

Saga-Book of the Viking Club.

VOL. III. PART III.

ADDITIONAL GIFTS TO LIBRARY & MUSEUM.

THE following additional gifts have been made to the Library :—

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MR. E. SWAIN.

A bookcase.

"Northern Antiquities." By P. H. Mallet.

"Shetland and the Shetlanders." By C. Sinclair.

"The Story of Norway." By C. S. Sidgwick.

"Scandinavia." By A. Crichton and H. Wheaton.

"Tent Life with English Gypsies in Norway." By H. Smith.

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"Margaret of Denmark." By Mary Hill.

"The Oxonian in Iceland." By F. Metcalfe.

"Home of the Eddas." By C. J. Loch.

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"History of the House of Cirksena." By W. H. Dodge.

THE AUTHOR.

"Original Poems and Translations." By Mrs. Disney Leith.

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"Stories of the Bishops of Iceland." By Mrs. Disney Leith.

HAAKON SCHETELIG.

"Samlingen af Norske Oldsager i Bergens Museum." By A. Lorange.

THE AUTHOR.

- "Et Bosted fra Stenaldere paa Bommeløen." By Haakon Schetelig.
 "Fortegnelse over de til Bergens Museum i 1901 indkomne Sager ældre end Reformationen." By Haakon Schetelig.
 "Datering af et Hulefund paa Søndmør." By Haakon Schetelig.
 "En plyndret Baadgrav." By Haakon Schetelig.
 "Vaabengrave fra Norges ældre Jernalder." By Haakon Schetelig.
 "Notes from the Antiquarian Collection." By Haakon Schetelig.
 Reprinted from the Year Books of the Bergen Museum.

THE AUTHOR.

- "Thalassographical and Thalassological Notes on the North Sea."
 By Chevalier Wm. Paget Jervis, late Conservator, Royal Industrial Museum, Turin.

MISS M. BARMBY.

- "Gísli Súrsson." By Miss B. H. Barmby. Translated into Icelandic by Matthias Jochúmsson.
 "Poems." By Miss B. H. Barmby.
 "Rosslyn's Raid and Other Tales." By Miss B. H. Barmby.

THE AUTHOR.

- "A Viking Philosopher, A. S. Nordenskiöld." By F. A. Bather.
 "Baron Nordenskiöld." By F. A. Bather.
 "Otto Martin Torell." An Obituary Notice. By F. A. Bather.
 "Gustav Lindström." By F. A. Bather.
 Reprinted from the *Geological Magazine*.
 "Chr. Fred. Lütken." By F. A. Bather. Reprinted from *Science*.

MR. J. MACKAY.

- "Handbook to Stromness."
 Photograph of a Quern and Knocking Stone.

THE AUTHOR.

- "Tree and Pillar Worship." By the Rev. J. Dukinfield Astley.
 Reprinted from the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*.

MR. A. F. MAJOR.

- "The Saxons in England." By J. M. Kemble.
 "The Anglo-Saxon Poems of Beowulf, the Scôp or Gleeman's Tale and the Fight at Finnesburg." By Benjamin Thorpe.
 "Analecta Anglo-Saxonica." By Benjamin Thorpe.
 "British Family Names: their Origin and Meaning." By Henry Barber.
 "Pen and Pencil Sketches of Farøe and Iceland." By A. J. Symington.

THE AUTHOR.

- "The Story of the Laxdalers." Done into English by Robert Proctor.

OTHER ADDITIONS.

- "The Grand Duchy of Finland." By the Author of "A Visit to the Russians in Central Asia." (T. Fisher Unwin.)
 "Popular Tales from the Norse." By Sir George Webbe Dasent, D.C.L., etc. New Edition, with a Memoir by A. I. Dasent. (David Douglas.)
 "Northern Mythology." By Professor D. Kauffmann. Translated by M. Steele Smith. (J. M. Dent & Co.)

- "Scandinavian Loan Words in Middle English." By Erik Björkman, Ph.D. (Max Niemeyer.)
- "Children of Odin." By E. E. Speight. (Horace Marshall & Son.)
- "Place-Names of Scotland." By J. B. Johnston. (David Douglas.)
- "Lauder and Lauderdale." By A. Thomson. (Craighead Bros.)
- "Coll and Tiree." By Erskine Beveridge. (T. & A. Constable.)
- "Some Shetland Folk." By J. J. Haldane Burgess, M.A. (Lerwick: Thos. Matthewson.)
- "The Treasure of Don Andres. A Shetland Romance of the Spanish Armada." By J. J. Haldane Burgess, M.A. (Lerwick: Thos. Matthewson.)
- "Karen: A Swedish Idyll." By Miss F. H. Wood. (James Blackwood and Co.)

GIFT TO THE MUSEUM.

MR. E. SWAIN.

Model of the Jellinge Stone.

VIKING BIBLIOGRAPHY IN 1903.

[The Hon. Editor will be glad if Vikings generally will help to make the Bibliography as complete as possible by intimating to him the appearance of articles in local newspapers, magazines, etc., suitable for notice, or forwarding cuttings of the same. Communications should be sent to "Heath Dene," Brooke Avenue, Roxeth, Harrow.]

PUBLICATIONS BY MEMBERS.

By Rev. C. W. WHISTLER, M.A. :—

"For King or Empress." Nelsons. 3s. 6d.

"Gerald the Sheriff." Serial for *Young England*. A story introducing Magnus Barefoot and his victory in Anglesea and subsequent campaigns.

"A Prince of Cornwall." Warnes. In the press. A story of the date of Ina of Wessex, introducing the Danish Settlements in South Wales.

By W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A. :—

Papers in *The Reliquary* on pre-Norman Crosses at Kendal, Lancaster, Hornby, and Melling.

History of Lancashire, an Introduction to Deacon's *Bluebook* of Lancashire.

Article in the *Transactions* of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society on a Sculptured Cross-base at Tullie House, Carlisle (of Viking Age).

By A. R. GODDARD, B.A. :—

Article on the Bedfordshire Earthworks in the *Victoria County History*.

By GILBERT GOUDIE, F.S.A.Scot. :—

"The Celtic and Scandinavian Antiquities of Shetland." Illustrated. Blackwood.

“Aus England's hohem Norden” (“From England's High North”), by Karl Blind, is the title of an essay in the *Literary Gazette of the Berlin Vossische Zeitung*, in which there are references to the good work done by the London Viking Club as regards research in the archæology of the several branches of the great Germanic (Scandinavian and Teutonic) stock.

GENERAL.

- “Mimir.” Icelandic Institutions, with Addresses. Copenhagen : Martins Trielsen.
- “Antikvar-Katalog (Nr. 13) over Litteratur vedrørende Island og Grønland.” Kobenhavn : Herrn. H. G. Lyng & Søn. (Publishers' catalogue.)

“A Fair-haired Race in Ancient Egypt,” by Dr. Karl Blind, in August number of *New Liberal Review* (1903).

SPECIAL GIFTS TO FUNDS.

<i>From Honorary Members—</i>					£	s.	d.
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Mrs. Newmarch	0	10	0
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REPORTS OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE
MEETINGS OF THE CLUB.

ELEVENTH SESSION, 1903.

OLD YULE MEETING, JANUARY 9TH, 1903.

A SOCIAL gathering was held on Friday, January 9th, 1903, at 8 p.m., at the King's Weigh House, which was attended by about fifty members and friends. In the course of the evening an abridgement of the late Miss Beatrice H. Barmby's play, "Gísli Súrsson," founded on the Icelandic Gísla Saga, was read with the following cast:—

Thorkel Súrsson	{ (a gentleman of Deersfrith, Hawkdale, West Iceland) }	COL. HOBART
Gísli Súrsson (his brother)	... ..	ALBANY F. MAJOR
Thorgrim	{ (their friends and foster-brothers) }	F. T. NORRIS
Vestein		DR. G. PERNET
Bork (Thorgrim's brother)	... ..	... F. T. NORRIS
Eyjolf (Thorgrim's cousin)	... ..	CHARLES H. F. MAJOR
Helgi (Vestein's son)	... ..	DR. G. PERNET
Asgerd (Thorkel's wife)	... ..	MISS ELEANOR HULL
Gudrid	{ (Gísli's kinswoman and adopted daughter) }	MRS. MARGIT MAJOR
Aud (Gísli's wife and Vestein's sister)		... ..	MISS AMY LESLIE

The overture and musical Interludes between the Acts and Scenes, selected from the works of Edward Grieg and Ole Olsen, were played by Mrs. Margit Major.

MEETING, JANUARY 23RD, 1903.

Mr. G. M. ATKINSON (President) in the Chair.

The Rev. W. C. Green, M.A., Hon. District Secretary for East Anglia, read a paper on "The Saga of Gunnlaug Ormstunga," with original ballads founded on the

Saga, and also two ballads founded on "Njal's Saga." A brief discussion followed, in which Dr. J. Lawrence, Mr. A. F. Major, and the President took part.

Mr. A. R. Goddard, M.A., read a paper on "Some Account of a Danish Camp on the Ouse with a 'hithe' or 'naust,'" which with the discussion thereon is reproduced in this issue.

MEETING, FEBRUARY 20TH, 1903.

Mr. G. M. ATKINSON (President) in the Chair.

A paper by Mr. W. F. Kirby, Vice-President, on "The Oriental Character of the *Hávamál*," was read, in the unavoidable absence of the author on account of sickness, by the Hon. Secretary, in which Mr. Kirby drew attention to the familiarity of the Norsemen with North and South Russia and Byzantium, through which they came in touch with the Eastern nations, so that even if the story of the march of Odin and the *Æsir* from Asia to Scandinavia be mythical, we need not be surprised to find Oriental features in their literature. He compared the extensive collection of proverbs in the Elder Edda, known as the "*Hávamál*," to such Eastern books as the Proverbs of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, the Proverbs of Ahikar, etc., and was inclined to think that the idea of the *Hávamál* was taken from the latter, pointing out that this book of Ahikar, or Heykar, the vizier of Sennacherib, and the instruction he gave to his nephew Nadar, is extant in Slavonic and Greek, as well as in Arabic, Syriac, *Æthiopic* and Armenian, and must therefore have been well known to people in Eastern Europe with whom the Vikings came in contact. Mr. Kirby called attention to some of the principal resemblances between the *Hávamál* and such Oriental collections of proverbs, both in framework and in substance, but admitted that the points of divergence were also very numerous, and concluded with a detailed account and analysis of the *Hávamál* and of Odin's Rune Song, which sometimes is printed as a part of it. With

regard to this latter, he referred to the probability that the magical effect of such spells depended not so much on the words themselves as on some secret attached to the use of them, just as the effect of the Indian Mantras is understood to depend on the intonation. He pointed out that another Eddaic poem, the "Incantation of Grôa," likewise consisted of a list of magical songs, to be used as a protection by a traveller on a perilous journey. The paper was briefly discussed by the President, and Mr. A. F. Major, who explained, on the lecturer's behalf, that, owing to illness, he had not been able to develop his subject so fully as he had hoped. The meeting concluded with a general discussion on Northern subjects, in which many of those present took part.

MEETING, MARCH 20TH, 1903.

Mr. G. M. ATKINSON (President) in the Chair.

Dr. J. Lawrence, D.Lit.Lon., read a paper on "Metres in the Sæmundar Edda," which is held over for reproduction when the paper has been completed. In the discussion which followed, the President, Messrs. A. F. Major, F. T. Norris, A. W. Johnston, W. F. Kirby, and the lecturer took part.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, APRIL 24TH, 1903.

Mr. G. M. ATKINSON (President) in the Chair.

The Annual General Meeting was held at the King's Weigh House, on Friday, April 24th, 1903, at 8 p.m. The Annual Report of the Council and Statement of Accounts and Balance Sheet for the year 1902 were presented to the meeting and unanimously adopted, and the Officers of the Club for the ensuing year were elected.

A paper on "Orkney Folklore," by Mr. George Marwick, Hon. District Secretary for Orkney (Sandwick), and Mr. A. W. Johnston, F.S.A.Scot., was then read by Mr. Johnston, who also laid before the meeting a proposal

for a survey of Orkney place-names, which he suggested the Club should set on foot. In the discussion which followed, Dr. J. G. Garson, Mr. G. M. Atkinson, and the lecturer took part.

ANNUAL DINNER, APRIL 27TH, 1903.

The Annual Dinner was held at the Criterion Restaurant, Piccadilly, W., on Monday, April 27th, 1903, at 7-30 p.m., when the following were present:—Dr. J. G. Garson, President, in the Chair, Mr. G. M. Atkinson, Vice-President, in the Vice-Chair, Mr. Cathcart Wason, M.P., and Mrs. Wason, Mr. A. W. Johnston, Miss Leslie, Mr. and Mrs. Macintosh, Mr. and Miss Rücker, Miss Higford and friend, Mr. and Miss Warburg and friend, the Rev. Pastor Birgh, Mr. Gosselin-Grimshawe, Col. Hobart, the Hon. Mrs. Randolph Clay, Mr. and Mrs. Newman, Mrs. Hawkins and friends, Mr. Otto Hagborg, Miss Tora Hwaas, Miss Beales, Mr. W. F. Downing, Dr. and Mrs. Pernet, Mr. W. F. Kirby, Miss Parsons, Mr. W. Mansell Stevens, Mr. H. Lloyd, Miss Atkinson, Mr. Dudley Dines, Mr. E. Swain, M. J. P. Emslie, and Mr. F. T. Norris. Mr. A. F. Major and Mrs. Major were unable to be present. The dinner was followed by a selection of vocal and instrumental music by members and friends, including pianoforte solos by Mr. Mansell Stevens and Miss Tora Hwaas, and songs by Dr. Pernet and Mr. A. W. Johnston.

MEETING, NOVEMBER 20TH, 1903.

Dr. J. G. GARSON (President) in the Chair.

Dr. Karl Blind, Vice-President, read a paper on the "Discovery of a Pre-Historic Sun-Chariot in Denmark" which is reproduced in the present issue. A brief discussion followed, in which Col. Hobart, Mr. A. F. Major, Mr. A. R. Goddard, the President, and the lecturer took part.

MEETING, DECEMBER 18TH, 1903.

Dr. J. G. GARSON (President) in the Chair.

“The Lay of Thrym,” translated from “Thrymskviða,” by the late Miss Beatrice H. Barmby, was read, and is reproduced in this issue.

Mr. R. L. Bremner read a paper on “Some Notes on the Norsemen in Argyllshire and on the Clyde,” which is also reproduced. A brief discussion followed, in which Mr. E. Sloper, Mr. F. T. Norris, Mr. G. M. Atkinson, Mr. W. F. Kirby, the President, and the Lecturer took part.

Mr. W. G. Collingwood, Hon. District Secretary for the Lake District, exhibited a drawing of the Scandinavian sculpture of the Viking Age from a stone slab at Iona, and the Viking sword recently discovered at Workington in Cumberland, and gave his reasons for supposing that the latter came from a pagan burial. Both exhibits are described in his district report.

REPORTS OF DISTRICT SECRETARIES.

THE District Secretary for the Lake Counties (Mr. W. G. Collingwood, M.A.) writes :—

GOSPATRIC'S CUMBERLAND CHARTER.

WE have had very little documentary evidence of the Northmen in the Lake Counties, but at last history seems to be coming into touch with archæology. A newly found charter, some fifty years older than any yet known, gives us the names of eleventh-century landowners in Cumberland, and they turn out to be exactly what we should expect, assuming the Norse settlement for a fact.

This charter or writ was discovered lately at Lowther Castle, and has been printed in full, with translation and notes, by the Rev. James Wilson in the *Scottish Historical Review* (No. I.) It raises many points of interest, but for our purpose its chief value is in giving particulars of language and life in the dark period 1067-1092, from which it is believed to date.

It is not, like the Pennington tympanum, in Norse, but in North-English, then the language of the upper classes in Northumbria and the Lowlands of Scotland. Norse appears, from the tympanum mentioned, to have been the vernacular of Furness, and the Dolfin runes, if genuine, show that it was the vernacular of the land of Carlisle well into the twelfth century. But Gospatric, though of Gaelic descent and Cymric name (*gwas-Patric* being the Strathclyde and Cumbrian equivalent for *gille-Patric*), was an English Earl, and the great majority of his people talked English.

The object of the document is to state the succession of one Thorfynn to lands held by his father Thore ; the *e*

must be meant to be pronounced, and Thore must stand for Thori(r). Thorfynn Mac Thore is the form of the name; showing that this Northman was not a settler from Scandinavia, but from Ireland or the South-isles. Mr. Wilson notes that "mac" for son is extremely rare in local evidences, though Gospatric Mapbennoc is mentioned in the Pipe Roll of 1158. This, however, is the Welsh (Cumbric) form: mac Cristin for mac-gille-Christ (afterwards Christian) is a Gaelic-Norse instance from the Isle of Man.

Earl Gospatric desires that Thorfynn and his men "be as free as Melmor (Maelmuire?) and Thore (Thorir) and Sygulf were in Eadread's days," and "as geld free as I am and in like manner as Walltheof (Gospatric's son "Waldeve"?) and Wygande (perhaps owner of Wiggonby) and Wyberth and Gamell and Kunyth (Kenneth?)"—these being apparently contemporaries and connections of the Earl: also that he enjoy soc and sac, etc., over the lands given to his father in Moryn's days. These lands were Cartheu (Cardew) and Combeðeyfoch (Cumdivock) in the district of Dalston, which was afterwards forfeited by Hervey son of Morin.

The *crux* of the charter is the phrase "Gospatric greets all . . . that dwell on all the lands of the *Cumbrian*"—"on eallan þam landann þeo weoron Coṁbres"; from which it has been supposed that somebody called Comंबर owned the land afterwards known as Cumberland, because Commbres appears to be genitive singular. The Rev. J. Wilson boldly translates "all the lands of the Cumbrians"; but I venture to suggest that this document was addressed to the inhabitants of the district of Dalston, and that Moryn, in whose family was a Hervey, was the "Cumbrian" who had held the lands, part of which were given to Thorir and now confirmed to Thorfinn. We find the name Thorir in Thursby, formerly supposed to be connected with some imaginary temple of Thor; and Thorfinn became the legendary giant of the same neighbourhood, with a haunted howe near Thursby.

In this charter we get very near to the actual Norse settlement of this bit of Cumberland. That elsewhere the settlement had begun earlier is shown by the use of *Alnerdall* (Allerdale) with the Norse genitive in *-er* from the name of the river Alne or Ellen, and the Norse *dall* (dalr), as well as the forms *Caldebek* (Caldbeck) and *bek Troyte* (Troutbeck?) along with *Shauk*, *Wafyr* (Waver) and *Pollwathoen* (Wathenpol, Wampool). That three out of six river or valley names are distinctly Scandinavian *temp.* William I. proves that the Viking settlement in general had long since taken effect.

THE WORKINGTON SWORD.

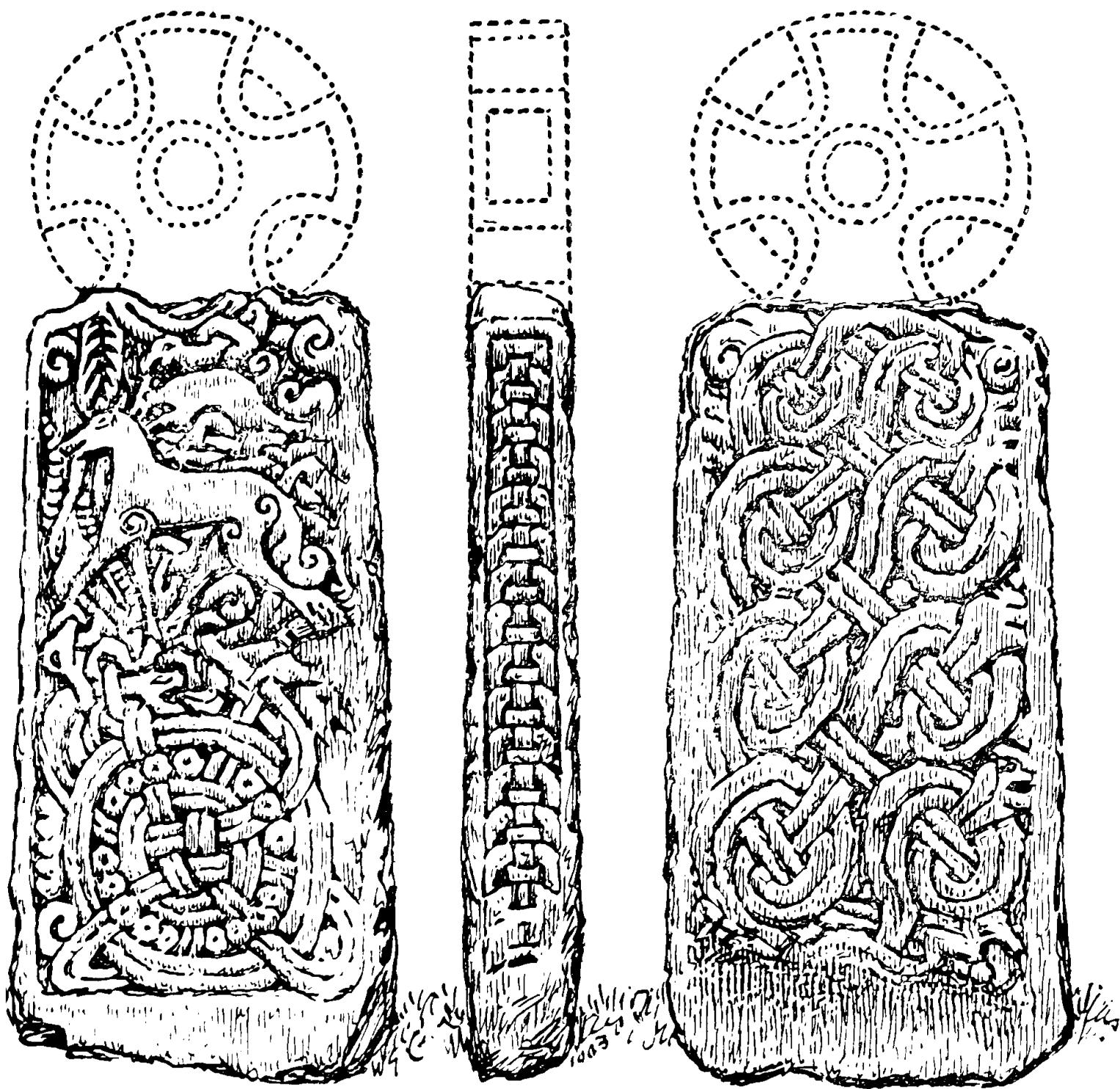
While making a road last winter about 80 yards north of the Derwent, on a gravel ridge called Oysterbanks, a sword was found by the labourers. It passed into the possession of the Rev. C. T. Phillips, vicar of West Seaton, on whose land the discovery was made; but no further information about the circumstances of the find is available.

The sword was broken, and one part was bent up, just as Viking swords have been found in burial places: for example, that from the Hesket Tumulus, now in Tullie House Museum, Carlisle, on the guard of which interlaced patterns can still be seen. This Workington sword is too rusted for any of the workmanship to be visible; but it seems as though it had been broken and bent *in its scabbard*, for the mountings and tip of the sheath can be traced by thickenings in the mass of rusted iron. The ridge of the blade is also distinguishable in the concave side of the bent part. An example of a sword bent up in its sheath is given in Du Chaillu's "Viking Age," i., p. 37.

The pommel, tang and guard still remain pretty complete and continuous with the blade. The pommel is of the large size, $2\frac{3}{4}$ by 2 by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and dome-shaped. The guard is straight, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, and has on one side the remains of a knob or button such as Viking swords often carry. The total length of the sword, if nothing is

lost, would have been $31\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and its weight is 3 lb. 4 oz. The blade is 2 inches by $\frac{1}{4}$ in. at the guard.

Oysterbanks, where the sword was found, is the continuation of a ridge on which stands the early Norman ruin of Burrow Walls, built on a Roman site. It is opposite the pre-Norman site of St. Michael's Church,



VIKING-AGE CROSS AT LANCASTER.

containing interlaced monuments of the middle and later pre-Norman period. Derwentmouth was the port from which the Lindisfarne monks embarked with the body of St. Cuthbert, to escape from the Danes, between 870 and 880 A.D., and must always have been one of the chief harbours of the coast.

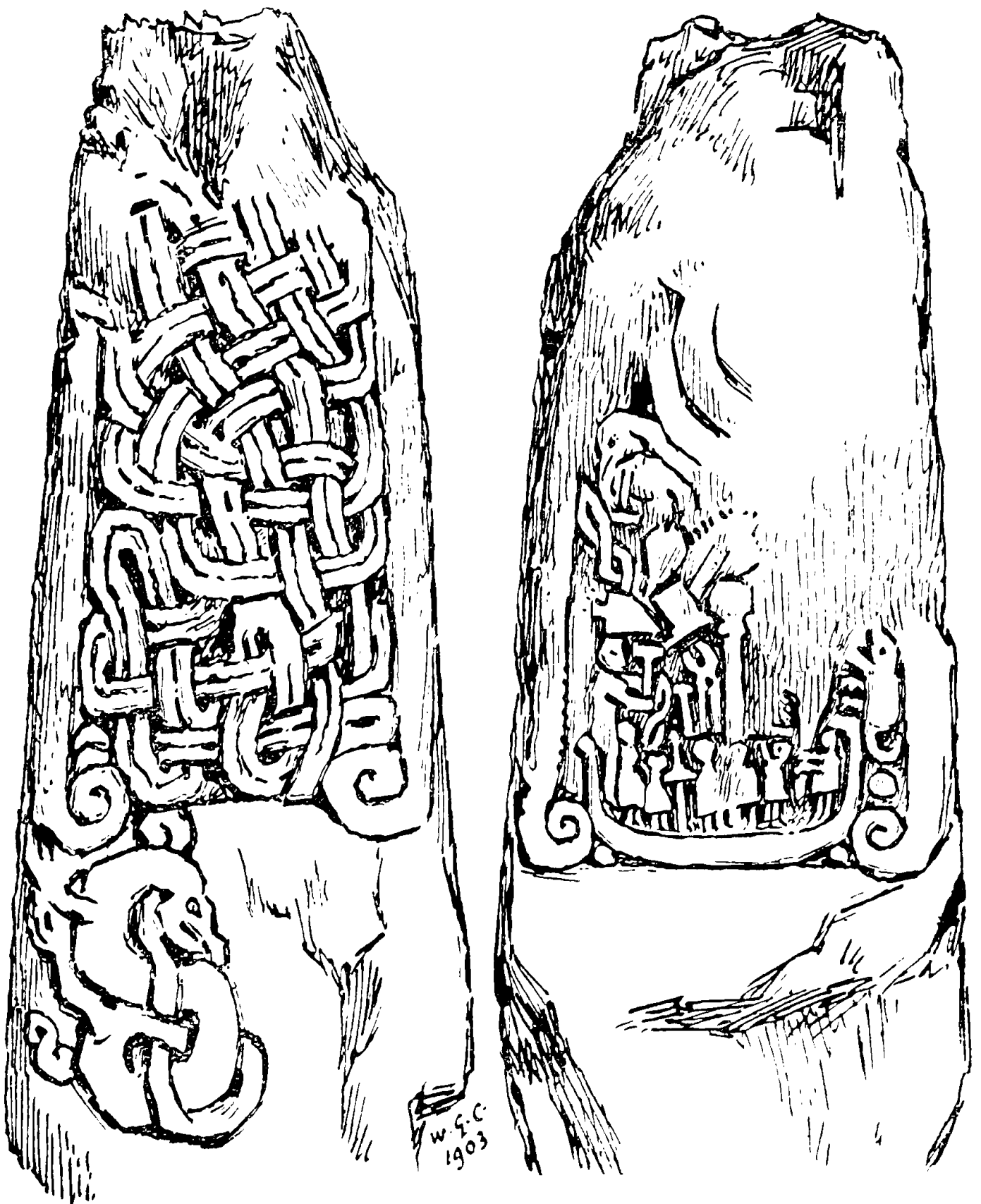
VIKING-AGE CROSS AT LANCASTER.

During recent alterations at Lancaster Parish Church a number of valuable and interesting pieces of pre-Norman sculpture have been recovered from the old walls. I have described the whole series in *The Reliquary* for October, 1903, but notice here one piece in particular which is evidently a grave-monument to a Christian Northman of the tenth or eleventh century. The wheel-head of the original cross has been broken off, but the whole of the shaft remains, 3 feet high, maximum thickness $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and maximum breadth 1 foot 7 inches. One side shows at the top the favourite device of the Hart and Hound with irregular worm-twists around them; and below, a great interlaced wheel-pattern, the strands of which terminate in snake-heads. The peculiarity of this ornament is that the space between the outer and inner rings is filled with a row of ringlets or pierced discs, exactly like the fragment at Melling in Lonsdale. The general design of this wheel is similar to that of the Aspatria standing cross, and (as Mr. Romilly Allen remarks) analogues occur at Kirk Braddan (Isle of Man), and Forres (Elginshire), all of the Viking period. The edge has an adaptation of the chain-plait used in the famous cross at Gosforth (Cumberland), and the back has a rudely symmetrical dragonesque interlacement.

VIKING-AGE CROSS AT IONA.

In September, during a visit to Iona, among the many relics of Celtic art I noticed one slab with the familiar motives of Viking-Age ornament. It was in the Chapel of St. Oran, and I found that the side exposed to view had been drawn by Drummond in the "Monuments of Iona"; it bears an irregular interlacing very similar in character to work in the Isle of Man and in the Lake Counties. With permission from Mr. Ritchie I turned the slab and drew the other side. This seems to be highly interesting, and I understand that it has not been published.

The lower part of the picture is filled with a large ship, in which six little figures are apparently acting as crew, one seeming to manage the sail. To the spectator's left is a much larger figure, that of a smith with hammer and



REVERSE OF VIKING-AGE CROSS-SHAFT AT IONA.

tongs forging a sword. The hammer and tongs are twice again repeated. Above him is a great dragon-monster, and on the spectator's right is a little quadruped which,—

if this be another instance of the Sigurd legend which Mr. Kermodé has already illustrated in the *Saga-Book* (Vol. i., p. 351) from the Isle of Man, and is also well known on the Halton Cross, near Lancaster,—might be the Otter of the legend. The whole is rudely drawn, and executed in the “hacked” work of the later Viking-Age crosses, extremely unlike the native sculpture of Iona, though strikingly similar to the Manx carvings. The ship, as in later monuments of chiefs here buried, suggests the sea-king; and the Sigurd story, if it be rightly interpreted, would be the pre-heraldic hieroglyph for one of the Manx line, descended from the hero. Godred, king of Man, was buried at Iona in the twelfth century, at which time this carving is possibly to be dated. The edges of the shaft bear a defaced key-pattern. The stone, of some kind of slate, measures about 3 feet 6 inches in length by about 3 inches in thickness; it is 16 inches broad at the lower part, tapering to 14 inches at the top.

Since my visit Mr. Ritchie has put this stone under cover in the Cathedral, so that its rather frail work is now safe from the weather. Little as I love “restoration,” I cannot help feeling that the roof to the church was a real necessity, and I believe that future ages will thank us for housing the more delicate of these decaying monuments, even at the expense of sentiment and picturesqueness.

The District Secretary for East Anglia (Rev. W. C. Green, M.A.) writes:—

EAST ANGLIAN RIDDLES.

OF diggings and discoveries just hereabouts I can report nothing Scandinavian. Now and then one meets with words or phrases that can be illustrated from Northern languages. Of Odin’s cow-riddle some two years ago I gave the form current in East Anglia. Curious riddles not unfrequently come before me: our Suffolk riddles are

all Samsonian, descriptive; never questions Why or What?
Propounded by a choir boy:—

Tall as a tree,
Holler as a drum,
Cock up its tail,
Away it run.

A pump.

There was an old man went over the Wash,
Grey grizzled was his horse;
Bent saddle was his bow: [? Bent was his saddle bow]
I've told you three times, and now you don't know.

“Give it up?” “Was” was the man's name.

A foolish riddle: but several on this model are current. One remarkable thing is that this puzzle should meet one here inland: where I doubt if a boy in the parish knows what the Wash is.

WORDLORE.

I heard quite lately this proverb about fish-eating making one thirsty:

“Fish will swim, dead or alive.”

Many persons hereabouts say “acrost, allust.” The *t* in the first adverb presents little difficulty. *þvert* and *athwart* are similar from stem *þver*. But “always” into “allust” is odd. Our villagers use the verb “to drive” = “to delay, put off;” e.g., “I cannot do it now, I must *drive* it.” We do indeed talk of putting a task *behind* us by completion; but *driving* it before us is curious. Though all our northern languages have “drive,” or cognates, I cannot find that any thus use it. Have any other English provinces this use?

FYLGJA AND FETCHES.

Lately my attention has been called to the *fylgja* of the Sagas: “a follower,” “an attendant spirit” (female always). The Scotch equivalent is given as “fetch.” Whether *Vigfússon* means to imply that the word “fetch” is actually cognate with or a corruption of *fylgja*, I do not

know: it does not seem likely that it is so. Nor am I sure that the Scotch "fetch" was always female. Men death-doomed or "fey" saw their *fylgja* following them. A very remarkable passage about a *fylgia*, or *fylgju-kona*, is in the Saga of the poet Hallfred (which I have lately translated). On his voyage to Iceland Hallfred is mortally injured by the ship's boom falling upon him. When he was near his death, "they saw a woman coming after the ship: she was tall, and wore a coat of mail; she walked on the billows as if on land. Hallfred looked at her, and saw that she was his following-spirit. He said, 'I renounce all fellowship with thee.' She said to his brother, 'Wilt thou, Thorvald, receive me?' He said he would not. Then said Hallfred the younger, 'I will receive thee.' Upon this she vanished." Note: the form is seen by all, but only known by Hallfred. The Icelandic *fylgia* in some ways resembles the Latin *Genius*, described by Horace as *naturae deus humanae mortalis in unum-quodque caput*. Only Hallfred's "follower" apparently could renew its lease of life, if accepted by one of his kin. When reading Plato's "Crito" a while ago, it struck me that Socrates' dream two days before his death presents to us something like a *fylgja*: "A certain woman approached me, fair and goodly of form, clad in white raiment." Several editors suppose Socrates saw in her ἡ εἰμαρμένη, that is, Fate. But I think the idea is rather of an attendant spirit or angel attached to Socrates. She says to him, "On the third day thou wilt come to deep-soiled Phthia": quoting from Homer nearly the words of Achilles resolved to set sail for home. And surely Phthia is meant to suggest to Socrates home. Some editors think it was to suggest to him *phthisis*, "corruption or perishing." One editor says that ἐρίβωλον confirms this: that Socrates "found comfort in this word." I cannot exactly see what comfort was conveyed to a man of Socrates' opinion about immortality by "corruption in the cloddy earth." Achilles uses the word of the rich fruitful soil of his home. Something of a parallel there is in King

Arthur's summons by the queens to the deep-meadowed happy valley of Avilion. Socrates looks upon Phthia as a home: death as a homeward voyage across the bar. And, to return to the Icelandic Skald, Hallfred says in his death-verse that he is content to die: "May God fix whither my soul shall pass!"

The District Secretary for Nesting, Shetland (Mr. J. Spence) writes:—

OLD NORSE WORDS IN SHETLAND.

I AM sorry I have nothing of interest to communicate to you. Last year, during Christmas holidays, I compiled two lists of old Norse words still lingering in these Islands. The first list is a collection of collective nouns, expressive of indefinite quantity or measure. The second list consists of adjectival terms. These you may think worth inserting in the *Saga-Book*, for, with hundreds of other old Norse words, they will be utterly lost when the Shetlanders of my generation have gone.

WORDS DESCRIPTIVE OF INDEFINITE QUANTITY OR MEASURE.

An *aer* o' tae (tea)—a *blink* o' sleep—a *bane* o' fish—a *baet* o' gloy—a *baand* o' pi ticks—a *brook* o' waar—a *boal* o' reek a *bing* o' möld—a *coom* o' mael (meal) a *krummok* o' 'oo'—a *caw* o' sheep—a *crö* o' plants—a *coos* o' sillicks—a *corn* o' milk—a *caavie* o' saith fools (fowls) — a *dwam* o' sleep—a *daagin* o' rain—a *flooin* o' butter—a *faem* o' mael—a *giopen* o' taties—a *hair* o' 'oo' — a *hurd* o' bursten—a *hush* o' wind a *kitchen* o' fish—a *klamp* o' poans—a *klaw* o' taek—a *krub* o' kail plants—a *kliogang* o' horses—a *knokin* o' bere—a *knuk* o' 'oo'—a *kirvie* o' floss—a *kippok* o' haddocks—a *lyte* o' blaand a *life* o' sheep—a *lag'd* o' 'oo'—a *lauchter* o' chickens—a *lisk* o' hay—a *laemin* o' 'oo' — a *mirge* o' bairns—a *moorcavie* o' snaw a *nirl* o' caald—a *nip* o' cloot—a *nirt* o' flesh — a *neist* o' fire—an *ootburd* o' peats—an *orm* o' sillicks—an *ort* o' grices — a *poortin* o' kitchen (a small quantity of seasoning) a *plag* o' claes (clothes)—a *pukle* o' corn—a *pirr* o' wind a *peag* o' kail—a *packie* o' tows — a *rönie* o' stanes — a *roog* o' peats — a *rudge* o' rocks—a *sid* o' tea — a *syp:* o' milk — a *sloo* o' poans — a *skaar* o' flesh — a *skurok* o' tobacco—a *stroal* o' herring — a *spleet* o' wid (wood) — a *slaag* o' bairns—a *skride* o' fleas—a *suknie* o' kirk folk — a *stied* o' sillocks — a *stick* o' claes—a *saetin* o' sids—a *skrae* o' youngsters—a *stjuch* o' reek—a *skurt* o' hay—a *strinklin* o' corn—a *tudd* o' wind—a *taet* o' 'oo'—a *tip* o' milk—a *tint* o' fat—a *tack* o' land—a *windlin* o' strae—a *yink* o' sheep—a *yadder* o' mör faels—a *yark* o' drink.

Printed in the *Shetland Times* in 1902:—

WORDS DESCRIPTIVE OF PERSONAL APPEARANCE, CARRIAGE,
WALK, ETC.

- Illhoited*.—Having an awkward, slouching gait.
Illvuxin.—Dressed in a slovenly, untidy manner.
Ootavid.—Out of date, old fashioned.
Auldfaarin.—Old looking.
Oyndalie.—Having an angry look.
Sloomid.—A slinking, cunning look.
Droopinslöbie.—One that thrusts out the lips, to look sullen.
Mooljaped.—Having thick, outstanding lips.
Dölhoited.—One having a weebegone appearance.
Trollhoited.—Trow-like in walk and gesture.
Truliyet.—Trow-like, particularly in dress.
Turmjulet.—One that moils or toils in the earth
Dratset.—A person who appears to drag their legs in walking.
Trullaskud.—Troll or witch-like in behaviour.
Hjonik.—A wizened hag, witch-like.
Hjukfinnie.—Applied to a person that appears enveloped in mystery.
Nyeaff.—A diminutive conceited person.
Faedmel.—A corpulent female.
Maerdel.—A very big woman.
Prunk.—Neatly dressed.
Dooce.—Decently dressed, befitting one's station.
Gaasie.—A person having a noble bearing.
Pjakie.—A Pjakie bodie, of small stature, Pecht like.
Maegsie.—Applied to a lad with large hands.
Knabsie.—Half-grown youth, well-grown for age.
Hunkset or *Hulkin*.—A big, stout, clumsy fellow.
Drjultie.—One that drags his legs in walking.
Flaemster.—Easily excited, always in a hurry.
Boosom.—A good housekeeper, a *housevirdin*.
Vixter.—Applied to a person overgrown for their age.
Trussievag'l.—A person that always appears slovenly dressed.
Glinkit.—Light-headed, unstable, giddy.
Flinkit.—Syn. with the above.
Oovyelt.—One that gives way to fits of merriment
Feespin.—Moving about quickly, hopping like a bird.
Graam.—Eager to grasp or gather, to enjoy.
Kibbie.—Quick in one's movements.
Aaber.—Greedy, grasping.
Ijeltifoo.—A fit of merriment.
Druilment.—Ill temper.
Vaukie.—Well pleased.
Fjerkin.—Active and energetic.
Hyealisom.—Kind and motherly.

WORDS DESCRIPTIVE OF PHYSICAL CONDITION.

- Ootmaagit.*—Worn out with toil, exhausted.
Disjasket.—Having the appearance of fatigue and weariness.
Pjaagit.—Worn out with hard toil.
Daesket.—Stupid, lacking intelligence.
Ramished.—Chiefly applied to a child wakening up out of sorts, peevish, ill-tempered.
Vimmerin.—Trembling.
Oorin-Oorik.—One that lingers behind.
Feerdie.—Nimble, able to carry a burden.
Yasp—Clever in movement, nimble and active.
Valskit.—One that uses wrongly applied words.
Fjavalis.—Handless.
Neebin.—Having a drooping sleepy appearance.
Dybin.—Loitering behind, staying out late.
Coorin.—See *Neebin*.
Doverin.—To speak indistinctly.
Vyanvordind.—Worn out, exhausted.
Doited.—Having a senile appearance, old fashioned.
Dotterified.—Old and behind the times.
Depooperit.—Showing visible marks of decay.
Kannie.—Handy, having constructive ability.
Ljamse.—See *Fjavalis*.

WORDS HAVING REFERENCE TO MENTAL EMOTIONS, PARTICULARLY EXPRESSIVE OF AN ILL-PLEASSED MOOD.

- Daamished*—Being annoyed.
Tirrin.—Out of temper.
Uplopin—Easily made angry.
Truitsket.—Wearing a sulky face.
Illvickit.—Ready to do injury in a small way.
Illvyandid.—Unattractive, not helpful.
Illvisket.—Snappish and churlish.
Frumps or Dorts.—Pettish.
Rampaagin.—Scolding with a loud voice.
Pyten—One that bites, or uses biting words.
Pleepsit.—A person that is always complaining.
Titsom.—Unsteady, uncertain temper.
Frumskit.—See *Frumps* or *Dorts*.
Dröbie.—Applied to a person that walks with head bowed, a muttering person.
Whiddie.—Ready to take offence.

WORDS RELATING TO HABIT OR CHARACTERISTIC, ETC.

- Feek.*—Occupied with little things.
Filsket.—Full of fun.
Halligat.—Giddy, liable to fits of wild frolic.
Hjims'd.—Trow-like.
Slip-me-laaber.—Untrustworthy.

Spjca.—One that acts the fool.

Pernikity.—Parsimonious, unkind, prim.

Moniment.—Addicted to foolish mirth.

Flaatoo.—One that exaggerates, a braggard.

Rödastub.—Figuratively applied to a lazy person.

Funglifoo.—Openhanded, liberal, see *Sonsie*.

Browden.—Pert or forward.

Klookie.—Tricky, one who can quickly devise a plan.

Klipit.—See *Pernikity*.

Inbiggit.—A person of a revengeful nature

Rödie.—A person given to exaggeration.

Wanless.—Having no one, friendless.

Craemin.—Complaining.

Aitacast.—One cast out from society.

Döless.—A lazy do nothing fellow.

Hubbavet.—A weak-minded person who submits to be knocked about by others.

Watterweek.—Frail and tender eyed.

Yidderbiter.—One that says bitter and spiteful things

Aetercap.—A carping ill-natured backbiter.

Sonsie.—One that delights in abundance, a cheerful giver.

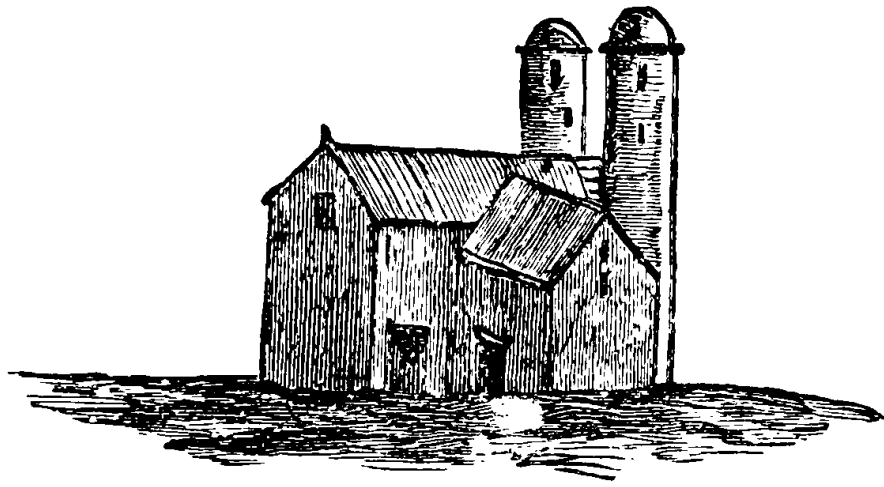
[Mr. Spence intended to enlarge and revise these lists of words, but we regret to say that owing to his being prostrate by severe illness he is unable to accomplish this. Students of the Old Norse will find it extremely interesting to trace the derivations of the striking words and phrases he has given.]

The District Secretary for Deerness (Mr. M. Spence) writes as follows:—

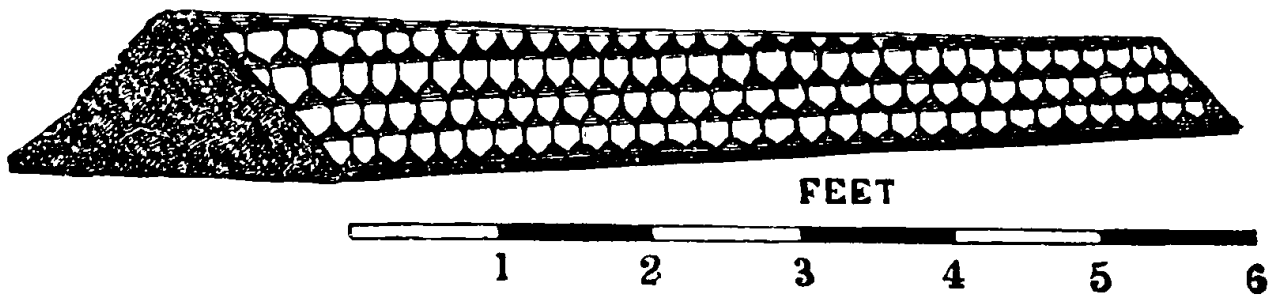
DEERNESS KIRK.

LOW, in his tour through Orkney and Zetland, in 1774, says that the Deerness Church is the most remarkable country kirk in these isles. He says (p. 53) as follows:—

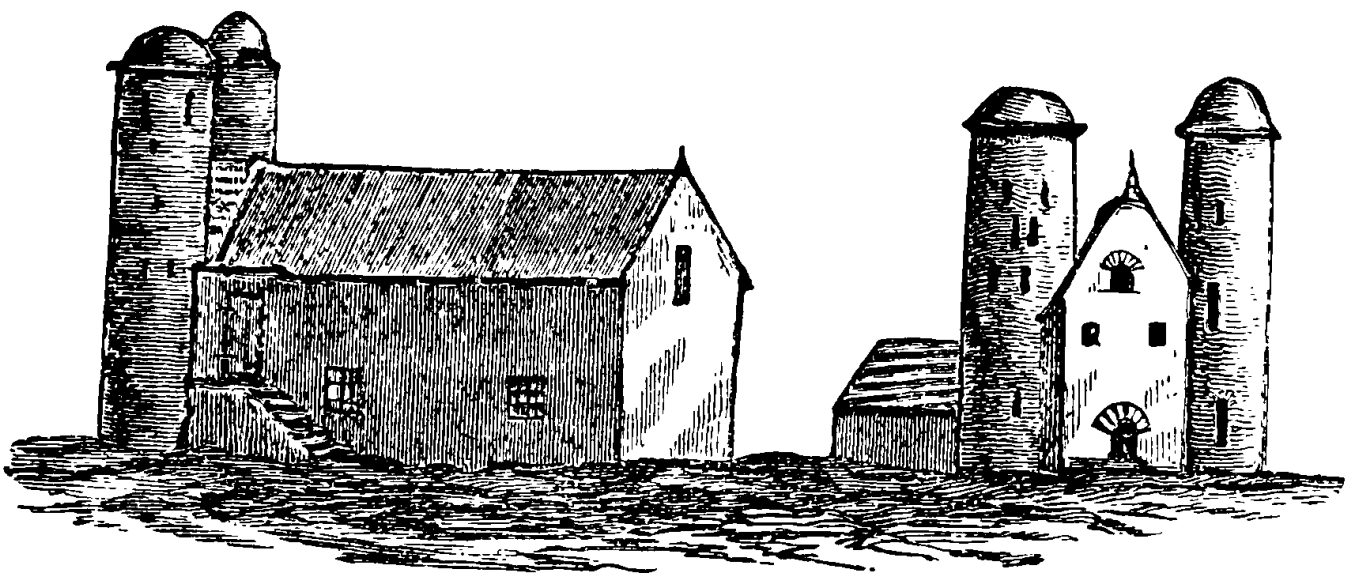
“The Church of Deerness is very remarkable, and part of it looks to be pretty ancient; the east end consists of a vault which crosses the breadth of the inside, and at each side of this is erected a small steeple. Through the vault or quire one enters the steeple on his right hand, and by a turnpike stair goes to a small apartment or vestry built between the steeples. From this last apartment he enters the second tower, which, or both probably, have had bells; these are now gone, said to have been carried away by Cromwell’s soldiers. Tradition is not clear (and there are no records) who was the builder of the church. The steeples are said to be monumental, and placed over a lady’s two sons buried there, but whether this is so or not is hard to determine. As this is the most remarkable country kirk in these isles, I have added a ske’ch of it as follows:—



In the churchyard I observed a coffin-shaped stone without any inscription, the shape of a triangular prism, one side plain, the others cut into such figures as the Heralds call *vairy*. Tradition is silent to whom it belonged, but there is another of the same dimensions, and carved with the same figures; the latter goes by the name of the Queen of Morocco's gravestone, anent whose arrival and death they here tell us a long apocryphal story not worth repeating. See the figures.



So far as I have been able to gather information from the inhabitants of the district, a tradition regarding the twin towers exists, which seems to be pretty generally known by the older and more intelligent natives.



From the woodcut of the church one can surmise that it and the twin towers do not form a uniform building.

The towers are more elaborate, more finished and more expensively got up than the crude, ill-planned, badly-lit and exceedingly primitive church. This church stood near the middle of the churchyard before it was enlarged, and about 40 feet east of the present one, which, being built in 1796, has now stood for more than a century. Had the twin towers formed part of the original plan, the entrance to the gallery would probably have passed through it, and not by an outside stone stair, as was the case. The predecessor of the present gravedigger told me he recently found the base of these towers when clearing the ground for graves. A secure foundation had been made amidst the sand with rounded shore stones, which had, at the depth of several feet, been so laid as to form a rough but firm basement, on which they were built.

At Sandside, where the present farmsteading stands, near the sea, there lived one known by tradition as Lady Howitt, who had evidently a residence there. A stone was recently taken from the court entrance to her house with the date 1678 on it, which is probably that of the building. Tradition says it was never properly finished, and that at her removal to Westray the wood of the roof, etc., was conveyed to some farm in Shapinsay. This lady had two sons, who were out in a boat one day, when both were drowned, a little south-east of the church. This bay, which is adjacent to Sandside Bay, was thereafter called Howitt or Howan Bay, and is known as such to this day. The sad event, as one may imagine, caused a broken-hearted mother, whose sorrow was irrepressible, to commemorate their sudden and mournful fate by building the twin towers on the end of the church, then extant. These towers were unfortunately destroyed when the present church was built, in 1796. One would like to know more about the building and the bells, which Low thinks were placed on the towers, and why they were not preserved, and one of them erected in the belfrey of the present church.

MOUND-DIGGINGS AT ST. MARY'S, HOLM.

Mr. Grahme, of Grahmeshall, the proprietor of most of the parish of Holm, has been doing good work on his own estate in opening up mounds in a systematic and intelligent manner. It is very gratifying to see the proprietor taking a special interest in this class of work, and searching out, mainly with his own hands, and deciphering the purpose of these historic remains. Near the village of St. Mary's, Holm, he laid bare the remains of an interesting broch, with surrounding walls 6 feet in height, and, inside, a well 8 or 9 feet in depth, with steps leading down to the water. He also cut across a mound on the farm of Gorn, and laid bare a stone cist of slightly over 5 feet in length. We hope Mr. Grahme's example will be followed by other proprietors.

PICT'S HOUSE.

The farm of Kirbuster, in Birsay, is beautifully situated, as it curves around the head of Kirbuster Loch, where its shore is lapped by limpid waters. Near the farmstead runs the Burn of Kirbuster, the largest and the only one in Orkney to which one is tempted to apply the name river. Why this district—for other three or four small farms in addition constitute the district—should have been designated by this name, so redolent of savoury incense and so suggestive of stoles, crosiers, and images, is not now known, as all trace of the kirk has disappeared into the shades of oblivion. An artificial mound of considerable dimensions is situated on the very shore of this loch. It might have been more correct to say that the mound claims to belong as much to the loch as to the land. Its junction with the land is flat, and only slightly more elevated than the surface of the water, and at one time it may have been entirely submerged. The farmer of Kirbuster, through mere curiosity, rather than the promptings of any antiquarian instinct, set to work to open this mound. After some quarrying had been made in a haphazard manner, someone set to work more systematically,

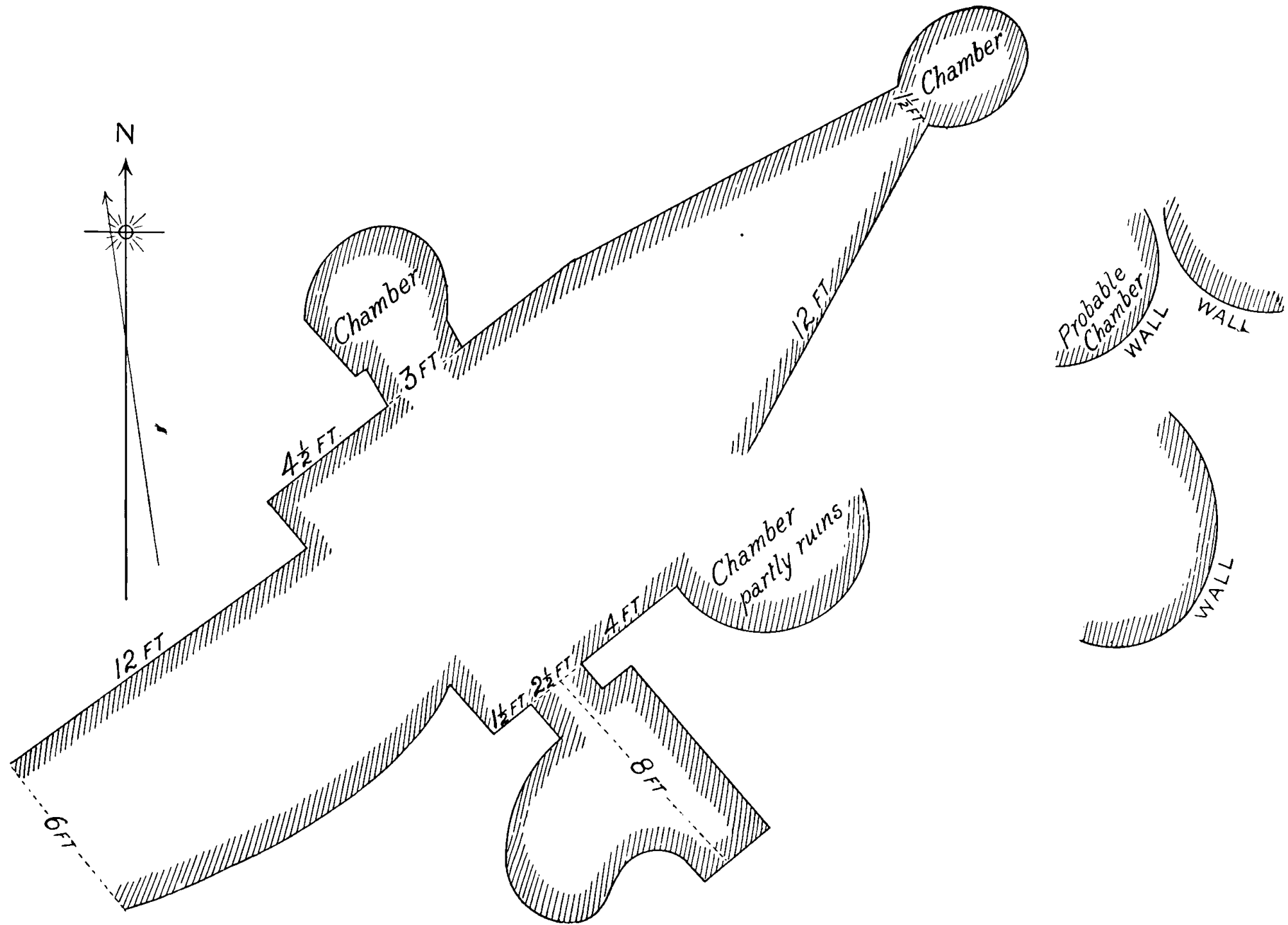


FIG. I — PLAN OF PICT'S HOUSE, KIRBUSTER.

and laid bare a central passage of considerable dimensions, with several side chambers. The pity is that the whole was not more carefully excavated, so that we might have known exactly of what the whole structure consisted. I have no doubt it would have proved one of the most interesting Picts' Houses in Orkney. The only remains of the utensils of the inhabitants were one almost complete stone lamp, and a piece of another. The far-

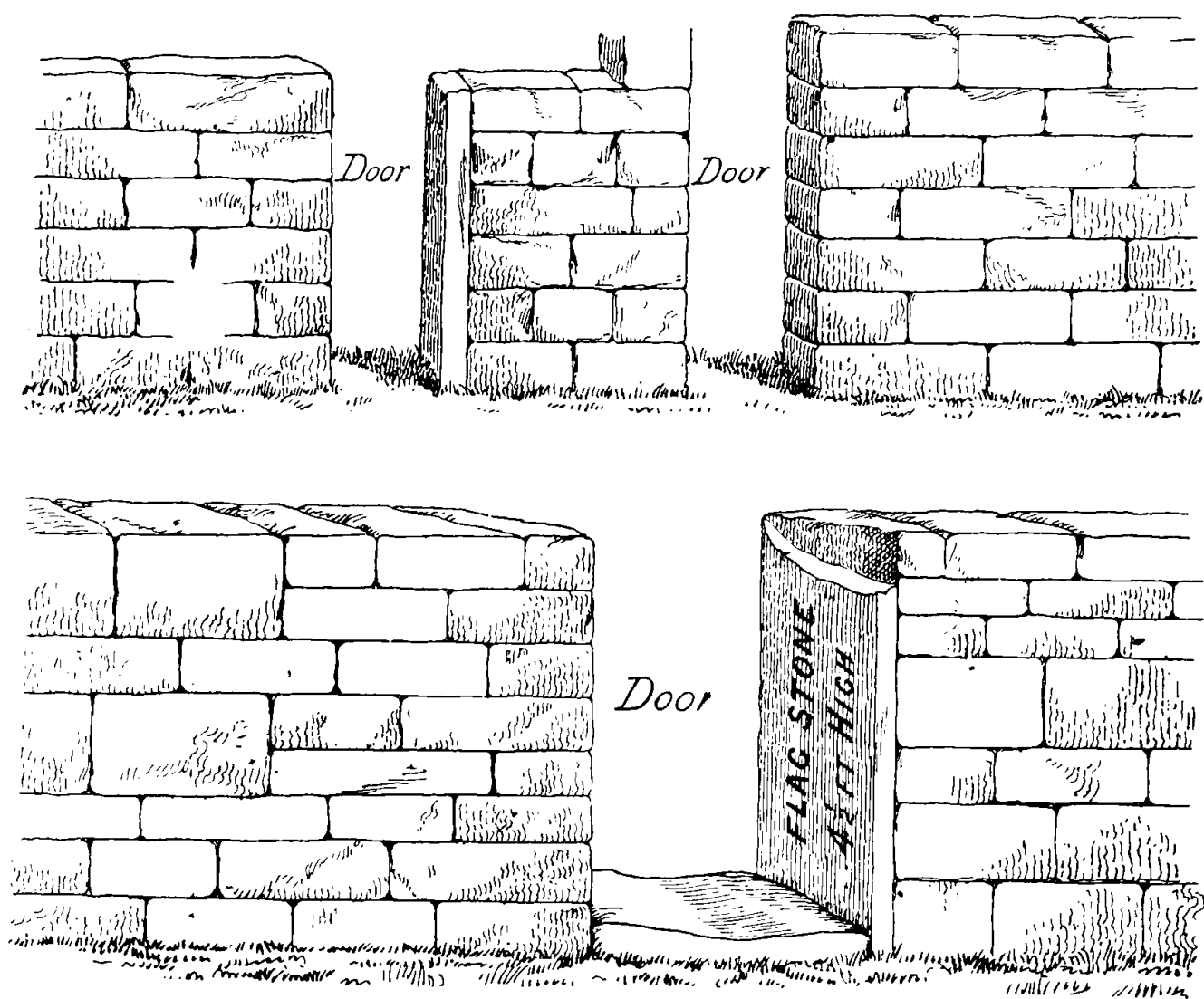


FIG. 2.—WALLS OF CHAMBER OF PICT'S HOUSE, KIRBUSTER.

mer told me he had found a more complete one than either of these. The main room—shall I call it rather the central court—from which most of the chambers were entered, ran in a north-east and south-west direction, and extended in length to over 32 feet. The breadth varied from 12 feet to about 8 feet. During September, 1900, I twice visited the ruin, and took these measurements, which I trust may be of some little interest. A ground plan of the structure, so far as opened, is shown above.

The District Secretary for Bergen and the West Coast of Norway (Mr. Haakon Schetelig) writes:—

STONE-AGE DISCOVERIES ON JÆDEREN.

WITH regard to the Stone-age period in Western Norway the most interesting discovery for some years has been the finding of two new dwelling-places on Jæderen. This part of the country being especially rich in dwelling-places dating from this period, has furnished our museums with copious collections of characteristic implements, and the diggings of Professor Gustafson have yielded results of the greatest importance (See Bergen Museum "Aarbog," 1898, N. I.). All the places hitherto known belong to a relatively late part of the Scandinavian Stone-age, no traces having, up to date, been found belonging to a period corresponding to the Danish "kitchen-middens," except a few single objects of forms well known in those Danish finds, but nearly unique in Norway. A few years ago it was announced by the Keeper of the Stavanger Museum that he had discovered, in two different places, refuse-heaps consisting chiefly of oyster shells, which he thought likely to date from the most distant part of the Neolithic period. His archæological conclusions have been published in the Stavanger Museum's "Aarsberetning" for 1900, with drawings of some of the antiquities found in one of the heaps. Later on the places were examined by a geological expert, Mr. Øien, who has since published a carefully collected list of all the animals recognised from the bones, etc., picked up in the places ("Kristiania Videnskabselskabs Skrifter," I., 1903, Nr. 7). *A priori* he regards these dwelling-places as contemporary with the "kitchen-middens" of Denmark. It must, however, be noted that none of the antiquities found, being only some few pieces of flint roughly chipped, prove any relationship to the early Danish flint-implements. The character of the heaps themselves seems also—to conclude from the descriptions—to have been more like the later neolithic dwelling-places of Denmark, as the organic

remains, shells, bones, etc., were mixed with a considerable quantity of dark mud (compare "Affalddynger fra Stenalderen i Danmark," p. 135 ss.). The most important discovery made by Mr. Øien is the finding of domestic animals (pigs) in both the places which he examined. It is a settled fact that the people of Denmark, during the period of the "kitchen-middens," had no domestic animals except dogs, while large quantities of bones of oxen, sheep, pigs, etc., have been found in dwelling-places dating from the later parts of the Neolithic period. After all, I am sure that the two new-discovered refuse-heaps on Jæderen must have been formed at some time during the late Scandinavian Stone-age, and that we have still to wait for the first finding of a real "kitchen-midden" in Norway.

EARLY SETTLEMENTS AT MINDE, NEAR BERGEN.

It may be noticed here that some years ago there was discovered at the railway-station at Minde, close to Bergen, the scattered remains of a small dwelling-place which no doubt belongs to a very early part of the Stone-age. No shells, bones, or other organic refuse were observed, and even the stone-objects found were very few; the place seems to have been inhabited only for a short time by a no means considerable lot of people. We have reason to believe that this find represents one of the first settlements on the western coast of Norway.

RUNIC FINDS.

The most noteworthy antiquity of the year is a stone with a runic inscription in very old characters found by Mr. Heiberg at Amle, in Sogn. Mr. Heiberg, a gentleman distinguished for his exceptional interest in antiquarian and historical research, discovered the stone by accident while digging in his own garden. It is a very large and heavy slab; the inscription running along the one edge of the surface is 1.2 m. long, and consists of 15 runes, the

first of which is so much damaged as to make the reading difficult. Professor Sophus Bugge, of Christiania, has deciphered the inscription thus :

(i u) R h a i w i d a R t h a r.

The first word he conjectures to be a man's name, originally of the same meaning as the English *yeo*. The next two words offer no difficulties, as they also appear on other runic monuments ; they mean, "buried here." Consequently the stone had its place in connection with a grave ; probably it was hidden in the interior of a tumulus. The place of finding had already long ago been disturbed to such an extent that no traces of the grave, or tumulus, could now be recognized on the spot.

As the formula of this inscription has been found in exactly the same form in places very distant from each other, Professor Bugge concludes that the runes were not carved by the inhabitants themselves in the different parts of the country ; we should then have found many variations between those of one place and another. The said uniformity can only be explained by supposing that there were professional rune-writers, travelling over the country and inscribing stones on demand in many different localities. As most of our oldest runic monuments have been found in the districts along the coast, the rune-writers probably travelled by sea from one fjord to another. The new inscription must date from about 600 A.D.

VIKING GRAVE-GOODS FOUND AT EID.

No especially remarkable discoveries relating to the later times of the heathen period have been made this year in Western Norway. Mention ought to be made, however, of a small group of very rich graves dating from the Viking-age, found at Eid, in Nordfjord. They will, I think, afford some interesting chronological details, but the results have not yet been completely prepared for publication.

The District Secretary for Norway (Professor Alexander Bugge, Ph.D.) writes :—

FIND OF A BURIED VIKING SHIP, TONSBURG.

DURING the past year several important archæological discoveries have been made in Norway. The most noteworthy is that of a new Viking ship, which was discovered in a grave-mound on the promontory of Slagen, near Tonsberg. Next year the ship will be dug out with the financial help of the Government, and before that time nothing can be said as to the age and state of preservation of the ship.

RUNIC REMAINS OF NORSE VOYAGES TO GREENLAND.

It may also interest English readers to know that traces of the ancient Norsemen have probably been discovered by the last *Fram* Expedition, under Mr. Sverdrup, in the Polar regions of North America. It is well known that Greenland was discovered about 985, and afterwards colonised by the Norwegians and Icelanders. The ancient Norwegian settlements were—as are the Danish ones in our days—situated on the western coast of Greenland, and had about 10,000 inhabitants. Each summer the ancient Greenlanders sailed to the north-western coast of the country for the purpose of whale and seal hunting. A poem, of which a portion still exists, tells of the dangerous voyages to these northern latitudes, and is called “*Norðrsetadrápa*” (from *Norðrseta*, *i.e.*, “the Northern seats,” the name of the whaling grounds). On the island of Kingiktorsoák, in Baffin’s Bay, 72° 55′ 20″ N. lat., there was found a stone with a runic inscription (probably from the 14th century) as follows :—“Erling Sighvatsson, Bjarne Thorsson, and Endride Oddsson, the Saturday before *gagndagr* [*i.e.*, the 25th April] erected these sea-marks.” There are also traces of expeditions further north. The most important of these was made in the year 1265 or 1266, and is mentioned in the Icelandic manuscript “*Hauksbók*.” The Greenland clergymen who

made this voyage seem to have crossed Baffin's Bay and reached the numerous islands behind Lancaster Sound and Jones Sound.

FIND OF A PICT'S HOUSE-LIKE STRUCTURE IN GREENLAND.

It is in these regions that the *Fram* Expedition believes it has discovered traces of the Norsemen. Mr. Schei, the geologist of the expedition, and amanuensis at the University of Christiania, who has informed me of this, has done me the favour of writing to me about his discoveries, and has given me permission to translate his words. He says:—"Absolutely certain traces of the Norsemen we did not find. In the western part of Jones Sound, at Björneborg, however, we discovered two low, tower-like buildings, about 1.5 m. high, and circular, with a diameter of about 1.5 m., closed, but hollow, and built of flat stones very regularly. They were not Eskimo-huts or meat-graves, and the building was too regular and careful to have been built by Eskimos.

FIND OF ARTIFICIALLY BUILT DUCK NESTS IN GREENLAND.

At St. Helena, a small rock-island in the western corner of Jones Sound, where the eider duck breeds, we also discovered artificial nests for these birds; on the flat sand, or stone-bank, which marked an earlier strand-line, two parallel flag stones were erected, and a third one behind to serve as shelter, and sometimes even a fourth stone as roof. I have not heard that the Eskimos erect such nests; they usually never think of the following day, to say nothing of the next year. But in northern Norway and in Iceland they are well known up to the present day. American whale-hunters are said once to have been far west in Jones Sound; but this is very uncertain, and it is not very likely that such people have done this thing. The nests must have been erected by people who used to come here every year.

EXTREME POINT REACHED BY THE NORSEMEN.

It may also be remembered that Nares mentions two curious sea-marks at the top of Washington Irving Island, about $79^{\circ} 32'$ N. lat. and $73^{\circ} 15'$ W. lat., in Kane Basin, which do not seem to be of any use to the Eskimos. When we add to this that Washington Irving Island and the western part of Jones Sound are situated at the end of waters open every year and easily approachable, where there are especially good whale-grounds, the best in these waters, I do not hesitate to say that this is the extreme point which the ancient Norsemen reached."

So far, Mr. Schei's observations, which seem to me to be of great importance, and to prove that the Norwegian settlers of Greenland in ancient times reached nearly as far North as their modern descendants.

READING OF MAESHOWE RUNIC INSCRIPTIONS.

Among papers published in Norway during the last year I may mention "Tre Orknöiske Runeindskrifter" (Christiania Videnskabselskabs Forhandling, 1903, No. 10) by Magnus Olsen, M.A., in which the author gives a reading of three of the inscriptions (xxii., xviii., and xvi.) in the grave-mound of Maeshowe, near Stennes, on the Mainland of Orkney. The inscriptions xviii. and xvi. are especially interesting. Mr. Olsen proves that they are in verse, and reads them thus:—

(xviii.) *þessar rúnar*
ræist sá maðr
er rýnstr er
fyrir vestan haf,

(xvi.) *með þeirri oksi,*
er álti Gaukr
Trandils sonr
fyrir sunnan land.

"These runes wrote the man, who was the most expert in rune-lore west of the sea, with the axe that Gauk Trandilsson at the southern country [*i.e.*, the southern part of Iceland] owned."

This Gauk Trandilsson is also mentioned in *Njál's Saga* (ch. 26), as a foster-brother of the powerful Icelandic chieftain Asgrim Ellidagrimsson (960-980). Mr. Olsen, in his interesting paper, also points out a connection between the Maeshowe inscriptions and the celebrated Rök inscription at Östergötland, in Sweden, the longest and most interesting Runic inscription from the Viking ages.

The District Secretary for Somersetshire (Rev. C. W. Whistler, M.A.) writes :—

BATTLEFIELD OF BRUNANBURH.

ON November 25th, 1903, the ancient chapel of St. Catherine, standing within ancient entrenchments on the summit of Milton Hill, near Milton Abbey, Dorset, was reopened, after careful and happily conservative restoration, which was much needed. The chapel has an interest of its own to the Club, as it is connected closely with one of the most decisive battles between the Saxon and Northern invaders, that of Brunanburh. According to the "Egil's Saga," a contingent of Norsemen, under the leadership of the Iclander Egil and his brother, fought on the side of Athelstan against the Danes and Scots in this battle, the English victory being in a great measure due to their valour.

The tradition of the chapel is that, while encamped in the entrenchments previous to the battle, Athelstan had a revelation of coming victory, and on his return from Brunanburh commemorated the vision by the founding of the chapel on the spot where the supernatural encouragement had been vouchsafed to him. At the same time he is said to have founded Milton Abbey itself as a thankoffering.

Probable sites of the battlefield of Brunanburh are many, and among them Leland locates the field on "Brunedown," between Colyton and Axminster, in this district, giving a very detailed account of the losses on

either side. But wherever the actual scene of the battle may have been, there is no reason to doubt that on his victorious return to Wessex, Athelstan may well have marked the starting-point of his march against the invaders by building the little chapel which is now preserved for still longer commemoration of ancient troubles. The building, which has been restored to some extent in the Perpendicular period, still has its remains of very rough early Norman, or perhaps Saxon, work, which may again be a restoration of the original building. The preservation of the chapel is decidedly a matter for congratulation.

THE DANISH CAMP ON THE OUSE, NEAR BEDFORD.

BY A. R. GODDARD, B.A.

I.

TO appreciate the good reasons there are for connecting the camp at Willington, or, as Domesday calls it, *Welitone*, with the attack of the East Anglian Danes on Bedford in 921, it will be necessary to recall the course of events. Forty-three years had passed since Alfred's great victory at Ethandune, and the Frith of Wedmore which followed had cut the country into two parts by a line drawn up the rivers Thames, Lea, and Ouse, and along the straight Roman road of Watling Street. All on the south and west of this boundary belonged to Alfred and his English, who were now being knit together into a strong and progressive nation; and all on the north and east to the Danes of the Danelagh. So long as King Alfred lived, this frontier was mutually respected; but when his son, Edward the Elder, came to the throne in 901, the new king's cousin, Ethelwald, stirred up the Danes of Northumbria and East Anglia against him, and led them in a dashing raid over into Mercia. When they were driven back, Edward, in his turn, swept through their country as far as the Fenland and the Cambridgeshire dykes, now for the first time named in history. The years that followed were full of strife, but the king, supported by his vigorous sister, Ethelfleda, gradually advanced eastwards and northwards, securing his hold by fortresses at salient points, until he felt himself able to aim at the recovery of all East Anglia.

At that time Bedford was the most important frontier town on the north-east angle of the English territory, but as it stood altogether on the north side of the Ouse, it was wholly in Danish hands. In 915 the Danish jarl Thurketyl, with all the haullds or higher yeomen and almost all the chief townsmen, sought King Edward for their lord, and four years later he took possession of the town and confirmed his hold by adding a new quarter to it on his own side of the river. Foreseeing trouble, Thurketyl obtained permission to withdraw with his men into France. In 921 the Danes of East Anglia and Huntingdon, mustering at their stronghold in the latter place, set off up the Ouse, in the hope, as the Chronicle tells us, "that by battle and war they might get more of the land again." In trying to follow on their trail, we shall be in full cry on a scent which has been cold for a thousand years; but it is surprising how many helps there are to lead us on to something like certainty. We have the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which says to us: "See! the rascals went here, and there, and here!" We have the labours of distinguished students of the records and remains of the early Norsemen, which supply much useful guidance to any scout who would fare on the Viking spoor; and we have sundry entrenchments and place-names to give us the print of their hoof on the ground of their ancient haunts.

From Huntingdon, then, in the summer of the year 921, the Danish *skiphere* or ship-host set out up the river, and we next hear of them at Tempsford—the *Tamiseforde* of Domesday—where they "wrought a work" and thoroughly settled themselves, making it their new headquarters in place of Huntingdon. Even the name lingers on in its Danish form, for "Temps" is the Saga name for Thames.¹ At this place there is a very strong little encampment, one of the few held by all our earthwork authorities to be undoubtedly of Danish origin. It is planted

¹ *Jomsvikinga Saga*; Du Chaillu, "Viking Age," II., p. 480; *Olaf's Saga*, Ibid, p. 484. *Knyttlinga Saga*; Ibid, II., p. 489.

down near the junction of the Ivel and the Ouse, and is oblong in shape, 120 feet by 84 feet, with great ramparts and ditches, and a small mound commanding the entrance towards the Ivel.

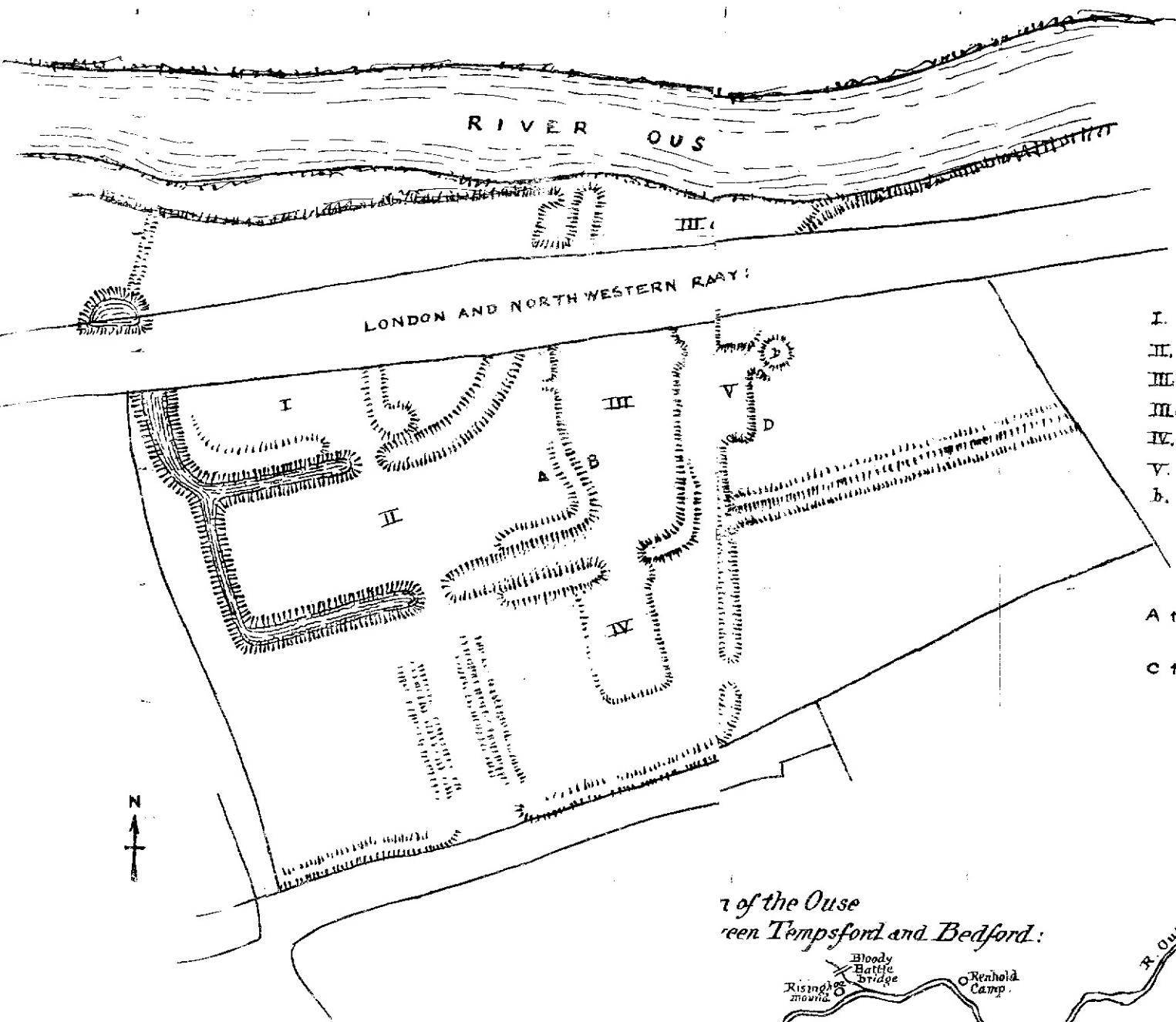
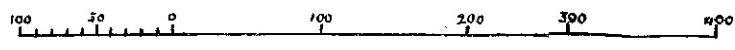
II.

Four miles from Tempsford, also on the south side of the Ouse, and about halfway to Bedford, stands the Willington camp. It is locally known as "The Warren." The rabbits are the only inhabitants of many a deserted stronghold. The name "Coneygear," found in various places, is a sign of their presence, and also of the local ignorance as to the previous inhabitants.

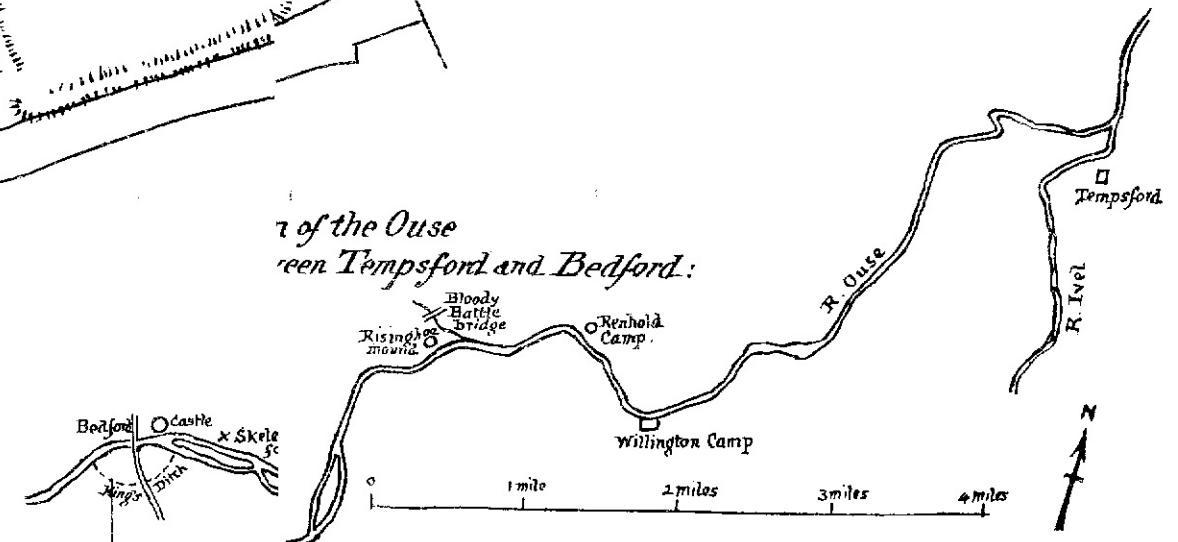
There is a record of an Edwardian castle at Willington, and these earthworks have been supposed to mark its position, but this can hardly have been. The church, with 13th century detail discovered during recent restoration, stands nearly half a mile distant, adjoining the remains of an old manor-house built by the Gostwicks in Henry VIII.'s time, now turned into a farmhouse. Mediæval manor-houses generally did for former castles, what later farmhouses have done for them—occupy their sites, and incorporate their ruins; often, as here, arm-in-arm with the church. Moreover, these banks and ditches by the river side are earthworks pure and simple, with no likeness to the plan of anything Edwardian.

The general scheme of the work can easily be traced. The ramparts and moats are bold and fine, but are all shaped out of level ground, with no large conical or rounded mound such as so often formed the central arx of the stronghold of lord or baron, even in the same county. There are here an inner ward, an outer ward, and a large exterior enclosure. The camp had its back to the river, but how it was finished on that side we cannot tell, as forty years ago the London and North-Western Railway ran its line right through it. Each ward had its rampart and fosse, and the entrances to both are clearly marked. That to the inner ward was commanded by a

PLAN OF WILLINGTON CAMP



Plan of the Ouse
 between Tempsford and Bedford:



small mound, the site, no doubt, of a stockaded tower. The whole work was surrounded by an exterior line of entrenchment, of which much remains, although a modern road now takes up most of the south fosse, and a hedge grows on the rampart side. When all the ramparts were stockaded, and the moats full of water, the position was a formidable one.

It will be asked: "What is there about the place to suggest that the Northmen had anything to do with it?" The answer will be found in several details which would not suit the work of any other period, nor any other people. The south fosse of the outer ward, for the most part about 35 to 40 feet across, turns at a right angle to proceed towards the water, when it alters its character altogether, and is no longer a fosse, but a broad shallow sinking, 6 feet deep below the top of its banks, and measuring 68 feet across at the higher end, and 110 feet across where it is interrupted by the railway embankment. Its length to this point is 170 feet. It shelves down towards the river all the way, and on the other side of the rail broadens out to a width of 230 feet. Here it is cut through the original bank of the river, which is composed of a hard compact gravel, and which stands some 10 or 12 feet above the water level. The moat ends, which also appear on this side of the rail, are not thus carried through, but are stopped before they reach the river, having only narrow runnels in communication with it. There can be no doubt that the broad shallow cutting, opening on to the river at a right angle, was intended for a harbour. Even now the water makes a little bay of its own at the mouth, and the Rev. A. Orlebar, the vicar of Willington, states that before the railway was made the water invaded the whole area of the harbour, which was in great request when frosts made skating possible.

There are two other features which would be natural adjuncts of a Norse or Danish water-burg. About 60 feet to the east of the harbour, the main exterior moat, here about 20 feet wide, runs down parallel with it towards the



Photograph from clay model.

Not to scale.

river. Near the railway bank at the foot it is shaped into an oblong cutting, 6 feet deep, 72 feet long, and 35 feet wide, out of which the moat continues, as before, towards the water. This oblong has two shelving entrances at the north ends of its long sides, some 18 feet wide; in a line with which a similar gap appears in the near side of the harbour. This singular cutting has all the appearance of having been one of those "nausts," or ship-sheds, which figure so often in the Sagas. In Mr. Thorstein Erlingsson's "Ruins of the Saga Time,"¹ he gives full descriptions and plans of the remains of several "nausts" examined and excavated by him during his tour in Iceland in 1895. The Flókanaust, especially, is full of interest, as dating from the expedition of Hrafn-Flóki, who wintered on the shore of the Vátnsfjord in 865, and who gave the island its name. It was for a single ship, measuring about 70 feet by 26 feet, and was dished out in much the same way as this oblong hollow at Willington. Its end was open to the fjord, and its outer wall was of turf; its inner wall, adjoining the foundation of Flóki's *skali*, was of turf and stone. The lateral entrances in the Willington example seem to suggest that ships may have been drawn across the short intervening space from the harbour and here docked, perhaps for repair. Rollers for the purpose of placing under ships when they were to be thus dragged over land were commonly carried by the Vikings, and the Lodbroka Saga tells of a fatal accident that once happened during the process.² These nausts were often roofed over, but probably this was not the case here, as the camp was only a brief resting-place for the invaders, and that during summer.

To the east of the naust an additional court has been added outside the exterior ditch, of which part of the bank and trench remains, but part has been ploughed out in the adjoining field. Close to the naust, in touch with its eastern entrance, there is the base of another mound,

¹ Published by the Viking Club, 1899.

² "Viking Age," II., p. 149.

25 feet across by 3 feet high, which may have been the site of a wooden shed for the use of the repairers.

The other feature referred to occurs at the head of the harbour, where the ramparts are pierced for entrance into a depression of a similar kind but larger, which measures 110 feet by 60 feet. Its bottom is slightly above that of the harbour, and its east and south sides are clearly defined, but the west is shelving and irregular. This place was probably some kind of additional dock.

III.

Oman, in his "Art of War," thus summarises the methods of the Danes in their expeditions¹:—"Their base of operations was, of course, their fleet, and such expeditions always ended in a swift return to their boats. As a rule their method was to work up some great stream. . . . When they got to the point where it was no longer navigable, or where a fortified city stretching across both banks made further progress impossible, they would moor their ships, or draw them ashore. They would then protect them with a stockade, leave part of their force as a garrison to guard it, and undertake circular raids with the rest. On the approach of a superior force they were accustomed in their earlier days to hurry back to their vessels, drop down stream, and escape to sea."

There are not many entrenchments in England which can be definitely said to be of Danish origin, and even of these, such as the works at Beamfleet and Shoebury, but little is now left, beyond portions of their outer rampart and fosse. Nor do we find much to help us in the foreign chroniclers. There are, however, a few quotations which bear on the subject. "After their wont," says one writer, speaking of the Danes on the Dyle, "they fortified themselves with timber and banks of earth."² The same authority records that "a *palatium* of huge size, with seaward defences, provided them a stronghold secure against an enemy."² Giraldus tells us that the

¹ *Ib.*, p. 97.

² "Regino," 891 and 881, Oman's "Art of War."

Danes incastellated Ireland in suitable places, "whence the endless trenches, very deep and round, and for the most part triple."¹ The description of Jomsburg in the *Jomsvikinga Saga* is also much to the purpose. Fifty years later than these events on the English Ouse, Palnatoke established himself on the Isle of Wollin in Pomerania, or Vendland, as the old Norse writers call it. There, to quote the *Saga*, "he had a large and strong seaburg made. He also had a harbour made within the burg, in which 300 long ships could lie at the same time, all being locked in the burg." The description ends: "the burgs thus built are called seaburgs, and so the harbour came to be within it."² In a fine map of Pomerania, dated 1784, there is a site in this island marked Danneberg,³ and it is interesting to find that Dr. Steenstrup has recently examined and identified the remains of this old seaburg at the rear of the island, although, like the Isle of Thanet, it is an island no more.⁴

IV.

It must be remembered that in former times, as is shown by the alluvium which covers the flat valley of the Ouse at this point, the river must have been a wide lagoon right up to Bedford, in places half a mile in width. The maps of the geological survey show the old confines of the river very clearly, and in flood times the water spreads itself out over the valley to the full extent of its ancient boundaries, as, for instance, in 1885, 1894, and nearly so in 1903.

The evidence, therefore, of the *Saxon Chronicle* for the course of this Danish raid, and of the remains themselves, all goes to establish the conviction that in these Willington earthworks we have what is left of a Danish waterburg, which once gave shelter to a squadron of

¹ "Topographica Hibernica Gir. Camb." Rolls Series, v. 138.

² "Viking Age," II., p. 162.

³ "Atlas Universel." Venise, 1784. Pl. 44.

⁴ Steenstrup, "Venderne og de Danske," pp. 47-52.

their ships, while their fighting men, with their brynjas and battle-axes, crossed over the river that they might march to the attack of Bedford. If so, we should find further traces of them on the other side where the action was fought. Immediately opposite Willington, on a height overlooking the northern bank of the river, is the small but well-known encampment in Renhold parish. It is circular in form, with a great rampart enclosing an area only 120 feet in diameter, and with a ditch 50 feet wide, and formerly much deeper, but largely filled up within recent years. It is too small to have been one of the old tribal strongholds, and too strong to have been anything but a military work. As the fight took place between this place and Bedford, along the north side of the river, this outpost may very well have been the work of the Danes at this time, by which they secured their passage of the river. It will be of interest to make a conjecture as to their numbers. This was not one of their great oversea expeditions, but a movement of the local forces of the East Anglian Northmen. They must also have left a portion of their strength at Tempsford. It may be that the dimensions of the harbour can help us here. Taking the Gokstad ship as an average unit, there was room in the harbour for between 25 to 30 ships, without taking the docks into account. Allowing a crew of between 80 to 100 men for each ship, this would give us a force of between 2,000 and 2,500. Of these, some would remain behind to guard the ships, and as they were routed by the burghers of a single town, with such local levies as they could draw upon, it is possible that our guess may not be very wide of the mark.

Notice should here be taken of the place-names. Renhold appears in early mediæval records as Ronhale, or Ranhale. In a charter of Warden Abbey it appears as Ravenshold. The adjoining parish is Ravensden or Ravenstone. Neither place is directly named in Domesday, but there was a Rauan, or Raven, a man of "Ulmar [or Hjalmar] of Eaton," at Beeston, about six miles dis-

tant to the south-east. Mr. Collingwood points out in the SAGA-BOOK for 1902 the prevalence of these Raven place-names in our Scandinavian districts, just as there are Hrafnsnaust and Hrafnseyri in Iceland, named after the settler. Romantic associations touching the Raven-standards must give place to something more real.

Now to end our history. Crossing the water, after detaching garrison-guards for both their posts, the Danish force marched on the north side of the river with their faces for Bedford. They never reached the town, for the burghers felt themselves strong enough to take the offensive, and out they go to meet the enemy. There is evidence that the shock of battle took place about a mile from the town. The end was disastrous for the Northmen, who were utterly routed with heavy slaughter. Leland mentions the discovery of skeletons on this side of the town, which he supposes were the dead buried during the siege of Bedford castle in 1224. But, as further skeletons, lying east and west, and with Saxon swords and spear heads beside them, were turned up in the same place about six years ago, during the levelling of the ground for the new Russell Park, it is more likely that all these were the remains of the English slain in this fight, three centuries earlier. A mile on the Bedford side of the Renhold fort there is a large howe, known as Risinghoe, and close to it a small bridge crosses a now narrow stream, which the natives always call "Bloody Battle" bridge. Leland and other writers have considered the mound to be part of a castle, and speak of earthworks near it. Certainly, it might have formed the "hold" of one of the early manorial works with moated mounds which are found in various parts of the country, as at Cainhoe and Totternhoe; but all traces of the entrenchment lines at Risinghoe have long since vanished, and there is no sign of a moat about the mound. It has now, at any rate, much more the appearance of a barrow, and even the name suggests that it may have been the *haugr*, of Hrisingr, perhaps one of the Danish leaders

slain in the fight. Excavation only can settle the point.¹

To conclude. It may be asked if the camp at Willington really belonged to the story of this campaign, why is there no reference to the place in the Chronicle? A sufficient answer is prompted by what we know of the course of the operations. As already stated, it seems probable that the Danes, after their manner, left their ships under guard, safely "locked in the harbour," and then crossed the river to make their attack on foot. After the rout, their numbers thinned by the slaughter of the battle and flight, they must have felt that their station was too near the redoubtable Bedford to be held with safety, and remembering the capture of their fleets at Beamfleet and Hertford, only six and twenty years before, would retire with all haste upon their base at Tempsford. Here, a few weeks later, a strong English force did attack them, wiping them out, and destroying their station. It follows that Willington was only briefly occupied, and, not having been the scene of fighting, was not referred to in the history of the war.

In the discussion which followed the reading of the above paper, Mr. F. T. Norris said that he was disposed to support Mr. Goddard's theory of the Danish origin of the camp he described on account of its general similarity in site and details to another camp on the banks of the Roding at Barking, which also, he had grounds for supposing, had its naust and arrangements for safely securing a fleet. As regards the etymology of "Willington," he suggested that the first syllable might be from the root we find in A.S. *wealhstow*, field of the slain.

Mr. A. F. Major, in expressing his appreciation of the paper, said he was doubtful whether such an elaborate camp as that described by Mr. Goddard would have been

¹ As this paper goes to press the Risinghoe is being tunnelled to set the doubt at rest.

thrown up for so purely temporary an occupation as the argument seemed to require. Could such extensive works have been planned and carried out in the short space of time which the Danish campaign in 921, described by Mr. Goddard, apparently occupied?

Colonel Hobart said he thought the title of the lecture should have indicated which Ouse was referred to, as he had come in the full expectation of hearing about the Yorkshire Ouse. He would like very much to see a map of the district showing the course of the Ouse to the sea. He also wished to know whether the naust was a dry dock into which the ships would have to be dragged, or whether the river flowed freely into it.

Mr. G. M. Atkinson wanted to know how the earthworks were made, whether they were merely banks of earth thrown up, or were built upon a central core. A work that was supposed to be a Danish camp still existed round the Bishop's Palace at Fulham. There was formerly a small harbour there, and remains of it were still in existence, though the County Council had almost improved it away. It would be worth while comparing these works with those described by Mr. Goddard. He also commented on the shape of the earthworks and the circular mounds described by Mr. Goddard, whose structure should be examined and compared with that of other circular works.

The lecturer, in reply, said that the harbour was cut right through the river bank, and both it and the ditches round the camp were full of water before the process of silting up, and, finally, the making of the railway cut them off from the river. As to the size of the place, it was not, after all, so very big, and an army of 2,000 or 3,000 men would throw it up in a comparatively short time. The ground was all much on a level, and the harbour originally would not have been more than some three or four feet deep.

SOME NOTES ON THE NORSEMEN IN ARGYLLSHIRE AND ON THE CLYDE.

BY R. L. BREMNER, M.A., B.L.

IT was one of the curious intuitions of Thomas Carlyle that the highlanders of Scotland were a "Norse breed," although he candidly admitted: "I have never got anyone to agree with me." Although the ethnology of the pre-Celtic inhabitants of Alban and their share in the production of the Celtic breed, or, more accurately, of the Gaelic division of the Celtic breed as contrasted with the Brythonic division, are still subjects of discussion, there are some recent developments of Celtic research, which afford an interesting corroboration of Carlyle's theory as far as the West Highlands are concerned.

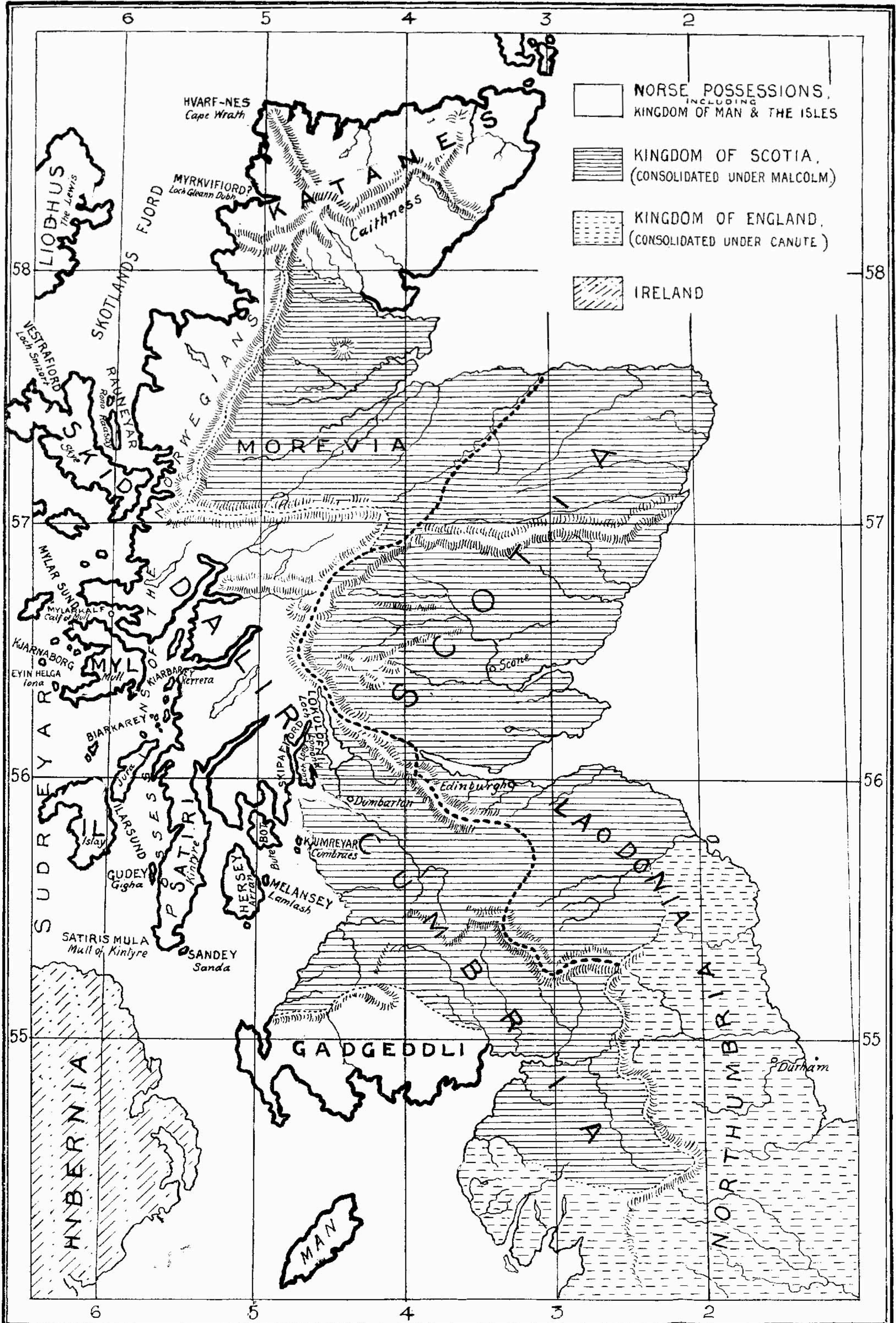
That Orkney and Shetland and the north-east coast of Scotland were and are Norse to the backbone everyone is prepared to admit; but that the Norsemen had lasting settlements on the west coast is still quite astonishing to the man in the street. Anyone who is in the least degree familiar with either Irish Annals or the Northern Sagas is, of course, well aware how close the connection was in Viking days between Scandinavia and the Hebrides. But it is surprising even to the student of the fascinating literature of the Northlands to find that the traces are so numerous and so manifest as they are.

The Norsemen occupied our Western Islands and loch-riven coast-line, roughly speaking, for a period of 500 years, say from 800 to 1300 A.D.; but it has hardly been realised that during the greater part of that time (888 to 1263, when the battle of Largs was fought) the kings of

MAP OF SCOTLAND.

circa 1034 A.D.

SHOWING EXTENT OF NORSE POSSESSIONS, WITH SUCH OF THE SUDREYAN PLACE-NAMES AS OCCUR IN THE SAGAS.



Norway were the sovereign masters of our whole western border; and it is only now that Celtic scholarship has begun to discover the remarkable number of place-names and folk-names of Scandinavian origin that crowd the maps and parish registers of the West Highlands, and tell, more eloquently than any history, how strong the Norse contribution has been to the ethnology of these fair firths and islands.

Pinkerton (one of the historians of Scotland) maintained, a century ago, that the Picts were of Gothic or Teutonic origin, and came over from Norway about 300 B.C. John Hill Burton, who wrote before the more recent philological developments, also maintains that "it is certain that droves of them" (*i.e.*, Scando-Gothic searovers) "came over centuries before the Hengest and Horsa of the stories, if they were not indeed the actual large-boned, red-haired men whom Agricola described to his son-in-law" ("History," i., p. 302). It is certain that Tacitus and his observant father-in-law and authority Agricola were convinced that the Caledonians were of Gothic or Teutonic origin. Stephens, in his monumental work on the Old Northern runic stones, after recording the various settlements of "military barbarians" introduced by the Roman Emperors into Britain for political reasons in the third and fourth centuries, adds:

But, besides all these, there were from an early period local settlements of Scando-Teutonic origin. Not to speak of the far older Belgæ spoken of by Cæsar as early as the end of the second century and beginning of the third, the various barbarian tribes or bands known under the mythic name Saxons (as all Europeans are called Franks in the East) had become so harassing to the Roman power in Britain . . . that a Roman "Count of the Saxon shore" was nominated in each land to control them.¹

THE OSSIANIC CYCLE.

The whole question, moreover, of the Norse element in the ancient Ossianic literature, both Erse and Gaelic, is one which deserves to be more fully studied than it seems to have been hitherto. As all who have read the

¹ Introd., pp. 61, 62.

admirable collections of West Highland folk tales and poems made by the late Mr. J. F. Campbell of Islay, and more recently by Lord Archibald Campbell, are aware, the "Ossianic Cycle," as it is called, is full of references to Lochlann and its folk, "The King of Lochlann" and his son and daughter are characters almost as familiar as the fairy godmother or the enchanted prince of our childhood's fairy tales.

Fingal, the great Ossianic hero (who is never called Fingal, but always Fionn, in the genuine traditions) is represented as the leader of a band of warriors called the Feinne, and in many of the poems and tales of the Ossianic cycle, as we have them, Fionn and the Feinne are the champions of their country against the Lochlan-naigh, "the men of the King of Lochlan." In the Irish Saga, Fionn's country is, as it seems really to have been, Eirinn. In the Gaelic versions of Macpherson and his school his principal home is Morvern, in Argyllshire; but the Morvern of which Fingal was king does not appear elsewhere in Gaelic literature or tradition.

Now the date of the quasi-historic Fionn can be approximately settled.¹ Most of the incidents in the Irish versions of the Fionn saga-cycle occur in the reign of Cormac, grandson of Conn of the Hundred Battles, and in the reign of his son Cairbre. Cormac's reign lasted from 227 to 268 A.D., and the battle of Gabhra, which finally put an end to the power of the Feinne, took place in Cairbre's reign, 283 A.D. If, therefore, we could assume that the legends have come down to us *in their original forms*, it would clearly follow that there had been repeated Norse invasions immediately after the Roman occupation at the latest, and possibly long before it. Unfortunately, however, this is a quite impossible assumption. Even the earliest manuscripts we have (dating perhaps from 800 to

¹ I am aware that Prof. Zimmer places Fionn in the eleventh century, but the balance of authority seems to be against his theory. See Maclean, "Lit. of the Celts," p. 179; and also Mr. David Nutt in "Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition," vol. ii. (1890), p. 426.

900 A.D.) are apparently redactions from much earlier forms, and what is true of the manuscript materials is, of course, more emphatically true of the mass of traditional lore that is still floating about the West Highland sheilings, passed on orally from one generation to another for over one thousand five hundred years.

The view of modern Celtic scholarship appears to be that the Norse element in the Ossianic cycle is of comparatively late growth—an accretion of the tenth and eleventh centuries, in fact—and that the old Celtic heroes, Fionn, Ossian, Dermid, Oscar, and the rest—all really of much earlier date—are introduced and the incidents of their careers so altered and adapted as to present them as the national, or rather racial, defenders of Erin and Alban against the Viking raiders of the eighth and ninth centuries. That this is true of some of the ballads and tales there can be no doubt; but the question still remains pertinent whether the existence of a Scandinavian occupation in the first century of our era and of constant intercommunication between the Lochlanners and the men of Alban and Erin in those subhistorical times would not sufficiently account for the greater part of the Scandinavian element in these early Celtic sagas. The question is one for thoroughly equipped Celtic scholars; but one cannot help thinking that the ever-growing mass of cumulative evidence of a deeper and closer racial affinity between Norseman and Celt than historians like Skene were at all inclined to admit may at least clear up much that is obscure in the legendary and romantic history of the Sudreyar. Thus, to quote the most recent historian of the Outer Isles, Mr. W. C. Mackenzie:—

It is tolerably clear that the Saxon confederation which gave so much trouble to the Roman arms in Britain included the Scandinavians. According to Boece, the Danes were in Scotland at the time of Agricola. The Danish historian, Saxo Grammaticus, tells us of incursions by the Norsemen to these Islands long before the eighth century, which is the period usually assigned to the first appearance of the Scandinavians on our coasts. Irish tradition relates that, centuries prior to the commencement of the Christian era, the Hebrides were ruled by the Fomorians or

sea-kings, who are generally believed to have been Scandinavian rovers, although, from some accounts, they might have been Phœnicians. We read of a great expedition to Ireland under the two Fomorian Chiefs, "Balor of the Evil Eye, King of the Islands," and "Tudech son of De-Domnand," who collected all the men and ships lying from Scandinavia westwards, so that they formed an unbroken bridge of ships and boats from the Hebrides to the north-west coast of Erin. This expedition, we are told, ended in the defeat of the Fomorians at the great battle of Moytura. We may believe as much or as little of this as we choose, but the tradition tends to confirm the belief that the Hebrides were overrun by Scandinavian pirates at a period *long anterior to the eighth century*.¹

Among the many casual side-proofs of the antiquity of the Norse element in our Caledonian population, one is afforded by the "Lodbrokar Qviða," the death-song of Ragnar Lodbrog, where the hero twice (strophes 25 and 27) speaks of Odin under the name of Vithris, and we know that the worship of the god Vetres was noted by the Romans as localised in the northern parts of Britain.²

In the "Prehistoric Remains of Caithness," by Samuel Laing, M.P., F.G.S., with "Notes on the Human Remains" by Professor Huxley, the evidence of the "barrows" is summed up thus (pp. 133, 136):

Dr. Thurnam has adduced a good many reasons for believing that the Belgic element intruded upon a pre-existing dolichocephalic (*i.e.*, long-headed) Iberian population; but I think it probable that this (*i.e.*, the Belgic) element hardly reached Ireland at all, and extended but little into Scotland.³ However, if this were the case, and no other elements entered into the population, the tall fair red-haired man and blue-eyed dolicephali, who are, and appear always to have been, so numerous among the Irish and Scotch, could not be accounted for. But their existence becomes intelligible at once if we suppose that, long before the well-known Norse and Danish invasions, a stream of Scandinavians had set into Scotland and formed a large part of our primitive population. And there can be no difficulty in admitting this hypothesis when we recollect that the Orkneys and the Hebrides have been in comparatively late historical times, Norwegian possessions.

¹ Mackenzie's "Hist. of Outer Hebrides," pp. xxxiv.-xxxv.

² Bruce's "Roman Wall," p. 399, quoted by Burton, "Hist," i., p. 222, *note*.

³ See Dr. Bryce's conclusions from the study of the megalithic cairns of Arran and Kintyre, where the remains and pottery are distinctly Iberian. *Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries of Scot.*, vol. xii. p. 74, etc., and vol. xiii. p. 36, etc. 3rd series.

This conclusion of ethnological science singularly reinforces Pinkerton's view that the Picts were a Gothic people, and is itself, as we shall see, strongly supported by the new science of comparative philology.

RACIAL MOVEMENTS.

Let me try in a few rapid sentences to sketch the racial movements in Scotland about the time of the Vikings, say 800 A.D. Scotland was not then a united kingdom, and its modern name had not been invented. It was called Alban, and Scotia up to the tenth century meant Ireland, the land of the Scots. The Gaelic name for Ireland, however, was Erin. Alban was, in fact, broken up into four kingdoms. By far the largest of these was (1) the Kingdom of the Picts, which extended over the whole of Alban north of the Forth. Next, and much smaller in extent, but *facile princeps* in point of culture and civilisation, came (2) the Kingdom of the Scots, who had some three centuries before (498) begun to come over as colonists from Ireland, and had acquired an independent monarchy in 575 A.D. They possessed the whole of what is now called Argyllshire,¹ including Kintyre, Arran, Bute, Jura, Islay, half of Mull and Iona. This Scotie kingdom was called Dalriàda and its capital was Dunstaffnage near Oban.

The third kingdom was (3) the Kingdom of the Britons of Strathclyde, known later as the Cumbrian kingdom. Its capital was the strong natural fortress of Alclutha (Alcluith, Alclyd), which is still called "Dumbarton" (*i.e.*, Dun Breatan, the fort of the Britons). This kingdom extended from the Clyde estuary southward, embracing Ayrshire, Dumfries and Galloway, and Cumberland, and included one important section of the Welsh or Cymric or Brittonic race, which, so far as language goes, is now confined to Wales. "Dr. Beddoe

¹Subsequently the whole mainland coast from the Mull of Kintyre to Loch Broom was called Oirir-Gaedhil, which means "the coast lands of the Gael," and is the origin of the name "Argyll." The Norse name for Oirir-Gaedhil was Dalir.

regards the tall hillmen of Galloway and upper Strathclyde as the best representatives of the Brittonic race, Wales itself being very much mixed in blood.”¹ The fourth kingdom was (4) the Kingdom of the Angles of Bernicia, which extended from the Firth of Forth southwards to the Humber. About 650 the Angles of Bernicia obtained under Oswiu (Skene, “Celt. Scot.,” vol. i., pp. 256 *et seq.*) dominion over the Britons, the Scots, and the Southern Picts, which lasted in the case of the Picts for more than a century. About 30 years, however, after Oswiu’s victory the Scots and the Britons appear to have recovered their independence and waged many wars among themselves. By-and-by, the Scots of Dalriada became gradually more powerful and spread steadily eastward, and finally (whether by conquest or intermarriage is not fully known) the King of the Scots, Kenneth McAlpin, obtained the throne of the Picts also (844 A.D.).² As we shall see, the Norsemen in all probability took an important part in this remarkable revolution, and thus contributed to the ultimate unification of Scotland as a single monarchy. A century later (945) King Eadmund of England overran Cumbria, and ceded it to Malcolm, King of the Scots, on condition that he should be his ally on sea and land. In the end of the tenth century (Skene, “Celt. Scot.,” vol. i., p. 398) the name of Scotia did come to denote the middle part of Alban. But it was not until after the Norse Kingdom of the Isles had been ended by the battle of Largs, in 1263, that the word Scotland was adopted as the name of the united kingdom of Alexander III.

Now while these movements were going on, what of the Norsemen?

THE VIKING PERIOD.

The history of their dominion in the isles and on the western mainland began with a number of isolated

¹Dr. Macbain in Skene’s “Highlanders of Scotland,” ed. 1902, Excursus, p. 391.

²Skene, “Celtic Scotland,” vol. i., p. 309.

descents, and our ordinary history-books teem with phrases like, "hordes of Danish pirates," who slaughtered monks and robbed churches and were in a word fiends in human shape. Much wiser and saner are the words of John Hill Burton, the historian, who says :

The Vikings have been assailed in history by many names partaking of a vituperative character—as marauders, pirates, sea-robbers and the like. To these terms there would be no objection but for the element of confusion with the fashions and speech of modern times apt to attend on the use of such words. A Norse rover, and a pirate of last century hung in chains at Rotherhithe, are as different beings as an Oriental monarch who levies contributions on all strangers coming within his power is different from a London footpad. The one is acting up to the principle of the government of his State—not a good principle, it may be—and takes his place as a statesman with a policy; the other is at variance with the institutions of the State, and amenable to its vengeance.¹

The real secret of the "vituperation" of which Burton speaks is a simple one. The churches were then, as they still are in the country districts of Ireland, the chief, if not the only, repositories of material wealth. Garnished with the gold and silver contributed by, or wrung from, the poverty-stricken populations around them, they were naturally the first object of the Norsemen's attack. Secondly, the churches were the only seats of learning. The only men who could write were monks and abbots and their pupils. The tradition, therefore, of the Norseman's character and visits fell to be recorded by those who hated him most. Here are two highly-coloured specimens of the Celtic records. After describing the many atrocities of "this furious, ferocious, pagan, ruthless, wrathful people," the writer goes on: "in short until the sand of the sea, or the grass of the field, or the stars of heaven are counted, it will not be easy to recount or enumerate or to relate what the Gaedhil, all without distinction, suffered from them, whether men or women, boys or girls, laics or clerics, freemen or serfs, old or young—indignity, outrage, injury and oppression." A little further on this impartial historian lets himself go in this fashion :

¹ "History of Scotland," vol. i., pp. 313. 314.

In a word, although there were an hundred hard steeled iron heads on one neck and an hundred sharp, ready, cool, never-rusting, brazen tongues in each head and an hundred garrulous, loud, unceasing voices from each tongue, they could not recount or narrate, or enumerate or tell what all the Gaedhil suffered in common, both men and women, laity and clergy, old and young, noble and ignoble of hardship, of injury, and of oppression, in every house from these valiant, wrathful, foreign, purely-pagan people. . . .¹

The literary gift is clearly almost as dangerous as a "horde of piratical Danes!" Prejudice is strong and ecclesiastical hate is peculiarly bitter, and the wonder is, not that the pirate bold and free of that early day who burned Iona and sacked the monasteries should have been almost forgotten even by his children; but that, despite the obloquy of monkish chroniclers, there should still rise so clear before us, if we take the trouble to look for it, the manlike figure of the Norse rover, with his clear blue eye and steady arm, the love of song and of fighting in his heart, and a deep passion for two things: beauty and freedom. That the Celtic maiden loved him is as certain as that the monks abhorred him; else we had never had so great a wealth of folk-names and other traces of him in the land of the Gael. But this is a digression.

In 795 the Ulster Annals announce the ravaging of all the islands (*i.e.*, the Sudreys) by the Norsemen, and the Inisfallen Annals specify I Colmkill,² or Iona, as one scene of their devastation. In 802 Iona is burnt, and in 806 comes the pathetic entry: "The family (or community) of Iona massacred by the foreigners to the number of 68." Another account gives the number of the murdered monks as 48. Apparently 64 were left alive ("Orig. Paroch."). There is no doubt that the wholesale destruction of the monasteries and manuscripts, admittedly carried out by the Northmen

¹ "Wars of the Gaedhil and the Gaill," pp. 43, 51, 53.

² *i.e.*, Columcille's I. Columba is still in Gaelic Columcille, *i.e.*, Colum of the cell or church (Latin cella). Iona is a ghost-word, a misreading of Ioua, the "Ioua insula" of Adamnan.

in Erinn and Alban, did much to retard the progress of what is called civilisation, and probably, next to the burning of the library at Alexandria, the massacre of Iona was the worst misfortune the world of letters has ever been called upon to endure. It is almost impossible to exaggerate the importance of Celtic learning, then and since, for the whole Western world.¹ In an age of darkness Ireland was the bearer of many torches, and Iona, her fairest daughter, more than any other, stood for all that was luminous and spiritual, pure and unworldly. The missionaries of Iona left their mark upon almost every corner of Europe, and some of her most precious manuscripts rest to this day in European libraries. If the rough hand of our Gothic forefathers had spared Iona we should have forgiven them much; but Iona went the way of Armagh, Clonmacnois, Lindisfarne and a hundred less notable centres of learning. Doubtless the very clash of Gael and Gall was one prime cause of the marvellous spread of learning in North-western Europe which ultimately gave us the Sagas of Iceland as well as the Sagas of Ireland and the Hebrides, for letters have always flourished best in stirring times; doubtless also the infusion of Norse blood into our Celtic population was an enormous gain. But that the early Western civilisation should have been so heedlessly attacked and all but dashed into ruin must be a keen regret even to those of us who have little love for monks and masses.

Slowly but surely, however, time brought its revenge. The Christian monk was stronger in his weakness than the muscular Viking, and long afterwards Iona became the holy place where Norse kings and warriors, who had turned from Odin to the White Christ, desired that their bones should rest. The tourist who visits Iona to-day

¹The venerable copy of Adamnan's "Life of St. Columba," dated before 713 A.D., was found first in the Monastery of Reichenau about 1640, when it was transcribed, and again lost until 1799, when it was re-discovered in the town library of Schaffhausen.

will stand beside more tombs of noble Northmen and Skotar-Vikings on that tiny little island than elsewhere in all Scotland or England. This massacre of 806 was by no means the only blow that the Northmen struck at the sanctuary founded by the stalwart Saint Columba 200 years before. In 825 Blathmac McFlainn obtained the crown of martyrdom at their hands. He was killed as he stood before the altar, and refused to tell where the monks had hidden the treasures of their house—the silver shrines which the invaders coveted (*An. Ult.*).

In 829 the Abbot Diarmid carried the relics of St. Columba to Alban, and two years later to Erinn. This hasty flight with the relics, significant of the dread in which the Northmen were held, had twice to be repeated—in 849 and 878—for the same reason. The tale of Iona's woes was not yet exhausted. In 986, on Christmas Eve, the Abbot and fifteen of the clergy were slain "by the Danes" (*"An. Ult."*). And in the following year the chronicler notes with grim delight that 360 of the Danes who had celebrated Yule in this sacrilegious fashion were slaughtered "by a miracle of God and St. Columba" (*"Orig. Paroch."*)

Once more Iona figures in the Sagas, and that is in the year 1093, when Magnus Barefoot, King of Norway, visited "eyin helga," "the holy island," on his first expedition to the Sudreys. It is said that he guaranteed to the inhabitants peace and security, and Snorre adds that "King Magnus opened the little 'Kolumba Kirkio' and went therein; but directly locked the door again, and said that no one should dare to enter; and since that time the church has never been opened" (*Magnus Barefoot's Saga*, quoted in "*Antiq. Celto-Scandicæ*," p. 232, Worsaae, "*Danes*," p. 276). Iona was just on the border line between the Nordreyar and Sudreyar and was included, like part of the adjacent and much larger island of Mull, sometimes among the one group and sometimes among the other (*ibid.*).

Isolated descents of the Northmen, then, occurred during

the fifty years following 780. Between 830 and 840 they began to make settlements in Ireland, and this process of settlement was largely helped by the coming of a notable viking-jarl, known to the Irish chroniclers as Turgesius (probably Thorkel) who seems to have had a more statesmanlike conception of the Northmen's destiny in these parts, and of how it was to be attained, than most of his west-faring brothers. He was slain in 845, and from a number of curious coincidences it has been conjectured that he was none other than the half-mythical Ragnar Lodbrok, but this is far from being proved. There is reason to believe, however, that Kenneth mac Alpin, the first king of Scotie blood to attain the throne of the Picts, entered into alliance with Thorkel and other Norse leaders for the advancement of his plans (Skene, "Celt. Scot.," i., pp. 307-309). At all events, in 837 or 838 a fleet of three score and five Norse and Danish war-ships arrived at Dublin and afterwards plundered Leinster. It is then said, in the "Wars of the Gaedhil and the Gaill," p. 13, that the Dalriadans met them in another battle, in which Ewan, son of Angus, then King of Dalriada, was slain. It is clear that this is the same battle that is spoken of in the Annals of Ulster as "A battle between the foreigners and the men of Fortrenn [Pictland] in which Ewan, son of Angus . . . and others almost innumerable, fell." That this fierce slaughter of the Picts in 839 gave Kenneth mac Alpin his great opportunity is made clear by the Chronicle of Huntingdon. Whether or not he allied himself with Thorkel's countrymen in this way, he undoubtedly did so in another, viz., by giving one of his daughters in marriage to a powerful viking-jarl, Olaf the White, afterwards Norse King of Dublin from 853 to 872 (Skene, "Celt. Scot.," i., p. 313).

From 838 to 845 our western coasts were swarming with thousands of viking-warriors, and presently there uprose this kingdom of Dublin, one of the most important settlements "west-over-sea." About the same time began

THE NORSE KINGDOM OF THE ISLES.

Although the Sagas are rather contradictory, it would appear that the whole of the Western Isles had been subdued and their government fairly well consolidated by the time of Harald Hairfair, chiefly by Ketil Flatnose, who, according to *Heimskringla*, was about 870 sent west-over-sea by Harald Hairfair as his lieutenant in these parts. According to the *Laxdæla*, however, Ketil left Norway of his own accord and settled with much honour in the Hebrides, *where he had been a-viking in the days of his youth*. Ketil Flatnose was himself a notable man, and in these earlier days had given in marriage the most notable of his daughters,¹ variously called "Aud," "Audun," and "Unn," "the Deep-minded" or "the Very Wealthy," to Olaf the White, afterwards King of Dublin. Their son was Thorstein the Red, who, though he died in his early prime,² lived long enough to make his mark broad and deep on the history of North-east Alban. It would be a most interesting piece of work to write the Saga of Olaf the White and his kindred; but in this paper one must be content to refer very briefly to his appearances in Alban.

In 865 or 866 Olaf undertook an important expedition thither. Entering the country probably by the Clyde fjörd, the Norsemen of Dublin laid waste Pictland not for the first time, and took a great quantity of booty and many hostages. Skene conjectures that on the death of his father-in-law, Kenneth mac Alpin, in 860, Olaf the White had claimed to have right through his wife to the lordship of certain lands in Alban, and that his claims had been ignored or rejected by his brothers-in-law, Donald and Constantin, who successively held the monarchy after their father. At all events we are told that the Norsemen "carried off with them many hostages

¹ Miss Eleanor Hull, in her most interesting paper in last SAGA-BOOK, surmises that Olaf had two wives at least. I am satisfied that he had *three* wives at least, one Scotie, one Norse, and one Irish.

² He had a daughter of marriageable age (see *Laxdæla*).

as pledges for tribute, and they were paid tribute for a long time after.”¹

This last item of information is given under the date 869, which, if it stood alone, would indicate that Olaf's invasion of Fortrenn lasted three years, or that repeated invasions were made. But we know that in 866 there was fought the battle of York, when Ella, King of the North Saxons, fell; and we also know that the leader of the Northmen who fought against him was Ivar, Ragnar Lodbrog's son. Now, Olaf and Ivar had been closely associated in certain Irish forays; they are described in one place as two kings of the Norsemen, and in another as brothers, which may mean kinsmen.² It is probable, therefore, that Olaf's army was placed at Ivar's disposal in Northumbria to avenge the murder of Lodbrog by the defeat and death of Ella, his murderer. This Northumbrian expedition would fill up the interval from 866 to 869.

In 870 Olaf the White was on the Clyde again with his Norsemen, accompanied this time by Ivar. They laid siege to the strong natural fortress of Dumbarton Rock (Alclyd or Alclutha), and, having reduced the garrison to famine by a close investment of four months' duration and by intercepting their water supply, succeeded in destroying the citadel of the Britons. They carried off an immense quantity of booty and a great number of men, Angles, Britons, and Picts. The expedition returned to Ireland in 871 with two hundred ships laden with prisoners, and that is the last appearance of Olaf in Alban.³

Skene, in his early and now superseded work, “The Highlanders of Scotland,” argued that the inhabitants

¹ MacFirbis's transcription of Fragments—“Chron. of Picts and Scots,” p. 405.

² Olaf was also related to Ragnar Lodbrok, being grandson of Thora his granddaughter.

³ At a much later date Dumbarton Rock was again the object of a fierce attack by a Norse expedition, but this time it proved too strong for the enemy. This was in 931 A.D. (“Chron. Picts and Scots,” p. 407).

of the Western Islands and Man from about 844, the date of the Scotie conquest, were a separate and independent race of Celtic and Pictish origin known as the Gall-gael, who had a monarchy with its seat in the Isle of Man until 1034, after which Kings of the Isles are not called Kings of the Gall-gael. It is now agreed, however, that the Gall-gael or Skotar-Viking, as the Sagas call them, were none other than the turbulent Scotie population of Kintyre and upper Argyll, the Sudreyar proper and Galloway with a large infusion of equally turbulent Norse blood derived from the early settlements and inter-marriage of Norsemen among them. The rancour of the monkish historians is particularly vitriolic when they have to refer to the Gall-gael. They describe them to us as sons of perdition who had renounced their baptism and were more diabolic in their wickedness and cruelty than the pagan Gall themselves.

The lordship of the Isles was, therefore, no sinecure, and from the time of Ketil Flatnef it seems to have been held first by the Danes of Limerick. The first "Kings of the Gall-gael" or "Kings of Man and the Isles" were thus direct descendants of Ivar Beinlaus, the son of Ragnar Lodbrok, and close comrade of Olaf the White, King of Dublin. Their chief seat was the Isle of Man, and among them were Arailt (Harald), Ivar's grandson (perhaps the Orree or Gorree of Manx tradition (?)); Magnus mac Arailt (the *rex plurimarum insularum* who was one of the eight princes that rowed King Edgar of England on the Dee); Godfrey mac Arailt; Ragnall mac Godfrey and Svein mac Kenneth, and nephew of Ragnall, whose reign brings us down to 1034.

From the first, the kingdom of the Gall-gael was supposed to be tributary to the Kings of Norway, and from early times a casualty or tribute of 10 marks of gold was paid them by each king on his accession. The times were out of joint, however, and it is probable that the allegiance of the Kings of the Isles was often merely nominal. Now and then, moreover, unattached Viking fleets put in an

appearance, and their captains assumed for a time the practical sovereignty of wide districts. Olaf Trygvason's visit to Man about 988 was one example. Moreover, at one time the Norwegians, at another the Danes, were masters; and at first it is difficult to unravel from the Annals the precise relation in which the two warlike branches of the family stood to each other at any given time. A bold attempt to wrench back the mastership of the Isles from the sons of Ivar was made by Sigurd the Stout, Norse Jarl of Orkney, about 1000 A.D., and he placed Gilli, styled Jarl of the Sudreys, as his lieutenant over them. They were almost immediately recovered, however, by Kenneth, brother of Ragnall, then King of Man and the Isles, and on Ragnall's death in 1004 Kenneth's son Suibne (Svein) reigned for 30 years as the last "King of the Gall-gael." After that date we read of "Kings of Man and the Isles," but not of "Kings of the Gall-gael." His death occurred in 1034, in which year Thorfinn, Jarl of Orkney, again recovered the sovereignty of the Isles for the Orkney earls. Before that, however, in 1014, was fought the memorable battle of Clontarf, in which the flower of the Norse and Danish population and of the Gall-gael of Argyll and the Isles perished. Among those who fell was Jarl Sigurd the Stout. He left three sons by his first wife: Sumarlidi, Brusi and Einar, and, by his second marriage with the daughter of Malcolm, King of the Scots, Thorfinn, then a boy of five years ("Ork. Saga," Anderson, p. xxix. *et seq.*). How Thorfinn, when he came to manhood, became ruler not only of the whole of the Sudreyar, but of Orkney and Shetland, and, on the mainland, of Caithness, Sutherland, Ross, and certainly part of Moray, is told in the Orkneyinga Saga and the Saga of Olaf the Saint. The stirring life of this the mightiest Jarl of the Sudreys was full of bold adventures, and terminated in 1064.

It was under him that the Norse dominion in Scotland attained its greatest extent and importance. The Sagas clearly show that throughout his career Thorfinn con-

sistently acknowledged the overlordship of the reigning King of Norway; so that for the greater part of thirty years, 1034 to 1064, there was no one who had a better right to be called King of Scotland than the King of Norway.¹ Almost contemporaneously with the death of Thorfinn, Malcolm Ceanmor, the son of Duncan, began his reign over Scotia, as the greater part of Alban was now called, and, though the Norse Earldom of Orkney continued, the Earldom of the Sudreys apparently passed out of the grasp of Thorfinn's successors.

Between 1064 and 1077 there are few references to this Earldom in the Sagas, and we are dependent for its history upon the the Chronicle of Man. It must be remembered that the Kingdom of Man still existed, and when Thorfinn's powerful hold upon it was removed, it naturally recovered its independence. At the battle of Stamford Bridge (1066) among the most important allies of Harald Hardrada of Norway and Tostig, Earl of Northumbria, was Goddard, son of Sigtrygg, King of Man and the Isles. The greater part of Goddard's Sudreyan contingent and fleet, however, was destroyed by the English King Harold, and the small remnant that returned brought with it to Man Olaf, Harald Hardrada's son, and one Godred Crovan, son of Harold the Black of Iceland. Godred Crovan, while enjoying the hospitality of his namesake, seems to have enjoyed his leisure in making plans for his host's destruction. Or it may be that they parted in some quarrel, as to which history is silent; but at all events a few years later, when Goddard, son of Sigtrygg, died, Godred Crovan came from Norway with a great fleet, and after two unsuccessful attempts defeated Goddard's son and successor, Fingall, and obtained possession of Man about 1071. The Chronicles of Man record that Godred Crovan brought Dublin and a great

¹ In 1040, in a great battle at Torfness (probably Burghead), Thorfinn had defeated a great host brought against him by Duncan, partly, it may be, assisted by the treachery of Macbeth; and, during the long minority of Duncan's children, Macbeth reigned over the central part of Scotland only.

part of Leinster under his sway, and it is certain that he appointed his son Lagman as his lieutenant over the Sudreys. To make these conquests effectual probably took some years of hard work. He reigned sixteen years, according to the Chronicle of Man, and was succeeded on his death in Islay (about 1087) by his son Lagman.¹ Lagman then ruled the Isles for seven years, when, in a fit of remorse for his cruel treatment of his brother Harald, he abdicated, and, setting out on a "Jorsala-faring" pilgrimage, died at Jerusalem about 1095.

Early in the year 1093 King Magnus of Norway resolved upon and carried out his first great expedition west-over-sea. Nothing like so great a hosting had been heard of in the Isles since Harald Hairfair subdued them more than two centuries before. How he successfully invested the Orkneys, Lewis, Skye, Uist, Mull, Tiree, Islay, Man and Anglesea, burning, slaughtering, and pillaging, is fully described in his own and the Orkneyinga Saga, and his name in its Gaelic form of Manus still haunts the west coast as a name of might and terror in the folk-tales and chants of the island ceilidhs. According to the Sagas, this invasion took place while Lagman was guardian of the Nordereys, and they state that Lagman was hunted from island to island until at last he was captured. The story of the Manx Chronicle that Lagman thereafter went a-pilgriming is not inconsistent with this. It is stated that, after subduing the Sudreys and Man, Magnus went to Anglesea and fought a battle against two Norman Earls, Hugh the Stout (Earl of Chester), and Hugh the Bold (Earl of Salop), in which the latter was slain and the British (*i.e.*, the Norman-Welsh) forces were put to flight. We know from the Saxon Chronicle that this Earl Hugh was slain in Anglesey by Vikings in 1098, which helps to prove that the affair of Anglesey belongs to King Magnus's second expedition.

On the other hand, the Norse Sagas state that King

¹ Lagman, or Lagmund, in its modern form of Lamont, is still a well-known Argyllshire name. Compare Ardlamont, a district on Loch Fyne.

Magnus of Norway on his return from this expedition came to terms with King Malcolm of Scotland as to the right of the Norwegians to all the islands "between which and the mainland he could pass in a helm-carrying¹ vessel" ("Ork. Saga," p. 56). Now Malcolm Canmore died in 1093, and Dr. Joseph Anderson and others have tried to get over the difficulty by suggesting that the treaty may have been entered into between Magnus and Donald Bane, Malcolm's brother, after Malcolm's death. Donald Bane was rival of Edgar, Malcolm's son, and several writers suggest that it was in order to secure Magnus's help against Edgar, who actually succeeded, that Donald Bane came to terms with Magnus. Munch, with greater probability, suggests that the Saga writer was misled by the surname of Edgar mac Malcolm, and so called him Malcolm. These hypotheses are, however, inconsistent with a well-known historical reference to the treaty between Magnus and Malcolm seventy years later. Hakon, in reply to the embassy which Alexander II. of Scotland sent to ask if he would give up the territories in the Sudreys unjustly wrested by Magnus from Malcolm, answered that Malcolm and Magnus had settled the boundaries of the Norse possessions in Scotland, and added, with perfect truth, that the King of Scotland had no sort of right to them at the time Magnus won them from Godred Crovan (Skene, "Celt. Scot.," i., pp. 442, 443, note).

It is now recognised that Magnus made not one but three expeditions west-over-sea, in 1093, 1098, and 1103 respectively.² The first and second have been confounded by the sagamen, and it is not possible to disentangle the events of each with certainty. Quite clearly, however, this treaty with Malcolm belongs to the first. According to the Orkneyinga Saga, messengers came from Malcolm to him as he was cruising northward, to ask for peace. They said the King of Scotland was willing to give him

¹ Or in a vessel "with its rudder shipped." (So William Morris and Magnusson and Dr. Joseph Anderson.)

² Train, "Hist. of Man," vol. i, p. 83; Skene, *loc. cit.*; Anderson, "Ork. Saga," pp. 55, 56, note.

all the islands lying west of Scotland between which and the mainland he could pass in a rudder-carrying vessel. If, as we may conjecture, Magnus's enormous flotilla had made its appearance in the Clyde fjord and was lying in Rothesay Bay or Brodick Bay, there were the best of reasons for this precautionary act of goodwill on Malcolm's part. He was on the point of starting on his great expedition against William Rufus of England, in which he met his death in November, 1093 (Skene, "Celt. Scot.," p. 431, note). It was therefore most important that his western borders should not be menaced by Magnus's formidable armament in his absence. Thereupon, says the Orkneyinga Saga, Magnus landed in Satiri (*i.e.*, Kintyre) and had a boat drawn across the isthmus at Tarbert, Loch Fyne, he himself holding the rudder; so that by this device he secured for the Norse the whole of Kintyre, "which is better than the best island of the Sudreyar, except Man." On returning home from the Sudreys after the first expedition, Magnus introduced the dress of the natives, which he had himself adopted, and was ever after called Magnus Berfaettr (*i.e.*, Barefoot or Barelegs). Unfortunately he appointed a man called Ingemund, of dissolute character, as his deputy governor of the Isles. Instead of making Man or *Il* (Islay) his headquarters, Ingemund settled in the Lewis, and summoned all the chieftains of the Isles to assemble there and acknowledge his lordship. The chiefs duly assembled, but, on hearing of the licentious behaviour and outrages of himself and his companions, they surrounded his house by night and burned or slew Ingemund and all his retinue. While this rebellion was taking place in the Nordereys a similar revolt was going on in the Isle of Man. There the Norwegian lieutenant, Jarl Ottar, had for some reason incurred the illwill of the inhabitants of the southern half of the island, and, a civil war arising between North and South, the issue was a fierce fight, in which Jarl Ottar fell.

These things may well have been the cause of Magnus's

second great expedition west-over-sea. At all events, coming south with an enormous fleet—160 ships—he ravaged, burned, and devastated the Isles with such unexampled fury that the inhabitants, who long ere this were to a very large extent of Norse blood themselves, were driven from the Isles into Argyll and other parts of the mainland. Proceeding southwards without apparently encountering serious opposition anywhere, Magnus re-visited Man, and found the corpses of those who fell in the battle with Jarl Ottar lying unburied, and the survivors in such a miserable state that, in contrast to his treatment of the other islands, he spent some little time in improving their “housing conditions,” or rather in compelling them to build houses for themselves. Then, we may suppose, occurred the invasion of Anglesea and the conflict with the Norman Earls, to which allusion has been made.

Magnus thereafter cast covetous eyes upon Erin. In 1103, the Annals of Ulster inform us, he was again in western waters with a great fleet. He made peace for one year with Ireland, but, landing in Ulster with a small force in August, 1104 (So Skene, “C. S.”), he was attacked and killed.

His successor on the Norwegian throne was Sigurd Jorsalafarer, and during his reign the Northern Sagas tell us very little about the Sudreys. It is interesting to remember, however, that Magnus left behind him a little boy, Harald, surnamed Gillichrist, whose mother was a native of the Isles, and who, when he grew up and had successfully come through the hot-iron ordeal, became King of Norway under the name of Harald Gilli (“Ork. Saga,” cap. lvi., etc.).

That the Sudreyar remained tributary to Norway during the next 150 years, however, scarcely admits of doubt. The earldom of Orkney did so in the North; while the kingdom of Man on the South, which probably included Galloway and the Sudreyar proper, also reverted, after a brief interval, to its Norse line of underkings. The

Manx Chronicle says that, as Olaf, the third son of Godred Crovan, who was still in minority, had betaken himself to the Court of Henry I. of England, where he was being educated, the leading men of the Isles sent a legation to Myrkiartan (Muirceartach O'Brien), King of Dublin, asking him to appoint a regent. He nominated a young kinsman, Donald McTeig, as governor; but Donald having proved as tyrannical and criminal a ruler as Ingemund, the Islesmen, gathering their forces in the third year of his reign, expelled him from the Sudreys, and on his arrival in Ireland he was imprisoned by Myrkiartan.

The Islesmen then sent for Olaf, Godred's son, who from his small stature and florid complexion was variously known as Olaf Klining, Olaf Bitling, and Olaf the Red; and he reigned from 1113¹ to 1153 as King of Man and the Isles. These forty years were years of peace. Olaf was himself of a pacific disposition and kept on good terms with the Kings of Scotland and Ireland and with the local princes of Galloway and Argyll. He married Elfrica, daughter of Fergus, lord of Galloway, and granddaughter of his early friend, Henry I. of England. By her he had one son, Godred. He had also several illegitimate sons, Ronald, Lagman and Harald, and many daughters, among them Ragnhild, whom the Manx Chronicle calls Ayla. Her hand he gave in marriage to a man who was yet to make a notable name in the history of Argyll and the Isles, Somerled or Sumarlidi, afterwards lord of Argyll, the progenitor of the great Clan Macdonald, the chiefs of which were to be Lords of the Isles for 200 years after the Norwegian cession of the Sudreys to the Scottish Crown.

Somerled's name is thoroughly Norse, but the fact that his father's (Gillibrìde) and grandfather's (Gilli Adomnan) are as thoroughly Gaelic, is another proof of the constant intermarriage of the Scotie and Norse popula-

¹ The Chronicle of Man gives 1102 as the first year of his reign; but this is quite clearly erroneous, and in fact the chronology of this particular chronicle in the form in which we have it is hopelessly muddled for this period.

tion. The tradition is that Somerled's immediate ancestors had held wide possessions in Argyll, but had been driven out by the Norwegians, and it is highly probable that this took place during Magnus's great invasion. An unsuccessful attempt was apparently made by Gillibride with some 400 or 500 Irishmen from Fermanagh, whither they had fled, to regain his lands; but presently we find young Somerled himself collecting a number of men of Morven, and by degrees recovering his patrimony, until at length he became known to history as the Mormaer or regulus of Argyll. It was to this rising man that Olaf Bitling, King of Man and the Isles, married his daughter, an alliance which was undoubtedly of the greatest assistance to Somerled, and of serious consequence in the future history of the Norwegian occupation.

Throughout his reign, Olaf quietly pursued the wise policy of cultivating the friendship of all the men of the day who might do him harm if they would. His friend and patron, Henry I. of England, having died, it is related that he took a voyage to Norway to pay the tribute or "casualty" of 10 marks of gold, due on his succession, to the Norwegian monarch, and to do homage to him as overlord. Arrived at Trondhjem, he was so well received by the three sons of Harald Gilli that he remained there for some time, and left his son Godred to be educated at the Norwegian Court. Before leaving he was formally crowned King of the Isles, and was treated with every mark of respect.

On his return to Man, he found a conspiracy on foot. The three sons of his brother Harald, who had been long before so cruelly mutilated by Lagman, appeared on the scene with the demand that Olaf should give them a share in the kingdom of the Isles. Olaf promised to consider the claim, but at the meeting at which he had announced that his decision should be given he was assassinated by Reginald, one of his nephews, and so, unhappily, ended his long and peaceful reign at the Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, 1153 (Munch, "Chron. of Man,"

p. 9). The murderers were permitted to divide the island among themselves, and immediately set forth with a fleet to subdue, if possible, the province of Galloway. In this ambitious attempt, however, they were frustrated, and Fergus, the veteran lord of Galloway, sent to Norway for his grandson Godred, the rightful heir of Olaf. He arrived in the Orkneys in the autumn of 1154 with five ships, and was hailed with joy by the princes of the Isles, who unanimously accepted him as king.

Meantime King David of Scotland had died in the same year as Olaf Bitling (1153), and the coronation at Scone of his grandson Malcolm, a boy of twelve, was viewed with disfavour by his Gaelic subjects, to whose ancient laws of inheritance the succession of a grandson was a novelty. Somerled of Argyll was quick to take advantage of the situation. His sister's husband, Malcolm Mac Eth, was the heir to the forfeited earldom and estates of Moray, and had been imprisoned by King David in 1137. Somerled, with his nephews, the sons of Malcolm Mac Eth, and a great force invaded the realm at various points. Whether he had the help of Fergus, lord of Galloway, is not clear, but one of his nephews, Donald, was captured in Galloway by the King's army and imprisoned along with his father in Marchmont Castle at Roxburgh. Somerled, however, maintained the conflict for three years until, in 1157, Malcolm Mac Eth was set at liberty and given a province.

Meanwhile the young Godred, Olaf Bitling's son, had been three years on the throne of Man; had made a successful incursion into Ireland, and, according to the Chronicle of Man, had been chosen King of Dublin. Elated with his success, he grew overbearing and tyrannical and dispossessed and degraded some of his leading men. Amongst these was one Thorfinn, son of Ottar, who carried his story to the powerful Somerled and invited him to place his eldest son, Dubhgal, on the throne of Man and the Isles. To this Somerled willingly agreed, and his young son, escorted by Thorfinn, made a progress

through the islands and was acknowledged by most of the chiefs. One of these, however, Paul Balkason of Skye, doubtful of the legality of these proceedings, hastened to the Isle of Man and informed Godred, who, thoroughly alarmed, prepared without delay to oppose his nephew. He collected a fleet and sailed northwards, only to find that Somerled was ready for him with a fleet of 80 sail. A great sea fight followed on the night of the Epiphany, January 6th, 1156, in which many fell on both sides, and in the morning a compromise was agreed to, whereby the Kingdom of the Isles was divided between the claimants. This was not, however, the end of the matter; for two years later we find Somerled invading Man with a fleet of 53 ships, when, after defeating Godred, he plundered the whole island and departed. Godred fled for assistance to Norway, where he might naturally have expected to get it; but he seems to have stayed in Norway for six years. He returned in 1164, just four days after his brother Ranald had got himself, not without some bloodshed and treachery, declared King. Godred, landing with his Norwegian reinforcements, promptly put an end to Ranald's triumph, mutilating him in the fierce manner of these stormy times. His tyranny was by this time forgotten and he was welcomed home.

The doughty Somerled was almost at this moment engaged in the final battle-work of his stirring life. With an enormous force and 160 ships, collected partly from Ireland, partly from the Isles, he sailed round the Mull of Kintyre and up the Firth of Clyde to Greenock. What provoked this invasion we do not know certainly, but there is reason to believe that Malcolm, and still more his nobles, had grown jealous of the ever-growing power and influence of this half-Norse lord of Argyll, and were arranging a great expedition to compass his overthrow, when he, ever ready, took the offensive.¹ What we do

¹ See MS. history of the Macdonalds, written in Gaelic in the reign of Charles II., trans. in "Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis," p. 284.

know is that Somerled paid for this bold challenge with his life, being slain in a fierce battle at Renfrew, according to Fordun and the Chronicle de Mailros. According to the MS. referred to, however, he was assassinated by a kinsman in his tent the night before the battle. His forces in any case were routed and scattered. The young king does not seem to have followed up the victory, and, as he himself died two years later, Somerled's possessions in Argyll and the Sudreys remained in the hands of his sons. The brief reference to the mighty Somerled in the Orkneyinga Saga is interesting. He is there called "Sumarlidi höld who had possessions in Dalir on Skotland's Fjord." His wife was Ragnhild, daughter of Olaf Bitling, King of the Sudreyar. Their sons "were King Dufgall, Rögnvald and Engull" (the last being the Norse form of Angus). "They were called the Dalverja family."

The division of the Isles between Godred, Olaf Bitling's son, and Dubhgal, Somerled's son, seems to have been arranged so that Godred retained Man and the Nordreys, while Dubhgal got the islands south of Ardnamurchan Point. On his father's death, however (1164), Dubhgal succeeded to the estates on the mainland, and Ranald took the lordship of the Isles (Skene, "Celt. Scot.," iii., p. 35).

Godred, like his predecessors, held his royal dignity for a long term. On his death, in 1187, after a reign of 35 years, his son Ranald succeeded, and thus there were two Rögnvalds, Kings of the Isles, reigning simultaneously. Skene has translated a most interesting Irish poem, evidently written by a wandering skald, in which both are referred to in terms of high praise ("Celt. Scot.," vol. iii., p. 410). It is evident from this poem that Arran was part of the domain of the Norse Rögnvald (Godred's son); probably Bute was included among the islands of the "Dalverian" Rögnvald (Somerled's son).

The former reigned as King of Man and the Isles for thirty-eight troublous years. His troubles included

a little war in Ulster (1205); an unexpected visit from King John of England (1210), who was very disagreeable, taking hostages and pillaging the island; occasional battles with the Dalverian family, and, above all, a series of bitter conflicts and abortive reconciliations with a younger brother, Olaf the Black, who actually usurped the throne on more than one occasion. In 1223 he had to make terms with Olaf, one of whose allies, another Paul Balkason of Skye, blinded and mutilated his son Godred, and finally he was dethroned in 1226 and assassinated in 1228-29 ("Chron. Man," Munch, p. 18).

Olaf the Black with his friend Paul Balkason paid a visit to the Norwegian Court next year (1230) for the purpose of paying the usual tribute or casualty of 10 golden marks and acknowledging the overlordship of the reigning king, Hakon Hakonson, by whom he was well received. Hakon had just conferred the title of King of the Isles on one Hakon Ospak and despatched him with a large force to subdue certain Lords or Kings of the Isles who had ceased to pay tribute. This clearly refers to the Argyll family, the sons of Somerled. Olaf the Black made haste to join him, and succeeded in overtaking him in the Sound of Islay, where a sea battle was fought. Then proceeding to the Clyde with their united fleet of eighty vessels, they conquered Arran (McArthur), attacked the Castle of Rothesay, and took it after a desperate siege of three days. The defenders poured down boiling pitch and lead upon the invading force. Olaf built wooden sheds to protect his men, who succeeded in undermining the walls of the fortress, but with the loss of 390 of their number. Among the killed were Ospak, and Svein Svart, a warrior of note; the former was mortally wounded by a stone thrown from the walls, and was buried in Iona.¹ Olaf, hearing that Allan, Lord of Galloway, was lying off the Mull of Kintyre with a fleet of 150 sail, ready to intercept him, made straight for the Isle of Man, and having given his nephew, God-

¹ Flatey-book; Johnstone's "Anecdotes of Olaf the Black," p. 17.

red Don (Hakon's Saga and Chron. Man) the right to rule a part of the Isles, he reigned in Man till his death (1237). Of Godred Don all that we know is that he killed Paul Balkason, and was himself assassinated in the Lewis in 1233.

On Olaf the Black's death, his son Harald, aged fourteen, succeeded to the throne and made a progress through the Isles, being everywhere welcomed. He refused, however, at first, to go to Norway to pay the usual homage, and it was not until the King Hakon deputed two noblemen to expel him and collect the revenues that he listened to counsels of prudence, and in 1240 sailed to Norway, where he stayed at Court for two years. He came home with a formal charter, confirming him and his heirs and successors for ever in the dominion of all the islands which his predecessors, Godred,¹ Reginald and Olaf, had possessed. Henry, King of England, invited Harald to his Court and gave him knighthood, as he had done in the case of his father; and thereupon Hakon of Norway, thinking it wise, probably, to thirl the allegiance of his vassal more firmly to himself, not only gave him a second invitation to visit Norway, but conferred on him the hand of his daughter Cecilia in marriage. The wedding was celebrated with great splendour, and the royal pair set forth on their voyage from Bergen with a numerous retinue; but, unfortunately, they perished in a storm off the coast of Rathlin (?) ("fines Radlandiæ," "Chron. Man").

Ronald, brother of Harald, succeeded him, but was murdered on May 30th, 1249, after a reign of 24 days. Thereupon Harald, son of Godred Don, assumed the sovereignty in Man, although the rightful heir was Magnus, the third son of Olaf the Black, and brother of the last two kings; Magnus, however, was in a distant part of the Hebrides, and was, besides, married to the

¹ The terms of this charter, going back no further than Godred, Olaf Bitling's son, would seem to recognise the right of the Somerled family to the other isles.

daughter of John, a great grandson of Somerled, who, according to the Chronicle of Man, was at this time the Dalverian Lord of the Sudreys proper, and, as his subsequent action showed, was ambitious to be recognized as Lord of all the Isles.

Alexander II. of Scotland thought this a fitting time to intervene in the polity of these outlying realms. All the rest of Scotland was now under one monarch. Even wild Galloway had been subdued, and geographically there only remained the Norse fringe on the west and north to complete the political unit. Alexander's first step had been to make overtures to Hakon of Norway. To him he sent two bishops to treat for the cession of the Hebrides, which, he maintained, had been wrested from the Scottish kingdom by Magnus Barefoot. Hakon, as we know, denied the premises, and repudiated the conclusion. Then Alexander proposed to buy them; but to this no answer was returned. Things had now reached a crisis. Alexander set on foot a great expedition to the west, and having collected a large army, and brought it into Argyll, sent to Donald,¹ one of the Somerled family, demanding the surrender of Cairnburgh in the Treshinish Isles, and three other castles. The demand was refused, and, undeterred by visions of evil omen, King Alexander proceeded with his enterprise until he was suddenly overtaken with mortal sickness and died on the Island of Kerrera. He was buried at Melrose, July 8th, 1249, and his son Alexander III., then a boy of eight years, reigned in his stead. The attack upon the Sudreys was abandoned for the time, and in 1256 Magnus Olaf's son was duly confirmed King of Man and the Isles by Hakon the Old of Norway. The end of the Norse domination was, however, at hand.

In 1262 Alexander III. came of age, and announced that he intended to carry out his father's purpose, and bring the Hebrides within the Scottish realm. Hakon, on hearing this, and learning that hostilities had already

¹ "Collectanea," p. 288; Johnstone's Account of Haco's Expedition, p. 9.

been begun in the Northern Isles by the Earl of Ross, resolved to meet and crush his foe. Early in 1263 he began his preparations, and in July sailed with upwards of 120 ships and anchored off Orkney. On August 10th he sailed round Cape Wrath and anchored again off Raasay, where he was joined by Magnus, King of Man, and other Norwegian barons and by Dugall, Lord of the Isles of the Somerled family. These contingents increased his fleet to more than 200 ships. Magnus and Dugall he despatched with a force to Kintyre; another fleet of 15 ships he sent to Bute, while he himself proceeded with his main force to Gigha. Dunaverty Castle in Kintyre, and Rothesay Castle in Bute were successfully besieged, and thereupon Hakon's great flotilla entered the Firth of Clyde and anchored in Kilbrannan Sound. At this point Alexander, who was stationed in force on the Ayrshire coast, offered to cede the whole of the Hebrides to Norway, retaining only Arran, Bute and the Cumbraes.

There is some reason to doubt the genuine character of this proposal, which was probably made in order to delay the expedition. It was now September, and bad weather in the Firth of Clyde was a serious matter even for ships of war in those days. In any case nothing came of the proposal, Hakon being determined to keep a good grip on all his ancestral possessions. At last the negotiations were broken off, and a fleet of 60 ships, under the leadership of the Somerled family,¹ was sent up Loch Long, the country about which was ravaged. The invaders then drew their vessels across the Tarbet isthmus from Arrochar, and launched them again on the beautiful waters of Loch Lomond (Lokulofni), the islands and shores of which were at that time populous, and there they also made much havoc. It may be that this event gave Loch Long its name. It means the "loch of ships," and the Norsemen called it Skipafjord, which is an exact equivalent. Meantime the main

¹ So Skene.

fleet had moved up the firth to the Cumbrae Islands, with a view to invade the Ayrshire coast. The spot was well chosen; but the fates were now against the Norsemen. A tremendous gale swept the Firth. Ten ships were wrecked in Loch Long; Ivar Holm, a staunch old comrade of King Hakon, met his death. Many other war galleys were driven ashore near Largs, and their occupants were at once attacked and slain. Simultaneously, the main body of the Scottish army was seen moving along the heights behind Largs, and soon the bloody battle of Largs, begun in this rough and scrambling fashion, had been fought to its unhappy conclusion.

The Norwegian and the Scottish accounts do not agree either as to the details or as to the main result of the battle. The former do not at all admit defeat, and make out that the sole cause of their retirement was that the "tempest magic-raised" proved too much for them. The Scottish historians, on the other hand, maintain that a crushing defeat was inflicted on the Norsemen, who undoubtedly suffered an enormous loss, variously estimated¹ at from 16,000 to 24,000 men, while the defenders' is placed at 5,000. It must suffice here to say that the Norwegians obtained a truce of five days, in which to bury their dead, and then Hakon, setting sail, anchored in Lamlash harbour to repair the fragments of his broken fleet. The old king had already lost his nephew and the flower of his warriors. Now Magnus, King of Man, went home. Dugall and Allan of Argyll bade him farewell at the Calf of Mull, and then, as we all know, he sailed northward, reached Orkney on October 29th, and died on December 15th, 1263, like the true old Viking that he was, listening to the Sagas of his forbears.

The following year Magnus of Man did homage to Alexander III. In July, 1266, the final treaty between the two kingdoms of Norway and Scotland was signed, whereby for the sum of 4,000 marks down, and an annual payment of 100 marks, the Isle of Man and all the

¹ Either figure must be a gross exaggeration.

Sudreys were ceded to the Scottish Crown, saving always the spiritual jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Trondhjem over them.

It is not, however, to be supposed that this political event, albeit of the highest importance, made any appreciable change in the racial situation. For four long centuries the population had been steadily assimilating Norse blood, Norse laws and customs, Norse speech and lore. These things are not much affected by the signature of a treaty, and as a matter of fact our West Coast to-day, six and a half centuries after this particular treaty was signed, is still saturated with the traditions and characteristics of the northern Fjord-land it so much resembles.

Now I come to the last point of this paper which is to enumerate some of the abundant local traces of Norse influence in the folk-names and place-names of the southern West Coast of Scotland.

I.—FOLK-NAMES.¹

Among the Norse proper-names more or less frequently recurring in the West Coast population to this day are the following:—

NORSE ORIGINAL.	DERIVATIVE.
<i>Asketill.</i>	McAskill.
<i>Eystein</i> or <i>Oistin.</i>	('Uisdean,) Hutcheon, McCutcheon, MacHuiston, Macquisten, [Hutcheson, Houston, Austin (?).] §
[<i>Guthröð.</i>	(Goddard,) Godfrey, [Guthrie.] §
<i>Guthorm.</i>	McCodrum.
<i>Harald.</i>	(Arailt, MacArailt,) McRaild.
<i>Ivar.</i>	McIver.
<i>Kol</i> or <i>Kalt.</i>	McColl, McCall, Coulson. ²
<i>Hjalmund.</i>	McCalman, McCalmont.
<i>Hromundr.</i>	McCrimmon.
<i>Lagmundr.</i>	Lamont, Lamond, McClymont (?)
<i>Ljotr, Ljot.</i>	McLeod.
<i>Magnus.</i>	(Manus,) McManus.
<i>Nikolas.</i>	Nicol, Nicolson (a Skye family for centuries), Macnicol.
<i>Olaf, Ola.</i>	Aulay, McAulay.

¹ Cf. "Scandinavian Topographical and Personal Nomenclature in the British Isles." Rev. E. McClure. SAGA-BOOK, Vol. I., Part III., pp. 268-271.

² Dr. Macbain derives McColl, etc., from "col," high.

NORSE ORIGINAL.	DERIVATIVE.
<i>Svein, Sven.</i>	MacSwan (a Skye name), Swanson, possibly Macqueen (but probably = MacCuinn = son of Conn).
[<i>Thorbjörn.</i>	Thorburn, Thurburn.] §
<i>Thorkell.</i>	Torquil, McCorkle.
<i>Thorketil.</i>	McCorquodale, McCorkindale.
[<i>Thorstein.</i>	Thurston, possibly Hourston.] §
<i>Rögnvald.</i>	Ranald, Clanranald, Ronald.

§ Names enclosed in square brackets are not distinctively West Highland.

In the case of other folk-names having their counterpart in both Gaelic or Erse and Old-Norse it is a question to which language the name originally belonged; *e.g.*:—

Njall and Neill.

Njal was quite a common Icelandic name, but may have been borrowed from the royal Irish race of Hy-Neill, or O'Neill, for whom the chroniclers claim a great antiquity. Hence: Neilson, Nelson, Macneil.

Thormod or Tormodr and Dermot or Diarmid.

Whence: McDermid, McDermot and (according to Macbain) Norman. Diarmid appears in the Ossianic Cycle as the lover of Graine.

Finnleikr and Fionnla or Fionnlagh.

Whence Finlay, Finlayson, Findlay and Mackinlay.

Kormakr and Cormac or Corbmac.

Here the balance of probability is in favour of the Irish origin of the name. There reigned in Ireland Cormac, son of Art, son of "Conn of the Hundred Battles" (circ. 227 to 266) and there died in Ireland in 496 a St. Cormac who was the successor of St. Patrick in the Archbishopric of Armagh. These are, of course, much earlier dates than that of the first historical appearance of the name in Scandinavia ("The Life and Death of Cormac the Skald," by W. G. Collingwood, M.A., 1902; introd. vii., pp. 9-10). Hence the modern McCormack and McCormick.

Kjarval and Cearbhall.

Whence Carroll.

Kjartan and Muirceartach (Norsed, Myrkiartan).

Whence perhaps McCartney, McCarthy.

On whatever side they originated, all these names are evidences of the frequent intermarriages that we know occurred between men and women of the two races. Probably most of these marriages were between men of Norse blood and women of the Celtic breed, and hence the appearance of Irish or Scotie names in Norway and Iceland during the heroic period. But the early existence of these interchangeable names may very well be another indication of the prehistoric racial movement and fusion of the two breeds for which there seem to be so many other converging lines of evidence.

Before leaving the subject of West Coast folk-names, it is worth observing that there is a third class of names which, no less clearly than those referred to, shows the iron mark that the Northern Teutons made upon the folk among whom they had settled. The Northern rovers, as is well known, received among the Scotie peoples the generic name of "Gall" or "strangers," and a clear distinction was made between *Dubh-ghaill*, "the black strangers," and *Fionn-ghaill* "the white strangers." These names have long been supposed to denote the Danes and Norwegians respectively: and various reasons for this application, none of them very conclusive, have been suggested. The best, probably, is that the Danes wore black clothing (see Train, "Hist. of Isle of Man," vol. ii., p. 86).

From *Dubh-ghaill*, "the black stranger," "the Dane," which appears as a personal name in 912 A.D. (Macbain, "Dict.," p. 359) we have Dugald, Dougall, Macdougall, Macdowell, etc.

From *Fionn-ghaill*, "the white stranger," "the Norseman," we have a tenth century personal name: Fiongall, but

the name is now obsolete.¹ Hence, perhaps Mackinnell, a Galloway name = McFhiongall, according to Dr. Bruce Trotter (*SAGA-BOOK*, vol. iii., part ii., p. 278). Another derivation would be MacCinel, son of the Clan; compare Cinel Loarn, Cinel Gabhran, etc., but the former is probably the right one.

From *Lochlan*, *Lochlannaigh*, another regular Gaelic name for Norway and Norseman, we get Lachlan, Lauchlan, Loughlin, Maclachlan, McLaughlin, etc.²

From *Sumarlidi*, "the summer wanderers," a Norse euphemism for the men who went a-viking, we get "Somered," ("Somhairle" still in Gaelic) once a mighty name on the West Coast (Somered, the great ancestor of the Lords of the Isles). The name also survives as Sorley and MacSorley.

From *Gall-gaedheal*, *i.e.*, the Celto Norseman or Skotar Viking, we get Galloway, which is both a personal and a place-name.

It is worthy of note that the old Norse contributions to modern Gaelic speech are by no means limited to place and folk-names; but that Gaelic is enriched to a quite appreciable extent by borrowings from the tongue of the Vikings. Dr. Macbain, the author of the first philological Gaelic Dictionary (pub. 1896) says, p. xix.: "The contributions from the Norse mostly belong to the sea; in fact *most of the Gaelic shipping terms are Norse.*" Among many other words so derived are the Gaelic "traill," a slave; "nabuidh," a neighbour; "sgillinn," a penny; "mod," court of justice, meeting; "gadhar," a greyhound (*gagarr*, dog, Kuno Meyer); "mal," rent; "gleadhraich," noise (*gledir*).³

¹ N.B.—Fingal, the Ossianic hero, is an invention of Macpherson. The real hero of the older Ossianic cycle was "Finn" or "Fionn." and his warriors were in Gaelic "Fiann," plur. "Fianna" (collective, "Feinne").

² "'Lochlan' evidently means 'Fjord-land,'" Macbain. *Lochlannaigh* are distinguished from the Danars in the "Wars of the Gaedhil and the Gaill," MS. L. Todd's, Rolls Ed., p. xxxi. n. 2.

³ Magnus Maclean, "Lit. of the Celts," p. 211.

II.—PLACE-NAMES AND OTHER TRACES.

In the modern advancement of philological research it is become possible to appreciate with much greater exactitude than of old the value of place and folk names as clues and indications of history where written history fails. In the Lewis it has been calculated the place-names are about four Norse to one Gaelic; in Skye as three to two; in Barvas as twenty-seven to one; in Uig as thirty-five to four. Even in the Southern Isles, the Sudreyar proper, there is a very considerable proportion of Norse place-names. In Islay there is one Norse to two Gaelic; in Kintyre one to four; in Arran and the Isle of Man one to eight. Jura has a very few.¹ Some of these are given in a paper read before the Viking Club by Miss A. Goodrich-Freer on "The Norsemen in the Hebrides."²

JURA.

Jura shows few place-names. The word itself is derived from Dyr-ey, "deer-island." There is an old name in the Annals of Ulster, 678, Doirad Eilinn, which Skene supposes to be Jura. So eminent an authority as Professor Mackinnon, however, is satisfied that the Norse etymology is the true one. "Dyr" reappears in Ben Diurinis on Loch Etive, Duirinish in Skye and Durness in Sutherland, all of which are in the Highlands pronounced exactly as in Jura. Other Norse names are Lussa=lax-a or salmon-river, and Asdale=askr-dal, "the ash-tree glen." If Glen Ullibh is not Ulf's dal it should be. On the south-east coast we have Sannaig=Sandvik and Crackaig=Krag-vik, while Bladda, one of the Small Isles, is clearly, like Pladda in the Clyde and Fladda near Mull, simply "Flat-ey" or flat island.

ISLAY.

Islay was, according to Camden the historian, next to Man, the favourite royal seat of the Norwegian lords

¹ Mackenzie's op. cit., pp. xxx., xxxiii.; Magnus Maclean's "Literature of the Celts," p. 211; Johnstone's "Place-Names of Scotland," p. lxvi.

² SAGA-BOOK of Viking Club, vol. ii., part i., January, 1898, p. 51.

of the Isles, and we naturally find more Norse names there than in Jura. The original spelling is *Ile*. The Sagas call it *Il*. Loch Gruinart is an illustration of a very interesting corruption common to the whole west coast. It would be strange if the men of the Norse fjords had left no memory of the name which must have struck them as most applicable to the west coast, riven as it is by fjords of unmistakable quality. As a matter of fact they have. Only the Gaelic speech, having an objection to prefixes in *f*, has softened the word into *ard* or *ort* or *art*. Gruinart clearly means "the green fjord." Other instances of the same thing, though not in Islay, are Snizort (Snae's fjord) in Skye, Enard (eyin-fjord), Knoydart (Knut's fjord), Moydart, etc. The fjord sound is better preserved in Broadford (Skye) and Melfort (Argyll).

The straits between the Rhinns of Islay and Orsay (a Norse name) are called Caolas-nan-Gall, the Kyles of the Norseman. Loch Gorm is probably Norse. The Norse *bolstadr*, a place which in Shetland becomes "buster" and "bister," and in the North Isles "bost" and "bust," is softened in Islay to the termination "bus," and of names ending in "bus" there are at least twenty-five—*e.g.*, Cragabus, Kinnabus, Lyrabus, Coulabus, and Robolls, Grobolls, Nereabols. In the last case we have the form *Nerrabollsadh* so late as 1588 ("Orig. Paroch," vol. ii., part ii., p. 833), and *Scarabus* appears as "Scarabolsy" in 1562. At the point of the Mull of Oa there is one of those "duns," dotted all over the West coast, which are still locally known as "Norwegian castles" or "Danish castles." Oa = N., hoe or headland. There is another at Trudernish, which is identical with Trotternish in Skye. The name is Old Norse, and is supposed to mean "enchanted cape," Icelandic *trudra*, "a juggler," and *naes*, "a cape." The Scandinavian connection with *Il* is very old. The *Lodbrokarkviða* speaks of the hero slaying *Auru Konungr* there about 850. The late Mr. J. F. Campbell mentions that two brooches of a peculiar form were in his possession, which were found in an old

grave in Islay, and adds that similar brooches are commonly found in Denmark ("Popular Tales of the West Highlands," vol. i., lxxiii.).

ARGYLLSHIRE.

The present county of Argyll, though the second in size among the counties of Scotland, is very much reduced from the original limits of the Oirir Gaedheal, which stretched to Loch Broom on the north. It includes, besides the islands referred to (to mention only those whose names are wholly or partly Norse), Canna, Coll, Gometra (Godmadrey), Ulva, Staffa, Oronsay (= Orfirsey, "ebb-tide-island"); Gigha (in its oldest form "Gud-ey," Hakon's Saga) I conjecture is "Gyda's isle"; Shuna, Eriska, Kerrera, Seil, Easdale (= Fos-dal), Lunga, Torsay, and Scarba. Among other place-names certainly or probably Norse are Knapdale, Ormsary (= Orm's "airidh" or saeter), Skipness, and, among the rivers, Talla (I conjecture Hjalli aa: compare Talladale = Hjalli's dal), Aray, and Inveraray (from ey-ri, Icel, "gravelly bank or spit of land").

Dunstaffnage (1322, Ard-Stofniche; c. 1375, Dunstaffynch) is pretty plainly Stafr-naes.¹ Skipness goes through the same evolution, being anciently Schyph-inche (1262). So also Craignish is Craginche in 1431, Kreigenes in 1640.

Dunolly seems as plainly as possible Dun Ola, *i.e.*, Olaf's fort. The earliest forms of the name, however—Duin Onlaig 698, and again in 714; Duin Onlaigh, 701 A.D. (Ann. of Ulster)—make this derivation extremely doubtful.

The names Otter and Lamont linger about Lochfyne-side, and in Kintyre we have Sunadale, Torrisdale, Saddell (formerly Sagadul), Rhonadale, Ifferdale (evidently Ivardal), Ugadale, Glen Luss-a, High Smerby, Low Smerby, Askomill, Stafnish, Sanda and many others.

The hill-names in Argyll, on the other hand, are Celtic.

¹ Professor Mackinnon points out that there are no basaltic rocks at Dunstaffnage to explain the name as in Staffa.

Other traces are plentiful. At Craignish there lingers the tradition of a battle between a party of Norwegians (Lochlannaigh) who landed on the lower end of the promontory. The inhabitants fled to the gorge or deep glen at the upper end. There they rallied at the call of a young man who slew Olaf, the leader of the Norsemen, and drove them back. The natives buried Olaf, and his burial mound is called Dun-an-Amhlaidh to this day ("Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition," vol. i., p. 11). A similar event is connected with a little round hill, Tom-a-Chorrachasiach, near the head of Loch Eck, where the grave of a prince of Norway or Denmark of gigantic stature is pointed out. He is called Corrachasachmor mac Righ Lochlan, *i.e.*, the great Corrachasach, son of the King of Lochlan.

Another tradition lingers of a great fight between the Norsemen and the natives at the head of Glen Finnart near Loch Eck, where the former were defeated with great slaughter. The place is still called the Field of Shells, from the number of drinking-shells belonging to the slain invaders; and the tale probably dates back to Hakon's invasion in 1263, when part of his forces were sent up to Loch Long ("Gazetteer," 1847, vol. i., 428).

A knoll is also pointed out on the isthmus between Loch Long and Loch Lomond near Tarbet where a similar fight took place.

In the Benderloch district, famous in the Ossianic Saga as the home of the sons of Uisnach, beside the vitrified fort of Beregonium, locally known as Dun-mac-Sniachain, an old folk-tale tells how an invading King of Lochlan set on foot a series of famous sports, which ended in a fight, wherein the King of Erin and Conall from Lismore, and all the Norsemen save five, were slain ("Waifs," vol. ii., p. 391).

THE CLYDE.

Among the Clyde islands, Pladda and Ailsa are Norse. The Norse name for Holy Island was Melansey (prob-

ably the Isle of St. Molios, or the black isle). The Cumbraes were called by them Kumreyar (*i.e.*, isles of Cimbri or Britons). Further up the river the termination of Greenock and Gourock may be the Icelandic vagr=vik.

In Glasgow itself, Sandyford, formerly a separate village, is supposed by Dr. Hately Waddell to be Norse, and Gorbals, an ancient burgh now incorporated in the city, is supposed by Sir Herbert Maxwell to be derived from gorr balkr, "built-walls, breastwork." Eaglesham, a village ten miles south, is possibly Egil's ham: the oldest form (1158) is Egilsham.

On the Ayrshire side of the Clyde fjord, Ayr itself is probably ey-ri, "a gravelly tongue of land," and Fairlie is very likely faer-lei. "sheep-meadow."

BUTE.

Bute, as we have seen, had frequent associations with the Norsemen. The name Rothesay, which originally referred to the moat-surrounded castle alone, is in its oldest form (1321)·Rothersay, which might be Hrothgar's ey (Roger's isle). Etterick Bay, on the west, is certainly a vik, perhaps "Otter vik." Ardrosedale is partly Norse; so is Ardsalpsie. Kerry-lamont is also mixed Celtic and Norse, and means "Lagmund's quarter." Ascog, like Port Askaig in Islay, is askr, "ash," and aig for vik or bay (form, 1503, Ascok).

Now in the last place we come to the queen of the Clyde Islands:—

ARRAN.

Worsaae, speaking of the Clyde Islands, Arran, Bute and Cumbrae, says that the Norse invaders do not appear to have had permanent settlements upon them; "at all events Norwegian names of places have disappeared from them" ("Danes and Norwegians," p. 277). This last statement is not correct. Recent scholarship calculates that the proportion of Norse to Gaelic place-names in Arran is as one to eight. Among the most obvious

examples are Brodick, anciently Brathwik, Bradewik, or Broad-bay, Goat-fell or fjeld, Scordale, Glenashdale, Sannox = sand-vik, Glaister and Lochranza (Locheransay in 1452.¹ I would venture to suggest as clearly Norse: Kiscadale, (Keskedel); Pladda; Iorsa, a stream; Thundergay; Ormidale; Merkland; Glen Sherraig (spelled Sherwik, 1590, "Orig. Paroch.," vol. ii., Part I., p. 248), and Glen Scorrodale.

The Isle of Arran furnishes more than one of the Ossianic traditions of the Norse invasions. One of these is a Gaelic poem of the Ossianic cycle which has been chanted for centuries at the fireside throughout the Islands. It celebrates a supposed victory of Fionn, the Celtic hero, over Manus (*i.e.*, Magnus), King of Lochlann. The place was long identified by a cairn known as Aran. The poem relates that Magnus, who is called "great Magnus of the successful ships," having been captured by Fionn, is given his liberty in return for his pledge that he will go away and never come back. As he sails away, however, his men persuade him to break his oath and return. Fionn sends a messenger to Manus "of the victorious pursuits and exploits," as he lands, demanding: "Where are thy solemn oaths, thou man that upholdest faith with but thy left hand?" With fierce scorn Magnus replies: "I left them on the dew of the grass, in yonder meadow to the south-west." Then comes a spirited account of the battle, in which Magnus and all his men, except those who surrender, are slain. Probably this is one instance of the intermingling of ancient and modern legend, and Manus, King of Lochlann, is Magnus Barefoot (1097).

In Mauchrie Moor, near the farm of Tormore, there is a group of stone circles, about which another Norse tradition

¹ Maxwell, "Land Names," p. 115, derives from "raithan" genitive of "raith," Gaelic for fern—the use of *z* to represent the old Scots consonantal *y*, having, as in Cadzow, Menzies, etc., confused the pronunciation. This, however, does not consist with the 1452 spelling. The Norse etymology suggested by Dr. Macbain, viz. :—*reynis-aa*, "rowan tree river," is undoubtedly the true one.

lingers. It is said that Fionn and his Fianna were one day hunting the boar in the neighbourhood when a fleet of Norse galleys was observed sailing into Machrie Bay. At once Fionn and his comrades made for the beach, and, attacking the invaders, drove them back to their ships. Some of them escaped for the time, but were pursued across the island and slain near Dunfinn (*i.e.*, Fingal's fort).

It is possible that the stone circles of Tormore imply a more permanent settlement of Norsemen than this story indicates, and that they were, as in other districts where stone circles occur, the meeting-place of the Law Thing or local Council. At all events, the name Tormore, which is supposed to be the Gaelic (*torr mor*), the "big hill" or "mound," is of doubtful application; for, as McArthur, the author of the "Antiquities of Arran," says: "Neither hill or mountain ridge breaks the monotony of the dreary expanse of moss and peat-bog" (*op. cit.*, pp. 13, 19 *et seq.*, 38). He suggests that in former days some gigantic tumulus may have reared its head on the spot; and from the ruthless manner in which some of these ancient monuments have been destroyed to furnish material for dykes and cottages and even schools in Arran (*op. cit.*, p. 11) this theory is only too plausible. It is so far supported by the existence of the usual "Tor beg" or "little hill" to the southward, where the ruins of an ancient cairn, 350 feet in circumference, are to be seen (McArthur, p. 13). But for this, one might conjecture that Tormore is a corruption of *Thor modr*.¹

Among the many antique objects found in Arran—not a few of them dating back to the pre-historic times of the Iberian occupation—a piece of gold was discovered in a cist about forty years ago which Dr. Wilson identified as one of the "bright rings" frequently mentioned by Northern skalds ("Archæology," p. 322, quoted by McArthur, p. 90).

¹ McArthur (p. 123) thinks the "ting" in Whiting Bay to be the Norse "thing."

Now I have given you only some fragments and specimens from a great museum ; but enough, perhaps, to show that we are not utterly without traces and relics of our kinsmen among the beautiful fjelds and fjords of our Western Coast.¹

¹The writer wishes to acknowledge the invaluable help he has received from Professor MacKinnon, the well-known occupant of the Chair of Celtic Literature in Edinburgh University, who kindly made many corrections and suggestions with reference to the place-names.

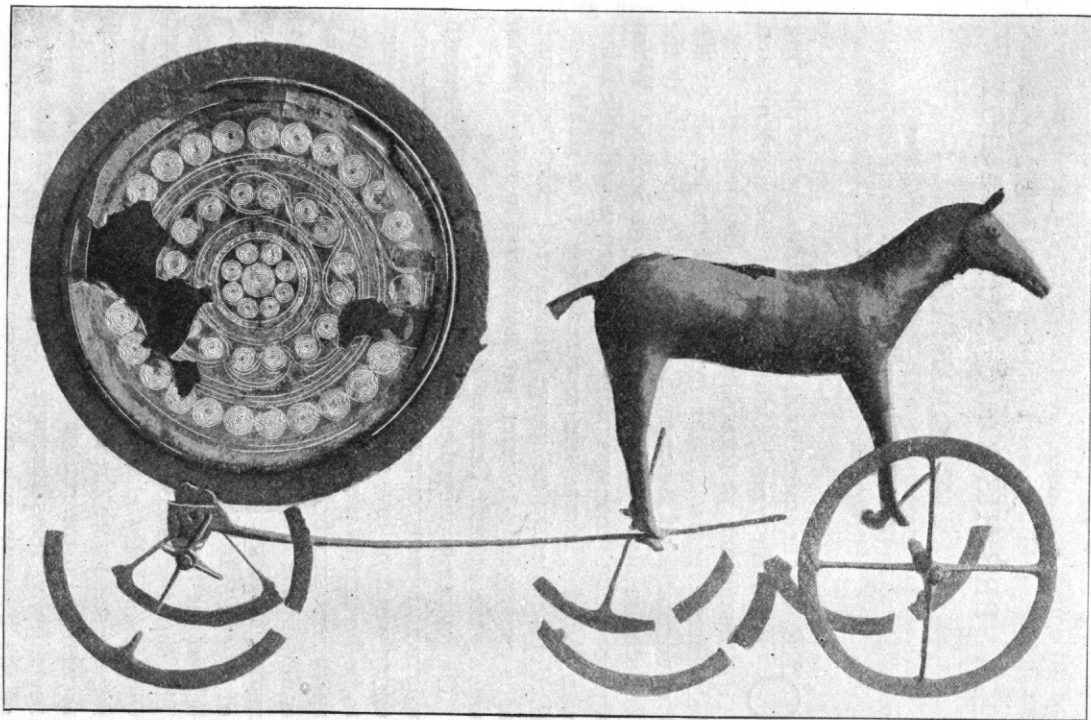
A PRE-HISTORIC SUN-CHARIOT IN DENMARK.¹

BY KARL BLIND.

ONE of the most extraordinary discoveries, bearing upon the grand Odin creed of the Teutonic and Scandinavian forefathers of the Germans, the English, therefore also of the majority of the people of the United States of America, has recently been made in the Trundholm Moor of the Danish island of Seeland. When a part of that moor was ploughed, a very remarkable thing was found. It was the representation of a small Sun-chariot—evidently an image of a sacred character—such as is usually held to refer, pre-eminently, to solar worship among the ancient Greeks.

On its being unearthed from the high vegetable growth which had been forming during thousands of years, and under which it lay, six inches deep, the chariot was seen to be broken in pieces. It is believed that this points to an ancient sacrificial custom in the North. The car, which is now in the Danish National Museum at Copenhagen, is made of bronze. It rests on three, partly damaged, pairs of wheels. In front, there is the image of a horse; and behind the horse, that of a sun-disc: both also of bronze. The sun-disc is covered with thin gold on one side, and with beautifully elaborated designs. The cord connecting the steed with the disc is missing; but below his neck, as well as on the rim of the Sun-disc, there are loopholes for slipping reins through. On both sides of the image of the heavenly orb rich circular and spiral ornaments

¹ The greater part of this lecture appeared in *The Westminster Review* of November last, and is reproduced with the editor's kind permission.



(Reproduced with the kind permission of Dr. Sophus Müller, the Director of the National Museum at Copenhagen, from "Nordiske Fortidsminder.")

are inlaid. This ornamentation is different on the two sides; two plates or shields being placed together. It has first been worked out with a graver, and then a thin plate of gold has been pressed in. A metal band on the rim keeps it firm.

The whole is artistically finished to a wonderful degree, considering its antiquity in the High North, and also well preserved with remarkable freshness. Our hon. Secretary, Mr. Albany Major, and Mrs. Major, have seen this little Sun-chariot in the Museum at Copenhagen, and I am informed also by this friend of ours that the chariot is still in good condition. The Sun-disc is oval in form, thirteen and a half inches long; eight inches in width. The tail of the horse is evidently broken off, and has not been found. It was not docked, as it might seem now. Probably there was formerly an appendage of real horse-hair, which was inserted in the hole now seen there. There are six wheels for the disc and the horse, all broken, with the exception of one.

“This work,” says a Copenhagen report, “had probably been made in the country where it has been found, or at any rate in that region where there was once a population of the same common culture and mode of life—namely, in southern Scandinavia and in the most northern German lands. The difficult metal work is excellent, the ornamentation perfect. There is scarcely any such round figure in Europe from more ancient times, or even from the same time, that is better than this horse. Outside Greece, nothing can compare with it by a long way.”

Danish archæologists conclude that the work belongs to the older Bronze Age, and that it may—at least, according to their estimate—be about 3,000 years old: a point that may be left for further elucidation. Like similar holy relics of the Scandinavian North, this Sun-chariot is thought to have been purposely broken into pieces as a sacrifice to the Gods, and to have thus been placed far away into the marshy ground of what is now the Trundholm Moor. It is a custom traceable as far as Egypt in

ancient burial rites, when a thing was thus broken for a dead person's use in a future world.

In the North they seem to have now and then broken very valuable things by way of an offering to the Deities. In the same manner, as you will remember, it was ordained in the fire-burial of Odin, that "the dead should be burnt, and that every thing that had been their own should be carried to the grave." Odin said "that every one should go up to Walhalla with as many riches as would be heaped upon his pyre, and that he should enjoy in Walhalla also those things which he had hidden in the earth." Rather a waste of nice things, I should say.

The Odin who gave that law—I will remark in passing—was not the God of that name, not the Allfather, the pervading Spirit of the World, the Ruler of Battles and progenitor of the charming Water-Nixes, but a warrior-chieftain, a conqueror of Scandinavia, who bore the same divine name. He himself at his death—which proves that he was a human being—was cremated, after he had marked himself with a spear, so as not to die a "straw-death." This fire burial was in accordance with his own law, and his funeral is said, in the old Norse sources, to have been a most splendid one. Probably many valuable things then went the same wasteful way. However, in later times, the Vikings often enough recouped themselves for such losses on foreign coasts, where they landed as somewhat unwelcome sea-side visitors.

But this only by the way to explain the lavish and extravagant sacrificial custom in question. In the present case we find that curious custom in the breaking up of a remarkable work of art.

Considering the artistic merits of this Sun-chariot, we may certainly feel surprised to meet with so fine a specimen in high northern antiquity. When I speak of great artistic merits, I must of course add that the horse bears the strong trace of archaic, primitive treatment. at any rate in his head. That head does not come up to what we would expect now in the picture or sculpture of

a horse. Yet, otherwise, the animal is well done ; better certainly than, for instance, the image of a stag, found at Mykenê—or Mycene—which you may see in the book of my old friend, Dr. Schliemann.

The ornamentation is pressed in, or punched in, on the Sun-disc, and has very elaborate involutions. It reminds us indeed, to some extent, of the similar ornamentation found at Mykenê, Tiryns, and Troy. These were, originally, not Hellenic, but Thrakian (Thracian) settlements and strongholds. Now, the Thrakians were kindred to the great Germanic stock—to the Scandinavians and the Teutons ; and the line of their tribal connections can be traced from Eastern Europe and Asia Minor up to the North. That is an opinion held and acknowledged since the time of Jornandes, the Gothic historian, who was himself of that race. It is an opinion—or rather a clear historical fact—proved by many learned men in Germany, in Sweden, in England, since the Middle Ages down to our days. I will only mention here Thurmayr, the historian ; Fischart, the great scholar and humorist, who was a kind of German Rabelais ; Rudbeck, the Swedish historian ; Voss, the excellent translator of Homer and other classic works into German ; and in England, George Rawlinson, the Editor of “ Herodotus.” These all identify the great Thrakian race with the Germanic stock ; and that Thrakian, Getic, Gothic race extended from the Black Sea to the Baltic, where this Sun-chariot has been found.

Now, a Norse tradition—which, like all such tribal traditions, is no doubt very much mixed with myths and fables, but in which yet a kernel of truth is often contained—makes the conquering Asic race, which immigrated into Scandinavia, come up from the shores of the Black Sea ; nay, literally from Thrace. And historically, we certainly find Aspurgians, that is, Asic burghers, Asmans (Asic men), and other tribes in whose names a Germanic root is clearly contained, dwelling near the shores of the Black Sea in most ancient times.

There are those, I know, who think that the course of migrations has always been from the East to the West. Numerous instances to the contrary might easily be given. Historically, it is also provable that not a few Thracian tribes first went eastward from Europe into Asia Minor, then back again from Asia Minor into Europe.

It is further recorded from classic antiquity that there was some "sacred road," or commercial route, from a northern, Scythian, region, down to the Adriatic Gulf, on which amber was carried from the Baltic and the German Ocean to the South. Therefore, also, there was similar trade communication by return.

All this might make us ask whether there has been, perhaps, some early artistic connection even between the South and the North. On the other hand, the place where this Sun-chariot was embedded, seems to point to a time of which there is certainly no record yet of such communication. Herodotos, in the fifth century before our era, did not even know of, or rather doubted, the existence of a sea in the North of Europe. He was not aware of the Baltic. For the first time, so far as records go, Pytheas, the great Greek mathematician, astronomer, and traveller, whose voyage I have formerly treated on in a lecture to the Viking Club,¹ mentions a sea in those quarters, where he found Germanic tribes: Teutons and Goths. It was the Baltic. Pytheas lived in the third century before our era. Unfortunately, his book is lost. We have only stray passages from it, quoted by other classic authors, such as Strabon and Pliny.

I had to go into all this, because it bears upon the question as to the origin of the ancient work of art found in Seeland. But so far as we can see, it must be held to be of native northern origin. In fact, as is stated by a distinguished Danish archæologist, Dr. Sophus Müller, the Director of the National Museum at Copenhagen, many objects of a similar style have been found in that northern part of the isle of Seeland, where this Sun-

¹ SAGA-BOOK, Vol. II., p. 198.

chariot was discovered in the neighbourhood of the town of Nykjobing. This gives us a very high idea of the development of art in the North at such early times.

Allow me to mention that our friend, Mrs. Warburg, whose relative is also a Danish archæologist, has been kind enough to lend me a recent work, the “*Nordiske Fortidsminder*,” in which there is a photographic reproduction of the Sun-chariot. Those present may see it afterwards on this table.

After this discussion of the possible or probable origin of the curious work of art, I now come to another important point. Before doing so, I may mention that I restrict myself, to-day, to the Germanic aspect of the case; leaving out any comparison with Sun-chariots in Hellenic antiquity, in Asia Minor, or elsewhere.

Here I must, first of all, say this. As yet, I have not met with any detailed reference, in connection with this matchless find, to the ancient cult which prevailed of yore among the Scandinavian, Teutonic, and the kindred Anglo-Saxon tribes. So it will be well to state at once that Sun-worship was one of the most notable and most largely developed traits of the Asa creed held in common by them all. The numerous traces of that worship are still amply extant in the ancient literature, the sagas, tales, and folk-customs of the several branches of the great Germanic stock. It may even be asserted that the solar cult was most firmly rooted in the North of Europe, where the sun mostly has a beneficent effect. In the South, where Helios often appears as the far-striking Bringer of Death, Sickness, and Agricultural Ruin, the veneration of the Sun has been less universal or unconditional.

Already, from the fragments which have come down to us about the voyage of Pytheas to the High North, we know that the Sun was a deity in the eyes of the people of the farthestmost Thule which he discovered. “The barbarians”—he wrote, in a passage preserved from his lost book—“were in the habit of pointing out

to us the sleeping-place of the Sun." In the fourth century before our era, about the time of the death of Alexander the Great, Pytheas, starting from Massilia (Marseilles), where there was a Hellenic colony, visited Britain, went through the German Ocean, and round the Skager Rack into the Baltic, where he met, as I said, with Teutons and Goths; then along the Norwegian coast, apparently up to Shetland and the Orkneys—perhaps even as far as Iceland.

After him, Cæsar, though having scant information about the religion of the Germans, mentions their Sun-worship. In Tacitus' "Annals" we hear how Boiocal—a German chieftain whose people lived between the Rhine and the Ems—raising his eyes to the sun, invoked the whole starry host like deities, with whom he conversed. If we turn to the numberless tales about the Teutonic Sun-Goddess and Venus, Freia-Holda, whose worship was one of the most widely distributed, and very difficult to eradicate, or to the legal customs of German antiquity, such as "sun-fiefs," "sun-oaths," and so forth, or to the many German children's rimes and ditties in which the Sun plays a wonderfully large part, the subject becomes positively overwhelming.

Without entering into this mass of evidence as to the Teutonic and Scandinavian solar cult, I will now quote a Norse source, in which there is a clear record of a Sun-chariot having formed part of the creed of the ancient Germanic race.

It is to be found in the "Younger Edda" (Gylfaginnig, "Gylfi's Infatuation," 11). There we learn how the Gods, when fashioning the Universe, took the Moon and the Sun, who were brother and sister, "set them up in Heaven, and made Sun *drive the horses that draw the car of the Sun*, whom the Gods had created, to light up the world, from sparks that flew out of Muspelheim." (Muspelheim is the Region of Fire, by the junction of which with Niflheim, the Region of Darkness and Icy Cold, the World was supposed to have arisen.) In this myth, by

the by, a kind of combined Vulcanic and Neptunistic theory of the world's origin is contained in poetic guise. The names of the steeds that draw the Chariot of the Sun are also mentioned in the Edda. They are, quite in keeping with their task, called: Arwakr (Early-Awake) and Alswidr (All-Swift), or, according to another explanation: "All-Scorcher," "All-burner" (from the verb "svidha," which may be compared with: to sweat, to be hot).

In the poetic lays of the Elder Edda, referring to the Divine Asa-Circle, we see, in the "Song of the Prophetess" (Völuspâ), how—

The Sun from the south,
The Moon's companion,
With her right hand held
The heavenly horses.

In "Odin's Raven Song" we read how the Day, typified as a God—and called the Son of Delling, that is Dayspring—drives the Sun in his own chariot:—

There the son of Delling
Urged on his steed
Adorned with
Precious stones.
Over Mannheim shone
The Horse's mane;
The dwarf Dvalin's Deluder
He drew in his chariot.

Mannheim signifies the World, Man's Home. The Dwarf Dvalin's Deluder is, in the rich poetical imagery of the North, the Sun. That may be seen from the "Song of Alwiss" (All-Knowing), where the various designations of the Sun are given, which are in use among the different beings of the Universe—namely, among the human race, the Deities, the Dwarfs, the Giants, the Elves, and the Sons of the Aesir, or Gods. This difference of language or designation we also find among the ancient Greeks. The name of Dvalin is probably to be explained as the sleeper, the dreamer. The Sun deludes, outwits, gets the better, over him, with her awakening power.

The Sun was of the female sex among the Northmen, even as among the Germans. Still, in Gothic speech, and even as late as in Hans Sachs, there is also a Sun of the male gender, together with a female one. In the Middle Ages there is, in German literature, alternately a male and a female sex attributed to the Sun. No doubt this will explain that in the Edda we hear of a daughter of the Sun.

It was said in the North that at the Doom of the Gods, at the final conflagration and destruction of the world, the terrible wolf Fenrir—the offspring of the evil Loki—starting from the Lower Depths of the Earth, will swallow up the Sun. But then, another Earth will arise from the Ocean, beautifully green; and a new Sun will come up—for, as it is said in the “Song of Wafthrudnir,” (47)—

A daughter shall be born
By the radiant Goddess,
Ere Fenrir shall have swallowed her.
The Maid shall ride,
After the fall of the Gods,
Again on her Mother's course.

In other words: the new Sun, too, will *drive the steeds in her chariot*. The birth of that daughter evidently points to the existence, at one time, of a male Sun-God.

The Sun-wheel appears in the name of the Norse Yule-feast. “Yule” is linguistically connected with the Anglo-Saxon “hveol,” the English “wheel,” the Danish “hjul.” In the North, one of the names for the Sun was: “the Beautiful Wheel.” In Germany, in Mecklenburg, Christmas gifts, supposed by children to be clapped down by divine hands, are still called “Jul-Klapp.” In other words, the Sun-carriage has brought the Christmas presents.

Before there was a Christmas in German and Scandinavian lands, there was a winter-solstice feast among our common forefathers. At German summer and winter solstice festivals, which are clear survivals from the heathen Wodan creed, young fellows in the south still

are in the habit of rolling wheels—wound round with straw, tarred, and set on fire—down the hills, calling out a verse in memory of their sweethearts. This fiery worship is undoubtedly a relic of the cult of the Sun-Goddess and Goddess of Love, Freia, “whose name,” as the prose Edda says, “it is good to invoke in love affairs.”

So the Sun-chariot, its horse, and its wheels, and even a Sun-daughter, are fully testified to in Germanic mythology, north and south.

It would not be difficult, in addition, to show that the tale of the Sun-daughters, the Heliades, must actually have come to the Greeks from the coasts of the Baltic. As this bears strongly upon the subject at issue—namely, the prevalence of Sun-worship in the North—I will indicate a few points.

It was from the Baltic that, in pre-historic times, in grey antiquity, amber was exported over land to Greece and Italy. Schliemann's discoveries have proved it. Even the chemical test applied to the amber found in the pre-historic castles of Greece shows that it was of Baltic origin. There is, chemically, a great difference in the amber of various regions. Now, the classic story, it will be remembered, is, that after Phaëthon had been thrown from the Sun-chariot which he had audaciously presumed to guide, in the place of his father Helios, his death was wept by his sisters, the Heliades, or Sun-daughters. They were changed into trees, and their tears then hardened into amber. In poetical guise, this tale contains the true statement of facts of natural history. It shows the origin of amber from the resin of trees. When forests, producing such resin, were submerged by great floods, the resin, through the action of the water, became globular, round like tear drops. In such myths, often a sound kernel of natural history or science is contained.

But is it not remarkable that in the Hellenic legend about the produce of the North, which was so largely imported into Greece, we should meet with Sun-daughters from the same Kimmerian quarter?

The Greeks, who borrowed so much from foreign (Thrakian, Egyptian, Phœnikian, and other) mythologies, evidently localised, according to their custom, an amber tale, that had been brought from the North, in Mediterranean quarters. But already in antiquity it was observed by critical writers—for instance, by Pliny, in his “Natural History”—that this localisation, in the Heliades story, is quite at variance with geography and with the places where amber is found.

The Greeks erroneously spoke of the river Rodanos, Rhodanos, or Eridanos, in connection with the tale about the Heliades. They placed that river in Iberia—that is, Spain; sometimes wrongly asserting even, according to Pliny, that both this Iberian Rhodanos, or Eridanos, and the river called by the Romans the Padus, or Po, discharged themselves by one common mouth on the shores of the Adriatic. Pliny adds: “They (the Greeks) may be all the more easily forgiven for knowing nothing about amber, as they are so very ignorant of geography.” This, I must say, was rather too harsh a judgment of Pliny, considering the voyage of Pytheas.

At the Rhodanos, or Eridanos, in Mediterranean quarters, whether in Spain or Italy, no amber was found. But there was actually a river Rhadan, or Radan—a confluent of the Vistula, near the Baltic; and there amber was largely found and exported to the south, even as from the shores of the German Ocean. According to Greek custom, which is observed even to-day, the Hellenic ending “os” was, of course, given to that northern river. “Gladstone,” for instance, in modern Greek, is called “Gladstonios,” or “Gladstonos.” So the Rhadan, or Radan, in northern Germany, became Rhadanos, or Rhodanos, and, by another misunderstanding, Eridanus.

From those northern quarters—Pliny and other writers state—“the Germans imported amber into Pannonia” (the present Hungary), “whence it became more generally known through the Greeks and other people dwelling in the neighbourhood of the Adriatic.” “It is evident”—

Pliny says, who refers to the story of Phaëthon and his amber-weeping sisters—"that this is the cause why the fable was connected with the Po."

From Pliny we learn that Aischylos gives the river, near which amber was found, the name, not of Eridanos, but of Rhadanos, though placing it in Iberia; and that Euripides and Apollonius also give it the same name, but with equal want of geographical knowledge, as they thought that both the Rhadanos and the Po were jointly flowing into the Adriatic. Who can doubt, then, that the fabled Greek Rhadan(os)=Eridan(os) was the really existent Radan river near the Baltic, from whence amber came into Greece?

Even Herodotos had already heard of "a river called Eridan(os) by the barbarians, which discharges itself *towards the North*, from which amber is said to come." These are his own words. The very doubt he expresses proves that this report, which he would fain disbelieve, was correct; for he says that, "though I made careful inquiry, I was not able to hear from any man who had himself seen it, that there is a sea on that part of Europe"!

But *we* know well enough that it was simply the misfortune of Herodotos not to have met such a traveller. There is certainly such a sea into which rivers discharge themselves on the northern part of Europe. It is the Baltic, near which the Radan flows; and this river was the manifest prototype of the Hellenic Rhadan(os) or Eridan(os) name. From that sea, as well as from the neighbouring German Ocean, the material so much prized by the Greeks and Romans was carried through Central Europe to the South.

The last ring of the logical chain, or geographical proof, is thus formed. No doubt, the Hellenes, great and masterly adapters of foreign myths as they were, expanded and beautified the tale about the Sun-chariot and the Sun-daughters, which they had evidently received through men connected with the amber trade from the North.

Here I will only rapidly say, in a few words, that the Greek tale about the golden-haired, foam-born Aphrodite (not to be confounded with the later, dark image which arose in Cyprus from the Ashtoreth cult in Asia Minor) also points to a northern origin. Did not that Goddess float through the sea-waves from a region in the North, beyond the confines of Hellas, at last only landing on the southern island? The figures of Ganymede, of Niobe, of Kerberos, to mention but a few, came from the country of the Thrakians, who manifestly were kindred to the Germanic stock. The chief sanctuary of Ar(es) was declared by the Greeks to have stood not in Hellas, but in the North, in Thrace. His name has his counterpart in the Teutonic war-god Er, from whom, in Bavaria, Tuesday (the day of Tiu, the Anglo-Saxon war-god, the Norse Tyr) is still named in folk-speech to this very day. It is called, in Bavaria, "Ertag." I only give these few examples for those who might, at a first glance, have been startled by a reference of the Heliades' tale to a northern origin.

However, the very representation of a Sun-chariot has now been discovered in the Danish island. And this, together with the passages quoted from the Norse Scriptures, certainly goes far to show that in times far beyond historical ken there was a remarkable Sun-worship in the High North. Religious or poetical notions, which a great many only know from Greek sources, were actually most fully developed among Germanic races in grey antiquity—so much so that the myth of the Sun-daughters in Hellas may truly be said to point to the amber-producing North, where a Sun-daughter was fabled to exist, and where a Sun-car, with its steed, and with the image of the solar disc, has at last come to light.

THE SAGA OF HAVELOK THE DANE.¹

BY REV. C. W. WHISTLER, M.R.C.S.

TO deal with the ancient history of Havelok the Dane at all exhaustively would be beyond the powers of the writer, even if time would allow such an effort; and he would only attempt to point out some aspects of the legend as we have it now in its various versions, which at least he has not seen noticed elsewhere, and which would perhaps tend to show that it retains some features of construction and nomenclature which render it more especially interesting to those who seek for the links between ourselves and the early North.

Being, as it is, a story of a dispossessed heir, who rises from a menial position in a foreign land to the full recovery of his own throne, the legend, romance, or history, as it may be claimed to be, has, of course, its parallels and close likenesses in the romantic literature of other lands, whether of the most remote Aryan ages or of to-day. It may also find likenesses and close parallels in the pages of actual history in every century, and these do but grow more numerous as we pass from the time of the modern great monarchies to the days when every forest or fen or river-bounded tract of land had its own king, and—almost as a natural complement to the Court, and centre of policy and intrigue—its own “pretender” of some older line waiting for his turn to come. Eadwine of Northumbria and Olaf the Saint of Norway are cases in point, if there is need to bring forward examples from the many that will occur at once.

It would not seem necessary, therefore, to seek very far into antiquity for the origin of such a story as

¹ Read at the meeting on February 14th, 1902.

that of Havelok. It is one for which materials have always abounded, and probably will always abound afresh. What would seem to be more to the point would be to search for any possible link which may connect it with some definite time and place, if the names of the heroes commemorated are so lost that history does not record them. "Havelok" stands in a somewhat exceptional position in this respect, as from the first his history is localised at a town which is, comparatively speaking, modern. Practically speaking, the whole story is that of the foundation of our Grimsby, at the mouth of the Humber, and its interest is but heightened to a Northern student when it is found that, alike in the "Saga of Hakon the Good" and in the "Havelok" poem, the origin of this town is claimed for Northern settlers. The Hakon Saga says that it was named by the followers of the sons of Lodbrok, and Havelok is the royal fosterson of Grim the Dane, who settled in the place which still keeps his name.

We have no Northern version of the story of Havelok, however, and his name is unknown to the Norse or Danish records. His "Saga," as I may call it, seems to belong entirely to our island, and to have here originated. It was popular from very early days, the first written version dating from the first half of the twelfth century; and it lasted as a popular fireside tale till Camden's day, though, according to him, it had then sunk to a position which rendered it hardly worth the notice of a serious historian. He did notice it, however, for in his day, as in ours, the truth of the story of the origin of Grimsby is there an article of faith which he could hardly pass over without some remark. The town itself has several variants of its own legend which will remain to be noticed.

Two full poetic versions of the story of Havelok remain to us. One, the earlier, is in Norman-French, and dates from the early twelfth century; the other, perhaps two centuries later, in English. Besides these two full

versions, there are many summaries of the story existing, the whole of which may be found in the edition of the poem by Professor Skeat for the Early English Text Society. It would be impossible to go into the whole of these, and it will be enough to refer to the book in question, and to collate from them where necessary. No two of the versions agree in details, some of the variances being important, but the general outline of the story is the same. Given that, it may be possible to make use of the different versions to some effect.

Havelok, son of a Danish king, who is slain by an usurper, is saved by one Grim, who sails with him to England, the prince being a child at the time. Grim founds Grimsby, and prospers exceedingly as a fisher. Havelok is brought up as a fisher with his fosterfather, and becomes the most goodly and strong man in Lindsey. At full age he seeks service at the court of the king of Lindsey, at Lincoln, becoming the palace porter, or scullion, under the name of Curan. At this time the king of Lincoln has in his charge Goldburg, the daughter of his sister and the king of a southward kingdom, holding her realm until he can marry her to the fairest and most goodly man he can find. Havelok's feats of stone-putting bring him to the notice of the king, who concludes that he can carry out his sister's injunctions and retain the kingdom at once by marrying the princess to the scullion. This he accordingly does, by compulsion, the princess being comforted by a vision which tells her of the royal birth of her husband. Together Havelok and his wife go to Grimsby, and there learn that he is heir to Denmark. Grim is dead, but with his three sons they set out, and are met in Denmark by an earl, who recognizes Havelok, and gives his party lodging at his steward's. Here, during the following night, they are attacked by a crowd, and Havelok beats them off. Next day he proves his descent by unmistakable tokens, and at the head of a good force marches against the usurper

and defeats him, the usurper losing his life. Then he sails to England to win the throne for his wife from her uncle, and defeats and slays him also. They then rule at Lincoln in his stead.

So far the common groundwork of all the versions. With the exceptions of the names of Grim, Havelok, and Goldberg, the names of the various characters in the story are seldom twice alike; but it is noticeable that the oldest version, the Norman-French, retains names of evident Northern origin, which the English version has lost. If there has been any actual foundation in fact for the story, one would expect such names, as carrying out the Danish colouring.

But this earliest Norman version also commences with a notice of the origin of the poem, which is most valuable, being a statement of the source whence the poet gained it: "Qe un Lai en firent li Breton." The legend therefore has been preserved by the Welsh, and, as in the case of the Arthur legends, has been worked up by the Norman poet. And in fact one does find marked traces of this Welsh origin of the poem both in names and in places scattered among the versions, and noticeably in the earliest.

We have thus a legend preserved by the Welsh, dealing with the Dane, and localised in the extreme east of England; a somewhat anomalous collocation which has its interest, and possibly definite meaning. There was a time in our history when Saxon, Dane, and Welshman met in a yet uncertain strife for mastership of the land, and princes of either race held rule in petty kingdoms, side by side.

Taking the first section of the story, and looking into the versions of the parentage of Havelok and his early misfortunes, we find the name of his father given in the Norman as Gunter, and in the English poem as Birka-beyn. The former is repeated in Peter of Langtoft, Ralf de Boun giving the latter. A further somewhat

extended prose summary of the story gives the name as "Kirkeban," and a second chronicle of about the same date, 1366, repeats this. It would seem possible that the actual name of the Danish king in the original story (whether of fact or fable) was *Gunnar*, and that his cognomen was "*Kirkebane*"—"the bane of the church"—and this is carried out by a statement made in the English version that he had been a terrible harrier of the Christians. The variant "Birkabeyn" is curious, and cannot but remind one that at the approximate date of the versions which give it, the last serious news from Norway had probably been of the revolt of the "Birkebeiners." This may have caused the variation. But in any case, the name is good Scandinavian. That of Havelok himself is sufficiently so in form, but I do not think that it occurs elsewhere. It does, however, remain as a well-known and honoured Lincolnshire patronymic.

Gunnar Kirkeban, then, Havelok's father, is defeated and slain by an usurper, and here the Welsh origin of the story comes out strongly, with a strange addition. The Norman story, followed by Gaimar, says that the invader and usurper was no other than Arthur of Britain himself, with a subordinate leader, of the entirely Scandinavian name of Hodulf, who acts as the tenant for Arthur of the usurped Danish throne. The English poem does not mention this, being content to introduce a dishonest regent instead of a conqueror; but the version which claims to represent the original Welsh has evidently kept the very Welsh mention of Arthur, and probably has also preserved the name of the actual leader of the expedition correctly. Of course the claim for Arthur that he conquered Denmark is old, and generally scouted as impossible. But is it not possible that this half-forgotten story may record the actual expedition which started the claim? There were Danish settlements in Wales, on the Severn Sea, till A.D. 795, and Danish settlements on the Northumbrian coasts from time immemorial, probably. If a Scandinavian leader gathered

a force on our shores, possibly after wintering there, including a Welsh contingent from his neighbours, and made a successful raid thence into Denmark, it would be enough to be remembered and set to the credit of the mighty king, that once a force of Britons were victorious in Denmark. On the other hand, there may be grounds in this statement for thinking that the Story of Havelok is actually Scandinavian in origin, and has been learnt by the Welsh from the settlers on their coasts. If so, they have cymricised it slightly, so to speak.

After the death of his father, the rescue of Havelok from the usurper is most picturesque, but unfortunately does not afford any definite assistance toward elucidation of the origin of the story. According to the various versions, he is given by the usurper to Grim, in a sack, to be drowned; found wandering as a fugitive with his mother near Grim's house; picked up afloat on the Grimsby coast in an open boat by Grim (a sort of memory of the time-honoured Scaef of our ancestors), this last being one of the local variants of the town itself. Grim, the rescuer, is in the first place a thrall, or a steward, or a merchant; but, after his arrival at Grimsby, invariably becomes a fisher: and, as his son, Havelok is brought up, and to his trade.

The name of the mother of Havelok is given once, as "Eleyrn." The names of the family of Grim are given also, and are apparently original in one or two cases—possibly in more, as I cannot identify Celtic derivations. "Robert, who was red," "William, Wendut hight," and "Hugh Raven" are the three sons of the fisher. His "cousin," or son-in-law, is Aunger, which can hardly be anything but Arngeir; his wife is either Leve, or Saburc, and his daughters, Gunhild, Levive, and Kelloc. The names of Northern origin are evident, but it is worth notice that the two decidedly curious (Celtic (?)) forms, Saburc and Kelloc, occur in the Norman version. The English poem also gives the names of the two sisters of Havelok, slain by the usurper, as Swanborough and Elfled, the Northern

form being again evident. It is possible that, occurring as they do in the English poem only, the first names of the sons of Grim are insertions for the sake of detail, being of current English form, while the epithet "red," applied to Robert, sends us to the original "Radbard," and "Raven" is an actual original. "Wendut" is not evident in origin or meaning. Those of the relative of Grim, and of his wife and daughters are essential to the story, as they, after the death of Grim, make known the parentage of the hero. Their archaic forms would be thus accountable as derived from the original, unaltered save by translation.

Turning from the fortunes of Havelok to the somewhat parallel case of the princess who was to become his wife, we find at once a very suggestive record. The king, her uncle, under a bewildering variety of names, according to all the versions reigned at Lincoln. His kingdom extended from Lindsey to Rutland, and that of her father from Holland (Lincs) to Colchester. Gaimar adds that the king of Lindsey was a Briton, while his brother-in-law, of Norfolk, the father of the princess, was a Dane. Here we meet again with the strange mixture of Welsh and Dane in the east of England, already mentioned as characteristic of the origin of the story, in detail. There is no historic objection to such a mixture of reigning lines at an early date, for the Saxon Penda and the British Cadwalla were equally powerful at one period, and in alliance, at a time when the Jutish origin of the Kentish settlers was yet fresh in the minds of men. Norfolk also undoubtedly had its very early colonies from the North, whether we seek for evidence of their existence in the conquests of Ivar "the Boneless," as recorded in the Sagas, or in the existing dialect and physique of the people. We may notice at once, as somewhat more than a coincidence perhaps, that the hapless princess is kept a prisoner by her uncle at *Dover*, while he holds the kingdom which is hers, Dover being the capital of the old Jutish land of Kent. The English poems and

versions have assigned various Saxon names to these two kings, apparently with the hope of placing them in the known historic lines, and have occasionally tried to identify them yet further with known events, with confusing and evidently mistaken results. It seems that only the Norman direct version can give any clue to the originals of the names therefor.

Here the name of the Lincoln British king is Alsi, which may be Celtic in form, and that of the Danish Norfolk sovereign, Ekenbright, which seems like a perversion of a Northern name. The name of the sister of Alsi, the mother of the princess, is Orewen, which in its termination is Celtic, at least, and seems like a feminine form of *Yewin*, our modern Owen, with the old pronunciation, "Urwen," transliterated: In the case of the name of the princess herself, however, the Norman poet has evidently taken a liberty. In every other version the names of hero and heroine remain unaltered as Havelok and Goldburg, the latter somewhat varying in spelling only. In this one case the name Goldburg is replaced by the decidedly French "Argentille." It would seem that the hard ending of the insular name was too much for the Norman tongue, and the poet had to alter it for his own comfort and that of his hearers. Possibly one may see in the sort of apposition of "Or" and "Argent" in the name of mother and daughter the ingenuity of the writer who wanted to translate "the golden burgh" and yet to avoid clashing with the name already used. "Argentille" is a pretty way out of the difficulty of "La ville d'or," through "Orville" perhaps.

To this British Court, with its Welsh king and Danowelsh princess, comes Havelok, and is hired by the cook, who clothes him gaily, as porter, or scullion, he giving his name as "Curan." This name is from the Norman again, and the poet translates it as "A scullion" for the benefit of his hearers. Professor Skeat has tentatively derived this from a doubtful Gaelic source, but dubiously.

Enquiry as to what the word might mean in Welsh, however, elicited at once from a Celtic neighbour of my own, that an existing term "*Cwran*" might be applied to anything that was a wonder, or remarkable. It would seem, therefor, that the simplest explanation of the name is the best, Havelok being decidedly "*Curan*" in every way. This is almost certainly, therefor, a pretty clear token that the Norman is close to the original Welsh version.

I may pass over the marriage of the hero to the heroine, with its marvellous dreams, and its mediævalised marriage, and come to the reception of the hero in Denmark. He lands, and is at once received by "*Sigar l'estal*" in the Norman, and by "*Earl Ubbe*" in the English poems. Again, the earlier direct version preserves an actual name, *Sigurd*, almost exactly. The English version has apparently substituted the well-known and feared name of the mighty Jarl of the Raven banner as a familiar Danish name to every hearer. By this Jarl the party is lodged with "*Bernard the Brun*," which seems to be much like an English rendering of *Biorn*. This is carried out by a dream of the princess which relates a fight between Havelok and his fosterbrothers, and various beasts, including a bear. In confirmation of this dream, the party is attacked by a crowd, variously numbered, and for reasons differing in the versions, but according to the English poem, led by one "*Griffen Gall*"—unmistakably *Griffin of Wales*. But for the many Welsh remnants in the Norman, one might have wondered how he reached Denmark, but here it seems that the English poem has also harked back direct to the original; probable Danish, and certainly Welsh names occurring together in this episode. Havelok and his brothers are hard pressed, and retreat to a tower, whence he hurls coping stones on his enemies, according to the French version. There will be more to say of these stones shortly. Then follow the recognition of the heir by the tokens of ring and horn, and the march against the usurper, who, of course,

is defeated and slain. The more simple Norman version is content to kill Hodulf in battle, while the English adds details of flaying alive, and subsequent drawing and quartering meted out to him. It would be interesting to know if the original carved the traitor into the blood eagle, and it may be suspected that this is the English version of that execution, which the more courtly Norman omitted. Then is the return to England. The Norman gives the landing at Carleflure, and the Durham MS. at Tetford. There is a great battle, after which, it being indecisive, the princess suggests staying up the dead, that the host may seem no less in the morning. The ruse is successful, and Alsi and his men sue for peace. The king has been sorely wounded by Havelok after an encounter with Jarl Sigar, and dies shortly, according to the Norman, and is burnt according to the English. It is worth notice here that Alsi's chief supporters in this battle, according to the English version, are Earls Gunter, and Reyner of Chester. Both are forms of Northern names, and the poet has borrowed Gunter from the earlier versions, in which it is the name of Havelok's father. The Earl of Chester at Lincoln, with a Norse name, is characteristic again of the mixed origin of the Saga, reminding one of the unholy alliance of Penda of Mercia and Cadwalla, in a way.

So far the old story, and it remains to notice the living links with the Grimsby of to-day. First of these, of course, is the tenacity of the ancient tradition in forms underived from either of these poems as to detail. Next is the use to-day of the ancient seal of the borough, whose device includes Grim as the central figure, and Havelok and Goldberg on either side of him. They are named, and Havelok bears the ring and Danish axe. The material is brass, and the workmanship and lettering of a type not later than 1300. It can hardly, therefore, have been adopted on account of the popularity of the poems, but refers to the original legend equally with them. So late as 1825 the stones said to have been hurled from the

tower were shown at Grimsby, one in the churchyard, and the other at Wellowgate. I have been unable to find that they still remain, but it is likely that the wonderful growth of the town has hidden them. A similar stone still remains in Louth, twenty miles to the south, and is believed to be of the same formation, which is certainly not English. It is said to be as old as the town. I would suggest that all three have been "high seat-pillars" or their bases, brought by the earliest Northern colonists. In this connection it may be worth noting that some fields in Conisholme parish, south of Grimsby, bear the name of "East Hordaland" in an existing charter of Edw. III. "Carleflore," as the modern Carlton, and Tetford still bear the traces of a forgotten Danish raid or invasion. The former, some five miles from the coast, on a river now shrunken, has its camp of the East Anglian Danish type, with a well-preserved causeway to the channel where the ships might lie. At Tetford are seven barrows which hold forgotten dead from some unusually fierce fight.

Professor Skeat has endeavoured to fix the date at which Havelok possibly lived, but avowedly with little success. He cannot place him in any list of known events, but would refer him to a date not later than the sixth century.

Taking the legend as I have from an entirely different standpoint, perhaps it may not seem presumptuous to suggest, in the difficulty, a new departure. It seems evident that we have in "Havelok" a story of Dano-Welsh origin, not so far removed from its original that mediævalisation has hidden its salient points. It is a tale of England, but the Saxon element, in the earliest version, is entirely absent, while the Dane and Briton keep their place. It would seem, therefore, to be a traditional Welsh record of actual historic events which occurred in the first unrecorded days of the invasion from North and East which followed the retreat of Rome from our shores, when the British princelings yet held

their own for a time throughout the land. Havelok may be contemporaneous with Hengist, or earlier, but an actual leader of a Danish force, and holder of a throne at Lincoln and in Norfolk, after expulsion of the British prince who held the one, and had regained the other. He may have been a leader of the historic Jutes, and the ancient camps of the Lincolnshire coast may well be his, and his men and Alsi's lie at Tetford. And Grim, his fosterfather, in the old Northern way, who takes to the craft of the fisher in England, is surely drawn from life, and may without doubt be held as the actual founder of the great fishers' town we know. Beyond this, no date can well be assigned. That the tale belongs distinctly and solely to our island seems to prove that it is not old, as Sagas go; but whether the Danes taught it to the Welsh, or whether it is an actual memory of British history may be conjecture. That the hero is a Dane, and that his fortunes involve a British defeat, would go far to show that, as preserved by Britons, it is a record of fact, and not a mere invention, or echo of far more ancient legend.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. F. T. Norris said the Club were under an obligation to Mr. Whistler for bringing the subject of the Havelok Saga before them. The theme is a distinctly Norse one, with Norse characters and incidents in the main, plus, possibly, some added extraneous local colour. He was not, however, of the opinion that Mr. Whistler had been quite happy in treating his subject. Havelok Cuaran was undoubtedly the great Norse king of Dublin, Olaf Cuaran, whose remarkable career had been the inspiration of so many mediæval romances, including the Hamlet Saga. The changes of the name of Olaf were certainly remarkable. Starting with the Norse form of Olaf, this was converted in the version of the Irish annalists into Amlaiebh; the Saxon Chronicle, becoming aware of the name through the descents of the Ostmen from Ireland (the Gall-gael) on the north-western coast of England, rendered it Anlaf,

a form which had been a standing puzzle to a certain class of antiquaries. The Norman-French romancers of two centuries later converted it into Hamlet and Havelok. Full details of the permutations of this name, as also the incidents of the career of this remarkable personage, were given by Mr. Collingwood in past issues of the SAGA-BOOK,¹ and also by Mr. Gollancz in his "Hamlet Saga." The contention of Mr. Whistler that the saga and plot must be placed in an earlier period of the Saxons' relation to Britain was untenable in view of the obviously Norse and contemporary Saxon character of the names of all the *dramatis personæ* and of the local names. Witness: Hodulf = Athulf = Ethelwulf; Ekenbright = Erckenbrecht; Reynar = Ragnar [Lodbrog]; Gunter = Guthram = Gunnar; Arthur = Ottar; Alsi = Ulfsig; Curan = [Olaf] Cuaran, well known in Irish Annals; Bernard le Brun = Biorn the Fair; Saburc = Sigborg; Leve = Leof, etc. Grimsby, with its Norse *by*-ending, also carried the tale into the Danish period, and the approximate date of the foundation of which was well known.² The segregation of the incidents of the Havelok Saga around any point on the East Anglian coast strengthened rather than weakened the Norse interpretation, as it rested upon the easily supposed correlation of Norse operations in the north-east of England (Humber to the Firth of Forth), the north-west of England up to the Clyde, and Ireland, of which abundant historical evidence exists. Despite these objections, Mr. Norris was of opinion that Mr. Whistler had done a distinct service in bringing this subject forward.

The President said he was very grateful to Mr. Whistler for his paper, which presented many obviously interesting points. He was not prepared to accept Olaf Cuaran as Celtic, whatever elements the second element in his name presented. He should like some further particulars as to the story of the stones mentioned by Mr. Whistler. Were they stone weapons? Tetford, mentioned in the

¹ Vol. II., p. 313.

² After the first recorded descent of the Norsemen.

paper, was a very curious place of great antiquity, and it was remarkable that the flint industry still survives near it, and the fashioning of stone weapons has been carried on there from primeval times.

Colonel Hobart called attention to Mr. Whistler's book "Havelok the Dane," which he had read with much pleasure and profit. Though it only appeared in the modest form of a story for boys, it had a distinct historical and scientific value.

Mr. A. F. Major asked to be allowed, in Mr. Whistler's name, to thank the meeting for the reception given to the paper, and, as far as he was able, to answer the remarks upon it. He was glad Colonel Hobart had called attention to the value of Mr. Whistler's stories founded on old English history. As regards the stones, he believed, in the extant poems and stories of Havelok, they were only huge blocks of stone which Havelok hurled down on his opponents; what they may have been in the original Saga it is of course impossible to say. With regard to Mr. Norris's criticisms, he was sure that he spoke for Mr. Whistler, as well as for himself, when he expressed the greatest regard for Mr. Gollancz's opinion on any literary subject. But while admitting the great force of the parallel he had drawn between the Amlođa and Havelok stories, and their apparent connection with King Olaf Cuaran, yet Mr. Whistler had drawn attention to peculiarities in the Havelok tale which suggested very strongly that that story had a historical basis, whatever accretions it might have received from floating traditions. Its localisation at Grimsby was certainly very ancient, and the traditions and remarkable seal of the town seemed to show that this was something more than an idle tale: but if the date of the foundation of the town were well known, as Mr. Norris alleged, this would have an important bearing on the discussion, and he hoped Mr. Norris would give the date and the authority for it. The fact that the name Havelock had survived as a patronymic was against the supposition that it was merely a name in a popular tale,

originating in a Welsh corruption of the form Amlaidh. The localisation at Grimsby again seemed to militate against the identification of Havelok Curan with Anlaf Cuaran, and Mr. Whistler's suggestion as to the origin of the name Curan was in any case worthy of consideration. It seemed possible that the elements before us were fourfold, a historical, though unrecorded Havelok, as suggested by Mr. Whistler, his Saga, the Amlođa Saga, and the historical Anlaf or Olaf Cuaran. The exact relationship of the elements in such a problem could not be determined easily, if at all, but he thought Mr. Whistler had shown that there were elements in the Havelok story which were not to be reconciled with the theory that it was only another version of the Amlođa Saga, or a mediæval legend relating to King Olaf Cuaran. We had no record in our history of the settlement of our forefathers on the east coast, yet it was certain that that coast, from its geographical position and its character, a fertile and comparatively flat country, penetrated by many broad estuaries and tidal rivers, must have invited their incursions at a very early period. Indeed, from the name of "Saxon Shore," given to it in the Roman time, we know that their raids upon it began even before the Romans had left the island, and it is probable that settlements had already been established there.

Mr. W. G. Collingwood sends the following remarks :—
As I was unable to hear this most interesting paper read, the Editor has kindly allowed me to see it in proof, and to join, though belated, in the discussion. I think that much new matter has come to light since Prof. Skeat edited "Havelok" for the E.E.T.S., and that the views put forth in Mr. Gollancz's "Hamlet in Iceland" are worth consideration, as well as various modern studies of the cycle of non-Scandinavian Sagas based on events of the Viking Age. Among these are the Norman French versions of "King William the Wanderer," which I hope some day soon to lay before the Club as an example of wild romance, intro-

ducing true touches of actual eleventh-century life in the north of Britain, where the mixture of Scandinavian with Gaelic and Cymric folk and folklore produced a number of legends, still farther obscured by the fact that they were told afresh by Norman poets, but always bearing traces of their origin. I do not think the older critics were right in referring these to the sixth century; all the conditions for producing them were present in the tenth and eleventh. At the later period Danes and Norse, Anglians and Welsh (Cumbri), Picts of the North, and Gaelic Scots of the West were all in close connection by neighbourhood, commerce, and intermarriage, in spite of wars and jealousies. The focus of this mingled life and consequently prolific thought was Cumberland, where in the Gosforth cross and other such monuments we have the earliest, and almost the only, art illustrators of the new Scandinavian mythology, which, in its literary aspect, is the Edda. Most of these Norman legends come from Welsh (Cymric) sources, and point to the great Northern Welsh (Cumbrian) nation, about which we know so little, but can infer so much. I take it that "Havelok" and its cycle were the Cumbrian traditions of events that occurred in and around Cumberland in this Viking Age. Havelok Curan himself has been identified by most of the modern writers with Olaf or Anlaf Cuaran ("of the brogues"), a Viking adventurer, king of York, king of Dublin, connected by birth and marriage with several Celtic royalties, and dying at last in Iona—a personage romantic enough to adorn any tale. The name Haveloc seems to me to be French for Amhlaibh (*mh* pronounced as *u*), which was Gaelic for Analaf. The aspirate in French was always negligible; the final *c*, as anyone familiar with proper names in the hands of Norman scribes can tell, might be miswritten; and you have "Hamlet"; or retaining the *c*, something very like king "Aveling" of Ravenglass. Olaf Cuaran's true story is, of course, wildly distorted, the geography confused, and the legend overlaid with scraps of folklore from many sources; but I think we can see how his

personality remained interesting to his Cumbrian neighbours, whose Welsh songs and sagas by the twelfth century had grown into a sort of epic, fortunately collected by the Norman antiquaries of the day. With regard to details, Mr. Whistler's suggestion about "Birkabeyn" seems convincing. Hodulf I believe to be the Anglian prince who occurs in other stories of the group; Wendut might possibly be "Wendwood," and the original germ of my King William the Wanderer. Saburc seems to be good Anglian, and Kelloc some compound of the common Scandinavian Ketil, Kel. Dover, in these French and English sagas, is used, with Bristol, as a well-known name for any seaport stronghold. There were several historic Arthurs not far from this period, but I have not my "Four Masters" at hand.

The Rev. C. W. Whistler writes in reply:—While thanking the members who have been so good as to add very materially to the interest of the Havelok question by their remarks on the somewhat tentative paper which Mr. Major was most kind to read for me in full appreciation of the criticism which might ensue, I am allowed the usual privilege of the last word for the present.

The identification of the Havelok Saga with the story of Olaf Cuaran is no doubt fascinating, but I am strongly of opinion that the ancient and still existing close localisation of the Saga militates very materially against that theory. The actual and permanent connection of a romantic Saga with an existing place is, in itself, so valuable that its consideration should certainly be given precedence to theory based on similarities of name and incident in legendary history equally strongly localised elsewhere.

I would suggest in this connection that it is quite possible that, while the mediæval poets, in searching for a nickname under which the hero of the more ancient saga may pass during his servitude, might have actually borrowed that of Olaf Cuaran, as one already known to their hearers

as likely and appropriate for a wandering prince at the later date which the Olaf theory would assign to the poem, the actual meaning of the name "of the brogues" would hardly be forgotten, at least in Danish Lindsey, and it has no meaning at all to be deduced from the story. But if I am right in my Welsh derivation, the meaning would well be forgotten, but is of immense value in itself. The mediæval poet mistranslated it.

The transition of the hero's name itself from Olaf to Havelok requires the addition of the hard *k* to the former, which is almost prohibitory. The common script confusion of *c* and *t* in the MSS. will not account for it, as the name is oral, and still remains in the well-known and honoured *Lincolnshire* patronymic of Havelock, the family which has always been proud to trace descent from the hero.

I am quite prepared to admit a Norse equally with a Danish origin for the story: the mediæval chroniclers, and therefore still more likely the gleemen, making little or no distinction between the two branches of the Northern invading hosts. But I would submit that the early nomenclature of Norway and Denmark is so practically indistinguishable that it is hard to draw any safe inference from the forms given in the poem. The identifications by Mr. Norris of others of the names with more modern Anglo-Saxon forms are ingenious, and fully worth consideration, but at the date of the committal of the Saga to writing these later forms were still in use and well known. No similar corruptions occur in the contemporary chroniclers, and whatever changes have taken place in the names of the Saga must needs refer to an extremely old oral original, dating from beyond known use.

Except that Grimsby was in existence in the time of Cnut, I am unable to do more than refer the date of its foundation to legend. The ancient "Stones" were always held to be blocks of hewn stone from the tower, hurled by the hero at his enemies.

THE NORSEMEN IN UIST FOLKLORE.¹

BY REV. ALLAN McDONALD.

STORY TELLING has not by any means died out in Uist, nor are all the story-tellers old men. Many of the younger men tell their tales with a grace and flow of language and a fulness of incident that are not surpassed by many of the older reciters. Such tales, however, as appear from their style to have been the studied composition of bards, and for the perfect recital of which one would require to know not only the incidents of the tale but the very words are now being shorn of their embellishments of literary style and given in plain, homely, colloquial language which is, however, grammatically accurate, elegant and telling. Versified tales or ballads are still chaunted, though the tendency to recite instead of chaunting is marked. The number of such antique lays is lessening fast. Probably there are not more than twenty that can be recited in any fulness at this date in South Uist. I speak of Fingalian or Ossianic ballads. I have heard fourteen recited or chaunted, and it is pleasant to note that a few at least of the reciters were young. As such pieces require a greater effort of memory than prose tales and the young generation are made to clog their memories with fragments of English poetry in which they find little interest or pleasure their abused memories become unfitted to retain the ballads of their own tongue.

Judging from my own experience there is as much matter again in the way of Gaelic tales to be had in Uist as there is in John Campbell of Islay's four printed

¹ Read at the meeting on January 26th, 1900.

volumes. Some men whom I have met are able to recite from twenty to fifty tales, varying in the time of telling from half an hour to two hours.

No tales are more popular in Uist than those that tell of Fionn Mac Cumhal and the warriors of the Feinn. With all their wild extravagance they are held to be truer than all other tales. One narrator says bluntly that the tales of the Feinn are as true as truth, while other tales are only the inventions of a woman who had to tell a long tale to save her life, and who scrupled not under the circumstances to string together any romantic incident that occurred to her without the least regard to historical truth. It is satisfactory to know that most references to the Norsemen occur not in the unscrupulous lady's romances, but in the more honourable oral record of the Fenian heroes.

For the appearance at least of order it may be as well to glance at the popular Fenian story first and then at other less prominent folk tales and note down what refers to the Norsemen.

The Norsemen had invaded and seized the Hebrides.

One of the kings of Ireland, for Ireland was made up of five kingdoms then, was vexed that the men of Lochlin had seized the islands which by right were his own. He sent fleet after fleet to dislodge them, but his efforts met with little success. As soon as a ship was seen to be approaching from the Sea of Ireland, (the sea between Barra and Ireland is so called), a beacon light was set up on every high point of land by the Lochlinners and the alarm was spread at once, and their galleys issuing forth from every bay gathered together and met the enemy. The Irish king was frequently worsted and was sinking into despondency. His man of counsel—there was no parliament then, adds the narrator—told him to be of good heart, and although he was unable to drive them out of the Hebrides just now that a time would yet come when they could be driven away, if the king would approve of the plan this counsellor had to suggest. The

king told him to speak on. The advice he gave was that the king should have every man in Ireland who was six foot high brought together, and that when brought together that the tallest women in Ireland should be given them as wives, and that no objections to their marriages on the ground of either kinship or willingness were to be listened to. Only nine nines of such men were to be found, and eighty-one wives were provided for them. These men were to avoid all common work and live by the chase. In time their descendants would form a body of stalwart men fit in size and strength and numbers to contend with the men of Lochlin. The Fenians achieved the task assigned to them, but an ungrateful king, who feared that they might turn their power against himself, as there were now no enemy to fight with, banished them from Ireland to Scotland, where they led a life of hardship and hunger until the advent upon the scene of Fionn Mac Cumhal with his dog Bran and his sword Macaluin. During his time there were frequent incursions of the Norsemen and many a stiffly contested field. There is a ballad named "The wrathful battle of the Feinn" which illustrates this. The reciter preludes the ballad thus. The Feinn were very unsuccessful in the chase. The game was hidden from them by spells. When these were broken the hunt was more than ordinarily successful. Fionn, however, neglected to hold the drinking festival that was customary on such occasions, and two of his warriors resented this so much that they left the camp of Fionn for a year and a day and transferred their services to the king of Lochlin. The queen of Lochlin conceived a passion for one of them whose name was Ailltidh, and they fled together to the camp of Fionn. It was to avenge this wrong that Erragan, king of Lochlin, fought this battle with the Feinn.

Subjoined is a literal translation of the ballad—too literal for elegance ; and it is to be hoped that the length of it will not be too great a trespass on your forbearance.

A day that Patrick was in his court,
 No psalms on his mind, but a-drinking,
 He went forth to the house of Ossian, son of Fionn,
 Whose speech was music to him.

Patrick.

All hail to thee, aged worthy one!
 I've come around to see thee,
 Strong warrior of fairest form
 That hast never grudged another what thou hast.

The tale I would have from thee,
 Grandson of Cumhal of the hard swords,
 The most closely-contested fight the Feinn was in
 Since first a fierce Fian was begotten.

Ossian.

'Tis I that have the proof of that for thee,
 Tall Patrick of the pretty psalms,
 The closest contest the heroes were in
 Since first a Fian was begotten.

Fionn neglected to make a feast
 In Albin in the time of the warriors;
 While a band of the Feinn were up Drim-derg
 Their anger and fury arose.

Moróran.

"And if thou hast neglected us in the matter of the
 drinking feast,"
 Said Moróran with sweet voice,
 "I and fair young Ailltidh
 Will turn our backs for a year to the hall of Fionn."

They quickly took their departure,
 And their swords and shields to the ships.
 To the king of Lochlin with the glossy bridles
 A year's service - to the king
 Gave those two of fairest form.

The king over Lochlin in that very hour
 Was one who won the victory in every field,
 Erragan, son of Annir of the ships,
 O king! but his blade and his hand were good.

The queen of Lochlin of brown shields
 Gave deep, full-deep love, but not aright,
 To joyous Ailltidh of deep-red locks,
 And she went away with him in deceit.

She went away with him from the bed of the king.
 That is the deed for which blood will be shed.

Lochlin's king gathered his host,
A hard-set fleet that grew with readiness.
In the one hour there arose with him
The nine kings and other peoples.

For the realm of the Fians
They departed over the sea.
They pitched their camp thickly
Near the fort where Fionn abode.

A herald came forth with a message,
A weighty tale that tried us sorely—
To fight a close, stern battle with Fionn
On the glen to the north.

Fionn would give them a great tribute—
To the host that came to us,
To Lochlin's king with his time-honoured weapons,
Even that would he give and his own wife.

The counsel that Fionn approved
As well as all the chiefs of the Feinn
Was to give, if accepted from them, the king's daughter
To the king of Lochlin of the keen weapons.

We sent the king's daughter,
Whose skin was the whitest, whose eye the bluest,
And there went to attend her one hundred horses,
The best that ever stood on moor.

When she came down to the beach
She left the horses behind her.
She advanced a step towards them,
And two apples of gold in her right hand.

Earragan.

“Thy tidings from the camp of Fionn
Give us, fair one of the tresses;
Lovely maiden of the musical lips,
What is the end of thy coming?”

King's daughter.

If thy wife did amiss by thee
And played a deed so wrong,
Give friendship and fellowship to Fionn
So that thou may'st have me thereby.

That thou may'st have, and 100 horses,
The best that ever stood on moor,
And 100 riders to mount them
With their raiment of gold shining prettily.

That thou may'st have, and 100 cups
 That would of clear water make wine,
 And whoever should drink a draught from them
 His hurt would not become greater.

That thou may'st have, and 100 sons of kings
 That would win tribute from savage hosts.
 That thou may'st have, and 100 belts,
 And whom they girdle will not die.

They will heal affliction and exhaustion,
 The pretty jewels that give forth their virtues free.

That thou may'st have, and 100 ships
 That would rend the waves on the wild seas ;
 And thou may'st have 100 good hawks
 That will have luck with every kind of bird.

That thou may'st have, and 100 flocks,
 And a glen-full of choicest kine,
 And if that sufficeth not
 Take with thee thy wife and depart.

Earragan. I will make no peace with Ailltidh the fresh,
 Nor with the chiefs of the Feinn ever
 Until I bring Fionn himself beneath my sway.
 And take the spoil with me to the beach.

King's daughter. Thou hast not brought of power with thee
 Across the sea, methinks,
 As will bring Fionn beneath thy sway
 Or take the spoil to the beach.

Earragan. And thou wilt not go away, fair one of the tresses,
 Lovely maiden of the musical lips ;
 The jewels thou may'st have free,
 But stay to be my bride.

King's daughter. And I will not stay, choice of warriors,
 Since I can win neither your respect nor your anger,
 And since I cannot earn for my king
 A peace freely given to the army of Fionn.

She turned her back upon them
 And rode smoothly on her course.
 Many a banner was being raised up,
 And the Feinn went quickly into their armour.

Seven score of the goodly men of Fionn,
And Ailltidh himself first—
These fell by the hand of Erragan in the attack
Before the Feinn were massed.

Fionn. Fionn, yon prince of virtues, spoke
While he looked at the host of Innisfail,
“ Who will join in conflict with Erragan
Lest we allow him to despise us ? ”

Goll. Goll had the answering of that—
The warrior who was hard to exhaust,
“ I will join with Erragan in conflict.
Leave us to our feats of strength.”

Fionn. “ Take with thee Ossian and the brown-haired Diarmid,
The bending Fergus and the son of Leigh,
To guard thee from the blows of the warrior,
And place two on each side as a shield.

And take with thee the other manly band
That would refuse to take a step backward.
Place that at thy right shoulder
From the race of Cumhal with their feats of strength.”

’Twas eight days without rest
That we were ever forcing back the host.
The head of the king of Lochlin with its brown shields
Goll gained on the ninth day.

There escaped not from the edge of weapons
In the conflict from the multitude of tribes—
There escaped not home a man
Either of king or people of Lochlin.

In a prose story Erragan is represented as being invulnerable to every weapon but the spear of Goll. Before the battle a soothsayer reminded him of this, and told him that the Lochlinners would be victorious as long as he contrived to avoid the spear of Goll. To insure his own life and to insure victory for his people he had a large boulder hollowed out and he hid himself in the cavity. From time to time he aimed an arrow at the enemy through an aperture bored through the side of the stone. His people were driven back by the Feinn, and Erragan was left behind among the enemy in his

place of concealment. At short intervals one of the Feinn was observed to fall mortally wounded by an arrow which seemed to be aimed by an invisible hand. Goll was perplexed. Passing near the boulder he observed the aperture and thrust his spear into it. When he drew it out it was red with the blood of Erragan.

Ailltidh's flight with the faithless queen of Lochlin is believed popularly to have been a historical fact. It was said that there was a great sea storm on the night of their flight, and that the waves rose so high that a great part of the northern end of South Uist was submerged, and a great many houses destroyed by the tide. The shingle on the beach at Kilbride, on the south end of Uist, was thrown up by the sea on this same night.

As it would be tedious to give any more of the ballads in full, and as the one given above affords a fair illustration of their form and language, it will suffice for the purposes of this paper to summarise a few of the others. In the "Lay of the Banners" the king of Lochlin, on invading Ireland, boasts that:

" A third of the host that I have with me here
You never had in Erin."

Fergus the herald says in reply :

" Though thou thinkest little of the scanty Feinn,
Thou wilt take thy best spring backwards
From their grey blades before evening,
Or thou wilt work thine own harm."

In this battle there fell seven battalions of choice men and nine sons of Magnus the Red.

" Mac Cumhal and his hot-blooded host—
Like the glowing fire in their fury
Was the stroke of each warrior of them in the conflict
As long as a Lochlinner faced them."

But no enemy caused so much terror to the Feinn as Gonn, son of the Red, as may be seen from the lay named after him. The argument of the poem is as fol-

lows. The king of Lochlin bore a deep grudge to the Feinn, and he resolved to destroy them root and branch. For this purpose he selected the most stalwart and dexterous youth in his kingdom and had him trained in every feat and trick of arms, so as to be more than a match for the best warrior of the Feinn in the day of trial. This chosen hero was Red, the son of Dreathon. No one in Lochlin equalled him in strength and dexterity. When all was in readiness the king attacked the Feinn. Goll, the champion of the Feinn, met the Red in combat and slew him. The Red had a young son at home in Lochlin. The king took him to himself. This was Gonn, son of the Red. When he grew to manhood he was stronger far than the Red himself. He was told how his father was slain. He vowed to avenge his father's death, and to leave not one alive of the Feinn.

The ballad says :

“He came to avenge his father's death in all fairness upon the nobles and goodly men of the Feinn. He had a blade of venom to hack bodies with, and he dealt deep wounds. He could leap to the clouds above us, and he performed wild feats in the firmament, and yet no lovelier eye ever glanced at the sun than Gonn of the keen-edged weapons. His cheek was purple red, his eye large and blue. His hair was golden yellow in pretty ringlets. He told Fergus the herald that he sought the heads of Fionn and Goll and Diarmad and the heads of Clan Morna all, or that Erin from wave to wave should bend to his yoke, or that a combat with 500 heroes should be given him on the morrow.

“‘We will quickly curb his madness,’ said five hundred of the Feinn; but it was no cause of joy for them to join in strife with him. Filled with battle madness he drew his father's sword. He gave a wild mad swoop like a hawk in a flock of birds. Many a skull changed its look, many a head was here and there, and Gonn was trimming his shield, shouting for further combat. Seven score of the choicest Fians went to the encounter, but

it fared sorely with them. The seven score fell, and the Feinn raised a bitter cry. Fionn called upon Goll for help, and in spite of a private grudge with Fionn, he went forth readily to meet Gonn. His cheek whitened and reddened as they began. There was fury and anger on the brows of the two heroes. In their ardour they made the hill quake. For eleven days sons and wives were sad till Gonn the high-spirited fell by the hand of Goll. The Feinn raised a shout of joy such as they never raised before when they saw the proud Gonn at the feet of Goll." Ossian adds at the end of the lay :

" I would pledge thee my word, Patrick,
That the Feinn were never in the like fear
From any one man."

Another lay tells how Fionn one night discovered the track of a giant in his camp and followed it in the snow. When Fionn came near the giant he asked him his name. The giant answered him with contempt, and hurled his great spear with such force at him that it went down seven feet into the ground. Fionn thrust a dagger into the giant's heart. As he was dying he told Fionn that he was Sithean, son of the king of Beirbh, and that he was the chief of the 700 hounds. ("Beirbh," which frequently occurs in Tales, is supposed to be Bergen.)

Other lays still in vogue having reference to Lochlin are the "Lay of the Smithy," the "Lay of the Muiliartach"—a hideous hag, the wife of the Song-Smith of Lochlin and the nurse of the king of Lochlin, and the "Lay of Magnus"; but as all of them have been translated already it is needless to refer to them here. The "Lay of the Great Fool"—proverbially the best of all lays—is beginning to fall into disuse, and I have not yet met any reciter who could give it in full. The Great Fool was wedded to Gilbhin the Young, and in a prose tale I find that she was the daughter of the king of Lochlin, while he is the son of the king of Erin. The scene of the lay of the Great Fool is in Lochlin. It also has been previously translated.

PART II.

In prose recitals we find Lochlin nearly as often referred to as in the metrical tales. It is my intention to note down a few such references. The title of one of the prose tales is "The Red-lipped Maiden." She was the daughter of the Lord of the Well. (The word which I am translating Lord means "long-haired" in Gaelic.) The well from which he took his title is in Uist. He and the Lord of the Island had been at war, and Murchadh, son of Brian, sent a nobleman from Erim to arrange the terms of peace. This noble held his lands free for his services in protecting his country. The terms of peace were arranged so satisfactorily that the Lord of the Well wished to give his daughter's hand to the Irish noble. When Dìreach (the Erect or Straight-minded)—such was his name—saw the maiden he was struck by her exceeding beauty, and resolved to take her with him, but not to gaze upon her again until he should present her to Murchadh, his worldly king, for whom he thought she would make a fitting queen. He took with him from Uist to attend her four guarding maidens. Before she became the bride of Murchadh she was taken away by the three Harpers of the Red Hall in Lochlin during the night. Dìreach set out in pursuit; but they had put off from the beach. He had to go back for his water head-gear. He then renewed the pursuit; but the Harpers reached Lochlin before him. He went up to the Red Hall, and heard that there was going to be a great wedding feast for the Great Harper and the Red-lipped Maiden. She had asked the feast to be put off for one day more, so that plenty of fish and game might be provided for the guests. The Harpers went away to hunt and to fish. Before doing so they locked the Red-lipped Maiden in a chamber with seven locks and seven quivering locks. Dìreach failed to find out the place of her imprisonment but he discovered Sorcha (Bright), the mother of the Harpers. He procured an intoxicating draught and gave it to Sorcha, and then found out the secret from her.

The first dash that he made at the door shivered the seven locks, and the next dash that he made shivered the seven quivering locks, and the Red-lipped Maiden sprang up on the tip of his shoulder. He brought her to where the long boat of the Harpers was beached, and putting maiden Red-lips on board he pushed out from the shore. The Harpers, who were fishing with three rods, cast their lines into the departing boat and their hooks got fixed in the sheet, and they began to drag the boat back to shore. Dìreach always had with him the Lorg-chroiseach (cross-stick) and he smote their rods but in vain. Maiden Red-lips said, "Though they have magic power over the boat's tackle, they have none over her timbers. Let them have the sheet." He cut it off with his cross-stick, and before the Harpers could disentangle their hooks, he and Red-lips were well out to sea. The Harpers gave up their fishing and went home to the Red Hall in anger and disgust and gave three horrible screams, so horrible that every pregnant woman lost her child and every mare its foal throughout Lochlin. Dìreach brought Red-lips safely back to Erin, where she wedded Murchadh, son of Brian, in Cathair-nam-Manach (The Town-of-the-Monks).

In the version of the tale that relates how the Great Fool, son of the king of Erin, won the hand of Gilbhin the Young, daughter of the king of Lochlin, we find that the Irish prince was sent one night, after slaying a number of warriors, by order of the king to seek lodging in the house of the "Tamhuisg" or dwarfs. There were eighteen score and eighteen of them under the one roof. The Great Fool thinking that though their number was great their strength was little entered their abode with a light heart. When he came in they all stood up and laughed. They closed the door and put a fastening upon it that they called "*droll*." The Great Fool put two "*drolls*" upon it. The Great Fool asked why they laughed when he came in. "Not for a year and a day," said they, "have we seen a man standing before us, whose flesh could afford a morsel, and whose blood a sip to us

all round till you came inside the door." "Speak of that good time when you have had it," replied he, as he seized the one with the biggest head and thinnest legs by the shanks, and he did not leave a head on a neck. He dragged them outside and he made three heaps of them upon the dunghill—a heap of heads, a heap of bodies, and a heap of clothing. Then he heard music that was a temptation and so dangerous that it would send speared men and women in travail to sleep. This was a messenger from the king with dainty food for the dwarfs, for killing the Great Fool. The king had made so sure of this. The name of the dainty food was Pronn-ceud. The Fool seized the harp and smote the Harper on the head and slew him. He then killed all the others that had come with him.

On the evening of a second day's combat a man stood on the summit and battlement of the town and told the Fool to go and find a lodging with the three Clip-Scissors. He thought since their number was small that they could not do him much harm. He went to their abode, and "blest" on entering. Those before him "blest" kindly in return, and said that if he were sent to them for harm to himself his coming would be to his good. "Our mother," they said, "is of Erin."

After various adventures that he had to go through in fulfilling a task which he had been obliged to perform before a spell put upon him by the king could be raised, he returned once more and asked for the daughter of the king or for combat. The king himself went to battle with him. They fought with such violence that they cast showers of fire from their weapons and showers of their flesh and blood into the air and firmament (a word "bailceabh," pronounced "balkyu," evidently an adaptation of "welkin," is here used). They threw away their swords. They took to prime wrestling. The king of Lochlin lay beneath the Great Fool's knee. "Son-in-law," said the king, "let me rise: and a worthy son-in-law you are." Gilbhin the Young was brought out of the locked chamber and she wedded the Great Fool.

MAGNUS IN HIS YOUTH.

There is quite a different vein of romance in the two tales of Magnus which follow from that which runs in the ordinary tales. Is it possible that these tales are assimilations to Norse originals? Some member of the Viking Club may be able to throw light on the subject.

The "History of Mànus" was proverbially the standard of all histories, and at one time such a history must have been easily had. One reciter who proposed to give me the "History of Mànus," and prefaced his tale with the proverb "Gach eachdraidh gu eachdraidh Mhànuis," *i.e.*, "Every history to the standard of the History of Mànus," gave me instead a hash-up of a story from the "Arabian Nights," quite un-Celtic in character, where the name of the chief actor was Mànus. The reciter was illiterate, and never heard of the "Arabian Nights," but he had a mind that could appreciate a good tale wherever he might hear one. (In passing I may observe that I have met with three tales from the "Arabian Nights" in Uist, told by men who could neither read nor write, nor speak English.)

There was a king. A son was born to him. He was named Mànus. The king was for putting his son to a nurse. He found a nurse too. The first time the nurse gave breast to him he took off her breast right from the shoulder. And every nurse to whom he was sent he did likewise by her. There was a man on the king's own land called the Black Champion. The king came to him one day. He told him about the child. The Champion said that he would find him a nurse. He took the child with him and brought him to his own wife. The first time she gave him her breast he took it off right from the shoulder. The Champion was now as badly off as ever. He then got a lump of fat. He put the lump of fat into the child's mouth. He tied a cord to the piece of fat, and fastened the cord to the child's big toe. When

the lump of fat would be going down the child's throat and he would be like to choke he would kick out his feet and draw up the morsel from his throat. The child was kept alive thus.

One day the slender woman of the green coat came to the house. She asked what kind of child that was that he was bringing up so. He told her that he was a king's son, but did not tell that his name was Mánus. "I will give breast to him," said she. "If you do I will be very glad," said he. She took the child and put him on her knee. She gave him her right breast. The first time he drew from her breast she went into a cloud (swooned). She wakened up and turned upon her left side and gave the child her left breast. He sucked heartily. "I will take him with me," said she, "and I will give him breast for seven years. I will then come back to you." She came. The Black Champion was in his house. He saw the slender woman of the green coat coming and a half grown boy with her. He asked "Is this the king's son?" She said he was. "I will now go to his own home with him," said she. The Black Champion went with her. When they were over near the king's house she grasped the child and sprang to the highest peak of the castle. The Black Champion hurried round to catch her. In going round he met a heap of stones. She hurled the child down. He fell right into the heap of stones. "What made you do that?" said the Black Champion to her. "There is no hardship or danger that he will not come out of as safely as from this," said she. The boy was safe and sound. She then went off, and there was no tale of her. The Black Champion took the boy. He led him in to the king by the hand. He left him with the king. The Black Champion went home.

Mánus was growing up a strong lad till he was eighteen years of age. He was going round his father's house. He saw two long-haired women coming to him. He went up to speak to them. One seized him and thrust him

down into a bank of gravel up to the two shoulders. She put spells and crosses upon him that he should find out who the woman was that gave him breast for seven years.

His father could not tell him. The Black Champion could not tell him. The Champion went away with him. They sought everywhere, but nowhere found the slender woman of the green coat. They were one day walking by the sea. They met an old man, and they saw an island out from them. The old man told them that nobody lived in it but three women, and that nobody could cross over to them as there was a monster in the Sound. The monster would leave nothing that it did not drink up, whether boat or man crossing to the island. The Black Champion sprang across the Sound. Månus did likewise. They walked up through the island. They saw a house and went into it. There were two young maidens and an old woman in it. The old woman rose up and rushed up to Månus and kissed him. She told him that she had given him breast for seven years. He and the Black Champion stayed a year and a day in the island. The Champion asked one day if they ever did any tillage. "No," said they. "Though we should do so, there is a wicked monster in the Sound that would drink up the horses and the plough." "We will try, however," said Månus. The Champion went to the wood and cut down timber. They made a plough, and it was large and strong enough. The frame was of alder and the coulter of holly. They got a pair of horses and began to plough. The monster perceived them. She came to the beach and moved up close to them. She drew in her breath and sucked the plough and horses into her mouth. As the plough was so big it stuck cross-wise in her stomach and killed her. They pulled the plough out of her gullet and began to plough again. They raised such a crop as was never raised in the island before. They made ready to go back to their own country. The old woman was not willing that they should go. Prophets

and wizards had said that the monster could never be killed till one came whose name was Mànus. "You are right enough on that score. This is Mànus," said the Black Champion. "The monster is dead now, and we will be going home now. We are a long way from it just now." They went off. The Black Champion to his own home and Mànus to his father's house.

(The abrupt style of the foregoing narrative is easily explained. The story-teller has a slight impediment in his speech, and in consequence of this defect he is given to express himself in short jerky sentences.)

Mànus, the son of the king of Lochlin, is also the hero of a tale known as "The Quest of the Fleece of the Venomous Bennocht" ("Bennocht" may mean "the horned creature.")

The king of Lochlin married. A male child was born to him, but the mother died. He married again. Mànus was the name of the first boy that he had; and he had but one other son and he was Eochaidh. The name of the second wife was Daughter of Ski-skiarlan. The queen disliked Mànus, as he was not her own son. He must be sent away from his father's house. The king was not willing to agree to this, but he feared to go against the queen, and Mànus was sent away. His father sent a ship and crew with him to the Rough End or Head of Lochlin—a district full of wild beasts. A house was built for Mànus here. He improved his condition by degrees; and he destroyed as many of the wild beasts as he could. There were lions there too, and he one day caught a whelp. He trained it carefully, and wherever he went the whelp went with him and helped him greatly. There were animals there too called "The Knife-Eared Sheep." Mànus made pins of wood and fixed them in the ground, and the sheep would be coming down in the night time and lying down on the pins. He caught many of them. These sheep had good wool. He kept the wool till the ships came. He then sold the wool, and was making money in this fashion. Three times

he went to his father's house, but his step-mother never relented in her hatred of him, and the third time he came she bound him under spells to fetch her the Fleece of the Venomous Bennocht from Corcaidh the Red, the son of the King of the Great World. He never halted till he reached the kingdom of the Great World. He climbed up, and there met him a tall man. "Good be to you, son of the king of Lochlin! 'Tis long since you were destined to be seen here. Tell me your errand." "I have come in quest of the fleece of the venomous Bennocht," said M̀anus. "Many a man came in quest of that same that did not get it, and I fear it may be so with you. If ever you get it it will be thus. A company of soldiers keeps guard over it, and the Bennocht is kept in a locked-up house. If you be a good soldier you may kill the guard. Find a horse then and have it shod with playing shoes—four stone weight in each. Mount the horse and ride on with speed to the door. If the horse smite the door with his two hooves and make a little opening thrust in that creature that you have got with you (M̀anus had the lion's whelp with him) and you may get what you are seeking." Twice the horse stood still as he reached the door. But M̀anus gave the horse a stoup of wine and a wheaten loaf, and combed it with the grain and against the grain. The third time the horse smote the door and made an opening in it. The whelp went in and was there for seven days and seven nights. At the end of seven days the whelp and the venomous Bennocht came out and fought with each other in the open. The whelp fell mortally wounded. The Bennocht in contempt defiled the dying whelp, but as he was passing by the head of the whelp the whelp gave a spring and seized his tail and tore it off. The Bennocht fell dead. M̀anus's Counsellor stood by. "I knew this," said he. "There was no way of killing the Bennocht until the three white hairs in his tail should be plucked." The Bennocht was flayed, and M̀anus took the fleece with him across to Lochlin. His step-mother, Ski-skiarlan's

daughter, whom he had placed under a spell at parting, had fallen down by the side of the house a heap of bones. Mànus was telling his father the adventures he had gone through in quest of the fleece, and as he went on with his narrative word by word she was gathering herself together. When he finished his story she stood before him alive and sound. He struck her across the face with the fleece and she fell back dead. Mànus went back to the Rough End of Lochlin to fetch his wife and children. He came back to his father's house and made Eochaidh marry; and all of them were happy together.

If you be all yawning or asleep by this time the weary reader may stop. If not he may use his own discretion as to whether he read or not the short story which concludes this paper.

The king of Lochlin's daughter was in the habit of coming to Scotland every year to set fire to it. She came in a glass apparatus. She used to send word beforehand that she was coming. Yet the people of Scotland were unable to keep her from doing harm. They were very anxious to catch her, but she was too wily for them. After every other plan had been tried in vain it was agreed upon that eighteen pipers should be got together, and that every two of them should face each other, and that the nine couples should stand around so as to form a circle. They were all to play the same tune together, and as the tune was being played each piper was to keep moving round—always facing his partner, so as to make one large circle, formed of nine smaller moving circles. The sight and sound would surely attract the king of Lochlin's daughter. The sight and sound did attract her, and she was seen in her glass gear hovering right overhead, evidently listening to the pipes and gazing at the strange sight beneath. She also began to go round and round. This made her dizzy, and she fell in her glass gear right into the middle of the pipers and was dashed to pieces. The woods of Scotland were safe ever after.

A LIST OF NON-GAELIC PLACE-NAMES IN THE ISLAND
OF MINGULAY, NEAR BARRA-HEAD.

The Gaelic spelling of Mingulay would be Miodhulaidh, and it might well be the "Middle Isle."

Híarigeo.

Iskir.

Gist ("g" hard).

Lámarigeo.

Sūnadu (ü like "oo").

Söälum (an island).

Annalip ("—lip"), pronounced like Scotch "lip"—a compromise between
"lip" and "lup."

Brándalip.

Söälip.

Clet Iuglais.

Hōnna (like o in tone), or Sōnna or Tōnna.

Gúärsay (u=oo), not an island.

Cátärsay (not an island).

Sówseret.

Kiasigeo. (There is an Island Kiasamul.)

Lianamul (an island).

Aoinig (pronounced French, ú-neek).

Bilacrek.

Sūnägir (u=oo).

Arnimul (an island).

Gōnnamul (like o in bone), an islet.

Ho-isp.

Bennish, or Bannish (a point).

Háishigeo (the ai diphthong).

Gí-i-nish (a point), ("g" hard, i=ee).

Gí-rum (an island).

Lū-ar (u=oo), a small islet.

Hemmish, or Semmish, or Temmish.

Skipisdal.

Grän.

Shěh-i-geo.

Tremmis-geo.

Yōh-ri.

Bili-bíbish (all i's=ee).

Hó-ă-ret, or Tó-ă-ret, or Só-ă-ret (*cf.* Sow-sěret or Sows-aret).

Enn-yir, or Án-yir (the landing place).

Hílibrick.

Suinlish.

Gūnarsay (*cf.* Catarsay and Guarsay), not an island.

Lāikigeo (diphthong).

Căhăs-dal.

Rów-rye (ow like in down), or Trow-rye, or Srow-rye.

Clet Annsa.

Hechcla, or Hecla (a hill).

Alävi.

Sheōw-a-dal.

Grēotas.

Sūinsibost.

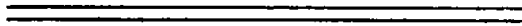
Orăcri.

Háwshŭm, or Sáwshŭm, or Táwshŭm.

Ugráiny.

Líanacui.

This list might be increased.



STONE CIRCLES AND OTHER RUDE STONE MONUMENTS OF GREAT BRITAIN.¹

BY A. L. LEWIS.

PART I.

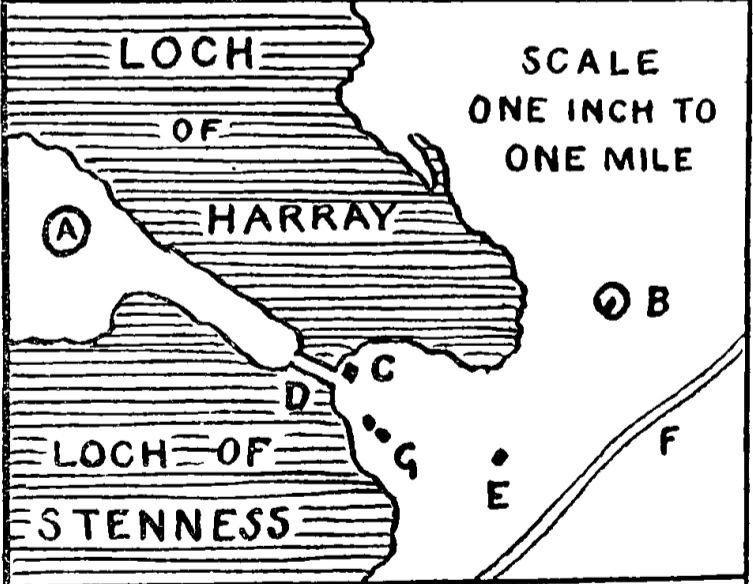
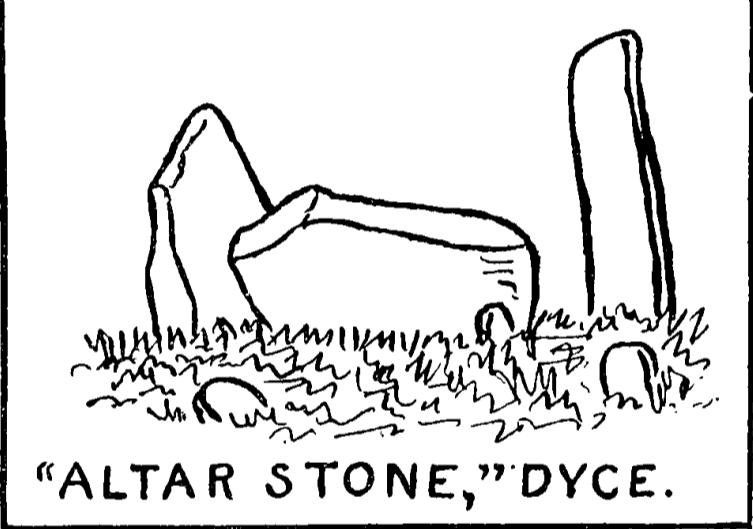
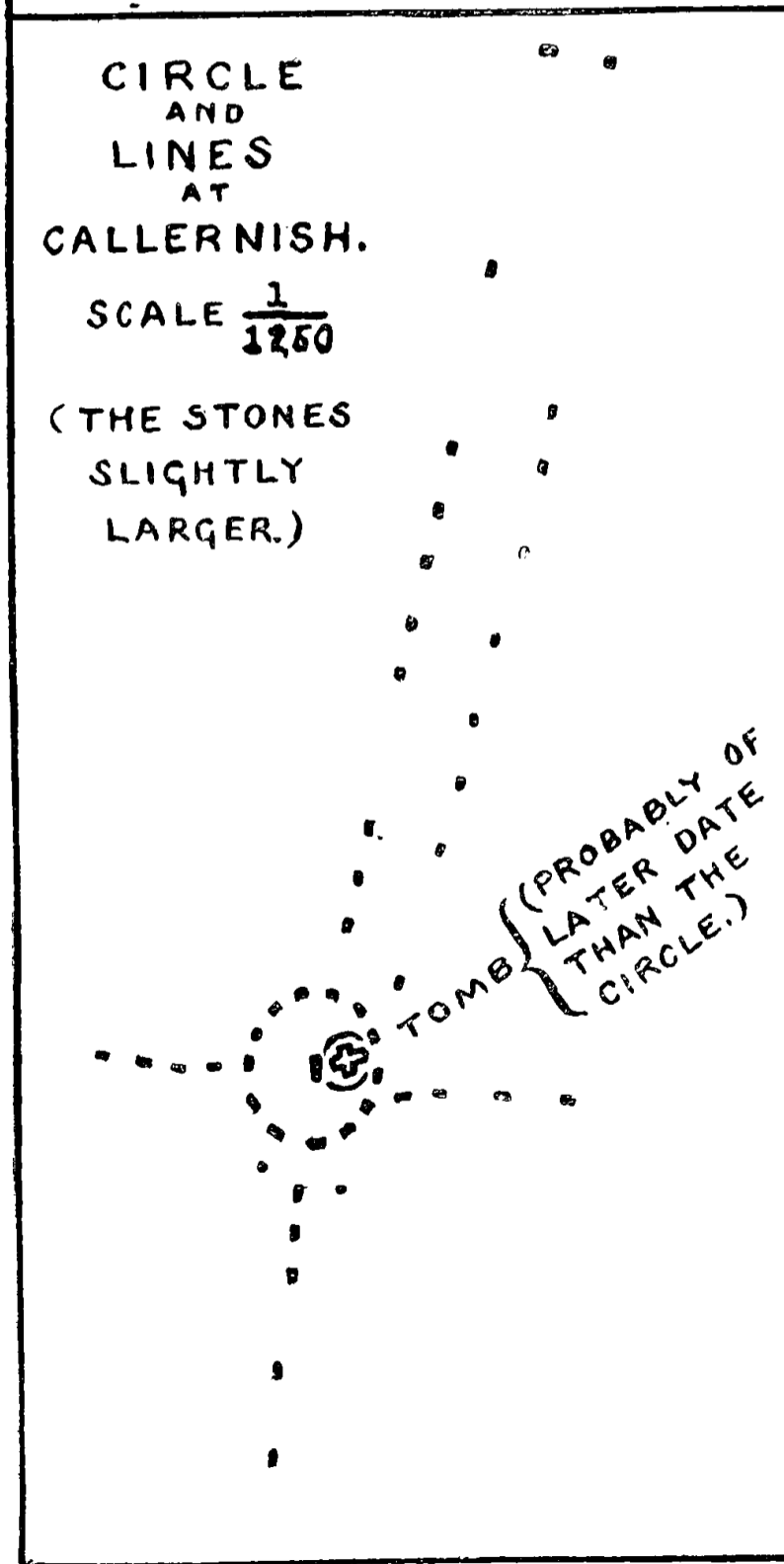
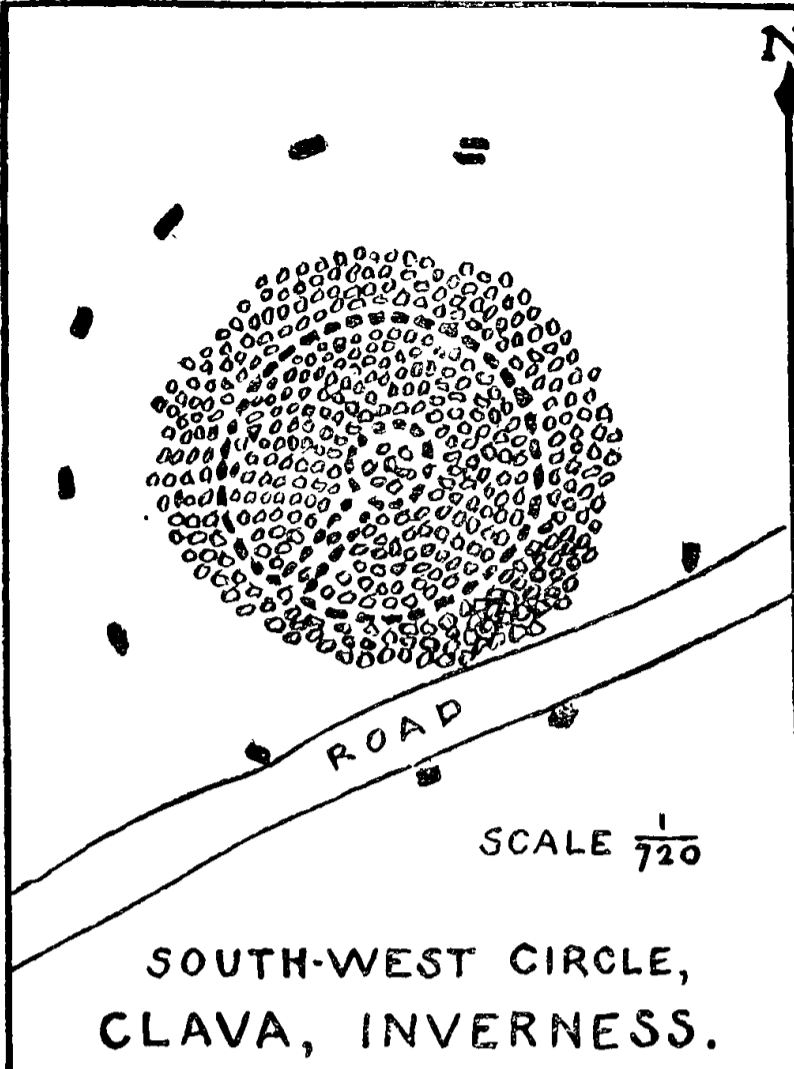
THE author exhibited and described a number of lantern slides of views and plans of stone circles, etc. Beginning at Stonehenge, of which he exhibited four slides, he pointed out the two stones which fell at the end of the nineteenth century, and the tallest stone of all, which, after being in a leaning position for several centuries, was restored to its original upright condition in 1901. The leaning position of this stone was attributed to reckless digging by the Duke of Buckingham in 1620, but Mr. Lewis showed copies of old drawings which proved that the stone was leaning before 1588, so that the fall of the central trilithon had certainly occurred before that, though how long before was still uncertain. He directed special attention to the single stone, called the Friar's Heel, standing outside the circles, and marking approximately the point at which those standing inside the circles saw the sun rise on Midsummer day, and remarked that, even if this stone were not there, the circles and the earthworks connected with them were so arranged as to direct attention to that particular quarter. Sir Norman Lockyer thought, from astronomical calculations based on the direction of the avenue of earth banks leading from Stonehenge to and beyond the "Friar's Heel," that the circles were constructed about 1600 B.C., and Mr. Gowland, who had superintended the re-erection

¹ Read at the meeting on November 7th, 1902.

of the leaning stone, arrived at a very similar conclusion from the remains found by him during that operation ; but the lecturer pointed out that no circle, except Stonehenge, possessed transverse stones connecting the tops of the uprights, or exhibited so much work on the stones themselves, and suggested that these differences indicated a later date, and that the present ruin was probably that of a reconstruction of an earlier group which stood on the same spot.

About twenty miles north from Stonehenge is the village of Avebury, which, unhappily, occupies the site, and is mostly built with the stones of the grandest collection of circles that ever existed. Of the few stones remaining, Mr. Lewis exhibited four views. This monument consisted, firstly, of a roughly circular bank of earth as large as a railway embankment, inside it a deep and broad ditch, and inside that a ring, 1,100 or 1,200 feet in diameter, composed of one hundred enormous stones ; inside this great circle were two double concentric circles, each about 300 feet in diameter. There was a shrine in the middle of the northern inner circles consisting of three huge stones, forming three sides of a square, the open side of which was to the north-east, in the direction of the mid-summer sunrise. From the circles two avenues, each more than a mile long, stretched to the south-east and south-west respectively, and between them, a mile due south from the circles, was Silbury Hill, the largest artificial mound in Europe. A view of this was thrown on the screen. There is no record of interments being found inside the circles at Avebury, though there have been plenty outside.

The circle which least remotely resembles Avebury is Arborlow, in Derbyshire. Like Avebury, it is surrounded by a high embankment with a deep ditch inside, but there is only one circle of stones, all fallen flat, except one, which is leaning. As at Avebury, so at Arborlow, there was, near the centre of the circle, a "cove," or shrine, of three stones forming three sides of a square, the open



- A. RING OF BROGAR.
- B. MAESHOWE.
- C. WATCH-STONE
- D. BRIDGE OF BROGAR.
- E. BARNHOUSE STONE.
- F. ROAD FROM KIRKWALL
TO STROMNESS.
- G. REMAINS OF STENNESS
CIRCLE.

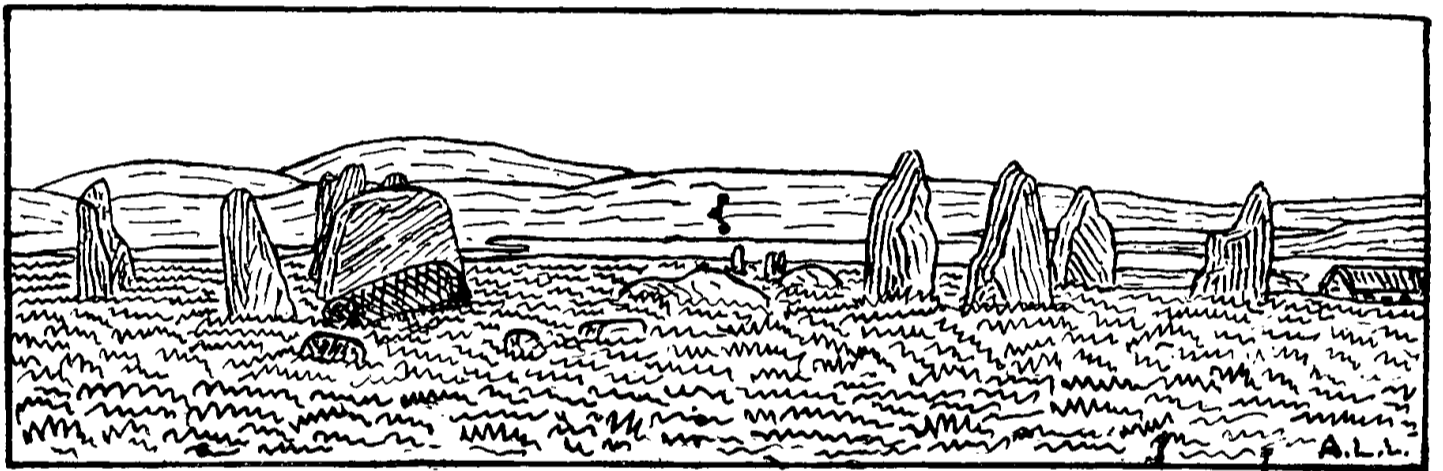
FIG. I.

side of which faced north of east—perhaps to the rising sun at Beltane, or Mayday. Here also, as at Avebury, it seems certain that the structure was not made for a place of burial, for, though recent excavations have unearthed a skeleton, it was obviously of much later date than the circle itself. Part of the embankment was formed into a tumulus for burial, apparently in the bronze age, but that was no part of the original plan. Five views of this circle were shown.

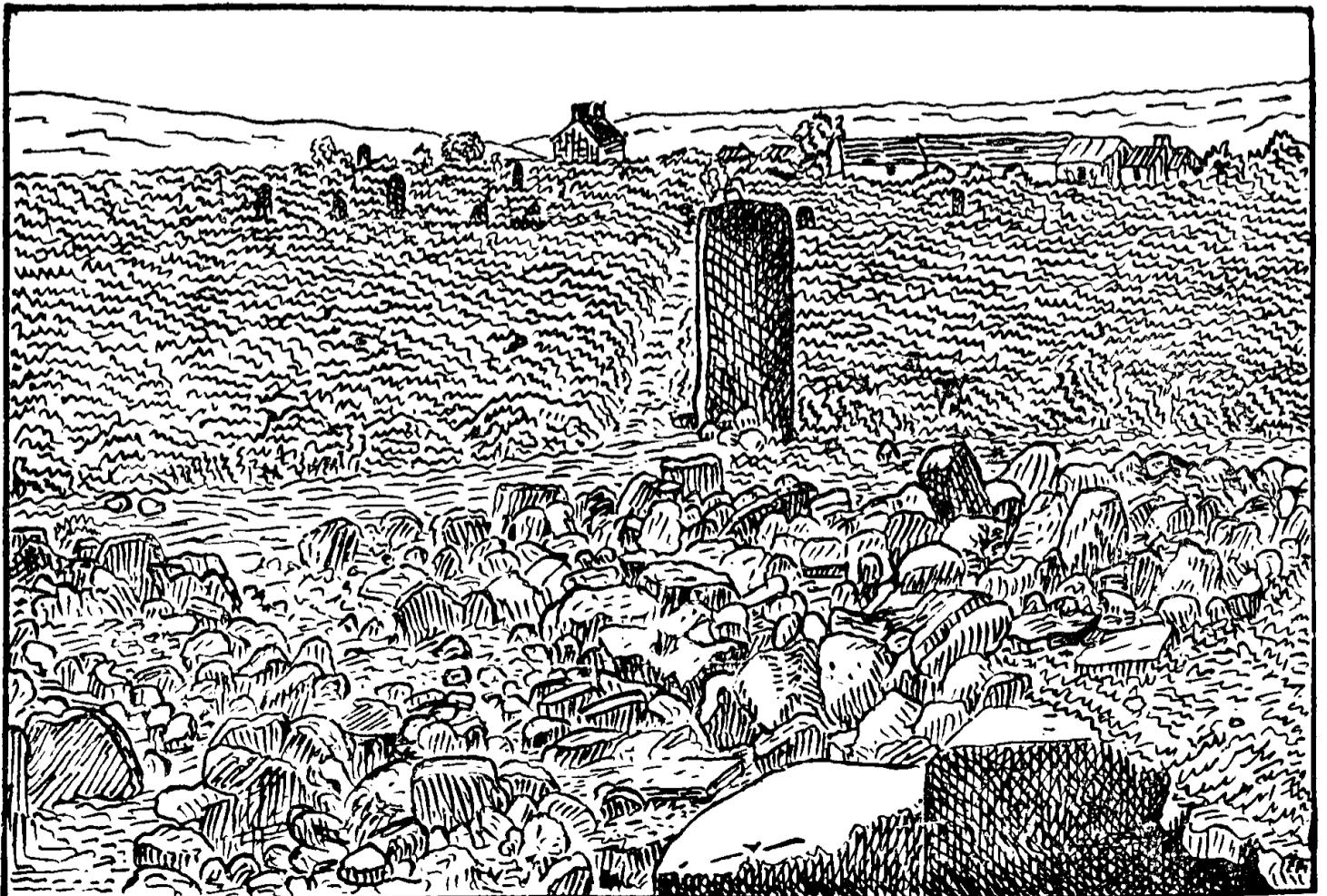
Passing by the Rollrich circle in Oxfordshire (a single circle with an outlying stone to the north-east, but without ditch or embankment), Mr. Lewis exhibited a plan and view of the circles at Stanton Drew, near Bristol, which, he said, ranked next in order of importance to Avebury and Stonehenge. There are three circles, a separate “cove” or shrine of three stones, and some outlying stones; these are so arranged that one of the outlying stones is in a straight line with the centres of the south-western and great circles, and that the “cove” is in a straight line in another direction from the centres of the north-eastern and great circles. What is still more remarkable is that the distances between the circles, “cove,” and stone taken along these lines are in fixed proportions (allowing only six inches in every hundred feet for errors of workmanship. Thus the length of the straight line from the centre of the “cove” through that of the great circle to the centre of the north-eastern circle is 14 diameters of the north-eastern circle; the length of the straight line from the centre of the great circle to the single stone, called “Hautville’s Quoit,” is 19 diameters of the north-eastern circle, or 5 diameters of the great circle; while the length of the straight line from the centre of the south-western circle through that of the great circle to “Hautville’s Quoit” is 7 diameters of the great circle. The diameter of the north-eastern circle is the same as that of the outer circle at Stonehenge—100 of an ancient foot of about $11\frac{2}{3}$ inches, or 97 English feet. The diameter of the south-western circle is 150, and that of the



CIRCLE AND LINES AT CALLERNISH, FROM S. E.



CIRCLE NEAR CALLERNISH.



VIEW FROM TOP OF N.E. CAIRN CLAVA INVERNESS

great circle 380, of the same feet. The diameters of the great circle and north-eastern circle are therefore in the proportion of 19 to 5, and the number 19 may refer to the metonic cycle of 19 years, the period in which the sun and stars come round to the same relative position in the heavens, and may therefore indicate that the Stanton Drew monument was the circular temple of Apollo, described by Hecataeus as existing in an island over against Gaul in the fourth, or perhaps in the sixth, century B.C.

After mentioning some small circles in Dorsetshire, Mr. Lewis exhibited eight slides of circles and other remains on Dartmoor, pointing out that the "stone rows"—single or double lines of stones extending for considerable distances over the moor—were practically confined to Dartmoor, as they did not really resemble the lines and avenues of stones found elsewhere, with which they were frequently compared. The Scorhill circle had an outstanding stone to the north-east, and the hill called Thornworthy Tor was in the same direction from the Fernworthy circle, and these probably fulfilled the same function as the "Friar's Heel" at Stonehenge. The Fernworthy circle had been recently explored, but no burials had been found in it, so it was obviously not a sepulchral monument.

Mr. Lewis then spoke of the three circles called the "Hurlers," near Liskeard, in Cornwall, and exhibited nine views of remains on Bodmin moors. Amongst these were five circles which appeared to have been arranged in lines with one another, and with the three principal hills on the moors, which were also the highest hills in Cornwall. The distances between these circles were also in certain proportions to each other, and to the diameters of the circles themselves; and, difficult though it might be to believe that the builders of these rude monuments had planned and measured the distances over such rough country, it seemed still more difficult to believe that the coincidences which undoubtedly existed were purely accidental, especially in view of the similar coincidences pointed out at Stanton Drew and elsewhere.

Six slides of circles and other remains in the Land's-End district were the next to be exhibited, the most curious of which was the "Men-an-tol," or holed stone—a standing stone with a hole about two feet in diameter through it, through which people quite recently crawled nine times to obtain relief from rheumatism, rickets, etc. It was probably surrounded by a circle of small standing stones, as some still remain *in situ*.

There are some not very large circles in Wales and Shropshire, and some in Cumberland, and a view of one of the latter, near Keswick, was shown; it is about the size of Stonehenge, but the stones are much smaller, though larger than those of the circles in Cornwall. The most interesting feature in the view was the apparently triple summit of Blencathra mountain, situated to the north-east of the circle, just as the triple summit of "Brown Willy" in Cornwall appeared to the east of the Stannon circle on Bodmin moor. The Swinside circle in Cumberland has recently been dug over, and found not to have been a place of burial.

From Cumberland to the west coast of Scotland is not a great distance, and four views of small circles in Arran, and one of a double circle in the island of Lewis were exhibited. These seemed to have been chiefly tombs, though one in Arran had been found to be non-sepulchral, and the highest hills in the island, nearly 3,000 feet high, were prominent to the north-east of it.

The most important circle on the west coast of Scotland is at Callernish, on the west side of the island of Lewis, shown in Figures 1 and 2. It consists of a circle 42 feet in diameter, from which radiate single lines, east, west, and south, and two lines in a direction a little east of north. The tallest stone (17 feet high) is in the centre of the circle, and it has been found that on looking at it from the south along the top of the southern line the eye is directed to the pole-star. The western of the two northern lines is 294 feet long from the centre stone—that is just seven diameters of the circle; there

is a tomb inside the circle, most likely of a later date than the circle itself, and the eastern of the two northern lines may have been set up when the tomb was made, as it has rather a secondary appearance. After the tomb was made the place was deserted, and five feet of peat grew up around the stones; this was cleared away nearly fifty years ago, but the point to which it grew is still clearly shown on the stones. Here also is a triple hill to the north-east.

Mr. Lewis then exhibited seven slides (Fig. 1) representing Stenness, Brogar, and Maeshow, in Orkney, in illustration of the following paper by Mr. Magnus Spence, and pointed out another group of three hills to the north-east of the Ring of Brogar. One of the slides showed the watchstone in line with the door of Maeshow's central chamber (Fig. 5). He also said there was no evidence that Maeshow had been intended or used as a tomb, and that it rather resembled some of the ancient dwellings in the island of Lewis.

PART II.

Returning from Orkney by the east coast, Inverness and Aberdeen are the first places of importance arrived at, and these cities are the centres of two large and interesting groups of circles, both of which are different, not only from the other, but from all others. The Inverness type consists of a large cairn containing a chamber, which was originally roofed by courses of stones getting smaller and smaller, till the top could be closed by a single stone. This cairn opened by a passage in a southerly direction, and was surrounded by a close circle of smallish stones as a retaining wall, outside which was an open ring of large stones, of which the highest was usually at the south-west. When the smaller stones of the cairn have been taken away the larger stones which formed the foundation of the chamber and cairn present the appearance of two concentric inner circles. There have been perhaps forty such circles in the Inverness district, and none anywhere else, unless indeed New Grange, in Ireland, which is very

much larger, but not unlike in plan, be classed with them. The Aberdeen type has a small cist, covered by a slight tumulus, in the middle of an open circle of large stones; its distinguishing feature is a long stone, commonly called the "altar-stone" (though it could never have been used as an altar), standing on its edge, almost always at the south, and filling up the space between the two tallest stones of the circle. There have been perhaps fifty circles of this type in the Aberdeen district, and none anywhere

(From the Journal of the Anthropological Institute.)



FIG. 3.—ARBORLOW, FROM THE TUMULUS, LOOKING S.W.

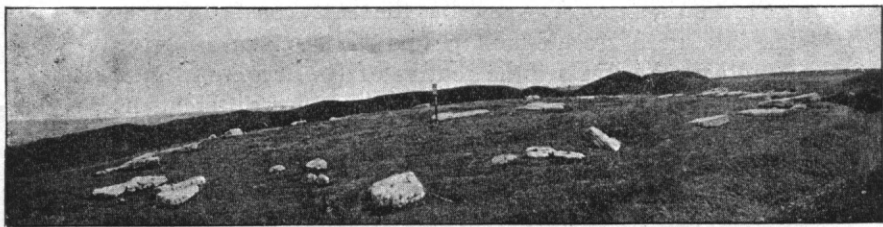


FIG. 4.—ARBORLOW, LOOKING S.E. TO THE TUMULUS.

else. All the circles of these types were obviously constructed for sepulchral purposes, but their construction is also suitable for rites and ceremonies, which would probably be in the direction of ancestor-worship. Two hundred years ago there was a local tradition, running back as far as the memory of man, that the Aberdeen circles had been places of worship in heathen times. Besides the circles of these types there are some small single circles both in the Inverness and Aberdeen districts. Four slides illustrating

the peculiarities of these circles were exhibited (see Fig. 1).

The south-east of Scotland once possessed many rude stone monuments, but Sir James Young Simpson, as President of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, had to lament forty years ago that they had nearly all been destroyed, so the next two slides depicted the great menhir, or standing stone, in Rudston churchyard (Yorkshire). This is the tallest in Britain—more than 25 feet above ground, and nobody knows how many more than 16 feet below ground—over forty feet of length in all.

The Rudston menhir stands in the churchyard, at the north-east of the church; and, at Stanton Drew in Somersetshire, the parish church stands on the line from the “cove” or shrine to the centres of the great and north-eastern circles (see Part I.). Here then are two instances of Christian churches being placed in direct connection with the monuments of an earlier religion, and in such a manner as to occupy the ground and the attention previously devoted to the older cult.

It has been remarked that, if a line be drawn from the mouth of the Humber to Southampton, all the rude stone monuments in the country will be found to the west of that line, except a small group in the east of Kent, and a view of the best known of these—Kit’s Coty House—was exhibited. As in so many other cases, the purpose of this monument is much disputed; some think it to be the last remains of a great tomb-chamber, which would have had a passage leading to it, and have been covered with a great mound like that of Maeshowe. Mr. Lewis, however, considered it to be a “cove,” or shrine of three stones, such as they had seen at Avebury and elsewhere, with the addition of a cover; like that at Stanton Drew, it faces south-east to the rising sun in winter, and the covering would therefore be useful in bad weather.

The last slide exhibited was a photographic view of a trilithon in the island of Tonga in the Pacific. This erection had often been spoken of as resembling Stonehenge; but the picture showed that the points of differ-

ence were more numerous than those of resemblance ; and this, Mr. Lewis said, was found on investigation to be the case with regard to all the monuments in which a resemblance to Stonehenge had been traced, whether among the Khasias in the north of India, or in the Balearic Islands, or in Tripoli. Stonehenge therefore remained unique, not only in Great Britain, but, so far as was known, in the whole world.

In conclusion, Mr. Lewis said, they had seen that the circles differed very much one from the other in size,

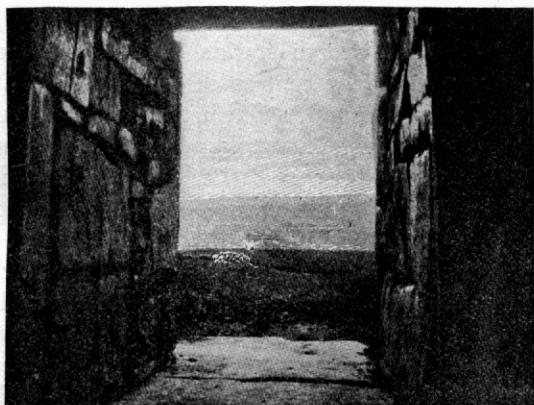


FIG. 5.

arrangement, and possibly in age. Some were constructed primarily as tombs, since the burial cists and chambers were in the middle of them, and formed an essential part of their plan ; but there were others, and those the largest, in which no burials, or only later, and, so to speak, accidental interments, had existed ; and these, by their relation to outstanding stones, or to other circles, or to adjacent hills, or by some internal arrangement or other, seemed to indicate some sort of observance of the sun, or the pole-star, or it might have been of the " great bear," by directing attention to the east, or to the north, or to some point of the horizon between east and north. Rude as these structures appeared to be, some of them seemed to have been carefully measured in definite proportions.

MAESHOW AND THE STANDING
STONES, STENNESS :
THEIR AGE AND PURPOSE.¹

By M. SPENCE.

BY far the most interesting group of stone circles in Scotland is that of Stenness, Orkney. In Great Britain it is only surpassed in grandeur and magnificence by Stonehenge ; but this may only be apparent, for, if the group which retains most of its original alignments and the characteristics by which the purpose of its erection can be made out deserves the name, then the Stenness group claims the first place.

Many and diverse theories have been entertained regarding their origin and purpose, but as time passes there seems a more general consensus of opinion that the circles, and some at least of the monoliths were erected for astronomical purposes, and of these sun worship was the chief. The circles of Stenness stand on an undulating moorland, between the lochs of Stenness and Harray. The parish of Stenness derives its name from these stones, which stand to-day as they stood in the ninth century, when the Norsemen found them, and called them the Steins on the Ness (Stenness), as this parish is so characteristically designated.

These grey sentinels of a period long prior to the raiding incursions of the Norsemen stand on a slightly rising ground, with a view of the horizon less interrupted by hills than that of any other low level site on the Mainland of Orkney. The writer has been engaged in a

¹ Read at the meeting on November 7th, 1902.

series of observations extending over a period of twelve years, which may with advantage be offered to the consideration and discussion of those interested in the subject. These observations have only been made as opportunity offered, and as the investigations naturally developed. Encouraged, however, by the work Sir N. Lockyer has undertaken in regard to the astronomical theory of Stonehenge, which was published in *Nature*, November 21st, 1901, and finding that his calculations agree pretty closely with those made by the writer in June, 1899, it seems opportune to make the results known.

We are not here concerned with the different theories which have been supported by various archæologists regarding the origin of these megalithic remains; we shall only give a few of the statements regarding the astronomical theory which historians have recorded. To prove that the Norsemen found these circles when they took possession of the Orkneys we need only state that, in the *Orkneyinga Saga*, it is related that after a battle fought in Stenness between Havard and his nephew it was suggested that the parish should no longer be named Stenness, but Havardsteiger. This took place in 970.

Boethius, the historian, about the end of the fifteenth century, in his life of Maimus, observed that the people called these huge stones, drawn together in the form of circles, the ancient temples of the gods.

Professor Gorden of Aberdeen, in 1692, describes the circles of standing stones, and goes on to state what was known about them. "They are generally regarded by the people as places of pagan worship."

Sheriff Brand, the historian of Orkney, says in 1701: "Many of the people do say that the larger was the circle of the sun, and the smaller that of the moon, and were worshipped by the pagan inhabitants of these isles. They are thought to be high places of pagan idolatry, whereon sacrifices were offered." He also says: "Almost every family had a brownie or evil spirit, which served them; to whom they gave sacrifices for his services, as when

they churned they took a part and sprinkled every corner of the house, for the brownie's use. When they brewed they had a stone with a hole in which they poured some wort for a sacrifice. When not sacrificed to, the ale fell dead." All these minor brownies have disappeared in place-names ; but, strange to say, the only place where we know the name to have a permanent hold is the slope immediately adjoining the standing stones, and the farmer of Brodgar speaks of it to this day as Brownie ; showing that the sacrifices here were of a more imposing and popular nature than the less known family brownies.

There are two circles, the larger called the Brodgar and the smaller the Stenness circle. The Brodgar circle has a diameter of 366ft., surrounded by a large ditch 29ft. wide and 9ft. deep, with two bridge passages facing each other in a N.W. and S.E. direction. The circle stands 14ft. from the edge of the trench. The stones stand at various distances apart. Some are 22ft., others 19½ft., and a few are only 12ft. It is not possible, without considerable excavation, to number them correctly, as only sixteen remain in position, and a few are prostrate ; but taking the average distance as 19½ft., and the diameter as 330ft., it gives us about fifty-two stones, which correspond to the weeks in the year. An immense amount of soil must have been removed from this huge trench. There is no evidence that it has been used inside for levelling purposes. No doubt the whole was carried off to form those beautiful mounds in the immediate vicinity.

The second megalithic circle, Stenness, stands about seventy chains to the S.E. of the Brodgar one. It consists of two standing stones 18ft. in height. There is a third lying prostrate, but shorter and heavier. Two stumps are still *in loco*. There is a trench surrounding the circle, but almost obliterated on the south side, which has induced some antiquarians to call it a crescent. Near this, in a N.E. direction, stood the famous perforated

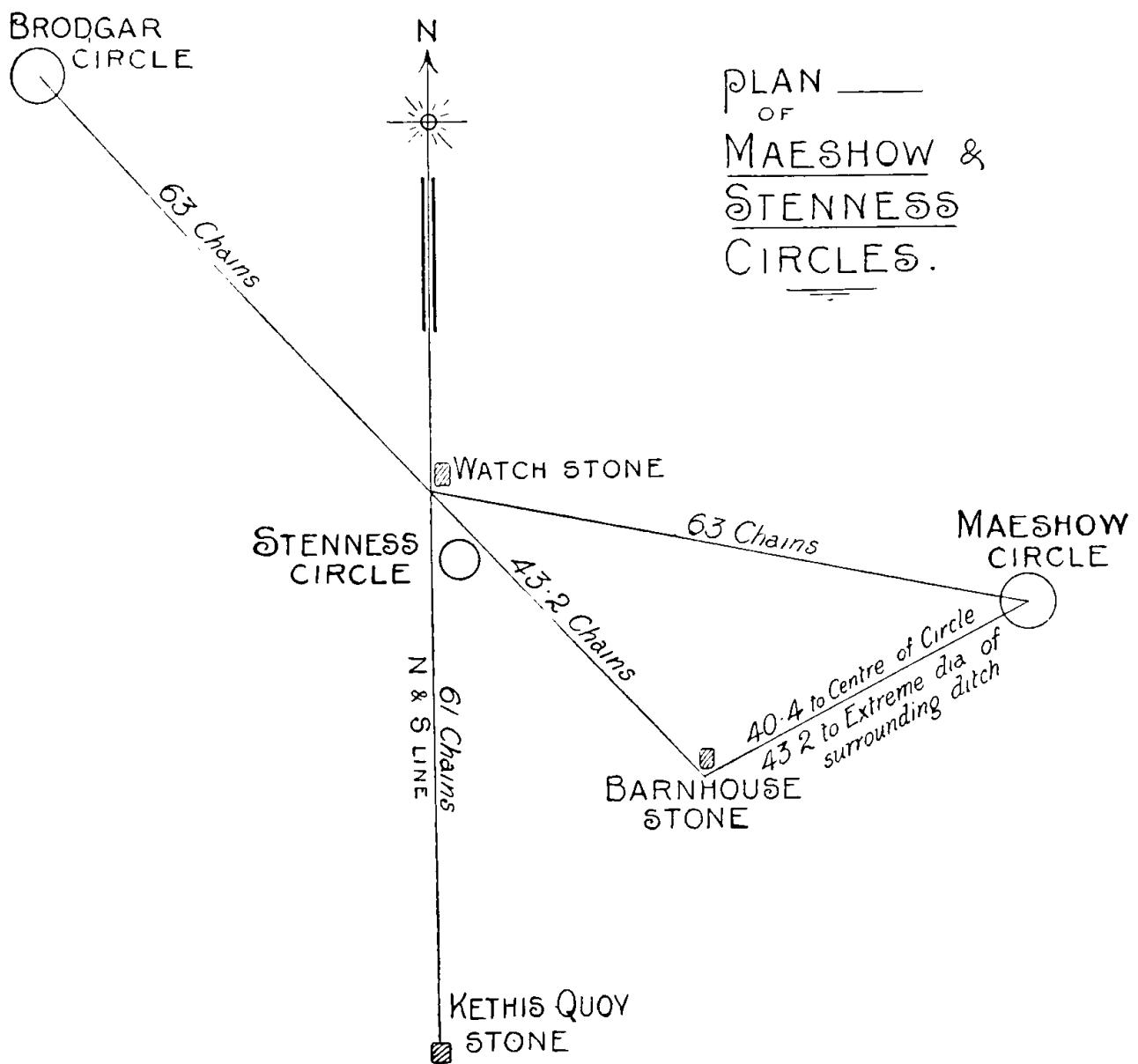
Stone of Odin, whilst to the N.W. stands the Watchstone, sixty-three chains from the larger circle. It stands 18ft. above ground. Another solitary monolith—the Barnhouse Stone—stands 43.2 chains to the S.E. of the Watchstone, and both, with the centre of the larger circle, form an alignment pointing to sunset about the Beltane feast, and to the rising sun at the winter solstice. Then, in a line directly south of the Watchstone—61 chains—a monolith was recently found embedded in 5ft. of moss, with socket underneath. This formed an important N. and S. alignment.

Maeshow, a chambered mound which has always been regarded as sepulchral, intrudes itself where one would hardly expect it in this investigation. No archæologist would ever have thought of associating it so closely with the circles as to connect them for time and purpose. But they are bound by indissoluble links, which no one can examine without observing that the plan of the circles and Maeshow have been carefully arranged for a special purpose.

Maeshow stands in the immediate neighbourhood of these circles. It is a large chambered mound, built of carefully selected stones of massive proportions. The chamber is 15ft. by 15ft. by 15ft., and has four large stones set up, one in each corner, to act as buttresses for the gradually contracted roof, which, like many constructions of the same age, had the walls drawn in beehive shape to an opening small enough for a single stone to cover. On each of three sides there is a carefully built recess about 3ft. above ground, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. by $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. The entrance, which is on the S.W. side and on the level of the floor, leads through a passage 54ft. long. The inner part of this passage is lined and covered with three huge stones of dimensions equal to the largest of those forming the circles. About a third of the way through the passage there is a suitable niche for closing the howe against intruders, with a recess for the large stone which was no doubt used—a pretty satisfactory proof that

Maeshow was originally built to enable the occupants to safely fortify themselves against intruders, and not for sepulchral purposes, as many would have us believe.

Maeshow is a huge mound 100ft. in diameter, 36ft. high, and is evidently placed on an artificial platform of the debris removed from the immense ditch which surrounds it. This ditch is 26ft. in width, and, although almost filled up now, must have been once of consider-



able depth. There is a simple earthwork of divots and stones rising in some instances to 4 or 5 ft.

The situation of Maeshow is exceedingly swampy, but this difficulty has been overcome by raising the enclosed space above the swamp by artificial means. This has been done to the extent of 5 or 6ft. The diameter of the enclosed space, including ditch, is 290ft. Now a very important question arises here. Why was this naturally

swampy spot chosen for one of the most important chambered mounds in Western Europe, when hundreds of suitable sites could be found within half a mile of its position? The answer must be that the intended alignments, with the other circles and monoliths, allowed of no other site, without disarranging the symmetry of the whole structural plan for observational purposes. The long passage of Maeshow is contracted at the outer doorway to $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. by $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. When an observer takes up a position at the innermost part of the chamber, beside the central cell, and looks out through the passage, his view is very limited. In the centre of this view stands the monolith of Barnhouse—a stone 13ft. by 4ft. This stone stands 40.4 chains from the position the observer occupies at the inner cell of Maeshow. This important alignment points to the solstitial summer sunrise as it occurred when Maeshow was built, and within $1\frac{1}{2}$ deg. of the present sunrise. Now it is a fact, although not a well-known one, that owing to secular changes in the earth's movements, as pointed out by Sir William Hamilton in his "Natural Philosophy," and Sir Norman Lockyer in his "Dawn of Astronomy," the sun does not rise exactly relatively to alignments on land as it did centuries ago. The present solstitial sunrise is S. of its former position. In other words, it rose seven thousand years ago 3 deg. 32 min. N. of where it rises now. Then, assuming that this important alignment was originally planned by sun-worshippers to point to the rising sun on midsummer morning, it must now point slightly to the N. of that position. This is exactly what we find it does. On the morning of the 23rd June, 1899—the first clear morning after the solstitial sunrise—two friends and the writer erected a pole on the centre of the mound of Maeshow, which was also that of the chamber, and placed two more in line with Barnhouse stone, and we chose our position to wait the sunrise, about 30 chains from Maeshow, near the Turmiston Burn, where the pole on Maeshow stood partly above the

horizon. When the first tip of the sun appeared above the horizon the angle it made with the Maeshow alignment, as measured with a sextant, was 1 deg. $4\frac{1}{2}$ min. It has been objected that the temple-builders would have erected their alignments to correspond with the sunrise on the true horizon, and not on the visible one. But even were their astronomical knowledge and powers of computations developed to the necessary extent, surely the moment of actual sunrise was the time which would appeal most forcibly to their intellectual conceptions. The actual angle of 1 deg. $4\frac{1}{2}$ min., as worked out by Professor Pirie, Aberdeen, who has taken much interest in this theory, gives the age of Maeshow and neighbouring circles as 915 B.C. This, then, is the date as correctly as the instruments at our disposal could reckon it, when these temples were erected by the Orcadian sun-worshippers. The angle made between the alignment and the half risen sun was 1 deg. 50 min., giving the age 2900 B.C., which throws the date too far into the Stone Age to be worthy of any serious attention.

We need not trouble ourselves here about this difficulty, that most archæologists have assigned Maeshow to the Stone Period and the circles to the Bronze Age, for these clear and unmistakable alignments leave us no option but to assign them to the same age. Too much, we think, has been made of the sweeping classifications which embrace all chambered mounds, whether of the Bronze or Stone Ages, in the category of burial chambers. Surely a chamber of this type, unrivalled for its magnificence, and having characteristics quite its own, as in its unique cells, the magnitude of its area, the amplitude and beauty of the carefully selected stones with which it is built and chiefly from the absence of grave-goods, leaves us a free hand to suggest that the primary object the builders had in view was to build a magnificent temple for Sun-worship, although they may have had a secondary, viz., sepulture.

The summer solstitial sunrise alignment points in the

opposite direction to a well-marked feature in the Hoy Hills, where the sun sets a few weeks—two or three—before the winter solstitial sunset. This spot, if viewed from the Watchstone, gives the exact position of the winter solstitial sunset.

Some remarkable coincidences take place in the various measurements of this group:—

The distance from nearer circumference of larger circle to Watchstone is	...	...	...	63 chains.
From Watchstone to centre of Maeshow	...	...	...	63 „
From Watchstone to Barnhouse Stone	...	...	...	43.2 „
From Barnhouse Stone to outer circumference of circle round Maeshow	...	...	...	43 2 „
From Barnhouse Stone to centre of Maeshow	...	...	...	40 4 „

Who this race of people was who had so far advanced in domestic and religious life as to unite their communal interests in rearing a magnificent temple to those powers which resuscitated vegetable life, ameliorated the rigours of a severe climate, fructified the products of the earth, and vivified all nature we know not. The massive blocks that form the circles reared their heads, and the polished buttressed walls of Maeshow were finished in prehistoric architectural beauty, long ere the prows of Cæsar's ships touched the British strand; yea, long ere the City of Rome had developed beyond a village of huts. Who they were we may never be able to discover; an extinct race, an extinct religion, a state of society and a class of enterprises which the world saw once, but will never see again. They were a race whose annals have been long since irretrievably lost. These men lived in aggregates and worked in unison, inspired by the same religious beliefs in erecting these megalithic temples which have stood through long ages, and have hitherto been little more than phantoms which few archæologists understood. Dr. Ferguson says: "It seems inconceivable that a few shepherds scattered over the Wiltshire downs could have required a temple five times the area of St. Peter's at Rome." Temples are not, however, built according to the number

of worshippers, nor according to the wealth of the age in which they are built, but according to the religious zeal and fervour of the worshippers. It is said, with no doubt some truth, that "ignorance is the mother of devotion." Could it be otherwise with man during the period of primitive civilisation? It is not likely. The man of thirty centuries ago lived in abodes almost underground, clad in the skin of the chase, inured to the hardships of the nomadic life of a huntsman, with no other pursuits than his daily wants necessitated.

One star—the Pole Star—apparently is immovable. To it he sets up a stone in alignment with one of the other monoliths—the Watchstone. The moon in her varied phases exercises an unaccountable control over the ever-changing sea in all her different moods. To her he erects a temple—the smaller circle. The sun rising every morning, out of the depths of the ocean, riding in his chariot drawn by his fiery steeds, adorned with beautiful gems, whose sparkling splendour shimmers over the world, is their chief object of adoration. The two solstitial periods are watched for with fervid interest when sacrifices are offered up on the Sun altar of Maeshow to intercede with the fire-god to renew his course in the heavens once more. Notwithstanding the fact that it is nearly 3000 years since this system in all its fulness was systematically symbolised in Orkney, it became engrafted in the habits, customs, and worship of the people to such an extent that many of them survive to the present day. A few of these are our Yule feasts, Christmas log, midsummer bonfires, Hallow E'en superstitious rites, and boar's head dinner, which was symbolic of the sun surrounded with his bristling beams. Our Christmas times, with all their hallowed associations and religious sentiment, have the same origin.

THE LAY OF THRYM.

TRANSLATED FROM THE OLD ICELANDIC BY

BEATRICE HELEN BARMBY.

WROTH was then Wing-Thor when he awoke
And found himself of his hammer bereft.
His beard he shook, and his locks he tossed,
And the Son of Earth groped round and round.
This was the word that first he spoke :
“ Harken now, Loki, what now I tell,
Which no one knows, nor on earth below,
Nor in upper heaven. The God’s hammer is stolen ! ”

Then to fair Freyja’s bower they went,
And this was the word that first he spoke :
“ Wilt thou lend me, Freyja, thy feather-fell
That I my hammer may find again ? ”

“ Ay, I would give it thee were it of gold,
And ay would grant it thee were it of silver ! ”

Then flew Loki, the feather-fell rustled,
Till forth he came from the garth of the Gods,
And in he came to the Giant-land.
Thrym sat on a howe, the Lord of Giants,
Golden bands for his greyhounds plaiting,
And clipping even the manes of his mares.
This was the word that first he spoke :
“ How is’t with the Gods, how is’t with the elves ?
Why com’st thou alone into Giant-land ? ”

“’Tis ill with the Gods, ’tis ill with the elves,
Hast thou not hidden the Thunderer’s hammer?”

“I have hidden the Thunderer’s hammer
Eight miles deep down under the earth.
Never a man shall gain it back
Except he bring me Freyja to wife!”

Then flew Loki, the feather-fell rustled,
Till forth he came from the Giant-land,
And in he came to the garth of the Gods.
Thor he met amidst of the court,—
This was the word that first he spoke :
“Hast thou tidings to pay thy toil?
Speak out thy news where aloft thou flyest,
For he who speaks sitting oft halts in his story,
And he who speaks lying oft stoops to a lie.”

“I have tidings to pay my toil,
Thrym has thy hammer, the Lord of Giants,
Never a man shall gain it back
Except he bring him Freyja to wife.”

Then to fair Freyja’s bower they went,—
This was the word that first he spoke :
“Make ready, Freyja, thy bridal veil,
We two must drive into Giant-land.”

Wroth was Freyja and breathed such rage
That all the hall of the Gods was shaken,
That the mighty necklace Brising shivered :
“Wondrous mad for a husband I were,
If I drove with thee into Giant-land.”

Straight were the Gods at the moot assembled,
And the Goddesses all in council together.
The mighty Gods debated on this,
How should the Thunderer’s hammer be won?

Then spake Heimdall, the whitest of Gods—
He knew the future like other Wanés—
“Let us bind on Thor the bridal veil,
Set on him the mighty necklace Brising,
Let us hang at his belt the dangling keys,
And women’s weeds cast over his knee,
And clasp on his breast the jewels broad,
And deck his head with a maiden’s hood.”

Then spake Thor, the mighty God:
“The Gods will give me a craven’s name
If I am bound with the bridal veil.”

Then spake Loki, Laufey’s son:
“Be silent, Thor! nor speak on this wise.
The Giants will make their home in Asgard,
Except thou win back thy hammer again.”

They bound on Thor the bridal veil,
Laid on him the mighty necklace Brising,
They hung at his belt the dangling keys,
And women’s weeds cast over his knee,
They clasped on his breast the jewels broad,
And decked his head with a maiden’s hood.

Then spake Loki, Laufey’s son:
“I will go with thee to be thy bridesmaid,
We two must drive into Giant-land.”

Quickly the goats were homeward driven,
Yoked were they hastily, well could they run;
The rocks were rent, earth broke into flame,
Drove Odin’s son into Giant-land.

Then spake Thrym, the Lord of Giants:
“Rise up now, Giants! and strew the benches.
Now shall ye bring me Freyja to wife,
The daughter of Njord out of Noatun.

Here in the garth go the golden-horned kine,
Coal-black oxen, the joy of the Giant;
Heaps of treasure I own, and jewels,
Freyja alone was lacking to me."

They came full early at eventide,
And before the Giants the ale was borne.
One whole ox Thor devoured, eight salmon,
All the dainties the women should eat,
Three gallons of mead Sif's husband¹ did drink.

Then spake Thrym, the Lord of Giants:
"When saw'st thou a bride eat more eagerly?
I saw never a bride eat more heartily,
Nor a maiden drink so deep of mead!"

In readiness sat the cunning bridesmaid,—
Thus she answered the Giant's speech:
"For eight days Freyja might not eat,
So great was her longing for Giant-land."

Thrym stooped 'neath the veil, he was fain to kiss her,
But he started back to the end of the hall:
"Why gleam so fiercely the eyes of Freyja?
Fire methinks from her eyes is flashing!"

In readiness sat the cunning bridesmaid,—
Thus she answered the Giant's speech:
"For eight nights Freyja might not sleep,
So great was her longing for Giant-land."

In came the Giants' ancient sister,
Boldly begging the bridal fee:
"Take from thine arms the rings so red,
If thou wilt ever win my love,
My love and eke my favour!"

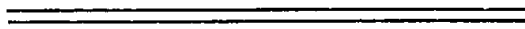
¹ Sif's husband, *i.e.*, Thor.

Then spake Thrym, the Lord of Giants:
“Bear in the hammer to hallow the bride;
Mjöllnir shall lie on the maiden’s knee,
Var shall hallow our hands in wedlock.”

The heart of the Thunderer laughed in his breast
As his hammer hard he felt with his hand.
Thrym slew he first, the Lord of Giants,
Then all the race of the Giants he smote.

He slew the Giants’ ancient sister,
Her who had begged for the bridal fee;
Blows she got for her shilling fee,
And hammer strokes for her heaps of rings.

So came Odin’s son by his hammer again.



SURVEY OF ORKNEYAN PLACE-NAMES.

By A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot.

IT has been proposed to make a collection of Orkneyan place-names from records and present use, and to compile at the same time a description of the localities, and gather together such other information as will be useful in arriving at their derivation, meaning, and correct spelling. Existing place-names are of Pictish, Culdee, Norse, Scottish or English origin. They are variously derived from surnames, antiquities, mounds, standing-stones, brochs, superstitions, churches, natural features or surroundings. It is therefore indispensable in arriving at the derivation and meaning of names, to examine the history, records, folklore, antiquities, and all natural features of the localities where the names occur, with their surroundings.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

Records.—Sagas, Peterkin's "Rentals of the Bishopric and Earldom," estate and other charters and rent rolls, books, State records, charts, ordnance maps, etc.

Folk-names and pronunciation.—So far as language is concerned, there are two classes in Orkney, one speaking the dialect and English, and the other speaking English but with an imperfect knowledge of the dialect. Many place-names are corruptly spelt, from a mistaken Scottish interpretation, and are so pronounced by the English speaking class, whereas they are more correctly rendered in the dialect. When we remember that the dialect still

preserves and uses, with their original meanings, a host of words of the extinct Norse tongue, it is to be expected that it would also and more tenaciously preserve and use the old form of stereotyped and now meaningless place-names. The dialect folk in conversing with the English speaking class suit their language as much as possible to the latter, using even the corrupted Scottish pronunciation of place-names. The reason for this being partly to make themselves understood, but chiefly owing to their strong aversion to use words and names which might be thought uncouth, and so be laughed at. The result is that the English speaking class are more or less totally ignorant of the genuine dialect and folk place-names and their pronunciation, and what information they have is usually perverted and worse than useless. *Bays* are usually called "hopes" in the dialect, whereas on the maps they are "bays," and are so called by the other class. *Kirkju-vágr*, probably of old pronounced *Kirkju-vaa* (*vágr* pronounced *vaa* as in Faroe) is so pronounced (*Kirkvaa*) in the dialect of to-day; whereas it was first spelt by the Scotch "Kirkwaw," then by a mistaken analogy "Kirkwall," and so it is spelt and pronounced by the other class to this day. *Woodwick* is so spelt and pronounced by the English speaking class, while in the dialect it is *Withik*, in accordance with the original old Norse form *Viði-vík* or wide-wick.

It will therefore be evident that folk-names and pronunciation are the more correct and should be carefully collected.

Natural features.—These should be carefully described, as place-names are largely descriptive of the locality.

Minor objects.—Names of all minor objects, such as burns, bridges, fields, etc., should be taken down, as it is frequently possible to locate old names whose sites are now forgotten. Before the commons were divided, and farms enclosed, and when cattle pastured promiscuously and unherded over the commons, and over the toon-lands after harvest, every hillock, hollow, strip of

pasture and natural shelter had a name, so that people could tell each other exactly where their cattle were. These names are descriptive of the places and are therefore highly useful in a study of the principal place-names. Moreover, as the use for these names now no longer exists, it is important that they should be placed on record before they are entirely forgotten and lost.

Districts.—Names of islands, parishes, toons, and other districts and groups of islands must be noted. We have no record of the ancient political districts into which Orkney was divided. The Saga only mentions the Al-Thing, or general parliament. In Shetland, in 1575, there were numerous local courts held in their respective districts throughout the islands, each district embracing several parishes, and one head court called the Law-Ting, the successor of the Al-Thing. The same must also have been the case in Orkney. Christianity was nominally adopted by the Northmen in Orkney at the end of the tenth century. We do not know when ecclesiastical parishes were formed, nor do we know whether existing civil districts were adopted for that purpose. There is no specific mention in the Saga of an ecclesiastical or civil district. As regards the names of modern parishes, it is noticeable that they are mainly derived from the dedication of the church or from the name of the toon in which the church is situated. Parishes consist of groups of toons, and the toon is thus the unit of Orkney topography.

Hills, etc.—Names of hills, slaks, shoulders of hills, ridges, brekks, hammars, dales, gills, peat-ground, mosses, moors, hollows, cups, holes, caves, mounds, hillocks, gayres or pastures.

Agriculture.—Names of farms, fields, meadows, fidges, pastures, yards, croos, pens, beuls, commons, quoys, houses, and steadings.

Roads, fences, etc.—Names of roads, tracks, highways, hill and peat roads, bridges, gates, grinds, slaps, old dykes and garths.

Antiquities.—Names of standing-stones, stone circles,

stones with traditions, brochs or round towers, Picts' houses, mounds, sites of old houses, buildings and foundations, places where bones and ashes have been dug up and stone and other implements found, sites of chapels and traditional burying-grounds, sites of Johnsmass bonfires, places where new year and Kirk football were played, nicknames of parishes, toons and households, fairy rings and knowes, and old quarries.

Fresh water.—Names of lochs, shuns, islands in lochs and objects on same, burns, springs, wells, etc.

Coastline.—Names of cliffs, heads, rocks in sea, natural arches, points, taings, nesses, holmes, gills, bays, hopes, hubbins, wicks, gyoies, voes, caves, helliers, ingoes (caves), ayres, beeches, tang shores, ebbs, crag seats, skerries, "hens and chickens," small inland seas, euses or oyces, aiths or isthmuses, piers, nausts, etc.

Sea-names.—Names of flows, sounds, roosts, tideways, fishing grounds, and their land-marks and meiths.

Modern names.—Special note should be made of new or modern names, and their intended meaning. Such names are frequently spelt in an unusual manner and might easily be mistaken for old names. *E.g.*, Neland, in Orphir, was given within living memory, meaning "New-land."

Folklore.—Oral and recorded traditions, customs, superstitions and all folklore connected with places should be noted, as many names may be explained thereby. Folk meanings attached to names should be noted; however far-fetched they may appear, they at least are folklore.

COLLECTION AND COLLECTORS.

As the dialect-speaking folk use the oldest forms of place-names and pronunciation, it will be evident that they would be the best collectors. Another reason for this is the aversion of the folk to give information to others than themselves. As regards the dislike to divulge traditions and so-called superstitions from fear of ridicule, it should be remembered that such folklore preserves

information of the greatest scientific value to anthropology, ethnology, and philology. There is no more reason why such a valuable and time-honoured heritage should not be observed and openly acknowledged in the North, similarly as such customs are practised and cherished by the most cultured and educated people all the world over.

RETURNS.

Names and information collected should be entered on forms for the purpose as appended.

PUBLICATION.

The results of the returns, with derivations by experts, to be hereafter published.

SURVEY OF ORKNEY PLACE-NAMES.

The Council have appointed Messrs. J. W. Cursiter, F.S.A. Scot., W. P. Drever, J. G. Moodie Heddle, Dr. Jakob Jakobsen, A. W. Johnston, F.S.A. Scot., J. Johnston, Duncan J. Robertson, Magnus Spence, and W. G. T. Watt, F.S.A. Scot., a committee to report on a scheme for the survey of Orkney place-names prepared by A. W. Johnston (see p. 459 of this number). The committee sent individual reports approving of the scheme, which the Council thereupon remitted to the committee, with full power to have the survey carried out. Colonel Johnston, R.E., Director-General of the Ordnance Survey Department, has intimated that his department cordially welcome the assistance offered by the Club in collecting the names, and has consented to place copies of the Ordnance Survey maps at the disposal of the Club, so that they may be deposited in suitable districts for the purpose of locating the names. The first meeting of the committee was held at Daisy Bank, Kirkwall, the residence of Mr. Cursiter, on October 14th, when Messrs. Cursiter and Spence were elected Chairman and Vice-Chairman and joint Hon. Secs. of the committee.

Name of Parish, Island in which it is situated, and other District.

	Ordnance Map Name.	Folk-name and Pronunciation.	Saga.	Peterkin's Rentals.	Charters, Rent-rolls, Books, etc.
Name of Parish ..					
Name of Island ..					
Name of District..					

Give names, folk pronunciation,* and natural features of any of the following places situated in the old commons of the Parish, and not included in the returns of toons and farms :—

Hills ..	_____	Meadows	_____	Roads	_____
Slaks [•] ..	_____	Mosses	_____	Gates, grinds, slaps	_____
Shoulders	_____	Peat ground	_____	Bridges	_____
Ridges ..	_____	Hollows or cups	_____	Masey gates or church roads ..	_____
Hillocks ..	_____	Caves	_____	Burns	_____
Brekks ..	_____	Quarries	_____	Wells	_____
Mounds ..	_____	Market stances	_____	Lochs, shuns, islands in same ..	_____
Fairy rings	_____	Sites of old houses	_____	Antiquities, brochs, standing stones	_____
Dales ..	_____	Pens or beuls	_____	Chapels and graveyards	_____
Gills ..	_____	Croos	_____	Coastline, heads, etc.	_____
Pastures ..	_____	New Year football ground	_____	Adjacent sea (see List B Form B)	_____

* See A, Form B.

{FORM B FOR TOONS AND FARMS.}

Name of Toon _____

In Parish of _____

Name of Toon and Farms. _____

Ordnance Map Name.	Folk-name and pronunciation, A. Meaning attached to name. Tradition. If a new name, state its meaning.	Saga.	Peterkin's Rentals.	Charters, Rent-rolls. Books and Charts.	Natural Features. Boundaries.	If name shifted, describe original site.	Any object in Table B.
Toon.							
Farms.							

A.—Folk-pronunciation.—Spell the names as they are pronounced, using the following symbols for vowel sounds:—

- a for a (short) as in *sad, mad*.
- ā for a (long) as in *made*.
- ā for a (broad) as in *father, farther*.
- e for e (short) as in *end*.
- ē for ee (long) as in *need*.
- i for i (short) as in *bid, in*.
- ī for i (long) as in *mind, kind*.
- o for o (short) as in *on*.
- ō for o (long) as in *bone*.
- ow for ow as in *how, now*.
- oy for oy as in *boy*.
- ū for eu as in { Orkney, *beul*.
French, *feu*.
- u for u (short) as in *sum, gun*.
- ū for oo (long) as in *soon*.

B.—Mention names, pronunciation, description, etc., of any of the following objects in Farms:—

Sites of old houses	Dales	COASTLINE.
" " chapels	Glens	Heads
" " graveyards	Gills	Caves
Cairns	Hollows	Beeches
Hillocks	Cups	Hopes
Mounds	Hammars	Harbours
Knowes	Quarries	Hubbins
Brekks	Markistirs (patches of un- cultivated land among cultivated land)	Euses
Fields	Burns	Oyces
Meadows	Wells	Sounds
Sheeds	Springs	Flows
Croos	Slaps	Roosts
Pastures	Grinds	Fishing grounds and landmarks
Muirs	Standing-stones	Points
Bogs		
		Ayres
		Gyoes
		Gills
		Cliffs
		Slaks
		Bers
		Islands
		Holmes
		Skerries
		Hens and Chick- ens
		Wicks
		Crag-seats
		Nausts

VIKING NOTES.

BY THE HON. EDITOR.

ATTENTION should be called to the fact that the paragraph on p. 275 of last SAGA-BOOK, beginning "In a subsequent letter" and ending with "required in Cornwall," was misplaced, and should be read after the last note on p. 281.

I AM asked whether Uig in Skye, on Loch Snizort, is the equivalent of Wick. It is the Norse Wick in Gaelic spelling. Snizort is also Norse, being Snaesfjord. Further evidence of Norse influence in Gaelic districts of Scotland is given in Mr. Bremner's paper in this issue.

It is suggested that an explanation of the map facing p. 230 of last issue is required. It is as follows:—The shading marked *a* shows the distribution of the Adriatic race; the shading marked *d* shows the distribution of dolmens; and the solid black on the map shows where the two kinds of shading overlap.

I AM asked whether there is anything trustworthy known as to Thingwall in the Wirral. "Thinger is the old county vernacular, not Thingwall. There is a Cross Hill close by." In answer, reference should be made to the paper "Vikings in Lakeland," by W. G. Collingwood, M.A., on p. 182 of Vol. I. of SAGA-BOOK, and to the notes on the Wirral in his District Report, Vol. II., p. 139.

"W. R. P.," the writer in *Notes and Queries* on the Danes in Pembroke-shire, alluded to in Viking Notes in the last SAGA-BOOK (p. 274), is, I learn, a member of the Viking Club. I am glad to be able to withdraw Mr. W. R. Prior from his obscurity, because it shows that Vikings are laudably bestirring themselves to uphold the aims of the Club in many unsuspected quarters.

AN excellent feature at the Croydon Public Library is the series of "Library Talks" held during the winter months in order to popularise certain sections of the literature in the library. The library has a very fair selection of books dealing with Northern literature and antiquities which was the subject of a lecture entitled "Records of our Viking Forefathers," given last October by Mr. A. F. Major, our Hon. Secretary.

THE following newspaper extract is interesting:—

"What is supposed to be the grave of men who fell either at the battle of Clontarf, between the Irish and the Danes in the eleventh century, or in the great battle fought between the English and King Rhoderick O'Connor of Ireland in

the twelfth century, has been discovered at Glasnevin, near Dublin. The skeletons were huddled together as if the bodies had been hastily buried in the pit. Some of the skeletons measured seven feet in length."

MOMBASA, British East Africa, would seem a spot unlikely to yield records of Scandinavian myths. Yet in the *African Standard* published there a series of articles entitled "A Cycle of Scandinavian Myths" has been appearing. The contributor is a Mr. Alexander Grant, who seeks to unfold before the scattered units of the Empire in British East Africa the mysteries of the olden time lore of their race, and who, from the sympathetic way in which he deals with his theme, should certainly be speedily enrolled in the Viking fellowship.

THE Hon. Treasurer desires it to be known that correction is required in his paper on p. 199, SAGA-BOOK, Vol. III., Part II., where for "The north wall of the Earl's Bú" should be read "The south wall," etc. To the list of those to whom the writer was indebted for information (p. 214) should also be added the name of J. W. Cursiter, F.S.A.Scot., Kirkwall, who supplied notes as to the "grey stane," "round building" near same, stone cist at Hamiscue in Tuskerbuster, and cist opened at Greenigoe, all on the map of Orphir parish facing p. 184.

THE Viking Club lent its models of Norwegian boats built on the lines of the Gokstad ship to the Shipping Exhibition held in the autumn at the Whitechapel Art Gallery. The exhibition also included a small model and a drawing of the Gokstad ship (restored), lent by our Hon. Secretary, and four large photographs of the same vessel lent by the Consul for Sweden and Norway. In the section for modern pictures there was an oil-painting, "The Burning of Hakon Haki," by W. J. Laidley, lent by the artist. In connection with the above exhibition, Mr. A. F. Major gave an address on "Viking Ships" at the Gallery in October.

OUR Hon. District Secretary for Norway, Dr. Alexander Bugge, has been appointed Professor of History at the University of Kristiania in succession to the late Professor Gustav Storm. It cannot often be that both father and son are Professors at the same University at the same time, but in the case of our distinguished members, Professor Sophus Bugge and his son, the honour is fully deserved. Professor Alexander's studies of the trade between Norway and the British Isles and of "The Norse Language and Nationality in Ireland," noticed in the last number of the SAGA-BOOK, pp. 150-154, should make his appointment of special interest to all students of the early history of these islands.

I HAVE received from the Icelandic Literary Society a prospectus of the Society's operations and publications, which I commend to Vikings wishful of acquiring cheap editions of Icelandic Sagas and other literature. The Society was founded so far back as 1816, and has its seats at Reykjavik and in Copenhagen. Its work is an eminently useful one, and as member-

ship is open to everyone and the subscription only 6s. 7d. a year, for which the members receive the publications of the Society for each year—about sixty sheets of printed matter—there are sufficient inducements to seek membership. Those desiring admission should forward their applications to the President, Mr. O. Halldorsson, 24, Kronprinsessegade, Copenhagen.

POLITICS are supposed to be eschewed in the SAGA-BOOK, but it is permissible to record that the threatened encroachment of Russia on the independence of Norway which is now alarming that nation, according to a recent communication to the *Morning Post*, is leading to the satisfactory result of causing Norwegians to direct greater attention to the study of the English tongue and to cultivate closer relations with this country. The object is, of course, ultimately to find help from this country in their time of need, should it ever occur—which we trust will never be withheld. Meanwhile Norwegians and Scandinavians generally should not be forgetful of the teaching of the old saw about the bundle of sticks, and secure that added strength which a closer understanding and union with their brethren in Sweden and Denmark would afford.

“LE Souvenir Normand,” alluded to in the last SAGA-BOOK (p. 273), has come actively to the fore in the past year in holding a meeting at Hastings to celebrate the exploits of that great Gallo-Viking, William the Norman, otherwise William the Bastard, who overthrew Harold on the fateful field of Hastings, or Senlac, and inflicted that blow to Englishry and to English and Norse institutions, literature, and speech from which it suffers to the present day. Centuries have been required to undo in part the burdens laid by this Continental influence on our national development, and we are hardly even now wholly freed from them. Our mother-tongue will in all likelihood never recover the beauty of its earlier Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Norse form; but while it is grievous that so much has been lost, the duty lies heavy on all to “strengthen that which remains.”

DR. GEORGE PERNET writes me as under:—

In Fitzgerald's “Rubaíyát of Omar Khayyám” (Golden Treasury Series, 1900, p. 64) the following note occurs:—

“Apropos of Omar's Red Roses in stanza xix., I am reminded of an old English superstition, that our Anemone Pulsatilla, or purple ‘Pasque Flower’ (which grows plentifully about the Fleam Dyke, near Cambridge) grows only where Danish blood has been spilt.”

The stanza runs:

“I sometimes think that never blows so red
The Rose as where some buried Cæsar bled;
That every Hyacinth the garden wears
Dropt in her lap from some once lovely head.”

It would be interesting to learn how widespread is this superstition.

THE production of Henrik Ibsen's “Hærmændene paa Helgeland” under the title of “The Vikings,” at the Imperial Theatre, under the

management of Miss Ellen Terry, in the spring of 1903, was looked forward to with great interest by lovers of the old Norse literature. At last, we thought, a play of the Viking times would be produced on the English stage with some approach to historical accuracy. The result, we regret to say, was a grievous disappointment. Those of us especially who went to see the production in the company of Scandinavian friends must have felt thoroughly ashamed of the British theatre. In these days of elaborate and accurate staging of plays it was astonishing to find in a theatre managed by one of our leading actresses a stage-management that was not merely odd in its effects, but showed an utter ignorance of the materials that exist for reproducing on the stage with almost absolute fidelity the life of the period in which the poet has placed his drama.

A VIKING forwards me the following interesting note:—

In his "Early Kings of Norway" Carlyle derives Tooley from Saint Olave. The passage runs: "Speaking of the London Olaf Churches, I should have added that from one of these the thrice-famous Tooley Street gets its name, where those three tailors, addressing Parliament and the Universe, sublimely styled themselves 'We, the people of England.' Saint Olave Street, Saint Oley Street, Stooley Street, Tooley Street—such are the metamorphoses of human fame in the world!" In connection with this a passage from one of Edward Fitzgerald's letters to Carlyle may be alluded to, viz.: "We have a Saint Olave's Priory on the River Waveney; the people call it 'Saint Tuler's.' I wonder if an old gentleman of Ipswich be of that King's blood? An inscription there runs—

' In peaceful silence let great Tooley rest,
Whose charitable deeds bespeak him best.' "

—"More Letters of Edward Fitzgerald." 1901. p. 175.

FOLLOWERS of the destructive school of criticism have of late striven to prove that the myths and legends of the Asa-faith, in the form in which they have reached us, are borrowed almost entirely from classical and Christian sources. That these myths had grown up around a religious system of great age could not be doubted, but as all documentary evidence on the subject is undoubtedly later than the Christian era, it seems difficult if not impossible to trace back any distinctive doctrine to pre-Christian times. We understand, however, that Mr. A. F. Major has for some years been working at a clue which will, he considers, enable him to trace back such cardinal features of the religious system of the Eddas as the doctrine of Ragnarøk and the Valhalla myth, in their essence, at any rate, to pre-Christian and pre-Roman times, and to show that the system of naming the days of the week after their chief gods, in force among almost all the Gothic races, was not copied from the planetary system adopted by the Romans. Mr. Major hopes to lay the result of his studies before the Club at one of our meetings in the session of 1904-5.

THE long overlordship of Essex by the Danes, from Guthram's conquest until Swain, Earl of Essex, went over to William the Bastard, is attested by many extant landmarks. Knud the Great is immortalised at Cnewdon, where his church still stands a witness to his rule. Danebury and its

earthworks commemorate them, as does Rayleigh with its fortifications, Beamfleet with the recovered relics of Hasting's (Hæstan's or Eystein's) slaughtered shiphere, and other survivals. Warley has its memories of folkfights and battles. Along Thames shore, and up the Roding and the Lea inland, their footmarks are graven deep in burgs and tofts, thorps and holms. The great Danish waterburg at Barking is still a lasting mark of their warfare; but, higher up the Roding, Ongar possibly bears witness to their powers as settlers, being cognate with anger in Stavanger, while beyond this northwards—five miles—in Fyfield parish is Clatterfoot End, a small township whose name reveals its Norse origin: *Klettr* = rock, hill. In modern English this word is an absurdity, but in its Norse meaning it fits exactly local circumstances (compare kerrfoot, moorfoot, hillfoot, etc.). The district, like many others, maybe, received a concrete body of Danish settlers, who gave the names to the physical features of the landscape in their Scandinavian mother-tongue.

THAT no dark race can beget a fair offspring and *vice versâ* is an axiom of kinlore. Where decided aberrations from the racial standard occur, cross-breeding is always to be inferred. An illustration of this is afforded by the reported occurrence of a Scandinavian-like folk among the Arabs of Aboukir, Egypt. Antiquaries who have been apprised of this fact have wandered far afield for an explanation, some tracing them to Ægean invaders, others to the Greeks of the Ptolemaic days, and still others to a Turkish admixture. A recent writer in the *Morning Post* suggests, with a certain probability, a Northern origin. He says: "There is a strain of Northern blood among these fisher people; many are light haired, and blue or grey eyes are common among them, while their skins are occasionally almost Scandinavian in their fairness." He adds: "With a deplorable lack of imagination natives bluntly state that these fair people date from the beginning of the century, when Napoleon's forces garrisoned Aboukir among other places." What is further scientifically interesting is, however, how long such isolated and unsupported strains will last in the midst of their constantly encroaching alien environments. Also what mental perturbations will be occasioned in future ages among craniologists intent upon investigating the racial origin of the Arabs of Aboukir!

AN interesting paper by Dr. Fell was recently read before the Barrow Naturalists' Field Club on the Pile of Fotheray, in the course of the tracing of the history of which the etymology of the name came under review. The Rev. Isaac Taylor, in his "Words and Places," regarded both Furness (anciently Fudernes) and Fotheray as Norse donations, and signifying respectively fireness and fire island, in allusion to beacons which were probably lighted for the guidance of Norse seafarers. An alternative explanation offered by Mr. Harper Gaythorpe bears marks of greater probability. To quote his own words:—"Recent research had shown that the Norse-Icelandic-Viking names are formed from nouns, not verbs, and that, as the old Norse often called islands from the crop they bore, Fodr-ey (pronounced Fotheray), hay island, was the old Norse fodr (English fodder), and with the analogies Fotheringay (hayfield enclosure), and

Fotherby, in Lincolnshire, the question has been most pertinently asked, 'Why should we invent a beacon and a word to explain "Fotheray"?' Many names in the immediate neighbourhood are farming names, and the custom of pasturing on islands was common in Furness, as it is in Iceland now, so that Fodder Island is quite natural, and in line with place-names of the locality. Also in this sense it can be put into Norse without violence to grammar."

MR. A. C. NICHOLSON, the District Secretary for Wirral, writes asking for information regarding the Hwiccas, the first English settlers in the lower Severn valley. The information desired is the meaning of their name, whence they sprang on the European Continent, date of their settlement on Severn, and particulars of subsequent history. Support is sought apparently for the theory that these folk were of Norse origin, and represented an earlier race of Norse settlers than the first hitherto historically reported. Bede makes reference to the Wicci as inhabiting an island which was their "province." This province is, however, by the context, shown to be the Isle of Wight. According to Bede also, some confusion in the attributed origin of the Saxons, Angles, and Danes existed even in his day. The priest Egbert, he says, intended to preach to those nations who had not heard the Gospel, "many of which nations he knew there were in Germany (from whom the Angles or Saxons, who now inhabit Britain, are known to have derived their origin: for which reason they are still corruptly called Germans by the neighbouring nation of the Britons). Such are the Frisons, the Rugins, the Danes, the Huns, the Ancient Saxons, and the Boructuars (or Bructers)." Thorpe's "Diplomatarium Anglicum Ævi Saxonici" gives several references, in which the diocese of Worcester seems indicated, and in which the forms "Wigorneceaster" (Worcester, ? derivation), "Wicton," and "Wiccisca" (Wickishmen) occur. This section of research has been hitherto unworked, and may, possibly, yield unlooked-for results. Contributions to the subject should be sent to Mr. A. C. Reid, C.E., Mr. A. G. Moffat, M.A., or to Mr. Nicholson.

BOTH the utterance and the meaning of the term "Viking" have been the subjects of more than one allusion. At a recent meeting of the Club Dr. Lawrence developed a well-ordered defence in favour of *wicinga* = "warrior," from the verb *wig*, "to war." In the *Times* recently Dr. Karl Blind argued on the well-known lines that *vik* = "bay" and *ing* = "sib" or "family." Mr. Lars A. Havstad, writing from Christiania, says that Northern "historians now often prefer to interpret the word as signifying a man from the old Norwegian landscape of 'Viken' (the wick *par excellence*), which included the land around the Christiania Fjord from the Skien Fjord to Gothenburg (the present Swedish Skagerack province of Bohuslan, belonging to Norway until 1660). The country took the name of the great gulf between the ramifications of the Scandinavian peninsula. Viken has always, down to the present times, been an important—generally the most important—shipping and seafaring district of the northern countries. The two sea-going Viking ships till now found in Scandinavia (including

Denmark) were both exhumed in this landscape. A third was discovered there—near Tonsberg, in Vestfold—last autumn, and will be exhumed when the season turns sufficiently dry. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle expressly mention 'Vestfoldings'—from Vestfold, the still used name of the district of Viken lying between the Skien and the Drammen Fjords—as forming part of the number of Vikings who descended upon the English coasts at the end of the eighth century." The parallel between Vestfoldings and Vik-ings would appear to strengthen a topographical origin for the latter name.

It is worth observing, in connection with Mr. Kjær's description of the sun-god chariot found in Seeland in the last issue of the SAGA-BOOK (p. 155) and Dr. Blind's paper on the same subject in the present issue (p. 381), that Mr. Reginald A. Smith read a paper before the Society of Antiquaries in December, dealing with sun-discs in general. The lecture was illustrated by lantern slides of the Seeland find and also of a bronze sun-disc found in Ireland, which has been in the Dublin Museum since 1854. The latter corresponded with the former in all details but that of size, being only $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches diameter as against the 6 inches of the former. Its votive purpose was shown by its being cleanly broken. To bring out the likeness more clearly, a picture was thrown on the screen representing the Irish disc mounted on a wheeled frame and drawn by a horse. Mr. Smith then dealt with the ornamentation of the discs—concentric circles, and spirals resembling those found at Mycenæ—and said that the former were frequent in Irish art during the Bronze period. Other examples of what were probably, though not certainly, sun-discs in the National Collection were described and illustrated, and it was pointed out that rude spirals of a similar kind were found in Ireland, Britain, and Sweden. From the discovery of the sun-chariot in Seeland, and of this disc, the significance of which was made clear by the Danish find, it seemed evident that the same religious ideas prevailed in Ireland and Denmark 3000 years ago. The use of bronze in Ireland began earlier than it did in Scandinavia, which perhaps received this particular form of sun-worship from Ireland.

A REVIEW by "K. S." of Mr. H. Bradley's "The Making of English," appearing in the *Daily Chronicle* recently, has the following interesting observations:—

"Dr. Bradley makes very strongly, with respect to the history of English, a point which the schools have long overlooked. The conquests and settlements of the Danes and Northmen, which fill so large a place in the annals of England from the ninth to the eleventh century, were of vast importance in bringing new words and ridding us of case-endings:—

"What we are accustomed to regard as the history of England during these centuries is little more than the history of *English* England; the larger portion of England, which was under Scandinavian rule, had no chroniclers [except in some of the sagas]. Of the Danish dynasty which reigned at York we know hardly more than the names of the Kings; and the history of Danish East Anglia and Mercia is even more obscure. It is only by the indirect

evidence of place-names and modern dialects that we learn that in some districts of England the population must have been at one time far more largely Scandinavian than English, and that important Scandinavian settlements existed in almost every county north of the Thames. In 1017 Cnut, of Denmark, conquered the throne of England, and his strong rule gave to the country a degree of political unity such as it had never had before. Under succeeding Kings—even under the Englishman Edward the Confessor—the highest official posts in the kingdom continued to be held by men of Danish origin.'

"Even Dr. Bradley underestimates the consequence. It is not by scores that Scandinavian dialect words in the North may be numbered, but by many thousands."

A SOCIETY has been formed for the recording and preservation of Ancient Defensive Earthworks and Fortified Enclosures, membership of which is commended to Vikings generally. A provisional scheme of operations was prepared by the committee appointed at the Congress of the Archæological Societies in July, 1901. The committee suggest that secretaries of the various archæological societies, and other gentlemen likely to be interested in the subject, should be pressed to prepare schedules of the works in their respective districts, in the hope that lists may be eventually published. The list should be confined to defensive works, omitting burial barrows and boundary banks. Though record should be made of any "finds" indicative of period of use of the forts, no effort need be made to assign a definite period of construction, excepting in those cases in which the age is beyond question—*e.g.*, camps and fortified settlements of undoubted Roman origin, or enclosures of proved Neolithic, Bronze, or Iron Age. The committee now consists of the following members:—Professor Boyd Dawkins and Professor B. C. A. Windle, Mr. W. J. Andrew, Mr. I. Chalkley Gould (the well-known earthworks expert), Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, Mr. A. R. Goddard (a member of the Viking Club), Mr. J. Horace Round, and Mr. W. M. Tapp. It is hoped that other gentlemen willing to work towards the object in view will join the committee. The committee ventures to hope that the issue of the provisional scheme will enlist the earnest co-operation of archæologists and observers in all parts of the country, and thus serve towards the preservation from mutilation or destruction of these priceless relics which no laws protect. Those wishful of working in this department should communicate with Mr. I. Chalkley Gould, Trapp's Hill, Loughton, Essex.

THE *Budstikke*, published in Copenhagen as the organ of the "Society for Germanic Philology" (Selskab for Germansk Filologi), urges in its first number, which appeared in October last, the adoption of the term "Gothic" instead of "Teutonic" or "Germanic" as a convenient and comprehensive designation for the great family of nations to which Scandinavians, Germans, and English alike belong. "Teutonic," as it points out, is of purely scientific origin, while "Germanic" was first used among Celts and Romans and other foreign nations and adopted from them. Both terms, we may add, are too closely identified with one branch of the race to be satisfactory as inclusive terms for all the kindred peoples,

and on all these grounds a substitute for them is wanted. The *Budstikke* shows that the use of "Goth," as a general name for Scandinavians, Anglo-Saxons, and Germans, dates from a very early time, the period immediately following the folk-wanderings, and is due to the Scandinavians. Though originally a tribe-name, the leading part which the Goths played in the great migrations spread it far and wide, so that it became a generic term, and was applied to every branch of the race, so that both by origin and use in early times it has a far stronger claim upon us than the terms which have superseded it. We have long been dissatisfied with the use of the words "Teutonic" or "Germanic," and have independently come to the same conclusion as the *Budstikke*, namely, that the word "Gothic" appeared to have the best claim to adoption as a comprehensive generic name for the races in question. If the members of the Viking Club and of the "Selskab for Germansk Filologi" take the same view, and will give effect to it whenever they have to use a race-name for the stock from which they spring, we may hope to see "Teutonic" and "Germanic" ultimately restricted to their proper sphere.

IN a letter since addressed to me, accompanying a number of copies of the *Budstikke*, the editor, Mr. Gudmund Schütte, M.A., makes the following apposite quotation from the *Fornaldar Saga*: "The origin of all sayings in the Northern tongue was that that tongue came hither into the North which we call the Northern, and it embraced Saxland, Denmark and Sweden, Norway and some parts of England; and those lands were called Godlands and the folk Godthiod." He also calls my attention to various articles in the *Budstikke*, such as that suggesting English as a world-language; a Gothic Anthology, which the Selskab for Germansk Philologi proposes to issue in English, and another in Danish and German; also to a review of the "Verner-Book," one of the publications of the Society, dealing with a biography of Karl Verner, and to an illustrated notice of our esteemed fellow-member Professor Sophus Bugge. These various matters reveal the fact that the aims of both the Society and its organ are closely akin with those of the Viking Club and the SAGA-BOOK, and indeed, the editor says: "Vi gaar direkte ind for en kultural Union mellem England og Skandinavien." On these grounds the attitude of Vikings cannot but be sympathetic towards the Society, its organ, and its aims.

A PRAISEWORTHY new literary venture, the first number of which has just seen the light, is *Mimir: Icelandic Institutions and Addresses*. It is a yearly publication, whose objects are pithily set forth in its prefatory note as follows:—

1. To facilitate research in the territory which it attempts to cover by making the labourers in the same domain known to one another, that the work of each may be rendered available to all.
2. To inform the people of Iceland, on the one hand, of the wide and encouraging interest taken by the learned of other nations in their early literature and history, and of the valuable results of that interest.
3. To bring the foreign student of Old Northern letters, on the other hand, into nearer relations with the only region in which the Old Northern language is still a living speech, in which the Sagas are still household reading, and the sense and

sentiment of the ancient poems are still felt, while in other Germanic lands the classics of the earlier periods (Beowulf and the Canterbury Tales, the Nibelungen Lays and the epic story of Parsifal) have become works no longer understood of the people. 4. To promote the proper development, already happily begun, of that little nationality and fragment of the old Teuton world, which has kept itself alive, against innumerable obstacles, on the border of the Arctic seas.

Necessarily incomplete as a first issue, it is intended to give subsequent yearly volumes of *Mimir* a broader bibliographical character, by including the titles of all important works produced by the writers cited, and in general by reproducing them more fully and exactly. To attain the desired completeness, additions and corrections, changes of address and other proper information is solicited, and should be sent before June 1st, 1904, to "Mimir," Lungo il Mugnone, 11, Florence, Italy. The plan of this publication, so far as writers and books are concerned, is that attempted in the "Bibliography" in the SAGA-BOOK, to which it is a valuable adjunct, and generally the scope and aims of this publication will commend themselves to all members of the Viking Club. It is to be observed that the Club and many of its members are duly chronicled, the former having a mede of praise accorded to it by its description as an "active organisation."

FROM far Rangitikei, New Zealand, a Viking sends the following communication, accompanying a printed extract and a photo of the skulls kept in Hythe Church crypt:—

"Among some old Scandinavian relics I found the enclosed photo and account of a great Viking battle, which I have much pleasure in presenting to the Club, if it is of any use to your Editor."

The printed extract, apparently from a guide book, is as follows:—

"THE CRYPT, HYTHE.

"The following account of the Human Bones deposited in this Charnal House is supposed to be the only genuine description, being extracted from a very ancient History of Britain:—

"A.D. 843, in the Reign of Ethelwolf, the Danes landed on the coast of Kent, near to the town of Hyta, and proceeded as far as Canterbury, great part of which they burnt; at length Gustavus (then Governor of Kent) raised a considerable force, with which he opposed their progress; and after an engagement, in which the Danes were defeated, pursued them to their shipping on the sea coast, where they made a most obstinate resistance. The Britons, however, were victorious, but the slaughter was prodigious, there being not less than THIRTY THOUSAND left dead. After the battle, the Britons wearied with fatigue, returned to their homes, leaving the slain on the field of battle, where being exposed to the different changes of the weather, the flesh rotted from the bones, which were afterwards collected and piled in heaps by the inhabitants, who in time, removed them into a vault in one of the churches of Hyta, now called Hythe.'"

Needless to say, this quotation of a bit of pseudo-history is a mass of nonsense, the collocation of English, Britons, and Danes, Ethelwolf and Gustavus being sufficiently grotesque. As to the origin of the skulls, the most prosaic and probable is that they are the relics of the inmates of the

monkery, of which Hythe Church is itself a remainder, with additions drawn from several dismantled churches and churchyards in the neighbourhood. Apart from this and supplementary evidence, fancy may optionally place them in the Romano British-Saxon, the Saxo-Danish, the Saxo-Norman, or the English period with almost equal probability.

A VIKING, Mr. L. Tegner, forwards me from ~~Japan~~ the following translation of a notice which appeared in a Scandinavian newspaper on the olden time Danish colony in the Strand, London :—

The large alterations and pulling down of old houses, which is now taking place, in order to construct and make way for new streets, which are to connect the traffic between Holborn and Strand, have given rise to the discussion of the origin of the Danish Settlement near London at the time of the Vikings. The London County Council have decided to name one of the new proposed streets "Aldwych," after the name of the Danish camp or settlement, which existed on about this spot and just outside London's walls, which reached to Temple Bar. Mr. Gomme, well known as an author on London's topography, has given a good description of the Aldwich settlement which existed. At the present day we have the Church of "St. Clement's Dane," in the centre of the Strand, which reminds us of the Viking seafarers' saint who was much celebrated in the North (Scandinavia) where several churches still exist bearing St. Clement's name, for instance, in Aarhus, Jutland. At this church in the Strand King Knud the Great's son, Harald Harefoot, was buried, which proves that at that date many Danes had settled near their church, and to-day the little churchyard no longer exists, having some years since been converted into a part of the street. Many skeletons were re-interred on that occasion, but, unfortunately, no search or inquiry as to dates or origin was made to show to what period they dated. Tradition offers very little to go upon, except the name of this church, but such names as "Aldwych," Wych Street, and Danes' Inn, remain as vague memories of the Viking period. Nothing certain can be ascertained as to the date or cause of this settlement, but in all probability its origin was in Alfred the Great's grant to his Danish captains who obtained the right to settle here as traders, but history is absolutely silent upon this point. One may obtain a little light on this question when considering the settlements at Rochester in Kent and in Dublin, where the fuller data corresponds with London's. There is a district at Rochester, Boley Hill, which is not only distinct from the borough and town of Rochester, but is under a separate jurisdiction independent of the Mayor or the town. The oldest records show that even in Henry VI.'s time the older customs were continued, and the settlement held its own councils and made its separate proclamations under a special tree in their settlement quite independent of the city or its councillors. In Dublin there are also proofs of an early colony, here the Danes and Norsemen (Norwegians) created a district of their own east of and just outside the city, called "Stein" or "Staine," on a small point of land where the river Dodder joins the Liffey. This is the same as in the London case where on the Thames at the spot where

the Fleet joins the river a small tongue of land was also occupied as a settlement. An obelisk existed in the Dublin settlement up to the 17th century, standing in the centre of the settlement or colony as a mark or place of assembly, and in 1685 a large mound called "Thingmotha" was discovered showing that the Norsemen held their great gatherings periodically at this place, and where councils, games, law meetings, etc., were held and continued in even much later times. Many similarities exist to-day connecting the old site with the past in the case of the Strand colony, and it is known that it maintained its independence up to 1300 A.D., quite distinct from the City of London on the one side and Westminster on the other, and its central meeting-place was marked by a stone cross which stood exactly opposite Somerset House. The dues to the Crown were paid annually at this stone cross in Edward I.'s reign, when councils sat under open sky, and the dues for a piece or parcel of land were six horse shoes paid yearly at the Stone Cross, and which to-day is replaced and represented by the dues paid yearly of a similar kind by the Corporation of the City of London on the occasion of each election of a Mayor. It also appears that the settlement of "Aldwic" or "Aldwych" was wholly Danish, and was specially granted to the Danes, and that they had securely and finally settled themselves as subjects in the time of the Stuarts. There is, therefore, special reason to retain these old names in the City of London by perpetuating "Aldwych," which will recall the fact that the City's great traffic is over a former Viking settlement and site, in the midst of what is now the mightiest city in the world.

IN connection with the above, it may be interesting to place Mr. Gomme's words textually on record. He said:—

"Wych Street, particularly, was historically extremely interesting. The earliest documents alluded to a place called Aldwych, which had a wide street, practically occupying the site of the present Drury Lane. The district had its own church, its stocks and its pound; and what did that indicate? It indicated that there was a Danish settlement just outside the walls of London, which had everything complete for self-government. This view was confirmed when they came down a little later in history, because they found that in the reign of Edward I. there was a court of justice held in the Strand at a huge monolith, which stood immediately opposite the site of Somerset House. The court was held in the open air, and the only possible explanation of such an extraordinary thing was that it was carried on traditionally from a preceding state of things, and they found that this open-air court of justice existed in the Danish settlements of Dublin and Rochester. He was glad to say the name of Aldwych would be preserved, and, further, in the name of Kingsway they would record that great king in English history—Alfred. As the result of the creation of the Borough Councils, also, topographical changes had been brought about. They had lost the name of St. Olave, but had had restored to them the name of Stepney."

St. Olaf is of course disguised in Tooley Street, which quarter also contained a Danish settlement, while other remains of the Danish over-

lordship are numerous throughout London, as witness the noteworthy one of the runic gravestone in the Guildhall.

THE life-work of the late William Morris, who has done so much to familiarise the English-speaking nations with the glorious literature and legends of the North, has been the subject of study by the Reading Circle of the Polytechnic in Regent Street during the past winter. The address in the series dealing with "The Norse Sagas" was given by our Hon. Secretary. As the great poet was one of our Hon. Vice-Presidents, it was specially fitting that it should fall to a member of the Club to call attention to the splendid work he did for all lovers of the North both as a poet, as a translator in conjunction with another of our Vice-Presidents, Mr. Eiríkr Magnússon, of the ancient sagas, and as himself a writer of modern sagas of the olden time. Mr. Magnússon accompanied the poet on the two visits he paid to Iceland, and we extract from a letter he wrote to the Hon. Secretary in connection with the address referred to some of his reminiscences, which we are glad to put on record in the SAGA-BOOK:—

"We (William Morris and the writer) travelled together in Iceland in 1871 for seven weeks, if I remember rightly, and had a delightful time of it. We went over the districts which were the scenes of the old legislative activity of the freest people in Europe, Thingvellir; of the dramas in which the actors of *Njála* took such striking parts; the countrysides where Grettir frightened the strong and flogged the weak, where Skallagrim and Egill swayed men with sultanic power, and Helga the Fair filled woody glens and verdant water-banks with erotic romances, as well as her cousin Kiartan. We traversed the *goðorð* of Snorri and the localities of Gudrun's youthful love-conquests and old age reclusiveness; walked across the ill-famed Thrall's Scree on the outermost face of Buland's head, east of Fróðá, an almost precipitous headland with a murderously narrow bridle-path, of little over one foot in width, across. As Morris walked on my arm here the muscles of his arm bespoke the nervousness with which the dizziness of the situation affected his whole sensitive frame. And never did I see Morris more hilariously happy than when, the overhanging precipice past, he flung himself down in a grassy dell and ordered the guides to unload and bring out some refreshments.

"It was wonderful to see how deeply natural sceneries could affect him. One day, as we rode along the northern slope of Swanfirth (*Alptafjörðr*), coming round an intervening headland the head of the bay came full in view, and the whole of the water was one white sheet made up of thickly crowded together moulting swans. Never having been interfered with since the land was first discovered, in this asylum of convalescence, the beautiful birds gave no signs of fright. The whole scene was so idyllic: the water was waveless, as are the waters of all the inner inlets of Broadfirth, the slopes of the horseshoe-formed valley were green down to the foreshore, and Morris was positively entranced. And I never heard such a volley of *idiomatic* English issue from any man's mouth in my life as that which overwhelmed the sportsman of the party coming up at a gallop and crying out: 'Oh, that I now had my rifle, should I not make an execution among them.' Morris's language, you understand, is as unrepeatable as the tone of almost pitying indignation in his voice is inimitable.

"What was so delightful in Morris was the virgin freshness of his mind, and the springy responsiveness of his nature to the various phenomena which down valley or up mountain presented themselves to the view. The azure blue veil over

distant mountain views under certain atmospheric conditions was a source of great delight to his, I might say, 'colour-hungry' eye. Once in our journey he became, even for him, unusually excited with delight. We were riding, late at night, on the north-western side of Snæfellsjökul, between precipitously rising masses of conglomerate rocks and the sea, deriving no benefit from the light of the moon, just lately risen in the east. Coming past a break in the rocks cut through them by a rock-slip from the upper heights a view of the top of the Jökul was obtained, and there shone out in vivid brilliancy the moon-lit ice-peak floating on the surface, as it were, of the deep ocean of darkness at the bottom of which we were riding. The scene was so strange. We saw no moon ourselves, for she had not risen above the intervening mountains; and for aught we could tell the light might be a flame of some magic origin. Morris gazed enchanted for a long while at this unwonted phenomenon and often returned to it again in conversation.

"We, he and I, were the cooks of the expedition—our party consisted of four souls—he, of course, overcook, and I assistant. It was one of his hobbies to cook, and he would often assert that cooking was the only art he understood. Some of his ideas were certainly, as we thought, at the end of a long day's ride, very brilliant. Golden plover, stewed in sherry, milk and biscuit-dust, you may imagine brought forth at dinner enthusiastic panegyrics on the hapless pilgrim, who through the density of preraphaelitic fogs in the south had lost his career in life, but happily lived long enough to find it in the rarefied fogless atmosphere of Icelandic wildernesses. There was just one drawback to his artistic cuisinage. The poet was nervous and restless, and, while frying fish in the finest butter obtainable, would be poking his spoon at it in the pan with the result that it came all broken upon the table, *i.e.*, the lid of the box which did the service of a table on the occasion. This the 'particular' member of the party did not like. In reality the fish was all the better for it. When I volunteered one day to gratify the 'particular' member by a promise that I should do the fish to his satisfaction, and actually brought the pieces up in the nicest unbroken fashion possible, the chef de la cuisine was good-natured enough to rise, whiskey-tumbler in hand, make a chivalrous bow to the oyster, and, with the gladiatorial exclamation, 'Cestus artemque repono,' to quaff the bumper.

"No man could enjoy more than he did to be made good-humoured fun of; naturally, for he was always making fun of himself and of everybody round; but it was so delightfully fresh and stingless. In everything he said there was the breath of nobility of soul and pureness of heart. Hastier of temper, I think, than any man I have known, the thunder was all over in a moment and the sky brighter and more smiling again than ever. Even this was to me only a lovable feature in his character. But I must close, though I could go on for a long while yet."

A SAD loss has been suffered by Northern antiquities by the total destruction of the famous church of Borgund, the most remarkable of the few wooden structures of Norway in the Middle Ages which have survived to our day. The church, says the *Times*, was plundered during the night, and afterwards set on fire and burned to the ground. None of the antiquities contained in it were saved. The church of Borgund stood as nearly as possible in the centre of Norway, on the left hand of the main road from Christiania to Bergen over Valdres. Until last generation it continued to be used for the parish. Under pressure from the antiquarian world, the Norwegian Government helped the inhabitants to build themselves another church, also of wood, so that the *stav-kirke* should be preserved as a precious treasure; at the same time some modern structures,

which stood dangerously near to it, were cleared away. It was placed under the protection of the "Society for the Preservation of Ancient Norwegian Monuments." Although it is usual to speak of Borgund as the oldest existing church of mediæval Norway, this is not strictly correct, for the latest consensus of architectural experts has decided that the curious little church of Urnes (or Oddnes), on the Lyster Fjord, is the most ancient surviving specimen of Gothic wood-building. Parts of Urnes appear to date from 1090, but comparatively little of this church remains intact, and still less of that of Vaage in the Gudbrandsdal. Neither of these is very attractive to the ordinary sightseer, while each is really too ancient to exhibit the extraordinary style at its perfection. What is called the blossoming period of the *stavbygning* lasted for a hundred years, from about 1150 to 1250, and of this period by far the best preserved and purest specimen was the church of Borgund. It is, however, an error to suppose that Norway contains no other examples of this extraordinary class of national architecture. Scattered over the surface of Norway there are eight or nine other three-naved wooden churches of the twelfth century. It is a misfortune that the church of Borgund was never moved from its place, as has several times been suggested. Twenty years ago it was represented that special means should be taken to preserve the precious relics. It was proposed that, where it was possible, the best of these churches should be removed to the enclosures of museums. In fact, in 1884, this was done in the case of three small *stav-kirker*; that of Gol in Hallingdal was shifted bodily to Christiania, that of Fortun to Bergen, and that of Holtaalen in Guldal to Trondhjem. There was thus one specimen of the ancient architecture in each of the three principal cities of Norway. It was proposed to move Borgund also, but this was a more serious business, and the priceless monument was unhappily left in place, only to be the victim of a shocking act of vandalism. The wooden churches of Norway, of which Borgund was the most exquisite example, dated from the conversion of King Olaf to Christianity, and represented the original architectural type of Scandinavia. At first they were quite simple, without interior elaboration; at the close of the eleventh century a more elaborate taste introduced the nave flanked by aisles. The form of the building preserved, to a very curious degree, its connection with that of the ancient vessels of the Viking period, and, although it was evidently derived from archaic Anglo-Saxon and Irish ecclesiastical art, it was so deeply modified by native ideas and traditions that it presented a definitely Norwegian character. It was in this that the rare value of Borgund consisted. This was a fragment, quite uninjured and almost untouched, of the heroic and fabulous history of the country; its priests had been eye-witnesses of deeds so ancient that the record of them goes back to saga and runic stave. It had no windows, only here and there round holes to let in the light. Its outer arcades, with their quaint high balustrades, its semi-circular line of apse, its fantastic gables and peaked cylindrical roofs, its corner-pieces adorned with protruding dragons' heads and carved cornices extravagantly silhouetted, produced an effect that was rather displeasing than picturesque. As one descended the Leirdal towards nightfall, along the stream that passes south-westward through a naked

treeless valley, often ravaged by landslips, and approached Husum and the turn of the great dale to the westward, it gave the traveller an almost sinister impression to see this little black church, with its quaint flounced skirts and its dragon-heads against the sky, solitary there and unexplained, a gratuitous and inconsequent relic of a civilization which had passed away before our Wars of the Roses were over.

DEATH-ROLL.

HISTORICAL and Northern studies in Norway have sustained a great loss by the death of Professor Gustav Storm, who died at the beginning of 1903. His chief works were on "Snorre and his Sources," and investigations into the discovery of North America by the Norsemen.

REVIEWS.¹

COLL AND TIRRE : Their Prehistoric Forts and Ecclesiastical Antiquities, with Notes of the Ancient Remains in the Treshnish Isles. By ERSKINE BEVERIDGE. *Edinburgh : William Brown, Princes Street. Price 25s. net.*

THIS superb book aims, as its title implies, to enumerate and investigate the origin of the various "duns," or hill forts or dwellings, and other ancient remains met with on the islands named, a district hitherto unworked by antiquaries. Brochs, from the AS. *borh* or Norse *borg*, whose building is placed between the beginning of the Christian era and the twelfth century, are excluded from review, or only incidentally mentioned or discriminated. Of course, many so-called "duns" have only a slender right to that title, but out of 69 remains of this kind which exist on these islands, nine in Coll and three in Tyree are to be regarded as unsatisfactory, while two out of the total of twelve have not been thoroughly examined. The date of the construction of the duns, it is held, ranges from the thirteenth century back to a little before the Christian era. But several appear to be of mediæval date, and one of these, on an island in Loch Caravat, is built with mortar, undoubted evidence of late construction. It is noteworthy that in some cases the naming of these forts is bilingual, showing Keltic and Norse influence, as Dun Boraige Mor and Dun Boraige Beg (big dun broch and little dun broch) and similar instances are found in Skye and Lewis (*i.e.*, Dun Borge). An important contribution to the elucidation of the builders of the earth-houses or underground dwellings is probably the citation of Eskimo or Labrador examples of like kind (the *igloshuak*), the smallness of the dimensions of which perfectly suit the stature of that diminutive folk. The admission of an Eskimo contribution to the early populations of these islands might afford valuable suggestions towards the solution of many knotty ethnological and other problems. An entire chapter is devoted to tracing the Norse influence on the Hebrides in general and these islands in particular, and although the material is admitted to be limited, the result is far from presenting an incomplete picture of their former active dominations. The work has been printed in a limited edition, of which only a few copies are now on sale.

F. T. N.

PLACE-NAMES OF SCOTLAND. By J. B. JOHNSTON, B.D. Second Edition. *Edinburgh : David Douglas.*

THE above is the second edition of what is a very useful work, notwithstanding several obvious defects and peculiarities. It is a compilation and attempted elucidation of Celtic, Norse, English, Roman, Norman,

¹ Members may obtain the books noticed from the Hon. Librarian, A. W. Johnston, 36, Margaretta Terrace, Chelsea, S W., who will quote prices.

ecclesiastical and modern place-names found in Scotland, and when so comprehensive a subject is attempted to be treated in a single volume it is bound to disclose defects, from the sheer extent of the subject. The defect which readiest strikes the eye is the disproportionate space allotted to the Gaelic section contrasted with that of the English and Norse—wholly out of keeping with its contribution either to the population or the historical record of Scotland. This is the more remarkable, as the writer confesses Gaelic is bound to disappear. "It has," he says, "been retreating up the glens since the days of foreign [*sic*] Saxon Queen Margaret, and is destined to retreat further still, till finally, at no distant future—*e eu, fugaces!*—it must give up the ghost, even as Cornish has already done." That this fact should not have had its effect in inducing a more liberal treatment of the names of the preponderating Anglian, Saxon and Norse populations, which have made Scotland what it has been and is, is sufficiently remarkable. The conquests by the Anglian kingdoms of Northumbria and Deira of Galloway up to the Clyde, and of the east coast up to the Firth and beyond, in the sixth century and onwards, and the Norse conquests of the same districts right up to the Solway Firth, and from Caithness, Sutherlandshire, Argyllshire, southward and westward, must have left many traces which are now possibly obscured by Celtic overlays or modern substitutions, and of these remains the work offers little information. Even where explanations of Norse or Anglian names are attempted, the results are in many cases singularly lame. Two instances, taken at random, may be cited:—

"WANLOCK WATER and WANLOCKHEAD (Sanquhar). Can this mean 'stream like a woman's ringlet,' or 'curl'? (O.E. *locc*, Icel. *lokk-r*). Cf. WANDEL. To the east lies Midlock Water."

"VIDLEN (Shetland). Icel. *vid-r*, Dan. and Sw. *vid*, 'wide'; *-lin* may be N. *lund*, 'a grove,' or *lan*, 'sheltered.'"

That a place-name could be formed of two adjectives, "wide" and "sheltered," as suggested in the latter case, or that serious Norsemen or Anglo-Saxons could perpetrate such a name as "stream like a woman's curl," are too grotesque for anything. The attempted derivations of the Gaelic names require the revision of a competent Gaelic scholar. Notwithstanding its obvious defects, the work presents, however, much valuable material, especially for re-elucidation, and the author has also been at the pains in numerous cases to cite old documents in support of his renderings. Moreover, many contributors have seconded his efforts, the Norse section in particular, showing, in parts, the labour of a writer fairly abreast with his subject. The work extends to 419 pages, of which the alphabetical list comprises 303 pages, which is evidence of the extent of treatment of the subject. There is also a supplementary short index.

F. T. N.

SCANDINAVIAN LOAN WORDS IN MIDDLE ENGLISH. By ERIK BJÖRKMAN.
Halle-am-Soaie: Max Niemeyer.

THE influence of Scandinavian on the English language during the last centuries of Anglo-Saxon rule has never been adequately treated until now

in a full and scientific treatise by the above author. We still require a book which deals with the whole subject—the influence of the Northern branches of the Teutonic race on their brothers of the South. It is a difficult question; where we have a family likeness it is hard to distinguish between inherited traits and the resemblances which come through association. But it is a question of supreme importance and interest. It is not merely the old ties of common origin and a common language and mythology which draw us to our Northern neighbours, but it is the bond renewed in the Middle Ages which has established a spirit of sympathy and swift comprehension between us and them. Is it due to this renewal of our kinship that a spirit of freedom and enterprise, prompt action and clearness of aim, has shown itself in our history and is felt in our language? The history of the invasions of the Northmen is told in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles; in the brilliant accounts of Snorri, and in occasional incidents, in the Icelandic Sagas. It falls into three periods. The first commencing in 787, when the hated warships of the Vikings, with their square-rigged sails, were spied by the subjects of King Offa. They were from Hordaland, in Norway, only three in number, but more were to come. Renewed attacks followed, sometimes with long intervals between, till in 865-70 the Scandinavians had conquered Northumbria, East Anglia, and the seven Danish Boroughs. They had now come to settle, and the second period had begun. This is occupied with the wars of Ælfred and Æthelred; the treaty of Wedmore, by which East Anglia and parts of Mercia were resigned to the Danes; and with the brief supremacy of Wessex under Edward and his successors over the whole country and its English and Scandinavian inhabitants. The third period lasts from the first invasion of Swegen in 991 till the Norman Conquest, after which we hear little of the Danes in England as a separate race. This history may be told in another fashion by its effects on our English language. As at first between conquered and conquerors there was only bitter hatred and disunion, so the Northern language shows itself as a foreign idiom. In old English times only about 150 words were borrowed, and these indicate relations of enmity. Thus *lið*, meaning fleet, *ván* or plunder, *barða*, a beaked ship, are associated with the Danes. Later on the borrowings suggest more peaceful intercourse and a more intimate blending of the languages; *þeþen*, thence; *þegg*, they, are words of every-day use. Scandinavian proper names, such as Hakon, Harold, Swegen, show that intermarriage had taken place; indeed, this was bound to follow settlement. But it was naturally some time after the period when warfare had ceased that the true blending of the languages was begun. During early days, of which the surviving literature is mainly West Saxon and Southern, the dialects least influenced by Scandinavian, the evidence is hard to trace. For these reasons the Author has chosen the period of Middle English, after 1150, as offering the best material for the study of Scandinavian influence. It is a period when the speeches were amalgamated, but had not become merged as in modern times. The influence of Old Norse has affected English in several ways. Doubtless one of the greatest, but the most difficult to trace, was on the

grammatical structure. Two nations who speak related languages would find that they understood each other more easily if they discarded inflectional syllables and spoke to each other in the language of common roots. Hence, probably the rapid decay of inflection in the Northern counties compared with a much slower progress in the South. There are few words which show grammatical inflections borrowed from Old Norse. M.E. *hager* = "apt" shows the old nom. ending $r < R < z$, which is preserved in O.N. *hagr*. "Scant," "thwart" "wight" = nimble, keep the neuter adjectival ending *t*. Influence on the vocabulary is very strong, and of a varying nature. We may have an Old Norse word translated into its Old English equivalent. as *hēafdesman* = "chieftain," O.N. *höfuðsmaðr*; O.E. *hāmsōkn* = "an attack," O.N. *heimsókn*; O.E. *rādesman* = "counsellor," O.N. *ráðamaðr*. Sometimes the borrowed words are peculiar to Old Norse. N.E. *taken*, *rugged*, *husting* = "an assembly," O.N. *húsping*; O.E. *husbonða*, O.N. *húsboði* = "house master." A native word is sometimes replaced by its foreign equivalent: M.E. *Odin* for native "Woden," M.E. *Thuresdag* for O.E. *Thunresdag*. This brings us to the most important part of the book—the tests by which we may recognise Scandinavian loan words. The best criterion is in the phonetic changes which each language has undergone from primitive Teutonic times. The sound *au* became in O.E. *ēa*, which developed into M.E. *ē*; in O.N. the diphthong remained: hence we know that M.E. *loupen* = "leap," *gowk* = "a cuckoo," *rauþ* = "red," are to be derived not from O.E. *hlēapau*, *gēac*, *rēad*, but from O.N. *hlaupa*, *gaukr*, *rauðr*. *K* and *sk* became palatal before palatal vowels, and were pronounced *tch*, *sh*, in M.E., so that "kettle," "kirk" (compare "church"), "sky," "skin," "scatter" (compare "shatter"), "bask," are Scandinavian forms. Another interesting point is discussed. From what parts of the North did these invaders come? By the English chroniclers they are all alike called Danes, but we know well from Scandinavian sources that many exiles and adventurers from Norway and Iceland came to seek the "islands of the Westmen." Until the beginning of the Viking period in 700 the North Teutonic branch formed one people; after that begin differences of dialect and habitation. The East Scandinavians occupied Sweden, Denmark, the Faroe Isles, and colonies in Finland and Russia. The West Scandinavians settled in Norway, Iceland, the Orkneys, and Shetland. Various small differences in pronunciation have crept into English, and show that the Vikings were not all Danes. M.E. *bole* = a "bull" comes from W. Scand. *boli*, not E. Scand. *bul*: *clet* = a "rock" from W. Scand. *klettr*, not E. Scand. *klinter*. With the last word, however, compare Scotch *clent*, the E. Scand. form. As far as we can judge, the Danes settled in East Anglia and Lincolnshire, while the Norwegians showed preference for the lands beyond the Humber and the North Western counties. The method pursued in this book is quite admirable. The appreciation of difficulties and the careful separation of indisputable and doubtful words make us rely on the author.

O. B.

NORTHERN MYTHOLOGY. By Professor D. F. KAUFFMANN. Translated by M. STEELE SMITH. *London: J. M. Dent & Co.* 1s.

THIS little book, in the compass of barely a hundred pages, gives a full and comprehensive outline of what we know of the worship and mythology of our forefathers, as practised among the various kindred nations into which the race was divided, whether on the mainland of Europe, or in these islands, or by the wild Northern seas. The work is, of course, based mainly upon Grimm's "Teutonic Mythology," with such additions as the labours and discoveries of later years require, and we have discovered no omissions of any importance in it. As well as is possible in the space he allows himself, the author points out the necessity of distinguishing between the beliefs and worship of the people, so far as we can gather them from records handed down to us almost entirely by those who were believers no longer, and the myths and stories of the gods, preserved by the singers and saga-tellers of Scandinavia, which form to us the most precious relics of the faith our fathers held. In his section on "The Worship of the Gods" he has gathered together what little is known of the rites of the temples, with their sacrifices and oracles, while the volume opens with a useful sketch of the introduction of Christianity among the various tribes that had followed the faith of Odin and the Æsir. The account of the various gods whose record has reached us, with the legends attaching to them, occupies the greater part of the book. We cannot, however, accept the author's conclusion in his section on "The Number of the Gods," which is as follows:—

"In Germany we have a record, dating from the time immediately preceding the introduction of Christianity, of the three ancient gods under the names Woden, Thuner, and Saxnot; they are the heathen idols to be renounced by the convert at baptism. Assuredly the formula of renunciation would have included other gods if such had existed among the people. It seems that only the three ancient gods were essential to the faith of the heathen Teutons, and that to them alone were worship and sacrifice offered; it cannot, however, now be determined under what name a particular god was worshipped by a particular tribe."

Clearly, we think, in the "Abrenuntiatio" alluded to the three gods mentioned stand for all the others. They were doubtless the most important, and we may observe that in the actual formula Thuner stands first and Woden second; but the supposition that such a formula must have included every known god seems to us absurd, and we think that the existence of other worshipped gods is certainly not negated by the use of this formula. That a triad of gods should be named is only what we should expect from the occurrence of similar instances elsewhere, as in the oath-formula in Iceland: "So help me Frey, Niord, and the Almighty As"; or the remarkable incantation which the Rev. R. M. Heanley found in use in Lincolnshire in 1858 or 1859, which, beginning with the Christian Trinity, ends up with an invocation to God, Wod, and Lok.¹ Temples also seem to have been frequently dedicated to a triad of divinities, as the temple at Upsala, described by Adam of Bremen as containing images of Thor, Woden, and Frey. The extent to which actual worship was offered

¹ See SAGA-BOOK, vol. iii., part i., p. 53.

to the various gods recognised undoubtedly differed at different times and places and with different individuals, but to our mind there can be no doubt that its range was wider than Professor Kauffmann allows.

A. F. M.

GISLI SÚRSSON: A DRAMA. Ballads and Poems of the old Norse Days, and some Translations. By BEATRICE HELEN BARMBY, with a Preface by F. YORK POWELL, Reg. Prof. Mod. Hist., Oxford. *Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co., Ltd.*

THE receipt of a translation into Icelandic of Miss Beatrice Barmby's play, founded on the Saga of Gisli, has served to remind us that, when the original appeared in 1900, we had not started these reviews in the SAGA-BOOK, and have consequently never noticed the volume. We are glad to take this opportunity of repairing the omission, though we hope there are not many of our members who are unacquainted with Miss Barmby's poems. Those at any rate who were present in January, 1903, when a reading of her play, with musical illustrations, was given at one of the meetings of the Viking Club, can hardly have failed to perceive in it a drama of great power and beauty, though we are conscious how greatly it suffered by the process of compression into the compass of an hour and by the absence of any accessories. The excision of the weird, poetic soliloquy that occupies Act iii. Scene ii. of the play was especially to be regretted, both for its own sake and for its importance with regard to the Saga, typifying as it seems to us the mystical, poetic strain in Gisli's nature as there depicted. Whether the play will ever find its way to the stage is doubtful. It is most dramatic, and any actor or actress might be proud to undertake the representation of the leading characters. But in spite of Professor York Powell's opinion that it "was meant for acting, and is evidently actable," we doubt whether the central scene of the slaying of Thorgrim could be represented on the stage, and the scenes would require much skilful rearrangement to adapt them to the modern stage, though not more so than the plays of Shakespeare. But we should much like to see the experiment tried. In the hands of a capable manager it might prove a great success. It is certainly a striking proof of the success of the play, as a dramatisation of a Saga, that a modern Icelandic playwright should have translated it. There could be no better evidence of Miss Barmby's skill and success in handling the Saga. Of the other poems in the volume founded on Icelandic themes, the ballads have the true ballad ring, and the author was evidently as well versed in the old ballad minstrelsy of the English and Scotch Border as in the Icelandic Sagas, that in many ways are akin to those ballads, and deal with a period that has much in common with the wild moss-trooping days. Not less to be commended are the translations from the old Norse, which will give some flavour of the originals to those who cannot read them for themselves. This volume is certainly one which all who love the old Norse life and literature should make a point of possessing.

A. F. M.

GISLI SÚRSSON. *Sjónarleikur* : einnig nokkur kvæði. Höfundur : BEATRICE HELEN BARMBY. MATTHIAS JOCHUMSSON, íslenzkaði. Utgefendur : MABEL BARMBY og M. JOCHUMSSON. *Akureyri* : 1903. Gisli Súrsson. A Drama : also some Poems. Authoress : B. H. BARMBY. Translator : M. JOCHUMSSON. Editors : MABEL BARMBY & M. JOCHUMSSON.

No greater honour could be rendered to this drama in the land where its scene was laid than this translation by the poet, who is easily *facile princeps* of living Icelandic authors. In an interesting preface the translator has given some slight hints of the great difficulties to be overcome in turning English blank verse into Icelandic prose, and how admiration for a dramatic masterpiece that might serve as a model for his countrymen in similar work impelled him to his self-imposed task. He could not with the best will in the world write in the perfect prose of the twelfth and thirteenth century, nor could he use modern Icelandic prose. He therefore decided to let the dramatis personæ speak as nearly as he dared in the language of their own time, keeping in mind all the time the necessity of being understood by the Icelanders of the twentieth century. It would be too much to say that he has threaded his way between Scylla and Charybdis successfully everywhere, but, on the whole, his translation reads so well that it has found favour with modern readers. It was no doubt inevitable that something of the evanescent spirit of poetry should vanish in the process of rendering verse by prose, even when done by a poet. On the other hand, the play may have gained by the strong and virile Saga prose of the translator, as the authoress herself seemed to think. Mr. Jochumsson gives a short sketch of her life and some quotations as a sample of the high praise accorded to this work, so fresh and new of its kind, in the most authoritative quarters. In a beautiful sonnet he welcomes her to his own country, to inspire his countrymen to new deeds, as her Florentine namesake inspired the greatest of Italians. The great names of Iceland, Sturla, Egil Skallagrimsson, Ari the Wise, do homage to her. Mr. Jochumsson has also printed an Icelandic version of an unfinished sonnet, "To Iceland," by the authoress, the last six lines of which were added by her sister, Miss Mabel Barmby, and a translation of three of her ballads. That of "Bolli and Gudrun" is an excellent rendering of the terse and pregnant lines of the original. Mr. Jochumsson hopes that other Sagas may be dramatised in due course. "Sword and Crozier," by Indriði Einarsson, based on the Sturlunga Saga, has followed closely on the heels of "Gisli," and it is a drama easier to stage than its predecessor. Perhaps a whole school of historical dramatists may spring up from these beginnings, and then the Sagas will begin to take their due place in literature.

J. S.

POEMS. By BEATRICE HELEN BARMBY. *Westminster* : Archibald Constable & Co.

THIS volume of miscellaneous poems, selected from the manuscripts left by Miss Barmby, contains some echoes from her studies in Northern literature, though all her important original work in this line was

given to the world in the volume noticed above. The translation of Þrymskviða, which appears on page 454 of this number of the SAGA-BOOK, should also have appeared in that volume, but was not quite completed. With it should be compared "Thord of Haffsgaard" in the volume under review, translated from a Danish ballad of the sixteenth century. This is a rendering of the Icelandic Lay, in which the actors are reduced from their divine proportions to an earthly scale, and all the incidents of the myth undergo a similar process of belittling. Other poems of interest are translations from the modern Icelandic and Swedish and the section called "Ballads and Romances," containing poems founded on the cycle of Dietrich of Bern. There is much of beauty and interest in Miss Barmby's miscellaneous poems also, but we must not linger over these.

A. F. M.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH NATION. By the VENERABLE BEDE. *London: Dent & Co. Price 1s. 6d.*

THE ecclesiastical history of Bede is known to the student, especially of church lore, but it is not so generally read as it deserves to be by the ordinary reader or those interested in special branches of historical research. For many matters concerning the history of the Anglo-Saxon, the British, Pictish and Irish nations, it is, however, our only source, and for social details of the period it is a perfect storehouse to the patient investigator. Messrs. Dent & Co. have done a service therefore in placing a cheap edition of this work, as also of the Chronicle of Geoffrey of Monmouth, at the disposition of the general reader. The work is lacking of an index.

F. T. N.

EDMONSTON'S FLORA OF SHETLAND: Comprehending a List of the prevalent Wild-flowers, Horse-tails, Club-mosses, and Ferns of the Shetland Isles. Second Edition. Natural classification. Edited and revised by C. F. ARGYLL-SAXBY, F.S.Sc.Lond., with a Biographical Sketch of the Life of Thomas Edmonston, by Mrs. J. N. E. SAXBY. *Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier. Price 2s.*

THE above is a revision of the well-known work of Edmonston's of the common wild-flowers of Shetland carried out on the lines of their natural classification, and will prove valuable to all interested in the treecraft of the British Isles. The work is the outcome of the labours of a son of one of our Vice-Presidents, Mrs. J. N. E. Saxby, who has herself collaborated in its production, and sympathy will be extended to the author because of the breakdown of his health resulting from overdevotion to his task. Although his first literary venture, the author has carried out his work well, and Shetlanders in particular owe to him a debt of gratitude.

F. T. N.

POPULAR TALES FROM THE NORSE. By SIR GEORGE WEBBE DASENT, D.C.L., etc. New Edition, with a Memoir by ARTHUR IRWIN DASENT. *Edinburgh: David Douglas.*

THE value of this work is too well known to render any lengthy notice of it necessary in these pages. There is ample room for a new edition, as it is now some fifteen years since the last appeared. The memoir of the author by his son adds to the value and interest of the book, which many of our readers will doubtless be glad to possess.

A. F. M.

THE STORY OF THE LAXDALERS. Done into English by ROBERT PROCTOR. *London: Charles Whittingham & Co.*

SINCE its publication this work has acquired a melancholy interest by reason of the untimely death of its author, who was lost while climbing alone among the Alps in August last. Like many a Viking wanderer in the days of old, no man knows how he perished, or where his body lies. May the snows rest lightly upon him! In our last number we had also to review a translation of the "Laxdæla Saga" by Mrs. M. A. C. Press, and we could wish that students would rather turn their attention to Sagas not yet translated, than vie with each other in offering us rival versions. The field of the untranslated Sagas is wide enough, but we hope it may some day be the work of the Viking Club to cover it systematically. As in the version we noticed last year so in this translation, we have to lament the absence of an account of the Saga and its literary history and of any index of any kind. These omissions are the more surprising, as the translation is produced with every sign of care. On the other hand, it includes the interesting "Tale of Bolli," which was omitted by Mrs. Press, and is well worth including with the Saga, to which it forms an adjunct. As regards the translation itself, we fear it will not do much to remove the prejudice against Sagas among the general reader. Mr. Proctor has studied in the school of William Morris, and has as far as possible Englished the Icelandic idioms in phrases as closely akin as the language will allow. The result is no doubt very near the original, and to some of us not unpleasing, but we think that, as in the case of William Morris's later translations, the effort after antique simplicity is overdone, and, however faithful it may be, not many will find it readable. Of the two we think Mrs. Press's version will be generally preferred, though Mr. Proctor's is the more scholarly and accurate, and is a better representation of the Saga.

A. F. M.

ROSSLYN'S RAID AND OTHER TALES. By BEATRICE HELEN BARMBY. *London: Duckworth & Co. 1s. 6d.*

THIS volume of short stories by the authoress of "Gisli Súrsson" shows her genius in a new light, and increases our regret at the too early death of a writer of such brilliant promise. The tales in it, three in number, show how versatile was her talent. The first, which gives its name to the book, is a spirited story of the Scottish Border in the days of Queen

Elizabeth, and shows that the writer must have steeped herself in Border literature. The second is a brilliant study of the life of the ancient Chaldæa and Assyria. The atmosphere of the far-away place and time is reproduced with a vividness that is almost startling. The third is a story of Iceland in days later than the Saga-time, when in the popular imagination the wild interior wastes were the haunt of outlaws, whose hands were against all men, and who had few of the human features remaining that appear in the great outlaws of the earlier historic time. Many such tales are to be found in Icelandic folklore. They are interesting as showing how the older Sagas suffered a degradation on the lips of popular story-tellers, though doubtless there was also an element of truth in them. As Grettir and Gisli, when outlawed, took to the wastes and waged war upon their foes, so in later days of smaller men, those who had sinned against the law found a refuge in the wild places of the land, and continued to prey upon the society that had driven them out. In all these tales Miss Barmby shows that in spirit at any rate she was a true daughter of the Vikings. They are told with a vigour and virility that is remarkable, and the details of the fighting, especially in "Rosslyn's Raid," are not only realistic, but ring true.

A. F. M.

CHILDREN OF ODIN. By E. E. SPEIGHT, B.A. *London: Horace Marshall & Son.* 1s.

THIS little volume is the fourth of a series of "Romance Readers" appearing under the editorship of Miss C. L. Thompson, designed, as we learn from the preface, to provide children in all grades of schools with simple reading books, which shall also be an introduction to the great literatures of the world. The number before us, containing a varied selection of stories from the Norse mythology, tales from the Icelandic Sagas, samples of folklore, etc., etc., is well designed to awaken an interest in Northern literature, though the number of folk and fairy tales in the volume is, we think, unduly large, and a few more tales from the Icelandic Sagas might have been substituted for some of these. We would also suggest to the editor that a reference to the authorities for the various readings would be of the greatest value to teachers, or students, whose interest is kindled sufficiently to make them desirous of drinking more deeply of the literature they are here invited merely to taste of. The author's introductory sketch of the pre-history of the North is well adapted for children, though we are sorry he should fall into the ancient error of representing all races that were unacquainted with Roman civilization as "savages"; and he might, in a book written primarily for English children, have enforced the lesson that we are never tired of teaching, that the dwellers in these islands have for the most part as much right to call themselves children of Odin as the dwellers in the Scandinavian lands. The attempt to give an idea of the proper pronunciation of old Norse names is on the whole successfully carried out, but we cannot understand why, in a language which has preserved the ancient sounds of th, T should be substituted for the former sound in such words as Thrym, Thrudvang, Thjassi, which are here written Trym, Trudvang,

Tjasse respectively. The book is copiously illustrated, but we cannot regard this as a merit, for the artist, whose name is not given, has evidently little acquaintance with Northern literature, and has read the letterpress very hurriedly and carelessly. Possibly children, who are not Norse scholars, may be imposed upon by the beardless striplings who stand for Thor of the red beard, and the Sea-king Ragnar Lodbrog at the date of his wooing of Aslaug; but even they will decline to accept the scrubby little handmaiden on page 49 as the giant maiden Gerd, who "shone with so much beauty that the whole world was made light"; while sharp children will doubtless wonder why a fairy prince, described in the story as having a son seven years old, should be pictured on page 155 as a boy of fourteen or fifteen. But such blemishes detract little from the real value of the book, which we hope our readers will do their best to recommend, as an excellent way of inducing children to enter on the paths we would have them tread.

A. F. M.

THE GRAND DUCHY OF FINLAND. By the Author of "A Visit to the Russians in Central Asia." *London: T. Fisher Unwin.*

IT is difficult to classify this book. It is neither history, nor a descriptive account of the country, nor a guide-book, though it partakes of the nature of all three. The opening statement that it was "in substance read at a meeting of a literary society" may partly explain this, though it would have been well if the author had revised and rearranged it before giving it the dignity of a separate publication. The sketch of the early history of the Northern lands and of the religion of the Scandinavian races is decidedly crude. We should like to know the writer's authority for the statement that the myth of Balder is a Finnish story. The book, however, may serve to give the reader some idea of the leading incidents in the history of Finland, and will not lessen the indignation with which every lover of Northern liberty watches the spectacle of Finnish freedom slowly ground down to the dust under the yoke of Muscovite tyranny.

A. F. M.

THE TREASURE OF DON ANDRES. A Shetland Romance of the Spanish Armada. By J. J. HALDANE BURGESS, M.A. *Lerwick: Thomas Mathewson.* 6s.

THIS is a story of adventure on the Spanish Main, which centres round the historical fact that in the wild flight of the relics of the defeated Armada a Spanish galleon was wrecked upon Fair Island. The author has plenty of imagination, but lacks the art of telling his tale convincingly.

A. F. M.

SOME SHETLAND FOLK. First Group. By J. J. HALDANE BURGESS, M.A. *Lerwick: Thomas Mathewson.* 1s. 6d.

MR. HALDANE BURGESS succeeds better with his sketches of modern Shetland life and character than with his mediæval romance. His "Shetland Folk" will be specially interesting to natives of the "Old Rock."

A. F. M.

LAUDER AND LAUDERDALE. By A. THOMSON, F.S.A.Scot. *Galashiels : Craighead Brothers, Ladhope Vale.*

THIS work is an eminently disappointing one. Ostensibly a thoughtful and scholarly history of an interesting district of lowland Scotland, it is, in actuality, a farrago of wild nonsense. The author goes back to the earliest times, and in a certain piecemeal fashion makes his history up to the present, but a specimen of his method and matter at the outset is shown by his description of the first Kelts of Scotland as migrants from Central Germany, "a tall, fair race, with yellow hair and blue eyes." On the other hand, in the words of the author, "centuries passed before the Teuton, with low stature, long head, and dark eyes, interfered with the native breed, and sent forth a posterity of 'developed mongrels' [*sic*], of whom some remain to the present the passive representatives and type." He then goes on to say: "Even to the end of the *tenth* century all Scotland might be said to be purely Celtic." After these two quotations, it will be seen that it is impossible to take the author as either a serious student or a competent observer. A great part of the book is taken up with biographical notices, interspersed with gossipy paragraphs on various matters which may prove of interest to a certain class of readers not addicted to critical literature. The book is well printed, and has numerous illustrations.

F. T. N.

KAREN, a Swedish Idyll. By FRANCES HARIOTT WOOD. *London : James Blackwood & Co.*

THIS is a pretty little story of Swedish peasant life in the neighbourhood of the great copper mines of Falun seventy years ago. Old Swedish customs and superstitions, legends and folklore, play a great part in the story, though we fancy the authoress is responsible for some of the stories introduced. "The Stockholm Candle" is quite in the spirit of Hans Andersen. The book is worth perusal, though the story is slight, for the writer has evidently made a careful study both of the life she depicts and of the legendary lore interwoven with the story, and her reproduction of them is both faithful and natural.

A. F. M.

RECEIVED TOO LATE FOR REVIEW.

THE GODS ARE JUST. By the late Miss Beatrice Helen Barmby. *London : Duckworth & Co. 6s.*

THE CELTIC AND SCANDINAVIAN ANTIQUITIES OF SHETLAND. By Gilbert Goudie. *Edinburgh and London : W. Blackwood & Sons.*

SINGOALLA. A Mediæval Legend. By Viktor Rydberg. *London and Newcastle-on-Tyne : The Walter Scott Publishing Co., Ltd.*