

Saga-Book of the Viking Club.

VOL. III. PART II.

ADDITIONAL GIFTS TO LIBRARY.

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

GIVEN BY

MISS E. BARMBY.

"Gísli Súrsson : A Drama." By Miss B. H. Barmby. (Archibald Constable and Co.)

THE PUBLISHERS.

"Roslyn's Raid and other Tales." By Miss B. M. Barmby. (Duckworth and Co.)

W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A.

"Pilgrimage to the Saga-steads of Iceland." By W. G. Collingwood, M.A., and Jón Stefánsson, Ph.D.

THE AUTHOR.

"The Ancient Model of a Boat and Warrior Crew from Roos Carrs near Withernsea." By Thomas Sheppard, F.G.S., Curator, Hull Museum. Reprinted from the *Transactions of the East Riding Antiquarian Society* for 1901.

REV. J. SEPHTON.

Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool.

MR. A. F. MAJOR.

"Popular Studies in Mythology, Romance and Folklore. No. 12, The Edda—1. The Divine Mythology of the North." By Winifred Faraday, M.A. (D. Nutt.)

THE AUTHOR.

"Shetlandsøerne Stedname." By J. Jakobsen.

H. M. STATIONERY OFFICE.

"Chronicon Scotorum." Rolls Publications.

"The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill." Rolls Publications.

"The Annals of Loch Cé." 2 vols.

"Brut of Tywysogion."

"Annales Cambriæ."

"The Annals of Ulster." 3 vols.

"The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle." 2 vols.

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THORESBY SOCIETY.

The Society's Publications, bound, viz.:—Vol. i., Leeds Registers, 1572-1612; Vol. ii., Miscellanea; Vol. iii., Leeds Registers, 1612-1639; Vol. iv., Miscellanea; Vol. v., Adel Registers, 1606-1812; Vol. vi., Calverley Charters; Vol. vii., Leeds Registers, 1639-1667; Vol. viii., Kirkstall Abbey Coucher Book; Vol. ix., Miscellanea; Vol. x., Leeds Registers, 1667-1695.

Plan of Leeds, date 1806.

Atkinson's "Ralph Thoresby, his Town and Times," 2 vols.

OTHER ADDITIONS.

"Studies in History and Jurisprudence." By James Bryce, D.C.L. (Clarendon Press: 2 vols.)

"Kiartan the Icelander: a Tragedy." By Newman Howard. (J. M. Dent & Co.)

"The Passing of Scyld and other Poems." By E. E. Kellett. (J. M. Dent & Co.)

"Toscanelli and Columbus." By Henry Vignaud. (Sands & Co.)

"Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland: A Folklore Sketch." By W. G. Wood-Martin. Vols. i. and ii. (Longmans & Co.)

"The Story of Lost England." By E. Wilson. (Geo. Newnes, Ltd.)

"The French Stonehenge." By T. Cato Worsfold. (Bemrose & Sons, Ltd.)

Journal of the County Kildare Archæological Society.

Transactions of the Yorkshire Dialect Society, part iv.

Journal of the Architectural, Archæological and Historical Society for County and City of Chester and North Wales.

Journal of Yorkshire Archæological Society, part lxv.

Smithsonian Institution Report.

Bulletin of Bureau of American Ethnology.

SPECIAL GIFTS TO FUNDS.

					£	s.	d.
Miss Mabel Barmby	0	10	0
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Dr. Karl Blind	0	10	0
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Dr. T. S. Clouston	1	0	0
Gilbert Goudie	1	0	0
A. W. Johnston	1	6	10
A. F. Major	7	13	5
Rev. C. A. Moore	0	10	0
G. Norman	..	..	..	..	0	10	0
F. T. Norris	..	..	..	..	0	15	0
A. C. Reid	..	..	..	..	1	10	0
J. Cathcart Wason, M.P.	..	..	..	..	0	10	0
Rev. C. W. Whistler	..	..	..	..	0	5	0

PUBLICATIONS BY MEMBERS.

AMONG publications by members in the past year are:—

- "Outer Isles." By A. Goodrich-Freer. (Archibald Constable & Co.)
 - "Viking Relics." By Joseph Anderson, LL.D. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. x.
 - "Rune-marked Relics." Ibid, vol. xiii.
 - "Notes on the Earl's Bú (or Bordland) at Orphir, Orkney, called Orfjara in the Sagas, and on the Remains of the Round Church there." By A. W. Johnston, F.S.A.Scot. Paper read before the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.
 - "A Germanic Amber Tale in Ancient Hellenic Garb"; "Old Norse Descriptions in Homer"; and "A Prehistoric Sun-Chariot in Denmark," in the *Berlin Zeitgeist*. "The Divine Descent of Edward VII. from Woden," in the literary gazette of the *Berlin Vossische Zeitung*. Forthcoming publication: An article on "Fire-Burial and the Sigurd Saga" ("Feuer-Bestattung und die Sigurd Sage.") By Dr. Karl Blind.
 - "The Lake Counties." (Dent's County Guides.) By W. G. Collingwood. (Dent & Co.)
 - "Lower Wharfedale." By Harry Speight. (Elliot Stock.)
 - "The Danish Attack on Bedford in 921." Paper read by Mr. A. R. Goddard before the Bedford Arts Club, and reproduced in the *Bedfordshire Times and Independent* on March 28th, 1903.
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VIKING BIBLIOGRAPHY IN 1902.

[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 Park House, 21, Aubert Park, Highbury.]

THE following list of Danish archæological publications in 1902, contributed by Mr. Hans Kjær, is not pretended to be complete. It comprises most of the new learned works on archæology, from prehistoric times up to the early Middle Ages, and also some popular works of interest and foreign works referring to Denmark. Literature in modern Icelandic is not included. Prices approximately reduced from Danish money.

GENERAL.

No large works issued.

ICELAND.

T. Thoroddsen: Geological Map of Iceland. 10 kr. (11s.). Copenhagen, 1901.

- Kr. Kålund : "Om Handskrifterne af Sturlunga Saga og dennes enkelte Bestanddele." (On the MS. of the "Sturlunga Saga" and their separate parts.) *Aarb. f. Nord. Oldk.*, 1901. 41 pp.
- W. Sorensen : "Vor Stenalderes Tvedeling; Spørgsmaalets Historie og endelige Afgørelse." (Bisection of our Stone Age: history of the inquiry and its final settlement.) *Tidsskriftet Tilskuere*, 1901. (Complementary to the work "Affaldsdynger fra Stenalderen i Danmark.")
- L. Zinck : "Det nord-europæiske Dysseterritoriums Stengrave og Dyssernes Udbredelse i Europa." (The distribution of North European diss or stone graves.) Résumé in French. Copenhagen, 1901. 244 pp. 3 kr. (3s. 4d.)

IRON AGE.

- Hans Kjær : "To nye Mosefund fra Jernalderen." Illus. (Two new marsh-finds belonging to the Iron Age. Finds from steads where small battles occurred in 5th and 6th centuries before Christ. *Aarb. f. Nord. Oldk.*, 1901. 29 pp.)
- B. Salin : "De nordiske Guldbrakteaterne"; några Bidrag till Kannedommen om Brakteaternes Utbredning och kulturhistoriska Betydelse. (Norse gold bracteates—a contribution to the knowledge of the distribution and historical meaning of bracteates.) *Antikv. Tidsskrift för Sverige*, 1899.

MIDDLE AGE.

- J. Mestorf : "Ueber Danewerk und Haithaby (Hedeby)" (Dannevirke and Heathby). *Mitth. des antrop. Vereins in Schleswig-Holstein*, 1900. (German translation of a Danish work which will shortly appear.)
- Ivar Hertzssprung : "Et Par sønderjydske Træskærerarbejder fra det 13. Arhundrede." Illus. *Aarb. f. Nord. Oldkyn.*, 1901. 26 pp. (South Jutish wood-carvings of the thirteenth century.)

RUNIC MONUMENTS.

- Axel Olrik : "Nordiske Runeværker (Anmeldelse)." (Letterstedtske *Nordiske Tidsskrift*, 1901.)
- George Stephens : "The Old Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England, now first collected and deciphered." Edited after his death by Sven Söderberg. Vol. iv. Lund, 1901. (Vols. i.-iii. were published in 1866-84.)
- L. F. A. Wimmer : "De danske Runemindesmarker undersøgte og tolkede." Vol. ii. "Runestenene i Jylland og paa ferne, ondtagen Bornholm." Copenhagen, 1901. Folio, 510 pp. 50 kr. (£2 16s) (Danish Runic monuments enumerated and translated. Rune stones in Jutland and on the islands, excluding Bornholm.)
- L. F. A. Wimmer : "Runemindesmærkerne i Sønderjylland som Vidnesbyrd om Landets Nationalitet." In "Haandbog i det nordslesvigske Spørgsmaals Historie." Copenhagen, 1901. (Runic memorials in South Jutland a witness to the nationality of the folk.) Price of the "Haandbog," 694 pp., 20 kr. (£1 2s.).

SPECIAL SUBJECTS.

- Jakob Jakobsen : "Shetlandsoernes Stednavne." (Shetland Stead-names). *Aarb. f. Nord. Oldk.*, 1991. 204 pp.
- J. A. Jørgensen : "Bornholms Historie," i-ii., of which Vol. i., "Oldtiden og senere Tid til 1660." The author took part in a series of researches on Bornholm.
- C. A. Markham : "The Stone Crosses of the County of Northampton." London, 1901.
- "Laxdæla Saga." Translated from the Icelandic by Muriel A. C. Press. (J. M. Dent & Co.)
- "The Discoveries of the Norsemen in America, with special relation to their Cartographical Representation." By Joseph Fischer, S.J. (Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles.)
- "Northern Hero Legends." By Dr. Otto L. Jiriczek. (J. M. Dent & Co.)
- "Kiartan the Iclander : a Tragedy." By Newman Howard. (J. M. Dent & Co.)
- "The Passing of Scyld and other Poems." By E. E. Kellett. (J. M. Dent & Co.)
- "A Hero King : A Romance of the Days of Alfred the Great." By Miss Pollard. (S. W Partridge & Co.)
- Rev. Charles Plummer's Ford Lectures for 1901, "The Life and Times of Alfred the Great." (Clarendon Press and Henry Frowde.)
- "Across Iceland." By W. Bisiker, F.R.G.S. (Arnold.)
- "The Edda. 2. The Heroic Mythology of the North." By Winifred Faraday, M.A. (David Nutt.)

. The Council of the Viking Club do not hold themselves responsible for statements or opinions appearing in memoirs or communications to the SAGA-BOOK, the authors being alone answerable for the same.

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

TENTH SESSION, 1902.

MEETING, JANUARY 17TH, 1902.

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

Miss Eleanor Hull, Hon. Sec. Irish Texts Society, read a paper on "Irish Episodes in Icelandic Literature," which is reproduced, with discussion, in this issue.

MEETING, FEBRUARY 14TH, 1902.

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

The Rev. C. W. Whistler, Hon. District Secretary for Somersetshire, contributed a paper on "Havelok the Dane," which, with the discussion, is held over for reproduction in a future issue.

MEETING, MARCH 14TH, 1902.

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

Mr. J. Gray, B.Sc., Member of the Anthropological Institute, read a paper on "Anthropological Evidence of the Relations between the Races of Britain and Scandinavia," which, with the discussion thereon, is reproduced in this issue.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, APRIL 18TH, 1902.

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

The Annual General Meeting was held at the King's Weigh House, on Friday, April 18th, 1902, at 8 p.m. The

Report of the Council, and the Statement of Accounts and Balance Sheet for the year 1901, were laid before the meeting. A revised Law Book, providing among other changes for an alteration in the title and nomenclature of the Club, was submitted and adopted, and the Officers of the Club for the ensuing year were elected.

Mr. A. W. Johnston, F.S.A.Scot., then read a paper on "The Earl's Bú and Round Church of Orphir, Orkney," which is reproduced in this issue.

ANNUAL DINNER, APRIL 21ST, 1902.

The Annual Dinner was held on Monday, April 21st, 1902, at 7-30 p.m., at the Florence Hotel, Rupert Street, W., when the following were present:—Mr. G. M. Atkinson (President) in the Chair; Mr. E. Warburg (Vice-President) in the Vice-chair; Mrs. Atkinson, Mrs. and Miss Warburg, Mr. A. W. Johnston, Miss Parsons and friend, Mr. W. V. M. Popham, Mr. and Mrs. Newmarch, Mr. Kirby, Miss Leslie, Mr. Du Boulay, Mr. A. F. Major, Miss Grön, Dr. Stefánsson, Mr. Prior, Miss Hull, Mr. Raymond Tucker, Dr. Pernet, and Mr. W. Mansell Stevens. Colonel Hobart, Mr. F. T. Norris, and Mr. J. Cathcart Wason, M.P., were unable to attend. After the dinner, Miss Alfild Grön sang several Norwegian songs, accompanied by Mr. W. Mansell Stevens, who also played several pianoforte solos. Mr. Du Boulay likewise contributed several violin solos.

MEETING, NOVEMBER 7TH, 1902.

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

Mr. Magnus Spence, Hon. District Secretary for Deerness, Orkney, contributed a paper on "Maeshowe and the Standing Stones of Stenness: their Age and Purpose," in connection with which Mr. A. L. Lewis exhibited and

described a series of lantern slide views of stone circles, etc., many of them specially taken by Mr. Lewis and exhibited for the first time. Mr. Spence's paper (which was fully illustrated in the series of views shown by Mr. Lewis), with the discussion thereon, is reserved for issue on a future occasion.

MEETING, DECEMBER 5TH, 1902.

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

Mr. A. W. Johnston, F.S.A.Scot., in the absence of the author, Mr. George Marwick, read a paper on the "Orkneyan Tradition of the Translation of the Relics of St. Magnus from Birsay to St. Magnus Cathedral, Kirkwall," with additions, the result of the reader's own researches into the subject. Mr. A. C. Reid contributed a paper on "Early English Settlers in Cheshire." Both papers, with discussions, are reserved for future reproduction.

REPORTS OF DISTRICT SECRETARIES.

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

RUNIC TYMPANUM AT PENNINGTON, FURNESS.

A VERY interesting discovery was made in March, 1902, by Dr. T. K. Fell, of Barrow-in-Furness, in a district which is rich in Viking place-names, but had not previously yielded any monuments referring to the Scandinavian settlement. While investigating the local history, he was told by the Rev. T. Edge Wright of an old sculptured stone built into an outhouse at Loppergarth (Leper-garth, traditionally the site of a leper hospital), and he recognised runes upon the border of the design, which was evidently a tympanum from some “Norman” church door. It is known that a church of St. Leonard existed here in the twelfth century, and there can be little doubt that this stone has come from it. Dr. Fell sent me a photograph, and Mr. Harper Gaythorpe, F.S.A.Scot., supplemented it with rubbings, tracings, and a cast very carefully made, a photograph of which was given in *The Reliquary* for July, 1902, p. 201.

These do not, however, completely represent the forms, for the natural cracks of weathered cleavage have to be eliminated. My drawing from the stone, after careful examination, is given on the following woodcut :—

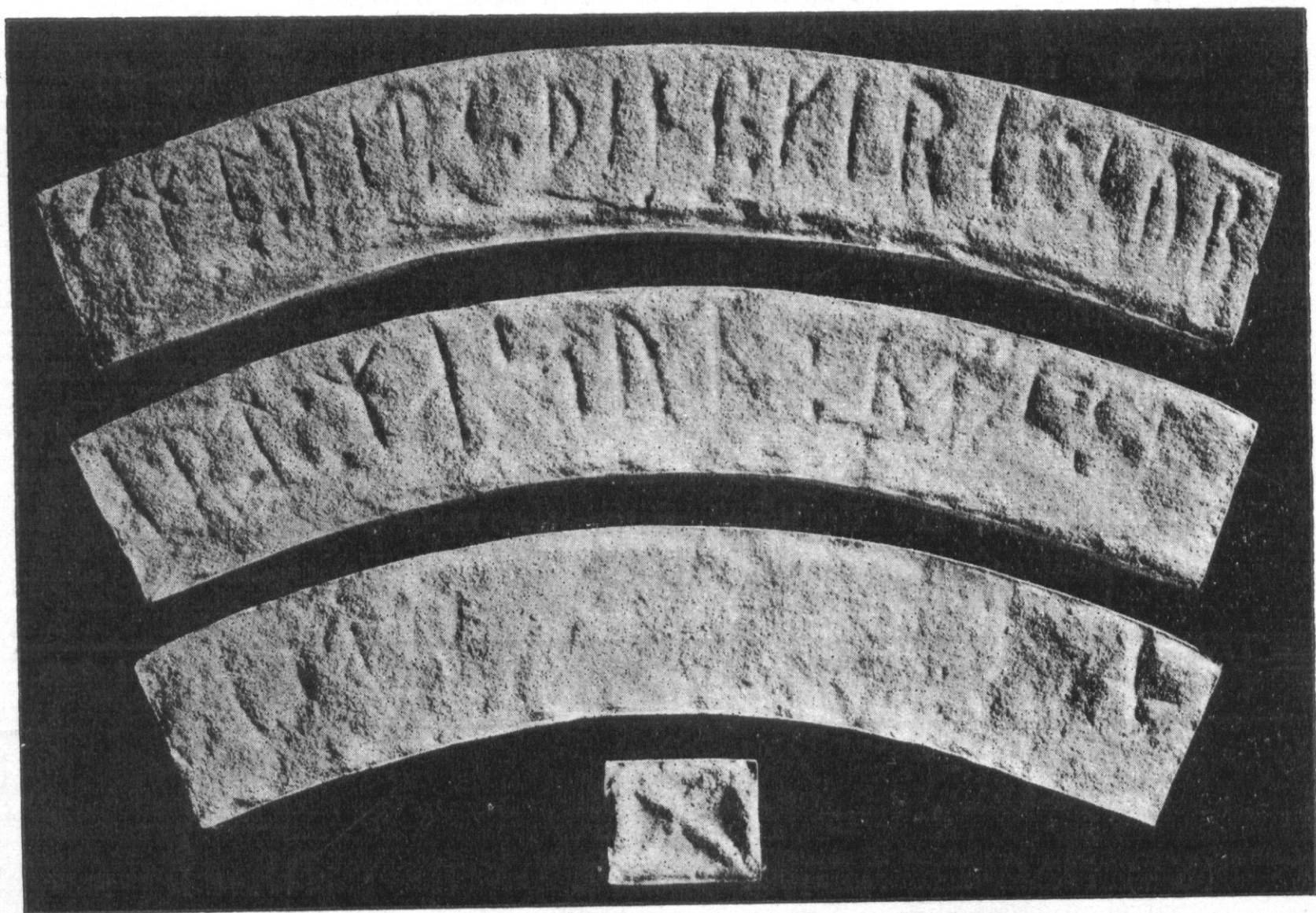


There are eight words in all :—

(KA)MIAL : (S?)ETI : ThESA : KIRK : HUBERT :
M(E?)SUN : V(A?)N : M . . .



SCULPTURED AND INSCRIBED TYMPANUM AT LOPPERGARTH.
(Reproduced from the "Reliquary and Illustrated Archæologist.")



RUNIC INSCRIPTION AROUND TYMPANUM AT LOPPERGARTH.
(Reproduced from the "Reliquary and Illustrated Archæologist.")

The church is known to have been built by Gamel de Pennington about the middle of the twelfth century, and Mr. Eiríkr Magnússon suggests that the first part of the inscription might read, "Gamel founded this church," the *mial* being for *mel*, as NURVIAK for *Norveg* in the Jellinge stone, and the first rune of the next word being for the short S of late runes, making SETI (*setti*), the usual word for establishing a church.

The next three words Mr. Magnússon thinks might mean, "Hubert the mason wrought . . .", VAN standing for *vann*, but of this he is doubtful. Dr. Fell of Barrow also suggested the words, "Hubert and "mason" independently.

In any case, we have here Scandinavian runes and Scandinavian words, representing the tongue understood of the people in Furness in the middle of the twelfth century—a fact of the highest interest in connection with other evidences of Viking settlement.

THE DANISH CAMP AND TOWTOP KIRK.

Last year I mentioned some sites which might be dwellings of the Viking Age. One of them, called the Danish Camp at Gosforth, was dug into in the early summer of 1902 by Dr. Parker, F.S.A.Scot., who invited me to assist. We found the square building to be an ancient dwelling, with a fire on a cobble-paved hearth, and some scraps of pottery which proved it to be post-Viking; but of the small triple rampart we were not able to say more than that it might have been strengthened with a stockade to serve as a garth, and that such garths are not yet distinguished into periods and purposes.

Towtop Kirk, above Stangarth, Bampton, Westmorland, is a ring-fence enclosing two hut-circles, and a later "peat-scale" built upon one of them. The fence here, though single, is low and small, as at the Danish Camp; it was found, when I joined Miss Noble of Beckfoot, Bampton, in digging out the place, to be without a ditch,

and merely made of earth and stones shovelled up from the ground. There was a cross about $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter incised on one of the stones which had served to build either the huts or the peat-scale, or both, but no other relics. It had been vaguely guessed that this was the seat of some Viking (?) named "Tow," or that *Kirk* meant a sacred place; but the site is evidently one of many post-Roman hill farms, and it cannot be identified with the Vikings. Still, the negative evidence is worth a brief note, while waiting for the complete survey of pre-Norman earthworks which is so desirable as a help to the study of the Viking Age.

SOME "ARKS" AND "ERGS."

The old idea that *ark* or *erg* in place-names meant *hörgr*, "shrine," was conclusively upset by Dr. H. Colley March, F.S.A., in *Trans. Lanc. and Chesh. Antiq. Soc.*, 1890. He showed that these were from the Viking word *erg* or *ærg*, meaning the same as *sæter* or *sel*, and equivalent to the Gaelic *airidh*, "summer pasture," and he gave among his instances four well-known places near Kendal—Mansergh, Mozergh, Skelsmergh, and Sizergh. I suppose the first is the "bondman's sæter," like Manheimar and Mansfell (above Hvamm) in Iceland; the second is from *mosi*, "mossland, moor," like Mosfell in Iceland, and Mosser (formerly Mosergh or Mosargh) in Cumberland; the third was anciently Skelsmersherk or Skelsmeresergh (twelfth century), which is the "sæter by the mere of the scale"; and the last was written Sigaritherge in the time of Richard I., which may be Sigrid's dairy-farm, or possibly Sigurd's.

Some other instances may be worth putting down for the sake of the illustration they give to life in these parts soon after the Viking settlement.

Ninesergh, near Levens, must have been the sæter of Ninian, on the analogy of Ninekirks (Brougham) and Ninewells (Brampton). The name perhaps imported

from Galloway, as the eleventh and twelfth century people in this neighbourhood seem to have been connected with Galloway families.

Langley Park (West Cumberland) was anciently Langliferga, and similar forms. Now Langlíf was a Viking name in the twelfth century ("Sturlunga Saga," vii., 22). Some namesake of Earl Harald Maddadarson's daughter was either owner or dairymaid of this sæter.

Stephney, near Godderthwaite, Beckermeth, was Staven-erge; the name Stephen reappears in Stephangarthes ("Coucher Book of Furness Abbey") and Kirkby Stephen, called, not from the dedication of the church, but from a pre-Norman lord.

Crocherk, in South Cumberland, was mentioned about Henry II., and seems to mean the *erg* of the crook or cross; possibly connected with the Crochbeege given by Gunhilda de Boyville to Holme Cultram Abbey, and perhaps the present Crosby Thwaite near Ulpha.

Pavey Ark, the precipice near Langdale pikes, was formerly explained as "the altar of the Lurking Fiend" (*þaufi*, a late Icelandic word). But it must be the dairy-cot of Pavia. We find Pavy-fields on the Solway, named from Pavia, the widow of Robert de Grinsdale, *temp.* Henry I.

Arklid, at the foot of Coniston Water, is the *hlíd* or fellside of the *erg*; and Little Arrow, at Coniston, formerly Little Ayrey, is like Airey Force, Ullswater, a survival of the alternative form of the word, such as is seen in Orkney and Shetland and North Scotland (Askary, Halsary, Blingery). To the Gaelic *airidh* an even nearer form may be Arrad, close to Ulverston, in which, perhaps, the *d* comes down from the age before the consonant was aspirated away, as we know the Norse wrote Kjarval for Cearbhall (not pronouncing the name Carroll).

Summerhills, satters and seats, sels and sails, are common in the district, and show how pastoral was the life of the Vikings when once they had settled the dales of the Lake Counties.

The Corresponding Secretary for Denmark (Mr. Hans Kjær, M.A.) writes as follows :—

THE DANISH NATIONAL MUSEUM.

THE investigation of the whole field of archæological research in Denmark is conducted under the close supervision of the National Museum. Each investigation in the country is carried out, so to speak, by the Museum itself, or under its control. Some remarks on its position may therefore be appropriate.

The National Museum of Denmark in its present form was founded in 1892, but in reality is of much older date. It contains Denmark's most important historical and archæological collections: the Danish collection, the ethnographic collection, and an antique collection. The Danish collection was formerly called the Royal Museum for Northern Antiquities, and was founded in 1807 by R. Nyerup. The collection contains things from the Stone, Bronze and Iron Ages, as well as from mediæval and modern times. C. J. Thomsen managed it from 1816-65, when the Museum grew to great extent, and got a scientific basis through that scientist's celebrated division of ancient time into the three periods, in which either stone, bronze or iron was the most important material of human use. From 1865 the collection was under the control of J. J. A. Worsaae (who died in 1885), who is also well known in England, and who rendered the greatest services to Danish knowledge of ancient times. The ethnographic and antique collections were both founded by Thomsen in 1849 and 1851. The ethnographic section contains things from those races outside Europe which have not yet been influenced by European or classical civilisation. The antique collection includes the peoples of the classical countries—Egypt, Babylonia, Persia and Phœnicia, Greeks, Etruscans and Romans. Further, a collection of coins and medals and another of comparative studies containing objects, originals or copies, from other European countries, and amongst others a small

collection of things from English prehistoric times to supply the other Museums. In 1892 all these Museums were united under one administration as a National Museum, which also received the supervision of the antiquarian monuments of Denmark, and the charge of their preservation. Dr. Sophus Müller was appointed chief of the prehistoric department of the Danish collection, as well as the ethnographic and antique collections, under whose guidance the labours of the Museum have been extended and consolidated in every direction. This is especially so in recent years, when a great many scientific explorations and excavations have been carried out by the officials of the Museum. The collections have, further, been thoroughly rearranged, and to a great extent supplied with descriptive labels, besides which the times in which they are open, free, for the public, have been greatly extended. Catalogues exist in Danish and German. The annual increments to the Danish collection may be estimated at about 2,500 to 3,000 objects from the Stone, Bronze and Iron Ages. The objects are now placed in about 85 rooms, having about 210 windows besides about 27 rooms used as offices, archive room and stores. But space is already too small, and only by the economical use of the available space has it been possible, as yet, to make room for the additions. The collections are placed in the Prince's Palace, originally built as a royal residence. The number of visitors has in the last few years been between 90,000 and 105,000, but greatest in the summer of 1899, when a big lock-out caused a large number of working men to pay a visit. Further, admittance is often given outside the official hours. Moreover, in ten Danish provincial towns, especially the cathedral towns, exist local museums, which are managed by local men under the control of the National Museum.

THE STONE AGE IN DENMARK.

One of the most important works carried out under the direction of Dr. Sophus Müller has been the systematic in-

vestigation of some of the principal “kitchen-middens,” etc. It was long recognized that the so-called Palæolithic Age, as known from the French cave discoveries and river gravel, has left only a few and uncertain traces in Denmark, almost all our Stone Age objects being neolithic. It is now thought that the Stone Age commenced here about 3000 B.C. and ended about 1200 B.C. It must therefore be expected that civilisation was different at the beginning of this long period—about 1,800 years—than at its close. So far back as 40 years ago, J. J. A. Worsaae asserted that he could distinguish such a difference. In the kitchen-middens, the great refuse heaps with remains from the dwelling places of the people of the Stone Age, he thought that one could see the traces of an earlier period; while the fine, often polished, objects of flint, and the ornamented earthen vessels, which were found in the large grave chambers made of huge stones, the dolmens and cromlechs, represented the civilisation of the later period. In opposition, Japetus Steenstrup thought that the kitchen-middens and the stone graves represented each the two sides of the same culture. The basis of this discussion was, nevertheless, too narrow to make a final decision of the important question of the division in two parts of the Danish Stone Age. The struggle was revived in 1890 between Sophus Müller, who agreed with Worsaae, and L. Zinck, who in all essentials took the views of Steenstrup.

No final settlement of the dispute was reached. But the divergence of views had one other and most important result. Perceiving that the existing materials were both too insignificant and too ancient to decide the issue, Dr. Sophus Müller started the whole movement over again on a new base. It was due to his efforts that, in the year 1893, these seven men of science—E. Rostrup (a botanist), Herluf Winge (a zoologist), K. T. V. Steenstrup (a geologist), C. G. Johs. Petersen (a biologist), and, besides himself, two more archæologists, A. P. Madsen and Carl Neergaard, decided, with the financial aid of the National

Museum, to thoroughly investigate every single object of antiquity in a number of unexplored big refuse heaps—the so-called “Kjökkenmøddinger” or kitchen-middens.

A most valuable and successful collaboration between archæologist and naturalist now commenced. Throughout the following five years (1893-1898) the afore-named scientists met every summer at the various refuse heaps, and took part personally in the work, while, at the same time, every effort and every expense in time and money was made by the Museum to carry through the plan of the work, by thorough investigations both in the field and in the Museum itself, where the collected material was examined. In the working of one single heap alone (that at Ertebølle, Jutland)—the biggest of them all—the officials and scientific staff of the Museum were employed for 216 days, besides six workmen from the neighbourhood who were continually employed on the same heap day after day during the whole time. Each year detailed reports were made to the Museum, accompanied by numerous plans and photographs.

The investigations embraced refuse heaps situated in eight different places, in both Sealand and Jutland. The greater portions of each single heap was examined, but only in those cases where they had been previously undisturbed. The examined places were such as would seem to be the most suited for investigation, and would afford us the best obtainable samples from both the eastern and western parts of the country. They all belonged, as was later on shown, to different periods of the Stone Age. The undertaking was a very large one, but the results fulfilled expectations. A great number of antiquities was procured; from the Ertebølle heap alone 8,600 stone objects (mostly flint, 560 samples of charcoal, and more than 20,000 bones of different animals). The whole of the material, having undergone a preliminary treatment in the National Museum, was divided among the scientists according to their different qualifications, only the purely archæological matter being relegated to the Museum for

treatment. A particularly important work was done by the zoologist, Dr. H. Winge.

These seven men of science meeting year by year at the works in the field furnished a good proof of their lively interest in the task in hand. The now published large and most handsome work¹ which lays the foundation of the study of this portion of our remote past bears distinct testimony to the affection with which each man carried through his special task. It may be safely said that without this close co-operation no good result would ever have been obtained. Archæology alone was not able to make sufficient use of the varied material.

AGE OF THE KITCHEN-MIDDENS.

The main results produced by the investigations are shortly as follow:—The refuse heaps belong to two different periods of the Stone Age. Oldest among them all is the large Ertebølle heap (length 100 m., by 15.20 m. broad, with a thickness of up to 2 m.). About contemporary with this heap, but in all probability a little later, are five heaps scattered in different places in Denmark. In these were found primitive instruments, made mostly of flint, and of forms similar to those known from other discoveries, and attributed by archæologists to the Old (but not palæolithic) Stone Age. Implements belonging to a later period were very scarce, and were always, as might be expected, found in the upper layers of the heaps. The earthen vessels, which were mostly large and heavy, were fragile and clumsy, and without any ornaments. No trace of a cultivated plant was ever found. Among the shells of the testaceous animals (oysters, mussels, snails) which had served as food, and which formed the bulk of

¹ "Affaldsdynger fra Stenalderen i Danmark, undersøgte for Nationalmuseet." By A. P. Madsen, Sophus Müller, Carl Neergaard, C. G. Johs, Petersen, E. Rostrup, K. T. V. Steenstrup and Herluf Winge. Pub. at the cost of the Carlsberg Fund. pp. 196, large 4to, with many phototype and copper-plate diagrams and illustrations in text. Copenhagen. Price 27s.

the heap, was found a number of bones, all belonging to wild animals, such as deer, roe, wild boar, birds and fishes ; the only domesticated animal which seems to have been known to man in the older Stone Age is the dog, which was large and stout and rather like a wolf. It was a period when man made his living mainly by hunting and fishing, using primitive instruments of stone, bone, hart's horn, wood and earthenware, and without any knowledge of the first conditions of human progress and culture. They seem to have lived chiefly as nomads, and only in places, where the natural conditions were particularly favourable, did they stay for any long space of time.

In but three of the examined heaps—two in Jutland and one in Sealand—were the circumstances different. In these were found polished instruments of the many varied types and forms previously associated with the big stone-graves, cromlechs and dolmens. The earthen vessels, of which some shards were found, were generally ornamented. Here also was found a number of bones, but mostly those of domestic animals, oxen, sheep and pigs ; and, finally, there was found unquestionable evidence of corn-raising, in the form of charred grain, worked up in the earthen vessels. In the making of the clay vessels grain had got into the material, and being burned together with it, left their impression undamaged in the clay.¹ The leading species were barley and wheat. The meaning of this is that Denmark, as early as the neo-neolithic Stone Age, was inhabited by an agricultural, cattle-raising and settled people. There is now no doubt of the existence in the Stone Age of an older and a later period, nor of the above-named marked difference in culture between these two periods. The early refuse heaps are all situated close to the sea, whereas the later heaps generally are found to be away from the coast, further up in the interior of the country. The people spread from the open coasts, and the forests were felled to make room for agriculture.

¹ A treatise on this subject going back to the remotest times is in preparation by Dr. G. Saraüw.

The remains of the later Stone Age are met with in a few other places besides the above named. They are, on the whole, smaller and less conspicuous than the remains from the older period. The light-coloured shells of the molluscs are no longer predominant. The strata are dark-coloured, at times almost black, on account of the numerous intermingled organic remains. This explains the fact of their being unnoticed for so long—as is still the case with the homesteads of the Bronze Age, and, partly, of the Iron Age. During the whole of the Stone Age the oak was the common tree. The birch, the elm, and the ash appear less frequent; the beech and the conifers only singly. Added to this, the work gives an abundance of minute details: as to the working of flint and bone, of the application of particular instruments, of fauna and flora, of geological and biological facts. One single instance may suffice: in the book are pointed out the bones of not less than 72 unnamed species of vertebral animals.

The text book on the refuse heaps in Denmark is richly embellished with illustrations. I shall here merely mention that in the double plates are shown long sections through the heaps, lengthwise and crosswise, obtained by placing photo-prints together of numerous photographs taken successively. The book, written in Danish, contains also a résumé in French. The whole undertaking reflects the greatest credit on the men of science who carried it out. Science has, by their successful collaboration, gained an abundance of particulars regarding the conditions of life in those ancient times when man for the first time set foot on the green and fragrant plains of Denmark.

“NORSE LANGUAGE AND NATIONALITY IN IRELAND.”

According to a suggestion of the Hon. Editor of the Viking Club, I have pleasure to refer to a work that was mentioned in the literary list for 1900, but which there was no opportunity to include in my previous notice. The work in question is that by Mr. Alexander Bugge,

on the "Norse Language and Nationality in Ireland" ("Annals of Northern Archæology and History," 1900, pp. 279-332). The object of the essay is to find out when and in what degree the fusion of the two races, the Northmen and the Irish, who were strangers to each other at the first, took place, and how long the Northern nationality and language lasted. I intend in the following to give the outlines of this interesting essay, though I am forced almost everywhere to omit the numerous illustrating examples and proofs from chronicles and documents on which the results are founded. So early as the year 850, nearly the whole of Ireland had through the Viking raids come into touch with the Northmen. A Norse-Irish mixed population (Gall-Gaedhel) was being created, which must have lived chiefly in Galloway and the Hebrides. In the Isle of Man is to be found a great many Runic inscriptions in Northern tongue, but they are often raised over men with Irish or Celtic names. In this way, from about 850 onward, the Northmen and the Irish must have begun to influence each other, and to have become partly merged together. Soon after this period one hears also about weddings between Northern chieftains and Irish princesses. Among the landtakers who went to Iceland between 870 and 900 are many of whom it is mentioned that they came from the British Isles, and especially the Sudereys (Sodor and Man) and Ireland. Many of these men bore Irish names, and there were among them several Christians. In the Irish "Annals" Northmen appear frequently with Irish names, and at the same time the Northmen and the Irish are represented as undertaking warlike expeditions together. During the tenth century the union between the two races becomes still closer. Christianity spread steadily amongst the Northmen, and Irish names and surnames become much more common. Even in the family of the Dublin kings such appear: Godfred (who died in 934) had a son named Lachtin (died 974); and just as such names about that time became spread among the upper classes, they were most likely

adopted by the lower ones. Towards the end of the tenth century a crisis took place. With the defeats of Tara and Glenmana, the Northmen appear to have all at once lost the hope of conquering the whole of Ireland, and to be able to keep themselves apart from the original inhabitants. Christianity advanced more and more, and the strange sight is witnessed of Northern chieftains taking service under Irish kings. A few years after the battle of Tara, King Maelsechlainn removed the sacred ring of Thor from Dublin, and in 1000 the sacred grove of Thor was destroyed.

From that time and onward it must be assumed that the Northmen in Ireland, as a rule, were baptised. At the same time, mixed marriages were very common, and many children of these unions understood, no doubt, both the Northern and Irish language. From this, however, one must not assume that they also acquired the Irish civilisation. It seems, however, that they at least strove to this end, for in the first half of the eleventh century Northmen attended several of the Irish monastic schools, viz., Clonmacnois. Furthermore, those who assert different opinions, and lay stress on the difference between the Irish and the Norse elements—viz., Craigie and others—are strongly combatted by Dr. Bugge, and it appears to me quite correctly, who emphasises specially the proofs from the old trustworthy “Fragments of Annals,” which describe events long before the battle of Clontarf (1014), and which teem with intimate details of Northern affairs, viz., particulars of the siege of Chester by the Danes and Norwegians (909), and the cruise of the sons of Lodbrok to Spain and Africa, as well as the expedition of Olaf Hvite to Norway (871). With Iceland there was no specially close connection. The Icelandic Sagas give but little information about either English or Irish affairs. Here the quickly developed difference in the language may have been a contributing cause.

After the year 1014 the Northmen in Ireland ceased to receive help from the North ; from that time onward they

no longer play a dominating part, and even the kingdom of Dublin fell more than once under Irish overlordship, in like manner as it happened to those of Limerick and Waterford. With that it followed as well that the social connection between the two sections of the population became more and more close. About that period very many Irish bear Northern names—Amhlaib (Olav), Sictric (Sigtryg), Imhar (Ivar), Raghnaal (Ragnvald), and as a matter of fact the Irish ceased to look on the Northmen as foreigners. Now it became possible for an Irish poet to call upon King Ragnvald Gudrodsson of Man (1188-1226), who was Irish only on his mother's side, to come to Ireland and reconquer the regal power in Dublin. In the Northern royal families Irish names became ever more common; but, nevertheless, the Northmen continued up till the time of the English conquest, and a good while after it, to regard themselves as Northmen in language and nationality. It seems also that they in some way felt themselves closer related to the Anglo-Saxons than to the Irish, from whom they were also separated by acknowledging the Archbishop of Canterbury as their spiritual lord. With reference to this point, it is very instructive that when the king of Dublin, Aaskell, had to fly the country in 1170, he sought and procured help from the Sudereys, the Isle of Man, and even from Norway itself. He must, consequently, have still looked upon himself as a Norwegian, and his kinsmen in the old country must have reckoned him to be a compatriot. Regarding the language at that time, information is forthcoming, even though actual written memorials do not exist. Sufficient evidence is available from the place-names. When the English came in 1170, the Ostmen still had their own names for a great many localities different from those used by the Irish. After the English conquest, the Northmen in Dublin were allotted their own part of the town to reside in, and in this case there is hardly any question of compulsion, for the arrangement was rather an advantage than otherwise; and, moreover,

it seems that the English, on their side, regarded to some degree the Northmen as their countrymen. It took a long time, till perhaps near the fourteenth century, before they merged with the others into one nation. In connection with this point Dr. Bugge draws attention to the fact that, in spite of the want of a marked feeling of nationality, the blending of people and languages in the Middle Ages progressed altogether more slowly than at the present time. The places where the nationality of the Northmen preserved itself the longest were Dublin and Waterford. In the latter town Ostmen are still mentioned in 1292, and even at the beginning of the fourteenth century there is proof that the Northmen still really regarded themselves as a separate nationality. This is shown from an interesting document dated February 25th, 1311. The language disappeared a little earlier. About the year 1250 the Northern tongue was still spoken, but the following fifty years became the time of transition and blending.

In his essay Dr. Bugge attempts to show that the Irish and the Northmen began to influence each other from the tenth century onward. "It is likely," he says, "that Irish culture in the Viking Age influenced the Northmen in Ireland and in the Hebrides, and that its influence spread thence to Iceland, and also to Norway, Sweden and Denmark." The colony of the Northmen in Ireland had a marvellous duration of life. For more than 300 years, in spite of close and continued connection with the Irish, it had retained its political independence, its distinct nationality and language, and even later than this time, when it had ceased to exist as a separate kingdom, the people continued to look on themselves as a separate people. "Up to the year 1300 one can still speak of Northmen in Ireland."

Even if historical evidence is not forthcoming to such an extent as could be desired, it seems more than likely that Dr. Bugge must be correct in his conclusions.

FIND OF AN IMAGE OF THE SUN.

As during last year (1902) several important discoveries of antiquities have been made by the Danish National Museum, and among these at least one of which the members of the Viking Club are sure to want an early account, I intend in this year's report to keep chiefly to this subject. This, which is the most interesting find that has been reported for several years in this country, was made in the autumn. A representation of the sun was found, being the first visible proof of the worship of the sun in such bygone times as the older Bronze Age. The discovery has naturally evoked much and deserved notice, both in Denmark and beyond the borders of the country, and a publication dealing with it may be expected to appear shortly, perhaps before the next *Saga-Book* is published. The sun's presentment in question consists of a sun-dial, a horse that draws it, presumably with a kind of bridle, and the elements of a carriage with six wheels, on which the dial and the horse are placed. The whole thing is 13½ in. broad and 8 in. high. The sun-dial is arched on both sides, and is formed by two large bronze plates, like those so well-known from women's belts from the Bronze Age. The edges of these plates are joined together by a skilfully moulded border, and one of the plates is covered with a gold plate (worth £4 10s. in intrinsic value). Both plates are covered with ornaments, punched on, of the usual type of those of the older Bronze Age. The gold plate is pressed down into these ornaments, so that they are visible through the gold. The horse is an equally striking work, and it is the first clear sign of the power of the folk of the Bronze Age to undertake round-plastic work. It would have been difficult previous to this find to believe it possible for the people of the Northern Bronze Age to produce such a splendid piece of work. The horse is thoroughly characteristic and evident. The mane and some part of the harness are shown by the ornaments in the bronze. The horse has now a very short tail, but it is very plain that it was

originally longer ; but whether the missing part was a piece of metal, or perhaps, possibly, horsehair, is uncertain. In front of the neck is a small ring, a similar one being seen on the foremost part of the sun-image, facing the horse. These two rings have, without doubt, been united to each other by a string, by which the horse dragged the sun after it. The sun and horse were then placed on a kind of conveyance, very simply made, with six wheels, each with four spokes. That objects of worship—there being no doubt about the sun-image being such a one—were sometimes placed on wheels, is amongst other things known from a series of Central European finds which exist. Perhaps the small image of the sun might be an imitation of a larger one, and which, in order to make an impression, had to be seen, and therefore was driven through the fields and villages.

The sun-image was found in a turf moor at Trundholm, in the north-west of Seeland, in peaty soil, in the middle of a large plain. It was much broken, and the bits scattered about. All the parts were lying near the surface, about as deep down as a plough would enter the soil. Nearly all the gold was torn off and smashed. Taking everything into consideration, there cannot be any doubt that the sun-image was placed where it was found as a votive offering to the gods, like many other objects from the same and a later period, and probably, just like many of these, it was broken to pieces beforehand, for what had to be of use to the gods alone must be made unfit for man. The image was found by a workman belonging to the forestry department, who attached little importance to his find. His superior in charge, P. West, when he saw the broken pieces, realised their value and importance, and communicated with the National Museum. To the latter alone therefore is it owing that one of the most precious relics of antiquity, next to the famous golden horns, was preserved for archæology, and his name should not be forgotten when the find is mentioned. Immediately on the receipt of his communication, Dr. Sophus Müller

repaired to the spot, and at once made a close inspection of the site of the discovery and its surroundings, but only a few additional pieces of the gold rewarded his search. The fragments, superficially restored, were exhibited for a short time to the public, who repaired to the Museum in crowds. They were then completely restored, and two months afterwards the sun-image was shown at the first meeting in the winter session of the Society of Antiquarians, Dr. Sophus Müller giving an interesting lecture on its significance. When the printed report appears, I shall give a picture of it, and sum up Dr. Muller's essay. This may, however, be certainly affirmed: the sun-image is an idol, a real object of worship, and nothing similar has been found in Europe from so early a period (1200 B.C.). It is the sun, the sacred and worshipped sun, represented as drawn in his chariot athwart the heavens.

In this manner men imagined and worshipped the highest deity. It was the sundial itself which was the god, or the power inherent in the god. Nothing similar to it is known. In Egypt and in Mesopotamia, where the sun was worshipped from the earliest times, the sundial may, in fact, be seen; but a personal deity was implied at the same time, so far as one can trace back, and represented also usually in human shape together with it. Our sun-image is a memory of earlier childish conceptions, living on longer in the remote North than in the home of civilisation in the South. It has, as a matter of fact, always been stated that the Bronze Age of the North had a worship of the sun, but little proof existed to support this idea. Our figure brings proof of this, and as a matter of fact also the first quite indisputable evidence of religious conceptions in the earlier era of prehistoric times. Now one has a footing, from which further steps in various directions may soon be taken.

The Danish sun-image is the most ancient object of its kind which is as yet known. But it is likely to be shown in course of time that such primitive attempts to express the movement of the sun were made elsewhere in Europe

in pretty much the same way. At the same time there may possibly have been personal gods. The possibility exists, and in any case such gods were known here at the period when the great cultural wave of Roman civilisation swept over the North at the beginning of the Iron Age. They are visible on the Gundestrup silver bowl (see *Saga-Book*, vol. iii., 1902, pp. 88-89, fig. 5). It is only towards the close of the most ancient period that the gods known from the Sagas, Odin and Thor, Frigga and Freya, appear. Now the sungod is known as well, which, just as in the South, is imagined as driving across the heavens in his chariot.

FIND OF OBJECTS OF THE STONE AGE AND BRONZE VOTIVE OFFERINGS ON THE ISLAND OF MÖEN.

Mention may also be made of a series of discoveries which although hardly coming near the sun-image in importance, nevertheless are conspicuous or have special characteristics which make them interesting. For instance, at Mandemark on the isle of Möen (south of Seeland) a number of interesting objects have been dug up. During the work of clearing away the stones on a plot of land, the workmen came across a large erect stone. About one Danish yard under the surface, close to the stone, an earthen vessel was found, which was, however, so disintegrated that it was only possible to preserve a small part of it. In that vessel two very large buckles of bronze were found, likewise eight open bronze arm-rings or bracelets of a uniform pattern and size. One buckle only was entire; of the other only about half remained. Near the site of the same large stone, but only half a yard deep in the earth, was likewise found a very large and fine unused axe made of flint. It belongs to a period several centuries earlier than that of the bronze objects, and must have been placed by itself.

Two different votive discoveries are likely to be here presented, votive gifts to the gods, to procure a favour or to receive immunity from evil. Similar finds are known,

belonging to both earlier and later times, and from all parts of the country, and they are found deposited near to a large stone. Such votive offerings as a rule comprise several objects of the same kind. Besides the peculiarity of two votive gifts being found on the same spot, there is the further one that none of the bronze things were wrought in Denmark. The buckles are very large, each of them formerly consisted of two big bronze spirals, four to five inches broad each, a middle piece about the same size, and a pin. All the bronze objects were made in Southern Germany or Hungary, and belong to the period between 1000 and 1200 B.C.

FIND OF A TENTH TO TWELFTH CENTURY HOARD OF GERMAN VOTIVE OFFERINGS.

Soon after this discovery, the attention of antiquarians was again directed to the little island by the announcement of the find of various objects, chiefly flints, at a place where a dolmen formerly stood. When the case was closer investigated, it was found that only part of the bottom layer of this great stone chamber yet remained. Though earlier excavations doubtless had been made on the spot, altogether seven flint axes, all of the thick-necked shape common to the dolmens, and a couple of flint chisels, besides a bone chisel, were unearthed. No fewer than 35 flint flakes (knives) were also dug out, but these are certainly of common occurrence in other stone chambers of similar kind, being the most common grave-finds generally met with ; further, a small battle-axe made of sandstone, so tiny that perhaps it may be said to be a symbolic axe, besides parts, bigger or smaller, of various earthen vessels, all richly ornamented. In addition, a variety of fragments of bone objects, a ring, stilettos, etc., were taken out, and last, but not least, several partly dissolved amber pearls. Taken as a whole, the discovery gave the impression that the dolmen had been used only for a certain limited period towards the close of the Earlier Stone Age.

RICH STORE OF GRAVE-GOODS FOUND AT ROESKILDE.

It luckily happens but rarely nowadays in Denmark that the larger or more valuable stone memorials are removed; but, on the other hand, the more numerous smaller tumuli are very often fated to disappear. In the course of this year (1902) some indifferently preserved gravehills have unfortunately had to make way for progressive agriculture. That any person should out of sheer curiosity open a mound is, however, something unheard of. To one of these memorials that fell a sacrifice last year, near Roeskilde, Seeland, I shall refer. The mound had originally been of imposing dimensions, about eight feet high. The farmer who owned the land on which it was situated commenced to dig into the sides, and came first upon a row of sandstone blocks a little way inside the foot of the gravehill; on making further progress he came upon the grave over which the mound had been reared. It was a large heap of stones about six feet high, and at the bottom of it the sepulchral cist was found, in which were found a fine, well-preserved bronze sword, besides two gold rings of quite thin threads rolled up in spirals (the value of the whole £3 6s.). In other parts of the mound some urns were found embedded in the mould, to the number of twelve to fourteen, in which some burnt bones and small objects of bronze, viz., a small knife, two miniature swords only a few centimetres long, five small flat razors, three fragments of sickles for harvest use, two tweezers (for the toilet), pins, puncheons, and buttons. The whole of the objects were later on forwarded by the owner to the National Museum.

GOLD RINGS FROM GUDME, FYEN.

The greater number of the objects which appear in the course of time—for each year apparently the number increases—are drawn from graves; a small number of the stone objects result mainly from casual finds in field or moorland. On the other hand, specially valuable things,

which may be assumed to have been purposely placed in the ground, hidden till later and perhaps more peaceful times, or sacrificed to the gods, have also been unearthed. One particularly valuable discovery hails from Gudme, in the southern part of the island of Fyen. One forenoon the local landowner came across a lad who was busy harrowing, and observing that the harrow needed clearing of roots, etc., gathered in its progress, ordered their removal. In doing so it was found out that a number of heavy gold rings hanging in a cluster were entangled with the teeth. Notwithstanding their having been dragged along the earth with the harrow, none of them, strange to say, had, on examination, suffered any damage. The find was eventually found to consist of six gold rings, or rather heavy gold bars rolled in spiral shape. The biggest and heaviest was bent together in the shape of a single almost closed ring, of about the width of an ordinary bracelet. The other rings hung on to this one. Two of them were oblong, about as big as the mounting of a sword-sheath. Between these two rings was another one, the size of a finger ring, and from this another quite similar, and in this yet a third. The whole was joined together in such a way that only by force could the different parts be separated.

The weight in full was 605 grammes, and as the gold was mixed with some silver the value amounted to about 1,210 kroner (£67). The find belongs to the period 500-800 A.D., the so-called post-Roman period of the Iron Age. The Museum was already in possession of a number of similar finds from the same period, the majority being smaller, but some are bigger. The special shape, with the many rings joined together, makes this find one of the most singular of its kind. The rings were obviously used as coins.

FIND OF GOLD RINGS, COINS, ETC., AT AARS, JUTLAND.

Of a similar nature, but the objects fewer in number and of less value, is a find made at Aars in North Jutland. It

consists of several different pieces, found singly on the surface, but nearly all on the same spot. First occurred two gold rings, intended for currency; one was rather heavy, 4.2 cm. in diameter, too small to be intended for a bracelet, but too large to be a finger ring. The smaller ring might, on the other hand, have been used as a finger ring. Later on two gold coins were forwarded; one was a *solidus*, coined for the Emperor Valentinian III. (425-455) in Constantinople; the other being a barbarous imitation of the coins of the same Emperor. It was fitted with a ring, and had been regarded and worn as an ornament, like the well-known bracteats. A real bracteate was also sent in in the end by the same finder, as well as a tiny golden currency ring. The bracteate is coined on the one side, and has a much-defaced animal figure on it. The intrinsic value of the whole find was about 300 kroner (£17). The two first rings were thrown up by the plough through a chance-made deeper furrow than usual. The turn of the share disclosed the two rings shining brightly as if laid in their position the day before. These objects are reckoned to belong to the post-Roman period, and, like the Gudme rings, are thought to have been sacrificial offerings.

Besides these, numerous minor finds of objects in the precious metals or of bronze have been reported. In addition, a number of local investigations have been made, partly at the request of private landowners and partly sequential operations. To mention these in detail would carry us too far on the present occasion. I prefer to close now with an *au revoir*.

PALNATOKI IN WALES.

By A. G. MOFFAT, M.A.

IT may not be out of place to start this paper with some account of the life of Palnatoki, who lived about the years 930 to 990, and in his time was one of Denmark's mighty men. The name Toki or Tuki is frequent in old Swedish and Danish records. Saxo and other writers mention several persons of the name. Three runic stones in Sweden record the burial places of members of the family, two of whom died in Greece, and one of whom it is recorded that he was killed in England, and that he was a right good man. Several runic stones in Denmark also commemorate warlike Tukis, but the most remarkable men of that name are the family that lived in the Island of Funen.

Toki of Funen had, by his wife Thorvør, two sons, Aki and Palne. Aki became a man of great note, so much so that King Harold Bluetooth became jealous of his power, and by the king's order Aki was slain about the year 950. Palne took to wife Ingebiargar, and they had a son who afterwards became the renowned Palnatoki. This son, who must have been about eighteen or twenty years of age when Aki was slain, did not forget the death of his uncle Aki—in fact, according to Norse traditions, it was his duty to avenge his kinsman's death, and in due course that duty was fulfilled, as I shall presently narrate.

Palnatoki grew up a comely youth, gifted with great strength, and skilled in all the accomplishments of the day. He was a great archer, and there are tales told of

him that recall to mind Egil the Archer, Will Cloudesly, William Tell, and others to the same effect. In due time Palnatoki acquired wealth and land in Funen; a man matured early in those days. He was an out-and-out heathen, a follower of Thor and Odin. About the year 956 he made an expedition to England, and, after various harryings along the coast, he arrived in South Wales, to what are described as the lands of Earl Stefnir.

The title "earl," and the name Stefnir would indicate that he was the chief of a Norse colony in Wales. This earl was well up in years, and his foster-son, Biørn, thought it better to come to terms with Palnatoki rather than fight. It was not an uncommon thing for newcomers from Scandinavia to attack earlier colonists for the land that they might be in possession of. Biørn therefore proposed that Palnatoki should marry Oløf, a daughter of Earl Stefnir, whereby he obtained the title of earl, and one half the dominions of Earl Stefnir, with an understanding that he should have the whole dominion after the death of his father-in-law. To this Palnatoki agreed, and settled down for the winter in South Wales. It is said of him that he soon tired of a settled life, so he used to live alternately in Wales and in Funen, committing the government of his Welsh estates to the care of Biørn, surnamed the Welshman, doubtless because he had been born in Wales.

Palnatoki and Oløf had a son who was named Aki, and it was not long afterwards that, being in Funen, Palnatoki fell in with Salmaesu, who had born a child to King Harold Bluetooth. This child, called Sweinn, Palnatoki fostered, and brought up with Aki, his own son. The years rolled on, and Sweinn came to manhood, when Palnatoki, no doubt bearing his revenge duty in mind, with cunning counsel set Sweinn on to interview his father, King Harold, and to reveal himself as his son. He obtained ships and men from the King, but under the direction of Palnatoki they were utilised for making raids on the surrounding country. This occurred two or three

years running, until heathendom—of which Palnatoki and Sweinn were leading figures — was overpowered, and Sweinn had to take to flight, which he did by fitting out an expedition against the Western lands, namely, England. But with his few ships and men he soon saw that it would be a matter of difficulty to carve out for himself a kingdom anywhere in the Danelag, where the first comers were too strongly consolidated for any fresh plunderer to make headway. His first voyages, therefore, were not made on the well-known eastern coast of England, but on the southern and western coasts of the island. This was between the years 980 to 988, during which time the Scandinavian Sagas and chronicles tell of numerous raids on the coast of Dorset, Devon, and the Saxon coasts of the Bristol Channel. It is more especially said that Sweinn settled in Wales, where his foster-father Palnatoki had married, and that he and his men fraternised with the Welsh in their forays against the common enemy, the Anglo-Saxon. We read in the “Annals of Ulster” and in the “Annales Cambriæ” that from 979 to 987 frequent raids were made by Norsemen from the Hebrides and Man on the west coasts of Wales, and it is recorded in the Norse Sagas that Sweinn met with much fighting and lost many men, on one occasion he and all his men being taken prisoners by a certain mighty Earl. Among Sweinn’s men was an Icelfander named Thorwald Kodranson, surnamed the Far Traveller, who had been instrumental in freeing the son of this Earl from Danish captivity some time before, so had his liberty now offered him as a return, but he declined to leave Sweinn and his comrades in their need, which resulted eventually in their being all set free on their consenting to go away peaceably. This particular fight shows fighting between Norwegians and Danish Vikings. Sweinn was known as Sweinn Forkbeard, from the way he wore his beard.

About the year 985 Sweinn and Palnatoki made another raid on King Harold Bluetooth, the father of Sweinn, during which, on one occasion, Palnatoki, when alone,

succeeded in killing Harold by an arrow-shot, thus, after some thirty years, fulfilling his blood-feud. Palnatoki saw to Sweinn being proclaimed king, and then he returned to Wales, where—his father-in-law being now dead—he took all Stefnir's dominions into his possession. In 988 he was present at the *arvøl*, or inheritance feast, given by Sweinn in memory of Harold Bluetooth, and it is recorded that one half of Palnatoki's men were Danes and the other half were Welsh. At this *arvøl*, Palnatoki publicly proclaimed himself to be the killer of King Harold, and immediately returned to Wales. Two years after occurred the death of Oløf, Palnatoki's wife, and Wales then became distasteful to him. He raided during several summers on the coasts of Ireland and Scotland. In these raids he got much wealth, with which he retired to the island of Funen; but it was not long before his active spirit brought him to be the chief of Jomsburg, and a lawgiver to that community of sea-robbers, although his death occurred shortly afterwards. Biørn, the Welshman, ruled the Welsh possessions for him, and eventually fought with Palnatoki's grandson, Vagn,¹ at the great fight of Hiorungavagr, when Earl Hacon broke once and for all the power of the Jomsvikings. Both Biørn (then an old man) and Vagn escaped death by their brave demeanour whilst awaiting execution, and Biørn returned to Wales.

The "Saxon Chronicle" records the fact that a Count Palling or Pallig, who was doubtless a son of Palnatoki, married Gunhilda, a daughter of King Harold, consequently a sister of Sweinn. He and his wife embraced Christianity, and landing in England were received by King Athelred with great respect. Large presents of money and land—mostly in the West of England, Worcester and Hereford—were made by the king to this Palling, who appears to have supported sometimes one and sometimes another of the parties at that time contending in England, and about 1001 he is stated to have

¹ The name Vagn would appear to be Welsh = Vaughan = little.

been particularly busy in the Bristol Channel assisting the Danes. In the Bristol Channel he always found men and ships to carry out raids on the coasts of Devon, Cornwall, and Somerset.¹ It was in the next year, 1002, that he became a surety to King Athelred for the good behaviour of the Danes; but at heart Athelred hated all Danes, and brought about the massacre of St. Bride's night, 14th November, 1002, in which Count Palling and his wife were slain. The result of this massacre was the eventual invasion of England by King Sweinn in revenge for the death of his sister and her husband, his foster-brother.

There is no documentary evidence, deeds of gift, etc., to show the possessions of the Tokis in the West of England, and to illustrate their power, ranging from 1000 to 1060. In August, 1852, a headstone was dug up on the site of the churchyard of old St. Paul's Cathedral, London. This stone,² which is reproduced on the next page, mentions the name of Tuki. The "Promptorium Parvulorum," on page 492, also gives in East Anglia the name of Paulinus Thoke, sometimes written Toke, as the owner of a portion of the vill of Marham. As to the meaning of Palne, it is one of the few words commencing with the letter P in old Scandinavian records. It is mostly associated with the Tukis, and is thought by Munch to be of Keltic or Wendish origin. It equates itself with Pal, or Paul, which in Welsh is Pewlin, and in Saxon Palling or Pallig. It is worthy of special note how near in sound the Saxon is to the Welsh. Tuke, or Toke, the family name, Munch thinks is derived from a Norse word—*tokr*, *tukr*=mad. It became in course of time Tokig, Tukig, Tyge (Tycho

¹ It is worthy of particular note that he could always find men and ships in the Bristol Channel, just the place where one might expect that he—a son of Palnatoki—would be able to muster them, and not from the Saxons, which is pretty certain.

² Found during the excavations for building Messrs. Cook's new warehouses on the south side of St. Paul's Churchyard, 1852. Notice of the find is in the *Illustrated London News*, Aug. 28th, 1852; *Morning Chronicle*, Sep. 18th, 1852; *Journal of the Society of Antiquaries*, Jan. 20th, 1853; *Archæological Journal*, Feb. 1853, vol. x.



KONA . LET . LEGIA . STEIN . THIASI . AUK . TUKI.
 (Kona . let . raise . stone . this . and . Tuki.)

RUNE-INSCRIBED TOMBSTONE, PRESERVED IN THE GUILDHALL MUSEUM, LONDON.

From a rubbing; scale, about 1-5th. (The runes are on the left-hand side of the stone, at right angles to the sculptured panel.)

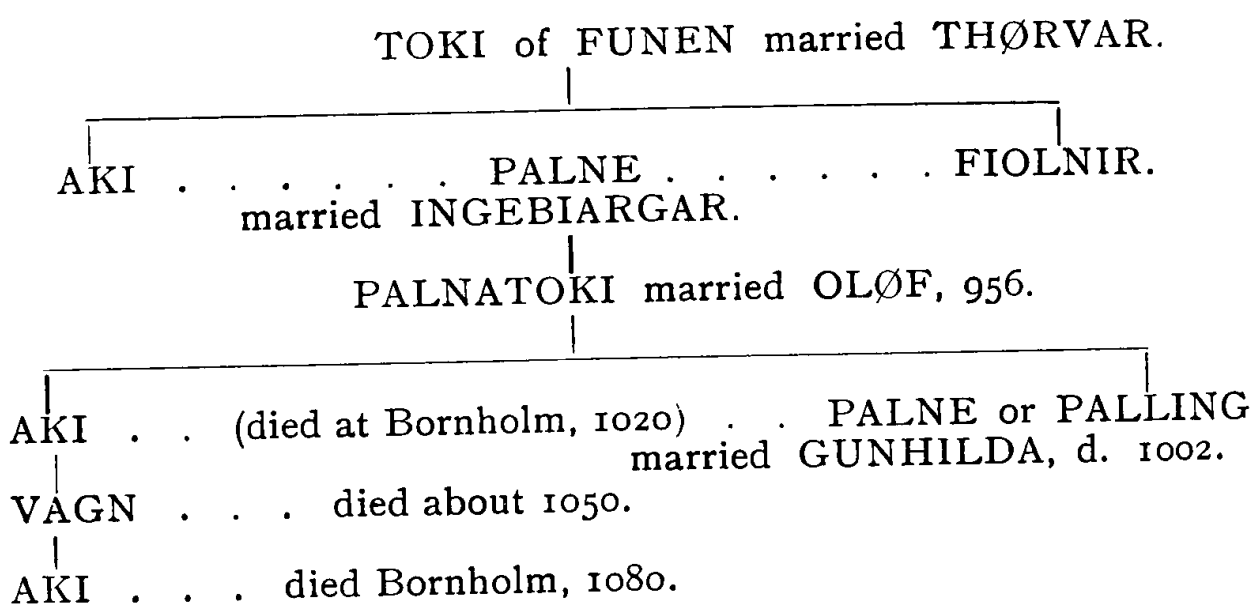
Brahe, the astronomer), Tuke and Duke. There was an early abbot of Gloucester called Thokig, who may have been one of the family now under review.

And now comes the question, where in South Wales were the possessions of Earl Stefnir, and where did Palnatoki hold sway? To answer this, I refer to the "History of Pembrokeshire," by Dr. H. Owen, on page 388 of which is an account of what can be told of Peuliniog, a lost commot of Cantref Gwaerthaf. Shortly, it is surmised to have included the parishes of Llandissilio yn Nyfed, Llan y Cefn, Egremont, Castell Dwyran, and Llanfalteg,¹ of which the second is now wholly in Dungleddy, Pembrokeshire, the third wholly in Derllys, Carmarthenshire, and the others divided between the two. Peuliniog means something belonging to Paul, and Dr. Owen writes that it must mean the land of Paulinus. He refers to the early inscribed stone that was found at Llandyssilio, with the inscription, "Clotorigi—Filii—Paulini—Marini—Latio," but cannot identify the Paulinus in question. John Rhys reads this inscription to mean: "[The monument] of Clotorigi, the son of Paulinus, the gift of Marinus," but says that he does not quite guarantee this reading. He further states "that Clotorigi is expressed in Teutonic by Hlodericus, which is the same as the Norse Hlødwer." I venture to submit that this inscription may mean: "Of Hlødwer, the son of Paul of the Sea (Viking), the resting-place," and that here at Llandyssilio we have a record of the burying-place of a son of Palnatoki—the very place where one might expect such, if we look upon this lost commot as being the possessions of Palnatoki, Pal=Pewlin, or Peulin. Near Castell Henry there is marked a place called Poltax Inn, but the old name of this was Paltox, which seems to me to be a suggestion of the time when Palnatoki ruled close by. Stefnir, or Stefan, was the name of Palnatoki's father-in-law, and to the east of the ground pointed out we find a little fishing village called Llandstefan.

¹ Llanfalteg = Llanfallig?

We read in an account of the antiquities of the village of Pendine that at one time a little valley there was washed by the sea, and that it was called the Duke's Bottom, the word "bottom" in Pembrokeshire, as in other parts of England, signifying a valley (from the word *votn*). There the remains of a galley were dug up about 100 years ago, and there were evidences that the place was used for mooring vessels in. This was doubtless anterior to an upheaval of the coast-line some 900 years ago, when floods and sand storms played havoc with the configuration of the shores there. Tuke, as I mentioned before, has become Duke, and this may be the very port that Palnatoki was accustomed to use for his long ships. Here is also a village called Landawke, for which no Welsh meaning can be given. May it not cover the name of the son of Palnatoki called Aki, modern Danish Aage, the father of Vagn?

The following is a pedigree of the Tokis:—



I have shown you how Palnatoki and Sweinn settled for some time in Wales, and by the way I may mention there does not appear to be any doubt but what it was Sweinn Forkbeard that gave the name to Swansea. I have equated Palne, Paul, Pewlin, Peuliniog, Palling, and shown you how the Toki who was buried in London had his last rest in the churchyard of the saint whose name was akin to his own, and I do not think that there remains aught else for me to add, excepting that I have only strung

together a lot of information culled from old history in Saga and records, Scandinavian and Saxon, any of which books are at the disposal of members who may desire to go more fully into the matter. It was interesting reading for me in spare time, and I hope that this recital may be of some interest also to others.

BOOKS REFERRED TO.

- "Olaf Tryggwasson's Saga." Northern Library.
 - "Jomsvikingar's Saga." Petersens, Lund., 1879.
 - "Kristni's Saga."
 - "Thorvald Vidförla's Saga." Ex. Le. Magn, Fafniæ, 1778.
 - "Normannerne." Steenstrup. Copenhagen, 1876.
 - "Venderne og de Danske." Steenstrup. Copenhagen, 1900.
 - Munch, "Saml. og Afhandlinger." G. Storm. Christiania, 1876.
 - "Danske Erobering af England, etc." Worsaae. Copenhagen, 1863.
 - "Danmark's Histori." Petersen, Copenhagen, 1854.
 - "Anglo-Saxon Charters." Thorpe.
 - "History of Pembrokeshire." F. Owen. London, 1892.
 - "Gloucester City Records." Stevenson. Gloucester, 1893.
 - "British Family Names." Barber. London, 1894.
 - "Christian Names." Yonge. London, 1863.
 - "Antiquities of Laugharne." Curtis. London, 18—.
 - "Antiquités du Nord." Copenhagen, 1852.
-

In the discussion which followed the reading, Mr. Thomas Stevens asked if there was any authority for Palnatoki's doings, apart from what appeared in the "Jomsviking Saga," and gave the principal points of the story of Palnatoki and Vagn Akeson as it appears in that Saga.

Mr. F. T. Norris observed that the paper was a valuable contribution to Viking literature. He should like to point out the connection of the important persons mentioned in the paper with the Thames. Gunhilda is represented by Gunnersbury, which pairs also with Gunnerslake in Pembrokeshire, Palnatoki by a neighbouring lordship called Pallenswick, the local brook called Bollingbrook with Bolingbroke, the first syllable of Pimlico (Pimleakhoe) with Pem-brokeshire, and the Carews of that Welsh shire

have their collaterals in the Carews at Carshalton. It is also curious that John Horne Tooke lies buried at Ealing.

Pastor A. V. Storm said that he was much interested in the connections between Palnatoki and Bretland, and to find that it was possible to localise them as Mr. Moffat had done. He then referred to some discrepancies between the accounts of Palnatoki given in the "Jomsvikinga Saga" and by Saxo Grammaticus, and quoted the account of the arvel-ale held in honour of Jarl Strut-Harald. It would be observed that the loss of a Welshman counted nothing with the Scandinavian Saga-teller, and it was Biorn Bretski who rescued his compatriot's body. The meaning of Toki, "stupid," still prevailed in Sweden. With reference to Mr. Moffat's mention of the discovery, many years ago, of an old ship in South Wales, supposed to be a Roman galley, he quite agreed that it had been the fashion to ascribe all such discovered objects to the Romans, and the possibility of a Scandinavian origin had not had due weight. Many families in Denmark had traced their descent to Palnatoki—among others, Bishop Absalon.

Mr. A. F. Major said that Mr. Moffat had added an interesting chapter to the hitherto unwritten history of the Viking settlement in Britain. His identification of the site of Palnatoki's holding was ingenious, and he had made out a good case in its favour, though from the nature of the evidence he could not conclusively prove his point. He hoped Mr. Moffat would continue his work in South Wales, and add to the evidence he was accumulating of the important position held by the Scandinavian settlement in the district in very early times.

Mr. C. Watson said that he was much interested in the theories of his friend Mr. Moffat, though he thought at present he had quite failed to prove any of the points he advanced. He had not shown that the Vikings settled in Wales in early times, nor had he shown that the general belief that the Romans had penetrated to the district was wrong. Further, he had failed to show that Sweyn was

the founder of Swansea, and gave his name to the town.

The Lecturer, in reply to Mr. Stevens, gave as his principal authorities for Palnatoki's history, the "Joms-vikinga Saga," "Olaf Tryggvasson's Saga," "Kristni Saga," the "Saga of Erik Vidforla," and Haigh's "Anglo-Saxon Sagas." He claimed to have shown that Palnatoki could not find a place for a settlement in the east of England, and that he worked round till he came to South Wales, and reached the lands held by Jarl Stefnir, a Norse colony. Llanstephan was undoubtedly originally Land Stephan, just as Llandoc was Land Auk. He quite admitted that there were Roman remains in South Wales—for instance, the great quadrilateral of Cardiff, Caerphilly. Jarlsness was, he believed, to be identified with Garness, near Pendine. The existence of a Scandinavian colony in close contact with a Celtic element had, he believed, caused many of the features which puzzled students of this district. In support of this theory he might quote Professor Steynstrup.

The Chairman, in conclusion, said he should like to see the dragon ornament found in both Scandinavian and Celtic work elucidated. It occurred on the runic stone found in St. Paul's Churchyard, and the interlaced ornament found so commonly in Celtic MSS. seemed to be the outgrowth of the spiral coils of the dragon. With regard to the reported discovery of an ancient boat in South Wales, he mentioned a boat said to have been found in the Thames, and referred to the well-known Nydam boat found in Denmark, as showing that such discoveries were quite possible.

THE ROUND CHURCH OF ORPHIR;

OR,

THE EARL'S BÚ AND KIRK IN ÖR-FJARA.¹

By, R. W. Johnston.

THE Round Church of Orphir stands in the parish churchyard, situated on the lands of the present Bú of Orphir, in Orkney. This Bú was one of the bordlands, or guest quarters, and formed part of the landed estate of the old Norse earldom of Orkney. The "Orkneyinga Saga" mentions that early in the twelfth century the Earls of Orkney occasionally lived at their Bú, or house, in Ör-fjara, to which a splendid church was attached. Ör-fjara has been identified with the modern Orphir. Adjoining the Round Church are the foundations of extensive buildings, which stand in relation to that church in exactly the same way as did the Earl's Bú to its church as described in the Saga. As the "Round" is undoubtedly one of those twelfth century churches built in imitation of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, there can be little doubt that it and the Earl's Church are one and the same.

However, as Professor P. A. Munch has located the site elsewhere in the parish of Orphir, we are obliged to go somewhat minutely into the subject in order to prove the identity of the site. We must examine Saga references; the history of Orkneyan place-names, and of those in Orphir in particular; the Earls' estates in Orphir, and throughout Orkney; and the derivation and original location of Ör-fjara—this is exceedingly puzzling, as the name

¹ The authors and works referred to in this paper will be found in the Bibliography at the end. References to the years 1503, 1595, 1627 and 1642 will be found under *Rentals*.

has evidently been shifted, at some remote period, from the original site, to the district now called Orphir, which latter it will be proved is the Ör-fjara of the Saga, and the place from which the present parish took its name. This paper will conclude with a description of the ruins of the Earl's Bú and Church, and a proposal for their preservation.

SAGA REFERENCES.

Before quoting the "*Orkneyinga Saga*," it will be as well to explain that this name is modern, the old name being "*Jarla-Sögur*," or Earl's Sagas, and then "*Jarla-Saga*," taken from one of its component parts. These parts are:—(1) The Origin of the Norwegian Empire, chaps. 1-3; (2) *Jarla-Sögur*, chaps. 4-38; (3) *St. Magnús' Saga*, chaps. 39-55; (4) *Miracle Book of St. Magnús*, chap. 60; (5) *Saga of Earl Rögnvaldr and Sveinn Ásleif's son*, chaps. 56-59 and 61-118; and (6) *Addenda*, only found in "*Flatey Book*."

Ör-tjara is mentioned only in the *Saga of Earl Rögnvaldr and Sveinn*. Mr. Vigfússon says that this Saga is the principal and most interesting part of the whole complex work, being the last manifestation of the Viking spirit, and Sveinn the last of the great Vikings of old. A complete copy of the original Saga does not now exist. The whole, however, is found in "*Flatey Book*," cut up into five sections and chronologically distributed into the lives of the kings. The text is imperfect, and the scribe of "*Flatey Book*" knew nothing of Orkney geography. Besides "*Flatey Book*," several vellum fragments of the original Saga are preserved. There is a Danish translation of the whole Saga which supplies lost sentences skipped in "*Flatey Book*," and gives means of mending false readings. Magnus Olafsson's "*Icelandic Glossary*," collected in 1630-36 and edited by Ole Worm as "*Lexicon Runicum*," contains upwards of a hundred references from *Jarla-Saga*. The "*Orkneyinga Saga*" differs from Icelandic Sagas in its vivid pictures of the Viking Age, and the almost complete absence of the law element.

A full description of the Saga will be found in Mr. Vigfússon's introduction to the Rolls edition of the text of the "Orkneyinga Saga," and in his prolegomena to "Sturlunga Saga." The "Fletey Book" text has been translated by Mr. Jón A. Hjaltalin and Mr. Gilbert Goudie, edited with an introduction by Dr. Joseph Anderson. The text of the Rolls edition of the "Orkneyinga Saga," edited by Mr. Gudbrand Vigfússon, is compiled from the "Fletey Book" and the above-mentioned vellum fragments, etc., more than one-third and less than one-half being founded on these fragments, and the remainder on the "Fletey Book." It has been translated by Sir George Dasent, with an introduction on place-names. The introduction does not, however, contain any original research; it is compiled from Professor Munch's work on Saga names, and from other writers, and is badly arranged. As an instance of this may be mentioned the subject of the present paper, viz., Ör-fjara. Sir George Dasent, in accordance with Professor Munch, locates the site of the Earl's palace at Swanbister, and, on the authority of Mr. George Petrie, identifies the ruins of the Round Church as those of the Earl's Church, in ignorance of the fact (although he visited Orphir) that the two places are a mile apart, and not adjoining each other as described in the Saga. Dasent's rendering of place-names in his translation is also unsatisfactory. In some cases he translates the name, in others gives the text name, in others the modern name, which he sometimes questionably identifies with the old, and in others a semi-translation added to the modern name, *e.g.*, in *Skalp-eið*, he identifies *skalp* with the modern Scapa, to which he adds *neck*, the translation of *eið*, making Scapa-neck; whereas Scapa, or Scalpa as it is sometimes spelt, is really the complete old name; *eið* as a termination becoming *a*. Compare Brae (the contracted form of Brai-ai) = Breið-eið, in Shetland.¹

Under the date of 1127-8 the Saga of Earl Rögnvaldr

¹ Jakob Jakobsen, "Dialect and Place-names of Shetland," p. 85. Lerwick, 1897.

and Sveinn relates¹: "It happened in the days of the brothers, Earl Haraldr and Páll, that they were to keep the Yule feast in Örfjara, at the *búi* of Earl Haraldr, and he was to provide the food on behalf of both. He had there great preparation and work. The sisters were there, Frakökk² and Helga, the Earl's mother, and sat in the little room at their sewing. Then Earl Haraldr came into the room, and the sisters sat on the daïs, and a new-sewn linen garment lay between them, white as driven snow. The Earl took up the garment, and saw that it was in many places sewn with gold. He asked, 'Who owns this treasure?' Frakökk says, 'It is meant for thy brother Páll.' The Earl says, 'Why take you such great pains in making him a garment? You do not take so much trouble in making clothes for me.'" The Earl was newly out of bed, and was only in a shirt and linen breeches, and had thrown a cloak over his shoulders. He threw off the cloak and unfolded the linen garment. His mother caught hold of it, and asked him not to be envious though his brother had good clothes. The Earl snatched it from her, and prepared to put it on. Then they pulled off their head-dresses, and tore their hair, and said it would cost his life if he put on the garment. They both then wept bitterly. The Earl nevertheless put it on, and let it fall down over him. But as soon as the garment fell round his body a shiver came over his skin, and quickly great pain followed. And from this the Earl took to his bed and lay a short while ere he died. His friends thought this a great loss. But at once after the death of Earl Haraldr, his brother, Earl Páll, took all the realm (earldom) with the consent of all *bændr* (*bóndis*) in Orkneyjar."

Under the date 1136³ the Saga of Earl Rögnvaldr and Sveinn gives an account of the great Yule feast which Earl

¹ O. S. R., chap. 58. Translation by Jón Stefánsson, Ph.D., for this paper.

² Frakörk ("Flateybook").

³ O. S. R., chaps. 69-70. Translation by Jón Stefánsson, Ph.D., for this paper.

Páll prepared at his Bú, which is called Örfura (Jorfiara, "Flatey Book"); thither he asked many high-born men, including Valþjófr, Ólaf's son from Stronsay. The Saga goes on to relate how Valþjófr and his crew were all lost in the West Firth the day before Yule, and how his father, Ólaf, was burned in his house at Duncansby the second night before Yule, in the absence of his wife Ásleif and his sons Gunni and Sveinn, afterwards called Ásleifarson. Sveinn returned home on the eve of Yule, and at once fared to Stroma, which he reached in the night, and from thence he went to Skalp-eið, and so on to Örfura, which he apparently reached on the first day of Yule.

"There he was welcomed; men took him to Eyvindr Melbrigðason, Sveinn's kinsman. Eyvindr brought Sveinn before Earl Páll, and the Earl greeted Sveinn well and asked him for news, but Sveinn tells the death of his father, and what had happened. The Earl regretted this, and said it was a great loss to himself. He invited Sveinn to stay with him, and said he would do him great honour. Sveinn thanked the Earl kindly for his invitation, and said he would accept it.

"After that men went to evensong. There were large farm buildings (*húsa-bær*) there, and they stood on sloping ground [here leaves are wanting in the "Codex," and the text of the rest of chap. 70 is from the "Flateybook"], and there was a slope¹ at the back of the houses. And when one came on the brow of the slope, Örríðafjörðr was above it (*i.e.*, on the other side beyond); in it lies Damisey. There was a castle in the island guarded by a man called Blánn, son of Thorsteinn of Flyðrunes. There, in Örfjara, was a large drinking-hall (*drykkju-skáli*), and there was a door, near the east gable, on the southern side wall, and a splendid church stood before the hall door, and one descended (in going) from the hall to the church. But as one entered the hall, a large slab was to the left, and inside many large ale-casks, and facing the out-door was a room. When men

¹ *Brekka*, an oblong, rising hillside.

came from evensong they were shown their seats. The Earl made Sveinn Ásleifarson sit next to him on the inside, while Sveinn Breastrope sat next to him on the outside, and next to him Jón, the kinsman of Sveinn Breastrope. When the tables were cleared away, the men came who told of the drowning of Valþjófr Ólafsson, and the Earl thought it great news. Then the Earl commanded that no one should worry Sveinn Ásleifarson during Yule, and said he would even then have care enough. In the evening when men had drunk, the Earl and most of the men went to sleep. But Sveinn Breastrope went out, and sat out (performing wizardry) all night, as was his habit. During the night men rose and went to church and heard prayers, and after high mass they sat down to table. Eyvindr Melbrigðason had most of the management of the feast, with the Earl, and did not sit down. The waiting-men and the candle-bearers stood before the Earl's table, but Eyvindr filled the cup of each of the namesakes. Then Sveinn Breastrope thought Eyvindr poured more in his cup, and would not take it before Sveinn Ásleifarson had drunk off his cup, and said Sveinn was a poor drinker. There had long been coldness between Sveinn Breastrope and Ólafr Hrólfsson, and also between the namesakes since Sveinn Ásleifarson grew up. After drinking for a while they went to nones. When they came in (*i.e.*, back from church) healths were drunk and horns drained. Then Sveinn Breastrope wanted to change horns with his namesake because it was a little horn. Eyvindr thrust a large horn into the hand of Sveinn Ásleifarson, and he offered that to his namesake. Then Sveinn Breastrope grew angry, and muttered to himself so that some men, including the Earl, heard him: 'Sveinn will be Sveinn's bane, and Sveinn must be Sveinn's bane.' This was hushed up. Now they drank up to evensong. When the Earl went out, Sveinn Ásleifarson walked before him, but Sveinn Breastrope remained sitting and drinking. When they got to the ale-room, Eyvindr came after them, and took Sveinn aside to talk. He asked: 'Did you hear

what your namesake said when you offered him the horn? 'No,' he answered. Eyvindr repeated the words, and said the devil must have put these words into his mouth during the night. 'He means to slay thee, but thou shouldst be beforehand and slay him.' Eyvindr handed him an axe, and told him to stand in the shade by the slab, and aim the blow at Sveinn in front if Jón walked first, but aim at his namesake behind if Jón walked behind him. The Earl went to church, and no one observed Eyvindr and Sveinn. Sveinn Breastrope and Jón walked out a little after the Jarl. Sveinn Breastrope had a sword in his hand, for he always carried a sword, though others did not, and Jón walked first. There was a gleam of light on the out-door, but the weather was thick. When Sveinn Breastrope came to the out-door, Sveinn Ásleifarson smote him on the forehead; he stumbled at the blow, but did not fall. When he pulled himself up again he saw a man standing at the door, and thought he had wounded him. He drew his sword, smote him on the head, and cleft it down to the shoulders. The blow hit his kinsman Jón, and they both fell there. Then Eyvindr came up, and took Sveinn Ásleifarson into the room facing the out-door, and he was there pulled out through a skjá-window.¹ There Magnús Eyvindarson had a horse ready saddled, and took him away behind the bær and on to Örríðafjörðr. Then they took ship, and Magnús brought Sveinn to Damisey, to the castle there, and Blánn took him next morning north to Egilsey to Vilhjálmr, bishop."

It is said of Sveinn Breastrope that "he was one of the Earl's bodyguard (*hirðmaðr*), and well honoured of him; he was ever on Viking voyages in the summer, but the winters he spent with Earl Páll. Sveinn was a strong man, swarthy and rather unlucky-looking; he was a believer in the old faith, and had always had sittings out at night [to follow his black arts]. He was one of the Earl's forecastle men."²

¹ *Skjá(r)* is a transparent membrane stretched across a window, and used instead of glass.

² O. S. R. Tr., chap. 68. Dasent's translation of vellum fragment revised.

The next and last notice of Ör-fjara in the Saga is in chap. 103, A.D. 1154, when Earl Rögnvaldr fled to his bú in Ör-tjara. In 1263, King Hákonr, on his return from his ill-fated expedition to Scotland, came into Rögnvaldsvoe. ¹ "After All Saints' Day the King let his ship sail out to Meðal-landz-höfn [now Midland Haven], but he stayed that day in Rögnvaldsey, and fared thence to Kirkjuvágr. After that each captain looked after his ship. Some were laid up in Meðal-landz-höfn, but some further in by Skalp-eið. King Hákon rode out to Meðal-landz-höfn on Saturday before Martinmas, it was in the eve of the Mass. He was then very ill; that night he was on board his ship. Next morning he let Mass be sung for him on land [at the Earl's Round Church?]. After that he settled about his ship, where she should be laid up, and bade men bestow great pains in caring for the ship. After that he fared into Skalp-eið and so to Kirkwall; he went to the bishop's house (*garðr*) with all his train," and there he died.

ORKNEYAN PLACE-NAMES.

In order to help us in locating the site of the Earl's Bú and Church in the parish of Orphir, let us first glance briefly at the history of these islands and their place-names. Before the advent of the Northmen in Orkney in the eighth century, these islands must have had a considerable population of Picts and Culdees, which we gather from the remains of 70 or more brochs or round towers, sculptured stones, bells, and other relics. It appears to be tolerably certain that these pre-Norse inhabitants and their Christianity never entirely died out in the islands, as is witnessed by the preservation of a few ecclesiastical place-names and the dedications of some of their chapels.

In Saga-times there was practically a common language to Norway, Iceland, Orkney and Shetland, with local variations, and the kindred Anglo-Saxon was intelligible

¹ "Hákonar Saga," Rolls edition, translated by Dasent. Revised.

to the Northmen.¹ Icelandic of the present day remains substantially the same, while Norwegian has changed considerably. As Orkney and Shetland formed a Norwegian earldom, and maintained official and commercial intercourse with Norway, its language, with local peculiarities, probably corresponded nearly with that of Norway. Official documents were in Norwegian, but it is possible that the dialect differed from Norwegian as much as Faroese now does from Danish.

The advent of the Scottish lines of Earls in the thirteenth century, and the transference of the islands to Scotland in 1468, ended in the extinction of the last shred of the native tongue in the eighteenth century. However, the local idiom retains a host of Norse words, many of which are of Old Norse and Icelandic origin and meaning. We should therefore expect to find Orkney place-names of Pictish (?), Icelandic, Old Norse, Norwegian, Scottish and English origin successively; the Icelandic being modified by the Norwegian, and that again by Scotch and English. Names have been transferred from one place to another by abode-shifting. Old names have been glossed with later spellings to suit erroneous ideas of etymology, and new names have been given in our own day, and spelt in a way to mislead philologists.

To treat of place-names it is necessary to have a thorough knowledge of the locality, its history, records, folklore, and folk-pronunciation. Folk-pronunciation frequently preserves the old name, which has been modified by fashion and the influence of the official class, usually ferryloupers or foreigners.

We have no record of the political districts into which Orkney was divided. The Saga only mentions the Al-thing. In Shetland, in 1575, there were numerous local courts held throughout the islands, and one head court called the Law-ting, the successor of the Al-Thing.² The same must have been the case in Orkney. Christ-

¹ "Snorra Edda," ii., p. 12 (A. M. ed., 1852); also "Saga of Haraldr Harðreða," chap. 98.

² Balfour.

ianity 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. Byrgis-hérað¹ does not necessarily refer to a civil district, as *hérað* is used for any district, valley, or country, bordered by mountains, or within the same river basin.

The *tún* is the unit of Orkney topography. Captain Thomas was of opinion that the *pet* and *fotir* and *dín* of the Pict, and the *baile* of the *Papar* or Culdees, were destroyed or occupied by the Scandinavian desolators, when the *pet* and *baile*, the enclosed lands of the Pict and the Culdee, became the *tún* of the Vikings, the rough wall surrounding it was the *tún-garðr*, and the *sleibh*, the hill side, was the *brekka*, *mýrr* and *fell* of the Northmen. There is still shown, in nearly every *tún* in Orkney, the traditional site of a chapel and graveyard, probably of Culdee origin. *Tún*, which is the Icelandic and common Teutonic word for an enclosure, is sometimes used in Orkney for a single farm, but generally for a small group of farms; *rúm*, the Icelandic for a *place*, is used in Orkney for a single farm. Quoy=Ice., *kví*, an enclosure, is used in Orkney for an enclosure in the common. Originally each *tún* was enclosed by a wall; but latterly many were contiguous, and only divided by a recognised boundary line, and the only wall they had was that which divided them from the common or hill pasture. The *tún* side of the hill-dyke, or wall, was called the inside, and the common side the outside. The original *tún*, by enlargement, and subdivision through udal inheritance, became a group of farms. The site of the original *tún*, however, remained the principal farm, the *Bú* or Head *Bú* of the enlarged *tún*. Many *Bús* mentioned in 1503 are now called Halls, e.g., the *Bús* of Clestron, Rendall and Tankerness are now the Halls of these places.

¹ O. S. R.

PARISH OF ORPHIR.

It is noticeable in the names of parishes in Orkney that they are mainly taken from the dedication of the church, or the name of the *tún* or district in which the church is situated. The parish of Orphir consists of a group of *túns*, or districts, and *rúms*, or single detached farms, which we find enumerated in 1627 as follows:—Houbuster, Groundwater, Tuskebuster, *rúm* of Naversdaill, Kerbuster, *rúm* of Smogro, Swanbuster, Orphar, Midland, Howtoun, *rúm* of Orakirk, Kowbuster (Orakirk and Kowbuster now form Peterton), and Claistraine be-south and be-north the burn. And so they remain to this day.

In the case of the parish of Orphir, the name is taken from the *tún*, Orphir, in which the church is built. The dedication of the church is lost, unless we can accept the solitary evidence of an invitation by Mr. William Honyman of Graemsay to Mr. Robert Moncrieff of Houton, dated July 4th, 1757, to attend the funeral of his wife, Mary Græme, from the dwelling-house of Claistrone to “St. Nicolas’ Church, Orphir.”

EARLS’ ESTATE IN ORPHIR.

The three contiguous *túns* of Orphair, Midland and Howth (also called Houton), and the quoy of Orakirk, lying end on along the coast from east to west, formed one of the landed estates of the earldom of Orkney, and were described in 1503 and 1595 as skatt-free bordlands, or guest-quarters of the old earldom, *i.e.*, the Norse Earldom before it was sold to the Scottish Crown in 1471 by Earl William St. Clair, the last of the Norse Earls.

Midland, in 1502, included the farms of Grindala, Sowrpow, Swarthbak (Swartabreck in 1595 and after), Mossaquoy, Myre (Over Myre in 1614), and Feaw (now Fea, pronounced Fee-a). There is the site of a chapel at the head of the Hope o’ Myre. Howth is mentioned in 1503, when it is said that it was so entered in the old parchment rental, *i.e.*, Earl William St. Clair’s Rental of

MAP OF THE PARISH OF ORPHIR IN 1813

COMPILED BY AW JOHNSTON FROM THE PLAN OF THE
DIVISION OF THE COMMUNITY AS COPIED BY THE
LATE JAMES JOHNSTON OF COUBISTER

ADDITIONAL NAMES FROM ORDNANCE SURVEY 1862

MARKED (——). NAMES ADDED BY AW. JOHNSTON [—]

BOUNDARIES (HILL DYKES) BETWEEN COMMUNITY & TUNS.

ARABLE & PASTURE. MARKED ++++++

BOUNDARIES BETWEEN TUNS MARKED =====

NEW ROADS MARKED - - - - - OLD KIRK ROAD (MASEY GATE) - - - - -

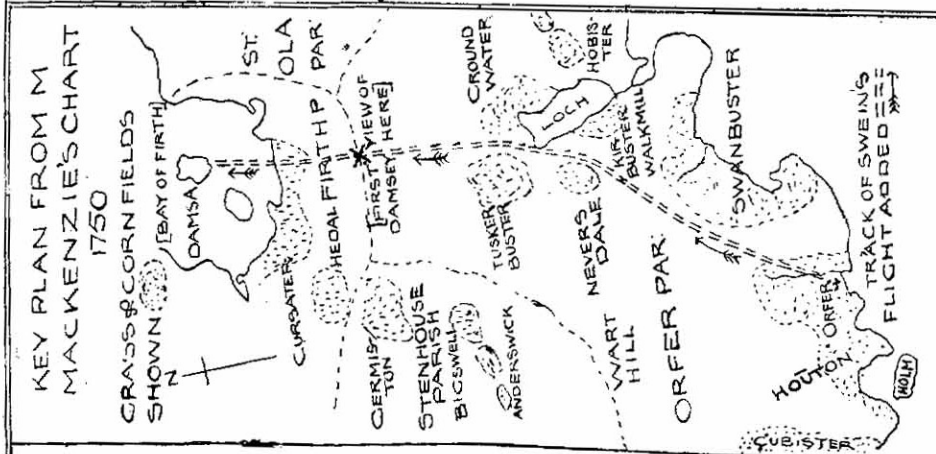
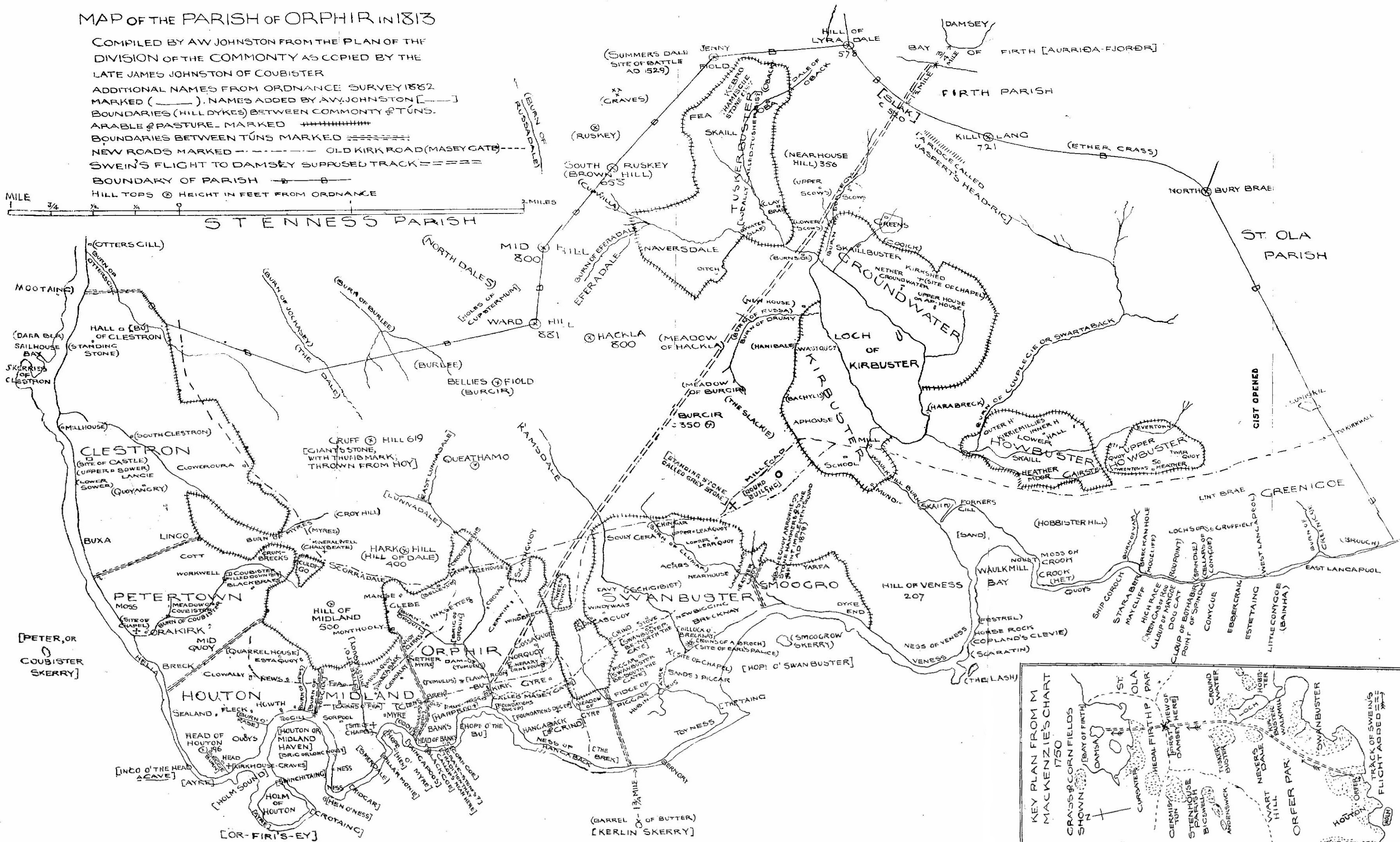
SWEIN'S FLIGHT TO DAMSEY SUPPOSED TRACK =====

BOUNDARY OF PARISH ————

HILL TOPS @ HEIGHT IN FEET FROM ORDNANCE

MILE 1/4 1/2 3/4 1 2 MILES

STENNESS PARISH



the old Norse Earldom. In 1627, and in the charters, we find Howton (now Houton, pronounced Hoo-ton) mentioned, including Howth. In a charter of 1662 the following places in "Houthton" are mentioned—Houth *alias* Fleck, Estaquoy, Newhouse (pronounced News), and Quarrelhouse, *i.e.*, quarry house. There is the site of a chapel near the Head of Houton. Orakirk, in 1503, is described as a quoy, and a half-penny land. There is the site of a chapel here. The *tún* of Orphair in 1503 comprised the Bull (called the Bow in 1642) of Orphair, with Carling-skerry (now called the Barrel of Butter, probably because it paid a rent of a barrel of oil), and a group of surrounding farms called the threepenny-land of Orphair. (Penny-land is an old denomination of land-value for purposes of taxation.) These farms were:—Banks, Grega (later Crega, now Creya), Hangbak or Hangabak (pronounced Hannabak) and Grynd, Scalebuster (Skobuster and Skegiebister in the charters) and Gyre (Gera in 1595, now Gear, pronounced Geer), Quoy (now Nurquoy) and Gossaquoy, Wyndbrek, Crowell (now Croval), Ingsetter or Inksetter, Orquill, Myir or Myre (afterwards Nether Myre) and Quoyclerks. The parish church and churchyard are situated on the lands of the Bú in this *tún*. The Round Church stands in the churchyard, and the foundations of the old Bú are to the north, outside the yard. There is the site of a chapel, called Harproo, at the head of the Hope o' the Bú.




The Bú of Orphir is the principal and original farm in the *tún* of that name. The surrounding farms tell their later and subsidiary origin by their names, *e.g.*, Grind, the Icelandic for a gate, in the enclosing wall; Gyre, Gera, or Gear=Ice., *geiri*, a gore or strip of outlying grass—it was on the border of the common; Quoy and Gossaquoy, both on the border of the common; Ingsetter=Ice., *eng-sætr*, meadow pasture; Myre=Ice., *mýrr*, a swamp; Orquill=Ice., *ár-gill*, Old Norse, *or-gill*, a stream glen; etc.

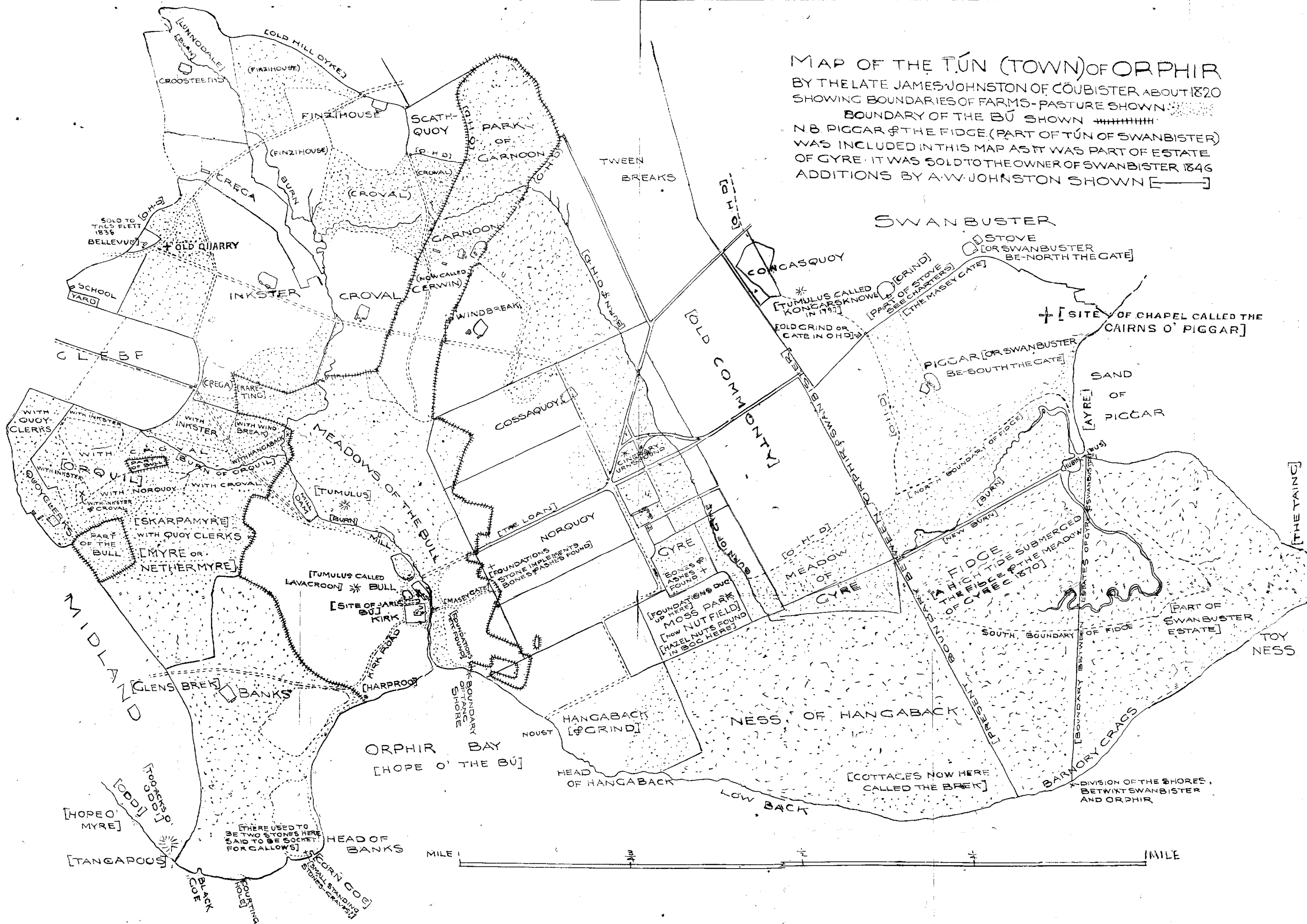
The old earldom estate of Orphir, Midland and Houton, was a compact district by itself, separated from Swan-

bister on the east by a tongue of the common, and by a large tract of rough, uncultivated land, and the Fidge of Piggar, stretching from the common down to the coast. From the name Grind, near Hangabak, which means a gate in the enclosing wall, there is presumptive evidence that the common at one time extended right down to the coast. There is also evidence that the common behind Houton likewise extended along the hill top down to the coast, dividing the estate on the north-west from Peterton. We gather this from the fact that Orakirk, which is situated on the shore to the north of Houton, was quoyland, *i.e.*, an enclosure from the common, and the place between it and Houton was called Mid-quoy. That Orakirk is an old quoy is evident from its *penny-land* valuation. The early date of this valuation is lost in antiquity. Later quoyes are not so valued. The whole estate was bounded on the north and east by the common, from which it was separated by a wall, and on the south by the sea. There are no walls separating the three *túns* from each other—merely recognised boundaries; a burn between Houton and Midland, and the ridge of a brek between Midland and Orphir. It formed an ideal estate. Midland with the only haven in that part of the mainland, and Orphir with broadlands for farming, extensive meadows, hill pasture, peat ground, and a good freshwater stream. Sheltered by hills on the north (including the indispensable ward or beacon hill), facing the south, and with a safe, land-locked sea in front, stocked with salmon-trout and other fish. Kerling-skerry, belonging to the Bú, used to be noted as a place for seal-hunting.

EARLS' RESIDENCES IN ORKNEY.

It will be to the point to compare a list of the Earls' bús and residences mentioned in the Saga with a list of bús, bulls or bows, and bordlands of the earldom enumerated in the Rentals of the Earldom in 1503 and 1595. With regard to bordlands, Captain F. W. L. Thomas writes: "The Earls of Orkney must from an early period

MAP OF THE TŪN (TOWN) OF ORPHIR
BY THE LATE JAMES JOHNSTON OF COUBISTER ABOUT 1820
SHOWING BOUNDARIES OF FARMS - PASTURE SHOWN 
BOUNDARY OF THE BŪ SHOWN 
N.B. PICCAR & THE FIDGE (PART OF TŪN OF SWANBISTER)
WAS INCLUDED IN THIS MAP AS IT WAS PART OF ESTATE
OF GYRE. IT WAS SOLD TO THE OWNER OF SWANBISTER 1846
ADDITIONS BY A.W. JOHNSTON SHOWN 



have had mensal farms, and these are marked in the Old Rental as 'bordland,' *borðland*—literally, table-land; thus the Bul, *Ból*, N. of Orfer, where the Earl usually dwelt,¹ was bordland." Colonel David Balfour writes: "Bordland, N., *bord, mensa, cibus*, the guest-quarters of the King or Jarl, and therefore exempt from skatt." We find the Earl of Orkney faring about the islands in 1137 collecting his land rents, when he would undoubtedly have resided at his bú and bordlands.² As the islands were frequently divided among several Earls at the same time, in accordance with udal succession, they must have had their separate headquarters, using their existing bú and bordlands for that purpose.

<p><i>From the Rentals, 1503, 1595, and Modern Records. Bús, bordlands, and Residences of the Earldom.</i></p>	<p><i>From the "Orkneyinga Saga," eleventh and twelfth centuries. Bús and Residences of the Earls.</i></p>
<p>Earl's Palace, Birsa. Not mentioned in the Rentals as the whole of Birsa was church land in 1503.</p>	<p>Earl Thorfinnr the Great (d. 1064), after his pilgrimage to Rome, resided almost always at Byrgis-hérað, where he built Christ Church (chap. 37). Earl Páll II. at Byrgis-hérað, 1137 (chap. 60). Earl Rögnvaldr II. at Byrgis-hérað, 1155 (chap. 108).</p>
<p>Kirkwall Castle. Mentioned in charters of earldom.</p> <p>Burray; Bú of.</p> <p>Burwick in South Ronaldsey.</p> <p>Hoy, and its Bú.</p>	<p>Earl Rögnvaldr I. (d. 1046) at Kirkju-vágr, 1046 (chap. 34).</p>
<p>Orphair; Bú of Orphair, Midland, Houton and Orakirk.</p>	<p>Earl Haraldr, who lived mostly in Caithness, died at his bú in Ör-fjara, 1127 (chap. 58). Earl Páll II. lived at his bú in Ör-fjara, 1136-37 (chaps. 69-71). Earl Rögnvaldr II. at his bú in Ör-fjara, 1154 (chap. 103). Earl Haraldr Maddadson in hiding at the Earl's Bú in Or-fjara, 1154 (chap. 103).</p>

¹ The only Earls mentioned as being at Ör-fjara, Páll, Rögnvaldr, and Haraldr Maddadson.

² O. S. R., chap. 71.

<p><i>From the Rentals, 1503, 1595, and Modern Records, Bús, bordlands, and Residences of the Earldom.</i></p>	<p><i>From the "Orkneyinga Saga," eleventh and twelfth centuries. Bús and Residences of the Earls.</i></p>
<p>Sandwick—Netherlyking.</p> <p>Westrey — Swartmeill, Wasbuster, and Bú of Rapness.</p> <p>Sandey ;—Gryndleith, Bús of Brugh, Halkisness, Tofts, Walls, Lopness, and Tressness.</p> <p>Stronsey ;—Holland, and possibly Clestrain and Musbuster, as they paid no skatt.</p> <p>Papa Stronsey, paid no skatt.</p> <p>Knarstane, in St. Ola, is described in the Rental, 1503, as <i>pro rege</i>, <i>i.e.</i>, king's land, forming part of the landed estate of the earldom, paying rent and skatt, and is not described as bordland.</p>	<p>Earl Rögnvaldr II. at Hreppis-ness in 1155 (chap. 107).</p> <p>? Earl Rögnvaldr I. in 1036 fared first to those bús which his father Brúsa had owned (chap. 26). We are told (chap. 22) that Earl Brúsa had the northernmost part of the islands.</p> <p>Earl Rögnvaldr I. killed at Papey in litlu, where he had gone for his Yule malt, 1046 (chap. 34).</p> <p>Earl Rögnvaldr II. in 1136-38 had a bú called Knarrar-staðir (chap. 81). This is supposed to be the modern Knarstane, near Scalpa, in St. Ola.</p>

BÚ AND BULL.

With regard to the words Bú and Bull, the Saga mentions the *búi* in *Ör-fjara*, and the *búi* called *Ör-fjara*. The Rental of 1503 mentions the *bull* of *Orphair*. In one instance in 1503 the spelling *bow* is used, viz., the *bow* of Burray. In the Rental of 1642 the spelling *bow* is used throughout. *Būe* is the form used in M. Mackenzie's charts, 1750, and *Bu'* is now adopted by the Ordnance Survey. The pronunciation is uniformly *boo*, and appears always to have been so. The question is whether *bull*, *bow* or *bu* are derived from O.N. *ból* or *búi*. The Saga always uses the word *búi*, and this, although a generic name, has become attached to place-names in Orkney. However, *búi* is still used in Orkney as a sort of generic name: it is always the *búi* of such and such a place, in exactly the same way as used in the Saga. *Ból* is still

used in Orkney, as in Iceland, for a pen for cattle. Before the commons of Orkney were divided among the landowners, and when cattle pastured promiscuously, each house took its turn to send a person to *ból* the cattle for the night. This was regulated by the *ból*-pins, two small pieces of wood tied together by a string, and passed on from house to house.¹ *Ból* in place-names in Orkney appears in the termination "bister" = *bólstaðir*.

The *ll* in *bull* appears to be a Scottish addition. In illustration of the Scottish influence on Orkney place-names, so far as the letter *l* is concerned, take *vágr*, pronounced *voe* in Orkney; in Scotch this becomes *waw*, then *wall*, as in *vágur*, *wawis*, *walls*, and *Kirkju-vágr*, *Kirkwaw*, *Kirkwall*. The true words are preserved in the folk-pronunciation *waas* and *Kirkwaa*. In the case of *Hrólfsey* the *l* has been absorbed in the foregoing long vowel, and we now have *Rousey*. In the same way as the Scotch pronounce gold *gowd*, by a mistaken contra-analogy we occasionally find *fold* for *fowd* (i.e., *foged*).² *Boll*, a seed-pod, becomes *bow*, where, as in many Scotch words, the *ll* is changed into *w*.³ And by a contra-analogy the Orkney *búi* becomes *bull*. This Icelandic *búi* is still in use in some Scotch place-names, meaning a house or village, e.g., the Bow of Fife, the Boo of Ballingshaw, etc.⁴

It has now been shown that *Ör-fjara* of the Saga is represented by the modern Orphir; that the parish of Orphir takes its name from the *tín* of Orphir, in which the present church is situated; that the *tín* of Orphir takes its name from the *Bú* of Orphir; that the *Bú* of Orphir is described in 1503 as *bordland* of the old Norse earldom; that the modern name *Bu'*, *Bow* or *Bull* is a corruption of the O.N. *búi*; that the ruins of the old *Bú* and Round Church of Orphir correspond exactly with the Earl's *Bú* and Church as described in the Saga, and that they are one and the same.

¹ Statement by Mr. Joshua Hay, Windbrek, Orphir, and others. See also s.v. *Buil*, Edmondston, and Shirreff, app. pp. 2, 44.

² Munch.

³ Jamieson's Scotch Dict., s.v. *Bow*.

⁴ Ibid, s.v. *Boo*.

SUPPOSED SITE OF THE EARL'S BÚ AT SWANBISTER, ETC.

Mr. Francis Liddell, in 1797, suggested that the Earl's Palace stood at Oback in Orphir parish, as answering to the Saga description. Possibly he was misled by a tradition which says that the Earl of Caithness was slain at Oback after the battle of Summerdale in 1529.¹ Mr. Liddell suggests that an ancient circular tower, about 180 feet in circumference, at Swanbister, was probably the residence of Sveinn Breastrope. This, however, is the ruins of one of the many pre-Norse broughs in Orkney and Shetland. From measurements taken in 1879 and 1901 by the writer, the internal diameter of this brough is about 30 feet, which, with the 12 feet thick walls, gives a circumference of about 170 feet. Somehow or other, after this suggestion by Mr. Liddell, *Sveinn* got locally mixed up with the *Earl*, and in a MS. map of Swanbister in 1847 we find the brough marked as the "ruins of Earl Sweyn's Castle." The transition from Earl Sweyn's Castle to Earl's Palace was then an easy one. Already in 1842 the minister of the parish mentions the "Earl's Palace" at Swanbister.² In the advertisement of the sale of the estate of Swanbister in 1844, it is stated as an attractive feature of the property that it was "in ancient days the residence of the Norwegian Earls of Orkney, the remains of whose palace are yet in existence."

We are therefore not surprised to find Professor P. A. Munch writing in 1845-49 that the inhabitants still show the ground of the Earl's seat at Swanbister. As a matter of fact there are no local traditions now, no more than there were in 1758,³ as to the Earl's Palace. The brough at Swanbister is called by the people the hillock of Breckney, from the name of the old neighbouring farm.

Professor Munch located Ör-fjara at Swanbister primarily because he found a large flat tract of land there which was

¹ Peace's "Handbook to Orkney."

² N. S. A., Orphir. ³ Pope.

sometimes submerged by the sea, and *ör-fjara*, or its derivative *örfyri*, he says, was anciently used of a considerable extent of flat land covered at flood and dry at ebb, and in proof refers to two islands in Norway, now called Offersö, but anciently Orfyris-ey, both landfast during ebb. But, as will be shown later on, *ör-fjara*, or its derivative *örfiri*, is solely applicable to the reef or neck of land which connects a tidal island to the mainland. The only similar names Professor Munch can give are those of two such islands. The proper designation for a low ebbing shore is *út-firi*. The place at Swanbister referred to by Prof. Munch is called the Fidge of Piggar, from O.N. *fit*=low-lying meadow beside water, which exactly describes the place. Swanbister is described in the Rental of 1503 as udal land paying skatt. It is not mentioned as having formed part of the old earldom landed estate, and it was completely separated from the Earl's estate in Orphir. Professor Munch found that the site of the brough, in relation to the adjoining site of a chapel, did not correspond with the Saga description, and there was no room for a chapel between the brough and the sea, so he accordingly accepted the site of the chapel as that of the church mentioned in the Saga, and placed the palace in imagination to the north, suggesting that the brough might have been one of the outbuildings. The brough is marked in the Ordnance map, "Earl's Palace, site of." Professor Munch says that Orphir seems in former times to have been the common name of the whole coast from Houton to Waulkmill, but quotes no authority. It has already been shown that Orphir, excluding the parish name, is alone applicable to the *tún* of that name (in which the Bú and Round Church are situated), the inhabitants of which are still spoken of by their neighbouring parishioners as the "Orphir folk." At most the name could only have included the Earl's estate of Orphir, Midland and Houton, to which latter is attached a tidal island, an *örfiris-ey*, to which we must look for the origin of the name. Although Professor Munch visited Orphir, and

consulted the Rentals, he makes no mention of the Round Church, or the Bú of Orphir, bordland of the old earldom.

ÖR-FJARA : ORIGINAL LOCATION AND DERIVATION.

The following remarks are mainly founded on a correspondence with Mr. Eiríkr Magnússon of Cambridge and Dr. Jón Stefánsson.

Ör-fjara, derivative *örfiri*, Icelandic, neuter, is solely applicable to the reef or neck of land connecting a tidal island (*örfiris-ey*) to the mainland. It is derived from *ör*=out of, a negative prefix, and *fjara*=(1) low water, the opposite of high water, *flóð*; (2) foreshore, or the part of the beach dry only at low water and covered at high water. Örfirisey would thus mean "out of ebb island," *i.e.*, showing above the water-line at ebb-tide. There is no difficulty in the way of the term Ör-tjara extending from the appendage to the adjacent parts of the mainland. The Holm of Houton must therefore be the original Örfirisey, and the adjoining land Ör-tjara. But how came the name to be restricted or transferred to the present Bú and *tún* of Orphir—the Bú of Saga times—and the name Örfirisey discarded? There are two solutions:—(1) The whole district of the Earl's estate from Houton to Orphir may have been originally called Ör-fjara, and the name afterwards restricted to the Earl's Bú; or (2) Houton, adjoining the tidal island, may have been the original Ör-fjara, and the Earl's Bú first erected there, and afterwards shifted to its present site, taking the name with it. In either of these cases, when the name got attached to the abode, and people no longer understood the exact meaning of Örfirisey—which must have got lost very early in Orkney, considering that the same took place in Iceland—the term Örfirisey became meaningless to people, and Hólmr took its place. Örfirisey, just outside Reykjavík, has for a long time gone under the name of Effersey, as though it were named after some person called Effer, which shows how utterly unconscious the Icelanders

themselves became of the sense of the old name. Even this island figured for a time as Hólmr. Professor Mac-kinnon, of Edinburgh University, writes that there are nine or ten Örfiriseys in the Hebrides, where the name is changed in Gaelic to Orasa, the *f* and second *r* being discarded, *f* aspirated and *r* merged in *s*. The name on the maps appears wrongly as Oronsay. There is also an island Orfasey at the south of Yell in Shetland. Orfiriseyjar occurs in the "Diplomatarium Islandicum," I., 597. In Norway, Orfyrisey occurs in the Middle Ages, and Offersö in three places in modern Norway.

Houton is probably the Icelandic Há-tún, or *high-tún*, which is descriptive of the place as it lies on the hill side. This name is found in many places in Iceland, but is not recorded in any Saga relating to Norway. It is a curious fact that almost all the Há-túns in Iceland are small tenements within or on the land of a manorial or main estate, and what seems tolerably certain is, that when the manorial abode was erected, Há-tún, even if it was the older abode, became the inferior house, and remained so ever after.

Even Midland is not void of significance. From the name of one of its farms, Myre, (Ice., *mýrr*, a swamp,) which is still descriptive of the place, it would be unsuitable for farming purposes, and Midland would be an appropriate name for this unprofitable land which divided the *búi* from its *Há-tún* or *out-búi*. The Norse term *meðalland* could only be given to a place which lay between two localities that had distinct names. Midland is mentioned as early as 1263, when King Hakon was there, so that we may be quite certain that at that time, and in 1136, Örfjara was solely applicable to the Earl's *Búi*. Another important inference that may be drawn is that Midland implies a connected district of three places. This may either refer to the Earl's three farms, or to the tripartition and re-naming of the original district of Örfjara, or to the middle place between the original Örfjara and the shifted abode of the Earl.

SUPPOSED TRACK OF SVEINN'S FLIGHT FROM ÖR-FJARA TO DAMSEY.

The Saga, before relating the murder and Sveinn's flight, appropriately describes the relative position of the house and church, and the island of Damsey to which Sveinn fled, all of which are brought into the story. It says behind the houses there was a *brekka*, a slope, or *leiti*, an elevation on the horizon hiding the view, from which



DAMSEY AND ÖRRIÐAFJÖRÐR.

From the slack between hills of Lyradale and Keely-lang.

Damsey could be seen, the inference being that this elevation was on the road by which Sveinn fled. Professor Munch says that it could only refer to the Ward Hill, but that Damsey could not be seen from it, as the Keely-lang hills intervened. The Ward Hill is the highest hill on the mainland, and is a *fjall*, and not a mere *brekka* or *leiti*. The straight track from Orphir to Firth, by which pedestrians still go, is through the moor, and after a long, tedious ascent, the slak or hollow between the hills of

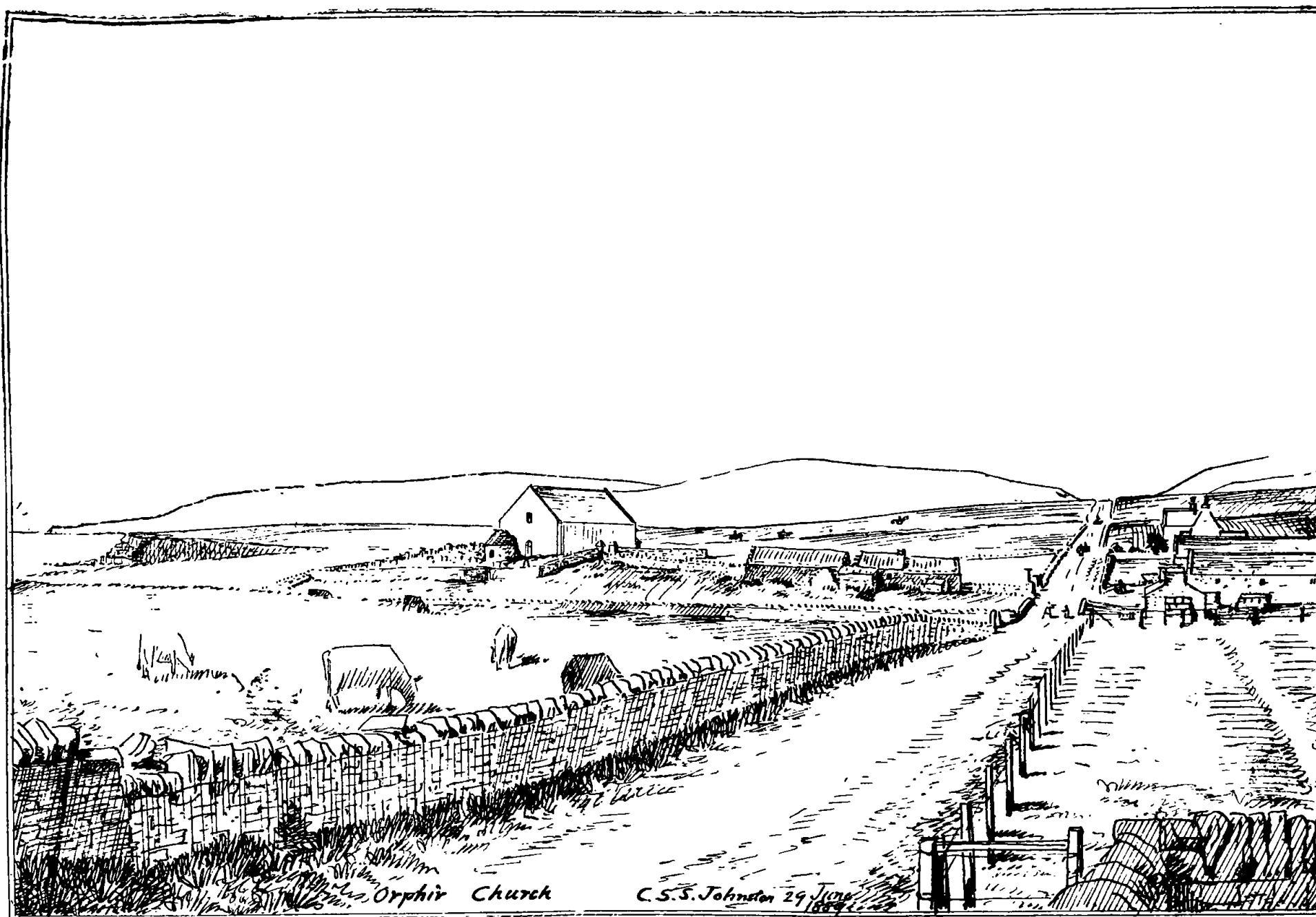
Lyradale and Keely-lang is reached, when the Bay of Firth (Örriðafjörður) and Damsey suddenly break into view. The complete change of scene is striking. This can only be the elevation mentioned in the Saga, and it is the hill which Professor Munch said prevented Damsey from being seen from the Ward Hill. No one acquainted with the locality would ever think of going to Firth by way of the top of the Ward Hill, or expect to get a view of Damsey from it. The slak mentioned is the nearest point to Orphir from which Damsey can be seen, and it is on the direct and shortest route to Firth by which a fugitive would go.

THE BÚ AND ROUND CHURCH OF ORPHIR.

Let the derivation and original site of the name Ör-fjara be what they may, we have at any rate located the Earl's Bú and Church in Ör-fjara, at the present Bú and Round Church of Orphir. We will now examine the objects of interest in the immediate locality, and the ruins.

Near the shore, at the head of the Hope o' the Bú, the ruins of the Bú and Round Church stand on the crown of a very slight rising ground, at the foot of the south-east declivity of Midland Hill. At the east end of the site and of the ruins the ground slopes down abruptly to the stream. The Saga says the houses stood on a *hallendi*, a slope or declivity, which either refers to the declivity of Midland Hill or to the rising ground on which the ruins stand.

The present Bú house stands to the north of the old site, and was built in the middle of last century. Before that, the Bú was divided into three farms, with three cottages which stood end on from north to south along the east side of the present path from the public road to the churchyard gate, and named respectively the Nether, Muckle, and Synde Húses. The old church road, called the Masey Gate or Mass Road, went along the north and south sides of the yard wall, the north road going between the yard and the south end of the Synde Hús. There is a



THE ROUND CHURCH FROM N.E. IN 1889.

Showing remains of old houses of the Bú on the North now demolished. From a sketch by C. S. S. Johnston.

place at the shore called the Kirkyard or Harproo, supposed to be the site of a chapel and graveyard, where bones and large stones have been turned up. To the west of the present Bú there is a tumulus called Lavacroon. There is a large tumulus in the meadow to the north which was opened by Mr. Kemp, a former tenant, and a chamber now lies exposed, consisting of four side stones and a bottom stone, about two feet square and deep. There is a tumulus in Swanbister, at Congasquoy, called Congarsknowe, near the route of the old King's Highroad. Did King Hákonr rest here on his ride from Kirkwall to Midland and back? The brough at Swanbister has already been noticed. On the Head of Banks, the west headland of the Hope o' the Bú, there were formerly stones in the ground which tradition said were the sockets of the gallows,¹ and there are small headstones near the edge of the cliff, as though marking graves.

At the crown of the brek behind Gyre a number of chambered cinerary urns containing bones and ashes have been found, the last one by the writer. Foundations, bones and ashes were turned up last century at the bottom of the field west of Gyre, in the field immediately to the east of the Bú burn, opposite the church,² and to the west of the churchyard. The previous parish church was built in 1705 (as mentioned in the O. S. A. Appendix, and as seen on the lintel of old door now forming the sill of a window in the present church). This church stood immediately to the south of the present church and the Round Church. It was repaired in 1756,³ and an aisle or jamb added on the north side for the Honyman family. At this time Mr. Pope states that part (two-thirds mentioned in O. S. A.) of the Round House, called the Gerthouse of Orphir, was taken down to repair the parish church. He also states that large and deep foundations were found underground in the Bú lands near the church. The old church was pulled down in 1829, and the present

¹ From Mr. Wm. Inkster, Quoyclerks, Orphir.

² Mr. Archer Kemp, Orphir.

³ Session Records.

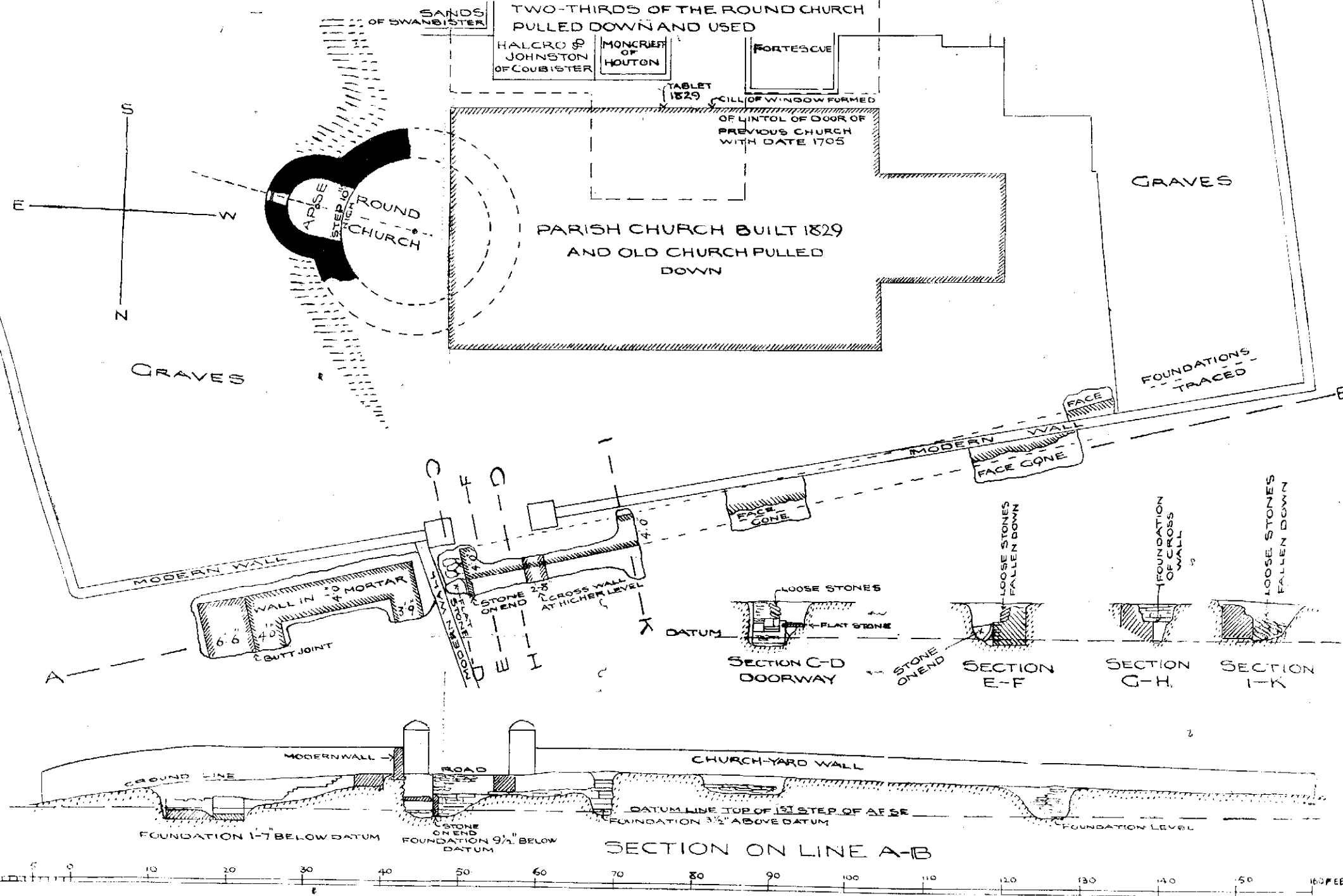
one built immediately to the north, with its eastern end standing on the western half of the foundations of the Round Church. The relative positions of the 1705 and 1829 churches have been misunderstood by Sir Henry Dryden, Dr. Joseph Anderson, and others founding on them. Sir Henry noted foundations to the south of the present church, but was not aware that they were those of the previous church. Mr. George Petrie states, in 1861, that the immediate neighbourhood of the Girth House abounded with numerous traces of ancient buildings, believed to be the remains of the Earl's Palace; and that during excavations made in 1859, close to the outside of the churchyard wall, great quantities of bones of various domestic animals were found, amongst them jaw-bones of dogs and cats in great abundance. From the Session Records we find that in 1741-48 the Round House was used as a store for lime for repairs to the parish church. It was afterwards turned into a mason's shed by the local gravestone cutters.

The site of the Round Church and the old Bú is covered with débris, about five feet deep, above the clay, on which latter the foundations are built.

Some years ago the writer pointed out to the Rev. W. Caskey, incumbent of the parish, the spot where the Earl's Bú would have stood in relation to the Round Church in accordance with the description in the Saga. At that time there were no indications of any ruins, and the locality of previous excavations was unknown. In 1899 Mr. Caskey informed the writer that Mr. James Flett, Mossaquoy, the gravedigger, had come across the foundations of a wall in digging two graves at the north-west corner of the churchyard, the wall lying from east to west. As this would correspond with the south wall of the Earl's Bú, the writer obtained the co-operation of Mr. Robert Flett of Bellevue, the Hon. District Secretary of the Viking Club, who made two further excavations to the eastward in line with the supposed wall, with the result that it was again struck.

EARL'S BÚ & ROUND CHURCH,
ORPHIR, ORKNEY
PLAN & SECTIONS FROM EXCAVATIONS & MEASUREMENTS MADE
1899-1901

APPROXIMATE POSITION FROM PLAN &
DESCRIPTION BY THE LATE JAMES JOHNSTON
— PARISH CHURCH BUILT 1705 —
REPAIRED & A JAMB OR AISLE
ADDED ON THE NORTH FOR THE
HONYMAN FAMILY IN 1756 WHEN
TWO-THIRDS OF THE ROUND CHURCH
PULLED DOWN AND USED



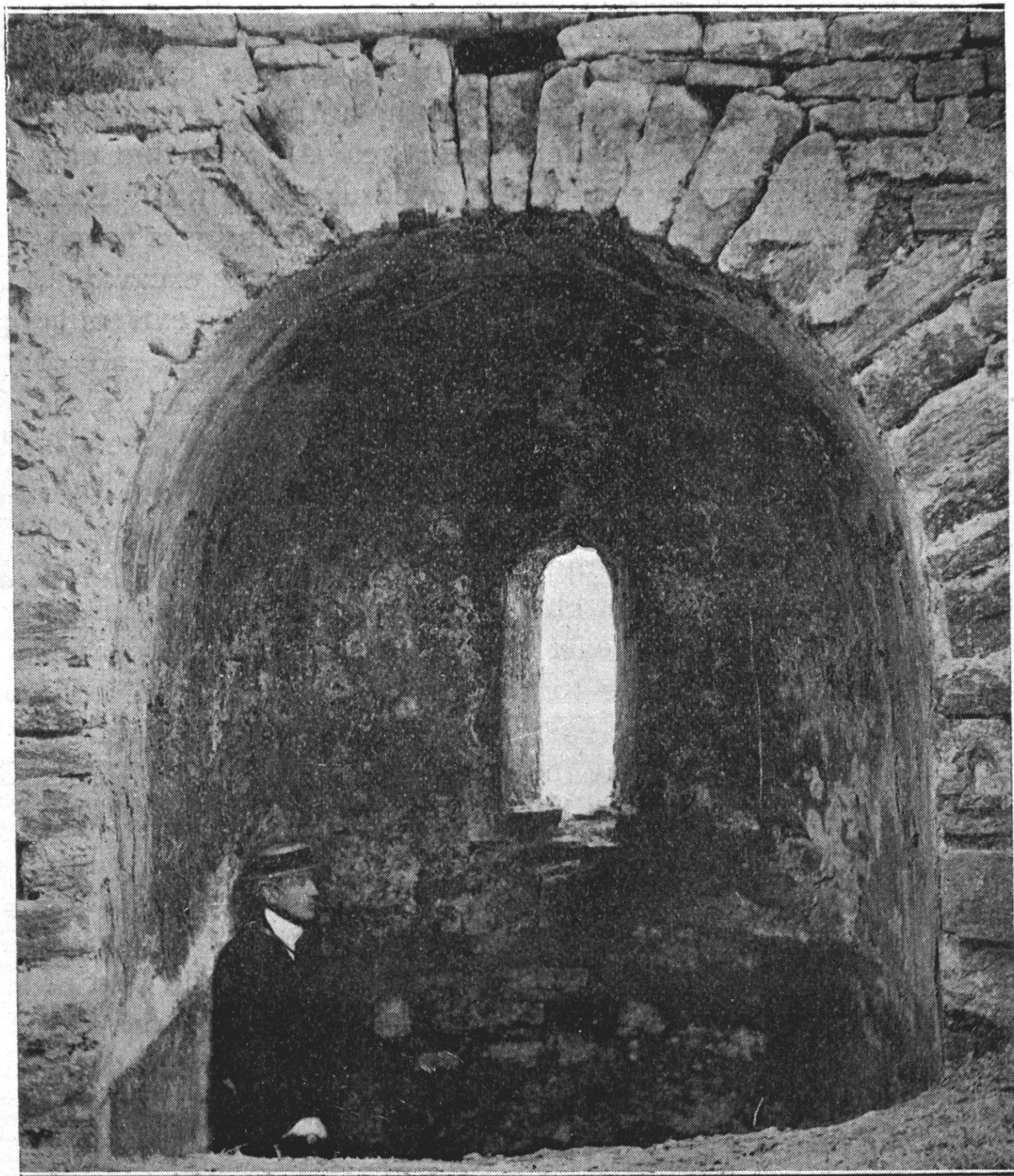
A survey of the site and measurements of the church were at the same time made by Mr. C. S. S. Johnston, architect, Edinburgh. In the autumn of 1900 Mr. Robert Flett and the writer, who was appointed honorary architect to the Kirk Session, continued a series of excavations eastward, and traced the wall to its eastern extremity, opposite the Round Church. In the autumn of 1901 Mr. Flett and the writer made further excavations at that part where the doorway would be in accordance with the Saga account, with the result that such an opening was found.

The north wall of the Earl's Bú, so far as excavated, measures about 136 feet in length. The western extremity has not been traced; it must finish at the west end of churchyard, as no trace could be obtained outside, unless it has been trenched up. Beginning at the west, there is a continuous length of about 104 feet of dry-built, random coursed wall, 4 feet thick, without footings or scarcement. This terminates eastward at the supposed doorway opposite the church. It was not possible to excavate immediately east of this to find the other jamb of the opening, owing to the present church road wall. But 6-ft. 4½-in. to the east of this was found the return wall of another building in the same frontage line. This latter building has walls 4 feet thick, but built with mortar, and therefore probably of later date.

The jamb of the opening showed no signs of any door frame or fastening. In a line with the jamb of the door, on its north side, and standing on end, was found part of a large flat stone 5 inches thick. Is this the large flat stone mentioned in the Saga? The bottom of the foundation of this wall is level with that of the Round Church. In the doorway, alongside of the stone on end, was another large flat stone, from 4½-in. to 5-in. thick, and 2-ft. 4-in. above the foundation level, which may have been the threshold of the door, or a portion broken off the stone on end.

If it was the threshold, then the floor of the Bú must have been at least 2-ft. 4-in. above that of the church,

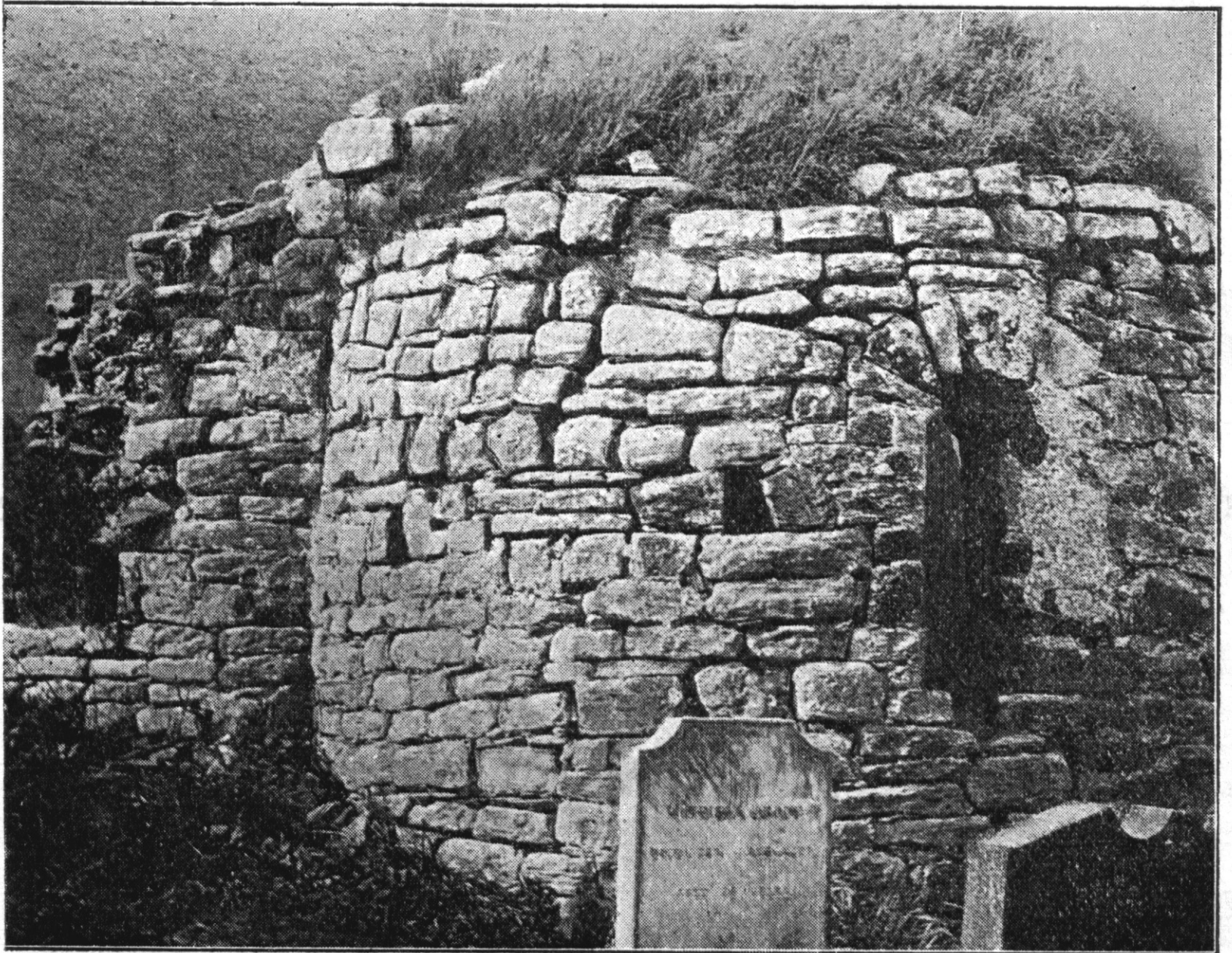
which would accord with the Saga statement that one went down from the Bú to the church. As the bed of the foundation of the cross wall to the west of the doorway



ROUND CHURCH OF ORPHIR : VIEW OF ARCHWAY TO APSE FROM WEST.

is about level with the flat stone in doorway, probably this was the floor level, and the intervening space between the stone on end and the cross wall would be the ale-room

mentioned in the Saga. If the stone on end is in its original position, then the fact that its lower portion (which is below the flat stone) is irregular, shows that it was probably the socket underground. The fact that the wall above this level has fallen down, and is entire below, also appears to show that the lower portion was the foundation below ground. All along the north side of the



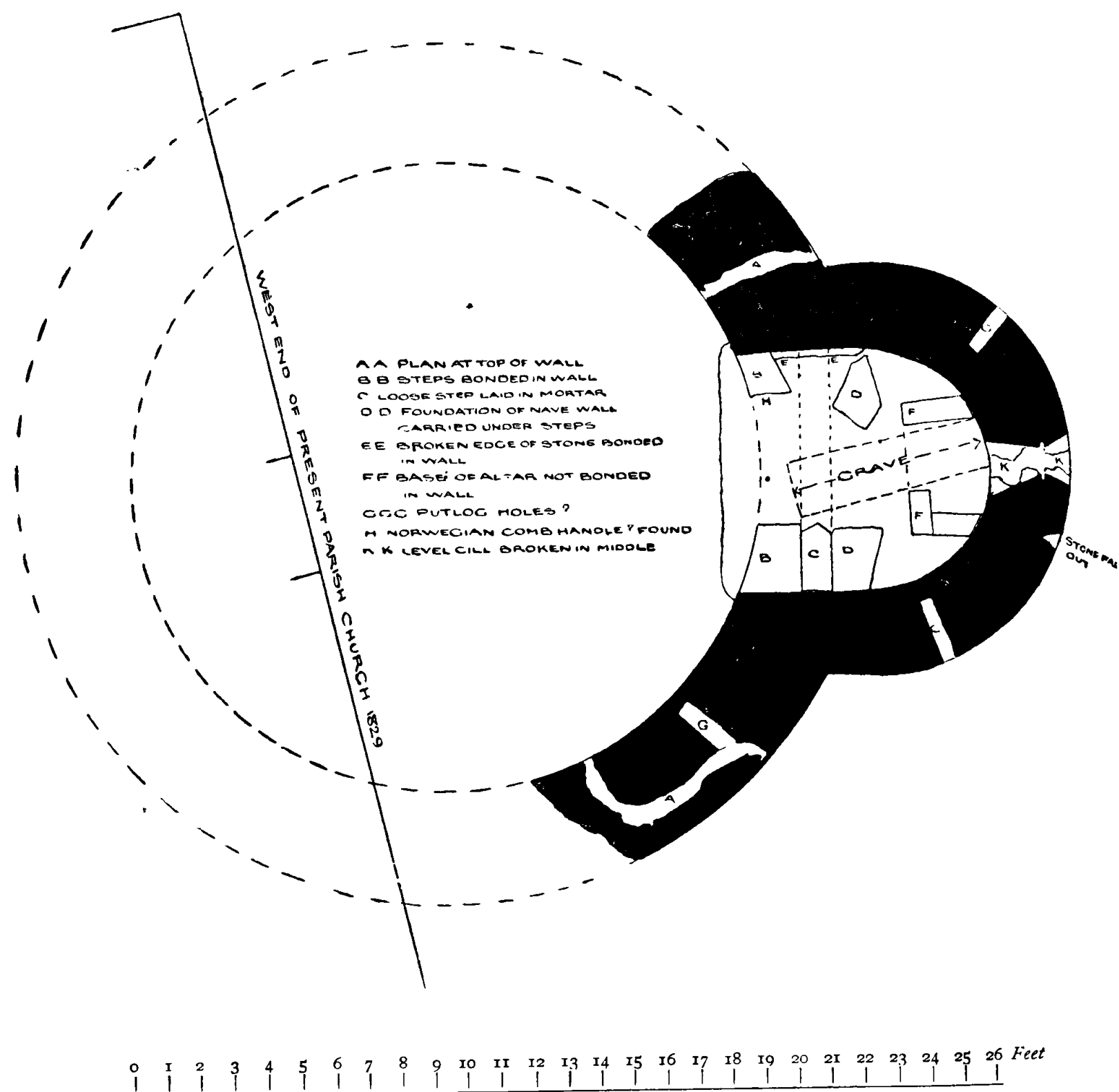
ROUND CHURCH OF ORPHIR: VIEW OF APSE, FROM SOUTH-EAST.

wall the stones have fallen down inwards, and are mixed up with quantities of bones, ashes and oyster shells. The only article found was a round handle of deerhorn or bone.

Up till 1829, as already noticed, the old church road ran along outside the north wall of churchyard, passing over the entire length of the wall now excavated. Excavations were made at the Round Church in 1900, by the

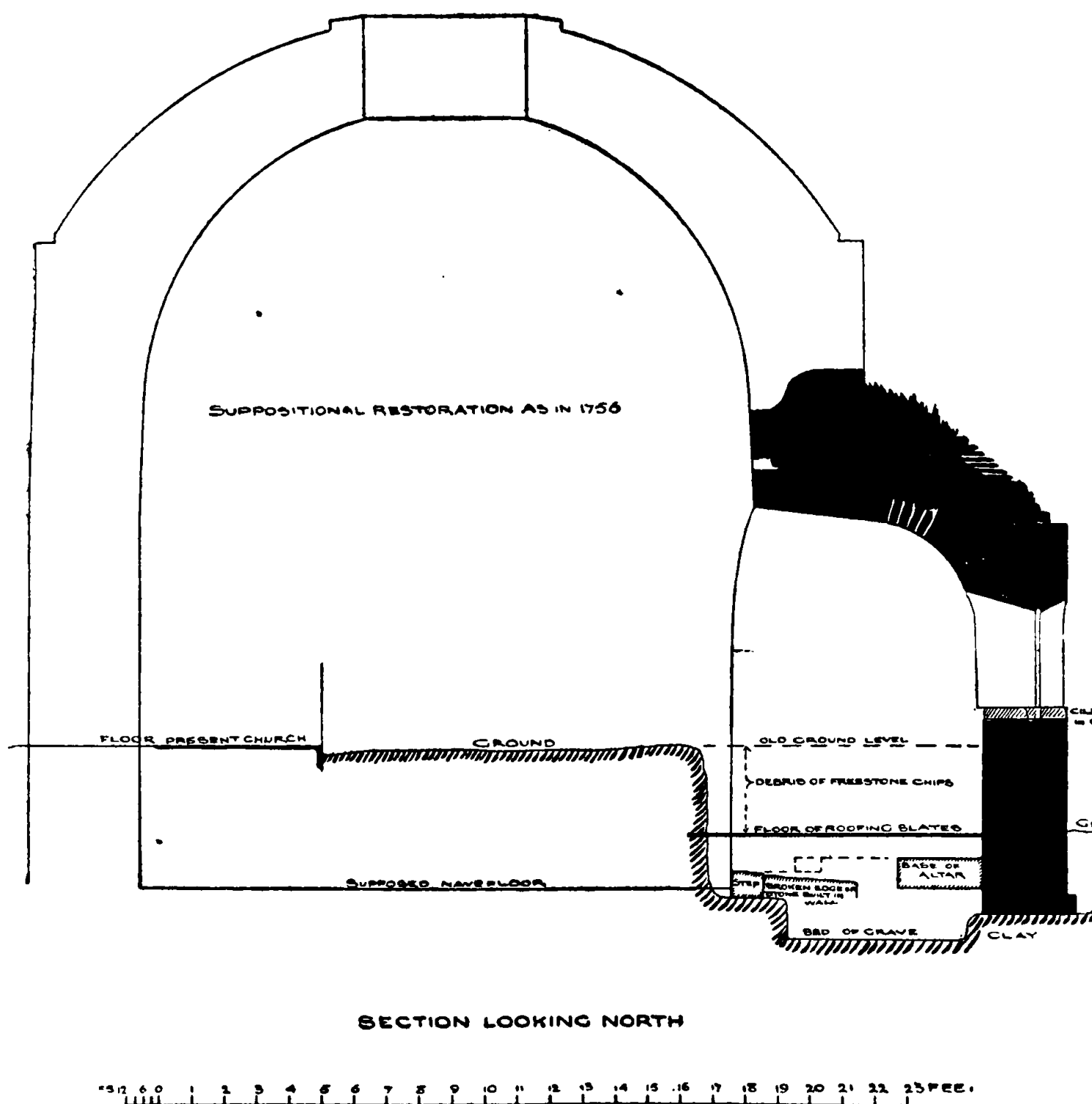
writer, when the débris in the interior of the apse was cleared out.

The existing ruins consist of one-third of the eastern portion of the wall of the round nave, in which is a semi-circular archway without cap. The arch is continued



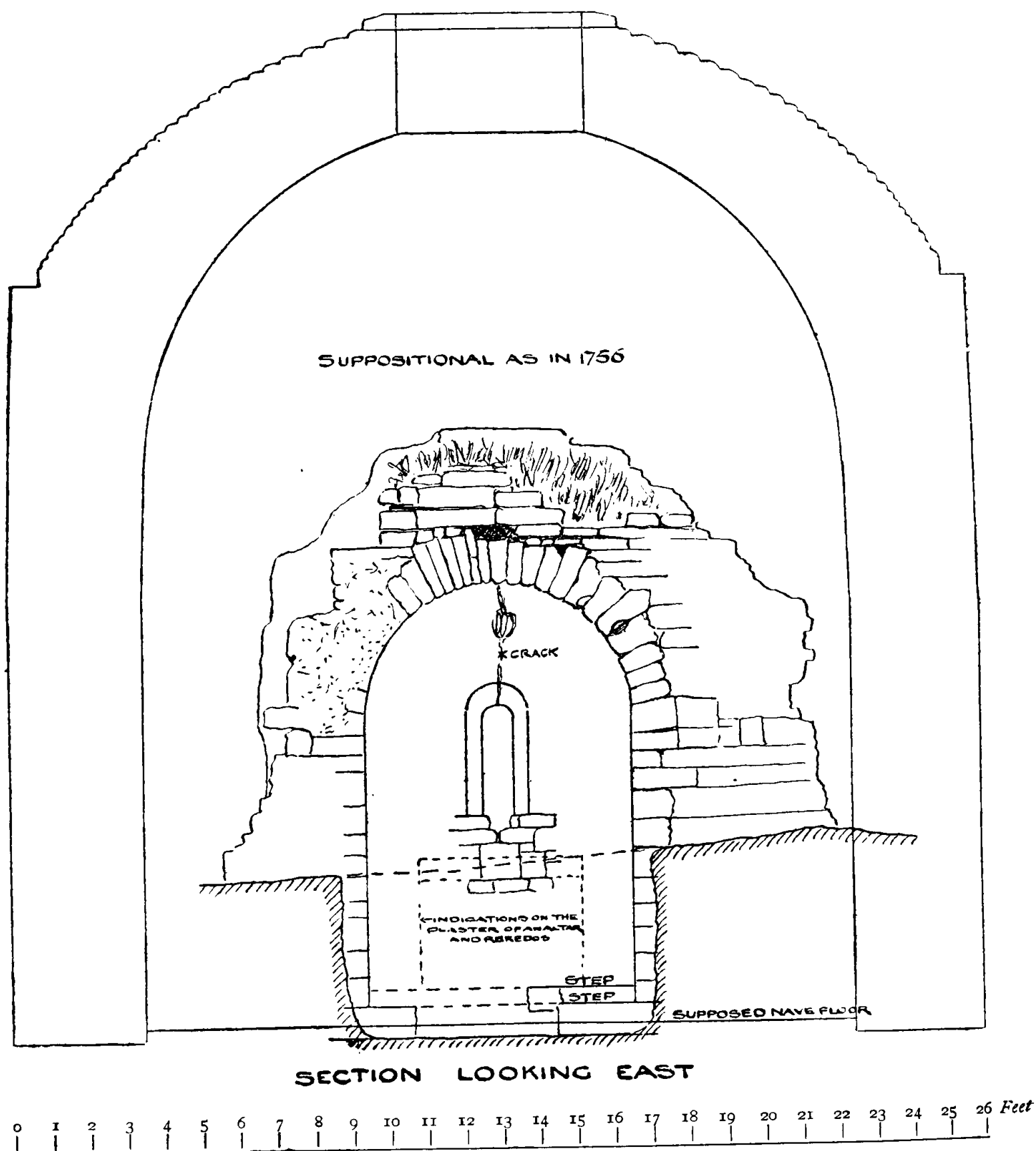
eastward as a plain vault, without ribs, to the half round apse, which is horseshoe in plan, owing to the north and south walls converging towards the archway. The apse, at its centre, projects half its width beyond the outer face of the nave wall over. There is a narrow window with

round arch and inner and outer splayed jambs and grooves for glass. The springing of the arch is level with the springing of the vault. The sill goes level through from outside to inside in one stone. Sir Henry Dryden shows an outer sill higher than the inner one; this was probably



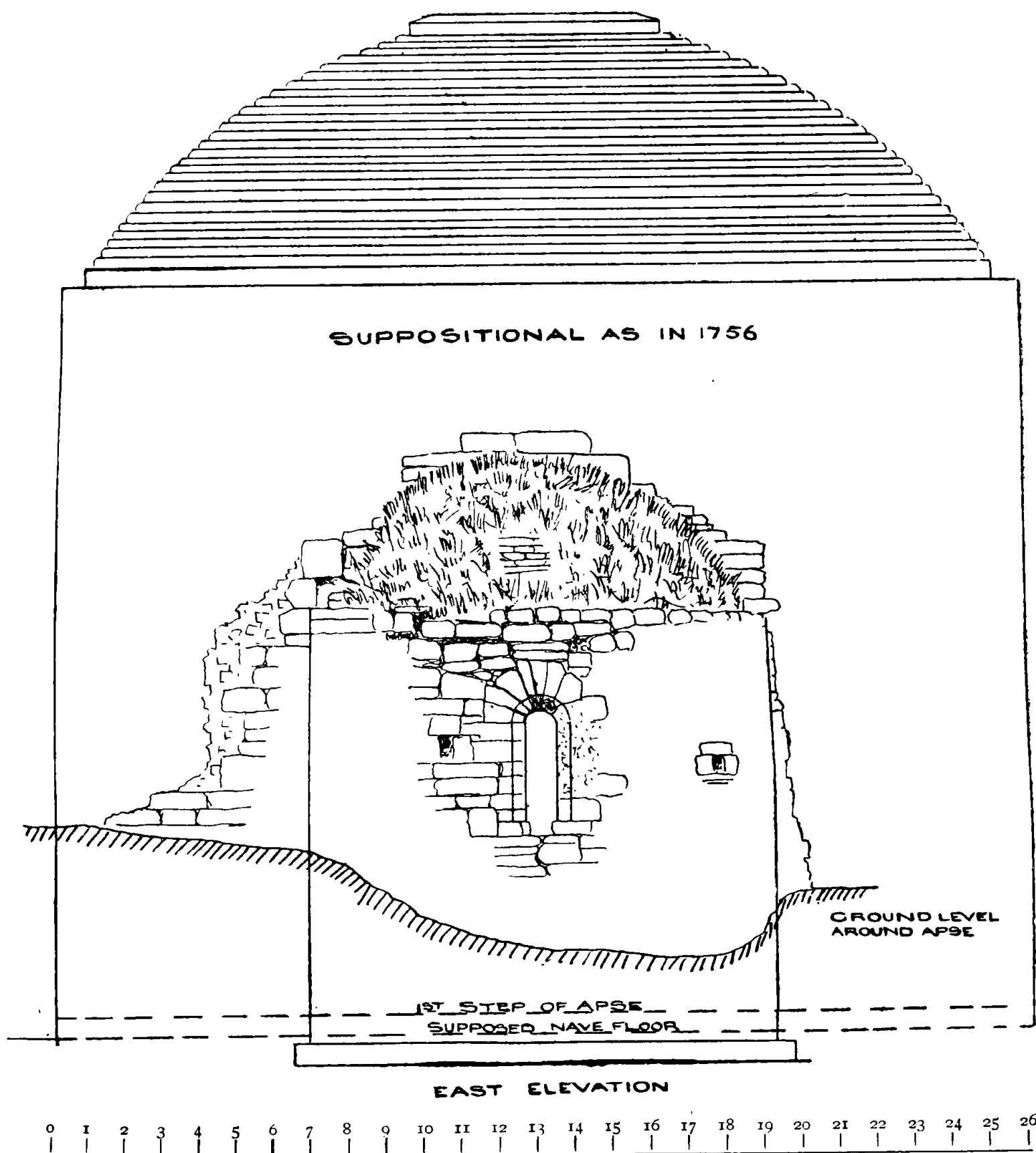
some loose stones built in when it was used as a shed. The window is a little to the north of the centre of the east end of the apse. Outside, the apse wall is carried up higher than the springing of the vault, and without projecting eaves, and finishes with a regular ledge, or table,

as though for a wood plate to carry wood rafters, but there are no indications on the nave wall of a raking roof. Under the grass turf, with which the vault is covered, are level courses of flat slabs of free and whin-stone, laid in



mortar. The wall of apse has one footing or scarcement outside, but none inside. It batters slightly outside, but is perpendicular inside up to a little below the vault, when it inclines slightly inwards. The same occurs in

the nave wall, but none of the vaulting is left in the latter case. The walls are very irregularly built, and consist of an outer casing of random square-coursed masonry of yellow Orphir free-stone, and an inner casing of same



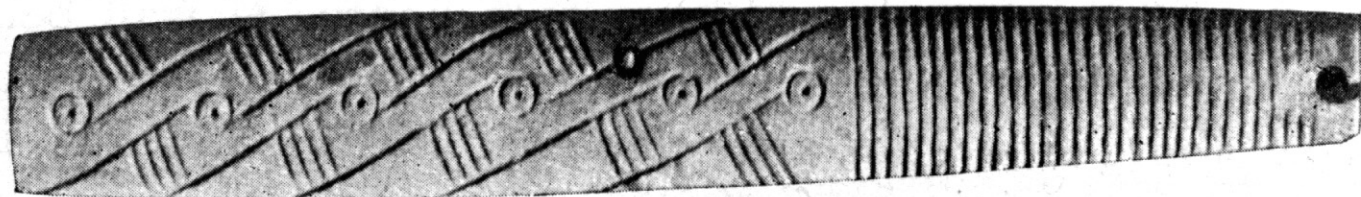
description, but of whin-stone as well as free-stone. The middle is filled with rubble concrete, in which shell-sand is used. The interior faces of the walls are all plastered over, which appears to be original, especially to cover

the rough vaulting. The outside appears to have been plastered, from patches still left. The bonding of the masonry, as will be seen from the photographs, is extremely badly done, and the preservation of the building is solely due to the very strong mortar used. Mr. Petrie's illustration shows the nave wall-head level with that of the apse, whereas the nave wall rises above the apse roof. The crown of the vault is cracked right through from the archway to the head of the window, and the upper portion of the south wall of apse has fallen slightly inwards, and the masonry is disjointed. The long exposure of the roof to the weather, and to the action of the grass roots, has no doubt resulted in this dilapidation.

There is a step at the entrance to apse, following the curve of the nave, and built into the jambs of the archway. Further in there is a second step, straight across, but not built into the wall. The foundation of nave wall is carried across the apse, under the steps. The base of altar is not built into the wall. There are indications on the plaster of the east wall of the altar and reredos. The altar, like the window, is a little to the north of the centre of the apse. Two burials were found, evidently of recent date, as the steps, foundations, and centre of altar were removed, and not replaced. The second burial had been in a coffin, the marks of which were apparent, and the remains of the first burial were found in the earth above the step level. Above the burials was found a rough floor of roof slates, with remains of lime, which was probably the floor when the church was used as a lime store. The débris above this consisted of chips of free-stone, left by the gravestone cutters. The only relics found were the two sides of the handle of what appears to be a Norwegian comb, with incised ornamentation, and a radiating slate, as though intended for a circular roof.

From the remaining one-third of the nave wall it is calculated, and tested, that the nave must have been 19 feet in diameter inside. The apse is, at the floor level, 7-ft. 2-in. wide at the entrance, increasing to 7-ft. 6-in.

at the diameter from north to south ; 7-ft. 1-in. long from east to inner curve of nave wall, which coincides with apex of archway, and 7-ft. 9-in. from east to a straight line drawn between the two angles of archway. The apse walls inside are perpendicular up to 5-ft. 1-in. above the first step level, the same height as the window-sill, after which they incline inwards $1\frac{1}{2}$ -in. in the remaining 2-ft. 8-in. up to the springing of vault. So that the width of the apse is 7-ft. 3-in. at the springing of the vault, and the width of the archway at its springing 7-ft. $1\frac{1}{2}$ -in. The archway is 6-ft. 10-in. from the first step to the springing of the arch, and 4-ft. 6-in. from springing to apse, includ-



BONE HANDLE (REAL SIZE) OF A SUPPOSED NORWEGIAN COMB.

Found at first step of Apse of Round Church.

ing a stilt of 11-in. The first curved step is 10-in. high. The second straight step is 2-ft. east of angles of archway, with a rise of 5-in. and a tread of 10-in. The base of altar stands 3-ft. 2-in. east of second step, and is 3-ft. 11-in. wide in front, and 4-ft. 3-in. at back, projecting 2-ft. 9-in. from centre of east wall, and 1-ft. $11\frac{1}{2}$ -in. at the ends. The part that is left is level with the top of the second step, about 4-ft. 8-in. below the window-sill. The indications of the altar on the plaster measure 3-ft. high, with a further 6-in., probably a reredos. The bed of the grave was only 15-in. below bed of first step, and 10-in. below bed of foundation of east wall. The rough slate floor was 14-in. above the first step, with three feet deep

of free-stone chips above it. There were no indications of the original paving, which was probably clay or plaster.

The walls of apse are 2-ft. 8-in. thick. The window is 10-in. wide, the outer and inner jambs splay to 1-ft. 7-in. wide. The sill, which is broken, goes level through from inside to outside. The height from sill to springing of arch, which is level with the springing of the vault, is 2-ft. 7½-in. and 2-ft. 11-in. to apex of arch, which has been slightly flattened by the crack through vault. The window-sill is 5-ft. 1-in. above first step, and 6-ft. 5-in. above foundations of east wall. From sill to eaves of wall outside is 5-ft. 8-in. The east wall outside is perpendicular, but the north and south walls batter 1½ to 2-in. The ledge along eaves is 6-in. by 4-in. high. The level roofing slabs are about 2-in. thick.

The greatest width of apse outside is 12-ft. 5¼-in. at its north to south diameter, at window-sill level, and 12-ft. 3½-in. at junction with nave, the curve of wall being continued. The nave wall is perpendicular inside up to 11-ft. above first step, after which it inclines inwards 1½-in. in the remaining 3-ft. 6-in. of height. The south wall is 3-ft. 6½-in. thick, and perpendicular outside, while the north wall is 3-ft. 9-in. at base, battering on the outside to 3-ft. 7-in. at 11-ft. above apse step.

The late Sir Henry Dryden, who measured the church in 1855, was of opinion that the apse vault was originally probably a solid stone roof outside. He understood Mr. Pope's reference to a cupola over the nave to be a conical wood roof. Since then, however, we have Bishop Pococke's statement that the nave was vaulted over, which shows that Mr. Pope meant by a cupola a vaulted dome in the ordinary sense of the word. Sir Henry found a stone lying down which appeared to be a stoup, but this has now disappeared. In the Edinburgh Museum there is a stone, presented by the late Colonel David Balfour, found at the church ; it is circular, 4½-in. diameter, ¾-in. thick, with a square hole in the centre, the use of which

is not known. Sir Daniel Wilson was of opinion that the Round Church answered in description to the small circular beehive houses familiar to Irish antiquaries and believed to have been the abodes of ecclesiastics. But Dr. Joseph Anderson states that there is no analogy whatever between the architectural features of Orphir and those dry-built beehive houses, nor has it any resemblance to the earlier oratories and chapels of the Western Isles.

From the foregoing measurements, and notes of the building at the time it was destroyed, it will be evident that the nave was vaulted over in the same way as the apse, and the vault probably started at the highest portion of the interior of the wall now remaining over the apex of the archway. As in the apse, the outer face of the wall would have risen some feet higher, to take the thrust of the vault. We are told by Mr. Pope and Bishop Pococke that there was a hole in the centre of the nave vault, which, with the east window, were the only lights to the church. Mr. Pope says, "The cupola with the open for the light was of an elegant cast, and the light was all from the open."

The thickness of the nave wall is the same as that of the Temple Church, London, and the "Round" recently discovered at Clerkenwell. The height of perpendicular wall above the ground, as given by Pope, 61 for 16, Pococke 15, and Liddell 20 feet, is useless, as the level of ground in relation to the floor is not stated, and we do not know what it was. The unreliability of their measurements is apparent when we find that the easily accessible diameter is given as 22, 20 and 18 feet respectively. The vaults may have been covered with a wood and slate roof, as in the Danish Round Churches, which may account for the regular ledge along outer eaves of apse, and the finding of a radiating slate, in which case there would have been a wooden lantern to nave. But as there are no traces on the nave wall of a raking roof to the apse, it is therefore more probable that the existing horizontal slabs and mortar were the original outer covering, and the

nave roofed in the same way. The absence of any traces of a raking roof may be accounted for by the complete disappearance of the plaster. When viewed by Mr. Pope, in 1758, there is no doubt it had no wooden roof over the vaults, and his statement that some people thought that the church had been built upon the model of the Pantheon seems to indicate that the roof showed a spherical dome outside.

With regard to the subject of Round Churches and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, it is one so extensive and debateable that it must be left alone in this paper. There are no examples in Scotland or Ireland. In England we have Cambridge, 1101; Northampton, c. 1115; Maplestead, 1118; Temple Church, London, 1185; church in Ludlow Castle; the one recently discovered in Clerkenwell, and the Knights Templars' Church at Dover, besides others destroyed.

In Sweden and Denmark there are numerous examples, some of which were for defensive purposes. There are the remains of one only in Norway. With regard to the founder of the Round Church of Orphir, Mr. Pope states in 1758 that some thought it had been built by Earl Hakon after his return from Jerusalem, and adds that "Hakon, it seemed, chused Orphir for his seat." Dr. Joseph Anderson states that Hakon "had his residence at Orphir," and that "he seems to have resided" there, and probably built the church. The late Mr. B. H. Hossack, in his recent work, "Kirkwall in the Orkneys," apparently founding on Dr. Anderson, states that Hakon built the church. Thus the surmise of one writer becomes the fact of another.

All these statements as to Hákonr living in Orphir are mere inferences. We have no proof that Earl Hákonr was ever even in Orphir. We may, however, infer that he probably visited Orphir, among his other bús, when on circuit collecting his rents and taxes. We are not told where Hákonr lived, and merely know that he died *in the isles*. All we know is that Earl Páll was living in Orphir

in 1136, when the church was first mentioned, and that his father, Earl Hákonr, was the first and only Earl before that time who visited Jerusalem. If Earl Hákonr built the church, he must have done so after his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, between a few winters after he murdered his cousin Earl and Saint Mágnús in 1116, and c. 1123 when he died.

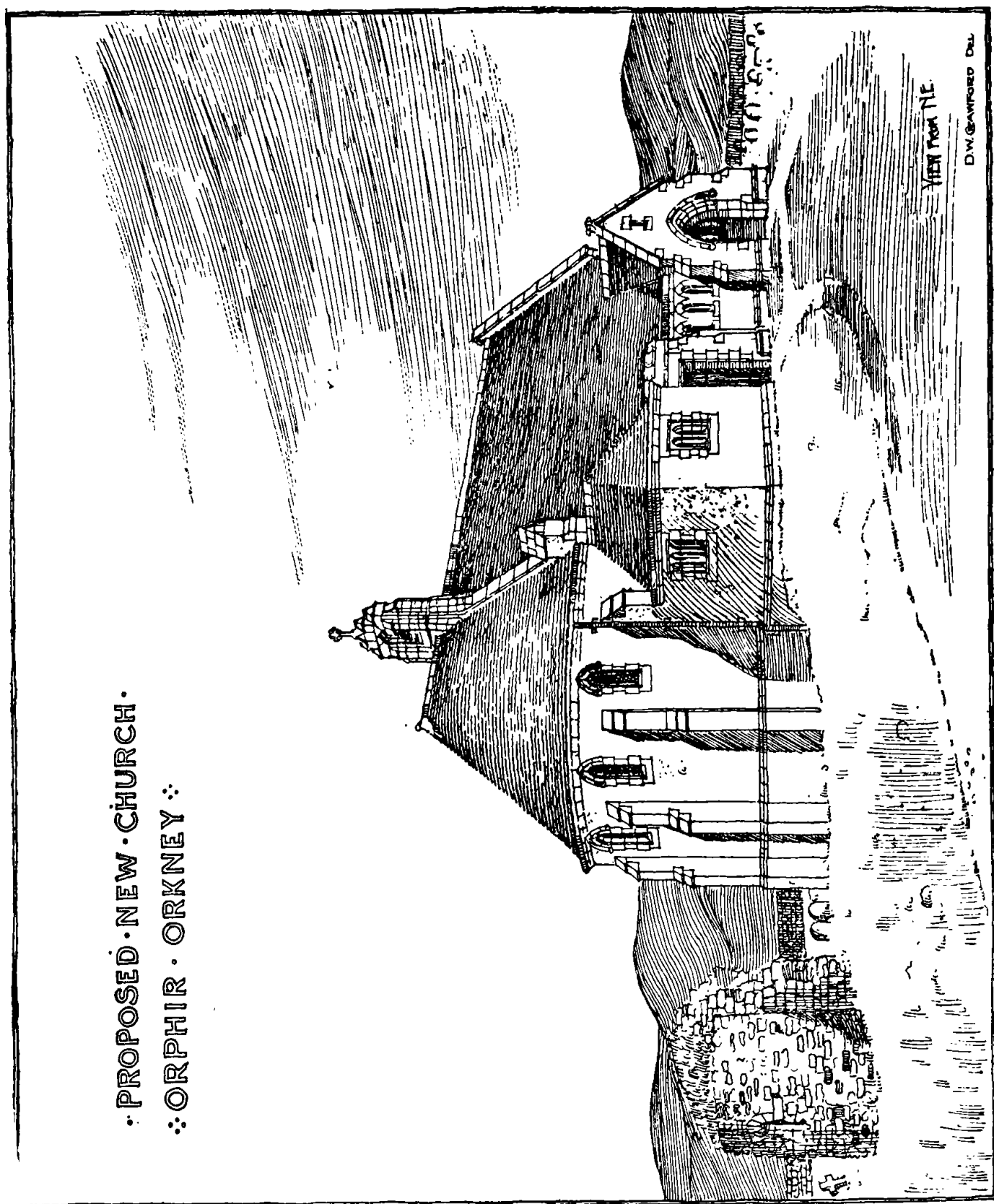
The church was so small, merely a private chapel, that it could scarcely have been used long, if ever, as a parish church. There is no record of its ever having had a western extension. It must have been in disuse long before the Reformation. The rectory of Orphir was an important benefice, the incumbent being the Cantor or Precentor, and a Canon of St. Magnus' Cathedral, in Catholic and Episcopal Church times. In the Kirk Session Records, 1741-48, it is called the Round House; Mr. Pope speaks of it, in 1758, as the Round House, called the Gerth-House of Orphir. It is not known by either of these names now, being usually called the *Bell-hús*, probably a corruption of the Icelandic *Bæn-hús*, or prayer-house, also the Quire (pronounced *wheer*).¹ Gerth-House is undoubtedly from the Icelandic *garðr*, a yard; and *kirkju-garðr* is the Icelandic for a churchyard.

The last question to be considered is the further excavation and preservation of the Bú and Round Church. The writer hopes to continue excavations at the site of the Bú from year to year.

As to the Round Church, we shall be safe in following the opinion of Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, F.S.A., architect to Westminster Abbey, who states that this is a subject for repair, not restoration. The building has long been abandoned, and is far gone in ruin. A restoration would make more new work than old remains, and the old would have to be doctored a good deal to make it part of a building to be used. Mr. Micklethwaite also approves of the writer's suggestion to excavate the whole site, and expose the foundations of the nave, and preserve the

¹ Miss Margaret Finlay, Midland. Orphir.

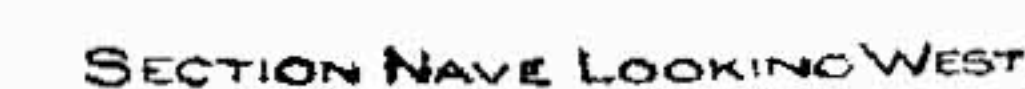
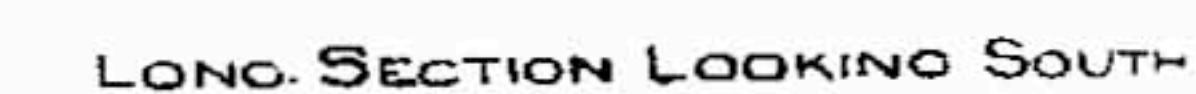
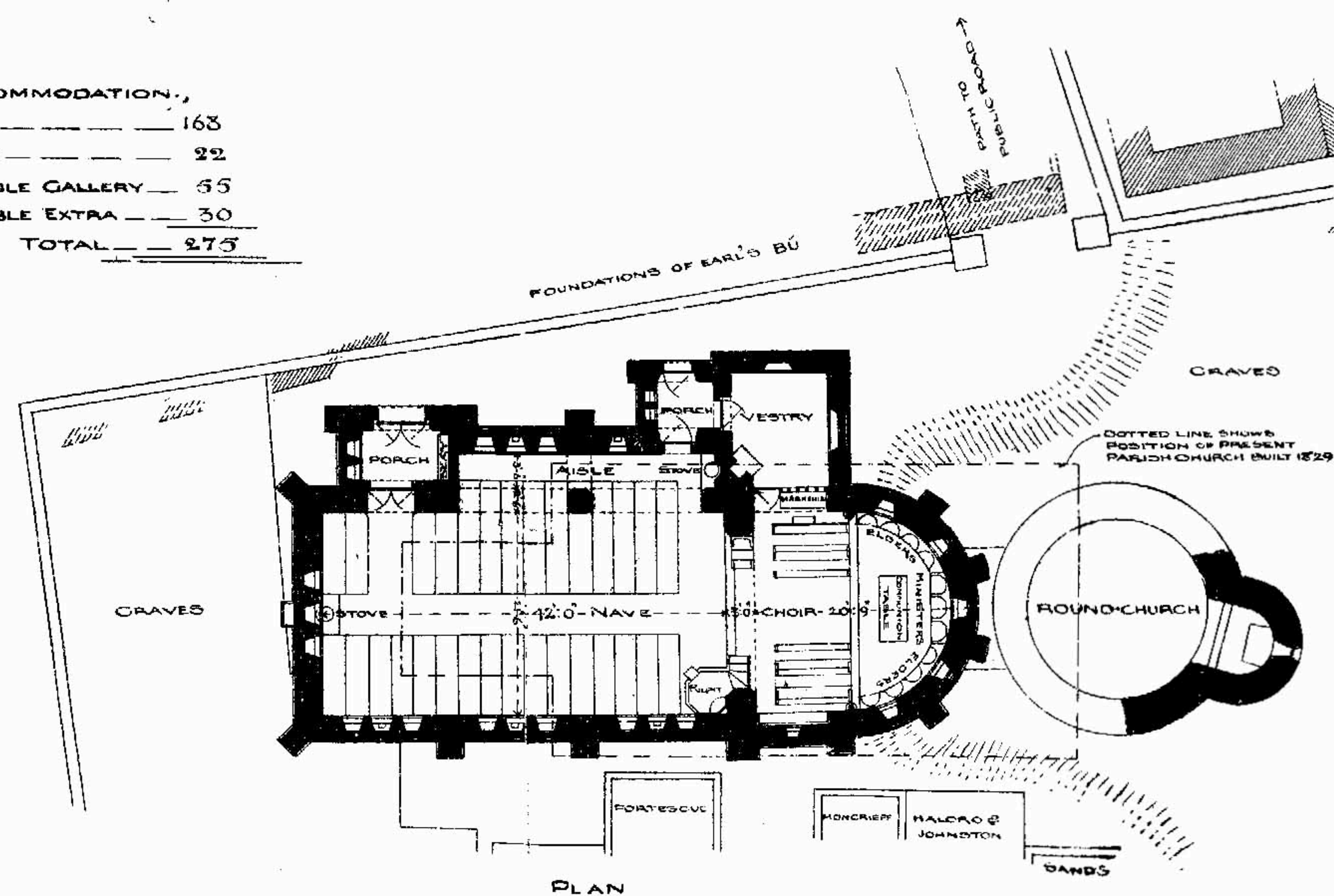
whole ruin as an ancient monument. For this purpose the present barn of a parish church would have to be taken down, and a new one built farther westward, clear of the foundations of the Round Church. But as the



ground is so limited, the east end of the new church would have to stand close to the west end of the Round nave. A design for the new church has been prepared, so that if the Round Church were to be restored in one's mind's eye, the vision of the new and old together would



ACCOMMODATION,
NAVE ————— 163
CHOIR ————— 22
POSSIBLE GALLERY — 55
POSSIBLE EXTRA — — 30
TOTAL — — 275



not be incongruous. With this object in view, and as it best suits the available site, it is proposed to make the axis of the new church radiate from the centre of the Round nave, and having a semicircular east end of the same external diameter. All that is now wanted is the money with which to clear away the present church, build a new one, and excavate and preserve the ruins of the old Round Church of Orphir.

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division of commonty, *tún* of Orphir, estate of Swanbister, etc., in
possession of Mr. J. Johnston of Coubister, Orphir.
- Besides numerous other works, maps, etc., having references of little interest.

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In the discussion which followed the reading of the paper, Mr. E. W. Hudson said that the archæology of Mr. Johnston's paper was somewhat hard to follow, but the architectural part was most interesting. He was glad to hear Mr. Johnston's tribute to the work of Sir Henry Dryden. Mr. Johnston ascribed the church of Orphir to the twelfth century. In the interesting round church discovered at Clerkenwell, the thickness of the walls corresponded very closely with that of the church at Orphir, but the date was somewhat later. He should like some further information as to the groove for glass said to be in the window, as he thought this was an unusual feature at that date; also as to the window being north of the axis of the church, which he did not understand. The masonry was very rude, and differed in that respect from the fine ashlar work at Clerkenwell. He suggested that the church might have been covered by a dome roof, like the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenæ. He asked, further, as to the proportions of Swein's castle.

Dr. Jón Stefánsson said he was glad to be back in England, and to be present to hear Mr. Johnston's paper.

He wished he had been prepared as to the place-names, of which he had many in his collection. Dr. Jakobsen's new work on Shetland place-names would, he hoped, be available for reference before long. It was a very important work, giving a complete list of the names which had appeared in previous publications by Dr. Jakobsen. It was true that names from the Orkneys were not there, but they were in many cases very similar to the names in the Shetlands.

Mr. W. G. Collingwood said that he was not prepared to discuss what the lecturer had said, at least till he had had an opportunity of studying it in print, but he complimented Mr. Johnston on his excavations, and the work he had already done. As regards the identification of the site of the Earl's Palace, he thought the lecturer had made out a strong case, and he would not like to be in Professor Munch's shoes in the controversy. He hoped Mr. Johnston would carry out his work to the end, and would be able to preserve it.

Pastor A. V. Storm said that he had been in a round church in Zealand, set up by an uncle of Bishop Absalon. It was built of granite, and had now been restored, and is used as the parish church. The roof, which was in the shape of a bishop's mitre, was of later date than the church. He was sorry he could not give details for comparison with the church at Orphir, but he thought this further instance of a round church in a Scandinavian land was worth mentioning.

The President remarked on the Round Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, which some thought to be the origin of round churches. Mr. Theodore Bent, however, in his book on the ruins of Zimbabwe, mentioned round buildings, which would carry the origin further back. He also mentioned crescent-shaped temples.

The Lecturer, in reply to Mr. E. W. Hudson, said that there was certainly a groove for glass in the window of the church at Orphir. Swein's castle at Swanbister was a broch of the usual type and dimensions, 30-ft. diameter inside, with 12-ft. thick dry-built walls.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL EVIDENCE
OF THE
RELATIONS BETWEEN THE RACES OF
BRITAIN AND SCANDINAVIA.

By J. GRAY, B.Sc.,
Fellow of the Anthropological Institute.

THE subject of this paper is treated under the following four headings :—

I.—*Methods of Physical Anthropology* :—
Pigmentation—Measurements.

II.—*The Living Populations of Britain and Scandinavia* :—
North Germany the centre of the blonde race—
British Isles very much darker than North Germany—
Types found on east coast of Scotland—Change in the
percentage of types as we go west—Types found in
Scandinavia.

III.—*The Prehistoric Populations of Britain and Scandinavia* :—
Neolithic type of Britain has disappeared—The
aboriginal types in Scandinavia probably blonde—
Their dimensions—Results confirmed by the observa-
tions in Scotland.

Bronze Age Types.—In Britain four types : 162, 155,
150 and 145—In Scandinavia, second and fourth types
present, first and third absent.

Iron Age Types.—Reversion to Stone Age types in
Scandinavia.

IV.—*Origins* :—

164 type in Britain is inland, and therefore probably
early—Is dark, and therefore could not have come
through Scandinavia—Is tall and broad headed, there-

fore allied to Adriatic type—Anthropology points to S.E. Europe—Archæology says metals first introduced to Britain by sea route. This route is marked with dolmens, which go as far as Scandinavia, hence 7 per cent. of type in Sweden prior to Scandinavian Bronze Age—Copper known in Egypt from 7000 to 6000 B.C., and bronze in Crete 2800 B.C.

Name of race—May be guessed from place-names : Pictones—Elba—Albion.

155 *type* : also early, but blonde, and therefore mostly came through Scandinavia. Appeared for first time in Scandinavia in Bronze Age, and disappeared in Iron Age. Crossed to Britain for tin. Archæology says bronze (fully developed) came from Danube to Scandinavia about 1000 to 800 B.C. Hallstadt, a Mycenæan colony on the Danube, very advanced in bronze work. Danubian tribes or Danes gave names to rivers on east coast of Britain, and in Cornwall and Wales.

150 *type* : the aboriginal blonde Teuton or Finn came over with 155 men to Britain in Bronze Age. Stature, 5 ft. 8 in.—not so tall as 164 men.

145 *type* probably came from the Danube with 155 men.

I.—Methods of Physical Anthropology.

It is a matter of every-day observation that children, in a marked degree, inherit the more obvious physical characteristics of their parents. Children of blonde or fair parents are, in the great majority of cases, blonde, and to the same extent the children of brunette or dark parents are brunette. Children of tall parents are on the average tall, and of short parents short. Not only in the more obvious characteristics do descendants resemble their ancestors, but in the dimensions, such as those of the head, whose variations can only be measured by delicate instruments. It is on such inheritance that the permanence of species and varieties of living beings depends. If we had to deal merely with pure varieties or races of mankind the laws of inheritance would be comparatively simple. The average pigmentation or dimensions of generation after generation would remain for vast ages

the same. Slow changes doubtless would be produced by a change of environment, but these changes are so slow that the habitat and migrations of a race may be traced by its physique for thousands of years before the dawn of history. Even in a pure race there will always be variations on each side of the average physique, but the number of persons possessing these deviations from the normal, decrease according to a well-known law, and finally disappear as the deviations increase.

The mean dimensions are the most frequent in a single pure race, the average individual is therefore the typical individual of the race. The race is completely specified by stating the physical characteristics of the average individual. For example, if the colours of the hair and eyes, the length and breadth of the head, and the stature of the average individual of two races are given, we can say with a great amount of certainty that these races are the same or that they are different. Of course the greater the number of individuals from which the average is obtained, the more certain are our conclusions.

The law of inheritance becomes more complicated when two or more races, living side by side, intermix and marry together. But investigation, as far as it has gone, appears to show that the average characteristics of each component race tend to preserve their pre-eminent frequency for an immense number of generations; though it is only reasonable to suppose that intermixture for a sufficient length of time will ultimately produce a single homogeneous intermediate race.

The frequency curves of most living populations show two or more peaks. And the abscissæ of these peaks may be fairly taken to represent the normal or average characteristics of the component races.

That, briefly, is the method which has been employed in this paper to investigate the relations between the races of Britain and Scandinavia, and to arrive at some conclusions as to their origins. It must not be forgotten, however, that the conclusions can only at present be

looked upon as tentative on account of the paucity of the statistics, *i.e.*, these conclusions may or may not have to be modified at a future date when further material is available. Nevertheless, the chances are against any modification being necessary.

As to the physical characteristics which are most convenient to observe, and useful for carrying out an ethnic analysis of a people, pigmentation, or the colour of the hair and eyes, takes a first place. It is easily and quickly noted, and on that account statistics of large numbers of people can be obtained. Continental Governments, by instructing school teachers to fill up the necessary forms, have obtained pigmentation statistics of over ten million school children. Our own Government, backward as ever in assisting any science whose objects are not obviously utilitarian, has done nothing to promote or assist a pigmentation survey of the school children of the British Isles. The only district in the British Isles where a complete pigmentation survey has been carried out is in East Aberdeenshire, where statistics of the whole of the school children have been collected by my friend Mr. Tocher and myself.

Measurements, though they take longer time, and consequently are not usually carried out on so large a scale as observations on the hair and eye colours, are much more precise. The usual dimensions measured are the length and breadth of the head and the stature. Many other dimensions are sometimes measured by anthropologists, but such measurements are better suited for the laboratory than the field, where the aim should be to measure the largest possible number of persons rather than to measure many dimensions of a few individuals.

It is useful also to collect statistics of the profile of the nose, which in certain races is very characteristic.

The method of classifying and analysing statistics to obtain results useful for the solution of race problems has already been explained. Equipped with this method of ethnic analysis we pass on to the investigation of

II.—*The Living Populations of Britain and Scandinavia.*

The most striking physical characteristic of the inhabitants of North Germany is their pigmentation. In Schleswig-Holstein and Lüneburg, the most northerly provinces of the German Empire, there is a larger percentage of people with fair hair than in any other inhabited section of the earth's surface. In these districts about 83 per cent. of the children have fair hair, and 50 per cent. light eyes. In moving south, east, or west, from this centre of bloneness, the percentage of dark people increases. We, unfortunately, have not anything like complete pigmentation statistics for Denmark, Norway and Sweden, but there is reason to believe that the people in these countries are also slightly darker than in the North German provinces ; but, nevertheless, there is a high percentage of bloneness all around the shores of the Baltic, if we except the Lapps at its northern end.

This extreme bloneness of the people of North Germany is by no means a recent phenomenon. The earliest Greek and Roman writers describe the inhabitants of North Europe as blonde. There is every reason to believe that blonde people have lived in North Germany since the Ice Age. At any rate, it is significant that the present blonde districts lie roughly around the margin of the last big ice sheet—the great Baltic glacier which covered the whole of the Scandinavian peninsula.

It is well known that an Arctic climate has the effect of bleaching the hair of animals such as the fox and the hare. It is natural, therefore, to assume that it had the same effect on men (even though primarily of Southern origin and dark), after they had lived for ages on the margin of the Baltic glacier.

There can be little doubt, therefore, that the blonde races at present to be found among the peoples of Europe represent the aboriginal inhabitants of North Germany. And the fact that the blonde type still forms from 80 to 90 per cent. of the population would seem to imply that there has been little admixture with foreign races in these countries.

This blonde race is usually called the Teutonic race; but there is strong reason for believing that it is identical with the southern or true Finns. In Northern Finland there is a strong admixture of a short, dark, broad-headed race—the Lapps—which is the very antithesis of the race we have been discussing; but in South Finland we have the tall, blonde, narrow-headed race, corresponding closely with the so-called Teutonic type.

A comparison of the pigmentation of the British Isles with that of North Germany is of especial interest, on account of the popular belief that a very large element of the population of England, and to a less extent of Scotland, is Anglo-Saxon. Now, the Angles came from this very district of Schleswig-Holstein which, as we have seen, has been the focus of the blonde type from time immemorial. If we have a large Anglo-Saxon element in our population, then we should have a very high percentage of the blonde type, especially on our eastern and southern coasts.

We do, indeed, find a larger percentage of the blonde type in districts where history records the occurrence of Anglo-Saxon and Norse invasions; but when we come to estimate the percentage of the blonde type, and compare it with that in Germany, we are surprised to find that it is very much smaller than the common belief about our Anglo-Saxon origin would lead us to expect. For example: on the east coast of Aberdeenshire, only 25 per cent. of the school children have fair hair, as compared with 82 per cent. in Schleswig-Holstein. East Anglia may have a slightly larger percentage, but, judging from Dr. Beddow's statistics, it is not very much greater.

Now these facts imply that England was inhabited by a very dark population at the time of the invasion of the blonde Anglo-Saxons, and also that the percentage of Anglo-Saxons who settled in England was comparatively small. At least, it is quite incorrect to say that the Anglo-Saxon element is predominant in the present population of England. I hope to show further on that other races

have come to us by way of North Germany, but these were not of the pure blonde Teutonic type.

Before proceeding further with our ethnic analysis we shall have to call in the aid of measurements. A few years ago a considerable number of the peasantry of East Aberdeenshire were measured by my friend Mr. Tocher and myself. When the measurements were analysed we found that four racial elements existed in the population. The two most numerous elements had head-breadths of 150 mm. and 155 mm. The average height of both these races was about 5 ft. 8 in.; the first showed very marked blonde tendencies, and the second a very slight tendency to bloneness. The two least numerous racial elements had head-breadths of 161 mm. and 145 mm. The former had a marked brunette tendency, and the latter was on the blonde side of the average.

In order to determine which of these races were the most recent arrivals in the country another series of measurements were carried out about forty miles inland, in the extreme west of Aberdeenshire, the theory being that the percentage of the most recent elements added to the population would decrease as we moved further from the sea coast, and that the percentage of the more primitive elements would increase.

As a matter of fact we found the same elements in the population, but in very different proportions. The 161 type increased from 14 to 50 per cent.; the 155 type decreased from 44 per cent. to 35; the 150 type decreased from 28 to 12, and the 145 type from 14 to 2. In West Aberdeenshire the 150 type still showed a decided blonde tendency; and the 161 type a decided brunette tendency; the 155 and 145 types had however changed their tendencies from blonde to brunette.

The conclusions to which these investigations pointed were that the most primitive element in the population was a race over 5 ft. 9 in. in average height, with dark hair, and a head whose average dimensions were about 161 mm. broad and 200 mm. long. The other three

elements were all indicated as more recent settlers, and as probably the descendants of immigrants from the opposite continent of Scandinavia and North Germany. The persistent blonde tendency of the 150 mm. type pointed strongly to this being the aboriginal Teutonic or Finnic element. The variable pigmentation of the 155 and 145 mm. elements made it doubtful whether or not these came to us from Teutonic lands. The decided brunette tendency of the primitive type made it highly improbable that it came to us from any of the blonde North European countries.

In the hope of throwing some further light on these questions, I have recently made an analysis of some of the published measurements of prehistoric skulls found in the British Isles and Scandinavia. The results are given in the annexed table, and the results of the analysis appear to me to confirm and elucidate in a remarkable manner the conclusions indicated by the measurements of the living population.

	Skulls.		Heads.		Cephalic Index.	Britain, per cent.	Scan- dinavia, per cent.
	B	L	B	L			
STONE AGE—							
Group I... ..	141	197	149	207	72	100	..
„ II. ..	132	183	140	193	72'5	..	52
„ III. ..	142	186	150	196	76'5	..	41
„ IV. ..	155	184	163	194	84	..	'7
BRONZE AGE—							
Group IV.' ..	156	185	164	195	84'1	32	..
„ V. ..	137	183	145	193	75	13	81
„ VI. ..	146	184	154	194	79'5	..	19
„ VI.' ..	148	187	156	197	79	31	..
„ III.' ..	142	184	150	194	77'4	24	..
IRON AGE—							
Group II.' ..	134	184	142	194	73'2	..	86
„ III." ..	144	187	152	197	77'1	..	14

III.—*The Prehistoric Populations of Britain and Scandinavia.*

The earliest inhabitants of the British Isles, of whom we have any trace, were the men of the neolithic or late stone age. Their most marked characteristic was the extreme length of their head, which was at the same time narrow (149 mm.). They were short in stature, and they appear to have all belonged to a single racial type. Whence they came to the British Isles is a question by no means settled as yet among anthropologists; and whither they have gone is equally a mystery, for exceedingly few of their representatives are found in the present population. No corresponding type is found among the people of the Stone Age in Sweden.

The skulls of the Stone Age in Sweden sort themselves into three distinct groups, having breadths respectively of 140, 150, and 163 mm. The last two we can identify with two of the races found in the East of Scotland. The 150 mm. men we have concluded from our studies on the living populations were the aboriginal blonde inhabitants of North Germany, and the study of the skulls of the earliest inhabitants of Sweden completely confirms this conclusion. The smaller 140 mm. men I have not found, except in the smallest number, in the British Isles.

In the Bronze Age, in Sweden, a complete change takes place in the racial types. This does not necessarily imply that the aboriginal inhabitants were exterminated, because we must not forget we are dealing with a comparatively small number of skulls which do not represent the whole population of the country. But these skulls were found associated with articles of prehistoric bronze, and may therefore be taken to represent the races that introduced bronze into Sweden.

The conclusion to be drawn appears to be inevitable. Bronze was introduced into Sweden by a foreign race or races. Now archæologists tell us that bronze was introduced into Sweden about 800 to 1000 B.C. from the

valley of the Danube. There was a famous prehistoric settlement of skilled bronze workers at Hallstadt, in Upper Austria. These people also are credited with the discovery, at a later stage of their history, of the manufacture of iron. Is it rash to assume that the pioneer metal workers of the Danube are the people whose typical measurements are revealed to us by these Bronze Age skulls of Sweden?

Now it is an interesting fact, for the inhabitants of this country at least, that one of these two Danubian races forms about 50 per cent. of the living population of Great Britain. We saw that this 155 type formed 44 per cent. of the population of East Aberdeenshire, and from other measurements I have made since I am convinced that in many districts of England it exists in a much higher percentage.

In the Iron Age in Sweden there appears to have been an almost complete reversion to the Stone Age types, which would appear to indicate that almost the whole of the Bronze Age invaders of Sweden passed over into the British Isles. The slight blonde tendency of the 155 mm. men in Aberdeenshire may be accounted for by a certain admixture with the blonde Teutons in passing through North Germany.

IV.—*Origins.*

Man has in all ages felt an irresistible impulse to trace his origin from some distinguished ancestor. The savage races find satisfaction for this impulse in tracing back the origin of themselves and their kindred to some totem animal; more advanced races prided themselves in their descent from some mythical heroes; modern millionaires rely on the genealogists of the British Museum; while modern scientific men, not content with anything less than certainty, have employed all the resources of such sciences as philology, archæology, and, lastly, anthropometry, in the attempt to get a correct solution of this interesting problem.

The outcome of the labours of philologists was the Aryan theory. Similarity of language was tacitly assumed to mean similarity of race. This is now recognised by most people as an almost self-evident fallacy. Any number of instances might be found in history where races have changed their language, under the influence of a conquering people, or for other well-known reasons. The ethnological theory of European races evolved by philologists, asked us to believe that all the peoples of Europe were of the same race, because they all spoke languages having a common origin. The place of origin of this Aryan race was somewhere in Central Asia; the British Isles were inhabited by the Celtic and Teutonic branches of the Aryan race, and Scandinavia by a pure Teutonic race.

This theory of the origin of the races in the countries we have been studying is still to be found in our school books, though I hope I have convinced you by some of the facts and arguments that I have placed before you in this paper that anthropology has rendered this theory untenable.

I do not wish, however, to play the thankless part of a scientific iconoclast without at least offering in exchange for the old philological theory something which would fit in better with the data of anthropometry. I propose, therefore, to take the leading racial elements of the people of Britain and Scandinavia, and make some attempt to trace their origin and their migrations.

162 *type*.—Taking first the race characterised by a head breadth of 161 to 163 mm., an average stature of 5 ft. 9 in., and black hair. This race, as far as measurements are available, forms the predominant element of the Gaelic-speaking people of Scotland and Ireland, and is also found in a somewhat attenuated condition in the South of England, from Cornwall to Sussex. In Scandinavia this type is found only on the west coast of Norway. We have to go a long way before we find elsewhere in Europe a whole people with similar characteristics. The inhabitants of North Europe are tall, but they are blonde,

and have narrow heads ; inhabitants of South Europe are dark, but they are also narrow headed and short in stature ; the inhabitants of the Alpine region in Central Europe are broad headed, but have very short heads and short stature. The race which most nearly corresponds to the type we are considering is to be found in South-East Europe, extending from the northern extremity of the Adriatic to the Tyrol. This race is tall, dark, and broad headed. It has been named by Deniker, the French anthropologist, the Adriatic type.

Is there any reason for supposing that a race of this type migrated from the South-East of Europe into the British Isles, and introduced the knowledge of metals ? The distribution of the rude stone monuments known as dolmens, menhirs, etc., strongly supports this thesis. The map shows that the distribution of dolmens corresponds very closely with the distribution of the Adriatic race.

Copper was known in Egypt 6000 to 7000 B.C., and bronze about 3000 B.C. Coffey has shown that, preceding the Bronze Age, there was certainly a copper age, in Ireland at least, if not in England. Montelius, the celebrated Swedish archæologist, has established the fact that metals were first introduced into the British Isles from the East Mediterranean by the sea route ; and that metals first reached Scandinavia from Britain.

All this evidence seems to make it clear that our tall broad-headed dark race, following the track of the dolmens, introduced first copper, and perhaps later bronze, into Britain and Scandinavia. This theory fits in remarkably well with the anthropological data that have been given in this paper.

As to the name by which this race was known, we may guess at it by looking for some of our old tribal names along their track. On the North Adriatic, in Roman times, we had the Piceni, in West France the Pictones, names which suggest the well-known Picti or Picts of ancient Britain.

155 mm. type.—The 155 mm. type, as we have already

shown, came from the valley of the Danube through North Germany to the British Isles. There are no dolmens along their overland route. The similarity of Denmark to Danube suggests that the name of this race contained the common root. It is remarkable also that most of the names of the large rivers on the east of England and Scotland contain this root, as Thames, Don, Tyne, Tweed, Tay, Dee.

The 155 mm. men might be called Danes, except for the reason that probably they do not form the bulk of the population of Denmark at the present time. No doubt the Tuatha-de-Danaan was the name by which they were known in Ireland. We may for the present call them the Danubian race.

150 mm.—It is unnecessary to say much more than has already been said about the origin of the 150 mm. blonde race. They were undoubtedly one of the aboriginal races of North Europe, having come there at the end of the Ice Age. Their dimensions correspond very closely with the dark narrow-headed race found in the South of Europe and North of Africa, represented by the Berber tribes. It is supposed, therefore, that in palæolithic times a part of this race migrated into North Europe, where in the course of ages the Arctic climate evolved the great differences which now exist between them and their southern relatives.

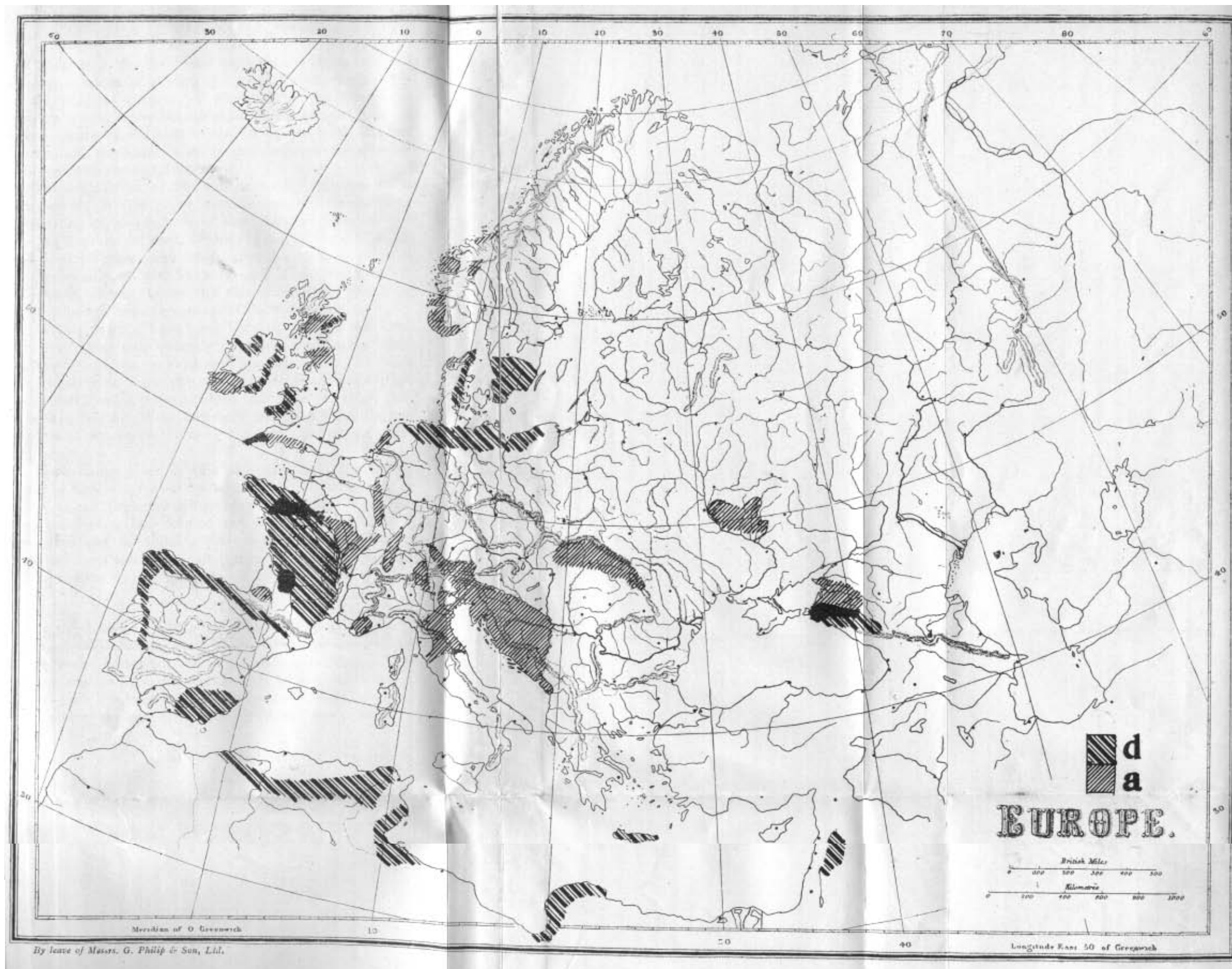
The Celts.—We hear nowadays a great deal about the Celtic element in the British Isles. To which of our racial types do they belong? The Greeks applied the name *Keltoi* to the blonde inhabitants of North Europe, and evidently, according to the Greek view, the Celts belonged to the Teutonic type. The Romans subdivided the blondes into the *Germani*, lying furthest north, and the *Celtæ*, lying nearer to the dark races of middle and South Europe. Some of the Roman writers describe the latter as reddish rather than pure blonde. Now red hair is generally found in great abundance on the line of contact of a dark and a blonde race. The Romans, then, evidently under-

stood the Celts to be a mixture of the blonde Teutonic race with the darker races of middle Europe.

This, I have no doubt, is the true ethnological meaning of the Celt—a mixed people with the Teutonic race as the predominant element. It is the philologists who are responsible for the misapplication of the term in the British Isles. The majority of the “so-called Celts” in the British Isles really belong to our tall, dark, broad-headed Pictish race. But because they happen to speak a language which philologists have called Celtic, the Picts, a race coming originally from the opposite side of Europe from the habitat of the true Celts, have been thus misnamed.

It has been shown by Schliemann and his successors that European civilisation took its rise in the East Mediterranean district, among a people known by the name of Mycenæans, or Ægeans. There is strong reason for believing that the predominant race among this people was the Adriatic or Pictish race, which we have traced from the Levant to the British Isles. Many traces of the Mycenæan civilisation have been found in the British Isles. For example, the spiral ornament which played a prominent part in Mycenæan art is to be found at New Grange in Ireland. The chambered tombs of the Mycenæans, as represented by the Treasury of Atreus, is almost exactly reproduced in the chambered cairn at Maeshowe in Orkney.

Before finishing this rather lengthy paper, I shall say only a very few words about that remarkable people from whom the Viking Club has taken its name. We have seen that even in the Stone Age in Sweden our Pictish type formed 7 per cent. of the population. In Norway the percentage was much higher, and at the present time a great part of the west coast of Norway is inhabited by this broad-headed type. This, I believe, is the district from which the Vikings are supposed to have started to make their raids on the British coasts. The Vikings, therefore, were not Teutons, but Picts, who went over from Britain



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to Norway in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages, and the Viking invasion of Britain is a parallel to the fortunately more peaceful invasion of England by the Americans which is said to be taking place at the present time; a mere return of the race to its old haunts, with its pigmentation no doubt considerably reduced by ages of contact with the fair Teuton.

The population of Britain, according to the views enunciated in this paper, may be roughly estimated as consisting of 50 per cent. of the Danubian race; 30 per cent. Picts; 10 per cent. Teutons or Anglo-Saxon; and 10 per cent. of other races (Mediterranean, Alpine, etc.).

In Scandinavia the Teutonic race is still predominant, except in Norway, where the Pictish or Viking type must form a pretty large percentage of the population.

In this paper I have gone back to the original data, some of these only recently published in Retzin's magnificent work on prehistoric Swedish skulls; I have endeavoured to draw the correct conclusions from these data, but I ought perhaps to say that many of these conclusions are not those currently accepted by anthropologists at the present time. They are open therefore to criticism.

If the views given in this paper are right, the British people have no reason to be ashamed of their origins. For the two principal ethnic elements in our population represent races that formed the vanguard of European progress, and the third is derived from the great Teuton fighting race, which has supplied us with our Nelsons, our Wellingtons, and our Roberts.

In the discussion which followed the reading, Dr. J. G. Garson said that, in the first place, he was not able to accept the statement as to animals blanching in the Arctic regions from the effects of the snow or of cold. It was a purely protective change in most instances—a means of enabling the animal to evade its enemies more easily.

The grouse, which was white in winter, becomes brown as the landscape changes. There are many examples of this kind of protective mimicry to be seen in the Natural History Museum at South Kensington. He could not quite follow Mr. Gray in his way of treating populations. Mr. Gray appears to base his racial types on the proportion of the breadth to the length of the skull, and then to proceed to trace the distribution of the types. But the variations in the proportions of the skull are very considerable, and often most marked in the purest races. This had been brought out by certain recent researches, which have upset many previous ideas of the homogeneity of pure races and the heterogeneity of mixed. Mr. Gray's theory of the races in Scotland will be more easy to follow and criticise when one can read his paper in print, but he appears to refer his *tall* dolichocephalic race back to the Stone Age. This was possible, but they came to England and Scotland at a later period. It is doubtful if they were the dolmen-builders, as the dolmens were probably earlier, and probably belong to the Stone Age. The tall dark race and the round barrow people came later. There had been a mixture of these races subsequently. The *short* dolichocephalic race had been traced to Orkney, Arran, and other islands off the Scottish coast. These he considered to be the Polished Stone Age people. Mr. Gray's theories tend very much to confuse previous ideas on the subject, but if there was found to be good reason for them, earlier ideas must be modified with advancing knowledge.

Mr. A. L. Lewis felt that Mr. Gray had raised so many points, and made so many new departures, that it was impossible to deal with his paper offhand. He was not, however, satisfied, with the lecturer's racial map of the British Isles, which makes Cumberland and Lincolnshire peopled by the same type. We have to take into account three populations, viz., one with light hair and light eyes, one with dark hair and dark eyes, and one with dark hair and light eyes. Dr. Beddow's statistics, compiled forty

years ago, when the populations were less mixed than at present, showed that Lincolnshire was largely peopled by the first-named type, only 29 per cent. of the people having dark eyes, and 46 per cent. dark hair; while in Cumberland the same percentage of dark eyes (29) was accompanied by 80 per cent. of dark hair, showing that the third type he had mentioned was largely predominant in Cumberland. This was what might be expected from the history of the two districts, for he (Mr. Lewis) considered his third type to be distinctly Celtic. As regards dolmens he thought that we could not assume that they all belonged to the same age, or to the same race. The idea of a chambered tomb, from which the dolmen seemed to be developed, was natural, and was found as far off as in Japan. He himself thought that the Norwegian broad-headed people were a fair race.

The President said he objected to the terms "blonde" and "brunette," and preferred to keep to "light" and "dark." Questions of colour were very difficult to settle, as it was hard to fix any standard, or to keep to one in different climates. It was very difficult to fix a typical racial colour for the skin. The question of the identity of the Danes with the Tuatha-de-Danaan was a very apocryphal one. There were many circular earthworks in Ireland popularly ascribed to the Danes, but he believed there was nothing similar found elsewhere in undoubted Danish settlements. He had always thought Dr. Beddoe's racial map rather unsatisfactory. For instance, he made the population of Kent dark, instead of light, as they apparently are. The spiral ornament at New Grange was of a purely Egyptian character; but the spiral was very commonly found, and would naturally be suggested by the snail and various shell-fish. On behalf of the Club he thanked Mr. Gray for his interesting paper.

The Lecturer, in reply, said he quite recognised the variations that occur in races, even in pure races, but they follow the binomial law of deviations from the average. The broad-headed race certainly came to Sweden during

the Stone Age, which lasted longer in that country than in Britain. As to dolmens not being racial, he thought that their distribution negatived this. For instance, they are found to follow the coast line, which an invading race would first occupy. The strange inland peoples did not build them. As regards the identification of the Tuatha-de-Danaan, he understood that old Irish chroniclers described them as a fair race, which supported the theory of their affinity with the Danes.

IRISH EPISODES IN ICELANDIC LITERATURE.

BY ELEANOR HULL.

THE history of the Norsemen in these islands ought to be of the deepest interest for the peoples from whom they sprang, if for no other reason than because our history carries the records of the North back for nigh a hundred years beyond the historic memorials of their own countries. The authentic chronicles of Norway proper begin with the reign of Harold Fairhair, who became sole King of Norway in 872. Earlier than this, myth and legend usher in the dawn of history; but nearly a century before this date the doings of the Norsemen in Britain are mentioned in the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," and detailed at large in the ancient annals of Ireland. The first notice of the descent of Norse ships upon the coasts of Britain is chronicled in the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" under the year 787, the first entry in the Irish annals is at 795. Thus during nearly a hundred years, while Northern history is as yet forced to be content with the records of a dim and uncertain mythology, England and Ireland have preserved for her the records of her race, so far at least as the West is concerned. We are not to suppose that these records merely detail the raids and settlements of a few isolated wanderers from the home-country, whose history has no importance in its bearing upon the lands from which they came. Kingdoms could not be founded, wars made, and distant countries settled, without some

reference to the Motherland, and it is by this reflex means that we are able to discern something of the condition of things in the land that sent them forth.

It has been the fashion to treat the Irish records as either too meagre or too uncertain to be used as reliable history. There is no better method of testing them than by studying this period of the Scandinavian invasions. We have in the Northern literature (chiefly the literature of Iceland for the earlier period), casual allusions to things and persons that have a connection with the Western Isles and Ireland. The "*Landnámabók*" and the romantic sagas refer from time to time to events and persons who are either Irish or who have visited that Ultima Thule of the Norseman's desire. Now, if we can find that even in this early epoch, when the West of Europe was not yet making history, the annals of Ireland confirm these allusions, and even expand and throw light upon them; the veracity of both these sets of records, absolutely independent as they are in their origin, is impressed upon us. Let us compare, before passing to the stories from the Sagas, a few of the statements regarding Ireland made in that most interesting and important of all the Icelandic records, the "*Landnámabók*." The opening passage reads as follows:—

When Iceland was discovered and peopled from Norway, Adrian was Pope of Rome, and after him, John, he who was eighth in the Apostolic seat of that name; Louis, son of Louis, was Emperor North of the Alps, and Leo and his son Alexander over Constantinople. Harold Fairhair [*Harfagr*] was then King over Norway, and Eric, son of Sigmund, in Sweden, and his son Bjorn and Gorm the Old in Denmark, and Alfred the Great in England, and afterward Edward, his son; and Kjarval in Dublin, and Earl Sigurd the Mighty in Orkney.

Here we have the mention of a King named Kiarval reigning in Dublin as the contemporary of Alfred the Great in England, and Harold Fairhair in Norway. Now, do we, from the Irish records, know anything of this Kiarval or Cearbhall, mentioned by the compiler of "*Landnámabók*"? We do, as a matter of fact, know a great deal; nor are we surprised, as we read his history,

that the power and fame of this minor prince should have eclipsed, in the minds of the Norsemen of his day, that of the Supreme King of Ireland. For, indeed, Cearbhall was a formidable foe to the Norsemen, and many a good fight he fought with them. He was Prince of Leinster or Ossory, and through his own exertions he made his state for the time being an important factor in the kingdom. The name "Dublin" became well known to the Norsemen as the chief seat of the Norse dominion in Ireland, as, indeed, the centre whence at various times a wide Norse kingdom was ruled. Though the name is not Norse but Irish (*dubh*=black, *linn*=a pool), it was under the Norsemen's rule that the Ath Cliath began to be called Dublin.

Had we been dependent for the history of Kiarval on the general annals of Ireland, our information about him and his doings would have merely consisted of the bare chronicle of battles, which is usually all that these annals afford. As it happens, however, we have a singularly full record of the career of this Prince in a fragment of the annals of the kingdom of Ossory, written some time after the death of Kiarval, and detailing his career with great fullness.¹ This bit of history, unfortunately only a broken fragment of the whole, gives a most detailed and interesting record of events in Leinster during Kiarval's conflict with the Norsemen, and throws a number of interesting side-lights on the condition of things at this period, and on such important personages as, for instance, Olaf the White, Norse King of Dublin, and Malachi I., Supreme King of Ireland. It is much to be hoped that future researches will bring to light the missing portions of this useful bit of contemporary history.

Kiarval of Ossory was closely connected, by a double marriage, with the reigning King of Ireland. This King, Maelsechlainn (anglicised for faltering English tongues into Malachi I.), was one of the greatest overkings who

¹ "Fragments of Annals," edited by J. O'Donovan. Published by the Irish Archæological Society.

ever reigned in Ireland. Had these two brave men united instead of dividing their forces the Norsemen might have been for a second time driven back from the shores of Ireland. Unfortunately, they followed the usual Irish plan of fighting against each other, instead of uniting their power against the common enemy, and for the first time we find an Irish Prince employing the aid of the Danes against the Norwegian invaders, a custom destined to be frequently followed by later Princes. In his youth, and while his family-connection still held him in friendship with the Irish monarch, he drove back an advance of the Norsemen under a leader called Rudolph. He was himself taken prisoner in the skirmish, but escaped, and then called upon the Danes, under their powerful Chief Horm (or Orm), and with their aid inflicted a signal defeat on the Norsemen in County Tipperary. The account of this battle, and of the addresses delivered by Kiarval and Orm on the eve of the fray to their forces, is very full and interesting, but it need not detain us here.

The middle of Kiarval's career is occupied by quarrels with Malachi, to whom his people had appealed on account of the heavy taxes imposed upon them by their Prince; but towards the middle of Malachi's reign a peace was patched up between them in order to resist a formidable combination of Northern princes, who threatened to unseat Malachi from his position as Supreme King of Ireland. We read of several more defeats inflicted by Kiarval on the Northern foe, but the glory of his reign was clouded and his valour tarnished by his inveterate habit of drunkenness. Twice on the eve of battle Kiarval was incapable of leading his forces. The first time he entirely shirked the combat. The cause is not explained, save by the kindly euphemism that he was "bewitched," and unable to shake off the malign influences of the evil spirits. But the second time, at the battle of Achadh-mic-Earclaidhe (860) near Kilkenny, we are plainly told that he was intoxicated, and that it was only

after the most urgent efforts of his warriors that he could be aroused to lead the army. The career of this vigorous Prince closes in silence. It may either be that the vice to which he was addicted brought him to a dishonoured grave, or that he died during the forty years' pause which ensued on the death of Ivar and Olaf the White, Norse Kings of Dublin, and the departure of the widow of Olaf and her train of followers from Ireland.¹

The history of Olaf the White, founder of the Norse kingdom of Dublin (853), must now occupy our attention. Let us again turn to the "Landnámabók." We read as follows (omitting his genealogy, which is given differently in the "Landnámabók" and in the "Lax dæla Saga," and differently again in the Irish "Fragments of Annals." To reconcile or discuss these genealogies would be out of place here):—

Olaf the White was the name of a war-lord. . . . He harried in the west-viking, and conquered Dublin in Ireland and Dublinshire, and was made king over it. He married Aud the Deep-minded, daughter of Ketil Flatnose. Thorstein the Red was their son. Olaf fell in battle in Ireland, and Aud and Thorstein went thence to Sodor (*i e.*, the Hebrides).

The passage finishes with an account of her journey, first to Caithness, where she stayed for some time, and thence to the Faroe Isles and Iceland. She married members of her numerous family at each place where she stopped, and her descendants became progenitors of several of the most powerful clans of Iceland. This account is confirmed and its details much expanded in the interesting account of Aud, or Unn, given in the opening chapters of the "Laxdæla Saga." There is a touch of splendour in the death of this old woman, found "sitting up against her pillow, dead," on the day after the great wedding feast prepared by her own hands for her beloved grand-child.

It is not in our province to go into the history of Aud. She is not mentioned by name in the Irish annals, where it

¹ Ivar died 872-3, and Olaf either died or left Ireland about the same time.

is repeatedly asserted that Olaf was married to a daughter of Aedh, son of Flann, the mortal enemy of Malachi I. and his successor to the throne of Tara. It would seem that Olaf had two wives, at least, one an Irish woman and one Norse, and that the daughter of Ketil Flatnose was not recognized in Ireland. It is just possible that Aud was that neglected wife about whom Olaf had a mortal quarrel with his (supposed) younger brother Oislé. This young prince, described in the "Fragments of Annals" as the favourite of his father, and the bravest and best of his family, was slain by Olaf's own hand at a peaceful meeting, in consequence of Oislé's reproaches to his elder brother that he had neglected his wife. Oislé said: "If you don't want your wife, or look after her, why not give her to me?" Olaf's response was a blow that struck him dead. If this is so, it sheds a new light upon the stern and self-restrained character of this remarkable woman.¹

To return to Olaf's (or Amhlaibh's) history. He landed in Ireland in 853, during the period of rapid advance made by the Northmen on all the coasts of Britain just before the reign of Alfred the Great. Olaf seems to have been sent to the rescue of his countrymen against the Danes, who, under Orm, were making inroads on the possessions of Gall and Gael alike on the Eastern coasts of Ireland. It was the policy of the leaders of the Norsemen at this time to excite discontent among the Irish with their own princes, and thus gain their support. Many of these levies of malcontents threw off Christianity and became, on joining the Norse forces, more virulent and rapacious than their allies, not only against their countrymen, but against the sanctuaries of the Christian religion. The career of Olaf is not very clearly traced in the Irish annals; at one time he unites with Kiarval against Malachi, at another with his father-in-law, Aedh, son of Flann, the enemy and successor of Malachi.

We read of his plundering in various districts, and of

¹ She is here called "Daughter of Cinaedh" or Kenneth.

the three leaders sacking the tumuli of the Boyne; of his retreat into Pictland, and of his before-mentioned murder of his youngest brother in peaceful meeting. In 867 he returned to devastate Armagh, in a great fray in which he is said to have taken 1,000 prisoners. In 869 Dumbarton was besieged for four months by Olaf and Ivar, and taken; in 870 they return to Dublin with 200 ships and a large number of captives, Saxons, Britons, and Picts. They kill the King of Leinster, and raid right up to the north of Armagh, where the hitherto impregnable fort of Dunseverick falls into their hands.

Ivar, called in the "*Chronicon Scotorum*" King of the Gall and all Hibernia, and in the "*Annals of Ulster*" King of the Gall of all Britain, died in 872, and Olaf henceforth drops out of the history. Had the "*Landnámabók*" not given us the information that Olaf "fell in battle in Ireland," we should have imagined that he had returned to Scotland and died there, but this seems decisive. It seems improbable, in spite of the reiterated assertions of "*The Fragments of Annals*," that Olaf, Ivar and Oislé were brothers, that they belonged either to the same family or the same race. From a consideration of the whole story it would seem more likely that Olaf the White, whose name is Norse, came to Ireland to endeavour to reconstruct the Norse kingdom, so skillfully built up by his predecessor, Turgesius (or Thorgils), threatened alike by the Irish Gael and by the Danish descents on the Northern and Eastern coasts. Ivar, on the contrary, was almost certainly a son of Ragnar Lodbrog, a Dane whose family were at this time forming the important Danish kingdom of Northumberland, with which kingdom the Danish sovereignty of Dublin became from this time united. The chronicles are, however, not clear on this point, and we find Olaf on several occasions joining his forces to those of Ivar, who reigned from Dublin over the Danes. The Danish kingdom was weakened after the death of these princes owing to the dissensions between Ivar's sons, and a long pause ensued,

during which the Irish were comparatively free from invasion from without.

It would be very tempting to linger over other Irish details from the "*Landnámabók*," particularly the account of the Irish thralls taken to Iceland by settlers from Ireland. The communication was constant between Iceland, the Orkneys and Hebrides, and the coasts of Ireland. Some went as raiders, some as settlers, such kingdoms as that which Olaf the White ruled over having begun in irregular raids and isolated settlements. Steenstrup points out that the Viking raids in Ireland were sporadic between 795 and 820, but that between 820 and 835 they made a systematic reconnaissance of the whole coast to find the spots most favourable for settlements. Their chief strongholds became the cities of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, where they built forts, and which seem to have been ruled by separate chiefs. We must not, however, imagine that, with the settlement of a few cities and the building of a few forts, raiding came to an end. Up to the twelfth century, even later than the conquest of Strongbow and the Normans, we hear of Viking raids in the west. The attempt of Swein Asleifsson to take Dublin was made as late at 1171. So long as there were centres of Norse influence other Norsemen were attracted thitherwards; they came as frequently to raid upon their own settlers as upon the common Irish foe.

The only other matter in the "*Landnámabók*" which we can touch on here, is that it was the settlers from Ireland and the Western Isles of Scotland who brought Christianity with them to Iceland. For instance, a man named Orlyg, who had been brought up in the Hebrides by a Bishop of the famous name of Patrick, conceived a desire to go to Iceland. The Bishop equipped him with a supply of ecclesiastical materials—wood to build a church, a plenarium, an iron bell, a golden penny, and consecrated earth to be put under the corner pillars. He was to build a church and dedicate it to St. Columba.

These settlers named their first landing-place Patricks-firth, and on their "land-take" they built a church, and they and their descendants are said to have believed in Columba; that is, they retained their Gaelic form of Christianity. In this, I am sorry to say, they were not generally followed by their compatriots. Generally they lapsed after one, or at most two, generations into paganism. This happened also in the case of the Gall-Gael of Ireland, the children of the mixed marriages between the Irish and Northmen, and the Irish annals say that, "though the Northmen were bad to the churches, the Gall-Gael who had renounced their baptism were far worse, in whatever part of Erin they chanced to be."¹

The story to which I wish now to direct your attention will illustrate for us the condition of those unfortunate maidens of good birth who were stolen from their Irish homes and sold as slaves abroad. It is the tale of an Irish princess. It is taken from the "*Laxdæla Saga*," one of the finest and most literary of the Sagas, and the episode took place in the tenth century.

To begin the story in the matter-of-fact fashion of the Sagas, "Hoskuld was the name of a man." He was one of the bodyguard of King Hacon, and stayed each year, turn and turn about, at Hacon's Court, in Norway, and at his own home in Iceland. He was a man of good position, and held in much esteem, both in Norway and in Iceland. He was wedded to a handsome, proud, and extremely clever woman, named Jorunn, who, the Saga says, was "wise and well up in things, and of manifold knowledge, though rather high-tempered at most times." Hoskuld and she loved each other well, though in their daily ways they made no show of their love. Now, there came a time when the King, attended by his followers, went eastward to a meeting, at which matters of international policy were discussed and settled between Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. Hoskuld, who had become a great chief, and who at the

¹ "*Fragments of Annals*," p. 139.

time was staying with his kinsmen in Norway, joined the gathering as one of the bodyguard of the King. While there he purchased a female slave from a Russian merchant, a poor and ill-clad woman, whom, however, the owner refused to part with except at a higher price than the rest, although, he added, the woman had one great drawback, which was that she was dumb. He had tried in many ways to get a word out of her, but could never get her to talk, and he felt sure that she had not the power of speech. Hoskuld, no wise daunted by this, weighed out the money, and took her away. He gave her good clothes, and everyone was surprised to see how fair and noble she looked in the handsome array. This poor bondslave, sold in open market in Central Europe, was, as Hoskuld learned long afterwards, the daughter of Myrkiartan, a king in Ireland, who had been taken prisoner of war when only fifteen years old and separated from home and protectors. We need not follow Hoskuld's return to Iceland with his beautiful slave, or the jealousy of Jorunn, his wife, who treated the poor girl with disdain, but appears to have been too proud actually to ill-treat her. The desolate girl, either because she could speak no language but her native tongue, or from pride and despair, kept up the illusion that she was deaf and dumb. Neither kind nor unkind treatment could force her to open her lips; only it was remarked by everybody that she bore herself as one of distinguished birth, and that, in spite of her want of speech, she was no fool.

There came a time when Melkorka, for this was the name of the woman, had a son, a very beautiful boy, who at two years old could run about and talk like boys of four. He was named Olaf. Early one morning, as Hoskuld had gone out to look about the manor, the weather being fine, and the sun as yet little risen in the sky, but brightly shining, it happened that he heard some voices of people talking; so he went down to where a little brook ran past the homefield slope, and he saw two people there, whom he recognised as the boy Olaf and his

mother, and he discovered for the first time that she was not speechless, for she was talking a great deal to her son. It was Irish that she was talking. Then Hoskuld went to her and asked her her name, and said it was useless for her to try to hide it any longer. So they sat down together on the brink of the field, and she told him her birth and history, and that her name was Melkorka. Hoskuld said she had kept silence far too long about so noble a descent. After this he let Melkorka go away, and made a dwelling for her up in Salmon-river-dale, a place afterwards called Melkorkastad, and there Olaf grew up into a noble youth, far superior to other men, both on account of his beauty and courtesy. Among the things his mother taught him was a perfect knowledge of her mother-tongue, which was destined to stand him in good stead in later days.

We pass quickly over the period of Olaf's youth. At seven years old he was taken in fosterage by a wealthy childless man, a friend of Hoskuld's, who bound himself to leave Olaf all his money. At the age of twelve he already began to ride to the annual Thing-meeting, though men from other parts considered it a great errand to go, and they wondered at the splendid way he was made. So handsome and distinguished was he even then, and so particular about his war-gear and raiment, that his father playfully nicknamed him the Peacock, and this name stuck to him, so that he is known in Icelandic story as Olaf "Pá," or the Peacock. There came a time when Olaf was a man of eighteen winters, and then Melkorka told him she had all along set her heart on his going back to Ireland, to find out her relatives there. She even determined, partly to spite Hoskuld, whom she had never forgiven for having bought her as a slave, but chiefly in order to raise money for her son's journey, to marry a man who had long wanted to wed her, but for whom she had no affection. He gladly provided all that Olaf needed in return for the hand of Melkorka, and Olaf made him ready to go. Before he left, his mother gave

him a great gold finger-ring, saying, "This gift my father gave me for a teething-gift, and I know he will recognise it." She also put into his hands a knife and belt, and bade him give them to her old foster-nurse. "I am sure," she said, "they will not doubt these tokens." And still further Melkorka spake: "I have fitted you out for home as best I know how, and taught you to speak Irish, so that it will make no difference to you where you come on shore in Ireland." After that they parted. There arose forthwith a fair wind when Olaf got on board, and they sailed straightway out to sea. It was in the year 955 that Olaf Peacock paid his first visit to Ireland. They reached its shores in a thick fog, which had, indeed, pursued them all the voyage, and often caused them "seabewilderment." When the fog lifted they found themselves in a desolate part of the coast, far from any town; but it was not long before the news of the drifting in of a Norwegian vessel spread, and the people of the neighbourhood came swarming down to the shore. According to what seems to have been a well-known Irish law, they demanded that the Icelanders should give up their goods, which were regarded by them as flotsam and their lawful prize. Here Olaf's knowledge of Irish stood him in good stead, for he answered them in their own tongue that such laws held good only for those who had no interpreter with them, but that they were come not to harry, but as peaceful men. The Irish, not satisfied with this, raised a great war-cry, and waded out to try to drag the ship in shore; but Olaf bade his followers quickly don their war-gear, and before the Irish, discomfited by the unexpected depth of the pool in which the vessel lay, could reach her, the crew were ranged in order of battle from stem to stern; and so thick they stood, that shield overlapped shield all around the ship, and at the lower end of every shield a spear-point was thrust out. Olaf, clad in gold-inlaid helmet and coat of mail, girt with sword and spear, and carrying his chased shield before him, walked forward to the prow, and so threatening did all

things look that fear shot through the hearts of the Irish, and they thought that it would not be so easy a matter as they had imagined to master the booty. They changed their mind, and now thought it was but the herald of one of those warlike incursions of which they had had such frequent and terrible experience. They turned back, and sent with all haste to the king or chief, who happened to be feasting in the neighbourhood. This king, who speedily rode down with a large company of followers, looking a party of the bravest, proved to be Myrkiartan, Olaf's grandfather. He was a valiant-looking prince, and they must have made a brave sight as the two companies, Icelanders and Irish, stood opposite to each other, one on the ship and the other on shore, divided only by a narrow strip of shallow water. After some indifferent conversation, the king asked searchingly about Olaf's kindred, for he found that this man was of haughty bearing, and would not answer any further than the king asked. Then Olaf told his story, and claimed kinship with the king. When the king hesitated, though he admitted that it was clearly seen that Olaf was a high-born man, and "that he spoke the best of Irish," Olaf, at the end of a long and frank speech, produced the ring given to him by his mother. The king took the ring and looked at it, and his face grew wondrous red, and then he said, "True enough are the tokens, and none the less notable that you have so many of your mother's family features, and that by them alone you might be easily recognised ; and because of these things I will in sooth, Olaf, acknowledge your kinship, and ask you to my Court with all your following ; but the honour of you all will depend on what worth as a man I find you to be, when I try you more." After that the king ordered riding-horses to be given them, and appointed men to look after the ship, while the king and his grandson rode to Dublin.

Let me finish this tale by the account of Olaf's meeting with his mother's foster-mother.

People thought it to be great news that with the king

should be travelling the son of his daughter, who had been carried off in war long ago, when she was only fifteen winters old. But most startled of all at these tidings was the foster-mother of Melkorka, who had been bed-ridden, both from heavy sickness and old age; yet without even a staff to support her she walked to meet Olaf. The king said to Olaf, "Here is come Melkorka's foster-mother, and she will wish to know all you can tell her about your mother's life." Olaf took her in his arms and set the old woman on his knee, and told her all the news, and put into her hands the knife and belt, and the aged woman recognised the gifts, and wept for joy. "It was easy to see," she said, "that Melkorka's son was one of high mettle, and no wonder, seeing what stock he came of."

Olaf stayed all the winter with the king, and grew to be such a favourite with him that he offered him the succession to the kingdom, instead of his own sons, and prayed him to stay with him for ever. This offer Olaf refused publicly at the law-gathering of the people, saying that he must return to the North, for his mother would have little delight in her life if he went not back again. He had, he said, no just claim to the kingdom, and "it was better to gain swift honour than lasting shame." So Olaf bade a loving farewell to the king, who saw him off, and gave him a spear chased in gold, and a gold-bedecked sword, and much money besides. The welcome made to Olaf on his arrival in Iceland by his mother, and her eagerness to hear news of home, is very prettily described; her only regret being that Olaf had not brought back with him her aged foster-mother, whose coming would have rejoiced her lonely heart and life. When Olaf told her that he had asked to bring her, but that they would not allow her to go: "That may be so," she said; but it was plain to be seen that she took this much to heart.

I hope that I have not exhausted your patience with this long story; but it has in it so many details that let one

behind the scenes into the private life of a remote period ; it sets before us so clearly the manner of intercourse between the two countries, and, moreover, it is so intimate and human a tale, that it seemed worth while to give it in full. The rest of this interesting Saga, indeed the main theme of it, relates the adventures of Olaf's favourite son, whom he called by the Irish name of Kiartan, a boy who inherited the good looks and high spirit of his father, and who seems to have made no small stir in his day and generation in the social life of Iceland and Norway. His story, however, lies outside the scope of this paper.

The interesting question for Irishmen is, who was this Myrkiartan who holds so large a place in the Icelandic story? If a difference of ten or twelve years between the supposed date of Olaf's return to Ireland in the "*Laxdæla Saga*," and the actual date given in the Irish annals be not too great a variation to invalidate our conclusions (and we find that some slight difference of date does constantly exist, not only between Norse, or Icelandic, and Irish annals, but even between Irish and Anglo-Saxon, or Welsh, or even between the various Irish annals themselves), I think there can be little doubt who is the Irish counterpart of the Icelandic Myrkiartan. He was, we believe, the famous Irish chief tain known as Muirheartach (Murtough) of the Leather Cloaks, son of that Niall Glundubh who was king of Ireland for the brief period of three years (914-917), and who fell in the battle of Kilmoshog with the Danes. Murtough was Lord or Prince of Aileach, in North Londonderry, and the massive outworks of his fort remain to this day. The great tribes of Cinel Conall and Cinel Eoghan were under his authority. He lived between forty and fifty years later than the period of Irish history with which we last dealt: during the fresh outbreak of Northern incursion after the forty years' rest and cessation. Unlike his predecessors, who, shut up in their northern fortress, took little part in the Danish wars,

Murtough devoted his whole life to repelling the invaders, and his career is a brilliant series of victories over the foreign foe. If his daughter had been carried off by the Northmen and sold as a slave girl in foreign lands, his revenge is easily accounted for. It is plain from the "Laxdæla" story that Myrkiartan is not monarch of Ireland, but a prince of some considerable power, living on the seashore, and at some distance from Dublin. It is also likely that the voyagers would first reach the north coast of Ireland, driven about as they were in a thick fog. All this coincides with the position of Aileach, on the north coast of Ireland.

The chief of the Danes of Dublin was, during the first part of his reign, Godfrey, son of Ivar, who was elected king in 919, and, later, his sons, Olaf and Blacaire, Both these princes plundered in the north of Ireland, and were met, with varying success, in several battles by Murtough. On one occasion (937) he was taken prisoner to their ships; but was ransomed. Once he pursued the enemy to the gates of Dublin, and ravaged their country. In 939 he penetrated with a fleet to the Hebrides, "after gaining victory and triumph." It was his final exploit that gained him his soubriquet, Murtough "of the Leather Cloaks." Determined, in spite of the retired position of his kingdom, to make his name known and his power felt throughout Ireland, he decided, on his return from the Hebrides, to celebrate his "victory and triumph" by one of those circuits of the whole country occasionally made by aspiring princes as a token of their paramount authority. He called the clans of Conall and Owen together, and chose out of them 1,000 picked men to be his bodyguard. Then, in the depth of the winter of 930, with snow lying thick upon the earth, he set forth from Aileach, and in the course of several months he made a complete circuit or visitation of Ireland, everywhere demanding the submission of the kings and chiefs. From every kingdom he brought with him hostages to Aileach, including Sitric, a prince of the Northmen, as

representing the Danish kingdom of Dublin. The chief bard of Murtough, Cormacan by name, accompanied him on this journey, and wrote a poem on their return describing the incidents of this remarkable tour.¹ It agrees at all points with the notices in the annals. The hostages were kept a year at Aileach, and were there hospitably treated and royally feasted, being attended by Murtough's own wife. They were then sent to the supreme monarch of Tara, Donnchadh, as a mark of respect by his powerful underling. The leather cloaks are said by the poet to have been worn as a protection against the cold, and used as tents or coverings at night. In the moment of battle they were flung aside as incumbrances.

I believe that it was this powerful prince who was the grandfather of Olaf Pá. He fell at Ath Ferdia (Ardee) in battle with his old foe, Blacaire, son of Godfrey, Lord of the Gall of Dublin, in 941.

We now come to what is incontestably the finest piece of writing bearing upon Ireland in all the Sagas ; indeed, one of the most dramatic episodes in the northern stories upon any subject—I mean the account of the Battle of Clontarf. We are fortunate in possessing the history of this important battle from both the Irish and the Norse side : the spirited description in the “ Wars of the Gael with the Gaill ” supplying us with a large number of romantic incidents relating chiefly to the leaders who fought under the banner of the Irish king Brian, and the “ Njal's Saga ” giving us a stirring account of the raising of the foreign bands who came to the help of Sitric, the Norse King of Dublin. The story is probably familiar to everyone here, but it may be of interest to read it from the Norse side alone, in order to understand for how much of it we are indebted to the Northern chroniclers,

¹ This poem, “ The Circuit of Ireland by Muircheartach MacNeill,” which is still extant, was written after the hostages were sent to Tara, and before the death of Murtough in 941. It has been edited by J. O'Donovan, and published by the Irish Archæological Society, 1841.

and in what light they viewed a struggle which both nations have recorded as a turning-point in the history of the Danish invasions of these isles, and have thought worthy of commemorating in song and story. It was from the tales of the fight told by those Norsemen who escaped the destruction of that fatal day to their comrades at home that the "Brian's Saga" grew up. If it ever existed as a separate and complete story, as Vigfússon thinks, it is unfortunately lost, but parts of it are incorporated in "Thorstein Sidu-Hall's Son's Saga," and the whole story is added in an abridged shape to "Njal's Saga."

The story, as told in "Njal's Saga," divides itself into four distinct and very dramatic scenes—(1) The arrival of Sitric in the Orkneys to ask for succour from Sigurd the Earl; (2) his visit to the two Viking leaders, Ospak and Brodir, lying with their thirty vessels off the Isle of Man; (3) the incidents of the actual battle; and (4) the weird portents that accompanied the battle, and which were seen not only in the Orkneys and the north of Scotland, but away in the distant isles of Faroe and of Iceland.

It is plain that the Norse chroniclers considered the Battle of Clontarf to have been one of the most disastrous days in the chequered history of their race. There is no event in their annals of which the record is so bathed in gloom. Signs and portents everywhere throughout the Norse world prognosticated failure; Woden himself appearing for the last time in their extremity to his old worshippers, now fast forsaking him for a newer faith, and riding up to the fierce wife of Sitric on an apple-grey horse to converse long with her. The answer of the sorcerer, to whom the apostate Brodir appealed on the eve of the battle, declares that "if the fight were on Good Friday, King Brian would fall, but win the day; but if they fought before, they would all fall who were against him." And Brodir, choosing the least evil of the two, decided to fight on the Friday. That it was a day of terrible slaughter to the Irish I do not deny; the good and power-

ful King Brian, whose courage and administrative ability had so nearly saved and united Ireland, fell last of almost all his race; Morrough his son, Turlogh his grandson, a mere boy of fifteen, as well as his ally, Mailmora King of Leinster, were slain, and on the Irish side, as on the Norse, a terrible havoc was made in the ranks of the contending forces. Yet from this time forward we hear little of disputes with the Danes, who seem to have gradually merged themselves into the population, and are found in several instances, up even to the time of the Norman invasion, or later, allying themselves to princes of the North and West, and joining in their wars. In the South they seem to have lived quietly as traders and merchants, taking henceforth little interest in political affairs, and making no other great effort for supremacy: when the Norman invaders appeared, they united with the Irish against them. The thoughts of the Northmen were indeed turned elsewhere. The Danish conquest of England by Sweyn, in the very year of the Battle of Clontarf, and his aim of uniting into a great empire the Scandinavian countries and earldoms, with England for its head, gave rise to other schemes of ambition and conquest.

But to return to the Saga of Brian Boroimhe, or Brian of the Tributes.

We are at the Orkneys on Christmas Day. The Yule log is blazing, and Earl Sigurd is presiding at a splendid feast. A man named Gunnar is relating to the assembled party the terrible tragedy of the burning of Njal and his family, which had only recently taken place in Iceland. Gunnar himself had had a hand in the dastardly plot, and to save himself he is giving a garbled version of the tale. We seem to see the scene. The long hall, with its double row of pillars, and the fire blazing in the centre; the spread tables, the couches along the sides where the guests sat in order of precedence, the raised daïs where the chief gathered his special friends and where the minstrels stood. The Irish banqueting-hall and the hall of a Norse or Icelandic chief were identical

in plan and construction : we have only to recall the descriptions of the Mead-Court, or banqueting-hall, of Tara to have an exact idea of the dwelling of an earl of the Orkneys ; either the Norsemen adopted the Irish plan of building, or they taught it to us. Most probably the Irish were the learners. While Gunnar is in the middle of his story, two other Icelanders, but now landed, come up to the door. They have been close friends of the house of Njal, and their anger is aroused as they stand for a moment outside, arrested by the voice of Gunnar, telling his false version of the tale. With the swift vengeance characteristic of the Northman, Kari draws his sword, and rushing into the hall with a wild snatch of song upon his lips, the head of the lying story-teller is severed in an instant by one sharp blow, and spins off on to the board before the king and earls, who are bathed in his blood. "This is a bold fellow," exclaims King Sitric, "who dealt his stroke so stoutly, and never thought of it twice!" And Earl Sigurd, in spite of his anger, is forced to exclaim, "There is no man like Kari for dash and daring."

King Sitric seems to have only arrived from Ireland shortly before this bloody interruption took place. He was seated in the place of honour beside the Earl. Sitric was the son of Anlaf Curan, or Olaf o' the Sandal. His mother's fame is yet better known : she was that famous, or infamous, Kormlöd, or Gormlaith, whose monstrous capacity for marriage-making makes her the scoff and scorn of saga and story, whether Norse or Irish. the Saga sums her up in a few words. "She was the fairest of women," it says, "and best gifted in everything that was not in her own power, but it was the talk of men that she did all things ill over which she had any power," *i.e.*, she had the best gifts by nature, but out of her own will she did nothing but what was bad. Already she had been married to two husbands, Malachi II., King of Ireland, and Brian himself, both of whom had repudiated her, before she married Sitric's father. "So grim had

she got against King Brian after their parting," says the Saga, "that she would gladly have had him dead." It was her hate of her former husband that had sent Sitric to the Orkneys to ask for aid to crush him. Yet Brian's goodness of heart was known and recognised even in the far North. "He was the best-natured of all kings," they said there of him; "thrice would he forgive all out-laws the same offence before he had them judged by the law, and from this it might be seen what a king he must have been." Such clemency would certainly appear strange to the fierce natures of the North. But in spite of their personal regard for him, the bait of the fair Kormlöd's hand and the promise of Brian's kingdom, if he should fall, proved too strong a temptation to Earl Sigurd, and he gave his word to go. "Then King Sitric fared south to Ireland, and told his mother, Kormlöd, that the earl had undertaken to come, also what he had pledged himself to grant him. She showed herself well pleased at that, but said they must gather a greater force still. Sitric asked whence it was to be looked for? She said there were two Vikings lying off the west of the Isle of Man, that they had thirty ships, and were men of such hardihood that nothing could withstand them. The name of one is Ospak, and of the other Brodir. Haste thou to find them, and spare nothing to get them into thy quarrel, whatever price they ask." The price they asked was exactly that asked by Earl Sigurd—"the crown of Brian, and the hand of the fair Kormlöd." The moment is a perplexing one; but, remembering his mother's commands, Sitric hastens to make the promise, only premising that they should keep the terms so secret that Sigurd should hear nothing about them. They, like Earl Sigurd, pledged themselves to arrive in Dublin on Palm Sunday, and Sitric returned home well satisfied. But hardly had he left, when a fierce quarrel arose between the two Viking brothers. It would seem that the conference had been between Brodir and Sitric only, and that Ospak had not been informed of the pact until after

Sitric had left. Then he roundly said that he would not go. Nothing would induce him to fight against so good a king as Brian. Rather would he become a Christian and join his forces to those of the Irish king. Ospak, though a heathen, is said to have been the wisest of all men. Brodir, on the contrary, bears an ugly character. He had been a Christian, and had been consecrated a deacon, but, in the forcible words of the Saga, he had become "God's dastard, and now worshipped heathen fiends, and was of all men most skilled in sorcery." He was a terror even to his own people. "He wore a magic coat of mail on which no steel would bite. He was tall and strong, and his hair was black. He wore his locks so long that he tucked them into his belt." Fearful dreams beset him from night to night. A great din passed over the ship, so that they all woke, getting hastily into their clothes. A shower of boiling blood poured over them, so that though they covered themselves with their shields, many were scalded, and on every ship one man died. They slept that day, but next night there was again a din, so that they all sprang up. Swords leaped out of their sheaths, and axes and spears flew about in the air and fought. The weapons pressed them so hard that they had to shield themselves, but still many were wounded, and out of every ship a man died. The third night ravens flew at them, with claws and beaks hard as of iron, and again a man died in each ship. The next morning Brodir sought Ospak to tell him what he had seen, and ask him the meaning of it. Ospak feared to tell him till night fell, for it was a custom with Brodir never to kill a man by night. When the moment of safety arrived he made this foreboding: "Whereas blood rained on you, many men's blood shall be shed, yours and others. But when ye heard a great din, then ye must have been shown the crack of doom, and ye shall all die speedily; when weapons fought against you, that must forbode a battle; but when ravens overpowered you, that marks the devils in which ye put faith, and who will drag you all down to

the pains of hell." Brodir was so wrath that he could not answer a word, but he moored his vessels that night, so that next morning he should bear down and slay them all. But Ospak saw through the plan, and that night he slipped quietly away to Ireland with his men, made his way to King Brian at his palace at Kincora, became a Christian, was baptised, and united his force to Brian's, finding ample opportunity to avenge himself on his apostate brother at the Battle of Clontarf, an opportunity of which he availed himself to the full by inflicting on him a barbarous and horrible death.

All being prepared, the forces on both sides gather to Dublin by Palm Sunday, but owing to the omens the Norsemen refused to fight before Good Friday. King Brian was too conscientious a churchman himself to fight on a fast-day, so his bodyguard made a ring around him with their shields locked together, at a little distance from the host. In the excitement of the battle, however, they would seem to have left him, for at the moment of his death his bodyguard are found chasing the enemy, leaving only a remnant of their number to defend the old king, while one lad alone was inside the tent with the praying sovereign, when Brodir broke in and ruthlessly felled the helpless and defenceless old man to the ground. In the Saga account there is some confusion of names and persons, as was only natural in a tale written down some time afterwards, and at a distance from the events. The incidents agree admirably, but the names of the actors have been confused, and the same action is in "Thorstein Sidu-Hall's Son's Saga" sometimes ascribed to a different person to the author of the deed in "Brian's Saga." This would go to show that the two existing Northern accounts are not mere copies of each other, but independent reports of the battle. Mahon, the courageous elder brother of Brian, who had shared all his earlier wars, but who had been basely assassinated many years before, is represented as taking an active part in the battle. He is called Wolf the Quarrelsome, "the greatest champion and

warrior," and is represented as having had a fierce conflict with Brodir. Each army was drawn up in three divisions, led on the one side by King Sitric, with Brodir on the wings and Earl Sigurd in the centre; and on the other side by Brian's brother, with Ospak on the wings, and Kerthialfad and Brian's foster-son in the centre. The banners were carried before Sigurd on the Norse side, and Kerthialfad on the Irish side. This is the Norse account of the disposition of the forces. The Irish account is a little different:—Brian's army in the van, the Dal-Cais, under Morrough and Turlogh; (2) Munster troops, under a grandson of the King of the Decies; (3) Connaught troops, under Maelruanaidh; (4) Danish auxiliaries; (5) Meath troops, under Malachi II., but an "evil understanding" lay between him and the foreigners.

We must imagine the battle as taking place on the northern side of the river Liffey, in what was then open or wooded country—on each side, east and west, of the present Sackville or O'Connell Street. One single bridge crossed the Liffey, a little above the present Four-Courts. The Irish forces, gathering from inland, took up their position on the hilly ground extending north and west from about O'Connell Bridge to the Phoenix Park, while their opponents, landing from the bay, occupied the low ground near the River Tolka, and stretching towards Clontarf. The chief fighting took place opposite the Danish fortress, which stood on the site of the present Dublin Castle, and around whose walls the old city lay. One interested and divided spectator watched the fight from the walls with secret sympathy for the Irish enemy. This was Sitric's wife, who was also Brian's daughter, an Irishwoman, married to the chief of her country's foes. "It seems to me," she laughed bitterly, as the rout of the Norsemen became more and more complete, "that the foreigners are making fast for their inheritance—the sea. I wonder are they cattle, driven by the heat? But if they are, they wait not to be milked." The answer of her husband was a brutal blow upon the mouth.

Two dramatic incidents break the course of the narrative. The first is the taking of the raven banner of the foreigners. This banner, under which the Orkneyingers fought, had a curious history. We learn in the "Orkneyinga Saga" that it had been made for and given to Earl Sigurd by his Irish mother, Edna, or Eithne, daughter of Kiarval (the Cearbhall or Carrol of whom we have already spoken), who had married Hlödver, Sigurd's father. Eithne was one of a large family of girls, four of whom married Icelandic suitors in the Western Isles. Their names were Eithne, Fridgerd, Rafata, and Kormlöd. This Irish lady had a reputation for superior knowledge gained by means of witchcraft. However this may have been, she was a woman of spirit; for we are told that on one occasion, when her young son came to ask her advice as to the wisdom of going to battle against a far superior force of Scottish soldiers, she replied scornfully, "Had I known that thou hadst a desire to live for ever, I should have kept thee safely rolled up in my woolbag; fate rules life, *but not when a man stands at the helm*; better it is to die with honour than to live with shame. Take thou this banner that I have made for thee with all my cunning; I ween it will bring victory to those before whom it is borne, but death to him who carries it." The banner was worked with elaborate needlework, wrought with wonderful skill. It was made in the shape of a raven, and when the wind blew out the banner, it was as though the raven spread his wings for flight. This banner, though it brought victory to the army, as Eithne had foretold, became noted for the ill-luck that attended the standard-bearers, so that it became difficult to get men to carry a banner that meant certain death. In the Battle of Clontarf, one standard-bearer after another had fallen; at last Sigurd called on Thorstein, son of Sidu-Hall, to lift the banner. He was in the act of obeying, when one Asmund the White called out to him, "Do not bear the banner; for all who carry it get death." "Hrafn the Red," called

out Earl Sigurd, "bear thou the banner." "Bear thine own devil thyself," was the rough reply. Then the earl said, "'Tis fittest the beggar should bear the bag, and he took down the banner from the staff and wrapped it round himself under his cloak. It was but a little after that Asmund the White was slain, and the earl fell, pierced through with a spear.

The other incident also concerns Thorstein Sidu-Hall's son, the brave Icelfander who had accompanied Sigurd. After the death of Sigurd the Norse host broke out into indiscriminate flight. Thorstein, with some few men, took their stand by the side of Tomar wood, refusing to fly. At last all turned and fled save Thorstein alone. He stood still to tie his shoe-string. An Irish leader, coming up at the moment, asked him why he had not escaped with the others. "Because I am an Icelfander," said Thorstein, "and were I to run ever so fast I could not get home to-night." The Irish leader was so struck by his coolness and courage that he liberated Thorstein, who remained in Ireland in the household of the Irish king when all his fellows returned home.

All through the north of Europe the tidings of the great battle flew; everywhere it was looked upon as one of the most severe checks sustained by the Norsemen in Western Europe. The "Darradar-Liod," or "Lay of the Darts," is probably familiar to you. Gray's version, however, gives but a faint idea of the fury and force of the original song of the Valkyries. It stands alone among the Eddic lays, but in the "Njal's Saga" it has been incorporated with some additions into the story, and a confusion as to the name is visible. The appropriate title of Darrador-Liod, "Lay of the Darts," has been lost sight of, and the legend is invented that it was one Daurrud who saw the Valkyries weaving the woof of war, and heard them sing the lay.

We now come to a very interesting Saga, "the most primitive piece of Icelandic prose," says Vigfússon, "that has come down to us." This oldest piece of Icelandic

prose bears an Irish name, and relates the love-story of a bard, or skald, whose very commonest thoughts seem to have flowed forth in poetry. There are more songs in this Saga than in any other of the whole series: it is full of, almost choked with, verse. Some of the professional skalds laboured out a verse or two when some public event demanded it in much the same fashion as our Poet-Laureate does at present and with a result just as little satisfactory from the standpoint of poetry. But this was not the way with our poet, whose Irish ancestors' blood poured fast through his veins, turning his impetuous speech into song, and filling his brief story with some eighty-five verses or poems, of which sixty-five are by Cormac himself. Cormac, or Kormak, was indeed a famous skald; there is an impetuosity, a fire, a passion in his verse that assimilates it much more closely to the literature of the country of his paternal descent than to the colder, more restrained poetry of the North. "The wine of Odin," the "drink of the gods," the magic divine gift of poetry, as it poured itself forth in Cormac's rugged but burning stanzas, must sometimes have astonished his hearers, accustomed to the more artificial strains of the Court poets. Cormac was one of the poets of King Harald Greyfell, of Norway, who reigned from 960-965, and he is also named among the poets of Earl Sigurd of Hladir, who died 962, and on whom he wrote a panegyric called the "Sigurd's Drapa," of which only some fragments are preserved. He was named after his grandfather, of whom we know that he was a great man under Harald Fairhair, and was flourishing about 900. It shows how much more often intermarriages must have occurred than are noted, that there is no hint given in the Saga of Irish birth or descent, although in this particular instance the name itself identifies the Irish blood beyond possibility of question. The name of Cormac has ever been a famous one in Ireland, from the time of Cormac-mac-Airt, who was, as the "Annals of Clonmacnois" happily put it, "absolutely the best king

that ever reigned in Ireland before himself " downwards. The modern MacCormacs may look back to an illustrious ancestry, beginning with the half-mythical son of King Conor (Conchobhar) of the early romances, and including the great King-Bishop of Cashel in the tenth century. The name was continued in the family of our Northern skald.

There is something thoroughly foreign to the North, not only in Cormac's character, but in his appearance. He was black-haired and black-eyed, with a curly lock on his forehead. The fair Icelandic girls used to scoff at him for his dark eyes. Some thought them ugly, some handsome; but, as he says himself, he had "tricks of the tongue to beguile them"—the persuasive, flattering tongue of his Irish ancestors. His temper was more Irish even than his appearance; the quick retort, the reckless, impulsive, perverse habit of mind, the gay and flashing fancy, the illogical, yet always faithful soul. He was always missing his chances—great skald and good lover as he was; but in the moment of action some slight, real or fancied, was haunting his brain, and hindering him from seizing the fortunate moment. When he ought to be up and doing he was sulking at home, filling up his time by building a wall, or driving the cattle to the mountains; when the opportunity was past, no sword was sharp enough, no horse swift enough to avenge himself upon his rival. He would not accept the easier rules of the duel; the hard and fast rules of the professional combatant in the holmgang were not too severe for his spirit; untrained swordsman as he was, he would allow himself no advantage even in the fight with the renowned combatant, "Holmgang," or "Fighting" Bersi; he scoffed at the tales of charmed swords and spell-woven grounds which should bring luck to his adversary and ill to himself. There is something exceedingly lovable in the child-like, wilful nature of this youth, and in his unswerving fidelity to the lady of his heart. Vigfússon hardly does justice to this Saga when he says, "It is a rough, coarse

story of rough, coarse life." It is indeed a primitive tale, with a rough practical joke played here and there; but there is hardly a word to be omitted on account of its coarseness, and there is, on the other hand, a vigour and reality in the characters that more than atones for any defects of polish.

The Saga tells the love-story of Cormac for the fickle beauty, Steingerd, a lady who after being betrothed to Cormac ultimately married his rival, Fighting Bersi, and as soon as misfortune overtook him, forsook him for the Tinker Thorvald, of whom the Saga says that he was "a wealthy man, a smith and a skald, but a mean-spirited man for all that; her folk were for it, and she said nothing against it, and she was wed to him in the very same summer in which she left Bersi." It was said of Cormac that he never made a single verse without some mention of his lady in it: in his verses she is likened to every lovely and precious thing. She is the young fir of the forest, enwreathed in gold; like the goddess of Baldur she glistens; she is the nymph of the ale-cup; she is the tree of his treasure and longing; she is the trim, rosy elf of the shuttle. He weaves a hundred pretty conceits about her person and her ways.

To give a specimen of the Saga, let us take the first meeting of Cormac with Steingerd at the house of her father, where Cormac, who was shepherding on the fell, had taken refuge for the night.¹ He was seated with the other men of the household at the large fire lighted in the hall. Steingerd, then a mere girl, had all a young girl's curiosity to see the stranger; and though when her maid suggested that they should look at the guests she protested that there was no need, she yet slipped away to the door, stepped on to the threshold, and peered

¹ For all the quotations from this Saga I am indebted to the kindness of my friend, Dr. Jón Stefánsson, who placed in my hand a translation of the Saga prepared by himself and Mr. W. G. Collingwood, M.A., for publication. The work has since appeared under the title, "The Life and Death of Cormac the Skald."

cautiously at the guests across the gate. Now there was a gap between the bottom of the wicket and the ground, and Cormac espied her feet as she swung them backwards and forwards beneath the gate, and he straightway made a song—

At the door of my soul she is standing,
So sweet in the gleam of her garment :
Her footfall awakens a fury,
A fierceness of love that I knew not.
Those feet of a wench in her wimple,
Their weird is my sorrow and troubling,
—Or naught may my knowledge avail me—
Both now and for aye to endure.

Then Steingerd felt that she was seen, and she drew back shyly into a corner of the door where the doorpost was adorned with a massive figure of the mythical king Hagbard carved in wood, and from under the old king's beard the charming young face peeped forth, catching as it did so, the full glare of the firelight. "Cormac," said Tosti, "seest eyes out yonder by that head of Hagbard?" And Cormac answered in song¹—

The moon of her brow, it is beaming,
'Neath the bright-litten heaven of her forehead :
So she gleams in her white robe, and gazes
With a glance that is keen as the falcon's ;
But the star that is shining upon me
What spell shall it work by its witchcraft ?
Ah, that moon of her brow shall be mighty
With mischief to her—and to me.

"She is fairly staring at thee," said Tosti, the foreman ; and Cormac throws off a couple more songs by way of reply. By this time the girls had gathered courage and stepped into the hall. They sat down in a corner and whispered observations to each other in perhaps not too polite a fashion about the looks of the visitors. "He is

The tragic story of Hagbard and Signe, so appropriate here, is told in "Saxo Grammaticus," Book vii., 230-237, pp. 277-285. Translation published by the Folklore Society.

black and ugly," said the maid ; but Steingerd said, No ; he was handsome and everyway as pleasing as could be. "There is only one blemish," she said, "that his hair is tufted on his forehead." "Black are his eyes, sister," said the maid, "and that becomes him not." And Cormac, sitting down below at the fire, hears all these remarks, and turns them into half-comic, playful verse.

This is Cormac's first meeting with the faithless fair one, who is the theme of all his songs, the centre of all his thoughts. Whether tossing on the tempestuous sea or herding the flocks at home ; whether at the feast or the combat ; whether away in Norway at the royal court, or at home in Iceland, the faithful poet-lover ever has a sweet verse ready-woven in honour of his lady. His mates mocked his passion for the shallow woman who spurned him, and who preferred the comfort that riches bring as wife of the craven tinker to the genius and steadfastness of the thriftless young skald ; but still it was his proudest boast that it was not often that he forgot her. "It always comes down to that," as his brother Thorgils once said, when, on the eve of a great battle (it was fought by Harald Greyfell in Ireland) Cormac was, as usual, conning verses to his lady.

Once in life, and once to die, Cormac visited the birth-place of his ancestors ; for, as was meet, the bard of Irish blood fell in Ireland ; the only one of the famous Icelandic skalds whom we know to have been buried in these islands, save Hallfred, whose tomb was in Iona.

It was on his way back from his first visit to Ireland, the one made in the train and under the banner of the king, that Cormac sang his most beautiful poem, the famous "Song of the Surf." It grew out of a question, as most of Cormac's songs did. Thorgils, his brother and companion, noticed that in all their wanderings with Harald Greyfell, Cormac slept but little, and he asks him why this is. This was the lovely answering song—

THE SONG OF THE SURF.

Surf on a rock-bound shore of the sea-king's blue domain—
Look how it lashes the crags, hark how it thunders again!
But all the din of the isles that the Delver heaves in foam
In the draught of the undertow glides out to the sea-gods' home.
Now which of us two should rest? Is it thou, with thy heart at ease?
Or I, that am surf on the shore in the tumult of angry seas?
Drawn, if I sleep, to her that shines with the ocean-gleam,
Dashed, when I wake, to woe, for the want of my glittering dream.

We hasten on to the death of Cormac. The time came when he realised that Steingerd was lost to him for good and all, lost by her own will: for all she can find to say when the husband himself bids her go with Cormac, he having fairly won her by rescuing her from pirates while her noble Tinker skulked in the ship's hold, is that "*she would not change knives.*" "So Cormac concluded that this was not to be. 'Evil beings,' he said, 'ill luck,' had parted them long ago." He bade her be gone with her Tinker, while he himself took to the wandering, wild life of a Sea-Viking, the usual resort of discontented spirits in his age. The brothers went wayfaring round about Ireland, Wales, England, and Scotland, those fertile lands that attracted so much of the Vikings' attention; and they were reckoned to be the most famous of men. They are said to have built the Castle of Scarborough, but whether in the spot which now bears that name we cannot undertake to say. They made raids into Scotland, and achieved many great feats, and led a mighty host; but in all the host none was like Cormac for strength and courage.

But to return to the death of Cormac. The story goes that once after a battle he was driving the flying foe before him when the rest of his host had gone back aboard ship. Out of the woods came a fierce Scot, or Irishman, "as monstrous big as an idol," and a terrible struggle began between them. Cormac felt for his sword, but it had slipped out of its sheath, and though he succeeded in striking a furious blow which killed the giant, his adversary caught at him in a death-grip, which

crushed his ribs. They fell together, the giant uppermost, and so hidden was he under the mass of the Irishman that his men sought far and near before they found him. He was carried to the ship, and he died singing.¹

The stories I have told you are only specimens of the incidents in Northern literature which throw light upon the habits and life of that period when the North and the West—Iceland, and the Western Isles and Ireland—were closely intermingled. There are many others just as interesting, just as enlightening as regards the social and spiritual life of both countries. I could tell you of King Magnus Barelegs of Norway, who, for love of Ireland, wore the saffron shirt and plaid even in his own country, and got the nickname “Barelegs” for his pains; the king who could not tear himself away from Ireland for all the attractions of the ladies of Nidaros; whose last song was in praise of an Irish girl, and who died, killed in an Irish-laid ambush, in County Down. It is a tribute both to his love of Ireland and to the love of the people for him, that he is buried close to St. Patrick’s tomb in Downpatrick.

I could tell you of Harald Gilli, Magnus Barelegs’ Irish-born Irish-bred son, who ran a race for the honour of old Ireland with a Norwegian prince and won, though the prince rode on his swiftest racer and Harald ran afoot. This Irish Norwegian, one of the Gall-Gael, afterwards became King of Norway, though he spoke so little Norse along with his native Irish that his subjects were forced to hide their laughter at his mistakes. I could tell you of amusing errors made between the two peoples in trying to understand each other’s tongue; this was, of course, only when they had failed to learn it by means of what have been called the best dictionaries, the mouths

¹ There is another Northern poet who seems to resemble Cormac in personal characteristics as well as in his passionate and faithful disposition. This was Thormod Coalbrow, skald to St. Olaf. He was dark-haired, left-handed, and had an impediment in his speech. He was devoted to St. Olaf, and fell with him at Sticklestad. See “Corp. Poet. Bor.,” ii., p. 173-174.

of their wives and sweethearts. Or I might tell of King Olaf Tryggvasson, who admired so much the sagacity of the Irish sheep-dogs, and who seems still more to have admired the beauty of the Irish women, for he married an Irish wife, Gyda, sister of Kvaran (Kieran, or Curan?), an Irish king. Norse names are still a memory in many a place around the Irish coasts and in the terminations of three of the provinces of the days when the Norseman was a settler in the land ; Norse blood runs in the veins of many an Irishman. I think the most interesting piece of history as yet unwritten is the story of the mingling of these two nations, "the Gall and the Gael."

In the discussion which followed the reading of the above paper, Mr. F. T. Norris, in thanking Miss Hull for her paper, remarked that it opened up for consideration a very important factor in the colonisation of Iceland. The introduction of a Celtic element into the island was largely due to the number of Irish slaves brought over, of which the Sagas make mention ; in part it was also attributable to the Norse-Irish alliance. He should think the former the more potent factor, and a parallel thus be set up between Iceland and ancient Rome. He did not think Miss Hull gave sufficient importance to Norse influence in Ireland, for the Danish forms of the names of the five provinces showed the extent of their overlordship, while the Norse nomenclature of the principal harbours around the coast showed that coast and inland both had passed under their sway. The apparent quiescence of the Northmen after the battle of Clontarf could be explained by events which were taking place out of Ireland at the time.

Pastor A. V. Storm asked the lecturer what was the Irish origin of the name "Njal." In connection with this paper on Iceland he drew the attention of members to the recent proclamation issued by the Danish king allowing the Minister for Iceland to live in the island. This was the last of many measures in recent years restoring to

Iceland something of her ancient liberty, and would no doubt be welcomed in the island, and give fresh vigour to the national life.

Mr. J. Gray said he had been very much interested in the paper. The early emigration from Norway into Ireland was very remarkable, though the presence of a Norse element in Ireland was now forgotten. But the Scandinavians were the blondest race in Europe, while the Irish and Celto-British races were dark, as we saw from "Kormak's Saga." Therefore the percentage of blonde people found in various parts of Ireland would give some idea of the extent of the Norse element. Statistics show that blonde people are found in Limerick, Dublin, and the north-east of Ireland, also in the Hebrides, but not on the east coast of Scotland. The latter point was somewhat curious, when we consider the geographical position of the two countries. These studies throw some light on the origin of the population in those parts.

Mr. Maurice Dodd, of the Irish Texts Society, referred to the battle of Clontarf, and the confusion as to the names of the chieftains who took part in it. But he thought they could be satisfactorily explained. Kerthialfad in the Icelandic Sagas corresponds with Morrogh, Brian's son, who led the centre of Brian's army. The Icelandic story of Kerthialfad giving quarter to Thorstein, Hall o' Side's son, was in favour of this theory, as only some chieftain in some such position as that of the king's son would have exercised this prerogative.

The President said the battle of Clontarf was exceedingly interesting. According to a paper by Sir Samuel Fergusson, it was fought in what is now the centre of Dublin. The influence that the tide going out had on the fight had been confirmed in a very remarkable way by modern calculations as to the hour of high water on the day of the battle, and he should like the lecturer's opinion as to whether, as some say, the Danes rallied after their first flight, won the battle, and killed the Irish king, Brian Boromhe. The fact of there being two cathedrals in

Dublin, one Danish, Christ Church Cathedral, and the other Gaelic, St. Patrick's, showed the dual nature of the old population. The light the Sagas gave us on the importation of slaves into Iceland was very important. He should like to know more about the pillared houses mentioned by the lecturer, and where they originated. The mixture of blood in Ireland was unquestionable, and he had noticed evident traces of it at Cork and Waterford.

The Lecturer, in reply, pointed out a parallel between the three churches in Dublin which were considered Danish and three at Bristol. The question of the actual issue of the battle of Clontarf was doubtful, but it was clear that after the battle the Danes never had the same grip of the country as before. There were descriptions in Irish story of the banqueting-hall of the kings at Tara which corresponded very closely with the descriptions of the great halls in the Sagas. She would like to point out the curious fact that three of the names of the provinces of Ireland were Irish with Norse terminations.

VIKING NOTES.

BY THE HON. EDITOR.

THE *Dorset County Chronicle* of March 18th, 1903, contained an account of "The Danish Borough of Wareham, Dorset," by Mr. Edwin Sloper.

AT the meeting of the Society of Antiquaries on Jan. 29th, 1903, Mr. J. P. Rylands exhibited a gold ring of the Viking period, which was found at Oxford.

THE author of "Kiartan the Iclander," reviewed on p. 127 of the last *Saga-Book*, has received a banknote of £100 from an anonymous giver signing himself "An Admirer North of the Tweed."

"ROSLYN'S Raid" and other Tales, by the late Miss B. M. Barmby, has been forwarded by the publishers, Messrs. Duckworth & Co., too late for review in present issue.

"THE Life and Death of Cormac the Skald" has been the object of numerous eulogistic reviews, due credit being always accorded to the serious and scholarly efforts of the authors.

THE Dannevirke, the ancient great border defence between Denmark and "Saxland," is to be the object of regular investigation this year by a party of antiquaries and archæologists under the leadership of Prof. Sophus Müller, the Director of the Copenhagen Museum.

Punch, of May 21st, 1902, in the course of a mock trial of Mr. John Singer Sargent, R.A., for his launching into Norwegian landscape painting, humorously cites, as a witness for the defence, "Mr. Olaf Trygvason, Secretary of the Viking Club." The allusion is evidence that the work of the Club has attracted notice in one influential quarter at least.

By a slip of the pen in the Viking Notes in the last *Saga-Book* on the identification of Ultima Thule (p. 121), Pomona is mentioned as one of the Shetlands, whereas it is another name for the "Mainland" of Orkney. The argument is not affected by the inaccuracy. In the first review on p. 124, 36th line, "Solway Firth" should also be read "Moray Firth."

AN inquiry has been addressed to me, what were the old names of the four districts—Gulathing, Frostathing, etc.—into which Norway was divided? Was it *soknir*, as in Iceland? The answer is that the earlier terms were *herad* and *fylki*. In the independent period before Harald Härfagra, the head of each *herad* or *fylki* bore the title of king, and was military leader, pontiff and judge. Between 863 and 900 Harald Härfagra deposed, expelled, or slew these, and set up the feudal system, with Jarls over each district.

AN unexpected but justifiable recognition of the heroic standard of Viking warfare is furnished by an allusion made by Mr. Gibson Bowles, M.P., in a letter to the *Times* on the Venezuelan affair. He said:—"That we should conduct warlike operations on the seas in alliance with Germany, whose traditions are rather those of the Vandals than the Vikings, is a danger in itself." This is decidedly different from the current view, or at least the view of the books of instruction for the young, in which the behaviour of the Vikings is usually represented as synonymous with all that is execrable.

"NINE Men's Morris," the old Viking game described by Mr. A. R. Goddard, M.A., in vol. ii., part iii., p. 377, was the subject of an article by "Spinx" (Mr. Henry E. Dudeney) in the *Despatch* of December 14th. This article is obviously a re-hash of Mr. Goddard's paper, and while gratification may be felt at the spread of interest in the subjects dealt with in the *Saga-Book*, it is more accordant with journalistic etiquette to acknowledge the source of information, when so extensively drawn upon as in this case, instead of setting out the matters as the result of the personal knowledge and research of the writer.

I THINK it right to record the fact that numerous flattering appreciations have reached me with regard to the contents of the last and the foregoing *Saga-Books*. The credit for this result rests, of course, in the first place, with the many able readers and contributors of papers, who furnish gratuitously materials for its pages, and, in the second, with the general body of the members, whose increasing support provides the pecuniary sinews whereby effect can be given to the objects of the Club. In the measure of the increase of the interest in the work of the Club of individual Vikings will the value of the *Saga-Book* be enhanced, and I should particularly welcome more local co-operation from members from the remoter districts throughout the length and breadth of the three kingdoms.

ACCORDING to the opinion of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, given at the yearly dinner of the London Forfarshire Association, the population of that shire of Scotland consists of "a Saxon element, in a large measure a Scandinavian element, which was one of the best, and they had just enough of Keltic element to give them vivacity and spirit." With regard to the tongue of Strathmore and the Home of Mearns, it was pure Doric, and always fell gladly on his ears, for he had a great detestation of the anglicisation of the language of his country. One cannot but feel sympathy with the wish to uphold the vigorous Lowland folkspeech, but the old and baseless claim of a monopoly of "vivacity and spirit" for the Keltic race has apparently not yet been demolished even by Mr. Andrew Lang's caustic commentary quoted in the last *Saga-Book*.

IT is useful to call attention to the new departure made in the last *Saga-Book* by the District Secretary for the Lake Districts. Mr. Collingwood has turned his attention to the work of searching out and investigating the steads of Norse settlements. Other districts offer equally valuable oppor-

tunities for research, especially those remote from the larger towns. But both those near big cities and in remote districts would yield valuable information if systematically undertaken, especially with the assistance of the spade. Researches to identify the courses of the several Viking invasions, sites of battles, etc., should afford valuable corroboration of historical records. United efforts of local Vikings might be more useful than individual efforts, and I venture to throw out these suggestions as preliminaries to such action. It is worthy of record that Mr. Goddard also has just broken ground in this direction.

THE survival of the Vikings in Normandy, as attested by the blue eyes and light hair of a large number of the population, is a matter of observation by every observant traveller. The survival of the Viking spirit and traditions has not hitherto been so clearly attested as by the following interesting address of "Le Souvenir Normand," a peace society, forwarded to King Edward VII. :—

To his Majesty Edward VII.

With the deepest joy the Souvenir Normand respectfully begs your Majesty to accept its greetings from the banks of the Seine, the river whence your glorious ancestor William, of the stock of Viking Rollo, set out to found the great British Empire under Norman kings. We thank providence for the happy tokens of your Royal efforts to bring about an understanding between the two Normandies to secure the peace of the world through the Normans. May God preserve your Majesty ; may God grant long life and prosperity to the King and Queen of England and to the English Normandy.

THE *Nation* (New York) of June 5th, 1902, p. 444, has the following interesting note :—"Some years ago Prof. S. Bugge read a paper before the Academy of Sciences in Christiania relating to a lost Runic inscription, of which there now is merely a paper copy extant, taken early in the last century, and in which Prof. Bugge had found a verse containing reference to an expedition to Vinland. Since that time energetic search has been made in the district of Ringerike, on the farm where the stone originally belonged—but in vain. Prof. Bugge has now published his interpretation of this inscription as a part of his serial publication of Norwegian runic inscriptions. It is of interest not only as the only contemporary record of the Vinland voyage—the Icelandic Sagas being 300 years younger than the occurrence chronicled—but also because it must refer to an expedition of which there is no record left in the Sagas, showing that the intercourse was more active than is known from written sources."

THE following has appeared in one of the dailies :—

"Mr. Bosshard, the well-known Swiss archæologist, who has been carrying on excavations in the village of Choex, Canton of Valais, has discovered a beautiful Druidical altar, entirely made of marble. The altar, facing towards the east, is at the extremity of a large underground amphitheatre, where the crowd collected to view the human sacrifices. In the centre is situated a huge stone statue of the god Thor, which is reached by a stone staircase. It was from the foot of this statue that the priests dealt out justice and taught the people. On each side of the god Thor there are four other statues in stone, representing minor divinities.

The amphitheatre is surrounded by chambers cut into the solid rocks, where the prisoners of war were confined prior to the sacrifice. Facing the stone slab is an immense fireplace, having closing doors and able to contain ten persons at a time. It was here that the priests burnt their victims."

The choice part of this bit of highly imaginative Malapropism is that the Druids did not worship the god Thor, while the details suggest the accessories of an ordinary Roman amphitheatre rather than a place of religious celebrations.

It must be hailed as a healthy token of the re-quickenings of the national life that the Admiralty have so far freed themselves from classical influence as to name one of His Majesty's ships *Odin*. This is undoubtedly a better title than such outlandish words as *Bellerophon*, *Arethusa*, etc., which honest Jack may be pardoned for invariably mispronouncing. They can now, having broken the ice, go safely forward into other ventures. We have already the *Thunderer* as the name of one of the ships of national defence—why not *Thor* himself? Although we have allowed the German Emperor to outpace us by appropriating *Ægir*, the god of the sea, as the name of an Imperial war vessel, there is no reason why we also should not have our *Ægir*, as also a *Regin* or a *Reginwalda*—"ruler of the waves." *Tyr* and *Heimdall* would follow in natural sequence. The days of sailing ships are past, but the graceful and beauteous *Freya* might still perhaps find a fitting embodiment in one of the fleetest cruiser class; while *Surtur*, the fire-god, should surely not be denied a chance of reckoning with the nation's foes in the day of strife. When my Lords of the Admiralty have completed these important changes, a course of lectures at the Viking Club might further enlarge their innovative resources.

THE following extract is taken from "Ancient Fife, seen through its Place-Names," by L. Macbean, *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, Jan., 1903. "Norse names:—Of Norsemen, one Otter gave his name to Pittotter and Otterston, and both Carriston (anciently Karrelstoun) and Crail (anciently Corell) are framed from the Norse Carrel. But in spite of their repeated attempts to invade Fife, we have few remains of the Norse Vikings in our place-names. In North Fife we have the Normans' Law, and, in the west, Fordell—that is, the foredale. As might be expected, we have a few Norse words by the sea. 'Hope,' the Norse for an anchorage, we have in St. Margaret's Hope and in Lerhope. The Firths of Tay and Forth are but the Norse 'fjord'; the Isle of May is the Norse 'ma-ey,' the isle of gannets or gulls; and the Voe Rocks, near Kirkcaldy, are from the Norse 'voe,' a little bay inside a reef. But Fife cannot show one Norse name for any of the many bays and promontories around her coast. In place of the Norse 'wick' we have the Welsh 'cwr' or Gaelic 'curr' in Pettycur, and in place of 'cape' we have the Gaelic 'rudha' in Ruddon Point near Largs. We have, however, 'ness' for headland in Fife Ness." This list is interesting, but it is very far from exhaustive.

THE Danes in Pembrokeshire have been the subject of several communications to *Notes and Queries*. "W. R. P.," one of the notists, says (under date August 16th, p. 132):—

"Judging from the many place-names found in Pembroke of Scandinavian origin, both inland and along the south and west coast to St. David's Head, there seems every likelihood that a flourishing Danish or Norwegian colony existed here in the tenth century. Names like Colby, Ramsey, Gateholm Island, Caldy Island, Tenby, Sageston (Sagatun?), Jordestun, Hasguard (Asgard, Aysgarth?), Reynalton, Upton, Freytrop (Freythorp?), Hubberston, Herbrandston and Haraldston all give proof of a settlement. In the 'Saga of the Jomsvikingar' is mentioned a certain Beorn or Bjorn the Briton, who may have had his stronghold in Pembroke or Glamorgan, which also abounds in Danish names on the coast, as well as the two leading Welsh ports, while Carmarthen has no coast towns to speak of, and hardly any Northern names."

And "H. V." adds:—

"The Norse (not Danes) settled in this county, as witness the many Norse place-names of the islands and along the sea coast and the fiords of Milford Haven. There were Norse settlements at Lower Fishguard (in Kemes), Langum, and Angle, which survive in part to this day."

If "H. V." means that the external appearance of the above-cited stead-names indicates a Norse rather than a Danish origin, it is difficult to agree with him, as they are as much Danish as Norse (*cf.* Koldby, Jordlose, Aastrup, many fjords and holms, etc., in Denmark.). The field open for research here is well known, and it remains for some of our local Vikings to undertake the work on the lines which Mr. A. Moffat so usefully follows in Glamorganshire.

In a subsequent letter my correspondent allowed the strength of the arguments in favour of the Belgian theory, but yet thought there was

something to be said for another view—namely, that before the *Belgic* invasions there was an immigration of *round-headed*, fair, big folk who brought in the *Bronze Age*. The dark *Silurian* type, of course, were the *Neolithic people*, and they certainly inhabited the south-west, and they worked the tin in Cornwall. But at a very early period they were broken in upon by the fair, big tribes who made the *Bronze Age* tumuli, and these appear in many parts of Britain. So that I fancy it is impossible to say that in any given part the people were exclusively dark. Take the ethnology of Ireland, for instance, and see how, at a very early date, there were all sorts of complexions.

Then, did the Phœnicians trade with Cornwall? See Rhys, "Celtic Britain," pp. 46, 47, which I think our artist must have followed, or some similar authority. Rhys makes out that the Phœnicians only came to Kent, and never got face to face with the Silures, but dealt with the tribes who had imported tin by overland traffic. These Kentish folk might well have been quite fair, and perhaps in painting them so the artist had a notion of insisting on this view of the trade. I admit that the subject is most complicated, and that there are many views. But this makes me less able to come down upon anyone. Have you seen Elton's "Origins of English History," chaps. vi. and vii.? It is full of interesting hints on the subject, which is terribly hypothetical—too much so for me to pin my faith to any general statement.

My answer to these points are that the "all sorts of complexions" are of relatively modern creation—*i.e.*, since the Norse invasion, or at least subsequent to Tacitus (the Sagas always represent the native Irish as having black traits); and that, in my view, the evidence from prehistoric remains is too speculative, at present, to attach much value to it; and

that the Phœnician and Phokean navigators are unlikely to have passed up the Channel to unmineralised Kent when they could have more easily landed and certainly found what they required in Cornwall.

"*Was ist des deutschen Vaterland?*" a well-known German patriotic song-writer asks, and gives the answer, after several essays—"Es ist wo die deutsche Zunge klinkt." Mr. Poultney Bigelow, however, without exactly referring to this song, gives in a daily newspaper a different answer. He says:—

"What is the German nation? Is it unity of language, or unity of speech, or unity of domestic institutions and traditions, or unity of police administration? Germany is not one in language, nor is she one in race, nor in religion, nor in her institutions. At her eastern end is a fragment of a Slav nation, immediately recognisable by its features as being different in race. It is safe to say that the Pole is more different from the German in language, race, traditions and religion than is the Englishman or the Dutchman. Within an hour by rail from the capital of Saxony I have come across Germans whose home language was Slav, some Poles, others Czech—loyal subjects of the Emperor William, yet speaking a language he cannot understand. From Berlin the railway can take you in a couple of hours to the Spreewald, where on Sundays the preacher addresses his congregation in Wendish, and appeals to a set of traditions wholly strange to a man of Middle Germany. Westward of Berlin lies Mecklenburg, whose people have a language of Anglo-Saxon roots, but who are scarcely intelligible to their fellow-Germans of Bavaria. The ordinary educated German requires a glossary in order to read the '*Platt Deutsch*' stories of Fritz Reuter. Indeed, the language of this part of Germany appeals almost as much to an Englishman or a Dutchman as to an academically trained German of Hanover or Munich. Compare now the Germans of the Danube country with those living along the valleys running up into the Alps, and you will be struck by differences in their physical appearance, so marked as to make you wonder that they claim a common ancestry; and, again, in the highlands of Bavaria there are Germans who not only speak a dialect unintelligible to a man from the Baltic, but who differ in outward features from the Germans along the Elbe and the North Sea. In this Alpine Germany we see plainly the effects of much past intercourse with Italy—over the mountain passes; all the way from Ulm to Vienna and beyond there is strong evidence of contact with Hungary and the Orient through the Valley of the Danube."

After this he launches into an instructive comparison:—

"The German of Hamburg or Stettin looks like the twin brother of a typical Englishman, and both are obviously related to Scandinavia. Fair hair, blue eyes, and a certain well-known expression common to the North Sea littoral, speak of race affinity in spite of political frontiers. There is more kinship between a large section of Germany and a large section of Great Britain than between Bavaria and North Germany. It is safe to say that a large section of Eastern and Northern France is more closely related in blood to a large section of Germany than to the France of Avignon or Toulouse."

This is an unconscious confirmation, with a difference, of Cæsar's division of Gaul into *Gallia Belgica* (German) and *Gallia Celtica* (French):—

"The population bordering on the North Sea, whether Danish, Dutch, German, British, or French, has a racial affinity which is most striking to a yachtsman who leisurely picks up successive harbours. He would scarce know that he was in a foreign country, if it were not for the strange uniforms and unfriendly Custom-houses."

He then alludes to the effects of the Gothic conquest of Spain :—

“ Even in Spain the traveller is struck by the Germanic or Gothic appearance of some sections, in spite of the difference in language and political institutions. On the other hand, in some so-called German sections of Switzerland he discovers a type that is essentially Roman, as, for instance, in the Upper Rhine Valley near Ragatz.” He might have added that in Northern Italy the population still bears traces of the German Longobards’ conquest, of which the late General Garibaldi, with his pronounced Teutonic personal appearance and name, was a striking example. By the way, the declared approximation of the purest Teutonic types to the Scandinavian model is noteworthy.

THE review of “ Galloway Gossip Eighty Years Ago ” in the last *Saga-Book* (p. 124) has called forth the following courteous letter from the author, Dr. R. De Bruce Trotter, L.F.P.S.G., L.R.C.P. :—

“ The review of ‘ Galloway Gossip ’ is one of the best I have seen, and it is evidently written by one who thoroughly understands his subject, and I am much gratified to find that in many respects his views accord with mine. I must acknowledge that I have read little on ethnological and philological subjects, and have simply put down the traditions of the district and the results of my own observation, trusting that they might in the future furnish data for those who make a special study of such things. What I have tried most is to be accurate, as far as I could. The reviewer rather misapprehends me when he thinks that I pass off the language of the book as the ancient language of the Aboriginal Pict, which, of course, it is not, as that was, in my opinion, probably Cymric, and later was a variety of Scottish Gaelic. What I intended to convey was that it was the language of the representatives of the Aboriginal Pict now. I cannot agree with the reviewer that Scotch is a dialect of English or Anglo-Saxon : first, because the term ‘ Anglo-Saxon ’ is an acknowledged misnomer ; and second, because it is now generally recognised that vernacular Scotch is a much older language than English, and that the various vernacular dialects of England are all more or less gross corruptions of the language of the ancient Angles, of which vernacular Scotch and Geordic (*i.e.*, Northumbrian) are the purest existing representatives. The Saxon element is nowhere, except where its words and construction concur with those of the Scandinavian group of languages, of which Anglian, obviously, was one ; and literary English is the most corrupt of the lot, its grammatical construction being based on that of Latin—a Keltic language—and a mass of incongruities and exceptions. If your reviewer would look over a Welsh or Gaelic dictionary and grammar, he would be astonished to find what a large amount of so-called Anglo-Saxon words are really of Keltic origin, or that very many words in the Teutonic and Keltic language are similar. I think he would also, on looking carefully at the people of this county, be much struck with the very small proportion of the Saxon element that exists in it. In Galloway we never see a person of the Saxon type, and Teutons were there known as ‘ Inglis,’ but never as ‘ Sassenach,’ while there is abundant evidence of Anglian and Norse settlements all over the district, and a considerable proportion of the personal names of the Gaelic families are of undoubted Norse origin. In several districts the people are

still called Fingalls, or Fair Strangers, *i.e.*, Norsemen, and a common name is McKinnel, *i.e.*, MacFhionghall—that is, the son of the Norseman. Another common name is McDouall, *i.e.*, McDhughall—*i.e.*, son of the Dark Stranger, or Dane.”

This letter bristles with contentious points, which would require a lengthy note to deal with. To take some of the principal: that the term “Anglo-Saxon is an acknowledged misnomer” is unsound, however regarded, for, in the first place, it was in use in Saxon times, and, secondly, modern English is certainly the survival of the Anglian and Saxon tongues, plus Norse additions. That Scotch is an older language than English is likewise absurd, seeing that both were introduced by one and the same Teutonic settlers. That Anglo-Saxon contains any considerable quantity of Welsh or Gaelic words is likewise unprovable, while the greater proportion of those now in use are recent loan words: and that the grammatical construction of English is based on that of an inflected language such as Latin is obviously impossible. As to “Saxon” or “*Sassenach*” never being mentioned in Galloway, this may or may not be; but why does Scott put in the mouth of Rhoderick Dhu the apostrophisation, “Bold Saxon”? Also, why is the well-known pass into the Highlands called “the Trossachs”? These contentious points apart, it is gratifying to learn the confirmation of history that “Anglian and Norse settlements are all over the district,” and that the Norse traces are strong. Such a result is certainly to be expected from the centuries-long resettlement and overlordship of Galloway by these two races.

My remarks on p. 119 of the last *Saga-Book* on the absurdity of the artist of the fresco in the Royal Exchange, “Phœnicians trading with the Ancient Britons,” representing the latter with the fair characteristics of Anglo-Saxons, instead of with the swart and tawny traits of the ancient Britons, has called forth a mild protest from an esteemed Viking, who asks: “Were the Britons ‘swart and tawny’? I hae ma doots.” In view of the eminence of the questioner and the many-sided bearings of the subject, I have deemed it worth while to set out the arguments in favour of my assertions *seriatim*, and reproduce them here as follows:—

My contention that the ancient Britons were swart and tawny is based on the following considerations:—1. It must be admitted as a self-evident proposition that the ancient Britons cannot have been physically differentiated from their kindred and parent stock on the European continent. Among these no fair-haired, blue-eyed folk are found, but they are uniformly swart-haired and tawny—*ergo*, such were the ancient Britons. By “parent stock” I mean the genuine Gauls or Ibero-Gauls of the centre and south of France and of Spain—not, of course, the mixed population of Northern France. 2. Written evidence is extant of at least two most competent and impartial witnesses of the characteristics of the Britons when first they came prominently under European influence. I allude to Julius Cæsar who first conquered these islands, and Tacitus, who accompanied Julius Agricola in his more complete subjugation of the country. The latter, in his book on the “Manners and Customs of the Germans,” shows himself specially fitted to discriminate racial characteristics.

Julius Cæsar, who had previously had an intimate acquaintance with the various populations of Gaul and Germany, thus writes of the population of Britain when he landed (bk. v., ch. v.):—

(a) "The inland parts of Britain are inhabited by those who call themselves the *natives of the country* ;

(b) "but the sea-coasts by the Belgic Gauls, that came thither either to plunder or invade the island, and who, having ended their wars, settled there and began to cultivate the earth, *and for the generality retain their ancient names*. The country is well peopled and has plenty of building, much after the same fashion with the Gauls . . . the most civilised among them are the people of Cantiam, *whose country lies almost altogether on the sea-coast*, and their customs are much the same as those of Gaul. . . . The *inland people* seldom trouble themselves with agriculture, live on milk and flesh, are clad with skins, and paint their bodies blue with woad. . . . Ten or a dozen have one wife in common . . . and parents often lie with their own issue. . . ."

This description, it will be noted, marks off two strongly differentiated peoples in possession of Britain in Cæsar's day.

Now for Tacitus's evidence, given about 100 years later, and he prefaces his observations by these significant remarks:—"The situation and inhabitants of Britain have been described by many writers, and I shall not add to the number with a view of vying with them in accuracy and ingenuity, but because it was first thoroughly subdued in the period of the present history. *The circumstances which, while yet unascertained, they embellished with their eloquence, I shall simply relate from the evidence of real discoveries.*" He then goes on to say :—

"Who were the first inhabitants of Britain, whether indigenous or emigrant, is a question involved in the obscurity usual amongst barbarians. *Their temperament of body is various, whence deductions are formed of their different origin.*

"There the ruddy hair and large limbs of the Caledonians point out a *German derivation*. *The swarthy complexion and curled hair* of the Silures, together with their situation opposite to *Spain*, renders it probable that a *colony of the ancient Iberi* possessed themselves of that territory. . . . They who are nearest Gaul resemble the inhabitants of that country. . . . On a general survey, however, it appears probable that the Gauls originally took possession of the neighbouring coasts. The sacred rites of these people are discernible among the Britons, and the language of the two nations do not greatly differ. . . ."

This evidence confirms the previous as to the existence of two races—one sea-coast from Gaul and the other inland; also a third, the non-mention of which by Cæsar, *if it was in existence in his day*, being accounted for probably by his not having penetrated the island so far (and Tacitus observes later that Julius Cæsar's campaign consisted merely in terrifying the inhabitants *and taking possession of the shore*).

The differing characteristics of the two races mentioned also tally; but the accounts do not agree in one important point:—Cæsar says the sea-coast folk were Belgic Gauls (*ergo*, Germans); Tacitus says they were Gauls, and "the language of the two races do not greatly differ," which would give colour to the supposition that they spoke the language of the majority of the Gauls—*ergo*, Gaelic). It is, perhaps, not necessary to make this

inference, but it is open to be made, and is made by many. My answer to this would be that if the sea-coast Belgic Britons had lost their German tongue in the interval of 100 years between Cæsar's landing and Julius Agricola's and Tacitus's arrival, they must have become confounded with the mass of the Britons in the meanwhile, as a result perhaps of the Roman invasion and more or less continuous occupation. In Cæsar's day, however, the Belgic Gauls, as did the Belgic Britons, spoke a German tongue, and this is in evidence from Cæsar himself. Describing Gaul (and be it observed he uses the term loosely, and politically rather than racially) and its inhabitants, he says (bk. i., ch. i.) :—

“Gaul is divided into three parts, each inhabited by peoples of *different language, laws, and customs* : the Belgæ, Aquitaini, and Celtæ, as they call themselves, but *we the Gauls*. . . .”

[Here it is verbally admitted that three racially distinct peoples are described by one common cognomen. The admission is important, as it explains many after-references, not only of Cæsar, but of other writers.]

To identify the Belgæ further, which is our leading interest, Cæsar later says :—

“Cæsar . . . was informed by the [Celtic Gaulic] ambassadors that the Belgæ were originally descended from the Germans, who, tempted by the plenty of the land, had crossed the Rhine, *expelled* the natives [Gauls], and taken possession of their country. That these were the only people who, during the dreadful inundations of the Teutons and Cimbers, had maintained their ground, while the rest of Gaul was overrun by the barbarians, the memory of which success inspired them with extraordinary courage. . . .” (p. 31).

“The Belgæ had seized the third part of Gaul. . . .”

“The Gauls are divided from the Aquitaini by the river Garumna [Garonne], and from the Belgæ by the Matrona [Marne] and the Sequana [Seine]. The Belgæ are the most warlike of the three, because they are the greatest strangers to the culture of the province, hold no communications with merchants, and are situated next the Germans beyond the Rhine.”

“The Atuaci [Belgæ in Douay] were descended from Teutons and Cimbers, who when they took their journey into Italy left 6,000 men to guard that side of the Rhine, who eventually settled in that country [Douay] . . . making a jest of us [Romans] by way of ridicule, saying : ‘By what hands or strength such little men as we (for the Romans are of small stature in respect of the Gauls) [note observation above anent Roman use of the term Gauls] should be able to bring a tower of such prodigious weight to the walls.’”

These several quotations are, I think, conclusive that the Belgæ were Germans and spoke a German tongue, and were moreover of such great stature as the Germans are always described by the Romans to be—*ergo*, they were not a mixed Teuto-Celtic people at that time (whatever Belgium or the old Belgic provinces of France have become since), as some have felt disposed to conclude. That they were fairly unmixed in Britain is inferable from the fact that their characteristics were such as to differentiate them from the natives in the eyes of both Cæsar and Tacitus, while the statement of Cæsar that “for the generality they retain their ancient names,” shows that they spoke a different tongue. Indeed, in Cæsar's day their leaders' names and town names in Belgic Britain and in Belgic Gaul

are often identical, as are also many tribal names (witness to the latter the Cauci, the Menapii, the Pemanni, &c.).

It is pertinent to cite here from Henry Morley's "English Writers," that in Cymry the words *belg*, *belgiad*, *belgwys*, mean a ravager, a Belgian; ravagers, Belgians. Also that the name of the Regni, a people of what is now Sussex, implies in Cymry "cursed"—very proper terms for the Celtic native Britons to give to the Belgic invaders both of Britain and of Gaul. I may add that Wright, in "Celt, Roman and Saxon," and Morley (vol. i.), strongly support the German origin of the Belgæ, while in the Sagas, whenever the personal characteristics of the aboriginal inhabitants of Britain or Ireland are described, they are always stated to be dark—witness Kormak the Skald, etc.

With regard to the Silures, Brigantes, and other inland Britons, Prof. Boyd Dawkins, "Early Races in Britain," identifies them with the Iberi and Briganti of Spain, and describes them as a small dark race. In his description of a "tall, fair, Celtic" stock, however, I believe he is making a confusion with the Belgæ described above by Cæsar (or with some later English or Danish infusion), as the latter nowhere alludes to anyone being "tall and fair," except his Belgic Gauls and the Germans. In short, Cæsar's words are very definite as to the distinction existing between the two races for he says, "But the Germans are *mightily* distinguished from the Gauls." The only ground, therefore, for the justification of the representation of "fair-haired, blue-eyed, native Britons" trafficking with the Phœnicians is in the supposition that the latter landed at a pre-Roman Belgian coast settlement, the strongest argument against which is, however, the early date of the traffic in tin with Britain—500 B.C.—which must have been a date long before the advent of the Belgians to the shores of Britain. One last point, and that modern, tends in favour of my contention, viz., the modern remnants of the early Cornish Britons (as also the remnants of the aboriginal Welsh, Irish, and Scotch Gaels) are still distinguished by their dark traits and relatively small stature.

DEATH-ROLL.

THE regretted death of Major A. E. Baldwin, one of the recent recruits to our ranks, has to be reported. His demise took place on the 26th May, 1902.

THE writer of the "Viking Age," the "Land of the Midnight Sun," the "Land of the Long Night," and other works, "forthfared" on April 30th, 1903. M. Paul Belloni du Chaillu was of French extraction, and a man of singularly wide sympathies and attainments. He was thus able to find interest in such unlike subjects as the history of the aboriginals of Africa and that of the peoples of the frozen North. He will ever be gratefully remembered for his contributions to Viking lore.

REVIEWS.

TRACES OF THE ELDER FAITHS OF IRELAND: A FOLKLORE SKETCH. A Handbook of Irish pre-Christian Traditions. By W. G. WOOD-MARTIN, M.R.I.A. *London: Longmans, Green & Co. 2 vols. Price 30s. net.*

DESPITE its undue length, this work is an interesting and invaluable contribution to Irish folklore, history, kinlore, etc., for the writer is fully abreast with the latest advances of science and research in palæontology, geology, kinlore, folklore, archæology, etc., and brings them to bear on the past and present of Ireland and its inhabitants. At the outset, and very properly, he scouts as unworthy of attention the early romantic and monkish accounts of the origin of the Irish peoples, and prefers to go back so nearly to "the beginning of all things" as science permits, tracing man and his civilisation in Ireland from the earliest cave-dweller upward through the ages to modern times.

The early and even late Irish were, as is well known, not exactly lovable creatures. They were cannibals well into the historical period, while promiscuity, incest and polyandry were features of their marriage customs. The author finds a parallel only of their character and customs in such people as the South Sea Islanders. In mental environment, he says, "the Celtic mind is essentially Eastern in character, and legends still current illustrate this. . . . There is considerable similarity between folklore current in the East and that still existing amongst a large portion of the population of Ireland, more especially in remote localities" Irish art, also, he considers to be exotic, while Irish literature is "mere protoplasm," and it is difficult to discover an Irish MS. that, to the ordinary nineteenth century reader, does not appear extremely childish. The survival of Gaelic, according to the author, is impossible.

The native Irish apart, the population of modern Ireland, according to the author, is compounded of Danes, Saxons, and Anglo-Normans. The influence of these several alien factors on the race is repeatedly alluded to, but not concretely and separately set forth. Incidental evidence of the Old Norse connection with Ireland is shown by the similarity with Odinic sacrificial ritual of the ceremonies connected with ancient Irish cairn burials; in the likeness between the Irish and the Icelandic cursing rounds; and the curious correspondence between the Irish Bav (three goddesses ruling over battle and slaughter) and the Valkyries. Other interesting matters treated of are Runes and Oghams, the origin of the latter being thrown back to about the third century; the extinct Irish wolfhound, of which mention is made in the Sagas; Irish folklore regarding iron; and Irish underground houses, in one of which, according to "Landnámabók," Hjörleif, when vikingfaring in Ireland, slew a man.

The work may be regarded as exhaustive of Irish folklore and traditions, and, moreover, has the merit of tracing these to their earliest uprisings, and attempting to explain their creation. Such a process is of value in the general study of folklore, and those interested, consequently, in any one department or the whole, as well as in comparative mythology, will find

these volumes of extreme utility. To those interested in tracing the social and other effects of the Northmen's connection with Ireland, the work offers much material, but it will have to be dug out at the expenditure of some exertion.

F. T. N.

THE DISCOVERIES OF THE NORSEMEN IN AMERICA, WITH SPECIAL RELATION TO THEIR EARLY CARTOGRAPHICAL REPRESENTATION. By JOSEPH FISCHER, S.J., Professor of Geography, Jesuit College, Feldkirch, Austria. Translated from the German by BASIL H. SOULSBY, B.A., Superintendent of the Map Room, British Museum, Hon. Sec. of the Hakluyt Society. *London: Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles, 1903. 8s. net.*

WE owe a debt of gratitude to both the translator and publishers of this valuable work, which gives a fairly exhaustive survey of what is known concerning the discovery of Greenland and of the mainland of America by the Norsemen, together with many important early maps bearing on the subject, some of them only recently discovered. The account of the Norse colonies in Greenland is very full, and includes a description of the remains discovered by the Danish expeditions under Captain Bruun,¹ which have so largely contributed to the settlement of the long-disputed question of the exact position of the eastern and western colony, and have confirmed in so many particulars the accounts given in the Sagas. The author also deals fully with the discovery of America, and the various voyages thither of which we have record, as well as with the crop of legends and surmises which have grown up about it. As regards the vexed question whether there was anything in the nature of a permanent settlement in Vinland, we think he is too hasty in accepting the theory that the absence of any positive evidence decides this question in the negative. It would have been an advantage to us if he had given us his reasons for considering that De Costa and Gelëich have finally dealt with Professor Eben Horsford's labours on this point, which are familiar to members of this Club through the efforts of our Vice-President, Miss Cornelia Horsford, to follow up and complete her father's work.² The author in his preface gives us reason to suppose that Professor Gelëich is not an unbiassed enquirer, while he himself bears witness to Professor Horsford's care in examining his evidence and rejecting such as was unsound. Whether we accept Professor Horsford's identification of the sites mentioned in the Sagas or not, it seems an indisputable fact that, in a locality which would correspond very closely with the accounts given in the Sagas, he found remains of unknown origin, unlike anything which is ascribed to the Red Indians, while there is nothing in their character to preclude the theory that they were originally the work of the Norse settlers in Greenland. True, there is no positive evidence to prove this connection; but, as far as we know, no other plausible explanation of them has been advanced at present. On this point, therefore, we prefer to keep an open mind, until the question of the origin of the remains pointed out by Professor Horsford is decided, and we should like to know the author's reasons for accepting unhesitatingly

¹ Compare *Saga-Book*, vol. i., p. 281. ² Compare *Saga-Book*, vol. ii., pp. 7, 134.

the adverse opinion. We observe that in his Bibliography the author only mentions one work of Professor Horsford's, so he is possibly not fully aware of the extent of his labours. As regards the question of how far any attempts at a permanent colonisation of Vinland were made, or were successful, the author contents himself with pointing out that there is no authentic record of any such attempt subsequent to the unsuccessful endeavour of Thorfinn Karlsefni to settle in the country about the year 1006. In the absence of any positive evidence, he comes to the conclusion that the continent of America was not colonised by the Norsemen. He admits, however, the authenticity of the record in the "Icelandic Annals," which tells that in 1121 "Bishop Eric set out from Greenland in quest of Wineland." In our view the probabilities are that, in the 115 years that elapsed between the two events above recorded, some of the Greenland settlers tried to follow in Karlsefni's footsteps, and the voyage of the Bishop affords a presumption that such attempts had not only been made, but had achieved, or were believed to have achieved, some measure of success. Otherwise it is difficult to find a motive for the Bishop's journey. The colonists of Greenland, as the author tells us, explored both coasts of that country to the north, and reached also the islands in Baffin's Bay, and were bent on discovering if any part of the country was habitable besides the parts they had settled. It seems, therefore, very unlikely that their enterprise should stop short at this, and that they made no further attempt to reach the fertile lands which had been discovered to the south-west, in spite of their reported wealth in timber and other products which were unattainable in Greenland.¹ The accounts given of the newly-found country had at once won for it the name of "Wineland the Good," and therefore Karlsefni's experiences with the Skraelings were hardly likely to absolutely deter others from trying their luck, especially as his expedition failed far more on account of internal dissension than on account of the hostility of the natives. The Bishop, again, is hardly likely to have left his see on a mere voyage of discovery, nor is it easy to imagine that he would quit the isolated district under his charge merely in order to try and evangelise the native inhabitants of the new country. But the knowledge, or the belief, that earlier settlers in Greenland had succeeded in establishing in Vinland communities which needed his ministrations, at once supplies an adequate motive for his journey. Further than this it is impossible to go at present, but, in our opinion, these considerations are sufficient to show that the question of the colonisation of any part of North America by the Norsemen is one which must be held as still open, at any rate in the present state of our knowledge.

A. F. M.

OUTER ISLES. By A. GOODRICH-FREER. With Illustrations by ALLAN BARAUD. *Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co., Ltd. Price 12s. 6d. net.*

MISS GOODRICH-FREER'S description of the Outer Hebrides may fairly claim to be exhaustive, and teems with matter of interest, as well to the

¹ Compare Viking Notes, p. 273.

archæologist and folklorist, the anthropologist, the botanist, and the philologist, as to the politician and political economist. Even the ordinary tourist may well be tempted to follow in her footsteps, though he must not hope for such a welcome as these islands, for many good and sufficient reasons, extended to the gifted writer of this volume. It is a fascinating book, and full of interest to the descendants of the Vikings, who for so many years cruised and raided and fought and reigned in the island-studded seas among which Miss Goodrich-Freer has wandered. Their deeds and the lingering memories of them are for the most part summed up in the chapter on "The Norsemen in the Hebrides," with which Miss Goodrich-Freer delighted the members of the Viking Club at a meeting in November, 1897. But though we are fortunate in having this recorded in the *Saga-Book*, vol. ii., part i., p. 50, the whole atmosphere of the book, and the references to the Norse period which are scattered through it, adds much to the value of the record the writer has already given us.

A. F. M.

POPULAR STUDIES IN MYTHOLOGY, ROMANCE AND FOLKLORE. No. 13,
THE EDDA.—2. THE HEROIC MYTHOLOGY OF THE NORTH. By
WINIFRED FARADAY, M.A. *London: David Nutt. Price 6d.*

THIS number of Mr. Nutt's useful series of studies completes Miss Faraday's review of the Eddaic Mythology, the first part of which was noticed in the last number of the *Saga-Book*. Besides the stories actually included in the Edda, Miss Faraday includes other kindred stories and lays, such as the "Story of the Everlasting Fight" and of "The Sword of Angantyr," without which her study of the subject would not have been complete. In addition to summarising the various songs and stories, the author briefly remarks on the existence and relationship of the different versions of the tales, Norse, Anglo-Saxon, German, etc., and on the motives of the tales themselves. Altogether, her work forms a very useful handbook alike for the student and the general reader, though we think the note on "Wagner and the Volsung Cycle," on page 55, eulogising the way in which the German poet-musician has handled the Norse legends, is misleading. To our mind, in mingling together the Asgard myth and the Volsung tale, Wagner has robbed the former of dignity and involved the latter in confusion, though we admit the beauty of many of the scenes he has introduced into his Trilogy.

A. F. M.

THE PASSING OF SCYLD AND OTHER POEMS. By E. E. KELLETT.
London: J. M. Dent & Co.

THIS volume bears witness to the growing interest in the Sagas and hero-tales of our race, that have been too long neglected in favour of the myths and legends of Greece and Rome. It shows also how deeply we are saturated with classical literature, for though the matter is from the shores of the Baltic and North Sea, the manner in which it is told wakes memories of the singers who have found their theme on the vine-clad coasts of Italy or the sunny isles of Greece. Mr. Kellett, indeed, in his introductory

verses, shows himself conscious that he has failed to recall the spirit of the skalds of the North who had drunk of Odin's mead. Yet we think much of his failure in this respect is due to the metre in which he has for the most part chosen to express himself—blank verse, studied in the school of Tennyson and Sir Lewis Morris. In the few rhyming metres to be found in the volume, the author comes much nearer to the spirit of the originals, and we could wish he had looked for his model to the greater Morris who sang of the Lovers of Gudrun and of Sigurd the Volsung, rather than to the graceful author of the Epic of Hades. To our mind, however, his failure is also due to his constant endeavour to embroider the rugged simplicity of the originals with details that fail to harmonise, or to use them to point a moral in the modern manner. In "The Holy Hill," for instance, he converts the original phrase in "Eyrbyggja," which says that Thorolf believed that he and his race died into the hill, into the material statement that they were buried in the hill. Thorolf, as a matter of fact, was not buried on Helgafell, and, as we read the Saga, it was held far too holy a place to be used as a burying-ground. The dying into the hill was a spiritual belief entirely. Then the introduction of the Gods of Valhalla and the Choosers of the Slain into the scene in the mountain, when the shepherd saw it opened for the reception of Thorstein Codbiter, is quite out of keeping with the spirit of the original. The story of Helgafell may testify to the waning power of the Asa faith, but not in the sense in which Mr. Kellett has interpreted it. In "Norna Gest" the author is much happier. The idea of identifying Norna Gest with Odin is ingenious, and to some extent borne out by other tales of late appearances of Odin. But it will not altogether bear working out, and at any rate the author should not allow his hearers to suppose, as he does in his introductory note, that he got it out of the Saga. On the whole, we think Mr. Kellett has succeeded best in his most ambitious flight, his attempt to re-tell in blank verse "The Story of Helgi." The fire and beauty of the Eddaic Lays of Helgi Hundingsbane assert themselves even through the blank verse in which the author has clothed them. But why did Mr. Kellett substitute for the haunting beauty of the closing scenes, where Helgi, returned from the dead, tells Sigrun that it is her tears and laments that will not let him rest in the grave, the commonplace tale that he returned from the world of the dead to fetch her to join him? No doubt we may be thought hyper-critical, but to our mind such departures from the original are not only unscholarly and likely to mislead readers unacquainted with the original legends, but are in the truest sense of the word inartistic. Nevertheless, so far as Mr. Kellett has only endeavoured to produce a graceful volume of verse upon themes drawn from the Eddas and Sagas, he has achieved a very fair measure of success.

A F. M.

NORTHERN HERO LEGENDS. By DR. OTTO L. JIRICZEK. Translated by M. BENTINCK SMITH. *London: J. M. Dent & Co., 1902. 1s. net.*

THIS is a useful little book, though its scope is somewhat more limited than would appear from the English title. The translator's rendering of

the word "Deutsche" by Northern, though she justifies it in her preface, cannot be commended, in view of the author's explanation that he has excluded from his sketch all "purely Saxon, Anglo-Saxon, and Norse Sagas which were not cultivated in Upper Germany." "Teutonic," instead of "Northern," would have been a better title for a work which takes no account of "Beowulf," "Havelok," or the "Helgi," "Hervara," and "Amloða" Sagas. Nearly half the book is devoted to the "Saga of the Niblungs," the other Sagas treated being the "Cycle of Dietrich von Bern," the "Ermanarich Saga," the "Waldere Saga," the "Ortnit-Wolfdietrich Saga," "King Rother," the "Wêland" Saga, and the "Saga of Hilde and Gudrun." These are all dealt with very fully. Besides giving us abstracts and comparisons of the various versions of the different Sagas, the author examines into their probable origin and development, and their historical bearing, tracing also their after-history in legend and popular song. He omits, however, to notice the occurrence of the story of the Everlasting Fight from the Hilde Saga as an episode in an Icelandic folk-tale. We are not prepared to accept all his views. He lays, we think, far too much stress on the theory that some of these Sagas sprang out of nature-myths, and in his account of the historical aspect of these Sagas, does not sufficiently allow for the fragmentary character of the remains that have reached us. Thus he recognises that it was among the Anglo-Saxons that the old heroic songs were first fully developed; he points out that a reference to Sigmund and Fitela (Sinfjötli) in Beowulf proves the survival of a purer form of the Saga among the Anglo-Saxons than in Norse tradition; yet he quite ignores the possibility of this and other Sagas having developed in England, where they perhaps even originated, and having spread thence to the Continent. Yet, knowing as we do how scanty are the remains of Anglo-Saxon poetry which have reached us, compared to what must have once existed, this is a by no means impossible theory, even if we are not prepared to go as far as Mr. D. H. Haigh, who, in his "Anglo-Saxon Sagas," builds up, with great ingenuity, largely on the evidence of English place-names, an elaborate theory that this and other Sagas of which there are traces in Anglo-Saxon literature are mainly historical, and deal with events in England in the fifth and sixth centuries. The author adopts the usual theory that the Saga on its historical side rests on the history of the Burgundians, and of the Huns under Attila in the fifth century. This theory, however, is based mainly on the late version of the Saga given in the Nibelunglied, and it is at least arguable that the historical likeness in question is a purely literary development of the original Saga. But these points are never likely to be definitely settled, unless in the improbable event of the discovery of some of the lost versions of the Saga, which certainly were once in existence among our kinsmen on the Continent, as well as in our own island. We have left ourselves no space for dealing with the remainder of the book, but it can be confidently commended both to students and scholars.

A. F. M.

LAXDÆLA SAGA. The Laxdale Saga, translated from the Icelandic by MURIEL A. C. PRESS. *London: J. M. Dent & Co., 1899. 1s. 6d. net.*

ENGLISH readers have waited long for a translation of "Laxdæla," and Messrs. Dent deserve thanks for at length giving them one in a form that renders it readily accessible to everyone. It would have been more useful, however, had it been accompanied by a prefatory notice giving some account of the Saga and its literary history. The brief note appended to it by Mr. I. Gollancz, the learned editor of the series in which it appears, is all too short, and we should have welcomed a dissertation of his upon the Saga. We have one other great fault to find—namely, the absence of an Index, without which no edition of a Saga should be permitted to appear. The number of similar names that appear in a Saga of any length is bewildering, even to those familiar with Scandinavian studies, and we think it to some extent accounts for the want of appreciation of the glorious literature of old Iceland which is too prevalent in this country. An Index therefore is really a necessity to such a volume as this. Apart from this, the translation is greatly to be praised, being at once accurate and rendered in readable English. We doubt whether it is altogether wise to try and reproduce in English the meaning of the Icelandic place-names, though we admit there is in many cases a strong temptation to do so; but it is impossible to carry out the process completely, and the mixture of Icelandic and English names is, on the whole, detrimental to the atmosphere of the Saga. Those who are ignorant of the "Laxdæla," or only know it through William Morris's fine poem, "The Lovers of Gudrun" in "The Earthly Paradise," or the later play on the same subject by Mr. Newman Howard, "Kiartan the Icelander,"¹ are advised to take the opportunity of reading the original from which these are taken. It has many striking episodes, besides the one handled by the poet and the dramatist referred to; and, though it fails to reach the dramatic heights attained by "Njala," it is full of interest, and throws much vivid light on the life of the North in the Viking Age, not only in Iceland itself, but in Norway, Ireland, and other adjoining lands. It would be worth reading were it only for the strange story of the Irish princess carried off and sold into slavery, and of the journey that her child, the thrall-born son of an Icelandic settler, made to find his grandfather, the Irish king Myrkjartan.

A. F. M.

THE LETTER AND CHART OF TOSCANELLI ON THE ROUTE TO THE INDIES BY WAY OF THE WEST, SENT IN 1474 TO THE PORTUGUESE FERNAM MARTINS, AND LATER ON TO CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS. A Critical Study of the Authenticity and Value of these Documents, and the Sources of the Cosmographical Ideas of Columbus. By HENRY VIGNAUD. *London: Sands & Co.*

THE above title sets forth the scope of this elaborate and scholarly work, in which the author comes to the conclusion that the letter and map in question

¹ See *Saga-Book*, vol. iii., part i., p. 127.

are forgeries, and that the story is true which tells how Columbus learned the existence of land to the west from a pilot who had been blown there by easterly gales, and who died in Columbus's house in Madeira before he could make the discovery generally known. It is an extraordinary thing that in this volume of 360 odd pages we have been unable to discover the faintest allusion to the fact that the Norsemen had discovered the continent of America some 500 years before Columbus sailed on his adventurous voyage, and that possibly some knowledge of their discoveries may have reached him.

A. F. M.

LOST ENGLAND: THE STORY OF OUR SUBMERGED COAST. By BECKLY WILLSON. *London: George Newnes, Ltd.*

THE identification of famous historical towns and sites is one of the earnest labours of all lovers of history, but the impossibility of doing this where the localities are situated on our coasts is shown by this volume, which discloses the fact that the whole coast of Great Britain has been denuded to the extent of hundreds of square miles, and to such an extent that identification of scores of towns and innumerable historical sites is now wholly impossible. The enumeration of the localities of the greatest of these depredations of the sea, the descriptions of the former conditions from the most ancient documents, etc., form a mass of interesting reading that will enthrall the reader, if, as not infrequently happens, it does not also inform him with regard to such sites as he is specially interested in. Numerous plans and illustrations embellish the text.

F. T. N.

THE FRENCH STONEHENGE. An Account of the principal Megalithic Remains in the Morbihan Archipelago. By T. CATO WORSFOLD, F.R. Hist. Soc., F.R.S., etc. *London: Bemrose & Sons, Ltd.*

THE mystery of the builders of Stonehenge is paralleled by that of the builders of the French Stonehenge in the Morbihan district of France. Those interested will find all about them detailed in this book, except, perhaps, the exact identification of the builders. The work is embellished with a number of illustrations and plans, and is well worth perusal and its place on the library shelf.

F. T. N.
