cross-slab, this stone might demonstrate a clear link between English and Scandinavian ornament unique in the Isle of Man.

In this context it is worth mentioning the non-runic inscriptions on the Manx crosses, usually, but not always, executed in half-uncial characters. Santan 29(34) may well be the earliest of these stones, bearing the simple inscription AVIT-MONOMENT, executed in formal capitals.²² This inscription is usually ascribed to the fifth or sixth century, but there is

no firm evidence for such a date. A majuscule inscription, clearly of pre-Viking date, is on Maughold 47(27) and records the name of a bishop of the seventh or eighth century. Two other stones from Maughold are particularly bothersome, one (169) in uncial reads *Branhui huc aqua(m) dirivavit* "Branhui drew off water to this place".²³ The inscription is placed in a square panel within a wheel-headed cross, which could be of any date. The other Maughold stone is the notorious "Guriat" cross, 69(48), which comes from a keeill on Ballateron. This slab, which is more than 2m high, is decorated with a cross and bears an inscription (now rather worn) on its edge which reads CRUX GURIAT. Attempts have been made to identify Guriat with Gwriad, a Welsh prince who has the misfortune to appear in Robert Williams's *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Welshmen*. Sir John Rhŷs in particular went to town on this person who may not even have existed.²⁴ By eliding the two islands of Mona (Anglesey and Man) he cautiously managed to suggest that Gwriad may have been married to a lady who may have taken refuge in the Isle of Man. This is not the place to labour this question, but the presence of these stones serves to stress the fact that there was non-unic script literacy in Man from an early period, and that the ability to carve stone existed there in the pre-Viking Age. At least we may assume such a date for some of the stones until we are contradicted by a thorough epigraphical study of the material.

It is clear then that, by the time the Scandinavians appeared in the Isle of Man, a corpus of inscribed stones already existed, some of which were embellished with simple ornament. It may also be assumed that other carved stones also pre-date the Viking Age. The Scandinavianised patron embraced the idea of such memorial stones eagerly and they were produced with enthusiasm, and often with skill. This fact leads to my third question, "What cultural and stylistic influences are present in the crosses?" This may be answered in part by saying that elements of style and form were drawn from the regions round the Irish Sea, for both the form of the crosses and the interlace ornament so enthusiastically used on them have their origins in either Ireland or England. Further, it might be suggested that the strongest influences were Irish, although in terms of ornament these influences were minimal in the Viking Age. To these insular influences the Vikings added Scandinavian taste. The amount of influence from the indigenous stone carving of the Isle of Man on the cross-slabs of the Viking Age cannot, as yet, be computed.

It is difficult to say when the first crosses were produced under Scandinavian patronage in the Isle of Man. It would, however, be very difficult to identify any Scandinavian sculpture of a date earlier than the tenth century. The presence of pagan graves, Balladoole, Ballateare and Cronk Moar particularly,²⁵ of ninth-century date shows that the earliest settlers in the island — or at least some of them — were not Christian. Whether the native Manxmen continued in Christianity is unclear; and it is equally unclear whether the indigenous population produced any sculpture at a time when the Vikings were disposing of their dead in the pagan fashion, although Kermode and others have ventured to suggest that Onchan 92(62) is Celtic rather than Norse. For my part I think it unlikely that the Scandinavians suppressed Christianity when they arrived, but I cannot happily identify any piece of sculpture from the period between the coming of the Scandinavians and their acceptance of Christianity on the basis of stylistic criteria. If I had to date Onchan 92(62), I would rather compare it with Maughold 97(66), which because of the spirals at the foot and the form of the ornament at the base I take to be Scandinavian.

Gautr's cross, Kirk Michael 101(74), provides much safer ground for judgement. This is taken as a classic of the Manx Viking series (fig. 1). The cross bears a Norse runic inscription on the edge and front which in translation reads:

Mailbrikti, son of Aþakán, smith, raised this cross for his soul . Gautr made this, and all in Man.

The ornament on this cross is Scandinavian, at least in part. It is clear, for example, that the ring-chain pattern of what we may take as the front, the pattern which fills the shaft of the cross, is of the Borre style and Shetelig has cited a typical Borre-style strap-end from Rogaland as a parallel.²⁶ The chain on the shaft runs into the head of the cross and forms a variant of a pattern which is met with occasionally in Scandinavia, not as a cruciform motif

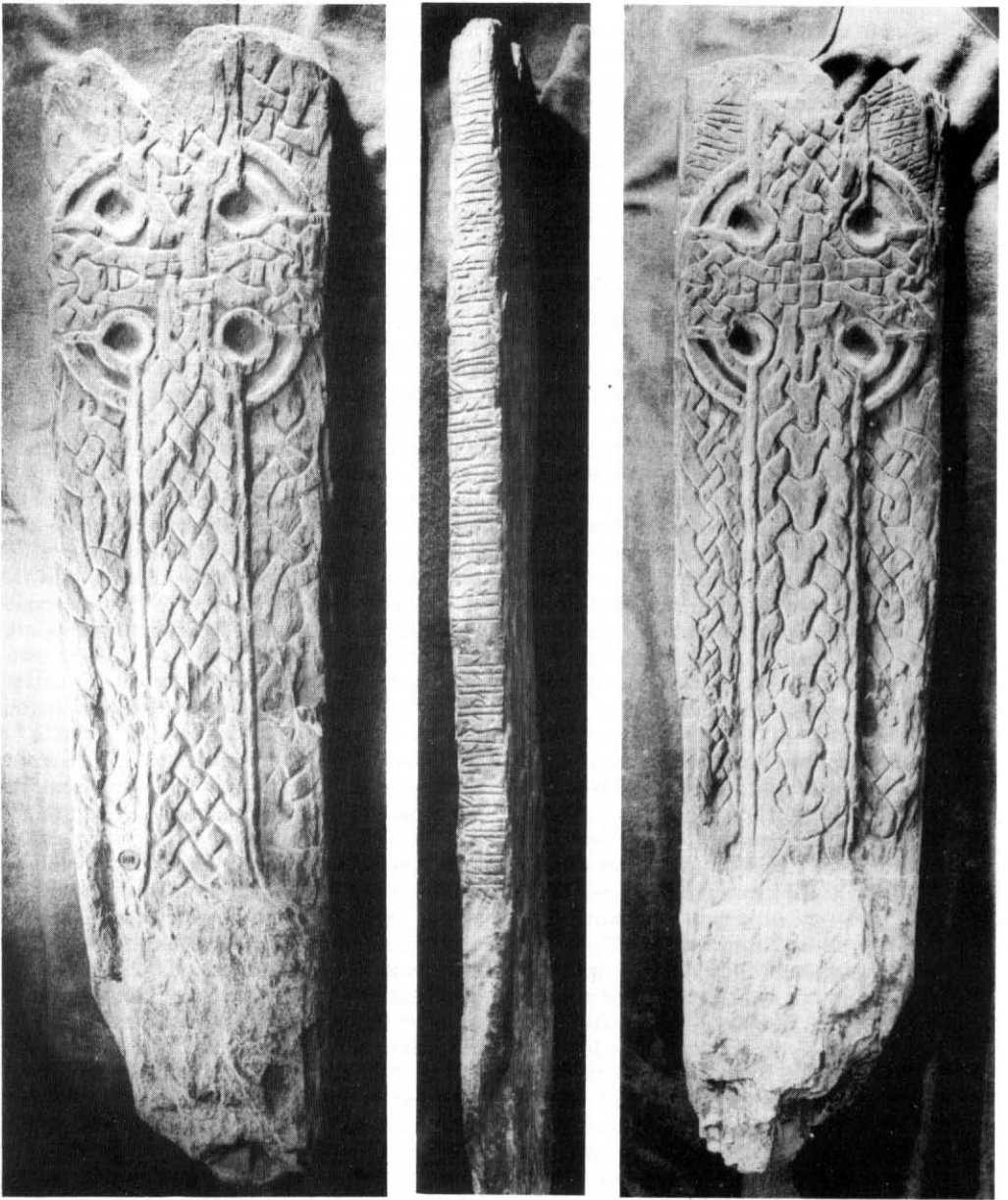


Fig. 1. Gaur's cross, Kirk Michael 101 (74). Phh: Manx Museum.

but as a linear ornament on the guard of a sword, for example.²⁷ On the same face is a tendril-like motif, which is extremely rare outside the Isle of Man, but which appears in a more elaborate form on the Ballaugh cross 106(77) (fig. 2) in the next parish and on many other Manx sculptures, e.g. Jurby 125 (98). (I have elsewhere shown that the semi-circular indentation in the contour of this tendril is found on tenth-century objects decorated in the Jellinge and Mammen styles,²⁸ for example, on the Skaill brooches (fig. 11, p. 71 above) or the Söllested horse collar.) Romilly Allen pointed out to Kermode²⁹ that the motif occurred in the Caedmon manuscript (Bodley Junius 11), probably a Canterbury product of c. 1000.³⁰ This parallel, which has been ignored for more than seventy-five years, is quite a good one, but the Caedmon tendril pattern is more elaborately executed and is more closely related to the Ringerike style. Temple³¹ assigns this drawing to the main hand of the book, and Signe Horn Fuglesang says that it is “possibly influenced by Scandinavian ornament”.³² The parallel seems to be not particularly relevant to the Manx stone, and reading between the lines Horn Fuglesang would agree with this, dismissing the ornament of the stone (which she discusses under her “crossing double scrolls”) as, “not a scroll but a crossing ribbon with some vegetal reminiscences”.³³ The other panel on this face tells us little, only that the manner in which the interlace starts at the top is more Scandinavian than English.

The same is true of the ornament of the shaft of the cross on the other face; but the panels on either side, particularly that to the right, were labelled by Shetelig as showing Scandinavian influence going back at least to c.800.³⁴ Reminiscences of Style E are indeed evident, but the relationship is distant.

There is then clearly at least one major Borre-style motif on this cross, the ring-chain ornament of the cross-shaft on one face. The treatment of the ornament on the head is also Borre-derived. The other features seem to have developed in the Isle of Man on the basis of Scandinavian and insular traditions. The overt insular traditions comprise the form of the cross and possibly the interlace. The Borre elements could perhaps also have come immediately from England for the Borre style is the most influential Scandinavian style in England,³⁵ and is rarely found in Ireland or Scotland.

The inscription on Gautr’s Kirk Michael cross claims that this sculptor “made this and all in Man” Unfortunately for us — and perhaps for Gautr — the only other cross ascribed in its inscription to Gautr is Andreas 99 (73). But Page even says that “the two texts look to be by different rune-carvers” adding, in that most disarming fashion common to rune-readers, “but that is a very subjective judgement”. This cross has some ornamental motifs found on the Kirk Michael cross, but lacks the ring-chain and tendril pattern. It is much worn, but seems to be of poorer quality than the Kirk Michael slab. Attempts have been made to identify other crosses from Gautr’s workshop. The following have at various times been suggested: the cross from Ballaqueeney, Rushen 100 (76), which is now so worn that practically no ornament can be traced on it, we may only rely on old pictures for this interpretation; Kirk Michael 102(75), which combines certain ornamental details of the two signed crosses and displays a particularly competent Borre ring-chain; Kirk Michael 110 (85), of which only the re-used stump survives; the very worn Andreas 109 (83), Jurby 103(78), and Braddan 112(86). All these, if not actually carved by Gautr, are very close in ornamental detail and technique to those attributed in the inscriptions to Gautr. It would be interesting, therefore, to hear from the runologists, if the inscriptions of the three crosses of this group which bear runes, Kirk Michael 102(75) and 110(85) and Braddan 112(86), could have been carved by the same hand.

If these crosses are labelled for convenience, the “Gautr group”, it may be possible to relate one or two other slabs to the same group, if not to the same workshop. Shetelig³⁶ thought that Andreas 111(84) was the work of a younger follower of Gautr and indeed the motifs are the same as those used on signed Gautr pieces. The ribbons and tendrils, however, are embellished with a median line and the runic inscription is different, being executed in cryptic runes. Another inscribed cross which can be added to this group is St John’s 107(81), a memorial stone on which the runes were carved by Asruþr. If Gautr carved this stone, it would imply that the rune-writer was at least sometimes a different craftsman from the carver, which is not an unfamiliar occurrence in Sweden. The ornament clearly puts this slab into the Gautr group.

The cross erected by Druian at Bride 118(92) might ornamentally also fall into this group. This cross, however, has one panel which contains between the interlacing at least two animals of semi-naturalistic form, motifs which we have not so far encountered in the Gautr group. Scenes with animals, human beings, pagan legendary figures, pagan gods, Christian iconography and so on are, however, frequently encountered in the Manx Viking Age corpus. If at least some of the figural representations of the Bride cross are admitted to the Gautr school, we are faced with a body of material which might be too big to handle, for there must be thirty or more such animal figures on various Manx crosses, which, while not being stylized into accepted ornamental groups, have no recognisable mythological meaning. These animals comprise mainly boars, dogs, horses and harts and are not paralleled in the Scandinavian homeland at this period. The nearest parallels are to be found in northwest England at Lancaster priory,³⁷ for example, where they are caught up in other patterns; or at Halton in Lancashire,³⁸ where a single animal is rather less lively than its Manx cousins (being placed rather pompously in a rectangular field). Perhaps the cross from Dacre in Cumberland³⁹ most nearly approaches the feeling of the Manx animals. (It is, incidentally, the presence of these animals in the island that convinces me that Onchan 92(62) with its strange animals on either side of the cross-shaft really belongs to the Norse series.) Until more work has been done, it would be safer, then, to omit Bride 118 from the Gautr-related series.

Before turning to iconographic problems, however, the rest of the series may conveniently be considered here. Ballaugh 106(77), while a much grander cross (fig. 2), has many of the features of the Gautr group. It differs mainly in that the tendril pattern in the centre of the cross-shaft on one face, the elaborate ring-chain on the other face and the ribbon-ornament on the head, have extra billeted bands within the main interlace. This may merely represent further elaboration of familiar patterns (as surely the double contoured ornament on Maughold 108(82) does), but it is perhaps closer to the later series where billeting occurs in Mammen-style animal ornament. On the other hand it is as well to remember that similar billeting occurs on early Borre-style metalwork⁴⁰ and is not necessarily of later date. The indented contour on the rune-inscribed face of the Ballaugh cross, however, would suggest a closer connection with the Mammen style, which is best seen on the Isle of Man at Kirk Braddan.

Stones 135(108) and 136(109) at Braddan are two of the best known of the Manx series. They are different in form from the others in that they are not really cross-slabs, rather tapering pillars. The more complete of the two is Thorleif's cross, 135(108). It is 212 cm high and has on three sides clear zoomorphic Jellinge/Mammen-style ornament of the type which appears, for example, on the Bamberg⁴¹ and Cammin⁴² caskets. Animals executed in this style have substantial billeted bodies, a shell-spiral hip and lip-lappet; they are usually caught up in interlaced ribbon-ornament. It is a classic Scandinavian style and indeed little on this stone can be paralleled within insular art, save only in the Scandinavian areas of England. The fragmentary cross 136(109) — raised by Oddr — is not quite so square in section as the other stone and, on one face only, has animal ornament also executed in the classic Jellinge/Mammen style. The other face bears interlace motifs not unrelated to those on the Ballaugh cross discussed above. A similar zoomorphic ornament is to be seen at the base of Kirk Michael 132(105), together with a cross with spiral scrolls at the base of the shaft and a ring-chain ornament not unrelated to the Ballaugh slab. The overlap between the Manx Borre ornament and the Jellinge/Mammen style is clearly seen on Michael 129(101), where the ring-chain is clearly modified by the feather-like extensions of the Mammen style.

Two most difficult stones are Maughold 122(96), from Ramsey, and Kirk Michael 117(89), which are almost certainly by the same hand. The ornament on both is closely comparable. On both there is an almost symmetrical animal composition; the animal bodies swell towards the base and a secondary animal or ribbon interlaces with the main animal to fill the whole field. In the interstices of the interlace are pellets. The animal heads are difficult to identify: perhaps bottom-left on the Kirk Michael slab, perhaps top-right on the Maughold cross. Below the arms of the Michael cross are two animals, which in some ways resemble Mammen/Jellinge characters, but which in the pointed eye have perhaps a hint of Ringerike characteristics. I have no doubt, however, that the lobed features on the reverse of the slab

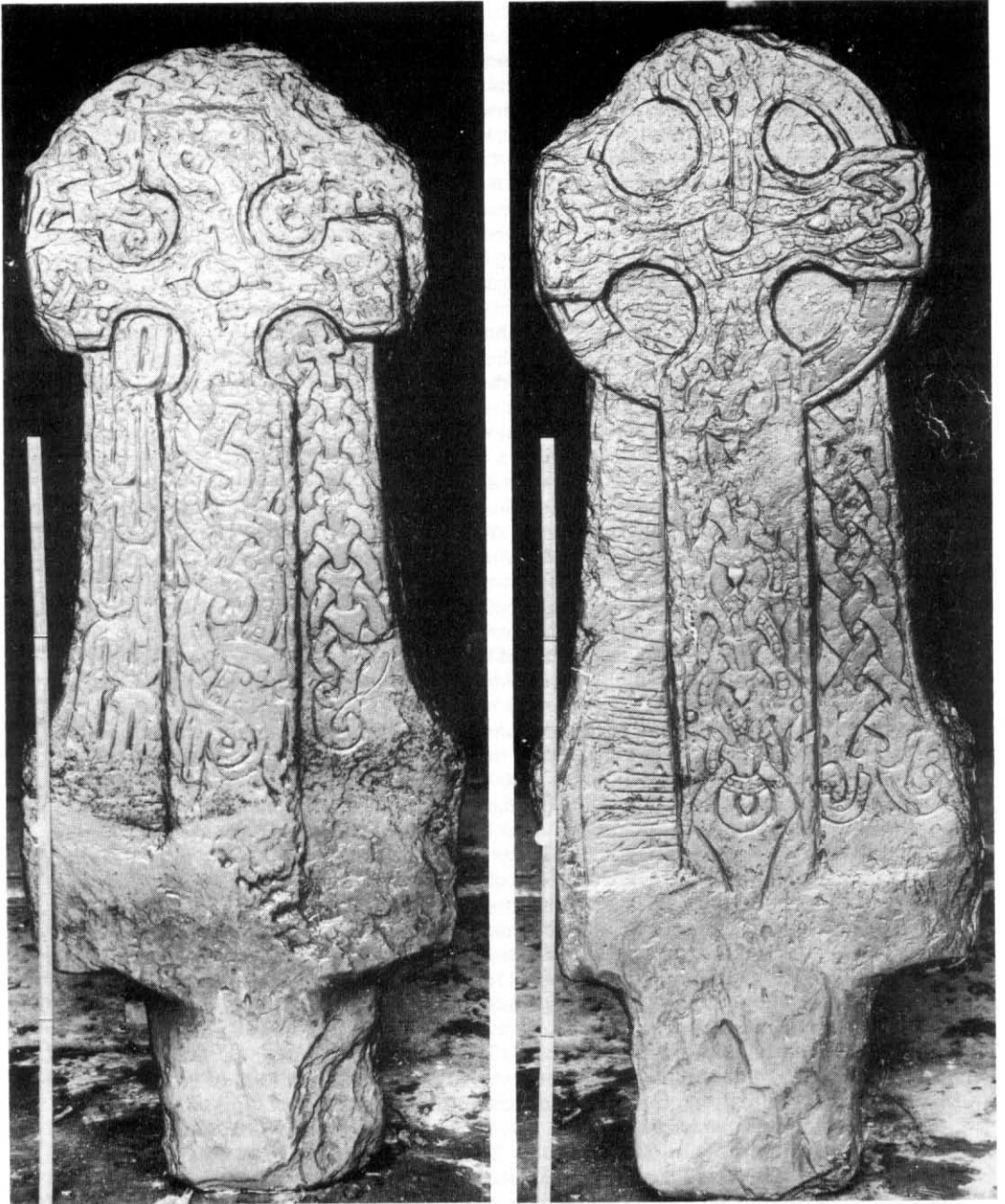


Fig. 2. Ballaugh 106 (77). Phh: Manx Museum.

are Ringerike in origin. Another fragment, also from Michael 116, hints at Ringerike traits — the pear-shaped eye, for example. Perhaps in these stones we are dealing with a Mammen/Ringerike overlap. Neither, however, is considered by Signe Horn Fuglesang in her classic study of the Ringerike style.

In the course of this discussion I have made statements concerning non-Manx comparative material — the naturalistic animal motifs — and have drawn attention to some material from northwest England. I have also mentioned (with no great conviction) parallels between the tendril pattern used by Gautr and casual (perhaps secondary) decoration in the Caedmon manuscript. Perhaps happier are the parallels with the Skaill brooches (fig. 11, p. 71 above).⁴³ The chief parallels, however, must be drawn with the purely Scandinavian art-styles. I have particularly pointed to the Borre style for detailed parallels and also to Mammen. I have even drawn attention to Ringerike elements.

It is difficult, however, to trace the route by which these styles came to the Isle of Man. The Borre style flourished all around the Irish Sea. It is found in Dublin⁴⁴ and in Cumbria,⁴⁵ in Wales⁴⁶ and in Cornwall;⁴⁷ it is the Scandinavian style most commonly found in England.⁴⁸ It is impossible, therefore, to say whether it came to the island directly or by way of one of the Norse colonies. What is clear is that much of the figural tradition has direct parallels in Scandinavia, and not in England or Ireland. This is nowhere more clearly seen than on Kirk Michael 123 (fig. 3), where the long trailing gown of the woman is closely paralleled in Scandinavia, particularly on a group of small Swedish brooches⁴⁹ and perhaps more notably on the Gotland “picture-stones”.⁵⁰ The Mammen style is uncommon in England, but is also not particularly common in Scandinavia. In the Isle of Man it occurs in a very pure form, particularly on the two Braddan crosses. Chronologically the Mammen style belongs precisely to that period — the second half of the tenth century — when Scandinavian influence was at a pretty low ebb in England — and perhaps in Ireland too. The style might, therefore, have come to the Isle of Man direct from Scandinavia, unaffected by outside influences. The Ringerike influences which are apparently so tentative in the Manx material probably came through Ireland, which was a very fertile bed for the insular development of this style. A study of the plates in Uaininn O’Meadhra’s recent book⁵¹ will reveal many interesting parallels to Michael 117(89) and Maughold 122(96). Direct contact between Manx and Scandinavian artists after say 1000 would be hard to prove, mainly because of the lack of material (see Page, p. 139 above).

How about influences going from Man to the rest of the Scandinavian world? Despite the wealth of sculpture in the Isle of Man, I am afraid I cannot trace any direct influence in the rest of the Viking world, with the possible exception of the stone from Kilbar in Barra⁵² (fig. 7, p. 90 above), which many have seen as having been influenced from the island. In other words, the island was a receiver rather than a donor of artistic impulses.

My fourth question was, “How many scenes carved on the crosses can be identified iconographically?” I am almost incapable of answering this. Obviously there is little difficulty in identifying the Christian iconography — a crucifixion scene for example. But the identification of pagan iconography is much more problematic; some scenes or figures, like those on Andreas 131(103) for example, are not identifiable on the basis of surviving knowledge. Others, thanks to Sue Margeson and her iconographic colleagues, are becoming more acceptable of interpretation to the simple archaeologist. In a recent paper Margeson⁵³ has pointed to four Manx stones which can be attributed with some certainty to the *Völsung* legend. On the left of one face of Andreas 121(95) (fig. 5, p. 102 above), the dragon Fáfñir is being slain by Sigurðr, who is rather nonchalantly sticking it in the ribs. Above, Sigurðr roasts Fáfñir’s heart in the form of three doughnuts on a spit and tastes Fáfñir’s blood by putting a finger in his mouth. Above him can be seen Grani. On the other face the bound figure in the centre may represent Gunnarr in the snake-pen, but as he is not playing a harp with his toes we must, Margeson writes, “be careful of this identification” (cf. p. 104 above).

Another similar scene occurs (in all probability at least) on the rather worn stone from Malew 120⁵⁴ and the same scene may also be seen on Jurby 119(93) (figs. 3–4, p. 99 above). On Maughold 122(96) (fig. 6, p. 103 above), on the reverse of the side bearing an animal with possible Ringerike elements, is (at the base) an otter with a fish in its mouth. Margeson



Fig. 3. Kirk Michael 123. Ph: Manx Museum.

accepts this as a possible "representation of one of the earliest episodes in the legend in which Otr, eating a salmon, is killed by Loki who walks by with the gods Óðinn and Hœnir. Besides the otter with a fish, a seated figure may represent Sigurðr holding the spit, shown as a diagonal figure in the centre of the slab with slices of heart on it."⁵⁵ The horse above may be Grani, and it may have a pack on its back. Other similar scenes occur at Halton in Lancashire and (possibly) at York, as well as in great detail at Ramsund, Gök, Drävle and Ramsjö in Sweden and, probably, Tanberg in Norway.⁵⁶

Andreas 128(102) bears a scene which has been interpreted as a representation of Ragnarøk (cf. fig. 1, p. 97 above). (Incidentally, the Borre ring-chain on the cross-shaft of this stone terminates, as on Ballaugh 106(77), in a cross.) The scene may be interpreted as Óðinn with his raven and spear, being devoured by the wolf Fenrir: this contrasts with the carving on the other face of a Christian figure bearing a book and a cross, surrounded by snakes and with a fish in front of him. This is normally interpreted as Christ trampling on evil, characterised by the snakes (but cf. pp. 96, 105 above). The juxtaposition of the two religions is interesting and unusual in the British Isles; it is perhaps best paralleled on the Gosforth cross, across the water in Cumbria.

Other crosses have been interpreted as illustrative of pagan Norse legend on other stones. Heimdallr, Þórr, Óðinn and others are among the figures identified by past scholars (particularly Kermode),⁵⁷ but few have stood the test of further examination. Sue Margeson has recently tackled some of the problems of identification with more critical sense and I trust she will complete her evaluation of the Manx corpus before long.

And so to chronology. Basically I believe that there is little likelihood that any of the Viking crosses were made much earlier than the second quarter of the tenth century — perhaps as early as 930. This is based largely on my feeling that the Borre style represented here is associated with fairly developed motifs. The latest ornamental stones — apart from the Hedin stone, Maughold 142,⁵⁸ which I believe ornamentally to be a degenerate and late member of the series — may date as late as 1010/1020, a date which would seem to accord with the runic evidence (p. 139 above). I am thus extending the period I proposed ten years ago in my paper to the Viking Society.⁵⁹

It is clear to me that the Manx sculptured stones are not so homogeneous as is often thought to be the case by our Scandinavian colleagues. If we can try to differentiate both styles and chronology within the Manx series, we may not only understand the Manx series more easily, we may also be able to differentiate and date some of the Scandinavian art-styles. While the Manx series, therefore, are important in our understanding of the history of the Isle of Man, they are also of considerable importance in a Scandinavian context.

Notes

1. D.M. Wilson, 'Manx memorial stones of the Viking period', *Saga-Book XVIII* (1970–73), 1–18.
2. R.I. Page, 'Some thoughts on Manx runes', *Saga-Book XX* (1978–81), 179–99.
3. S. Margeson, 'The Völsung legend in medieval art', *Medieval iconography and narrative* (Flemming G. Andersen *et al.*, eds, 1980), 183–211.
4. In Page (1978–81), 179–80, it was 30. In the present publication the number seems to have risen to 31. (See p. 134 above.)
5. I am grateful to my wife for a great deal of help concerning the geological judgements used here.
6. The crosses are identified by means of numbers affixed to the stones themselves (either as cast bronze plates or painted). This is the primary catalogue number given by the Manx Museum and National Trust. The numbers in brackets are those given to the stones by P.M.C. Kermode, *Manx Crosses* (1907), to which, where applicable, the reader is referred for immediate reference in the course of this paper.
7. It is seldom realised that few memorial stones of the Viking period have been found as

- grave-markers outside Ireland. An exception is provided at York: I.R. Pattison, 'The Nunburnholme Cross and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in York', *Archaeologia CIV* (1973), pl. xxxix. It would be interesting to know whether the Manx stones belong to this tradition or to the Scandinavian tradition, where stones are mostly set up in memory of the dead, as good works and not normally as grave-markers.
8. *An account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland, and Ireland* (1852), 280–5.
 9. Vol. VI.
 10. Pp. 26–8. Earlier up-datings were recorded by P.M.C. Kermodé in *The Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, XLV (1911), 437–50; XLVI (1911), 53–76; L (1915), 50–62; LV (1920), 256–60; LXIII (1928), 354–60 and by B.R.S. Megaw in *The Journal of the Manx Museum*, IV (1939), 163–4.
 11. H. Jungner and E. Svärdström, *Västergötlands runinskrifter*, II (1970), pls. 125–6.
 12. P. Lionard, 'Early Irish Grave Slabs', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, LXI; C (1961), pl. xxxi; R.A.S. Macalister, *The Memorial Slabs of Clonmacnois* (1909), fig. 98.
 13. A. Mahr, *Christian Art in Ancient Ireland I* (1932), pl. 28.
 14. *Treasures of Early Irish Art 1500 BC – 1500 AD* (1977), pl. 55.
 15. F. Henry, *Irish art during the Viking invasions (800–1020 AD)* (1967), pls. 58–9.
 16. E.g. Kermodé (1907), pl. vi and vii.
 17. Cf. Lionard (1961).
 18. E.g. Kermodé (1907), fig. 42.
 19. D.M. Wilson, *Anglo-Saxon Ornamental Metalwork, 700–1100, in the British Museum* (1964), pls. ii and xxxix, 110.
 20. J.G. Cumming, *The runic and other monumental remains of the Isle of Man* (1857), fig. 32.
 21. H.R. Oswald, '... Runic and other ancient crosses found in the Isle of Man', *Archaeologia Scotica* II, ii, pl. xvii, 1.
 22. See photograph in A.M. Cubbon, *The art of the Manx Crosses* (1971), 5.
 23. Cubbon (1971), 9.
 24. J. Rhys, 'Note on Guriat', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* I (1897), 52–3.
 25. G. Bersu and D.M. Wilson, *Three Viking graves in the Isle of Man* (The Society for Medieval Archaeology, monograph series: No. 1, 1966).
 26. H. Shetelig (ed.), *Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland VI* (1954), fig. 42.
 27. A developed and slightly later form is seen in M. Müller-Wille, 'Zwei wikingerzeitliche Prachtschwert aus der Umgebung von Haithabu', *Offa* XXIX (1972), fig. 28.
 28. Wilson (1970–73), 7.
 29. Kermodé (1907), 43.
 30. Date and attribution after E. Temple. *Anglo-Saxon manuscripts 900–1066* (1976), 76–8.
 31. Temple (1976), 77.
 32. S. Horn Fuglesang, *Some aspects of the Ringerike Style* (1980), 199.
 33. Fuglesang (1980), 106.
 34. Shetelig (1954), 126.
 35. Cf. D.M. Wilson, 'The Borre Style in the British Isles', *Minjar og Menntir. Afmælisrit helgaðl Kristjáni Eldjárni* (1976), 502–9.
 36. H. Shetelig, 'Manx crosses relating to Great Britain and Norway', *Saga-Book IX* (1920–25), 258–60.
 37. W.G. Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses of the pre-Norman Age* (1927), fig. 171.
 38. Collingwood (1927), fig. 191.
 39. Collingwood (1927), fig. 172.
 40. D.M. Wilson and O. Klindt-Jensen, *Viking Art* (1966), pl. xxxixb.
 41. Wilson and Klindt-Jensen (1966), pl. lrv.
 42. Wilson and Klindt-Jensen (1966), pl. lv.
 43. Wilson and Klindt-Jensen (1966), fig. 53.

44. E.g. U. O'Meadhra, *Early Christian, Viking and Romanesque Art. Motif-pieces from Ireland* (1979), pls. 9, 30.
45. E.g. Collingwood (1927), fig. 167.
46. E.g. V.E. Nash-Williams, *The Early Christian Monuments of Wales* (1950), pl. xxxii.
47. Kermodé (1907), fig. 29, 6.
48. Wilson (1976).
49. Wilson and Klindt-Jensen (1966), pl. xxiv, c-e.
50. E.g. Wilson and Klindt-Jensen (1966), pl. xxvi.
51. O'Meadhra (1979).
52. Shetelig (1954), fig. 54, but see Page, p. 139 above.
53. Margeson (1980), and see pp. 100-104 above.
54. This is indeed very worn. It is most faithfully reproduced in D.M. Wilson, *The Viking Age in the Isle of Man* (1974), fig. 19, where it can be seen that the detail is very unclear.
55. Margeson (1980), 189; and p. 101 above.
56. Margeson (1980) and see pp. 101-104 above.
57. Kermodé (1907), 50-59.
58. P.M.C. Kermodé, 'The Hedin Cross, Maughold, Isle of Man', *Saga-Book IX* (1920-25), 333-42.
59. Wilson (1970-73), 18.