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"HARALD FAIRHAIR" and his Ancestors.

PART I.

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PROLOGUE.

I PROPOSE in the following pages to describe the reign of the greatest of the Norwegian kings, who probably shares with the famous Emperor Otho the First, the reputation of being the most heroic figure in the European history of the 10th Century—namely, Harald Halfdaneson, known from the profusion and beauty of his locks, as Fairhair, the founder of the kingdom of Norway.

The exceptional features of Harald's career make it necessary, if we are to understand its real meaning, to try and grasp the earlier condition of Norway as it may be gathered from the scanty materials alone available. This I propose to do shortly, before turning to the Life of the Great King. Especially do I deem it convenient to do so because it is an almost untrodden field in English literature, and I intend, therefore, to condense some of the information on the subject which was admirably sifted by Munch, one of the few great historians the world has known, which I shall quote from Clausen's German translation of the first two volumes, and shall supplement it by the later researches of Vigfusson and Powell, G. Storm, A. Bugge and others.

During recent years it has become more and more probable that the same Scandinavian stock which inhabits the great peninsula has been there from very early times and has probably been very little altered in its more general features. I do not propose

at this stage to discuss at length the archæology of the race—this would involve a long description —nor yet the religion, the laws, or the customs of the people, but only its political history and the distribution and movements of the communities into which it was divided in early mediæval times. Munch and others have established the conclusion that the Norwegian race in early times comprised three great communities, one of them occupying Norway east of the "keel" or backbone of the country, and two of them occupying the whole seaboard from Norland to the great inlet of Viken and the Christianiafiord. These were known as the Thronds, in the north-west; the Hords in the south-west, and the Raums in the Uplands, *i.e.*, the northern part of Norway, east of the Dovrefelds.

Munch made it plain that the stock which peoples the whole maritime district of North-West Norway, including the widely ramified Throndheimfiord and extending from the province of North Mere in the South to that of Norland inclusive, is united by certain unmistakable common features, physical, artistic and linguistic, and notably also by the local nomenclature. In all these respects it differs generally from the people to the South, who are separated from them by Raumdal.

The race occupying the long maritime district just named were called Thronds (Thröendr). What the etymology of the name was, does not seem very certain. Munch suggests that it means the prosperous (op. cit., 114, note 2). Throndoccurs as a personal name in several places in the the Heimskringla, and occurs also as a place-name, notably where it gives its name of Throndheim (*i.e.*, the home of the Thronds) to the great inland fiord of Central Norway.

The name occurs at a very early period, and is found in the form Throwende, in "Widsith" or the Travellers' Tale, one line of which reads: "I was in Throwende," while the indigenous Norwegian chronicle known as the Fundinn Noregr, makes them the earliest inhabitants of Norway.

The province of Halogaland was originally the focus and heart of this community, and a headland called Trondenaes occurs on the north-east side of the Hinn-isle in Halogaland (see Magnusson, Heimskringla IV., 285).

The name Halogaland was long ago explained by Adam of Bremen as meaning the Holy or Sacred Land." He says: "*Hoc ignorantes pagani terram illam vocant sanctam et beatam, quæ tale miraculum præstat mortalibus.*" This etymology has been adopted by Munch, whom it is generally safe to follow. He says: "*Hálugr* is an archaic form of *heilagr* holy, whence *haaloga land* the holy land. In Anglo-Saxon it was called Hálga-land, which is the same thing, and the modern pronunciation Helge land probably comes from an old form Helga land." (Munch op. cit., 1, 98, note 3).

Adam of Bremen speaks of Halagland (as he calls it) as an island near Normannia not less in size than Iceland or Greenland, *op. cit., 245.* His mistake was corrected by a scholiast, who says of it that "it is the furthest part of Nordmannia and nearest to the Scridfingi"—*i.e.*, to the Lapps.

As Munch says, Heligoland, also called Fosete, situated in the bight of the Elbe, is the same name and has no other etymology than that of Holyland. In the case of the Norwegian Holyland, the name is best explained by its having been the oldest seat of the race who dwelt there (ib., 96). It further seems to me that he is right in attributing the

reference in Eyvind Scaldaspieler's famous poem, the Haleyiatal, in which he applies the name "Mandheim," meaning the first homeland of men, not to Suithiod or Sweden, as some have done, but to Halogaland, the country of the hero whose praises he was singing (op. cit., 96, Note 2). The name Thorscliff, now Thorshaug, in the parish of Stadsbygden-in-Fosen to the north of Throndheim, no doubt recalls a famous shrine of Thor in this district, which may have given its name to Halogaland.

The God Thor, or Thör, was well known to the Germanic peoples as well as the Scandinavians. The Anglo-Saxons knew him as Thunor, *i.e.*, the Thunder God and he presided over heaven and the phenomena of the air and thus corresponded to Zeus or Jupiter. It is a daring and perhaps a foolish suggestion to hint that the names Thor and Thrond were connected, and that the Thronds were the special cultivators of the worship of Thor, who was the great god of Western Scandinavia, as Odin seems to have been of the East, where he had probably largely superseded Thor. It is at least noticeable how frequently his name occurs among those of the early Icelandic settlers. Miss Philpotts, in her admirable account of Germanic heathenism, says that at least one out of every five emigrants to Iceland in heathen times bore a name of which Thor formed a part, and in Iceland we hear of settlers consecrating their land to Thor and naming it after him. (Cambridge Mediæval History, Vol. II., 481). It is interesting to remember that our Thursday still commemorates the famous God, while the winter month of the Norsemen was called Thor's month.

It will be convenient to here set out an account of one of the temples dedicated to Thor. The best

description of such a building is contained in the Eyrbyggja Saga, and the account is worth repeating at length. We there read of an exile from Most, an island off South Hordaland, called Rolf. He had charge of the Temple of Thor in that island, and was a great friend of the God, whence he was styled Thorolf. He was outlawed by King Harald Fairhair, as we shall see. Thereupon he made a great sacrifice to Thor and asked of him whether he should make peace with the King or begone. The reply of the god was that he should go to Iceland. He therefore pulled down the temple and took with him most of its timbers and some mould from under the altar where Thor had sat (probably also the altar itself), and when he reached Iceland he threw over into the sea the pillars of his high seat which had been in the temple, and on one of which Thor was carved, and he declared over them that he would settle in Iceland wherever Thor should contrive that the pillars should land. They in fact landed in a firth he called Broadfirth, which they afterwards called Temple Wick. The promontory where Thorolf had landed was called Thor's Ness, and he afterwards went further to the river called Thor's river, and settled his people there, and there he set up for himself a great house at Temple Wick, which he called Temple Stead, and there he built a temple. It had a door in the side wall and near to one end of it. Inside the door stood the pillars of the high seat, and nails were driven into them which were called the God's nails, and within it was a great frith-place (*i.e.*, the sanctuary, a kind of apse), and near by was another house of the fashion, says our author, of a choir in a church, and in the midst of it stood an altar on which lay a ring without a joint, that weighed twenty ounces on which all oaths were sworn, and which

the chief must wear on his arm at all male "motes" or assemblies. On the altar also stood the blood bowl and therein the blood-rod like a sprinkler, with which the blood from the bowl, which was called "Hlaut," was sprinkled. It was blood which had flowed from beasts that had been sacrificed to the Gods, and round the altar stood the Gods arranged in the holy place. To that temple all men paid toll, and were bound to follow the temple priest in all journeys, as (says the author) do the Thingmen their leaders, but the Chief must uphold the temple at his own cost, so that it should not go to ruin, and hold sacrifices there.

On the ness or headland was a fell, and Thorolf held it in such awe that no unwashed man was allowed to cast his eyes on it and neither man nor beast could be killed on it. Thorolf called it Holy Fell, and he arranged to be buried there when he died, together with all his kindred from the ness, and he ordered that all oaths were to be sworn on the tongue of the ness where Thor had landed, and there he set up a fylki-thing (Eyrbyggja Saga, chapters iii. and iv.). In the Kjalnesinga Saga we have some additional details. It says Thorgrim was a great settler. He had a large temple built in his home-field at Kjalness 100 feet long, and sixty feet wide, to which all his Thing men paid toll. From its end there projected a building shaped like a cap (*i.e.*, an apse). It was arranged with hangings, and had windows all round. Thor stood in the middle, and on either hand the other gods. In the front was an altar, highly wrought and covered on the top with iron, on which burnt a fire which must never go out, and which they called a hallowed fire.

In the notice last mentioned the writer goes on to tell us that the ring placed on the altar was made

of silver, and on it all oaths relating to ordeal cases had to be taken. The blood-bowl was a large one and made of copper, and the blood was sprinkled on arms and heads. The money of the temple was to be spent in entertaining visitors at sacrifices.

Magnusson reports the discovery in recent years of the remains of a private blood-house. These showed that at one end of it was a semi-circular chamber separated from the main building by a party wall.

In sacrificing men, they were to be hurled into the fire which was by the door and was called the pit of sacrifice. From Hauk's edition of the Landnama, we learn that before using the ring or swearing upon, it was reddened with the blood of a sacrificed heifer. The temple guardians were chosen at the Thing according to their wisdom and goodness, and had the further duty of ruling the pleadings of cases and naming the judges. They were called "Godher" (op. cit. xxxi—xxxiv).

Returning to Halogaland; an early notice of the district is that contained in King Alfred's version of Orosius, where he quotes the narrative of a visitor who went to see him from Norway who was named Othere, and who claimed to be a native of Halogaland. He told the King (who, by the way, he styles Hlaford or Lord) that his home lay further north than that of any other Northman. Rask ingeniously suggested that he filled an official post in the far north of Norway and collected the taxes there. It is difficult to explain how Othere came to pay a visit to England from so remote a place, and it has been suggested that he was in fact one of Harald's victims and that he actually settled in England and may even have been a jarl Othere or Othir, who is named as

taking part in a fight there in the year 911. (See Dahlmann Forschungen, i., Note 410). But this is very doubtful, and there is another candidate for the distinction. The name Othere was not uncommon in Norway. Othere's notice of the far north is one of the most interesting relics of 9th Century literature which we possess, but cannot be pursued here.

In the romantic legend about the origin of the Norwegian rulers contained in the Fundinn Noregr and also as an introduction to the Orkney Saga and which is founded largely on geographical assonances and names, the district inhabited by the Thronds is treated as the earliest home of the Norsemen. We read of the two brothers Norr and Gorr who divided the country between them, Norr taking the inland parts and Gorr the islands and outscars. The latter was to have all the islands between which and the mainland he could pass in a ship with a fixed rudder. His sons were Heiti and Beiti, who were also sea kings and fought against Norr's sons, in which first one side won and then the other. Thus we are told that Beiti ran into Throndheim and lay in the place called Beitsfiord and Beitstede, thence he made them drag his ship from the innermost bight of Beitstede and so north over the isthmus. That is to where the Naumdale comes down from the east. He himself sat on the poop and held the tiller in his hand, and claimed for his own all that lay on the larboard side, including much cultivated land. Munch, in discussing this Saga, rationalises it by claiming it as a proof that the peninsula bounded by the Naumdal Eid or transit, was peopled by the same section of the Thronds as the seaboard, and not by an invasion from Throndheim fiord itself. Among the names compounded with Beit above named, he mentions in

this district Beitstadt and Beitstadt fiord, Beitsjor, also called Beit's Sjor—*i.e.*, Beit's landing-place, and the lake of Beit. (Op. cit. i., 99 and Note).

There is a good deal of evidence to show, as we shall see, that the Thronds were once ruled by a special dynasty of kings who probably controlled the whole race. One of this Royal stock, on the extinction of the race of Harald, became the King of the whole of Norway—namely, Hakon the 2nd. His deeds and those of his ancestors were recorded in a famous poem (an imitation of Thiodulf's Ynglingatal), and written by Hakon's Court poet, Eyvind Skaldaspieler, who lived in the end of the 10th Century. The poem is referred to in the preface to the Ynglinga Saga, and there it is expressly said that Eyvind derived his hero from Saemingr, the son of Yngwi Frey. These rulers were referred to in the list as Kings and iarls of Halogaland, which originally, doubtless, comprised the whole country of the Thronds.

Eyvind's poem has most unfortunately only been preserved in fragments, which barely include one-fifth of the whole. Four of them are preserved in the King's lives; a fifth in the MS. known as Fagrskinna, and the rest in the Edda and Skalda. These fragments are given by Vigfusson and York-Powell (See Corpus Poet. Bor., i., 251—253), and in a restored text (Ib. ii., 657—658).

Fortunately, portions of the poem have survived as prose paraphrases and quotations elsewhere. Among them we have preserved a list of Hakon's professed ancestors derived through many generations from Saemingr, the son of Odin and the giantess Skadhi, whose reputed descendants were known as Saemings, and formed the

third great Royal stock of the North, the others being the Ynglings and the Scioldings.

In the following list it will be seen that the earlier rulers of Halogaland are called kings, and the later ones iarls :—

KINGS.	IARLS.
1. Odin, who married the giantess Skadhi.	14. Hersir (? Hersi).
2. Saemingr.	15. Brandr-iarl.
3. Godh-hialti.	16. Bryniolfr
4. Swerd-hialti.	17. Bärdhr.
5. Hödhbroddr.	18. Hergils.
6. Himinleygr.	19. Havarr.
7. Vedhr-hallr.	20. Haraldr Trygill.
8. Havarr Handrami.	21. Throndr.
9. Godgestr.	22. Haraldr.
10. Heimgestr Huldar-brödhir.	23. Herlaugr.
11. Gylaugr.	24. Griotgardhr.
12. Godhlaugr.	25. Hakon Urna-iarl.
13. Mundill Gamli.	26. Sigurd Hlada-iarl.
	27. Hakon Hlada-iarl.

NOTE.—*Vide* Vigfusson and Powell, C.P.B. ii., 522 and 3, taken from Eyvind's poem and The Flatey Book. It will be noticed that one of these iarls is called Throndr. I think Vigfusson is unreasonably sceptical about at least the later of these names. The order of the names 11 and 12 is reversed in the Ynglingatal (see below).

The first of those in the above list who is mentioned in the Ynglinga Saga was a king called Gudlaug who belonged to the heroic age. He is the first ruler of any part of Norway to be named in the Heimskringla. We there read that Jorund and Eric were the sons of Yngwi, son of Alric, King of Sweden. They were great warriors, and one summer were harrying Denmark, when Gudlaug (*i.e.* Godlaugr), "King of Haloga," happened to be there. With him they had a battle, and his ship was "cleared," *i.e.*, its crew were destroyed, and he was captured. They brought him to land at

Straumeyjarnes and there hanged him, and there his folk heaped up a mound over him. Two verses of Eyvind are quoted in the Ynglinga Saga for this account. In them we are further told that the "ness," or headland, was known far and wide from being marked by a stone on the king's mound. (Ynglinga Saga, ch. 26. For the poem see Vigfusson and Powell, Corp. Poet. Bor., i., p. 252). The locality of Straumeyjarnes is not now known. The two Swedish brothers got great fame from this deed.

Presently, we are told, Jorund became King at Upsala, and he often went a-warring, and one summer went to Denmark and harried in Jutland, and went up the Lim-fiord where he plundered, and then landed his ships in Odd-sound, when there came thither Gylaug, King of Halogaland, the son of the above named Gudlaug, and a battle took place between the two kings. The people of the country having heard of it came together from all sides, both great and small, and King Jorund's men were overwhelmed by the multitude and his ships were "cleared." He himself leapt overboard and began to swim, but they laid hands on him and brought him to land, and King Gylaug reared a gallows, and led Jorund thither and hanged him on it. This was reported by Thiodolf in the Ynglingatal (Op. cit., ch. 28), and probably was derived by Eyvind from that poem. I do not understand Vigfusson's note on this verse. (See op. cit., i., 523).

The next time we read of Halogaland was when Adils was reigning in Sweden. We are told that he was fond of horses, and sent a present of one called "Raven" to Godguest, the King of Halogaland. King Godguest mounted it, and the horse threw him and he was killed (Ynglinga Saga,

op. cit. 33). This was at Omd in Halogaland. Omd was the eastern part of the island of Hin, now called Hindö in Halogaland. (See the fourth volume of Magnusson's Heimskringla, page 270). Up to this point Halogaland is the only part of Norway, and its kings are the only rulers of that land named in the Heimskringla, and it all points to its having then been the focus and centre of Norwegian life (at least on its west coast) in very early time. Nothing in fact is reported of the eastern and southern parts of Norway until the Ynglings invaded it after the death of King Ingiald of Sweden.

Turning to later times, we have a curious legend professing to show why the kings of Halogaland became iarls. In the poem of Eyvind, as we learn from the fragment on early Norwegian history known as Agrip, where it is quoted as the authority, it is said that Hersi (the fourtenth in the above list) was king in Naumdale (a fylki or shire of the Throndland). His wife's name was Wigtha, after whom the river Wigtha in Neamdal (*sic*) was said to have been named. Hersi having lost her, wished to make away with himself in order to join her, and asked if any precedent could be found for a King having committed suicide. On search being made a precedent was found for a iarl having done so, but not for a king. Hersi then went to a certain house on a hill and rolled himself down, saying that he had rolled himself out of the king's title. He then hanged himself in a iarl's title, and his offspring would never afterwards take upon them the title of king (C.P.B., 528). This story is an interesting folk-tale. It is clearly an invention to cover some less romantic cause which it was necessary to disguise. I have not seen this suggested, but it seems

highly probable. Kings in old days did not generally exchange their position for that of iarls except under compulsion. Let us, therefore, turn aside to another more probable folk tale.

It would seem that at an early time Halogaland was divided into a number of shires or "fylkis," each of them with its petty ruler, but all subordinate to one supreme chief, who had his seat in the fylki called Naumdal, and the first of the iarls of Halogaland in the list above quoted is called King of Naumdal in a tale to which we will now turn.

Harald Fairhair was not the first Conqueror who subdued this part of Norway. We are told in the saga of King Hakon that Eystein was called the ruthless (hardhradi), the mighty (inn riki), the evil (inn illi), and the evil-minded (illrádhi). The focus of his wide realm was Heathmark where he lived, and whence he ruled the Uplands in Eastern Norway (Ynglinga, ch. 49-54). He invaded and conquered the "Isles fylki" and the "Sparebiders fylki" in the district of Throndheim, over which he set his son Osmund, whom the Thronds presently slew. He thereupon made a second invasion of Throndheim, which he harried far and wide and completely subdued its people. This we are expressly told in the Saga of Hakon the Good, ch. xiii., and it probably occurred in the time of Harald Fairhair's father or grandfather.

Ari tells us that in order to punish the murder of his son, Eystein imposed a most ignominious punishment on the people of Throndheim. He bade them choose whether they would be governed by his thrall who was called Thorir Faxi or his hound who was called Saur. They thought they would have more of their own way under the latter, on whom therefore their choice fell. They then

had the dog bewitched, so that he had the wisdom of three men, and he barked two words and spoke the third. A collar was wrought for him and chains of gold and silver, and when the roads were bad his courtmen carried him on their shoulders. A high seat was decked out for him, and he sat on a horse as kings were wont to do. He dwelt at the Inner Isle, *i.e.* the Eyna fylki, and had his abode at the stead called Saur's home, and it was said he came to his death in this wise—the wolves fell on his flocks and herds, and his courtmen egged him on to defend his sheep; so he leapt from his horse and went to meet the wolves, but they tore him asunder. This folk-tale may contain some elements of truth, for it was quite after the taste of these grim Norsemen to humiliate their enemies by a punishment of this kind.

Eystein, we are told, did many other marvellous deeds among the Throndheimers, and to escape from his ravage and cruelty many Lords and other people fled the country abandoning, their old odal lands, *i.e.* lands that paid no tax (op. cit.).

Among them was Ketil Jamti, the son of Onund, iarl of Sparbyggja-fylki now Sparburn and he crossed over the keel or Great Mountains and went eastwards with a great company of men who took their families with them. They cleared the woods and peopled the great countrysides there, and the country was thence known as Jamtaland (ib. ch. xiv.).

Ketil's grandson was Thorir Helsing, who was outlawed from Jamtaland for murders he had committed there, and migrated thence through the woods to the East, where many people joined him, and the district was afterwards called Helsingland after him. The Norwegians, however, only settled the western part of Helsingland, while the

coastlands of the province were settled by the Swedes. All this seems to me quite rational and probable. The migration eastwards continued in later days, thus we read how, in the reign of Harald Fairhair, Wethorm, the son of Wemund the Old, a mighty hersir, fled from King Harald into Jamtaland and cleared the wild forests or marks there (Landnamadel v., 15, 1).

What is plain from all this story is that the Thronds were at that time conquered by Eystein the Great, the King of the Uplands, who had other sons beside Osmund, and we nowhere hear that his victims recovered their independence again. I would urge as a most reasonable solution of the difficulty that Eystein, in fact, divided the country among his own relatives, and that the various Kinglets who were found in Throndheim, Naumdal and North Mere when Harald arrived were his descendants. In one case only, namely, in that of the specially sacred Land of the Thronds, to which the name Halogaland was now limited, was an exception apparently made. There, as we have seen, the old dynasty which claimed descent from Odin continued to reign, not as Kings but as iarls —that is, they paid tribute to the conquerors. The critical distinction between a King and an iarl was the payment of skat or tribute, and a ruler, however small his kingdom, if he paid no skat was styled a king. This seems to be a rational explanation of the change of the rulers of Halogaland from the status of Kings to that of iarls.

As I have said, Halogaland (the land of the Thronds) was doubtless divided from early times into several "fylkies" or provinces, answering to the Northfolk and Southfolk in England, who were all governed by the same code of laws but had their own independent administration. Four of them

were situated on the coast, namely, Raumafylki, Nord Mere, Naumdal, and the most northern, *i.e.* Halogaland. Halogaland was separated by an inlet named Nid from N. Mere in the South, and had no definite boundary in the North, where it bordered on the great stretch of land reaching to the North Cape, which was peopled by a thin sprinkling of Lapps. The Norse inhabitants were chiefly gathered in the southern parts, where the temple of Thor was planted on Thor's Ness. In later times it furnished a few emigrants to Iceland, and produced some famous writers, notably the poet of the oldest Eddaic poem, the Volundarkuidha, and there at Tiölto was the home of the last great skald of the Viking period, Eyvind Skaldaspieler, see A. Bugge (Op. cit., 210.) Each of the other fylkies had its sacred fane, called Hof or Thorshof, where the great gods were worshipped and which formed the focus and central point of the shire. Each of the smaller divisions, also had its Thor's temple, and its "Thing," or Assembly. On the west side of the Great Mountain, in fact, Thor was everywhere, and his larger temples were the finest buildings in the land.

The whole district of Throndheim, called Dronthemen's by Adam of Bremen, was divided into a series of cantons, some large and some small forming eight "inland fylkies," as they are called; they numbered 3 to 10 in the list quoted below, each with its petty ruler and all bound together by a common dialect and laws. The names of these were:—The Orkdale fylki, so called from the river Orke; this is the westernmost of the fylkies and on the south of the Firth; Gauldoela fylki, from the river Gaul; Strinda fylki and Stioradoela fylki, from the river Stiora; these were grouped about the entrance of the fiord; further inland there lived the so-called Inlanders, namely,

Verdaela fylki, so called from the river Vera; Skeyna fylki, Sparbyggia fylki, and Eyna fylki.

I will now abstract from Munch: "*Nordmoen denes aeldste Gudeog Helte Sagn*, 178," a list of the fylkies into which the land of the Thronds (which was subject to the Frosta Thing) was divided, with the situation of their principal temples, where known:—

1.	Haleygja fylki	Throndarnes
2.	Naumdael fylki	Jod
3.	Sparbyggia fylki	Maerindelni
4.	Eyna fylki	Hüssladir (Saurshaugz)
5.	Verdaela fylki	Haugr
6.	Skeyna fylki	?
7.	Stiórdoela fylki	Stjóiadal
8.	Strinda fylki	Hladir
9.	Gauldoela fylki	Medalhûs
10.	Orkdoela fylki	Niardvik
11.	Nordrmoera fylki	Yrjum
12.	Raumsdoela fylki	Véev.

The larger part of these fylkies, as is obvious, took their name from the principal valleys which traversed them. The two first and the two last faced the sea, and were largely backed by mountains and forests which made access to them from the land side almost impossible at this point. North Mere was separated from Halogaland by a narrow Sound called the Nid, which gives access to the great inland Throndheim fiord that consists of a congeries of converging valleys and waterways. Naumdale lay north of the great Firth, and was nearer to Iceland than any part of Norway, and naturally supplied a greater number of the emigrants, who came from Norway to that island, than any other district. The Throndextended southward to North-Mere fylki which had its counterpart in South Mere, but was, however, occupied by another race, the Hords. The two Meres apparently originally represented waste

districts separating the territories of the Thronds and Hords. They are now separated by a fylki called Raumdal, which is the frontier of the Thronds in the South. Smaa-land, a similar district in Sweden, was called Mere by Othere.

Behind these four districts lay, as I have said, the sprawling Throndheim fiord, throwing out its arms in different directions, like a huge starfish, and reminding us of the Lake of the Four Cantons in Switzerland. It was naturally landlocked, and its inhabitants were not fishermen and navigators, but cultivated their rich lands and migrated eastward, and not westward, when conditions demanded it, and in this way largely peopled the Osterdals and the northern frontier of Sweden.

Having described the Thronds let us now turn to their neighbours, the Hords. They gave their name to Hordaland, now known as Sondre Bergenhusamt, which was the kernel of their land. Munch, in his analysis of the population of South West Norway, shows that from Hordaland itself, northwards as far as the Northern frontier of South Mere, the land was peopled by Hords. This is shown by the common dialect prevailing there, and especially by the fact that it was all subject to the same code of Laws and was obedient to the same great Thing or National Assembly.

This code was known as the Gulathingslag, and took its name from Gula in North Hordaland, and no doubt embodied the old Common Law of the Hords. It was also obeyed in later times beyond the borders of the Hords themselves by at least two communities, which once no doubt, had local codes of their own, namely, the Rugians in Rogaland and the district of Agder, both of them famous. To them we will return presently. The Hords, properly so called, occupied

the fylkies of North and South Hordaland, Hardanger, Sogn, Hallingsyadal, Waldres, South Fiord, North Fiord, and the western part of Gudbrandsdal called Lorn or Loar (Munch H. N. F. i. 110).

South of this land of the Hords was Rogaland, *i.e.*, the land of the Rygiar or Rugians. The two, however, were very close akin. The Rugians held the coast and also the islands as far as the eastern district called the Vik: the frontier between the two ran between the hamlets of Nedenaes and Bratsberg called Rygiarbit in old days. Originally Rogaland also included the western part of Thelemarken with the so-called Robygger whence Robygdelag got its name. The latter points to the Rugians having once had a code of their own, and dominated Agder. Munch suggests that Robygger is short for Rogbygger. (Munch, op. cit., 107).

In regard to Agder, it was once a separate kingdom and the seat of more than one legend. It seems plain that earlier however it formed a part of the land of the Rugians. The name, according to Munch, originally merely meant a strip of coast, and was given to the maritime border between the Ryfylki and the Vik, part of which, was known as Rygiarbit. At all events, it is plain that during the Middle ages the whole of Rogaland and Agder were subject to the Gulalag.

Both the Hords and Rugians were known in very early times. The Hords have been very reasonably associated with the Kharudes, who formed a section of the army that invaded Gaul under Ariovistus, in Cæsar's times, and who are also mentioned in the Morumentum Ancyranum, dating from the reign of Augustus, and by Ptolemy. They were probably in part at least living in

Jutland, and doubtless gave its name to Harde-Syssel in that peninsula.

The Rugians (the Rygir of the Northern writers) also had colonies south of the Baltic. The island of Rugen was no doubt connected with them. They are, in fact, mentioned as Ulmerugii or Island-Rugii by Jordanes and in the legends of Scandinavia as Holm-rygir. Rugii are also described as living near the Vistula, and are met with in the legends of the Goths and Lombards, and took a part in the great Teutonic invasion of the 4th and 5th centuries.

The two tribes, as I have said, were closely united in the most ancient Sagas and in the early romantic history of Norway called the Fundinn Noregr, we are told that Gard Agde, the son of Nor the Just, ruled over Agder, Rogaland Hörda land, Sogn, the Fiords and South Mere. According to the same document, Gard Agde's sons were Hord, King of the Hords, Rugalf of the Rugians, Thrum of Egden, Wegard of Sogn fiord, Freygard of the Firths, Thorgard of South Mere and Griotgard of Nord Mere. (Munch, op. cit., 110, and note 3).

It is a curious fact, that has not been so far as I know noticed, that Odoaker, who deposed the last Roman Emperor Romulus Augustulus and occupied his place, probably came from this district of Norway. He ruled over a confederacy of four tribes—namely, the Rugii, the Turcilingi, the Sciri and the Heruli. In one place Jordanes calls him "*genere Rugus.*" While in another he calls him "*Turcilingorum rex.*"

It would seem that the Turcilingi were, in fact, a tribe of the Rugii. What is interesting to us is that their name is clearly compounded of the

Scandinavian name Thurkil. The Sciri it has long ago been suggested gave its name to Sciringshal, the famous early trading mart, situated in the kingdom of Westfold, quite near Rogaland. A colony of them seems to have settled at the mouth of the Vistula, where Pliny puts them. The name also reminds us of "the Scoringa" of Paul the Deacon. In regard to the Heruli, the most puzzling of all the tribes who invaded the Roman Empire, who filled such a notable place in the history of the 4th and 5th Century, and who apparently formed the great bulk of the army of Odoakar, I believe they were no other than Hords or Haeretha-men with a somewhat altered name. At least I know of no other tribe but the Heruli to which Jordanes' language can apply. He says of them: "*Qui inter omnes Scandiae nationes nomen sibi ob nimium proceritatem affectant praecipuum.*" (Jordanes Hist. Goth., ch. 3). Procopius has much to say of them as a seafaring race, and tells us how a branch of them, after their great migration, returned again to their old home in Scandinavia, and that they "settled near the Goths, the most numerous of the peoples of Thule." They probably were the tribe otherwise called Hirri.

Jordanes speaks of a King Rodulv, who visited Theodoric in Italy. A. Bugge would identify him with the King of the Heruli of the same name mentioned by Procopius, and with the Roadulv mentioned in the famous Röksetenn in East Gothland, who reigned over a number of tribes in South-Western Norway. Aruth was the name of another Chief of the Heruli. Bugge identifies it with the name Hord (See A. Bugge Die Wikinger, I. 16 and 17). The names in the list are corrupted almost beyond recognition, but something can be

made of them. There are the Tilae or people of Thelemark, and the Granii, no doubt the people who gave its name to the fylki of Grenland near Rogaland. In Agandziae, Zeuss and Mullenhof suggest, we have the same stock as the people of Agder, the former adding the phrase: "*Vielleicht nur in Gothischen Munde umgebildet mit participial endung.*" The Ethelrugi Zeuss would make the Rugians of the west part of Thelemark. The Arochiranni, Munch divides into Arochirani, and makes the latter a corruption of Hords and of Raumi, and Sygni, *i.e.*, the people of Sogn. (Zeuss Die Deutsche und der Nachbar-stamme, 507; Munch 1.124).

There still remains another famous stock, the Burgundians, who very probably came from this district. It is usual to derive them from the small Baltic island of Bornholm, where a colony of them doubtless existed, but like Rugen it was probably only a colony, and it is noteworthy that the chief centre in the fylki of South Mere was called Borgund.

A. Bugge condenses a graphic picture of the south-west districts of Norway occupied by the Hords and Rugians in early times, and especially Yaederen and the Hardanger fiord, the lowland in the south of Norway, enclosed by the sea on the one side and the fjeld on the other hand, which already in the bronze age, the early iron age and even earlier, was one of the most populous districts of Norway.

Its excellent soil made it the most fertile part of Norway, enabling it to support a large population. From Yaederen was the shortest passage to Jutland, and both districts seem at one time to have been closely united together. Thence also the passage was the shortest to

England. At the time of the great race migrations as is shown by its archæological remains, it was closely tied to the lands beyond the North Sea.

In the Viking time Hordaland and Rogaland were among the great foci of piracy in Norway, and were the homes of some of the greatest of the pirate chiefs—of Geirmund and his brother Hamund Heljarskinn and of Anund Trefot, who were descended from the old kings of Hordaland (A. Bugge, op. cit. I. 205).

In early times again, Yaederen was the special home of design in handicrafts and of carved Runic stones in Norway. They were doubtless learnt in the West, where the arts were much more developed. Certain stones found in the district, and notably the famous Kleppe stone, are markedly like those from the Isle of Man and the Hebrides. It was from the West that the shorter Runic stave which prevailed in Yaederen at one time and also other artistic ideas must have come, and were thence imported into East Gothland and the island of Gotland. It was in this district also that memorial stones began to be erected which were clearly inspired by those in the West, in the Hebrides and the Isle of Man. (A. Bugge, Die Wikinger, 208 and 209).

After the Viking time, Yaederen sank again into obscurity. Professor Sars is of opinion that Harald Fairhair, when he conquered Western Norway, laid a particularly heavy hand on this district so that it never recovered again during the Middle Ages. It occurs sometimes in the sagas of the time of Olaf Trygvesson and Olaf Haraldson, but no such heroes as Erling Skjalgsson of Sole, are then heard of. It must be remembered, however, that after Norway became united into a

kingdom, there was not the same scope for buccaneering on a great scale that there was in the earlier time.

Half, or Halv, was King of Hordaland at the beginning of the Viking time, and was the hero of a poem which now only survives in the Half's Saga. In later times, this poem partly inspired Frithiofs Saga and also Esaias Tegner in his famous story. Other poems also existed about other kings in Hordaland and Rogaland. Thus there has been preserved a strophe from one about the brothers Geirmund and Hamund Heljarskin above mentioned, who were so alike that their own mother could not distinguish them.

At the beginning of the Viking period its chiefs were apparently already intermarrying with Anglo-Saxon wives. A. Bugge identifies the Ljufvina of the Saga, who married Hjórz Halvsson, with the Anglo-Saxon name Leofwynn or Lewina, the female complement of the well-known Anglo-Saxon man's name Leofwine. He suggests that he lived at the beginning of the 9th Century, and was the father of Geirmund and his brother above named. In the Saga she is called the daughter of the King of Biarma, but this is clearly a mistake, for at this time the Norsemen had not found their way to the White Sea, and her name clearly shows she was an Anglo-Saxon. As we shall see, at the great battle of Hafursfiord, there were present Western warriors. Among them, perhaps, as Gustav Storm has suggested, was Olaf the White from Dublin. The poet Hornklofi, apostrophises the "Western swords." Among these were, no doubt, the swords inlaid with the names of English makers on which my friend Lorange wrote such an excellent monograph. The spears and white

shields (probably made of the linden or lime tree), of those who came to the great fight, were also doubtless importations.

A. Bugge also attributes one of the Eddaic poems to an author from Hordaland—namely, the splendid Hyndlâliod. Its author, Ottar, sprang from the old Kings of Hordaland, and was of the same stock as Geirmund Heljarskinn and on the mother's side was related to Hordakari, whose family is described by Snorri as the most famous one in Hordaland. To it Erling Skjalgsson belonged. Ottar became a Viking and resided in the West, and Bugge would identify him with Ottar the iarl, or Ottar the black, who is mentioned as raiding in England in 910—920 (Op. cit., 207).

So famous were the Hords, that Hordaland is the name by which Norway is first referred to in our own vernacular literature, and from it the first piratical attack of the Vikings was made on our English coasts The name occurs in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as Haeretha land (see A.S.C. MSS., D. & E. sub. ann., 787). By the Irish writers the name is given in the form Hirotha or Irruaith. (See Todd, Chronicle of the Gaedhill and Gael, xxxv. I., note).

Another and more usual name for Norway in the Irish writers was Lochlannoch or the land of the fiords or firths, a specially appropriate name for this coast of Norway, where two of the fylkies were known as North Fiord and South Fiord.

It is a pity that we have so little recorded about the local history of this district before the time of Harald Fairhair, for it is quite plain that the Norwegian raids upon the British Isles for a period of nearly eighty years after the one just

mentioned (the real date of which, as I long ago showed, was 793) down to the battle of Hafursfiord, were conducted in great part, if not altogether, by the men of Hordaland. These raids, as well as the story of the earlier settlements of the Norwegians in the West, are however, much too large a subject to be treated in this prologue, and need a special memoir to illustrate them.

When Harald comes on the scene we find him marrying the proud daughter of the King of Hordaland, who refused to wed him till he was master of all Norway. This shows the pretensions of the race at that time and also its wealth and prosperity.

The country occupied by the Hords was divided like that of the Thronds into a number of fylkies, each with its great Thor temple, its local Thing and its large Hall, the dwelling of its local ruler. These fylkies are thus enumerated by Munch, who gives the corresponding "county towns" where the institutions in question were planted. They were as follows :—

Name of Fylki.		Site of Hof or Thor's Temple.
Sunnmoera	fylki (*i.e.*, South Mere) ...	Borgund
Firdha	,, (*i.e.*, the Firths) ...	Gaulum
Sygna	,, (*i.e.*, Sogn)	Vik
Horda	,, ...	Gula and Mostri
Valdres	,, ...	Aurdal
Haddinjgjadali	,, ...	Ali
Rygjia	,, ...	Gönd
Egda	,, ('Agder)	Thruma

These different fylkis had a common centre at Gula in Hordaland, from which their code of laws

was named. Each, however, had its separate ruler. Although styled kings, they no doubt accepted the hegemony of the ruler of the dominant fylki of Hordaland, the king of which at the accession of Harald Fairhair was the latter's father-in-law, Eric.

Having dealt with the Thronds and the Hords, we will now turn to the third main division of the Norse people—namely, the Raums. The great area east of the Dovrefjelds and west of Sweden, and bounded on the north by huge forests and wastes, was in early times, so far as can be seen, peopled only by a very scanty population of Finns, divided into two sections with very different histories. A northern section occupying a hilly and not too fertile land, and a southern one comprising the fertile lands round the Christiania fiord and eastward as far as West Gothland. The former was known as Alfheim, and was so-called from the two great rivers, with their affluents, which watered it—namely, the Glommen or Rauma, and the Klar-elf or Gotha.

Munch identifies the Alfheimers with the Hilleviones of Pliny, the Helvikones of Tacitus, and the Heliouen of Ptolemey. Pliny says of them that they came from another world, which Munch explains as meaning that they were immigrants into the country where they were then living. He further argues that they came from the North and occupied a district once occupied by another people. With this he compares the legendary story preserved in the so-called Fundinn Noregr, about the origin of the Norway peoples. It tells us that Nor (the eponymos of the Northmen) had a son Rauma, who was settled in Alfheim, which included all the country through which the two rivers flowed. By Vergdis, the daughter of the giant Thrym, Rauma had three sons among

whom he divided his realm. Biorn took Raumdal; Brand, Gudbrandsdal; and Alf, Osterdal and all the country north of the Worm as far as the Gaut-Elf and the Raum-Elf, the modern Gota and Glommen He goes on to say that other sons of Raum settled in Hadaland, Haddingadal and Ringeriki, which he looks upon as later acquisitions of the Raums. The focus of their country in early times was apparently Raumariki, so-called from the river Rauma, and hence the race which peopled it were afterwards known as Raums, while the name Alfheim was restricted to the fylki, bounded on either side by the two great rivers just named, which had a different history. The Uplands, properly so called, comprised the fylkies or counties of Gudbrandsdal, Hedemark, Thoten, the southern part of Herdalen, Raumariki, and generally the country watered by the Rauma, the Logen, the Worm and Glommen rivers.

It is interesting to find some of the names surviving in this district in use as early as the time of Jordanes. He speaks of the Raumarici, the Ragnarici and the Fervir, (? corruption of Ferdir).

Munch gives us a list of these fylkies in the Uplands, with the sites of the great Thor temples, marking the central focus of each of them :—

Fylki.	Site of Temples.
Rauma fylki ...	Ullinshof at Ulleisakri
Hardha ,, ...	Thotmi
Ringariki ,, ...	Niardharhof and a temple at Grön
Heina ,, ...	Thorshof at Redahu (Vang), a hof at Cyjunir and another at Skaun
Eystridalir	Alfrhimir
Gudbrandsdalir ...	Frön near Hundthorp

Eystein the Great, whom I have spoken of above, was the ruler of the Uplands. I have already described his famous campaign against the Thronds. He had several sons namely Hogni and Frothi, Eystein the Younger, and Osmund. While Hedemark or Heathmark, was the centre of his realm and he was sometimes called King of Hedemark, he was also the ruler of the great fylkies of Hadeland, Thoten, Raumariki, Gudbrandsdal, and Osterdaler. He was in fact the great overlord of the Raumfolk, and doubtless belonged to a very old stock.

The fylkies, over which he ruled, were grouped round the great lake formerly called Miors and now known as Mjösen, the second largest lake in Norway, and containing a famous sacred island with a noted shrine of Thor. It was also known as the Watersend (Magnusson Heimskringla IV., 265), and stretches from Gudbrandsdal to Raumariki.

Hedemark is the district north of Raumariki, and bounded on the east by the Glommen and by the Wormen the river of Gudbrandsdal. Its name shows it was a frontier district or mark. Thoten, the modern Toten, was bounded on the east by the Mjösen lake and the Wormen, which separated it from Hedemark, on the south by Raumariki. Hadeland was situated immediately to the S.W. of Thoten and bordered the Randsford.

The districts which were occupied by the Thronds, Hords and Raums were not always conterminous, which accounts for their different customs, laws and dialect. Munch has shown very clearly what happened. It was similarly explained by Geiger in regard to Sweden. The earlier tribal settlements were doubtless once quite isolated. Each tribe having round it as a protection a

Mark or frontier, which, in the North really meant a wide stretch of impassable forest. As the population grew the forest was gradually reclaimed by industrious settlers—saeters they are called in the North. The Anglo Saxons called them saetas, as in Dorsaetas, Defnsaetas, etc. They increased in numbers, and gradually pushed on as an advanced guard of each tribe until the two streams met.

Munch tells us that their ancient homes are marked both in the North and South by differences in dialect, pointing to there having been a gap between them at one time. "A mark," in fact, that is a stretch of unoccupied land, separated in each case the great tribal areas. It was the best protection available in a wild country. The intervening gaps were afterwards filled up by immigrants from either side. In this way the upper parts of the so-called Osterdals were gradually encroached upon by settlers from Throndheim, and we find the people in them speaking the dialect of the Thronds. The Thrond speech extends to Nóros on the Upper Glommen, but south of that town not a trace of it is to be found. There they speak the Rauma dialect as far as Quickne, a place near where the Glommen and the Orka come together, and where there is another similar frontier. Munch says that it is clear the settling of this part of the country has come from two sides, and that the streams of population ran from Tonset in the north to the Lower Neendal in the south.

So much for the frontier between the Raums and the Thronds. The evidence points to similar results in the south-west between the former and the Hords. Munch shows that the inhabitants of the upper parts of the valleys to the east of

the mountains and south of Gudbrandsdal—*i.e.*, of Waldres and Hallingdal, are in dialect, appearance and habits much more like their neighbours on the other side of the mountains in Sogn and Hardanger, who were Hords, than with those of their neighbours in the lower part of the same valleys showing whence the latter came. On the other hand, their land in Hadeland, Sigdal and Ringariki, obviously received their first inhabitants from the west—*i.e.*, from the land of the Hords by the easy route of Fillefjeld Hemsedalsfjeld, the Aurlandsfjeld and the heights of Ustedal. This becomes more probable when we remember that Waldres and Hallingdal were in ancient times treated as part of the ancient Hord confederacy, and were subject to the jurisdiction of the Gulathing. In this district, therefore, we again have two streams of people—one from the West and the other from Raumdal. It is not only the valleys belonging to the water shed of the Drams Elv to which this applies. Thelemark is also divided into two portions separated by their dialect. That in the Eastern, is quite unlike that in the Western "setars," and it cannot be doubted that the two sections of Thelemarken got their population partly from the East—*i.e.*,, from Westfold, which was perhaps once called Thyle or Thule, and partly from the West from the land of the Rugians.

Munch has collected a good deal of evidence to show that the people of Rogaland, who were closely akin to the Hords and obeyed the Gula thing, also sent considerable colonies across the mountains northward and eastward; both Thelemark and Numedal afford proofs of this.

So much for the three great tribes which occupied Norway in early times. We still have to consider another district which had a distinct

history. South of the Uplands, comprising all the fertile lands round the Christiania fiord, and extending from Westfold in the West to West Gothland in the East inclusive, was apparently in early times occupied by a different race, and probably it was in fact dominated, as it was almost certainly civilised by the Goths, and Munch thus accounts, not only for the artistic work found in the graves in this district being so like that in the graves of East and West Gothland, but for the earliest Runic inscriptions of this same district being written in Gothic runes and in the Gothic speech. He is very emphatic in this matter and says that one of the Gothic monuments has been found even west of Westfold in Thelemark. He also quotes the occurrence of "mark" in the latter name, and in Vingul-mark as due to Gothic influence.

In later times, as we shall see, there is reason to think that a portion of it at least formed a part of the realm ruled over by Signrd Ring. the heroic chief of the Skioldung race. and by his ancestors. Eric, the Swedish Ring, claimed that Signrd had ruled the Raum realm and Westfold, out to Grenmar, Vingulmark, and thence away South. (Saga of Harald Fairhair, ch. xiv.)

Round the Tyrifiord in South-Western Norway was a noted centre of wealth and culture. Ringariki in this district, like Yaederen further west. is noted for the number and beauty of its monuments and the carved work on them, and it was clearly one of the great centres of culture in the Viking time. The very rich country west of the Christiania fiord, the Viken of the Norsemen, was the focus of their wealth, enterprise and artistic skill. Near Hole, not far from the modern Svangstraudvei they found a valuable material for these monuments in the red sandstone

which occurs there. Thence they were carried to the neighbouring districts. On these stones we have representations of hawking scenes and other subjects, in which human figures occur, and which are decorated with intertwined snakes and also with acanthus leaves. A. Bugge mentions such stones from Tandberg in Ringariki, from Strand in Upper Hallingdal, from Vang in Valdres, from Dynna in Hadeland and Alstad in Toten. The greater part of them are carved from the sandstone of Hole. This district was divided up, like the rest of Norway, at the time we are chiefly interested in now, into a number of fylkies. Those occupying the district collectively known as Viken, comprised :—

Name of Fylkis.	Site of Thor's Temple.
Grœna fylki.	Lillaheradhr (?)
Vestfold	Skiringssal and Saeheimi
Vingulmark	Osloarheradhi and Tunum
Alfheimr	Konungahellu (?)

As we shall see later, the first two were united under one ruler, and were named Westfold, which became the nucleus of the later kingdom of Norway. To the origin and growth of this we will now turn.

NOTE I.—It is interesting to remember that Adam of Bremen in regard to Thor has the phrase : "*Thor praesedit in aere qui tonitrus et fulmina, ventos imbresque serena et fruges gubernat.*"

NOTE II.—Munch has an interesting paragraph about the particle rik or ric which terminates certan names in South Norway. He says: In the old German world we never find the designation *rigi* or riki except in the case of conquered districts or those from which the former inhabitants have been dispossessed. Thus, Frankrige, France ; Myrcena-rica, Mercia ; Beornica-rige, Bernicia ; Deorarige,

Deira, West Seaxenarige, Wessex, etc. In Norway we have the fylkis of Raumariki, Ranrike, and Ringariki pointing to these districts having been conquered from others. Their conquerors must have come from the south-east, *i.e.*, from the land of the Goths, whose north-west frontier was doubtless Hedemark, while Vingulmark points to another marchland.

NOTE III.—In the Ynglinga Saga, c. 49, we read that Halfdane Huitbein was buried at Skaereidh in Skiringesal. These two names, says Munch, correspond with the Scoringa and Scoeri of Paul Warnefrid. the historian of the Lombards. He suggests that the Winili, as the latter were originally called, first made their way to Vingulmark, and thence to Skiringesal and Rygiarbit, whence with the Scyri and Rugians they fought with the Wendles (the Vandals), op. cit. 1, 113.

THE
ANCESTORS OF HARALD HAARFAGRE.

Before I enter into the main part of my subject, I must lay down certain postulates which it is necessary to remember, and which, it is possible, may not meet with universal acquiescence. In the first place I hold that among the Norsemen such a thing as a parvenu ruler or chief was unknown. Among no race was loyal attachment to the sacred stock (to which alone the kings and chiefs belonged) more marked. The slaughter of particular chiefs was common enough, but this was followed by their being replaced by others of the same family and blood. The families which had this hereditary privilege were deemed to be the direct descendants of the famous companions of Odin, the Asirs, or Anses, and to them, and them alone, belonged the privilege of ruling.

In the next place we cannot help thinking that the amount of disintegration in the communities

which held Scandinavia in early days has been a good deal exaggerated by the recent critical historians. It is true that before the end of the 8th Century there was not the cohesion in the government that there was in later times, and that the supreme chief was not the autocrat he afterwards became. His authority was considerably distributed, and there were a number of so-called district, or-fylki, kings who divided the lands among them, each controlling his own patrimony; but it seems to me that there was, nevertheless, a very distinct acceptance of the feudal and patriarchal notions by which the head of the house, the high priest of the community, was *de facto*, as well as *de jure*, the supreme ruler of all. I take it that the community was, in this respect, organised very much as a Scotch clan or an Irish sept was, with the senior chief and many subordinate and semi-independent ones. The district chiefs all belonged to the same race as all the chiefs of the Macleods or Campbells theoretically do: all having a common ancestor, all obeying at critical times, and at all times acknowledging as their head, the Lord of Dunvagan or the Macallum Mor. Thus we find that when the great chief had a mortal struggle, the various branches of the house gathered round him at his summons, and joined their ships to his. The amount of independence exercised by the district kings no doubt varied with the locality. In districts like Western Norway where every fiord is separated by difficult barriers from the next one, or where the intercourse either by land or water was difficult, and probably intermittent only, the maximum of independence would be reached. There the little community and, in many cases, the isolated farm would be practically independent.

The same rule, caused by the same circumstances, held good in the Peloponnesus in ancient times and in the promontory of Sorrento in mediæval ones. In more fertile and thickly peopled districts, which were more accessible and more valuable, the authority of the supreme chief was doubtless more marked and his visits more frequent: the association of liberty with a rugged country is well explained in such instances at least.

These postulates are reasonable and generally accepted, and are both supported by ample evidence. Thus, if we turn to the earliest poetic literature of the North, the "Traveller's Tale" and "Beowulf," we are struck by finding the Scandinavian district divided into a number of so-called "gaus," or provinces, each one occupied by a separate clan, as in Ireland and Celtic Scotland in mediæval times; each clan subject to a royal stock, all belonging to the sacred caste tracing descent from Odin and his Asirs, and thus having, for its chiefs at least, a common pedigree. A few lines of the "Traveller's Tale" will exhibit this division into communities, each with its royal caste. I take the following at haphazard :—

Sigehere longest
Ruled the Sea Danes.
Hnaef the Höcings,
Helm the Wulfings,
Wald the Wöings,
Wöd the Thyrings,
Saeferth the Sycs,
The Sweons Ongendtheov,
Sceafthere the Ymbers,
Sceafa the Longbeards, &c., &c.

Sedgefield's edition of Widsith lines, 28-32.

It is not my present purpose to examine these clans and their ruling stocks in detail. Our story

begins at a much later stage, when the petty communities were being consolidated into larger kingdoms by the absorption of several by the more vigorous and ambitious among them. This consolidation had a very potent effect indeed on the social condition of the north of Europe. Denmark and Sweden were the first to feel its effects, and were presently followed by Norway. Norway's consolidation occurred just at the beginning of its written history, and, in fact, its real history begins with this consolidation. The movement took place under the leadership of the royal stock of the Ynglings, which, if we are to credit the very reasonable tradition to be presently referred to, was expelled from Sweden by the Scioldungs. We must always remember that the first kings of Norway were Swedes and not Norwegians. This revolution is described for us in the last chapter of the Ynglinga Saga, the general truth of which I cannot see the smallest reason to doubt. This consolidation of power in the North, and especially the internecine struggle between the Scioldungs and the Ynglings just referred to, more than aught else caused, as I believe, the vast impulse given to piracy and foreign colonisation in the ninth and tenth centuries, and converted what had previously been, so far as our facts point, a peaceable, trading, stay-at-home folk into an army of plunderers which assailed every part of the European seaboard. It was as exiles and expatriated chieftains that many of the Norsemen emigrated from their rugged homes, and the migration only ceased when the rival stocks of sacred blood had settled down into what became their normal distribution. Before entering on our main subject we must say something about our authorities.

In a paper written many years ago on the early history of Sweden, I urged that the Ynglinga and the Scioldunga Saga (of which last we have fragments remaining, the most important being the well-known Sogubrot) were probably written by one person, and I suggested that this person was Snorri, the author of the Heimskringla. Since writing that paper I have had the advantage of reading the admirable prolegomena to the Sturlunga Saga, written by my friend, Professor Vigfussion, in which I found my main contention confirmed—namely, that the early part of the Heimskringla and the original draft of the Scioldunga were by one hand. Vigfusson has, however, I think, shown very clearly that the author of the two in their early form was not Snorri, as I urged, but his predecessor, Ari Thorgilsson, styled Frothi, or the Learned, who was born in 1067 and died in 1148, and who was doubtless the first Norse writer who wrote prose history. One of the books he is known to have written was called the "Konunga-bok," or Kings' Book. In regard to it, Vigfusson tells us that the superscription of the Codex Frisianus has the words, "Here beginneth the Book of Kings according to the records of the Priest Ari, the Historian: opening from the threefold division of the world, which is followed by the History of all the Kings of Norway." To this statement is prefixed a short introduction containing a life of Ari. The words quoted can only mean, either that the following Sagas are Ari's "Book of Kings," or that they are derived therefrom. The discrepancy between the mythology of the Ynglinga and the Prose Edda (which was Snorri's own work) may be noted as some confirmation of this view" (Op. cit.,

xxix). Vigfusson concludes that Ari's "Konunga-bok" probably ended with the death of King Harald Sigurdson, commonly called Harald Hardrada. His work has been embodied in and forms the greater part of the Heimskringla; and it is nearly certain, as Vigfusson says, that the first book of the Heimskringla—namely, the Ynglinga Saga, with which we have alone to deal here—is Ari's own work, with slight, if any, alterations.

Let us examine the Ynglinga a little more closely. In the preface to the Heimskringla we read, "The lives and times of the Yngling race were written from Thiodwolf's relation, enlarged afterwards by the accounts of intelligent people." The relation referred to was a poem written by Thiodwolf the Wise of Hvin, a valley west of Lindnesnaes. Thiodwolf composed this poem, which was called the "Ynglingatal," or Yngling-tale—*i.e.*, the list or succession of the Ynglings—at the instance of Rognvald, called the Mountain High, who was first cousin to Harald Haarfagre, at whose court Thiodwolf was the chief Scald, or poet. Thiodwolf was on very friendly terms with Harald Haarfagre himself, and became the foster-father of his son Gudrod, who was drowned because he would persist in sailing out in stormy weather contrary to the advice of the old seer (Id., i. 304-5). This enables us to fix the date when Thiodwolf flourished and wrote his poems on the Descent of the Ynglings as the earlier part of the tenth century A.D. He is one of the oldest of the Scalds whose composition has come down to us and who treated his subject historically.

Vigfusson was the first to analyze the versicles of Thiodwolf, and to show that, as we have them,

they are very corrupt, owing to their long passage through many fragile memories, instead of being written down, and owing also to the language having altered and become largely obsolete and unintelligible and been misunderstood.

Fortunately the character and structure of Northern poetry, and especially its rhythm and alliteration, make it possible to restore it when corrupted with some certainty, and it has been done with marvellous insight by Vigfusson, in this case. He has shewn that we have only a fraction of the poems preserved in the versicles as we have them. I have not noticed the fact anywhere, but it is curious that in almost every case the only versicle which is preserved about each king is the last one—*i.e.*, that reporting his death and place of burial; all the rest are gone.

The poem, in fact, had no doubt become largely quite obscure and incomprehensible after the people in the North had thrown away their old gods and their old modes of thought, and the versicles that were preserved in a corrupt form were doubtless kept alive merely as a convenient *memoria technica* to preserve in a ready way a record of the catalogue of the early rulers. Originally we can hardly doubt that this poem was a genuine historical epic. It was matched in the early poetry of Ireland by similar poems, one famous one of which is still extant, dating from almost the same time. It is almost certain that in this case the poem of Thiodwolf was intact in its original form in the time of Ari Frothi, and that he really translated it into prose in the vernacular of his day. This was supplemented by certain additions from tradition or early songs, and we doubtless have its contents substantially

preserved for us as incorporated in the Ynglinga Saga, with some further additions made by Snorri, and notably the early section about Odin and other gods and including the first thirteen chapters, none of which, it will be noted, is marked by a versicle.

Vigfusson has argued very reasonably that in Ari's original Ynglinga none of the versicles were, in fact, inserted, for they repeat the same story in part, and confuse the narrative, but that they were added by Snorri, who broke up what remained of the poem and distributed it in Ari's narrative. This is strongly supported by the corrupt state of the text of these versicles as we find them in the Heimskringla.

It seems plain, however, that we have in the prose part of the Ynglinga a perfectly reputable historical document of the 11th Century, based on a quite respectable historical poem of the early part of the 10th Century, that is of an approximate date to that of the composition of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, before which the late Mr. Freeman, who poured contempt on what he called "mere sagas," used to do obeisance night and morning.

In addition to the edition of the Ynglinga in the Heimskringla we have an independent witness about it in the so-called "Historia Norvegiae." It only now exists in a Scotch MS. of the 15th century, but was composed much earlier, since it is quoted in the composition known as "Agrip," and was therefore composed before 1190. It was written in Latin by a Norwegian. The earlier part, as my friend Gustav Storm showed, is based upon the Ynglingatal before it was sophisticated by Snorri's addition (Storm's "Snorre Sturlassön's Historieskrivning, etc.," 22 and 23).

Beside this we have another tradition, doubtless also derived from Thiodwolf's poem, if not from the "Historia Norvegiæ" in the accouut of the Upland Kings, by Hauk Erlendson, who was born inNorway. He is named as Lawman of Iceland in 1294 and also Lawman of the Gulathing of Norway, and died in 1334 (Vigfusson, preface to the Sturlunga Saga C 2, x, 1).

With the earlier part of the Ynglinga Saga, before chapter xxxviii., we have nothing to do at present. We begin with the death of Ingiald Illradi, or Evil-heart, who, by his conquests and diplomacy, became sole king of Sweden. He filled the canvas with a considerable figure, and eventually was burned to death in a fire lit by himself while entertaining some of his underkings, having already destroyed all the rest—a notable and terrible holocaust. Whatever may may be the case in regard to the earlier parts of Thiodwolf's story, I cannot help thinking that from the time of Ingiald, who was but six generations removed from him, the tradition was perfectly lively and reliable. In our own day a tradition ranging over six generations and extending considerably over a century is a very ordinary occurrence, especially about famous characters who have taken part in history. Many of our own acquaintances repeat stories told them by their grandfathers which they heard from theirs, and which are quite reliable. But in our sophisticated society this is accidental only. The introduction of contemporary writing and of printing has done away with the necessity for preserving a special aptitude for the preservation of a *viva voce* tradition. Before contemporary chronicles were introduced such traditions were preserved in songs and recited sagas by schools

of Scalds, whose continuity and wide dispersal made their report most valuable, since they checked one another. They took the part of State historiographers, and the limits of a possible tradition reaching back without written records were greatly extended. At all events there can be no question that within six generations such traditions, when stated *bonâ-fide*, and when not obviously fables, are worthy of considerable credit.

Our present purpose is with Ingiald's successors, and not with himself. We are told by Ari that he married Gauthild, the daughter of Algaut, the son of Gautrek the Bounteous and grandson of Gaut, from "whom Gothland took its name." Gauthild's mother was Alof, daughter of Olaf Skygne or the Farsighted, king in Nerike. (Ynglinga Saga, xxxiii. and xlvi.). Munch argues that the repetition of the particle "Gaut" in these names, the introduction of Olaf Skygne, (who with Gautrek the Mild are named as contemporaries of Vikar and Starkad in the Gautrek Saga), and the connection of several of the names in form with Gothland, points to a mythical origin to the whole. This rather points, in my view, to Ari having followed the practice of Saxo Grammaticus in connecting names of a quite probable authenticity with others of the same sound; and thus rounding off a truncated pedigree by a bold leap into the realms of myth where eponymous names such as Gaut abound. To proceed with our story, however. By Gauthild, Ingiald had two children—a daughter, Asa, whom he married to Gudrod, king of Scania, and who brought about the death of her husband and his brother Halfdane, and eventually perished with her father. Beside his daughter Asa, Ingiald had a son, Olaf, who lived

with his mother's foster-father Bove, in West Gothland, where he was brought up with Saxi, Bove's son, who was surnamed Flettir (Ynglinga Saga, xliii). Saxi Flettir is named by Saxo Grammaticus in conjunction with Sali Gothus as fighting in the Bravalla struggle on the side of Ringo (*i.e.*, of Sigurd Ring). He brings them both from the northern part of the river Albis (*i.e.*, the Elf *par excellence*, the Gothelf). In the fragment of the Scioldunga Saga called Sogubrot, the two are respectively styled Saxi Flettir and Sali Gautski, and are also brought from the north of the Gothelf, and therefore from Alfheim. The conjunction of two such different authorities, as are the author of the Sogubrot and of Saxo in this statement is notable and interesting. "Flettir," says Müller, is an "appellative, and means a cleaver" ("diffisor," Müller's *Saxo*, i. 381, note 5 f. Magnuson equates the name with that of Fletcher Heims. iv. 174). The Saxi Flettir of the two notices is no doubt the same person. Müller and Munch have argued that a foster-brother of Olaf's could not have fought at Bravalla; but this is by no means so clear, for, as we shall see presently, Olaf's grandson outlived the victor at Bravalla, Sigurd Ring, who, again, lived for many years after that fight. But to resume.

The Ynglinga Saga tells us that when Olaf heard of his father Ingiald's death he went, with those men who chose to follow him, to Nerike—*i.e.*, the Nether rik, or Nether realm—situated in the western part of Sweden it abuts on the north-eastern corner of Lake Wenern and is bounded on the west by Wermeland. He fled thither because the Swedes had risen with one accord to drive out the family of Ingiald and all its supporters. His maternal grandmother, as

we have seen, came thence. Munch suggests that as Olaf was brought up in Gothland, and as the statement of the Saga seems to imply that he had not returned to his home in Sweden when his father died, that his followers were in fact Gothlanders. (Munch, Hist. of Norway, ii. 107, note 2). "When the Swedes heard where he was, he could not remain in Nerike, but went on westward with his followers through the forest to a river which comes from the north and falls into the Wenern lake and is called the Klar river. There they sat themselves down—turned to, and burnt and cleared the woods. Soon there were great districts, with settlements in them, which were collectively called Wermeland, and we read that a good living was to be made there. When it was told of Olaf in Sweden that he was clearing the forests, they laughed at his proceedings and called him Tretelia, or the Tree-feller. There were many people who fled the country from Sweden on account of King Ivar, who had meantime come from Scania, and had supplanted the family of Ingiald and become ruler at Upsala, and when they heard that King Olaf had got good lands in Wermeland, so great a number came there to him that the land could not support them." Here we have detailed, in neither unintelligible nor incredible form, the first colonisation on a considerable scale of the western and remote province of Sweden called Wermeland.

The Klar Elf, or Klar river, of this notice was the Gauta Elf, and was also known in early times as Eystrielfr; in a document of the 13th century it is called Gautelfr (See Aal's Snorri, p. 31, note to chap. xlvi). Wermeland probably merely means the warm land. Geijer says it was a debatable territory between the

Swedes and Norwegians—"*Inter Normanniam et Svioniam Vermelani*," says Adam of Bremen—subject to either kingdom alternately. The early settlers kept to the fertile dales along the rivers in the Western part of Wermeland, between the dales were forests and mountains; the whole of Eastern Wermeland was a wilderness. The settled districts were separated from Norway by the Eidha Skoge, or Waste Wood, whose name survives in the parish of Eda in Wermeland and Eidskog in Norway, through which the road into that country has long passed. Towards Gothland forests were the boundary both on the eastern and western side of Lake Wenern. Above Wermeland the Skridfins or Finn Laps still wandered in the 11th Century; the name of Dalecarlia was not then known. (Geijer, Eng. Trans. 19). Northern Wermeland must have been at the time we are describing very scantily peopled, although, as we know from the archæological remains that are still found there, its southern part had been partially settled long before, and, in fact, Snorri suggests this when he makes Olaf's foster-father come from there.

Let us on with our story. We are told that Olaf got a wife called Solva or Solveig, the daughter of Halfdane Guldtand, or Gold-Tooth, the son of Solve Solveson, who was the son of Solve the Old, who first settled in Soloer (Ynglinga Saga, xlvi.). Munch argues, reasonably, in regard to these names that they are artificial, and that their common particle "Sol" has some connection with Soleyer, whose etymology is still unknown. Saxo explains it as meaning "insulæ solis," islands of the sun; but this, says Munch (ii. 106, note 1), cannot be so, since in ancient times the name was written Soleyar, and not Sóleyyar. The district

lay immediately west of Wermeland, and between it and the Glommen. Sólöyar, or Sóleyar, now called Soloer (says Aal), although forming no part of Raumariki, was yet included in the Rauma fylki (*i.e.*, the gau, or county, of Rauma). It formed a long narrow strip, bounded on the east by Wermeland, on the north by the so-called Alfrhiem's Herad (surviving in the parish of Elverum), on the west by the river Glommen, and on the south by Alfheim and Raumariki (*see* Aal's map). It has been suggested that the early chiefs of Soloer had their seat at the house called Kongshaug, in the parish of Grinder, which in the Red Book and in charters of the fourteenth century was called Konungshof (Aal, op. cit., 32 note).

By Solva, Olaf had two sons, Ingiald and Halfdane. The latter was brought up in Soloer, in the house of his grandfather Solve, and was called Halfdane Huitbein—*i.e.*, White Leg (Ynglinga Saga, xlvi.). We have described the overpeopling of Wermeland by the immigrant Swedes. "There then came dear times and famine," says our author, "which they ascribed to their king—as the Swedes used always to reckon good or bad crops for or against their kings." The distress was attributed to Olaf's neglecting the sacrifices; they therefore gathered their troops and surrounded his house, and burnt him in it, offering him as a sacrifice to Odin for good crops. Thiodwolf's verses describing this are as follows :—

> The temple destroyer* by the bay,
> The corpse of Anleiff the tree-hewer (swallowed),
> And the ember hot Forniot's son†
> Dissolved the frame of the Swedish king,
> So the Scion of Upsala's glorious race
> Disappeared long ago.‡

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* *i.e.*, the fire. † Forniot was the father of Logi fire.
‡ Vigfusson and Yorke-Powell, *Corpus*, etc., i. 249.

It is said that the haugr, or mound, in which his remains were buried is still to be seen at Säflebro, in the Herad of Naes, not far from the Wenern (Aal's *Snorri*, note to chap. xlvi.). The sacrificing of the king in a time of calamity was widely recognised in early times in the North. Geijer tells us that sometimes the shedding of noble blood was deemed requisite, even that of the nearest and dearest. In the appendix to the old Law of Gothland we read, "In that time when men believed in groves and mounds, in holy places and palings, then sacrificed they to the heathen gods their sons and daughters and their cattle, with meat and drink." Adam of Bremen reports how a Christian had seen at Upsala seventy-two dead bodies of immolated men and animals hanging in the sacred grove of the temple at Upsala, which shone with gold, and in the interior of which were set up the images of Odin, Thor, and Freya.

In regard to this saga it will be seen that Thiodwolf's verses do not say anything about Olaf having been burnt alive, but merely report the burning of his body on the shore of the lake, as was usual in the case of all royal funerals. The "Historia Norvegiæ" distinctly tells us that he died full of years in Sweden, and says nothing about his tragical end as reported in the Ynglinga Saga. Its words are, "Olavus diu et pacifice functus regno, plenus dierum obiit in Suecia" (See Storm, op. cit. 110.) Hauk Erlendson also says that Olaf ruled over Wermeland till his old age; nor does he say anything about his having been sacrificed. (Munch, ii. 106, note 2). The phrase in the verse about the burning of the body has been probably mistaken by the author of the prose setting. Olaf Tretelia, as king of Wermeland, is mentioned in Egils Saga

(Op. cit. ch. 73), one of the most important and earliest of the Sagas. He is also named in the "Langfedgatal" as the son of Ingiald Illradi, while an "Olavus Wermorum regulus" is mentioned by Saxo (Op. cit. i. 370); but, as usual with him, in connection with names from heroic times, and in a story full of anachronisms. As the tale is quaint, it may not be inappropriate to interpolate it here as a folktale only. It is introduced to show the prowess of Olo, whom he makes the son of Sigurd by a sister of Harald Hildetand, and assigns him a special *rôle* during the latter's reign. *Inter alia*, he says that at that time the insolent conduct of the brothers Scatus and Hiallus had reached such a point of wantonness, that they took virgins of remarkable beauty away from their parents and violated them. It came about that, intending to carry off Esa, daughter of *Olavus the ruler of the Wermii*, they announced to her father that, if he was unwilling for her to submit to their desires, he must fight them, either personally or by means of some champion, in defence of his child. When Olo heard this, rejoicing in the opportunity of fighting, he went to the house of Olavus, having first borrowed a rustic dress as a disguise. He was sitting among those at the end of the table, and seeing the distress of the king's family, he entered into conversation with his son, and inquired why the rest looked so sad. The latter told him that, unless some defender speedily intervened, his sister's chastity would be violated by some very formidable warriors. Olo then inquired further what reward would be given to the man who should risk his life for the virgin. Olavus, being pressed by his son on the point, answered that his daughter would be ceded to the champion, an answer which greatly aroused Olo's desire to

hazard the danger. The maiden, however, used always to examine the faces of her father's guests near at hand and attentively, with a light, in order that she might form a better idea of their manners and dress. It is also believed that she could discriminate, from the lineaments of the countenance, the stock of those she examined, and, by mere sagacity of sight, distinguish whether a person was of high descent or no.

When she drew near to Olo, who, as we have seen, was disguised, she viewed him with a very searching examination, was seized with horror at the unwonted expression of his eyes, and fell down almost insensible. When her strength gradually returned and her spirit revived, she again tried to examine the youth, but again fell down and lay as if insensible. She tried again a third time to raise her closed and downcast eyes. Not only her eyes but her feet also now failed, and she again suddenly fell. When Olavus saw this he asked why she had thus thrice fallen. She replied that she was struck with horror at the truculent expression of the stranger; while she asserted that he was of royal descent, and that if he prevented the ravishers from carrying out their purpose she would deem him quite worthy of her embraces. Olo, who had his face muffled up with a woollen wrapper, was now requested by all to put aside this veil and let them see his face. Thereupon, he bade them all to be more cheerful and to lay aside their grief, uncovered his face and drew the eyes of all upon him in admiration of his remarkable beauty —for he had yellow shining hair. He took care, however, to keep his eyes concealed by his eyelids, lest they should strike fear into the beholders. The guests were so elated that they danced, and the courtiers leaped with joy. "In this way the

kindly promise of the guest drove away the common fear of all." In the midst of these proceedings Hiallus and Scatus came up with ten slaves as if to carry off the maiden straightway. This threw everything into tumult and confusion. They challenged the king to fight, or surrender his daughter; but Olo at once stopped their boasting by accepting the challenge, making one condition only, that no combatant should approach another behind, but that they should only fight face to face. He succeeded in slaying the twelve with his sword named Lägthi, and thus accomplished a unique exploit. The place where the fight took place was an island which stood in the middle of a marsh, and not far from it, says Saxo, is a village which has a memento of this struggle, bearing conjointly the names of the brothers Hiallus and Scatus. Olo now married the maiden, and by her had a son Omund. (Saxo, ed. Müller, 370-72). This story, like many others in Saxo, is full of anachronism. Sniallus and Hiallus (Snialli and Hialli) are mentioned in the "Mantissa" appended to the "Landnama-bok" as the sons of King Vatnar, and are made contemporaries, not of Harald Hildetand, but of Harald Hardrada. (Op. cit. 388). They are also named in the history of King Half. (Fornald, Sögur, ii. 28. See Notæ Uberiores to Müller's Saxo, 215-16).

The Saga reported by Saxo must be treated, like his other tales, as another instance where he has fathered a famous heroic tale upon well-known names. At all events, the fact that he associates his Olaf, the petty king of the Wermelanders, with figures of the mythical cycle, and that his chronology is entirely arbitrary, is not enough to remit the quite reasonable story told as in the Ynglinga to the land of mere legend; for we

must remember that Thiodwolf lived well within the reach of a lively tradition about Olaf Tretelia. To return to the Ynglinga.

"Those of the Swedes who had more understanding, found that the dear times proceeded from there being a greater number of people on the land than it could support, and that the king could not be blamed for this. They took the resolution, therefore, to cross the Eida forest with all their men." This was the Eydaskog, already named, which formed the march between Sweden and Norway. "The emigrants, having crossed the forest, arrived unexpectedly in the district of Soloer, where they put to death King Solve, and took prisoner his grandson, Olaf the Tree-feller's son, Halfdane Huitbein or Whiteleg (who had been brought up there). They made him their king. He thereupon subdued Soloer" (Id. xlviii.).

We are told in the fiftieth chapter of the same Saga that Olaf's other son, Ingiald, succeeded his father in Wermeland. The real story seems to be that the revolution which had taken place at Upsala, by which the old royal stock there was driven out, led, as was very natural, to a considerable migration, voluntary or otherwise. The emigrants followed the steps of their expatriated chiefs westward to Wermeland. Finding no elbow-room there, they left Ingiald in charge of that province which had been his father's, and went onward across the forest to join Halfdane Huitbein in Soloer. Hauk Erlendson, in his account of the Upland Kings, says nothing of Halfdane having killed King Solve, nor of the Swedish expedition to Soloer, but merely that he succeeded his grandfather there; and it may be that the account in the Ynglinga has been to this extent coloured.

Halfdane Huitbein, says the Ynglinga, became a great king. He was, in fact, the real founder of the Norwegian Monarchy. Munch, who is disposed (as I think) capriciously to question the connection of Olaf Tretelia with the stock of the later Westfold kings, says of Halfdane Huitbein that *his* historical existence is not to be doubted. (Op. cit. ii. 107). He is made the son of Olaf Tretelia in the "Langfedgatal," and in Hauk Erlendson's account of the Upland chiefs. The "Landnama-bok" makes Halfdane Huitbein the ancestor of the famous king of Dublin, Olaf the White. (Op. cit. 106). He married Asa, a daughter of Eystein the Severe, otherwise called the Great, king of the Uplands, by whom he had two sons, Eystein and Gudrod. (Ynglinga, xlix.).

Halfdane's father-in-law, Eystein the Great, was a much more important figure than has generally been supposed. A large part of the various districts peopled by the Rauma clan were united in obeying a common code of laws known as the Eidsivathing, and in being, as we have seen, subject to Eystein the Great, for we presently find his sons and grandson having a fierce struggle with the descendants of Halfdane for the districts which the latter had appropriated; among these we are expressly told was Hedemark, where Eystein had his court. Eystein was, in fact, master of all Norway east of the Dovrefelds, except Westfold, Alfheim, and Vingulmark. He thus ruled over the so-called Uplands, including Hedemark, Thoten, Raumariki, Hadeland, Ringariki, &c. In addition to this he also, as I have described in the Prologue, made a famous conquest west of the Dovrefelds. It is clear, therefore, that Halfdane made a great alliance when he married his daughter, and this distinction he doubtless owed to his ancient and unmatched

pedigree. Halfdane Huitbein's heritage in the district of Soloer was doubtless too narrow for the Swedish emigrants who had joined him from Upsala, who were probably among the most martial men of his country, and ready enough to assist an adventurous chieftain. During the life of his father-in-law Halfdane, Eystein apparently remained quiet and it was only on his death that he began his conquests of which we have only very meagre details. We are told that he first proceeded with an army to Raumariki, which he plundered and subdued (Ynglinga, xlviii.).

Raumariki lay west of Soloer, and formed with it the Rauma fylki, the two being only separated by the river Glommen. It was doubtless settled from an early date, and it is probable that the original people of Soloer came from Raumland.

In addition to Raumariki, Halfdane subdued a great part of Hedemark, Thoten and Hadeland (Id., xlix.). Hedemark is the district north of of Raumariki, and bounded on the east and west by the Glommen and the Vormen, the river of Gudbrandsdal. Its name shows it was a frontier district. (For Thoten see ante p. 29). Hadeland was situated immediately to the south-west of Thoten, and traversed by the Rands-fiord. Hadeland, or Hadaland, according to the Sagas was so named from one of the grandsons of the mythical Nor, called Haud, or Höd, and according to an obscure report, he lived at a place in Thingelstad Sogn, near which there is still a mound known as Kongshaug. These various districts, as I believe, were conquered by Halfdane from his own brothers-in-law, the sons of Eystein the Great of the Uplands. It was doubtless from this conquest that Halfdane was called the King of the Uplands. (Landnamma bok ed., Vigfusson,

ii., 144). This did not include all his kingdom, however. In chapter xxxvii. of the Ynglinga Saga, we are told that his son Eystein married Hilda, daughter of Eric Agnarson, who was king in Westfold. King Eric died without leaving a son during Halfdane's life, whereupon he and his son took possession of Westfold.

The story shews that Halfdane only acquired Westfold in his old age, at all events after his son's marriage.

The district of Westfold is described in a work entitled "Regesta Geographica in scripta Islandorum, etc.," (Royal Ant. Soc., vol. xii., Copenhagen, 1846). In it we read that Westfold was the part of Norway bordering the Christiania fiord on the west. It was bounded on the east by Vingulmark and Fiordis, on the west by Grönalandr or Grönafulki, and on the north by Ringariki, and in ancient days comprehended, beside the modern governments of Iarlsbergen and Laurvigen, the districts bordering them on the north, namely, the parishes of Sandveren, Ekeren, and Liericum. Westfold was divided into two parts, Upsio (Ofsi or Upsi), and Westmare, the former in the north, the latter in the south, and near the sea. Tunsberg, one of the most ancient emporia of Norway, was situated there (Kruse Chron. Nort., 69, 70).

Munch argues that the early inhabitants of Westfold belonged to the same Rauma clan as the folk in the neighbouring gaus (Op. cit., i. 104). The famous code known as Eidsivathing's law had authority there as in the country of the Raumas (Id., ii. 168), and it would naturally have formed part of Eystein the Great's dominions, and probably of those of his ancesters; but at this time we are expressly told in the Ynglinga that

Eric, who was king in Westfold, was the son of Agnar, who was the son of Sigtryg, king in Vendil. The question arises, where was Vendil. Some have suggested Vingulmark; but this is quite out of the question: Vingulmark is always so called in the Heimskringla, and it was ruled by quite a different set of kings. There is no place in Norway or Sweden answering to the name Vendil, and we must cross over the water to Jutland to find it. The part of Jutland, north of the Limfiord is still called Wendsyssel; Syssel or Sysla being a well-known early Norse land-division, of which several examples may be found in Aal's map; the inhabitants also call it Vendilsbyggiar. It seems to me that this is the Vendil referred to as the homeland of the early Westfold kings. On turning to the thirty-first chapter of the Ynglinga Saga, we read how when King Frode of Denmark was away from home, Ottar, the ruler at Upsala, set sail for Denmark and wasted the land. *Inter alia*, he sailed north to Jutland, entered the Limfiord, and plundered in Vendil. The Danes collected an armament; a battle was fought in the great inlet; Ottar was killed, and his body given to the wild beasts and ravens. The victors then made the figure of a crow in wood, sent it to Sweden, saying he had been no better than that, whence he was called Ottar Vendilcrow. (Ynglinga, xxxi. and Aal's note). In Thiodwolf's verse, which is appended to the notice of this Ottar, Vendsyssel is replaced by Vendli.

There can be little doubt, therefore, that, according to the Ynglinga Saga, Westfold, for some time before Halfdane Huitbein took possession of it, was ruled by a dynasty which came from Jutland, and which doubtless had authority on both sides of the water. This introduces some curious subjects

of speculation. Such a dynasty was no doubt an intrusive one in Westfold, and the authority it exercised both there and in Jutland probably led, as we shall see, to a more important claim of similar authority, but in a reverse way, somewhat later. In addition to his other possessions already named, we are told that Halfdane, on the death of his brother Ingiald, took possession of Wermeland, imposed scatt, or taxes, upon it, and placed iarls there as long as he lived.

Thiodwolf tells us Halfdane lived to be an old man, and that he died in his bed at Thoten, whence his body was transported to Westfold, and that it was laid at Skaereid, near Skiringesall. (Ynglinga Saga, xlix). Hauk Erlendson, who here contradicts Thiodwolf, and is not therefore of much value, says he was buried at Thoten.

I will now extract some phrases from Jacob Aal about the famous site at Skiringesall—just named. It has been the subject of much debate, and has been fixed in several positions, as in Bohuslan, in Skane, in the neighbourhood of Stockholm, and even in Prussia, notwithstanding that Snorri and the authors of the Sogubrot and the Fagrskinna put it in Westfold. Aal says that in the 15th Century the name survived as that of the district forming the parish of Tiölling in the bailiwick of Laurvig. (Op. cit. ch. xlix, note). The Sogubrot tells us that a great temple of Freya once stood there. This temple, Munch suggests, was built by Halfdane and his son Eystein, who also probably introduced the worship of Freya, the special divinity of the Ynglings, from Upsala. (Op. cit. ii. 75). He adds that not far from the sea, on an open space in this district, is the old church of Thioling (or Tiölling, formerly called Thiodalyng, the people's heath). On this

open space are still the remains of a stone circle, which was probably connected with some great *Thing*, or meeting-place for law-making; not far off is another and smaller circle. The church doubtless marks the site of the former heathen temple, and the open place is where the great gathering of the people of Viken took place (Munch, ii. 139).

Close by Thiöling, is a field containing a number of mounds, where many antiquites have been found (Id. 141, note), no doubt marking the site of an early cemetery. Somewhat to the west was the royal seat of Geirstad (now Gierrstad), to which we shall revert presently. Besides being a great religious and political meeting-place, Skiringesall was also a noted staple or market, and this was why it was probably visited by the famous navigator Othere, or Ottar, in the ninth century, whose story has been written by King Alfred (See Bosworth's edition, 46, note 53) From its repute as a market came, no doubt, the fact that the name "Kaupangr," *i.e.*, a cheaping or mart (reminding us of Cheapside) is still applied to two farms on the so-called Viggs Fiord. The Viggs Fiord and Sandy Fiord were formerly united by a creek running from Siavagaristra (now Sögrist in Thioling parish) to Eid (Eidet). This creek converted Skaerid, near Skiringesall, into an island. It is now a peninsula called Lande, separating the two fiords. Close by, again, is an island which in the Red Book, dating from the end of the fourteenth centnry, was called Thorsoy, *i.e.* Thor's island. The mart at Skiringesall was doubtless supplanted by that at Tunsberg (Snorri ed. Aal, op. cit., xlix. note. Magnüsson Heinskringla, iv. 277 and 278). With Hetheby, in Jutland, Skiringesall, formed a twin haven,

where the mercantile world of the North met, and where, doubtless, at special times, fairs on a large scale were held. At Skiringesall, as Munch says, there, no doubt, assembled traders from widely separated districts, Helgelanders and Prussians, Thrönders, Saxons, and Wends, Danes and Swedes. There were exchanged, cordage made of walrus hide, and peltries from the far North, amber from Prussia, costly stuffs from Greece and the East, Byzantine and Arabic money, bangles and brooches of silver, and richly decorated armour and weapons. Let us now go on with our story.

As Halfdane was an old man when he died, and was the successor of Olaf, the victim of Ivar Vidfame, it is almost certain that he himself was the contemporary of Ivar's successor, Harald Hildetand, who ruled both at Upsala and also at Lethra. Halfdane's territory was a very considerable one, and, as the representative of the senior line of the Yngling race, he no doubt had, a prestige far surpassing those Norwegian rulers who were still independent.

By Asa, his wife, already named, Halfdane had two sons, Eystein and Gudrod. The former, as we have seen, had married the daughter and heiress of Eric, the ruler of Westfold. He succeeded his father in Raumariki and Westfold, and lived to a great age. It is equally probable, therefore, *a priori*, that Eystein was the contemporary of Sigurd Ring, and the Sagas, in fact, as we shall now see, bring the two into contact.

Arngrim Jonsson, who, in 1596, published a well-known work, entitled "Regum Danorum fragmenta ex vetustissimis Norvegiorum commentariis historicis Islandorum, translata," has a very curious fragment on the death of Sigurd

Ring, which Vigfusson says is evidently taken from another manuscript of the Skioldunga than that from which the Sogubrot comes. This fragment enables us to complete the incident at the close of the ordinary version of the Sogubrot. In the latter we read that "when Sigurd was very old, he happened to be in West Gothland in autumn, dispensing justice among his people, when the sons of King Gandalf—*i.e.*, his brothers-in-law—went to ask his assistance against *King Eystein of Westfold.* At this time the sacrifices were being offered at Skiringesall, which it was the custom for the people of all Viken to celebrate there." At this point the "Sogubrot" breaks off. The fragment preserved by Arngrim, which is translated into Latin, tells us that on the death of his wife Alfhilda, the mother of Ragnar Lodbrog, Sigurd determined to find himself a fresh wife. Having, therefore, set out from his province of Vestra Gotia (*i.e.*, West Gothland), he went to Skiringes all in Vikia (*i.e.*, Viken), in Norway, to attend the solemn sacrifices which were at that time being carried on there, and he saw a beautiful maiden named Alfsol, daughter of Alf, king of Vendil, and having seen her was determined to secure her, notwithstanding that the gods were unwilling. She had two brothers, named Alf and Inguo, from whom Sigurd asked their sister in marriage. They refused to give the young maiden to the old greybeard. Sigurd was enraged that he, such a great king, should be thus thwarted by the sons of a petty chief. He threatened them with war, but, on account of the solemn sacrifices then going on, had to postpone his vengeance. Presently he prepared an armament to punish them; and, as they were too weak to resist him, they gave their sister poison. In the struggle which ensued they were both killed. Sigurd Ring

himself, however, was so badly wounded in the struggle that his end was clearly seen. He ordered the bodies of the two brothers to be put in a ship, which he himself mounted, and lay down in the poop with the corpse of the beautiful Alfsol. The ship was charged wirh inflammable matter, it was set on fire, and he held the rudder himself as the wind blew it out to sea. The crowd on the strand was greatly moved that he, the author of so many crimes and the master of so many kingdoms, preferred to visit Odin with regal pomp, after the fashion of his ancesters, rather than pass away into senile imbecility. Before setting sail he had made himself a mound on the strand as a memorial of himself. This was called Ringshaug. Munch says a place called Ringshaug is still to be found in the parish of Slagn) north of Tunsberg (Vigfusson, *Sturlunga Saga*, *Prolegomena*, xc., note. Munch, op. cit. ii. 81 and 82, notes). One thing to be remembed from these notices is that they point to Sigurd Ring having had a potent position in Norway at this time, when he probably, in fact, held the hegemony of Scandinavia.

If Sigurd be the Sigifrodus of the Frank Chronicles, as has been often argued, and as I have a strong conviction he was, we may place his death approximately about the year 800. He is last mentioned *by name* by Eginhardt, in the year 798; while in 804 we meet with his successor Godfred, as king of the Danes.

Let us now continue our story. I would tentatively suggest as probable that Eystein, against whom Sigurd Ring went to war in his last days, did not long survive his rival, but died shortly after. We will now set down what the Ynglinga Saga has to say of him. It tells us that in his time "there lived at Varna a king named

Skiold, who was a great wizard. King Eystein went with some warships to Varna, and plundered there, carrying away what he could of clothes and other valuables, and of the peasants' stock, and killing their cattle on the strand for provision, and then went off. King Skiold came to the strand with his army just as Eystein was at such a distance over the fiord that the former could only see his sails. Then he took his cloak, waved it, and blew into it. King Eystein was sitting at the helm as they sailed within the Iarl soy, or Earl's isle, and another ship was sailing at the side of his, when there came a stroke of a wave, by which the boom of the other ship struck the king and threw him overboard, which proved his death. His men fished up his body, and it was carried into Borro, where a mound was thrown over it upon a cleared field out towards the sea at Vodle" (Ynglinga Saga, li.). Thiodwolf's verse reads thus in Vigfusson's translation :— "King Eystein, struck by the boom, went to Hel* and the Washer of Blades is now lying under the bones of the sea (*i.e.*, the stones) on the beach, where the icy cold Wadle Stream, runs into the bay close by."

In regard to the various localities in this notice, the name Varna, Vaurno, or Vörno, denoted, in early times, not only the farm Vaerno, but comprised the ecclesiastical district of Rygge, as far as Kambo, with the exception, perhaps, of Joeloen. At early as the thirteenth century the knights of St. John of Jerusalem built a hospital at Varna. Munch says this foundation is still called Waerne (Op. cit., ii. 138, note 1). The Earl's Island, or Iarlsoy, is on the opposite side of the Christiania fiord in Vingulmark. It is still called Jaerso, and is near Tunsberg. Borro, or Borra, now

*"The Maid of Byleists' brother."

called Borre, is situated about a Norwegian mile north of Tunsberg. Vadle is now called Vold, and is a farm near the fiord, close to Borre, where the mounds of Eystein and his son still remain.

On Eystein's death he was succeeded by his son Halfdane, known as the Mild, and the Bad Entertainer. This was because, though he was lavish in giving his men gold, which he distributed as profusely as other kings did silver, yet he starved them in their diet. We are told he was a great warrior who had been on viking cruises and had collected great property. Munch suggests that he was the same Haldane who was sent as his envoy by King Sigfred (*i.e.*, Sigurd Ring) in 807 to the Frank emperor, but this is very improbable. The later kings of Westfold and their descendants were at deadly issue with the Scioldung family, and were not their familiars. Again, the envoy Halfdane was father of Harald Klak, and, if so, was himself the son of another Harald, and, as I have argued, was the son of Harald Hildetand.

In the text of the Ynglinga it is said that Halfdane the Mild took Eystein's kingdom after him. He married Hlif, the daughter of King Day of Westmere. His chief manor was Hottar in Westfold, and he there died in his bed and was laid in a mound at Borre (Ynglinga, ch. lii.) close to his father. Let us now turn to Gudrod, who was the son of Halfdane Whitefoot, and a brother of Eystein, and not a son of Halfdane the Mild, as some have thought. We are expressly told that Halfdane Whitefoot had two sons, Eystein and Gudrod (Ynglinga, ch. xlix).

The Ynglinga Saga gives Gudrod the surname Mikillati (*i.e.*, the Magnificent) also Veidhikonge (*i.e.*,, the Hunter); the latter name also occurs in

the "Historia Norvegiæ," where he is called "Gunthodus rex Venator," some reminiscence, probably, of his fame as a sportsman. In the "Langfedgatel" Gudrod is surnamed Göfuglati *i.e.*, the Magnanimous). In several of the genealogies he is styled hinn Giafmildi (*i.e.*, Very Beneficent). In the "Mantissa," or supplement to the "Landnama," he is called Gudrod Leoma (*i.e.*, Splendoris). These various synonyms are evidence of the important position he filled (Vigfusson, i. 271). It is curious that the Monk of St. Gallen, in reporting the death of Godfred (which he, strangely enough, states took place on the river Mosel, during his invasion of the Empire) says further that he was killed by his son, *when about to release a duck from a falcon*, in revenge for the wrong he had done his mother in taking another wife (Pertz, ii. 757).

Gudrod's wife was Alfhild the daughter of Alfarin of Alfheim, in the maritime district on the east of the Wik, between the Raum elf and the Gaut elf, and with her he got as a dowry one half of Vingulmark. Their son was Olaf, afterwards called Geirstadalf. When she presently died, we are told, Gudrod sent messengers to Harald Redlip, King of Agdir, to ask for the hand of his daughter Asa, but was refused. He thereupon launched his ships and went with a great host to Agdir, where he arrived unawares, Harald, nevertheless, dared to face his powerful assailant, but the odds were too great, and he was killed, together with his son Gyrd. Gudrod then carried off Asa, whom he married, and by her had a son named Halfdane (Ynglinga Saga, ch. l.).

Gudrod had succeeded to a great heritage from his father, and was no doubt the most potent ruler in the North in his time.

I long ago identified him with the Godfred who was the contemporary and rival of the Emperor Charles the Great. I did not then know that Munch had already published this conclusion.

I will remit the evidence to a note at the end of this paper. Meanwhile I shall take it for granted that the identification is a reasonable one, and shall proceed to record his doings, and those of his sons, outside of his own lands. I shall first epitomize what had happened in the further lands of the Empire in previous years.

In the year 777 Charles the Great (more widely known as Charlemagne), invaded Saxony with an armament, to punish the Saxons for repeated rebellions and the slaughter of his garrisons.

The pomp of his surroundings and the strength of his forces cowed them, and he marched through Westphalia and held a general assembly at Paderborn, at the sources of the Lippe, where he built a fortress at Eresburgh, not far from where Drusus had planted his stronghold. A great crowd of Saxons were baptized and did homage, one only of their chiefs, the most redoubtable and dangerous of them all, whose real name was probably Withmund, but who is generally known by his nickname of Witikind refused to bend his neck, and fled with his followers.

The annals of Lorsch tell us that he fled to Northmannia (*in partilus Nortmanniae*), while in the annals of Eginhardt, the biographer of Charles the Great, we are told that he went to *Sigifridus, the King of the Danes.*

Sigfred and Godfred are German forms of the Norse names Sigurd and Gudrod, and I have long held that this Sigfred was no other than the famous Northern hero—Sigurd Ring.

The Battle of Bravalla, in which Sigurd Ring defeated his uncle Harald Hildetand and sup-

planted him, as ruler of Sweden and Denmark, was a notable struggle. It has been hypothetically dated by Kunlk and others about the year 775. After this struggle Sigurd was acknowledged as "Imperator," or over chief, of the greater part of Scandinavia, and he filled that position for some time. His reign, therefore, coincides exactly with that assigned to Sigifridus in the Frankeil annals, and the identification of the two rulers as one person seems quite reasonable.

Returning to the annals: about the year 781, the Emperor, having meanwhile put down some fresh outbreaks among the Saxons, sent St. Willchad to plant Christianity in Wigmodia, the district between the Elbe and the Weser, where Bremen afterwards stood; this mission was a partial success, and thus was the faith first carried to the borders of the Danish land.

In 782 Charles held another great assembly on the Lippe, which, we are told in the Lorsch Annals, was attended by envoys from king Sigfred, namely, Halbtani and his companions. In two late copies of the Lorsch annals, one of the Fulda annals and in the chronicle of Reginon the name Godfred is wrongly substituted for Sigfred, while Reginon, who was not remarkable for his accuracy, calls the envoy Altdeni and gives him a companion whom he calls Hosmund, which is not a Norse but a Saxon name and which he has apparently made by misreading the word *sociüs* in the earlier authorities.

Pertz rightly insists that we are bound by the testimony of the oldest copies of the Lorsch annals and those of Eginhardt, which were contemporary. The name of the envoy was no doubt the well known Norse name Halfdane. He was doubtless a person of moment, and possibly a

relative and the deputy of Sigurd Ring, in Jutland, and was not improbably sent to enquire what was the meaning of the ambiguous movement on his borders, and whether it meant the planting there of an advanced post of the Empire from which the land might be menaced.

The assembly was followed by another revolt of the Saxons under Witikind, in which the Frank garrisons in Saxony, were again slaughtered, and the Christian missions in Friesland, and the young Church there were desolated. These outrages were punished ruthlessly by the beheading of 4,500 Saxons. The Emperor now began a policy of transplanting large bodies of Saxons to other parts of the Empire and replacing them by Slavs.

The year 792 is marked, in the Biography of Charles by Eginhardt, by the ominous sentence that "the Emperor left Aachen" (Aix Chapelle, as the French call it) in March and made a journey along the maritime district of Gaul and Germany, which was infested by Normans, who were called Danes (*contra Nortmannos qui Danos vocantur*) and he ordered a special fleet to restrain them.

The next year is notable for the first attack made by the Northmen on Britain (*vide infra*).

In 797 the Franks employed their new fleet for the first time and punished the Saxons beyond the Elbe (Annales Eginhardti *ad an*). The next year the Saxons from the other side of the Elbe killed some Frankish envoys who had been sent to obtain a redress of grievances, and also put to death another one who had the Slav name of Godescalc, *i.e.*, Gottschalk. They had been sent by the Emperor to the Danish king, who is again called Sigifridus *i.e.*, Sigurd, by the Chronicler Eginhardt. This is the last time he is named, and it is remarkable that

for the next few years there is no mention of the Northmen in the Frankish annals pointing to its having been a turbulent period in their land. When a northern king is next mentioned, he is called Godfred and it is most likely that Sigfred had died soon after his last mention in the chronicles.

The interval between the years 797 and 804 is a blank in the Frankish Chronicles as far as the Northmen is concerned, and it no doubt corresponds with great changes among them. Sigurd's great victory over his uncle Harold Hildetand had no doubt prostrated all rivals. According to all the traditions he left an only son, Ragnar Lodbrog, whose story is one of the great enigmas of early Northern history. He probably succeeded to only a small part of his father's kingdoms, and became famous not as a great territorial ruler, but as the greatest of the Vikings.

Meanwhile, his relatives, the sons of Harald Hildetand, asserted their pretentions. One of them, Eystein, became King at Upsala and in the Saga of Ragnar Lodbrog, the latter is made to have a struggle with him. Another son, Thrond, is named as the ancestor of an Icelandic family in the Landnamabok. This family was named Oddwerja and to it belonged Saemund Frothi. The descent is thus given. Harald Hildetand, King of Denmark, the father of Hrœrck Sloengvand-bauga, the father of Thorolf Wagane, father of Wemund Ordhlokar, father of Walgard, father of Rafn the Fool, who emigrated to Iceland from Throndheim (Landnamabok ed., Vigfusson, v. 3.1). I believe that a third one was the Halfdane, who was sent as an envoy to the Emperor by Sigurd, as we have seen. He was apparently the ruler of Jutland under him, and on his patron, Sigurd's death, apparently sought refuge from the Emperor.

The death of Sigurd Ring also gave an opportunity to a stronger person than any of the sons of Harald Hildetand, namely Gudrod, who also possessed a wider kingdom and a larger fleet. His position in Viken, looking straight upon Jutland, was a powerful vantage, nor could he forget that Westfold, the focus of his kingdom, was recently held by a ruler who also governed at least Northern Jutland (*vide ante*), nor that he had a heavy debt to exact from the person who, I take it, was then its ruler; since his predecessors had expelled his own from their ancient heritage. I have no doubt that he used all his advantages and proceeded to drive out Halfdane.

This is strongly confirmed by a curious and neglected entry in the narrative of the anonymous Saxon poet, who for the most part follows Eginhardt, but who here records the very interesting fact, not mentioned by the latter, that Halfdane, the leader of the Northmen, and with him a considerable force, submitted to the Emperor and tried to enter into a perpetual pact with him.

> *Interea Northmannorum dux Alfdeni dictus*
> *Augusto magna sese comitante caterva*
> *Subdidit atque fidem studuit firmare perennem.*
>
> (Poeta Saxo, Pertz, i. 263).

This admission to the Empire of a great Northern chief with a considerable following is hardly a probable event, unless he was in fact an outcast from his own country, and it is significant that his disappearance from Jutland is coincident with Gudrod's appearance there. I suggested long ago that it is quite probable that the Emperor granted Halfdane an appanage in Friesland, where Harald Klak, who was probably his son, received one some years later. This was quite consonant with the policy of the Franks at this time, which

was to play one of the frontier rivals against another, and to embroil his neighbours, while a feudatory Norse chief in Friesland would be a good fence against his countrymen's piratcal attacks.

We are told by both Eginhardt and Reginon that in the year 804 "Godfred, the Danish King" went with his fleet, and all the army of his kingdom, to Sliesthorp (*i.e.*, the far-famed mart of Schleswig, on the Schlie. Eginhardt, in his biography, explains that the enmity (*inimicitia*) of the Northmen arose from the appropriation of the Saxon land beyond the Elbe by the Franks. A very notable encroachment of this kind was made by the latter in the year 804, when, according to the Chron. Moissiacense, the inhabitants of the three gaus or counties of Wigmodia, Hostinga and Rosoga, which formed the later diocese of Bremen, were transported and their lands largely made over to the Slavs called Obotriti. From this time the district of Wagria became a Slav land. According to Eginhardt, Godfred had promised to attend the Imperial diet, but was restrained by the counsel of his own people. This not very friendly mood seems to me to point to some change of policy and to strengthen the view that he was himself an intruder into Jutland, which probably he appropriated at this time. The Emperor who was at Hollenstedt, south of Harburg, sent some envoys to treat for the return of fugitives (probably Saxons).

No doubt Gudrod would hesitate before making a direct attack on the Frankish forces, when they were in strength in Saxony, and he doubtless had in view an attack upon some of their allies, and especially the hated Slavs who had been introduced into what he deemed his borders without his permission, and against whom he had made due preparations. These

lasted some time, but we are told that in 808, while the emperor was at Aachen, Gudrod and his men marched against the Obotriti. Charlemagne sent his son Charles to the Elbe with an army of Franks and Saxons, with orders to resist him if he attempted to cross the Saxon frontier. Gudrod ravaged the borders of the Slavs, captured some of their fortresses, drove away Thrasco, one of their chiefs, hanged Godelaib, another, made the two sections of the Obotriti tributary, and also destroyed their emporium on the coast, called in the Danish tongue Reric. This, as we are told by Adam of Bremen, was the site of the old Mecklenburg, near Wismar, and its inhabitants were afterwards known as Reregi: "*Deinde secuntur Obodriti qui nunc Reregi vocantur et civitas eorum Magnopolis*" (Adam of Bremen, Pertz, ix. 311; Ann. Laur. 808; Chron. Moiss., ib. Ann. St. Amandi, p. ii). Gudrod carried off its merchants, and imposed a heavy tribute on the Obotriti (Eginhardt in Pertz, i. 195; Kruse, 46.) I have small doubt that this expedition has been confused by the author of the longer saga of Olaf Trygvason (copying Saxo), with the campaign against the Friesians in 810, and by the "Islandic Annals," and that they have converted the emporium Reric into a Hrærek or Rurik prince of Friesia, who is quite unknown to the contemporary Frank annalists. This campaign cost Gudrod some of his best men, and among them, according to Eginhardt, was Reginold, his brother's son, who was killed with many Danes in attacking a town. The "Chronicon Moissiacense," calls him Gudrod's nephew, and the first in the kingdom after himself (Eginhardt, Pertz, i. 195; Chron. Moiss., Pertz, ii. 258; Kruse, Chron. Norm., 46, 48). To oppose the attacks of Gudrod, Charlemagne's son, Charles, crossed the Elbe into Lauenburg, marched in the direction of the modern Lubeck, and having

devasted the lands of the Linones and Smeldingi (Slavic tribes which had gone over to Gudrod), he once more recrossed the Elbe. According to one ingenuous writer, his expedition was by no means altogether a success, for he lost most of his men (Lesser Annals of Lorsch, Pertz, i. 263: Kruse, 49, 50.) Gudrod had been assisted in his campaign by the Wiltzi, another Slavic tribe, the eastern neighbours of the Smeldingi and Linones, who were ancient foes of the Obotriti. They returned home with a considerable booty. Gudrod himself, after his campaign, sent his fleet round to Schleswig, marched his army there, and proceeded to build a mound along the northern shores of the Eider, from one sea to the other. This was pierced by a single gateway for the passage of men and merchandise. After dividing the work among his chiefs he returned home. This mound was according to Worsaae, probably not the celebrated Dannewirke (that having been traditionally connected with another Danish king, namely, Gorm the Old), but rather an older and ruder mound which still runs along the Eider. The making of a mound by Gudrod is, however, distinctly mentioned in the Annales Islandiac, and it is there expressly called the Danewirke. The larger mound ran from the termination of the Schley inlet (Selke Noer) as far as Kurburg, or perhaps to Hollingstette. It is 20 feet high, and the narrow entrance mentioned by the annalist is situated near the village of Little Danewirke, now called Ost Kalegat (Kruse, 48; Chron. Moiss, p. 48). Having heard that the emperor was displeased at his campaign against the Obotriti in the previous year, Gudrod, in 809, sent him envoys asking him to fix a convention beyond the Elbe, where explanations might be given. Such a convention was held at Badenfliot (probably the village now called Baden-

fleth, on the banks of the Stur—Kruse, 50, *note*). This convention was apparently not very effective in humbling the Danes, but, on the contrary, we find that directly after, Thrasco, the Duke of the Obotriti, and the *protégé* of the Franks, surrendered his daughter as a hostage to Gudrod. This was probably to secure his neutrality in the war which he was then pressing against the old enemies of his people, the Wiltzi, and from which he returned with a great booty. He afterwards, with the assistance of the Saxons, captured the chief town of the Smeldingi, *i.e.*, Möllen.

When the emperor heard of the arrogant behaviour of the Northern king, he determined to build a fortress beyond the Elbe, and having collected a number of artificers in Gaul and Germany, he sent them thither under command of the Saxon Count Egbert. I have elsewhere in a paper in the Numismatic Chronicle on the coinage of Egbert, King of England, identified him with this Count Egbert. The former was certainly living at the Court of Charles the Great at this time and his name is very specially an English one. Esesfeldt was fixed upon as the site of the fortress It has been identified by several inquirers with Itzehoe on the Stur. Mannert (Gesch. der alt. Deuts., i. 486), would place it on the site of Gluckstadt at the mouth of that river. We are told it was occupied by Egbert on the Ides of March.

Meanwhile Thrasco, the chief of the Obotriti, was treacherously killed by an emissary of Gudrod's at Reric (Eginhardt, i. 196, 197; Kruse, 51), which may have been meant as a counter blow. He was probably considered a too faithful friend of the Franks to be well disposed to the Northmen. These acts were hardly a gauge of peace. We next read

how Godfred, *i.e.* Gudrod, at the head of 200 ships, fell upon Friesia, devastated its coasts and islands, and fought three battles with the Fresians, whom he made tributary, exacting a sum of 100 pounds of silver from them, after which he returned home (Einhardt, Pertz, i. 197, 198; Ib., Vit., Car. ch. 14, 17; Poeta Saxo, v. 403, 404; Fulda Annals, ib., i. 354, 345; Kruse, 53, etc.). This may have been a blow against Halfdane who, as we have seen, was then probably the emperor's feudatory there. A curious fact is cited by Depping to show to what straits the Friesians were at this time reduced. He quotes an old law by which a captive Friesian, who, in the service of the Northmen, should attack a village, violate women, kill men, or burn houses, was not to be punished when he returned home; it being held that he was not a free agent, but only doing the bidding of his exacting masters. Another law authorised mothers to dispose of the property of such of their children as were carried off, showing how hopeless their return generally was.

We at all events find that the throne of Jutland was immediately occupied by one who courted the friendship of the Franks, while the sons of Godfred escaped beyond the water—assuredly this means their withdrawal to Westfold.

Saxo, as I mentioned in a previous page, tells us that, when Godfred exacted tribute from the Friesians, he made them throw their money into the hollow of a shield and guessed from the sound whether it was good coin or no. Müller throws light on this story from some rather ghastly features of the old laws of the North in reference to compounding for punishment; thus he tells us how, by the law of Sialand (Lib. ii. cap. 39), two pieces of money (*örer*) were to be paid in cases of wounding, for each bone out of the wound which

made a sound when thrown into the hollow of a shield. ("*Hwaert ben i mullugh skiaelder thaer botaes twa orae forae.*") This almost incredible provision is repeated in the Friesic laws (Ed. Gaertner. Addit. Sapient. tit. iii § 24) in the following words:—"*Si ossa de vulnere exierint tantæ magnitudinis, ut in scutum jactum XII. pedum spatio distante homine possit audiri, unum ter IV. soliâ. componat, aliud ter duobus, tertium ter uno solido.*" The same occurs again in the Ripuarian Code, tit. lxx. § 1 (See Müller, op. cit. 251). What was true of bones was transferred to the coin paid, in Saxo's narrative, and perhaps also in the popular traditions which had reached him. In the law just cited, the person testing the sound was to stand twelve feet off. In Saxo's narrative this has grown greatly, for he tells us Godfred had a building erected 240 feet long, containing twelve rooms of equal size, in the innermost of which sat the royal tax-collector, while the shield was placed in the one at the other end of the building. Saxo also tells us that when Godfred conquered the Saxon chiefs (this, as we have seen, is an unwarranted assertion) he imposed a tribute of a hundred white horses, which were to be paid on the accession of each king. Müller explains that in the middle ages it was customary to use white horses in solemn processions, as when homage was done; and that it is not improbable some Saxon chiefs may have done homage to the Norse chief and offered him a present of white horses (Op. cit. 251).

Saxo has another story about Godfred of the usual type in which he has borrowed the incidents and the facts from other sagas, and the only interest of which is the local colour which he has preserved. In this he tells us that Godfred was famous not only for his prowess but for his

liberality, and he was no less clement than strong. At this time, he says, Goto, *i.e.*, Gautr, the king of Norway was visited by Bero, and Refo (Refr means a fox), from Thule, who presented him with a bracelet of great weight. The by-standers thereupon declared that Goto's generosity was unsurpassed. Refo however, who, notwithstanding the present, was disposed to be candid, declared that Godfred, whom he treats as a Danish king, excelled him in this quality. Ulvus, *i.e.*, Ulf, who was nettled at this, thereupon proferred a wager to Refo to go and test the Danish King. Refo accordingly set out, and found Godfred seated on his throne dividing prey or booty among his soldiers. On being asked what his name was he answered that he was a little fox. This aroused the laughter of some and the admiration of others. "A fox," said Godfred, "ought to take its prey in its mouth," and thereupon detaching his bracelet he tried to insert it in Refo's proffered lips. The latter placed it on his arm and showed it, decorated as it was with gold, to all present. Meanwhile he hid the other bracelet which had no ornament on it so that it might not tempt Godfred into another act of generosity, but that his gift should be spontaneous. He was delighted, not only with the value of the gift, but at having won his wager. When Godfred heard of the bet and how it had been won by accident rather than by design he was more delighted than Refo himself. The latter returned to Norway to obtain the wager, which being refused, he killed the king there and carried off his daughter as a prize to Godfred (Saxo i. 435).

This story has been shown by Müller in his *Notae Uberiores* to Saxo, to have been transferred to Godfred (a supposed Danish king) from another Godfred altogether, for the Saga occurs in an Icelandic

recension. As Müller says, Saxo's narrative shows it is an epitome. In the first place, two Thylenses, Bero and Refo, are mentioned by him as taking part in the adventure; but Bero speedily disappears from the scene altogether, and Ulvo is introduced without warning as if he had been already described. Nor does Saxo explain how the quarrel arose between Refo and Goto, his former benefactor, which led to his carrying off his daughter.

In the much longer Icelandic legend (Forn. Sög. iii. 40—53) the story is more consistent. According to this account, Refo, or Giafa Refr, who was the son of a rich Norwegian peasant, born on an island in the north of Norway called Jadria, spent his youth in great squalor and indolence. Being scolded by his father, he expressed his willingness to leave home if he might take with him the thing his father most valued. To this the father consented, and he accordingly led away an ox whose horns had been decorated with gold and silver and been united by a silver ring.

This ox he took as a present to Nerio, or Nerius, iarl of the Uplands, a prudent, and a very firm person, who was his father's patron. Nerio accepted the gift, presented him in return with a becoming garment, and also with a gilt shield. Refo having observed that Nerio directly after repented of having parted with such a rich shield, he willingly returned it again. Nerio was pleased with this, and gave Refo a touchstone (*coticula*), and bade him go to Gautric, or Götric, king of Gothland, who, after the death of his beloved wife, was accustomed to assuage his sorrow by hawking. He was to seize the opportunity when the king was sitting alone on a mound and was looking for stones with which to excite the hawks, and then he

was to slip the touchstone into his hand. Refo duly performed his task and slipped the stone into the king's hand, who, in return, gave him a golden bracelet. Refo now returned to Nerio, and spent the winter with him. Again, on his persuasion, he went to Ella, king of England, and presented him with the bracelet.

Ella in return, gave him a ship laden with merchandise and furnished with sailors, and, in addition, gave him two beautiful Melitaean, *i.e.*, Maltese dogs, which Refo in turn gave to Rolf Krak, who repaid him with the gift of a laden ship, as well as a decorated helmet and corslet of singular fabric.

The helmet and corslet he presented to Olav, a sea king who had command of eighty ships, and who offered in return to let Refo have the use of them on some occasion. Having put himself at the head of these, he set out against king Gotric, to whose generosity he owed his subsequent good fortune, and compelled him to adopt him as his son-in-law. Nerio, by whose counsel Refo had acted in these matters, now deemed that he had in some measure repaid him for the ox he had given him.

This Saga agrees with the story told by Saxo in the names of two of its chief actors, Gotric and Refo. Saxo, could not well introduce Rolf Krak, king of Denmark, nor Nerio, chief of the Uplands, into his story without making it incredible, and in appropriating the story he had to make some sacrifices to consistency and he apparently converted the name of Nero or Nerio into Bero. Some of the incidents in Saxo's narrative, and its terminating phrase about Refo's journey to Sweden, prove, perhaps, that he had before him a more perfect copy of the Saga in some respects than is extant in the Icelandic edition.

The story, however, is quite a fabulous one, and full of anachronisms, Rolf Krak and Ella, King of England, *i.e.*, of Northumbria, being brought into contact. Ella seems to have been a generic name for English kings among some Icelandic Saga-tellers, and its occurrence causes difficulty as is well a known in explaining the Sagas about Ragnar Lodbrog. Another anachronism of a very patent kind is the bringing of Thylenses or Icelanders into contact with King Godfred. Iceland was not discovered till long after the latter's reign.

Returning to our main story it is strange to read the notice of the preparation of the Frankish forces to meet the attacks of the Saxons, and their march towards the Rhine mentioned in the same paragraph with the death of an elephant which had been sent as a present to Charlemagne by Aaron, the King of the Saracens, *i.e.*, by Harun-az-Rashid, the Khalif of the Arabian Nights. The Franks marched towards the Alar, and at its confluence with the Weser, they awaited the attack of the Norsemen, who had boasted loudly of their intentions after the Friesian war. They did not, however, come, but news arrived that Godfred had been assasinated (Eginhardt, Pertz, 197, 198), assuredly an abrupt and tragical phrase. The Chronicle of St. Gallen says the deed was done by one of his sons in revenge for his having deserted his mother in favour of another wife (Pertz, ii. 757).

The Ynglinga Saga has a different story. It says that when his son Halfdane was one year old and another son Olaf was twenty, Gudrod went on a round of visits. He lay with his ship in Stifla-sund, and there was heavy drinking, and having drunk hard he got very tipsy. His ship was connected with the shore by gangways. When

it was dark, he went ashore and had got to the end of the gangway when a man ran a spear into him and killed him. The man was instantly put to death, and in the morning it was discovered that he was Queen Asa's foot-boy, nor did she conceal that it was done by her orders. In Thiodwolf's versicles as edited by Vigfusson we read: "Gudrod the Magnificent (in Gaofoglati), who lived long before, was struck down by treason, and a deadly hatred long nursed, drew treachery upon the King, upon the drunken prince; and the traitorous messenger of Asa won a murderous victory over the King, yea the prince was stabbed to death on the ancient bed of Stiflasund" (Vigfusson Corp. Poet., 1.250 note).

Saxo merely says that Godfred was the victim of the treachery of one of his dependents, which agrees with the story told in the Ynglinga, and is another proof that the Godfred of the Franks and Gudrod were the same person, and, if so, the Frank Annals are witness that he died in 810. In the annals of the so-called Rykloster we read that when he had defeated the Emperor and laid waste Saxony he was thrust through the body.

Gudrod's Norwegian possessions stretched from the modern Folda, along the shores of the Christiana fiord as far as the Miosa lake and the Randsfiord, and thence directly south as far Rygiarbit. They reached eastward as far as Soloer and Wermeland inclusive.

The death of so great a chieftain would have caused a great gap anyhow, but it was made greater by the misfortunes or perhaps the incompetence of his eldest son Olaf, (who was only twenty) and who succeeded to most of his possessions in Norway. In Jutland he was succeeded, we are

expressly told, not by either of his sons, but by Hemming. Eginhardt calls him his brother's son (Pertz, i. 197). We shall return to him presently, meanwhile a few words about Olaf. The later Saga of Olaf Tryggveson calls him a brother of Godfred, but this cannot weigh against the contemporary Frank annals, while Saxo makes him his son.

This seems to be a mistake, and to have arisen from a confusion between Halfdane, the brother and predecessor of Gudrod, and Halfdane, the deputy of Sigurd Ring in Jutland, who was a *protégé* of the emperor. It is most unlikely that Gudrod, who had sons of his own, who as we shall see were very active at this time, should have been succeeded by his nephew, and, as we shall see presently, Hemming was really a son of another Halfdane, who belonged to a rival family to that of Gudrod, and which had been driven from Jutland by himself, had recovered it on his death. In this way only can we explain what happened

The new king came to terms with the Empire, and in a treaty made between them in 811 the Eider was accepted as the frontier between the two kingdoms (Helmold, Kruse, 58). Steenstrup argues that this was not the North Eider, or Treewe. This is the Danish view, the German view as maintained by Waitz, Simson, and others is that the boundary was the Treewe. Thus the border district occupied by the Transalbingian Saxons, with the Obotriti of Wagrien, over which Godfred had exacted a kind of suzerainty, were surrendered to the Franks. This treaty was concluded at a conference held on the Eider, in which ten chiefs on the side of the Franks were met by an equal number of Danes.

In a letter from Pope Leo, the names of the Franks are thus given :—1. Count Walach, son of Bernhard, that is Walach or Wala, afterwards Abbot of Corbey, cousin to Charlemagne (and son of his uncle Bernard, by a Saxon mother) ; whom he had sent against the Lombard King Desiderius (Simson, Jahrbuch, 466 and note 5). 2. Count Burchard ; who was *comes stabuli* to the Emperor, and was sent by him, in 807, with a fleet to Corsica to fight the Moors (Eginhardt *sub an.* calls him *missus domini*). 3. Count Unroch who was sent into Dalmatia ; he was the grandfather of the Emperor Berenger, (Einh, *sub an.* 817, Sims., 466 and note 5). 4. Count Wodo, or Odo, doubtless the Odo *legatus* mentioned in 810 as the commander of Hohbuoki (Eginhardt annales Pertz i, 197). 5. Count Meginhard, *i.e.*, the father of Eberhard the Saxon, who was killed in 881 by the Norsemen. 6. Count Egbert (already named as the founder of a fortress across the Elbe and probably the later King Egbert of Wessex). 7. Count Theotheri, who was doubtless the same person sent as an envoy to the Danes with Kruodmund in the next reign. 8. Count Abo, probably Abbio, who was baptised with Witikind, (*Annales Lauriss.* and Eginh. *sub anno* 785 ; Kruse, 62). 9. Count Ostdag, doubtless a Saxon. Count Wigman, a Saxon, mentioned in 939 (Pertz, i, 619). On behalf of the Danes the deputies were thus named :—Two brothers of Hemming named Hancwin (probably a corruption of Hakon, Dahlman, I., 25) and Augandeo (Augantyr, *ib.*), and the following chief men :—Osfred, styled Turdimul (? from Islandic *tutinn* thick, and *muli* mouth, Dahlmann 25), Warstein (this name also occurs in the Landnama bok, Y. Powell) : Suomi ? and Urm, and another Osfred, the son of Heilig (*i.e.*, Helye), and Osfred of Sconaowe,

i.e., of Scania, and Hebbi, (reminding us of Hubba Y.P.), and Aowin (Eanwind, *i.e.*, Onwend). The names are given by Eginhardt in their Frankish form (Pertz. i. 198-9, *sub an.* 811.

We are told that peace was sworn according to the method of the Danes.

The Emperor now divided his army into three sections; one was sent into Brittany, another into Pannonia, and the third crossed the Elbe into the country of the Slavic Linones, which restored the fortress of Hohbuoki, destroyed the previous year by the Wiltzi. Charles himself went to Bononia, *i.e.*, Boulogne, where the ships he had ordered to be built the year before were assembled. He restored the *pharos* there, doubtless that which had been built by the Roman Emperor Caligula; and caused the nocturnal fire to be relighted. Eginhardt speaks of it as *antiquitus constitutam*. He then went up the Scheldt to Ghent (*in loco qui Ganta vocatur*), where he inspected another fleet, and in the middle of November returned to Aachen, where there came Aowin and Hebbi, two envoys of the king (Hemming) bearing gifts. While the Emperor thus extended a civil hand to the Norsemen, he carefully prepared more efficacious defences for the coasts.

The Frankish chronicles here introduce us to a fierce struggle. Sigfred, *i.e.*, Sigurd, (who by Eginhardt is called the nephew of Godfred), and Anulo the nephew or grandson (*nepos*) of Harald who was formerly king (that is, of Harald Hildetand); in this battle we are told that 10,940 men fell.

Anulo is translated Ringo by Saxo and in the longer life of Olaf Trygveson, which at this point apparently follows him, it has been supposed by

some that by him Sigurd Ring was really meant, while it is almost clear that the latter had been dead some years.

Who then was Anulo? He was clearly a pretender. The name Anulo is conjugated Anulo Anulonis, and has apparently nothing to do with *Annulus* as Saxo thought. It is probably some form of a Norse name. Munch suggested that it stood for Aale, formerly Anli, Saxon Anlo, (op. cit., ii. 153, note 2).

I have suggested that he was the son of Halfdane (above mentioned as having had authority in Jutland) and the brother of Hemming.

As I read the difficult story, the fight which occurred, took place between some relative of Gudrod, possibly a son, named Sigurd, and the family of Haldane whom Gudrod had expelled from Jutland. The party of the former won the fight, and that that of Gudrod which had been in possession of Jutland, and had expelled Hemming, was defeated and driven out. We are told by the Frankish writers (whose story at this time is not at all clear), that both Sigurd and Anulo were killed in the battle. What seems plain is that the party opposed to Gudrod's interests, and who were his heirs, won the day. It was fought in 812, and the number of casualties shows that it was a desperate struggle and a huge strain on such thinly peopled countries as the Scandinavian lands.

The next few years were occupied with a persistent struggle in which the sons of Gudrod and those of Haldane, took a part and in which the success was intermittent on either side. The general result was the great set-back of the new Norwegian kingdom, which is not disguised by Ari's phrases about the courage and manliness of Olaf, the King of Westfold, and probably accounts for

the virtual silence of the Northern Sagas on the details of the struggle for which we have to turn to the Frankish historians. It is curious that even these do not mention the particular names of the Norse chieftains at this time, and only refer to them as "the sons of Godfred." Of their opponents it only mentions two, namely, the two brothers Harald and Reginfred, the sons of Half-dane, who fought against the Emperor's protegés and dependents.

Olaf, according to the Ynglinga Saga, was a great warrior, and was very handsome, strong, and large of growth. This is an astounding statement, for it is immediately followed by the most complete confession of disaster that was perhaps ever recorded in such a few sentences. It tells us that the very wide dominions, which had been conquered by Olaf's father and grandfather, were reduced to the small districts of Westfold and Westmar (the latter being named as his in the Flatey-bok). Meanwhile King Alfgar of Alfheim took all Vingulmark (part of which had been ruled over by Olaf's father) and placed his son Gandalf over it, after which the father and son reduced the greater part of Raumariki. On another side Hedemark and Soloer with Thoten and Hadeland were recovered by Hogne, son of Eystein the Great of the Uplands. Hauk Erlendson, in his account of the Kings of the Uplands, and the Flatey-bok, with whom Munch agrees, say this last conquest was made by Eystein, son of Hogne, and grandson of Eystein the Great (Ynglinga Saga, ch. 54; Munch, 154). Wermeland was also conquered by the Swedish king. Meanwhile, Gudrod's widow Asa, ruled over Agdir, in the name of her young son Halfdane.

It is not to be wondered at that Gudrod's sons also lost their hold on Jutland, which the two

victorious brothers Harald and Reginfred appropriated.

We are told that in the same year they sent envoys to make a pact with the Emperor, and to ask him to send them back and to release their brother Hemming, shewing he was still living (Eginhardt, Pertz, i. 199); he was doubtless the same Hemming, who died in Walcheren, as I shall show presently, many years later, and is there distinctly called the son of Halfdane. The next year an imperial conventum or council was held at Aachen, where at the request of their king (*i.e.*, Hemming), it was determined by the Emperor to send sixteen of the Frank and Saxon chiefs across the Elbe to ratify a peace with the Danes. They accordingly went, and met sixteen of the latter. They took with them Hemming, and returned him to his people. His brothers were at this time absent with their army, and had gone *to Westarfold*, which region we are told lay beyond their kingdom between the north and west, and looking towards Britain (Eginhardt, Pertz, i. 200). Steenstup and his followers have tried to claim that Westarfold was some obscure place in Denmark, but as Pertz, i. 200, note 17, and Kruse have argued a view which is also Simson's, the expression *domi non erant*, shows they were not then in any part of Denmark (Simson, 521 note). It was clearly the district of Westfold in Norway, which looks towards England, and was the very homeland of Gudrod and his people, and then subject to the rival family of Inglings. We are told the two brothers reduced the chiefs and people of Westerfold to obedience (Eginhardt, Pertz, i. 200; Kruse, 69).

The same year, *i.e.*, in 813, Godfred's sons returned from exile with not a few of the chief

Danes who had left their country (*relicta patria* is a most suggestive phrase) and had sought refuge among the Swedés. They also collected a large body of people from all parts of Denmark, who had joined them *etiam regno non multo eos labore pepulerunt*. They were apparently welcomed by a large number of their father's folk, and fought against the two kings and drove them and their brother Hemming out (Eginhardt, Pertz, i. 200; Chron. Moiss., *id.* i. 311, ii. 259). Meanwhile, Karl the Great died on the 28th of January, 814 (*See* the fine account of his death and burial in Hodgkin, Invaders of Italy, vii. 200, etc.). His strong arm and vigorous policy had preserved the empire from ravage. The garrisons he fixed on the coast, the guardships he had built on the rivers, the heavy hand he laid on marauders had restrained the pirates of Denmark and the Saracens from too daring attacks, But even these precautions had not entirely availed. Already the bold seamen of the North had coasted round the peninsula, and entered the Mediterranean, and the monk of Saint Gallen relates how the Emperor one day, when in one of his southern ports, saw from the walls the ships of the Northmen in the distance, and although they dared not beard him, he is said to have lamented for the fate of the empire and for his descendants (Pertz, ii. 757, 758).

It is convenient at this point to refer to a mythical story which has deceived many people, (including myself, in former days), about a supposed paladin of Charlemagne known as Olger the Dane, the alleged hero of many adventures. A certain Otger, who was one of Charles' *marchiones*, is mentioned by the Monk of St. Gallen, in his life of Charles; also in the Ann. Lob., 771, and the Chron. Moiss. in 773), but he is not call a Dane by any of

them. The first reference I can find to an Olger "the Dane" at this date attributes to him the rebuilding of Saint Martin's Church at Cologne after it had been burnt by the Saxons in the 778, and is contained in the so-called Chronicle of St. Martin, a forgery of the Monk Legepont, and dating from the 18th century.

Between the years 814—19 the monastery of St. Filibert on the island of Noirmouttier was sacked by the Norsemen. (The island was also called Hermutier = *Heri Monasterium;* Herio or Heri being the name of the island on which it stood.); it was south of the Loire. Depping (i. 67, 68) tells an anecdote referring to a fresh prevision of calamity at this time: Liudger, a scholar of Alcuin's, had been a youthful missionary among the Westphalians and Friesians. He also wished to go among the Northmen to reclaim them to Christianity, but the Emperor, who had made him Bishop of Munster, would not permit him. His influence among the Friesians was too valuable for his life to be risked on such a dangerous errand. Liudger, too, saw the danger that loomed in the future. Depping tells how he one night dreamed that clouds came from the north, covered the face of the sun, and threw a gloom over the earth. "I shall not see it," he said to his sister, "but you will;" and truly, as his biographer says, they came frequently after he was dead, and ravished the land mercilessly (*Altfridus vita sancti Liudgeri,* lib. ch. 2, &c., Depping, 68, note). These calamities did not come at once. The first successor of Charlemagne was quite equal to defending his frontiers, however incapable he was of managing his household. He was a soldier as well as a scholar. The Avars and the Saracens had both tested his prowess before his father's death and

after he was crowned at Rheims by Pope Stephen himself, the Emperor Louis received lordly embassies from Nicephoros, Emperor of Byzantium, and the Khalif Abdurrahman, the rulers of the two strongest empires of his day. It is not strange, therefore, that the Northmen respected his borders. Their intestine quarrels continued, however. In 814 the two kings Harald and Reginfred who had been expelled by the sons of Godfred, and had sought shelter among the Obotriti, collected an army and returned the next year to the attack. In the fight that ensued, Reginfred and the eldest son of Godfred are said by one authority to have been killed (Chron. Moiss, an., 813). The report about Reginfred is doubtful however, since Adam of Bremen says distinctly that he took to piracy (Gest. Hamb. Ecc. Pont, i. 17; *see* vii. 291, note 54). The Ynglinga Saga says the same of Olaf, the elder son of Gudrod. The invaders were evidently defeated, for we are told by Eginhardt that Harald repaired to the Emperor and acknowledged his supremacy (*se in manus illius commendavit*—Eginhardt, Pertz, i. 201; Kruse, 72, 73). He apparently asked for help in recovering Jutland. He was told to return to Saxony (Saxony beyond the Elbe is doubtless meant) and to wait awhile, when he might hope for assistance. The Emperor gave orders that the Saxons and Obotriti should prepare to assist him. It was proposed to advance while the rivers were still frozen, but a sudden thaw broke them up, and the expedition was postponed till May 815. The combined troops, led by the Imperial legate Baldric, then crossed the Eider and advanced seven days' journey into the Danish district called Sinlendi, *i.e.*, the Sillende of Other (Kruse, 73; Simson says Sinlendi, east of Schleswig, Jahrbucher III., i. 52, note 6), without doubt the later

Schleswig. They went as far as the coast, where they entrenched themselves. Godfred's sons meanwhile retired to an island three miles off the mainland (Kruse suggests the island of Alsen, op. cit. 74; he follows Leibnitz, but Simson, Dummler, etc., suggest more probably, Funen). There they assembled a large army and a fleet of 200 ships. The Franks dared not cross arms with them, and contented themselves with ravaging the districts around, carried off forty hostages, and then returned to the Emperor, who was at Paderborn. Dahlmann makes out that the camp of the invaders was at Snogoi, opposite the town of Middlefart, in Funen, where the Belt is very narrow (op. cit., i. 27.)* The Convention at Paderborn wished to settle the question of the eastern frontiers of the Slavs and Danes, and also the affairs of Harald (Simson, 53, *vide* Theganus, Pertz ii, 523, Einh. Ann. ; Pertz. i. 202).

This expedition of the Frank Emperor seems utterly indefensible. To take the part of a fugitive chief who has been driven out of his country, and to invade and ravage that country with no substantive quarrel of one's own, is surely to attempt severe reprisals when opportunity arrives, and we need not travel far, when we find such policy in vogue, to excuse and palliate the cruel ravages of the pirates a few years later. Louis had no more right to intervene in the domestic quarrels of his neighbours than Napoleon in those of Spain. If it was then deemed good policy to sow discord among the frontagers of the empire by taking the side of fugitives and pretenders (a policy carried out with the Obotriti as well as the Danes), we need not

* It would seem from the confused account in the Icelandic annals that Ragnar Lodbrog was thought to have been opposed to Harald on this occasion (Kruse, 75).

wonder that such sowing should have led to a plentiful growth of ill-feeling on the part of the victims. To the diet at Paderborn in 815, went envoys from the Danes asking for peace (Theganus, Vit. Lud., Pertz, ii. 593). Louis was too strong to be attacked, nor was his strength tempered with overmuch courtesy, for we are told that in 817 the sons of Godfred sent envoys to him to complain of the continual attacks of his *protegé* Harald, and offered their own master's submission. In the Vita. Ludovisi (Pertz, ii. 621, 622), these messages are described as *simulata*, *i e.*, dishonest and they were therefore rejected. Dahlmann suggests that the negotiations with the Slavs had reached Louis' ears (Gesch. von Dan, i. 2). It was deemed politic to neglect the news but further assistance was offered to Harald. About the same time, *i.e.*, in 817, Sclaomir, who, on the murder of Thrasco, had been made chief of the Obotriti, was ordered to share his realm with Ceadrig, the son of his predecessor. This he resented, swore he would neither cross the Elbe again, nor attend the Imperial palace. He also sent envoys to Godfred's sons and invited them to invade Saxony beyond the Elbe (which had been granted to his people by Charlemagne). The Obotriti had hitherto been most faithful allies of the Franks, who styled them *Slavi nostri qui dicuntur* Obotriti, (Chron. Moiss., *sub an.* 798, etc., etc., ; *see* Simson, i. 110-111, note i.) They accordingly set out with their fleet, mounted the Elbe to Esesfeld, now called Itzehoe, and ravaged the borders of the river Stur. At the same time Gluomi, the custodian of the Norman frontier—("*Custos Nordmannici limitis*," as he is called in the annals of Eginhardt Pertz, i. 203, 204), advanced overland to the same place, but retired before the

determined attitude of the Franks. This was the first time, so far as we know, in which the Northmen openly dared to attack an imperial outpost, Friesia being only an appanage at the most, and almost independent.

We now read of a revolution in Denmark, which is not quite explicable. This was in 819, and therefore two years after the previous mention of the Danes. Doubtless, as Simson says, Harald had meanwhile kept up his attacks, *assidua infestatio Herioldi* says Eginhardt. In 817, we are told that Harald, having led his ships by the Emperor's orders through the land of the Obotriti,* returned to his own country, where he was well received by two of Godfred's sons, who agreed to share the kingdom with him. Other two sons, however, were expelled from the kingdom, Eginhardt adds, "*sed hoc dolo factum putatur*," that is by fraud (Eginhardt, Pertz, i. 208; Kruse, 78, 819). The meaning of this revolution, I presume, is that Harald, backed by the influence of the Frank Emperor, succeeded in planting his foot once more in his native land, not as a welcome guest, but as a traitor, whose presence was a daily insult to his neighbours. The question arises, who were these sons of Godfred? About one of them there is no difficulty, the one who probably supplanted the rest, Eric, known as Eric the First. The other brother who shared his realm with him was doubtless Reginfred. The brothers, who were excluded from Jutland,

* It is not actually said that Harald led his ships, as the words have been translated, but rather that he conducted them through the land of the Obotriti, "reductus ad naves" is the phrase used.—Eginhardt Ann., Pertz, i. 208. How could he lead them overland? Messrs. Warn, Koenig & Gerard say he was conducted to his ships and then went by sea towards his own country (op. cit., ii. 214).

who had probably remained behind in Norway, and who shared the kingdom of Westfold, were not improbably Olaf and Halfdane, kings who were certainly sons of Gudrod.

In 820, thirteen piratical ships made a descent upon the coast of Flanders (Eginhardt, *sub. ann.*). They committed some damage and captured some cattle, when they were driven away by the coastguards; *aliquot casae viles incensae, et parvus pecoris numerus abactus est.* They then repaired to the open low-banked estuary of the Seine. There they were attacked, and lost five of their number. Sailing on again, they once more landed on the coast of Aquitaine, at a place called Bundium by Eginhardt, and Buin in the Vita Ludovici, Ch. 33. Bonin, say Messrs. Warn & Ger, ii. 214, was on the island of the same name. Where this island really was is doubtful. Valesius & Leibnitz suggest St. Paul de Born, south of the Garonne, but this is contested by Pertz. Noirmontier or some island close by is perhaps meant. There they plundered effectively (*vico quodam qui vocatur Bundium ad integrum depopulato*, Eginhardt Annales, Pertz, i. 207), and returned home laden with an immense booty (Eginhardt, Pertz, i. 207; Kruse, 79), and with abundant temptation to their hardy, poor, and adventurous countrymen to try the trade of buccaneering. As Kruse suggests, it is exceedingly probable that this expedition was led by the two sons of Godfred, who were driven away from home in the preceeding year (Kruse, op. 80). Simson (Ludwig der Frommen, 161, note 4), seems to suggest that it was on this occasion the Brotherhood of St. Filibert of Noirmoutier, which had often suffered from the pirates, built themselves a new monastry on the mainland, whither they

returned in the summer when the sea was free from the pirates. But this was surely later? Prevost (Ord. Vit. Vol., i. 158, note) says the monks passed the good season in the monastery of Dee, 10 miles from Nantes.

During 821 the empire was not molested by the Danes, and Harald, we are told, lived peaceably with the sons of Godfred. H. Martin, Hist. de France, suggests they had ceded him a part of Jutland (op. cit. ii. 381, ed. of 1861 Warn & Ger., ii. 214). They were, however, only considered to be fair-weather friends to the empire, and Ceadrag, the chief of the Obotriti, was suspected of holding secret intercourse with them. Sclaomir, who had been detained at the Frankish court, was allowed to return home, probably with the intention of displacing him; but on his arrival in Saxony he fell ill, and having been baptized, died (Eginhardt, Pertz, i. 207; Kruse, 80). In this year a Capitulary was issued, which provided in several clauses for the uniting of the slaves or villeins into Guilds for mutual protection against the Norman pirates, especially on the coast of Flanders; See Sickel, 170.

It was the custom of the Emperor to spend several months of each year in a tour of inspection of his dominions. As Palgrave well observes, the Carlovingian sovereigns knew their country well from constantly traversing it. "Travel and tramp are good teachers both of statistics and geography." In the Chron. Moissense, 814, we have a notable entry about the Emperor Louis at this time. We read, that he planted garrisons on the seaboard where they were required—*præsidia ponit in litore maris ubi necesse fuit* (see also Nigellus II., v. 157). On returning from his tour the Kaiser generally settled down at one of his palaces—

Aachen or Nimvegen, Compiegne, Ingelheim, or Frankfort. There he received envoys from the dependent nations, and controlled the administration of his vast dominions. At the council held at Frankfort, in November, 822, envoys bringing gifts came from all the Eastern Slavs—from the Obotriti, Sorabi, Wiltzi, Bohemians, Marvani, (*i.e.*, the Moravians), the Prædenecenti (*i.e.*, the Obodriti, who lived near the Danube, close to the Bulgarians—Kruse, 83, note), and from the Avars, (Eginhardt, Pertz, ii. 209; Kruse, 83). The monk of St. Gallen adds that they took gold and silver as proofs of devotion, and their masters' swords as symbols of subjection; but this is probably a rhetorical flourish. Among the rest we are told that Harald and the sons of Godfred also sent envoys to this conventum (Einhardt, op. cit.). Simson suggests that the peace between them was then at an end.

We now arrive at a period when the Franks were seriously preparing to evangelize the country beyond the Elbe, a policy which, perhaps, more than any other brought upon them those flights of gadflies, the Danish rovers, in the next age. We are told in Rembert's "Life of St. Anscarius" that about the years 817—819, Ebbo, the Archbishop of Rheims, fourth brother of the Emperor Louis, burned to call the heathen, and especially the Danes, whom he had frequently seen at the palace, within the Christian fold (vit. St. Ansch., Pertz, II., 2,699; Kruse, 79). His first efforts in this direction apparently took place in 822, when we read in the Fuldensian annals that he evangelized the race of the Norsemen (Pertz, i. 357; Kruse, 81)—that is, he probably had the gospel preached to such of Harald's people as had come

within or near the Frankish frontier, or were living in Harald's part of Jutland.*

The next year Harald attended in person at Compiegne, and complained that Godfred's sons threatened to expel him from the country. The Emperor determined to send the Counts Theothar and Hruodmund as envoys to them, to make inquiries on the spot, and report to him. With them went Ebbo, Archbishop of Rheims, who on his return claimed to have baptized many (Enhardus, Fuldensian Annals, Pertz. i. 211; Kruse, 84). According to the monk Ermoldus Nigellus, he also converted King Harald, and persuaded him to become a Christian. This is, doubtless, an exaggeration,, but he probably urged upon him the good policy of doing so. The Emperor seems to have been satisfied with his inquiries, for in 825 the envoys of Godfred's sons went and renewed their pact with the Empire, at a conventum held at Aachen. We are told that peace was ratified with them in October of 825, and that it was signed "*in marca eorum*" (*i.e.*, on their march or frontier). It was this march or mark which probably gave its name to Denmark, which merely means the march or mark of the Danes. The absence of perpetual attacks at this time shews, as Messrs. Warnkœnig & Gerard say, that these acts had really been acts of war (op. cit., ii. 296). Ebbo seems to have renewed his mission (see Rem-

* Ebbo had gone to Rome in 822 and obtained a commission for this work from Pope Paschal. He was accompanied on his journey by Wilderich, Bishop of Bremen. Halfgar of Kammerich, whom the Pope had designed as his companion, did not apparently go with him. Dummler, op. cit., i. 259, notes 37 and 38. For his support while he stayed in Denmark the Emperor gave Ebbo the "Cell" of Welanao, the modern Munsterburg on the Stur, near Itzeoe (*id.*). He used it as a base of operations and a recruiting place, and we are told he often went there and prosecuted his labours in the Northern parts successfully (vit. Ansk, 13, 14, p. 697).

bert, ch. 13; Dummler, Ost Franken, i. 259, note 47). Up to this point Harald and Godfred's sons seem to have lived on fair terms. The next year the annual "conventum" was held in Charlemagne's palace at Ingelheim, where envoys went from the Obotriti and from Godfred's sons (Eginhardt, Pertz, i. 214; Kruse. 88). It was, however, famous for a much more important event. Harald, who had been driven out again by the latter, and was now a fugitive, deemed it prudent to adopt a new policy. He determined to be baptized, and to become a dependent of the empire. The story of the ceremony has been told in detail by the panegyrist of Louis, the monk Ermoldus, who was doubtless an eye-witness; and a very graphic picture it is of the Imperial court of the early part of the ninth century.

Eginhardt tells us how Charlemagne had built himself a palace at Ingelheim, a suburb of Mainz, close by the church of St. Alban, then outside the city walls. The palace overlooked the grand old river, the Rhine. The poet Saxo speaks of its hundred pillars—doubtless such as can still be seen in Charlemagne's Dom at Aachen; some were spoils of old Rome, and some of home-got granite. These shafts still survive (scattered however) at Ingelheim, Mainz, the monastery of Eberbach and at Heidelberg (Simson, Vit. Lud. 257), while some of the capitals of the pillars are in the museum at Mainz. Ermoldus describes the palace as ornamented with *bas-reliefs*, or paintings. He speaks in one place of the *Regia domus late per sculpta*; in another, however, he uses the word *pingitur* as if they were painted, which is more probable, Simson so understands it. In these paintings, or reliefs, the deeds of the great conquerors and legislators of old were represented—of Alexander

and Hannibal, Constantine and Theodosius, etc. They were apparently based on Orosius, and included on one side Ninus; Cyrus, whose head the Scythian queen was putting in a bowl of blood; Hannibal, as he lost an eye in the marshes of Etruria, Alexander's great deeds and the foundation of Rome. On the other side were scenes from later history; the founding of Constantinople. Theodosius the Great, Charles Martel receiving the submission of the Friesians; and Pepin of the Aquitanians: while on other slabs were represented the dealings of the mighty Karl himself (Karl with the sage front, as he is styled) and his conflict with the Saxons,—all rude enough, no doubt; copies of crude works of the later days of the Western Empire, but (when hung about with the florid tapestries and hangings that came from the Saracen looms) impressive enough to the warriors of the Slavic and Northern marches (Simson, 257.) Many small temporary dwellings were erected to accommodate the visitors. There in his *Aula* Louis received the many-tongued and variedly dressed deputations of his friends and satellites. It was there also that in 826 Harald went with his wife and his son (one late writer, Hermann von Reichenau says sons, and Harald had certainly two sons, Godfred and Rodulf). He also took his nephew, or brother Rurik (probably his nephew) and a large body of retainers. The monk describes how when the fleet appoached, the Kaiser, who watched it from the battlements, sent Matfred, Count of Orleans, with a body of young courtiers to meet the Danes; and with them some richly caparisoned horses. Harald approached the hall of audience mounted on a Frank horse. The poet also gives at length what he claims to be Harald's address to the great Emperor, *inter alia*, stating how he had been converted by the Archbishop Ebbo, and now

wished to be baptized. The ceremony was performed in St. Alban's Chapel (Simson, i. 258, note). Louis was god-father to Harald, and decked him with his white chrismal robe; the Empress Judith did the same for the great Dane's consort; while the young Lothaire, the Emperor's heir, was sponsor to Harald's son. With them were baptised four hundred Northmen of both sexes—*promiscui sexus* ("Annales Xantenses," *sub anno* 826). The Monk of St. Gallen does not directly refer to this ceremony in his notice. He says that not a year passed without some of the Danes being baptised, and declaring themselves vassals. On one occasion 50 came, and there not being sufficient white robes for them, they had to be made quickly and rudely; and our author reports how one of the northern warriors rejected his robe, saying. "Keep your dress for women; this is the twentieth time I have been baptized, and never before had I such a costume. If I were not ashamed to go naked I would leave your Christ and your garment together" (Simson). This, as Depping says, was probably a tale invented to amuse the courtiers at Ingelheim. After the ceremony the Emperor gave his *protégé* some lordly presents, a purple robe fringed with gold, the sword that hung by his side, a golden girdle, golden bracelets for his arms, and a jewelled sash for his sword, a coronal for his head, his own socks of golden tissue and his white gloves. His wife was also duly decked by the Empress Judith with a tunic stiff with gold and jewels, a golden band to entwine her flaxen curls, a twisted golden collar about her neck, bracelets on her arms, a gold jewelled sash, about her waist, and a cape of golden tissue upon her shoulders; while Lothaire presented his godson with garments of golden material. Their four hundred followers were also rewarded with pre-

sents of Frank robes (see line 397). When thus decked out they proceeded to the Dom, where priests and attendants were assembled, a picture of glorious colour. We are told that among the grandees present were Clement, the head of the school; Theuto, the precentor, who ordered the singing of the choir of clerics; while Adhalewi acted as Chamberlain and arranged the throng with his ferule in his hand, as they raised the alleluia. First came the young Prince Charles, and then amidst stirring strains the great Kaiser and his company paced up the church to the apse, the Abbot and Arch-Chaplain Hilduin on his right, the Imperial Chancellor, the Abbott Helisachar, on his left. Then came Gerung the chief door-keeper, with a staff in his hand and a golden crown on his head, then prince Lothaire, then the Danish king in chrismal robes, and the Empress Judith, conducted by Matfred, Count of Orleans and Hugo, of Tours, also wearing crowns and gold embroidered garments, then followed Harald's wife, and the Chancellor Fridugis, with a crowd of his scholars in white garments, lastly the rest of the people including the Danes, followed by the great nobles of the Empire clad in their state robes.

Most imposing must such pageantry have been to ordinary eyes, but how much more to the homely experience of the Danish exiles! We are told how the preacher raised his voice, and bade Harald convert the Danish swords and spears into ploughs and reaping-hooks—surely a cynical address in the presence of the war-loving Franks. It must have been a solemn sight when, placing his hands in those of the Emperor, Harald commended himself and the realms over which he had such a shadowy hold into the

hands of his suzerain. South Jutland was formally at least added to the appanages of the empire. Once more the Frankish sovereign might claim the much honoured style of *Mehrer des Reichs*, increaser of the empire (Palgrave, i. 258).

After the state ceremonial came the feast, over which Petrus, the chief baker, and Gunto, the chief cook, and Otho, the chief butler (no doubt honorary officers), presided, spreading out the napkins with their snowy fringes, and laying the victuals on the marble discs. Golden cups were used for drinking. By Louis' side sat his wife Judith, the hated stepmother of his sons.

After the feast the Danes were entertained at a royal hunt on one of the wooded islands of the Rhine, and the spoil of bears, stags, wild boars, and roes was afterwards borne in, in state and divided among the courtiers and others, the clergy, as the old poet remarks, getting their due share. The Emperor, Empress, Lothaire, and Charles, Count Wido, and others were all there, and thus did the first Scandinavian chieftain of high rank formally forsake the faith of his forefathers and become a Christian.

When Harald had declared himself "the man" of the Kaiser, we read that after the manner of the Franks he was presented with a steed and a set of arms. He also received more valuable gifts, for we are told that the Emperor granted him the district of Rustri, a rich and extensive gau or Pagus, in Friesia, still called Rustringen or Butyadingerland, in the Grand Duchy of Oldenburgh, at the mouths of the Weser and the Yahde (Vogel, Die Normannen, op. cit., 60). To this was added a vine-growing district, ("loca vinifera," as Ermoldus calls it), probably the district near Coblenz, Andernach, and Sinzig, which was after-

wards (namely in 885), claimed by Harald's son Godfred (Kruse, 95). Palgrave has a note on Charlemagne's cultivation of the vine in the Rhine Valley. These grants probably had attached to them the condition that attached to other margraviates, namely, that of defending the borders of the empire against the Danes. At length Harald departed, accompanied by the monk Anscharius, with appropriate store of sacred vessels, vestments, and priests' books to convert the Danes to Christianity, and to subservience to the Empire (Palgrave, 1,257; see also a long note in Langebek's life of St. Anscharius, Langebek, Rer. Dan. Scrip., 1,439). Ermoldus says that Harald's son and nephew remained behind as hostages (v. 629, 630).

On Harald's return he was accompanied as I have said, by the monk *Anschar*, the famous apostle of the North, and his companion Autbert. Their venture and that of Archbishop Ebbo, to which I have referred, were not the first missionary efforts in this direction. As far back as the year 699 the English bishop St. Willibrord had made an ineffectual attempt to introduce Christianity into Jutland, but was repelled by the then king of the country, who was called Augandeo (Dahlmann, i. 30, note). He baptized thirty Danish boys, who he hoped would form the nucleus of a Christian community. Among these, tradition makes out was St. Sebald, who in the legend is called a son of a Danish king (Dahlmann, i. 30, note). These earlier efforts, however, seem to have left no fruit behind them, and Anschar may claim the honour of having been the proto-apostle of Scandinavia. He was born on the 9th of September, 801. Having lost his mother when he was five years old he became an inmate of the school attached to the Abbey of Corbey, on the

Somme, in Picardy, and was there ten years; later he adopted the monkish habit, and when he was twenty was at the head of the school. In 823 he set out with other monks from the same abbey to work in Westphalia, where on the river Weser the Emperor Louis had built several churches and monasteries, and there he founded a "New Corbey" as a focus of missionary light. He had worked in Westphalia for three years, when he received orders from the mother monastery at Corbey to accompany Harald homewards. He declared his willingness to go, and was introduced to the Emperor, and supplied with the necessary articles—vessels, vestments, and books, together with tents and other necessaries, but with no servants, as none volunteered, and he did not wish to constrain any; another monk named Autbert (as I have said), was his only companion (see for all this Simson, i. 256, 266). They were commissioned to take care the converted king did not relapse into his old ways, to instruct him further in the Christian faith, and also to preach to the heathen in Denmark. They had a wretched journey down the Rhine, past the lovely Rheingau and the Drachenfels, and suffered a good deal from the coarse, rude manners of Harald and his companions. Their condition was improved, when they were supplied with a separate vessel in which they could stow away their goods, by Hadebald, the Archbishop of Cologne. It contained two small cabins, a luxury unknown to the Danes. These took the king's fancy, and he transported himself into the Frankish ship, and took possession of one cabin; but considerately left the other to the two monks. They afterwards gained his confidence and the respect of his people. They went by way of Dorestadt, *i.e.*, Wyk te Doorestede, which was an appanage of Harald

(Fulda Annals, *sub ann*, 850), and then by the Lech and the Maas into the North Sea. Coasting along the Friesic shore they arrived at the mouth of the Weser, where Harald's newly granted appanage of Rustringen lay, and then onwards to Harald's frontiers in the south of Schlesvig (Dahlmann, i. 38, 39). There Anschar began his evangelistic work.

Let us now turn from the gorgeous ceremonial at Ingelheim, and its sequel (in which the exile Harald had so freely laid himself and his country at the feet of the Frank Kaiser), to Jutland and its then rulers. Jutland was a rugged, dreary land. Adam of Bremen describes it in the eleventh century as a huge waste of marsh and sterile land ("*Porro cum omnes tractus Germaniæ horreant saltibus, sola est Jutland ceteris horridior*"). Cultivation was confined to the river banks, and its farms were wide asunder; the population were a rough, hardy and persevering folk, such as the Danes are still—fishermen and sailors, much attached to their old creed and customs, and ruled over in great part at this time, as we have seen, by the sons of Godfred. On its borders Anschar now started a school of about twelve boys, partially consisting of those redeemed from Slavery, and partly of those handed over to him by Harald to be educated (Dummler i. 261). One can well believe how unwelcome Harald and his Christian *protégés* would be to this free folk, for he was coming to tie their necks, impatient of restraint, to the triumphal car of the great Emperor, whose renown had reached their ears but whose yoke they had not felt about their necks. Nor can we wonder that Christianity coming under Imperial auspices—coming, in fact, as the pendent to the chains of subservience to

the Frank throne—should have been received with scorn by the bulk of the people, and that their old faith, which thus became a symbol of their freedom, should have been clung to with the long-enduring affection which it was by their neighbours the Saxons.

In 827 we read that the Emperor held two general assemblies, one at Nimwegen, the grand fortress whose fragments still remain and command the course of the Lower Rhine, and the other at Compiegne. The former was held to meet the wishes of Eric the son of Godfred, who had promised to attend it in person (Eginhardt, Pertz, i. 216; Kruse, 104). These promises are styled "*falsas pollicitationes*," which show that he did not go. The sons of Godfred (no doubt including Eric), in fact, expelled Harald once more from their borders; ("*de consortio regni*" is the phrase in Eginhardt meaning, no doubt, from the joint kingship), so that he must have gone back to Friesia. This doubtless stopped evangelistic work in Denmark itself, but Anschar continued to teach at his school; two years later he was abandoned by Autbert, who, no doubt, grew weary of his wretched life of suspense, and returned to Corbey, where he died after a long illness, apparently at Easter, 830 (*id*). We are told that in 828 negotiations had been opened for mutual peace between the Danes and Franks and to arrange the affairs of Harald. A more likely story is told in the Vita. Ludovici, namely, that the Emperor wished to help Harald, and to make a treaty of peace with Godfred's sons, and sent the Saxon counts with him to open negotiations for the return of the latter to South Jutland (Pertz., ii. 621, 632). At this conference nearly all the Saxon counts and the marquises or march guardians were present. But while the

Saxon and Danish lords were treating, Harald, who was doubtless jealous of the peacemaking (which it was apparently arranged should involve the giving of hostages—Eginhardt, i. 217), went into and burnt some Danish hamlets. Godfred's sons thereupon naturally collected an army, crossed the Eider and attacked the camp planted on the other side, plundered it and drove the garrison away (Eginhardt, *ib.*, Kruse, 106). This was in 828. Such was the treacherous dealing which sharpened the spears of the Danes when they revenged themselves upon the cities of the Frankish empire some years later. They behaved meekly enough on this occasion, however, for we are told by Eginhardt that they sent envoys to the Emperor to explain how they had been driven to the course they took, and were now ready to make amends. The Emperor was satisfied and peace was renewed with them. This account of the transactions, for which we depend entirely on the Frank Chronicles, seems to point to a rebuff and a distinct blow to the prestige of the Empire, and so Simson reads it. A good proof of this is the panic which followed the rumour which was spread in June the next year, *i.e.* 829, that the Danes were about to invade Saxony and were approaching the frontier. Louis summoned the Franks from all parts to a general levy, and announced that he intended crossing the Rhine at Neus in the middle of July. It was however, a false report. No envoys, came from the Danes to the *conventum* this year. (See Eginhardt, Pertz, i. 218). This is the last notice of the Norsemen by the great chronicler and biographer, Eginhardt. Their invasions at this time were clearly not piratical but legitimate warfare, and meant to create terror in the Empire and prevent its extending northward. They afterwards degenerated into piracy in consequence of

the successes of the Norsemen. Depping asserts that they agreed to admit Harald into their land, probably to share its government, but I have not traced his authority, nor does this seem probable from other considerations. It is singular that in 829 and 830 there should be no mention of trouble with the Danes by the Frankish writers; Harald apparently continued at peace in his holding, and there is no hostile mention in the Frank annals till 834. They may have been raiding elsewhere, for we read that in 830—the island of Herio in Brittany was placed under the special protection of Louis and Lothaire on account of the invasions of the Northmen (Kruse, 122).

We now come to an incident which shows how Anschar's mission was more suspected politically than otherwise. While he had to do his missionary work from outside Denmark, envoys came to the Emperor from the Swedes, begging him to send some missionaries to their country. Sweden probably felt itself out of reach of the grasping Frankish empire, and could afford to trust the missionaries. Anschar volunteered to go. On his return thence in 831 it was determined to found a See on the pagan marches by the Elbe, whence the North might be evangelized; and he was accordingly appointed Archbishop of Hamburgh. He journeyed to Rome to receive the pallium, and was duly invested with the commission of apostolical legate to the Swedes, Danes, and Slavs. He busied himself with his work, and we are told how he redeemed boys from slavery among the Danes and Slavs, and educated them for the service of God—native presbyters such as our missionaries still find so useful in Africa and elsewhere. It is probable that few of the Danes, save exiles and their like, were much influenced by

his teaching. The converts were no doubt looked upon as political traitors and renegades, and their new faith was treated as a badge of their disloyalty as well as their apostasy. This nest of Christians on the borders of the Eider was a constant menace to the independence of the Danes, a mere imperial outpost at their very threshold. It was doubtless the feeling nursed by these circumstances, that caused Christianity and its professors to be so bitterly hated by the corsairs of a few years later, and made so many ruins of monasteries and churches. In our own day the same feeling led to similar cruel persecutions in Japan and China, where indifferentism and toleration in religious matters are tempered by a fierce jealousy of political propagandism.

In 831 the Emperor held his third general placitum at Thionville (*Theodonis villa*, called Diedenhofen by the Germans). Envoys went there to him from Persia (which seems a long way off), seeking peace. There also went others from the Danes (no doubt from Eric's subjects), who, having renewed their pact with the empire, returned home (Annales Bert. Pertz, i, 424; Kruse, 113). I have already remarked how the early Danish attacks upon the coasts of the empire were far from being mere individual acts of piracy, and were deliberate acts of war, differing from the contemporary wars of the Franks only in being sea fights and not land fights. This is clear when we consider that whenever there was peace between the Imperial ruler and the Danish king; and envoys were exchanged, we read of no attacks on the coasts, but these only occur when there was a feud between the two powers. In England and Ireland matters were very different, as we shall presently show. The view here urged is

supported by the further fact that the assaults upon the coasts of the mainland of Europe, when they recommenced, were directed not against the empire itself, but against the fief granted to Harald and his family. They continued, in fact, the long strife between the sons of Godfred and their rivals which we have traced out.

There is good reason for believing that besides the *gau* of Rustringen, the greater part of Friesia and of modern Holland were under the immediate authority of Harald and his relatives (*Theganus vita* Hludovic Imp, Pertz, ii, 597; Kruse, 89); and we accordingly read that in the year 834 the Danes, (*i.e.*, the Danes of Jutland), devasted a portion of Friesia* and having doubtless mounted the old course of the Rhine, now called the "Oude Rhyn," they reached Vetus Trajectum, *i.e.*, Utrecht, and then passed on to the great mart of those parts, which gave its name to the district —namely, Dorestadt. This was a famous trading centre where the Carlovingians had a mint, of which many coins are extant, and, according to the life of Anscharius, there were fifty-five churches and a crowd of clergy there. So famous was it as a religious centre that pilgrims visited it like they did the most holy places elsewhere, and a church was placed as its emblem on its coins (Depping,

* Friesland says Vogel, especially that part of it extending from the Vlie to Sinkfal near Sluis, in regard to trade and industry, was certainly one of the most prosperous and progressive parts of the Empire, as well as one of the most fertile. With the exception of the Jews, the Friesians were the principal traders in Europe. We are told that the fairest portion of Mainz, then the great Mart where the trade routes from the Danube and Italy met, was inhabited by Friesians (A. Fuld, 887). There were Friesian traders at St. Denis (Bouquet, v. 699 and vi. 466); Muhlbach 75; also at York (Altfridus Vit. Luidgeri i. 11; S. S. ii. 40). Friesic fabrics were well known as far as the East. Thence there came too weapons and other kinds of smiths' work from the Rhine and the Belgian towns, so especially did wine, not only for drinking but for the ritual of the church. Thither also came wool from England, furs from the far north, and spices from the Levant (Vogel, 66).

81, 82). It was situated at the point where the Lech and the old Rhine diverge, and is now represented by the village of Wyk te Doorestede, the Vicus Batavorum of Tacitus (Depping, *loc. cit.*). It was doubtless the metropolis of Harald's dominions, and the great focus of light, learning, and wealth for all Friesia.† Here the Danes now committed great ravages, pillaging the town and slaughtering its inhabitants. They then passed to Kynemarca, *i.e.*, the Dutch province of Kennemerland, where they destroyed the church of St. Adelbert the Confessor; cut off the head, as it is said, of the holy Jero at Niortich, *i.e.*, Noortwyk op Zee, and ruined the very strong castle of Aurundel, near Varenburg, *i.e.*, the rude old castle at Voorburg, formerly called Hadriani Forum, near Leyden. They slaughtered a great number of the inhabitants, including Theobald and Gerald (doubtless two of the chief inhabitants), and

† Its fame as a trading mart was wide spread. The annals of Xanten, under the year 834, call it *Nominatissimum Vicum*, Liudger, Vita. Gregorii abb Traject, C 5, S. S., xv. 71 speaks of it as *vicum famosum Dorstad*, see Urk., Karls d Gr. 8 June, 777, Muhlbach 21. Three great trade routes met at Dorstadt:—First that along the Rhine which connected Mainz with the outer world, and which also tapped the valley of the Danube and that which traversed Mont Cenis into Italy; secondly, the English trade by way of the Maas and the Lech; thirdly, the Scandinavian and Baltic trade which went along the Krumman Rhine by Utrecht, through the Vecht, the Zuyder Sea and between the Friesian Islands and the mainland to Schleswig. It is unlikely there was in old times an opening from the Rhine for ships at Katwyk. The traders went to the North by the Vecht (See Berg. Geogr. Ned., 62, 63) Dorstadt was one of the important stations where the excise dues were collected. In a document of the Emperor Louis dated June 831; (Muhlbach, 890)—relating to the City of Strasburg it is stated that its goods were toll-free except at Quentovic Dorestadt and Sclusae. Sclusae says Vogel does not mean Sluys but a place on the Mont Cenis route. This is a proof that the people of Strasburgh at that time traded between Lombardy, England, and Denmark (Op. cit., 66 and 67; for other references (see especially Passio. S. Frederici Episc. Trec., c. 19, A. SS., xv. 354).

See also acts of St. Frederick, bishop of Utrecht and martyr (Dom Bouq., i, 339). These annals call them Danes; the Annals of Xanten pagans; while the Fuldea Annals call them Normanni.

carried off many of the women and children into captivity (Magnum Chron. Belgicum, *ap. Pist.* 65 ; Kruse, 119). Kruse says he does not know whence these details were derived, but does not doubt they are trustworthy.

This attack was doubtless directed against what Eric and his people must have deemed the traitorous colony on his frontier, the pestilent pretenders to his throne, and the servile creatures of the Empire. It was repeated the next year when they again ravaged Dorestadt, whereupon the Emperor Louis, who held a council at Cremica on the Rhone, (*in Stremiaco* Kruse, 121, and note 3 ; Vogel, 69 says at Dramades) ; and was no doubt beginning to fear for his own borders, repaired to Aachen, and set the maritime or coast guards in order (Prudent. Trecen., Pertz., i. 429 ; Annales Xantenses, Pertz, ii. 226 , Kruse, 121).

Prevost. (Ord. Vit. i. 158, note), says that in 830 Louis and Lothairs authorised the construction of a fortified wall about St. Filibert's monastery—*contra piratarum incursiones.* Wala of Corbey was exiled to Noirmoutiers in 830, and released thencc in 834, showing it was intact at the latter date.

In 834 the monks of Noirmoutiers are said, in consequence of the invaders, to have left their island and monastery, taking with them the relics of St. Filibert, which had been seen there by Wala of Corbey when an outcast (Ann. Engol, 834 ; Ann. Aquit. 830 ; Pertz., ii. 252 ; xvi. 485 ; Dummler, i. 188 ; Simson ii. 129.

On the 20th August, 835.—Count Rainald of Herbauge (*Arbatilicensis comes*), inflicted a severe defeat on the invaders Ann. Engol. 835 ; Chron. Aquit. 835, 836 ; Ademar, iii. c. 16 ; Tran. St.

Filibert, Mabillon, iv*a*. 536. The Abbot Ermentarius in his account of the translation of the saint says the battle began at nine and went on to vespers, and the pirates lost nine ships, 484 of them were killed, and only one of the Franks. Some knights were wounded and many horses killed. He adds that Rainald himself was defeated in a fight in 843 against Lambert. It is not clear, says Simson, whether the count was victorious or not. The Ann. Engol. simply speak of the fight. Ademar says the Count was beaten, which is confirmed by the fact that Abbot Hilbod the year following sought protection for the island from Pepin, in Aquitaine.

We are told that in 836 Hilbod repaired to Pepin, in Aquitaine, to ask for aid against repeated attacks of the Northmen. With the consent of the bishops, abbots, counts, and other faithful ones, it was decided that the bones of St. Filibert should be transferred to a safer place. On the 7th June they were disinterred and taken to the Monastery of Deas on the mainland, whence they were moved to Burgundy in 875 (Simson, 143, note 5).

In the same year (836) the Danes (one account says, in conjunction with the Saxons, probably the Nordalbingians—Kruse, 125), once more ravaged Dorestadt and Friesia. On this occasion they burnt the town of Antwerp and a trading mart at the mouth of the Maas, which the chronicler calls Witla, and which Kruse identifies, with some probability, with Briel (op. cit., 125) and imposed tribute on the Friesians. Then mounting the Scheldt, they reached the town of Doorne (Turinum), where was situated the monastery of St. Fredegand. There they burnt and destroyed the

monastery, killed part of its inmates, and carried off the rest; but the relics of the saint had meanwhile, been transferred to a place of safety. They then went to Mechlin, laid waste the church of St. Rumold, and devastated the town with fire and sword If we are to believe the life of St. Gommar, when the Danes came to that monastery and set fire to the roof, it was miraculously put out. This only increased the anger of the pirates, who broke into the church and killed the priest Fredegar at the altar. The same work goes on to say that as they bore off the booty to their ships, two of their chiefs, named Reolfus and Reginarius, came to an untimely end. Reolfus burst his stomach, and his bowels fell out; and Reginarius, being deprived of his sight, perished miserably.

This story is derived from the life of St. Gommar, abstracted by F. Haræus (Ann. Brabant, i. 67; see Langebek, i. 519; Kruse, 125). It is singularly interesting, and although we crave permission entirely to doubt the tale of the death of the two chiefs as related in it, there can be small doubt ts is an otherwise truthful record; and the names, especially, I believe to be most authentic. I shall revert to them on another occasion. I would remark that in this invasion the Danes clearly overstepped the limits of the fief which had been granted to Harald, and crossed the imperial borders. In September, 836, Eric sent envoys to the *placitum* which Louis held at Worms to tell the Emperor that it was contrary to his wish that his borders had been attacked and that he had had nothing to do with it, which as I beleive was true. Eric in fact complained that some of his own men had been put to

death near Cologne. These envoys secured the punishment of the offenders (Prud. Tr. Pertz., i. 430; Depping, 83). Later in the year envoys again came from Eric asking for the "wehrgeld," or blood money, for the murdered Danes (Pru. of Tr. Pertz., i. 430; Simson, i. 430); Dummler, i. 266, note. Prudentius thus reports the event.—*Sed et Horih rex Danorum, per legatos suos in eodem placito amicitiæ atque obedientiae conditiones mandans, se nullatenus eorum importunitatibus assensum praebuisse testatus, de suorum ad imperatorem missorum intefectione conquestus est, qui dudum circa Colouiam Agrippinam quorundam præsumptione neeati fuerant; quorum necem etiam imperator, missis ad hoc solum legatis justissime ultus est* (Prud. Pertz. i. 430).

In 837 we find the sea rovers again attacking the fief of the exiled Danish princes, and making a descent on the island of Walichra (*i.e.*, Walicheren), where, on the 17th June, they killed Eggihard or Eckhart, the count of the district, and Hemming the son of Halfdane, who was, as I believe, the brother of Harald, "a Dane and a most Christian chief" as he is called by Thegan, (*Ex stirpe Danorum dux Christianissimus*). Thegan says an innumberable number of Christians with many grandees then fell, while others were captured and afterwards ransomed. The invaders also carried off many women and large numbers of different kinds (*diversi generis*) of cattle (Ann. Xantenses Simson, ii. 168, notes 1 and 2). They afterward again ravaged Dorestadt, and having collected black-mail, or tribute, from the Friesians they retired (Thegani vita Ludovici, Pertz, ii. 604; Fuldensian Annals, Pertz, i. 361; Prud. Trec., Pertz, i. 430; Kruse, 126, 127). Dorestadt had

been a rare mine for the invaders, and many coins struck there have been found in Scandinavia (Depping, 83). On the news of this last invasion, the Emperor Louis, who had determined upon spending the winter in Italy, altered his plans and went to his palace at Nimvegen, not far from Dorestadt. There he held an inquiry into the conduct of those who had had charge of the coasts, and who explained that their forces had been too weak and had also been thwarted by their subordinates. He appointed certain counts and abbots to repress this insubordination, and to prepare a fleet to cruise on the coasts of Friesia (Prud. Trec., Pertz, i. 430; Kruse, 127). The Friesians had proved very lax in making preparations and some officials were specially sent to press them to do their duty (see Prud. Tr.) But the weakness of the Empire was at its very heart. It was the quarrels and dissensions of Louis' sons which really gave rise to it. The old man, in his various schemes of dividing the empire so as to find a portion for the child of his old age, Charles, and of his second wife, Judith, aroused the jealousy and hatred of his other sons.

In 838 the Emperor remained at Nimvegen, where he held his so called "May-meeting" in June, so as to overawe the invaders, and to repair the damage they had done in previous years. They did not make an attack this year; but, according to Prudentius, it was because their fleet was dispersed and destroyed by a storm—*ortoque subito maritimorum fluctuum turbine, vix paucissimis evadentibus, submersi sunt* (Prudentius Trec., Pertz. i. 431, 432). While Louis was at Attigny, envoys went to him from Eric, saying that out of devotion to the Emperor he had imprisoned the authors of the recent raids and had ordered them to be put to death (*captos*

et interfici jussos) and asking that he would make over to him the country of the Friesians and the Obotriti. The former, as M. Kruse says, seems to hove been treated by the Northern kings as a dependence of their empire, and was so held especially by Godfred, the contemporary of Charlemagne; while a section of the Obotriti were colonists settled at the instance of the great Emperor in the country of the Nordalbingian Saxons, who were also more or less dependent on the Danish sovereigns. This claim of Eric's proves that he was becoming a much more important personage in European affairs, and also that the Empire was rapidly weakening. It was treated, however, by the imperial authorities with contempt and disdain (Prud. Trec., Simson, op. cit., iii. 189). This year ships were built against the Northmen (see An. Fulden.; also Ann. Bertin.) At a diet held at Nimvegen at the same time a great "relief" was distributed to the maritime districts, which had suffered through the invasion of the Danes (Ann. Bertin.). Simson suggests that the demand was made to provide the wehrgeld for the murdered envoys and suggests a lacuna in the MS. ii. 189, note.

The following year, *i.e.*, in 839, Friesia was visited by its usual scourge (Prud. 839: *Quidum etiam piratæ in quandam Frisiae partem irruentes non parum incommodi nostris finibus intulerunt*). As usual distinction seems to have been made between this outlier of the empire and the empire itself, for the same year envoys went to the emperor from Eric, who were accompanied by the latter's nephew, doubtless Röric. They were gladly (*hilariter*) received and rewarded, and complained of the Friesians, (see Prudentius, Tr., *ad. an.*, and Simson, ii. 217, 218). The emperor then sent

envoys to Eric who secured, as was hoped by the Franks, a lasting peace ratified by oaths (*id.*—Prud. Trec., Pertz, i. 434—436; Kruse, 133, 134). The Annales Elnon. Pertz., v. 12 say that in May, 839. *Normanni in Walachria interfuerunt Francos*—Dummler, 188, note 19. This invasion is probably that dated wrongly in 840 in the Chron. Norm. (Kruse. 140); and which ought to be under 839. Dahlmann argues that at this time Harald was driven away from Rustringen, and with his brother (? nephew) Rörik retained only Dorestadt (i. 43).

It was about a year before his death, *i.e.*, 839, that Louis le Débonnaire made the tenth of his dispositions of the empire among his sons, the tenth of those arrangements which were being constantly altered, and which became the seeds of so much bitter contention in later days. The portion of Lothaire the eldest, included, according to Prudentius of Troyes, the kingdom of Saxony, with its marches, the duchy of Friesland as far as the Maas, and the counties of Hamarlant, Batavia, Testerbant, and Dorestadt (Kruse, 133). That is, it included the districts which had been granted to Harald and Röric as appanges. The old emperor spent the few months which remained to him in suppressing the revolts of his sons Pepin and Louis the German. He afterwards summoned a Diet at Worms, on the Feast of St. Rumbold, the first day of July, 840. "But," to quote the picturesque sentences of Palgrave, "the end was nigh. Louis le Débonnaire never saw any of his children again. At Frankfort on the Maine he stayed his progress; it was springtime, past Whitsuntide. The season had been rendered awful; on the eve of the Ascension the sun was totally eclipsed, and the stars shone with nocturnal brightness. His stomach refused

nourishment, weakness and languor gained upon him; uneasy and seeking rest the sick man fancied that he would pass the approaching summer upon the island which, dividing the heavily-gushing Rhine, is now covered by the picturesque towers of the Pfaltz; and he desired that a thatched lodge, or leafy hut, should be there prepared, such as had served for him when hunting in the forest, or as a soldier in the field. Lying on his couch, he longed for the soothing music of the gurgling waters and the freshness of the waving wind. Thither he was conveyed, his bark floating down from stream to stream. Many of the clergy were in attendance; amongst others, his brother, Archbishop Drogo, who at this time held the office of *Archicapellanus;* and it was he who received the last injunctions which the son of Charlemagne had to impart. His imperial crown and sword he gave to Lothaire, with the earnest request that he would be kind and true to Judith, the widowed empress, and keep his word and promise to his brother Charles. Dying of inanition the bed of the humble and contrite sinner was surrounded by the priests, who continued in prayer with him and for him till he expired. Louis the Emperor died on the third Sunday in June, and his corpse was removed to Metz and buried in the basilica of St. Arnolph, without the walls" (Palgrave, i. 309). The weak and foolish old man, as he had now become, who was laid under the ground in the year 840, was the last sovereign who ruled over the entire heritage of Charlemagne. Its incongruous elements now fell asunder, and fell very naturally into fragments coincident largely with peculiarities of language, &c. It was perhaps well that the mere pretence which bound together Frenchmen and Germans, Italians and Aquitanians, under one government should cease. It led however to

disastrous results in the internecine struggle of those who divided to the Empire and the opening of the gaping wounds which the Northern pirates utilised without stint presently.

For some years the Dane Harald does not appear in the Annals, and it would seem from the narrative of Prudentius of Troyes, confirmed by Saxo (Kruse, 142), that he had relapsed to paganism, perhaps with the sanction, or even by the advice, of Lothaire (Prud. Tr., Pertz, i. 437, 438); at all events Count Nithard the Royal historian (probably a grandson of Charlemagne), tells us Lothaire subsidized the Norsemen, and incited them to plunder the Christians. To Lothaire he remained faithful to the end, and the last time he is mentioned is when, after the terrible defeat of the Emperor by his brothers at Fontenoy, Lothaire planted guards at Coblenz to defend the passage of the Moselle against the victors. Among whom were Otgar, Bishop of Mainz, Count Hatto, and *Harald*. They were not strong enough to offer real resistance and withdrew (Nithard, Pertz. ii. 667); Harald the exile, the godson of the Emperor Louis at Mainz, the rival of the Jutish King Eric, now disappears from history. He seems to have died about this time), probably, like others, a victim of the disaster at Fontenoy.

We are told that after living on good terms with the Franks for many years, he was put to death by the Marchiones or Marquises, the custodians of the frontier, from a suspicion that he was having treacherous communications with his countrymen (Ruod. Fuld. Pertz, i. 367, see *sub an.* 850; Kruse, 206).

He had lived a curiously romantic life and is a prominent figure in the history of the ninth century. He was doubtless the Harald Klak of

the Saga writers. Vogel says, whether his brother (? nephew) Rörik succeeded to his dominions is doubtful. Later he is found in conflict with Lothaire (op. cit. 86).

We are now told that Lothaire granted the isle of Walcheren (*Gualacras*) and other neighbouring districts to Rörik (Prudentius v. 41; Nithard, iv. ch. 2), and thus added the mouth of the Scheldt to his other possessions in Rustringen and Dorestadt.* He in fact now probably dominated over the whole country inhabited by Frieslanders, from the Elbe to the Scheldt.

In this narrative it has not been possible to separate the doings of the special rulers of Westfold from those of their brothers; the annals group them together in the phrase "the sons of Godfred," nor yet has it been possible to separate the doings of the rival clans who followed the standards of the sons of Halfdane and Godfred (*i.e.*, Gudrod), respectively representing the rival houses of the Sciöldungs and the Ynglings. I have deemed it best in this monograph to report all the doings I could meet with about both of them, and to unite them together by their intercourse with the Empire. I must now return to Westfold and its special rulers.

Two other brothers of Hemming, called Hancwin (*i.e.*, Hakon) and Angandeo (Angantyr) by Eginhardt, are mentioned among the envoys sent by him to the Frank emperor in 811. These three brothers were probably the sons of Eystein,

* Perhaps the most notable feature of these cruel raids was the fate which now overtook Dorestede, which went down from the position of a great mart to a mere obscure trading place. In 1842, 1845 and 1846 excavations were made there and a large number of coins were found. Some dated from Merovingian times, but the great bulk were coins of Pepin, Charles the Great, Louis the Pious, and Lothaire. The excavations also proved that the place had been destroyed by fire and doubtless at some date during the years 834—837.

Gudrod's predecessor. A fourth brother was doubtless the Sigurd who fought against Harald and Raginfred in 812. In that battle, where, according to the Frank historians, more than 10,000 men perished, it would seem that Gudrod's nephews who fought for the heritage of Hemming were all killed, for they are not again named in history.

Especially is it notable that Olaf, the reigning ruler of Westfold at this time, is not mentioned by name by the Franks.

The victors in the great fight were Harald and Raginfred, the sons of Halfdane, and the meaning of the struggle is that for a short time the Sciol-dungs resumed their supremacy in Denmark and the Ynglings were thrust out. Having secured the throne, the two victors sent to ask the emperor for the release of their brother Hemming, who was allowed to go back with their envoys. On his arrival they were absent, having gone to *Westerfold*, which lay, we are told, beyond their kingdom, between the north and west, and looking towards Britain. There is no doubt they had gone to Westfold to complete their victory over the family of Godfred (Gudrod) by an attack upon its special heritage. We are told they reduced the chiefs and people of Westfold to obedience.

This very year, however, namely in 813, Godfred's sons, together with not a few of the Danes who had sought refuge among the Sueones or Swedes, collected their forces from all sides, and were joined by a great crowd of people from all the land of the Danes. Having fought a battle with Harald and Raginfred, they drove them out of the kingdom with little trouble (Eginhardt, Pertz, i. 200). Here, then, we have the Yngling dynasty once more reinstated—reinstated in the persons of Godfred's sons. Who, then, were these

sons? The Frank annalists mention one only by name, namely Eric, although they tell us he had in fact five sons. One of them is stated to have been killed in 814 in a struggle with Harald Klak. In 819 four others are mentioned, two of whom are said to have shared the kingdom of Denmark with Harald, while the other two were driven out from the kingdom (Eginhardt, Annales Pertz, i. 208). Of the two who stayed, Eric was no doubt one; the name of the other is not forthcoming in any of the annals.

The Ynglinga Saga says Olaf was twenty years old when Gudrod died, and that he divided the kingdom with his young brother Halfdane. He lived at Geirstad, which is supposed to have been on the site of a farm now called Gierrestad, in the parish of Tiolling, where Skiringsal is also situated (Aal's Heimskringla, liv. note).

A curious legend is reported of Olaf, namely, that he once dreamt that a great black and vicious ox came into the land from the east, whose poisonous breath killed a number of men, and eventually his whole court. He thereupon summoned a great Thing-assembly at Gierstad, before which he interpreted the dream as meaning that a terrible pestilence would arrive from the east which would first destroy a great number of people, then the court, and lastly himself. They decided that the whole assembly should set to work and erect a vast mound on a neighbouring tongue of land, and plant a hedge round it so that no cattle could traverse it. In this mound all the dead were to be buried, and every illustrious man was to have half an öre of silver buried with him. Olaf ordered that he himself should also be put in the mound, and that no blood offering or sacrifice should be made after his death. The dream was duly fulfilled, and he was

buried, as he had ordered, in the mound. The king's men were the last to die and were taken unto the mound, and he himself was then quickly laid beside them with much treasure and "the house," *i.e.*, the tomb, was closed. His injunction about the sacrifice was, however, disobeyed, and a sacrifice was offered to him as the guardian of the frontier and the tutelary spirit of the district, whence he was afterwards called Geirstad Alf (Aal's Heimskringla, liv. note). Munch quotes this Saga from the account of Olaf in the 'Flatey-bok,' and from Olaf the Saint's Saga. He adds that the story of the dream and the pestilence was not very old, or Thiodwolf, who dedicates his Ynglingatal to Rognvald, Olaf's son, would have menioned it; while he tells us, on the contrary, that he died from a disease in his foot (? the gout), and that he was buried in a mound at Geirstad. We must remember, however, that we only have fragments of Thiodwolf's original poems. Munch urges that the Saga was probably manufactured out of the fact that he was generally looked upon as a protector of the frontier, or else made up merely to suit his great mound at Geirstad. Another Saga, reports how the sword Baesing, which was afterwards called Hneitir, was dug up out of Olaf Geirstad Alf's mound and presented to another Olaf (Munch, ii. 162, 163). Saxo, who habitually transfers the stories about other foreign princes to Denmark, states that this Olaf was buried at Lethra in a mound called after him. The mound referred to was known as Olshoi, and doubtless belonged to some other Olaf. Thiodwolf's verses about King Olaf read thus in Vigfusson's translation. "And the shoot of the tree of Woden's son Treythrone in Norway, Anlaf, (*i.e.*, Olaf), once ruled Upsa, Vithi (Wood), Groen and Westmare. He reigned till gout was fated to destroy 'the war dealer' at the land's

thrum (*i.e.*, the shore). Now the doughty king of hosts is lying with a barrow over him at Geirstad. He was succeeded by his brother Halfdane, called the Black from the colour of his hair" (Ynglingatal Corp. Poet., i. 251). Westmare is familiar enough, Groen is no doubt Grönland, the land of the Grens, or Græini, the Granii of Jornandes, Upsi, is not named elsewhere.

Olaf's son and successor in Westfold, and perhaps Groenland (*Ibid.*, 163), was Rognvald who was called "Higher than the hills." Of him we know nothing more than what is reported in the last verse of Thiodwolf's poem, which has been explained entirely afresh by Vigfusson, namely, as a glorification of his suzerain, King Harald. It reads thus:—"The best surname that I know any king under the blue sky has borne, is that when Reagnaldr the Lord of ruin called thee Fair Hair Corpuscle," *i.e.*, King Harald Fairhair, 251.

With Halfdane the Black we enter upon a new phase of Norwegian history. We no longer have the poem of Thiodwolf of Hwin upon which to thread the story; but on the other hand, the number of details shows that we are getting nearer to a period when traditions of a trusty character abounded. Let us first examine what materials are available for a history of Halfdane, and what authority they possess. The only contemporary ones that we could expect to meet with would be songs or productions of the skalds, and genealogies, for prose history had not yet begun to be composed in the North. We have no poems relating to Halfdane, although we know the name of at least one Skald, namely, Audun Illskaelda, who lived at his court, and doubtless wrote about his famous doings (G. Storm, Snorre Sturlason's Historieskriving, 112). We can only recover such

legends and traditions as were incorporated in their histories by the prose-writers. Of these the first in date and importance, was Ari Fröthi, in whose "Landnama-bok," as well as the supplement called "Mantissa," we have three interesting references to Halfdane. Ari also wrote a "Konungatal," contained in the "Islendinga-bok," now lost, and of which an epitome, generally quoted as Ari's "Libellus," is alone available. Ari's "Konungatal" is referred to in his preface by Snorri. It was probably the basis of Ari's own Saga of Halfdane the Black in the Heimskringla. We next have a notice of Halfdane in the "Konungatal," or collection of Lives of the Kings, cited in modern times as "Aagrip," of which Dr. Vigfusson says it comprises short lives of the kings of Norway from Harald Fairhair to King Sverri, 1180; adding that it is a very early work and closely connected with Saemund and Ari, from whose "Konungatal," in the lost "Liber Islandorum" it may have been copied (Sturlunga Proleg., lxxxvii); Storm has given a critical notice of the work (Historieskrivning, 25—28). It was probably composed in Iceland about the year 1190. Another book which dates from an early period is the so-called "Fagrskinna," or Fair Skin—"the modern name," says Vigfusson, for "Aettartal Noregs Konunga" (so it is inscribed in Codex A), or Noregs Konungatel (as inscribed in Codex B), an independent compendium of the kings' lives from Halfdane the Black to Sverri, who reigned 1135—1177, to which later Saga it was apparently intended to serve as an introduction. It was preserved only in Norse vellums (destroyed in 1728), and must have been compiled by Norwegians from Icelandic sources. The style in many places resembles that of the Northern version of the story of Barlaam and Josaphat dating from the days of Hakon the Old.

Moreover, we can identify it with the work read to King Sverri as he lay dying (Hakon's Saga). This follows both from the place of its beginning, and also the time it took to read through, which correspond exactly with "Fagrskinna." (Sturlunga Proleg., lxxxvii and lxxxviii). Lastly, we have the story of Halfdane as told by Snorri. This occurs in two recensions: one is contained in the well-known "Flateybok," which is so called from having been discovered in the Isle of Flatö in Breidafiord, in Iceland, in 1651: It is an Icelandic manuscript, written for Jon Hakorisson in the years 1379—80, and contains the lives of at all events the later kings more fully than in the epitome (which is known as the "Heimskringla"), and with which the name of Snorri is alone legitimately connected.

Let us proceed with our story. Halfdane the Black, as we have seen, was the son of Gudrod by his second wife Asa, the daughter of Harald Rödskeg (Redlip), king in Agder (Ynglinga, liii). In the "Mantissa" or appendix to the "Landnama," he is referred to "as Halfdane the Black, king of the Uplands, son of Gudrod Leoma" (Op. cit., 385). He was only a year old when his father died, and his mother took him to Agder and there he occupied the kingdom which belonged to her father (Heimskringla, Harald the Black's Saga, i.). Munch says, very truly, that as we meet with independent kings of Agder in the reign of Halfdane's son and successor Harald Fairhair, it seems to follow that Halfdane did not rule over the whole of that district. It is even probable that he merely reigned as a dependent or subordinate ruler to his older brother Olaf. We are told he grew up as a stout, strong man, and was called Black from the colour of his hair. When he was eighteen years old he

took his heritage (whatever it might be) in Agder on his own shoulders, and also claimed his own share of his father's dominions, which, we read, his elder brother Olaf divided with him. According to the Heimskringla, Olaf took the eastern (? northern) part, and he the southern. This seems a mistake: the southern part of Westfold was the kernel of the kingdom where Skiringsal was situated, the residence and burying-place of the kings. It is hardly likely that Olaf would surrender this to his younger brother, and it is much more probable that Halfdane's portion lay in the north of Westfold, near to Vingulmark, whither he first turned his arms. The mistake is a very pardonable one in an author writing in Iceland. This is my view. Munch accepts the statement in the Saga, and says that Olaf probably chose for himself the part of Westfold which was the nearest to the district of Grönland, over which he inherited a special claim. He suggests that he received Grönland with a daughter of Iarl Nerid, whom he may have married, or perhaps his father Gudrod had a daughter of the iarl for one of his wives (Munch, op. cit., ii. 161—2). This view involves two unverified postulates. We know little of what happened during Halfdane's reign.

The same autumn that he acquired his share of Westfold he took his men to fight against King Gandalf of Vingulmark, who had, as we have seen, recovered that province from Halfdane's brother Olaf. After fighting several battles, with varying success, it was at length agreed that he should retain that portion of Vingulmark which had belonged to his father Gudrod. The district of Raumariki had been subdued by Sigtryg, the son of King Eystein, who was then living in Hedemark, (by whom Eystein,

Hogne's son, King of the Uplands, is doubtless meant). A battle was fought with him, which Halfdane won, and we are told Sigtryg was killed by an arrow which struck him under the arm as his troops were trying to fly. Halfdane thus secured Raumariki; but no sooner had he returned from this expedition than Eystein Sigtryg's father, who was then king in Hedemark, marched to Raumariki and reconquered the greater portion of it. Halfdane once more set out northwards, drove out Eystein, and compelled him to fly to Hedemark, where he pursued and again defeated him. Eystein now fled onwards to the herse Gudbrand (*Id.* 171, and note 2), in Gudbrandsdal, (to which he may have given his name), and who was probably one of his most important subjects. There he received reinforcements, returned to Hedemark in the winter, and fought with Halfdane on a large island in the midst of the Miosa, or Miosen lake, which is known as Helge Oen, or Holy Island. Guttorm, son of Gudbrand above named, one of the finest men in the Uplands, fell in this struggle. Eystein once more fled to Gudbrandsbal, and sent his relative Halvard Skalk to Halfdane to beg for peace. Halfdane surrendered half of Hedemark to him, which he and his relatives had held before, but retained for himself Thoten and Hadaland and Land, a district lying between Hadaland and Valdres, and bordering the upper part of the Randsfiord and its tributaries. We are further told he plundered far and wide and became a mighty king. Eystein was probably reduced to the position of an under-king. By these victories Halfdane recovered the greater part of what had been ruled over by his ancestor and namesake, Halfdane Huitbein.

A curious Saga reports that it was at this time that Hereydal was first settled by Halfdane's

frontier commander, a border guardian or marquis (*merkesmand*). Having incurred Halfdane's displeasure, he had fled to the Swedish king Anund, by whom he was received in a friendly manner, and with whom he stayed for some time, until he was obliged to fly again for having seduced a kinswoman of the king named Helga. With Helga he returned to Norway, and settled in an uninhabited valley which was afterwards called Heryedal (Heryardalr). From this pair there sprang, in the eighth generation, one called Liot Dagson, who built the first church in Heryedal (Munch, ii. 170—1). The Saga seems to be very old, and a Heriulf Hornbriot, whose grandson Thrase settled in Iceland, is mentioned in the "Landnama-bok." Peter Clausen has published an account which seems to be an independent witness that the cause of Heriulf's quarrel with Halfdane was his having killed one of the courtiers with a drinking horn, whence his *sobriquet* of Hornbriot (*Id.*, 170, note 2). The story seems credible enough. On the other hand, we must remember that the name of the dale where Heriulf settled is nowhere given as Heriulfsdal, but Heryedal, and that it is more probably derived from the river Herya, or Heryaa, which flows through it (Munch, ii. 171, and note 2).

Sogn is a remote district of Western Norway, whose name some have derived from a mythical king Sokni. In the old speech, however, it meant a deep or secluded dale, which was doubtless what really gave it its name. It included the district threaded by the famous Sogn fiord, which, with its various ramifications, is much the largest fiord in Norway. It was bounded on the east by the Dovrefell, on the west by the sea, on the north by Firda fylki, and on the south by Horda

fylki. In the early times it had a wide reputation. Aal has a considerable note on its topography. At the time we are writing about, we are told that Harald Gullskeggr, *i.e.*, Goldbeard, ruled in Sogn. Halfdane married a daughter of this Harald. In the "Landnama-bok," she is called Thora; in the King's Lives and the Heimskringla—Ragnhild (which is probably a mistake), the latter tells us further that her mother was called Salvör, and was the daughter of iarl Hundolf and sister of iarl Atli Miove (*i.e.*, the Thin), and of Thurida, who married Ketil Helloflag (Landnama-bok V., chap. xi.) Hundolf and his son Atli were iarls of Gaular, upon which name Aal has again a very long note. Some would explain it as referring to the famous Gulathing-sted in North Hordaland, where the Gulathing's law, to be referred to presently, was enacted; others again, as referring to an important district in the Fiala fylki, which lay immediately north of Sogn, and which was so important that the whole fylki was sometimes called by the name. To this latter conclusion, which seems the most reasonable, Aal himself inclines (Aal's Heimskringla, pp. 43—45, note). The "Mantissa," I must add, calls Hundolf, *Hunolf Iarl ör Fiordom*, thus connecting him with Fiorda fylki, which lies north of Fiala fylki (Op. cit., v. 2). By Thora Halfdane had a son, who was called after his maternal grandfather and brought up at his house. When Harald Goldbeard became very weak and old, having no sons, he gave his dominions to his grandson Harald, who was then but ten years old. Shortly after, he died and his death was followed by that of his daughter, Halfdane's wife, and a year later by that of her son, who was then ten years old, a fact which has a sinister look. Halfdane went to Sogn and

claimed the district as his son's heir, and, no opposition being made, he appropriated the whole kingdom (Halfdane the Black's Saga, chap. 1—3; Landnama-bok V., xi. 1).

When Halfdane had secured Sogn, he did not incorporate it with his dominions, but appointed his brother-in-law Atli as its iarl. The acquisition of Sogn was an important success, for it was the first portion of Norway on this side of the Dovrefell over which the kings of Westfold gained authority. We are told iarl Atli proved a good friend to Halfdane, that he judged the country according to the country's law (*i.e.*, no doubt, according to the Gulathing's law, which had authority in all this district), and collected scatt, or tribute there, on the king's account (Halfdane the Black's Saga, chap. iii.; Munch, ii. 165). These Scandinavian iarls answered closely to the '*comes*,' or counts, of the Carlovingian polity. They were administrative officials, who acted as viceroys in their special governments, and collected the taxes there. They differed from the earlier counts at this time in their office being apparently hereditary, and not merely held during life.

Having appointed Atli as his deputy in Sogn, King Halfdane returned again to Westfold. The same spring he happened to be in Vingulmark, when a man who had been on guard there came up on horseback and reported that a large army was coming up. It proved to be a considerable force under Hysing and Helsing, the sons of Gandalf. (In the 'Flatey-bok' the names are given, apparently in error, as Hysing and Hake, see Munch, op. cit. II. 166, note 1). They were doubtless bent on recovering their former supremacy in Vingulmark. In the fight which ensued, Halfdane was overpowered by numbers, and fled to the forest, leaving

many of his men behind. There he was joined by numbers of people, and he again marched against his assailants and a battle ensued at Eyde Sker, or Eidi. The river Glommen, some distance above its outlet, opens out into a long lake called Oieren, also known as Eyyirde vatn, which perhaps preserves the older form of the name; while Eid and Eidsberg are names marked on Aal's map, a little south of this lake, which, with the Glommen, separated Vingulmark from Alfheim, and there can be small doubt the battle was fought there. Hysing and Helsing both fell in the struggle, while a third brother fled to Alfheim, and Halfdane occupied all Vingulmark. In the Heimskringla we are told that among the victims of the first fight in which Halfdane was defeated was his foster-father, Oelver the Wise. In the 'Flatey-bok,' on the contrary, Oelver is made to bring him reinforcements (Munch, ii. 166, note 2; Aal, 45 note).

As we have seen Halfdane had consolidated a considerable Kingdom and was virtually master of all Norway, *east of "the Keel,"* as Dovrefell, the Backbone of that country, has been picturesquely called. The two or three semi-independent communities which remained there under their own rulers were insignificant and reduced to impotence.

By a lucky marriage, assisted by a strong will, Halfdane had also, as we have seen, secured a foothold on the West of the Mountains and appropriated his father-in-law's realm which was situated round the Sogn fiord. Halfdane thus ruled a very wide district with powerful frontiers. On the east he was protected from Sweden (where King Eric then reigned) by huge forests, on the west by the Dovrefell range and on the north by a stretch of almost unpeopled wild forest land.

He had consolidated his realm by wise measures and had especially given to it a famous code of laws known as the Heidssaevis or Eidsiva-lag, and also the Sleps-lag.

On the death of his first wife and son Halfdane married again. In regard to his second wife there are two legends. One of them is contained in the Fagrskinna,* which Munch accepts as the more probable; a conclusion in which I cannot follow him. It tells us he married Helga, the beautiful-haired daughter of the great Herse Dag Frothi, who lived at Thengilstad in Hadaland, and who beside her had a son named Guthorm Raadspake (*i.e.*, wise in counsel, Munch, op. cit. II. 171). In the 'Landnama-bok' and Heimskringla we are told a different story, and one which is certainly vitiated by anachronisms. They make him marry Ragnhild, a daughter of Sigurd Hiort (*i.e.*, Sigurd, the hart or deer), king in Ringariki, who was, according to the Heimskringla, the son of Helge the Sharp and Aslaug, a daughter of Sigurd the Worm-tongued, son of Ragnar Lodbrog. Sigurd Hiort's mother is also called Aslaug, daughter of Sigurd the Worm-tongued, in the so-called 'Mantissa,' an appendix to the Landnama-bok. This statement is most improbable: Sigurd the Worm-tongued, son of Ragnar Lodbrog could hardly have been a grandfather at this time. About Sigurd Hiort we are told that many a long Saga was extant: *inter alia*, we read of him that when only twelve years old he killed the Bareserk Hildebrand in single combat with eleven of his companions. He had two children, Ragnhild, already mentioned, and Guthorm, who was younger. Perhaps the latter

* This is an independent rescension of the King's lives composed in Norway from Icelandic sources and containing materials not found elsewhere. The original MSS. were burnt in the great fire of 1728, but good copies remain (see Corp. Poet. Bor., introduction p. 2).

was baseborn, as he did not succeed to his father's realm. Ragnhild's mother, we are again told, was Thyrni, daughter of Harald Klak, sister of Thyra Dannebod, the wife of the Danish king Gorm the Old, which is again most improbable, for Thyra is elsewhere said to have had no sister, nor does the chronology allow of such a solution. The motive of the sophistication, as well as of the introduction of Sigurd the Worm-tongued into the story, is probably due, as Munch says, to the wish of the Northern genealogists to connect the Norwegian kings with the famous stock of Ragnar Lodbrog, and also with that of the Danish Royal family.

It was related of Sigurd Hiort that he performed many heroic feats, and was fond of hunting great beasts. In one of these excursions he rode into the forest as usual, and after riding a long way he presently came out on a piece of cleared land near to Hadaland. There he met the Bareserk Hake, who had thirty men with him. They fought, and Sigurd himself fell, after killing twelve of Hake's men. Hake, the champion, lost one hand and had three other wounds. After the fight he went to Sigurd's house, whence he carried off Ragnhild and her brother Guthorm, and took them, with much booty, to Hadaland, where he had many great farms. Ragnhild was then fifteen years old, and Guthorm fourteen (*ib.*). The Heimskringla says she was twenty years old, and her brother a youth. Hake wished to be married to her, and ordered a feast to be prepared; but his wounds healed very slowly, and he had to keep his bed. At this time King Halfdane was in Hedemark at the Yule feast, and one morning he ordered Haarek Gand or the Wolf to take a hundred men, and to cross the Miosa lake to Hake's house at "otten" (*i.e.*, break of day—the Icelanders call the interval be-

tween three and six in the morning "otten"—Aal, op. cit., 46, note), and to bring Sigurd Hiort's daughter to him. He went about this task so quickly that he had crossed the lake by dawn, and came to Hake's house. They surrounded it, and occupied the doors and stairs, so that his housecarls could not come to the rescue. They then entered his bedroom, and carried off Ragnhild and her brother, and all the goods that were there; and they set fire to the housecarls' dwelling, and burnt all the people in it. They then covered over a magnificent waggon, put Ragnhild and Guthorm into it, and drove down upon the ice. Presently Hake woke up, and pursued them; but when he reached the ice he turned his sword hilt to the ground, and let himself fall upon its point, and thus killed himself. He was buried there under a mound. When Halfdane, who was quicksighted, saw the party coming back over the ice with the waggon, he knew their errand had been successful. He summoned the most distinguished men in the neighbourhood to a feast, and the same day united himself with Ragnhild (Heimskringla, Halfdane the Black's Saga, chap. v., Munch, op. cit. ii. 171—73). This story, with the exception of the genealogical phrases, which seem to be interpolation, reads as if it were a genuine one, and I don't know on what ground Munch prefers that in the "Fagrskinna." It accounts, as Munch himself says, for the manner in which Ringariki, with its capital Stein, was added to the patrimony of the chiefs of Westfold, and for Halfdane's head having been buried at Stein, as we shall see.

Munch draws attention to the mention of a waggon instead of a sledge having been used for the conveyance of Ragnhild as a suspicious circumstance; he also says, truly enough, that unless by

Hadaland in the above notice we are to understand the district of Thoten attached to the Hada fylki, it is incomprehensible how Ragnhild could be taken *across* the lake from Hadaland to Hedemark. He further suggests that it is not probable that Halfdane's position in Hedemark was sufficiently assured for him to have had the adventure there, and urges that in the oldest form of the Saga the residence of Halfdane was placed, as is natural, in Hadaland, and that he sent across, not the Miosa lake, but the Rands fiord, which traverses Hada fylki, and across which he could see. Hake's residence, being in that part of the Hada fylki west of the Rands fiord and nearest to Ringariki (Op. cit. ii, 173 note). To continue our story.

Ragnhild was accustomed to dream great dreams. On one occasion she dreamt she was in her herb-garden, when she took a thorn out of her shift. While she was holding this thorn in her hand it grew to the size of a great tree, one end of which stuck in the ground and became firmly rooted, while the other end raised itself so high in the air that she could scarcely see over it, and the trunk also became very large. The under part of the tree was blood-red, the stem beautifully green, and the branches snow-white. The tree had many great limbs, which spread all over Norway, and even further. Soon after this her son Harald Haarfagre was born.

Halfdane himself never had dreams. Thinking it strange, he consulted Thorleif Spake, *i.e*, the Wise, who replied that he himself when he wanted to have a revelation in a dream used to go to sleep in a swine's sty, which never failed to bring him dreams. The king followed his advice, and he

dreamt that he had the most beautiful hair that ever was seen, which was so thick that it grew in locks, some of which reached to the ground, some to his calves, others to his knees, others to his hips, some to his neck, others again in small knots clung to his head. These locks were of different shades; but one of them surpassed all the rest in size, beauty and lustre. Halfdane having asked Thorlief to explain the dream, the latter said it meant that he would have a numerous posterity, and that his descendants would be great people, but not all equally great. As to the exceptionally long and and beautiful lock, it was explained as betokening king Olaf the Saint (Halfdane's Saga, ch. vii; Munch, ii. 175—176). It is notable that Halfdane's counsellor was on this occasion called Thorleif Spake and Munch says the name occurs in several generations among the chief advisers of the kings. Thus King Hakon the Good is said to have issued the Gulathing laws on the advice of Thorleif Spake. A Thorleif Spake again is named in the reign of Olaf Trygvesson as the ancestor of the famous stock, to which Ragnald the Saint, iarl of the Orkneys belonged (Munch ii. 176 note).

Halfdane's death is thus reported. "In the spring, when the ice began to be unsafe, he was one day returning from a feast at Brandabu, in Hadaland, and had to cross the Rands fiord. There were many people with him, but most of them were drunk. As they drove across the bight called Rekensvik (a small inlet half-way down on the eastern side of the Rands fiord, taking its name from a farm called Reken which is situated there Aal, op. cit., 48 note)—they came to a place where the ice had broken in and a hole had been made for the cattle to drink at, and where the dung having fallen upon the ice the thaw had eaten into

it. As the party drove over, the ice broke, and Halfdane with his father-in-law, Dag Frothe, and twenty-one men were drowned (Fagrskinna, ch. iv.; Heimskringla, Halfdane the Black's Saga, chap. ix.; Munch, ii. 178). A Saga still extant in Hadaland makes out that Halfdane was drowned while returning from paying a visit to a noble lady at Hermansrud, west of the Rands-fiord (Munch, ii. 178, note 2). He had been a very fortunate king, and good seasons had characterised his reign, and he was so highly thought of, that when his body was floated to Ringariki to be buried, the people of most repute from Westfold, Raumariki, and Hedemark, who came to meet it, all wished it to be buried among themselves, hoping thus to secure good seasons and crops. It was at last agreed to divide the body into four parts. Ari says the head was laid in a mound at Stein in Ringariki, while those from each of the other districts took home a portion. They were laid under mounds which were afterwards called Halfdane's Mounds, and sacrifices were long after offered there. The "Flatey-bok" agrees with this notice, only replacing Hedemark by Vingulmark; while the "Fagrskinna," which has been followed by Munch tells us the head was laid at Skiringsal in Westfold, the entrails at Thengilstad in Hadaland (there was a royal residence there from early times—as its very name implies, "Thengil," meaning a king or overlord (Aal, 48 note); and the body at Stein in Ringariki, where Sigurd Hiort probably had his residence. Nothing is said of the fate of the fourth portion, and Munch suggests that Hedemark was its probable bourne (Munch, op. cit., ii. 179—80).

We must now say a word or two to fix, as well as we can, the chronology of Halfdane's reign, or, at all events, of its beginning and end. We are told

that he was a year old when his father Gudrod died. If Gudrod was the same person as Godfred the Danish king who fought against the Franks and who was killed in 810 A.D., then Halfdane was born in 809. Ari says he took possession of his share of Agder when he was eighteen years old, that is in 827. A Saga which I have above quoted brings him into contact, as we have seen, with the Swedish king Anund This Anund is in every probability the Anund, King of the Swedes, mentioned by Rembert, in his "Life of St. Anscharius," whom I mentioned in my paper on the Early History of Sweden, and who flourished about the year 845. The best authorities agree that Harald Fairhair, Halfdane's son, died about the year 933. Ari says he was then eighty-three years old. This puts his birth in the year 850, and as we are told he was ten years old when his father died, we may approximately date this event in the year 860. So that, roughly, Halfdane reigned from 827—860, that is, thirty-three years.

All these dates hang together, and seem very reasonable. There is only one difficulty—namely, that Ari says Halfdane was but forty years old when he died, while this calculation makes him fifty; and we have no other resource than to suggest that Ari, in fact, made a mistake of ten years in the life of the king—a very small postulate, considering what a remote period his narrative refers to.

Halfdane is described by Ari as a wise man, a man of truth and uprightness, who made laws and observed them himself, and obliged others to observe them; and, in order that violence should not take the place of laws, he fixed the number of criminal acts recognised by the law, and the wehrgelds or compensations, fines and penalties for each

case according to every one's birth and dignity (Heimskringla, Halfdane the Black's Saga, chap. vii). In a later Saga Ari tells us expressly that the Heidsaevis laws were first established by Halfdane the Black (Hakon the Good's Saga, chap. xi). These laws made up the so-called Selfs Lag and Heidsaevis or Eidsiva Lag.

Munch derives Self tentatively from "Sef," meaning blood relationship, and "Sefi" a relative—so that Selfs lag would mean law of the relatives or of the companions, and Eidsiva the union of Eid. This view is also that of the editors of the Olaf's Saga, Messrs. Keyser and Unger and of Munch (op. cit., 167 note). The explanation needs a further one as to the meaning of Eid, which will lead us into a somewhat wide digression. Munch has shewn that it was a very early feature of the fylkis in Scandinavia (*i.e.*, the divisions corresponding to the "gaus," or counties, in Germany and England, traces of which remain in the North *folk* and South *folk* of East Anglia) to be united in Unions of two or three for religious purposes, and for holding a common Thing, or legislative and judicial assembly; while on the other hand there is evidence that certain districts, as, for instance, that of the Upper Dales, did not originally constitute separate fylkis at all, but attached themselves to some neighbour for these special purposes, still retaining their independence as communities. Thus, Vors and Haddingyadal were apparently united in this way to Hördaland, Waldres to Sogn, Osterdal to Raumariki, Southern Thelemark to Westfold, North Western Thelemark and Robygdelag to Ryfylki. It would seem that in early times Fiarda and Sogn fylki were thus united to Hordaland, Agder to Rogaland, and Hada fylki to Raumariki or Hedemark. These

unions seem to point to an early relationship and close kinship among the people who formed them. The so-called Gulathings-law, *i.e.*, code of the Gula Thing, had authority in all the district from Rygyarbit as far as the frontiers between Söndmöre and Raumsdal. In the form in which it has reached us it dates from the end of the twelfth century. It was passed at a common Thing at Gulen, in the northern part of North Hordaland. From the so-called Eigla, which was composed at the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century, we learn, on the other hand, that at that time the Thing at Gulen had authority only in Horda fylki, Sogn, and Firda fylki. The old Frostathingslaw had authority in Raumsdal and Finmark; while the eight fylkis in Throndheim had a similar joint code, and formed a close union.

From the remains of the old laws of Viken which are extant in a recension of the twelfth century, it would seem that three fylkis were there united and had a common Thing—namely, Ranriki, Vingulmark, and Westfold; while Westmare and Grönland either did not belong to the union, or were merely attached to it without forming essential parts of it (Munch, i. 131—132).

Munch considers it probable that the inner Upland fylkis formed a close union from the earliest times. At first, this probably comprised only Raumsdal, Gudbrandsdal, and Hedemark; but later, as the people of Rauma obtained control of Raumariki, and even further towards the south-west, while Raumsdal extended its influence beyond the mountains, it came to include the focus and kernel of the Uplands, *i.e.*, the fylkis round the Miösen lake, namely, Heina, Hada, and Rauma. Munch further holds that the general

gathering-place for this union of fylkis was the Eid-Harde (the modern diocese of Eidsvold), South of Lake Miösen. Here we find from very early times a place called Eidsvellir used as the general gathering-place of the Upland fylkis. It is marked on the map attached to Aal's edition of "Snorri." The Thing held there was called Eidsivathing, and the code of laws enforced there was called the Eidsiva law.

It is more than probable that the old union of gaus, which had its meeting-place at Eidsvellir, had a law from early times, and it would seem that Halfdane's work was that of a codifier. We have no extant remains of his original code, nor of any of the original codes of Southern Norway, and only such parts as were incorporated in the later Christian laws. He also probably extended the authority of the Eidsiva lag over a wider area than it had previously embraced—namely, over his whole kingdom. In early Norwegian history we meet with three great codes—the Frostathing's lag in Nordmöre, Raumsdal, and the northern fylkis; Gulathing's lag, for the district of the Thrond people, *i.e.*, the fylkis from Söndmore as far as Rygiarbit; and, lastly, Eidsivathing's law, for what is known as Eastland. The former two were, according to Snorri, the work of Hakon the Good, and the last of Halfdane the Black. This last had authority, as we have said, in the districts immediately subject to Halfdane, that is to say, Rauma fylki, the greater part of Heina fylki, Sand, Hadaland, Westfold, and Vingulmark, and also probably, on the death of his nephew Rognvald, Grönland, Westmare, and the southern part of Westfold, and, in addition, the northern part of far-off Wermeland. In

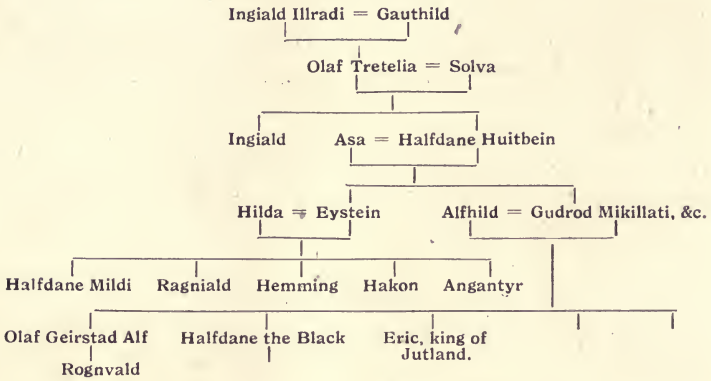
Harald Fairhair's Saga, chapter xv., it is expressly said that the bonder Aake, who was the greatest of the bonders of Wermeland, had formerly been Halfdane the Black's man. In later times the Eidsiva code also had authority in Gudbrandsdal, Osterdal, Thelemark, and Alfheim, and eventually included the district of Viken, which was originally subject to a Thing of its own, known as the Borgar Thing; for we are told that the remains of the old Borgarthing law and the Eidsivathing law, which are preserved in the later Christian editions of these codes, approximate to each other more closely than either of them does to the Gulathing or Frostathing laws.

To revert to Halfdane's kingdom. It must be remembered that Raumariki at this time only extended as far as the river Glommen. East of that river was Alfheim, subject to King Gandalf. Nor did Halfdane reign directly over distant Sogn, which, as we have seen, he made over to Earl Atli to rule for him, taking scatt, or tribute from it. The part of Agder which Halfdane possessed at the beginning of his reign was apparently not included in the jurisdiction of the Eidsivathing, and it is indeed very doubtful whether he retained possession of it or not.

Halfdane's kingdom was bounded on the north by Gudbrandsdal and Osterdal, on the east by the the Glommen and the forests of Wermeland, on the west by Valdres, Haddingdal, Thelemark, and Agder, and on the south by the sea; and he was undoubtedly the most powerful ruler of Norway if not of Scandinavia at this time (Munch ii.).

We have now traced the history of the Yngling occupation of Norway, from the time when the

fugitive Olaf the Treefeller first occupied a part of Wermeland to that when his descendant had secured the most valuable part of the fertile land in the heart of the Christiania Gulf, and had there consolidated a power such as had not up to this time been known in Norway.



HARALD FAIRHAIR.

The "Flatey-bok" and Snorri preserve some fabulous tales of Harald's youth, which, as Munch says, so far as they are reliable, point to there having been but little harmony between him and his father. Thus we read that when Halfdane and his companions were having a feast one Yule-tide evening, the meat and drink suddenly disappeared from the table. The guests went home frightened, but the King sat on alone in his place much confused. He presently had a Finn (*vide infra*) who was skilled in sorcery, seized and tortured in order to extract from him some explanation of what had happened. He would not give any explanation, however, and begged Harald to assist him. The latter interceded, for him, but in vain. Presently, however, he allowed him to escape, against his father's will, and himself followed him to where his chief was holding a feast, and where he was well received. There Harald remained till the spring, when the Finn said to him "Your father took it amiss that I robbed him of his Yule-feast. I will repay what he did in a friendly manner. If you will follow my counsel you will go home again. There is some one there who needs your help and who will be of great assistance to you, for it is your destiny to become master of all Norway." This is the story as told in the Heimskringla. In the "Flatey-bok" we have another Saga in which a great Yotun, named Dovre, is introduced, (The Yotuns of Norse legend were the primitive people of Scandinavia, who occupied it before the advent of the Norse-folk, and were represented as giants and sorcerers). Dovre had repeatedly plundered the king's gold coffer, but had eventually been caught in a skilfully constructed trap, and

had been bound with leaden coils in a steel box. He had his home in the mountains which bore his name. The king had doomed him to the most disgraceful death, and had forbidden anyone to help him or to give him anything to eat. Harald (who, we are gravely told in the story, was not yet five years old), had pity on him, and cut his leaden bands with an excellent knife which had been given him by the Finn chief, Dovre thanked him and sped away as fast as he could. He was soon missed, and the king learnt that Harald had loosed him. He was greatly enraged, and forbade him ever to enter his presence again, and told him to betake himself to his friend Dovre. Harald went away into the forest, and after he had spent four or five days and nights there he met Dovre, who took him into his cavern. He lived with him for five years, and was taught by him all kinds of bodily exercises. When the five years had elapsed Dovre said one day to him, "I have not forgotten to requite thee for having helped me to escape. Thy father is dead, and not altogether without my assistance. Thou must now return home to thy kingdom, and mind not to cut thy hair nor thy nails till thou art master of all Norway. I will continually support thee." When Harald returned home he found his father dead, and was nominated king in his stead. From his residence with Dovre he received the name of Dovre-Fostre, *i.e.*, Dovre's foster-child (Munch ii. 176—7). The latter part of the story referring to Dovre is not told by Snorri, who, perhaps, thought it too incredible, and tried to rationalise the legend. It is contained in chapters iv. to vi. of Halfdane the Black's Saga in the "Flatey-bok." Munch and others have tried to rationalise it in another way by assuming that Halfdane did not care for

Harald, and that the latter, when a child, was, in fact, fostered by one of his chieftains; others, again, have argued that Dovre was the name of some illustrious chief who did Harald some service (Munch, op. cit. 177—8). Without any rationalising, the story as it stands is very interesting as a graphic folk-tale showing the real beliefs of people in times when men's days were largely spent in lonely mountains and forests far from their neighbours and were prone to see visions and to translate the forces of Nature into acts of very uncanny supermen. This accounts for the potency which the men of the North then attributed to Wizardy.

Harald according to Ari was ten years old when his father died. He had a great physique and is naturally described in the Heimskringla as the biggest, strongest and fairest of men, a wise man and high minded. His mother's brother Guthorm was nominated as his guardian and held the appointment of Captain of his body-guard, the leader of his host, and the controller of his lands.

From his mother he inherited the province of Ringariki, which was situated round the borders of the Tyrifiord in south-eastern Norway and was one of the most fertile districts in the land.

His father had left many enemies behind him, for he had laid hands on several small kingdoms, and their rulers naturally deemed a "minority" of so marked a kind, a fair opportunity for reprisals. The first of these to try his chance was Gandalf, (formerly, as we have seen in an earlier page, King of all Vingulmark) who had been deprived of half his territory by King Halfdane. He gathered his forces and determined to cross "the Firth," now called the Christiania fiord, and thus to invade

Westfold. Meanwhile his son Haki, who had escaped to Alfheim after a defeat by Halfdane, went with three hundred men by the inland roads and tried to surprise Harald and his uncle Guthorm unawares, but the latter, having heard of the plan, collected an army and, taking Harald with him, he marched against him up the country, where a battle was fought, and Haki was killed with a great part of his men. He was buried, says our author, in a place called Hakadalr, now Hakedale, a valley dividing Hadaland from Raumariki (Magnussen, op. cit. iv. 253).

Guthorm, with the young king, returned to Westfold, which had meanwhile been invaded by King Gandalf, Haki's father. The two armies fought a hard fight, but Gandalf was beaten and lost most of his men, and returned in a sad plight to his home in Vingulmark.

While these events were happening Hogni and Frothi, the sons of King Eystein of Heathmark, who had been deprived of half that kingdom by Harald's father (Saga of Halfdane the Black, ch. 2), associated themselves with Hogni Karason, who had been raiding far and wide in Ringariki, or Ring realm and had appointed a rendezvous at Ringsacre in Heathmark* with the *hersir* Gudbrand† from the Dales.

To meet this attack Guthorm and Harald, with all the host they could collect, went towards the Uplands, keeping by the way through the forest in order to surprise their enemies, and arrived at midnight where they had appointed their muster.

* The place is still called Ringsaker, it is a manor on the eastern side of the Western arm of Lake Miosen, which runs north towards Gudbrandsdale, by the west of Heathmark (see Magnusson's Note—Heimskringla, vol. iv, 273).

† Who probably gave his name to Gudbrandsdal.

They surprised those on guard and surrounded the house where Gudbrand and Hogni Karason were sleeping. They set fire to it and burned them both in it; Eystein's sons, Hogni and Frothi, managed to get out for a while and made a fight, but both were killed. The result of the fight was that King Harald, by the help of his uncle, secured a great accession to his kingdom, namely, Heathmark, Gudbrandsdal and Hadaland, Thotn and Raumariki, and all the northern parts of Vingulmark. After this Harald and Guthorm fought again with King Gandalf, who had escaped, as we have seen. They had several struggles, in the last of which the latter was killed, and Harald annexed all his realm as far as the river Glommen*. The next event mentioned in the Heimskringla is the negotiation for Harald's wedding with Gyda, the daughter of King Eric of Hordaland.†

The fact of this proposal points to Harald's having been more than ten years old at his father's death. The lady was at this time being fostered in the house of a rich bonder, or farmer, at Valdres.‡

Like most royal brides, she is described as very fair and high-minded, and we are told Harald would fain have her for a bedmate. When his messengers arrived she is reported to have said haughtily that it was not her intention to wed one who was merely the master of a few fylkies, or

* It is the largest river in Norway, running from north to south into the eastern side of the Skagarak.

† This was a great district in Western Norway, now called "Söndre Bergenhusamt" which was bounded on the east and south-east by Haddingdal, Numdale, and Thelemark, and on the south by Rogaland (Magnussen, op. cit. 257). Its people were known as Hords.

‡ A district east of Sogn fylki, bounded on the north by Gudbrandsdale, on the east by Land and Ringariki, and on the south by Haddingdale.

counties, and she marvelled there was no king who was minded to make Norway his own, and be its lord and master in the way that King Gorm had done in Denmark and King Eric at Upsala. Harald's messengers were taken aback by this reply and asured her that Harald was such a mighty king that he was quite worthy to be her partner, but if she was unwilling, there was nothing left for them but to take their departure, and they put on their travelling clothes to depart. Thereupon she spoke again and said she would only consent to be his wife if he would make himself master of all Norway and rule that kingdom as freely as Eric of Sweden and Gorm of Denmark did theirs.

When the messengers returned to King Harald and reported her answer, which they deemed impertinent and witless, they said it would not be wrong (if the king were so minded) to send a body of his men and forcibly ravish her. He took another view, and replied that she had done no ill in the matter, but had in fact won his gratitude, for she had only brought to his mind a matter which he now thought it wondrous had not occurred to him before, and he proceeded to take a solemn oath that he would neither cut his hair again, nor comb it, until he had conquered all Norway and had taken dues and taxes from it. For this oath he was thanked by his uncle and tutor Guthorm, who pronounced it the resolve of a King (Saga of Harald Fairhair IV.).

Harald by his rapid and well planned campaign had now made himself virtually master of all Norway, east of the Great Mountains, which had been largely dominated by his father, and which he now completely subdued. A much more difficult task awaited him, namely, the conquest of

the communities living in Western and South-Western Norways, from Halogaland round the whole of the coast as far as Westfold, and which was broken up into a number of separate and independent fylkies, with the sea before them and the great mountain barrier behind. They seemed safe against attack, and had for the most part been independent for many generations. There had never been a time before, as far as we know, when these maritime fylkies had all obeyed one master. They were no doubt, however, grouped into larger communities, united by racial ties and similar customs and laws. They may have had tribal chiefs who, as was the habit, divided their heritage among their sons, each one being styled a king. This meant no more in Norway than that they paid no tax or dues to any superior. Harald's object was to weld them all into one State, as his contemporaries in Sweden and Denmark had done theirs.

The whole proceeding looks at first sight like a purely ruthless buccaneering expedition, unprovoked and inspired by mere lust of conquest and plunder, the innate prompting of a piratical race and of its ambitious ruler. Although probably thus prompted it must be added that its ultimate result was that of putting an end to piracy in the North, and this fact no doubt greatly strengthened Harald's hands, for it meant protecting the peaceable bonders or farmers from the assaults of a cruel and untamed race, and the substitution of law and order for the capricious justice of a most insolent and undaunted caste of fighting men.

He determined to begin by attacking the richest but the least powerful of these confederacies of fylkies, namely, that which occupied the fertile

valleys grouped round the great Throndheim fiord, which was more open to attack than any other on the West coast, and which (having formed a part of the realm of Eystein the Great, King of the Uplands, the eastern part of which latter Harold had in such large measure subdued), he might well deem he had some rights to, and he made preparations accordingly.

"Thereupon," says the Heimskringla, "the kinsmen" gathered much folk together and armed themselves to invade the Uplands. Thus did Harald set out for his great venture, which eventually led him far afield and was to take him four years to accomplish. Of the two ways to his goal, the one which led by the sea no doubt was too risky, nor is it likely that at this time he commanded a sufficient fleet for such an undertaking. It would certainly arouse the animosity of the most powerful and dangerous of the Viking communities, whose strongholds he would have had to pass on the way. He, therefore, chose the overland route, which must then have been difficult, for the forests were still largely uncleared and the population was sparse, and it no doubt involved great obstacles in provisioning his men, hardy and enduring as they were, with food and necessaries. These difficulties did not daunt him, however, and we are told he went up into the Uplands, and so northwards through the Dales, and thence again north over the Dovre-Fell, the great Scandinavian backbone.

When he and his men first reached a peopled country they began to ravage and kill. Those who would not submit fled down the valleys, some to Orkdale, some to Gauldale, and some into the forests. The invaders found nothing to resist them till they came to Orkdale itself, where the people

had assembled under a petty king called Gryting. There is still a small town called Orkedalseren at the influx of the river Orka into the Orkdale fiord.

In the fight which followed, (Harald won the battle) Gryting was captured and many of his people were slain. Their king was humble and swore fealty to the conqueror, whereupon all the people of Orkdale also submitted and became Harald's men (Harald the Fair's Saga, ch. 5).

After this Harald went "to Gauldale," and fought there, and killed two kings and annexed the fylkies of Gauldale and Strinde in Throndheim, and he gave Iarl Hakon, the iarl of Halogaland, who had submitted to him, charge of the conquered country.* Harald went on to Stiordale and received the submission of that fylki also. After these victories the up-country people of Throndheim gathered together under four kings to oppose Harald, one of them was the ruler of Verdale, another of Skaun, the third of the fylki of the Sparbiders, and the fourth of the Isles fylki. In the battle which followed the victory was again with him, and in it two of the kings were killed, while two escaped. Altogether, we are told, he had fought eight battles and destroyed eight of the kings, and all Throndheim had become subject to him (Saga of Harald Fairhair, v.). These eight rulers had been united in a common League governed by a common code, called the Thronderlag, and had a common Legislative Assembly. It met at Nidaros, which was so called from the river Nid, where it was planted. The people of Thronheim as I have said, were very different from those of

* As we saw in an earlier page, he was the descendant of the old Kings of Halogaland, and had a long pedigree and no doubt rejoiced at the overthrow of the descendants of Eystein in Throndheim.

other parts of West Norway, from whom they were cut off by mountains and forests. Their country was more fertile and temperate in climate owing to the Gulf Stream. They were prosperous farmers, traders and fishermen, and being well-to-do had no occasion to join the piratical expedition of their countrymen further south. The Vikings found few recruits among them, nor did many of them settle in Iceland or the Western colonies. On the other hand, as we shall see, they colonized the upper country of North Norway and Sweden. in large numbers.

Having thus conquered the several inland fylkies of Throndheim, Harald compelled the bonders or farmers to pay dues to him, both rich and poor, and he set up a iarl in each fylki to collect the skatt or taxes, of which one-third was to go to himself for his board and the costs of administration. Each iarl was to have under him four hersirs or more, each of whom was to have 20 marks for his maintenance. For this each iarl was to supply 60 men, for the King's army at his own cost and each hersir 20. So much were the revenues of the land increased by these measures that the iarls had a bigger income than the Kings had before and when the news spread throughout Throndheim many rich men came to King Harald and took service under him (Saga of Harald, 6).

Among these by far the most important was Hakon, son of Griotgard above-mentioned, iarl of Halogaland, who presently became Harald's right hand man. The submission of Hakon meant that of the province over which he had ruled, namely, Halogaland, which thus became part of Harald's realm without a struggle. The fact of Hakon having offered no resistance is notable, and supports the view above urged that his interests

and sympathies were not those of the foreign princes who ruled the rest of the land. North-east of Halogaland was the fylki of Naumdal with which it had close ties of race. It was almost certainly once ruled by princes of the same, stock (namely, that of the Saemings). Its rulers, when Harald arrived, were styled Kings, while those of Halogaland were styled iarls. It is also noteworthy that when Harald divided his kingdom into sections among his sons, Halogaland, Naumdal, and Nordmere were given to one son, while the inner fiords of Throndheim were given to another.

Harald's next step was the conquest of Naumdale, which was then ruled over by two kings who were brothers. They were named Herlang and Hrollaug. They had been three summers making a howe or burial mound doubtless for their own burial. It was built of stone and lime and roofed with timber. It was doubtless also covered in with earth, although the fact is not mentioned. This was just finished when news arrived of Harald's approach with his army. It was clearly impossible for the brothers to resist. Herlaug, with the Spartan instincts of his race, determined to put an end to his own life rather than become another man's deputy, and to do it in an original way. He placed a store of victuals and drink in the howe and then went in himself with eleven men and had the entrance closed.

His brother, Hrollaug, we are told, went to the top of another howe near by, whereon the Kings were wont to sit in state. He decked out the royal seat and then sat upon it; he then placed pillows on the seat below, where the iarls had been wont to sit, and came down from the high seat to the humbler one and gave himself the style of iarl, that is to say, he divested himself of his kingly *status* and

accepted that of a iarl under Harald. He then went to meet the latter and surrendered his realm, and asked to become his man, and told him what he had done. Then, we are told, King Harald took a sword and fastened it to his girdle, and hung a shield about his neck and made him his iarl, and led him to a high seat and proclaimed him iarl of the Naumdale fylki (op. cit., ch. 8). The mode of investiture thus described is very interesting and early. Naumdale, like Halogaland, afterwards supplied a large number of emigrants to Iceland, to which it was nearer than any other part of Norway.

After this Harald returned to Throndheim and spent the winter there, and called it his home ever after, and there he built the finest house in the country, which was called Ladir, whence the later iarls of Ladir, took their title. The same winter he married Asa, the daughter of iarl Hakon, who had freely submitted to him as we saw, and whom, we are told, he held in highest honour among all men (Saga of Harald Haarfagr, ch. ix).

Having subdued those of the Northern fylkies which he could approach overland, he now turned his thoughts to those further south which could only be approached by the sea, and which were sheltered from attack from the land-side by the great mountains. He had, therefore, to prepare a fleet, and we are told that during the winter he built himself a great galley shaped like a dragon and arrayed in noble fashion. This he manned with his Court guards and his *bareserks*, or indomitable champions.* The best tried men, called the stem-men, with the King's banner were

* It is doubtful what the word means; Snorri gives the name to Odin's warriors, who fought without byrnies or coats of mail and in bare shirts (Serks or Sarks). Hornklofi the poet, however, groups them with Wolf Coats as if the name meant Bearskins (Magnussen iv. 298).

in front. Aft of the stern as far as the baling place was the forecastle, which was specially manned by bareserks, the very pick of the crew for strength, good heart, and prowess. Besides this Royal vessel, which was then no doubt of phenomenal size and splendour in the North, Harald had with him a large number of big ships, and many mighty men followed him.

The poet Hornklofi, in his famous Glymdrapa, apostrophized him and his doings in this venture, but the verses are, as Vigfusson shows, utterly corrupt (see Harald's Saga, ch. ix).

In the spring Harald set out with his fleet from Throndheim southwards towards Mere (really North-Mere), which was doubtless peopled by the same stock and perhaps ruled by the same family as its southern neighbour Raumsdale. The King of North-Mere was Hunthiof, who was the father of Solvi, styled Klofi. Raumsdale was ruled by Nockvi. He was Hunthiof's father-in-law, and they went together against Harald and met his forces at Solskel, now Solskelo in Aedo parish, off the coast of the southern part of North-Mere (Magnussen Heimskringla, iv. 279). As usual Harald won the fight, and both the kings who opposed him (*i.e.*, Hunthiof and Knockwi) fell, but Solvi escaped. Ari has preserved another verse of Hornklofi referring to this fight, which is very corrupt. Harald appropriated the two fylkies dwelt there a greater part of the summer, and proceeded to set up law and justice, and established rulers over them and took their fealty. Harald appointed Rognwald, (the son of Eystein Glumra), iarl of North-Mere and Raumsdale (whence he was afterwards known as the Mere iarl), and assigned him lords and franklins, or freemen, and also ships with which he

might protect the country. He was known as Rognwald the Mighty or Keen-counselled, and it was said he deserved both titles equally well. He was the ancestor of the Dukes of Normandy and and of our Norman Kings. Harald spent the next winter at Throndheim.

Meanwhile Solvi, the son of Hunthiof, had remained with his ships all the winter, had harried in North-Mere and had slain many of King Harald's men, robbed others, and burnt the houses of others. Part of the time he stayed with Arnvid, his kinsman, the King of South-Mere, which lay south of Raumsdale;* the latter fylki, in fact, divided the two Meres from one another, forming an important race frontier as well, since it divided the Thronds, of whom we have said so much, from the Hords, of whom we shall say more presently.

When Harald heard of their doings he got his fleet together and in the spring set out for South-Mere, where Solvi gathered a considerable number of those who were discontented with Harald. He also paid a visit to King Audbiorn who ruled in Firda fylki, or Firdir (the Firths, a maritime kingdom of south-west Norway) now Nord-og Söndfiord in the Stift of Bergen (Magnussen iv. 249) It was the very focus of Viking activity, the Lochlannoch of the Irish writers, which merely translates the name. He asked him to aid him and urged that there were only two courses for them to follow, either to rise up against the aggressive King or to become his slaves, which was a thing not to be thought of in the case of a person like Harald, who was not more nobly born than themselves.

* It is possible in fact that all three fylkies N. and S. Mere and Raumsdale, which formed a wedge between the Thronds and Hords, were peopled by the Raum Stock which had come down to the seaboard by way of Raumsdal.

"My father," he said, "deemed it a better choice to fall in battle as a real king than to be one of Harald's underlings." Audbiorn was talked over by this rhetoric and set out to join his forces to those of Solvi and of King Arnvid. At this point we get an important sidelight from a responsible and trustworthy Saga, which was written down about 1160—1200, but preserves a good tradition and is generally trusted, namely, Egil's Saga.

It begins with the story of a certain Ulf, who lived in Firda fylki, and whose father was a notable person and one of King Audbion's feudatories. He was famous for his height and strength and had been a noted Viking. He had a partner named Kari of Berdla, already named, also a strong and daring pirate and a bareserk. The two had a common purse and had acquired great wealth, had both given up piracy and were living on their estates, and were great friends. Kari had two sons, Eyvind Lambi and Aulvir Knuf, and a daughter Salbgory, whom Ulf had married. Ulf, we are told, took the title of liegeman, as his father had done. He was a very considerable personage and looked carefully after his affairs. He rose early and then went round among his labourers and smiths, overlooked his stock and fields, and would talk with those who needed good counsel, but in the evening he became duller, and we read that he was "an evening sleeper." He was surnamed Kueld Ulf. He had two sons, Thorolf and Grim, fashioned largely on their father's pattern. The former was comely and cheery, like his mother while Grim was swarthy and ill-favoured like his father, and like him a good man of business, and skilled in working wood and iron. In the winter he often went to the herring fishing with his father's men. When Thorold was 20 years old his father gave him a long ship

with which to pursue the profitable profession of piracy and his uncles Eyvind and Aulvir, the sons of Kari, his grandfather, joined in the venture in another long ship. For several summers they engaged in buccaneering, and spent their winters at home with their fathers and mothers ; to whom, we are told, Thorolf took many costly things.

At this time Harald was engaged in his great campaign again, the kings of the Western fylkies among them, as we have seen, was Audbiorn, King of the Firthfolk, who summoned his feudatory Ulf to go to the help of himself and his confederates against Harald. Kueldulf replied that he would consider it his duty to fight alongside of him in defence of the Firths, but it was no part of his duty to defend Mere from attack, and he further thought that Harald had a load of good fortune, while Audbiorn had but a handful. He accordingly remained on his property and took no part in the fight (where his suzerain, Audbion, was killed), and about which Ari preserves another verse from Hornklofi's sadly corrupt poem. It was then the custom, says Harald's Saga when men fought on ship-board, to bind the ships together and to fight from the forecastle, and this happened now. King Harald laid his ship alongside that of King Arnvid of South Mere, and many men fell in the melée which followed ; Harald fought in the midst of his men and with such effect that some of the crew of Arnvid's ship were pressed back to the mast and others fell, and presently the rest took to flight. The two allied Kings fell fighting. The struggle must, however, have been a desperate one, for among those who were killed on Harald's side were Asgaut and Asbiorn, who were doubtless well known champions, and two of his iarls, Griotgard and Herlaug (one of his wives' brothers, and sons of iarl Hakon of Ladir).

Solvi again escaped and became a Viking. He greatly ravaged Harald's kingdom, and afterwards killed one of his sons, Guthorm, who governed "The Wik," or "Vik," comprising the fylkies bordering on the Bay of Fold (now Christiania fiord, viz.: Grenland, Westfold, Vingulmark, and Alfheim (Mag., op. cit., iv. 291). This was in a battle at the mouth of the Elf or Gotha river (Heimskringla, ch. 33).

Harald now completely appropriated South-Mere, but Vemund, the son of Audbiorn, still retained the throne of the Firth people. He would have gone against him but the autumn was much advanced and he was persuaded by his followers that it was dangerous to sail round the Stad, (*i.e.*, Stadtlandet, or Cape Stadt, the westermost peninsula and promontory of South-Mere—Magnussen, op. cit., iv. 280). Harald therefore added South-Mere to Hakon's iarldom and returned to Throndheim (Saga of Harald Fairhair, ch. 12).

Meanwhile Harald's friend, iarl Rognwald, set out to take possession of the Firths where Vemund still held out. He went by the inner course through Eid, or Inner Eid, now called Mandseid,* and then southward past the Firths and surprised King Vemund in his house called Naustdale,† where he was feasting. He set fire to it and burnt him to death with 90 of his men, a ruthless fate which was often dealt out by the Northmen and which he himself had to meet at a later day. After this Rognwald was joined by Kari of Berdla.‡ Ari says he was a mighty

* That is through the upper part of the isthmus which connects Stadt with the mainland on the North side of North fiord in Firth fylki (Mag., 246).

† Now called Naustdal in the parish of Eid in Nord fiord in the northern part of Firth fylki (Mag. iv. 266).

‡ This place, now called Berle, was an ancient manor house on the south-eastern coast of the large island of Brimangrsland, now Bremanger, in the mouth of the North fiord (Mag., 241).

bareserk. With a long ship they returned together to North-Mere. Rognwald took the ships belonging to Vemund and also his goods.

After this in the spring King Harald himself went from Throndheim to Firda fylki and subdued all the people there and according to the Heimskringla he left them in charge of Hakon, the iarl of Ladir. In Egil's Saga (which is probably right, since Hakon's own iarldom in the North was far away) we are told that he gave it to Hroald, who had been a iarl under King Audbiorn (Op. cit., 2). The same Saga says that King Harald was very careful when he had got new people under his power to keep watch on the liegemen and such land owners and others who might raise a rebellion. He insisted either on their becoming his own liegemen, or going abroad, or else imposed harder conditions, and even the loss of life or limb, and treated as his own freeholds all their patrimonies, and all lands, tilled or untilled, and all sea and fresh water lakes. All the landowners must become his tenants, with all who worked in the forest, salt burners and hunters, and fishers on land or sea. They all now owed him duty (*Ib.*, iv). He then went eastward and northward till he arrived at Vik. When the King was gone iarl Hakon bade Atli the Slender to get him gone from Sogn and to become again the iarl in Gaular as he had been beforetime, for he said that King Harald had given him Sogn. Atli, as we have seen, had been given his iarldom of Sogn by Harald's father Halfdane. He now replied that he intended to hold both Sogn and Gaular till he had seen Harald. Thereupon the two iarls collected their forces for a mortal struggle. This took place in the fylki of Fialir in Stafanessvagr, now Stang fiord. There they fought a great fight

in which iarl Hakon was killed. This must have been a serious loss to Harald for he was a faithful and skilled friend of his. Iarl Atli was himself mortally wounded and his men carried him to "Atli's Isles," now Atleo, on the north side of the mouth of Dalsfiord in the fylki of Fialir. There he died.

After the late battle Harald, as we have seen, went down himself with his fleet to the Firths. He then sent messengers to invite Ulf (*i.e.*, Kueldulf) to go and see him, no doubt to secure his homage. The latter replied that he was too old and unfit for war. They then suggested that one of his sons should go, for they were tall men and likely warriors, and they told Grim, who was the only one at home, that Harald would make him a lord if he went. He replied that he would be a liegeman under none as long as his father lived; "while he lives he shall be my liege lord." The old man replied that he would be Harald's friend that he would persuade others to be so, and that he would be prepared to hold the same authority from his hand that he had held from his former King Audbiorn, but he would not go to him. Thorolf, his elder son, he added, was not at home, but engaged on an expedition, but on his return he might go to Harald if he pleased and become his man. With this answer the king was apparently content.

It would seem that Ulf's father-in-law, Kari of Berdla above named, and his sons, had followed the example of his partner and had not taken part in the late fight. After the battle the sons of iarl Atli of Gaula attacked Aulvir Knuf, Kari's son, at his home, intending to kill him, but he escaped and fled to King Harald and submitted to him, and went to Throndheim with him and became one of his scalds. Aulvir had married Solveig the Fair,

daughter of iarl Atli, whom he had met at a great gathering for a sacrificial feast at Gaular, and for whom he composed many love songs, and left off freebooting, while his brother Eyvind kept it on (*Ib.*, 11). After King Vemund had been killed by iarl Rögnwald, Kari himself, who was no doubt an old man, went to the latter with a fully-manned long ship, and afterwards went to King Harald at Throndheim and also became his man (Op. cit., ch. iv.).

Meanwhile Thorolf, Ulf's son, who had been on a Viking cruise with his uncle (Kari's son Eyvind Lambi) returned home and heard of what had happened. His father Ulf told him that he himself had in fact declined to become Harald's man and foresaw only trouble in doing so, but that he might please himself, although he counselled him to follow his own example. Thorolf decided differently, for he thought he should get much advancement from Harald if he became his man. He had heard that he had only valiant men in his guard whom he treated generously and well, and he told his father that if he had had prophetic foresight of what would happen, why had he not gone to help his own king Audbiorn in the late battle. It was not reasonable to be neither his friend nor his enemy. The old man replied that he must choose his own path. If he chose to join Harald's guard he was sure that he would be equal to the foremost among them in feats of manhood. He counselled him to keep within bounds and not to try and rival his betters, nor yet yield to others overmuch, and when Thorolf set out for the North he accompanied him to the ship, and embraced him and gave him his good wishes (*Ib.*, vi.).

At this time Harald also secured another champion, namely Bard, whose story is worth

telling. His grandfather, named Biorgalf, was a powerful and wealthy land owner who lived at Torgar, in Halogaland, and who had grown old and lost his wife. One autumn there was a banquet at Leka, at which Biorgalf and his son were the most honourable guests present. In the evening the guests were paired off by lots to drink together, as was the old custom. There was present a man of great wealth, handsome and shrewd, but of no family. He had a beautiful daughter called Hildirida, and the lot fell upon her to sit by Biorgalf. The old man was captivated by her. The next autumn he went in a ship of his own, holding 30 men, and went with 20 of his crew, to call on Hildirida's father Hogni, who went to meet him and offered him welcome for himself and party which was accepted. When they had taken off their travelling clothes and put their mantles on, Hogni gave orders to bring in a great bowl of beer, and Hildirida helped the guests to it. The old man then told his host that he had come to fetch his daughter and proposed to marry her then and there, and having received an ounce of gold from his guest, the marriage followed. Hildirida went home with her old husband by whom she had two sons, soon after which he died.

Thereupon Biorgalf's eldest son Bryngalf, to whom he had some time before made over all his affairs, drove away Hildirida and her sons, nor would he let her share in his father's fortune. This was the beginning of a long tragedy. She thereupon returned home to her father, whose fortune she and her boys inherited. Bryngalf had a son Bard, who presently married Sigridi, the daughter of Sigurd, who was deemed the richest man thereabouts, and his daughter was the best match in Halogaland. He went to woo her on a ship manned by 30 men

His offer was accepted and he proposed to return next summer to wed her and take her home.

Meanwhile King Harald summoned all the principal men in Halogaland to go to him, and Bryngalf and his son duly went southward to Throndheim and there they met the king who received them gladly, made Bryngalf a liegeman and gave him large grants, besides what he had before, and notably the office of collecting the skatt or tribute from the Finns, the right of travelling among them, the control of the king's business on the fells, and the Finn traffic. A similar position had been held by his father. Bryngalf returned home and Bard became one of the king's bodyguards. Of all these guards, says Egil's Saga, Harald most prized his scalds, and of them Audun Ill-Skald, the oldest, sat innermost. He had been his father's poet. Next sat Thorbiorn Raven, then Aulvir Knuf already named, and next to him was placed Bard who was named Bard the White, or the Strong. He was held in high honour by all, but especially by Aulvir Knuf. The same autumn Thorolf, Kueldulf's son, and Eyvind Lambi, Kari of Berdla's son, arrived at Throndheim in a swift twenty-benched long ship, well manned, which they had previously used in their Viking voyages. They were introduced to Harald by Kari of Berdla and Aulvir Knuf. The king said he would do well by Thorolf if he should prove himself as accomplished in deed as he was brave in looks. Thereupon the latter joined the king's household and became one of his guard. Meanwhile Kari of Berdla and his son Eyvind returned to their own estate in the same ship which had brought Thorolf. The king gave Thorolf a seat between Aulvir Knuf and Bard and the three became close friends. In the autumn Bard asked leave to go and fetch his bride,

which was given him, and he asked Thorolf to go with him saying he would meet many of his kinsmen of renown whom he had not seen or known in Halogaland. At the wedding there was a great gathering and, as Bard had said, Thorolf met many of his relations he had not seen before. The wedding was held at the house of the bride's father Sigurd, who gave a splendid feast, after which Bard and his wife went to his own home and Thorolf with him, and in the autumn returned to the king and was with him during the winter. At this time Bryngalf, Bard's father died; Bard asked Harald to let him go home to take up his inheritance, and the king made him one of his liegeman as his father had been, and he held of him all the offices which Bryngalf had held, and became a great chief (*Ib.*, x.).

King Harald had meanwhile taken his host eastward into the Wik and, according to Ari, laid up his ships at Tunsberg or Tonsberg, which was a famous cheaping place or market. The name had, as we have seen, replaced one of wider fame, namely, Skiringsal, which was a very notable trading mart in earlier times. It was situated in Harald's own fatherland of Westfold.

Harald had now been engaged for four years in conquering and settling his north-western dominions, and it was quite time he should return to look after those in the east, where things were not going on so well. At Tonsberg he heard of the ambitious schemes of Eric Eymundson the king of Sweden, who had invaded the frontier province of Wermeland and claimed taxes from its woodland people (Harald Fairhair's Saga, xiv.) He also claimed to extend the western borders of West Gothland, beyond the river Gotha, and as far as Swinesund, thus encroaching

on a recognised old frontier of Norway. He not only levied dues there, but also appointed the Gothlander Rani to rule the district as his deputy or iarl, between Swinesund and the Gaut Elf, or Gotha. His pretensions were still greater for he claimed that he intended to appropriate all the lands in "The Wik" which he alleged had been ruled over by his great ancestor Sigurd Ring and his son Ragnar Lodbrog. This included Raumariki and Westfold as far as Grenmar (now Langesundsfjorden), with Vingulmark and the country to the South, that is to say, the very kernel of Harald's dominions. Probably as the result of the latter's absence in the the West many chiefs in these frontier lands had turned their eyes to the great King of Upsala. Harald was naturally much distressed at the news, and summoned a gathering, or mote, of his bonders, or farmers, in the district of Westfold and charged them with treason to himself. Some denied it, some paid money as a fine, and others were punished. Thus he spent the summer, and in the autumn he went to Raumariki, upon which he also laid a heavy hand.

Meanwhile he heard that the Swedish King was going to and fro in Wermeland and claiming quarters and forcible entertainment there. He accordingly crossed the great Eid Forest and entered Wermeland, where he in turn claimed entertainment. There lived there a very rich old bonder, the mightiest man in the place, who was called Aki. He sent his son and bade Harald to a feast on a certain day, on which he also invited the Swedish King. Aki's great guest-hall had grown old so he built a second one, quite as big and well appointed as the older one. He furnished it with new furniture, while he kept the old for the older building.

In the old hall he entertained the Swedish King, while Harald was his guest in the new one. The former drank from the old beakers and horns well decked with gold, but Harald's, which were new, were probably more showy. In either case the drink was of the best. The reason for the distinction shown by Aki to Harald was that he had once been the liegeman of Halfdane the Black, Harald's father.

The feast having ended, the kings put on their travelling dress. Aki sent his son Ubbi, who was twelve years old, to Harald and begged him, if he approved of his goodwill, to reward the boy by making him his page or attendant; Harald duly acknowledged the hospitality which had been shewn him, and Aki produced many lordly gifts, while he and the king greeted each other with a kiss.

After this Aki went to say goodbye to the Swedish King, whom he found clad for his departure, and, as might have been expected, in a by no means amiable mood. Aki offered his presents, but the king answered little and leaped on horseback while Aki accompanied him. The road passed through a wood near the house and when they came to it the king asked him why he had treated him so differently to the way he had treated Harald, although he knew that he was his man.

"I deem it Lord," said Aki, "that neither Harald nor thyself has lacked aught at the feast. If the appointments in the hall were old so was the king himself, whereas Harald being in the flower of his age had the newer things. As to his being the king's man, Aki held that Eric was just as much his own man, whereupon Eric clove him down with his sword and killed his host; assuredly a brutal

act, even if the old man Aki had been exceptionally tactless in steering through a difficult position.

When Harald was ready to mount, he summoned Aki. His men went to look for him and found him dead on the road. He called on them to avenge their host. They thereupon rode together in pursuit of King Eric until they reached the forest that separates Gothland from Wermeland. There Harald turned back into Wermeland, which he subdued, and slew King Eric's men wherever he found them. After which he returned to Raumariki and dwelt there awhile. Thence he went to visit his fleet at Tonsberg. Having put the ships in trim he crossed over the Firth with them to Vingulmark, and through the winter he harried much in Ranriki, *i.e.*, the district between Swinesund and the Gotha, administered by iarl Rani, who had probably given it his name, for the Swedish King.

Meanwhile the Gothlanders began to get together from the country side, and when the spring came they staked the river Gotha so that Harald might not bring his ships up into the land, but the latter took them up as far as the stakes and then harried the land on either side and burnt the homesteads. Thereupon the Gothlanders came down with a mighty host and a great fight and slaughter took place, but Harald prevailed. After his victory he went to and fro about Gothland, and many fights took place on the river Gotha. In one of them fell Rani, the Gothland iarl. Then Harald subdued the land north of the river Gotha and west of Lake Wener, together with all Wermeland; and he set his uncle Guthorm to rule over them; he thus largely increased the latter's government. Harald then turned to the Uplands and dwelt there awhile, whence he crossed the Dovrefell

once more to Throndheim, where he abode a long time, and had many children.

It was hardly possible that after he had conquered so much, Harald should not wish to complete his work and bring all Norway under his sway. On the other hand, his ambition and his unqualified successes hitherto, made him a perpetual danger to the few States which were still free, and we are told that they confederated together against him with many ships and men. Their chiefs were Eric, King of Hordaland, who was Harald's father-in-law; Sulki, king of Rogaland and Iarl Soti, his brother; Kiotvi* the Wealthy, king of Agdir, who in Hornklofi's poem seems to be treated as head of the Confederacy; and Thorir Longchin. From Thelemark† there came Ronald and Rig, and with them Hadd the Hardy.

When Harald heard of their doings he in turn collected his forces: it was a mighty array from every folk land that counted him as its master. He presently came South and arrived near the Stad, now *Stadt-landet*, or Cape Stadt, the most westerly peninsula and promontory of Southmere (Mag., iv. 280). King Eric of Hordaland, heard of it, so he in turn went South to meet his friends who were coming from the East, and they all met north of Yadaren, (*i.e.*, on the western coast of Rogaland, south of the Boknfirth archipelago), and then went on to Hafursfiord, (now

* Vigfussen thinks that Kiotvi is a Norse corruption of Kiotvan, which he suggests was a Gaelic name like other names in the Landnamabok ending in n., *i.e.*, Beslan, Trostan, Kiaran; Haklangr sounds as if translated from Gaelic, like Svarthodfdi, Hunding, and so many more. These chiefs, he says, were of half Gaelic blood, like so many of the Icelandic settlers, C.P.B., i. 73.

† An inland fylki surrounded by Hordaland on the N.W.; Numdale on the S.W.; E. Grenland on the E.; and Agdir on the S. and W.

Hafrsfiord in Yadaren), where Harald was awaiting them. A great and long fight ensued. Harald won the battle. He in fact probably had an overwhelming force. King Eric was killed, so were King Sulki and Iarl Thorir with the long chin, who was a great bareserk. He had laid his ship alongside of King Harald's, and it was a fierce fight before he was killed, after which, in the grim words of the Saga, "his ship was utterly cleared."

King Kiotvi fled away to a certain holm where there was a good fighting position and the rest of the survivors also fled, some by ship and others escaped up the country, and so to the South about Yadar.

The poet Hornklofi has some picturesque touches in regard to this fateful fight, which became a byword for many a day. He speaks of the ships, with their grim gaping heads and "fair-graven" prow plates, and of the white shields that hung around their sides, of spears from the Westland, and Welsh wrought swords (probably from Flanders or Britain), of the roaring of the bareserks, and the howling of the wolfcoats. He speaks also of "the bold Lord of the Eastmen, the bider at Utsteinn or Outstone,"* (*i.e.*, iarl Thorir), and again of the brawny-necked king who waxed weary with protecting his country from Shockhead (meaning Harald) and found shelter at the holm, (*i.e.*, Kiotvi). "Down 'neath the decks dived the wounded warriors, their buttocks uphoven and their heads laid by the keel" (Op. cit., ch. 19).

Gustav Storm, who was a friend of mine, and was a distinguished scholar of Munch and the editor of his works, wrote a short memoir on the

* This was a manor of Harald's situated on the west of an island of the same name, now called Utstenö, or Klosterö, off Rogaland. It is now, says Magnusson, called Utsten or Utstens Kloster from the Augustinian monastery which existed there in later times (Op. cit., 270).

battle of Hafrsfiord, entitled, "Slaget i Havrsfiord," in which he reached some conclusions about the fight which are very reasonable, and to which I must refer. He points out that Olaf the White, the Norwegian king of Dublin, who had filled that office since the year 853, disappears from the chief Irish Annals about the year 871. There is no notice of his death, which is singular, since the obits of the foreign princes are very regularly entered in these Annals. The last entry about him in the Annals of Ulster—a most reputable work—is in the year 870, where we read that he and Ivar his brother returned to Athcliath, (*i.e.*, Dublin), from Alba, or Scotland, with 200 ships and a great multitude of men; English, Britons, and Picts who were taken back as captives to Ireland. In 872, Ivar who is mentioned in the same annals as King of all Norsemen of Ireland and Britain, finished his life.

There is one important work, which strongly supports Storm's conclusion, but of which we only have fragments. They are preserved at Brussels and were published by J. O'Donovan under the name of "Three Irish Fragments." In this work, after reporting the return of Olaf from Scotland, which it puts in 871, the author says: In that year Olaf went from Ireland to Lochlann, *i.e.*, Norway, (for at that time there was war among the Lochlannag, *i.e.*, Northmen), to help his father Godfred or Gudrod, who had sent to ask his son to go and help him. This war can only have been the one we have described between King Harald and the rulers, of South-Western Norway, which ended in the battle of Hafrsfiord, and which the Northern writers, including Ari, put in the year 871 or 872. Storm further suggests that Kiotvi (who was King of Agdir and a distinguished leader of

the rebellious Vikings) was a foreign name, and that he also had a Norwegian name, and was really perhaps called Godfred, and that "Kiotvi" or Ceotvi was his descriptive name, or cognomen. If so, then Kiotvi was the father of Olaf the White. Storm further suggests that Haklang (named as a hero of the fight by Hornklofi) was a cognomen of Olaf. This would fit in very well with the fact that Haklang, as we know, was killed in the battle of Hafrsfiord, while on the other hand, Olaf is mentioned no more after the date of that fight. That Kiotvi and Haklang were both used as cognomnia is shewn by Storm, who quotes the name of an Asbiorn Kiotvi from the Vatnisdla Saga, while Haklang is used as the cognomen of Thore in Hornklofi's poem. Against all these coincidences I know of only one fact for which I have no explanation, namely, that Haklang is made in the poem the cognomen, not of an Olaf but of a Thore. Whatever explanation there may be of this it seems to me clear that that single fact cannot outweigh the large number of others which Storm has brought together in his paper. I may add that his contention completely agrees with the date of the great fight 871 or 872, as fixed by the old Norse writers against that of Vigfusson who puts it in 885.

The defeat of the Vikings at Hafrsfiord led to a large migration to Iceland. Among others who thus went was Geirmund, called Hell Skin. He had a principality in Rogaland and is called a "host King" in the Landnama-bok, but he had long left off his Viking life. When Harald's victory drove out so many men from their possessions, he thought there was no room for him in Norway, so he set out for Iceland and took Ulf the Sqinter, his cousin, and Stanulf son of Hrolf the Herse of Agd with him. Each one of the three went in his own ship.

Another emigrant to Iceland from Agd (or Ogdhom, as it was called) who went with Geirmund, was Throndr Slimleg. Geirmund must have been a considerable person for we are told he had 80 freemen (Landnama-bok, ii. 17—3). Men said that he was more nobly born than any other person in Iceland, but had little feud or war with other men there because he was old when he went to Iceland. There he was buried in a "ship-how," (*i.e.*, in a ship buried under a mound), in a wood near his house. "Erne was the son of a nobleman and a kinsman of Geirmund. He came from Rogaland to Iceland because of the oppression of King Harald" (*Ib.*, 22—1).

Ann Redcloak, son of Grim, we are told, fell out with King Harald, who had harried in Ireland. He had there married Greliath, the daughter of iarl Beartmar, *i.e.* Great deed, and then went to Iceland and settled down where his wife thought she could smell the honey (*Ib.* ii. 22). Another of the settlers was Thiord, who professed to be the son of a Viking, but most men declared that he was the son of King Harald. He himself left many distinguished descendants (*Ib.*, ii. 23—2). Hall-ward Sougher fought in the battle of Hafrsfiord against King Harald. He came from Shielings, in Hordaland, and settled in Iceland (*Ib.*, ii.24—3). Aurlyg, the son of Bead-were, was another fugitive from the oppression of Harald (*Ib.*, 27—1). Slate Biorn was a great Viking and a foe of King Harald. He went to Iceland and when he entered Biorns-firth his ship was all set with shields. He was afterwards called Biorn of the Shields; the foundations of his house were still to be seen when Ari wrote (*Ib.*, 28—1). Of Hererod (Hwic timber, *i.e.*, White Sky), we are told that he was a man of birth, who was slain by the

contrivance of King Harald, and his three sons went to settle in Iceland (*Ib.*, ii. 28—4). Balce, son of Clong, was also against Harald. He fled to Iceland after the battle (*Ib.*, ii. 30—1). Throndr the Far-sailer, son of Biorn, was also against Harald at Hafrsfiord and was afterwards banished the land and settled in Iceland (*Ib.*, v. 12—5). Orm the Old, who went to Iceland, was the son of iarl Eywind, who was with Kiotvi the Wealthy against King Harald at Hafrsfiord (*Ib.*, v. 16—4).

A more interesting story is told of Ingimund, styled the Old, a great Viking, who harried in the West in joint cruises with Saemund who was his partner. They came back from a raid at the time when Harald was coming to the land and setting out for Hafrsfiord. Ingimund wished to help the King, but Saemund did not, and the two parted. After the battle Harald gave Wigdis, the daughter of iarl Thore the Silent in marriage to Ingimund, who, says our author, could find no peace in Norway, whereupon Harald urged him to try his fate in Iceland. He said he had never been minded to do so. He had apparently been before, for we read of him that he was the son of iarl Ingimund, iarl of Gautland, and Wigdis, and was brought up in the isle of Hefne with Thori, the father of Grim and Hiodmund. Heid volvu, *i.e.* the Sybil prophesied of all three that they would settle in a land that was still undiscovered, West over the sea. Ingimund said he would not do that. She replied that he would not be able to help it, and as a token she said that the teraph or lot, *i.e.* the mascot, would disappear out of his purse, saying he would find it when he dug a hole to plant his porch pillars in. However, he sent two Finns thither, to get back his sacred image or family teraph, or penate. It was a figure of Frey made in silver, which must have been

concealed by him. On their return the Finns reported that they had found where the teraph was, but could not obtain it, and that it was in a certain dale between two woods, and described how the land lay. He then set out for Iceland with his brother-in-law, his friends, and his thralls or slaves. They stayed the winter with Grim, his sworn brother. He got a large estate there and duly found his teraph buried in the ground as he was digging the foundation for his porch pillars. . . . Presently he fell upon a white she-bear with two cubs on a mere near his home, and afterwards went to Norway and gave the bears to King Harald. We are told that white bears had never before been seen in Norway. Thereupon the king gave him the ship Stiganda (Stepper) with a cargo of wood, a most welcome and precious gift for an Icelander. He returned to the island with his two ships and on his return voyage he was the first to round the Skaw in Iceland. After this Raven the Eastman stayed with him. He had a good sword, which he took into the Temple, whereupon Ingimund took it from him; apparently it was deemed wrong to enter a Temple with a weapon (*Ib.*, iii. 5—2, 3, and 9). Two incidental notices in the story have a special interest of another kind. The present treeless character of Iceland makes it interesting to read in one sentence of a willow-dale at Ingimund's *holt* or wood; another note tells us that Ingimund lost ten swine and they were found the next harvest time in Swinedale, and there were there a hundred swine. "The boar was called Beigad" and leapt into Swine mere and swam till his hoofs fell off and he died!!! (*Ib.*, ii. 10). There are no swine now in Iceland, and I remember Vigfussen telling me that he had never seen one when he first read the story of Circe and her swine in Homer.

Let us now return to Egil's Saga. It says that when the roll of King Harald's men was called after the great fight there were many who had fallen and many who were sore wounded. Among the latter was Thorolf above named, who was badly hurt, and Bard who was worse, nor was there a single man unwounded before the mast, except those whom iron would not bite, *i.e.*, the bareserks. The king had the wounds of his men bound up, and he thanked them for their valour and gave them gifts. Some he named steers-men, others forcastle-men, others bow-setters. He also saw to the burial of the dead.

Thorolf's wounds presently healed, but Bard was mortally hit, and he sent for the king and asked him to be allowed to name his heir, and on the king assenting, he named his friend and kinsman Thorolf as successor both to his lands and chattels, and left him his wife and the bringing up of his son, and then died.

In the autumn Thorolf, who had won such great honour in the great fight asked leave from the king to go to Halogaland to take up his heritage from Bard. Harald gave his leave and made Thorolf a liegeman or landman, and transferred to him all the rights he had given Bard in the Finn land, and also gave him a good long ship with all its tackling. When he reached Torgar he was well received, and Sigridr (Bard's widow) consented to the match and was duly betrothed to him, and he took over the management of the property and also the king's business. He now went in his ship with 40 men to Sandness and Alost to get the consent of Sigurd to his daughter's marriage. He was well received and described to his host the details of the fight and how his son-in-law had fallen, how he had left him his wife, and how the king had consented to the arrangement.

Sigurd duly consented and the marriage was fixed for the autumn at Torgar. The wedding was held on a great scale. The same winter Sigurd died and Thorolf succeeded to all his property. Thereupon the sons of Hildirida (half-brothers of Bard) went to him and put in a claim to some of the property which had belonged to their father Bjorgalf. This claim he repudiated and said it had been also repudiated by Bard, who spoke of them as illegitimate. They declared on the contrary that they were honourably born and that their mother (as they could prove by witnesses), had been bought with payment, *i.e.*, her father had received a wedding gift for her, which was apparently necessary to constitute a regular marriage. It was true they said that they had not pressed their claim against their kinsman but now that the property had passed to a stranger they could no longer remain silent. Thorolf denied the statement about the wedding gift and declared that the mother of the claimants had been really carried off by force and taken home as a captive (op. cit., ch. ix). This refusal was the cause of Thorolf's eventual undoing.

To that we will now turn and describe the dramatic close of his career. We have seen how he became one of Harald's chief champions. How he fought at Hafrsfiord and afterwards inherited two great estates, and was also given the very lucrative post of collector of the skatt or tribute paid by the Finns. The mention of Finns introduces an interesting issue. Who were the Finns referred to in the early Norwegian Sagas? The natural reply would be that they were the Lapps, as has sometimes been suggested, but this seems to me to be very improbable; the Lapps are not mentioned (at all events by that name) for a considerable time after this, and their

tradition is that they were late intruders into the land which they now occupy, which is called Finmark. They brought with them a strain of reindeer differing considerably from those of early times in Scandinavia and in all probability they came from Russian Lappland, which is known as Lappmark. The Finns it will be remembered were treated very largely as equals by the Norwegians who inter-married with them. King Harald himself had a Finn wife, and their women are described as comely and their men as able artificers in metal and sword makers. They were also fighting men. In all respects therefore, except their language, they differed from the small ill-favoured, dark skinned dwarf Lapps. They were also found wandering far to the south of the habitat of the Lapps and especially in the northern provinces of Sweden, and in the forests and fells of the Uplands of Norway, and were doubtless close akin to the true Finns of Finland; tall, flaxen-haired men who were hunters and fishermen, and also betimes cultivators of the soil, and whose focus was the two sides of the Bothnian Gulf, but who travelled far and wide in their occupation and left their name in many places in the unenclosed forests and mountain lands of the great peninsula. They were also known as Quens, and were at feud with another Finnic race, the "Carelians," who had a higher culture than their own, who came from the country surrounding the great Russian lakes, and whose national epic was the Kalevala. It seems to me plain that it was from these true Finns who were living, not in the remote and barren district of the North Cape, but on the eastern frontiers of the Throndpeople and in the northern parts of Sweden, that the Norwegians took tribute.

Let us now turn to Thorolf's intercourse with them. We are told in Egil's Saga that in the winter Thorolf took his way up to the fells with a force of not less than 90 men, whereas it had been usual for the king's stewards to have only 30 men with them, and sometimes fewer. He also took with him plenty of goods for trading and appointed a meeting with the Finns, where he took tribute and held a fair. They were all friendly, and he went far and wide about Finmark, but when he reached the fells towards the East he heard that the Carelians were come from the East to trade with the Finns and also to plunder.

Thorolf set Finns to spy out the movements of the invaders, and followed after in search of them. He came upon 30 of them in one encampment, all of whom he slew. Presently he did the same to 15 or 20 others. He killed in all nearly a hundred, and having taken a large booty, went home in the spring. This shows that winter was the season for travelling and fighting in those parts.

Thorolf then returned home to Sandness. He had a long ship built, which was large and had a dragon's head, and it was well appointed. He gathered great stores in Halogaland, and employed his men in herring and other fishing, also in seal hunting and egg gathering, and he never had fewer than a hundred men about him.

That summer King Harald went to Halogaland and banquets were made ready for his coming, both on his estates and those of the liegemen and great landowners. Thorolf's banquet was an especially costly one, and he asked a great company of the best men to meet the king. Altogether he had 500 men there, while the king had only 300, which was a dangerous contrast in the presence of one so jealous as Harald was.

Thorolf caused a large granary, where the drinking was to take place, to be prepared, for there was no hall large enough to hold them. The building was hung round with shields. The king sat in the high seat, and when the high table was filled with Thorolf's men he looked round and turned red, and men thought he was angry. The banquet was splendid and everything was of the best but Harald looked gloomy, and he remained for three days and three nights, which was the usual length of these Royal entertainments. On the third day, when the king was to leave, Thorolf offered to go down to the strand with him, and there was moored off the land the great dragon ship that he had had built, with its awning and tackling complete. He gave the ship to the king, like Wolsey gave his palace to Henry the Eighth, and assured him he had gathered all these men not as a rival but to show him honour. The king was pleased and cheerful and merry, and they parted good friends. Harald then went northward through Halogaland, and then south as the summer went on with banquets all the way.

Among his hosts were the sons of Hildirida, who as we have seen had a grievance against Thorolf because they considered he had robbed them of their patrimony. They gave the king a three nights banquet, and took the opportunity to poison his mind against his late host, whom they charged with being very ambitious; of keeping a great guard round him, like a king, and further, that he was very wealthy. It was even said that he proposed to make himself king of Halogaland and Naumdale, and that the force he had got together was meant to fight the king, and that, in fact, he had intended to kill him at the banquet by setting fire to the dining hall, and the only reason that

he had for entertaining him in the granary was that he did not like to destroy his beautiful hall. Thus did the two brothers arouse the king's jealousy and anger, and he was inclined to believe what he had been told.

Meanwhile Thorolf ordered Thorgils, his house-steward, who had been his forecastle man and standard bearer, and had fought with him in the great battle of Hafrsfiord, to get together all the king's tribute which he had collected from the Finns, to put it on board a large ship of burden with 20 men on board and to go and meet the king. It was clear that Harald was angry, but he went to the ship where Thorgils had set out the furs. The show was much larger and better than was expected and Harald became more pacified and was especially pleased with the bear skins and other valuables which Thorolf had sent him. He nevertheless remarked that it was a great pity that the latter should have been unfaithful to him and plotted his death. The people round merely remarked that it was a slander of wicked men who had misled the king in this matter.

That winter Thorolf went again to the Finn land. He held a fair with the Finns and travelled far and wide over the country, and when he reached the far East there came to him some Quens saying they were sent by Faravid, king of Quenland, because the Carelians were harrying his land, and asked Thorolf for help, and saying he should have a share of the booty equal to the king's share, and each of his men as much as two Quens. Among the Finns the law was, that the king should take one-third, as well as all the bearskins and sables, and his men the rest.

"Finmark," says our author, "is a wide track. It is bounded westward by the sea, from which large

firths run up into the land; the sea also bounds it, going northward and round to the east; southward lies Norway, while Finmark stretches along nearly all the inland region, bounded on the west by Halogaland." This shows that by Finmark was then meant a great deal more than the modern Finmark now inhabited by the Lapps.

"Eastward from Naumland," continues our author, "is Jemteland, then Helsingjaland and Kwenland, then Finland, then Kirialand, *i.e.*, Carelia. Bounding all these lands on the north lies Finmark, and there are wide inhabited fell districts, some in dales and some by lakes."

When Thorolf came to Quenland and met King Faravid they prepared to march. There were 300 Quens and 100 Norsemen, and they went by the upper way over Finmark and came to where the Carelians, who had been harrying the Quens, were camped in the fen. In the battle that followed the Norsemen charged furiously, carrying shields stronger than those of the Quens. There was great slaughter among the Carelians. Many fell and some fled, and the two allies took an immense booty and returned to Quenland, whence Thorolf went home by way of the fell to Vefsnir and then to his farm at Sandness, and in the spring went with his men north to Torgar.

Meanwhile the sons of Hildirida had been living with the king and continued to slander Thorolf, assuring Harald that he had kept back a larger portion of the booty than he had sent. Thus, he had sent only three bear skins, but his traducers declared they knew for certain he had kept back 30 skins. All this made the king very angry. In the summer Thorolf went south to Throndheim, taking with him all the tribute and much wealth,

and 90 men besides. They were entertained magnificently in the guest hall. There his friend Aulvir told him what had happened, and what his enemies had reported to the king. He asked Aulvir to plead with Harald for him, for said he, "I shall be short spoken if he chooses to believe the lies of wicked men rather than the truth and honesty he will find in me." Aulvir returned and told Thorolf he had spoken to the king, but knew not what was in his mind. The latter then determined to go himself. He accordingly went, and arrived when Harald was having his meal, and when he went into the hall he saluted the king, who accepted his greeting and bade them serve him with drink. Thorolf then told him he had brought him not only the tribute, but part of the booty his own men had captured in Finmark. The king said he expected nothing but good from him, for he had deserved nothing else from the generous way he himself had treated Thorolf. But men, he added, told two tales as to his intention towards himself. Thorolf said that the men who spoke thus were his bitterest enemies and would pay dearly some time for their slanders. Next day he brought in the tribute and counted it in the king's presence, adding some bear skins and sable skins. Still the king was unsatisfied, and said that Thorolf had not been faithful to him, to which he replied with dignity, pointing to what he had done and suffered in his cause.

Hildirida's sons, when attacking Thorolf, had suggested that Harald, in order to secure his loyalty, should keep him more close to himself, and at his Court. There he would be removed from possible temptations, as he was very powerful in the North, where he had many retainers. Harald accordingly suggested to Thorolf that he should join his guard and bear his banner. The latter, we read,

looked on either hand where stood his housecarls and replied that, in regard to the titles and grants he had made him, Harald must have his own way, but he could not desert his faithful followers as long as he had means to keep them, and he invited the king to visit him again at his home and inquire for himself, from those who knew him, what they thought of his loyalty. Harald replied that he would not again accept entertainment from him, and he accordingly left.

When he had gone, Harald gave Hildirida's sons the Royal Stewardship Thorolf had had in Halogaland, and also his office of tax-gatherer in Finland. He also deprived him of Torgar, and all the property Brigjolf had had, and he sent messengers to tell Thorolf what he had done. Thereupon the latter got together the ships that belonged to him, and put on board all the chattels he could carry and with all his people, both freemen and thralls, sailed northward to his farm at Sandness, where he kept up no fewer men, and no less state than before.

The two sons of Hildirida now proceeded to Finmark to collect the tribute, taking 30 men with them. The same winter Thorolf went up on the fell again with a hundred men, and went straight to Quenland and took counsel with King Faravid, and again made a joint expedition against the land of the Carelians with 400 men, and they attacked such districts as they deemed they could overmatch. In the spring he went home to his farm and employed his men at the fishing at Vagar (now Vaagen, in the south of the island called Ostvangö, in Halogaland), probably the cod fishing, and also in herring fishing, and had the catch taken to his farm.

We now come to a particularly interesting paragraph in the Saga. Thorolf we are told had

a large ship which was waiting to put to sea. It was well appointed in every way, beautifully painted down to the sea line, the sails were striped with blue and red, and the tackling was as good as the ship. He had it made ready and put on board some of his domestics (housecarls) as a crew and freighted it with dried fish, hides, ermine, and grey furs in abundance, and other skins he had got from the fell, and it was commanded by Thorgils Yeller. The ship set sail westward for England to buy him clothes and other supplies. It first steered southwards along the coast and then westward along the North Sea to England, where they found a good market and loaded the ship with wheat, honey, wine, and clothes, and sailing in the autumn, returned with a fair wind and came to Hordaland.

There were at this time two brothers, named Hallvard the Hardfarer and Sigtrygg the Swift-farer, sons of a wealthy man who had an estate in Hising. They were employed as his agents by the king, and had been sent by him on many dangerous errands, either for getting rid of his enemies or in confiscating their goods. They had a large following, but their occupation did not make them popular, although the king prized them highly. They were valiant and very wary, and were famous walkers, either on foot or with snow shoes.

Meanwhile the king was present at a banquet in Hordaland, and ordered the two brothers, to waylay the ship. They accordingly pursued it northwards, whither they were told it had gone, on two vessels. They found it in Fir Sound and knew it at once, and laid one of their own vessels on the seaward side of it.

Some of the men then landed and climbed on the ship by the gangways. Thorgils and his men

were taken completely by surprise, and had no time to seize their weapons, and were put on shore without arms, and with nothing but the clothes they wore. Hallvard's men now pulled up the gangways, loosed the cables, and towed out the ship, then turned about and sailed southward along the coast till they met the king, to whom they brought the ship and all its cargo.

Thorgils and his crew managed to get transport, and went to Kueldulf, Thorolf's father, and told him of the mishap which had occurred. The old man said things had only happened as he had foretold, namely, that his son's friendship with Harald would never bring him good luck. "I don't mind his money-loss, but I fear he will underrate the power of his enemies." He told Thorgils to tell this to Thorolf. He then counselled Thorgils himself to leave Norway and take service with the King of England, of Denmark, or of Sweden, and he gave him a rowing cutter with tackling complete, with an awning and provisions, and all things necessary for their journey.

Thorgils then set out and did not stop till he had rejoined Thorolf and told him what had happened. The latter took his loss philosophically, and said he "should not be short of money, for 'twas good to be in partnership with a king." He then bought meal and what was needed to maintain his people, but he said that his housecarls must be for a time less smartly attired than they had been. In order to maintain his position he now sold some of his lands and mortgaged other parts, but spent as much, and had quite as many men with him as before, and also continued his feasts and hospitality as lavishly as ever.

When the spring came and the snow and ice were loosened Thorolf launched a large warship,

had it made ready, and manned it with a hundred men, all well armed, and when a fair wind came he steered south for Byrda, along the coast, and then continued an outer course outside the islands, and at times along the channels between fell slopes, and thus they sailed southwards and then eastwards, and met with no one till they came to the Vik. There they heard that King Harald was in the Vik, and that he proposed in the summer to go into the Uplands. The people there knew nothing of Thorolf's voyage. He held on to Denmark, and thence into the Baltic, where he harried, but only got an indifferent booty, and in the autumn returned to Denmark. At that time the fleet at Eyrar was breaking up, and there had been many Norse ships there as usual. Thorolf let them all sail past without disclosing his presence. One day he sailed into Mostrar Sound and saw a large trading ship which had come from Eyrar. The steersman was named Thorir Thrum, he was the steward of Harald's great farm at Thruma, where the king used to make a long stay when he was in the Vik; it required much provisioning, and Thorir had gone to Eyrar to buy a cargo of malt, wheat, and honey for Harald, for which the king had supplied him with ample means. Thorolf challenged Thorir to fight, but the latter had not sufficient force to resist, so he yielded. Thorolf thereupon carried off the ship, and put Thorir on shore on an island. He then sailed inwards along the coast until he came to the mouth of the Elf, where he waited for the night, and when it was dark he steered up the river and made for the farm buildings belonging to Hallvard and Sigtrygg, who had recently robbed him of his own ship and had taken it for a voyage to England. He and his men formed a ring round the buildings, then raised

a war shout which awoke those inside, who seized their weapons. Thorgeir fled from his bed chamber. The farm was surrounded with high wooden palings. Grasping the stakes he swung himself over, Thorgils Yeller, Thorolf's benchman, was close by and struck him with his sword, cutting off his hand, but he escaped to the wood. His brother Thord, however, was slain with 20 of his men. The farm was plundered and burnt, and Thorolf and his men then withdrew again, and went down to the river. They sailed north to the Vik, where they met with another merchant vessel, belonging to the men of Vik, laden with malt and meal. It was defenceless and also surrendered and its crew were disarmed and put on shore. Thorolf and his men again proceeded on their way with their three ships. We are told they took the high way of the sea to Lidandisness. They moved quickly, raiding cattle on their way on headland and shore. They then held a course further out, but pillaged wherever they touched land. When he came near the Firths Thorolf turned inwards in order to go and see his father, to whom he described his summer voyage. The latter told him he had once warned him that he would get no good by entering Harald's service. He now warned him again of the consequences of trying to put his forces against those of the king. He told him plainly that he was not strong enough to do this successfully and that all who had hitherto tried had failed. He said further, as they parted, that he foresaw that they would never meet again. Thorolf now proceeded onward, but no tidings of him were heard, says our author (who was evidently writing from the narratives of contemporary witnesses) until he reached his home at Sandness, where he stored all the cargoes he had

brought with him, and there was no lack of provisions through the winter (*Ib.* chap. xix.).

It was not to be expected that Thorolf's recent action would be tolerated by the king whose hold on his unruly subjects would not bear the strain of such a rebuff if it went unpunished, nor was it likely that the two brothers Hallvard and Sigtrygg would quietly tolerate the burning and plundering of their home. The king himself had been in Viken during Thorolf's buccaneering tour, he now went to the Uplands, where he stayed through the autumn with a large force, and the two brothers just named were with him. They asked his leave to take their usual following with which to attack Thorolf in his home. The king warned them of the dangers they would incur, for Thorolf was a brave and powerful opponent. They replied that they had been accustomed to meet risks when the odds were against them and had been hitherto successful. They made preparations accordingly, and in the spring received the king's consent to go. Although many prophesied ill luck Harald hoped they would return with Thorolf's head, and much rich plunder. They took two ships and 200 men with them and sailed out of the Firth with a north-east wind, which was a head wind for those going northwards.

The king was at Ladir when the brothers set out, and he seems to have distrusted their power to compass what they had in hand, and himself hastily got ready four ships in which he put a large force, and they rowed up the Firth by Beitis-Sea inwards to the isthmus of Eida.

There he left his ships and crossed the isthmus to Naumdale, where he took others belonging to the great landowners, with his guard, which was

400 men strong, with him. He had six well manned and equipped ships. They had to face a head wind so had to row night and day, for the night was then light enough to travel by. They arrived at Sandness, Thorolf's home, at sunset, and saw lying there, with its awning spread, a long ship which they knew to be Thorolf's. He had prepared to escape, and had ordered the ale for the parting carousal. The king bade his men to disembark and to raise his standard. It was a short distance only to the farm buildings. Thorolf's watchmen, who clearly did not know what was coming, were all drinking instead of being at their posts. The hall was surrounded. A war blast was sounded on the king's trumpet, and a war whoop came from his men. Thereupon Thorolf's dependents sprang to their weapons, for each man's weapon hung over his seat. The king caused a proclamation to be issued, bidding women, children, old men, thralls, and bondmen, to come out. Sigridr, Thorolf's wife, and her maids, then came out. She asked if the sons of Kari of Berdla were there. They both came forward and she asked them to take her to the king. She then asked him if anything would reconcile him to Thorolf. He replied that if he asked for mercy his life and limb should be spared, but as to his men, they must be punished for their misdeeds as the law provided. Thereupon Aulvir, son of Kari, who was an old friend of Thorolf's, went out to interview him. He reported what the king had said. The reply was a haughty and characteristic refusal to accept any compulsory terms from Harald. He asked that they might have their freedom, adding ambiguously, that things should then go their course, that is, he challenged him to fight it out. The king replied that he would not waste the lives of his men in

this way, and ordered them to fire the hall. The wood was dry, the timbers were tarred, and the roof covered with birchbark, so the fire soon caught. Thorolf ordered his men to break up the wainscoating and to take the gable beams, and with them to burst through into the hall. When they got a beam, as many men as could hold on, seized it, and they rammed at the corner so effectively that the clamps flew out, and the walls started asunder, and there was a wide opening. Through this Thorolf led the way, followed by Thorgils the Yeller, and then the rest. There was a desperate fight, and for a while it was uncertain which side would win, for the wall of the building protected the rear of Thorolf's forces.

Many men were lost on the king's side before the hall began to burn, then the fire attacked Thorolf's side, and many of them fell. Thorolf rushed forward and hewed about him on either side. "There was small need to bind the wounds of those who encountered him," says the graphic Saga writer.

He made for the king's standard, and at this time his henchman Thorgils the Yeller fell. When he himself reached the shield-wall he struck down the royal standard-bearer saying, "Now am I but three feet short of my aim," meaning doubtless the king. There they all set on him with sword and spear.

The king gave him his death blow, and he fell forward at his feet. Harald then called out to them to cease fighting, which they did, and his men returned to their ships.

He then turned to Aulvir Knuf, and bade him take his kinsman Thorolf and give him honourable burial, and also to bury the rest of the dead, and to see to the wounded who had hopes of life, nor

should any be allowed to plunder, seeing the place was now his property. This showed unusual magnanimity in one who had, in the latter days at all events, been sorely tried by the splendid warrior Thorolf. When the king reached his ships he went round to superintend the care of the wounded, and confessed he had lost many of his men in the fight.

It was only on his return voyage southwards that he realized what a serious danger he had run, for as the day wore on they came upon many rowing vessels in all the sounds between the islands, carrying men who were replying to Thorolf's summons to go to his help against the men of Hallvard and Sigtrygg, who said they had been delayed by the north wind and took no part in the fight. On their return home, we are told, the latter were much mocked at.

The king and his men went on their ships to Naumdale. There they left them and travelled overland to Throndheim and on to Ladir.

The two brothers Aulvir and Eyvind remained behind awhile at Sandness to bury the dead. Thorolf was buried with all customary honours in the case of a man of wealth and renown, and they set a memorial stone over him, and also looked after the wounded. They also arranged with Sigridr about the house, but most of the house-furniture, table service, and clothing were burnt.

On their return to the king they were sad and down-spirited, and spoke little with others, for they had been very close friends with Thorolf, and they asked Harald to be allowed to go home to their farms, for they had no heart to share drink and seat with those who had fought against their kinsman Thorolf. The king refused this and

presently had the brothers summoned to him in his audience hall. He said they had been long with him and had borne themselves like men, and satisfied him in everything. He then told Eyvind to go north to Halogaland, and gave him Thorolf's widow, Sigridr, in marriage, with all the wealth that had belonged to him, and said he should have his friendship as long as he could keep it. Aulvir, he said, he could not spare, on account of his skill as a skald, and he must remain with him. The brothers were very grateful to the king for the honours he had given them and gladly accepted his offer. Eyvind, having got a good and suitable ship, went north to Alost and Sandness, where he was welcomed by Sigridr, the widow of two great Norsemen. He shewed her the consent to their marriage which the king had given, and they were married. He thus became the owner of Sandness and all Thorolf's property, and was now a wealthy man. One of his sons, Fid, surnamed the Squinter, married Gunhilda, the daughter of iarl Hakon, and of Ingibiorg, daughter of King Harald, and was the father of the famous skald, Eyvind Skald-spiller (*Ib.*, xxii.).

After Thorolf's death, Kettle Haening, his kinsman and close friend, who had intended fighting by his side, but was prevented by the king's rapid journey, did not wait long to revenge him. He took a ship and 60 men, and went to Torgar, where Hildirida's sons lived. Their slanders had been, as we have seen, the cause of the king's turning against him. They only had a few people with them. Haening killed them both and appropriated all their wealth that he could lay his hands upon, including their two largest ships of burden. In one of them he shipped his booty and cattle, and also took his wife and children. His foster-brother,

Bang, a man of good family, and wealthy, steered the ship, as well as his late ship-mates, and they made for Iceland and settled at Hofi, near East River. His son Hrafn became the first law-man in Iceland (*Ib.*, ch. xxiii).

When the old and wise Viking, Kueldulf, heard of the death of his famous son Thorolf, he took to his bed from sorrow and age. He was cheered by his other son Skallagrim, who reminded him that anything was better than to become useless and bedridden; "it were better they should determine to revenge Thorolf's death." Kueldulf, we are told, wrote a song. This is preserved in Egil's Saga, and I follow Mr. Green's translation :—

> Thorolf in Northern isle
> (O cruel Norns!) is dead.
> Too soon the Thunder God
> Hath ta'en my warrior son.
> Thor's heavy wrestler, age,
> Holds my weak limbs from fray;
> Though keen my spirit spurs,
> No speedy vengeance mine.
>
> (Op. cit., xx. iv.).

That summer the king went to the Uplands, and in the autumn, westward to Valdres, and as far as Vors. Aulvir, we are told, asked him if he would pay wehrgeld or blood atonement to Thorolf's father and brother, for having slain him. The king consented to do so if they would go and see him. Aulvir at once set off for the Firths to meet them, and he remained for some time with his old friends. He told Kueldulf the details of his son's death, and that it was the king who had given him his death wound, and said that Thorolf fell forward when he died. Upon which the fierce old man replied that there was a saying "that he would be avenged who fell forward, and that vengeance would reach him who stood before him."

Aulvir told his friends that if they would go to the king and crave atonement it would be a journey to their honour, and he pressed them to do so. Kueldulf said he was too old to travel and he meant to sit at home. Grim said he had no errand thither. He declared the king would find him too fluent of speech, and he would not long pray for atonement. Aulvir said he would have no need to speak as he himself would be their spokesman. Presently he consented to go, and fixed a time to do so. He accordingly prepared for the journey, and selected the strongest and bravest men from his household, twelve in all. Among them, one was a wealthy landowner, some were his housecarles, one of them "a coal biter," *i.e.*, one who could bite live coals, and two others, sons of Thororna, who was skilled in magic.

They set sail in one of his ships and went along the coast southward to Ostra Firth, then by land up to the lake of Vors. They arrived when the king was being entertained at table there. When Grim reached the door he sent for Aulvir and his men to come out. Having greeted them, he invited them in. Grim told his followers that it was customary for men to enter the king's presence weaponless. Six therefore took off their weapons and went in, while the other six remained outside with their arms on. Aulvir then approached the king, with Grim behind him. The former was the spokesman and begged that Harald would confer some fitting honour upon Grim, who deserved it better than many who had been so treated, and that it would please his people, and especially himself, if he did so. Several others present supported Aulvir's words.

The king then turned to Grim, who was called Skallagrim from being bald, and was taller than the

others by a head. He asked him to become his liegeman and to join his guard, and he would honour him and make him atonement for his brother's death if he should deserve it, but he must know better how to keep troth than he had done. This was not a conciliatory speech to make to a proud, brave man. Grim said his brother was far superior to himself, and yet he got no luck with the king. Nor would he accept his offer, for he could see no chance of faring better than his brother in return for honest and worthy service.

The king was silent and became blood-red with fury. Aulvir now bade Grim and his men secure their weapons and begone with all haste. He and many others escorted Grim to the waterside. Aulvir expressed his disappointment that his efforts had failed, and bade them haste homewards and keep well out of the way of the king and his men. They accordingly set off, while Aulvir and his men dismantled the boats which were lying on the shores of the lake, so that they could not be used in pursuit. Meanwhile a large body of armed men were seen advancing rapidly towards them. When Grim and his men withdrew from the audience Harald regained his speech. He was very angry, and declared "the bald-head" to be full of wolfishness, and a dangerous person, and ordered his men to pursue and kill him. They found no boats, however, fit to travel in, and had to return. Grim went back to his father, who was pleased that he had refused to join the king's service. Father and son now discussed what they should do, since it was clear that Norway had become a very dangerous place for them, and they determined to emigrate to Iceland, for good reports had reached them about the land to be had there, where men could take land free of cost, and choose their households

where they willed, while several of their relations had gone there, notably Ingolf Arnarson, and his companions.

In the spring Kueldulf and his son made ready their ships. We are told they had plenty to choose from. They selected two large ships of burden, and put 30 strong men in each, beside women and children, and all the moveable goods they could carry, but no one dared buy their lands for fear of the king, and when ready they sailed away, first to the Solundir islands, off the mouth of Sogne-firth, which were many and large and so cut into by bays that few men knew all their havens.

From this vantage the emigrants kept a look-out for the return of a ship laden with merchandise, and which had been sent by Harald under the command of Hallvard and Sigtrygg (who had been the mortal enemies of Thorolf), to bring home the family of his uncle Guthrom, the iarl of Viken, who had died. Presently the ship was espied by Grim, who was on the look-out. He had a good sight, and knew the vessel which had once belonged to Thorgils. He watched them lay to in the haven in the evening and reported what he had seen to his father. They accordingly set their boats in order and put 20 men in each. Kueldulf steered one and Grim the other, and they rowed for their enemy's ship, but when they came near where it lay they put into land.

Hallvard's men had put an awning over their ship and laid down to sleep. When Kueldulf's force came upon them, the watchman who sat at the gangway leapt up and called to his shipmates, and bade the men rise, for an enemy was upon them. Upon which they took to their weapons, but the two gangways were blocked by the two

assailants, father and son. Kueldulf and some of his men were now seized with the fervour and war madness which sometimes seized the Norsemen; this was incited, doubtless, by the memory of his son's death. He now rushed on board his enemy's ship and ordered his men to go along the outer way of the gunwale and cut down the awning from its forks, while he himself rushed aft to the stern-castle, and he and his men slew all they came across. Grim did the same at his end of the ship, nor did they stay their hands till it was "cleared." When Kueldulf came aft to the stern-castle he brandished high his axe and smote Hallvard with it and cut him through helm and head, so that the axe sank in up to the shaft. He snatched it back so forcibly that it carried Hallvard's body aloft, and he flung him overboard. Grim cleared the fore-castle and slew Sigtrygg. Many of the victims had plunged into the sea, but Grim took one of the boats and rowed after them, and slew all that were swimming. The two brothers lost 50 men in the struggle. Their ship became the prey of the victors, who only gave their lives to two or three of the crew whom they deemed of least count. From them they heard what had been the motive of their voyage. Thereupon they looked over the slain on board and found that more had perished by drowning than those who had fallen in the ship. Among those who had thus perished were two boys of 12 and 10; sons of Guthorm, Harald's uncle, who had recently died.

Grim now released the men who had been spared, and bade them go to their master Harald, and tell him what they had seen and heard, and he also sent the king a verse in which he referred to what he had done as revenging the death of a noble warrior (Op. cit., ch. xxviii.).

Grim and his men took possession of the captured ship and cargo, and they made an exchange, loading the ship they had taken with the contents of one of their own, which was smaller, and which they sank by boring holes and putting stones in it. When the wind was favourable they set out for sea.

It was reported of the bareserks, and other men possessed with the bareserk fury, that they were so strong that no one could resist them, but when it abated they were weaker than their wont. It was so now with the old man Kueldulf, who felt so exhausted from the onset he had made that he was utterly weak, and lay in his bed. In their voyage to Iceland, Kueldulf commanded the captured ship and his son the other. For a while the two ships kept together, and were long in sight of each other. Meanwhile Kueldulf's sickness increased, and as he felt death coming near, he summoned his shipmates and told them he had never been an ailing man, but if so be that he died they were to make a coffin and put him overboard, and he thought it likely that he would be drifted to Iceland. They were further to bear his greeting to his son Grim, and to tell him that if he reached Iceland, and (as might be the case) he himself should reach it first, that Grim should choose a homestead as near as possible to the spot where the coffin landed. He soon after died, and his shipmates did as he had bidden them, and they shot his coffin into the sea. An old friend of Kueldulf and his son, also called Grim, son of Thorir Kettleson, who was travelling with them, now took charge of the ship. When he reached Iceland, he took it up a narrow river, called the Gufer river, and there unshipped the cargo and remained over the first winter. When they explored the land along the sea shore, inwards and outwards, they

had not gone far when they found Kueldulf's coffin cast up in a creek. They took it to the ness close by, and raised a pile of stones over it.

Harald, not unnaturally, confiscated all the lands which Kueldulf and his son had possessed in Norway, as well as their other property, and sought out all those who had supported them and had been in their confidence. He laid a heavy hand on all their relatives and friends. Some he punished, and many fled away and sought refuge either in the land or outside it. Among them was Yngvar, Grim's father-in-law. He turned all the property he could dispose of into chattels that could be moved, and having secured a good sea-going ship, set off for Iceland, where he heard that Grim had settled. He and his men were welcomed by him, and spent the winter with, and accepted a farm from him on Swan Ness (*Ib.*, ch. xxx.).

There is another story in Egil's Saga which illustrates graphically the rough life of men in King Harald's time, and the way in which he pursued wrong-doers and breakers of the public peace. The hero, if such he should be called, was named Biorn. He was the son of Brynjolf, the son of another Biorn, who was a great personage in Sogn.

The younger Biorn was a famous traveller, both as a freebooter and trader, and a tough man withal. On one occasion he was at a banquet where there was present a good-looking maiden called Thora, styled Lacehand, the sister of Thorir Hroaldsson previously mentioned. Biorn sought her in marriage, but Thorir refused his consent. The same autumn the former took a well-equipped long ship to the Firths, and went to Thorir's house when he was not at home and carried her off to his father's house

at Aurland, and there they spent the winter together. He wished to marry her, but Brynjolf refused to allow such a thing in his house, for he was a great friend of Thorir's, and sent to the latter to offer him redress for what his son had done. Thorir replied that the only atonement possible was to send his sister home again. This Biorn would not consent to, and so matters remained awhile. Next spring he asked his father for a long ship and a crew, that he might go freebooting. Brynjolf replied, saying he would doubtless, if he got the ship, use it against his wishes, and that he had already had enough trouble with him, but he offered him a trading vessel laden with goods for trafficking, and bade him go south to Dublin, which he said was well spoken of as a mart, and he also provided him with a crew. To this Biorn consented, and got a ship ready, which was manned with 12 men, which he took to his father's house at Aurland. He found his mother there, sitting in her bower or parlour with several maidens, among whom was Thora. Biorn told them that he was determined Thora should go with him. His mother, as is the usual way of mothers, took his part and helped him, and Thora's clothes and trinkets were duly put together ready. That night they went out together to Biorn's ship. They had a bad, stormy passage, and presently reached the east coast of Shetland during a gale, and the ship was finally wrecked in making land at Hrossey, now Mainland, in Orkney. They took shelter in the borg or Pictish tower there, into which they moved their goods, and then proceeded to repair their ship, and there he married Thora (*Ib.*, xxxii). A little before winter news reached them that a long ship had come to the Orkneys with messages from King Harald, ordering Iarl Sigurd to kill

Biorn wherever he was found. The same orders were sent to the Sudereys and also to Dublin. Biorn also heard that he had been outlawed in Norway, and realised the danger of his position, and in the spring, as soon as the weather was settled, he got a good wind and sailed for Iceland, where he was welcomed by Grim, who did not know what had happened. Biorn was a close friend and foster-brother of Thorolf, who was also a friend of Biorn's father, Brynjolf, and so Biorn and Thora took up their abode with Grim. In the autumn, however, ships came from Norway with full tidings of what had really occurred, and that Biorn had actually married Thora without the consent of her family and had been outlawed by King Harald. When he heard this Grim was furious, for he was a great friend of Thorir. Grim's son Thorolf, however, pleaded for him, as did others, and he was presently appeased and bade them do what they liked in the matter. Thora had meanwhile had a daughter, who had been sprinkled with water and was called Asgerd, while Thorolf became a close friend of Biorn. He asked his father what he counselled should be done, for Biorn had a great wish to return to Norway, and he further begged him to send men thither to make atonement for him, for he thought Thorir would greatly honour his counsel. He accordingly sent deputies to Norway, and when they arrived they were joined by Brynjolf, who also offered to make atonement for his son. Thorir on his side agreed to accept this, and he put up the messengers from Iceland in his house for the winter, when they went back with their message. Biorn stayed a third winter in Norway, and then returned for his wife. At her own request they left their child Asgerd with Grim's wife Bera, the daughter and heiress of Yngvar, who had been its foster-mother, and she

was brought up in Grim's family. Thorolf, Grim's son, went to Norway with Biorn. The voyage was a successful one, and they duly reached Sogn, and thence went to Biorn's father, where the atonement was duly ratified. One condition was that Thorir paid such of his property in his house as belonged to his sister to Thora, and afterwards, we are told, the two remained good brothers-in-law and friends. (*Ib.*, xxxv.).

I have deemed it right to give at length these most valuable and illuminating extracts from the Egil Saga as a very notable and instructive picture of the inner life of the Norsemen in the time of King Harald. What would not we give for a similar picture, with equal authority (and there are others), illustrating the parallel condition of the English race at the same time? I have given the story in the great Saga writer's own words, and have taken it from Mr. W. C. Green's racy translation, upon which I could not improve. Let us now return to the King.

After the battle of Hafrsfiord, says the Heimskringla, King Harald found nothing to withstand him in all Norway, for all his greatest foemen were fallen. Certain of them had migrated to other lands, and thus were the waste lands peopled far and wide. Jamtaland and Helsingland were then occupied, though both of them had already got some settlers (Op. cit., ch. 20).

Harald's conquest of the Western coasts of Norway, and his making their proud and free landowners pay taxes was a hard blow for many of them. And among other consequence (as told in his life) were that the *Outlands* were discovered and peopled, namely, the Faroes and Iceland. Many again went to Shetland and many others adopted a Viking's life and went warring and buccaneering

in the West. They abode largely, in the winter, in the Orkneys and the Sudereys, or Hebrides (as they are now called), but in the summer they greatly ravaged Norway and caused much trouble there. There were many, however, who sided with Harald and became his men. Probably the bonders or farmers, who had suffered much from their piratical countrymen, were the latter's chief recruits. When he heard how the fugitives who had fled westward had turned their weapons on their old home of Norway, he determined on a vigorous campaign against them. He on several occasions made summer trips with his fleet across the North Sea, and searched the islands and skerries and drove them from their haunts out to sea. Growing tired of this privateering warfare, he determined on a greater effort, and collected a large fleet and made straight for Shetland and there slew all the Vikings who did not flee.

He then went to the Orkneys, which he entirely cleared of their Vikings, and then to the Sudereys or South islands, where he also harried and slew many Vikings "who were captains of bands" there. He had many fights, but always won the day. Then he harried in Scotland. When he arrived in the Isle of Man all the people, having heard of his previous doings, fled to Scotland, and that island was depopulated, and all the property in it was removed away, and thus when he and his men landed they secured no booty.

In these battles Ivar, son of Rognwald, iarl of Mere was killed, and as a recompense King Harald offered his father the iarldom of the Orkneys and the Shetlands, but Rognwald declined the gift. He probably did not relish ruling a depopulated and devastated land and he gave it over to his

brother Sigurd, who stayed behind when the King and his host returned to Norway. Harald confirmed his appointment.

Rognwald left two sons Rolf and Thorir, by Hilda, daughter of Rolf Regia, and also left three other sons, whose mothers were not high born, and who were called Halladr, Einar, and Hrollaug. They were a good deal older than the two sons just named and had reached manhood when the latter were still children. Rolf adopted the career of a Viking. He was so big that no horse could carry him, so that he used to march afoot and was hence known as the Ganger. He was continually harrying in the East lands (*i.e.*, East of the Baltic). On one occasion when he was returning thence he was apparently short of provisions and ran into the Vik, and there seized a number of cattle on the shore. This form of plundering was known as strand-slaughtering. Harald happened to be then in Viken and was very angry since he had forbidden all such piratical acts in his own dominions. He therefore summoned a Thing and there proclaimed Rolf an outlaw, nor did the appeals of his mother Hilda avail to save the culprit. She then sang a song in which she warned the King that it was rather a rash thing to quarrel with a wolf of Odin's lineage and that if he withdrew to the forest he would grievously harry his flock. Rolf thereupon went westward to the Sudereys and thence to Valland, *i.e.*, the Frankish kingdom, where, as Ari says, he founded a mighty iarldom, which he peopled with Northmen, and which was afterwards called Normandy (Harald Fairhair's Saga, ch. xxiv.). In Olaf Trygvisson's Saga we read that Harald, having found that on his return home the Scotch and Irish Vikings had descended on the Sudereys (*i.e.*, the Hebrides), sent Ketil Flatnose, son of Biorn.

the ungartered, into the West to win them back. Ketil left his son Biorn to look after his estates in Norway, and went West with his wife and other children. Having reduced the Sudereys, he made himself chief of them, and refused to pay taxes to Harald, who thereupon seized all his estates in Norway and drove away his son Biorn (Op. cit., ch. 121).

The widespread conquests of Harald, which involved the subjugation or suppression of such a number of previously independent communities under their own rulers and owners, and the extirpation or disappearance by emigration of the latter, necessitated a revision of the administrative machinery of the Country on an equivalent scale. Harald proceeded to divide it afresh. At first he put the larger areas under the control of his most trusted dependents, giving each of them the title of iarl. He deputed to each of them a virtually supreme jurisdiction within his province subject only to his own dominant authority in the last instance. Each iarl he appointed was also subject to his paying over to him a considerable portion of the scatt or taxes which were collected in the province and which had not been used in paying the expenses of Government there. These iarldoms were in effect great hereditary administrative posts.

Harald having put down all his enemies, was, we are told, feasting with his friend iarl Rognvald when he remembered the oath which he had made that he would neither be shorn nor bathe until he had conquered Norway, and he accordingly, after ten years, took his first bath and had his hair sheared and combed. Aforetime, says Ari, he had been called Shockhead, but men now called him Harald Fairhair, and they all said he was well

named for he had both abundant and beautiful hair (Op. cit, 23).

Harald, like many other handsome warriors (in the old days before Christianity had intervened with its restriction on the numbers of a man's wives) had a large and well-born harem. He first married Asa, the daughter of iarl Hakon, who was his most trusted and powerful subject (Saga of Harald Fairhair, ch. 9). By her he had four sons, Guthorm (doubtless named after his own uncle and foster father); two twin sons called Halfdane, distinguished as Halfdane the White and Halfdane the Black, and fourthly Sigfrod (? Sigfrodr). They were apparently born during his four years' residence at Throndheim and, we are told, were brought up there in great honour (*Ib.*, ch. 18). Secondly, he married Gyda, the daughter of King Eric of Hordaland (*Ib.*, ch. 3 and 21). We have already referred to this proud lady who refused to marry him till he had conquered all Norway. By her he had four sons, Rœrik, Sigtryg, Frothi, and Thorgils, and a daughter Alof, called Arbot, *i.e.*, the Year's-heal, who was the oldest of the family and whom he married to Thorir the Silent, iarl of Mere (Saga of Harald Fairhair, ch. 30).

Another of his wives was Swanhild, daughter of King Eystein of Heathmark. By her he had three sons, Olaf Geirstad-Elf, Biorn, and Ragnar Ryckil (*Ib.*, ch. 21); another of his wives was Ashild, daughter of Ring Dayson from Ringariki, and their sons were Day, Ring, and Gudrod Skiria, and a daughter Ingigiord.

In regard to one of his wives we have a curious Saga. We are told that on one occasion he went a guesting into the Uplands and spent his

Yuletide at Nord Tofti, in the parish of Dovre, in North Gudbrandsdal. When he had sat down at table a Finn, who was a Shaman or Wizard, named Swazi, came to the door and sent a message to the King bidding him go to his cot. Although Harald was wroth he felt constrained to go, but some of his company were not pleased. When he entered, there met him Swazi's daughter, who was very fair to look at, and who offered him a bowl of honeymead. He took both the mead and the hand that offered it, says our author, and straightway it was as hot as if hot fire had pierced her skin, and he felt overcome with passion. All this, he suggests, was the effort of her witchery. Swazi insisted that if the matter was to go any further the King must be duly betrothed and lawfully wedded. He became so engrossed with her that he forgot his duties to his kingdom and they had four sons, Sigurd a-Bush, Halfdane Longlegs, Gudrod Gleam, and Rognvald Straightlegs.

Snowfair presently died, but her skin remained as red and white as she was when alive, and the King sat beside her and thought in his heart she was still living. For three winters he thus sorrowed, and his people did so too, that he should be so beguiled. Presently came Thorleif the Sage, learned in medicine (or leechcraft, as it was known in those times); he approached him soothingly and said he did not wonder he was so devoted to so fair a woman, but that it was necessary she should be moved so that her clothes might be changed. But as soon as she was taken out of bed a dreadful smell came from the dead body and they brought holy fire, *i.e.*, incense, and burnt it. It first turned thin and then nauseous, uncanny beasts came from it, worms and adders, frogs and paddocks, and other creeping things, and she thus fell into ashes.

Thereupon the King recovered his good sense and cast out his folly, and ruled the realm stoutly with the help of his councillors (Saga of Harald Fairhair, ch. 25).

Ari tells us that after Snowfair's death Harald realized that she had bewitched him into an alliance with her, and he drove her four sons away and would not look at them. Thereupon one of them, Gudrod, repaired to Harald's famous bard Thiodolf, who had been his foster-father and who was a great favourite of the king's, and asked him to intercede for him. Harald was then staying in the Uplands, whither Gudrod and his brother made their way, but as they arrived in the evening and were still in their travelling dress, they sat down in an outer place and kept hidden. As the King went up the hall-floor and looked over the benches he sang a verse in which he spoke of his old warriors as being over eager for the feast and added that they were many and hoary. Thiodolf, who had disguised himself, and was hurt by the remark, thereupon improvised a reply, in which he recalled that in their fights together, the heads of his warriors had borne hard blows in his company, and he asked if they had been too many then. He now removed his head covering and the King recognised and welcomed him. The old poet then begged him not to cast out his sons and uttered a memorable phrase, saying that they would gladly have had a better-born mother if he had only given them one. The King took the rebuke kindly and asked him to take Gudrod to himself again and let him live with him as he had done before. Sigurd and Halfdane he sent to Ringariki, while Rognvald he sent to Hadaland. Ari adds that they became manly men and well endowed with prowess (*Ib.*, ch. 26).

Returning to Harald's wives, the one he cherished most, and who was most high-born, was Ragnhild the Mighty, daughter of Eric, King of Jutland, no doubt the son of Gudrod, King of Westfold, who has occupied us so greatly. Eric was therefore Harald's uncle, and Ragnhild was his cousin. By her he had one son, namely, Eric, styled Bloody Axe, who presently succeeded him as King of Norway. People said that when Harald married her he put away from him nine wives.

Hornklofi refers to this in one of his caustic verses in the Raven Song. He tells us that when Harald married his Danish wife he scorned the Holmfolk (*i.e.*, the women belonging to the typical Norwegian district of the islands on the coast of Rogaland) and the maidens of the Hords and Raums (or of Horda land and Raum realm) and of Halgoland.

He adds the cryptic sentence that the bond-maids of Ragnhild, the proud woman, would now have something more pleasant to talk about than that they had been treated with short commons by Harald (Vigfusson, Corpus Poet, Bor. i. 259).

When Harald grew old he had a son by a woman of good, but not noble family, named Thora Mostrstöng, *i.e.*, Most-staff. Her family name was taken from the place called Most,* and the poet Horde Kari was one of her relatives. She was very tall and fair and was one of the King's bond-women, for in those days there were many of good blood, both men and women, who were in the King's employment. It was then the custom, when a child of high birth was born,

* Now Mosterö, on the Western side of the Sound called Bömmelen in South Hordaland, the main inlet into the Hardanger fiord from the South (Magnussen iv. 265).

to select someone who would sprinkle water on him and give him a name. When the child we are dealing with was about to be born, his mother Thora, who was living at Most, sought out Harald, who was then in residence at Saeheimr,* whither she travelled in a ship of Sigurd, iarl of Ladir, who had undertaken the task of godfather. One night, when they lay off the land, Thora brought forth a child at the cliff's side by the gangway-head leading to the ship, and it proved to be a boy. So iarl Sigurd sprinkled him with water and called him Hakon, after his own father. He grew up to be handsome and tall and was the very image of his father Harald. He was brought up with his mother and was about the king's manors while he was young.

While still a boy Hakon was the hero of an incident which has been by some suspected as an invention, as I think with very poor reason. Although coloured with some obviously fanciful incidents, it seems to me to be substantially true.

At this time Athelstane had recently become King of England. Ari says he was called the Victorious or the Faithful, and adds that he sent men to Norway to King Harald with his greeting. This was in itself a very likely matter since the Norwegian king was the mightiest man in the North and had ties with the Scottish islands that would make him well known to the English king. Athelstane's envoy took with him a lordly gift in the shape of a sword, the hilt of which was decorated with gold as was the grip, while its array or scabbard was also wrought with gold and silver. So far the story seems perfectly natural.

* This was one of Harald's manors and is now called Sæm. It is on the N. side of the Osterfirth (North of Bergen), almost opposite Hammer on the isle of Osterö (Magnussen iv. 275)

Then comes a passage which is in itself hard to believe. Ari says that when the king took the grip, Athelstane's messenger immediately said: "Since thou hast taken the sword as our king would, now thou hast become his man." That the messenger on an occasion where courtesy was everything should have thrown such an insult at the aged king, who was very much more powerful than Athelstane and over whom he could have no pretence of claiming homage, seems incredible and seems rather an addition to the story to meet the tastes of the Icelandic vikings for whom Ari wrote, than a reality. He goes on to say that Harald deemed that the affront was meant to mock him and declared that he would be no man's feudatory, but he recollected that it was his practice to "sleep upon his wrath" and not to take a hasty decision, and he also consulted his friends, who agreed that it would be better to let the messenger return in peace rather than to do him ill. This again was hardly the way these proud Norwegian Junkers were wont to behave when flouted.

The next summer we are told Harald sent a ship to England under the command of Hawk Habrok, *i.e.*, High-breech, who was a great champion and much liked by the king. He sent him to visit Athelstane and put Hakon in his charge, which in itself is not an improbable thing, but most improbable if he had previously been treated with indignity by him. Hawk found the King in London, where he was well received and feasted. To carry out the dramatic part of the story Ari reports that at this feast Hawk instructed his men that he should go out first who came in last, and that all should stand abreast before the Royal board, each man with his sword at his left side but with their cloaks so

arranged that their swords should not be seen and so they entered the hall, a company of 30 men. Hawk then appoached Athelstane and greeted him and the king bade him welcome. Then Hawk took the lad Hakon and placed him on Athelstane's knee. Athelstane having asked why he did so. Hawk replied: "King Harald biddeth thee foster the child of his bondwoman." Here again is an incident which is incredible. That Hawk should have thus described the pet child of Harald's old age, the special foster-child of the great iarl of Ladir, and have invited a very cruel treatment, not only for the lad but for the whole party, by insulting the English king, seems ridiculous, and may be explained as a dramatist's clumsy form of tit for tat, but does not represent the conduct of a sane man. Ari says that Athelstane was exceedingly wrath and took up his sword to kill the boy, upon which Hawk replied: "Thou hast set him on thy knee and mayest murder him if thou wilt, but thou will not thus put an end to all the sons of King Harald." Thereupon Hawk and his men all withdrew to their ship and put to sea and returned to Norway. Ari goes on to say that King Harald was well pleased that his son had remained to be fostered by Athelstane, for men ever account the fosterer less noble than him whose child he fostereth. Then he adds a moral which rather spoils the effectiveness of his way of telling the story. He says: "By such like dealings of the kings may it be seen how either would fain be greater than the other, yet not a whit, for by all this was not any honour of either spilt, and either was sovereign lord of his realm till his death day."

What follows shows that the incident of the mutual insults of the two kings is almost certainly

an imaginative addition to the real story, for after Hawk's challenge and before his whole Court, Athelstane certainly did the very reverse of treating the boy as the son of a bondwoman.

We are told that he had him christened and taught the right truth and good manners and all kinds of prowess and that he loved him more than all his kin, and so did all other men who knew him. Hence he was called "Hakon, Athelstane's fosterling." He became a man of great strength and size and of fair speech, and eventually rose to be King of Norway. We are told that King Athelstane gave him a sword, the hilt and grip of which were all decorated with gold, while the blade was still choicer, and that with it Hakon was reputed to have split "a quern-stone to the eye," whence the weapon was called Quernbiter. It was the best sword that ever came to Norway and Hakon kept it until his death day (*Ib.*, ch. xlii. and xliii.).

After reporting how well filled his quiver was with children and speaking of his later days, Ari says that King Harald sat at home in his own land enjoying good peace and plenteous seasons (Op. cit., ch. 26).

This does not mean that he had no troubles. The great king had had a successful career and was the most notable ruler in Europe of his time. He had conquered and consolidated a great kingdom and beaten or driven away all his enemies, but like other great conquerors, troubles accumulated in his own family which were harder to face. His quiver no doubt was full, and he was proud of it, but the weapons it contained began to be menacing. The fact is that for the most part his various wives continued to live among their own

people and brought up their own sons there. This was the only feasible plan when a king had many wives who could not be treated like the slave-wives among the Mohammedans, where they occupy one harem and are kept under strict discipline by truculent eunuchs or an exacting mother-in-law. High-born and high-spirited Scandinavian dames could not be thus treated.

As is still the fashion among the rich Arabs each wife had a separate house. The difference being that in the North these several houses were not in one place but in the different parts of the country, each among her own people. For the most part such marriages were political and diplomatic and meant to secure the allegiance and loyalty of powerful families. It was perhaps only in this way that a country so broken by physical obstacles into separate counties could be tied together.

This had, however, its inconveniences, for having no common home, the king's sons hardly knew each other and hardly recognized the ties which bind brothers together who have been playmates and companions from their nursery. Jealousies and rivalries and quarrels naturally arose and each one became the centre of intrigues. Being of Royal blood, and great personages, they naturally had expensive households, and often found that their incomes, which were at first mere doles and allowances from their father, were not sufficient for their needs and ambitions.

Ari says that some of them had become riotous, and in some cases had driven out the iarls, and in others killed them. As I have said, the great king was baffled when he tried to rule his own household in which the children of several mothers had to be satisfied. They struggled with each other for their

father's inheritance, which he had parcelled out among them in the fashion recognized in the North, without taking care to make any one of them absolutely supreme over the rest. Some of them, too, whose portions were too scanty for their ambitions, viewed with great jealousy the dominating position assigned by Harald to some of his own administrative officers, the great iarls. They treated them as not having pretensions like themselves who claimed descent from a long race of lordly kings.

Thus it came about that his most devoted counsellor and friend, and the most powerful of his iarls, the ancestor of the Dukes of Normandy, namely, Rognwald, iarl of Mere came by his end. One spring we read that Halfdane Longlegs and Gudrod Gleam, two of Harald's sons by the Finnish woman Snowfair, went with a company of men and surprised the great iarl in his house and burnt him there with 60 of his men. It will be remembered that Rognwald had committed a similar crime on another iarl years before. Gudrod thereupon appropriated the possessions of the iarl while his brother Halfdane took three of his big ships and sailed into the Western sea.

Rognwald left several sons, more than one of whom became distinguished. One of them was named Hrollaug. He lived with King Harald for some time, made a good marriage, and eventually settled in Iceland. He remained a powerful person there and continued his friendship for the King, and he never left Iceland. The king sent him a good sword, an ale horn, and a gold bracelet weighing five ounces. The sword became the property of Kol, son of Hall O'Side, and the horn was seen by Kolskegg the historian (see the long Saga of Olaf Trygvisson, ch. 214).

When King Harald heard what had happened he was naturally enraged with his sons and went with a great force against Gudrod, who had appropriated the dead iarl's realm and who at once submitted. His father sent him eastward into Agder, and he made over the iarldom of Mere to Thorir, called the Silent, son of Rognwald, and gave him his own daughter Alof in marriage.

Meanwhile Halfdane, as we have seen, went westward to the Orkneys, where he was murdered.

We must now revert for a few paragraphs to the story of those islands. We have seen how Harald had made Sigurd, son of Rognwald, iarl. He there associated himself with Thorstein the Red, the son of Olaf the White, of whose probable death at Hafrsfiord I have already spoken. The two harried in Scotland and conquered Sutherland and Caithness, as far as the Eikkjel which separates Ross from Sutherland. (In the Orkney Saga, Moray and Ross are also named, but these were apparently later conquests). In this war they fought against the Scotch iarl, Melbricta or Melbriga. The account in the Flatey-bok and the Orkneyinga Saga, says that they had agreed to meet at a certain place, with 40 men on horseback on each side, in order to settle their difference. Sigurd, who suspected some treachery on the part of the Scots, mounted 80 men on his 40 horses. Melbricta noticed this and said to his men: "I see two legs on each side of each horse" and he at once determined to fight. Sigurd told half of his men to dismount and attack them from behind, while those who were mounted were to charge them in front. Presently Melbricta fell, and with him all his men. Sigurd fastened the head of the Scotch iarl to his saddle bow and thus

rode home. Meanwhile, when spurring his horse, he struck his leg against a projecting tooth of Melbricta (whence his soubriquet of Tönn or the Toothed). The wound proved serious and he died of it and, says the Saga, he was buried in a mound at Ekkjalsbakki. Anderson, in his edition of the Orkneyinga Saga, identifies it with a mound on the Dornoch firth. Skene argues against this and would identify the place as near Forres, and would even equate the famous sculptured pillar there and known as "Sweno's Stone" with Sigurd's monument. On one side are two figures engaged in friendly conversation, and above, a cross with the usual network ornamentation ; on the other side is a representation, difficult to make out, of a number of men engaged in Council and behind is a building or fortification, above which is a party of men at full gallop followed by foot soldiers with bows and arrows. Above again is a leader with a man's head hanging to his girdle followed by three trumpeters sounding for victory and surrounded by decapitated bodies and human heads; above again is a party seizing a man in a Scotch dress, and below another party, one of whom is cutting off another man's head ; above all is a leader followed by seven men. The correspondence of these sculptures with the incidents in the tale is striking (Skene's Celtic Scotland, i. 337—8, and notes).

Sigurd was succeeded as iarl by his son Guthorm "who ruled the land for one winter and then died childless," whereupon his patrimony as iarl was seized by several Danes and Northmen Harald Fairhair's Saga, xxii.). When Rognwald the iarl of Mere heard of the death of his brother and nephew, and what had become of their lands, he sent his son Hallad, who received the title of iarl,

and took a large number of men with him and settled them at Hrossey, but the Vikings in the islands landed on different nesses or headlands, and ravaged the land, killing the cattle, until Hallad grew weary, relinquished his title as iarl, and again became a franklin, much to the chagrin of his father (*Ib.*, ch. xxvii.). In the Orkneyinga Saga the names of two of the Vikings are mentioned who then occupied the late iarl's lands, namely, Thorir Woodbeard and Kalf Scurvy.

Rognwald then summoned his three elder sons, who were base born: To Thorir, he said he could not spare him, his career must be at home; to Hrollaug, that his future would be in Iceland, where he prophesied he would become famous. The third and youngest son, Einar, is then reported to have spoken to his father and said: "Wilt thou that I go? I will promise thee in that case that which will be most welcome to thee, that I will never again come into thy eyesight, nor have I much here to live upon." The grim iarl replied: "Thou art not a very fitting person to become a chief, for thou art thrall-born on all sides, but it is true I would gladly see thee go, and hope thou wilt not return." Rognwald gave him a ship, with 20 benches, fully manned, and King Harald gave him the title of iarl.

He sailed West to Shetland, where he was joined by a number of people, and then went on to the Orkneys, and proceeded to attack Kalf and his companion. A battle followed, in which both the Vikings fell. Einar was a tall man and ugly, and one-eyed, and yet very sharp sighted (Orkneyinga Saga, ch. vi.).

It was reported that he was called Turf Einar, because he was apparently the first Norwegian to

use turf for fires in Torf Ness, there being no wood in the Orkneys. We shall return to him presently.

I described on an earlier page the murder of the great iarl Rognwald by Harald's two sons, and how thereupon one of them, Halfdane Longlegs, went westward to the Orkneys—a daring journey, since those islands were then in the hands of the son of the murdered chief On his arrival some of the settlers there joined him and became his liegemen, but Einar fled into Scotland. Halfdane subdued the islands and made himself King of them. The same year Einar returned and a great battle was fought, in which the latter gained the victory and Halfdane jumped overboard. Thereupon Einar sang a song, in which he reproached his brothers for not having taken vengeance on their father's murderers, and specially attacks Thorir for sitting mute over his mead cups in Mere.

Next morning they went to look for runaway men among the islands and all they caught were at once slain. Looking towards Rinansey, Einar said he saw something that stood up and then laid down, and it must be either a bird or a man. They went to see and there they found Halfdane Longlegs. Einar made them carve an eagle on his back with a sword and cut the ribs through from the backbone, and drew the lungs through the cuts, and made an offering of the whole to Odin for the victory he had won. Vigfusson and Powell seem to throw some doubts on this. I think with little reason. The particular penalty of making a spread eagle on an enemy's back was common in Viking times, and we must remember that Einar was revenging the very ruthless murder of his own father. Several of the latter's verses on his victory are reported in the Orkneyinga Saga. Some of the lines are vigorous. In them, *inter alia*,

he claimed to have hewn a hole in Harald's shield, which no one could gainsay. He gloated over his victory, and the feast he had given the falcons and carrion birds. "Cast the stones," he says, "over Longlegs," *i.e.*, pile them on his grave, "for we have got the victory. It was with hard money I paid him taxes. I know that a good many men are seeking my life, but they cannot know until I am dead whether it will be I or they who will feed the eagles" (see V. & P., Corp., Poet Bor., i. 371 and 372).

On the news of Halfdane's murder reaching Harald, in Norway, he called out his men and set out for the West to revenge him. As soon as he heard of the king's approach iarl Einar fled to Caithness. Harald doubted the policy, or perhaps the possibility of waylaying him, and it was arranged that they should come to a parley, at which Einar and the people of the Orkneys agreed to pay 60 marks of gold as a blood penalty for the outrage they had committed. The bonders or farmers deemed the fine altogether excessive, so Einer agreed to pay it himself on condition that all the odal or tax-free lands in the islands were made over (or perhaps rather became taxable) to him. This they consented to do, for the poor people had but little land while the rich hoped to redeem their property again. After this Harald returned to Norway.

Meanwhile another tragedy happened to another of Harald's sons. We have seen how much he was helped in his earlier days by his uncle and foster father Guthorm, and how the latter was well rewarded by him. He lived at Tonsberg, in Westfold, which he administered as he did the Uplands in Harald's absence (*Ib.*, 21). We are told he had a good deal of worry in

protecting his charge against the piratical attacks of the Vikings and the men of Eric Eymundson, King of Sweden. The latter, we read, died when Harald had been King of Norway ten years, and was succeeded as King of Sweden by his son Biorn (Saga of Harald Fairhair, ch. 29).

It was apparently a few months after this that Guthorm, also died "in his bed," as it is said in the Heimskringla, a rare occurrence in those days. We have seen how his two young sons were drowned when on their way to join Harald (*vide ante*). Guthorm had undertaken the tutelage of Harald's eldest son, Eric, and had sprinkled water over him and given him his name. Ari says "he set the lad on his knee and became his fosterer and had him away with him into the Vik" (*Ib.*, 21). When the old man died without a male heir Harald appointed his own son, "the godson and namesake of the elder Guthorm," to succeed him as governor of Westfold and the Uplands (*Ib.*, 29). He had to guard the former against the forays of the pirates and used to patrol the skerries round the coast with his ships. On one occasion, when he lay in the mouth of the river Elf, Solfi Klofi, of whom we have heard before, and who had been formerly severely defeated by King Harald, attacked and killed him. He was apparently succeeded as ruler of Viken by his brother Biorn (*Ib.*, 38).

Another of Harald's sons, Halfdane the White, was also killed at this time in a desperate battle fought between himself and his twin brother Halfdane the Black in the Eastlands, *i.e.*, in the lands to the east of the Baltic (op. cit., 33).

Of one of Harald's sons by the Finn woman Snowfair, named Rognwald Spindleshanks, Ari has a grim story. He had been given a share of

Hadaland as an appanage by his father and took to wizardy or magic and working spells, which had been practised by his Finn mother, and to which black art Harald was greatly opposed. The king having heard of a wizard living in Hadaland called Vitgeir, sent to bid him leave off his wizardy. He replied in a verse in which he rebuked the king for restraining him who was only carl-born by either parent, while his own son Rognwald was practising the same art in Hadaland. On hearing this Harald sent his eldest son Eric with a force to Hadaland where he burnt his brother and with him 80 wizards (*Ib.*, 36).

Wizardy continued to be practised in the family by the son of Rognwald Spindleshanks, grandson of King Harald, named Eyvind Kelda, who is described as wealthy, and who was a wizard. He afterwards came by a tragical end in the reign of King Olaf Trygvisson (see Saga of O. T., ch. 195).

Still another of Harald's sons also had a tragical end at this time, namely, Gudrod Gleam the foster son of the poet Thiodwolf. He was determined to go in an ill-manned ship northward to Rogaland when the weather was very rough, nor would he listen to Thiodwolf's advice to put off his journey till there was better weather, but set out most rashly. When he came off Yaderen the ship foundered and all who were in it perished (Harald Fairhair's Saga, 37).

Meanwhile Harald in order to stop the struggles and jealousies of his sons, had to make fresh provision for them and to give them a higher status. Hoping to satisfy their ambitions, he called together a great Thing or Assembly of the South Country, to which he also invited the Uplanders. At this he gave appanages to several

of them with the title of kings and established that in each case the father should be succeeded by his son in his kingdom. This title was reserved for his sons and their descendants, while according to Harald those who were related to him on the spindle side (by whom the descendants of his daughters are probably meant) were to have only the status and name of iarls.

In dividing the kingdom he had assigned Vingulmark, Raumariki, Westfold and Thelemark to Olaf, Biorn, Sigtrygg, Frothi and Thorgils. Heathmark and Gudbrandsdale he gave to Dag, Ring, and Ragnar. Ringariki, Hadaland, Thoten, and all that pertained to them he gave to the sons of Snowfair, Sigurd Brushwood and Halfdane Longlegs. The latter was afterwards killed, in the West, as we have seen, by Torf Einar, iarl of Orkney, but Sigurd retained his kingdom in Ringariki. There he was succeeded by his son Halfdane, and he by his son Sigurd, who married the widow of King Harald the Grenlander, named Asta. They were both baptized at the instance of King Olaf Trygvisson, as was their boy Olaf, who was named after the great King Olaf himself (see the long Saga of King O. T., ch. 194). To Guthorm Harald gave Ranriki that is, all the country from the river Gotha Elf to Swinesund, and doubtless called after iarl Rani the Gothlander, who had governed it for the Swedish king.

Harald chiefly made his home in the middle of the land, namely, Rogaland and Hordaland. His sons Rörek and Gudrod always lived with their father but held great bailiwicks or appanages in Hordaland and Sogn. The far-north province of Throndheim Harald gave to his sons Halfdane the Black, Halfdane the White, and Sigrod. To Eric, his favourite son (whose mother was the Jutish

princess, Ragnhild the Mighty, who he meant to succeed him as Overlord of the whole State, and who also lived continually with him), he gave as a special appanage Halogaland, Northmere and Raumsdale.

The dues in each of these petty kingdoms were divided between himself and his sons in equal parts, while they had a place on the high seat higher than the iarls, but lower than his own. Ari remarks, in regard to Harald's own high seat, that each one of his sons hoped some day "to sit in the seat which Harald had selected for Eric." On the other hand the Throndheim people, probably the most wealthy in the realm and whose country was planted in the very midst of that which was given as a special appanage to Eric, were determined that their special king, Halfdane the Black, should presently sit on the high throne.

In regard to this Halfdane, who, as we have seen, had destroyed his twin brother in a fight, we read elsewhere that when his other brother, King Eric, was "guesting" (*i.e.*, being entertained) at Solvi, inside of Agdaness, Halfdane hastened thither with "a host" and captured and burnt the house he was living in, with all its inmates, but Eric was luckily sleeping in an outbuilding with four of his men and escaped. He went to his father and gave him an account of the outrage. The old man was very wroth and led a fleet against the Throndheimers. He lay with his men by Reinsletta, in the parish of Rissen, on the northern side of the outer Throndheim fiord. Halfdane on his side summoned his men and ships and put out to Stadr, inside of Thorscliff; Magnussen says of it, "now Stadshygden, in the district of Fosen, in North Throndheim." The position was no doubt very serious, and we are

told that certain people intervened between father and son. Among them was one called Guthorm, named Cinder, a skald or poet. He was now with Halfdane, and had formerly written for them both, and had been offered a reward by them. He had refused the gifts, but said he might sometime ask them a boon instead. This he now claimed, and it was that the two chiefs should make peace with one another, while other noblemen also intervened, Father and son consented to do so. Halfdane remained king in Throndheim and undertook not to molest his brother. Jorun, the female skald, made a poem on this quarrel, of which a stanza is preserved in the Heimskringla (Harald Fairhair's Saga, ch. xxxix: see also V. and P., Corp. Poet. Bor., ii. 29).

To two of his sons Harald did not give lands, but ships, namely, Thorgils and Frothi, and they went harrying out to the West, to Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. It was reported that Frothi was poisoned there, while Thorgils reigned for a long time over the Dublin people and eventually died there* (Harald's Saga, ch. 35).

Turning to the troubles caused by the local jealousies of the different sections of the realm, we are told, the people of Vik and the Uplands also had different views to the Throndheimers in regard to their choice of their future rulers. "Whence," says Ari, "there waxed dissension anew amidst the brethren." The fact is that apart from the ambitions of various princes there underlay a strong element of disruption in the position itself. The local differences of custom, descent and dialect, with the different loyalties and prejudices of the

* In the Heimskringla it is said that he was the first Viking who possessed Dublin, but this is a mistake. Its founder was Olaf the White in 852.

various communites caused a great cleavage among them. They had been separated by natural barriers from early days. A strong and powerful personality like Harald had succeeded in uniting them for a while by artificial ties into a whole, but it took a long time and many struggles to weld them into a real union. The history of early England, of France, Germany, and Italy, afford abundant examples to illustrate the problem as it occurred in Early Norway.

While Harald gave a number of his sons appanages with the distinction of being entitled kings, and of receiving a royal income, he reserved a large part of the administration of the country in his own hands, and it continued to be controlled by his iarls or deputies. He appointed that there should be a iarl over each folkland or county and gave him the control of justice and the right to collect fines and land taxes in his special government. Each iarl was also to have a third of the "skatt" or royal revenue and of the dues, for his board and other costs of living. He was to have under him four or more officials called *hersirs*, each of whom was to have 20 marks for his maintenance. Each iarl was to bring 60 men-at-arms to the king's host at his own cost, and each *hersir* was to bring 20. Harald had so managed the finances (no doubt by increasing the taxes and dues) that his iarls had more wealth and weight than the kings formerly had (*Ib.*, ch. vi). We are told by Ari that the regulation just described endured for a long time (Long Saga of Olaf Trygvisson, ch. l.).

The *hersirs* were set over the administrative districts called herads or hundreds, whence their name. Each originally probably consisted of a hundred families. Their position was apparently

heriditary, thus the *hersir* Erling on being offered a iarldom by his brother-in-law King Olaf Trygvisson replied: "*Hersirs* have all my kindred been, nor will I have a higher name than they, but this I will take of thee, King, that thou make me the highest of that title here in the land." To this the king consented and gave him control of the dominion south away, between Sognfirth and East Lidandisness, the most northern part of North Agder, in such wise as Harald Fairhair had given it to his sons (Heimskringla, Saga of Olaf Trygvisson, ch. lxiv). The *hersir* seems to have combined the offices of war commander and chief priest of his district. Of one of these *hersirs*, called Gudbrand of the Dales, Ari says he was as a king in the Dales though he only bore the title of Hersir (Saga of Olaf the Saint, ch. cxviii.) The mode of investiture for iarls and *hersirs* adopted by Harald was followed by his successor (see Magnusson, iv., p. 94). We have described it in the case of iarl Hrollaug of Naumdale. The order of precedence of sub-kings and iarls was determined by the position each one occupied on state occasions, when the king sat on his throne, the under kings or folk kings on the second step and the iarls on the third one. One of Harald's most important regulations was the compelling all franklins or free men to pay him dues. This was a very unpopular regulation but it lasted until the days of Hakon the Good who gave back to the freeborn bonders the *odal* rights which King Harald had taken from them (Saga of Hakon the Good, 1).

The great king was now an old man in strength and vigour as well as in years, for he had spent himself without stint all his life, and his feet, we are told, were heavy so that he could not travel to and fro as he was once wont, nor could he look

after State affairs with the same skill, so he put his son Eric on his high seat and gave him dominion over the land (Saga of Harald Fairhair, ch. 44). How uneasy that seat proved, we shall see presently.

Harald lived for three years after he had given over the realm to Eric, and eventually died in his bed in Rogaland and was buried in the howe, by Kormtsound, that is the waterway separating the island of Kormt from the Mainland and there a memorial monument of granite was erected to him in 1872.

"In Howe Sound," says Ari, "a church standeth to this day and just to the north-west of the churchyard lies the howe of King Harald Haarfagre, but west of the church lies the stone which lay over the king's grave in the Mound, and the stone was thirteen feet and a half long and nearly two ells broad. In the middle of the howe was the grave of King Harald, and one stone was set at the head and the other at the feet, and on the top was laid a flat stone, while a wall of stones was built below it on either side, but these stones, which were once in the howe, are now in the churchyard." This shows how very soon the grave of the Mighty King was dismantled.

All men agreed, says Ari, that King Harald was the handsomest man recorded, the biggest and strongest, the most bounteous of his wealth, and the friendliest to his men. The common report went that the great tree which his mother saw in her dream foreshadowed his life and his deeds, for the lower half was red as with blood, and thence upwards for a span it was fair and green, which pictured the flourishing of his realm, while the top was white, betokening the great age and hoary hairs he would see. The boughs and branches represented his widespread descendants (*Ib.*, ch. 45).

The internecine struggles of Harald's sons no doubt (as civil strife inevitably does) caused a great spread of lawlessness, cruelty and utter disregard for life, and I am tempted to again refer to that excellent storehouse of accredited facts, the Egil's Saga, for two striking examples of the anarchy that ensued. They also throw considerable light on the common law relating to property and its succession at this time. The first one is not quite so ruthless as the other. They are both reported in the Landnama-bok. The first one refers to a certain Ketilbiorn, a nobleman in Naumdale, son of Ketil and of Asa the daughter of iarl Hakon, Griotgard's son, who married Helga the daughter of Thord Skeggie. He went to Iceland, when its maritime part was widely settled, in a ship called Eilida, and stayed the first winter with his father-in-law. In the spring he set out to find a suitable place to settle in. They had a sleeping place and built a Hall, says Tait, at a place called Hallbrink in Blue shaw. His children were Tait and Thormod (Diarmaed), Thorleif and Ketil, Thorkatla and Ordleif, Thorgedr and Thordr. Five of them, it will be noted, had names compounded with the name Thor. He was so rich in money, says Ari, that he bade his sons cast a crossbeam of silver for the temple that they were about to build. This they would not do. He then drove with the silver up onto the fell with the aid of two oxon, and went with Hake, his thrall, and Bot, his bondwoman. They buried the treasure there "so that it has never been found since." No doubt to secure the secret being kept, Ketilbiorn killed Hake at Hake-pass and Bot at Bot-pass. Many great men, we are told, were descended from Ketilbiorn. The names are recorded of two of his great grandsons, and a great great grandson, who became bishops (*Ib.*, v. 14, 1—4).

The second story, also from the great Domesday book of the North, illustrates the savage and cruel methods which justice pursued in King Harald's days. Biorn was the name of a nobleman in Gothland, the son of Hrodwolf-a-River. His wife was Hlifa, daughter of Hrodwolf, the son of Ingiald, the son of Frothi. Starcad the Old was poet to the two last-named personages. Their son was Eyvind. Biorn had a quarrel with Sigfast, father-in-law of Solwar, a iarl of the Goths, by whose help he kept possession of all Biorn's lands by force. Biorn then settled all his lands and goods in Gothland upon his wife Hilda, and his son Eywind. He then burnt Sigfast in his house and set out westward for Norway with 12 men, and 12 horses laden with silver, and went to Grim the herse, who lived at Agd in Hwin, now Kvinesdalen, through which the river Hwin in Agder flows (Magnusson, iv., 258). Biorn and his companions were well received, and stayed with Grim during the winter, but presently, tempted by his wealth, the latter hired a man to assassinate him, who failed. Biorn then left and went to stay with Ondott Crow, the son of Erling Knit, who lived at Hwin-firth in Agd, with whom he stayed when not engaged in a Viking's life. At that time Biorn's wife Hlifa died in Gothland, and he then married Helga, Ondott's sister, by whom he had a son called Thrond the Far Sailer. Presently Eyvind, his elder son by Hlifa, came from Gothland and took over his father's warship, and continued the latter's pursuit as a Viking. He was known as "the Eastman" because he had come from Gothland. Soon after Biorn died in Ondott's house. Thereupon Grim claimed that he ought to take charge of all his property, since he was a foreigner (he was, of course, a Goth), while his son was away in the

West, but Ondott kept the inheritance on behalf of Biorn's younger son Throud, his own nephew (*Ib.*, iii. 13, 1 and 2). Meanwhile Throud, who had been raiding in the Sudereys, returned home and took over the moveable assets of his father Biorn, and sailed with them for Iceland.

Ondott's homestead stood near the sea near Ingialdsby. Grim lived close by. One night as Ondott was cutting wood in the copse, for the brewing preparatory to the Yule feast, Grim came upon him and killed him in the king's name, and four men with him. Thereupon Ondott's widow put all his goods and chattels on a long ship and set out, with her two young sons, Asmund and Asgrim, and all her housecarls. She herself went to her father, Sighvat, while her sons were sent to take shelter with her foster-son, Hedin, in Sokendale, who hid them. Grim pursued, and came upon her ship, which he ransacked, but could not find the boys, who reached Hedin's house in safety. Grim and his men went after them. He met one of Hedin's sons in the wood, and inquired about the boys, but he pretended to be witless. Presently he met another son, and offered him half-a-hundred pieces of silver money to say where the boys were. He gave his father the money and told him all about it, but did not return to Grim. The latter suspected that the man who had got his money would betray him so he went home again. The two boys lived hidden in an underground house with Hedin till the harvest came. They then set out to go to their grandfather, Sighvat. The ground was frozen hard, and they were shoeless, and lost their way, and they presently reached a homestead which they did not recognize at first, but presently realised that it was a house their father Ondott had built. They thought they would not be safe there, so went to

that of one called Ingiald near by, and were concealed by him and his wife, and remained there for the winter, meanwhile passing by other names.

Next summer Grim was entertaining King Harald's iarl, called Eadwine. After the feast the two sons of Ondott just named set fire to Grim's house and burnt him in it, and taking Ingiald's boat, rowed away to the islands in the fiord of Hwin. When they landed they heard men talking in the house who had been with Eadwine on his cruise. They returned to the mainland, where they saw the iarl's smack lying afloat under awnings. They went to the hall, where they learnt he was sleeping, with two men on guard. Asgrim, one of the boys, seized the men and held them while his brother entered the hall and put the point of his spear to Eadwine's breast and demanded the wehrgeld, or blood money, for his father's murder. Thereupon the iarl gave him three golden bracelets and a finely woven mantle. He was dubbed a goat (*i.e.*, a coward) by Asgrim for thus surrendering. The two brothers then rushed down to the sea, where they spread the mantle on the water to make believe they were dead, and thus misled their pursuers. Presently they got separated. Asgrim went on to Surndale, and northwards round Stimr, a promontory between Naumdale and Northmere, where dwelt a landowner or thane called Eric Aulfus and another thane called Hallstan Stred, who were keeping Yuletide, and who bade them welcome, but Hallstan struck Asgrim with a drinking horn, probably in a drunken revel. Asgrim in turn wounded his assailant (who presently died of the injury), and then fled to the woods, and was pursued by Hallstan's men, and was wounded sorely as he was crossing a river in the frost. He presently found shelter and was hidden away by an

old woman. Ari tells us she killed an animal and took out its entrails, and laid them on Asgrim's body, to make believe he was dead, and so deceived the pursuers. Fancying he was no more, they went home again, while the old woman kept him in hiding in an underground house till she had cured him. His brother, also thinking him dead, went to Iceland. Presently Eric Aulfus, above named, gave Asgrim a long ship with 30 benches, and he took to buccaneering for some summers.

Meanwhile King Harald put a price on his head, and sent Thorgir, Grim's sister's son, with two warships to secure his head. He failed to catch him, and then went to Iceland to seize his brother. Both eventually settled in Iceland (*Ib.*, iii. 15, *passim*).

We can hardly realise what a drain upon the thinly-peopled Norwegian land must have been caused by the reckless slaughtering of so many of its people in the fashion here described, in which the victims suffered mainly as the result of firing the great halls, when everybody inside, men, women and children, guests and slaves, perished together. This was largely matched by the toll of the sea caused by the losses in the predatory raids in the wild weather round the North Sea and the Irish Channel.

The ruthlessness of the incidents of the story proves how necessary a strong hand was in such times, and Harald had no scruples whatever, in fact, in having any person who deliberately disobeyed him killed, nor were his victims always cowed. We read of one of them who himself killed three of Harald's reeves and then fled to Iceland.

In a later page we have a notice shewing that it was Harald's intention to subdue Iceland. We

are told his agent in the work was a certain Une the Unborn (*i.e.*, say the editors, the posthumous, or Cæsarian); he was the son of Gardhere, who had first discovered Iceland. He went there with the intention of conquering it, under Harald's patronage, and the king promised to make him its iarl if he did so. After several unlucky attempts to secure support, he was killed in a quarrel (Landnama-bok, iv. 6, 7).

The imposition of taxes was resisted by the old Norwegian freeholders, or odallers, with great pertinacity. Thus we read that King Harald sent Thororm, his kinsman out of Thrum, in Agd, to get in scatt or tax which he had demanded from Asgrim, son of a mighty hersir, in Thelemark. Asgrim would not pay, though he had shortly before sent the king a present of a Gothic horse and much silver, saying it was a gift, but not a tax, for he had never paid skatt before. The king sent the money back and would not receive it. Presently Thororm came again to gather the tax, whereupon Asgrim summoned a moot and asked the franklins or free men if they wished to pay the impost. They, of course, said they did not wish to pay. The moot was held near a wood, and a slave of Thororm rushed out and killed Asgrim, whereupon the murderer was at once slain by the freemen. When Thorstan, Asgrim's son, heard of this he was away "warring," and on his return he sold his lands for silver and made ready to go to Iceland, but before he set out he burnt Thororm in his house in Thrum, and thus revenged his father. The climax of these tragedies is made more grim by the fact that Asgrim, when his son Thorstan was born, had ordered him to be exposed, *i.e*, to be put out to die. The thrall who was to dig the grave was sharpening his spade, and the boy was already

laid out on the floor, when they all heard him recite these lines :—

> Give me to my mother, the floor is cold for me,
> Where should a child be better, than by his mother's hearth ?
> No need to put an edge on the iron, nor to shear the strips of turf,
> Let the wicked work cease; for I shall yet live among men.

When the boy was sprinkled with water they called him Thorstan (*Ib.*, i. 8, 2). After he had settled in Iceland, a ship came to the mouth of the Rang river, in which was a great sickness, and no man would take the travellers in, but Thorstan went and fetched them, and pitched tents for them at the place afterwards called the Tialda-stader (Tilt booths), and ministered to them himself as long as they lived, but they all eventually died (*Ib.*, v. 8, 5). This incident marks an amiable side of the old Norwegian life at this time, of which samples are seldom recorded.

About the home life of King Harald we know little and should like to know more. We are told by Ari that, in his latter days, he often abode in his great manors.*

A few picturesque details about him are preserved in a unique, but cruelly mutilated poem, written by a contemporary of the king who was a close friend of his, Hornklofi, which enable us just to peep into his home doings. It is in the form of a dialogue between a Raven and a Walkyrie, or perhaps a Finnish wise woman. A Walkyrie was a kind of compound of Minerva and a witch who

* In Hordland was Alrek-stead, now called Aarstad, a short distance south-east of Bergen (Magnussen, op. cit., iv., 240). On the western or Boknfirth end of an island of the same name, now called Utensteno or Utsten (*Ib.*, 270) was another of these houses. Another was at Seaham (now called Seim, on the north side of the Osterö (*Ib.*, 275) and another at Ogvaldsness on the N.E. side of the large island of Kormt, the south end of which is watered by the mouth of the Boknfirth.

could ride through the air on a super-natural horse, who selected those entitled to enjoy the rewards of heroism in another world, and apparently directed and shaped the fortunes of men. The Raven represents the poet himself, whose surname was Hornklofi, or Hardbeaked. The poem is worth quoting at length, and I have adopted Vigfusson and Powell's translation :—

"Listen ye warriors while I tell the feats of arms of Harald the fortunate. I will tell of a parley I heard between a fair and bright-eyed maiden and a raven. She seemed a wise walkyrie that despised wedlock, a keen Finnish maid that knew the tongue of birds. The white- throated lady spoke to the rover of the sky with the quick eyelids, as he sat on a peak of Wincrag.

"How is it with you ravens, whence have ye come with gory beak at the dawning of the day? There is flesh cleaving to your talons and a carrion's stench comes from your mouth. You lodged last night I ween, where the corpses are lying.

"Thereupon the poll-feathered sworn-brother of the eagle shook himself and wiped his beak, and thought of an answer. We have followed the young Yngling Harald, the son of Halfdane, ever since we left the egg. I thought thou must know the king that dwells at Kwinnom,* the lord of the North-men. He has many a deep keel, with reddened targets and red shields, tarred oars and snow-white awnings. The eager prince would drink his Yule at sea and play Frey's game (*i.e.*, war) if he had his will. From his youth up he loathed sitting indoors beside the hearth, in the warm bower on the bolster full of down.

"*Quoth the Walkyrie:* How does the generous prince deal with the brave men who guard his land?

"*Quoth the Raven:* They are well cared for, the warriors who throw dice in Harald's court, they are endowed with wealth and fair swords, with the ore of the Huns (*i.e.*, gold), and with maids from the East. They are glad when there is a hope of a battle. They will leap up in hot haste

* On this name Vigfusson has a note. He says "Kvinnom," no doubt the present Quind-herred, Hardanger (Rosendal). Although never named in the King's Lives, which always speak of Alrekstad near Bergen it must have been a favourite residence of the kings, being a central place in the Viking time—C.P.B., i. 529.

and ply the oars with hot haste, snapping the oar thongs and cracking the tholes. Fiercely I ween do they churn the water with their oars at the king's bidding.

"*Quoth the Walkyrie:* About the poets, how fare they. Thou must know well how the minstrels fare who live with Harald?

"*Quoth the Raven:* Their good cheer and their gold bracelets show well that they are among the king's friends. They have red cloaks, gaily fringed, silver mounted swords and ring-woven coats of mail, gilt trappings, graven helmets, and wrist-fitting rings, the gift of Harald.

"*Quoth the Walkyrie:* I will next ask thee, thou blood-drinker, how live the Barèserks.* How are the men, daring in war, who rush into the fight treated?

"*Quoth the Raven:* Wolfcoats they call them, and carry bloody targets in battle. They redden their spear heads when they rush into the fight, where they work together. The wise king only enrols men of high renown among those who smite upon the shield.

"*Quoth the Walkyrie:* What of the tumblers and players.† What is the treatment of Andad and his company in Harald's house?

"*Quoth the Raven:* Andad dandles his crop-eared dog and plays the fool, making the king laugh. There are others who carry burning wooden chips across the fire, tucking their flaming shock-locks under their belts.

Quoth the Walkyrie: Didst thou hear how, at Hafrsfiord, the high-born king fought with Kiotvan the Wealthy?

Quoth the Raven: Ships came from the West, ready for war, with grinning heads and carved beaks. They were laden with warriors, with white shields, with Western spears and Welsh (*i.e.*, Western) swords. They tried their strength

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* Vigfusson in his note says that while Bareserks is the generic name, Wolfcoats refers specifically to Harald's own bodyguard. In each case derived from the skins of the wild beasts which they wore. He aptly quotes the fact that the Aquilifer or eagle-bearer of a Roman legion—answering to the drum-major in a modern regiment—wore a wolf's skin (*Ib.* 257).

† Vigfusson & Powell suggest that this Court buffoonery and juggling was probably brought back by Harald from his Western journey. In the Irish story of Cuchullin and in the Senchus Mor, quoit hurling and keeping balls and knives in the air together are mentioned, and the whole has the air of the Irish Court life (*Ib.*, 530).

against the eager king, the Lord of the Eastmen, who dwells at Outstone, and he taught them how to flee. The king launched his ship where he spied the battle. The Bareserks roared in the midst of the fight, the Wolfcoats howled and shook the iron, *i.e.*, their spears. There was a hammering on bucklers ere Haklang fell. The thick-necked king (Haklang) could not keep his land against Shockhead Harald. He put the island between them as a shield. The wounded threw themselves down beneath the bench. They turned their backs up and jammed their heads down to the keel. The cunning ones let their shields shine on their backs as they were pelted with stones. The Eastern fellowship, *i.e.*, the allies of the confederated Vikings, ran along the shore of Yader, away from Hafrsfiord, thinking of their mead at home, corpses lay on the sand there, a present for the one-eyed husband of Frigga (*i.e.*, Odin). We (*i.e.*, the Ravens) rejoiced at such a deed of fame (C.P.B., i. 255—259).

"*Quoth the Raven* (when the Walkyrie asked him of Harald's wife): He scorned the Holm-rygians and the maidens of the Hords, of the Heins and the race of Halgoland. The high-born king took a Danish wife. Ye bondmaids of Ragnhild (the Queen), that proud woman, shall have other things to gossip over at their cups than that ye be slavewomen that Harald has starved . . . . ."

Thus ends a broken line and a cryptic sentence. This splendid poem is unmatched in Northern poetry, in its fresh, unconventional imagery, and condensed strength. The sharp cut words read like flashes from a flint when struck by steel, and have a biting grip, which is the character of the dialogues in Northern stories.

Returning to Harald and his later days. It was a tragical conclusion to a great career when the old king having spent his life in integrating the broken fragments of Norway into a compact whole in his own firm grip, should in his latter days have undone so much of his work by once more dividing it into fragments at deadly feud with each other, and that his blood should have run out and his heritage have passed into another stock, notwithstanding the numerous progeny he had left. It might otherwise

have initiated a new era in Norwegian history. It would require the pathos and splendid diction of a Greek tragedian like Aeschylus to do adequate justice to such a theme. To his people he became a type of the highest kind of leader. Ari reports the opinion of an old warrior called Egil Woolserk, who had once been bigger and stronger than any of his men, and had long borne King Harald's banner. He thus apostrophises his master's masculine virtues. Addressing his son Hakon, who had become King of Norway, he says :—"I have been in battles with thy father. While at times he fought with great foes and at other times with lesser ones, he had always the victory. Nor did I ever hear him seek counsel of his friends to teach him how to flee (Saga of Hakon the Good, ch. xxiii.).

Thus again spake the proud and boastful Swedish King Olaf of him :—"In Norway are but little dwellings and far sundered, and there have been but kinglets. But Harald Fairhair was the great king in the land, and he had to do with kings of the folk-lands and broke them down under him ; yet he knew what was well for him, and did not covet the Swede King's realm, and for that reason the Swede Kings let him rest in peace, and there was kinship between them."

I will conclude with a few words from my old friend, who died too early, and was such a picturesque and gifted person, York Powell, which may well close my paper :—"The impression left upon one's mind," he says, "by reading the Book of Settlement and Fairhair's Battles, is that before his day Norway was a land of loosely organized folk-kingdoms, an anarchy rather than a heptarchy, save in the South, where, as Ari tells us, under Halfdane the Black and perhaps

earlier, there was a well-organised nucleus, strong, compact, and orderly, a small league, we take it, of folk tribes round Heathsævi-Moot by the Vik. Harald Fairhair, in fact, starts as head of the best organised state in Norway—the only compound state—which was ruled by one king, and he wins folk-kingdom after folk-kingdom, and governs them by his sons, as other conquerors have done, but ever keeping a strict eye to their good rule and peace-keeping. The only time that Harald is in danger, through all his task of conquest, is when he meets the war leagues of Kings and Western Vikings he beat at Hafrsfiord, after a struggle of the most desperate kind. But this victory was the keystone of his power. His kingdom was never after in jeopardy and he was able, by his expedition to the West, to force the great part of the Confederation that had fought against him at Hafrsfiord to leave the western islands for the Northern colony" (Corp. Poet., ii. 498).

Harald Fairhair had eight wives, respectively named:—

ASA, daughter of iarl Hakon, by whom he had four sons—Guthorm, Halfdane the Black, Halfdane the White, and Sigfrod (or Sigrod).

GYDA, daughter of King Eric of Hordaland, by whom he had a daughter and four sons—Alof, Rörek, Sigtrygg, Frodi, and Thorgils.

RAGNHILD, daughter of King Eric of Jutland, by whom he had one son—Eric Bloody Axe.

SNOWFAIR, daughter of Swazi the Fair, by whom he had four sons—Halfdane, Gudrod, Sigurd, Rognwald.

SWANHILD, daughter of King Eystein of Heathmark, by whom he had four sons—Ragnor, Biorn, Olaf, Ingigird.

ASHILD, daughter of King Dayson of Ringariki, by whom he had three sons—Day or Dag, Ring, Gudrod.

THORA MOST-STAFF, by whom he had one son—Hakon the Good.

Besides these children, Harald had a daughter, Ingibiorg, whose mother is unknown.

NOTE I.

The earliest historical records of Scandinavia, as in other countries, were doubtless the poems and prose tales in which the pedigrees of the chiefs and other notable events were enshrined, and which the bards and court poets and professed storytellers composed and committed to memory when prose writing was unknown. Besides these were lapidary records, which were naturally very short. The lack of more important literature was largely due to the corresponding lack of materials for writing. It was upon such oral sagas and poems, as we have seen, that the earliest prose writers of any moment in Norway—namely, Saemund and Ari—relied.

After the introduction of prose writings these poems were largely corrupted and forgotten for lack of the trained class of skalds whose duty it was to preserve them, and they have only reached us in many cases in a fragmentary way. It was Vigfusson who first carefully analysed the character and quality of these poems in his great work written jointly with Yorke Powell, the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*.

Of these poets or bards we have no mention of the actual names before the reign of Halfdane the Black, one of whose bards, namely. Andun Illskald, is mentioned in the Egil's Saga. In the reign of his son Harald we have the names of a galaxy of such poets recorded. This outburst was coincident with the beginning of the intercourse of the Norsemen with the Irish, who had a much older culture, and among whom the composing of epical and other poems was greatly developed, as was that of composing historic tales. In regard to the Norse tales Magnusson has given a graphic picture of the Saga teller's art which I shall not scruple to copy. He says: "The chief settlers in Iceland were men of high birth who had seen better days. They left behind lands, homes, kindred, environment; they took with them family traditions, family pride, martial mettle, uncurbed ambition. A dreadful solitude prevailed throughout the land for a long time while the process of colonization was going on, which lasted for two-thirds of a century. In the widely-scattered homes the family circle became the centre of orally-rehearsed family stories during the evenings of the long winter. These stories were easily learnt by heart by nimble-minded listeners. They were the first nuclei of the Sagas of Iceland. They were recited at religious festivals, which were presided over and conducted by the Temple Godi or priest, at wedding feasts and Thing-motes, and other popular gatherings. In course of time the nucleus expanded into a complete Saga recording the acts of the settlers themselves and their dealings, hostile or friendly, with one another. Ultimately the Althing at Thingvellir, where the *élite* of the little nation congregated yearly, became the great centre for the display of the story-teller's art, and from there the Saga travelled into every part of the country, more or less faithfully remembered, and recited to curious listeners. The interesting part of the business was that the teller of the story was in most cases placed face to face with critical audiences. The chiefs themselves, their children and relatives would in most cases be numbered among the crowd of interested visitors, and would be certain if necessary to interrupt and correct the reciter whenever his delivery failed in veracity as to facts or offended against fairness. In this way, to tell a story fairly (*i.e.*, truthfully) was a moral duty and the highest matter of honour, while telling a leaning story (*halla sögn*) was regarded as the meanest of actions, and more than once cost the perpetrator his

life (Nial's Saga, 1875, ch. 155, s. 23; Olaf the Good's Saga, Heimskringla, ii. 222, pp, 14-29)."

As an illustration of this lucid account, Magnusson quotes a really remarkable story from the Morkinskinna, pp. 72-73, in regard to Harald Hardrada and an Icelandic Saga-teller:—"It happened that one summer a young and lively Icelander approached the King and asked for his favour. The King asked if he knew any lore, and he said he knew some sagas. The King said that in that case he would patronize him, but he must be prepared at all times to offer entertainment whenever asked, whereupon the courtier presented him with suitable clothes and the King with weapons, and he fulfilled his task apparently satisfactorily. But at the approach of Yuletide he looked sad, and the King suggested it was because he had exhausted his Sagas, which was unfortunate as Yuletide was approaching. He replied that it was partly true, since he had only one Saga remaining untold, but he dared not tell it for it related to his journey abroad The King replied that this was of all Sagas the one he desired most to hear, and he forbade him telling any more stories till the Yuletide came, and the loss would not be felt since his men had much on hand, and he must recommence it on Yuleday (*i.e.*, Christmas) and make it last out till the end of the feast. This could be done, for the season was chiefly devoted to hard drinking, when there was not too much time for listening to stories. The Icelander duly began the Saga, and continued it till the King told him to stop, and thus the story went on till Yuletide was gone. The listeners, who did not know that the matter had been arranged by the King, deemed it an impertinence on the part of the Icelander to recite it, but were conciliated by the fact that he had told it so well. On Twelfth Night, the Saga having been ended while it was still daylight, the King asked the story-teller if he wished to know his own opinion of it. 'I fear to hear it,' he said. 'I like it right well,' said the King; 'it is in no way worse than the deeds warrant. Who taught thee the Saga?' 'It was,' said the story-teller, 'my custom every summer to attend the great Althing or annual gathering in Iceland, and learn by heart each summer a part of the Saga from Halldor Snorrisson.' 'It is no wonder that thou knowest it well,' he replied. The King duly rewarded him with a store of goods and kept him by him, and he became a man of substance" (Magnusson, op. cit. iv., lv.-lvii.). This Halldor, son of Snorri, had in fact served under Harald when he commanded the Varangian mercenaries at Constantinople (ib. 82).

Presently when writing was introduced into Iceland these oral recitals were written down, and no doubt their artistic qualities were duly improved by skilled writers like Snorri and others. The art itself had been originally largely borrowed, as I have said, from the Irish. Before that a skilled class of bards or poets had put the main facts into verse and thus greatly assisted the memory and perpetuated the poem, and every considerable court had its poets, who were highly rewarded and very privileged persons and, like the mediæval clowns, were permitted to indulge in covert gibes at their employers, which formed a very useful and necessary antidote at times to the unbounded eulogy they employed at others. I have quoted two notable instances when Thiodolf rebuked his master Harald at a feast when he had complained that his veterans unduly flocked to his feasts and when he repudiated his sons by Snowfair, and in both cases very effectively; while Guthorm Cinder interfered equally effectively to make peace between Harald and his ruthless son, Halfdane the Black.

NOTE II.

The rival schools of history in the North which have championed the respective claims of the Norwegians and the Danes as the real heroes of the heroic time of Scandinavian history have misled a large number of Western writers of the last generation. The fact is that the Danes, under the leadership of Steenstrup, a very industrious, ingenious and persistent champion, have largely befogged the position in regard to the earlier history of Denmark. Danish history really begins with the conversion of Denmark to Christianity, which took place much earlier in Denmark than among the Norsemen. For the pagan period we have no records of the least value except those shreds which have been preserved by the Icelandic writers and by the Frankish chroniclers. There are neither native poems nor prose writings of any value extant dealing with the pre-Christian period with the exception of Beowulf and the Gleeman's tale, which deal with an earlier period and mainly with Germanic and not Norse traditions. Christianity apparently swept away all the trustworthy memorials of the pagan period of the Danish annals. Nothing shews this better than the great and romantic Danish prose epic of Saxo Grammaticus. The latter part of his work, especially that dealing with the reigns of the three Waldemars, is excellent history. The earlier books form an entirely fabulous compilation, in which the author has appropriated tales and Sagas from other people and deliberately invented a large number of royal names and attached to them incidents which have been deliberately transferred from the traditions of other nations, and in doing so has entirely mixed up and sophisticated the chronology as well as the facts, and constructed a romance as remote from real history as Baron Munchausen's adventure. The romance has been excellently told in excellent and fluent Latin, but has no kind of basis of truth. The real history of Denmark begins with Gorm, the father of Harald Blartand, grandfather of Swegen, and great-grandfather of Knut, or Canute, the famous Emperor of the North, whose career first brought the Danes into a conspicuous position in history and gave Denmark a notable place in the European polity.

Gorm was a real person, and his gravestone still remains where it was erected by his son Harald, but for what we know of both father and son we have to turn elsewhere than to Saxo, who has made an astounding "muddle" of their chronology, and gives us no new facts which have any value whatever about them.

On another occasion I may enlarge on Gorm and his son at greater length. At present I wish to speak of Godfred, whose relations with the Empire I have described. Saxo makes him the son of a Gormo or Gorm, and in order to give his view a semblance of consistency he has had to triplicate the only Gorm known to real history, who lived in the early part of the 10th century. One of these he makes the father of Godfred, who in that case must have lived in the second half of the 8th, since Godfred was the contemporary of Charlemagne. The Gorm whom he makes the father of the latter is preceded in his list by a series of names and events which take us back to the 6th and earlier centuries to Jarmeric and Bikko heroes of the Volsunga Saga, and to Aggo and Ebbo, the heroes of the Lombards, as reported by Paul the Deacon, who was himself a writer of the 8th century. This is not all. These latter names are again preceded by those of Harald and his nephew Sigurd Ring, the latter of whom lived in the end of the 8th century, but who Saxo plants in the earlier

centuries after Christ. To intensify the confusion this second Harald and a second Sigurd occur in Saxo as successors of Hemming, who is definitely mentioned in the Frankish Chronicles of the 9th century, so that the same two rulers are in this case made to repeat their reigns after an interval of several centuries. Saxo's account of this Gormo is full of anachronisms. Thus he makes him have intercourse with Thule, or Iceland, which was not discovered till long after, and also be converted to Christianity in Germany and to introduce it into Denmark. As Godfred died in 910, if his father Gorm was a Christian, the latter must have been converted in the 8th century. The first Danish ruler to be converted was, however, Harald Klak in 826, and Denmark's conversion was long after this. The whole story is a huge tangle of confusion, and can only be explained by the fact that Saxo had no materials except his own fancy for reconstructing the lost annals of Denmark, except what he got from the Icelanders and the Frankish annals, and finding the name of Godfred mentioned very prominently by the latter authorities as an opponent of the Empire in Jutland, he concluded he was a Danish king, and proceeded to find him quite a mythical father and quite a mythical pedigree.

The Frankish annalists nowhere tell us who his father was. They call him a Norseman and they call him a Dane indifferently. His having come from Jutland to some extent justified the latter name, as it justified the Northern writers in sometimes calling the speech of Norway Danskattunga. The fact is the name Godfred or Gudrod does not occur in the best accredited list of Danish names or in the undisputed references to early Danish affairs in the Chronicles, while it is a very common name among the Norwegians.

The Danish writers who have claimed Godfred as a ruler of Denmark, not only in older uncritical times, but in our own day, and notably Steenstrup and Jesson, have based their conclusion on the flimsiest evidence. They could produce no early witness in its favour, either native or foreign, and merely relied on the two facts that Godfred is sometimes called King of the Danes, by which was meant no doubt that he ruled at the time over at least that part of Denmark called Jutland, and, secondly, that the utterly descredited narrative of Saxo makes him a King of Denmark.

On the other side, the evidence is very strong indeed, if not, as I believe it, to be conclusive.

First, he is made King of Westfold in Norway by the Icelanders, and designated as a very potent king in that part of Norway, with abundant details of his reign and of his ancestry given by Ari, the Icelandic historian, who wrote two centuries before Saxo, and whose writings, as we have seen, were not only remarkable for their proved reliability and critical faculty, but who had a large mass of excellent materials to support him. Godfred's sons are expressly referred to in the Frankish Chronicles more than once as rulers of Westfold, and they tell us in fact that it was when they were driven out of Jutland that they returned to their home in Westfold. Godfred occurs in the well-known Landfedgatal, the oldest list of the Northern Kings. His name is a very well known Norwegian name, and, what is very important, the approved chronology of the Northern rulers of the Ynglings places him just at the period when Godfred is named by the Franks. He occurs in the latter as the commander of a very large fleet, and his sudden appearance in the Frankish annals after a lapse of several years of silence points to his having been an intruder in Denmark, as does the fact of one of his sons being called "Eric the Usurper" by them. This

view has been adopted by such excellent authorities as Kruse, Munch, G. Storm, Vigfusson, and Yorke-Powell. I arrived at the conclusion myself independently forty years ago (*vide* Translations of the Royal Historical Society for 1877), and it seems to me to be the only view consistent with the facts and with the history of the period.

Steenstrup's attempt to identify Westfold with quite an obscure place in Jutland has not, so far as I know, had any support, and is quite inconsistent with the great rôle played by Gudrod. Kruse, Pertz and Simson all agree that the Westfold here named was the Norwegian Westfold (*vide ante* p. 86). It is clear to me that, in addition to Westfold in Norway, he and his sons ruled over a large part of Jutland, and perhaps of Denmark proper, in the interval between the reign of Sigurd Ring and that of Gorm the Old, the real founder of the Danish Monarchy.

It is curious that Steenstrup and his followers, who accept the statements in the Scioldunga (which was almost certainly composed by Ari Frothi) in regard to the earlier history of Denmark, should have treated with such scant regard Ari's other and more famous work, viz., his History of the Norwegian Kings.

Gudrod, or Godfred, was not the only great Norwegian who has been appropriated by Steenstrup and his followers, as it was by most of the older writers, including our own Palgrave and Freeman, and made into a Dane. A second one was Rolf, the founder of the Dukedom of Normandy. In this case they also base their conclusion upon an authority whose veracity has been greatly discredited of late years, namely, Dudo de St. Quentin, who in the 12th century wrote a panegyric of the rulers of Normandy. It is many years ago since I subjected this work to an elaborate analysis in a paper in the "Archæologia," and showed that the French writer in question apparently knew nothing of the Norse speech or Norse literature. He was, like Saxo, in large part a mere romancer and, except in the latter part of his story, quite untrustworthy. He speaks of Rolf as a son of a King of Denmark, and quite ignores the details given by the Icelanders about him. I must refer my readers to my analysis of the work just mentioned for proofs of its worthlessness. I may say that it has been accepted by Vigfusson and by the most recent French critical writers on the period. The most notable circumstance in this case, apart from the direct evidence we possess, is the fact that Saxo, who raked together from every side all the materials, fantastic and otherwise, he could find to exalt the glory of Denmark, does not make any claim whatever in favour of the founder of the great Norman Dukedom having been a Dane. In this case, as in that of Gudrod, the only satisfactory authorities are in fact the Icelanders, and especially Ari Frothi and Snorri, and their witness is the stronger because Rolf lived within quite a reasonable traditional memory of Ari and in a period about which much detailed information exists. It must also be noted that whilst Rolf is a common name in Norway, it is virtully unknown in Denmark.

Ari's story about Rolf is plain and consistent, and his pedigree of him quite free from ambiguity. As we should expect from what we know of the potency of blue blood among the Normans, he had a very distinguished descent, and as we have seen he is described by Ari as a descendant of the early rulers of the Uplands. His ancestors for several generations are recorded by him. He makes him the son of Rognwald, the son of Eystein Glum, or the Noisy, the son of Ivar the Uplander, the son of Halfdane the Old, the son of Sweethi, the son of Hesti, the son of Gor. The three last names are mythical, but the others were doubt-

less Kings of the Upland. Halfdane the Old is mentioned in another pedigree in the Landnama-bok. Ari does not inform us, however, from which of the primitive Northern stocks they sprang, but it is clear that when the Ynglings settled in Norway these Upland Kings were the most powerful of its rulers. The recurrence of the names of Eystein and Ivar among them very possibly point to the solution of the question, and I may return to it on another occasion. Like Saxo, Dudo has transferred the deeds of other Northern freebooters who plundered in France to him, and confused the chronology. I ventured in my memoirs on him to give the first certain date of his appearance in France as the vear 910, and the date has been adopted by Vigfusson and Yorke-Powell and the more recent French writers.

NOTE III.

In regard to the chronology of Harald's reign, I do not find it possible to accept Vigfusson's dates or his arguments, and it is the only substantial difference I have with my master. They are based partly on the date he fixed upon as that of the original settlement of Iceland, and partly on the equating of the generations of a number of Icelandic families, an uncertain guide, since it depends on the ages of the several individuals tabulated, when they married, etc. He puts these calculations in opposition with the dates reached by Ari, and claims to correct the latter by them. If this had merely involved a correction of two or three years it would have been reasonable, but to suppose that a very critical and trustworthy authority like Ari would have been mistaken to the extent of 15 to 30 years in his calculation of the length of the reign of the great Harald and the date of the original settlement in Iceland seems to me quite incredible and impossible. The family records and genealogies in Iceland were very carefully kept, and Ari makes a masterly use of them in his works, and in regard to questions of chronology he had a predecessor who had made a special study of chronology, namely, Saemund Sigfusson, Priest of Oddi in Iceland, styled the Learned, who the Kristna Saga tells us was the best Clerk in Iceland, who was born in 1056, the year Christianity was introduced in Iceland and twelve years before Ari, and died in 1133, fifteen years before him. Saemund went abroad when quite young, and in 1076 was studying in Paris under a great master of astronomy, as reported in Jon's Saga (see Magnusson, iv., lvii.); and we learn from the preface to the Islendinga-bok and in chapter 7 of the same work that Ari submitted its first edition to him and relied upon him for the date of Olaf Trygvisson's reign. Saemund's own grandson, the poet Jon Loptson, in enumerating the kings of Norway with their regnal years, tells us that for those of the ten reigns from Harald Fairhair to Magnus the Good, both inclusive, he depended on the authority of Saemund (*Ib.*, lviii.). Magnusson argues plausibly that Saemund's work was written in Latin.

It must further be remembered that Christianity was introduced into Norway by King Olaf Trygvisson, who reigned from 995—1000, and that from that date educated priests and the use of writing would be known there, and that the obits of the different Norwegian kings would doubtless be duly recorded there. The most important fact, however, to me is that the recognised dates of the Kings of Norway as generally accepted tallies with such events as we can approximately date; a good example of which is that of the battle of Hafrsfiord, which, if Storm's arguments about the end of Olaf the White that I have accepted is right, must have taken place in 871 or 872, as Ari says, and not in 885, as Vigfusson argues, while Harald's death would similarly fall in 933.

NOTE IV.

One of the things about Harald which we should like to know something more about is his attitude towards the Christian religion which was facing him in all the realms around him, except those of Sweden and the Baltic lands. There are evidences that although he was probably a devotee of the worship of Thor, he was strongly opposed to the wizardry and magic which prevailed in so many of the Norwegian valleys, for he pursued its adherents, who were very numerous, with bitterness and asperity.

It is also remarkable that, as we have seen, he should have sent his youngest and favourite son Hakon to be brought up at the court of the Christian King of England, Athelstan, and allowed him to be baptized there. A form of baptism was indeed preached at this time among the pagan inhabitants of Norway, among whom when a child was born his godfather, whose name he generally took, sprinkled him with water. This was possibly of Christian origin.

We must remember also that at this time a great change had taken place in Odinism, involving an amalgamation of various Christian traditions with it. This has been shewn to have been the case by the elder Bugge, Vigfusson and others. The latter has also given some excellent reasons for believing that this change of faith took its rise among the Vikings of the Western islands of Scotland, where the Eddaic poems were probably composed.

CORRECTIONS.

There is one difficulty always attending a writer when he deals with Scandinavian history which is almost insuperable, namely, the variation of orthography of personal and geographical names, due to the fact that it is enshrined in three separate languages, requiring three different dictionaries to explore them and adopting a varying alphabet and phonology, especially in the vowels, while the names themselves have also considerably varied in their spelling in their long history. I am conscious of having failed too frequently in maintaining a uniform spelling, but hope I have not seriously misled my readers by the fact, although I may have irritated some by these small flies that have crept into my pot of ointment, the majority of which consist in one letter being substituted for another. My bad eyesight and the difficulties of having proofs properly read under recent conditions have also caused lapses for which the author can only crave patience and tolerance from those who care to consult his work. I hope that they will not fail to remember that as far back as Adam it is possible to affirm of our race that error is human and patience divine.

Page 2, line 16 and elsewhere. For "Dofrefelds" read "Dovrefells."
,, 3, ,, 30. For "ib. 90" read "Munch, op. cit. 1, 96."
,, 7, ,, 15. Insert a second "it" before the comma.
,, 13, ,, 11. Erase the words "to which we will now turn" and insert "cited in the previous pages."
,, 15, ,, 8. For "Landnamadel" read "Landnamabok."
,, 16, ,, 16. For "op. cit." put "Die Vikingr."
,, 16, ,, 25. Erase the "'s" in "Dronthemen's."
,, 17, ,, 35. For "Throndread "Thronds."
Pages 19, line 2, and 28, line 6. For "Hallingsyadal" and "Haddingadal" read "Hallingyadal."
Page 19, line 34. For "Morumentum" read "Monumentum."
,, 22, ,, 10. For "Arochirani" read "Arochis Rani."
,, 29, ,, 34. For "Geiger" read "Geijer."
,, 31, ,, 5. Delete "with."
,, 32, ,, 22. For "Ring" read "King."
,, 30, ,, 33. For "rica" read "rige."
Pages 34, line 31, and 36, line 20. For "Asirs" read "Aesir."
Page 38, line 11. For "Vigfussion" read "Vigfusson."
,, 38, ,, 21. After "history" read "in the vernacular."
,, 41, ,, 3. I am not as sure as I was that Ari did not write the first 16 chapters of the Ynglinga Saga. It is quite possible that he did so.
,, 45, ,, 11, and elsewhere. For "Tretelia" read "Tretelgia."
,, 51, ,, 36. Transpose "told" and "as."
,, 54, ,, 7. Transpose "Haldane" and "Eystein."
,, 55, ,, 6. For "he" substitute "the latter."
,, 57, lines 29 and 32. For "Freya" read "Frey."
,, 58, line 26. Erase "ga" from "Siavagarista."
,, 58, ,, 36. For "Heinskringla" read "Heimskringla."

Page 61, line 24. For "Sigifrodus" read "Sigifroidus."
,, 62, ,, 11. For "Iarl soy" read "Iarlsoy."
,, 63, ,, 25. For "Hottar" read "Holtar, now Holtan (Magn. iv. 157)."
,, 65, ,, 28. For "*partilus*" read "*partibus*."
,, 66, ,, 13. For "Willchad" read "Willehad."
,, 71, ,, 23. For "Trygvason" read "Trygvisson."
,, 72, ,, 25. For "Icelandic" read "Icelandiæ."
,, 74, ,, 3. For "Fresians" read "Friesians."
,, 83, ,, 28. Insert "between" after "struggle."
,, 83, ,, 35. Substitute "is" for "e" in Trygveson."
,, 84, lines 17 and 32. For "Haldane" read "Halfdane."
,, 91, line 11. For "Ludovisi" read "Ludovici."
,, 94, ,, 4. Erase "good."
,, 94, ,, 5. For "Dee" read "Deas" (see supra 112).
,, 113, ,, 24. For "is" read "it."
,, 113, ,, 35. For "beleive" read "believe."
,, 116, ,, 4. For "hove" read "have."
,, 116, ,, 34. Cancel the words "doubtless Röric."
,, 119, ,, 2. Cancel "to."
,, 151, ,, 2. For "Norways" read "Norway."
,, 153, ,, 6. There is a homestead in Orkedale called Grytingr or Griting, perhaps named from this chief.
,, 155, ,, 15. For "Herlang" read "Herlaug."
,, 157, ,, 26. For "Knockwi" read "Nockvi."
,, 159, ,, 15. Cancel the words "already named."
,, 159, ,, 29. Kueld Ulf means the Night Wolf."
,, 163, ,, 5. For "Atleo" read "Atleö."
,, 173, ,, 33. Omit the comma after "rulers."
,, 176, ,, 20. This was probably because his neighbours resented his fighting on Harald's side and not their's in the great battle.
,, 177, ,, 32. For "there" put "then."
,, 180, ,, 29. Put "originally" after "came."
,, 182, ,, 9. Erase the comma and the words "and he" and insert "He."
,, 197, ,, 15. Eating a piece of live coal was one of the tricks played by the wizards and bareserks and is practised by modern conjurors.
,, 219, ,, 23. The name is a corruption of the Gælic Mælbrighde, and he was no doubt a Gælic Maormar or iarl subordinate to the Scottish king.
,, 222, ,, 21. Now North Ronaldsay in the Orkneys.

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