

# Saga-Book of the Viking Club.

VOL. I. PART II.

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## ADDITIONAL GIFTS TO LIBRARY & MUSEUM.

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IN addition to the gifts to the Library and the Museum given on pp. 2—4, the following have since been received :—

GIVEN BY

W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A.

“Some Manx Names in Cumbria.” With Notes by Mr. Eirikr Magnusson. Kendal, 1895.

DR. JOHN STEFANSSON.

“Is King Oscar II. a Constitutional King?” London, 1895.

PROFESSOR SOPHUS BUGGE.

1. “Om Enkelte Nordiske Mythers Oprindelse.” Foredrag ved de nordiske Filologmøde i Kristiania. 1881.
2. “Sproglige Oplysninger om Ord i gamle Nordiske Love.” (Særtryk af “Nord. Tidskrift for Filologi.” Ny række, iii.)
3. “Nogle Bidrag til det Nórrone Sprogs og det Nórrone Digtungs Historie, hentede fra Verklaren.” (No date.)
4. “Om Versene i Kormaks Saga.” Kjöbenhavn, 1889.
5. “Blandede Sproghistoriske Bidrag. II.” (Arkiv for nordisk Filologi, ii.) (No date.)
6. “Nyere Forskninger om Irlands gamle Aaandskultur og Digting i dens Forhold til Norden.” Kristiania, 1892.
7. The same.
8. The same.
9. The same.
10. “Lidt om de ældste nordiske Runeindskrifters Sproglige Stilling.” Kjöbenhavn, 1870.
11. “Bemærkninger til Nórrone Digte.” (February, 1883.)
12. “Svensk Ordforskning.” (May, 1887.)
13. “Om Runeskiftens Oprindelse.” Christiania, 1874.
14. “Den danske Vise om Gralver Kongens Søn i sit Forhold til Wolf-dietrich Sagnet.” (Arkiv for nordisk Filologi, xii. Ny följd, viii.)
15. “Bidrag til nordiske Navnes Historie.” (Arkiv f. n. Fil., vi. Ny följd ii.)

PROFESSOR SOPHUS BUGGE.

16. "Bemærkninger om Runeindskrifter på Guldbrakteater." Kjøbenhavn, 1871.

17. "Remarques sur les Inscriptions runiques des Bractéates en Or." Copenhague, 1871.

E. H. BAVERSTOCK (*Lawright-man*).

"Laurentius Saga." Translated by O. Elton.

POULTNEY BIGELOW (*Farla-man*).

"Paddles and Politics Down the Danube." By P. Bigelow.

ALFRED HENEAGE COCKS, M.A.

"Bird-life in Arctic Norway." By R. Collett. Translated by A. H. Cocks.

W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A.

"Thorstein of the Mere, a Saga of the Northmen in Lakeland." By W. G. Collingwood.

GILBERT GOUDIE, F.S.A. Scot. (*Fræthi-man*).

"Orkneyinga Saga." Translated by Ion A. Hjaltalin and Gilbert Goudie, and edited by Joseph Anderson.

"Diary of Rev. J. Hunter. Shetland, 1734, 1745." Reprinted from the *Scottish Antiquary*, December, 1891.

"Ancient Local Government of the Shetland Islands." By G. Goudie. Reprinted from Universitets Jubilæets Danske Samfunds *Blandninger*. 1886.

And the following pamphlets by G. Goudie, reprinted from the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland:—

"Notice of Ancient Legal Documents in Shetland."

"Notice of a Report on the Revenues of Parochial Benefices in Shetland, 17th Century."

"Notice of Unpublished Rentals of the Lordship of Shetland, and of the Earldom and Bishopric of Orkney."

"On the Shetland Horizontal Watermills."

"Danish Claims upon Orkney and Shetland."

"Some Forgotten Incidents and Personages in the Local History of Shetland."

"Fouds, Lawrightmen, and Ransellmen of Shetland."

"A Norwegian Mortgage of Land in Shetland in 1595."

"Commission by King Charles IV. to Magnus Sinclair, Captain of the Ship *Leoparden*. 1627."

J. F. C. HEDDLE.

"Cours de Littérature." 17 vols.

"Old Statistical Account of Scotland." 21 vols. *Nineteenth Century*. Vols. 2, 5-10.

"History of Scotland." M. Laing. 2 vols.

"History of America." W. Robertson. 2 vols.

"Roman Antiquities." Basil Kennett.

Byron's Works. 10 vols.

"Junius Letters."

*Longman's Magazine*. Nos. 1, 4, 6-8, 12, 14-17.

*Saturday Review*. 6 vols., 1858-1860.

And 7 miscellaneous works.

MISS MURIEL HOARE.

“Sagan af Gunnlaugi Ormstunga ok Skalli-Rafni.” 1775

MISS CORNELIA C. F. HORSFORD.

“Photograph and Plan of Thing-völlr or Glimr völlr” [near Cambridge, U.S.A.]

“An Inscribed Stone.”

W. F. KIRBY (*Lawright-man*).

Anglo-Russian Literary Society's *Proceedings*. No. 10, 1895.

LADY PAGET.

“The Irish Naturalist.” May, 1893.

Specimens of Orkney and Shetland Lamps.

MRS. WALTER PITT.

“The Tragedy of the Norse Gods.” By Ruth J. Pitt (Mrs. Walter Pitt).

MISS CAR. GUDRUD RAFN.

“Annaler for nordisk Oldkyndighed.” Vols. 1836-1860.

MRS. JESSIE M. E. SAXBY (*Jarla-kona*).

“The Home of a Naturalist.” By the Rev. Biot Edmondston and Jessie M. E. Saxby.

“The Birds of Shetland.” By H. L. Saxby.

And the following works :—

“Auld Lerwick.”

“Heim Laund and Heim Folk.”

“Lucky Lines.”

“A Camsterie Nacket.”

“West-Nor'-west.”

“The Lads of Lunda.”

“The Yarl's Yacht.”

“Viking Boys.”

E. M. WARBURG (*Skattmaster*).

“Die Sagen des Rheinlandes.”

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### SPECIAL DONATIONS TO FUNDS.

#### THING-SKATT (General Fund)

	£	s.	d.
John Walker, Esq. ... ..	0	16	0

#### FOY-SKATT (Concert Fund).

M. A. Laing (Jarla-man) ... ..	0	5	0
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#### SAGA-SKATT (Literary Fund).

Miss Muriel Hoare ... ..	0	15	0
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SPECIAL FUND (For Inspection and Report on English Amphitheatres, &c.)

Miss Cornelia C. F. Horsford, Cambridge, U.S.A.	12	0	0
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PUBLICATIONS BY MEMBERS.

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Among publications by the members of the Club during the year are the following :—

- “The Stories of the Kings of Norway, called the Round of the World (Heimskringla).” By Snorri Sturluson. Vol. iii. (Vol. v. of the Saga Library. London, 1895.) By Wm Morris and Eiríkr Magnússon.
- “Odin’s Horse Yggdrasill.” By Eiríkr Magnússon, M.A. (London : Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge).
- “Yggdrasill : Oðin’s hestr.” (Ritgerð lesin í málfæringafélaginu í Cambridge. 24 Januar, 1895. Aukin og breytt útgáfn. Reykjavík, 1895. By Eiríkr Magnússon, M.A.
- “Thorstein of the Mere : A Saga of the Northmen in Lakeland.” By W. G. Collingwood. (London : Edward Arnold).
- “British Family Names : their Origin and Meaning.” By Henry Barber, M.D.
- “Furness and Cartmel Notes.” By Henry Barber, M.D.
- “The Place-Names of the Danelagh, and Contributions to Local Etymology.” By Henry Barber, M.D.
- “The Saga of King Olaf Tryggwason.” By the Rev. J. Sephton, M.A. (London : David Nutt).
- “The Saga-Book of Lunda.” By Mrs. Jessie M. E. Saxby.
- Dichterische und geschichtliche Zeugnisse alt-Germanischer Feuerbestattung* (Poetical and Historical Evidence of Ancient Germanic Fire-burial), by Karl Blind, in the Literary Gazette of the Berlin *Vossische Zeitung* ; a series of four articles.
- Die Hauptwaffe der alten Germanen* (The Chief Weapon of the Ancient Germans), by Karl Blind ; in the same paper.
- “Notice of a Cave recently discovered at Oban, containing Human Remains and a Refuse-Heap of Shells and Bones of Animals, and Stone and Bone Implements.” By Joseph Anderson, LL.D.
- “Notes on the contents of a Refuse-Heap at the base of the fortified rock known as Dun Theurain at Gallanach, near Oban. Recently excavated by Mr. J. Patten MacDougall of Gallanach.” By Joseph Anderson, LL.D., in Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, Scotland.
- Vol. iv. of the “Grimm Library” contains an essay by Alfred Nutt upon the Irish vision of the “Happy Other World” in which reference is made to kindred Scandinavian myths.
- Mr. J. Moyr Smith has illustrated Dasent’s “Icelandic Tales ;” “Tales from the Fjeld” by P. C. Asbjørnsen, translated by Sir G. W. Dasent, and has in hand an etching to be entitled “Karlavagn” (the Car of Men), representing Odin and his warriors driving through the sky.

*FORTHCOMING WORKS.*

“Queen of the Isles.” A Shetland Tale. By Mrs. Jessie M. E. Saxby.

“Welsh Stone-Buildings.” By Lady Paget.

“The Stories of the Kings of Norway.” (Vol. iv. of the *Heimskringla*: Life of the author, notes, genealogies, indexes, &c.) By Wm. Morris and Eirikr Magnússon.

“Codex Lindesianus.” (Description of a lately discovered Icelandic vellum in the Library of Lord Crawford of Balcarres, Wigan, to be published in Danish in “*Arkiv för nordisk filologi*.”) By Eirikr Magnússon, M.A.

A Translation, by R. L. Cassie, of a collection of Short Tales, by Alexander L. Kielland will probably be issued this year by Elliot Stock.

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A notice of the “Dwarfie Stone” of Hoy, Orkney, is to appear in the April number of the *Reliquary and Illustrated Archæologist*, from the pen of the Law-man, Mr. Alfred Johnston.

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\*\*\* *The Editor will be glad if Members will bring to his notice any article or publication by them which might find a place here.*

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REPORTS OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE  
MEETINGS OF THE CLUB.

THIRD SESSION, 1895.

AL-THING, JANUARY 11TH, 1895.

MR. WILLIAM MORRIS (Jarla-Man and Viking Skald) in the Chair.

IN the absence of Dr. Eirikr Magnússon, who was unable to read his paper, Mr. Albany F. Major (Umboths-man) read a paper on "Survivals of the Asa Faith in Northern Folklore," which will be printed in a future number of the *Saga-Book*.

Mr. Morris, in introducing the subject, remarked that no history was more complete, as history from one point of view, than popular mythology, because at the time when people were under the influence of superstition they had not learnt the art of lying, or, if they did lie, they did it so transparently that it was very easy to read between the lines and divide the true from the false. So they might say that folklore represented the "absolutely truthful lies," and was therefore in complete opposition to the ordinary newspaper article.

Mr. Major, after apologising for the fragmentary form in which his subject was presented, owing to the very short notice he had received, which had compelled him to confine his survey to a very small field, said that, though much of the ground he traversed would probably be found familiar, he, nevertheless, believed that some few of the points brought forward were new, and that, at any rate, the subject as a whole had not hitherto received from any English writer the attention it deserved. Taking first the Eddaic myth of the building of the burg of Asgard by a giant, he traced it through various stories of churches built by trolls in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, to legends of buildings erected by the Devil in North Germany, the Netherlands, and other parts of Europe. He then pointed out that the name-guessing incident, on which some of these stories turn, reappears in marriage - tales of the Rumpelstilzkin type, of which an English variant, "Tom Tit Tot," is

included in Mr. Jacobs's *English Fairy Tales*; and he suggested that these stories also might be derived from the Eddaic myth. Next, he compared the relations which existed in the mythology between Thor, the Thunder-God, and the giants with the relations shown in the folk-tales between various saints and others, and the trolls, dwarfs, and similar beings. In Norway and Sweden St. Olaf in particular seems to have stepped into the place and inherited the attributes of Thor in the mythology; and it was possible that the representation of this saint as a warrior trampling on a troll or dragon may have led to his identification with St. George, and to the adoption of the latter as the patron saint of England, for St. Olaf was closely connected with English history, as the account of him in the *Heimskringla* shows, and churches dedicated to him are not uncommon in this country. The frequent occurrence of a dragon-slayer in English legend was adduced in support of this theory, and evidence mentioned of the former prevalence of Thor-worship in the land. Possibly, too, the banner of the Fighting Man—Harold's standard at Hastings—represented the warrior-saint Olaf. Thor's attributes as a Thunder-God, and their reappearance in the folk-tales recounting the dread which trolls and dwarfs had of thunder and of any loud noise, such as the sound of church bells or of drums, which recalled it, were next pointed out; and some incidents in the myth of Thor's journey to Jötunheim were traced in various English and other folk-tales, while the likeness between "Jack the Giant-Killer" and the stories about Thor was referred to as another striking instance of the survival of the Thor legend on English soil. Yet another instance has been recently referred to by the Rev. S. Baring-Gould, in the use of a folk-charm, in which Thor, Odin and Loki figured, in Lincolnshire so late as 1857 or 1858. The lecturer went on to trace the legend of "The Wild Huntsman" through its various forms in various parts of Northern Europe, in many of which a reference to Odin was perfectly clear. He ascribed its origin to the myth of the Valkyries' battle ride. The connection of the god Freyr, and his sacred boar with Christmas observances, which had been pointed out by Dr. Karl Blind, was then alluded to; and two legends of Loki's capture by giants were given, whose

influence can be traced in folk and fairy-tales. The belief that spirits haunted waterfalls and streams can also be traced in the Eddas. With regard to traditions which occur respecting a three-footed Hel, or Death-Horse, it was suggested that the eight-footed steed of Odin, King of Heaven, may have had its counterpart in the three-footed steed of Hela, Queen of the Nether World. The metal-working dwarfs of the Eddas again reappear in the fairy smiths of folklore, of whom the Wayland Smith of Berkshire traditions introduced by Sir Walter Scott into "Kenilworth," is an instance. He is identical with the Völundr of the Eddas, whom King Alfred was familiar with as "Weyland." Instances were also quoted in which Jormungand, the mighty snake which surrounds the world, and Groth, the magic quern that grinds out whatever its possessor desires, have survived in later traditions, as well as of the persistent recurrence of the story found in "Beowulf," the first English epic, and of the legend of the Everlasting Fight. Finally, the belief in the power of shape-changing was briefly dealt with, and its re-appearance in tales of witchcraft, as well as in legends of nightmares and were-wolves, and stories of swan and seal maidens, pointed out. The swan maidens of the Edda are Valkyries, from whom the fairies of the higher order, who mingle with men and preside over their destinies, appear to originate. Such are the fairy queens of romance, who intermarry with mortals, and the fairy god-mother so familiar in nursery tales. A Valkyrie, Brynhild, in the Völsunga Saga, is probably the original of the Sleeping Beauty in the Wood. In summing up the result of his survey, the lecturer urged that, if his contentions were admitted, not only were the results very important to students of folklore; but it would appear that the myths of the Asa faith were more widely diffused and more generally known than had often been imagined, and it would also seem probable that many of the most remarkable features in it, which were usually ascribed to the influence of Christianity, had an independent origin.

In the discussion which followed, Dr. Karl Blind said that Mr. Major had given many interesting and instructive cases of survivals of the ancient Germanic creed from the Scandinavian countries and North Germany. There were also a great many



Roman Catholic legends in Germany in which such survivals appeared. This was, in a large measure, the result of the policy of the Roman Church, as exemplified in Pope Gregory's letter to Bishop Mellitus, bidding him to deal gently with the cherished beliefs of the Anglo-Saxons, so as to gradually lead them over to the New Faith. In Germany there were legends of the Virgin Mary derived from the worship of Freia, and of St. Peter founded on that of Thunar or Donar, the Norse Thor, both of these cults having been deeply ingrained in the hearts of the Teutonic race. Again, while the Wild Huntsman was called Wod in North Germany, he was also known as Wode, Wut, or Wotn, in Austria. In a Swabian tale the Wild Huntsman is called the "Neck," and he rides on a sea-born stallion. In another South German tale the hunt is preceded by a fish. The name of the "Neck," given to the Wild Huntsman, represents Wodan-Nikor, or Odin-Hnikar, in his quality as a sea-god. Swabian and kindred German tribes once dwelt near the Baltic, and gradually pushed their way up to the German highlands. Hence the remembrance, to this day, of Wodan as the "Neck," and hence the fish in the Wild Chase. The Wayland (in the Norse, Völundr) tale undoubtedly came into England with the Anglo-Saxons. There is still a "Wayland's Cave" in Southern England. In the Edda, Völundr is not a Scandinavian, but a German, a captive in the North, who laments his being far from his home on the Rhine, where he had more gold. The Rhine once was a gold-carrying river, and is partly so even now, much money having formerly been coined from its washed sands. Sigurd, the Siegfried of the Nibelungen Lied, is also, according to the Edda, a German ruler on the Rhine, and near its banks the whole tragedy is enacted. If we can go by the Algonquin legends (as given by Mr. Charles Leland), there would seem to be even a trace, however faint, of a survival of the Odinic creed in North-Eastern America, which the Northmen had discovered five hundred years before Columbus. Some of the tales about Glooskap and Lox, as told now by the Micmacs and other Redskins, have been quoted as proofs, the name of Lox being referred to Loki. Eskimo, through whom the Redskins might have got such tales, formerly dwelt in those regions; at any rate, it is recorded in an Icelandic Saga con-

cerning the discovery of the great Western land that the Northmen captured two native boys, presumably Eskimo, baptised them, and taught them the Norse tongue. For more than three hundred years the Northmen remained in that American land; and it is well-known that when they had been converted they still respected the traditions of their ancient creed. Folk-tales have until now had a wonderful vitality; but there was much danger of their passing away at last from the people's mind. Care ought, therefore, to be taken to preserve them on account of their importance for our knowledge of a dim and distant past; and to this end such a society as the Folklore Society does invaluable work.

Mr. W. F. Kirby said that it was curious to notice how the building story thins out as it goes southwards. At Revel, in Esthonia, it is Olaf himself who falls from the summit of the church when his wife calls out his name. At Cologne the architect is hurled from the top of the unfinished edifice by the Devil whose plans he had appropriated. A little further south, at the castle of Rheingrafenstein, on the Nahe, the story assumes a particularly ludicrous form. The castle was built by the Devil on condition that he should have the first person who looked out of the window. So they dressed up a donkey in the priest's vestments, and pushed his cowed head out, when he was at once seized upon by the Devil in great glee. When the latter discovered the imposture, he hurled the donkey into the river in a rage, but vanished immediately, for he had accepted the offering, and the spell was broken. Mr. Kirby thought it unlikely that the effigy of St. Olaf was the origin of the standard of the Fighting Man at Senlac, only thirty-six years after St. Olaf's death; nevertheless, it may be mentioned that the great Abyssinian chief, Ras Michael, who was contemporary with Bruce, had already become a legendary character when Mansfield Parkyns visited Abyssinia about half a century later. We had plenty of dragon-slayers in England who were said to have lived before the Conquest, such as Sir Guy of Warwick and Sir Bevis of Hampton; and as regards the former, he might originally have had some connection with St. George, for in the late mediæval romance of *The Seven Champions of Christendom* Guy is the name of the eldest son of St. George, whose exact connection with England is not easy

to trace. In every mining country trolls and dwarfs and gnomes were found with practically the same characteristics ; and swan-maiden legends were found from Lapland to Egypt and Persia, being particularly numerous in Lapland. Drums and other noisy instruments were still made use of in India and China during the eclipses to drive away the demon that was devouring the sun or moon.

Mr. Alfred Nutt, in proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer, thought he could best show his appreciation of the paper by criticising it in a friendly spirit. He hoped the lecturer would proceed to build on the foundations he had laid down, but suggested that distinct historical and topographical areas should be marked out in which to work, and that the Eddaic versions should not be treated as the original starting-point of the myths. The Eddas were the finished work of artists, and should not be taken as a standard, nor could it be assumed that all less complete forms of the myths were necessarily degraded from the Eddaic form. All over Europe, for a period stretching back a thousand or fifteen hundred years before Christ, similar beliefs to those of the Eddas were to be found embodied in myth, ritual, and custom. Thor's visit to Jötunheim was a somewhat artificial version of a widely spread legend, in which an allegorical colour had, to some extent, been given to the story. The episode of the goats, for instance, was found in Nennius, derived from a lost Life of St. Germanus, dating back to the fifth century. In fact, the Eddaic tales could only be regarded as variants of tales generally current. He hoped the lecturer would not abandon the subject, but would approach it from more definitely historical lines, which might lead him to different conclusions. It should be remembered that Eddaic survivals in England may be of two kinds—remnants of a pan-Teutonic mythological system, or remnants of a specific Scandinavian form of that system introduced into England by the Danes. There was no doubt that the Eddas assumed their latest form under stress of competition with Christianity. The Norsemen were shrewd enough to see the points which gave the new faith its advantage, and so to turn their own stories that, while substantially the same, they were enabled to maintain the struggle ; although, as the speaker had always maintained, the Eddaic legends were in the main genuine myths, and not mere poetic inventions.

Mr. Morris asked to be allowed to second the vote of thanks from the chair, and in doing so said that he agreed very largely with Mr. Nutt, and quoted, as an instance of a similar legend existing in several places in apparent independence, the story of the apprentice's pillar in Rosslyn Chapel, which is found also at the Cathedrals of St. Ouen and Strassburg, suggested, probably, in each case by the marked superiority of workmanship shown in the work. With regard to Wayland Smith's Cave, with all his love for Sir Walter Scott, he could hardly forgive him for his misuse of that legend in "Kenilworth." He had been greatly struck by the curious similarity of certain negro stories in recent collections to stories found in the Norse. For instance, with regard to shape-changing there was a negro story, in which the "ham," left about while its owner was embodied elsewhere, was peppered and salted to preserve it, causing him much inconvenience on his return, and another resembling that of the man who planted the tails of the slaughtered oxen, and when the troll pulled them up, persuaded him that the animals had gone underground. Were these independent variants or comparatively modern copies? In conclusion, he must point out that the "Gylfaginning" in the prose Edda was very much later than Sæmunds Edda.

In moving a vote of thanks to the Chairman, Dr. Karl Blind first observed that they had listened to a lecture by one who, in his *Sagas and Songs of the Norsemen*, had already shown himself an efficient adept of the Norse God of the Skaldic art—that is, Bragi. They had the good luck of having in the chair one of England's greatest poets, who, by his *Niblungs and Völsungs*, and kindred work, such as *The House of the Wolfings*, had powerfully revived the interest in these ancient Germanic traditions—an interest and a study too long neglected in this country. This world of strife and suffering, in which we live, was unluckily far yet from being an "Earthly Paradise." All the greater gratitude are we owing to those who, in the words of Heine, "carry us on the wings of song" into the delightful realm of poetical enjoyment. Among them Mr. William Morris stands one of the foremost; and for his having presided, a hearty vote of thanks was sure to be passed.

AL - THING, FEBRUARY 1ST, 1894.

DR. J. G. GARSON (Jarla-man) in the Chair.

Mr. A. H. Cocks read a paper on "A Boat Journey to Inari," which will be reproduced in a future number of the Saga-Book. The lecturer commenced by saying that "Inari" (in Norwegian "Enare," in Swedish "Enara Tröesk," and in Lappish "Anar Javre") was probably not known by name to any of his hearers; yet it was a lake which was said to be the sixth largest in Europe, being, roughly speaking (for it had never been accurately surveyed), seventy miles from north to south, by fifty from east to west, and about seven times the size of the Lake of Geneva. It was studded with islands (said to be 1,700 in number) on which Scotch firs grew, besides lesser holms and rocks. His route to it lay sometimes in Norway, sometimes in Russia, and sometimes in Finland; and the greater part of the journey was performed by water up the River Pasvig (Norwegian), or more correctly Patsjok (Lappish), which is rather a series of lakes joined together by waterfalls and rapids than a river as we understand the term, while sometimes it flows in two parallel systems of lake and rapid. The country was for the most part virgin forest, with here and there a glimpse of low mountain ranges. There is no accurate map of it, and no complete account of the country he traversed has ever been given; so he had practically an untold tale to tell. There was no road through the country but the swirling river; and the traveller might be thankful if at night he could reach the hut of a Lapp or of a Kvæn colonist in which to pass the night. If not, he must camp out with only an upturned boat to shelter him from the frost. Kvæn is the proper name of the people we know as Finns, for throughout Scandinavia the name "Finn" is applied to the Lapps. The Kvæns who push out into these distant parts are for the most part of a very rough class, and by no means favourable specimens of the nation. The Lapps are, with the exception of the Samoyeds who inhabit the north-east of Russia eastwards of the White Sea, the most primitive inhabitants of Europe. Since 1811 only Russian Lapps have been allowed to graze reindeer in the Czar's dominions; and this cruel edict has pressed very hardly on this diminutive people, for the Lapps are very averse to choosing Russian nationality, and the Reindeer Lapps are principally Norwegian or Swedish. Diminutive people is a term justly applied to them, for the men seldom exceed 5 feet 4 inches, and the women are frequently under 5 feet in height. They

are divided into four nationalities—Norwegian, Swedish, Russian, and Finnish. Of these, the Norwegian and Swedish Lapps have been often and fully described; but the Russian, and equally so the Finnish Lapps, are almost unknown. Therefore, as the lecturer travelled with Russian Lapps, and besides met many parties of them and also of Finnish Lapps, his journey, besides its geographical, had considerable ethnographical interest. He found that the Russian Lapps, except as to their clothing and the addition of coffee and sugar to their food supply, are living now much the same life as their ancestors probably lived two thousand or more years ago—a far more primitive life, in fact, than that of the Reindeer Lapps. They have not yet begun to use tobacco, and reading and writing are entirely unknown among them; but each individual has his mark, which is as well recognised as a name would be elsewhere. Unlike the three other divisions of the race, they are a very cheerful, light-hearted people, and have the curious habit of expressing their thoughts aloud in extemporaneous sing-song. The Lapps are the remains of a non-Aryan race, which undoubtedly extended at one time much further south than at present, probably over the greater part of Europe. Their numbers were estimated by Prof. Friis in 1871 at: Norwegian Lapps, 17,178, besides 1,900 half-breeds; Swedish, 7,248; Russian, about 2,000; Finnish, about 1,200, or under 30,000 in all. The lecturer then gave a detailed account of his journey, starting from Vardö, whither he had gone for the whale-fishing in the late summer of 1888, across the Varangerfjord, up the Bøgfjord, and then up the inner Klosterfjord to the mouth of the river Patsjok. The furthest point reached was the hamlet of Inari; on the further side of the lake of the same name. The lecture was profusely illustrated with a series of magic lantern slides, prepared by Mr. Cocks from photographs which he had taken.

In the discussion which followed, Dr. J. G. Garson said that the thanks of the meeting were due to the lecturer for the account of his very interesting journey. He thought that it was evident why so little is known of Lake Inari, as the hardships and difficulties Mr. Cocks had described would deter most people from adventuring thither. The Lapps were undoubtedly a remnant of the Mongolian element once so widely distributed over Europe. They belonged to the yellow race of mankind; but probably Mr. Cocks could not say if this was apparent in those he had met with, as from the account he had given of their habits he had probably never seen the colour of their skin, as they appeared never to

wash. But in any case, both the Turks, who were almost the only other European representative of this race, and the Lapps were so mixed as not to show any marked trace of their Mongolian characteristics. But their language showed their kinship to other Mongolian races in Northern Asia. Prince Roland Bonaparte had spent some time among the Norwegian and Swedish Lapps, and had published some of his observations of them and of the dialect they spoke. From the photographs exhibited, it appeared that the Lapp dress was very similar to that worn by the Samoyeds, which consisted principally of a loose robe tightly girt in at the waist. It was probable that both nations had found this best adapted to keep in the heat of the body. The Samoyeds wore gloves, or rather mittens, which were sewn on to their sleeves, with a slit at one side, so that they could get their hands out if they wanted to. He should be glad to know if Mr. Cocks had noticed the same practice among the Lapps.

Mr. A. F. Major said that there was one question which he should like either the lecturer or Dr. Garson to answer if possible. Were the Finns and the Lapps of the same stock? Mr. Cocks had said that the Lapps were called Finns in Scandinavia. We constantly read of Finns in the Sagas, which Cleasby's Icelandic-English Dictionary renders as "Finns or Lapps," the word Lapp, according to the same authority, occurring only in Orkneyinga and in late annals. Were then the Finns and Lapps at that time scarcely distinguished? Mr. Poultney Bigelow had remarked at the last meeting on the resemblance he had observed between the Japanese and Norwegian Lapps. On this point there was a note in the *Daily Chronicle* of January 31st, to which it might be worth while to call attention. It said that Dr. Winkler had been studying the origin and family connections of the Japanese, and had come to the conclusion that they are physically and linguistically different from the Chinese, and "are not even a Sinitic people." On the other hand, they seem closely allied to the Ural-Altai stock, which includes the Samoyeds, who still wander by the shores of Arctic Europe and Asia, the Finns, the Magyars, and in a less degree the barbarous Tungus.

Mr. Cocks said, in reply to Mr. Major, that there was little doubt all these tribes were connected, and the Lapps and Finns were certainly distant connections of one another. With regard to the Japanese, he had himself noticed a striking resemblance between them and the Samoyeds, when the Japanese village was

being exhibited in London, having gone thither immediately on his return from the company of Samoyeds. The Japanese inhabitants seemed to him to be civilized Samoyeds. It must, however, be borne in mind that the Lapp race was very much mixed at the present time. With regard to the question asked by Dr. Garson, the Lapps wore mitts like the Samoyeds, but these were tied on, not sewn to the *pesk*.

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AL-THING, FEBRUARY 15TH, 1895.

PROF. W. WATSON CHEYNE (Jarl) in the Chair.

Mr. W. F. Kirby recited an original poem, "The Nornir," from *Ed-Dimiryaht, an Oriental Romance, and other Poems*, after which Mr. E. H. Baverstock (Lawright-man) read a paper on "Sword and Saga," which will be reproduced in a future number of the *Saga Book*. He commenced by quoting the story from the Arthurian cycle of legends of a damsel girt with a sword who came to King Arthur's court seeking a champion and propounding three questions concerning the sword: How should it be borne? Where did it come from? What is its best quality? The answers given by the knight predestined to achieve that adventure were: that it should be borne valiantly, yet humbly, aloft in the press of battle, but lowly at the altar's foot; that it came from the armourer, for it was no sword at all till it came out of the hands of the smith; and that its best quality was its honesty, for it never takes life without giving death in exchange. The importance given to the sword in this story testified to the spirit in which the "white arm" was formerly regarded. Its history has been divided into five periods, designated: First, the pure carnage epoch; second, the period of impossible feats of arms; third, the feudal age; fourth, the season of fence; fifth, the period of decay—which last extended down to, and included, our own day. It was far from his intention, however, to profess to give a history of the sword in the short time at his disposal. He only proposed to string together a few out of the very voluminous notes he had gathered together relating to the subject. The importance of the weapon in ancient times could hardly be over-estimated. Mahomet, in the Koran, spoke of it as the key of Heaven and Hell; and he had a list of no less than eighty names of swords, each with its own especial legend. In the stories of old time the sword is endowed with a life of its own. It was the friend and companion of its master; and we read in the Sagas of swords that killed of them-



selves, or sprang from their sheaths of their own accord. In many ancient ballads the heroes talk to their swords, which are represented as returning an answer. In the Hindu mythology Indra, the lightning-god, is the possessor of a supernatural sword; and this weapon has been identified with Odin's sword Gram and with Gungnir, his magic spear. Indeed, it may be taken as the type of all supernatural weapons. Frithjof, the hero of the Saga on which Bishop Tegner founded his famous poem, was the possessor of another typical sword, called Angurvadel, younger brother of the lightning, which had a hilt of gold and was inscribed with runes. In times of peace these runes were dull, but they shone brightly like a cock's comb when battle was near. There were many swords with similar properties recorded in ancient legend: for instance, Antar's sword "Dhami," forged from a thunderbolt. Not only did similar legends attach to the sword in various lands, but a resemblance might be traced between the stories relating to the originator of the sword in different countries. We may compare, for example, Tubal Cain in Jewish legend, Vulcan in classic tradition, and Völundr in northern saga. In the East, as elsewhere, a good sword was a possession highly treasured; and he had seen a sword given to an Englishman in India by the chief of a tribe who owed him a debt of gratitude, which had been handed down for fifteen hundred years. Its blade bore an inscription in a dialect no longer known. Völundr, the famous smith who forged Odin's sword, appears as a swordsman also, under the name of Wieland, in the German legend of the slaying of Amilias. His sword Miming was of such wondrous temper that his adversary did not know he had been wounded, but when told to shake himself he fell in halves. Time failed, said the lecturer, for all he would like to touch on: as, for instance, the history of the famous sword Tyrting, related in the Hervarar Saga.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. W. F. Kirby said he wished to remark on some celebrated swords, and would pass from west to east, commencing with the English story of the Lambton Worm. Sir John Lambton was instructed how to overcome this monster, but was warned that, unless he slew the first living thing which he met afterwards, for nine generations the lords of Lambton should never die in their beds. He ordered his favourite hound to be loosed when he winded his horn to announce his victory; but his father was so overjoyed that he rushed forward before the

dog. Sir John slew the dog, hoping thus to avert the doom ; but it was nevertheless fulfilled. Possibly, in this and similar stories, the original idea may have been that of a sacrifice to the sword. As regards dragons, much information respecting them might be found in a recent book, Gould's *Mythical Monsters*. In the Esthonian epic, "The Kalevipoeg," the hero buys an enormous sword which his father Kalev has bespoken from a Finnish smith, who had been working on it for many years. But the hero slays the smith's son in a fit of drunken fury, and the smith dooms the sword to avenge his fate. The sword is afterwards stolen from the hero by a sorcerer, who drops it into a brook. The Kalevide, being unable to recover the sword, lays an injunction on it to cut off the legs of him who brought it there, meaning the sorcerer. But when he steps into the brook long afterwards, the understanding of the sword is confused by the smith's curse, and it cuts off the hero's legs. The famous sword of Amadis of Gaul was made of the green spine of one of the winged serpents which inhabit the boiling ocean between Tartary and India. Scott's story of the Fire King is so well known that it is only necessary to say that, although Scott mentions that the apostate knight is a semi-historical personage, it is not clear whether the sword in the story is also based on some legend, or was imagined by Scott himself. Among the stories respecting Richard I. was one relating to a trial of skill between himself and Salah Ed-Deen. Richard clove an anvil at a blow, perhaps with a sword stroke, but more probably with a blow of his battle-axe, and Salah Ed-Deen with his scimitar divided a lace veil as it was floating in the air. Among the swords mentioned in the *Thousand and One Nights* we may specially note that of Joodar, obtained from the magic treasure-cave of Es-Semendel, which, if shaken in the face of an army, would rout it ; but if its owner said to it, "Slay this army !" a flame would proceed from it which would destroy the whole army. Another was the sword of Saéd, with which he cut the Ghoul in twain at one stroke ; but he was forbidden to repeat the blow, for then the Ghoul would live and not die, and would destroy himself and his companions.

Mr. A. F. Major said that the only fault he had to find with Mr. Baverstock's paper was the title, which was somewhat misleading. It might more fitly have been styled "Sword and Romance," and the Sagas proper had received comparatively little attention. He was not altogether sorry, however, as this gave him an excuse for dwelling on this side of the subject. Prof.

Hodgetts, in his *Older England*, a reprint of lectures delivered at the British Museum, gave a very interesting chapter on the Northern sword, in which he pointed out that its blade was fashioned on the sword-like grass of the North, which is called "blæd" in Icelandic, whereas the model of the Greek and Roman sword, in Latin, "gladius," was the leaf of the gladiolus. The latter would have small chance against the Northern form of weapon, still less so the bronze swords of the Britons, copied from the Roman "gladius," which are found lying together in quantities in riverbeds and other places, while the Northern war-blade is found by the warrior's side in his tomb. From these facts alone it could be deduced, without any knowledge of history, that a race in these islands using a bronze sword had been overcome by another race using a more powerful weapon of iron or steel, which ultimately possessed the land and was able to bury its dead in peace. The value of a good sword to a warrior was emphasised in the Sagas by many stories of a sword failing to cut. Thus in the Eyrbyggja Saga, Steinthor of Ere is described as wearing a sword very beautifully wrought and elaborately decorated. But when a fight occurs we read that "the fair wrought sword bit not whenas it smote armour, and oft he must straighten it under his foot." The art of tempering a sword was evidently rare, but in the Sagas the failure of a sword to bite is generally attributed to witchcraft. Thus in Egil's Saga we are told of his sword Dragvandill that there was no sword more biting. But in his combat with Atli the Short it would not bite; so Egil grappled with Atli, bit through his throat, and slew him so. Thus, too, in the Saga of Howard the Halt, Atli the Little, finding his sword would not bite on Thorgrim, who was said to be a great wizard, slays him in the same way. Of Gunnlaug Wormtongue we read that, while he was in England at the Court of King Ethelred, Thororm, a berserk, picked a quarrel with him. The king was much grieved, because, as he told Gunnlaug, the berserk's eyes could dull any weapon. However, he gave him a sword, bidding him use it, but before the fight to show another. Thororm asked to see Gunnlaug's sword, and, being shown the second one, said, "I fear not that sword." Gunnlaug, however, slew him with the king's gift. A good sword was, as may be guessed, highly valued, and considered a royal gift. Athelstan, King of England, gave Hacon, his foster son, who afterwards became King of Norway, a sword "of which the hilt and handle were of gold and the blade

still better ; for with it Hacon cut down a millstone to the centre eye, and the sword thereafter was called Quernbiter." King Olaf the Saint gave Sighvat the Skald a gold-hilted sword, and King Olaf Tryggveson gave Hallfred Vandraedaskald a sword without a scabbard, bidding him sing a song with the sword in every line. Hallfred did so, complaining in his song that his sword had no scabbard. Then the king gave him the scabbard, and said : "But there is not a sword in every line." "Yea," answers Hallfred, "but there are three swords in one line." Another point that deserves notice is the breaking open of burial barrows for the sake of the sword buried with the dead warrior. There is an instance of this in the short sword which Grettir the Strong won from the barrow of Karr the Old, after a struggle with the barrow-dweller, whose head he cut off and laid by his thigh to lay the ghost in the approved way. Thorfinn, Karr's son, took the sword, but gave it to Grettir on his delivering his house and family from a band of berserks. When Grettir was finally slain by his enemies, the short sword could not be got from him dead till his hand was chopped off. Thorbiorn Angle, the leader of the slayers, hewed with it at the dead man's head, and the blow broke a great shard out of the blade. Thorbiorn was outlawed, went to Micklegarth or Constantinople, and took service in the Varangian Guard. Thorstein Dromund, Grettir's brother, who did not know him by sight, followed him and also joined the Varangars. At a weaponshow, Thorbiorn, in answer to questions proudly tells the tale of the notch in the blade. Thorstein, being present, waits till the sword reaches him as it passes from hand to hand, then cuts down Thorbiorn, and so avenges his brother. Another weapon famous in story was "Graysteel." We meet with it first in Gisli's Saga as a sword belonging to the thrall Kol, said to have been forged by dwarfs, so that it would bite whatever it fell on, nor could its edge be deadened by spells. Gisli borrowed it to fight a duel, much against the thrall's will, who said he would never be willing to restore it. Gisli pledged his word to give it back, and won his battle by its aid. But, as the thrall foretold, he tried to persuade him to sell the sword, and, failing, would not return it. They quarrelled ; Kol buried his axe in Gisli's brain, who smote at his head with Graysteel. The sword would not bite, but so stout was the blow that Kol's skull was shattered, and Graysteel broke asunder. So both perished, but Kol, dying,

foretold ill-luck to Gisli's kith and kin from the sword. A spear-head was afterwards forged from it, of which we read again in *Sturlunga Saga*, where it is said that, at the battle of Orlygsted (in 1238, some 275 years later), Sturla, who was a descendant of Gisli, fought with the spear hight Graysteel, a great spear of the olden times, wrought with runes, but not well-tempered, for it often bent and he had to straighten it under his foot. The kennings, or periphrases, used in poetry for the sword are very numerous. From the songs scattered through *Grettir's Saga* alone Mr. William Morris gives six, and there is another list of eighteen given by Du Chaillu in his *Viking Age*.

Miss C. A. Bridgman would be glad to know where the story of Wieland and Amilias, quoted by Mr. Baverstock, could be found. She knew the story of *Völundr*, as given in the *Eddas*, but had not met with the other version.

Mr. F. T. Norris said that though, as had been remarked, swords were handed down from father to son, yet the earlier plan was to bury the sword with the dead warrior, as was evidenced by the many reports in the *Sagas*, embellished with magical developments, of entries made into the grave-hills of buried warriors in order to become possessed of their treasured weapons. In many parts of England, too, evidence was forthcoming of similar practices. Here, in the oldest shire, in Kent, the chalk had served to preserve even the skeletons, and in one instance a man and woman were found lying side by side with their skeleton arms interlocked, and by the man's side lay his long sword. These were Saxon burials, and armour-burial was a distinctive characteristic of Saxon as against Roman burials. But many Scandinavian swords with runes had been found in England, and among the objects found in the undoubtedly Scandinavian grave-hill, or "low," at Taplow, which are now in the British Museum (vessels of gold and ivory, drinking-horns, arms, &c.), there was, he believed, a sword with runes. In any case, the British Museum and provincial museums possessed several such swords found in England.

Mr. Baverstock, in reply, said that he had been very much interested in the remarks of Mr. Kirby, especially as he had not yet had an opportunity of studying his recently-published work on "The Hero of Esthonia." He looked forward to tracing in it the sword in Esthonian story. He feared he must plead guilty to the charge of wandering away from his title. His difficulty had been

to confine himself within any limits. Many points to which he had merely alluded might have formed of themselves the subject of a paper—for instance, the story of Angantyr and the Sword Tyrfing, which occupied the whole of the Hervarar Saga. With regard to the source whence he took the story of Wieland and Amilias, he had found it in MM. Depping and Michel's exhaustive monograph on Völundr.

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AL-THING, MARCH 15TH, 1895.

PROFESSOR W. WATSON CHEYNE (Jail) in the Chair.

Dr. J. G. Garson (Jarla-man), Vice-President of the Anthropological Institute, read a paper on "The History of the Early Inhabitants of Orkney." He began by saying that, although the connection of Orkney with Norway probably dated back only to the close of the eighth century, the Norse element is undoubtedly more strongly predominant there than in other parts of Britain formerly occupied by the Norsemen. But in earlier and prehistoric times the inhabitants appear to have been ethnologically the same as elsewhere in Britain. He then briefly sketched the way in which, by means of ancient burials, the anthropologist is enabled to gather information about races of whom no other record remains, and he appealed against the superstition and vandalism which too often led to such remains when discovered being destroyed. Orkney, however, was comparatively rich in ancient burial-places, and other remains. Man's early history in Britain might be divided into four periods—*i.e.*, the palæolithic, the neolithic, the bronze, and the historic. These represent various stages of culture, which may often overlap in different parts of the same country. Man in palæolithic times came into Britain by land, as in late pleistocene times the land extended over the greater part of what is now the bed of the North Sea as far as Shetland and into the Atlantic beyond the Hebrides. But in this age man apparently did not pass north of a line drawn from the Bristol Channel to the Wash. His implements at this time were of flint, unpolished, wood and bone, and he was skilful in carving. His skeleton shows a long, narrow head, strongly developed frontal ridges, low forehead and receding chin, his last lower molar tooth being larger than the others, contrary to what we find subsequently

in Europe. His stature was a little over five feet. In neolithic times the distribution of sea and land was almost as at the present day, but the climate was more continental and moister, and the land was covered with forest as far as the Orkneys. Man had made great strides in civilisation and lived in fixed habitations, his stone implements also are better formed, those characteristic of the period being beautifully ground and polished. The flint used for making them was quarried from below the surface of the ground. There also seems to have been some commerce in implements, as even in Orkney jadite or nephrite axes have been found which probably came from Central Europe. Their burials took place in long oval barrows. The stature of the race at this time was about 5ft. 5in. ; the skull is large and well formed, long and proportionately narrow in shape, with feebly developed brow and other ridges, cheek-bones not prominent, well-formed chin and straight features. The people of the bronze period succeeded those of the previous age, and at the time of the Roman invasion, which may be regarded as the dawn of history in these islands, were in full possession of the country. They came over from Belgium and France, and are the so-called Kelts. The use of bronze shows a marked advance in civilisation. The lake-dwellings and beehive houses of Ireland belong to this period, and perhaps the Picts' Houses of Scotland ; but some authorities think these last neolithic. In the early part of this age the dead were buried in circular barrows and sometimes in the upper part of the older long barrows. Later on cremation became fashionable, and the cremated ashes were then buried in the round barrows. The skull is now large, broader and rounder than in neolithic man, brow ridges large and strongly developed, ridges for the attachment of muscles large and well marked, cheek-bones prominent, jaw large, and upper jaw somewhat prominent, and chin, well formed. In stature the race is tall, averaging 5ft. 9in. Palæolithic man is not found in Orkney ; but neolithic man undoubtedly dwelt there, as we know from implements and skeletons found. Besides these, the circular burghs are probably neolithic, though many consider them to be of the bronze age ; for at Oxtro stone cists containing cremated interments of the bronze age and bronze orna-

ments were found, below which were discovered the remains of a circular burgh with walls still 5ft. to 6ft. high. Only stone and bone relics were found in this, the bronze remains being confined to the upper strata. The Picts' Houses, such as that at Skaile, Sandwick, probably belong to the end of the neolithic period, or beginning of the bronze age, though no metal remains have been found in them; while the megalithic stones and stone circles, such as Stennis, have hitherto been ascribed to the bronze age, but there is a growing tendency now to put them back to the earlier age. Typical neolithic skeletons have been found in Orkney, some of which are now in the museum at Cambridge. Many remains of the bronze period are found in Orkney, such as round barrows containing skeletons and cremated remains, and weapons and utensils of various kinds. A typical skull found at Newbiggin is preserved in the museum of the College of Surgeons. The neolithic and bronze people existed side by side and are found interred together; but the bronze were the preponderating and probably the conquering race, and they were doubtless the principal part of the population down to the time of the Norse invasion. The lecture was illustrated with magic-lantern views, showing the various types of skulls, implements, etc.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. F. T. Norris said that he had been most interested in Dr. Garson's paper, but he must join issue with the conclusion he came to, that these skulls and stone implements described were all Keltic. This appeared to him to beg the whole question, as it is very doubtful whether some of the reputed neolithic skulls are not Teutonic. There was probably a Teutonic immigration into the islands earlier than the Scandinavian in 872. Tacitus speaks of a Teutonic race dwelling in Caledonia in his day, when many of the German tribes used only stone implements; and there could be very little doubt that in very early times the whole of the north and east coasts of Britain were infested by sea-rovers of Teutonic origin, who had formed settlements there, as during the Roman occupation an officer was appointed, styled "the Count of the Saxon shore," to repress their incursions. Probably there was a large Teutonic element in North Britain in the stone age, and these would supply their quota to burials attributed by the lecturer



to the Keltic stone age. With regard to the primitive population of Britain, there was still a question to be decided as to who were the Silures and other tribes mentioned, who were strongly differentiated from the Kelts, and also who were the Kelts themselves; as, according to historical data, they were, as to one half, Teutonic, and, as to the other Gaulish. Mr. Norris would be glad to know the authority for the existence of a race in the bronze period averaging 5ft. 9in. in height, as he had not met with any evidence of such a race at that period. He considered that, save in exceptional cases, the evidence usually sought to be deduced from the three divisions of stone, bronze, and iron was inconclusive for chronological purposes, unless supported by other evidence.

Dr. Jon Stefansson said that the western part of Iceland had been very largely peopled by a mixed Norwegian and Keltic population from the Orkneys, as the story of Aud, among others, showed. She was the wife of one of the Norse kings of Dublin, and on her husband's death she migrated first to Orkney, then to Iceland, where she finally settled. There had for a long time been constant intercourse between Orkney and Iceland, but very little trace of this appeared to be left now. A young Faroese philologist, Mr. Jakobsen, was at the present time investigating this question in the Orkneys and Shetland; and he found that, though the old Icelandic had disappeared from the common dialect, very many of the old words were still to be found in the dialect used by the fishermen at sea. It is a superstition with them that it is unlucky when at sea to mention various objects under the ordinary names given them on land, and various old Norse words have been preserved for use in this way. Several hundreds of such words had already been collected from the fishermen's speech. The Keltic influence in Iceland had not yet been satisfactorily traced. The differentiation of the Icelandic people from that of Norway was, in a large measure, owing to Keltic admixture.

Mr. A. F. Major said there was one question as to the early inhabitants of the Orkneys that he should like to raise. Sir George Dasent, in the Introduction to his translation of the Orkneyinga Saga, recently published in the Rolls Series, said that it seemed probable that the early inhabitants of Orkney, who dwelt in the weems and burghs

described in the lecture, had passed away from the islands before the time of the Norse immigration, and that at that time the islands were only inhabited by a few papal anchorites of the Irish Church. This supposition was quite contrary to the views taken by Mr. Joseph Anderson in his Introduction to the earlier translation of the Saga, in support of which he adduces passages from Nennius and from Irish Annals. It is somewhat surprising to find these statements overlooked in the latest authority on the subject published under Government auspices. The Sagas, it is true, give no account of the conquest of the islands, but they only take up their history when they were already occupied by the Northmen.

Dr. Karl Blind proposed a vote of thanks to Dr. Garson for his valuable paper. In speaking of the early history of the Orkneys, he said we should not forget Pytheas, of Massilia, who had voyaged up the English Channel and visited the German Ocean and the Baltic, and sailed as far as Thule in the high North. This Thule has by some learned writers been identified with Orkney. The works of Pytheas are unfortunately lost, but fragments are quoted by other ancient authors. A passage in Solinus, rather corrupt in its Latin, runs thus: "Thule larga et diutina pomona copiosa est." Bessell has started the hypothesis that *pomona* does not mean "fruit," or the goddess of garden culture in this passage, but refers to the name Pomona, given to the mainland of Orkney. The word sounds like a Latin one; but its termination "a," Karl Blind thought, might be the Germanic "a," "aa," or "ey"—that is, "island." He agreed with almost all that had been said by previous speakers, and held it to be most probable that there had been a Norse immigration into these islands in prehistoric times, and that the historic invasion into the Orkneys was only a second wave. The races mentioned by Tacitus as inhabiting Britain are the Caledonians, who, according to the Roman historian's assertion, represent a Germanic element; the Kelts, who came from Gaul; and the Silures, who, hailing from Spain, are the Iberian substratum which can be traced in the population of Wales. When, therefore, it is said that the earliest inhabitants of the Orkneys were the same as those of Britain at large, the fact must be kept in mind that there were three races in this country even then. Cæsar,

speaking of Gaul as also divided into three parts—Belgian, Aquitanian, and Gallic—says that they differ in language, institutions and laws. From his description it is clear that, in his time, Central Gaul was peopled by Kelts; the South-west by an Iberian race, kindred to the Basques of the present day and to the Iberian immigrants into Wales. As to the Belgian part of Cæsar's Gaul, we must remember that he declared he had found out that most of the Belgians were of German origin, even as they are to this day. The evidence for an early Teutonic immigration into Britain from various sides is thus manifest. The Picts, who appear in the place of the Caledonians, have been variously attributed to the Teutonic, the Keltic, and even to the Turanian stock. He himself inclined to the first-named view. Dr. James Fergusson and many others have declared for a Norwegian origin of the "brochs." With regard to the peculiar fishermen's language at sea in the Faroes, there is a similar kind of hieratic fishermen's speech in Shetland and the North of Scotland. From Shetland many such words had some years ago been sent to him. Some are evidently pure Norse or Teutonic, and had thus survived from the more ancient speech of the country.

Dr. A. Wallace hoped as a visitor that he might be allowed to say a word or two, as he thought the previous speakers had somewhat misapprehended the drift of Dr. Garson's lecture. The lecturer, as he understood, did not undertake the investigation of the historic period at all, although he had incidentally referred to the coming of the Northmen to the eastern shores of Britain in his introductory remarks; but having divided his subject into four periods, he only discussed the three first. The evidences he had described were all prehistoric, and he confined his survey to the prehistoric remains alone. Dr. Wallace expressed the interest he took in the investigation, and referred to his visit to Kent's Cavern, and his examination of the remains collected from it by the late Mr. Pengelly. He there saw evidences of man's existence, alongside of the polar bear, probably at a period as remote as sixty thousand years ago. The evidences collected in Orkney of prehistoric man were, of course, meagre; but when examined by such authorities as the lecturer, they were found to possess similar characteris-

tics to those found further south, and thus they bear out the idea that prehistoric man had inhabited these northern parts, as evidenced by the human remains and implements characteristic of the three periods found in the places of burial, thus establishing the lecturer's thesis.

Dr. Garson, in reply, said that the remarks of Dr. Wallace in the course of the discussion answered the most important questions asked. Almost all those who had spoken misunderstood the period he dealt with. He went back into geological times; and, although he did not like to state any fixed number of years, or even centuries, he might mention that the bronze age is conjectured to have been at its height in this country about 500 B.C., while the polished stone age was long before that. The ancient Iberians have been usually considered to be of the same race as the people of the neolithic period, who probably extended over the greater part of Western Europe. The people of the bronze period were probably the first people speaking an Aryan tongue to enter Britain. The osteological characters of the people of these two periods are very definite and distinct. The earliest skulls found in Scandinavia are Turanian or Mongoloid. "Gaulish," or so-called Keltic, immigrants into Britain of the bronze period had undoubtedly a stature of 5ft. 9in. This he could say without any hesitation after numerous observations. Also he could affirm that remains of the neolithic race had been found in Orkney. He had searched the accounts of the people of Britain given by the early classical writers, not only in Roman but in Greek also; and he found them so indefinite in their descriptions and use of names as to be almost useless for anthropological purposes. As regards the Silures, no accounts are given of their characteristics by which it is possible to recognise them; but most likely they were the remains of the long-headed neolithic people, as we know from the explorations of General Pitt-Rivers near Rushmere that they lived in the western parts of England even in Roman times, separate and distinct from the other races forming the population.

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AL-THING, APRIL 5TH, 1895.

SURGEON-COLONEL ROBERTS in the Chair.

A paper was read by Dr. Phené on "A Ramble in Iceland," which is printed in full in the present number of the *Saga-Book*.

In the discussion which followed, Prof. T. Rupert Jones said that, never having visited Iceland, he might talk on the subject with great freedom, as he would only have to draw on his imagination and the recollection of what he had learned from books and travellers. He could well realise the lecturer's description of the grand and weird aspect of the scarred and riven lava rocks. Dr. Phené had had some exciting escapes from morasses and other difficulties in crossing the country. The speaker remembered an adventure which had befallen two students, one of whom he knew (now an eminent scientist), who were travelling there. Making their way across country on foot they came to a wide and deep fissure or crevasse in the lava. There seemed to be no way of crossing. It was impossible for them to retrace their steps, as they were a long way from their base and without provisions. One of them, first throwing his knapsack across boldly sprang after it and just cleared the gulf. Then, lying down on the brink, as his comrade leaped and just fell short, he caught his hands and pulled him up safely. The speaker had greatly enjoyed Dr. Phené's account of his voyage and travels. It must add greatly to his enjoyment when travelling abroad that, being observant of the works of nature and art, as well as of men and manners, he always found something to investigate wherever he was, whether the elephant-mounds of America, the serpent-mounds of Scotland, the dragon-mounds of Italy, the ship-mounds of Scandinavia, or others. He could not sit down without expressing his high sense of the great services Dr. Phené had rendered to archæology by his investigations into the origin of these mounds, and their probable relationship to sun-worship, serpent-worship, and possibly to other cults; and, though all do not yet understand the points and bearings of his observations, the speaker trusted that in time they would, and that Dr. Phené's long life would be happily extended with the satisfaction of his conclusions being received at last.

Mr. R. Wright Taylor said that he remembered his visit to Iceland well, and it had struck him as a country of unique interest. He had been most impressed by the spectacle there presented of a brave and kind-hearted people engaged in an impotent struggle with the forces of Nature. Cultivation and population alike seemed to be fast disappearing before the

floods of lava and the volcanic powers at work. The primitive character of the people had also been another striking feature. There were only two policemen in the island, and they acted also as Custom House officers. A prison had been built at Reykjavik, but for want of occupants it had then been turned into a public library. There was no carriage in the island and he believed no garden ; and he thought he was correct in stating that the woods had disappeared, till there was now only one tree remaining in the whole country. He had visited the Fiskivötn, or Fish Lakes, abounding in fish, but remarkable for gnats. He had found his usual quarters in a tent ; but had also been lodged in the churches, which were comfortable wooden structures with benches apparently intended for the accommodation of travellers.

Miss C. A. Bridgman inquired in what sense the lecturer had used the term "Baalistic."

Mr. Annesley Owen asked for some further explanation of the illustrations of animal-shaped mounds, which the lecturer gave.

Mr. A. F. Major, in reply to a request from Dr. Phené for any historical light on subjects mentioned in his paper, said that the custom of taking possession of unoccupied land by the ceremony of fire-hallowing occurred in several Sagas. A very interesting instance would be found in "The Story of Herr Thorir," translated in vol. i. of the Saga Library, where Blundketil, an Icelandic chieftain, was attacked and burnt to death in his house. His son sought help from a neighbour named Odd ; but when Odd reached the scene, he took a blazing rafter from the house, and ran round the house with it, saying that he took the land for himself, as he saw no house inhabited there. So he snatched the dead man's landed property from his heirs. The introduction to the volume quotes other instances and details of the custom in varying forms.

Dr. Phené, in reply, offered his best thanks to Prof. Jones, whose words were valued by all who knew him, for the sympathy he had expressed with his studies. He had been cheered by many marks of sympathy from unexpected quarters in his labours in elucidating early mythology. He was obliged also to Mr. Taylor for his remarks about the country. There were evidences that it had previously been much more wooded than at present. In reply to the question

asked by Miss Bridgman, he, of course, only used the word "Baalistic" in a symbolical sense, as a way of indicating sun-worship that would be generally understood. Burton uses "Baalistic" in the same way in connection with Orkney. Dr. Phené then exhibited some specimens of Icelandic native costume, calling special attention to the gold embroidery used in its adornment. He also showed some of the ornaments mentioned in his lecture, and an Arabic talisman made of jet which he had discovered in Iceland.

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AL-THING, MAY 10TH, 1895.

THE REV. A. SANDISON (Jarl) in the Chair.

Mr. F. T. Norris (Saga-master) read a few notes on a book describing "An Inscribed Stone" in America which Miss Cornelia Horsford, the author, had presented to the Club. He said that Miss Horsford had invited the opinion of the Club upon it; but, after careful consideration, he favoured the conclusion that the supposed Runic letters were glacial markings. In this view he was supported by an eminent geologist whom he had consulted. He had, however, asked Miss Horsford to send, if possible, a rubbing of the stone for examination.

The Rev. W. C. Green then read a paper on "Kennings in Icelandic Poetry." *Kenning* is the term given by Icelandic grammarians to certain periphrases, descriptions by metaphor or otherwise, which are largely used in old Icelandic poetry. Not the plain straightforward name by which a thing is known is a "kenning," but something that is not that. You do not use a "kenning" if you call a spade "a spade," but if you call it "clod-cutter," "Eve's husband's bread-winner." Some sorts of kennings are used in most poetry, but their use in Scandinavian poetry became very prevalent. And though in some respects they were overdone, and became artificial, ungraceful, even laughable, there is much of interest that attaches to them. Snorri Sturluson (who died A.D. 1241) is our chief authority on early Scandinavian versecraft in *Skáldskapar-mál* "Poetic Diction," a part of his prose Edda; and the kennings of which he treats most fully are those grounded (or believed to be grounded) on mythology. One deity's name may be put for another if something be added that belongs to the other. And the

same principle may be applied to other things—*e.g.*, if you want to speak of a raven or eagle you may join to “bird” such a word as “slaughter,” “blood,” or the like, and that is your kenning. Nay, you may even say “battle-crane,” “blood-grouse,” “wound-partridge.” Kennings may be simple, double, multiple. And as the plain name of the thing is never to be added, they are often very puzzling, sometimes intentionally so, like riddles which may be guessed, and are guessed, differently by their interpreters. Snorri, as is observed in the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* (vol ii., Excursus i.), did not observe the right proportions in his treatment and classification of kennings, “beginning at the wrong end.” His object was not the study of the old poet’s mind, but the production of a handy Gradus. The metaphorical kennings are really the older, “the germ from which all sprang.” We see in them “quaint primitive ways of thought,” not only common to old Northern poetry, but such as would readily occur to early poets of all times—*e.g.*, when flesh is called “locker of the bones”; breast, “the abode of thought”; hair, the “sword of the head.” “In Egil’s vigorous and concise figures we have the noblest example of this kind.” “Later than these early metaphors are those synonyms based on early beliefs respecting cosmogony.” Most true all this. The metaphors or tropes admit us into the minds of the poets; we find that their like exist in all poetry; in some of these touches all bards are kin. Kennings of some sort are in all poetry, especially in old poetry. But the Northern poets use them where other poets use simile. Simile in Northern poets is hardly ever used—*e.g.*, where another poet might say “swords in battle flashed as snakes,” the Icelandic poet says, “battle-snakes flashed.” The earlier and better Icelandic kennings metaphorical (and even some mythological) may be illustrated from old classical poetry. Names of Zeus resemble names of Odin and Thor. As “king” has kennings in Icelandic, so also in Greek, “shepherd of peoples,” “god-born,” “rudder-turner,” “steersman.” “Ships” are kened in Greek “sailors’ cars sea roving; linenwinged” (*Æsch.*); animals, “house-bearer” = snail, “the boneless” = polypus (*Hesiod*). “Chaff-scatterer” = winnowing fan. A cloak is “a remedy of cold winds” (*Pindar*). And plenty of such may be gathered. Imagina-



tion has worked alike, but with differences: the Northern Skald loving to put his metaphor or comparison into one word or phrase. The clearest way to exhibit Icelandic kennings seems to be to class them according to their nature: (1) Metaphors; (2) quaint descriptions or conceits; (3) enigmatical, or purposely obscure; (4) mythological. And the examples given in this paper are chiefly from the Egils-Saga, which has been scantily done justice to by Snorri Sturluson. First, of metaphorical kennings, heaven or sky is "wind-cup," and earth "wind-cup's base or bottom." Friends ride to the generous Arinbjorn (sings Egil) "from all ways upon the base or floor of the wind-cup," *i.e.*, from every wind of heaven. Sea is "path of gulls." "To cast to the sea mew's path rough with winds," is to spend in vain. Sea is also kened by "earth's isle-studded girdle"; mountains are "the reindeer's path"; wind is "forest destroyer," "willow-render"—*cp.* Lucretius' *silvifraga flabra*. Serpent is "dale-fish," "bright thong of the ling." Eye is "brow-moon"; stern glance is "moonshine"—both used in one verse about King Eric. War and battle have many kennings; "snowstorm of weapons," "shield rain," "metal-storm," "spear-music"; sword, "hilt-wand," "slaughter-fire," "wound-flash"; axe, "wound-wolf"; spear, dart, "wound-fowl"; arrows, "wound-bees"; ship is "wave-horse," "sea-king's swan," "sea-snowshoe"—this last is not unapt for the long ship when we think of the long Norwegian *ski*—gold, "sea-fire," "arm-fire"; silver, "crucible-snow." Man (warrior) is kened from his occupation; "wolf's tooth dyer," "raven-glutter," "oak of Odin," "shield-tree" (*i.e.*, bearer of shield); woman from hers: "goddess of drinking-horns," "brooch wearer"; poet is "song-smith," *cp.* Gr. *τέκτονες ὑμνων*; and song is "timber of minstrelsy"; a song of praise is a "tower of praise." Many are the curious descriptive kennings of parts of the body: breast, "ship of mind"; head, "helmet-cliff," "bolster-mate"; eye-sockets, "pitholes of the brows"; ears, "hearing-tents"; tongue, "voice-plane"—"easy to smooth with voice-plane is the material of my song"; brows are "jutting cliffs of the eye-lashes"—*cp.*, our "beetling brows"; Shakespeare's

"lend the eye a terrible aspect;  
 . . . let the brow overwhelm it

As fearfully as doth a galled rock  
O'erhang and jutting his confounded base."

*Henry V.*, act iii., sc. 1.

For curious kennings of parts of the body, Solomon's description of the old man in Eccles. xii. 3-5 may be referred to: "Keepers of the house, strong-men, grinders, those that look out the windows" (arms, legs, teeth, eyes). Also probably, "doors" are ears, and "voice of a bird" and "daughters of music brought low" are to express weaknesses of age in voice; as also "grasshopper shall be a burden" means the once nimble leaper shall move him heavily. Curious are the kennings for summer, "serpent's delight"; winter, "serpent's grief." Stinginess is "gold-numbness." Sometimes kennings are meant to be enigmatical. Indeed, old riddles were descriptions by kennings—*e.g.*, Samson's, where he tells what he had done with "eater and strong" as kenning for lion, "meat and sweetness" for honey. To this very day country riddles are of this descriptive kind. Egil calls his friend Arinbjorn, "Bear of the table of the birchwood's terror"; *arin* is hearth or fire-table; fire, "birchwood's terror"; *bjorn* is bear. Obscurities of this kind are purposely aimed at: but very seldom in Egil's verses. For kennings of the mythological class the curious may look to the Edda. These do not appear so interesting as the metaphorical; but they give occasion in Snorri's treatise for many interesting legends. Sometimes the kenning may be older than the myth. But on these this paper did not dwell. "Gold" as "Kraki's seed," seed of Fyri's field, has an amusing story; but perhaps "golden grain, grain the wealth of the field," is at the bottom of this. The metaphors are the most interesting kind of kennings, and they may be abundantly illustrated from the poets of many tongues and times.

In the discussion which followed Mr. Norris expressed the thanks of the audience to Mr. Green for his interesting paper, which was distinguished by the width of its range. It had recalled to his mind various kennings which are found in Anglo-Saxon poetry. In the Song of the Battle of Brunanburh the sea is called the "swan's bath." No doubt Mr. Green would consider this to be a compound kenning, by swan being meant ship. Otherwise the kenning would be too obvious, even were the swan a sea-bird. Again, the poet says that the Danish invaders had derived little profit from

“the commerce of the sword,” the latter phrase being a kenning for “battle.” The sword is also called “board-cleaver” or “shield-cleaver.” Might we not assume that the kenning “sea-fire,” or “water-flame” for “gold,” which was usually classed as mythological, and had one or two legends annexed to it, was an allusion to the reflection of sunset on the waters, which would naturally suggest “gold” to any observer? In the most ancient fragment of Anglo-Saxon poetry, too, Cædmon’s “Fall of Man,” which begins.

“Nú wé sceolan herian  
heofonríces Weard,  
Metodes mihte  
And his módgethonc,  
wera Wuldorfæder.”

“heofonrices weard,” or “warden of heavenric,” and “wera Wuldorfæder,” or “glory-father of men,” might be regarded as kennings.

Mr. E. H. Baverstock said that there were some lists of kennings given by Du Chailu in his *Viking Age*, but it would be impossible to name them fully. With regard to kennings for bow and arrows, such names were given as “the bird of the string,” “the swift flyer,” “the work of Gusi.” This last phrase referred to one of the three arrows of Orvar Odd. These arrows formerly belonged to Gusi, King of the Finns. They came afterwards into the possession of Ketil Hæng, father of Grim, who gave them to his son Orvar Odd, saying, “Here are the costly things which I want to give thee, Odd. They are three arrows, which have a name and are called Gusi’s nautar ” (Gusi’s followers). Odd said, “They are very costly.” The feathers were gilded, and the arrows flew off and on the string by themselves, and one never needed to search for them. The full story may be found in Orvar Odd’s Saga.

Mr. A. F. Major said that they were fortunate in having had the subject handled by one who was an eminent classical, as well as an Icelandic, scholar, and who had therefore been able to show them that kennings, which were such a distinctive feature in Icelandic poetry, were not peculiar to it, but were to be found in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and other poetry. No doubt in modern poetry genuine kennings were few and far between, because, as Mr. Green pointed out, the majority of poets put their kennings in the

form of a simile, but such phrases as "hearts of oak" and "wooden walls" are genuine kennings for ship. He could readily understand how the fascination of finding kennings might grow on a poet, when once it became generally understood that kennings were the proper ornament of poetry, till at last, in uninspired writers, the poetry was crushed out by the kennings that overloaded it. With regard to "swan's bath" for sea, it was possible that swan was meant in its natural sense, as "gannet's bath," "sea-mews' bath" were found as well.

Mr. Niven ventured to differ from the author in thinking his lecture deserved a better title than that of "paper," which he had given it. He agreed that the phrase "water's fire" for gold would be naturally suggested by the appearance of the sea or any water when the sun is low. He could not, however, agree that the passages in Ecclesiastes—"The grasshopper shall be a burden," and "He shall rise up at the voice of a bird" might be explained as kennings. The latter he thought alluded to the light slumber of aged people. He quite agreed with Mr. Green's arrangement, but should have liked the exact chronological dates of the various kennings. With regard to other poets, the wonderful power of the similes in Homer, Goethe, and Milton struck him forcibly, and but for the late hour he could have pursued the subject at length.

Mr. Green, in reply, said that he did not expect to obtain universal assent to his proposed interpretation of the passage from Ecclesiastes, nor was it important to the general purport of his paper. He was glad to have had the opportunity of bringing the subject forward. It had occurred to him, though he had not included it in his paper, that instances of kennings were common in sporting slang, as in the old reports of the Prize Ring, in such phrases as "he caught him one on the potatoe-trap," or of the cricket-field, when a man's being stumped is described as, "he heard a noise in his timber-yard."

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AL-THING, MAY 24TH, 1895.

THE REV. A. SANDISON (Jarl) in the Chair.

Mr. E. H. Baverstock (Lawright-man) read a paper on "Tyrfing, or the Saga of a Berserk's Sword," which will be reproduced in full in a future number of the *Saga-Book*.

## VIKING CLUB AND THE IRISH LITERARY SOCIETY JOINT MEETING. EIGHTH SAGA-THING, SATURDAY, JUNE 8TH, 1895.

DR. KARL BLIND (Jarla-Man) in the Chair.

The Chairman, in his introductory speech, said that this was a combined assembly of men and women interested in the history, the literature and language, the mythology and folklore, and the music and art of their Teutonic and Keltic ancestry. They had come together irrespective of political principles, of religious creeds, or of special philosophical views. The meeting might be described as a section, or as sections, of the United (he would not say Kingdom, lest this should be looked upon as a political allusion), but he would rather say as sections of the United Republic of Letters and Art. In that Commonwealth, too, there was sometimes a great deal of lively argument going on; but this should certainly not prevent them from trying their best to be a happy family. The lecturer they were to hear had chosen for his theme a very important subject—one on which it is true, even the mass of educated people still required a great deal of teaching. In spite of the excellent labours of scholars at universities here and of Gaelic Societies in Ireland, it was an unfortunate fact that the studies referring both to the Anglo-Saxon and Norse, as well as to the Keltic or Kelt-Iberian past of this country are yet too much neglected. The Irish Literary Society, however, counted among its members such prominent workers as Mr. Standish O'Grady, Dr. Douglas Hyde, and Professor John Rhys. The Chairman then alluded to the "Book of the Four Masters," in which the first mention is made of the landing of Vikings in Ireland—a landing which had been preceded more than a hundred years before by the appearance of a Saxon fleet, in Egrith's time, on the Irish shores. Probably not too many people, even of the highly cultured classes, were acquainted with that heroic poetry which has gathered in Ireland and Scotland round the name of those Fianna warriors, whom not a few foremost authorities look upon as a first pre-historic wave of Norse and Teutonic conquerors, and whose figures and deeds became afterwards mixed up, in song, with those of the later Danish and Norwegian rulers in Ireland. Such charming Irish poems and romances as "The Lay of Oisín, or

the Land of the Young," the "Children of Lir," the "Pursuit of Diarmid and Grainne," or "The Youthful Exploits of Fionn," to mention but a few, are evidently not so well known at least on this side, as they ought to be. Probably one of the reasons is that some of them, at any rate, are not accessible in sufficiently attractive English translations, but rather in literal ones for the student. Something might be done in this respect similar to what Simrock did in German for the Edda, for Beowulf, and for the mediæval heroic and other poetry of his own country. As the Viking Club also deals with anthropology, it might be as well to point out that there are few countries more interesting as regards such problems than Ireland, with its various layers of Iberian, Keltic, and Germanic races of the Norse and Teutonic branches. The Viking Club, the Irish Literary Society, and the Welsh Cymmrodorion or Brotherhood have for some time past earnestly striven to promote the study of all these subjects. He (the Chairman) might add that he had repeatedly perused with considerable interest reports contained in Dublin papers of lectures given on the Ossianic Saga by the learned Professor who was to address them.

Dr. Sigerson then read his paper on "Kelts and Sea-Kings." A portion of it was devoted to the removal of prejudices and erroneous statements concerning the Norse rulers in Ireland. We regret not to have been able to obtain from Dr. Sigerson an account of his lecture.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. George Graves, Mr. Norris, Miss Eleanor Hull, Mr. Baverstock, and others took part. A vote of thanks to Dr. Sigerson was passed. A vote of thanks to the Chairman (Karl Blind), moved by Mr. Graves, the Secretary of the Irish Literary Society, who said that the address from the chair had been distinguished not only by full knowledge, but also by a very sympathetic treatment of the subject of old Irish literature, concluded the proceedings.

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AL-THING, JUNE 14TH, 1895.

THE REV. A. SANDISON (Jarl) in the Chair.

Mr. Albany F. Major (Umboths-man) read a paper on "The Vikings" which will be reproduced in full in a future number of the *Saga-Book*.

AL - THING, NOVEMBER 15TH, 1895.

THE REV. A. SANDISON (Jarl) in the Chair.

Mr. Eirikr Magnússon (Jarla-man) read a paper on "Edda," which is printed in full in the present number.

In the discussion which followed, Dr. Jón Stefansson said that he felt sure all present were very grateful to Mr. Magnússon for his paper, which he considered among the most important of any that had yet been given before the Viking Club. It was certainly one of the most learned; but that learning, and the clear logic with which it was set forth, had led to such a result as could not well be impugned, and, however new and startling Mr. Magnússon's conclusions might seem, his chain of reasoning seemed most difficult to attack. The Edda might be regarded as the Bible of the Scandinavian and English races—in fact, of the Teutonic world. It was therefore very important to establish rightly the meaning of the term; and although, from the nature of the case, Mr. Magnússon could not absolutely prove his own theory, but could only attain a high degree of probability, he had in a careful and conclusive manner disposed of all earlier theories as to the origin and meaning of the old and revered name of Edda.

Mr. E. H. Baverstock said that he was very glad to have heard Mr. Magnússon, as he had always hitherto taken it for granted that "Edda" meant "great-grandmother" or "mother earth." Apparently no one had previously known the true meaning, but the lecturer to-night had certainly thrown very great light on the word and its history. He wished to thank him personally, not only for this lecture, but also for the book in which he had thrown fresh light on the myths of Yggdrasill and Sleipnir. Of course a subject like this was one which an Icelander could discuss far better than an Englishman, as there were so many points in it which could only be fully appreciated by one who knew intimately the language and the value and sense of the words quoted. As Lord Kames in his *Principles of Translation* has said, words must lose something even in the best translation, even as wine loses something of its aroma when poured from vessel to vessel. He would, therefore, content himself with again expressing the intense pleasure with which he had listened to the lecture.

In reply to Miss C. Bridgman, Mr. Magnússon said that Snorri Sturluson did not himself write the MS. known as the Codex Upsaliensis, but there was very little doubt that it was either a direct copy of his original or the transcript of one. Prof. Bugge

had proved that Snorri did not use the MS. of the older Edda, which we know as the Codex Regius, but one that varies from it considerably. In the lecturer's opinion, "Edda" as the title of a book had no connection with the word as used in Rigsmál.

Mr. R. Niven said that he was much surprised to learn that Snorri Sturluson was a sealed book to the people of his own day. He had always believed that Carlyle was correct in his view, that the stirring history of the North was due to the inspiration of the songs of Edda, and that those songs were as familiar to them as the songs of Homer to the people of Greece, where we are told even women were to be found who could recite the Iliad and Odyssey.

In reply, the lecturer said that the Eddas were not popular books for the general reader, because they were so full of allusions to lost mythical and heroic traditions; and, while no doubt a great deal of them would have been intelligible, very much would not be taken in; for instance, all the allusions in Hyndluljóð, because those allusions were very often to things which were not only unknown to us, but which seem to have been lost sight of in the time of Snorri. These books, moreover, were often obscured by the carelessness and want of intelligence of the scribes through whom they had come down to us. Carlyle might be right, but Mr. Magnússon had his doubts about it. With regard to the women of Greece and their knowledge of Homer, it must be remembered that of old the women knew the literature and traditions of the land much better than the men, whose time was fully occupied by the profession of the sword. Their influence we can see running like a red thread through all the histories, for it was the wives and mothers who by oral tradition handed down the records of the past.

Mr. A. F. Major said he wished to move formally a vote of thanks to the lecturer for a very powerful paper, which, he fully agreed with a previous speaker, was one of the most important to which the Viking Club had yet listened. Where an Icelander could find nothing to criticise, an Englishman could not venture to say much. It seemed to him that Mr. Magnússon had not only routed and slain, but finally buried, the theories hitherto set up to explain the word "Edda," and his own theory was certainly very clearly set forth and seemed very probable. If we talked of the Codex Upsaliensis, if in our own early literature we spoke of the Exeter Book and the Vercellai Book, why should not Icelandic scholars have talked of the Book of Oddi?

The vote of thanks was seconded by Mr. Baverstock, and sup-



ported by the president, who said that he wished to add his sense of his own personal indebtedness to the lecturer, whose destructive criticism was, he thought, most fair, though crushing; while the constructive part of his paper was, if possible, even more brilliant, and so lucidly set forth that to him, at any rate, it had carried conviction.

Mr. Magnússon, in reply, said that he must reserve for himself, as his platform, that he did not profess to offer anything as proven, but only a case of the strongest probability. Etymological speculation by itself was very unsafe; but as soon as we can make a philological chain of argument, supported by historical links in the evidence, we tread upon ground that we may consider fairly firm.

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AL-THING, DECEMBER 13TH, 1895.

THE REV. A. SANDISON (Jarl) in the chair.

Mr. W. G. Collingwood, M.A., read a paper on "The Vikings in Lakeland," which is reproduced in full in the present number.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. J. Mitchell said that, with regard to the origin of the place-names referred to by Mr. Collingwood, while he was quite ready to admit that the Norsemen who colonised the Lake-country came thither from Ireland, he thought that the Welsh of Strathclyde were responsible for some of the Celtic names.

Mr. Collingwood replied to the effect that Celtic words compounded with Norse in the place-names of a Norse district might be regarded as Norse importations; but that there were certain districts in which clusters of place-names, both Cymric and Gaelic, showed survivals from primitive Celtic times and races.

Mr. F. T. Norris congratulated the society on the clear and learned paper to which it had been privileged to listen. He thought, however, that the particle "ing," occurring in place-names, did not invariably signify a Saxon tribe or family, but sometimes grew out of a genitive ending in "an." Buckingham, for instance, might mean "the ham of the beech woods." "Tun" was found as a Scandinavian as well as a Saxon form—for instance, in "Sigtuna;" so Ulfarstun might be Norse in both its elements. Place-names altered so completely, that in trying to trace and account for them it was highly necessary to consult the oldest form, otherwise derivations are sure to be false. No one, for instance, would suppose that Harrietsham in Kent was derived from a man's name,

yet Herigeardsham is the oldest form of it. He thought the Ordnance surveyors and their renderings of local pronunciation were responsible for many misleading forms and false derivations. The explanation of Rother as "trout-water" was very interesting, and would account for many similar names in various parts. With regard to the two forms "beck" and "leck," the latter was found in the Thames valley—for instance in the name Pimlico, and in Letchmere, on the opposite bank. With regard to sculptured stones, he might remark that in the *Building News* for the current week a stone at Bakewell, which had hitherto been considered to be a Christian monument, was shown to be Scandinavian, and with its figures of horses was connected with the worship of Odin. He should like to hear whether Mr. Collingwood could identify Agmondesham (now Amersham) in the Thames valley with the chieftain Agmund, who had left his traces in Lancashire.

Mr. Collingwood replied, that as there seemed to be at least one other Agmund known as leader of Vikings in the South of England, there was no need to connect the Agmund of the Lancashire settlement with the Thames-valley. With regard to "ham" and "ton," his point was that both might be Norse, though usually indicating Saxon and Anglian settlements respectively. Aldingham was shown by archæologists like Chancellor Ferguson to be an Anglo-Saxon *burh*, and its name was taken to be the "home of the Aldings," in agreement with a great series of names in "-ingham" and "-ington." But "ham" or "ton," occurring in a distinctly Norse context, might be Norse, and nothing else. We know from history that the Norsemen were an eminently versatile race, readily adopting the customs and identifying themselves with the people among whom they settled. In France they became Frenchmen and in a generation or two even lost their own tongue; in England they became English, and he thought it quite conceivable that they should adopt the Anglian ways of forming names of places and join the Anglian termination to a name of Scandinavian origin, so that Ulfar, a Norseman, settling near the Anglian Pennington, &c., might call his place Ulfars-tún.

Mr. E. H. Baverstock said that at Wantage in Berkshire there was a place called the Ham or, in old documents, Hame. There is also a village of the same name in Wiltshire, four miles from Hungerford, Berkshire, and other Hams in

Essex, Kent, Somerset, Surrey, and Sussex. Antiquaries had endeavoured to account for the name, but, so far as he knew, its meaning had never been traced. His own name occurred as that of a village in Wiltshire, and appeared in Domesday as Babes-toche—*i.e.*, Babe's or Child's Dowry; while to show how names got corrupted, he might instance Ducksfoot-lane, leading out of Cornhill, which, after much search, he had found to originate in Duke's Foot-lane, so named because the alley originally led to the Duke of Suffolk's town house, which stood hard by in Suffolk-lane. He was very grateful to Mr. Collingwood, not only for his lecture, but also for the pleasure he had derived from "Thorstein of the Mere," the Lakeland saga, in which the lecturer had embodied much of the result of his study of the early history of the district.

Dr. Jón Stefansson said he wished to move the vote of thanks which was certainly due to Mr. Collingwood for coming over three hundred miles to give the club his most scholarly lecture. Would that we could have similar ones on Northumberland, Yorkshire, and other Scandinavian counties! A great quarrel existed some years ago between the historians of Denmark and those of Norway as to the word "beck." The Danes claimed it as Danish, and Swedish scholars supported them; but the question could not be regarded as settled. "Bec" was a common termination in Normandy, and on the strength of this the Danes argued that Normandy was largely colonised from Denmark. As to "tun," it occurred in Sweden, and was found occasionally in Iceland; but it is fair to conclude that, speaking generally, it is a Saxon termination. The area of Norse settlement in England was very much widened by the conclusions of the lecturer; and it was hardly too much to say that the History of England would have to be largely re-written when nearly one half of the country was found to be Scandinavian.

Mr. A. W. Johnston, in seconding the vote of thanks, said he wished to include in it Mr. E. G. Pope, who had so kindly lent and worked the magic-lantern by which the lecture was illustrated.

The lecturer in reply said that, owing to the lateness of the hour, he would only remark that in some Danish parts of England "beck" was not found, while in the Lake-district the Norse testwords predominated.

## VIKING NOTES.

THE following have been elected Fræthi-men (Honorary Fellows) of the Club during the year 1895:—Joseph Anderson, LL.D.; Dr. Karl Blind; Professor Sophus Bugge; Sir Henry Dryden, Bart.; Gilbert Goudie, F.S.A., Scotland; Dr. Hans Hildebrand, Royal Antiquary of Sweden; Eiríkr Magnússon, M.A.; William Morris; and Dr. George Stephens (since deceased).

THE Ogham inscriptions of the Burrian Stone on North Ronaldshay, the Newton Stone, the St. Ninian's Stone, the Bressay Stone, the Coningsburgh Stone, the Lundsburgh Stone, and the Logie Elphinstone are treated by Mr. E. W. Nicholson, the Bodleian librarian, in the *Academy* for August 31st, under the heading "New Notes on Pictish Inscriptions."

AMONG the noteworthy Shetland men beyond our ranks who have passed away in the past year may be mentioned the late editor of the *British Journal of Photography*, Mr. Traill Taylor. His typical physiognomy and disposition, and his sturdy championing of the Norse origin of his homeland, are pleasing memories in the recollection.

OUR Jarla-Man, Mr. Gilbert Goudie, F.S.A.Scot., has been taking part in the past year in the discussion which has been going on in the pages of the *Shetland News* regarding the origin of the *brochs* or round towers of Shetland. Mr. Goudie's view is that they are pre-Scandinavian—that is, prior to the advent of the Norsemen to the Islands in the ninth century—and by builders of a different race and genius.

A FRAGMENT of the "Tale of Wade" and his magic boat, which Chaucer makes Pandarus tell Cresyda, has been discovered in a 13th century sermon on "Humility," in Peterhouse Library. The lines, and their Latin introduction, in modern English run: "So that they can say with Wade, 'Some are elves And some are adders; Some are nikers That dwell by the waters; There is no man, But Hildebrand alone.'" The language is much like that of the early chronicler Layamon. Wade, which is the metonym for Wodin, is frequently met with in Anglo-Saxon legend. His son, Wayland the Smith, is the Völundr of the Eddas, and the forger of Odin's sword. He is popularly treated by Sir Walter Scott in "Kenilworth."

IN the "Beiträgen zur nordwest deutschen Volks und Landeskunde," Herr W. O. Foke, of Bremen, has unearthed from old chronicles a list of 144 townships once situated on the North Sea coast, which have now disappeared. Six were prosperous islands at one time; but since the eleventh century, through spring tides and shifting sands, these districts have one by one been removed from the face of the earth. The help towards accurate antiquarian and historical research which maps giving the physical appearances of districts at particular periods would afford is undoubted; this is true of nowhere more than the British Isles, where no shore line, and hardly a single river, are as they were, say, in Roman times.

IT is a shrewd emendation which is offered by Mr. Charles Plummer in the *Academy*, of November 2nd, as to the entry in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under the year 876 relating to Halfdan's conquest of Northumbria. The text runs: "And þy geare Halfdene Norþanhymbra lond gedælde, and ergende wæron, and hiera tilgende." This is usually rendered: "And this year Halfdane dealt out Northumbria land, and (they were) ploughing and (some

were) tilling." This rendering went on the supposition that *ergende* was the present participle of *erian*, to ear or plough. Mr. Plummer suggests it is the past participle of *hergian*, to harry, with the "h" omitted. The last clause would then read thus: "and (some were) harrying and (some were) tilling." This agrees with the well-known Norse habit expressed in the phrase: "half to the land, half to the strand." It has not hitherto been pointed out in this connection the general agreement of this Norse practice with Tacitus's account of the practice of the Suevi, who set half their tribe to go a warfaring and half to till in alternate years.

AN important moor-find is reported by the *New York Nation* from the island of Fünen in Denmark. The find consists of seven swords, most of them bent together after the usual fashion, and a number of spears, both of iron and bone. The spears, especially the bone ones, are in an almost perfect state of preservation. Many of them still contain their shafts, the construction of which shows that they must have been used for throwing. "Another novel feature lies in the receptacle itself, which is the site of an old road"—it is not told whether they were buried or merely lying upon the road—"dated from the Iron Age, and still in a good state of preservation. The construction is very much like that of the best modern Danish stone road, care having been taken to prevent spreading by the use of large stones along the sides." It may be presumed that if such a find had been made in England it would have been classed at Roman—especially the road. Nobody but the Romans, according to popular ideas, were capable of building stone roads, or, indeed, any other kind of engineering works.

THE Bakewell Cross to which allusion was made during the discussion on Mr. Collingwood's paper on the "Vikings in Lakeland" has hitherto been regarded as a Christian memorial. Dr. Cox, in his "Churches of Derbyshire," followed the vogue in interpreting the figures on the top panel as representing Christ's entry on an ass into Jerusalem. From the scroll and knot work, however, he is persuaded that it is Anglo-Saxon work and not later than the eighth or ninth century. With better archæological judgment Professor G. F. Browne, F.S.A., (now Bishop of Stepney, D.D.) in the Proceedings of the Derbyshire Arch. Soc. (vol. 8) thus speaks on the cross: "It will be seen that the ornamentation of the great cross at Bakewell consists of a magnificent scroll springing alternately right and left from a sort of cornucopia. The scroll at the top has a somewhat nondescript animal nibbling at the topmost bunch of fruit. Now, the Northmen believed in a sacred tree, known as the world-ash, in which four harts nibbled the buds. The tree was, besides, a pathway for the messenger between the gods and the earth, and this messenger was the squirrel. I suggest that the animal on the Bakewell Cross recalls this early belief, for, nondescript as it is, there is no question at all that its forelegs clutching the fruit excellently represent the attitude of a squirrel with a nut in its paw. In this case we should have . . . a continuation of the Christian and Teutonic religious beliefs, the Christian view of life and the pagan messenger of the gods on its topmost branches." The necessity of the last remarks as to the blending of the two beliefs for an adequate interpretation of the symbol does not readily appear, seeing that one alone, and that the heathen, from the writer's own showing, is sufficient for that purpose. Doubtless the explanation of the dual references is to be found in the portion of Mr. Browne's speech omitted. The cross is 8ft. high, without the foot, and

about 2ft. in width. In the *Building News* for Dec. 17th, 1895, is a drawing of the cross by Mr. F. H. Cheetham.

MR. JAMES TAIT, of Owens College, Manchester, has successfully vindicated Mr. Green from the charge of carelessness levelled against him by Mr. Round in his work "Feudal England." The latter stated that "Mr. Green, in his 'Conquest of England,' pp. 121-276, alluded to the Danish 'bys' as found, by exception, 'about Wirral in Cheshire,' and held that Norsemen from the Isle of Man had founded the little group of Northern villages which we find in the Cheshire peninsula of Wirral," and then added, "I cannot find them myself. . . . Raby is the only place I can there find on the peninsula with the 'by' termination. . . . There were doubtless Norse elements in the peninsula, *but they were not strong enough to change the place-names or divide the land on their own system.*" Mr. Tait, by pointing out the existence of seven additional "bys"—(West Kirkby, Frankby, Greasby, Irby, Pensby, Raby, and Whitby)—besides Norse names like Thingwall, Nesse, and Denwall, and probably Hesswall and Gabwall, not only justifies Mr. Green, but practically retorts the charge of carelessness on his accuser. Mr. Round cannot escape by alleging these are modern names, for they are all found in the old charters, and even in Mr. Round's pet Domesday, where Helsby is also cited, but in the neighbouring hundred of Eddisbury, not to speak of an unidentified Signeby mentioned by Ormerod. Mr. Round's published reply is extremely weak, first absurdly citing the Domesday Book as "our oldest authority" for place-names, and pretending to test Mr. Green's statement by it, and then stating as his excuse for not quoting the names instanced by Mr. Tait that they were merely hamlets, and not mentioned in Bacon's atlas, whereas they are actually found there; and are, moreover, not in all cases hamlets, but important towns—Whitby, for example.

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#### DEATH-ROLL.

PROF. DR. GEORGE STEPHENS, F.S.A., was a Jarla-Man and had just been elected a Fœthi-Man of the Viking Club, and at the date of his death, which occurred on August 17th, 1895, was nearing his 82nd birthday. Born at Liverpool on December 13th, 1813, he went to Sweden in 1833, and spent there eighteen years, removing to Copenhagen in 1855 to be made Professor at the University, a post which he held till his death. During his residence in Sweden he interested himself chiefly in bibliography, archæology, and early Swedish folklore, publishing as the results of his labours "Bihang til Frithiots Saga," in 1841; "Svenska Folksagor och Afventyr," in 1844; "Förteckning ofver de Fornämste Brittiska och Fransyska Handskrifterna uti kongl. Bibliotek i Stockholm," in 1847; "Ett forn Svenskt Legendarium, &c.," in 1847-8; and "Sveriges historiska och politiska Visor," in 1833. But his great work is undoubtedly "The Old Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England," which appeared in London and Copenhagen in 1866-7. This work presented to the public for the first time a complete collection of the oldest Runic inscriptions, most accurately and artistically reproduced, and has ever since been of invaluable service to Northern scholars. Indeed it was by the aid of the drawings in Stephens' book that Prof. Bugge was enabled to complete his epoch-making interpretation of the Golden Horn

inscription. Henceforth the Runes became Prof. Stephens' favourite study, and the last thing he wrote, "The Runes, whence came they?" published in London only twelve months ago, shows that the veteran scholar's interest in the subject was to the last as keen as ever. Occasionally the genial professor made excursions into the domain of *belles lettres*, and melodramas, poems, and literary and political contributions bore witness to the manysidedness of the man. . . . A list of his works up to 1895 may be seen in "Supplement til almindeligt Forfatter-Lexicon," by Erslev. Since that date, among others, have appeared "Macbeth," which identifies the place of that king's death by a Runicstone (1876); "Thunor the Thunderer" (1878), explaining a remarkable Swedish font A.D. 1000; "Some Runic Stones in Northern Sweden," and "On the Dialect of the First Book printed in Swedish" (1879); "Handbook of the Old Northern Runic Monuments" (1884); "The Oldest yet found Document in Danish" in later Runes on a small leaden tablet (1887); &c.

THE late Jarla-man, Hyde Clarke, Vice-President of the Royal Historical Society, who passed away in the second week of March, was originally an engineer and spent a considerable part of his life in the Levant. In his early years he betook himself to the study of philology, writing as early as 1848 on the identification of the Varini of Tacitus. He was a multifarious writer on ethnology, philology, and archæology, one of his latest productions being the article "Godhilda de Toni, wife of Baldwin I., King of Jerusalem, and her Family of Toni and Limesi," which appeared in Vol. I. Part I. of the *Saga-Book*.

WALTER TRAIL DENNISON, Göfgir-man (hon. member) of the Viking Club, J.P., Orkney, was born October 6th, 1825, and died September 2nd, 1894. He was educated at Kirkwall, and in 1852 he took the lease of the farm of, West Brough in his native island of Sanday, which he continued to occupy until the time of his death. Among his literary works are "The Loves and Death of Lady Sarah, a lay of the Orkney Isles," written in the Orkney dialect, and published anonymously in 1872; "The Orcadian Sketch-Book," giving traits of old Orkney life, written partly in the Orkney dialect, 1880; papers on Orkney customs, &c., in Peace's Orkney and Shetland Almanacks for 1880, 1881, 1883, 1885, 1887, and 1888; articles on Orkney folklore in *The Scottish Antiquary*, September and December, 1890, March and December, 1891, June and September, 1892, January, April, and October, 1893; "Manufacture of Straw Articles in Orkney," in *Orkney Herald*, Nov. 7th, 1894; and "The Subsidence of Land in Orkney," in the *Saga-Book* for 1894. The aim he steadfastly set before himself was to do all that in him lay to preserve the speech, the customs, and the traditions of his native island.

JOHN RAE, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S., F.R.G.S., &c., Göfgir-Man (hon. member) and first Viking-Jarl (hon. president) of the Viking Club, or Orkney, Shetland, and Northern Society, London, hon. corresponding member of the Geographical Society of America, hon. member of the Natural History Society of Montreal, &c., was born at the Hall of Clestrain, in Orphir, Orkney, on September 30th, 1813, and died in London, July 22nd, 1893. His first fifteen years were spent in Orkney, where he acquired, besides a good education, a knowledge of boating, shooting, crag-climbing, and other outdoor pursuits. When sixteen years old he commenced his medical studies at Edinburgh University, and, not twenty years old, passed as surgeon in 1833. He then entered the Hudson's Bay service, and after residing ten years at

Moose, he undertook in 1845 the survey of a part of the Arctic shores of America, which several previous naval expeditions had failed to accomplish. This was done in open boats, with twelve men, of whom five were Orkney-men and Shetlanders, when 700 miles of unknown coastline were traced. In 1848 he went second in command in the expedition under Sir John Richardson in search of Sir John Franklin, which proved unsuccessful. In 1849 he was appointed to command another expedition. In about eight months his party travelled 5380 miles, 700 of which were through newly discovered territory. In 1853 he commanded another expedition on behalf of his company, which resulted in the discovery and survey of the Quoich River, and in obtaining information and relics which confirmed the fact that Franklin and his men had perished from exposure and hunger. He returned to London in 1855, when he found he was entitled to the Government reward of £10,000 for news of Franklin's party; this sum he shared with his men. He paid in all seven visits to the Arctic coast, besides arranging expeditions to various parts of the Northern seas. In 1850 he published a "Narrative of an Expedition to the Shores of the Arctic Seas in 1846 and 1847." He contributed valuable reports to the Royal Geographical Society.

SIR ROBERT G. C. HAMILTON, K.C.M.G., Göfgr-Man (hon. member) of the Viking Club, was born in Bressay, Shetland, August 30th, 1836, and died in London, April 24th, 1895. His grandfather, the Rev. Gavin Hamilton, minister of Hoy, in Orkney, married Penelope, daughter of the Rev. John Macaulay, minister of Cardross, and sister of Zachary Macaulay, father of Lord Macaulay. Sir Robert graduated M.A. at Aberdeen University in 1855, and shortly thereafter he received a clerkship in the War Office, and was sent to the Crimea in the Commissariat Department. He subsequently filled the offices of Accountant of Education, Accountant and Assistant Secretary to the Board of Trade, Secretary to the Civil Service Inquiry Commission, Accountant General of the Navy, Secretary to the Admiralty, Under Secretary for Ireland, Governor of Tasmania in 1886, and Chairman of the Board of Customs, besides serving on several Royal Commissions. In 1893 he was sent to enquire into the state of affairs in the Island of Dominica.

LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR EDWARD BRUCE HAMLEY, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., Jarla-Man (vice-president) and Göfgr-Man (hon. member) of the Viking Club, was the fourth son of Admiral William Hamley, K.L., by his wife Barbara, daughter of Mr. Charles Ogilvie, of Lerwick, and was born at Bodmin, in Cornwall, April 27th, 1824. Passing through the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich he entered the army on the 2nd May, 1843, and served in the Crimean campaign, receiving the brevets of Major and Lieut.-Colonel for his distinguished service. Subsequently he filled other important offices with distinction till the Egyptian campaign, when he commanded the second division which stormed the enemy's lines at Tel-el-Ketir, for which he was made K.C.B. and K.C.M.G. He was the author of several novels and other works, and numerous essays contributed to the magazines.

C. H. E. CARMICHAEL, M.A., Jarla-Man (vice-president) and Göfgr-Man (hon. member) of the Viking Club, came of a distinguished Scottish family. His death took place in March, 1895. He was Foreign Secretary of the Royal Society of Literature, a member of the Anthropological Society, and a frequent writer on anthropology and prehistoric archæology. He contributed the paper on "Udal and Feudal" to Vol. I., Part I. of the *Saga-Book*.



# SHETLAND FOLKLORE AND THE OLD FAITH OF THE SCANDINAVIANS AND TEUTONS.\*

BY KARL BLIND.

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THOSE northernmost islands of the United Kingdom which, hundreds of years ago, were given in pledge to the Scottish Crown, and thence passed into the possession of England, are as stepping-stones to that still more distant Land of Ice and Fire to which we owe the Edda and the Heims-Kringla. The Edda is the Scripture of the ancient creed of our common forefathers—of Scandinavians, of Englishmen, of Lowland Scotch, and of the great parent stem of Germans. The Heims-Kringla (“The World’s Round”) contains the chronicles of the Northmen from semi-mythic times down to the twelfth century. To this very day the saga spirit is yet fully alive in Iceland. In Orkney and Shetland, where the Norse race, a branch of the great Teutonic stock, has made an equally deep imprint by its blood, its speech, and its laws, there are yet tales and bits of old rimes current, in which we sometimes hear strange echoes from the Germanic world of Gods — weird voices from the overwhelmed Odinic faith.

Now, do people in general, nay, do even the best educated classes, fully understand that these floating relics of a bygone creed often contain, under a wildly fantastic garb, curious ideas of what once was an endeavour to frame a natural philosophy, a cosmogonic system, a conception of the origin of things and beings, and of the destiny of mankind?

\* The above is the full text of the lecture given by Dr. Karl Blind, at the Viking Club. The greater part of it appeared in the December (1894) number of the *New Review*, with the permission of whose editor it has been embodied in this publication.

We study the mythology of Greece and Rome, of Egypt, Assyria, Persia, India, and China—even of Mexico. Are they alone to be looked upon as worthy of the attention of cultured men? And are the very threads which still, in the more out-of-the-way places, bind the thoughts of the masses of this country to the survivals of an ancient, grand, and partly even charming creed—are these threads to be allowed to slip unobserved from our fingers, perhaps soon to be lost altogether? Why this neglect, when yet Norse, Anglo-Saxon, and German mythology—and whatever remnants there are still of its Keltic counterpart—often show poetical traits not less lofty and attractive than those of the classic nations?

However, since the year 1878, the London Folklore Society, now under the able and excellent direction of Mr. Laurence Gomme, and with the distinguished aid of men like Mr. John Abercromby, Mr. Clodd, Miss Cox, Mr. Hartland, Mr. Jacobs, Mr. Alfred Nutt, Mr. Wheatley, and many others, has done first-rate work for the recovery of such valuable relics. I am glad to say it has been my good fortune to obtain, during the last sixteen years or so, with the kind help of friends and correspondents, a large number of those odds and ends, those waifs and strays of folklore, some of which were found to have an important bearing upon moot or dark points of our fore-elders' view of the world and its rise.

Shetland, more especially, has proved to me a very fruitful ground. It still possesses many scattered fragments, much interesting wreckage—flotsam and jetsam, as it might be called—of the old, much-forgotten religion of the Teutons. The term “flotsam and jetsam” is perhaps all the more appropriate because not a few of these survivals point to a system of Water-worship, which in grey antiquity was the peculiar creed of one section of the Germanic race; another section holding to a Light and Fire worshipping creed. Now, strong traces of the worship of the Water Deities are pre-eminently to be met with in Shetland folklore, as is natural in such a storm-tossed country.

Among the friends there to whom I owe a tribute of thankfulness for remarkable communications, I have to mention the late Mr. Arthur Laursen, a merchant of

Lerwick, a highly gifted, learned, and most thoughtful man ; Mr. Robert Sinclair, of the same town, who in his youth was an unlettered fisher-boy, and afterwards became a well-to-do tradesman ; and his son, Mr. George Sinclair, an art decorator—both living now in Australia. Through them I have had contributions from many more people in Unst, in Yell, in Fetlar, and several other parts of Shetland. But as there is a certain bashfulness as regards publicity in small communities, I have to leave out the names of these latter. Otherwise, I should have been only too glad to give them their due.

In Shetland there was a curious experience in regard to these matters. Women are often the chief holders of popular tales. The child learns these things at the mother's knee. I myself was brought up on the fullest fare of such folk-tales, through peasant girls serving in my father's house in town. In later years I was astounded, when first reading "Grimm's Tales," to find there, not only the same account, but sometimes, word for word, that which I had heard from country women unable in those days to read and write. Such was the fidelity with which then the traditionary lore was handed down. The brothers Grimm themselves learnt the famous *Märchen* from women of the popular classes.

In Shetland there were until lately, and perhaps there are even now, aged women who combine the preservation of this kind of knowledge with practices of witchcraft. This is, or was, rather a lucrative trade. Now, it seems that, after the first Essay, founded on letters of my Lerwick friends, had been published, the news was speedily bruited about among some of the cronies. After that Mr. Robert Sinclair found it very difficult to get further information from the same quarters. One of those wise women to whom new questions had been put, exclaimed :—"Güde trüth ! gin I wid tell you onything, ye wid shüne hae it in print ; an' dan da gude o' it ta me wid be düne !"

The fact is, the people who guard the tale-treasures look upon them as something sacred. They certainly do not know their inner meaning, but they evidently feel that some mysterious sense attaches to that which is given in such attractive garb. At the same time they do not wish to have

these things exposed to the public gaze, or to see them subjected to scientific explanation. They even fear that there might be an inclination, among outsiders and fine townspeople, to scoff at them. So, when asked, they often pretend not to know anything at all. It is only when their confidence has been gained by friendly intercourse, and when they have got some insight into the character of the inquirer, that they gradually and slowly show a readiness to open the gates of the eerie Folklore Castle, and to reveal their knowledge.

It was through his daughter that one of my friends re-obtained information. She knew how to gain the confidence of these close women, by beginning to enter into relations with them on quite different affairs. In course of time the secret drawer of tale-treasures was then unlocked by willing hands. I mention this for the guidance of those who would help in saving the precious remnants of that which is frequently the last vestige of "a grand and savage faith of mightiest power," as Southey has called the mythology of the Northmen.

I will now rapidly refer to the subjects of some of the communications from friends and correspondents in Shetland. There came, first, the text of the fragmentary Unst Lay. It is a curious Christianised version of the beginning of Odin's Rune Song in the Eddic "*Hávamál*"—that is, the "Song of the High One." This Shetlandic relic of the grand old Norse myth shows both the staff-rime and the end-rime; also the vowel harmony of assonance.

In the Edda, we hear of Odin hanging on a wind-rocked tree, nine long nights—"on that tree of which none knows from what root it springs." The Unst fragment begins in this way:—

*Nine days he hang þa da rütless tree* ("Nine days he hung upon the rootless tree"); and it goes on to say that he (it is not mentioned who) hung there "nine lang nichts i' da nippin' rime." The aged woman who recited the eight lines was quite aware that they could not strictly apply to Christ. She knew in what points they differed from the Biblical statement. More than the fragment of eight lines she did not remember. The version was curious for the way in which the mighty World-Tree of Norse mythology—the Tree of

Existence, Yggdrasil, which symbolises the Universe—is confounded with the Cross. An old creed thus often slips imperceptibly almost into a new one.

That all-nourishing ash-tree, Yggdrasil, is one of the loftiest ideas of the Norse religion. An evolution idea is contained in it. In the branches of the vast Tree of Existence, the Goddess of Life, Idun, dwells, who, by her rejuvenating apples, preserves the heavenly rulers from becoming aged and wrinkled. In the dark regions below the colossal tree, a Serpent works with destroying tooth. It is an image of the never-ceasing struggle between the powers of Life and the forces of Destruction in Nature. There is a passage in the Eddic Song of Grimnir—where these demolishing forces are described—which says :—

The tree Yggdrasil  
Suffers heavier wrong  
Than men can think.

The deep mystery of grief, which, as Luther said, underlies all life, is apparently pictured in that verse.

There are three fountains near Yggdrasil, in which the endless process of rejuvenescence, of preservation, and of transformation is clearly indicated. At one of those fountains the Norns live, the Sisters of Fate. Their names—Urd, Verdandi, and Skuld—mean the Past, the Present (or rather the process of growing), and the Future. A Rainbow Bridge extends its noble arch through the leafy dome of the Tree of Existence. The Gods daily ride over that lofty bridge which spans Heaven and Earth, in order to reach a Place of Judgment near the dwelling of the weird Sisters of Fate. At last, when all things are nearing their doom, a horn is blown that lies at the bottom of the World-Tree. Then, the immense tree quivers and shakes ; a Fire-God comes with his flaming sword of annihilation ; and Idun sinks down from the branches of Yggdrasil. Life in its present cosmic form is then at an end.

But I refrain from going into a further description of this powerful mythological image, which, assuredly, lacks neither poetical aspect nor philosophical depth. I will rather mention what else came from Shetland in the shape of curious survivals.

I had asked one of my correspondents whether he could

find any further Beetle Rimes in his country, like those about the lady-bird. That tiny red insect was once sacred to the Germanic Goddess of Love and Beauty, Freia, in whose heavenly realm, at the bottom of a bourne, according to German folklore, the Unborn dwelt in a garden, or in a meadow with bushes, where fragrant flowers grow and the song of birds never ceases. When the time came for the human embodiment of the Unborn, their souls were carried earthwards in flashes of lightning.

In connection with this idea, the red-winged lady-bird, and the red-billed and red-legged stork, became the sacred animals of the Goddess—red being the colour of lightning. That is why the stork brings children even now in Germany. And that is why the lady-bird—the bird of Our Lady Freia—became a heavenly messenger of hers. For Freia, whose worship had been most widely and most deeply prevalent among the Teutonic race, the Virgin Mary was afterwards substituted. Hence one of the many names of the lady-bird in Germany is *Marien-Käferchen*. Its ancient connection with Freia's sunny domain is, however, still visible from many other names, such as *Sonnenkalb*, *Sonnenkäfer*, *Sonnen-Hühnchen*, *Sonnenwend-Käfer*; for Freia was also a Sun-Goddess. In the Low German dialect that insect is called *Mai-Katze* (May Cat), which appellation points to the time of the year that was sacred to the Goddess, and to the cat, a team of which drew her car.

Strange as it may seem, it has been proved by a comparison of many children's rimes concerning the insect in question, that the well-known verse :—

Lady-bird, Lady-bird, fly away home !

Thy house is on fire, thy children all roam—

or, “Thy children will burn.” refers to that terrible catastrophe in which the Teutonic creed assumed this world to end, after which a new Earth would arise from the waters, when evil would be amended, and a Reign of Bliss come about. In this song, in Germany, we even hear of the beetle's father (evidently Wodan) being in the war, whilst its mother (Freia-Holda) is in Holler-Land, which has been burnt. The word “Holler-Land” I have been able to rescue from oblivion in a verse sung by children in the Baden Palatinate. It means Holda's land.

Beetle-worship is a part of Germanic mythology not yet fully explored. Still, there is some material at hand which forms a link, as it were, between cults apparently standing so wide apart as the Teutonic Creed on the one hand and the Egyptian circle of ideas and Paphian rites on the other. However, a Shetland correspondent to whom I applied, and who was then in Scotland, was only able to make a slight contribution as regards beetle-lore. "The name of the water-beetle—Witchie-clock"—he wrote—"is suggestive enough."

Instead of the hoped-for beetle rimes, he sent a number of spell-songs and incantations, mostly in use among Shetland boys. There was, for instance, a rime about the skylark, or lady-hen, which, I understand now, is also called "lady-bird" in some parts of the Northern Isles. Like the insect of the same name, the lady-bird, or skylark, must once have been sacred to the Germanic Queen of the Heavens. Its eggs were hedged by a peculiar divinity—a custom explainable even from a wish to preserve the heavenly songster. Very often sensible notions and intentions are to be found under the cover of popular superstitions. I remember what sanctity surrounded the house-swallow, as well as the stork, in the eyes of German children.

The Shetland friend also sent a spell-song and some strange stories about the ravens—Odin's holy birds, whose names, Hugin and Munin, signify Mind and Memory—and about a wonderful vivifying stone which the ravens bring from a "holy land." One of those raven stories seems to refer to Thor, the God of Thunder. Then there was a fragment about "Da Hellie Dam that cleds eraw (?) in blue." Sadly corrupted as this fragment is, it appears to point to the Teutonic Venus, Freia, or Hellia; not in her snow-white garment as Holda, but in her typical sky-blue dress as Perchta. There can be no doubt that "cleds eraw" means "clothes herself all" (er' a') in blue. Instead of "herself," the Shetlanders say "her"—similarly to what is done in German.

All these names—Freyja or Freia, Hellia, Holda, and Perchta—are only off-branchings from the original form of the Goddess. Perchta—or, in the present softer speech, Bertha—means the fiery one. Her name comes from the same root which means fire in German, in English, as

well as in Greek ( $\piυρ$ ). A sky-blue dress, or, rather, a lightning-blue one—*blitzblau*, as the word is in German—Perchta, who kindles the fire of love in human hearts, still wears in village mummeries of Southern Germany. We have a great deal of such mummeries in our country, and even the wardrobe of a Goddess is not easily lost in folklore.

One of the Shetland rimes, similar to Scottish, English, and German ones, appeals to the spider, who is called Willie Buck, as a weather prophesying insect. This is quite correct, scientifically speaking, as those know who have watched the habits of spiders. In folklore there are often embodied good observations about physiology and the phenomena of Nature. Prehistoric races of huntsmen and herdsman were much given to such studies. The weaving spider was sacred to Freia in her character as a guardian of domestic industry, who had much to do with the spindle and the loom; and Freia-Holda was also a weather-making deity. The later aversion to, and fear of, the spider among women, especially in Germany, may have arisen from a doctrinal inculcation of the Christian priesthood, who taught them to spurn the symbol of a Goddess whose worship it was found most difficult to root up.

I pass to what is by far the most remarkable spell-song which I have been able to get from Shetland. Hitherto only two introductory lines have been known. The remainder was thought to be irrecoverably lost. Dr. John Leyden, in his observations on "The Complaynt of Scotland," speaks of those two lines. Mr. Robert Chambers, in his "Popular Rhymes of Scotland," quotes them from him. Jacob Grimm sought, even from that scanty material, to draw a connection between the Arthurian cycle of legends and the tale of the Wild Huntsman, who is the later substitution of Wodan or Odin.

The two Scottish lines alluded to are these :—

Arthur Knycht he raid on nycht,  
With gyltin spur and candil lycht.

Now, the spell-song sent to me, under the title of "An Incantation to Prevent Nightmare," runs thus, in Shetlandic speech :—

Arthur Knight  
He rade a' night



Wi' open swird  
An' candle light.  
He sought da mare ;  
He fan' da mare ;  
He bund da mare  
Wi' her ain hair,  
An' made da mare  
Ta swear :  
'At she should never  
Bide a' night  
Whar ever she heard  
O' Arthur Knight.

At first sight there is, in that spell-song, nothing of the nightmare in the present common meaning of the word. Expressions are used in it, for the exorcising of the nocturnal disturbers of sleep, which had originally a different connection. To say it at once : there is good ground to believe that this incantation contains, under a slight, or perhaps only apparent, British guise, a Norse Odinic myth about the Valkyrs, Allfather's messengers of death on the battlefield, who, in folklore, have gradually become night spectres in the horse or mare form. With Grimm, Simrock, and other eminent interpreters of mythology, I assume " Arthur Knight " to be, in this case, a later substitution for the Germanic God of Storms and Battles, who is a leader also of the nocturnal Ride of the Dead to Walhalla. In folklore he was changed into a stormy hunter with a ghostly retinue, careering, at night, through the clouds.

Perhaps " Arthur," in that nightmare song, may only be a later mispronunciation of the old Norse name Ottar, or Ottie (Otto, Otho), which, down to last century, was a frequent fore-name in the North Isles. In the Edda, Ottar appears as the darling or husband of Freyja who is but a differentiation of Frigg, the consort of Odin. The process of mythology shows a continual splitting up of divine figures into new forms. Hence also, no doubt, the assonance of the names of Ottar and Odin. Now, Freyja, as may be seen from the Eddic Song of Hyndla, was herself a Night-Rideress ; and from other sources we know that she is a leader of Valkyrs—that is, of humanised mare-forms.

The " mare " whom Arthur (in reality, Odin) seeks and finds, and then binds with her own hair, I interpret as one of those Battle-Virgins, or messengers of death, whose figure

was evolved from clouds in the shape of horses. The oath which the mare is made to swear reminds us of the oath or promise broken by the valkyr Brynhild, who brought about the death of a Gothic warrior king whom Odin had wished to spare. Wherefore she was entranced by Allfather, and surrounded with a fiery circle on a hill in Frankland, near the Rhine, until Sigurd—or Siegfried—re-awakened and freed her.

The scene of the whole Sigurd story, I may here incidentally state, takes place, in the Edda also, not in Scandinavia, but on the lower and upper Rhine. Northerners travelling in Germany had heard the great heroic tale, and brought it to their own country. In its pure heathen form the Nibelung story is, therefore, preserved in the Icelandic Scripture. Our own ancient sources were destroyed by fanatic monks. Though a grand epic, our Nibelungen-Lied is only a later Christianised version of the heathen Siegfried tale.

Remarkably enough, there is a fragment of the Völsunga Saga, in which we find Sigurd riding, with open sword, and golden spurs on his heels, over the blazing fire to woo Brynhild, whom the saga describes as a shield-maiden, a Valkyr; that is, a mare-form. This open sword, and the golden spurs, occur again in the fragmentary Scottish lines, and partly in the now recovered Shetlandic "Incantation to prevent Nightmare." The proof of Arthur Knight having been put in the place of Sigurd, who himself is a heroic variation of Odin, is thus clear enough. As to the original Valkyr character of Night-Mares, or Night-Riders, it can be fully shown, both from Eddic passages and from German folklore. In some parts of Germany the nightmare is actually still called Wal-Riderske, Wal-Rideress (Death-Rideress), that is Valkyr.

A great many letters have for years reached me from Shetland about the Nuggle, or Njöggle, that mythic Water-Horse who in Scotland is called the Kelpie. The word "Kelpie" cannot be explained from Keltic speech. So Mr. Campbell, the Keltic scholar, who collected "Popular Tales of the West Highlands," gave it as his opinion in a letter to me. Kelpie is probably connected with "calf;" in Danish "Kalv;" in German, Kalb. Seals are also called sea-calves.

Mythic water-horses, water-bulls, or cows, are mentioned in the religious systems of many nations of old. They represent the creative power of water, from which, in many cosmogonic stories, the earth and its living beings were assumed to have arisen. In the first chapter of Genesis even we hear :—“ And the spirit of God moved upon the waters.” In Vedic, Persian, Babylonian, Greek Roman, Germanic creation tales we find a theory about a “ wet beginning of things.” This is a notion which in our days has been worked out scientifically ; for instance, by Häckel. There is frequent resemblance between the results of modern research and the seemingly most fantastic ideas of ancient mythologies.

Without doubt, the Shetlandic Nuggle, or Njöggle, belongs—as his very name proves—to that large circle of Neck, Nöcken, or Nix forms in which Teutonic mythology is so rich. The sea, the lakes, the streams, and the brooks were peopled with these moving figures. They are partly of a gruesome, partly of a charming character, quite in accordance with the varying effect of water, which is by turns useful and friendly, attractive and healing, or tumultuous, treacherous and destructive. Thus, myth is often but a fanciful rendering of the phenomena of Nature.

In the Icelandic and Scandinavian sagas we come upon beautiful dapple-grey horses, called Nikur or Nennir, who, rising from the waves, sometimes appear on river-bank or sea-shore. I will not go here into the description of those four-footed spooks which otherwise truthful but highly imaginative people—trained up, as they are, in lingering mythic beliefs—positively profess to have seen. Be it enough to say that those Nikur or Njöggle stallions are, so to say, from the stable of the Scandinavian Water-God, who in this quality was called Odin Nikor. When he fell from his high estate, he became “ Old Nick.” Ancient deities are, as a rule, devilled by a New Faith.

Odin Nikor was a father of the Nixes, of the Mer-men and Mermaids. He himself was evidently worshipped of yore in horse shape. Let us remember that Neptune comes up from the deep with his horses. To this day, when the white foam-capped waves appear far out at sea, people in some parts of England call out :—“ The horses are showing their manes.” One of Odin’s surnames was “ Hroshársgrani,”

the Horse-hair-Bearded. Such an idea strikes us now as extraordinary. But are we to forget that Hindoo, and Egyptians, and highly cultivated Greeks, had deities with animal attributes, or in animal transfigurations—nay, that the Athenians worshipped sacred snakes down to the time of the Persian invasion? These things are to be taken figuratively. They had a symbolical meaning, known to those who knew their inner significance, but more grossly believed in by the masses.

From Shetland I have had many Finn stories—tales about those sea monsters who were able to exchange their human shape with that of seals. Those stories by no means refer to people from Finland, who do not even call themselves Finns, but Suomalainen. They refer to the Norse race, to Vikings who were at home on land and on sea—even like seals. The seal, the sea-dog, the Finn: that was the Northman from over the sea. The male Finns are described as most daring boatmen, with powerful sweep of the oar. They pull across, in no time, between Shetland and Bergen, in Norway; and they chase foreign vessels at sea. At the same time they are held to be versed in magic spells, in soothsaying, and in the healing art. When on shore, they take off their wrappage—that is, their armour; and then they are and behave like real human beings. In a Shetlandic song, one of those Finns exclaims:—

I am a man upo' da land;  
I am a selkie i' da sea,  
An' whin I'm far fra every strand,  
My dwelling is in Shöol Skerry.

That is, Seal or Sea-dog Skerry. It is well known that the Vikings were fond of hiding in the skerries, or rocky islets, from whose bays and creeks (“viks”) they issued forth for their bold adventures. “Wick,” by the by, meant a bay also on the German Baltic coast, in Pomerania.

The very human character of the Finns appears in a Shetland charm-song against the toothache. It has both alliteration and the end-rime. It begins with the words:—

A Finn came ow'r fa Norraway  
Fir ta pit töth-ache away.

Perhaps, in this case, a medicine-man from the really Finnish race, as we call it now, may be meant. But the mass of the “sea-monsters” certainly meant the Scandinavian

Vikings. Among the older generation in Shetland, persons are still heard of, who boast of hailing from Finns, and they attribute to themselves a peculiar luckiness on account of that higher and nobler descent. Many Shetlanders were reported to have married Finn women who had been captured, when their "sealskin" was taken away from them. These women made good housewives, as the Norwegian and other Scandinavian ladies generally do. It was said that, without their sealskin, Finn women could not escape to their Northern home, for which they often had a longing. The "sealskin" means the boat by which they could have returned to Norway. But, like the Picts, or Pechts, these Finn people gradually became nearly a myth, or a supernatural kind of being.

In some parts of Shetland, the Finns were recently connected with Greenland. This notion may have arisen from the fact of Eskimo having occasionally been drifted with their canoes to the Northern Isles, when the "Finn" name would be applied to them. At the same time, it must not be forgotten that Norwegians, having first settled in Iceland, then went to Greenland, and from there discovered the American Continent. A "Finn" from Greenland could, therefore, again be a Northman.

Finn is an old Germanic name. In the pedigree of kingly families of the North it occurs between the names of Thor Frealaf, and Woden, or Oden (Odin); for Teuton and Scandinavian princes, even common free folk, once bore these divine names. The Finn or Fenian race, of which so much is heard in Scottish and Irish poems and legends, clearly came over from Norway, from "Lochlann," the land of lakes. They were probably an even earlier wave of conquerors, or lansquenets, than the historically well-known invasion of Norwegians and Danes who held sway in Ireland from the ninth to the twelfth century.

These Finns, or Fianna, of Ireland are described, in ancient Irish lays, as golden or yellow haired, blue-eyed, white-skinned, red or fresh-faced, broad-shouldered, tall, most martial, musical, and also rather given to carousing habits with their drinking-horns. They were eminently fighters, and fond of the sea. In short, they had all the characteristics of the Norse or Teutonic stock.

A number of distinguished Danish, German, Scotch and Irish scholars have no doubt about the Norse origin of the Fianna. Many names in the Ossianic and Fenian poems, like Oscar, Karul (Karl), Erik, Armin, Arno, Rothmar, and so forth, are clearly Germanic. Even if these names were later insertions, it stands to reason that Irish bards, writing in Keltic, would not—in addition to the historical Norwegian and Danish conquest of their country—have given to the still earlier Fianna rule all the characteristics of the Teutonic race unless there had been good grounds for doing so in popular tradition.

From Shetland I have had numerous communications on matters connected with the sea. One of my correspondents wrote :—“ ‘ The sea,’ said an old woman, who was regarded as a good authority in our occult lore, ‘ is the greatest witch in all the world.’ ” This is unquestionably a remnant of an early view about the procreative power of the sea, the aboriginal or regenerative fluid of the world. “ A vast number of our superstitious beliefs,” the same friend wrote, “ especially those that are, or rather were, connected with forecasts, luck, injuring neighbours by witchcraft, or spells to counteract such craft, have a direct connection with the sea—though sometimes also with fire.”

I need not say that Water and Fire—in the sense of warmth and light—are the two great agencies of life in this world. Therefore we find them as agencies in mythology and in the witchcraft arising therefrom.

Many remarkable contributions have reached me from Shetland about the sacredness of certain fishes, in whose very names a remembrance of Divine worship seems to linger ; for instance, the halibut or holy but. The unspeakable, unmentionable holiness of the sea, the religious awe in which it was held, is apparent from a curious habit prevailing in Shetland and among the seafaring class of Lowland Scots. This habit is, that, on board ship, other words must be used for many things—persons, animals, and occupations—than what is done on land. A periphrastic, hieratic language is adopted. To use the ordinary words brings ill-luck.

Thus the sea has to be called “ holy toyt.” A boat is spoken of as a “ fair”—a word clearly connected with “ ferry,”

the German *Fähre*, from “to fare,” in German “*fahren*.” Though the Shetlanders came from the Norse race, there is perhaps an admixture of what may be called a German-Gothic element among them; which probably accounts for the fact of many Shetland words having closer kinship with Gothic and later German than with Icelandic. The shipping and trade intercourse with Holland and Germany also partly accounts for it.

Instead of saying a “kirk” (church), the word “bell-house” has to be applied at sea. The minister is called “the man with the black quyte” (coat). To have a clergyman on board is altogether unlucky. A trace of this idea is also to be found in the *Nibelungen-Lied*. On the water, the Old Creed manifestly still rules. A cat is called on sea “footie,” or “snistal,” or “vanega.” The word “snistal,” I think, is traceable to an old English verb: to snie—to swim. Vanega seems to mean the one that goes on the water. Vana is a word for water, which we can trace in Aryan and even Ugrian speech from India to Germany, to Scandinavia, to Iceland, and to Shetland itself.

True, it may appear strange that an animal proverbially so shy of the water as the cat is, should nevertheless, by her sea-name, or in a mythological sense, be spoken of as a swimmer, a water-being, or one that walks on the sea. We can, however, account for it. First, the cat is the sacred animal of Freyja, a sea-god’s daughter, and herself a Water Goddess, who is called “Vana-dis” (that is, Water Goddess). Secondly, there is the great story in the *Edda* about the cat which the God of Thunder was asked to lift, in the dwelling of the Giant, Utgard-Loki. This enormous cat, which Thor could only lift a very little, was—as the Giant afterwards confirmed—“not what it seemed to be, but the Midgard Serpent which encircles all lands;” in other words, the Ocean.

The grey or foam-speckled German Ocean, which often, cat-like, puts up its back in tumultuous waves, was figuratively spoken of as a gigantic cat. So, from two parallel lines in mythology, from the cat of the Vana-dis Freyja, and from the monstrous animal in the castle of those Giants who represent the enormous, untameable forces of Nature, we can explain this Shetlandic name of “Vanega.”

Dr. Sullivan, the former President of Queen's College in Cork, traces the mythic meaning of the cats in all the Irish sea-legends to a northern growth, to Teutonic mythology, and more especially to Freyja's sacred animal. In Bavarian and Swabian folklore—he quite correctly adds—the Vana or Water Deities have sunk to “heathens” bewitched into cats. In those German tales, Freyja Vana-dis has become “Frau Wana;” and her spectral followers are called Katzen-Wanen, a kind of transmogrified, demonialised pussies.

In the early part of this century there was, among fisher-folk in Shetland, a most extraordinary bit of lingering belief in a great sea-monster inhabiting a far-away region. To the breathing of that colossal marine animal the tides were supposed to be due. That sea-serpent was said to take about six hours to draw in its breath, and six hours to let it out; which accounted for the rise and fall of the water. The friend who had heard that in his youth, when he was an unlettered fisher-boy, wrote to me:—“At that time I knew nothing of northern mythology, and know but little still. But after a peep into Mallet, etc., I was led to the conclusion that what I have referred to was simply some traditional idea of the Midgard Serpent which I had caught at the vanishing point.”

But there is something more wonderful still. We hear from Pytheas, the Greek mathematician, astronomer, and traveller, who lived in the time of Alexander the Great, of quite a similar idea as to the ebb and flow of the sea. Pytheas was the earliest known traveller to Britain. He made a voyage from Massilia (Marseilles) to the Channel, to the German Ocean, and the Baltic, up along the coast of Norway, and to islands in the North—to all evidence, Shetland and the Orkneys, perhaps also Iceland. He speaks, so far as we can gather from the fragments of his works, of the Ocean in the high North as a frozen sea, where the earth, the water, the air, and all things seem confused. He compares the whole mass of these elements to an enormous kind of sea lungs, through which, people said, an immense marine breath is drawn. Knowing better himself, he contests this theory, which seems to have become accepted even in Greece, and he explains ebb and high tide by the action of the moon.

Is it not extraordinary, however, that so strange a mythic idea as that about the immense sea-animal causing the tides,



should have been preserved in the North, from the days of Pytheas down to our time?

Thus we find in Teutonic mythology, as in the similar systems of other nations, a curious intermixture of lofty and beautiful, of terrible and grotesque, conceptions. It would be idle, no doubt, to look for great depth in all the shallows of these early attempts at fathoming the mystery of the Universe. But this much is clear, that if we are to wean men from crude, superstitious notions that haunt them, and yet to promote the enjoyment of fancies which serve as embellishing garlands for the stern realities of life, we cannot do better than spread a fuller scientific knowledge of that primitive circle of ideas in which those moved who moulded our very speech.

From an artistic point of view—as I have expressed it more fully before—the spread of such knowledge is also desirable. We feel delight in the conceptions of the Hellenic Olympos. We store in our museums the statues of Jupiter, Juno, Diana, and Venus. Painters, sculptors, and poets still go back to that old fountain of fancy. Why, then, should we not seek for similar delight in studying the figures of the Germanic Pantheon, and the rich folklore which has grown up around them? Why should that powerful Bible of the Norse religion, which contains such a wealth of striking and picturesque descriptions, not be as much perused as are the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, or the *Æneid*?

It is a subject as yet too much neglected by both poets and artists. Certainly, there are some powerful exceptions. A few Scandinavian sculptors have nobly and effectively represented the Gods of their forefathers. Wagner's "Ring of the Nibelungs," and William Morris's "Stories of Sigurd," and of the Niblungs and Völsungs, are also excellent cases in point. In the main, however, whilst the eternal classic figures, Madonnas, and threadbare subjects from Italy and Spain, never cease to be treated, the Germanic deities, in spite of the poetical halo which surrounds them, are generally left to wander about disembodied, waiting for the gifted hand that will mould them into form. Yet the artist who deals with this subject is assuredly not placed in a worse position than his Hellenic predecessors, who also had to make their selections from a number of floating mythological ideas, which

it was their merit to have wrought into a harmonious whole.

No doubt, there is some truth in Mannhardt's assertion, that the Teutonic divinities have not the perfect harmony and quiet plasticity of the Olympian ideals. Still, I should say that a closer inspection reveals the fact that this notion of quiet plasticity is rather founded on our thinking of the sculptures left to us from antiquity, than on the records of the life and doings of the dwellers in Olympos. On the other hand, can it be said that there is a lack of poetical conception in the figure of Wodan, the hoary ruler of the winds and clouds, who, clad in a flowing mantle, careers through the sky on a milk-white horse, from whose nostrils fire issues, and who is followed at night by a host of heroic warriors whom he leads into the golden, shield-adorned Walhalla?

Is there a want of artistic delineation in Freia, an Aphrodite and Hera combined, who changes darkness into light wherever she appears—the Goddess with the streaming golden locks and the siren voice, who hovers in her snow-white robe between heaven and earth, making flowers sprout along her path, and planting irresistible longings in the hearts of men? Do we not see in bold and well-marked outlines the figure of the red-bearded, steel-handed Thor, who thunders along the sky in his goat-drawn car, and who smites the Mountain Giants with his magic hammer? Are these dwellers in the Germanic Olympos mere spectres without distinct contour? And if their strength often verges upon wildness; if their charms are sometimes allied to cruel sorcery: are they not, even in their uncooth passions, the representatives of a race whose pulse throbbed with youthful freshness? Or need I allude to that fantastical throng of minor deities, of fairies, and wood-women, and elfin, and nixes, and cobolds, that have been evolved out of all the forces of Nature by the Teutonic mind, and before whose bustling crowd even Hellenic imagination pales?

Then, what a dramatic power the mythology of our forefathers has! The gods of classic antiquity have been compared—albeit, perhaps, with a degree of undue exaggeration—to so many statues ranged along a stately edifice; no idea of action, of tragic conflict, arising out of the whole. In the Germanic view of the Universe, on the other hand, all is action, struggle, dramatic contest—with a deep, dark back-

ground of inevitable Fate that controls alike Gods and men. The battle-spirit and the terrible earnestness of our forefathers reflect themselves in this creed. The religion which a race produces is generally an image of its character. "In his deities," Schiller says, "man portrays himself."

At the end of Time—the Norse race believed—Odin is to be devoured by the wolf, Fenrir; Thor to be destroyed by the Serpent's poison. The heavens and the earth stand in a lurid blaze; the abodes of Gods and heroes are doomed to destruction; and only after this terrible catastrophe shall have ended, will there be introduced a new and peaceful reign with eternal bliss. So, on the score of dramatic and pictorial interest, the creed of the Teutons has something to show.

In conclusion, I would say this in regard to Folklore, which often contains the residue of such early ideas. Anyone able to do so should try to collect, and carefully note down, whatever he or she may hear in the shape of tales and mythic notions from popular sources. Do not be afraid of what, at a first blush, may sometimes seem to be an undecipherable confusion of words and meanings. Often old rimes are still current in various versions, some of them quite corrupted, but the careful comparison of which has occasionally brought out the real sense, when it was found that these so-called nonsense verses were but sadly disfigured ruins of the once grand religious structure of our forebears.

On strange shores, in distant lands, a sea-shell is not seldom found overgrown with weeds, thick with slime, almost hidden in a tangled mass of things hanging about it. It is only when the dirt and dross are removed, that the noble shape, the beauty, the bright and dazzling colours of the shell strike the wondering eye. So it is frequently with stray bits of Folklore. I would therefore, urge all those who have an understanding for such matters, to devote close attention to these forlorn things, wherever they may find them. In this way we may all help, not only in pouring a flood of light on the dark world of superstition, and thus promoting human progress, but also in doing a service to science, and, last but not least, in rescuing from oblivion the fragments of what once was a powerful poetical creation—nay, even an early attempt at a philosophical speculation under the many-coloured garb of Nature-worship.

# THE VIKINGS IN LAKELAND :

THEIR PLACE-NAMES, REMAINS, HISTORY.

BY W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A.

## PLACE-NAMES :—

1. Corrections of the ' tests '—*ham, ton, by*.
2. Value of early forms and dialect pronunciation.
3. Names, Norse in meaning,
4. And in grammatical form,
5. Show that the settlement must be dated earlier than hitherto supposed,
6. And prove the immigrants Irish-Norse.

## REMAINS .—

7. Antiquarian evidence : dialect, customs, arts.
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9. Of the Thingmount and Tynwalds.

## HISTORY :—

10. The Danes in Deira and Cumbria.
11. The Norse in Lancashire and Cheshire.
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14. The colonists at the Commendation.
15. Invasions by Saxons.
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## THE VIKINGS IN LAKELAND.

It has long been held that the ancestors of the English in our north-western counties, and more especially in the Lake district, were Vikings, of Norse rather than Danish origin. This, though formerly denied, is now generally conceded to local antiquaries ; whose diligence in collecting evidence from dialects, survivals and remains has greatly strengthened the theory, since it was first stated in a somewhat tentative form by Mr. Robert Ferguson, M.P., F.S.A., forty years ago.

It is the object of this paper to offer, in brief notes, some additional suggestions from place-names, archæology, and history ; fixing the origin and date of the settlement, and the extent and fortunes of the colony.

## PLACE-NAMES :

- 1.—In drawing the ethnographical map, it has been usually

assumed that names in *ham* are Saxon, in *ton* Anglian, and in *by* Danish. This is true when we find considerable groups, but it does not hold for isolated instances. There are many names ending with *ham* in Anglian districts; some in ancient Norway are practically parallel, for Thrándheimr, Unarheimr, Stafheimr, and Sœheimr\* would become Thrandham, etc., in English; and Medalheimr,† in Iceland, is simply Middleham. Consequently an occasional Dearham or Brigham, Spunham or Waitham, do not prove the presence of Saxons in Cumberland and the Lake districts.

*Ton*, again, though not common as a place-name ending in Scandinavia, is found in Túnsberg and Sig-túnir: and *tún* in old Norse means just what it means in Lake district names: not 'town,' but the ground on which a group of farmbuildings stands. Where we get *-ington* we may assume an Anglian family settlement; and where (as in Low Furness) there is a group of *-tons* near *-ington* or *-ingham*, we have the tokens of Anglian population. But a casual *-ton* in a Norse context—like Kettleton in Galloway, Colton and Ulverston in Furness, etc.—may be regarded as a Norse settlement.

*By* is also common enough in Norway and Iceland (in the form of *bær*) to be no proof of exclusively Danish settlement. Where we find a distinct group of *bys*, there we may assume Danish origin, but an odd Sowerby or Kirkby does not imply a Danish colony.

Local antiquarianism has to eliminate names that are not coeval with the original settlements. Some of these are modern, like Maryport; while some, like Parsonby and Oughterside, are very old, but not primitive Danish, Anglian or Norse foundations.

2.—It is important, also, not to despise the help of ancient forms and local pronunciation. Neither source of information is infallible; for if the mediæval sometimes misspelt a name that seemed to him uncouth, the modern native sometimes mispronounces a name of which he has forgotten the origin. The place now called LANGANBY, and written Langwathby, was in mediæval times written Lang-Waltheof's-by. Country folk say Bow-ness (*Bow* to rhyme with *now*),

\* Heimskringla, Harald, 40.

† Heidarviga Saga.

and TORPENNA, for the mediæval Bulness (*Ból-nes*) and Thorpen-how (*Thórfins-haugr*). But taking both the rustic pronunciation and the various thirteenth and twelfth century forms, when they are available, and correcting one by the other, we find in nearly every case that Lakeland names are practically identical with Icelandic names, or very closely analogous.

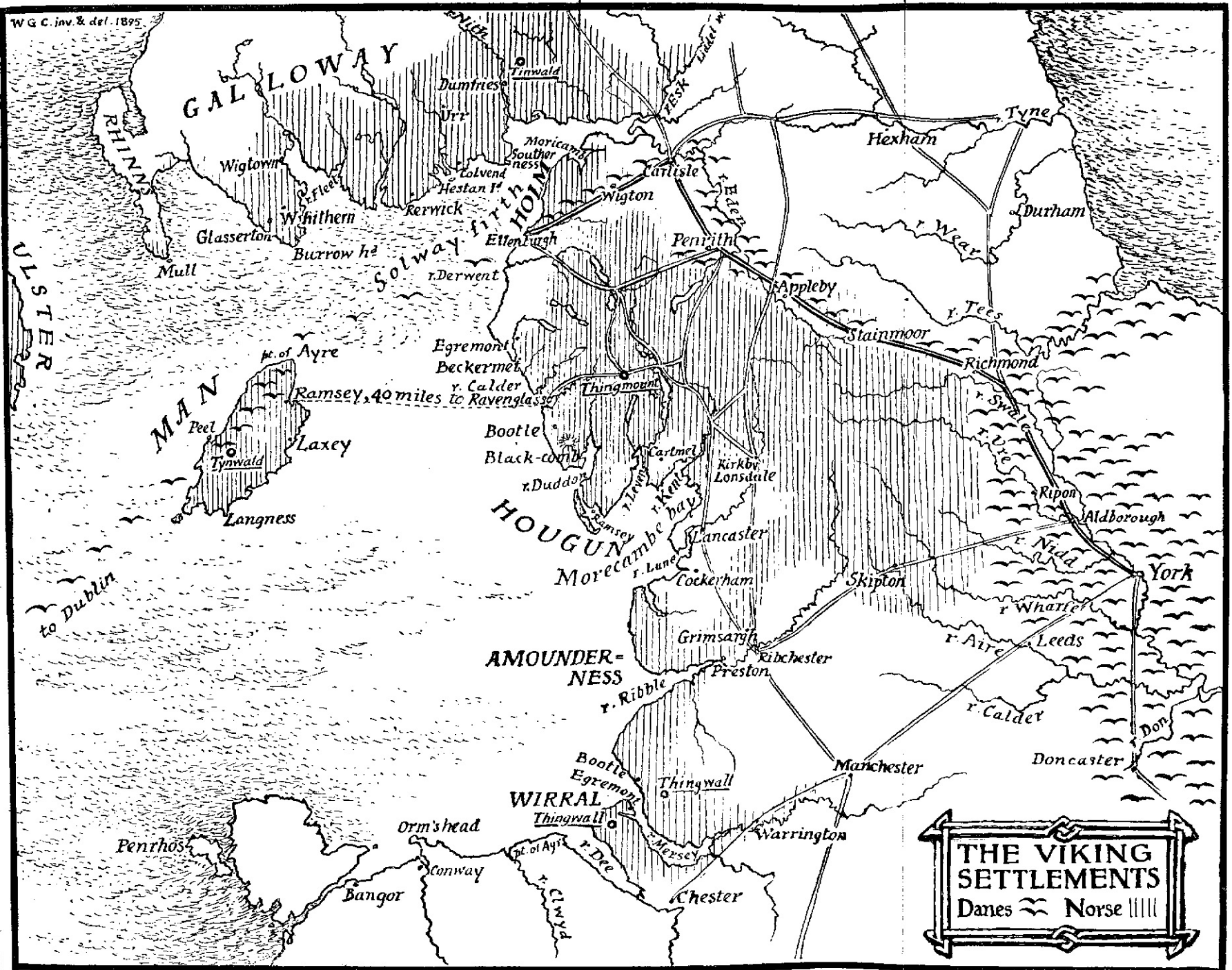
3.—Every tourist to the lakes knows, as “Norse test-names,” *beck* and *bowse*, *fell* and *force*, *guard* and *gill*, *hause* and *holm*, *lathe* and *lund*, *nab* and *ness*, *raise* and *rake*, *scale* and *scree*, *tarn* and *thwaite*. But it is not perhaps so commonly known how neatly and completely the old form of our country names can be transliterated into Norse; how often the translation explains what are otherwise meaningless appellations.

What, for instance, does Blawith mean? or Claife, or Gascow, or Greenodd? Ickenthwaite, Greta, Latterbarrow, Satterthwaite, or Sunbrick? These have no meaning in English nor even in dialect; but when with the help of early mediæval forms we write them as old Norse, they become not only sense, but thoroughly good sense—appropriate descriptions of the places:—*Blá-vidr*, *Kleif*, *Gard-skógr*, *Græn-oddr*, *Grjót-á*, *Ikorna-thveit*, *Látva-bjarg*, *Sætva-thveit*, *Svina-brekka*.

4.—Not only the meaning, but also the grammar of the old Norse is preserved in these place-names. For example, Osmotherley used to be written Asmunderlawe, for *Asmundar-ljá*; Arnside (mediæval Arne-side) represents *Arna-sida*; but Rampside (Rammes-heved) correctly represents *Hvamns-höfði*. The early form of Broughton is Borch, for *Borg*; but we find the genitive case preserved in Borrowdale, mediæval Borcheredale, for *Borgar-dalr*—a name given to two valleys from the Roman forts in them.

There are, of course, a number of difficult and puzzling examples; but the percentage of such is trifling. In an area which can be mapped with precision we may say that the names as a whole are Norse, indicating Norse settlement and continuous habitation. This is no new theorem, and it has long been taken as proved. I think we may venture to add two corollaries as to the date of the settlement, and the origin of the settlers.

5.—The Lakeland word for “brook” is always “beck,”



**THE VIKING SETTLEMENTS**  
 Danes ~~~~~ Norse |||||

never “burn,” as in Anglian districts ; rarely “leck ” for the *lækr* of tenth century Icelandic place-names. This seems to show that our settlers belonged to an earlier generation than those who fixed the names of Iceland, for they used the old word *bekkr*, which dropped out of currency after the ninth century.\* In other words, they were men whose fathers had left Norway with Thorgisl and Olaf the White, not Norwegians of Hakon the Good’s time or later, in touch with the general progress and development of the North.

Our dialect, though not our place-names, gives also “brant ” for *brattr* ; on the other hand old place-names have “breck ” and “brick ” for *brekka* (not “brink ”), and “back ” seems to stand for *bakka*, instead of “bank,” e.g., Sunbrick and Backbarrow. Whether it is possible that Thorgisl’s companions said *brattr*, or whether our word regained its *n* under English influence, which certainly modified the settlers’ Norse into the Dalesmen’s dialect—this must be left for the judgment of scholars.

6.—We also learn from the place-names that our Vikings, like the Icelanders, but more distinctly than they, were Irish-Norse. There are several Gaelic words so firmly rooted in compounds or contexts of Norse form, that they must be regarded as loan-words from the Gaels, with whom these ‘Galls’ combined to form the tribe of Gallgaels. These words are chiefly names of things which must have been unfamiliar to the Norse on their first arrival in these islands : as *boiveand*, ‘ruins’ (appearing as *borran*, burn, barn), applied to Roman remains (Borrans ring, the Ambleside camp) or British cairns (Barnscar, Burn-moor, etc.) ; *bothar* (*boher*, in Manx *bayr*), ‘road,’ in Bare, Barbon (Domesday, Berebrune) : or hardened (as in Leinster, to *batter* and *botter*) in Butterilket, Butterliphowe, etc. ; *kil*, ‘chapel’ in Killerwick (Kilverdiswic, *temp.* Richard I, and Chil-uestre-uic, Domesday) ; *korke*, ‘oats,’ in Corby (Korkeby) ; *peel*, ‘fort,’ and *parak*, ‘a fenced field other than a *tún*,’ and other such words in common use, show a strong Gaelic infusion in the Lakeland Vikings.

\* Preserved however in Icelandic poetry, Mr. Magnússon says, down to the seventeenth century ; adding, “ A settler from Halogaland in Norway, Olaf, son of Karl in Biarkey (Birchisle), set up a home in Iceland which he called *Kvia-bekkr* (sheep pen-beck.”



## REMAINS.

In drawing our map, we are not left entirely to the guidance of the place-names. We have some help also from antiquarian and archæological evidence.

7.—The dialect, as many antiquaries have shown, is full of Norse words. Customs, such as the arvel feast, and arvel-bread; the Shepherds' Parliament at the Steading Stone on Thirlmere; the use and name of the 'lug-mark' for sheep, and many similar farming traditions; the folk-lore of the Rowan-tree, etc., may be passed lightly over, as this part of the subject has been treated by others, especially by the Rev. T. Ellwood, of Torver, in various papers. The arts of the Vikings seem to have survived in wood-carving, in which



NORSE SURVIVAL IN FURNESS.

(KIST-PANEL, CUNSEY, 1692.)

(Height, 10 inches; breadth, 7 inches).

Norse "worm-twist" panels are frequent, and the knitting-sheaths described by Chancellor Ferguson\* as closely

\* Trans. Cumb. and West. Ant. and Arch. Soc. for 1882.

resembling traditional (Norse) types in the Orkneys and Shetlands. The twisted ironwork of the country smiths differs hardly at all from finds of the Viking age.

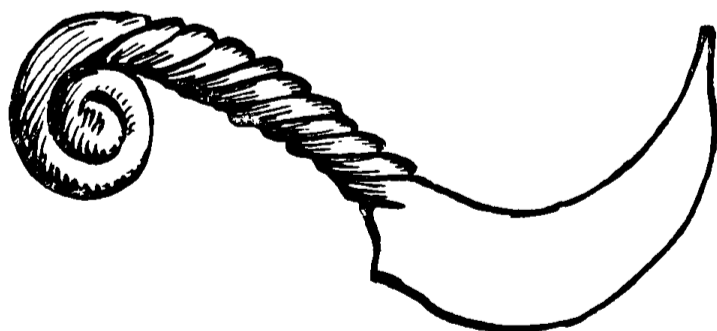
The Norse wooden house has naturally disappeared, and on its site subsequent generations have built their own



WESTMORLAND RUSHLIGHT-HOLDER (length, 4 inches).

homestead. But in this it is perhaps not merely fanciful to trace survivals of characteristic features. The old north-country farm-buildings grouped round a courtyard; the 'fire-house,' as the Dalesmen call it, translating *eldhús*, with stone hearth and peat fire, and mutton hanging from the beams to smoke for winter; the long table and bench against the wall; the porch with its high threshold and oaken door studded with 'dead nails'; the outside stair and pent-house or gallery, and loft bedrooms, with little unglazed windows under the eaves—all these recall the descriptions of the Sagas, though not in themselves a convincing kind of evidence.

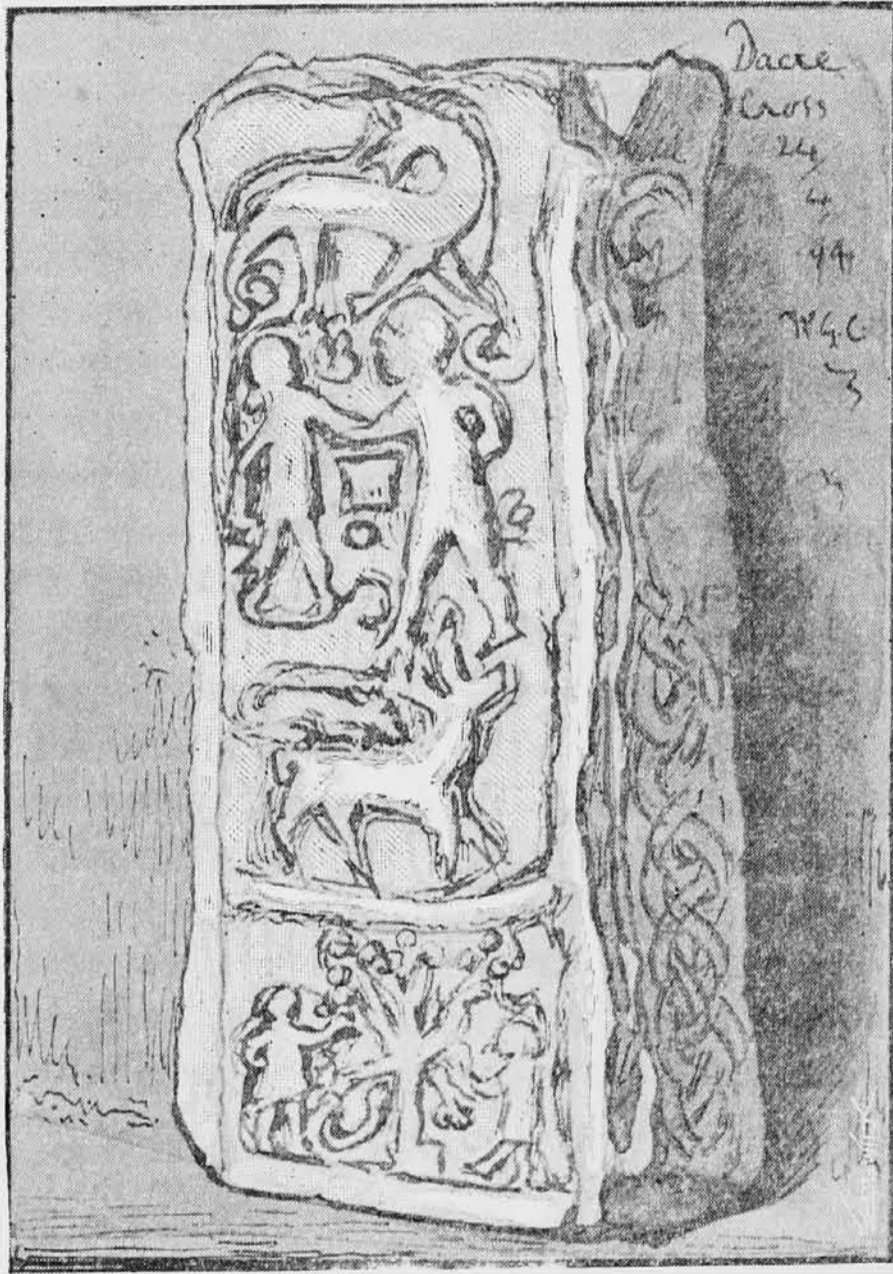
8.—Of archæological remains, there are at present fewer than in other Viking homes. It seems likely that the settlers were Christianized before they had greatly multiplied, and that once Christianized, the burial-hoard went out of fashion. There are, however, many tumuli yet unexamined, like the



VIKING KNIFE (length, 4 inches).

Ellabarrow at Pennington, where, tradition says, Lord Ella lies with his golden sword. In 1789 a tumulus was opened at Aspatria, and a kist of sculptured stones was found. The carving on the stones was referred by Mr. James Fergusson

(in "Rude Stone Monuments") to the Viking age. Chancellor Fergusson (Trans. C. and W. Ant. and Arch. Soc., xiii., p. 397) thinks that the sword and dagger, gold fibula and other fragments found with the gigantic skeleton "probably mark the interment as a result of the settlement of Cumberland by the Northmen."



DACRE STONE.

(ANGLIAN. TENTH CENTURY?)

(Height, 38 inches; breadth at foot, 14 inches).

This, however, is in a district which I should incline to map as Anglian or Danish. The crosses, of which so many fragments have been recovered by the Rev. W. S. Calverley, F.S.A., member of this Club, are in Anglian neighbourhoods, and, so far as they can be dated, seem rather to be Anglian than Norse.

In a distinctly Norse district, at the foot of Esthwaite water, were found a number of felt hoods, buried in peat-moss. One of these is in the possession of Mr. H. Swainson Cowper, F.S.A., and resembles, in all but the fringe, the

well-known Orkney Viking hood figured in Anderson's "Scotland in Pagan Times." ("Iron Age," p. 103.)

9.—Some have seen in the so-called 'Druid circles' the doom-rings of the Northmen; but, so far as they have been explored, they have yielded only British remains. The place-names near them do not point to their use by the Vikings: 'lund' and 'legbarrow,' and '-ergh' are not found in the immediate neighbourhood of circles; although this negative evidence from place-names is not in itself conclusive: for, curiously enough, there is no tradition attaching to the most remarkable monument of the Viking age which Lakeland possesses—a monument which was unknown to antiquaries until it was made the subject of a paper, quite recently, by Mr. H. S. Cowper,\* whose attention had been called to it by a hint of the late Dr. A. Craig Gibson, of Coniston.

This is a terraced mound, like the Manx Tynwald and the Thingmote formerly existing at Dublin. It stands in a central position, at the junction of three Roman roads, and a fourth probable route, making it accessible from all parts of the district; and it is surrounded by the proper complement of flat fields, with a convenient site for the "hof"—as complete as the most rigorous of law speakers would demand. This thingmound in Little Langdale may be regarded as the Lakeland Tynwald. The northern colony has left the name Tinwald in Dumfriesshire, and the southern has left two Thingwalls by the Mersey. Of minor lögbergs and lunds and hörgrs there are so many that it might almost be possible to reconstruct the map of Norse Lakeland with all its divisions and godords complete. It will be enough to shade it broadly to represent the settlements of different races; and in the light of this consensus of testimony we can hardly doubt the fact of Norse occupation. We only have to ask from history the explanation of our ethnological chart.

#### HISTORY.

10.—At the end of the 8th century the Anglian power had passed its meridian. Danish pirates had begun to attack it in the rear, calling it back from its work of colonization along the Roman roads of Cumberland and Lancashire, to defend its old home in Northumbria. The Danes came in at Humber and Tees and spread up to York, making all the

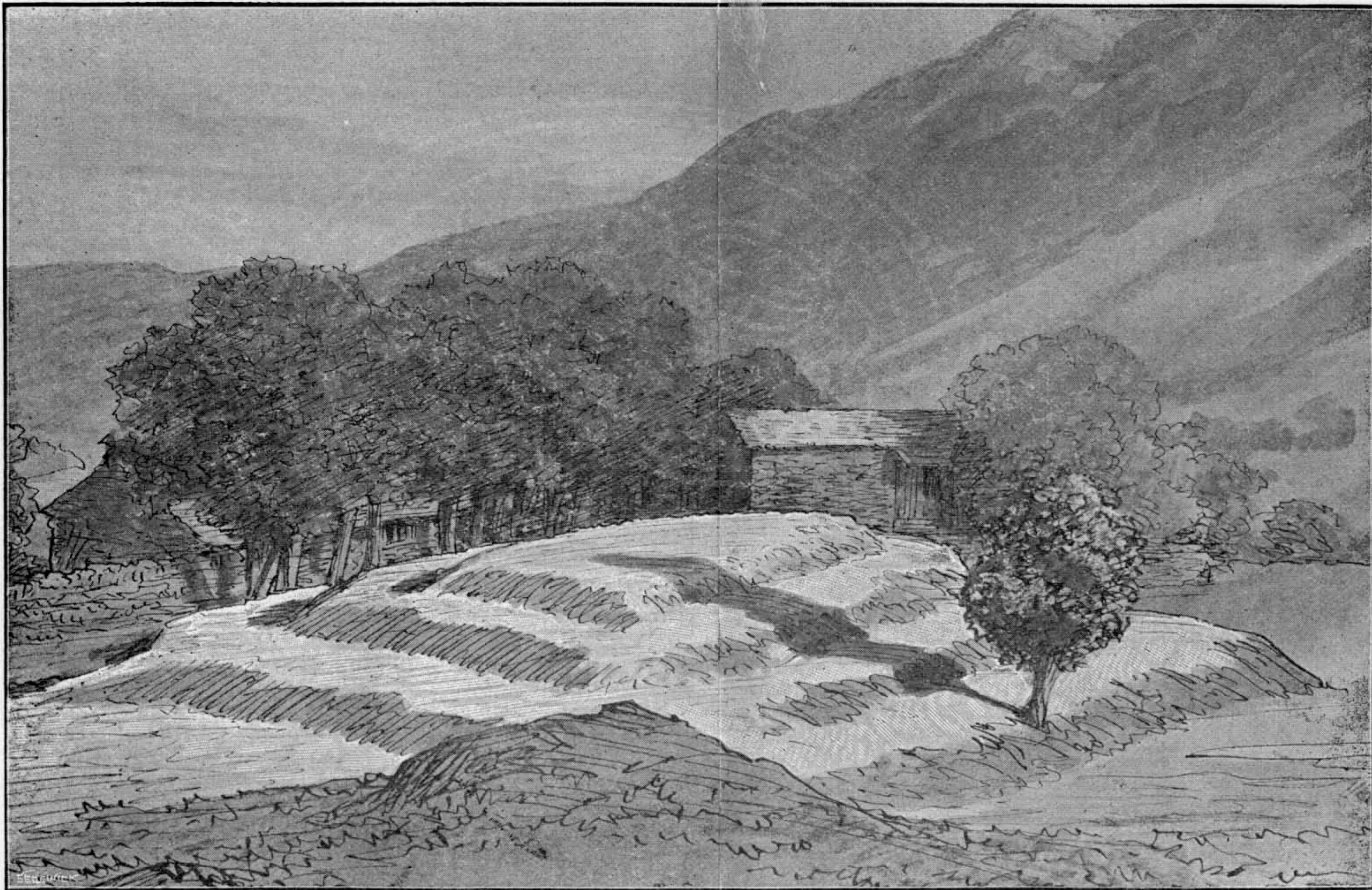
\* Trans. Cumb. and West. Ant. and Arch. Soc. for 1890.

East Riding Danish land. Taking York in 867 (Symeon of Durham, "Hist. Reg."), they went along the road to Carlisle, leaving settlements marked with the ending *by* in a close group to Appleby and Kirkby Thore and Sowerby; and then, for reasons which we can only guess, avoiding the direct high road to Carlisle, but following the river Eden, they reached Carlisle 876, destroyed it utterly, but settled in its neighbourhood. Thence they spread along the great road to Maryport. The use of these groups of settlements becomes clear when we see how valuable that line of country was for strategical purposes.

About 894 Sitric the Elder,\* having established himself on his father's throne at Dublin, attacked Northumbria, to recover his rights in York, where his father Ivar had been king. His son Guthferth held both towns, and died at York in 896.† Thenceforward, until the middle of the tenth century, the Danes were constantly travelling between their two capitals. Their most direct route would have been by Chester and Manchester, but this would have led them into hostile Mercia, and every journey would have been a battle. To have gone by Preston and the Ribble to Aldborough would have been possible, but, as we shall see, there was probably by this time (the beginning of the 10th century) a hostile Norse colony in that neighbourhood. Their best road was, therefore, by Man to Ellenborough (Maryport), the old Roman harbour, and through Cumbria over Stainmoor. That this was a common route we learn from several hints, such as the death of Eric, met and killed on Stainmoor in an attempt to recover York (Wendover, 950).

Having secured this line they seem to have taken no interest in the surrounding districts. Some "bys" indicate that they occasionally used the alternative road via Keswick and Penrith, but speaking in general terms we may say that the Danes avoided the hill country of the Lakes, Westmorland and Craven, just as the Anglians had heretofore avoided it. And until the Norse came and settled it, the only inhabitants must have been wild Welsh, the survivors of the old kingdoms of Cumbria, Westmaria, and in the south of Craven, Elmet. And though there is mention—perhaps apocryphal‡—of a

\* 894, Ethelwerd; see also 893, "Ulst. Ann." † 896, Ethelwerd; 894, Symeon.  
‡ In the story of Eadgar's boat crew on the Dee. It seems apocryphal because other names in the context are apparently anachronisms and forgeries.



THINGMOUNT AT FELLFOOT, LITTLE LANGDALE.

king of Westmorland in the latter half of the tenth century, these Welsh, cut off from the great centres of their race in Strathclyde and Wales, can have been no more than a decaying remnant of helpless hill-folk.

11.—Meanwhile, as everyone knows, other Vikings, Norsemen, had settled on the shores of the Irish Sea from the middle of the ninth century onwards. Under Olaf the White (852—870)\* the Norse (Lochlann, Finnghoill) held Dublin; but after his death, for a short time, Ivar the Dane, and then again after the rule of Cearbhall, Sitric Ivarson in 885, with their Dubhghoill, or “New Danes,” as they were sometimes called, dominated the Dublin Norse.

Some of these Norse (Lochlann), weakened by the famine of 895,† emigrated to Iceland. The remnant were expelled in 897 by Cearbhall of Leinster. They crossed the sea under Hingamund (Agmund), and after some years of fighting in Wales, they begged Æthelflæd, lady of the Mercians, for a home to settle quietly, “for they were weary of war.” So in 900 she settled them on lands said to be “near Chester,” where Hasting had just been ravaging.

This, I think, dates the Norse colony shown by place-names, and by landowners' names in Domesday, nearly 200 years afterwards, in the neighbourhood of the Mersey. It is possible that they extended northward along the Lancashire coast and that Amounderness (Agemundrenesse of Domesday) got its name from Agmund their leader. The account of lands given in 705 to Ripon at “Hasmundernesse” may use the name retrospectively, for it is a Scandinavian word with the regular Norse genitive inflexion. But in any case there is no indication that these settlers colonised Lakeland. They had two thingwalls near the Mersey. They joined the revolt of 911 (A. S. Chron.), and submitted with the rest of the south-west to Eadward in 922—“All the people of the land of Mercia who before were subject to Æthelflæd submitted to him, and the kings of the north Welsh . . . and all the people who were settled in Mercia, as well Danish as English, submitted to him” (A. S. Chron.). But the incident shows how colonization was proceeding on this coast.

\* *i.e.*, he appears first in 852, and disappears after 870, in the “Ulster Annals.”

† Caused by “locusts,” or some vermin “which fell from heaven.” (Welsh and Irish annals quoted in Haliday’s “Scandinavian Dublin,” p. 49).

12.—We look more naturally to the Isle of Man for the source of our Lakeland immigrants, as Mr. Robert Ferguson has suggested.\* He, however, dates their arrival 945—1000; I think the reasons already given oblige us to set the clock back. We have to find the occasion when Irish Norse of the earlier swarm, akin to the Dublin and Manx Vikings of Olaf the White, settled in Cumberland and Westmorland.

Before the Viking age, the Isle of Man was subject to Ulster. In 852 it was harried by the Norse of Olaf the White, and thereafter, until 913, it seems to have been in the hands of the Finnghoil—*i.e.*, of the Dublin Norse, and then the Ulster Norse under Baridh (Bardi) and his sons. Baridh, a Lochlann, married an Irish princess in 873,† and was killed in 878‡; his son, named after her father Uathmharan (which may perhaps be rendered by Ottar, Othere, as Cearbhall=Kiarval, and Muirgheal=Myrgiol), seems to have been the father of another§ Baridh who was killed off Man in 913 by Ragnald O'Ivar the Dane.|| Some few remnants of his people may have gone to Cumberland; but as his army was almost entirely destroyed, this does not account for the main settlement. We learn, however, that Man had long been and was still Irish Norse, though there had been a moment when the Viking colony intentionally and effectively emigrated *en masse*, in the same manner and almost at the same time as the people of Agmund.

13.—Heimskringla (Harald, xxii.) says:—"Harald the King speered to wit how Vikings harried the mainland—they who a-winter were beyond the western sea. . . Then was it on a summer that Harald the King sailed with his host west over sea. He came first by Shetland and slew there all Vikings then who fled not from under him. Thence sailed Harald the King south to the Orkneys and cleared them all of Vikings. After that fared he all in the South Isles and harried there; he slew there many Vikings who ruled over hosts erewhile. He fought there many battles, and had always victory. Then harried he in Scotland, and battles there he

\* "The Northmen in Cumberland and Westmorland," p. 11.

† See Haliday's "Scandinavian Dublin," p. 85.

‡ 880, Barreth, the great tyrant of the north, killed ("Ulster Ann.," Johnstone); 878, Barred, a fierce champion of the Northmen, killed ("Ann. Four Masters").

§ This is Haliday's suggestion, p. 85. The younger Baridh could hardly have been more than 20 at his death.

|| "Ulster Annals" (Johnstone).



fought. But when he came west to Man, there had they already speered what harrying he had garred before there in the land. Then fled all folk into Scotland, and the island was unpeopled of men : all goods that might be were shifted and flitted away. So when Harald's folk went a-land there took they no booty."

The latest date for this attack on Man is 895.\* We see how King Harald was sweeping the seas from the north-west and north, driving all before him. No fugitives could escape in the direction of Galloway ; east and south they could sail and be safe. Snorri Sturluson, writing 300 years later, still uses the old Norwegian phrase " west to Man ; " and he still uses the old political geography, I think, in calling the coast of Cumberland and North Lancashire by the name of Scotland. This was once strictly correct. Cumberland was Scotland until William Rufus expelled Dolfin from Carlisle. The shore of Morecambe Bay was, in 895 and thereabouts, no-man's land—beyond the bounds of Mercia, neglected by Danish Deira, and held only by a few surviving Anglians and Welsh.

I take it, therefore, that Snorri's account is meant to imply that the Ulster Norse in Man crossed, bag and baggage, to the Cumberland coast, and settled up the firths to begin with, and among the fells as time went on. They could have found no better refuge, whether they wanted it as a hiding-place or as a home. They must have known the seaboard at least ; it is visible from Man, and it is possible that already some of their number had settled there. Through the channels of Solway and Morecambe Sands, Harald's great ships could not follow them, and he turned back foiled of his vengeance. After Man, we read no more of his victories. But here we have the cause and circumstances of our colony.

14.—We are not left without further indications of the presence of the Irish Norse in this district early in the tenth century ; about a generation after the flight from Man. In 924 all the north submitted—as all the west had submitted two years before—to Eadward. " Then chose him to father and to lord the Scots' king and all the Scots people, and Regnald, and Eadulf's son, and all those who dwell in Northumbria as well English as Danes, *and Northmen and others*, and eke the

\* This is the old chronology of Johnstone. Munch put it c. 870, and Hildebrand c. 885. Mr. Magnússon informs me he considers the latest date possible.

Strathclyde Welshmen's king, and all the Strathclyde Welsh" (A. S. Chron., 924 ; Florence of Worcester, 921).

The chronicler seems to be anxious to enumerate all the parties to the treaty, as in the case of the previous commendation of the west. He begins in the north-east with Constantine and his Scots, coming down the east coast to Ragnald O'Ivar, "dux Galwalensium,"\* and his Galloway Vikings, then harrying in Northumbria ; next naming the Bamborough Anglians, next the Danes in Deira under Sitric. Then crossing the country he notices "Northmen and others," Gallgael, Irish Norse, on the west coast, and completes the circle with Strathclyde.

These "Northmen and others," cannot be the Orkney and South Island Vikings, who were quite out of the range of Saxon politics. Agmund and his people had been pacified two years before ; Ragnald and his Galloway men are separately mentioned. No other Northmen existed in the sphere included in this treaty, unless they were the Lakeland settlers, whose colony was now a generation old, and already beginning to grow into an important factor in the politics of the day.

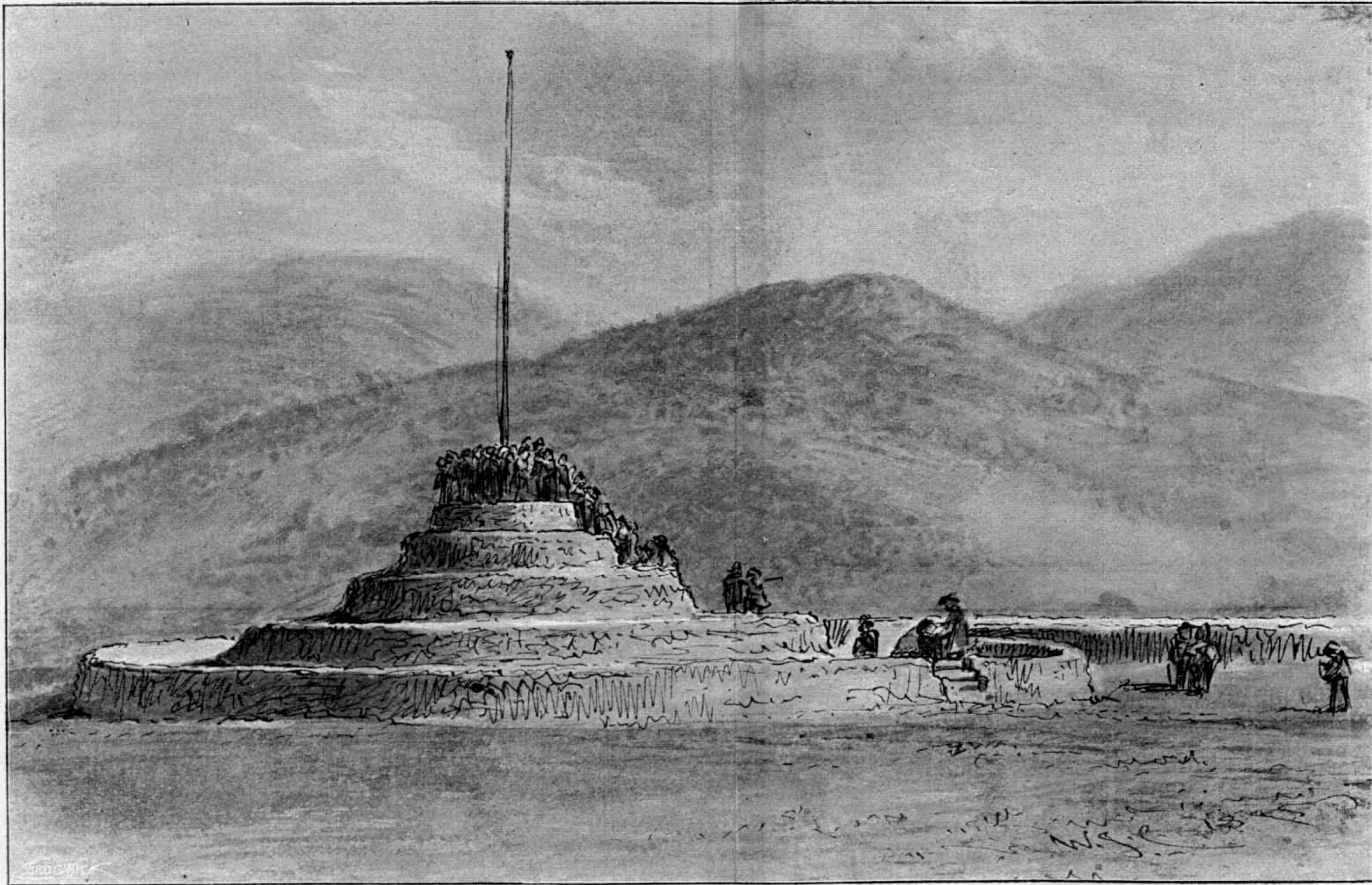
Understanding this, we get the key to several events which followed, otherwise very insufficiently explained.

15.—Twenty years later, 945, Eadmund ravaged Strathclyde and Cumberland—not to possess himself of the country, which he handed over to the Scottish King Malcolm, but in pursuance of his policy to keep down the Vikings. If our Norse colony were then growing and extending inland, as we see from the place-names it did, we get a reason for Eadmund's presence in the middle of the Cumberland fells ; a much stronger reason than can be supplied by any quarrel with the feeble Celts of the old race.

Twenty years later, 966, Thored ravaged Westmorland. It is Mr. Freeman's view that he did so as Eadgar's lieutenant, under English orders,† but the Welsh of Westmorland were then of the least dangerous kind—a handful of miserable natives who lurked in the crannies of the hills ; their king, Juchill or Inkill, is only named in the half-mythical account of Eadgar's boat crew on the Dee ; they were the Celtic fringe,

\* See Skene, "Celt. Scot.," i., p. 373, and Agnew, "Hereditary Sheriffs of Galloway," i., p. 31.

† "Norman Conquest," i., p. 65.



THE MANX TYNWALD.

fast wearing away, of the diminishing kingdom of Cumbria. On the other hand, the place-names show that all their land was being taken up by the Norse, who during the last half-century must have been spreading into the dales, and adding thwaite to thwaite, up the Kent and Lune, and down the Swale and Wharfe ; filling the heart of the country with a vigorous and dangerous race ; and seeming, to the ministers of the Saxon kings, a standing menace to the peace of England.

Henry of Huntingdon tells us of Æthelred's invasion, in 1000, of Cumberland, " which was at that time the stronghold of the Danes ; and he vanquished them in a great battle, and laid waste and pillaged almost all Cumberland." Whether Henry uses the word " Danes " in the usual loose way, or whether he means especially the Danish " bys " of Edenside and North Cumberland, he tells us plainly enough the secret of Saxon policy with regard to this borderland.

16.—Punitive expeditions, however, do not result in extermination. In spite of repeated attacks, we have the strongest evidence that the Norse colony survived : not only in the place-names, but in the distinctly Norse or Gallgael landholders who are recorded in Domesday Book.

In the Lancashire colony, where Agmund's Viking settlements were nearly two centuries old, and only fringed a thickly inhabited Anglian district, which might easily have absorbed them, we find Osmund (Asmund) in Warrington, Gamel in Salford, Chetel (Ketil) in Halsall, Steinulf in Holland, Bernulf (Biörnúlfr) and Stainulf in Toxteth (Stock-stead)—and Dot, which must be the French scribe's phonetic attempt at Thord, in Huyton.

In South Lancashire, as was natural, the fusion of Norse and English had begun. In North Lancashire and in the area of our central colony, so far as it comes into the survey, with the exception of Earl Tosti, all the old landholders are Norse or Gallgael. In Hougun (the district round about Furness) there are Ernulf (Örnulfr), Turulf (Thorolfr), and two Galigael, Gilemichel and Duvan (like Dufan in Landnámabók, the Gaelic Dubhan). In Lonsdale are Torfin (Thorfinnr) and Chetel (Ketil). In Craven, two Ulfs, Orm, Cliber (Klyppr, whose namesake Klyppr Ketilsson is mentioned in *Islendinga Saga*), Machel (Maelchael, a

Gaelic name grotesquely Latinized into 'malus catulus'), Ghilemichel, Fech (Ofeigr), Burun (Björn), Archil (Arnkell), Carl, and one great holder Torfin, Dolfin's son, Gospatric's son, Arkyl's son. This last was expelled to make way for a Norman; but most of the others were undisturbed. We gather this from the frequency of Norse names in the charters of the next century: such as Arnketil, Asketil, Dolfin, Frostolf, Gamel, Hamund, Havard, Ketel, Malchael, Lyulf (not 'Le Ulf,' which is an invention of antiquaries, but Ljótulfr), Orm, Ranulf, Ravenkell, Siward (Sigurd), Swein, Thorphin and Whelp. Here, I think, we get the explanation of those holdings of the north country 'statesmen' traditionally dated from before the Conquest, and enjoyed on a tenure which puzzled the lawyers, and forced them to invent "border service,"\* as an excuse for the allodial independence of the Dalesmen.

And so we trace the Northmen in Lakeland, and round about, for three hundred years from their arrival. That they have left no account of themselves in Sagas is not to be wondered at—no more did the Irish and Galloway Vikings; for the Saga was the late growth of Icelandic culture. That they were not more explicitly described by English chroniclers is no marvel, for the ground they occupied was not then English soil. Gradually, during the middle ages, they forgot their alien and heathen origin, of which, like the Normans, they were careless or ashamed, in the presence of the older civilisation into which they became incorporated.

\* Mr. G. Gatey, "How Customary Tenure was established in Westmorland" (Trans. Cumb. and West. Assoc., No. XI. pp. 1-11.)

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NOTE.—In the Map of Viking Settlements the roads roughly represent the direction of the old Roman roads, still in use in the ninth and tenth centuries. The Danes' route is marked with thicker lines.

The Manx Tynwald is circular. Its dimensions are 256 feet round at the base; 12 feet in total height; the steps each about 3 feet high; the lowest 8 feet broad, the next 6 feet, the third 4 feet, and the summit 6 feet across.

The Fellfoot Thingmount (seen in the sketch from the north-west) is oblong. Its summit is about 70 by 20 feet; each step is about 3 feet high and 14 feet broad. Total height on south and east sides about 12 feet.

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## A RAMBLE IN ICELAND.

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A SERIES of delightful journeys which it had been my pleasant experience to make with some old and valued friends, for many consecutive years, to various parts of the Old and New World, led to the events related in the following account.

A friendship of now nearly fifty years, from its initiation at Alma Mater, was no slight bond in uniting tastes, interests, pursuits, and higher feelings than those resulting from any ordinary matters of interest. My friends had not then travelled much, and as Europe was well known to me, I was able, when certain localities were reached, to plan excursions, and to seize opportunities which a favourable moment, or our presence in this or that vicinity, permitted. Our journeys had an appetizing effect, and instead of satisfying produced a desire for longer wanderings, and a more extended insight into the wonders and beauties of nature. With sufficient difference of pursuit to avoid sameness, there were many points in common in our tastes, so that we easily adapted ourselves to each other's plans. To me this had a doubly agreeable effect, as for many years it enabled me to re-inspect places and matters of interest with which previous acquaintance had left a desire for further knowledge, and as my earlier visits had been often made alone, the addition of agreeable companions, and the pleasure of being able to act cicerone, now made the whole more enjoyable.

But I was startled out of all this self-complacency one day by a proposition to visit a place I had never had within the range of my even intended expeditions. My old Cambridge friend was a professor of geology, and the wider the field of his research became, the wider he wanted to extend it. So a journey to the North Cape was determined on. As our other companion was his wife, whose health was much

benefited by sea-voyages, it became a custom with us, when the usual tourists' routes and the objects of more general interest had been visited, either to part and meet again at Christmas in each other's homes to recall our adventures ; or make arrangements to meet later on in the year at some well-known place, and again take up our journey, after I had done some rough by-ways a little too much for the lady's strength ; or sometimes, where there was a risk, taking it myself without allowing either of my friends to share the danger.

For example, on one occasion we had another geological professor with us, and a rather warm dispute arose between the two as to whether serpentine was to be found on the Matterhorn. It seemed likely to end as it had begun, in mere words. So I started off before daylight and made a partial ascent alone. I felt sure that no specimen would be found on the route of ascent tourists' usually took, or serpentine would have been, ere that a known fact whereas the supposition of its existence was only arrived at from certain suggestive features. I had climbed till midday, when, weary and hungry, I sat down to dispatch a meal of biscuits, the only refreshment I had taken with me.

The intense grandeur of the severe surroundings, in a part of the mountain never visited by those usually making the ascent, repaid me for what I had already set down as a fruitless expedition, when, to my surprise, I caught sight, lying near me, of a fine specimen of what I was seeking. Instantly hunger was forgotten, and in my satisfaction I arrayed myself all over with edelweiss. Then I made the descent, and arrived in time for a late supper at Zermatt. On another occasion, in Norway, when we arrived at a place which seemed to me to have some historical associations, from the result of enquiries I had made, I heard of some supposed archæological remains far up in the region of distant mountain glaciers, to be reached only by a difficult path of many hours' ascent ; so I left my friends at midnight, and started off with a guide to the heights. Again successful, I, on my return ; found my friend sketching, his wife deep in the mysteries of Norwegian cookery, and the horses very thankful for a day's rest.

I am not going to tell you about the North Cape, but this

preamble is simply to give you an insight into the conditions under which I visited Iceland, for our expedition to the North Cape having been most successful, my friends' appetites grew by what they fed on, and the next journey was fixed to be to Iceland.

Arrangements were accordingly made for comfortable berths, with Mr. Slimon, of Leith, in whose hands the whole traffic between North Britain and Iceland seemed to be, and we started from Granton in his comfortable steamer *Camoëns*, arriving at Reykjavik after a singularly impressive voyage. As we went northward we noted the increase of length in each day as we had done in our previous journeys in the northern seas, and the wide difference between the rugged rock-bound coast of Norway, and the snow-covered and softened outlines of the Icelandic Jökulls. The atmospheric changes were also unusually productive of effects; and the whole of the scenes presented such new features in our experience as made the voyage full of unexpected charms and novelties.

Much has been written and said on clouds assuming various shapes and conforming their outlines to those of mountains near them. The mountains are colder than the wind-borne humidity, and colder also in proportion to their bulk; hence where the largest mass of rock is, there the largest of the cumuli will form. Whether it was that we were highly favoured, or whether our inexperience of the island made a wonder to us of what was a usual effect, I cannot say, but the configuration of the cumuli was so grandly picturesque that it seemed to us that all the old Scandinavian gods were assembled to watch the new comers on their route to the great parliament-place, Thingvallir, where the old faith was given up and in its stead the Christian faith established. While the sensations were therefore novel, we ourselves were determined to be pleased, nay, enchanted, with everything.

During the passage, debates often arose in our little party as to the probable objects of this or that passenger in making the journey. The ordinary kill-time tourist was identified at once, only to be avoided. But one could also detect the artist, whether professional or amateur, by his frequent application to his sketching-book; the more earnest tourist,



by his bundle of handbooks and maps ; the fisherman by his occasional inspection of rods and flies ; and the fowler by his gun-cases.

One thing, however, struck me as singular. With the exception of one person, a young fellow of fine physique, but somewhat forbidding manner, who, however, united the possession of books and maps with a large assortment of tackle, and therefore looked as if he meant business, no one else had made any preparations for an inland tour. No one else out of our party, for I, being an old traveller in the desert and in desert places, had arranged with the owners to supply me with tinned provisions for two months for myself and pony men.

The weather being fine, these provisions were on deck near my baggage, and a tarpaulin was at hand for cover in case of rain. But near them was a smaller assortment, and the two lots bore duly the names of their respective owners.

As it was prudent to keep a superintending eye over these valuables, lest the crew might take a fancy to some of them, I and the young Titan, who was very proud of his well-formed frame, occasionally met, and scowled at each other—why, I don't quite know, but it became chronic.

I got a little piqued at this, and tried to force him one day to join in breaking the ice. He was looking over his rods and tackle, and walking up to him, I said, "You are a fisherman, then?" A scowl and a look of annihilation, which said plainly, "You can see that, can't you?" was the uncondescending rejoinder, which was the whole of that day's conversation. Next day I tried again. Going up to our two packages of provisions when he was near, I remarked, "You and I seem the only two sensible people on board. I wonder how the others will fare when they get in the country?" "Are you going with the rabble?" he observed. "No, I always travel alone." "You seem truthful too, considering you have two companions, and one of them a lady." "Yes, but my friends only come for the sea-voyage, while I go into the interior." "Well, as to your being sensible, I see no particular signs of it. Where are your rods?" "I am not a fisherman." Alas! he turned aside with a look of contempt.

The third day I tried again. "I see you have plenty of books and maps, but, from a book I have, I have worked out

the principal fishing rivers, with an account of the fish they are noted for." He looked doubtfully at the account I had written out, and then, comparing it with some data of his own, really said, "Thank you."

The fourth day I tried again. "Some of the best rivers are in my route; we are both provided with provisions, so need be under no obligation; we both evidently wish to avoid the tourists—can we go together?" Had the old god Thor struck his hammer on the anvil of Vulcan, a more expressive sound could hardly have issued from it. A thundering "No" with a sort of detonized terminal, put, as I supposed, an end to our intercourse. But two days after our arrival at Reykjavik, he came to my room in the hotel and said he had engaged an eight-oared gig to go along the coast, and if I liked to share it with him I could.

I had not, so far, planned any course, my friends coming from the steamer to see me each day, and we in this way examined the neighbourhood of the capital, and I had made some early excursions to "doomrings" and old "hofs" at a distance. But I closed with the offer at once. The time was come for the steamer to continue her course northward, and with as little baggage as possible, we, like two Vikings, set out for our coasting tour with eight stout oarsmen for our locomotives—we were out night and day while we occupied the boat.

I found myself in a difficulty before leaving that was quite new to my experience. Never travelling with more cash than the wants of any journey demanded, I had always waited till my return to, or arrival at, a terminal town or city to change circular notes, and so discharge my attendants. I was cautioned before leaving England that no paper money would be of use, not even bank-notes. I therefore took gold. But to travel through a rough country with a mass of gold coin being undesirable, I enquired for the bank. There was no bank in the capital; and my only plan was, I found, to leave my English money in the hands of a small merchant, who, without counting it, threw the bag into a drawer and wished me God speed. The gold would have been of no use on the road, as there was not a place where a sovereign could be changed; so I took from the merchant silver, also in bags, without counting it, for expenses on the way.

Though the nights were not cold at sea in the boat, they were damp—and spray, dew, and moisture fairly saturated the woollen clothes I wore. There was no tarpaulin to act as a cover, and I looked out anxiously for the sun in the morning to dry up the dampness of the night. But the young Titan, who I found was a Galen of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, had a system of animal heat which would more justly indicate his relation to the Cyclops than the Titans, and economized his coats by folding them and placing them under him, and so keeping them dry. There was no place for a reclining attitude, as our baggage and boxes of provisions set that aside, and the sitting posture night and day became very wearying.

A farmer's daughter had asked the rowers to solicit a seat for her, as we were to pass a place where she lived. The medico was much more civil to the natives than to the passengers from Granton, and asking if I had any objection, the young woman was placed behind us in the stern of the boat and perhaps got some rest. We were delighted at noon the next day to find that she was nearing her home, and we made the rowers moor the boat and all got out on a rock, where the relatives of the young woman would call for her, and we had a dinner on the rock, exercising our stiffened limbs in the meantime.

Another night and day, then another night, and the next morning we put into a creek—it could not be honoured with the name of fiord. There was no feature of interest in the place, till finally a house was seen as the boat rounded a point, and it was moored. We turned in without eating, and slept all day and through the night, waking the next morning with appetites that, had we not provided ourselves with food, it would have been difficult to satisfy. The rowers were also glad of a rest.

We had had enough of coasting, and being now far from any route of tourists, determined to make our starting point from the little creek.

The owner of the house farmed his own land, spoke a little English, and was good-natured enough. He had ponies in use on his farm, but demurred at letting them out, as the hay had not been secured, and there being no carts, the ponies are used as carriers.

His charges being reasonable, we were easily able to supplement them, so that the wavering of his mind was arrested. Not anxious to have another thundering "No" from my companion, I let him have the pick of everything, as being of greater weight and length of leg than myself, and, when he was fairly equipped, I explained, to the dismay of the worthy farmer, that we were quite independent of each other, and that I also must have a guide, sumpter ponies, and a change of riding ponies. The poor man, up to this time, thought he was keeping men and ponies back for his hay and farm purposes, but, seeing my companion ride off, and that my case was hopeless without help, he provided the beast, of burden, but explained that his remaining solitary servant was no guide, never having been from home, but that he was a good boy, and understood a little English. I put him at his ease at once by saying that my books and maps would guide me, and that if the new boy would only follow my directions, I should be content.

The poor lad was also dismayed when he was told that I and my companion might separate, and the whose responsibility of my cavalcade would devolve on him ; but I encouraged him by saying he would see the world, and that I would give him no trouble if he would mind the ponies and follow my directions. I foresaw that if my new companion found a good fishing place he would not leave it, and that I must then move off alone, so I determined that he should start separately at first, and keep his men and cattle to himself, This, as will be seen presently, became a most important matter.

As travelling in Iceland is rough, fatiguing, and often slow, we will let the ponies have a run, and return again to the farm house and surroundings at Hvitarvöllum.

The house was nearly new, but it had been built near to an old one now used for a pony-stable and barn. And the old house had a history. It had been erected on a former wooden structure said to have been the remains of a Norwegian Viking's house, who made this his seater or summer residence on his visits from Norway. The position left him the range of the western ocean, where he no doubt found a hunting field for cetacea to supply oil for his craft, ropes, &c. The worthy farmer had heard of archæology, for there was

a museum at Reykjavik, to which he had sent some finds, but the localities of these, which were to me still more interesting than the finds themselves, had been carefully preserved, and cooking-places in the ground, still full of charcoal, showed where probably blubber had been reduced to oil. Or, they may have been, as will be seen further on, remains of the fires to prove possession of an estate in very early times, subsequently so utilised. Rude fibulæ and quasi buttons were found, pins of fish-bone, and sundry articles of no great interest beyond the rareness of finds of this sort in Iceland.

But this was not all. My attention was drawn to a most curious mound not far from the house, and my enquiries produced very interesting answers. There was a legend of a female Viking who roved the seas and brought her captured treasures here, and secreted them at this mound.

The mound was very symmetrical in form, with a top sloping away on each side like the bottom of a large boat, sloping from the keel.

Its appearance was so bewitching that I fancied I had another Viking's ship mound like that discovered at Sandy Fiord. This was not so. The owner did not wish it to be molested, and yet it was too important to turn from. As the mound was externally of earth I procured an iron rod pointed at one end and pierced the earth in regular lines and at equal distances. The result was, that the rock, which was reached at an almost uniform depth, was nearly the exact form of the mound, but less in size by the thickness of the soil. The rock, whether naturally or artificially shaped, clearly resembled an inverted boat; it appeared to be *in situ* and it seemed to have been covered with earth intentionally. It is quite possible that it contained a cavity, perhaps an artificial one, in which rich booty was deposited for security, as the worthy Viking lady to whom the tradition referred had the credit, or discredit, of bringing home gold and silver as the result of her marauding expeditions.

There were other features of interest in connection with the mound. These were either an avenue—that is, two lines—of stones, or, as it seemed to me from their alternate positions of distance from the larger rock, instead of the positions being of equal distance, which in the case of an

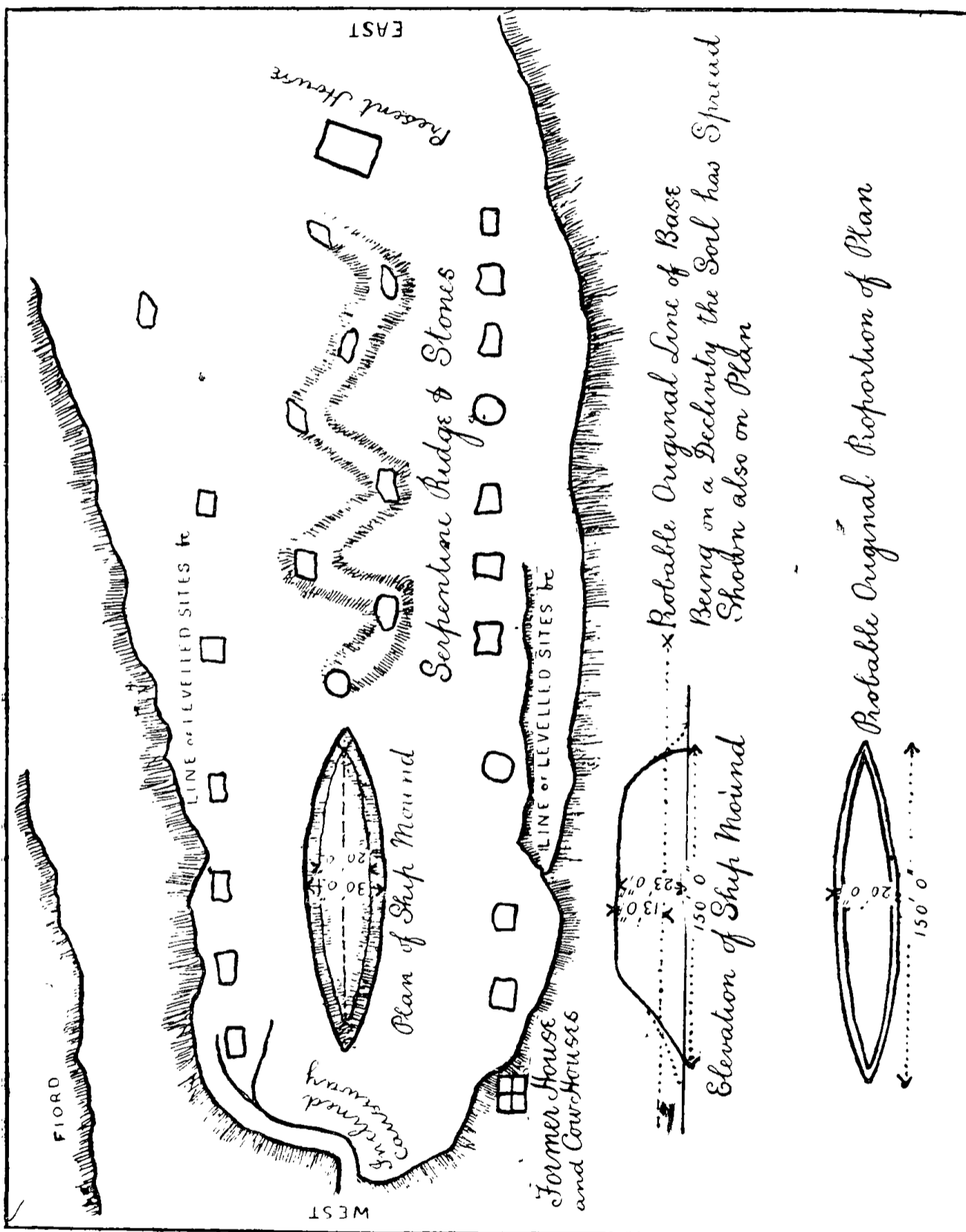
avenue I assume they would be, they appeared rather to represent the sinuations of a causeway, such as I have found in several parts of Scotland, and forming as these did a serpentine approach to the larger mound. The causeway may have been removed for the value of the soil, though not, I was assured, within the memory of the present owner, who, moreover, without any information of other similar arrangements, had been sufficiently impressed with the singular positions of these stones not to permit them to be used in the construction of his new house—an example that might well be followed by proprietors in Great Britain.

There is yet another way in which the stones may have been originally placed. I found just such an avenue in Scotland as shown on the diagram, and they may have either been such an avenue, or have bounded or surmounted a serpentine continuation of the mound, like that in Scotland.

At one time I was under the impression that they had acted as rude and uncarved bauta stones ; but taking the tradition into account, I am disposed to think that the serpentine was the original form of a continuation of the mound, which, with the mythological aspect of the serpent in Scandinavian pagan ideas, may have been a place of worship or of sacrifice and so have gained an ideal protection against marauders for the asserted wealth the Lady Viking accumulated.

As in those days of the early pagan settlers, each chief man or woman, took possession of land at will, and established his or her followers into a community, and as the chief also established a pagan place of worship to his or her special deity, which was rendered sacred and inalienable by fires placed, on taking possession, at distances, so as to include the newly possessed area, and as the altar or temple was rendered sacred by a deposit of earth from the former place of worship of the settler in Norway—a system that was adopted also in early Christian times by procuring earth from Jerusalem to form the Campo Santo, of Pisa, and other places in Italy—and as the traditions of this mound are given as 1000 years ago—and as proved by the finds in bronze, must have been very ancient, it is not improbable that it is one of the oldest remains in Iceland, and may have been dedicated to Jormungander, the Midgard Serpent deity, as protector of the Lady Viking's ship and treasure. The more

so as that serpent was the guardian of the seas, and it was probably after it that the Vikings called their vessels serpents, and the small ones snakes. In which case the protection of the dreaded serpent deity would be more effectual than that of an army. In London and all our ports, this old superstition



is still perpetuated ; the bottle of wine thrown by a lady in christening a new vessel being a retention of the libation in the former Scandinavian dedication to, and invoking of, the great Serpent of the deep they believed in.

This last view is strongly supported from the fact that

the whole area round the mound and the sinuous stones, has been levelled; and these curious objects appear to have been the central features in a primitive village; two regular lines of foundations of early dwellings enclosing them, as it were, in a long street, the lines of which are equidistant from the mound and stones on each side, and evidences of a raised earthwork are distinct in the course of the stones and there only. The soil, if arranged as I have suggested, would be very valuable, on removal, for the garden purposes, which in that isolated spot must have been a great sustainer of the more modern household.

But it is time that we rejoin the ponies. We will suppose our ride has brought us to Reykholt, a place savouring, however, of the presence of tourists, for remembrance of the great Saga writer, Snórri Sturluson. Here also is a mound, but though I fancy not examined, it is at least known to be where the writer's house was, so we will wander further afield.

My young Thor was getting sharp at archæology, and seemed to think there was something in the world besides fishing rods; he gave me every help at some very interesting excavations later on, though indications had already occurred which made it clear we could not long continue to travel together.

Taking a cross route over the mountains to Lundr; on the way, the son of Thunder was in difficulties. He beckoned me to come to him, and then confided to me, that, though in England a horse was only a horse, yet that a pony in Iceland was a thing he had not contemplated. In short, he could neither sit nor walk. Virtue has its own reward. Had I not let him have the best of everything at starting, and had it been known that we were quite independent of each other, he would have got the farmer's pet saddle, which he had made for his own use. A wretched thing had been reserved for me, but when it was found that I also was a paymaster, it was admitted that my mount was not good enough, and a new well-padded and very easy saddle was arranged for me. Seeing the difference, I dismounted my companion, and strapping a thick woollen plaid over his saddle, changed his position, and gave him a soft easy seat, when again he seemed willing to admit that there were more things in the world than fishing rods.



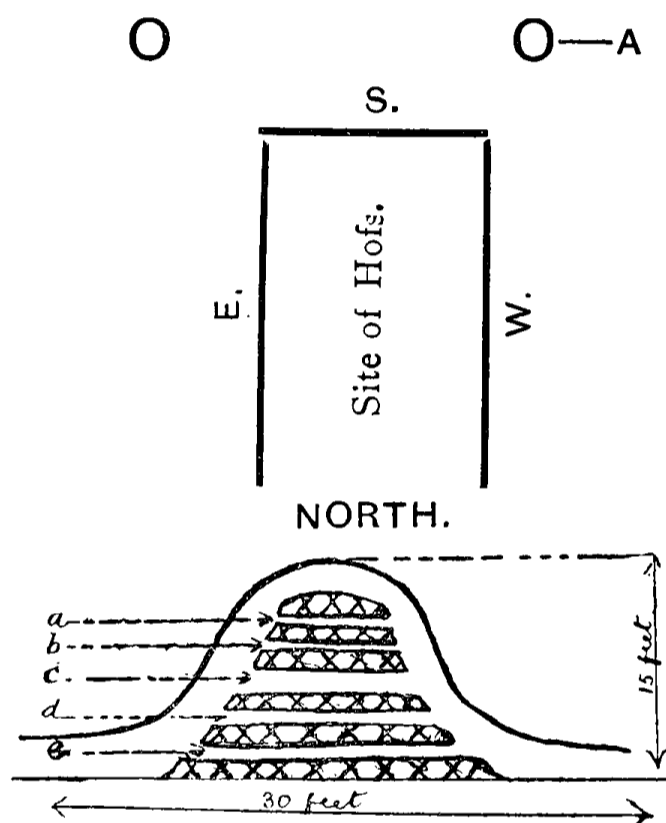
He was out to a neighbouring stream before daylight next morning, and returned with some fine trout for breakfast, and an announcement that there was another mound. After which I began my survey. My willing guide was apt also, and remembering the ship mound at his native farm, at once comprehended me when I pointed to the unmistakable tumulus near the church. The clergyman, at whose house we had slept, was summoned, and gave permission to dig. The mound was a very symmetrical one, and evidently formed with great care. At three feet below the surface clear signs of cremation became visible, which continued to a depth of five feet more in strata, separated in each case by a deep stratum of earth, forming in all fifteen feet.

This was not a kitchen midden, of which I found several in my journeys, but a most carefully made tumulus, and the bones of sheep and oxen in all stages of burning were so uniformly arranged, that each layer seemed the counterpart of the preceding one; they were not heaped pell mell, but in every case were in the centre of the mound, which had grown up at apparently long intervals by fresh additions. I did not come to any speedy conclusion, though the mound, from the care in its formation, and each of the strata producing the same result, was exactly like what I should have thought to be a mound of sacrifice.

The clergyman was quite surprised and much interested, and after careful examination, he took me to another mound of similar external appearance and wished me to examine that. I and young Thor and my young man, for he was really not a guide, did not wait for a second request. This mound also was in exact layers, with bones of oxen and sheep in similar stages of cremation, laid and arranged amongst the charred wood in the centre, and a considerable interval of time was shown by accumulated earth between each of the strata.

I now expressed the opinion that there must be other remains of antiquity near at hand. The clergyman admitted that we were near a "hof," or former temple of the pre-Christian period, the site of which he showed me, and, upon making careful measurements, these two mounds were found to be in true positions to the south-east, and south-west angles of the site of the "hof," external to it, and at some

distance; but in positions that would agree with the points of the sun rising and setting, perhaps about the third and ninth months in the year, or our Lady Day and Michaelmas; though I did not make minute calculations on these points as to the latitude which would indicate the sun's position at changes of the equinox. But the different positions, together with the bones of the oxen and sheep, recalled strongly to the clergyman and myself the sacrifices of the oxen and the rams of Balak on *different* sites.



SECTION OF TUMULUS A.

Widths of earthen deposits:—*a* 8 inches; *b* 6 inches; *c* 24 inches; *d* 18 inches; *e* 12 inches. External and upper deposit three feet. Intervals of bones varying from 9 inches to 14 inches in thickness.

Burton states that it is believed that Baalistic sacrifices are still made in secluded parts of the Orkneys; and I find a recent record of such rites in a secluded glen in Scotland. Near some of the old "hofs" I examined were tumbled heaps of bones and charred wood, evidently disturbed by searchers, which, but for the care with which I found these tumuli had been made, I should have taken for kitchen middens, but which I now recognize to have been altars to Baal, a most remarkable example of which I unearthed on the great serpentine mound at Skelmorlie on the Clyde.

My impression at first was, that the intervals of time indicated by the intervening strata of earth were the result of

periodical sacrifices of perhaps every seven or other number of years. But on carefully measuring the varying breadths of the earthen strata at the sections I made, I found them so widely different in thickness, that I concluded the sacrifices were made on the death and succession of a chief or priest.

In the records referring to the early settlers in Iceland the chiefs are said to have acted as the priests of the temples which they made for their own retainers, who had to pay a tax, of course in kind, to maintain the worship—a position bringing into prominence the Oriental position of priest and king, for these chiefs had absolute power of life and death and therefore were kings.

I can well imagine that these sacrifices were voluntary offerings by the new rulers on the ceremonies of installation, and that, with like Oriental customs, the slaughtered animals were, as in the hecatombs of the Greeks, the provisions for popular feasts.

After we parted I opened other tumuli further east with most satisfactory results and finds. There is no time for description, but I exhibit some very interesting objects exhumed from them.

It was with a feeling of regret that I had to announce to my skilful pupil in archæology that we must part. Once known and allowing for a few eccentricities—no greater, I daresay, than my own—he was an agreeable companion, versed in botany, and aiding me in the osteology of the mounds. He provided nice breakfasts and luncheons with his rod, and was not above consulting me about his difficulties and the sorrows incident to Icelandic ponies. Though, through a want of experience, he was so lavish with his provisions to his men, that the expedition would have been counted by days, instead of by weeks or months, had we continued together.

As I failed to impress him with the necessity for economy, I one morning, when his rod had produced no breakfast, either of trout or salmon, laid my compass on the top of an empty tin, lately devoted to curried rabbit (for there were neither chairs nor tables even in the houses of the clergy) and asked him to select any one point to which he did *not* intend to direct his steps, explaining that, so far as I was concerned, the whole world was before him, except that one

point which I would take myself. In this way, our intercourse, which had otherwise become mutually satisfactory, came to an end, and the young God of Thunder passed away, and I, Odin, or Wuotan like, had to go on my peregrinations alone. Weeks after, on my reaching Thingvellir from the east, I found that my prognostications had proved correct, for within four days of our parting he was there on his return to Reykjavik, his provisions having given out. So that the worthy farmer got his men and ponies in time to garner his hay after all.

I now plunged into the thick of the fight. Mountain, morass, hill and valley, were traversed, as though I had been led by the Walkyries. My boy asked the way each morning to a place of rest for the night, which I carefully noted on my maps, and took the bearings of with my compass, enquiring if there were dangerous passes on the road, to avoid retracing my steps. But the track was soon lost, no living being, not even a dog, appeared, but all the rivers I came to were fordable. Sometimes a ford had been indicated before starting. So, as the crow flies, as nearly as I could, on my return journey I made for the cabin or homestead to be reached before darkness set in, and as the daylight was much extended this was sometimes late, but of accommodation there was generally little beyond a roof and the contents of tin canisters I had brought with me.

Fortune now again befriended me. The farmer had reserved a spirited little pony for my personal use, and apologised for the other, which, though not a baggage pony, was heavily built in comparison with the elegant little creature he mounted me on. It is imperative to take more than one riding animal, on the score of daily fatigue alone, to say nothing of accident. I named the first "Cut the Wind," and the other "Blunderbuss." But Blunderbuss on the upshot turned out the most useful, for as my mode of travel often took us over swampy places, the delicate little creature I started on would have been engulfed with his rider, whereas the other, though heavier, was broad in chest and body, and on account of his great strength, was able to bear me safely through.

I now revelled in the wonders of Icelandic scenery quite out of tourists' tracks; not that I would depreciate the

wonders to be seen on the ordinary routes. Had I had a regular guide, I should have seen nothing but what these afforded ; now all these came in afterwards. My boy was delighted, his fortune would be made, he could now act as a guide to the less known places, and I had all his help.

There was great advantage in all this. The only places of reception were the houses of the pastors, but even in these two visitors were, I found while with my companion, demurred at. There was but one unfurnished room of reception to sleep and eat in, with sometimes a bench to sit on or a flap of wood against the wall raised for a table. The extra men for the ponies and baggage were, however, not liked. Of course hay for the beasts was paid for, but the stock of this was often not great. As there are no servants, beyond your own, and the pastor's wife brings your coffee and sees to your comfort, a single traveller giving no trouble, and having the means of satisfying his own wants, is most welcome.

But other points there are even beyond this. A feeling of delicacy arises in having a lady doing as it were menial offices for you. These clergymen and their wives are the only upper class away from the towns, the others, whether proprietors or not, are mere peasants, though often very intelligent. The clergy have the bearing of gentlemen, and their wives of ladies. In the secluded parts I visited had there been a word of truth in the allegations against their sobriety I must have seen evidences.

As coffee does not agree with me, I always, when travelling, carry tea, made up into small packets of a quarter of a pound each. I could not resist the coffee made in Iceland, it surpasses that of any other country ; it is their one sole luxury. The air and exercise made me think I could now take it, so my tea was not used. There is, of course, some payment to be made for your roof, and the kindness offered you. This is never asked for, but your guide gives you the idea of how much, which, even then, is not paid into the hand, but left in some prominent part of the room you have occupied. But I hit on a most agreeable mode of parting. The guide, no doubt, indicates that you have left cash for discharge from obligation to which no reference is made. And when at parting I presented my hostess, as, from taking coffee, I was able to do, with a packet of English tea, the expressions of appreciation were unbounded.

Moreover, I obtained a double advantage. Once the barriers of restraint were gone, in many cases, my boy, who was a favourite, told me that the lady was so obliged that she hoped I would return that way. If I said no, I was asked if I had any other object in coming to the country besides travel, or if there was anything they could get for me of Icelandic interest. And on my asking in return what could be got, I was repeatedly shown gold and silver heirlooms of the family, from which I was asked to select a souvenir.

It was with difficulty I could force a return by payment, as it was said it was a return for my attention. But, knowing the very low income of the clergy, I always managed to effect this in one way or another, and thus obtained articles the family would not otherwise have parted from, some of which I show you.

This fine jewelry, much of it very antique, and no doubt correctly described as having been brought with the first immigrants from Norway, is now treasured all the more from the fact that on the tourist routes it has been nearly all bought up, either by visitors or for the museums at Reykjavik, Stockholm, or Christiania, and is now jealously



ENTWINED KNOTWORK IN SILVER PLATES.

Secreted beneath the saddle flaps, and in the linings of saddles, which latter were richly decorated with bronze margins in *repoussé* relief, showing contests with animals, &c.

secreted. The horse trappings must also have been valuable for these coroneted silver decorations, representing the Scandinavian Dragon Knot, which I took from under the flaps of some old Icelandic saddles, which I was also similarly favoured with, were apparently secreted magical protectors,

being strongly rivetted in their hidden places. These, with a host of wooden articles, which I stowed in my now fast emptying panniers, attracted the attention of an agent of the museum at Reykjavik, who asking to see them offered me a round sum for them. But I could not sell what the kind-heartedness of my hosts, who sometimes dropped a tear as they handed me their treasured relics, had so feelingly put into my hands. And on enquiry I found that to have done so would have been to court the knowledge of the act, and the anathemas of people who had opened their hearts to me.

The snowclad Jökulls of Iceland contrast so much with the angularity of the Swiss Alpine scenery that to any one used to the latter the effect is surprising. But in the interior where the heights of basaltic lavas are not so lofty, and are not snow-covered in the *summer*, the level plateaux often terminate in vertical precipices producing terrific effects. These are simply indescribable, for to describe there must be pre-knowledge, or at least comparison.

The only mode of giving you my sensations on beholding the wondrous interior of Iceland is to describe it as like the photographs of the moon's surface, except that the ebullitions of lava are so vivid, that, surrounded as they are, in some cases, by the steam of boiling springs, they appear to be still seething, and it is impossible, till actual test is applied, to believe that they are cold and hard. The configurations of the cooled lava are so different to the pentagonal forms of our basalt of the Giant's Causeway, and Fingal's Cave that I was induced to bring a variety of these forms over with me from Iceland.

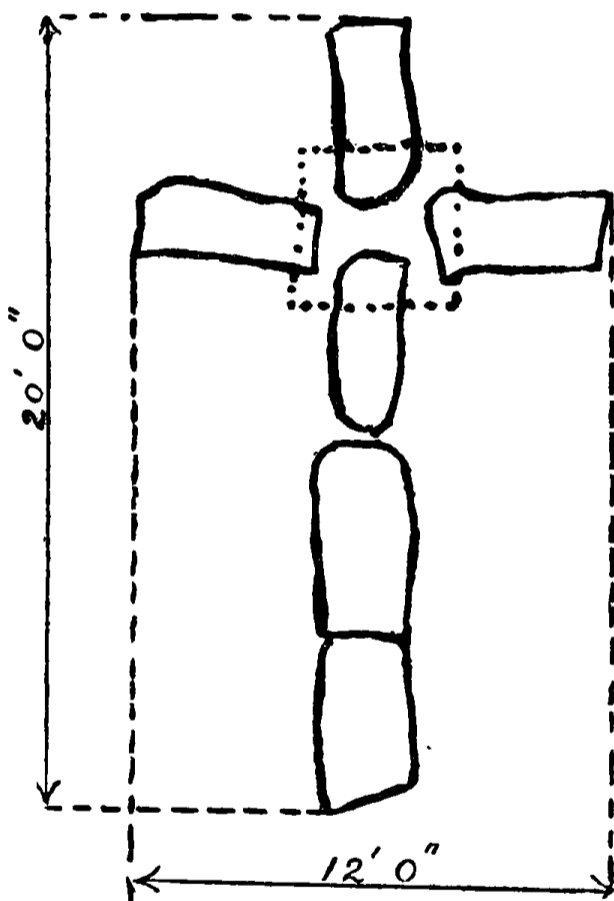
In humid or showery weather, the mountains assume transparent spectral appearances, as though the scene was a necromantic vision.

I may also mention that my good pony Blunderbuss acted so well, and I believe saved my life in passing morasses on more than one occasion, that, in parting with my boy at Reykjavik, I purchased the pony and the saddle, which made riding him easy; brought them, with the blocks of lava, over to England; put the pony in clover for the rest of his life; where, with his native lava, he occupies my ground. He was renamed Reykjavik, but the servants, being unable to pronounce the word, reduced it to Rucke-

back, whence a diminutive was evolved, and he is now called Rickles.


Returning southwards from the vicinity of the Lang and Hofs Jökulls, I proceeded down to Hekla and made the ascent. I took a guide from a farm, but he would go no further than the ponies could mount. My poor boy's dismay was terrible when I told him he must come to the summit, although I had myself never ascended. He tried strongly to dissuade me, but without success; so each swinging a small tin of provisions over his shoulder, we went up—after seeing the three ponies tied head and tail together, in the form of a triangle, so that it was impossible for them to move away.

The climbing was no very hard task, but the cold was intense, and it was only by going into the warmth of the crater that we could get strength enough in our fingers to



LAVA CROSS.

Rude cross formed by seven blocks of lava, carefully laid in a horizontal position, on plain west of the Lake of Thingvellir.

The seventh block, shown by  dotted lines, is superimposed at the junction of the arms and shaft.

The position of this cross, about a mile west of Thingvellir, is remarkable, as orientating the place where Christianity was publicly adopted, and the idols abandoned. There being no reliable monoliths at hand accounts for the horizontal position, and it may either have been a place of resort for the new Christians till churches were built; or a place of secret meeting and fraternity for those who introduced the new faith prior to the public acceptance of it. Its form and position approximate to the horizontal cross formed by upright stones at Callernish, in the Isle of Lewis.



open our provision cans ; when that was done the contents rapidly disappeared. And after placing my card in the glass bottle preserved in the cairn on the highest point, we were quite ready to warm ourselves by a rapid descent. The boy's face was now all radiant with joy at what he had achieved. The great waterfalls, called *fosses*, were, of course, seen ; but all of *that* you may find in guide books.

The geysers were visited on our return, and behaved very well at the moment of my arrival, though some unfortunates had been waiting three days for their action. Then the tourist's route was followed to Thingvallir ; and the story recalled of the Althing, and the change to Christianity—and after a visit to Krisuvik, to some friends who were engineering the sulphur pits, Reykjavik was again returned to.

Here I had to stay, as I expected, and rather hoped, for some time, on account of the kindness of the people, the natural wonders of the country and the still greater wonder how people could choose to live on its sterile wastes. Certainly, nothing but the greatest love for freedom of mind and body could have induced the first emigrants from Norway to have adopted it as their future country. It showed an almost unexampled case of a large portion of a people self-expatriated like the Pilgrim Fathers, and, like the latter, also retaining unblemished honour and amity with mankind. All these considerations made me want to know more of them, and in their capital I determined to work out the problem. I had, as I hoped, just lost the steamboat, so I had some clear weeks before me.

After discharging my boy and the ponies, all save the purchased Blunderbuss, I called at the University and was received by a classical professor. To him I explained that I wanted to know something of the pre-Christian people of Iceland, and enquired what literary assistance I could find in the University. He asked if I read *Norske*. I did not, and he shook his head. " I was English ? " " Yes." We spoke in French. He said he would do his best to help me, but he did not speak English.

This made it rather difficult, but a compact was made. I was to go to read with him each morning, and he undertook to give me an insight into pagan times, manners, and faith ; but he could only do this in French or Latin, and

would only do it on my rendering it back in English, which he understood, but did not speak.

I enquired as to the fees, but he said it would be mutual, as he was very desirous of learning to speak English.

This was carried through, and though, of course, I did not become a Norse scholar, I learnt the fundamental parts of the language, and, what I wanted most, the pagan ways and doings.

A curious incident occurred. When I spoke of what little Norse I knew, I referred to the lexicon generally found in the larger libraries. He was very angry, saying, "That book has spoilt our beautiful language. It is very well if you want Danish." I had reason to prove this at the Bodleian Library some time afterwards. I was working up Scandinavian names near Oxford, and called there for Norwegian lexicons. The usual authority was produced. I don't want a Dane's book, I said, but the Norwegian books. Several *hönd-bóks* were brought me. I looked out the names in each: in the handbooks the meanings were full, poetical, and pungent; in the popular authority the Norsk meanings did not appear.

After several weeks of close study I went into the library one day with the professor, and my eye fell on an English translation of a book we had been reading. "I might have saved you the trouble, professor," I said: "here is a translation." "You think so," rejoined he. "Write down in English one or two of the passages I gave you from the Norse." He examined them. "That will do. Now refer to the same passages in the translation."

"Well, what can you make of them?" "Nothing." "Nor can anybody else."

On consulting a young Danish resident at Reykjavik as to what books I could get to continue my reading, and he having examined the native handbooks I had procured, he said, "You must give up those if I am to advise you. We want to get rid of that old fashioned language."

But I stuck to them, for they are real.

I need hardly say the gold which I had left in charge of the merchant was found to be as safe as if it had been counted and a receipt given for it. In short, the bag had

never been opened, and I had to repay back from it the value of my silver.

I cannot conclude without stating that I had the good fortune to be requested to open the great tumulus which Hakon raised over his defeated warriors at Largs, on the Clyde, after repeated refusals by the possessor to the Society of Antiquaries of Edinburgh. But the interest raised by my works and excavations on the estates of the Duke of Argyll, the Marquis of Lothian, the Earl of Glasgow, and other large proprietors, was such that in this case the owner solicited my examination of the mound, a full account of which appeared in the *Times*, the *Scotsman*, and all the Northern papers; photographs of the mound are on the walls, with those of the animal formed mounds discovered by me in Asia and Europe, of one of which the serpentine form at Hvitarvöllum seems to be the skeleton.

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## “ E D D A . ’

BY EIRIKR MAGNUSSON, M.A.

I SHALL begin my remarks to you by at once stating how I propose to deal with the subject I have chosen for my discourse to-night. In the first instance, I shall draw attention to the one derivation that has been proposed of the word “Edda,” as a genealogical term. Next, I shall consider the derivation and interpretation that the word, as a book-title, has received. Lastly, I shall endeavour to show what historical facts and probabilities may fairly be taken to favour one, to the exclusion of the rest, of the interpretations that have been given of “Edda” as a book-title.

In dealing with these points I shall endeavour to be as explicit as the nature of the subject will allow. But as we are left utterly without any direct documentary evidence showing how the name came to be used as a title of a book, we have to thread ourselves along, as best we can, by what side-lights we can obtain from the evidence of historical probability. Any conclusion arrived at, on such a ground, will carry conviction only proportionate to the strength of the evidence adduced. To expect or demand more, would be unreasonable.

The oldest document in which the word “Edda,” as a genealogical term, occurs is the Lay of Rig (*Rígsþula*, *Rígsmál*), a poem which in editions of the Older Edda is included in the group of its mythic songs. The only old copy of it existing is found on a loose leaf, the 78th, of the so-called Codex Wormianus of the Younger Edda, a MS. that dates from the earlier half of the fourteenth century.<sup>1</sup> The end of the poem is lost with the leaf that once followed the one on which is now preserved what remains of it.

The term “Edda” stands in so peculiar a relation to the rest of the poem, that I cannot very well avoid giving a general résumé of it, though thereby I digress somewhat from the direct line of my argument.

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<sup>1</sup> No. 242, fol. in the Arnamagnæan Collection at Copenhagen. From Iceland it was despatched by its last owner there, Arngrímur Jónsson, as a gift to Ole Worm, Denmark’s most famous antiquary of the seventeenth century, in whose possession it is known to have been already by 1628.

A short preface in prose tells us that the poem is evolved out of an *old tale*. Heimdal, the northern counterpart of the Agni of the Rig Veda, travelling along a sea-shore, so begins the poem, comes upon a homestead where the door was ajar; there was fire on the floor, and at the hearth sat together a hoary man and wife, called Ai and Edda (great grandfather and great grandmother); she, becoifed in ancient fashion. Heimdal sat down betwixt the two, and spoke wise lore to them. Then Edda took a lumpy loaf, heavy and thick and swelled with bran, and set it on the table; broth in a bowl on the board she placed, there was boiled calf, the best of dainties. Three nights the god spent at the house. In nine months' time Edda gave birth to a child, and the name given to it was Thrall (þræll), slave. Well he waxed, and well he throve; on hands wrinkled skin, knotty knuckles, fingers big, foul his face, louting back, long heels withal.

Then he began to try his strength: to tie bast, to make burdens, and to bring fagots home the livelong day.

Next there came to the homestead the gangrel-legged one, with scars on her foot-soles, with sun-scorched arm, a crooked nose, and she named herself Þir (A.S. þeow), a bondswoman. From her and Thrall sprang the progeny of slaves.

Again Rig came to a "hall" with a sliding door; fire burnt on the floor, man and wife were busy; the good man was whittling a loom-beam, his beard was trimmed, his hair shorne over the forehead, his shirt was tight fitting; there also sat the good wife and swayed her rock (spinning-wheel), plying her hands working stuff for weeds; on her head was a bent coif, a smock on her breast, a kerchief round her neck, brooches bedecked her shoulder. Afi and Amma (=grandfather and grandmother), owned the homestead. Rig again makes himself familiarly at home and spends three nights at the house, and in due course Amma gives birth to a son who, having been sprinkled with water, is named Karl, Carle, Churl. The mother swathed in linen the ruddy bairn with rolling eyes. The boy grew and throve apace, broke in oxen (to the plough), fashioned ploughs, timbered houses, built up barns, wrought carts, and followed the plough.

Next they brought to the house her of the hanging keys and of the goat-hair kirtle and wedded her to Karl. She is called Snor (=A.S. snoru, O.G. snuor, Lat. nurus)=daughter-in-law. She sat linen-veiled; the couple were married, they joined their rings

(wealth), spread the sheets and set up house. From this couple sprang the kindred of Karlar, Carles, Churls, Tillers of the Soil.

Again Rig went on his ways, and came to a castle, the doors of which faced the south. The door was let down (hnigin) and in it there was a ring. He went in. The floor was bestrawed (covered with straw or rushes). The married couple sat and looked each other in the eye. They were Father and Mother. The lord was twisting a bowstring, bending the bow and shafting arrows. But the lady was giving heed to her arms, ironing linen, starching sleeves, strutting (straight) was her coif, on her breast was a brooch, trailing were her garments, her sark blue-dyed: her brow was brighter, her breast lighter, her neck whiter than newfallen snow. Rig was entertained luxuriously. He spent three nights at the house and in due course of time Mother gave birth to a male child, sprinkled it with water, and swathed it in silk and gave it the name of Earl. His hair was flaxen, his cheeks were bright, his eyes were sparkling as a young serpent's. He grew up at home. He parried with linden-shield, fitted bowstrings, bent the elm-bow, shafted arrows, flung the dart, shook frankish spears, rode horses, flung the dice, drew swords and practised swimming.

So, one day, Rig comes running out of the wood and declares himself to be the father of the youth and gives his own name, Rig, to him. Earl Rig follows the profession of arms and conquers for himself an earldom and takes for wife the daughter of Hersir, called Ern(a). And from this union sprang “Konr ungr,” the youngest of the sons of Earl and Erna: a term whereby the poet tries in his own way etymologically to account for the northern name of Konungr.

There are many points about this poem which go to show that it cannot be very old. The description of a thrall as a householder, tiller of his own fields and owner of a cow or cows, as the fare of the house testifies, goes against all we know from northern laws about the social status of a slave, who could own no property and could even inherit none. The author of *Rígs-mál* is ignorant of this, which means that he pictures the thrall's social condition, not from what he knows from observation or daily experience, but from what, on deficient antiquarian study, he imagines was the case. And the conclusion lies therefore near at hand that the poem was written by one to whom slavery was an institution of the past, that

had left no other impression upon his mind than that the slave was a coarse-limbed, gross and ugly looking being. In fact he does not describe a slave, but a tolerably well-conditioned peasant cottager who tills his own plot of ground. It has been supposed by some interpreters that the fare that Afi and Amma dished up for Heimdal, and of which the lay makes no mention, must really have been the "broth" in a bowl and the "veal" with which Ai and Edda regaled the god. But the word "soð," which for want of a better rendering I translate "broth," means merely the water in which anything has been cooked. According to the lay of Helgi the slayer of Hunding, "soð" is an article of food for pigs; and to this day it hardly counts as an article of human food at all in Iceland. So there is no really urgent reason to transfer to Amma that part of the fare at Edda's which consisted in boiled veal served up with the fluid it was boiled in.

Now as to Edda, we can clearly see that she is in no proper sense a great-grandmother. The fact of the matter is that the poem, or rather the original story, out of which it grew, is illogically conceived. Its purpose is to account for the evolution of society, the ultimate goal of which was reached in the position of a king. The problem is solved by making the god Heimdal light upon the homes of three different married couples, all of them childless, Edda and Amma presumably long past all hope of ever becoming mothers. Ai and Edda must have had their parents, of course, as well as Afi and Amma, Father and Mother; but of this the poem takes no account whatever; nor of the fact that Heimdal's sons, begotten with these mothers, marry wives of their own class. That is to say, the poet does not conceive or realize that the three classes of society he calls in a god to procreate in a somewhat Don-Juanic manner, were all existing before Heimdal made his erotic round of the earth. He further commits the mistake of making slaves the original type of man. Again, there is no relationship of descent between the three classes he deals with; the consequence being that Edda is in no sense mother to Amma, nor Amma to Mother. If, therefore, he meant Edda to signify great-grandmother and Amma to stand for grandmother, his own production proved that these terms could in no proper sense bear such an interpretation.

Of course, we can see what the aim of the original story was, if it is faithfully reproduced by the poet; the idea was, to show how

from humble origins human society went through successive stages of evolution, until the highest dignity, that of king, was reached. In order to bring this idea home to people, the poet, or his original, hit upon the device of finding mothers with distinctive names to figure as typical starting-points of the three classes into which he thought fit to divide the god-begotten race. His language supplied him for that purpose with no other more suitable terms than just those he made use of. He was not working out any serious genealogical statement. The whole was a poetical conceit, not intended for serious analysis, which it could not bear, but for the amusement of the vulgar.

Since the Eddas became known to the outer world in the seventeenth century, scholars and interpreters have been agreed that, on the strength of the Lay of Rig, *Edda* must mean great-grandmother, although in the Icelandic—the most genealogical literature in the old Teutonic world—it occurs as a genealogical term, nowhere else—that is to say, if we except the so-called “*ókend heiti*” = simple appellatives in Cod. Reg. of the Younger Edda, where the term is simply borrowed from the Lay. But a serious attempt at giving an account of the derivation of the word in this sense has appeared first in our own day only. In the “*Corpus Poet. Bor.*,” II., 514, Dr. Vigfusson proposed a derivation of the word in this sense which cannot be passed over. And lest by curtailing his remarks I should run the risk of seeming unfairly to present his view, I will quote him at such length as to guard myself against any charge on that score.

He says :—“The first point to settle is, how this word came “into the Lay of Rig ; no solution, which does not account for this “part of the problem, can be correct. The poet makes *Edda* the “ultimate ancestress, grandmother, first mother, from whom, by “Rig, the earliest race of mankind sprang. Tacitus tells us how “the old poems of the Germans of his day make ‘Terra Mater’ “the mother of ‘Tuiscon,’ whose son is ‘Man.’ And he gives “the German name of Terra Mater—Mammun Ertham. Here, “between the *Ertha* of Tacitus and the *Edda* of the Lay, there is a “twofold identity, viz. the common *notion* of MOTHER, and the “resemblance of both words in form and sound. In the days of “the Righ Lay, the Low German form of earth would still have “been ‘Ertha,’ as in Tacitus’ time, while the High German (even “Frankish ?) would be ‘Erda’; the Old English ‘Eorthe’ weakened ;



“the Old Northern ‘Eorth’ monosyllabic. Both words Earth and Edda are, we take it, etymologically identical, Edda being a poet’s adaptation of the foreign bisyllabic form, by him aptly designed as great-grandmother. The High German form meets all requirements. According to the regular Northern formula, ‘zd’ becomes ‘dd’ (thus the old ‘hozd’- becomes ‘hodd’-, the old ‘hazd’- becomes ‘hadd’-, and so on). The Old Northern tongue had no *rd*, only *rth*; the nearest sound to a German or foreign *rd* would thus, in fact, be the assimilated *dd*.”

“It is not hard to fancy,” Vigfusson goes on, “how it came about. Let us suppose that a Western man has learnt a snatch of a High German song on that favourite subject with all Teutons, the *Origin of Mankind* and *Mother Earth*, from a Southern trader or comrade (there were Germans and Southlings in Orkney and Scandinavia in the tenth and eleventh centuries, as we know from history and Saga). In this song the word ‘Erda’ (or *Grandmother Erda*) occurs; he puts it into his own tongue as neatly as he can, and the result is ‘Edda.’ Or, if he himself did not make the change, the minstrel would have done so, who sang it after him, for the Lay had passed through many Northern mouths before it got written down in our Codex.”

Vigfusson’s etymological argumentation, which is somewhat lacking in coherency, amounts then to this: There is the twofold identity of form and sound between the O.H.G. Erda and Icel. Edda, then Earth and Edda are etymologically identical, because “according to the regular Northern formula *zd* becomes *dd*.”

But this argument is altogether beside the question, since no such Teutonic or other form as Ezda for a word meaning earth is known to exist. The known forms are: Greek *ἔρα*, Goth. *airpa*, O.H.G. *erda*, M.H.G. *erde*, O. Sax. *ertha*, A.S. *eorde*, Du. *aarde*, O.N. Icel. \**erðo*: *eorð*, *iorð*, *jörð*, Dan.-Swed. *jord*. That is to say: the *r* is a primitive element of the stem all through as far back as we can trace the word.

The *zd* examples of stem-terminations that Vigfusson quotes apply to *-a* stems only, and cannot have anything to do with a fem. *-i* stem like *eorð* or a fem. *-an* stem like Edda.

Besides, on Vigfusson’s own showing, there was no *etymological* identity in this case, which was one of simple sound-imitation, or transference of a German sound to the organs of speech of the author of Rig’s Lay or somebody else, who “put it into his own

tongue as neatly as he could,” with the result that Erda came out in the form of Edda.

This, then, is a case of mechanical imitation strangely miscarried. For, since “the Northern tongue had no *rd*,” but “only *rth*,” why did the Northern bard then not follow this only law, and pronounce Erda *erða*?

Now he is supposed to have learnt from a Southern trader or a comrade a snatch of a German song on that favourite subject the Origin of Mankind and Mother Earth, in which for mother earth the word Erda occurred. This word, we are to believe, was so foreign to him, that he could do nothing with it but to imitate it, in the form of “Edda,” and mechanically to foist upon it the technical genealogical sense of great-grandmother.

This poles-asunder sort of relation between the German word and the mind of the bard is made plausible by the statement that Southlings and Germans visited Orkney and Scandinavia in the tenth and eleventh centuries. But Vigfusson is not doing himself justice here. If there was one people the roving children of the North knew better than any other in the tenth and eleventh centuries, “the days of the Righ Lay,” as Vigfusson has it, that people was their nearest Southern neighbour and kindred, the Saxon or North-German. If there was one idiom with which the Scandinavians were more familiar than any other in those days, that was German. Vigfusson’s conclusion involves disregard of several points which must not be overlooked. We are to suppose that a person, intellectually so wide-awake as is the author of the Lay of Rig, on hearing a snatch of some Old High German song, found it so interesting as to want to learn it by heart, and yet, having accomplished his desire, not only did not understand what “erda” meant, but even troubled not to ask his Old High German friend what the proper sense of it was; the consequence being that, by his own efforts, he failed to recognise in it an equivalent for his own word *eorð*=earth, made a mechanical imitation of its sound, “edda,” and imbued it with the meaning of *great-grandmother*, in the anthropological sense of “ultimate ancestress, grandmother, first mother from whom by Righ the earliest race of mankind sprang.” All this is an obvious impossibility; and the supposition that *slaves* were the earliest race of mankind is flatly contradicted by the sad history of that unfortunate type of *homo sapiens*.

This is the only derivation of Edda, as a genealogical term, that, so far as I know, has yet been philologically attempted. I think I

have treated it with all the fairness that is due to the great scholar who is the author of it. If my reasoning is not at fault, then this derivation of Edda, as a genealogical term, must be impossible.

Now I pass over to the consideration of Edda as a book-title.

I must introduce this chapter of my remarks by showing, how Vigfusson accounts for the word having come to figure as a title of the Younger or Snorri's Edda. His words are these:—

“ From the Lay of Rígh the word Edda passed into that curious  
“ list of synonyms, ‘ okend heiti,’ which is the base of the Thulor  
“ Collections and of Poetic Gradus, such as Snorri's. Thus the  
“ name got applied to Snorri's book ; for it is probable, though not  
“ absolutely demonstrable, that this older draught of Scald-  
“ skapar-mal was *headed* by our Lay of Rígh, being in all likelihood  
“ called forth by that very Lay. From it the text in Cod. W. is  
“ derived, for the List of Synonyms, at the end of the MS. of Snorri's  
“ unfinished work, contains the words ‘ *móðir* heitir, ok *amma*,  
“ *priðja*, *Edda*.’ Hence it follows that the author knew the Lay.”

“ From Snorri's work, as we have elsewhere shown, the word  
“ came into general use as expressing the very spirit and essence  
“ of the Court-poetry with all its intricate synonyms and figures.”<sup>1</sup>  
“ Thence, by false and misleading application of the scholars  
“ of the Icelandic revival, it got transferred to the old heroic epic  
“ Lays, the ‘ Eddic ’ poems.”

What Vigfusson evidently means here, though he expresses himself somewhat obscurely, is this, that “ ókend heiti,” appellative nouns, form the base of the Thulor, metrical lists of such nouns (including proper names too), and form the base of Snorri's Poetical Gradus as well. By this “ gradus ” he means “ Scaldskapar-mal,” that portion of Snorri's Edda which deals with “ Kenningar,” *i.e.*, poetical circumlocutions (such as, for instance: “ Hildar veggs hregg-nirðir ” = “ Nirðir hreggs veggs Hildar ” = warriors ; thus : “ Hildir ” = goddess of war, her “ veggr ” (= wall) a shield, the “ hregg ” (= squall, storm) thereof, battle, the battle's Nirðir (Niords, gods, creators) = warriors). The “ ókend heiti ” Vigfusson takes to have been the “ older draught of Scaldskapar-mal ” ; at the head of this “ old draught ” he thinks the Lay of Rígh probably had its place, and that this “ old draught ” was called forth by that lay. Into the probability or the reverse of this theory I do not propose to enter. I will merely

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<sup>1</sup> “ Corpus, P. B.,” I., xxvi.

remark that the “þulor” show no sign of having specially drawn synonyms from the rich store of Rig’s Lay. But attention must be called to what clearly is a slip, namely, that the present text in “Cod. W.” [Codex Wormianus] of the “ókend heiti” is derived from the Lay of Righ, for we know not from where the old text of “ókend heiti” in that codex was derived, because the whole section of the codex which contained “ókend heiti,” if it ever did, was lost, probably some time in the 16th century, and the lacuna thus created was filled up with paper MS. in the hand of an Icelandic amanuensis of the famous Danish antiquary Ole Worm, some time between 1635-40, the contents being drawn principally from Codex Regius. Consequently the authority Vigfusson means by “Cod. W.” can be no other than “Cod. Reg.” I do not maintain that “Cod. W.” may not have contained the chapter of Snorri’s Edda to which Rask gave the heading of “ókend heiti,” but a stop-gap from the 17th century, demonstrably supplied from sources that no one can identify with the old genuine text of “Cod. W.,” cannot be quoted as Codex Wormianus, and the words “*móðir* heitir—Edda” are evidently in part due to the 17th century scribe himself, who found the corresponding passage in Cod. Reg. reading rather oddly. (See below.)

Well, then, we depend upon the Cod. Reg. only for our knowledge of the fact that the term “Edda” is found included in the vocabulary of “ókend heiti.” But Cod. Reg. is by a long way not the oldest MS. of the Younger Edda. The oldest is the Cod. Upsaliensis, of which I shall have more to say presently. Where that MS. runs parallel, as to subject matter, with Cod. Reg. and Worm., it distinguishes itself from both, irrespective of its extraordinary copiousness of scribal blunders, by at once greater brevity of treatment and more antique mode of expression. Now considering how importantly this MS. bears upon the question of the derivation of the word “edda,” it is of importance to confront the chapter in it that deals with the simple appellatives for women with the chapter in Cod. Reg. that deals with the same subject. I quote from both chapters, of course, only as much as serves the purpose of my argument:—

<p><i>Cod. Reg., SE. I., 536<sup>22</sup>—538<sup>6</sup>.</i>                  Þessi eru kvenna heiti ókennd.                  — — — Ekkja heitir sú, er                  búandi hennar varð sótt dauðr. Mær                  heitir fyrst hver, en kerlingar er gam-</p>	<p><i>Cod. Ups., SE. II., 347<sup>19-22</sup>.</i>                  Þessi ero kvenna nofn                  vkend Eckia heitir sv                  kona er bondi hennar er                  andapr.</p>
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lar eru. Eru enn þau kvenna heiti, er til lastmælis eru, ok má þau finna í kvæðum, þótt þat sé eigi ritað. Þær konur heita eljur er einn mann eigu ; snor heitir sonarkvon, sværa heitir vers móðir, amma, þriðja edda ; eiða heitir móðir. Heitir ok dóttir ok barn, jóð ; heitir ok systir, dís, jóðdís. Kona er ok köllut beðja, mála, rún búanda síns, ok er þat viðrkenn-ing.<sup>1</sup>

Þær konr elior er einn mann eigo.

Kona er kollvð beþia. eða mala ok rvna bonda síns, ok er þat viðkenning.

From this quotation we learn not only how very largely a *res aucta* the text of Reg. is, as compared with Ups., but also, what is of still greater importance, that while the author of Reg. knows the term "edda," for a certain class of woman, and consequently, as Vigfusson says, must have been acquainted with the Lay of Rig wherefrom the term is borrowed, the author of the original of Ups. had no knowledge of the term in that application, and therefore knew not the Lay of Rig.

Now it is evident that the text of "ókend heiti" in Ups. must chronologically stand nearer to that "old draught" thereof, which Vigfusson was thinking of, than the text of Reg. And if "edda" was included in the nomenclature of simple appellatives for women in the original, from which the Ups. text was copied, it is incomprehensible that the scribe of that text should have left out the whole catena of synonyms in which that term forms one of the links ; all the more so, because of all those synonyms "edda" must have presented itself to him as the most striking.

The only possible conclusion therefore seems to me to be this : the author of the oldest recension of "ókend heiti," in Snorra Edda, that we now can trace, was ignorant of the existence of such a term as "edda" for a great-grandmother. This author

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<sup>1</sup> I translate the text of Cod. Reg. only. These are women's nouns "un-kend" (simple). Widow is that one hight, when (hus-)band hers got "sick-dead." May (is) hight first each, but carlines when old (they) are. Are still those women's nouns, that to(wards) blame-speech are, and may they (be) found in songs, though that be not written. Those women (are) hight "eljur" who one man own ; "snor" is hight a son's wife, "sværa" (is) hight a husband's mother ; "amma" (grandmother), third "edda" ; "eiða" (is) hight a mother. (Is) hight also daughter and bairn, "jóð" ; is hight also syster, "dís" "jóðdís." Wife is also called "beðja," "mála," "run(a)" of (hus-)band hers, and is that "with-kenning."

was Snorri Sturluson. Clearly, therefore, Snorri Sturluson knew not the Lay of Rig, consequently *he* could not have given the title Edda in the sense of *great-grandmother* to his work.

This, I beg to state, does not necessarily mean that Rig's Lay is of later origin than Snorri's age, 1178-1241. Still, I ask, what word, passage, turn of speech or allusion to life and manners in that poem tend to make it decidedly older than the 13th century? <sup>1</sup>

Again I must venture to say that on fair grounds no evidence can be admitted to exist showing that Edda, as an appellative for woman, originally was transferred from Rig's Lay to the so-called Snorri's Edda as a title of that book.

Coming now to the consideration of the derivations of Edda as a book title, the first that presents itself is Arni Magnússon's. After rejecting the great-grandmother interpretation and Biörn of Skardsa's suggestion that edda was derivable from Oddi,<sup>2</sup> the home of Sæmund the Learned, whom Biörn took to be the author of the

<sup>1</sup> I would call attention to the words: “kom hann at sal, suðr horfðu dyrr”: “came he to a hall, south looked the door,” Rígmál, v. 26. In itself there is nothing striking about the door of the aristocratic hall of Father and Mother facing the south. Only, the words quoted strike an Icelander, me, at least, as indicating that the door of this hall faced the south, because that was what the door of such a hall *ought* to do.

And why should the door of an aristocratic hall be supposed to face the south? Doubtless because those who supposed it thought it was the fashion. Now this notion finds, apparently, for the first time an expression in these words of the *Morkinskinna*, a vellum of the early thirteenth century: “Konungs háseti var á lang-pallinn þann er vissi í móti sólu”: “the king's high-seat was on the long = side-daïs that looked to the sun = the south,” which really means that the king's seat was arrayed up against the northern wall of the hall, so that, when he sat in it, he faced the south. This means that the Icelanders, at an early date, got the idea into their head that royal and aristocratic halls, or even halls generally, were so built that their side walls ran west to east. That idea has maintained itself in Iceland down to our own day, cf. Cleasby-Vigfússon's Dictionary 765<sub>4-5</sub>: “the northern bench facing the sun was called öndvegi it æðra, *the higher or first high seat.*” But the idea is quite mistaken. The position of a hall depended upon the lay of the land in relation to water (ocean shore, firths, lakes, rivers) and highways, and its side-walls could, of course, face any point of the compass.—If this mistaken notion of the Icelanders should run under the expression of Rígmál quoted above, then that expression would serve a twofold purpose: proving the poem to be *Icelandic* and of comparatively *late origin*.

<sup>2</sup> Vigfússon, who has made a very careful study of Biörn's Edda speculations, does not mention this point, and I have no means of verifying the source of Arni's statement.

Younger Edda, he proposes to derive the term from “óðr,” which originally means “wits,” the faculty of thinking and reasoning. Later on it is used by the Court poets in the sense of poetry, song, poem, lay; undoubtedly, as I think, on the ground, that in the so-called Bragi’s discourses, *Braga ræður*, in SE. I., 216, it is stated that whoso drinks of the fluid contained in the kettle Óðrerer, which fluid was the spiced blood of the wise Kvaser, which Odin stole from the Giant Suttung, “becomes a skald or a man of lore” (*skáld eða fræða-maðr*). Arni Magnússon is well aware of this evolution of the sense of óðr, and states it in his scholarly fashion in “*Vita Sæmundi Multiscii*” (in “*Edda Sæmundar hinns Fróða*” I., xxii.-xxiii., Hafniæ, 1787). As reason for deriving Edda from óðr he gives, that he has come across the expressions “*Eddu list*,” the art of Edda, and “*Eddu reglur*,” the rules of Edda, in two poets of the fourteenth century. From these expressions he says “it is clearly to be gathered that the said word Edda does not mean a poetical book, but the poetry itself or the doctrine (teaching) of poetry, since metrical art was in use long before the Edda was put to writing.” But in this argument Arni overlooks the fact (possibly because he did not know of the existence of ‘Upsala Edda’) that the poets he mentions obviously knew the rules and art of Edda from a written corpus, which bore that name, and which was regarded by their contemporaries as the standard work, by the rules of which it was obligatory for poets to abide. For both poets, one of whom was a Benedictine abbot of Thingeyrar, the other an Augustinian canon regular of Thickby, bid defiance to the prevailing fashion of slavish adherence to the rules of this poetical law-code.

Arni Magnússon’s derivation was taken up by Professor Konrad Gíslason of Copenhagen in a paper he contributed to “*Aarbøger för nordisk Oldkyndighed*” in 1884. On the lines of comparative philology he endeavours, in a most learned manner, to show that Edda may be derived from *óðr*, and may thus mean what he in Danish calls “*poetik*,” a term equivalent to *ars poetica*. In support of this derivation he adduces *stedda*, a mare, which he derives from *stóð*, a collection of horses out at pasture and not employed in domestic use; this word is really the same as the English *stud*. Another corroborative instance he detects in *ledda*, the leaden sinker on a line used for deep-sea fishing. I say leaden, which to you will appear a superfluous epithet to a sinker. But I do it, because I am old enough to remember the time when,

in the East of Iceland, where I was born and bred, the foreign sinker of lead, which exclusively went under the name of *ledda*, was driving out the homely sinker made of a surf-filed oblong spheroid boulder, the longer diameter of which was about eight, the shorter about five inches long. This kind of sinker was called *sakka*, etymologically identical with the English term “sink.” When the *ledda* had got into general use, and the old stone *sakka* was gone out of existence, the two terms, *sakka* and *ledda*, were promiscuously applied to the lead sinker for a while; but now the genuine native term, *sakka*, is, I think I may say with certainty, the one universally and exclusively used; the reason being, that *ledda* was felt to be a foreign word for which there was no use any longer, when it had driven out of the field the old occupier. Well this word, *ledda*, Gíslason derives from *lóð*, which, amongst other things, means a mason’s plummet, and as a technical term for that object, is a modern loan-word in Icelandic.

Now *stedda* is certainly a foreign loan-word. It is found in two fifteenth century MSS., one a copy of the romantic story of Parcival, the other a MS. of Grettis saga. But, of course, it is of a much older date, though most likely it came to Iceland in the Norwegian translation of Parcival’s saga, which is founded on the “Conte el Graal” by “Chrestien de Troyes,” and was done into Norse in the days of the Norwegian king Hakon the Old (1219-1263). Now, to derive *stedda*, a term for the individual we know by the name of *mare*, from *stóð*, a *collective term* for a number of horses of either sex and any age, including foals, seems to me simply impossible. So derived, considering that in that case, formally regarded, it would be a diminutive, what could the word possibly mean but little stud, a small collection of horses of any sex and age out on pasture? The same objection applies to *ledda* if derived from *lóð*: what could the word mean in that case but little plummet? In derivations to overlook the no less delicate than unerring logic of *sense-evolution* must necessarily lead to results that fail to hit the mark.

Now it is a fact that cannot be ignored, that of the many genuine Icelandic stems terminating in -óð there is not one that evolves a diminutive term -edd-. (Masculines: Hróðr, praise; sjóðr, purse; gróðr, growth; móðr, temper; róðr, rowing, &c. Neuters: blóð, blood; flóð, flood; kóð, fry of fish; skóð, scathing weapon; tróð, roof-laths. Fem.: glóð, gleeds; hlóð, hearth; slóð, sleuth;



track—in none of these, or any other similar cases that I can think of, is there any trace of a tendency to form diminutive derivatives in -edd-). And I certainly do not think I overstate the case in saying that such a form-evolution *is altogether foreign to the Icelandic language*. As to *stedda*, I must venture to suggest that it is simply derived from Engl. *stud*(-horse), a stallion, and meant originally a breeding mare.

Gíslason himself admits that Edda is to be regarded as a diminutive of *óðr*; but he translates it “poetik,” *i.e.*, poetics, the art or doctrine of poetry. But to make a diminutive form of a word that means song, poetry, to express anything but song, poetry in some diminutive sense, is altogether contrary to the logic of sense-evolution. And I must regard it as a matter admitting of no doubt, that such a diminutive never could have conveyed the sense of teaching of or instruction in the vast body of laws that regulate the whole art. Besides, there is the incontestable fact, that Edda *was* the name of a book teaching the art of poetry, consequently Edda rules and Edda art are terms that simply mean the teaching relating to the art of poetry which is contained in the book called Edda.

The derivations I have now dealt with meet with so many and so serious objections as to render them obviously untenable.

Now, as the explanation of the name that I am about to venture on is not confined to etymological speculation only, but will be supported by historical facts and evidence of probability, I will begin by briefly glancing at the history of the two books that currently bear the name of Edda.

In the year 1639 one of the most learned men of the North, Brynjólf Sveinsson, was appointed Bishop of Skalholt in Iceland. Soon after his accession to the see he became the possessor of the MS. which contains nearly the whole of the songs that collectively go under the name of The Older Edda. There seems little doubt that he acquired this MS. in the year 1643, for his monogram **LS**, with that date affixed, is written on the foot of the first page of the MS. Where or from whom the Bishop got the book we do not know. He caused a copy of the MS. to be taken on vellum and gave it the title “Edda Sæmundi Multiscii.” This copy he gave to the historian Thormod Torfason, but what has become of it is not known. About 1662 the Bishop made a present of the old book to King Frederick III. of Denmark, and now it is preserved in the so-called Old Collection in the Great Royal Library of Copenhagen,

No. 2365, 4<sup>o</sup>. An excellent phototype edition of the MS. was brought out at Copenhagen, 1891, under the superintendence of Prof. Wimmer and Dr. Finnur Jónsson. The age of the MS. is variously referred by various palæographers to the 50 years between 1220 and 1270.

A fragment of a codex that has contained a collection of ancient lays such as we have in Cod. Regius of the Older Edda is preserved in the Arna Magnæan collection of MSS. at Copenhagen (No. 748, 4to). Bugge, in his excellent edition of the Older Edda, has made it clear that both these MSS., the only larger monuments of Old Eddaic Lays now existing, older than the seventeenth century, are descended through various intervening links from one common original.

The songs we now know under the common title of the Older Edda, seem from the beginning to have formed two groups within the same book: the mythical and the heroic group. Of each group there appeared, not later than the thirteenth century, a *popular edition* in the shape of a prose paraphrase, interlarded, after the fashion of the sagas, with verses from the songs themselves in corroboration of this or that statement. The paraphrase of the mythic songs was done by Snorri Sturluson, and goes under the name of Gylfaginning; that of the heroic songs is due to an unknown author, and is known as the Völsunga saga. Where these paraphrases draw upon, or quote verses from, songs which still are preserved in the Cod. Regius of the Older Edda, they show that the text of those songs was so closely in agreement with those still preserved, as to warrant the conclusion that both sets of lays descended from a common written source.

Now as to the Prose Edda, or the Edda of Snorri Sturluson, that work is preserved to us in three principal MSS., the Cod. Regius 2367 4<sup>o</sup>, in the Royal Library of Copenhagen, from the early part of the fourteenth century, defective at the beginning; the Codex Wormianus, from about 1330, now in the Arna Magnæan collection at Copenhagen, N. 242 fol., an imperfect book with many lacunas; the Codex Upsaliensis, the oldest of these three, from about 1300, preserved as No. 11 among the Delagardian collections at the University Library of Upsala.

Besides these principal codices of Snorra Edda, there are still extant several fragments on vellum, all dating from the fourteenth century, except one from the fifteenth.

Of the three principal codices aforementioned, the one that

especially concerns us is the Codex Upsaliensis. It is agreed on all hands that it must be a descendant from Snorri's own original; and Dr. Finnur Jónsson, a first rate authority in these matters, takes the Codex to be a copy of Snorri's own work, or of an apograph of the same. It must have been written by some member of Snorri's kindred or at any rate under the auspices of one. It begins by a titular superscription in red letters, which in literal translation runs as follows:—

“This Book is called Edda. Snorri Sturluson has put it together according to the manner herein set forth. First there is (told) of the Æsir and Ymir. Next thereto is Skaldskaparmál and the names of many things. Last is Háttatal, which Snorri wrought on King Hakon and Duke Skuli.”

This title is in the hand of the scribe who copied the MS. itself, and is clearly the first item he penned of it. Consequently it is not added later, or after the copying of the MS. had been executed. The words: “This book is called Edda,” therefore, can hardly be the invention of the scribe. They must be derived from the original of which this MS. is a copy. Even if they were due to the scribe, they could only mean that he knew, or had learnt, that the name given by people in general to the book was Edda. But the most natural way of accounting for the title is, as I have said, to take it for a copy of an older original.

This MS. bears evidence of connection with Snorri's literary activity and of having been executed at the instance of near relatives of his. For it contains a list of Court poets corresponding to such an one as Snorri must have drawn up and used for his *Heimskringla*; it also contains a genealogy of the Sturlungs, Snorri's kindred, that terminates with a nephew of his, and lastly a series of the Speakers-at-Law (*Lögsögumenn*) down to Snorri's second speakership, 1222-31. The MS. is written probably rather before than after 1300, some 50 to 60 years after Snorri's death.

Such being the case, the conclusion seems warranted that Snorri himself gave this name to his work.

Well, then, this conclusion brings us face to face with certain historical facts connected with the life of Snorri Sturluson, which cannot be overlooked and must on no account be ignored, as hitherto has been the case, when a rational solution is to be attempted of the origin and meaning of Edda as a book-title.

Snorri Sturluson was born in 1178, in the west of Iceland, at a place called Hvam. A child of three years of age, he was taken into fostering at Oddi by the grandson of Sæmund the Learned, Jón Loptsson, 1181; and at Oddi the future historian of the Scandinavian races remained till he was 19 years of age, when (1197) his fosterfather died. Jón Loptsson was universally acknowledged to be the mightiest chief and the highest character in the land; and was succeeded by a son, Sæmund, Snorri's foster-brother, who combined all the best and noblest characteristics of the famous race of Sæmund the Learned.

What sort of a house was this, at which Snorri spent his studious and eager-minded youth, and where he laid the foundations of his future greatness as critic, historian, mythographer, poet, lawyer, politician? Why, it was a famous house of learning. Sæmund the Learned, after having spent many years in studious pursuits on the continent of Europe, particularly at Paris, was persuaded to return to his native land, a youth of twenty, in 1076. And settling down at the family mansion of Oddi soon bestirred himself in setting up a school there, which his descendants were most zealous in maintaining in healthy emulation with those of Skalholt and Hawkdale. Sæmund himself must have been, of all men in Iceland, about the best versed in contemporary learning abroad, and the wealth of his house supplied him with ample means for getting together a library suitable to his tastes as a scholar and satisfying his ambition as a schoolmaster.

What Sæmund began we know his descendants took zealous care of even into the thirteenth century.

So far, then, we are in possession of these historical facts: (1) That Snorri Sturluson was fostered for sixteen years at Oddi. (2) That Oddi was still a famous centre of learning at the time. (3) That Snorri is the author of the book which the Codex Upsaliensis says is called *Edda*. (4) That the first main portion of that book is a prose paraphrase of mythical songs such as we have collected in the book which variously bears the names of the Poetical, the Older, or Sæmund's *Edda*.

Other historical points present themselves. They are obvious, it is true, and therefore pass without any particular notice, somewhat after the fashion of the walk of man, which is an obvious and unheeded fact, but in reality a continuous succession of interrupted and counteracted falls. It is obvious that Snorri must have had before him a collection of mythical songs such as we know exist

in the Cod. Reg. of the Older Edda. It is obvious that a book containing this collection must have existed. It is obvious that it must have been kept somewhere, and that Snorri must have found it somewhere, or got it from somewhere for the purpose of paraphrasing it. Now the Older Edda is a book for scholars, and always has been. It has never been a popular book or a book for the general reader in the real sense of that expression. And though its language was generally understood by the people, being the same in grammatical form and syntactical structure as the idiom they spoke themselves, the mythic and heroic background of a vast number of its allusions was as much a sealed mystery to the general reader of the twelfth century as it is to him of the nineteenth. Nay, even more so. Orders for copies of such a book must have been few and far between. We know that we can gauge pretty accurately the popularity of the old books of Iceland by the number of MSS. and MS. fragments of them that have escaped destruction to our day. The Older Edda has reached us in two fragments only, for the Cod. Reg., though less of a fragment than A.M. 748, is still but a fragment.

It is an evident matter that such a work would chiefly be found in the libraries of seats of learning. Now, in the days of Snorri there were several such in the country: Oddi, Skalholt, Hawkdale, besides the monasteries. At some one of these such a book was most naturally to be looked for. But it was not a book one would expect to find in the house of an ordinary yeoman.

Seeing that it was quite as likely that it should be found at Oddi as at any of the other seats of learning in the country; and considering Snorri's long sojourn at Oddi and his intimate connection with the lords of that manor from 1181-1241, there is nothing whatever in the nature of improbability about the assumption that it was at Oddi that Snorri became acquainted with the contents of the volume, or that it was from Oddi that he borrowed it in order to bring out his popular prose edition of it, if, indeed, he did not do it before he left Oddi.<sup>1</sup> Now, assuming that such a perfectly natural thing should have happened, why should Snorri have given the name of Edda to a book of his, the first main portion of which was this very paraphrase? Or, if he did not himself give this name to the book, why should his family, under whose auspices the book

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<sup>1</sup> I think it must be granted that in finished stateliness of style, Cod. Ups. stands far behind the later recensions, Reg. and Worm., and bears in comparison to them the stamp of immaturity.

was copied some fifty years after his death, give their sanction to the statement that the title of the book was Edda?

The natural answer to these queries is this: Snorri's book was called Edda by somebody or somebodies for some reason or another. The inventor of the title might have been Snorri or some relative of his or anyone else; but the reason why it took the form of Edda must have been one. Well, the book began with that most important section, the paraphrase, or popularized edition of mythical songs contained in a book preserved at Oddi. Scholars and other outsiders who knew of the existence of such a book at Oddi would naturally, in talking about it, give it a derivative local designation. That designation must take the form of a feminine, agreeing with “bók,” understood, and be derived from the name of the place where it was preserved, in accordance with the laws and feeling of the Icelandic language. The term satisfying these conditions in every way was Edda = the book of, or at Oddi.<sup>1</sup>

Now what name could a popularized edition of this book bear more properly than that of the mother MS.? And this is even what, in my opinion, has taken place, that either Snorri himself or some one else who knew that Snorri's work was a prose edition of the famous Codex of Oddi, *gave the prose edition the name of its poetical original.*

That Edda, as a book-title, is to be derived from Oddi, is a proposition in support of which I may adduce one further consideration. We have seen already that the author of the recension represented by Cod. Upsaliensis did not know the term “edda” as an appellative for woman. Consequently he did not know the document—the sole document, so far as we know—that preserved this word, I mean the Lay of Rig. Yet he calls the book Edda when he sets about writing it; for the first words he penned of the book were these: “Bók þessi heitir edda,” this book is hight Edda. Now, to me it is incomprehensible, that the author of this recension, or the copyist of it (the scribe of Cod. Ups.) should have borrowed out of Rígs mál the name Edda, in the sense of great-grandmother, for a title to the book, and yet in the chapter on “ókend heiti” should not only be ignorant of the term as a synonym for woman, but should even betray no acquaintance whatever with that poem. It is therefore an obvious matter that “Edda” has come to figure here, as a book-

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<sup>1</sup> Edda is formed from Oddi in the same manner as is “hyrna” from “horn” in “Vatnshyrna,” the book of Vatnshorn.

title, entirely independently of Rígsnál. And where could it then have been got from, but from Oddi, as already shown above?

But now, you will ask, what about the *etymology* of this strange word? Will that suit or unsuit it for the purpose you maintain it answers?

Well, the fact of the matter is, that we have to deal with two Eddas, sprung from an identical *sound-source*, but from two realities as distinct from each other as, *e.g.*, are Salisbury, England's prime minister, and Salisbury, the episcopal see of that name.

Primitive appellatives are parents of derivative appellatives on one hand, and of proper names on the other. In the Icelandic language there is an old appellative ODDR, an -a stem, meaning a *point* (of an instrument, a weapon, &c.); concurrently with this the ancient language (as well as the modern) has the form ODDI, an -an stem, signifying a point of land jutting into water. Both these appellatives pass at a very early age into proper names, without however at all losing their appellative character and use: Oddr into proper *personal* name only, Oddi into proper name for both *persons* and *places*. What Oddr and Oddi, as personal names for *homo masculus*, primitively signify, is a matter I need not go into. What Edda, derived from these names, etymologically must mean, is too obvious to require explanation. She is the female counterpart of Oddr or Oddi, as, for instance, Æsa is of Asi, Hrefna of Hrafn, Olöf of Olafr, &c. She is the passive, while Oddr or Oddi is the active principle in the evolution of the species, simply: *WOMAN*. *This is the Edda of Rígsnál*. From Oddi, as a local name, the derivative fem. Edda for a particularly notable book preserved at a place of such a name, is in every way appropriately evolved both as to form and sense. This I maintain is the derivation of the Edda of Cod. Upsaliensis, which, as far as any tangible evidence goes, has nothing to do with Rígsnál.

In both cases, however, Edda descends from the stems odd- and oddan- in a perfectly correct manner. Only, the palatal mutation of o > e is a phonetic change peculiar to Iceland and unquestionably of late date. Similar cases we have in hnot > hnetr, nut; kom- > kemr, comes; sof- > sefr, sleeps; brodd- goad, > bred-da, big knife; boli, bull, > belja, cow; þollr, pine, > þella, pine sapling, &c.

If I am right in what I have advanced in the foregoing argument, with regard to the real derivation of Edda as a book title, all

attempts of modern scholars to show that the irrelevant lucubrations of Biörn of Skarðsá (1574-1655) are the original source of the tradition which to this day has linked the Older Edda to the name of Sæmund the Learned of Oddi, must be regarded in the light of irrelevancy themselves. That tradition must be allowed to date far rather from the twelfth or thirteenth, than from the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. This being granted, the solution of the vexed and long discussed question : who was the probable collector of the songs of the Older Edda, need not wait much longer for a satisfactory answer.



