

PART III.

ORKNEYINGA SAGA.

NOTES.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

GLOSSARIAL INDEXES.

APPENDICES.

A. ETC.

B. ETC.



NOTES.

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## A. GENERAL NOTES.

Note. The numbers in the first column correspond to the reference numbers in the present translation. The page and line numbers which follow refer to Nordal's text.

### Ch. 1.

1. A general study of the nature and origin of ch.1-3, the Mythological Introduction to the Saga, will be found in Introd: Sources. The place and personal names are annotated fully in the relevant indexes.
2. 1<sup>5</sup> Reading O. Helsingeland (S.N. note) for Flat. Helsingjabotnn (S.N. text; V. text; D. trans.) as being more suited to the context; it is a land and not a botn or sea-gulf that is being described.
3. 1<sup>3</sup> The month called Þorri extended from the middle of January to the middle of February. Gói was the name of the next month.
4. 2<sup>15</sup> "across the Gulf": it being frozen.
5. 3<sup>3</sup> The sole occurrence of harað ("district") in O.S. See Index of legal terms.
6. 3<sup>"</sup> "South down the [next] dale": i.e. over the watershed between two dales, and then down the Southern one.

### Ch. 2.

1. 4<sup>1</sup> The etymologies suggested in this Mythological Introduction are of the folk-lore variety, and are none of them probable. See Hlésey, Sóknadar, Nórafjorðr, Nórvegr and Beitisstöð in Index of pl. ns.
2. 4<sup>24</sup> The sole occurrence of fylki ("province") in O.S. See Index of legal terms.

### Ch. 3.

1. 4<sup>25</sup> "Sea-king": an old title given to one who ruled over armed hosts/

Ch.3.

hosts on board ship but held no lands. The real sea-king was the man who "had never slept under sooty rafter nor ever drank at the hearth ingle."

2. 5<sup>9</sup> land seems here to signify unsettled land, in contrast to the byggðir or settlements just referred to.

Ch. 4.

1. 5<sup>15</sup> yfirsókn: "stewardship." A legal term almost equivalent to veizla, land given as a grant, but in fief. See Index of legal terms.

2. 5<sup>18</sup> See W. Vogel: Die Normannen und das Fränkische Reich, Heidelberg, 1906.

3. 6<sup>4</sup> Haraldr Fair-hair's two expeditions to the West - the first soon after the battle of Hafrsfjorthr in 874 and the second in 894 x 900 - are confused both in O.S. and in Hkr., as A. O. Anderson has shown (E.S.S.H. I. 333, 392-3). It has been further argued - almost successfully - by D.W.H. Marshall (Sudreys in Early Viking Times, 32-42) that he made only one expedition, the first one above being confused with a punitive expedition conducted by Ketill Flat-neb. The problem is too complex to discuss here. Most of the evidence available will be found referred to in the two studies mentioned.

4. 6<sup>16</sup> stafnbúi: "forecastle man." The sturdiest fighters were chosen for this post, to bear the brunt of an attack by ramming.

Ch. 5.

1. 6<sup>24</sup> Ldn. 36<sup>29</sup> adds Sutherland to the list and says "more than half of Scotland" - a palpable exaggeration. It states, however, that "Thorsteinn was king over [these lands] until the Scots deceived him and he fell there in battle."

2. 7<sup>1</sup> borg - fort. Possibly at Burghead; but evidence nil.

3. 7<sup>3</sup> The first of a series of vague "Scots Earls" and "Scots Kings" with whom the Orkney Earls came in conflict.

4. 7<sup>20</sup> For other examples of "head-hunting" among Teutonic peoples, see Chadwick: The Growth of Literature, I. 92-94.

5. 8<sup>5</sup> The mound is still identifiable near the farm of Sydera near Dornoch. See Ekkjalsbakki in Index of pl. ns.

6. 8<sup>11</sup> It is unknown in what part of Hrossey or the Mainland Hallathr took up house.

7. 8<sup>13</sup> "bondar": The awkwardness of always translating O.N. bondi by English "peasant proprietor" has made necessary the retention/

Ch.5.

retention of the O.N. term, with its plural "bondar". See Index of legal terms.

8. 8<sup>16</sup>.

hóldsrett - the rank of a hóldr or Freeman. See Index of legal terms.

Ch.6.

1. 9<sup>8</sup>

The fylgja was a guardian or attendant spirit akin to the Celtic notion of a double, visible only to those with "second sight". It became visible in day-dreams as well as in dreams at night. It was usually thought to take the form of an animal. E.g., Hauskuldr in Nj.S. ch.23 dreamed of a huge bear which he interpreted as the fylgja of Gunnar. A man was "fey" when he saw his own fylgja. E.g. Thorthr in Nj.S. ch.41 was slain the day after he had seen a goat wallowing in its gore. The term survives in Icel. fylgja and Norw. fölgje. A good account of this illustration of animism is to be found in J.A.MacCulloch: Eddic Mythology, 232-237, in Mythology of All Races Series, Boston, 1930.

Ch.8.

1. 12<sup>5-7</sup>

Accepting reading in 702 and Lex. Run. (O.S. 12n), in place of that in 332 and Flat., which tells the story in a softened form, making Einarr give the grim task to some of his men. For the practice, compare Ragn. S. Loðb., ch.18; Saxo Grammaticus: Hist. IX. 463; and Reginismál, 26. Chadwick (The Cult of Othin, 20) notes that hanging was the more typical method of sacrifice to Odin.

2. 12<sup>7</sup>

This is the sole reference in O.S. to any of the old gods. Odin was conceived of as the god of the dead; hence the epithets given him - hanga drottin: "lord of the hanged"; valgautr: "god of the slain"; galga valdr: "lord of the gallows"; see Ynglinga Saga, ch.7 and Gylfaginning, ch.15,20. Other instances occur of consecrating a slain man to Odin. "I gave Asmod's heir to Odin" says Helgi of Thorgrimr in Ldn. 18<sup>3</sup>. V. 12, 14. Saxo Grammaticus (Hist. III. 95 and VII. 296) tells of how Odin disguised as a giant cured Siward's wounds on condition of his giving him the souls of all men he slew.

3. 14<sup>4-12</sup>

The later history of the Orkney Odal lands is told in O.S. ch.11 and ch.76 (end). For a clear and concise account of all that O.S. has to say on the subject, see A.W.Johnston: Fiscal Antiquities of Orkn. and Shetl. 137-139 in Old Lore Misc. Vol.IX. pt. 3.

4. 14<sup>15</sup>

He had also two daughters - Thordis, fostered by Rognvaldr his father in Norway (Ldn. 3<sup>2</sup> III, 22, 1); and Hlif (Longer Olaf Tr. S., in Fms. II. 210<sup>4</sup>).

5. 14<sup>18</sup> - 16<sup>3</sup>

Text of O. (see O.S. 14n) accepted in place of that of Flat. which is a mere abridgment of its original. Apparently the scribe of Flat. felt it unnecessary to transcribe in full a narrative which he had already copied out from Hkr (Hkr. 71<sup>22</sup> - 73<sup>26</sup>; 75<sup>17-32</sup>); that is why he puts after his abbreviated statements/

Ch.8.

statements sem fyr segir: "as is said before" (14<sup>18</sup>), and sem fyrr er ritat: "as has already been written" (15<sup>2</sup>).

6. 15<sup>4,5</sup> hand . . . . Aar: "He died . . . . years." Accidentally omitted by V. and hence by D.
7. 15. Eirikr was killed not in the reign of Edmund (939-946) but in that of Eadred (946-955) - probably in fact in 950, the 16th year of the reign of Hakon in Norway; see Hkr., Hak. G. Saga, ch.9, and E.S.S.H. I. 461, note 3. Acc. to the A.S.Chron. (D,E,F), however, he was driven from Northumbria in 954.
8. 15. Identity of Olafr doubtful. Perhaps Olafr Kvaran Sigtrygg's son. He was certainly not set over Northumbria by Edmund or Eadred. See E.S.S.H. I, 460, note 2, for a full discussion of his identity.
9. 16<sup>7</sup>. In Low's Tour of 1774 is mentioned a local tradition that "the son of a Norwegian king" was buried in the Howe of Hoxa, the large mound visible on the isthmus from the deck of the passing mail-boat. (See Haugseið in Index of pl.ns.). But the mound is really a broch. According to Dietrichson, however, (Mon. Orc., Engl. summary, 15) examples are known of sepulchral chambers used by both the Norsemen and the Romans in such ruins.

Ch.9.

1. 17<sup>24</sup> Identity very doubtful. See Index of pl.ns.

Ch.10.

1. 19<sup>1</sup>. This king may have been Kenneth, son of Malcolm I, King of Alban (971-995). According to the Pict. Chron., he made strenuous efforts to reduce Northumbria to complete subjection, after the useless activity of two short-lived predecessors on the throne. We may well assume with Skene (Celt.Sc. I. 374) it was he who was also trying to extend his influence in the North by gaining an ally in Skuli. Chronologically, he seems satisfactory. But the term Skotakonungr must not be interpreted too definitely. Some northern chief with claims over or interests in the province of Cat may be referred to. In the same manner the Annals of Ulster refer to Finnlaech, Mormaer of Moray, as Ri Albain: "Prince of Alban."
2. 19<sup>11</sup> Another unknown. Perhaps a Mormaer of Moray, with which province the name Macbeth is most commonly connected.

Ch.11.

1. 20<sup>12</sup> A three chambered mound known as "The Earl's Cairn" stands about 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  miles inland from Ham Berry near the farm of Holland Maik. Can this have been the mound where Hlothver was buried? It seems unlikely.

cf Asger & ASC  
'standard called  
the Raven made by  
daughter of Coltrick.

Ch.11.

- 2. 21<sup>b</sup> The raven standard. To the Scandinavians the raven was the bird of augury and of wisdom; cp. Odin's two ravens, Huginn ("thought") and Muninn ("memory"). The association with Odin is probably the reason for the raven's becoming a war symbol and its use as a standard in the viking period and after. Cp. the raven standard in the battle of Clontarf (O.S. ch.12).

Ch.12.

- 1. 21n. The scene and circumstances of Olaf's conversion are in some doubt, but at least the baptism in the Scilly Isles can be accepted as fact. See Miss Ashdown's Engl. and Norse Documents, 286.
- 2. 21n<sup>5</sup> Engeland. V. and D. say this is a mistake for Ireland. But according to Hkr. 126<sup>5</sup> "it was at a Thing somewhere in England that Olaf met the Irish princess Gytha who was at this time the widow of an English Earl."
- 3. 21n<sup>6</sup> Kaurans (= Kvarans). See Index of N' ns. His complete name is Óláfr Kvaran.
- 4. 22n<sup>2</sup> Thore Klucke: "Hook-fist." Only one of the several possible interpretations of this nickname. See Index of N'ns.
- 5. 22n<sup>4</sup> Asmunder voge udi Ragnvallds Ø: Osmundwall in S. Ronaldsay. A mistake, for Osmundwall is in Walls. See Index of pl. ns.
- 6. 22<sup>2-5</sup> This marriage of Sigurthr to the daughter of Malcolm King of Scots seems to have taken place 997 x 1000. It replaced the alliance with Olaf Tryggvi's son made in 995 at Osmundwall with a Scottish alliance. It was the death of Sigurth's hostage son Hlothver (997 x 1000) that made the break possible. It should be noted that if this Malcolm is Malcolm II, then he was not yet "King of Scots" at the date of the marriage; (he became King in 1005). It is possible, however, that the Saga Malcolm was not King of Scots at all, but merely a Mormaer of one of the Northern provinces, possibly Moray. See Index of pers. ns.
- 7. 23<sup>2</sup> "five years." A mistake. From the battle of Svoldr in 1000 to the battle of Clontarf (Brian's battle) in 1014 is 14 years.
- 8. 23<sup>11,12</sup> in the hour of victory. Lit., "with victory and gain." For the battle of Clontarf, see studies by J.H.Lloyd in the New Irish Review, XXVIII, (1907-8), 35, 87.

Ch.13.

- 1. 23<sup>20-23, 23<sup>27</sup></sup> Cp. beginning of ch.20 (O.S. 43<sup>1-5</sup>).

Ch.14.

- 1. 24<sup>23</sup> Hlaupandanes as a name does not survive, but is fairly certainly/

Ch.14.

certainly one of the two small promontories at either side of Sandside Bay; probably the Southern one. See Index of pl.n.s.

2. 25<sup>7</sup>. The first of many "Things" or assemblies of the bondar in O.S. See Index of legal terms.

3. 25<sup>24</sup> Probably at Duncansby. See note on O.S. 44<sup>22</sup>.

Ch.15.

1. 27<sup>4</sup> Eyvindr must have met an East wind and an ebbing tide in the Pentland Firth - a combination of the elements which still drives even steamers Westward - and turned into Osmundwall for shelter.

2. 27<sup>7</sup> Einar's motive, as explained in Hkr. 250<sup>12</sup>, lay in the fact that Eyvindr had fought with Conchobhar against him at Lough Larne.

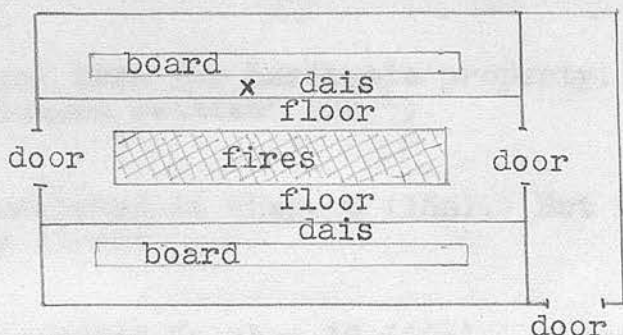
3. 28<sup>4</sup> "skatt": Various forms of tax and tribute, usually in money. See Index of legal terms.

4. 29<sup>6</sup> vestr um haf. Lit., "West over the sea." A frequent phrase in O.S. in the sense of "out West to the British Isles." Trans. "out West."

5. 29<sup>8,9</sup> Lit., "But the Earl did not let that journey lie under his head" (i.e. as a pillow).

Ch. 16.

1. 30<sup>8</sup> A typical Norse hall or skali, except that there was a door at both ends.



x The Earl.

2. 30<sup>22</sup> The story may have reached its original Icelandic chronicler through this Hallvarthr of the Eastern Fjords. That it is not here narrated at first hand is obvious; the description of the hall is fragmentary and distributed over the narrative, and the narrative itself is none too coherent.

3. 31<sup>4,5</sup> Lit., "Here I see the worst of all tricks, that you pull not the Earl from the fire," into which he had fallen after the blow. The irony of the remark can be brought out only by paraphrase, as in trans.

Ch. 16.

4. 31<sup>7</sup>. upp at pallinum: "up on to the dais." See plan. According to C.V. the word is a late one, coming through Norman French from Lat. palus. Its use here (as in Njáls S.) is therefore anachronistic.
5. 31<sup>11,12</sup>. Lit., "but their hands failed them all to vengeance."
6. 31<sup>7,8</sup> bar ..... lifs: "Thorkell ..... life." Difficult to translate. The writer is trying to explain why none of the Earl's men made an attempt to kill Thorkell; and he gives it as a final reason that Fate had ordained that Thorkell's time had not yet come. It is a faint streak of paganism left unexcised by the priestly revisers and copyists.
7. 31<sup>22</sup>. eptir vetrnætr. Lit., "after the winter-nights." These were the three nights (Oct. 24 to 26) which in Iceland were regarded as beginning the winter season. Used in general of "the beginning of winter."

Ch. 17.

1. 32<sup>11,12</sup>. Reading O. aff Øerne, not Hkr. við Brusa, as in S.N.'s text. O's reading is confirmed by Flat. landa. Hkr's reading gives sense - "he wished to go shares with Brusi" - but it seems to be a scribal repetition of the phrase from the line above; it gives too many "Brusi's" in one sentence.
2. 32<sup>13</sup>. Þing. May be neut. plur., as D. takes it, as well as singular. But one meeting only is here described, and it is unnecessary to assume the existence of more.
3. 33<sup>5,6</sup>. at standa jafnfoetis við. Lit., "to stand on even feet against."
4. 33<sup>16</sup>. at léni. - "in fief." See Index of legal terms.
5. 33<sup>19</sup>. eign.- Legal term for heritable property. More freq. in plur, eignir: "landed estates" (39<sup>3</sup>).
6. 33<sup>20,21</sup>. Incident narrated in chap. 8 (15n). But the allusion does not seem to be direct.
7. 33<sup>21-23</sup>. Incident narrated in chap. 12 (22n). Allusion here may be direct.

Ch. 18.

Chapters 18 and 19 show an acute understanding of a fairly complicated diplomatic situation, the various phases of which are narrated and explained with requisite lucidity and brevity.

1. 36<sup>7</sup>. Lit., "He was a childish man by reason of his years."
2. 37<sup>1-3</sup>. Fl.'s reading (S.N. note and V. text) gives the thought to Thorkell/

Ch.18.

Thorkell, not to the Earl. Thus, D. translates, "He (i.e. Thorkell) thought that he could see that the only choice left him was to let the King ..... " But the thought seems more natural in the mind of Earl Thorfinnr at this stage of the narrative.

3. 37<sup>20</sup>. Fl.'s reading (S.N. note; V.text) is more specific and lucid than that of Hkr. (S.N.text) - "... the terms he agreed upon at the first meeting" - and is here adopted.

Ch.19.

1. 38<sup>16</sup>. taka saettir af: "to get compensation from." Corresponds to O. Engl. weregeld, a money payment from a man-slayer to the nearest of kin of the slain. The scale of "man-values" was in each case intricate and sufficiently elastic to cause frequent bickering and demand frequent arbitration, as here. See 38<sup>23, 24</sup>, where, acc. to Hkr. and Flat., the compensation for Earl Einarr is fixed at that of three lendirmenn.
2. 38<sup>23</sup>. lendrmaðr, "landed-man," has been translated diffidently by the clumsy phrase "landed-proprietor." The lendirmenn were next in rank to the Earls.
3. 39<sup>9-10</sup>. Lit., "He did so. Thorkell said:"
4. 39<sup>13</sup>. See note on 33<sup>19</sup>. cp. 68<sup>18</sup>.
5. 39<sup>13</sup>. landsvist: "the right of residence;" used in opposition to outlawry. cp. 68<sup>18</sup>.
6. 40<sup>5</sup>. D. trans. "bound himself to the Earl in everything etc.," taking festi as reflexive and alt as accus. of reference. But the reflexive use of fasta is less frequent than the normal active. Literally, we have "bound everything to the Earl..." i.e. "made him pledge himself to everything."
7. 40<sup>20</sup>. Lit., "I see."
8. 41<sup>10</sup>. Ólafsdrápa: "Olaf's Ode," by Ottarr Svarti; usually known as Höfuðlausn, "Headransom," (Skjaldb. B.I. 268), there being a tradition that Ottarr, after incurring the King's displeasure by an untimely encomium upon his wife, saved his life by this catalogue of the King's exploits in Britain, France and the Baltic (C.P.B. II. 150-5). It is a poem of 20 stanzas from which the author of these chapters has selected the one stanza, the nineteenth, which fits in with (though but vaguely corroborates) the account of the King's negotiations with the Orkney Earls.
9. 42<sup>4</sup>. nesnám: "a ness-raid." The vikings were fond of attacking the homesteads on an outlying ness, where the inhabitants had little hope of assistance from neighbours.
10. 42<sup>13</sup>. In Flat. and in the transcript of ch.13-19 in Hkr. (Ol.H.S. ch.97-103) there is a concluding paragraph to this Pátrr of the sons of Sigurthr the Stout which may have been part of the original Pátrr; see Sources of ch.13-19 and 32. It reads/

Ch. 19.

reads as follows in Hkr. 275<sup>35</sup> - 276<sup>6</sup>:

"Earl Thorfinnr Sigurth's son has been the noblest earl in the Orkneys and has had the largest realm of the Orkney Earls. He held Shetland and the Orkneys and the Hebrides. He had also a vast realm in Scotland and Ireland. So says Arnorr Earls' Skald:

"From far Tuscar Skerries  
To Dublin, the people  
To a generous lord  
Were subject. And truly  
I tell men of Thorfinnr."

Thorfinnr was the greatest of warriors. He took the Earldom when five years old. He ruled more than sixty years and died in his bed in the latter days of Haraldr Sigurth's son. But Brusi died in the days of Knutr the Mighty a little after the death of Saint Olafr."

Ch. 20. P.T.O.



This self-contained chapter is based apparently directly on oral tradition in Caithness and the Orkneys (see Introd.: Sources). It presents a group of historical problems the chief of which are the identity of the Malcolm "King of Scots" who "died in the year of the reconciliation of Brusi and Thorfinnr" (i.e. 1029) and the identity of his successor "Karl Hundi's son" (O.S. 42)

The immediate difficulty is that we know from Scottish sources that Malcolm II, King of Scotland, died in 1034, not 1029, and was succeeded by his grandson Duncan, son of Crinan, lay abbot of Dunkeld (E.S.S.H. I. 572, 575). Of Karl Hundi's son Scottish sources know nothing at all; yet his name Karl and the fact that he led an army of Scots and Irish against Thorfinnr at Torfnes (Tarbatness) <sup>are</sup> well attested by the verses of the contemporary skald Arnorr quoted in this chapter. For lack of a reasonable alternative, Karl has usually been identified with King Duncan. And Macbain (in an article in The Northern Chronicle quoted in Henderson's Norse Infl. in Celt. Scot., 28) attempted an explanation of the curious Norse name. Karl, "a man," he argued is a literal translation of the first element dune in Celt. Duncadh (Duncan). Hundi, "a dog," is obviously a translation of Celt. Cuilean, the name of several Scottish chiefs or mormaers in the 10th and 11th centuries; the Scots Earl Hundi who fought against Earl Sigurthr in Caithness (Nj.S. ch. 86,87) was probably called Cuilean in Celtic. Confusion between Crinan and Cuilean, Macbain suggested, possibly gave Karl the erroneous surname of Hundason.

The chief objection to Macbain's theory is that there was already an O.N. form of Duncadh - Dungaðr, which occurs in/

in O.S. 88, 111n. There can be little doubt, however, that the names Hundi and Cuilean are identical. But to identify Malcolm "King of Scots" with Malcolm II and Karl Hundi's son with Duncan Crinan's son, etymology apart, raises too many difficulties in the Saga narrative.

(i) There are chronological difficulties. Even if we assume that O.S. is in error in the date of the death of Malcolm II, there is insufficient time during the reign of Duncan (1034-1040) for the events described in ch.20. According to O.S. (end of ch.20) Earl Brusi died during, or immediately after, Thorfinn's campaign against Karl; and according to Hkr. 276<sup>5</sup> he seems to have died between 1030 and 1035. Again Rognvaldr Brusi's son came to the Orkneys from Norway in 1037 or 1038 (O.S. ch.21) and the campaign against Karl seems to have concluded some time before his arrival. Indeed, the events described in ch.20 appear to have taken place not between 1034 and 1038 but between 1030 and 1035 - so that Karl's accession to power in 1029 (as O.S. has it) seems entirely reasonable.

(ii) There are also geographical difficulties. Karl's march overland to Tarbatness from Berwick-on-Tweed (if Beruvik be so identified) and Thorfinn's ravages over Scotland as far South as Fife seem improbable, especially as the whole campaign does not appear to have been a long one. For Arnorr refers to three victories over the Scots in one year (O.S.52) which must ~~refer to~~ <sup>include</sup> the battles at Deerness, at Tarbatness, and either the earlier defeat of Muddan in Caithness or a later skirmish. Again it is unlikely that King Duncan, with enemies in Northumbria and the rebellious mormaer Macbeth in Moray, should be so seriously concerned over the suzerainty of Caithness as to send a large army North to defend it.

Indeed all the evidence adduced above suggests strongly that Karl was not a King of Scots at all, but that he and his predecessor/

predecessor Malcolm were mormaers of one of the Northern provinces of Scotland. This would not only explain the strife over Caithness which from the beginning of the Orkney Earldom had been the buffer state between Orkney and the provinces of Sutherland, Ross and Moray, but also the location of Tarbatness as the site of the battle between Thorfinnr and his Scottish rivals; Tarbatness is the meeting place of roads from Sutherland and Ross by the valleys of Loch Shin and the River Oyckell, from Argyll and the West by Strath Carron and Strath Peffer, and from Moray by sea across the Moray Firth. The erroneous Saga title of "King of Scots" might be explained on the analogy of the similarly erroneous title of Ri Albain, "Prince of Alban" given by Irish annalists to the mormaers of Moray. It is not an unusual thing for princes to be credited with titles which they claim but do not hold.

The problem might be left at this point with the above solution which, although rather indefinite, is reasonably supported by the evidence immediately available. But there are several other facts which prompt one to attempt a more exact identification of Malcolm and Karl. The arguments which follow, however, must be regarded as rather more speculative than the preceding.

At the period under review, there are five Malcolms mentioned in various sources (including O.S.), three of them at least being princes of considerable strength and resolution. Some or all of these may be identical.

The first we find in Nj.S. ch.86-87. He is described as "King of Scots" and fought in alliance with Earls Hundi and Melsnati against Sigurthr the Stout in Caithness, 978 x 995. O.S. ch.11 adds Finnleikr to the list of Sigurth's enemies. Hundi and Melsnati were defeated (acc. to Nj.S.) and likewise Finnleikr (acc. to O.S.), but Sigurthr found it necessary to retreat/

retreat before Malcolm who was gathering a fresh host at Duncansby (Nj.S. ch.86). Sigurthr is later said (Nj.S. ch.87) to have held the four provinces of Moray, Ross, Sutherland and Dalar. But one may doubt if any Orkney Earl ever held those provinces. What Sigurthr probably did was to lead pillaging expeditions into those four provinces for the reason that he had been fighting against their rulers. One may with a fair measure of reason assign Sigurth's four enemies to the four provinces which he pillaged. Finnleikr was without doubt Finnlaech, mormaer of Moray (d.1020), the father of Macbeth. Hundi (or Cuilean) and Melsnati (Celt. Maelsnechte) were associated in the murder of Havarthr of Freshwick (Nj.S. ch. 86) and were therefore probably rulers over Ross and Sutherland - the nearest provinces. Dalar (q.v. in Index of pl. ns.) was fairly certainly Argyll, and "Malcolm King of Scots" would be ruler of this. It may be mentioned here that, as the name "Skotlandzfirðir" shows, the O.N. name Skotland may have been originally applied to Dalriada, the land of the "Scots" proper; and the term Skotakonungr may well have survived as an O.N. title for the ruler of this province.

The second Malcolm is the one we meet with in chs.12, 17 and 20 of O.S. Between 998 and 1000 Sigurthr the Stout repudiated his allegiance to Olaf Tryggvi's son and made an alliance with "Malcolm King of Scots" by marrying his daughter (ch.12). (This can hardly have been Malcolm II, King of Scotland, who came to the throne in 1005). The alliance was later cemented by Sigurth's giving to Malcolm his son Thorfinnr to foster (ch.12). On Sigurth's death in 1014 this Malcolm gave Thorfinnr the Earldoms of Caithness and Sutherland (ch.13), and in 1021 supported his claims to part of the Orkney Earldom against Brusi (ch.17). He died in 1029 (five years, as has been/

been noted, before Malcolm II) and was succeeded by Karl Hundi's son. If this Malcolm is identical with the last, it will have to be assumed that Sigurthr decided to make friends with his one time arch-enemy - a not unlikely proceeding in view of his breach with Olafr Tryggvi's son. If this Malcolm lived in Argyll, it would be a natural place for Sigurthr to leave his son behind, as he seems to have done, on his way to Ireland (ch.12). If Karl's father Hundi was the mormaer of Ross or Sutherland as suggested above, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Karl succeeded Malcolm of Argyll - by conquest perhaps if not by right.

The third Malcolm is referred to in Nj.S. ch.158. After the battle of Clontarf in Ireland in which Sigurthr the Stout was killed, his Icelandic friend and ally Kari set off North, but spent the winter (1014-15) with "Earl Malcolm" who lived at Hvitsborg in Skotland, near and perhaps North of Beruvik. The identity of these names is wholly uncertain. Hvitsborg, "the fortress of Hvitr," might be Whithorn, but one expects a name with Celt. Dun -. Beruvik can be neither Berwick-on-Tweed (as in O.S. ch.93) nor Berriedale in Caithness (as in O.S. ch.94), because neither is on the way from Ireland to the Orkneys. I have sought traces of both names on the West coast, and especially on the coast of Argyll, but with meagre success. Only one name seemed to have a connection - and a very doubtful one - with Beruvik. This is the Barbreck River flowing into Loch Craignish (O.N. Beru-brekk: "Bera-slope", Bera being the original O.N. river-name, and the stream having taken the name of the hill-slopes on the South side of it). But if identification of place names is difficult, there are at least points of contact in this instance with O.S. Sigurthr the Stout, as has been said, left his son Thorfinnr with Malcolm "King of Scots" on his way south to Ireland accompanied by Kari. When Sigurthr was killed, what would be more natural than that Kari should return as soon as possible/

possible to the same Malcolm with the news. Again, in O.S. ch.20 Karl Hundi's son was found at a place named Beruvik by his nephew Muddan, which again cannot be either Berwick-on-Tweed or Berriedale, for the first is too far from Caithness and the second too near. But a Beruvik within Karl's hypothetical realm in Argyll, identical with Earl Malcolm's Beruvik, would be geographically satisfactory. The identity of Kari's Earl Malcolm and Sigurth's former rival and ally seems to me on these grounds not only possible but probable.

The fourth Malcolm is Malcolm Maelbrigte's son, nephew of Finnlaech, mormaer of Moray. According to the Irish annalist Tigernach (E.S.S.H. I. 551) Malcolm Maelbrigte's son, "Ri Albain," slew Finnlaech in 1020 and became himself Mormaer of Moray, over which he appears to have ruled until his death which occurred, according to Tigernach (E.S.S.H. I. 571) in 1029. The date of his death suggests that he was the Malcolm "King of Scots" in O.S. who died in that year and was succeeded by Karl Hundi's son; and his ambitious and successful conquest of a neighbouring province connects him with the first Malcolm in Nj.S. If he is to be identified with the hypothetical Malcolm of Argyll of O.S. and Nj.S., then on his death in 1029 we might assume that his realm was partitioned between Karl and Macbeth, the latter regaining his father's province of Moray and Karl obtaining Argyll. But in spite of the usefulness of the date 1029, the identity of this Malcolm with any or all of the preceding ~~may~~<sup>must</sup> be accepted very cautiously.

The fifth Malcolm is Malcolm mac Moilbrigte referred to in The Book of Deer, 92, as granting the lands of Delerc (not identified) to the Abbey. This Malcolm may be identical with the last; but there is no evidence as to the period when he flourished, and both christian name and surname were not uncommon.

The result of these speculations is to make Karl Hundi's son a mormaer of Ross who annexed Argyll in the South in/

in 1029 on the death of its ruler Malcolm and <sup>who</sup> thus strengthened, sought soon after to extend his domains to the North by setting his nephew Muddan over the province of Caithness.

With this notion of Karl, ch.20 can be read quite intelligibly. With the exception of Thorfinn's visit to Fife, all the journeys made become reasonable. The Fife error - and an error it must surely be - must have arisen in oral tradition after the term "King of Scots" had ceased to mean anything other than "King of Scotland" as we think of the term to-day.

Beruvik may be thought of as somewhere in Argyll. Tarbatness, as has been noted, would be a natural meeting place for Karl's forces from Ross, Argyll, and (through Argyll) from Ireland. And the struggle between Thorfinnr and Karl <sup>becomes</sup> ~~is~~ a continuation of that which had been waged since the end of the 9th century by Sigurthr Rognvald's son, by Ljotr, and by Sigurthr the Stout against the mormaers of the Northern provinces of Scotland.

1. 43<sup>4</sup> This description of Earl Thorfinnr is almost identical with that in ch.13 (23<sup>20-23</sup>). The author is conscious of the repetition; he adds: "as has already been mentioned." See Introd.: Sources.

Note that his swarthy features are Celtic rather than typically Scandinavian. His mother was Scots - daughter of Malcolm, "King of Scots." See Gray: C. and S. in S. Time, 39. Skolbrúnn is here rendered "swarthy," although F. Jónsson regards it as meaning more precisely "with eyebrows meeting."

2. 43<sup>1</sup> utgórðir: "a defence force." Lit. "an outfitting," used especially of the outfitting of ships for defending one's lands from vikings.
3. 43<sup>19</sup> styrk mikinn: "large forces of men." Lit., "great strength"
4. 43<sup>22</sup> See the Introductory note to this chapter.

Ch. 20.

- 5. 43<sup>23</sup>. For the identity of this puzzling personage, see the introductory note to this chapter.
  
- 6. 44<sup>5,6</sup>. ok vildi hann ..... af: "and would give up none of his skatts." D. trans., "he would pay no skatts for it." But skatta is gen. plur. and cannot be object of gjalda. Lit., "he would pay over for no skatts;" i.e. he would not yield to Karl Hundi's son the skatts he himself got from the Caithness bondar.
  
- 7. 44<sup>16,17</sup>. Fl.'s reading (S.N. note, V. note) is more literary than that of 332 (S.N. text) and is here adopted. Moreover, the same phrase occurs, in Fl. and 332, in 51<sup>15</sup>.
  
- 8. 44<sup>22</sup>. Duncansby.- He may have drawn his ships up in the Bay of Sannick, or near John o' Groats.
  
- 9. 44<sup>24</sup>. Beruvik. As has been pointed out in the introductory note to this chapter, this can hardly be either Berwick-on-Tweed or Berriedale, and is most probably some sea-loch or estuary in the coast of Argyll.
  
- 10. 45<sup>6</sup>. "overland." If Beruvik was in Argyll, the route would be up Glen More, or perhaps up Strath Carron.
  
- 11. 45<sup>15, foll.</sup>. The accuracy of the directions in this and the following paragraphs show that the author had a fairly intimate acquaintance with the Pentland Firth on the Eastern side.
  
- 12. 45<sup>17</sup>. At first it seems strange that Thorfinnr, running into Deerness in Sandside Bay (the only bay in the East) and being only 200 yards from Hlaupandanes (where Thorkell's house stood), should "send a message." But we learn that apparently he did not go ashore; for he talks to himself of "leaping ashore" (46<sup>2</sup>). And Thorkell may have been elsewhere on the Mainland.

Ch.20.

13. 45<sup>9</sup>.

"(Brusi owned the Northernmost part of the Isles and was then there).<sup>9</sup>" In O.S. ch.13 to 31 there is nothing more confusing than the continual apportioning and re-apportioning of the three "shares" or "trithings" of the Orkneys. In fact the only statement we find at all in the Saga on the matter is the one given above, - that Brusi had the North Isles as his share. (It may be noted that the sentence quoted occurs in MS.332, but not in Flat., and thus is not to be found in Anderson's edition).

An invaluable study by Mr J. Storer Clouston <sup>of</sup> upon these "shares" or "trithings" is to be found in his article Two Features of the Orkney Earldom in S.H.R., Oct., 1918. In it he shows that the share that was originally Einar's consisted of the East Mainland, Orphir and Stromness parishes, and the South Isles (just under 60 urislands). Sumarlithi's (later Einar's and finally Thorfinn's) consisted of the broader W. Mainland along with Rousay and Egilsay (probably 64 urislands) The remaining N. Isles held by Brusi contained at least 66 and very probably 68 urislands. The three "shares" were thus almost equal for revenue purposes.

Mr Clouston's evidence is drawn partly from the fact that in the 1502-3 Rental the Orkney lands were divided into four groups such that the first seems to be Thorfinn's (as described above) and the second Brusi's and the third and fourth Einar's. But his main evidence is drawn from hints drawn from scattered references in O.S. (E.g., Thorfinn's residence in Birsay, W. Mainland).

To these hints I have only two to add - both corroborative of Mr Clouston's conclusions:-

- (i) When, by agreement with Brusi and Einarr, Thorfinnr got Sumarlithi's share (O.S. 26), he sent Thorkell Fosterer over from Caithness to collect his skatts (O.S. 28<sup>4</sup>). But Thorkell got/

got into trouble with Einarr, returned to Caithness in haste, and offered to go abroad to "be out of Earl Einar's power" (O.S. 28<sup>13</sup>). Now the only power that Einarr could have over him (so far as we know) was over his farm of Sandwick in Deerness on the Mainland; therefore Einarr must have had the Mainland portion. In fact, the increasing intensity of the feud between them can be explained only by the fact that Thorkell, a close friend of Earl Thorfinn's, had his lands in the territories of Einarr, Thorfinn's arch-enemy.

(ii) After Thorkell entertained Einarr at a feast of peace at Sandwick, Deerness, the whole company prepared to leave "on horseback" for Earl Einar's hall, where he was to give a feast in return (O.S. 30<sup>18</sup>). Mention of horses suggests that Earl Einar's hall was on the Mainland. Had it been in the South Isles, it is more probable that the company would have left by boat from Sandside Bay.

Similar hints from the Saga confirm, according to Mr Clouston, the suggestion in the 1502-3 Rental that it was Einar's share that was broken up when the Isles were halved, first between Thorfinnr and Brusi c.1021, and later between Paul and Erlendr. The East Mainland and Shapinsay went with the N. Isles (excluding Rousay) to form the half held respectively by Erlendr, St. Magnus and Rognvaldr Kali (about 93 urislands). The S. Isles and the Mainland parishes of Orphir and Stromness were added to the W. Mainland-Rousay share that had been Thorfinn's and held successively by Paul Thorfinn's son, Hakon Paul's son, Paul Hakon's son, and Haraldr Maddadh's son (95 urislands or perhaps a little more).

It is interesting to note that this theory of the partition into halves fits in with the habit the Norsemen had of thinking of the Orkneys in terms of East and West rather/

rather than of North and South; the line of division runs N. and S., not E. and W. See Norðreyjar in Index of pl. ns.

14. 46<sup>3,4</sup>. ok láta þá auðnu ráða: "and trust his luck." Lit., "and let it be decided by fate."
15. 46<sup>6,7</sup>. "... each grappled with the ship opposite." Another possible rendering would be: "... each side lashed their ships together." But this seems unlikely, for Earl Thorfinnr later lays his ship alongside Karl's ship (47<sup>10</sup>).
16. 49<sup>5</sup>. For the balcony, see loptsvalir in Index of buildings, etc.
17. 49<sup>4</sup>. af hlaupi: "by jumping." D. trans., "by running"; but this connotation of hlaupa is, acc. to C.V., rare.
18. 49<sup>13</sup>. suðr við Maerhoe fi: "South off the coast of Moray." D. translates impossibly, "South of Moray."
19. 49<sup>23</sup>. Tarbatness (Torfnes) is of course not "in the South of the Moray Firth." See Index of pl. ns.
20. 50<sup>10,11</sup>. The Saga-writer inclines to the belief that Karl escaped. Perhaps he takes the absence of mention of his death in Arnor's verses as fairly good negative proof.
21. 52<sup>3</sup>. Þorp ok byggðir: "villages and townships." The second term means vaguely "inhabited districts."
22. 52<sup>16,17</sup>. His ships were probably still lying in the Dornoch Firth where he had been before the battle of Tarbatness.
23. 52<sup>18</sup>. Reading Flat., 332 fór, "sailed" instead of 325b ferr, "sails" (S.N. text).
24. 53<sup>5</sup>. skytning: "ale-house." From O.N. skot, "scot" or payment (cp. Engl. scot-free). A club where each guest paid his own "scot" for his ale.
25. 53. Brusi died "in the reign of Knutr the Mighty a little after the death of St. Olafr." (Hkr. 276<sup>5</sup> and Lex. Run., quoted in S.N. 42, note). St. Olafr died in 1030, and Knutr in 1035.

Ch. 21.

1. 54<sup>7</sup>. huldu hqfði: "by stealth." Lit., "with hooded head."
2. 54<sup>7,8</sup> Reading Fl. (S.N. note; V. note) instead of 325b and 332, (S.N. text; V. text; D. trans.) - "Harald made this verse when they were riding through some thickets." Fl. is preferable in that it gives the additional fact that the verse was spoken when the bondi's son was leaving Haraldr to return home.
3. 55<sup>4</sup> sembör er ritað: "as was said (Lit., written) before." This description of Rognvaldr Brusi's son is a repetition of that in ch.19 (41<sup>4-8</sup>). But it is not necessarily a verbal repetition; it may have come from the \*S. of King Magnus upon which part of this chapter is based. In such a case the compiler inserts the above phrase, "as was said before," to excuse his repetition.
4. 56<sup>3</sup>. The Knyttlings or successors of Knutr the Great who ruled Denmark, England, and for a time Norway.
5. 56<sup>8</sup> eyki: "horses." D. takes it as acc. sing. of eyki, n., "a vehicle." But as we learn from Hkr. 419<sup>9</sup> that there was "a large band" with them, that is unlikely. eyki is acc. plur. of eykr, "a beast of burden," and here means horses to draw sledges up to Novgorod, probably up the frozen River Wolkov.
6. 56<sup>11</sup>. Alfifa - wife of Knutr.
7. 57<sup>1-3</sup>. Lit., "But King Jaroslav forbore to take the oath from Rognvaldr by reason of his good faith; he had aimed at the twelfth." The latter clause does not occur in 332 and Fl., but only in 325b - one of the few instances in which 325b can show any superiority over the other MSS.
8. 57<sup>13</sup>. saga Magnus konungs. Not that in Heimskringla, but that on which Hkr. was based. Cp. 57<sup>9</sup>. See Introd: Sources.
9. 57<sup>17</sup>. Eyrar. The gravel banks (Orkn. ayres) of the River Nid, on which stands Nidaros, where Things were frequently held. (Cp. Hkr. 423, 518, etc.)
10. 57<sup>19</sup>. See note on 57<sup>13</sup>.
11. 58<sup>7-8</sup> Reading 332, Fl., jarlsnafn (S.N. note; V. text) instead of 325b, iarldom (S.N. text). jarlsnafn is normally used in the early chapters of O.S. in such a situation; but of course 325b's reading may be correct.
12. 58<sup>14</sup>. Both 332's and Fl.'s readings are more elaborate than 325b's/

Ch.21.

325b's (S.N. text). 332 has "with such affection as has now been described (lit., written)." Fl. has "with the greatest affection" - a common phrase in O.S. But neither reading adds sufficient to justify an alteration of 325b in this case.

Ch.22.

- 1. 59<sup>1</sup>. As Brusi's third of the Earldom lay in the North Isles, the "estates" here referred to must have been the "bordland" or Earldom lands in either Westray or Stronsay.
- 2. 59<sup>4</sup>. Reading 332, with general support of Fl. (S.N. note; V text) instead of 325b (S.N. text). 325b gives "he asks for the third share and two shares of the lands," a total of three shares; but only two are asked for, the North Isles (Brusi's) and the Mainland (Einar's and later King Olaf's).
- 3. 62<sup>10-12</sup>. A sentence which, to judge from its longer and more explicit form in O, has been abbreviated to the extent of slight obscurity in Fl. (S.N. text; V text; D. trans.) Lit., "Between the kinsmen there was much agreement when they met; and if worse men went between them, then the disputes were always talked out." In place of the last two clauses O has, "there came many false informers between them who stirred up enmity between them." This gives the suggestion of "tale-bearing."

Ch.23.

- 1. 62<sup>16-17</sup>. par sem Gaddgedlar ..... England: "at a place called Galloway where Scotland and England meet." The misplacement of this sentence in Fl. at the end of the previous chapter (as in A.) has resulted in much unnecessary speculation as to how Gaddgedlar could be in Caithness, or whether Thorfinnr had a castle in Galloway; e.g. in Anderson, 28n; Munch: Chronicon Manniae, 46; Henderson: Norse Infl. in Celt. Sc. 32; Skene: Celt. Sc. I. 412; Brøgger Anc. Emigrants, 151. The correct position of the clauses is given in O. (See V's and S.N.'s text and notes).
- 2. 63<sup>1</sup>. strandhogg - the technical viking name for a raid on a coast to obtain food supplies, especially fresh meat. Cp. Fms. I. 128. Par var gnógt búfe til strandhogva: "There was enough of cattle there for a strandhogg."
- 3. 63<sup>1</sup>. Reading O. (S.N. note, V. note, D. trans.) instead of Fl. (S.N. text, V.text), - "but the cattle were driven away from him." Only O. explains how this came about.
- 4. 63<sup>4,5</sup>. "all the fighting men": Lit., "all those who were doughty" i.e., the landing-party of the vikings, charged with the task of stealing cattle.
- 5. 63<sup>5</sup>. Reading O. in place of Fl. (S.N. text) raeningja: "robbers" or/

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or V's emendation raeingja: "vagabonds." Only O's reading gives the requisite antithesis to "all the fighting men" (63<sup>4,5</sup>). Trans. of O. is lit., "those who were worth nothing," probably referring to the few non-combatants left on board the viking ships to keep them ready for sea.

6. 63<sup>15</sup>.

Reading O. in place of Fl. (S.N. text; V. text; D. trans.) O. has a sarcastic sting lacking in Fl's "that they should meet one another." What the original phrase was, of which O. gives the translation, we can only conjecture.

Ch.24.

1. An inaccurate title, for the chapter narrates an expedition to England and England alone. Apparently the scribe of Flat. had seen Irlande in line 25, in the midst of other names, and then risked a title before beginning his copy of the chapter.

2. 63<sup>21</sup>.

utbóð: "a levy."

3. 64<sup>10</sup>

702 gives an additional clause in place of hvar sem þeir foru: "wherever they went." It reads (S.N. note) "burned the farmsteads and took many men captive as Arnorr says." But captives are not explicitly mentioned in the succeeding verses, and the clause does not occur in Fl. or O., and is here omitted as a probable insertion of the scribe of 702.

Ch.25.

There is no ground for assuming that Thorfinnr married

1. 65<sup>13</sup>.

Ingibjorg immediately before the coming of Kalfr, or late in life, as Gray (Caith. and Suth. in Saga-Time, p.43) assumes. Nor can we give much credence to Collingwood's suggestion (Saga Bk. IV. 171) that it was Thorfinnr who for many years fought for the hand of Gratiana, lost wife of William the Wanderer.

2. 66<sup>5</sup>.

This "third" consisted of Shapinsay, the East Mainland, and the South Isles. See note on 45<sup>7</sup>.

3. 66<sup>8</sup>.

Reading O. instead of Fl. (S.N. text; V. text). Fl. is less specific - "which they called for."

4. 66<sup>62</sup>

Reading O. - "so long as" - instead of the weaker Fl. (S.N. text; V. text) - "if."

5. 67<sup>3</sup>.

"by force." Lit., "without mercy."

6. 67<sup>12, 15</sup>.

Lit., "excusable."

7. 67<sup>21</sup>.

A useful statement of Thorfinn's dominions.

8. 68<sup>18</sup>

eignir .... ok Landzvist: "rights of ownership and residence." See Index of legal terms.

Ch. 26.

- 1. 69<sup>6</sup> Rauðabjörg: "Roberry." See Index of pl. ns., and article by the translator in P.O.A.S. IX. 43-44.
- 2. 69<sup>7</sup> Flat's "six ships" is preferred to O's "seven", because 702 has also "six." (See O.S. 71, notes, line 2.)
- 3. 69<sup>15</sup> Reading O. in place of Fl. (S.N. text, V. text), which gives less detail, and has a confusing beir, "they" in place of what we expect, hann (O. hand: "he").
- 4. 69<sup>17</sup>. See note on 70<sup>2b</sup>.
- 5. 69<sup>20</sup> Perhaps at Aith Hope.
- 6. 69<sup>21</sup>. Reading LXXX from 702, O (S.N. note) instead of Fl.'s LXX (S.N. text, V text, D. trans.)
- 7. 70<sup>9-11</sup>. Reading O. instead of Fl. (S.N. text, V. text, D. trans.), which puts it in indirect speech.
- 8. 70<sup>18</sup>. uppnaemr - a legal term; "forfeitable" to the king (C.V.)  
Used here and elsewhere metaphorically in sense of "within the power of."
- 9. 70<sup>26</sup>. This verse from Kálfsflokkur by Bjarni Gullbra's Skald is put alongside two verses of Arnorr at the end of the section on Thorfinnr (O.S. 86<sup>13</sup>). But the mention of Bjarni here in O., and in 702, together with the occurrence of the verse in 702 in this relevant context (See S.N. note), shows that this is the correct position. It is possible that the second verse on p.87 (Oskepnan varð uppi: "Hard trouble was there then ... ") should also be placed in this chapter, possibly in 69<sup>7</sup>; after "wounded and put to shame."

Ch. 27.

- 1. 73<sup>3</sup> He probably took up house now for the first time in Birsay.

Ch. 28.

- 1. 75<sup>2</sup> boer; "a farmstead" - "the whole homestead." It is here (and in 75<sup>4</sup>, 76<sup>4</sup>) contrasted with the dwelling-house which is in the middle of the group of farm buildings (hús, 75<sup>7</sup>). What happened was that the whole boer was set on fire. The first to blaze up was the hús in the centre; and after the exit of the women and thralls, the whole boer - house, byres, and steading - blazed up in one conflagration.
- 2. 75<sup>4</sup> Reading 325a ufriðinum, supported by Fl. ofride and O. ufred (S.N. note, V. text) in place of 325. elldinum (S.N. text), which although it gives sense is unsupported and/

Ch. 28.

and weak in itself.

- 3. 75<sup>15</sup> skjaldbili: "wooden partition". D's "wainscot panel" is misleading. See Index of buildings, etc.
- 4. 75<sup>16</sup> Reading 325a niðamyrkr, supported by Fl. niðmyrkr (S.N. note, V. text) in place of 325 nattmyrkr (S.N. text), an obvious paraphrase of an unusual and interesting word (see C.V.)

Ch. 29.

Dr Marwick (P.O.A.S. V. 65), in his full discussion of this episode, remarks fittingly upon "the sheer art with which the incident is related, the economy of language, the restraint, the reticence; on the other hand, the indelible impression it leaves on the imagination."

- 1. 76<sup>16</sup> "in Kirkwall." First mention of the town in any historical document.
- 2. 77<sup>3</sup> bakeldr: "a roasting fire." (D.) The long fire, or fires (hence the plural, translated as singular, in 77<sup>6</sup>), which were set ablaze down the centre of the Scandinavian skáli or hall, for the purpose of "baking" the occupants on cold winter evenings. Sometimes even the fire was insufficient. Readers of Grettis Saga will remember how Grettir was employed in the evenings rubbing his father Asmund's back (Grett. S., ch.14).
- 3. 77<sup>5</sup> The slip of the tongue incident is referred to in the Shorter Saga of St. Olaf, ch.89 (Keyser and Unger ed.,67). The two accounts appear to be quite independent; indeed the story is of the type that easily becomes a "tradition."
- 4. 77<sup>14</sup> Omitting with 325a, Lex. Run., ok: "even". ("It may even be ...."). The omission, like the omission in 325, 325a of Fl.'s minn, "my" before frendi, makes the sentence more curt and fatalistic.
- 5. 77<sup>15,17</sup> baerinn and husunum: "farmstead" and "dwelling-house." See note on 75<sup>2</sup>. The house was probably on the sight of the present farmstead of Dapey (Dr.M. in P.O.A.S. V. 66, note). That the house was once a large one, and of probable antiquity is shown by a deed of 1671 between James Scollay of How, Sanday, and John Groat of Clerkshouse, wherein is mention of "the chamber upon the end of the dwelling hall, with the kitchen underneath that same chamber, with the house called the wyne-house."
- 6. 78<sup>4</sup> seilaz: "to stretch out one's hands" as far as they will go, with the suggestion of seeking something, though without the suggestion of pleading or prayer, or of capture (C.V.). For a full discussion of the episode by Dr. Marwick, see P.O.A.S. V. 66. The unsatisfactory text of Fl./

11. 79<sup>1</sup> slipaz: gen. plur., referring to both sides of the ship, which, not being a longship, would have bow and stern.

Ch. 29.

Fl. (Jon. text; V. text) has resulted in a meaningless translation in A. and D. (See S.N. note). Apparently clerics were among those to whom leave was given to quit the burning house; and Thorfinnr seems to have<sup>had</sup> enough respect for the church to have called on his men to help the supposed deacon over the balk and pile of fuel. Dr. M. suggests (l.c.) that the "linen clothes" may have been Rognvald's underclothes, his upper garments having been discarded to facilitate swimming to Stronsay. But there is another explanation, equally probable. Every reader of the chapter is struck by the sudden, unheralded, unexplained mention of "the deacon." Saga writers are usually most explicit. It is possible that it was all a plot of Rognvald's to escape. In bargaining with Thorfinnr as to who will be spared, Rognvaldr sends out word that he has a deacon with him (which he fairly certainly had not on a malt-getting expedition). Thorfinnr gives the fictitious deacon leave to depart; and while the women etc. are being pulled over the balk, Rognvaldr is disguising himself for his escape. Both theories are conjectural. For the second, we must assume the omission in all existing MSS. of a sentence or two describing the negotiations over the release of the deacon. Such an omission is a reasonable assumption in this section of O.S. where the compiler is reaching the end of the Páttir of Earl Thorfinnr he is using and is beginning to cut it down.

- 7. 77<sup>5</sup> Balkinn: "balk of wood across the doorway." (D. following C.V.) Normally a partition wall, it is used of a low wall in a stall or a house in N.G.L., I. 399. Apparently it was such a door as can open separately at top and bottom, as in the old-fashioned stable, or blacksmith's shop even to-day. The lower half on which Earl Rognvaldr vaulted would not be opened owing to the pile of fuel heaped against it.
- 8. 78<sup>12</sup> There is a Roland's Geo in the N. shore of Papa Stronsay - a prob. corruption of Rognvalds gjá - which Dr Marwick has suggested (P.O.A.S. V. 66) may have been where the Earl hid that night with his little dog, possibly with the intention of swimming to Stronsay.
- 9. 78<sup>3</sup> 79<sup>3</sup> "They killed him..... the night." For this passage in 325 (which is closely parallel to 325a and O.) we read in Fl., - "Thorkell had him taken captive and bade his men make an end of the Earl and offered money for the deed; but no move was made to do it. Thorkell himself then did the deed, for he knew that one of them must yield to the other. Earl Thorfinnr then came up and did not disapprove the deed. They then stayed in the island for the winter." Apart from the unlikelihood of settling in Papa Stronsay for the winter, there is a circumstantiality which marks this narrative as founded on good tradition. How is this version so different from the rest ? And whence its origin ?
- 10. 79<sup>5</sup> byrðing: "cargo ship." See Index of nautical terms.
- 11. 79<sup>7</sup> stafna: gen. plur., referring to both stem and stern of the ship, which, not being a langskip, would have bow and stern/

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stern of much the same shape, both being pointed, as in the Orkney yawl.

12. 79<sup>10</sup>

"on the foreshore." Lit., "who were in front."

Ch. 30.

1. 82<sup>21</sup>

Reading O. megit; "much" for the weaker Fl. nockut: "some" (S.N. text, V. text).

2. 83<sup>28</sup>

In O. (S.N. note) there follows a lengthy paragraph continuing the narrative of Norwegian history. One hesitates to omit from the translation anything included in the Danish translation O, but this passage is so irrelevant that it is difficult to believe that it was part of the original Saga. See Introd.: Sources.

Ch. 31.

1. 85<sup>3</sup>

Pingamannalið: "a force of Thing-men:" - "King's Body-guard." According to C.V. it was the picked body-guard of King Knutr and his successors in England; corresponding to the Vaevingi in Istanbul.

2. 85<sup>11</sup>

"All fine picked fellows." - For this neat phrase I am indebted to Dasent.

3. 85<sup>19</sup>

For discussion of date of this pilgrimage, see J.A.: O.S. 43., and Skene; Celt. Sc. I. 413.

4. 85<sup>20</sup>

The Emperor Henry III, 1039-1056.

5. 86<sup>1</sup>

Probably Pope Leo IX, 1049-1055.

6. 86<sup>3</sup>

Accepting the lengthier reading of O. (S.N. note, V. note, D. trans.) in place of Fl's confused and abbreviated clause (S.N. text and note 1.). V. in his note shows how the scribe of Fl. made his mistake.

7. 86<sup>6</sup>

Although this addition of O. gives already known information (see O.S. 65<sup>14</sup>), it is not out of place in a chapter such as this which is summarizing several already known facts.

Ch. 32.

1. 86<sup>16</sup>

"he has been the most powerful." The tense suggests that this Páttir of Earl Thorfinnr used by the compiler of O.S. was composed but shortly after Thorfinn's death. Cp. 87<sup>9</sup>. But tenses were used loosely in O.N., and conclusions of this kind cannot be drawn from them.

2. 86<sup>17</sup>

Skene (Celt. Sc. I. 412) makes an effort to enumerate the nine Scottish Earldoms. But it is mainly guess-work; and his inclusion of Galloway (following Munch; Chron. Reg. Man. 46) is based on the notorious error in Fl. text (O.S./

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(O.S. 63, notes 6,7).

- 3. 86<sup>19</sup> This area was known as Dyflinnarskiri: "the province of Dublin" (See Hkr. 530<sup>25</sup>). Its precise boundaries are discussed by Haliday (Scand. Kingd. Dublin, 138-142) his conclusion being that it extended from Arklow in the South to the R. Delvin. above Skerries in the North and up the R. Liffey "as far as the salmon swims up the stream."
- 4. 86<sup>26,27</sup> Fl. has LXX years, O. LXXX years; while Hkr. 276<sup>4</sup> has LX. Thorfinnr must have been born five years before the death of his father Sigurthr in 1014; i.e. in 1008. And he must have died before September 1066, when Haraldr Sigurth's son was killed at Stamford Bridge. But the smallest of these numerals - LX - gives his death as 1074. Skene (Celt. Sc. I. 413) and Gray (C.S. in S. Time, 46) assume that each numeral is a mistake for L, and calculate wrongly from the date of his birth 1008 - thus putting his death in 1058. But this is not "just before" 1066. I suggest that LXX etc. are scribal mistakes for LII; for it seems likely that there originally stood something after the L. This - counting from 1014 - puts his death in 1065 or 1066. It will be noted that this date still leaves it possible for his widow Ingibjorg to marry Malcolm III (See note on 88<sup>9</sup>)
- 5. 87<sup>3</sup> "in his own hereditary lands:" i.e. in Caithness.
- 6. 87<sup>9,10</sup> This sentence reads like the commentary of an author shortly after the event. But see note on 86<sup>16</sup>.
- 7. 87<sup>10</sup> 88<sup>12</sup> The introductory sentence and the three following verses are fairly certainly in the wrong place here, for the following reasons.
  - 1. They occur in Fl. here, but also later in Fl. (Flat. II 440).
  - 2. They do not occur here in O.
  - 3. The first two fit much more naturally into the actual narrative of the battle in ch.26; and indeed the first is put there by 702, and referred to there in O. (See note on 70<sup>26</sup>). It is therefore interpolated there in this translation.

As it is difficult to find a place for the third, and even the second verse in ch.26, these are left in their present position. They are both from Arnor's Porfinnzdrapa, the second one being one of his finest stanzas; see Introd.: Verses.

Ch. 33.

- 1 .88<sup>21,22</sup> William the Nobleman, son of Duncan II and Aethelthryth, was lord of the barony of Allerdale (Registrum Prioratus de Wetherhal, ed. J.E. Prescott, London, 1897, p.386). He married Alicia, d. of Robert de Romely, and their son William is described in the above Reg. (p.387) as puer de Egremond, qui infra aetatum obiit. There is no evidence in Scottish sources of the Scots wishing to take this "boy of Egremont" as their king.

Ch. 33.

2. 89<sup>b</sup>. The compiler of the genealogy appears here to have made a mistake. It was Sigrithr Dag's daughter, not Gyrithr, who was married to Halldorr Brynjolf's son. See Fms. VII. 255, 271, and Armoeðlingatal, 147. (Vigf. O.S., 60 note). Gyrith's husband was Gyrthr Amundi's son, foster-brother of King Ingi.
3. 89<sup>d</sup>. "goethingar": Another untranslatable title, almost peculiar to the Orkneys. The form is plural, like "bondar." See Index of legal terms.
4. 89<sup>g</sup>. "and these men all come into the saga later": Quite a few of them do not. The clause is a conventional one, occurring frequently after Saga genealogies, and was probably for this reason added by the compiler - rather thoughtlessly - to the genealogies in this chapter.

Ch.34.

Textual note: This chapter has been badly copied in Fl. (S.N. text, V. text), perhaps because it is a mere summary, and was well known to the scribe. Hence many blanks have been filled in from O. (S.N. notes). All of these have been carefully confirmed from Hkr., and doubtful ones are discussed in the usual way in the notes which follow.

1. 90<sup>15</sup>. O's addition of effter Predicken: "after sermon" is confirmed by the statement in Hkr. 504<sup>4</sup> that it was um kveldit: "in the evening."
2. 90<sup>19</sup>. V. accidentally omits the word son in O's addition, so that he makes Thorberg one of the company with Olafr and Eysteinn, instead of Eysteinn's father (V. text; D. trans.)
3. 91<sup>5</sup>. Accepting O's "men who were killed in battle" (S.N. note, V. note) which is alternative to Fl's "men who took to flight" (S.N. text; V. text; D. trans.); it gives better sense, and is confirmed by Hkr. 509<sup>30</sup>. But we should have both phrases, for Hkr. (l.c.) reads "those who were there with him and had not fallen in battle." I have accordingly used both in my trans.
4. 91<sup>5</sup>. Retaining Fl's "in autumn" (S.N. text; V. text), which is paralleled in Hkr. 510<sup>24</sup>. O. has "in summer", which, besides upsetting the narrative, seems a mistaken repetition of Sommeret a few lines below (S.N. note on line 13).
5. 91<sup>11</sup>. "cousins": lit., "daughters of brothers."
6. 91<sup>16</sup>. The Saga has little to say of the long joint reign of Paul and Erlendr. The good fellowship may have lasted as long as twenty years. The solitary incident of which we have information during these years is a punitive expedition made by the Earls in company with Gruffydd, King of Gwynedd (N. Wales) on Glamorgan with a force of twenty-four ships. This/

Ch.34.

This raid, according to Professor Dickins - to whom we are indebted for the discovery - took place between 1075 and 1087, and probably not later than 1081; see his article in P.O.A.S. VIII. 47-48.

7. 91<sup>16</sup>. Accepting O's "while ..... pious and even tempered, but" (S.N. note, V. note), in place of the abbreviated Fl. which reads simply "the most gentle of men." (S.N. text; V. text; D. trans.)
8. 91<sup>24</sup>. Accepting O's "He therefore" in place of Fl's "Hakon" (S. N. text; V. text; D. trans.) as being neater and more logical.
9. 92<sup>1</sup> Accepting O's "friends" in place of Fl's "sons" (S.N. text; V. text; D. trans.) The quarrel was not over the honours and property of the Earls' sons, but of their sons' friends. Further, I suspect that Erlendr in the same line should read Erlendz synir: "the sons of Erlendr," who have just been mentioned. There is no suggestion that the fathers took anything to do at this stage with their sons' bickerings; we are definitely told a sentence or two later (92<sup>4</sup>) that "the fathers then took the matter up." But there is no MS. evidence for the emendation beyond the general comparison in both Fl. and O.
10. 92<sup>4</sup>. O. has "friends" instead of Fl's "fathers" (S.N. text; V. text; D. trans.) Although quite possible, it looks like a mistaken repetition of Venner in line 1 above.

Ch.35.

1. 92<sup>19</sup> Accepting O's "Erlendr and his sons" (S.N. note; V. text; D. trans.) in place of Fl's "father and sons" (S.N. text), as being more lucid.
2. 93<sup>6</sup>. Reading fully discussed by V. (note, p.63) and S.N. (note 3).
3. 93<sup>7-8</sup> Accepting O., since Fl. (S.N. text; V. text; D. trans.) is obviously influenced by its own omissions of the previous sentences and reads rather badly.
4. 94<sup>24-25</sup>. Accepting O. in place of the vaguer Fl. (S.N. text; V. text; D. trans.): "Then he still went on rooting out many bad ways."

Ch.36.

It has been found necessary to deal rather freely with the conversation of this chapter, which when translated literally (as in D.) is clumsy and obscure.

1. 95<sup>7</sup>. Accepting M' and O. markbygð: "forest township" (S.N. note; V. text; D. trans.) in place of the unsupported Fl. sjóbygð: "sea-coast township" (S.N. text; V. note).
2. 96<sup>4</sup>. Accepting M' and O. fyrirlita: "contempt" (S.N. note; V. has not noticed it), in place of the unsupported and not very/

## Ch. 36.

very intelligible Fl. ofunda: "envy." (S.N. text; V. text; D. trans.)

3. 96<sup>7</sup>.

er ek er: "me and mine;" lit., "what I am."

4. 96<sup>14</sup>.

meingerðir: "self torture;" lit. "tortures." The idea of "self" is suggested by an additional clause in O., "or injure our own bodies." (S.N. note).

5. 97<sup>3</sup>.

Accepting M<sup>1</sup> and O. "what he had to say" (S.N. note), in place of Fl. "his fate," (S.N. text; V. text; D. trans.) which is unsupported, and less pointed than the reading adopted. The soothsayer is grumbling about his meagre information, but Hakon asks him, whatever it is, to let him hear it.

6. 97<sup>15</sup>.

O. neppeligen: "with difficulty;" an illuminating addition not in V. or D.

## Ch. 37.

1. 98<sup>19</sup>

O. has sin frende only (S.N. note); Fl. has Magnus konung only (S.N. note; V. text). But S.N. (note) shows that Magn. S. Berf. (Fms. VII. 28) has both, Magnus konung fraenda sinn, which may reasonably be assumed here.

## Ch. 38.

1. 99<sup>7</sup>.

Eyjar: "Isles," here apparently the Hebrides, (as in 101<sup>9</sup>), although King Magnus takes it in his following speech to include the Orkneys and Shetland. Reading discussed by S.N. in note.

2. 99<sup>10</sup>.

Vestrlandum: "lands in the West;" here, apparently the Hebrides and Ireland, and West coast of Scotland. See Index of pl. ns.

## Ch. 39.

1. 100<sup>20</sup>

stallari: "marshall." See Index of legal terms.

2. 101<sup>6</sup>

raðuneyti: "body of councillors." See Index of legal terms.

3. 101<sup>15, 14</sup>.

The earl who was killed in the fight - i.e. Hugh the Proud - was Hugh of Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury. Hugh the Stout was Hugh of Avranch, Earl of Chester (1071-1101). But they were not "brothers" (O.) nor "sons" (M<sup>2</sup>) of Kostnami. See E.S.S.H. II, 111, for a bibliog. of the battle.

4. 101<sup>17</sup>.

aftr i fyrirrumi: "aft in the well." H. and G. render "foredeck," and D., "forecastle." But fyrirrum appears to mean the after part of the well next the lypting or poop deck occupied by the leader or captain (C.V.)

5. 101<sup>21</sup>.

undir þiljur niðr: "down under the deck;" probably the poop deck near which he is sitting. H. and G. say simply/

## Ch. 39.

simply "down below." D. renders "under the thwarts," which would give little protection from spears and arrows.

6. 102<sup>7</sup> By Thorkell Hammer-skald in his Magnúsdrapa (c.1104). Five stanzas survive, of mediocre poetic merit.

## Ch. 40.

1. 103<sup>9,10</sup> This addition from Fl. (supported by O. and M<sup>l</sup>) is expanded by the author of M<sup>l</sup> into an example of the miraculous - the first miracle of his hero.

2. 104<sup>11</sup> rúm: "berth." Normally a man's station on a thwart for rowing. Probably he made his bed or hvíla beside his place as oarsman.

3. 104<sup>22</sup> This Malcolm King of Scots mentioned also in the next ch. (105<sup>1</sup>) cannot, as Anderson pointed out (Orkn. S., 55) be Malcolm Canmore. For Magnus Barelegs' second expedition took place in 1098, and Malcolm Canmore had died in 1093. Either

(i) The author knew that Magnus Erlend's son served in the Bodyguard of a King of Scots, and guessed (wrongly) that it must be Malcolm Canmore., or

(ii) The episode took place on the first expedition of Magnus Barelegs in 1093. This expedition appears to be referred to unwittingly in O.S. ch.37 when Hakon Paul's songets news of the Orkneys at the court of King Magnus. See note on 105<sup>15</sup>.

4. 104<sup>23</sup> "a certain bishop": Not identified.

## Ch. 41.

1. 104<sup>28</sup> "along the coast of Scotland" into the Firth of Clyde.

2. 105<sup>4,5</sup> stjórnfostu skipi: lit., "with a ship with rudder set." The rudder gave the ship a deeper draught, and would thus disqualify many small islands close to the shore. For discussion of this incident, see Introd: Sources.

3. 105<sup>9</sup> i Suðreyjum nema Mon: "in the Hebrides with the exception of the Isle of Man." Shows that Suðreyjar was used for all the islands in the West of Scotland and even England, including Man. See Index of pl. ns.

4. 105<sup>9,10</sup> Note the description of the size and position of the peninsula of Cantyre for the benefit of the Icelandic reader ignorant of Scotland. Cp. the estimate of the size of Anglesey in O.S. 103<sup>1</sup>.

5. 105<sup>12,13</sup> "into the Scottish sea-lochs." This appears to have been the original meaning of the Norse name Skotlandz-firðir, and, being unique in O.S., argues a separate identity for the chapters on Magnus B. See Index of pl. ns.

6. 105<sup>13,14</sup> "hugging the shore . . . . . on the other." Trans. borrowed from D.

## Ch. 41.

7. 105<sup>15</sup>. The annexation of these islands, as Skene suggests (Celt. Sc. I. 443n), appears to be referred to in the metrical prophecy of Merlin in Chron. Picts and Scots, 117. The incident ~~must~~<sup>seems to</sup> have taken place in Magnus' 1093 expedition and not the 1098 one as in O.S., for "Malcolm, King of Scots," (d.1093) is referred to (105'). That Magnus had dealings with Malcolm Canmore is fairly certain, for Malcolm is referred to in that connection in the independent Hakon S. ch.245. Cp. note on 104<sup>22</sup>.
8. 105<sup>17,18</sup>. "who he ..... business." Trans. borrowed from H.G.
9. 106<sup>20</sup>. Reading uncertain for last clause.

## Ch. 42.

1. 107<sup>8-12</sup>. Accepting Fl.'s reading (S.N. note; V. text; D. trans.) which is supported by M' (S.N. note). MS. 325a, M<sup>2</sup>, and O have a curtailed sentence (S.N. text): "he learned of the death of Earl Erlendr out in the East; he died in N. and was buried there; and Paul in Bergen."
2. 107<sup>18,19</sup>. See Introd: Sources of Interpolations for the significance of this reference to Snorri. It may or may not be a later interpolation.

## Ch. 43.

1. 108<sup>18</sup>. "such of the realm as was his birthright." D. trans. "such power as was due to his birth."
2. 108<sup>22</sup>. This ode or drápa upon Hakon Paul's son is referred to again in 111<sup>7</sup>, and in 111" as a source of information. See Introd.: Sources.

## Ch. 44.

1. 109<sup>5</sup>. His mother was Thora Sumarlithi's daughter. See O.S. 89<sup>19,21</sup>, ~~and Index of pers. ns.~~
2. 109<sup>14</sup>. It was this Crusade made by Sigurthr in 1107 that gave him the nickname Jórsalafari: "the Crusader."

## Ch. 45.

- This ~~homastic~~<sup>fulsome</sup> eulogy is fully discussed in Introd.: Sources.

1. 110<sup>19</sup>. Lit., "and drank the bridal feast to her."

## Ch. 46.

1. 111<sup>7</sup>. kvæði: "poem." See note on 108<sup>22</sup>.
2. 111" visar: "poem." See note on 108<sup>22</sup>.

## Ch. 47.

1. 112<sup>1,2</sup>. "sailed to the Mainland," apparently from the N. and S. Isles.

## Ch. 47.

2. 112<sup>3</sup>. Pingstoð Orkneyinga: "the meeting place of the Thing of the Orkney-men." Probably at Tingwall (from O.N. Pingavöllr: "field of the Things") in the Parish of Rendall. A large mound (according to J.S.C.) marks the possible site of the meeting place. See Pingavöllr in Index of pl. ns.; and for description of mound, see P.O.A.S. VI, 69-70.
3. 112<sup>4,5</sup>. S.N.'s reading here (based on M<sup>2</sup> and O., suppl. by M<sup>1</sup>) gives distinctly better sense than Fl. (V. text; D. trans.)
4. 112<sup>12</sup>. After this sentence, O. adds "and the wisest men were to fix terms between them." This is not included in the present translation partly because it is awkwardly placed, partly because O. itself here is somewhat confused.  
  
It should be noticed that the narrative of the saetta- or peace-making here does not have the legal clarity of that in the chapters on Earls Thorfinnr, Einarr and Brusi (ch.13-19). The author of this section of the Saga is not interested in negotiations as negotiations, but as an avenue to peace. The orderly and explicit manner of the lawyer has given place to the unction of the cleric.
5. 113<sup>1,2</sup>. This sentence appears to have been misplaced; it would stand better before the sentence stating Earl Magnus' pleasure at the proposal. There is a slight incoherence throughout the chapter, of which this is an example.
6. 113<sup>11</sup>. Accepting M<sup>2</sup>, O., M<sup>1</sup>. hjá: "under" (S.N. note) in place of Fl. á: "against" (S.N. text; V. text; D. trans.)
7. 114<sup>5,7</sup>. Lit., "It shall now go on, and may all be done to God's will regarding our journey."

## Ch.48.

1. 114<sup>11</sup>. Accepting M<sup>2</sup>, O. "eight" which is supported by M<sup>1</sup> "seven or eight," and by "eight" in all MSS. a little later in 115<sup>1</sup>. Fl. (S.N. text; V. text; D. trans.) has "many."
2. 114<sup>14</sup>. "adding ..... suggestions." ) Trans. borrowed from H.G.
3. 114<sup>20,21</sup>. Accepting O. (S.N. note) in place of Fl. (S.N. text; V. text; D. trans.) and M<sup>2</sup> and M<sup>1</sup>. O. gives much fuller sense.
4. 114<sup>25</sup>. "an uninhabited island." Not identifiable.
5. 115<sup>3</sup>. Probably on the site of the present church.
6. 115<sup>11</sup>. The passage in the trans. from O. stands in place of Fl.: "He prayed earnestly, and had a mass sung for him." We require a sentence stating that Magnus left the church in the/

the morning; for Hakon did not find him in it. (See O.S. 115<sup>16</sup>). Fl. puts this in as an after-thought in 115<sup>16,17</sup>.

M<sup>2</sup> however gives still another account; "He sought the church by reason of his faith, and prayed there earnestly and commended himself into God's hands. Next morning he went out of the church with two men and over the island to the shore to a hiding place and there prayed to God. Some men say that Earl Magnus had mass said for him before he left the church and took the sacrament."

M<sup>2</sup> confirms the existence of a longer version than that in Fl., such as that in O.; and likewise confirms the "mass" which Fl. refers to and O. omits. The text of O. is, however, selected for translation, because it gives a more realistic reason for Magnus' staying in the church - sanctuary from Hakon; the pious author of M<sup>2</sup> turns all events "to the glory of God."

For the additions to O. of "mass" and "sacrament," see note on 118<sup>19,20</sup>.

M<sup>1</sup> alters the whole incident by having Earl M. seized by four of Hakon's men while he is in the church; the author wishes to make the crime as heinous as possible. But it gives: "In the morning he had mass sung for him, and in that mass he took the sacrament." (Rolls I. 263<sup>10</sup>). Thus M<sup>1</sup> confirms the "mass" of M<sup>2</sup> and Fl. and the "sacrament" of M<sup>2</sup>.

## Ch.49.

1. 115<sup>16-18</sup> Accepting O. (supported by M<sup>2</sup>) (S.N. note) for Fl. "with two men he had gone by another path over the island to a hiding place. And when St. M. the Earl saw that they were searching for him..." (S.N. text; V. text; D. trans.) The scribe of Fl. in abbreviating the conclusion of the previous chapter finds he has omitted to state that Magnus had left the church, and now puts it in as an after-thought. See note on 115<sup>12</sup>.
2. 116<sup>15</sup> "been a sinner": lit., "become an outlaw."
3. 117<sup>11</sup> Holdbothi of the Hebrides, here mentioned as a trustworthy authority for the chapter, is referred to in M<sup>1</sup> (ch.24, Rolls 88. I. 262) as authority for the mention of Havarthr Gunni's son's escape from Hakon's ship; but he can only have heard of it afterwards, since he was apparently all the time with Earl Magnus, being (according to M<sup>1</sup>) one of Magnus' Bodyguard.

## Ch.50.

1. 118<sup>19,20</sup> This sentence <sup>in Fl.</sup> referring to "sacrament" and "mass" ~~in Fl.~~ should not be here at all; it is not in M<sup>2</sup> or M<sup>1</sup>; it is unlikely that Hakon's friends would have patience for these ceremonies now; the sentence is another reference to what Fl. should have related at the end of ch.48 (see note on 115<sup>12</sup>).

O. reads: "He had a mass sung and took the sacrament before/

Ch. 50.

before he left the church; and when Magnus the friend of God had prayed, he was led to slaughter, etc." Like Fl., O. here mentions what it should have mentioned at the end of ch.48.

2. 118<sup>26</sup>.

Accepting M<sup>2</sup>, O. (S.N. note) in place of Fl. (S.N. text; V. text; D. trans.). The scribe of Fl., perhaps to avoid gruesome details, writes: "and his spirit passed to heaven." It is possible, and even probable, that the skeleton found in the broad pillar on the South side of the choir in St. Magnus Cathedral by Mr Middleton is that of St. Magnus. The wounds are thus described by Dr. Heddle: "The skull showed a clean cut hole in the parietal bones which had evidently been done by a sharp instrument such as an axe ..... The upper jaw has been cut from before backwards by a sharp instrument, probably a sword." This lends support to the narrative in the Longer Magnus Saga where he receives a second blow at the bidding of Hakon (Rolls 88. I. 266). The whole matter is fully discussed by Mr J. Mooney in P.O.A.S. III. 72-78.

Ch. 51.

1. 119<sup>9</sup>

St. Tiburcius' Day is April 14; and that puts the day of St. Magnus' death on April 16 - the traditional St. Magnus' Day.

2. 119<sup>9-15</sup>.

For discussion of these irreconcilable dates, see A.66n, and, more particularly, A.O.A.: E.S.S.H. II. 160-161 note. The passage occurs in Fl. only, and may be an interpolation (Introd.: Sources of Interpolations). It does not occur in O. and M'. M<sup>2</sup>, however, gives a fuller account of the date which may or may not have belonged to the original Magnus Saga. (Rolls 88. I. 266-267).-

"The day of Saint Magnus the Earl's death was two nights after the Mass-day of Tiburtius and Valerianus. It was on the second day of the week that the worthy Earl Magnus was slain, three weeks after Lady Day in Lent. He had then been twelve years Earl with Hakon. The Kings of Norway were then Sigurthr the Crusader and his brothers Eysteinn and Olafr. There had then passed 74 years from the death of Saint Olaf Harald's son. It was in the days of Pope Paschal the Second of that name, and of Saint John, Bishop of Holar in Iceland."

A.O. Anderson (E.S.S.H., l.c.) points out April 16 was not a Monday between 1106 and 1117, and therefore accepts 1117 as the probable date of the death of St. Magnus.

Ch. 52.

1. 119<sup>17-18</sup>.

This long introductory sentence from O. (supp. by M<sup>2</sup>) (S.N. note) is fairly obviously what has been abbreviated in Fl. which reads: "After the meeting Thora Magnus' mother had called both Earls to a feast" (S.N. text; V. text; D. trans.)

The feast would probably be at Paplay, where Thora resided with her second husband Sigurthr. See O.S. 109<sup>5,6</sup>. and Index of pl. ns.

2/

The village or borg was again (now Pierowall) mentioned in ch. 91.

Ch. 52.

2. 120<sup>10</sup>. Accepting O. instead of 325, Fl. (S.N. text; V. text; D. trans.). 325 and Fl. read vaguely: "Shortly after."
3. 121<sup>6n</sup> The Jarteinabók or Book of Miracles referred to in this addition from O. is probably the work made use of in ch. 57.
4. 121<sup>1b</sup> Probably Pope Calixtus II (1119-1124).
5. 121<sup>1b</sup> til oðala: "to his native land": lit., "to his odal lands"  
See Index of legal terms.

Ch. 53.

1. 123<sup>5</sup> skabi mikill: "a sad day"; lit., "great scathe." (D.)
2. 123<sup>b</sup> gobr friþr: "peace and prosperity"; lit., "good peace."  
H.G. render quite satisfactorily, "unbroken peace."

Ch. 54.

1. 123<sup>1b</sup>. David I.
2. 124<sup>1b</sup> Not to be confused with Thorkell Fosterer Amundi's son.
3. 124<sup>17</sup>. Lit., "would least spare the brothers from dealings."
4. 124<sup>21</sup>. This slaying of Thorkell Fosterer Sumarlithi's son appears to have been a notorious event. It is mentioned in Hkr. 567<sup>10</sup>, and in the Sigurðarbólkr of Ivarr Ingimund's son, c.1140 (Skjaldbg. B. I. 468. 6).
5. 125<sup>15</sup>. Apparently a mistake for David I. Malcolm IV did not come to the throne until 1153.

Ch. 55.

1. 126<sup>13, 14</sup>. Pyjamas and dressing-gown!
2. 126<sup>18-20</sup> Accepting O. Fl. reading. 325 (S.N. text; V. text; D. trans.) makes both women pull off their hoods, and tear their hair.
3. 127<sup>1b</sup> In Helmsdale. See ch. 78.

Ch. 56.

- The second important list of "goethingar" in the Orkneys; cp. ch. 33.
1. 129<sup>21</sup>. The village or þorp was Hofn (now Pierowall), referred to in ch. 71.

Ch.56.

2. 130<sup>7</sup>. Perhaps Liddieness in Tankerness. See Index of pl. ns
3. 130<sup>15</sup>. The beginning of the interpolated "Miracle-Book" which forms ch.57.

Ch.57.

1. 132<sup>9</sup>. annan sunnudag: "on the following Sunday." D. renders "on the second Sunday," which is misleading.
2. 134<sup>25</sup>. Two vivid similes.
3. 134<sup>26</sup>. The setting of St. Magnus' relics over the altar is the subject of a lengthy discussion by Mr J. Mooney in P.O.A.S. VI. 35.
4. 135<sup>4</sup>. líkbrán: "leprous." ~~The~~ O.N. word líkþrá ("body-throe") was used to translate the Vulgate lepra. The similarity in sound between the two words no doubt commended the O.N. word to the pious scribe who first penned it. Leprosy appears to have survived in Shetland long after it had died out in other parts of Britain; a mass of interesting information in this connection has been gathered by Sir J.Y. Simpson in his On Leprosy and Leper Hospitals in Scotland and England, 46-48, 80-93 (in his Archaeological Essays, II); as late as 1798 a male patient from Shetland, aged 28, was admitted to Edinburgh Infirmary and was found to be suffering from the genuine leprosy or Elephantiasis Graecorum. But there can be no doubt that the name leprosy in O.N. as in Biblical times was used to cover a variety of wasting and skin diseases, and it is such a loose usage that we have in this chapter of O.S.
5. 135<sup>21</sup>. Reading M<sup>2</sup> Fetilar (S.N. note; V. text) for 325. Faereyium (S.N. text) and M' Hjaltlandi (S.N. note).
6. 135<sup>23</sup>. Reading 325, M<sup>2</sup> Gyrör. M' has Ólafr.
7. 136<sup>16</sup>. í herfiligum klæðum: "in ragged clothes." D. renders "in workaday clothes."
8. 136<sup>20</sup>. Half a mark of silver was 4 ounces (C.V.)
9. 137<sup>16</sup>. Reading M' Bollastoðum (S.N. note; V. text; D. trans.) for 325., M<sup>2</sup>. Hallastoðum (S.N. text). See Index pl. ns.
10. 138<sup>24</sup>. frásogn: "story." Is this the Jarteinabók, or the Magnus Saga? See Introd: Sources.

Ch./

Ch. 58.

Note the varying beginnings to this chapter. 325 (S.N. text) is as translated.

Fl. is parallel, except that the title is "Concerning Kali who later became Earl," and the clause "as was mentioned before" is omitted.

O. reads:

"Concerning Kolr Kali's son."

Cecilia was the name of a sister of Earl Magnus by blood. She was married East in Norway, and a man called Isaac had her to wife. Their son was called Kolr. Kolr Kali's son ..... (Note the omission, with Fl., of "as was mentioned before.").

702 (S.N. xxiv; V. note; D. note) reads: "There was a man called Kali, son of Kolr, son of Kali, son of Saebjorn. Kali was the son of Gunnhildr, daughter of Earl Erlendr, son of Thorfinnr Earl of the Orkneys, who afterwards was called Rognvaldr. He was a most accomplished man in all things. He made this verse..... "

But this is of no textual importance, for 702 is an MS. primarily of verses, and Magnus Olafsson has merely summarized a few genealogical facts from O.S. to preface the lausavisur of Earl Rognvaldr.

Now what of the version given in O ? While it makes quite a good introduction to a new section of a Saga, it contains a genealogical blunder. It confuses Kolr son of Cecilia and Isaac (mentioned in O.S. 89<sup>24</sup>) with Kolr Kali's son who married Cecilia's sister Gunnhildr (O.S. 107<sup>14</sup>). In fact, the passage contradicts itself. It seems that the translator of O., having omitted a large part of the Miracle chapter, looks back at the genealogical ch.33 (O.S. 88-89) for information regarding Kolr Kali's son to begin the new ch.58 neatly, and finds the name Kolr, without noticing it is the wrong man.

1. 139<sup>5</sup>.

"as was mentioned before." At the end of ch.42.

2. 139<sup>7, n</sup>.

This added statement in Fl. - that Kolr was "a shrewd fellow" - seems irrelevant after the remark upon his wisdom in line 6. But it has a meaning. His wife Gunnhildr was St. Magnus the Earl's sister, and has (or at least had claims to) an estate in Paplay (O.S. 107<sup>16</sup>). Kolr was wise enough not to try to make any claim in the Orkneys either on his wife's or his own behalf; he saw that such a premature effort would damage the chances of his stalwart son who had strong claims to a portion of the Orkney realm as a nephew of Earl Magnus.

3. 140<sup>2</sup>.

See Index of legal terms.

Ch. 59.

1. 140<sup>9</sup>.

For the historical significance of this reference to Grimsby as a centre for North Sea trade in the 12th century, see a comprehensive study of A. Bugge on Trade between England and Norway up to the beginning of the fifteenth century in Hist. Tidsskrift, 3rd ser. vol IV., 1-149. English sources show the importance of Grimsby at/

Ch. 59.

at an early date. A letter is extant from Henry II to "all Norwegians who come to the port of Grimsby or my other ports in Lincolnshire," confirming the trading rights granted to them by Henry I (1100-1135). (Confirmation Roll, 2 Rich. 3, par. 2, mem. 8; quoted in C. Gross: The Guild Merchant, II. 377).

Ch. 60.

1. 142<sup>8</sup>. Accepting Fl. heim, supported by O. ind (S.N. note) in place of 325 subr (S.N. text; V. text; D. trans.) which is obviously wrong, for Sogn is North of Bergen; subr of course may be an error for suban.

Ch. 61.

1. 143<sup>3</sup>. Accepting O., Fl. "swim across" (S.N. note; V. text; D. trans.) in place of the less precise "go across" of 325 (S.N. text); and cp. 1.5.
2. 143<sup>6,7</sup>. elldiskið.... loganda: "blazing torch." I suspect that loganda: "blazing" should be omitted. The word, although in 325 and O., does not occur in Fl. Then they try to light (not relight) the torch on reaching the far side (O.S. 143<sup>9</sup>). The swim in the darkness likewise added to the eeriness of the cave as described by Kali in the following verse.
3. 143<sup>7</sup>. i.e., at the nape of his neck, to keep it dry (D.).
4. 144. "Matching of men," a favourite topic of conversation among Norsemen, as in modern times the matching of pugilists, football players and horses. A. (78n) refers to the frequency of quarrels resulting from it, as at King Eysteinn's feast, Hkr. 543-545.
5. 145<sup>7</sup>. Alversund (Alviðra), as Nordal points out (O.S. viii), lies North and not South of Bergen. Either it is a mistake for another district, or the author actually thought it lay to the South and sent Havarthr South through Groeningsund thither.
6. 145<sup>14,15</sup>. "And they lay down to sleep." - This clause is kept outside the preceding direct speech (as by V. and D.) for it supplies a definite item of narrative. S.N., however, includes it in the speech, and we have: "and let us lie down to sleep."
7. 146<sup>1</sup>. "reached Groeningsund." - Omitting with Fl. "South", which appears to be a repetition in 325 and O. from the first clause of the sentence.
8. 146<sup>14</sup>. abildarmanna: "of the prosecuting parties": lit., the men who were chief parties in any suit whether on the defending/

defending or prosecuting side. In this case of manslaughter the abildarmenn were not merely Havarth's next of kin, but also his master Solmundr. The offer of John to Kali appears to have been a clever move both to gratify the vanity of Kali and avoid the danger of too heavy a compensation.

9. 149<sup>3</sup>. Lit., "six marks weighed"; equal to 48 ozs. of silver.
10. 152<sup>1,4,7</sup> Accepting 325 Harekr (S.N. text; V. text; D. trans.) for O. and Fl. Olaf (S.N. note; H.G. trans.). We are definitely told in O.S. 142<sup>3,4</sup> that John's mother Helga was the daughter of Harekr of Saetersdalen. Fl. however explains that Olaf was John's "mother's brother;" it would seem that he was a son of Harekr residing with his father. The confusion probably originates from their both being mentioned in the first instance (O.S. 142<sup>1</sup>) as being the object of John's "family-visit." But in the absence of textual evidence, no attempt is made to render this in the translation.
11. 152<sup>3</sup> Accepting O. and Fl. "do as he might" (S.N. note; V. text; D. trans.) for 325 "even if they did not have more dealings" (S.N. text) - a clumsier reading.
12. 152<sup>4</sup>. "sixty." Lit., "half a long hundred" or 120; 30 of his own men and 30 of Harek's (D.)
13. 152<sup>16</sup>. "round about;" Lit., "from him."
14. 153<sup>7</sup> The town of Bergen.

## Ch. 62.

1. 154<sup>19</sup> Accepting O., Fl. "father" (S.N. note; H.G. trans.) in place of the less specific 325 "kinsmen" (S.N. text; V. text; D. trans.).
2. 154<sup>24</sup>. skirsla Haraldz: "Harald's trial by ordeal." Haraldr was given leave to prove his royal birth by the ordeal of walking with bare feet over nine red-hot plough-shares. See Hkr. 547-548; or A. 84 note.
3. 155<sup>3</sup>. The Haugabing or "Thing-of-the-Mounds" was held on an eminence now known as Møllebakken in the Eastern part of Tønsberg. The two mounds can still be seen. Cp. Hkr. 555<sup>15</sup>.
4. 155<sup>9,10</sup> Here is a variety of readings -  
 325. "four nights and days."  
 Fl. "four years."  
 O. "seven years."  
 The reading "seven days" (from O. and 325) is corroborated by Hkr. 555<sup>20</sup> (V.)
5. 155<sup>23</sup>. 325., Fl. 6000.  
 O. 4000.  
 Reading in 325 and Fl. accepted since it is corroborated by Hkr. 556<sup>28</sup> (V.)

Ch. 62.

6. 156<sup>24</sup>. His eyes were put out, so that he was known thereafter as Magnus blindi. cp. Hkr. 566<sup>14</sup>.

Ch. 63.

1. 159<sup>4</sup>. magum: "connections"; i.e. by marriage, as with the Athole family already referred to (O.S. 158<sup>9</sup>).

Ch. 64.

1. 159 This "land" was probably the Mainland of Shetland which offers many more harbours from S.W. gales than the opposite island of Yell.
2. 159 The favourable wind required would be from the West round to the South. This would be just such a wind as would be unfavourable to Earl Rognvaldr for sailing from Shetland to Orkney (159<sup>12</sup>).

(N.B. J.S.C. (P.O.A.S. VI. 21), apparently reading H. G.'s mistranslation "The wind was rather unfavourable," describes the Hebridean fleet as struggling the whole way to the Orkneys; probably, however, the last part of the voyage was done at good speed).

It should be noted, however, that Rognvald's <sup>voyage</sup> was not ill-timed. Square-rigged vessels like the Norwegian long-ships cannot lie close to the wind. Hence advantage had to be taken of an East wind to reach Shetland and the Orkneys, and East winds, owing to the frequency of anti-cyclonic conditions over Norway in the months of March, April, May and June, are most prevalent in those months. Nearly all voyages from Norway to Scotland were made in spring or early summer, and the reverse voyage was usually made in autumn. (See W.R. Kermack: Hist. Geog. of Scotland, 19; and H. Mohn: Vindene i Nordsjøen og Vikingetogene, Oslo, 1914).

Ch. 65.

Mr J. Storer Clouston has made an important study of the events of this chapter in P.O.A.S. V. 22-25.

1. 160 According to the previous chapter Rognvaldr Kali landed in Shetland "at Midsummer" (at miðju sumri, 159<sup>11</sup>; i.e. June 24), and Earl Paul, as this chapter suggests, hears of it also on Midsummer's Day. This is impossible, even assuming the use of beacons such as were used later (see ch.66). Perhaps at miðju sumri means "on Midsummer's Eve."
2. 160 "and have it out with him." Lit., "and let the quarrel come to the sword-point with us."
3. 160 úhamingjusamligr: "unlucky-looking," like Skarphethinn in Nj. S., and Grettir; the face of the man who seems to have a grudge against the world, who finds himself always ~~in the minority or~~ on the losing side.

4. 161<sup>20</sup>. "he had engaged in outsittings." Útiseta was the term - a legal one in fact - for sitting out the night in the open for the purpose of conjuring up and communing with trolls. Patjer úbótaverk at sitja úti: "It is a felony to sit out" (N.G.L. I. 350). A similar rite was the Celtic Taghairm made use of by Scott in The Lady of the Lake.
5. 161<sup>8</sup>. Mr Clouston is probably right in assuming that it was ~~to~~in Deer Sound on the Mainland that the five ships came to anchor. (P.O.A.S. VI. 22). The following facts support the assumption:-
- (i) It was a convenient starting point for a voyage to Shetland by the Eastern route; see O.S. 161<sup>10</sup>.
- (ii) The ships sailed "East from Tankerness" (O.S. 161<sup>19,20</sup>) and then sighted the Hebridean fleet rounding Mull Head. This might be said of ships leaving Inganess Bay N.W. of Tankerness; but it is more natural to say it of their leaving Deerness round "The Ness" of Tankerness behind which they had sheltered.
- (iii) Messengers came to Earl Paul to say that there was a fleet of about a dozen ships sailing up the Pentland Firth. As they soon appear round Mull Head, they must have been observed in the early morning (O.S. 161<sup>2</sup>) between Copinsay and S. Ronaldsay from some high point on the Mainland, in Deerness or Holm. From either such view point it would take about an hour to bring word to Deer Sound; for no time seems to have been lost after dawn (O.S. 161<sup>12</sup>) in making preparations. Were Earl Paul stationed in Inganess Bay this speed would be impossible.
6. 162<sup>6</sup>. As missiles.
7. 162<sup>7</sup>. This remark of Earl Paul's is rather puzzling after his hurry to be at the foe expressed above (O.S. 161<sup>16,17</sup>). The Hebridean fleet cannot have been more than 2-3 miles away. Indeed, how could Earl Paul find time to come in-shore and take on a load of stones somewhere near The Ness? Why was it left to the last moment? And why did Erlingr and his sons delay so long in joining Earl Paul when his ships must have been visible from almost every part of Tankerness? These difficulties can be explained on the simple hypothesis that a section of the narrative here has been misplaced - not in the MSS., but by the original narrator. The arrival of Erlingr and the stone-lading probably took place in the early morning, and the message that the foe were sailing up the Firth arrived while the stone-lading was proceeding. This satisfies all four difficulties; is probable in itself; and explains the point of view of Olafr and Sigurthr (O.S. 161<sup>17-18</sup>) who wished to wait for more lip or forces, which included more ships in which Erlingr and his men might be taken aboard.
8. 164<sup>15,19</sup> "seems to have been rather a wild goose chase": Lit., "seems to have become a little thing and rather an unworthy one."

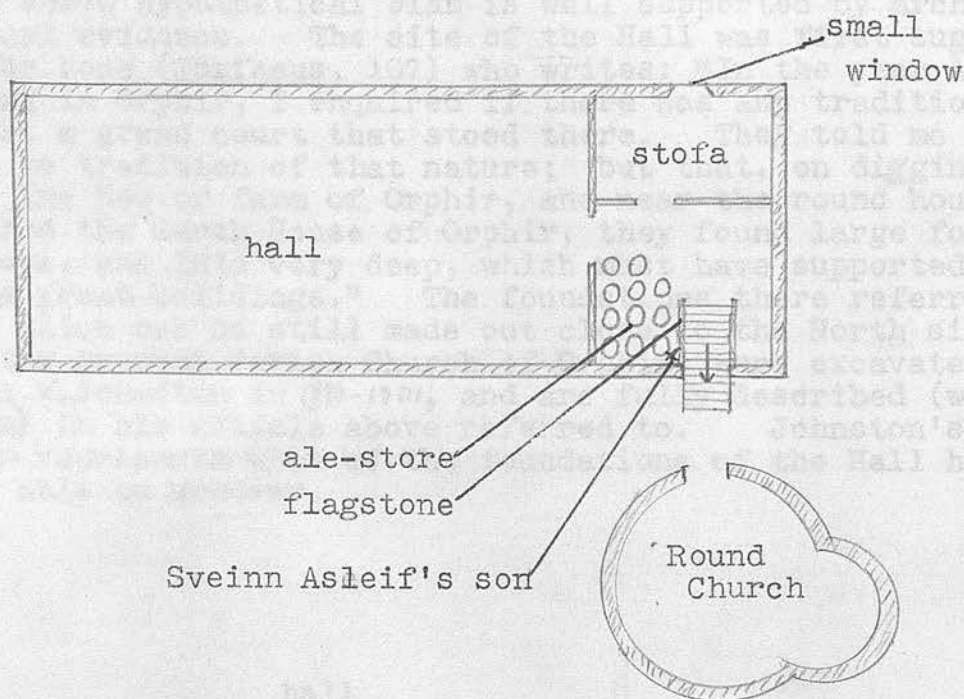
Ch. 65.

9. 164<sup>21</sup> "to have stayed at home." Lit., "not to have gone."
10. 165<sup>5-7</sup> "I shall not ..... myself." Lit. (as in D.), "Both shall not now be done, make light of all before you, but come oneself never near to it."

Ch. 66.

1. 166<sup>20</sup>. On the Mainland, Orkney, overlooking Scapa Flow.
2. 166<sup>23</sup>. Vestfjorðr ("West Firth") is probably Stronsay Firth. See Index of pl. ns.
3. 168<sup>16-19</sup>. This description of the situation of the Orphir Hall and the road to Damsay is seriously mistranslated by D., who was apparently unacquainted with the actual scene. It will be found fully discussed, with a plan of Sveinn's probable journey to Damsay, and a photograph of Damsay from the leiti or "shoulder of the hill" between the Hill of Lyradale and the Keelylang Hill, in an invaluable article on the Earl's Bu at Orphir by Mr A.W. Johnston, in the Saga Book of the Viking Club, III, 174-216. The homestead stands on a hallendi, which may be "either the S.E. declivity of Midland Hill, or the rising ground on which the ruins stood" (Johnston, l.c., 195,6). I prefer the latter interpretation, since the slope behind the hall is mentioned in the succeeding clause.
- It will be noticed that by substituting a clause from O. (S.N. note) for one in Fl. (S.N. text; V. text; D. trans; H.G. trans.), the question of being able to see Damsay from "the shoulder of the hill" is avoided. Fl. reads var fyrir ofan Aurridafjorðr: "one could see over and down into the Bay of Firth." But it is possible, I think, to translate as O. does, that one could "go down" to Firth.
- In any case, we have here a piece of careful and accurate topography such as would be impossible from any but one who had visited Orkney.
4. 168<sup>19</sup>. Kastáli in Damsay. See Index of pl. ns., and of buildings.
5. 168<sup>20</sup>. Flyðrunes: Identity doubtful. Perhaps in Tankerness. See Index of pl. ns.
6. 169<sup>1-7</sup>. drykkjuskáli mikill: "the "large drinking-hall" of Earl Paul in Orphir. From the data in the Saga, we can construct/

construct the following plan.



(There is no mention in the Saga of the church being a round one; I assume that for the purposes of the plan, and as a reasonable probability; see note on 169<sup>2</sup>).

The following features may be noted:

(i) The stairs must be dark if it is light "up to the doors" and Sveinn Breast-rope mistakes his assailant. The stairs must therefore be inside the hall. The flagstone thus acted as a parapet on the side of the stairs next the hall - on the left on entering, as the Saga says (169<sup>5</sup>).

(ii) The group of ale-casks stand in the plan as in O., "between the flagstone and the hall" (169<sup>5</sup> S.N. note). Apparently this part of the hall was called the alstofa or ale-store" (170<sup>15</sup>). It must have been there that Eyvindr and Sveinn Asleif's son did their plotting, just in the shelter of the wall of the stofa or small room. It would be behind these casks that Sveinn A. hid while Sveinn B. and John were passing along to the stairs. The fact that those who left the hall went in single-file (e.g. the Earl and Sveinn A. 170<sup>14</sup>; and Sveinn B. and John 171<sup>3</sup>) is explained by the multitude of casks leaving only a narrow passage between themselves and the stofa or small room; but this may have been due to the ale-store being partitioned off.

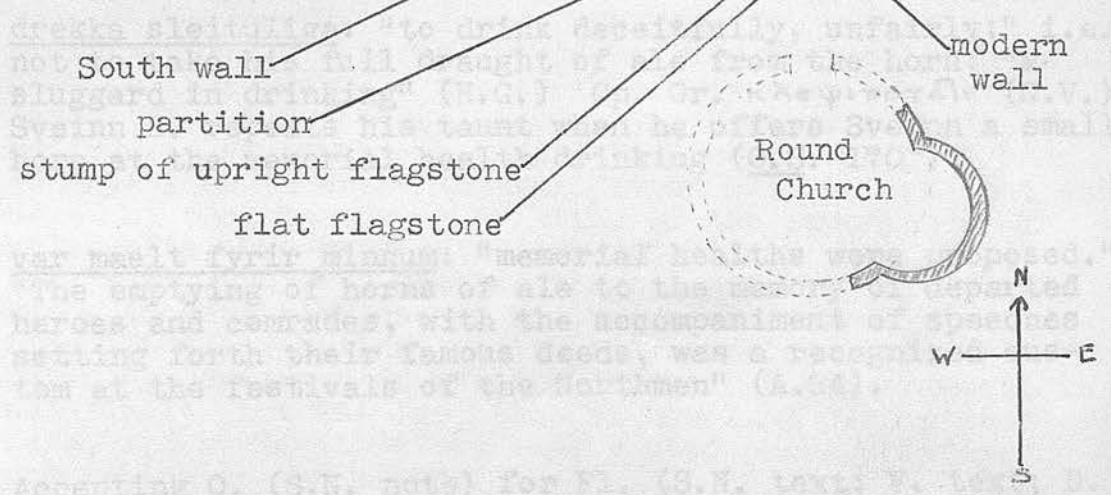
(iii) The position of the door into the stofa or small room is conjectural. It is put opposite the stairs partly because this is the natural place for it, partly because this position would allow Sveinn to enter the stofa without being observed by any one in the hall. We are not told where Eyvindr was during the slaying. But he probably slipped into the stofa, perhaps to watch for the blow, perhaps to beckon to his son Magnus to be ready outside.

The/

The above hypothetical plan is well supported by archaeological evidence. The site of the Hall was first suggested by Pope (Torfæus, 107) who writes: "In the year 1758, being in Orphir, I enquired if there was any tradition about a grand court that stood there. They told me they had no tradition of that nature; but that, on digging for the Bow or farm of Orphir, and near the round house called the Gerth House of Orphir, they found large foundations, and laid very deep, which must have supported some great buildings." The foundations there referred to, which can be still made out close to the North side of the present Parish Church of Orphir, were excavated by Mr A.W. Johnston in 1899-1901, and are fully described (with plan) in his article above referred to. Johnston's plan represents what of the foundations of the Hall he was able to uncover.

The translator in O. here writes an antán liden stofug: "another little room," because he has been already using stofug for O.N. skáli.

See note on "out-sittings" on 169<sup>1</sup>.



The South wall is "104 ft of dry-built, random coursed wall, 4 ft. thick, without footings or scarcement (Johnston, l.c. 199). The partition wall divided the Hall from the stofa and ale-store. The recumbent flagstone in the doorway, 4½" to 5" thick, may have been part of the large flagstone set on the stump or socket on the left, behind which Sveinn A. concealed himself; but as the flagstone was loose, this is highly conjectural. Finally the hypothetical foundations of the Round Church make it easy for its entrance to be almost opposite the door of the Hall.

7. 169<sup>1,2</sup>. voru dyrr ..... hliðvegg: "there was a door in the South side wall under the east gable." Lit., "near the East gable at the South on the side wall." This difficult phrase, correctly translated by H.G., but badly rendered by D., and misunderstood by Munch, is clearly corroborated by the extant traces of the foundations; see plan above and in Johnston's article.

8. 169<sup>2,3</sup>. kirkja dyrðilig: "magnificent church." Either the Round Church/

Church of Orphir of which the chancel still remains, or a church on the same site. For descriptive and historical account, with bibliography, see Johnston's article, Saga Book, III, 202-215. The architectural features are technically treated in Dietrichson and Meyer: Monumenta Orcadica, 86-89. A study in the light of recent knowledge may be expected in the Ancient Monuments Commission Inventory for Orkney when it appears. Round churches were inspired by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, and this one, as Clouston suggests (Hist. Orkn. 374), may have been built by Earl Hakon after his return from the Holy Land, c.1120x.

In place of this second clause O. has a longer clause

An important addition from O. of the general sense in Fl. not adopted in trans. (See S.N. note; V. note; D. note).

9. 169<sup>5v</sup>. An important addition from O. of the general sense in Fl. not adopted in trans. (See S.N. note; V. note; D. note).
10. 169<sup>4</sup>. The translator in O. here writes en anden liden stoffue: "another little room," because he has been already using stoffue for O.N. skáli.
11. 169<sup>7</sup>. See note on "out-sittings" on 161'.
12. 169<sup>27</sup>. drekka sleituliga: "to drink deceitfully, unfairly;" i.e. not to take his full draught of ale from the horn; "a sluggard in drinking" (H.G.) Cp. Gr. κλεψιποτείν (C.V.) Sveinn B. repeats his taunt when he offers Sveinn a small horn at the memorial health drinking (O.S. 170<sup>6</sup>).
13. 170<sup>4</sup>. var mælt fyrir minnum: "memorial healths were proposed." "The emptying of horns of ale to the memory of departed heroes and comrades, with the accompaniment of speeches setting forth their famous deeds, was a recognized custom at the festivals of the Northmen" (A.94).
14. 170<sup>6</sup>. Accepting O. (S.N. note) for Fl. (S.N. text; V. text; D. trans.) which gives a less explicit reading - "that seemed to be a little one."
15. 170<sup>16</sup>. "forward to the ale-store." (Fl.) O. reads "out from the hall," which means much the same, but is less explicit. See plan of hall.
16. 171<sup>1</sup>. "to Eyvindr and him" (Fl.) O. (S.N. note) reads "to what they said"; but this reading is not adopted, being slightly vague. Probably both Fl. and O. must be used to supply the original text - "to what E. and he were saying."
17. 171<sup>5,6</sup>. Instead of "a heavy mist" (Fl.), O. (S.N. note) describes the night as being "light out-of-doors because the weather was fine and still." I am unable to explain this discrepancy. V. (note, p.115) suggests that the translator misunderstood the meaning of ljós bár.
18. 171<sup>15</sup>. skiavindauga: "small window." See Index of buildings etc.

## Ch. 66.

19. 171<sup>25</sup>. Accepting O. in place of Fl. (S.N. text; V. text; D. trans.) which is somewhat ambiguous and is an unusual and awkward idiom.
20. 171<sup>26</sup>. "a good riddance": Lit., "a cleansing of the land." "Besides his evil repute as a turbulent fellow, Sveinn was suspected of sorcery, and thus obnoxious to the church." (A. 95).

## Ch. 67.

1. 172<sup>19</sup>. In place of this second clause O. has a longer clause that gives a loose paraphrase of the general sense in Fl.; not adopted in trans. (See S.N. note; V. note; D. note).
2. 172<sup>21</sup>. Hakon Karl ("the Elder") was the step-brother of St. Magnus, being the child of the second marriage of Thora widow of Earl Erlendr. See O.S. 129<sup>14-16</sup>.
3. 172<sup>27</sup>. "lavishly" - Lit., "almost with both hands."
4. 172<sup>28</sup>. Dr Marwick (P.O.A.S. V. 67) identifies this bu with Holland, a large farm in the south of Stronsay, on "high land" (from O.N. \*há-land) on the East of the Bay of Holland. He argues that Earl Paul would not have been so unjust as to bribe Thorkel Flayer with a farm that was owned by odal tenure by a family of the importance of Valthjof's, but only if it was a bordland farm - the Earl's own property granted in veizla to Valthjofr who seems to have been one of his "wardens of the isles." (See 166<sup>13</sup>). Holland is the only bordland farm in Stronsay mentioned in the 1596 Rental. The argument is not final; but the fact that it has long been a good farm, and would therefore make a good bribe, lends corroboration to the theory.

## Ch. 72.

1. 182<sup>1</sup>. It was in this house that Thorkell was burned by Sveinn's kinsmen Richard of Brecks and John Wing of Upland (185<sup>6-11</sup>) - a stern punishment for revealing Sveinn's whereabouts.
5. 174<sup>7</sup>. Heyr a endemi: "a pretty thing indeed." Trans. adopted from D. Lit., "Shame attaches to [it]."
6. 174<sup>23</sup>. O. (S.N. note) here has an additional clause repeating what has already been said about the purpose of the beacons. Omitted in trans.
7. 175<sup>7</sup>. um Góí: "about the end of February." Góí was a month of thirty days from the middle of February to the middle of March. One may assume that they put to sea early in the month of Góí if Kolr meant those going to England to be back by Easter.

## Ch. 73.

8. 175<sup>13</sup>. O. (S.N. note; V. note) has here an extra sentence repeating the facts of the preceding<sup>13</sup>; here omitted.

Ch. 68.

- 1. 176<sup>2</sup>. húsping: "Council of War." Lit., "a house-thing," - a conference of his personal followers. See Index of legal terms.
- 2. 176<sup>19</sup>. "the ancestral lands that are thine and were his" - Lit., "thy ancestral estates and his lands."
- 3. 177<sup>1</sup>. The date of their sailing was to be at least a week after Easter (see O.S. 175<sup>7</sup>); in 1136, Easter was on March 22.

Ch. 69.

This chapter has been very carelessly copied in Fl., and O. usually gives a more logical and lucid narrative. This is particularly true of the explanation of the stratagem used to render the beacon on Fair Isle ineffective. O. is so superior to Fl. in this chapter that it has not been deemed necessary to discuss each borrowing from it. The deficiencies of Fl. may be seen by reading H.G.'s translation.

- 1. 177<sup>7-10</sup>. The text accepted is that of Fl., with one emendation (following S.N.) from O. But the whole two sentences are awkward, and V. is right in his note on the passage in stating that both readings are probably corrupt.

Ch. 71.

- 1. 181<sup>10</sup>. Hofn, "Haven," is probably modern Pierowall. See Index of pl. ns.
- 2. 181<sup>19</sup>. eyjarskeggjarnir: "the islanders" of Westray; similarly, named in 183<sup>4</sup>, although they are simply eyjarmenn in 181<sup>18</sup> Lit., "island-beards"; very frequently used for "islanders"; originally a nickname (See C.V.)

Ch. 72.

- 1. 182<sup>4</sup>. It is probable that this story is another version of the incident in ch.77 of Bishop John's arrival at Knarston with fifteen companions, to which Rognvaldr Kali's verse in this chapter would be more properly attached. Dietrichson (Mon. Orc. 124) has noted the abruptness with which the episode opens and ends in this chapter. It may be noted, however, that there is a Norse church at Pierowall, and that there may have been at that time a monastic establishment at Munkerhouse in the neighbouring island of Papa Westray.
- 2. 182<sup>15/16</sup>. "Earl Rognvald's ..... island:" In place of this clause from Fl., O. (S.N. note) reads: "The bondar came from the neighbouring islands round about." This is a possible addition to the text.

Ch. 73.

- 1. 184<sup>23</sup>. "the Bishop:" This emendation from O. (S.N. text) is not found in H.G., V., or D., and materially assists the sense of the passage.

Ch. 73.

- 2. 185<sup>15.18</sup> A very clumsy sentence. Possibly corrupt.
- 3. 186<sup>6</sup>. At the end of this final sentence, O. (S.N. note) adds: "each to his own lands." But this seems a scribal repetition of the end of the preceding sentence, and is omitted in this translation.

Ch. 74.

The incident of the capture of Earl Paul on Rousay is discussed by Dr. Marwick in P.O.A.S. II. 17-18. The difficulty is that of the site of the kidnapping. According to the narrative in O.S. we look for it South of Westness (or at least S. of the probable original Westness - Skail); for Earl Paul went South to hunt otters (187<sup>6</sup>). Then again Sveinn's ship sails along Evie Sound (187<sup>2</sup>), from which we can assume that it approached Rousay round the East of Eynhallow. And then he sailed to the end of Rousay (187<sup>3</sup>), where there was a headland (hofði) with a landslide (urð) beneath it (187<sup>3,4</sup>); and this headland was slightly overhanging, for Sveinn was able to shut his ship off from view from above by coming close inshore (187<sup>23,24</sup>).

But if we look for such a headland at the South end of Rousay, we do not find it. The southern extremity of the island, the Taing of Tratland, is a grassy bank less than fifty feet high with a fore-shore of flat rocks.

We do, however, find a headland answering to the Saga description at the North West end of the island - Scabrae Head. As Dr Marwick points out (l.c.), it is significant that it is the only part of the West coast of Rousay that still **bears** the name "Head."

How does Scabrae Head come to be called the "South<sup>ern</sup> end" of Rousay? Were the author of O.S. Bishop Bjarni or any other Orcadian we should not expect such an error. There is, I think, a fairly simple explanation. A number of years ago I walked several times round the cliffs of Rousay from Sacquoy to Quandale. Headland succeeded bold headland almost interminably. By the time I had reached Scabrae Head I had the illusion of having done a large round of the compass - of having reached, in fact, the southern extremity of the island. Much the same impression would be given by a boat sailing round the same cliffs and into Eynhallow Sound. I suggest that it was just such a journey that the author of the passage must have made, for being an Icelander ~~or Norwegian~~ he would approach the Orkneys (and therefore Rousay) from the North; and on this journey - perhaps his only one by this route since he is rather vague about its geography - he got the impression that Scabrae Head was the "Southern end of Rousay." That is why he thinks it lies South of Westness.

There is another small fact which helps to prove that Scabrae Head was the scene of the kidnapping. The men on the Head told Sveinn to "row to Westness" with their merchandise (187<sup>12</sup>). According to the Saga narrative this would mean that he would have to row back; and if this had been necessary they would surely have said "row back." But if they stood on Scabrae Head watching the merchant ship coming in from the West, their remark is more sensible.

Finally it should be remarked that the attempts of Barry/



## Ch. 74.

Barry, and <sup>of</sup> Tudor (Ork. and Shetl. 35, 375) to identify the site with Swandro (? from \*Sveinn -) are impossible for topographical reasons.

1. 187<sup>1</sup>. As indicated in the margin, the kidnapping probably took place in May 1136. In April (probably near the end) Rognvaldr and Paul agreed to a fortnight's truce (185<sup>3</sup>), and the kidnapping took place before the truce was up.
2. 187<sup>8</sup>. "sleeping-bags." The huð-fat, lit., "hide-vat," was a bag made of skins which on cold nights could completely envelop the sleeper. C.V. and D. render "hammocks" which conveys a wrong picture.
3. 187<sup>18</sup>. til dagdrykkju: "till their morning ale," which was taken in the middle of the forenoon after the heavy breakfast or dagverðr (C.V.)
4. 188<sup>14</sup>. hvarf til: "advanced to" (H.G.). Lit., "turned to." D. taking it in its transitive use (see C.V.), understands "arms" after it, and translates "threw her arms round (her brother)". This certainly gives better sense.

## Ch. 75.

1. 189<sup>24</sup>. Sveinn's is the fullest account and is given first. But no more credence is placed on it than on the other version referred to in the next sentence; for, as the Saga teller says, "We do not know which is the truer tale."

## Ch. 76.

1. 190<sup>22</sup>. Geitaberg - probably Gaitnip (See Index of pl. ns.) a farm situated about a mile south of Scapa Bay, from which a fine view can be had of all Scapa Flow through which Sveinn's ship must have passed on both journeys.
2. 191<sup>25,26</sup>. Accepting O. in place of Fl. (S.N. text; V. text; D. text) as being more explicit.
3. 193<sup>5</sup>. Accepting O. "the Bishop" in place of Fl. "he," i.e. Rognvaldr (S.N. text; V. text; D. trans.). It is the Bishop rather than the none-too-tactful Rognvaldr who is the diplomatist in this affair; and the getting of men to give their peace to Sveinn separately seems more likely to have been a move of his.
4. 193<sup>7</sup>. Accepting O. "before" (S.N. note; V. text; D. trans.) in place of Fl. "while" (S.N. text) as giving better sense. D. here does not translate very intelligibly.
5. 193<sup>10</sup>. ok þat: "and, in particular;" lit., "and that."
6. 193<sup>25</sup>. Reading O. "three years" (S.N. note; V. text; D. trans) in/

Ch. 76.

6. 193<sup>25</sup>. in place of Fl. "one year;" but of course Fl. may be correct.
7. 194<sup>1</sup>. Although Kolr directed operations, the artistic impulse appears to have come from Scotland or more probably the North of England. Meyer, Dietrichson's collaborator, draws attention to its close architectural relationship with the cathedral at Durham, and the absence of points of contact with contemporary Norwegian Cathedrals (Mon. Org., Engl. summary, 66-71).
8. 194<sup>12</sup>. One mark was eight ounces of silver (C.V.)
9. 194<sup>12</sup>. plógsland: "ploughland" or urislund. See Index of legal terms. Sole occurrence in O.S.
10. 194<sup>13</sup>. Reading O. "grew into," "became" for Fl. "was" (S.N. text; V. text; D. trans.) as giving better sense.

Ch. 77.

1. 195<sup>4</sup>. The verse about sixteen shaven heads in ch.72 should probably be attached to this incident. See notes on ch.72.

Ch. 78.

1. 197<sup>9-13</sup>. This round-about journey from the Orkneys to Helmsdale is, as Gray points out (C. and S. in S. Time, 65), a characteristic stratagem of Sveinn's to catch Frakokk and Oliver unawares; cp. his similar selection of an unexpected approach to Rousay to kidnap Earl Paul.
7. 199<sup>13</sup>. The author of this passage has, however, got slightly confused with regard to the position of the Dornoch Firth and Elgin. Apparently he imagines the Dornoch Firth (O.N. Ekkjalsbakki, q.v. in Index of pl. ns.) to be on the coast of Morayshire, with Elgin at the head of it. It is very unlikely that Sveinn would sail so near to Sutherland as the Dornoch Firth whence news might easily reach Frakokk before he had time to go to Athole and return overland. What probably happened was that Sveinn left his ships high and dry on the sand near the mouth of the Spey (i.e. near Elgin), travelled inland up the Spey valley (perhaps passing through Elgin) to Athole to Earl Maddadh.
8. 199<sup>14</sup>. Anderson (O.S. 107n) considers that Ekkjalsbakki is here a mistake for Atjoklsbakki, meaning the coast of Moray near Athole. But this is unlikely in itself and quite uncorroborated.
10. 200<sup>2</sup>. Ekkjalsbakki is similarly thought of in ch.74 as being on the route from the Orkneys to Athole. Similarly Torfnes or Tarbatness at the mouth of the Dornoch Firth is said in ch.20 to be "in the South of Moray." For the significance of this recurrent error in suggesting unity of compilation, see Introd: Problem of Unity.
11. 200<sup>15</sup>. Mackay's account of this journey (Hist. Prov. Cat. 58) is quite erroneous, owing to his faulty identification of Breiðafjörör.

Ch. 79.1. 200<sup>16</sup>

## Ch. 78.

- Breiðafjörðr with the Dornoch Firth, and of Dufeyri with Duthac or Tain. See Dufeyri in Index of pl. ns.
2. 197<sup>18</sup>. This does not mean that Strath Helmsdale is "in the middle of Sutherland," but that the point where he entered the Strath was so.
3. 197<sup>23</sup>. Pope (Torfaeus, 131) roundly states that Frakokk's house was at Shenachu, Helmsdale. He refers to extensive, formless ruins there, called locally Carn Shuin which he translates ingenuously "Sveinn's Cairns." Near these ruins is Shu Carn Aulver, another cairn, and a ford on the river called Avin Aulver. And not far off, in the Forest of Sletie is Craggan Aulver, whence Oliver may have espied the attack on the house. Gray (C. and S. in S. Time, 59) suggests a site on the farm of Barrobol (O.N. ~~X~~ borgar-ból: "fortress farm"). Further investigation seems necessary, although it is difficult to do much with so little topographical information in the Saga.
4. 198<sup>18</sup>. "Freeman." See holdr in Indexes of legal terms and nicknames.
5. 199<sup>8</sup>. "West to Man." Really South; but to the sea-faring Norsemen round the British Isles, further from home was thought of as further West.
6. 199<sup>12</sup>. "Hebrides." Lit., "Southern realm." But Fl. Suðrriki is an error for Suðreyjarriki or simply the normal Suðreyjar; cp. normal O. Synderþer.
7. 199<sup>13</sup>. Accepting O. for the weaker reading in Fl. (S.N. text; V. text; D. trans.) - "a man of rank."
8. 199<sup>15</sup>. Accepting O. for the less significant reading in Fl. (S.N. text; V. text; D. trans.) - "a large estate" (O.N. bú).
9. 199<sup>24</sup>. Jarlsnes. - So far unidentified. See Index of pl. ns.
10. 200<sup>2</sup>. dagverðr: "breakfast." A fairly heavy meal taken at the time of dagmal, or 9 a.m. (C.V.) The dagverðr was followed by the dagverðar-drykkja or "morning-ale" referred to in 187<sup>19</sup>.
11. 200<sup>15</sup>. vígi: "natural stronghold." Distinguished from an artificial fortress or borg. Cp. note on 208".

## Ch. 79.

1. 200<sup>18</sup>. Title quite wrong. Note that there is no new chapter in O.
2. 201<sup>2</sup>. kugg: "merchant-ship." See List of naut. terms. The existence of a monastic foundation in the Scillies as early as the time of Edward the Confessor is proved by the following quotation from a charter (?1108) of Henry I to the Priory/



## Ch. 79.

3. 201<sup>8</sup> Reading O. vinteren (S.N. note; V. text; D. trans.) in place of Fl. varit (S.N. text; V. note); for, as S.N. points out, in 202<sup>1</sup> Sveinn leaves Man "in early spring" after selling his lands "towards the end of winter."
4. 201<sup>24</sup> This insertion from O. (S.N. note; V. note) is well supported by Lex. Run. (S.N. note; V. text; D. trans.). It gives the necessary reason for Sveinn's leaving Man.

## Ch. 80.

1. 202<sup>5</sup> tók veizlu .... með: "paid a formal visit to." Lit., "went to a feast with." This was the official visit of the Earl to one of his lendirmenn or "landed proprietors." See Index of legal terms.
2. 202<sup>19</sup> This insertion from O. appears in Fl. a few lines below; see note on 203<sup>3</sup>.
3. 203<sup>3</sup> Following O., I omit (with V., and suggestion of S.N.) a clause in Fl. which is a mere repetition of 202<sup>19</sup> above with the addition of the phrase um sumarit: "in summer."
4. 203<sup>14</sup> Following O. I omit Fl. at sinne: "for a time" (S.N. text; V. text; D. trans.), which is here illogical, and looks like a scribe's interpolation based on his knowledge that although the settlement lasted a long time, it was not permanent.

## Ch. 81.

1. 204<sup>15</sup> gaddan: "head-dress." D. translates simply "cap"; but Rognvald's satiric comments suggest that it is a more imposing structure than a mere cap. The word does not occur elsewhere (C.V.) and the meaning is conjectural, although fairly certain.
2. 205<sup>8</sup> "unabashed." Lit., "none the less."
3. 205<sup>13</sup> Háttalykill hinn forna: "the old Háttalykill or Metre-key." Eighty-two stanzas, many of them fragmentary, survive of this study in skaldic prosody; see Skjaldeg. A.I.512 and B.I. 487 for text and Danish translation.
4. 205<sup>15</sup> Reading Fl. "two" in face of O. and 702 "three." Only two stanzas are now extant for each metre.

## Ch. 82.

1. 207<sup>13</sup> skilit við: "legally separated from." See Index of legal terms.
2. 207<sup>17</sup> Lit., "Monsters sit best together."
3. 207<sup>20</sup> sysla: "stewardship." See Index of legal terms.

## Ch. 82.

4. 208<sup>14</sup> vigi..... Borgin: "a natural stronghold..... The fortress." Notice how the word vigi is applied here to the sea-girt rock, and borg to the fortress thereon. Cp. 200<sup>15</sup>, 214<sup>3</sup>, and 326<sup>4</sup>.
5. 208<sup>16</sup>. Identified by Munch and Anderson with Bucholly Castle, but more probably the Broch of Ness, on the South of the Bay of Freshwick. The ruins of the borg or fortress can still be seen, with a ditch and wall in front. See Lambaborg in Index of pl. ns.

## Ch. 83.

1. 210<sup>10</sup> "saett ok grið: "settlement by compensation and pardon." Note this distinction between the legal process of fixing compensation, and a free pardon involving no further obligation upon the pardoned party.
2. 210<sup>10</sup> "and a pardon..... got." A very free paraphrase of this occurs in O., not here incorporated in trans.
3. 210<sup>16,17</sup> O's reading here accepted is preferable to that of Fl. "out of the fortress into the sea" (S.N. text; V. text; D. trans). For the next clause states that they took to the water. Sveinn and Morgathr must have swum about four miles, and come ashore at the North corner of Sinclair's Bay.
4. 211<sup>3</sup>. "Baldwin." The earliest known Prior of May was Achardus, at some period between 1142 and 1153. Baldwin may have preceded him or even succeeded him (E.S.S.H. II. 194 note) (See J. Stuart: Records of Priory of May, No.5; and E.S.S.H. II. 194n).

## Ch. 84.

1. 212<sup>25</sup>. Accepting O. paafundige, "clever" (S.N. note) in place of Fl. hardfeinglig, "daring" (S.N. text; V. text; D. trans.) which merely repeats the idea of the previous adjective dreingilig.
2. 214<sup>2</sup>. steinkastali: See Index of Buildings, and description (with plans) of this castle by Dr Marwick in P.O.A.S. VI. 9-11.
3. 214<sup>2</sup> oruggt vigi: "a safe stronghold." It has already been observed (note on 200<sup>15</sup>) that vigi seems to mean a natural stronghold. But Kolbeinn's castle is on a low shore with no natural advantages. Either the word is here used generally of "a safe place;" or the author was ignorant of the exact site.
4. 214<sup>2</sup>. This concluding paragraph (213<sup>28</sup> - 214<sup>8</sup>) seems to be an interpolation. It interrupts the narrative, has several idiosyncracies of vocabulary (afarmaðr, steinkastali, mikils /

## Ch. 84.

mikils hattar) and shows an interest in the family of Kolbeinn Lump paralleled only in the concluding chapters of the Saga which are definitely the work of a reviser. See Introd: Sources of Interpolations.

## Ch. 85.

1. 214<sup>22</sup> "in the event . . . . . them." Lit., "whatsoever might take place in the kinship between them."
2. 215<sup>1</sup> "those brothers." i.e. Ogmundr and Erlingr.
3. 215<sup>6</sup> Accepting O. "14 or 15" (S.N. note; V. text; D. trans.) in place of Fl. "19" (H.G. trans.).
4. 215<sup>14</sup>. á mála: "in service" in Istanbul. Probably in the famous Varangian Guard of the Emperor. See note on 258<sup>8</sup>; and A's note (A. 127).
5. 216<sup>15</sup>. Retaining Fl. "two winters" (S.N. text; V. text; D. trans.) as against O. "for the winter" (S.N. note); for both Fl. and O. in 224<sup>15</sup> agree as to the time's being two winters.
6. 218<sup>6</sup>. There is a 26-oared ship called Hjólþ belonging to Thorolfr Rympil in Sv. S. ch.80.
7. 219<sup>1</sup>. Accepting this vivid account from 702 (S.N. note; V. text; D. trans.) in place of the curt sentence in Fl. and O. (S.N. text), "a servant came in and shivered much."
8. 219<sup>19</sup>. The past tense in this verse shows it to have been composed not before the visit, as the Saga has it, but after.
9. 219<sup>n.7</sup>. This long addition from 702 (quoted in Lex. Run.) is absent in Fl. and O.; it would seem to have been omitted in an early copy (perhaps S.N.'s æ) because of its length.  

That there may have been still more verses and incidents is suggested by the second last sentence of the addition (p.221). Note that the trans. of this sentence is borrowed from D.

The circumstantiality of the tale proclaims it as a genuine tradition. But its folk-lore narrative style is far removed from that of the rest of Earl Rognvald's Saga. It fits none too well into the narrative at beginning and end. But there is not sufficient evidence to show whether it was inserted during or after the compilation of the complete Saga.
10. 220<sup>n</sup> Probably not Sumburgh Head as it is usually taken, but the Ness of Burgi. There is no island opposite Sumburgh Head, but off the other headland there is an island now known as Horse Isle but still named Hundholm in Blaeu's Atlas.
11. 224<sup>14</sup> Bjarni Thorsteinn's son may be a mistake, as V. pointed out/

out (V. 155n) for Blann, already mentioned in O.S. 130, 168, 171 as son of Th., and keeper of Damsay Castle. Bjarni appears in all three MSS. here, 325, Fl., and O.; but all three MSS. render the pers. and pl. ns. in this passage very badly.

12. 224<sup>16</sup>. A. Bugge in an article on Church and State in Norway between 1152 and 1164 (Hist. Tidsskr. 5 R. 3 Bd. 169-212) argues on the basis of various sources that an ecclesiastical convocation was held in Bergen in the Spring of 1150, attended by lay and clerical representatives from all the Norse lands in the West, including "the Orkney Earls." Earl Rognvaldr may well have been present, but there is no evidence in O.S. at least that Earl Haraldr was there. This convocation, as well as the dilatoriness of Eindrithi the Younger, may have contributed to delaying the start of the Crusade.
13. 225<sup>4</sup>. halfertaugt at rúmatali: "seventy rowers' places." Lit. "thirty-five in the number of 'rooms'," each "room" holding two oarsmen. See rúm and rúmatal in Index of naut. terms.
14. 226<sup>12-14</sup>. Nu er þat..... honum: "He is to ..... him." This sentence is certainly ironical, although neither H.G. nor D. convey that suggestion. D. renders the last clause strangely, "that we have been so far wrong in our opinion as to him."
15. 226<sup>14</sup>. vant er: "it remains," rather than D. "it is hard."
16. 227<sup>4-6</sup>. "when ..... of him." Trans. borrowed from H.G.
17. 227<sup>15</sup>. It is impossible to say what island this was. But it was probably one of the North Isles near Gairsay, since Sveinn passes it with a half manned boat on his way to collect his rents (O.S. 228<sup>2-4</sup>).

## Ch. 86.

1. 230<sup>10</sup>. Earl Rognvald's Crusade appears to have lasted from the summer of 1151 to the summer of 1153, the salient dates reported in O.S. being as follows:-
- |                             |       |                                   |                                   |
|-----------------------------|-------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Left Orkneys .....          | 1151. | Late summer.                      | 230 <sup>10-11</sup>              |
| Stayed Narbonne .....       |       | "A long time."                    | 233 <sup>17</sup> .               |
| Arr. Galicia .....          |       | "Before Christmastide."           | 235 <sup>11</sup>                 |
| Captured castle .....       |       | During Christmastide.             | 239 <sup>5</sup> 241 <sup>3</sup> |
| Left Galicia .....          | 1152. | "After a short time."             | 242 <sup>17</sup> .               |
| Reached Jordan .....        |       | St. Laurence' Day, Aug. 10.       | 255 <sup>20</sup> .               |
| Arr. <u>Imbólar</u> .....   |       | <u>Autumn time</u>                | 256 <sup>5</sup> .                |
| Stayed <u>Imbólar</u> ..... |       | "A long time."                    | 256 <sup>6</sup> .                |
| Stayed Istanbul .....       |       | "For the winter."                 | 258 <sup>21</sup> .               |
| Arr. Norway .....           | 1153. | Summer.                           | 261 <sup>3</sup>                  |
| Arr. Orkneys .....          |       | "A little before Christmas-tide." | 262 <sup>10</sup>                 |

Unless we follow Vigfusson in identifying Nerbon, not with Narbonne, but with Bilbao on the River Nervion on the North of Spain, then we meet the difficulty of explaining how/

1. 230<sup>o</sup>  
(contd.)

how Narbonne on the Mediterranean coast of France was reached before the Straits of Gibraltar were entered. The author appears to think that it is on the Atlantic coast of France.

To this problem must be added the identity of the place names Imbólar, Prasnes, and Engilsnes, and of Germanus and the lady Ermingerör of Narbonne. All of these problems have been exhaustively studied by three continental scholars in the following articles:

HUGO GERING: Die Episode von Rognvaldr und Ermingerör in Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie, XLIII (1911), 428-434; and XLVI (1914). 1-17.

FINNUR JÓNSSON: Rognvald jarls Jorsalfaerd, in the Danish Historisk Tidsskrift, 8. R. iv. (1912), 151-165.

R. MEISSNER: Ermengarde und Rognvaldr, in Arkiv for nordisk Filologi, XLI (1925). 140-191.

To Gering we owe the identification of Ermingerör with Ermengarde, daughter of a Count Aymeri of Narbonne (d.1134). She was married to a Spanish Count in 1142, and in 1145 to Bernarde D'Anduse. Gering argues that she and Rognvaldr must have been too old in 1151 for such a romance as the Saga relates. He therefore regards the whole episode as legendary, based by the Icelandic author upon the chanson de geste, Aymeri de Narbonne, written 1205-25 (ed. Soc. de anc. textes français, nr.24, Paris, 1887).

Jónsson, realizing the genuineness of the verses, accepts the narrative as based on actual fact and seeks to arrange the verses - apart from the prose narrative - in such an order as to give a geographically possible order of events. He suggests that Gering may be pushing the argument of age too far. She need not have been more than 32 and Rognvaldr 50. Furthermore, he argues, Gering avoids the difficulty of how the chanson de geste reached Iceland.

Meissner reviews Gering's and Jónsson's articles at length, and adduces additional arguments in favour of Jónsson.

From these elaborate studies it is refreshing to turn to Mr Clouston's concise summary of the main problems in his footnote on p.95 of his History of Orkney. He argues quite simply that if we accept the assumption that the name Nerbón was substituted by some scribe for the name of an Atlantic sea-port in the original, which he did not understand, then the narrative may be accepted as it stands.

But such an assumption, I fear, we cannot make. The authenticity of the name Nerbón is too well attested. It occurs in two of Earl Rognvald's occasional verses (234<sup>15</sup> and 250<sup>27</sup>) at the end of the eighth line in each. Verses were usually regarded as reliable and scribes rarely tamper with them. Indeed, a name beginning with n and having -on- in the second syllable is necessary to the metre of each verse. If Mr Clouston's assumption does not stand, one may presume that his conclusion falls/

falls also.

After a careful reading of the three studies above referred to, with the Saga text before me, I have no doubt in my mind that Professor Jónsson has found the key to the problem. The author of the Þáttur, he argues, thought that Nerbón was on the Atlantic coast of France, and as a result of this mistaken idea transposed what must have been the actual order of events. The visit of Ermengarde was actually made after coasting past Galicia and round Spain into the Mediterranean, just after the separation from Eindriði, and immediately preceding the attack on Guthifreyr. Jónsson guesses astutely that the purpose of going to Narbonne was to winter. As has been mentioned, he bases his theory on a close study of the verses, some of which in their present context are slightly awkward. For example, Earl Rognvald's verse at 244<sup>o</sup> reads: "An East wind has driven our ship this winter season far from the hands of the Spanish lady..... The wind drives the sea-stag swiftly along the coast of Spain." In the Saga narrative this verse appears just before the entry into the Straits of Gibraltar - an impossible connection. But it is comprehensible of a ship leaving Narbonne in the early months of 1152. In the next verse the East wind seems to have slackened, and they are driving South or South-West: "The land recedes to the North..... A hateful cruise for one land-lubber have I carved with my thin prow away from Spain this day" (245<sup>3</sup>). Yet in the Saga this appears while they are cruising along the coast of Barbary. Again it is significant that the name of Ermengarde, which is so well bespattered over the verses made in the East Mediterranean, does not occur in any of those that clearly refer to the voyage round the coast of Spain - for the presumable reason that the Earl had not then met her! The close connection of the visit to Ermengarde and the attack on Guthifreyr is shown by their being mentioned together in a single verse, 239<sup>5</sup>. Indeed, he argues, there is a Gaulish sound about the first part of Guthifreyr; and we remember that he speaks French (238<sup>13</sup>).

The real itinerary would there<sup>fore</sup> be as follows:-

Left Orkneys .....	1151.	Summer.
Arr. Galicia .....		October.
Left Galicia ;.....		"After a short time."
Arr. Narbonne .....		November.
Captured Guthifreyr's castle ...		Christmas.
Left for the Holy Land ...	1152.	Jan.-Feb.

It will be noted that it is necessary to transfer Guthifreyr and his castle from Galicia to the neighbourhood of Narbonne in order to keep the siege near Christmas, at which time one of the Earl's verses (241<sup>3</sup>) shows it to have been.

As to the identity of the other doubtful place names in the Þáttur, it is still difficult to decide. The alternatives are fully discussed in the Index of pl. ns. Þrasnes may be Cape Torinana, near Cape Finesterre; but as it is passed by the Crusaders before they reach Galicia (234), I doubt if this, or any, identification is possible. As the name appears later in a verse along with that of Acre (254<sup>6</sup>), it is ~~more probable~~<sup>possible</sup> that it is to be sought in the Eastern Mediterranean. As has been already pointed/

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pointed out, more reliance is to be placed on inferences drawn from verses than on categorical statements made in the prose narrative. Imbólar may be, as Dasent guessed, the island of Imbros at the mouth of the Dardanelles. Meissner in his article takes the Saga form Imbólum (dative case) as having been also the nominative, and equivalent to Lat. embolum, a rostrum or pulpit in the forum. He thus argues that it is not a place name at all, but just a bazaar in some unknown seaport town. Vigfusson had a similar ingenious explanation to offer, of a transliteration from the Greek ἔμπολις; and Bugge (Norges Hist. II. 2. 15) suggests Amphipolis. Dasent's Imbros seems to fit the narrative and is near enough to the O.N. word; but again it is a mere conjecture. Engilsnes may be, as is usually assumed, Cape St. Angelo. The difficulty arises of how it came to be passed on the way from Acre to Istanbul. It was probably inserted by the author as a well-known landmark on the standard sea-route to Istanbul whither so many stalwart Norsemen found their way.

The above study has already appeared in P.O.A.S. XI. (1933) 48-49.

- 2. 231<sup>1</sup> Only fourteen, not fifteen captains are referred to - nine named, and five unnamed. Probably one name has dropped out - as John Peter's son has dropped out in some early MS. (probably S.N.'s  $\alpha$ ), and survives only in 702.

The non-naming of Eindrithi's friends shows a reliance on tradition of a rather vague nature. Cp. 231<sup>14</sup>.

- 3. 231<sup>8</sup> Veslarsandar: "Little Sands." Not identified; see Index of pl. ns. Apparently some stretch of sand between the Tweed and the Humber.

Ch. 87.

- 1. 240<sup>18</sup> The capture of fortresses by ingenious methods has always been a favourite story-teller's theme. Cp. Haraldr the Tyrant's successful sieges of Sicilian walled towns, in Hkr., Har. Harð. S. ch.6-10, which remind one of the stratagem of the wooden horse. Scottish legend has similar tales, but most of them, as, for example, the ballad of Kinmont Willie, are of feats of hardihood rather than of cunning.

- 2. 247<sup>17</sup> A small coin of different value at different times, varying in worth from one-tenth to one-sixtieth of an ounce of silver. "One of the earliest borrowed Gr.-Lat. words in the Scand.lang." (C.V.) The term penningr was often used loosely, as perhaps here and in 327<sup>31</sup>, of money in general.

- 3. 247<sup>18</sup> vig-gyrðla: "to put up the shield-wall;" i.e. to range the shields along each gunwale as a protection against the rowers. See any illustration of a viking ship.

Ch. 88.

- 1. 252<sup>6</sup> Reading O. Sósted instead of Flat. Serklandsborg (S.N. text; D. trans.). There is nothing to show what sea-port town in N. Africa it was.

2. 255<sup>1</sup> The tying of knots appears, as Professor E.V. Gordon suggests in Introd. to O.N. 228, to be an imitation of what King Sigurthr the Crusader did on his Crusade in 1107. If Earl Rognvaldr actually tied knots in the brushwood on the far side of Jordan, it was probably for the same reason as Sigurthr - a challenge to laggards and stay-at-homes to go and untie them; see Hkr., Sig. Eyst. Ol. S. ch. 21 (Hkr. 545<sup>1-4</sup>). Gordon (l.c.) suggests that the laggard for whom Earl Rognvaldr tied the knots was the deserter Eindriithi. It should be noted, however, that no reason is given for the act in O.S. and, like other items in the Crusade narrative, may have been introduced by the Sagateller merely because it occurred in the Saga of Sigurthr. Further speculations on the matter will be found in Meissner's study, Ark. f. nord. Fil. XLI, 149-150.
3. 255<sup>10</sup> A lady and a fight appear to have been included among the adventures of the Earl on the far side of Jordan. See also the next verse of the Earl's.
4. 255<sup>21</sup> Earl Rognvaldr is carrying the palm-branch uprightly in front of him, grasping it in both hands; hence it is half-way "between his shoulders."
5. 256<sup>2</sup> The absence of the unction of Magnus Saga in this narrative of the visit to holy places is clear proof of different authorship.
6. 256<sup>10</sup> This non-Norse word miðhaefi is well attested by its occurrence in a verse of Earl Rognvaldr (257<sup>4</sup>). Vigfusson cleverly conjectured that it was Gr. μεταβῆθι : "get down, out of the way." Meissner rightly thinks the words too dissimilar in sound (Ark. f. nord. Fil. XLI. 183). In Imbolar, a town of uncertain location in Asia Minor, it is dangerous to say what would be the language of the streets in 1151. Were it a dialect of Greek, Vigfusson's hypothesis might be right; but it is none the less a mere conjecture.
7. 257<sup>21</sup> Perhaps Cape St. Angelo. But see Index of pl. ns.

## Ch. 89.

1. 258<sup>18</sup> Vaeringjar. The Varangi, the famous Bodyguard of the Greek Emperor, composed mainly of men from Scandinavia, and later, after the Norman Conquest, of a band of young Englishmen under Siward of Gloucester. See note on 215<sup>14</sup> and A's note (A.127). A full discussion of the etymology and significance of the term is to be found in V.L.P. Thomsen: Relations between Ancient Russia and Scandinavia, 120-123. According to the latter, the word was a Scandinavian one with a national and territorial rather than a military application, referring probably to the Swedes. Thence it travelled to Russia and to Istanbul.
2. 259<sup>11</sup> Rómavegr: "the Path to Rome;" no other rendering appears more suited than Mr Hilaire Belloc's phrase. It was apparently/

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apparently a well standardized route, with recognized shrines and stopping places by the way. The itinerary is described by Kálund in a valuable study on the subject in Aarb. f. nord. Oldk., 1913, 51-105.

3. 260<sup>9-10</sup> This lost Saga of Erlingr Crick-neck was used extensively in the concluding portions of Hkr., Mork and Fsk., and probably furnished much of the information contained in the Crusade-pátttr itself. See Introd: Sources, ch.85-90.
4. 260<sup>20</sup> According to Snorri (Hkr. 625<sup>1</sup>) Eindrithi was put to death seven nights after the death of Earl Sigurthr, which took place (Hkr. 622<sup>38</sup>) "on Tuesday of the second week of Lent," 1163 - i.e. Feb. 19. This puts the death of Eindrithi on Feb. 27.

Ch. 90.

1. 262<sup>9</sup> They appear to have been driven badly out of their course; for it was usual for ships from Norway to make land first in Shetland. Apparently they met a wind from the North which drove them so far South that they had to take shelter in the Dornoch Firth - which we have already met as a Norseman's naval base. (cp. 49<sup>23</sup>, 188<sup>8</sup>).
2. 262<sup>10,11</sup> ok toku . . . . . honum: "and . . . . welcome." This clause is accidentally omitted by V's text, and does not appear in D's trans.

Ch.91-101.A note on chronology.

Chapters 91 to 101 narrate events in the Orkneys season by season - often giving precise dates - for five years, beginning in the summer of 1151 after Earl Rognvaldr set off on his Crusade (262<sup>15</sup>), and concluding in the autumn of 1156 when Sveinn Asleif's son returned from the Hebrides after slaying Sumarlithi the Freeman and Gilli Odran (308<sup>15</sup>).

A chronological difficulty occurs. According to the Saga account, Erlendr was granted the title of "Earl" and half of Caithness in the autumn of 1151 by Malcolm King of Scots (O.S. ch.92). And again, Sveinn visits Malcolm King of Scots, described as being nine years of age, at Aberdeen in the spring of 1152 (O.S. ch.92). But Malcolm IV did not come to the throne until after the death of his father on May 24, 1153; and he was then twelve years old (E.S.S.H. II. 219).

In order to get rid of this anomaly I first attempted to push the events in these chapters forward two years, so that Erlendr would visit the young king soon after his accession in 1153, and Sveinn in the spring of 1154. In so doing I had to assume that Earl Rognvaldr returned to the Orkneys from Norway not at Christmas 1153, but at Christmas 1155; I found some slight confirmation for this in the statement that "he was late in being ready for sea, for he put off much time in Norway" (O.S. 262<sup>3</sup>). But this theory of the date of the chapters proved untenable/

untenable for a group of reasons, some of them not easily assailable:

(i) It is difficult to find a satisfactory reason for Rognvald's delaying two years in Norway when he must have heard of the insecurity of his own realm.

(ii) Strife seems to have arisen between Erlendr and Haraldr as soon as Rognvaldr set off in summer 1151; and there is no reason to believe otherwise than that this strife is identical with that described in the Saga.

(iii) If we begin the chain of events in these chapters in 1153, we put the death of Erlendr in 1156. But the Icelandic Annals - usually reliable for this period - put it in 1154, which suits the 1151 - 1156 scheme of dates; (see E.S.S.H. II. 257).

(iv) The 1153 - 1156 scheme of dates actually overlaps the fairly certain date of the slaying of Earl Rognvaldr - Aug. 20, 1158 (ch.103). It leaves no time at all for Thorbjorn Clerk to be "a long time" with Malcolm King of Scots and to "be sometimes with Malcolm and sometimes with his friends in Caithness" (ch.100, 102). But under the 1151 - 1156 scheme, Thorbjorn may have been outlawed as early as the early months of 1156, so that he was two years in exile as above before the opportunity came to him to strike Earl Rognvaldr the fatal blow.

If the 1153 - 1158 scheme of dates is untenable, how is the 1151 - 1156 scheme to be explained?

An examination of ch.93 (O.S. 278) shows that Erlendr and Sveinn, on their viking cruise down the East coast of Scotland in 1153, visited Malcolm IV in Edinburgh in autumn of that year. It must have been on this occasion that Erlendr got the title of "Earl" renewed. If it had already been granted to him, as seems likely, in the autumn of 1151, then he must have had it on that occasion from David I, not from David's grandson Malcolm. Why should the title require to be renewed? Two reasons suggest themselves. It was probably legally necessary to pay homage to the new Scottish monarch. And it was best to strengthen his claim as far as he could in view of the expected return of Earl Rognvaldr.

Similarly Sveinn must have spent a month in the spring of 1152 in Aberdeen with David I and not with his grandson. "There Sveinn spent a month with him in high favour, and the King of Scots bade him keep all the rights and dues in Caithness which he had had before he fell out with Earl Haraldr" (267<sup>9-15</sup>). This is not such a bargain as is made between a child of nine to twelve and a swashbuckler like Sveinn of Gairsay. But it is natural of Sveinn and King David I; for they were old friends, Sveinn having spent some time with him in Edinburgh in the course of a viking cruise down the East coast of Scotland which he made at some time between 1143 and 1148 (ch.83).

There is nothing unreasonable in convicting the author of the Saga of Rognvaldr of a double error in Scottish chronology. The mistake is slight - one of two years. ~~the~~

~~the similar mistake with regard to the death of Malcolm I, which is given as in the year of the reconciliation of Thorfinnr and Brusi (1029; see O.S. 42<sup>2</sup>, 43<sup>21</sup>), instead of in 1034.~~

## Ch. 91.

1. 263<sup>9</sup>. Three gold marks amounted to 24 ounces (C.V.).
2. 263<sup>18</sup>. The varied accounts that became current of Eysteinn's expedition remind one of the similar state of affairs incipient after Earl Rognvald's capture of the dromond; see ch.88. It is celebrated in Einarr Skuli's son's Runhenda (c.1155) (Skjaldeg. B. I. 446).
3. 264<sup>2</sup>. He was twelve years old in the year ~~was~~ 1153; see E.S.S.H. II. 219n. Cp. 267<sup>11</sup>. He was not David's son, but his grandson; see note on 264<sup>19</sup>. If my emendation of 264<sup>19</sup> is correct, then here we should have son sons hans.

## Ch. 92.

1. 264<sup>12</sup>. Anakol the viking is here spoken of approvingly. But compare the disapproving use of the term "viking" in 110<sup>6</sup> - a difference so emphatic as to suggest separate authorship.
2. 264<sup>13</sup>. raðgjafi: "Councillor-in-chief." See Index of legal terms

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3. 264<sup>19</sup>. faubur is the reading in 325 (S.N. text). Fl. omits the sentence. O., not quoted by S.N. but by V. (V. 182, note 2), reads far fader fader: "great-grand-father." I take the liberty, with V., of assuming that the original reading was probably correct - faubur-faubur: "grandfather." Malcolm was the son of Henry, the eldest son of King David. But cp. 264<sup>3</sup> and note on chronology above.
4. 267<sup>1</sup>. "on commaid." The Saga phrase is á kunnmibum, which occurs in MS. 325 only, and (acc. to C.V.) nowhere else. Although Dasent guessed rightly that the word signified "visitations," the first to alight on the origin of the term was Mr A.W. Johnston. In two notes in Saga Bk. IX. pt.2, p.402, and S.H.R. XIII (1916) 217, he suggests that kunnmib is the Norseman's pronunciation and spelling of the O. Celt. term for the quartering of men, represented in O. Ir. by coimmed and in Gael. by commaid (cp. M.Sc. conveth). The O.Celt. name had survived in Caithness for what the Norsemen would usually have called veizla.

Perhaps there was something of a pun in the name to the Norsemen. O.N. mib is a fishing ground, and vera á mibum is the regular phrase for "to be at the fishing grounds." As a prefix, kunn- means "well-known." á kunnmib might therefore mean "on a well-known fishing ground" - a note unsuitable description of the Earl's billeting his followers in private households; it may well have happened rather often.

5. 267<sup>7</sup>. Klaufi: "Clumpy." Doubtful rendering. See Index of N's.

## Ch. 92.

6. 267<sup>11</sup>. Malcolm was not nine years old but <sup>eleven</sup> ~~thirteen~~, if the year was 115~~2~~. ~~See note on 264<sup>3</sup>~~. But it was probably David I (d.1153) who was visited by Sveinn; see note on chronology.
7. 268<sup>2</sup>. Skeggbjarnarstaðir. Unidentified; but probably in Deerness near Mull Head.
8. 269<sup>16</sup>. Kjarrekstaðir: Cairston near Strommess. Munch (N.F.H. III. 849n) emended the name to Knarrarstaðir, Knarston, in order to explain Arni's flight to Kirkwall. But Clouston (S.H.R. XVI, 20n and Hist. Orkn. 112n) shows that this is unnecessary. Only at Cairston is there a castle. As very similar fights took place at Cairston and Knarston he argues that Arni's flight has possibly become attached to the wrong battle.
9. 270<sup>1</sup>. For a full study of the kastali, including plans of the extant foundations, see Clouston: Three Norse Strongholds in Orkney, in P.O.A.S. VII, 57-74. It must have been reduced to ruins by the beginning of the following century, if the author's remark regarding it is to be trusted. But it is doubtful if he had seen it, else he would not have confused it with Knarston.
10. 270<sup>0</sup>. Thorgeirr seems to be mentioned here as the source of information regarding Arni's flight.
11. 272<sup>3</sup>. at: "for." Lit. "that."

## Ch. 93.

1. 273<sup>b</sup>. This house in Firth<sup>is</sup> not identifiable.
2. 274<sup>5</sup>. Accepting Fl. björg nokkur: "some cliffs" (S.N. note) in place of 325 borg nokkura: "a kind of fortress" (S.N. text; V. text; D. trans.) It is true that a fortress may have stood on the cliffs on the North side of Freshwick Bay where Anakol landed. But coming by stealth, it seems unlikely that they would even come near a fortress on the cliffs, - even if we assume it was a ruined one. There are several coves in the North of the Bay of Freshwick that satisfy the description. See Map V.
3. 274<sup>b</sup>. On the site of the present Freshwick House. There are no thickets near Freshwick House to-day, but there may well have been something of the sort in the dell of the Burn of Freshwick in the 12th century, for bosci are mentioned in a charter of Robert Duke of Albany relating to the lands of Freshwick, dated 1410 (C.S.R. I. 189). The surrounding country is very open, and Anakol and his friends must have made their way to the copsewood under cover of night. All the movements of this incident can be clearly traced by a visit to the scene. See Map V.
4. 274<sup>11</sup>. The borg or fortress on the Broch of Ness known as Lambaborg. See Map V. There is still a good "noost" for boats on the South side of it.
5. 275<sup>11</sup>. At the mouth of the Burn of Freshwick. The modern name of/

## Ch. 93.

of "Burn Mouth" (Mowat: Pl. Ns. of Canisbay, 159) given to it is a literal trans. of áross in the Saga text.

6. 275<sup>5</sup> Erlendr the Younger is here mentioned without the usual formal introduction: "There was a man called ...."
7. 275<sup>9</sup>. The Broch of Moussa was inhabited by Norsemen as early as the 10th century; in Egils Saga, ch. 33, we read of Bjorn Brynjolf's son and his wife Thora taking up residence in it.
8. 276<sup>1</sup> "after that." - After the lengthy ceremonies and feasting that accompanied the marriage of a bondi.
9. 276<sup>11</sup> Blyhólmar: Either Holy Island, the Farne Islands, Coquet Island, or a group of small islands at the mouth of the R. Blyth. See Index of pl. ns.
10. 276<sup>24</sup>. This caution on the part of Sveinn contrasts strongly with his frequent rashness.
11. 279<sup>3</sup> Omitting 325 (S.N. text) sem fyrr var getið: "as was said before." There is no previous mention of Harald's visit to Norway in 1153, and the phrase is not found in Fl.
12. 279<sup>5</sup>. Mentioned already in ch.89. The narrator, having brought events in the Orkneys up to date, proceeds with the story of Earl Rognvaldr on his return to his realm.

## Ch. 94.

1. 280<sup>6</sup>. This sentence shows that Shetland was a regular port of call for ships sailing between Scotland and Norway. It is only 230 miles from Bergen.
2. 281<sup>1</sup>. Vigfusson and Nordal both read Fl. aptr: "back", for 325 af: "away." But I have selected the reading af since it does not appear that Sveinn had to return to Fair Isle; he met the gale at the South of Shetland, and was driven South to Fair Isle "away" from Shetland.
3. 281<sup>19</sup>. The same castle as was destroyed by William the Lion in 1198. (Roger de Hoveden: Chronica, IV. 10).
4. 282<sup>20</sup>. The direct route from Thurso across the Pentland Firth to Widewall Bay is N.E. "West" here (MS. 325) must be a mistake. Fl. reads austan: "from the East." The error may be scribal, and the original text may have been austr: "East."
5. 283<sup>17</sup>. strandhogg: "a cattle-drive;" lit., "a strand-raid." The technical name for a viking descent on an agricultural coast to drive off cattle as provisions for the cruise.
6. 284<sup>4</sup>. "Council of War." Lit., "house-thing," O.N. húsping.

## Ch. 94.

7. 284<sup>20.</sup> Another instance of Sveinn's favourite stratagem, that of concealing his real intentions by a circuitous journey. Compare his attack on Frakokk.
8. 285<sup>1.</sup> The author here calls Sveinn's ships, as a compliment to their speed, snekkjurnar: "snake-ships." See Index of Naut. terms.
9. 288<sup>1,2.</sup> Erlendr must have lain either in Aith Hope or in Kirk Hope (then Ásmundarvágr).
10. 288<sup>17.</sup> Gils' house was probably somewhere in the Bay of Firth.
11. 289<sup>4,5.</sup> There is a touch of sarcasm in this speech of Sveinn's difficult to reproduce in English.
12. 289<sup>15.</sup> This "other bay" was probably the shallow and sheltered bay of Rennibister opposite Damsay. Only from there could they have heard the uproar of battle, and the point round which they rowed (290<sup>10.</sup>) must have been that on which Rennibister farm stands.
13. 290<sup>14.</sup> Perhaps to find Helgi, Sveinn's uncle, who lived at Tingwall in Rendall; see 293<sup>6.</sup>
14. 291<sup>4.</sup> We have no hint as to what church Earl Erlend's body was borne to. It may have been to the church on Damsay, or to the Cathedral in Kirkwall. Mr J. Mooney assumes this latter possibility, in that a skeleton of the age of Erlendr was found in the S. wall of the choir. See P.O.A.S. III, 71 & VI, 34.
15. 291<sup>7.</sup> Mentioned in ch.56 and ch. 73.
16. 291<sup>15.</sup> bruðkaup: "lawful wedlock." See Index of legal terms.
17. 291<sup>18.</sup> ármaðr: "steward." See Index of legal terms.

## Ch. 95.

1. 292<sup>14.</sup> Thorfinnr, Ogmundr, and Erlendr have not occurred previously in the Saga, but are mentioned here as if not unknown. We do not know where in Rousay their house was; but it must have been in Sourin or Wasbister, probably the former.
2. 293<sup>1.</sup> The site of Helgi's bú ~~cannot be definitely fixed. It was probably a large estate.~~ was probably the present Hall of Rendall. See bú in Index of buildings etc.
3. 294<sup>6.</sup> A gold mark was eight ounces of gold (C.V.)
4. 295<sup>4.</sup> i bakhúsi: "in the bake-house." Thus reads MS. 332. Fl. reads/

reads aa bak husum: "at the back of the house." It is possible to translate 332's reading similarly, but Vigf. (Rolls I. 201, note 8) points out that, in Hákonar Saga, ch.239, bak-hús occurs as a variant for bakstr-hús: "bake-house." The parallel is probable but not indubitable.

5. 295<sup>6</sup> Sveinn's hall is the subject of a study by Mr J.S. Clouston in Hist. Orkn., 127-128.
6. 295<sup>15,16</sup>. Had Earl Haraldr been there he would have taken the offensive rather than the defensive.
7. 296<sup>4</sup>. Probably to Sweyn Holm, E. of Gairsay. To-day, all the small holms are infested with rabbits.
8. 296<sup>5</sup>. Hellisey - a mistake for Eyin Helga: "Eynhallow." See Index of pl. ns., and J. Mooney: Eynhallow, 39-43, for a full discussion of this error.
9. 296<sup>6</sup>. This large cave is probably that called last century "Twenty Man Hole" or Hellya Habra (from O.N. \*Hellir hafra: "the cave of goats,") in the N.W. of the island. (See 4" Ord. Surv. Map; or Map in Mr Mooney's Eynhallow, facing p.viii). The writer has examined the spot from the top of the cliff. The mouth of the cave is no longer obscured by a normal flood-tide. But much of the cliff has obviously fallen into the sea within the last century or two. The spot is a wild one, yet well suited to the daring ingenuity of Sveinn.
10. 296<sup>7</sup>. "with matters so hot between us." - Lit., "while it is so far baked," an idiom cognate with "out of the frying-pan into the fire."
11. 297<sup>4</sup>. See J. Mooney: Eynhallow for a full study of the monastery on the island.
12. 297<sup>18</sup>. Volunes in Sanday has not been identified. See Index of pl. ns.
13. 298<sup>6</sup>. A second reference to the Norseman's habit of baking himself before a roasting fire before going to bed. Cp. the occasion when Rognvaldr Brusi's son made the slip of the tongue (O.S. 77<sup>3</sup> and note). The custom later gave place to that of bathing, owing to the scarcity of fuel. (C.V.).
14. 299<sup>6</sup>. This house may have been the farm of Barswick which may have belonged to Sveinn or one of his many kinsfolk.

## Ch. 96.

1. 299<sup>26</sup>. friðskjoldr: "truce-shield." See Index of weapons, etc.

## Ch. 97.

1. 300<sup>9</sup>. "in under the island." - From O. The island is Walls, usually/

Ch. 97.

usually regarded as such, although only a peninsula. Probably Harald's ships sailed into Aith Hope, and thus went out of sight of Sveinn and Rognvaldr at Barthwick. Likewise from Aith Hope Harald would be able to see Sveinn's ship as he sailed S.W. to Stroma (300<sup>14</sup>).

2. 300<sup>14</sup>. Stroma is S.W., not W. of Barthwick.
3. 301<sup>12</sup>. Dalar: "Argyll." I use the name loosely for the area known as Dalriada. See Index of pl. ns.

Ch. 98.

1. 303<sup>6</sup>. This sentence, occurring only in O., is somewhat out of place here. It looks as if it merely added the fact of the fourteen men which had been accidentally omitted from the sentence above, "Sveinn was with him well through the spring."

Ch. 100.

1. 306<sup>3</sup>. The addition of this phrase seems necessary to the sense. I borrow it from Dasent.
2. 306<sup>27</sup>. Note the author's knowledge of Caithness families. Cp. his interest in, and knowledge of, the family of Frakokk.
3. 307<sup>12</sup>. At first sight this Sumarlithi appears to be identical with Somerled, Regulus of Argyll, who, according to Tighernach, Chron. de Mailros and Annals of Ulster, was killed in making an attack on Renfrew in 1164. J. Anderson so identifies him.

But, as I have pointed out in P.O.A.S. XI. 46, it is impossible to square the account in O.S. with those in other sources; and O.S. makes him die at the hand of Sveinn Asleif's son in the N.W. coast of Scotland, c. 1157. Is the Saga here, as A.O. Anderson believes, "highly fabulous" (W.S.S.H. II. 225).

There is a simple explanation which does not damage the assumed veracity of the Saga. The Sumarlithi of the Saga was not Somerled Regulus, but a Holdr or freeman with smaller lands and a much smaller following; he had "seven ships," (O.S. 308<sup>5</sup>). The author of this section of O.S., however, had heard of the great Somerled, and confused the two, giving to Sumarlithi the Freeman the title, territories and family of his greater namesake.

Ch. 101.

1. 308<sup>13</sup>. Loch Gleann Dubh is the most obvious identification for the Saga Myrkvafjörör. See Index of pl. ns.

Ch. 102.

1. 308<sup>28</sup>. It is doubtful whether reindeer existed in Caithness as late as the twelfth century. But see discussion by Hibbert in Edin. Journal of Science, (1831); by J.A. Smith in P.S.A.S. VIII, 186-222; and by Anderson in Orkn. Saga, 182, note.

This chapter with its more than usually precise "marching directions" presents the most fascinating topographical problem in the whole Saga.

The conclusions reached in the following notes depend on the identification of the places actually named:- Pórsá, Thurso; Pórsdalr, Thurso Dale; Kálfadalr, the valley of Loch Calder; Kálfadalsá, Alltan Ghuinne, the stream that drains Loch Calder; Fors, the main farm of Forsie at the N. end of Loch Calder; and Asgrimsberg, perhaps the farm of Assery lying between Forsie and Loch Calder. With the exception of Kálfadalsá and Asgrimsberg, the identity of these names is indubitable; all are fully discussed in the Index of pl. ns.

In first translating this chapter I made use of the 1" Ord. Surv. Map for guidance. In comparing my translation with those of H.G. and D., I discovered that ~~none of~~ these had not made any attempt to verify their translations by reference to a map. But I further came to the conclusion that an accurate translation was impossible without a personal visit to the scene of action.

The result <sup>of this visit</sup> was gratifying in the extreme. I was able to amend the translation of several ambiguous prepositions to fit the contour of the ground. I identified quite clearly the myrr and fen ("bog" and "morass") of the Saga with "Little Moss" between Forsie and Loch Calder. And where the text of Fl. gave a reading not wholly compatible with the scenery, I found that the reading from O. usually removed the difficulty.

The chapter, therefore, not only vindicates the textual value of O., but proves that the author of the chapter had a fairly intimate knowledge of this part of Caithness.

The main movements of the parties in the chapter are discussed in the notes which follow. But a fuller study of the chapter (with maps) will be found in my article The Death of Earl Rognvaldr in P.O.A.S. X. 21-25.

1. 309<sup>9</sup>. I.e. in 1158; date confirmed by the Icel. Annals.
2. 309<sup>18</sup>. The march up Thurso Dale is apparently to see if Thorbjorn is with his crony Hlifolfr there (See 309<sup>5</sup>).  
The word erg, (here glossed as setter in O.), is the Gael. airigh, a shieling, a turf hut used in summer by the herdsmen when the cattle are on hill pasture. For a fuller discussion of the term see the pl. n. Asgrimsberg.  
It should be noted that the gloss may not have been in the original text of the Saga.  
As there is no mention of Rognvald's having reached or passed Halkirk, the shielings were probably either on the Hill of Sour, or Sordal Hill, each about 6 miles from Thurso.
3. 309<sup>17-21 v note</sup>. I accept O's version of the sneezing incident rather than that in Fl. (S.N. text; V. text; D. trans.). Fl. runs as/

as follows:-

8. 310<sup>1,2</sup> seilar - "sharp of gale" "a gale," used in singular sense; used "That evening when they were sitting by the fire, between Earl Rognvaldr sneezed much. and Earl Haraldr said: 'Sharp sneezing, kinsman!' "

Although O. lacks the last pertinent remark, it seems to have more point; and besides, in nearly every other instance in this chapter where O. differs from Fl., O. is superior. But possibly O. also is here defective.

4. 309<sup>21</sup>

Reading O. derfra: "from there," in place of Fl. upp um dalinn: "on up the dale" (S.N. text; V. text; D. trans.). We soon find the company in Calder Dale, which they would have passed on their right had they continued "up" the Thurso Dale.

5. 310<sup>3,4</sup>

upp eftir Kalfadal: "up along Calder Dale;" so reads Fl. O. has merely op till: "up to." Neither phrase describes adequately what must have happened. Rognvaldr rode up out of Thurso Dale and down to Loch Calder; and thence along the shore of Loch Calder (fairly certainly the nearer, the East shore). His intention was obviously to reach Forsie, the residence of the second of Thorbjorn's Caithness cronies, Hallvarthr Dufa's son (See 309<sup>7</sup>).

Probably the text of both Fl. and O. is corrupt through some scribe imagining that Kalfadalr was a valley tributary to Porsdalr, and not an independent and parallel drainage system. Anderson (Okn. S. 187, note 1) is guilty of the same mistake.

To make the translation fit the scenery as well as possible I add till: "to" from O.

6. 310<sup>4,5</sup>

"called Forsie." ) An essential addition to the text of Fl. from O.

7. 310<sup>12</sup>

á brekku nokkuri hárrí: "on a high piece of rising ground." The piece of ground is not really very high - about fifty feet above the level of the River Forss that flows past. But it looks higher than it really is when approached from the North East from the direction of Thurso. A rough idea of the gradualness of the slope may be had from the illustration below, which shows the modern farm of Forsie and the road up to it from Leurary. Earl Rognvaldr would approach it from somewhere near this road.

rising ground is that on which stands to-day the deserted farm and which is called on the Ord. Surv. map Leathad Bang: "Little Slope."

They probably passed this rising ground on the nearer or North side, as only by so doing could they have passed parallel to Earl Haraldr (see below).

O. here reads ger ned: "down from there," which does not tell us very much without Fl.

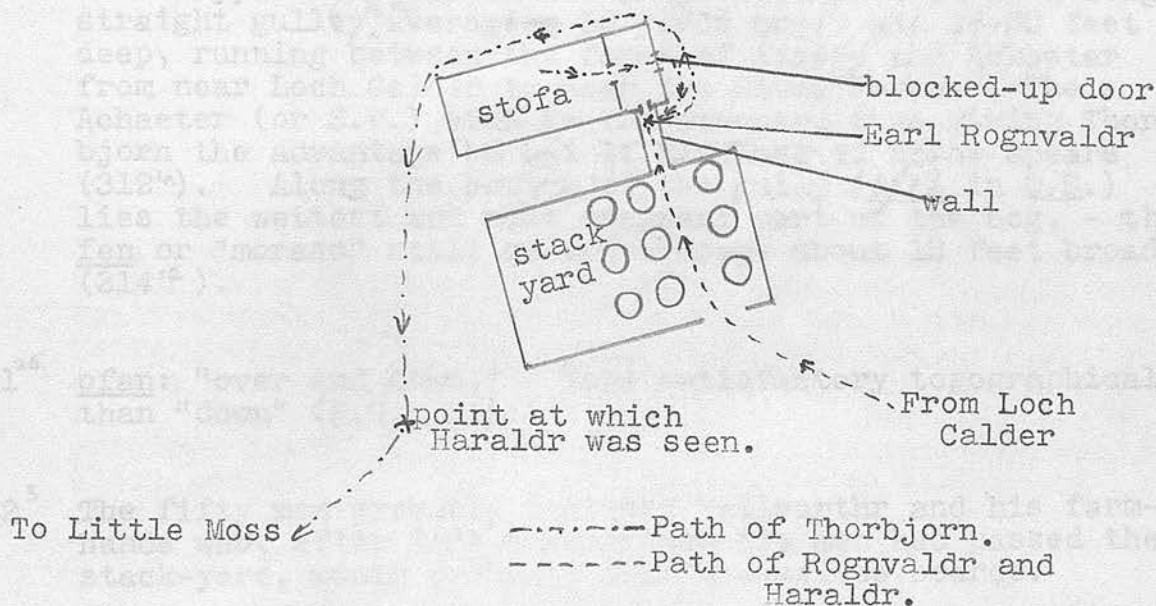
It is probable that the original word was giant: "over and down"; this fits the lie of the land; is near to giant is obsolesced by its use for the same movement in giant. I have, however, refrained from emendation.

The wet grip or bog is discussed in note on 311<sup>10</sup>.

## Ch. 103.

8. 310<sup>12,13</sup>. geilar.- plur. of geil: "a glen," used in singular sense; used also specifically, as apparently here, of a lane between two rows of stacks (C.V.). D. renders "a fenced path"; and he translates viðbrekt mjök as "very steep." But it is impossible for any path approaching Forsie to be "very steep." The phrase means "with high walls of some sort on either side."

9. 310<sup>7</sup>. From this description and the account of Thorbjorn's movements, it is possible to construct a plan of the house - assuming that it occupied the same site as the present one.



10. 310<sup>21</sup>. geilagarðinn: "the wall at the side of the lane." That this wall was fairly high is suggested by the ease with which Earl Rognvaldr is attacked. Again, Jomar's spear passes from Thorbjorn's thigh to the abdomen, showing that it must have been thrust upwards.

11. 311<sup>1,2</sup>. One of the subtly-expressed epigrams which the Saga-writers delighted in. Asolfr is merely expressing a hope that men who have been longer in the Earl's service will be able to give him more help than he has done.

12. 311<sup>0</sup>. fyrir brekku mikla (Fl.): "round a large stretch of rising ground." If the "bog" referred to below, to which they were running, is modern Little Moss, then this piece of rising ground is that on which stands to-day the deserted farm and which is called on the Ord. Surv. Map Leathad Beag: "Little Slope."

They probably passed this rising ground on the nearer or North side, as only by so doing could they have passed parallel to Earl Haraldr (See below).

O. here reads der ned: "down from there," which does not tell us very much without Fl.

It is probable that the original word was ofan: "over and down"; this fits the lie of the land; is near to O.; and is corroborated by its use for the same movement in 311<sup>25</sup>. I have, however, refrained from emendation.

13. 311<sup>11</sup>. The wet myrr or bog is discussed in note on 311<sup>23</sup>.

Ch. 103.

- 14. 311<sup>12</sup>. komu á moti beim.- D. trans. "they came right in the way of Th. and his men." H.G. render "..... met them." But the two parties do not seem to have come within ordinary speaking distance. There is ample room for them to pass. "opposite to" each other, about 50 yards apart.
  
- 15. 311<sup>21</sup>. "as he lay dying." (O.) Fl. has "round him dead;" but there has been no mention of his actual death so far.
  
- 16. 311<sup>23,24</sup>. Little Moss, with which I identify the myrr or bog, and the fen or morass running along it, is today not so wet as it apparently was in the 12th century. It is a long straight gully, averaging 50 yards broad and 15-20 feet deep, running between the farms of Assery and Achaeter from near Loch Calder to near the River Forss. The Achaeter (or S.W.) side is the steeper, thus giving Thorbjorn the advantage he had if he chose to throw spears (312<sup>4</sup>). Along the bottom of the gully (diki in O.S.) lies the wettest and most stagnant part of the bog, - the fen or "morass," still on the average about 13 feet broad (314<sup>12</sup>).
  
- 17. 311<sup>26</sup>. ofan: "over and down." More satisfactory topographically than "down" (H.G.; D.).
  
- 18. 312<sup>3</sup> The fifty men probably included Hallvarthr and his farmhands who, after Earl Haraldr and his men had passed the stack-yard, would probably make themselves scarce.
  
- 19. 312<sup>4,5</sup>. Peir.....bviat: "They defended .... for." In Fl. only; not in O. Probably spurious, for we are told a few lines below (312<sup>8</sup>) that Thorbjorn gave orders that no spears were to be thrown back.
  
- 20. 312<sup>6</sup>. at fram: "in front.... up to its edge." A necessarily free rendering.
  
- 21. 312<sup>19</sup>. "under his thumb." - Lit. "under his elbow."
  
- 22. 313<sup>4</sup>. "most persuasively and at length." Lit., "with many well-sounding words."
  
- 23. 314<sup>2,3</sup>. Below we find that Thorbjorn and Earl Haraldr move along the edge of Little Moss in the direction of Loch Calder. Since Magnus and his followers take some time to make up on them, we may assume that they moved up Little Moss in the other direction, N.W., towards the River Forss. We are not told whether they did cross it. They could have pursued Thorbjorn and Haraldr down either side of it.
  
- 24. 314<sup>12</sup>. See note on 311<sup>23,24</sup>.
  
- 25. 314<sup>21</sup>. There are now no woods in the neighbourhood. But there is/

is evidence that the North of Scotland was better wooded in those days. The woods referred to probably lay in the direction of Shebster or Brubster.

26. 315<sup>3</sup>. ofan með Kálfadalsá: "over and down along Alltan Ghuinne." Kálfadalsá seems to be the stream that drains Loch Calder into the River Forss, named on the Ord. Survey Map Alltan Ghuinne (*The Burn of Gunn or Gundi*). Thorbjorn and Haraldr must have come along the S.W. side of the bog until they reached the end of it near Loch Calder. Rounding the end of the bog instead of trying to re-cross it, they would cross another piece of rising ground or brekka, and then reach Alltan Ghuinne. Apparently Haraldr intended to follow the stream down to the Forss, and thence make for Thurso (315<sup>18</sup>), leaving Thorbjorn to look after himself.
27. 315<sup>9</sup>. The etymological identification of Asgrimserg with Assery seems fairly certain, but the present farm of Assery is not in quite the right place. One expects an erg on a hillside rather than on a low slope at the foot of a loch. If Thorbjorn ran from Alltan Ghuinne to Assery to escape Magnus Havarth's son, then he must have been running directly towards him; the nearest hills would provide much better refuge. Again, Magnus Havarth's son on leaving Assery "turned back to Forsie" (315<sup>19</sup>); but Forsie is nearer the road to Thurso than Assery. Probably the original Assery was on the hill near Leurary or on Bailie Hill, and the name has been transferred to the modern farm.
28. 315<sup>15</sup>. felagar: "brothers-in-arms." Phrase borrowed from Dasent.
29. 315<sup>18</sup>. See note on 315<sup>3</sup>.

## Ch. 104.

1. 315<sup>22,23</sup> This "dating" sentence is an interpolation in Fl. or its source. Cp. 119<sup>8-16</sup>.
2. 315<sup>24,25</sup> med fofgru foraneyti: "with a goodly company." This phrase also occurs in Fl. but not in O. It does not occur elsewhere in O.S., and is possibly an interpolation.
3. 316<sup>1,2</sup> til þers..... jarteinum: "till..... miracles." Also not in O. It is like a reminiscence of what was said in ch.51 (119<sup>2</sup>) of St. Magnus.
4. 316<sup>4</sup>. Pope Coelestinus III (1191-1198).
5. 316<sup>4</sup>. In 1192, according to the Icel. Annals. In the broad pillar on the N. side of the Choir in St. Magnus Cathedral a skeleton was discovered in 1848 with a jaw-bone that did/

did not belong to it. For long this was thought to be the skeleton of St. Magnus. But Mr J. Mooney (P.O.A.S. III, 73-76, q.v.) points out that if it is a skeleton of one of the Earls, then it is that of Earl Rognvaldr, in its final resting place. It was on the chin that Thorbjorn struck the first blow, and the mutilated jaw-bone may well have been replaced by a whole one by Bishop William. See also P.O.A.S. VI. 33.

6. 316<sup>d</sup> bar i eyjunum: "there in the Isles." One of the many phrases which cumulatively demonstrate that the Saga was not written in the Orkneys.

7. 316<sup>13</sup>. Mangi.- A diminutive for Magnus, used here as a nickname. See Index of N's.

## Ch. 105.

1. 317<sup>3</sup>. For Sveinn's drinking hall see note on 295<sup>6</sup>.

## Ch. 106.

1. 317<sup>16</sup>. Two raids on Ireland and Man by Orkneymen are mentioned in the Annals of Ulster under the years 1170 and 1171 (E.S.S.H. II. 271). No names are mentioned. But it is possible that one or both may refer to Sveinn's last expeditions. But see notes on ch.107.

2. 317<sup>24</sup>. kjolar: "ships." Applied only to English ships. See kjöll in Index of nautical terms.

3. 318<sup>28</sup> - 319<sup>1</sup>. enn.... til: "But I spoke ..... me." Trans. adopted from H.G. Lit., "The speech comes to me."

## Ch. 107.

1. 319<sup>14</sup>. It is well to note the somewhat uncertain evidence on which the dating of Sveinn's last expedition in 1171 rests. As has been noted above, the Annals of Ulster (II. 166-168) record raids by Orkneymen in two successive years, 1170 and 1171, which suit the chronology of O.S. quite well, although any successive years between 1165 and 1180 would appear satisfactory. But under 1171 the Annals name the leader of the Orkneymen as Eoan mear: "John the Mad" and state that he was slain along with his ally Askel Thorkel's son, King of Dublin; and this Eoan has usually been identified with Sveinn, on the ground, it would appear, of the partial resemblance of the names, and the aptness of the nickname. Further details regarding Eoan and Askel are found in other sources (conveniently collected in E.S.S.H. II. 272) but do not give much more assistance. Tigernach, 282, describes him as Eoan Lochlandach: "Eoan the Scandinavian." In Giraldus Cambrensis (V. 263-266) and the Song of Dermot (164-182) there are lengthy accounts of how Askel and Eoan made an attack on Dublin which has just been captured by Raymond Gerald's son. Giraldus calls Eoan Johannes be Wode ("the mad"), refers to him as vir bellicosus, and describes in detail the armour and array of his followers. In these accounts there are no points of contact with the O.S. narrative except that Eoan/

Eoan fought valiantly and that he and Askel were slain by being taken in the rear while attacking the Eastern gate - the only suggestion of treachery that might cover such an incident as the digging of the pits in O.S. In O.S. on the other hand, there is no mention of the English occupation of Dublin, or of Askel Thorkel's son and the alliance with him. If the two accounts are of the same episode, the identity rests not on their parallelism but on the entirely hypothetical identity of Sveinn and Eoan. And this identity, involving the date of Sveinn's death, can therefore only be accepted as conjectural.

## Ch. 108.

1. 321<sup>1-6</sup>. Svá.... guði: "It was said ..... God." - An interpolation by some clerical scribe. See Sources: Interpolations.
2. 321<sup>10</sup> hafi verit: "has been." Suggests that the passage was composed not long after his death.
3. 321<sup>12</sup> ...enn hann: "...than he." Here ends O. with the word Finis. Here the original Orkneyinga Saga probably ended. It is a dignified and definite conclusion to the chapters on Rognvaldr and Sveinn. The remainder of this chapter and the remainder of the Saga are the additions of a reviser. See Introd.: Sources.
4. 321<sup>14</sup> "partition." - gafloð, plur., means lit. "gables."
5. 321<sup>18</sup>. Note the interest in the family of Kolbeinn Lump, as in the interpolation in ch.84 and in ch.109-112.

## Ch.109-112.

That these chapters are an addition to the Saga by some reviser is beyond doubt. See Introd.: Sources of Interpolations and Additions.

## Ch.109.

1. 322<sup>14</sup>. A gap of at least 12 years appears to occur here. The Saga narrative appears to be telescoped. Munch (N.F.H. III. 41n) suggests that Haraldr the Younger's attempt to gain the Orkneys was made not after his first receiving the title of "Earl" in the early '80's but after he had again been granted it, as Roger de Hoveden informs us (Chronica, IV, 11) by King Sverrir. The chronological contradictions of these final chapters are fully discussed by Munch (l.c. and in Chron. Reg. Man. 179-184), and are concisely summarized by Clouston in Hist. Orkn. 130-140. The subject is too complicated to be handled in a note here.
2. 322<sup>22</sup>. "was among the envoys." Lit., "went that journey."
3. 323<sup>15</sup>. Fl. nordr i Þorsaa: "North to Thurso." A mistake for suðr (or perhaps norðan - "from the North"). Not a scribal error, for cp. 326<sup>3</sup> for the same mistake. The author of ch.109-112 shows no knowledge of (or interest in) directions in the North of Scotland such as the author of Earl/

Earl Rognvald's Saga does.

4. 324<sup>14</sup>. One of the few references to a definite source of information.
5. 324<sup>19</sup>. The tradition that the battle in which Haraldr was slain was on Clairdon Hill a mile E. of Thurso first appears in a note of Pope in his Torfaeus, 168. Pope mentions that there were vestiges on the ground of the church that was erected to commemorate the death of Haraldr, and that the spot was called "Kirkua." There, he says, are many graves near the shore, and many iron weapons resembling ploughshares were found in a peat bank near the House of Hemer. The site is now marked by "Harold's Tower" erected by Sir John Sinclair, Bart., of Ulbster, at Pope's suggestion.
- Tradition here, however, appears to be wrong. For according to two entirely independent accounts, Fsk. (ed. 1847, 148) and Roger de Hoveden: Chronica, IV, 11, the battle was fought at Wick. As Clouston suggests in a discussion of the site (Hist. of Orkn., 136), probably some unrecorded fight on Clairdon Hill has been confused by tradition with this battle at Wick.
6. 324<sup>21</sup>. Peir: "They," must refer to the Caithness men above. The mention of a church "there now" suggests at first sight close and recent acquaintance with the spot. But the topography is so vague that it is most probable that the author was composing from hearsay.

## Ch. 110.

1. 325<sup>13</sup>. "on his departure." Lit., "behind."

## Ch. 111.

1. 326<sup>3</sup>. "North to Thurso." Mistake by author for South. See note on 323<sup>18</sup>.
2. 326<sup>4</sup>. Note the mention here of "the Bishop," although his name, "John," is not given until line 17 below. This is a salient example of the careless narrative workmanship of these final chapters.
3. 326<sup>4</sup>. The Bishop's borg was probably on the site of the ruins of the Bishop's Palace on the shore between Thurso and Scrabster. It would be easy for Haraldr and his men to land at the mouth of the River Thurso, and then march along the shore to the borg.
4. 326<sup>25</sup>. The miracle reads a little strangely amid the matter-of-fact narrative of the concluding chapters. The common sense explanation of the recovery of the Bishop is that the mutilation was not fully carried out by Harald's men, who were perhaps less ruthless than their master and were able to/

to deceive him into believing that his orders had been obeyed. Sir Herbert Maxwell notes (Early Chronicles relating to Scotland, 199-201) that this view is supported by Fordun (Annalia xxiv) - "It turned out otherwise, for the use of his tongue and of one eye was in some measure left to him." As his successor Adam was not elected until 1213, about 12 years later, he would appear to have made some sort of recovery.

No suggestion is offered for the origin of the miraculous version of the incident.

## Ch. 112.

1. 327<sup>12</sup>. 12½ yards.
2. 327<sup>20</sup>. Eysteinsdalr - may be Ausdale. See Index of pl. ns.
3. 327<sup>25</sup>. A clear reference to reliance on tradition and hearsay.
4. 327<sup>31</sup>. See note on 247<sup>17</sup>.
5. 328<sup>2</sup>. landzmenn: "inhabitants," "common people," This looks like a mistake for "lendirmenn": "barons". For the next phrase refers to "other chiefs;" and it is unlikely that Haraldr would have taken any but men of standing into consultation.
6. 328<sup>12</sup>. He had become a hostage on the release of his father from Roxburgh Castle in which he had been imprisoned by William the Lion in ?1197 (Chron. Mailros, 103; quoted in E.S.S.H. II. 348).
7. 328<sup>15</sup>. This expedition of the "Island-beardies" to Norway against King Sverrir took place in 1194. It is therefore out of place here, and should have come early in ch. 109.
8. 328<sup>32</sup> - 329<sup>5</sup>. The accuracy of the dating is worthy of note.
9. 329<sup>7</sup>. The present tense "has" suggests that the passage was composed in the first generation of the 13th century. But it is dangerous to use tenses in O.N. prose as evidence of date.
10. 329<sup>9</sup>. This sentence certainly suggests that the reviser who added ch.109-112 was aware that the work he was extending was a compilation.

Endr lykka þessi...  
"East off Duccasso."

B. NOTES TO THE VERSES.

Note: The numbers in the first column in the margin below refer to the pages in Nordal's text, and those in the second column to the lines of the verses themselves.

As explained in Introd., p.174, the text normally adopted for translation is not Nordal's but that of Finnur Jónsson in his Skjaldedigtning, vol. B.I., to which reference is frequently made. In discussing difficult phrases I also make occasional reference to the renderings of Hjaltalin and Goudie and of Dasent.

It may be mentioned that it has not been found necessary to annotate all of the verses.

Ch. 8.

11. Sékat ek Hrólfs ór hendi... (Turf-Einarr).  
"No dart see I flying..."
7. þegjandi: May be a pres. pcp. qualifying Þórir, to be translated "in silence" (H.G., D., F.J.). But I take it (with V. in C.P.B. I.372) as Thorir's normal nickname, "the Silent", as given in O.S. 6'.

Ch. 20.

43. Hilmir rauð í hjálma... (Arnorr).  
"Reddened the sword's edge..."
1. D.'s "in the crash of helms" renders í hjálma hreggi quite well. But hregg means properly "a storm", "bad weather".
- 5-8. Both H.G. and D. fail to reduce this sentence to syntactical order, and content themselves with a loose paraphrase.
6. sækja: F.J. suggests "to conquer his own land". D. paraphrases: "lands good to win and to conquer". H.G. paraphrase: "...or to ravage in another's". I think a general intransitive rendering - "to conquer" - is quite reasonable here.

## Ch. 20.

46. Endr hykk Karli kendu... (Arnorr).  
"East off Deerness..."

2. kyndómr brynju: "the strange judgment of the mailcoat" - an unusual but striking kenning for "battle". H.G. and D. take brynju as a descriptive genitive qualifying Karli. D. renders kyndóm "rule", and includes it in the parenthetical clause in ll.3-4. H.G. force kyndómr into an impossible appositional phrase: "...famous for its strength and brightness".

5-8. These lines are difficult to translate owing to the skaldic habit of beginning a series of lines with epithets properly belonging to the subject of the sentence, while the second halves of the lines are filled up with the verb, and disjointed extensions of the verb. Here réð is the only verb, although H.G. and D. take steið in the sense of a "course" (instead of "a ship"), and understand a verb to complete the sense of "holding on his course".

## Ch. 20.

47. At logðu skip skatnar... (Arnorr).  
"The ships drove alongside..."

5,8. hjarta drap-a stall: "was stout-hearted". Lit., "the heart struck not its setting". Stallr is properly "the step of a mast". Acc. to C.V., the metaphor is from the sound and feeling of the mast rocking in its step, the tremors produced in the ship being comparable to those that accompany the fluttering of the cowardly heart.

## Ch. 20.

48. Prima var þvígít skemri... (Arnorr).  
"Shooting of spears made..."

5. Text:- Fellu, Fl. foli, 332.  
V. emends to fæli, from felà: "to hide"; and by taking ruðu as an adj. qual. branda, D. is able to translate: "Ere their red brands sheathed the King's men". But this sense of "sheathed" is too strained an interpretation of fæli; and ruðu is fairly certainly not an adjective, but the pret. plur. of þjóða: "to redden". Retaining the reading in Fl. we may translate: "Before they fell, our lord's men reddened their brands [in blood]".

## Ch. 20.

50. Hátt bar Hjalta dróttinn... (Arnorr)  
"At the crashing of spears..."

8. Text:- en tókst senna, 702, 762.  
ok tók brenna, 332, Fl.  
V. and S.N. adopt the second reading - "and he took to burning". But this seems to be a simplification by some scribe of the first reading, which is adopted by F.J., and may be rendered: "when the combat began, "at onset".

## Ch. 20.

52. Týnduz ból þar brendu... (Arnorr)  
 "Humbled the homesteads..."

4. Skota veldi: D. makes veldi an acc. of place - "through-out the Scottish land" - taking it into the sentence beginning with line 3. This is possible, but it is more probable that it goes with the first clause as acc. after brendu (as H.G. take it). Thus brendu has an object, and in lines 2, 3, and 4 we have two orthodox parentheses.

6. mein: Usually "bodily injury". Here in the special sense of "deceit" (F.J.) Translated "broken word".

## Ch. 20.

53. Orms felli drakk allan... (Arnorr)  
 "In winter (the serpent-slayer)..."

1. Orms fellir: "the serpent-slayer" - a curious kenning for "winter".
2. fen hrosta: "flood of malt". Fen is occasionally given the general sense of anything that flows freely, as of gold or blood (F.J.). D. translates picturesquely if fantastically: "drank the lake of barley-corn".

## Ch. 21.

54. Nú læt ek skóg af skógi... (Haraldr Harðráði)  
 "I crawl in base fashion..."

Only the second quatrain of the verse is quoted in O.S. The first, which survives in runs as follows: "I stood in battle. I saw the bondar fall, and bloody wounds. The men lost their lives before the sword".

## Ch. 21.

55. Deildiz af svá at aldri... (Arnorr)  
 "Eager for battle..."

Lit., "He came to such an age that, a very war-god, eager for battle, he fought ten showers of the shield-file in Western Russia."

1. Text:- aldri, Fl.  
alldin, 325b, 332  
aldir, 702 (apparently metathesis for aldri).  
 V. adopts aldir, but D., accepting alldin, translates (very doubtfully): "he flourished as a fruitful tree". The whole line is awkward, in its separation of af from its noun aldri - the reading accepted by F.J. And does af aldri mean "in the life of King Jaroslav" or "at the age when Rognvaldr Brusi's son reached manhood"? F.J. in Lex. Boet. suggests the latter, but in Skjaldb. the former interpretation. Neither gives much meaning to svá at, but the second is selected as being the less strained syntactically.

3. Gondlar Njorðr: Gondul was one of the Valkyrjar, and Njorthr was one of the Æsir. Njorðr was often used of man in general. A "Njorthr of Gondul" meant and "mighty man of war". The translation "a war-god" retains the suggestion in the kenning of superhuman power.

Ch. 22.

61. Veit ek þar er Vatzfjorðr heitir... (Arnorr)  
"Deeds done doughtily..."
- 1-4. Lit., "I know that at the place called Loch Vatten is [left] the mark of my lord's prowess. In the extremity of peril I was with the tester of men".  
D. makes an unsuccessful attempt to combine these lines into a single sentence.

Ch. 24.

64. Ein var su er Engla minnir... (Arnorr)  
"One battle shower..."
- 5-8. These lines contain two irregularly intertwined sentences which can be unravelled in several ways. The grouping of phrases selected seems to be the most likely. S.N. and F.J. by their punctuation suggest kind, not folk, as the object of bitu. But þurói is fairly certainly the verb to Rognvalds kind; and the clause thus formed, being the most important statement in the second quatrain, is given the adv. phrases fyrir Mon sunnan and und randir. The lines may be translated literally: "The keen tempered sword bit the stout-hearted host. And, there, South off the Isle of Man, fell the princely son of Rognvaldr the Old under his shield".

Ch. 24.

64. Stong þar jarl á Engla... (Arnorr)  
"Upon England's shores..."

Literally, "The Earl bore his banner upon the English fatherland, and ever and anon his army reddened the eagle's tongue. The prince bade [them] carry on the standard steadfastly. Fire flared up. Halls fell in. The armed band pursued the fugitive. The green foe (i.e. the flames) gave forth smoke, and the fiery gleam shot to heaven."

Ch. 241.

- 65n. Margr var millum borga... (Arnorr)

This verse occurs in MS 702 only and may not have been part of the original O.S. It is accordingly not included in the present translation. The following is a literal translation:

"Many a horn-blast was heard among the fortresses where the stout-hearted prince's banner waved. The generous one rushed to battle. No fear fell upon the doughty/

doughty host of the wolf-lord when morn appeared light enough for battle. Swords waved, and the wolves tore at the dead."

## Ch. 26.

72

Gramr mundi sa gomlu... (Arnorr)  
"The warrior prince..."

Literally, "The warrior prince would have brought all the ancient lands under him - [for] he had lost far fewer men - if the scion of Endill could have had a native army to fight for him. The army betrayed the lord of the Shetlanders."

5. Endill: A mythical sea-king, referred to in Pulur, IV.a.2. The "scion of Endill" was of course Earl Thorfinnr.
8. hjaln-brótttr: Lit., "Helm-Odin", ~~and~~ kenning for "warrior". Here gen. plur., in apposition to ilendra, and best translated by an adv. phrase: "to fight for him".

## Ch. 32.

88.

Bjort verör sól at svartri... (Arnorr)  
"The bright sun shall darken..."

As is pointed out in Introd., p. 156, this verse is an ~~inimit~~ imitation of a stanza in the Eddic poem Voluspa.

3. erfiöi Austra: "the burden of Austri" or heaven - Austri being supposed to have held up the sky in the East.
8. "Protector of men".- Really "protector of goethingar".

## Ch. 56.

130n.

Em ek, sitz ýtar hnekðu... (Arnorr)

This verse occurs in Flat. only, along with three others interpolated at the end of ch.56. The other three occur elsewhere in O.S., but this one does not, and is not included in the present translation. The following is a literal translation:

"I am loath to tell of the Earls' fate, after men, as I declare, broke the bands of peace between them. An equal number became the prey of the ravens. The prince raised the blue sail from out the Isles. The chill stormy billow..."

The verse seems to be one of those composed by Arnorr about the battle at Róberry (O.S. ch.26)

## Ch. 58.

139.

Tafl em ek orr at efla... (Rogn. Kali)  
"At draughts I'm a warrior..."

This boasting account by Rognvaldr Kali of his own accomplishments is an imitation of a verse of the same nature by King Haraldr the Tyrant, preserved in

## Ch. 61.

143. Hér hefi ek háfan reistan... (Rogn. Kali)  
 "Here for the ghost..."

2. harð-geðjuðum: Dat. plur. of harð-geðjaðr: "herd-minded", "bold". H.G. translate unsatisfactorily: "in remembrance of our daring". D. gives the word an adjectival sense, with reference to draug, rendering it: "of sternest mood!" But the literal translation, "for bold men" is quite satisfactory if we understand it to mean: "for bold men to see".

## Ch. 72.

182. Sextán hefir ek sénar... (Rogn. Kali)

- 3,4. Jarðir ormvangs: A double kenning impossible to render literally. Ormvengr means "serpent-land", and by metonymy "gold". The whole phrase means thus "homes of gold", and metaphor for "women".

## Ch. 81.

204. Aldr hef ek frétt þat er feldu... (Rogn. Kali)  
 "Ne'er have I heard..."

- 7,8. bræðir bengagls: "Arrow-Feeder", a kenning for "warrior"; here the Earl himself. Lit., "the bread-giver of the wound-goose!"

## Ch. 85.

217. Hengi ek hamri kringðan... (Rogn. Kali)  
 "The hammer-wrought snake..."

Few verses are so compact with kennings as this one. In my verse rendering most of them have been of necessity omitted or simplified. They are, however, of sufficient interest to merit a few notes here.

3. Grimnis sylg: Grimnir was one of the poetic names for Odin; and "Odin's draught" is a kenning for "poetry" derived from the famous story of his drinking the blood of the poet Kvasir in order that the gift of poesy might be brought back to Asgard.
- 2,3. hanga-galgi: "Down-hanging gallows", - a kenning for "arm". The tangr or "hook" of this is the hand.
4. linnr: "snake", the twining, snake-like bracelet of gold seen in most collections of early Norse antiquities.
4. ginnungs brú: "the bridge of the hawk", a less bizarre kenning for "arm". The whole phrase, "the snake of the hawk's bridge", may be rendered simply: "bracelet".
- 6-8. gaglfellis lón: "the lagoon of the hawk", still another circumlocution for "arm". The word laut means a "hollow"; and "the hollow of the lagoon of the hawk" may be taken to mean the hollow of the hand when the fingers are partially closed. "Fingers" is a reasonable rendering.

- Ch. 8. hellis Gauta: Gauta is gen. plur. of Gautr which may either mean an inhabitant of Götland or be one of the many poetic synonyms for Odin, signifying "warrior". The second interpretation is the more likely, and is accepted by F.J. (Skjaldeg. B.I. 480) who takes the whole phrase "warriors of the cave" to mean "giants". But this offers no solution as to who the "Maiden of the giants" may be. In "the warriors of the cave" we have more probably a striking kenning for the irresistible waves that drove Earl Rognvald's ships ashore; the phrase "Maiden of the waves" with her "shining voice" becomes then a simple personification of the storm.
- Ch. 85.
219. Ala kveðst Einarr vilja... (Rogn. Kali)  
"To none of the Earl's men..."
- 3,4. Lit., "Gaut's flood (Gauts gjálfir) fills my mouth"; Gaut's flood being once again "Odin's draught" or "poetry". I have rendered the clause:  
Literally, "Now I am making  
stature and Verses in plenty".
- Ch. 85.
- 221a. Skelk aflar Sif silkis... (Rogn. Kali)  
"The silken dame..."
- D. gives a good translation of this verse in rhymed octosyllabic couplets.
7. eik hlunns: "the oak of the launching-roller"; i.e. "ship".
- Ch. 85.
222. Lætr um oxl sá er útar... (Rogn. Kali)  
"There the old warrior..."
3. Svölnis sliðrvönd: "fearful wand of Odin"; i.e. "sword".
- 5,7. ægis blikruðr: "The shining tree of the sea", a kenning for "gold" used here for the warrior in the tapestry probably because he was worked in gold. D. translates:  
"Bandy-legs will not move forward  
Through the grove of Ocean's brightness".  
But this is an impossible rendering, for blikruðr is nominative.
- Ch. 85.
223. Stendr ok hyggv at hoggva... (Oddi)  
"On the door curtain..."
- 3,4. Baldr Rindar boðvar: "the warrior". Lit., "Baldr of Rindr of war", Baldr being commonly used for "man", and Rindr being one of the Valkyrjar.
- 9,10. Hloeðendr hleypiskiða hlunns: "the sea-faring men". Lit., "the loaders of the skis of the launching-rollers". Oddi is apparently being hard pushed for in the skaldic contest for suitable kennings.

Ch. 85. "I hope to meet the lady out in Spain" - Same as above, but not a loosely used kenning.  
 223n. Fekk í fylkis skykkju... (Rogn. Kali)  
 "A churl clutched firm..."

5. stála-Bjarki: "a Bjarki of swords". The name of the famous mythical hero was used of warriors in general, and here with more than usual reason, for Bothvar Bjarki was noted for strength of his grip. I have paraphrased the expression: "Bjarki's warrior son".

7-8. The punctuation here adopted is that of F.J. (Skjaldeg. B.I. 482) and not that of S.N. which gives the madman the unlikely title of "the dealer of the sword-edge" instead of the Earl.

Ch. 86. Víst er at frá berrflestum... (Rogn. Kali)  
 233. "Golden lady..."

Literally, - "Verily, wise lady of Frothi's meal, thy stature surpasses that of most fair-coifed women. The supporter of the hawk-field lets her hair, gold like silk, fall over her shoulders. I have reddened the greedy eagle's claw."

"Frothi's meal" was a kenning for "gold" derived from the myth of the magic grindstone which ground out whatever it was asked. See Skáldskaparmál, XLII.

"The hawk-field" is "the arm", and "the supporter of the hawk-field" is a kenning for "lady".

4. konan svinna: F.J.'s emendation to Bil en svinna (in Skjaldeg. B.I. 482) seems to me unnecessary.

Ch. 86. Trautt erumver, sem ek vaetti... (Oddi)  
 235. "Scarce worthy of Ermengarde..."

5,6. Bil bríma bauga-stalls: "the lady of the golden bracelets". Lit., "Bil of the armerings of fire", Bil being one of the Valkyrjar.

Ch. 87. Unða ek vel, þá er vanðiz... (Rogn. Kali)  
 241. "Glad am I, this autumn..."

2. vineik: "wine-oak", wine-bearer", "woman".

3. volskr: Translated "French", but applied loosely to the inhabitants of any of the Latin countries. Originally it was used only of the people of Valland or France. In the verses which follow, Ermengarde is referred to as if Spanish. But the choice of epithet appears to have been dependant upon the exigencies of alliteration.

Ch. 87. Vón ák út á Spáni... (Rogn. Kali)  
 243. "In Spain I hope..."

- 1,4. "I hope to meet the lady out in Spain": Here we have not a loosely used epithet, but a definite statement of locality. Yet Narbonne, the home of Ermengarde, is not in Spain but in France. The alternative translation - adopted by H.G. and by D. - is to take the words ut á Spáni with the parenthetical second clause thus: "The fleeing [foe] was soon routed out in Spain". The first line of a verse, however, is not usually divided thus between two independent clauses.

Ch. 87.

244. Vindr hefir völsku sprundi... (Rogn. Kali)  
"An east wind this winter..."

8. sviðris, 702, Fl.: MS reading retained by V. and S.N. It can be nothing but the gen. sing. of Sviðrir, a poetic name for Odin used in Grímnismál, 50, and listed in Pulur, IV.jj.6. D. takes it as descriptive of sundi - "Sviðrir's stormy sound"; but this is unsatisfactory, because we have two transitive verbs in the last four lines, gyrða and rekr, and sviðris must be the object of one of them. Accordingly, F.J. (in Skjalög. B.I. 484) emends to sviðvís, an (unknown) part of a ship ~~used for the whole~~ mentioned in Pulur, IV.z.5. The obvious meaning is, as D. shows, that sail was shortened. As ró is the yard-arm from which the sail hangs suspended, sviðvís would appear to be the sail itself, which is reefed by sliding it along towards the centre of the yard-arm like a curtain along ~~and~~ curtain-pole, and binding it there.

Ch. 88.

253. Eigunver, þar er vági... (Armothr)  
"We watch o'er the sea-steed..."

- 5,6. námdúks lind: "the linden-tree of the dress", i.e. "maiden!"

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GLOSSARIAL INDEXES.

A. PLACE NAMES.

1. Shetland and the Faroes.
2. Orkney.
3. Caithness and Sutherland.
4. Moray, Ross, and the rest of Scotland.
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6. Ireland.
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8. The rest of Europe, etc.

SHETLAND and THE FAEROES.

GLOSSARIAL INDEXES.

ALASUND. 159, 163.

Text:- A. PLACE NAMES.

The same form occurs in the names of islands, e.g. (Skjaldeg. A.I. 647, 83. Islands, Íslur, IV. 808.)

- 1. Shetland and the Faroes.
- 2. Orkney.
- 3. Caithness and Sutherland.
- 4. Moray, Ross, and the rest of Scotland.
- 5. England.
- 6. Ireland.
- 7. Scandinavia, including Iceland.
- 8. The rest of Europe, etc.

But another version was:-

"rade krip & fela"

The second form, ísl, is found in mod. Yell and Yell Sound. This is the predominant form, as in the spellings, in early legal documents.

- í ísla
- íslis, íslis, íslis, íslis
- í íslasandis
- í íslasandis
- íslis, íslis
- íslis
- íslis
- íslis
- íslis
- íslis

When,

When we enquire into the derivation of the name Yell, we find that while there is no feasible etymology for Yell, Yell appears to come from O.N. Ála (from ál, 'water' + land, 'land') + suffix: "a sound" = "Ála's sound"; cp. Alasund, near Alberg. But sounds and straits are not usually named after persons; nor are islands given the name of a person without the addition of a suffix. Like Fetlar and Quana, the other islands in the N.E. of the Shetlands, the name is conceivably of Finnish origin.

Text:- 137<sup>1/2</sup> MSS. 325, M<sup>1</sup> - a Kallastauum (S.N. text).  
M<sup>1</sup> - a Kallastouum.

## 1. SHETLAND and THE FAEROES.

Probably Kallasta, a farm near Balta Sound, Unst; the residence of a bondi Thorleik. It is this identification that makes the M<sup>1</sup> reading preferable to 325 and M<sup>2</sup>. (See Kallastauum). There is a ruined church near to it, and according to Swan there is a tradition of a general thing being held there before the 13th century.

ALASUND. 159, 163.

Text:- 159<sup>1/3</sup> MSS.- 325, Fl., O. - i Alasund.  
163<sup>2/3</sup> MSS.- 325, O. - i Alasund.  
MS. - Flat. - Omits.

The same form occurs in Krákumál, 20 (12th cent.) (Skjaldg. A.I. 647, MS. 1846b), and as ála in a mnemonic list of islands, pulur, IV. bbb.6 (Skjaldg. A.I. 690).

But we have also many forms of the name beginning with jal :-

(iala), ? Su. Elda.  
iali, pul. IV. ccc. (List of fjords, Skjaldg. A.I. 690).  
iali, pul. IV. bbb.4 (List of islands, Skjaldg. A.I. 690).  
(Jali), ? Su. Elda.

That both forms existed side by side is suggested by their occurrence in two forms of an old Shetland Norn rhyme quoted by Jakobsen (Etym. Dict. of Norn Lang. in Shetl. cii - civ). As he heard it in Fetlar, the four lines ran:-

"'rudæ 'kriŋæðæ 'āla."  
(= O.N. rude i kring um Ála: "they rowed round Yell").

But another version went:-

"rudæ kriŋ de jāla."

The second form, however, is that which has survived, in mod. Yell and Yell Sound. This certainly appears to have been the predominant form, as it appears, in a bewildering variety of spellings, in early legal documents:-

<u>i Jala</u>	<u>D. Hjalt.</u> 1485.
<u>Iaale, Iale, Zaill, Zala, Zaile.</u>	<u>O.S.R.</u> 1485.
<u>i Jaelaswndh</u>	<u>D. Hjalt.</u> 1512.
<u>i Jalaswndh</u>	" "
<u>Ielle, Jalle.</u>	<u>O.S.R.</u> 1538.
<u>Jelle.</u>	" 1567.
<u>Yell.</u>	" 1572.
<u>Zell.</u>	" 1574.
<u>Mid Yell.</u>	" 1575.

When/

When we enquire into the derivation of the two forms, we find that while there is no feasible etymology for Jalasund, Alasund appears to come from O.N. Ála (gen. of Áli, pers. n; Lind: Dopn.) + sund: "a sound" - "Áli's sound"; cp. Alaborg, now Aalborg. But sounds and straits are not usually named after persons; nor are islands given the name of a person without the addition of a suffix. Like Fetilár and Ormst, the other islands in the N.E. of the Shetlands, the name is conceivably of Pictish origin.

## BOLLASTAÐIR. 137.

Text:- 137<sup>1/2</sup> MSS. 325, M<sup>2</sup> - a Hallastaubum (S.N.text).  
MS. M' - a Bollastoðum.

Probably Baliasta, a farm near Balta Sound, Unst; the residence of a bondi Thorlakr. It is this identification that makes the M' reading preferable to 325 and M<sup>2</sup>. (See Hallastaðir). There is a ruined church near to it, and according to Munch there is a local tradition of a general Thing being held there before its transference to Tingwall - two facts that give the district some importance. The only other early spelling is Blaeu's Balyesta.

Vigf. and Dasent unaware of the existence of Baliasta (which Munch knew) assumed that the pl. n. is a mistake for Balastaðir, (the parallel name to Balta Sound (from Balti, pers. n. + sund: "a sound")). J.J. (Aarb. 196) derives it from O.N. Bolla (gen. of Bolli, pers. n., Lind: Dopn) + staðir, "farm;" "Bolli's farm."

Cp. Bollastaðir, Icel., Harðarsaga, 80, and several others in Icel. and Norw. (Lind: Dopn.)

Bollesetter (from \*Bollasetr) Shetl. (O.S.R. 1597).

O.N. ll is normally palatalized to [lj] in Orkn. and Shetl. (N.M. Orkn. Norn, XLVI).

## BORGARFJÖRÐR. 111.

Text:- 111<sup>11</sup> - Fl., O. - i Borgarfirde (a Heatlande).  
M<sup>2</sup> - i Borgarfirði.

From O.N. borgar (gen sing. of borg, the Norse name for a broch) + fjörðr: "firth."

Cp. Burray (from Borgar - ey), Orkn.  
Borgadeld (from Borgar - deild) Dunrossness, Shetl. (J.J. Aarb. 81).

Note the atrophy of g with weakening of inflexion ar to a. It was only rarely retained, as in Borgadelds (above), Burgawater (from Borgar-vatn) Sandness, and Broch o' Borgen (from Borginn) Northmaven, Shetl. The change had taken place by the 17th century. Cp. i Borgar firdhi in D.N. I,1 (1299) with Blaeu's Burra Fyrth (1667)

There are two Burra Firths; one in the N. of Unst, and the other/

other in Aithsting, W. Mainland. But Anderson is probably right in selecting the latter (A.60), for Burra Firth in Unst is too bleak for cultivation; and Thorbjorn was apparently a bondi of importance. Anderson refers to the broch on the island of Hebrista from which the firth in Aithsting is named. Such a broch provided good building material for the Norse settler's skáli or hall.

DALR. 138n.

One of several farms called Dale.

DYNRASTARHÖFÐI. 220n.

Perhaps really Sumburgh Head; but the point called the Ness of Burgi is intended, as there is no island opposite Sumburgh Head. See Dynrøst, and note on 220n.

DYNRASTARVÁGR. 220n.

Sumburgh Woe, in which lies the township of Sumburgh. See Dynrøst.

DYNRØST. 280.

Sumburgh Roost, the strong tide which rushes round Sumburgh Head in the South of the Mainland of Shetland at ebb and flow. From O.N. dynr: "noise," and rost: "a roost." The name survives in the name of the parish Dunrossness of which the early spellings are as follows:-

<u>Dynrosnes.</u>	O.S.R.	1506.
<u>Dinrosnes.</u>	"	1510.
<u>Dunrosnes.</u>	"	1558, 1572.

FETILÁR. 135n.

Text:- 135n. M<sup>2</sup>. - of Fetilár.  
 M<sup>1</sup>. - of Hjaltlandi.  
 325 - or Faereyium (S.N's text).

Other spellings in O.N. sources are as follows:-

Faetilør pulur iv. bbb.4 (Skjalǫg. A.I.690).

In addition we have the Rental spellings:-

<u>Fetlar.</u>	O.S.R.	1558.
<u>de Fetlare.</u>	"	1572.
<u>Fetelaa.</u>	"	1575.

Fetlar/

FRÍÐAREY. 130, 166, 174, 177, 178, 180, 181, 281.

Fair Isle. Previous editors have taken the i as short, deriving the name from friðr (gen. friðar): "peace"; the assumption being that the translation "Fair Isle" was due to confusion with O.N. fríðr: "fair". But the original i may quite well have been long. Islands were quite commonly named after persons, and Fríðr (gen. Fríðar) occurs as a mythol. woman's name in Sn. Edda, II. 490, and elsewhere (Lind: Dopn.). This derivation would more easily explain the confusion with the adjective fríðr meaning "fair".

Fetlar in the North Isles. The confusion of the above forms leaves one with the impression that there never was any one definite Scandinavian form, and that the name is, like Ormst and Alasund, of Pictish origin. Munch's derivation from O.N. fótr: "a foot" and leir: "thigh" has, as he admits, "no obvious meaning."

The only possible parallel name in O.N. is Fetlafjörðr on the coast of France where King Olafr Helgi fought a battle about 1014; it is mentioned in a verse of Sighvatr Thorth's son (Skjaldb. B.I. 216, 12). But as the identity of Fetlafjörðr is still unknown, it is of no assistance to us.

FRÍÐAREY. 130, 166, 174, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 281.

~~Fair Isle. Lit., "the isle of peace." From O.N. fríðar, gen. sing. of fríðr: "peace" and ey: "island."~~

FAEREYJAR. 135<sup>21</sup>

The Faroes. Probably a misreading in MS. 325 for Fetilár in M<sup>2</sup>.

GULLBERUVÍK. 219.

Gulber Wick, near Lerwick, where Earl Rognvaldr Kali was ship-wrecked.

From O.N. Gullberu (gen. of Gullbera: "gold-bearer," a fem. n'n) + vik: "bay." (J.J. Aarb. 197). The masc. form of the n'n. occurs in Ldn. 11<sup>29</sup> and elsewhere in Björn Gullberi, and in the pl. n. Gullberastaðir, Ldn. 139<sup>31</sup> (Lind: Bin.).

A partial translation is found in one of the early Rentals:-

Goldberuik. O.S.R. 1572.

HALLASTAÐIR. 137<sup>16</sup>.

Although this name occurs in MSS. 325 and M<sup>2</sup> and has parallels in Norway (e.g. Hallagard, from O.N. \*Hallagarðr, Jämtland, D.N. IX, 213), it is probably a misreading for Bollastaðir (q.v.) in M<sup>1</sup>.

HJALTLAND. Passim.

Shetland. The early spellings and possible derivations of the name are discussed by Munch (Geog. Elucidations in Mém. de la Soc. du N., 1850-60, pp. 91-92) and more recently by Jakobsen (Aarb. 175-176). The latter shows that the name is probably not from the pers. n. Hjalti as that would give us in O.N. Hjaltaland: "Hjalti's/

111.

"Hjalti's land." O.N. Hjalt meant the cross-piece between the hilt and the blade, and may, Jakobsen suggests, have been originally applied to the broad part of the Mainland at the middle of the island - Dunrossness being the blade.

The loss of l before a dental, and development of hj to sh is normal in Shett. Norn. The l appears to have been lost by the 13th century (cp. Hetland, O.S.R. c1190; Thatland; O.S.R.1226). The form with sh appears first in a Latin document in 1289 (O.S.R.) and frequently thereafter. The older spelling with initial H-, or Hj- or Hi- persists in Norwegian documents into the 16th century (e.g: Hietland, O.S.R. 1597).

HUNDHOLMI. 220n.

Hundholm, a small but precipitous island off the Ness of Burgi, in the South of Shetland, now called Horse Island, near which Rognvaldr Kali and a Shetland bondi narrowly escaped drowning. The name Hundholm, so far as I know, is found only in two maps, that of Gordon of Straloch (1653) and that of Blaeu (1667). But R. Monteith's Description of the Isles of Orkney and Shetland, 1633 (ed. Edin. 1711) has Horse Island. The modern name may be therefore as old as 1633, for Gordon and Blaeu used the maps of Timothy Pont who died in 1625.

From O.N. hundr: "dog" and Hólmi: "a small island." (J.J.Aarb. 193). Usually the first element in this compound is inflected.

e.g. Hundegjo (from Hunda-gja), Ness, Shetl. (J.J.)  
Hundsheljer (from Hundz-hellir), Fetlar, Shetl. (J.J.)  
Hundadalr, Ldn. 158<sup>28</sup> (Lind: Dopn).

But probably these three are derived from the pers. ns. Hundi and Hundr, and Hundhólmi from the animal.

MOSEYJARBORG. 275.

The above spelling, found in Flat., is preferable to Morseyjarborg in MS.325, as it is supported by Mósey and Móseyjarborg in Egil.S. (ed. F.J. 101<sup>8</sup>, 102<sup>2</sup>).

The borg or broch on the island of Mousa, still pronounced ['muse] as well as ['musa]. Mósey, according to Jakobsen (Aarb. 132), is probably from mós, gen. sing. of O.Icel. mór: "a peat moss" (cp. Faer. Mogvur); cp. Moo Wick, Fetlar, and Meo Ness, Fair Isle.

SANDR. 137n.

Probably the district of Sand in the W. Mainland. Referred to in an early legal document - a sande, D.N.iii, 1, (1355).

UNUSTADIR. 137n.

From Unu (gen. of Una, f., pers. n. Lind: Dopn.) and staðir/

staðir: "farm"; "Una's farm." The masc. form is found as the first element in many pl. ns.

E.g. Unstad (from O.N. \*Unastaðir), Lofoten, Norway, (D.N.II. 448); and elsewhere.

Identified by Munch and by Jakobsen (Aarb.) with the farm of Ungesty, in Harddswick, Unst. The phonological connection, however, is rather strained. We would have to assume that the medial n had first been palatalized to [nj], and then the inflected syllable lengthened, so that the palatal [j] became a guttural g. But a much more probable derivation of Ungesty is from O.N. \*Ungastaðir: "Ungi's farm," Ungi being a common nickname.

The name Uni appears to survive in Unston, an Orkn. farm name. Is there a farm of this name in Shetland?

ORMST. 137<sup>16</sup>.

The above is the most quoted O.N. form, being found in Sn. Edda, ? (MS. ?) and in the mnemonic list of islands, pulur, iv, bbb. 1 (Skjaldeg. A.I.689). But in the Saga, MS.325 gives Aurmtr, and M' has Aumtr; and MS ? of the Edda has Ornist.

The Rental spellings are a little more consistent:-

<u>Anst.</u>	<u>O.S.R.</u>	1465.
<u>Onst.</u>	"	1491.
<u>Jennst.</u>	"	1538.
<u>Vnst.</u>	"	1572, 1574.
<u>Ønist.</u>	"	1586, 1589.

Although clearly Unst, the Northernmost island of the Shetlands, the name is so variously and meaninglessly spelled in O.N., that it cannot be a native word. It is probably, like Fetilár and Alasund, of Pictish origin. It is difficult to see how the medial r got into the O.N. word; there is no trace of it in the Rental forms or the modern pronunciation.

2. ORKNEY.

ASMUNDARVÁGR. 22n, 27.

Text:- 22n. O.- udi Asmunder voge udi Ragnvalldsø.  
27<sup>5</sup> Hkr., Flat. - til Asmundarvags.

Osmundwall, a narrow bay in S.E. Walls which offers the first shelter to storm - driven ships crossing the Pentland Firth from Thurso. The earliest Rental forms are as follows:-

Ossmondwaw, Osmondwall. M.R. 1492.  
Osmoundwall, Osmondwall. P.R. 1500.

The bay is now called Kirk Hope, the name Osmundwall being used for the district at the head of the bay. Lit., "the voe of Asmundr."

As Munch and all editors with the exception of Vigfusson have noted, it is wrongly stated in O.S. 22n and in Hkr. 139<sup>7</sup> to be in S. Ronaldsay. The parallel passage in the Longer Ol. Tr.S. puts it rightly við Rognvaldzey: "opposite S. Ronaldsay" (Fms. I. 200).

AURRIÐAFJÖRÐR. 168.<sup>18</sup> 171.<sup>17</sup>

Bay of Firth, Mainland, in which now lies the village of Finstown. Clearly identified in O.S. 168<sup>18</sup> where we are told that Damsay lies in it. The full name of Fjörðr (q.v.)

From O.N. aurriða (gen. of aurriði: "a salmon trout") and fjörðr: "a firth."

Cp. aurriða-bekkr, "salmon-trout stream."  
aurriða-vatn, "water." (C.V.)

The first element in the name has not survived. It may however survive in Orkn. Dial. orva-kuithe, a three year old coal fish (q.v. in H.M.: Orkn. Norn.)

Sea-trout are still to be caught on the Kirkwall side of the Firth.

BARÐSVÍK. 283.<sup>1</sup> 299.<sup>5</sup>

Fairly certainly Barth Wick in the S.W. of S. Ronaldsay. From O.N. Barðr, pers. n. (Lind: Dopn.) and vík. The neighbouring farm of Barswick retains the genitive -s.

The neighbouring Barth Head reminds one of Bard Head, Bressay, Shetl., which acc. to J.J. (Aarb.) is derived from/

from O.N. barð: "the edge of a cliff;" cp. De Bord o' Mousa, Shetl., Berde, N.Roe, Shetl.

The original form of the name of the bay may therefore have been Barðvík - which form occurs in one reading in Flt. (O.S.283'). The earliest Rental form is without the s (Barwik, R.E.O. 1544).

BREKKUR. 130<sup>12</sup> 185?

Plur. of O.N. brekka: "a slope", espec. a slope down to the sea. Dasent translates it unnecessarily, and not too accurately, Brink.

The Saga in both instances describes it as a farmstead in Stronsay, the residence of Richard, brother of John Wing and kinsman to Sveinn Asleif's son. There is no trace of either name or building today. But Dr Marwick (P.O.A.S. V. 67) has found several refs. to a "mansion of Brecks" in ~~an~~ old Sasines;-

c.1800. "Mansion house of Brecks at the Dogger shore of Strynie." (now Whitehall.)

Other "mansions" are mentioned in old records as being in Strynie, and Dr. Marwick does not go further than stating that Brecks - which is merely the Engl. plur. form of Brekkur - "was somewhere in the vicinity of the present village of Whitehall."

BYRGISHERAÐ. 86, 87, 121, 131, 133, 134, 303.

The parishes of Birsay and Harray in the West Mainland of Orkney, and more especially the district adjoining the island known as the Broch of Birsay. This island was the original Byrgisey or Birsay from which the combined parishes took their name. cp. Orfjara. Byrgisherað means "the district of the fort," traces of which can be seen on the landward side of the island. On the division of the district, each parish took half of the full name. See note by Dr. Marwick in J.S.C.: Orkn.Par. 148, by the author himself, l.c. 141, 145.

DAMINSEY. 168, 171, 288, 292, 293.

Text:- The correct form is certainly Daminsey. In the two cases where 325 has Damisey it is contradicted by both Flat. and 332, which cannot have derived an error from the same source.

The traditional derivation from St. Adamnan has been finally disposed of by Dr. Marwick in P.S.A.S. LVII. 257-8. As W.J.Watson pointed out (Celt. Pl.N. of Sc., 270) Adamnan occurs in pl.n.s. "regularly" as Eóðhnán; e.g. St. Eunan's Well, Aboyne; Killconan, Campbelltown. The origin of the name/

name Dr Marwick finds in a suggestion of J.J. (Aarb. 232) of O.Ir. dimon, applied in pl. ns. in Orkn., Shetl., the Faroes and Icel. to two objects of the same kind (from O.Ir. di, fem. of da: "two" and either muin: "a ridge," or mun: "a cliff or bank.").

Dr Marwick (l.c.) cites parallels:-

Diamonds, a farm in Deerness, near to two hillocks.

<sup>Dimun</sup>  
Dimarklakkur, two rocks in Breiði Fjörð, Icel.

Dimun, name given to each of two islands in the S. of the Faroes.

Only the outer of the two islands in the Bay of Firth has retained the name, the inner one, the Holm of Grimbister, having taken the name of the neighbouring farm on the Mainland. Blaeu's spelling Damsøy shows that the name had reached its modern form by the 17th century.

Of Blaan's castle on Damsay (see O.S. 168<sup>19</sup> 171<sup>19</sup>) there are, acc. to J.S.C. (Ork. Par. 171), few traces; "all the masonry is gone, but what seems to be the steethe or foundation of the keep is still to be seen on the shore, about 50 yards E. of the old house; there appears to be a large enclosure like that in Gairsay stretching from this to the loch." The large skáli of the castle is later mentioned (288<sup>6</sup>), where Earl Erlendr caroused, and where Rognvaldr Kali and Sveinn spent Xmas, 1154 (293).

The chapel on the island, now to be seen in ruins, may have been the kirkja to which the body of Earl Erlendr was taken after it was found (O.S. 291<sup>4</sup>).

DÝRNES. 45, 46, 267.

Deerness, the most Easterly parish on the Mainland.

A possible derivation from O.Celt. daire: "an oakgrove" finds some support in two sources of information:

Hæ parochia olim erat naemorosa (wooded) et multae feræ hic fuere. Jo Ben, ?1529.

"At the head of Deersound, at Campstoun, there is a little wood, (about 2 pair of Butts in length and one broad and as tall as a man) of the ordinary salix augustifolia or Vimineæ." Matthew Mackaile of Aberdeen on a visit, 1664. (M.G.C. III.4).

But the presence of Scand. parallels make the more obvious explan. of "animal-ness" from O.N. dýr more probable. Cp. Dýrnes, in Romsdal (N.G. XIII, 465), in Nordland (N.G. XVI, 42), and elsewhere. In N.G. the name is usually regarded as a contraction for \*Dýranes: "the ness of animals." No example of/

of this early form is extant, although it may perhaps be inferred from a name like Dýrafjörör, Ldn. 43<sup>8</sup>, etc. The name appears also in Duirinish, Skye, and in Durness, Sutherland.

(q.v.). The vowel in the first syllable has become slightly diphthongized - [ 'de<sup>o</sup>+nas ]. This may have taken place by the 16th century, as the Rental spellings show:-

Deirnes P.R. 1500, 1595.

EFJU/SUND. 187.

Evie Sound. From O.N. efju, gen. of efja, which means a bight of slack or tideless water: the Bay of Evie lies aside from the main current that runs past Aikerness (H.M. in J.S.C.: Orkn. Par. 190.). The mod. pronunciation [ 'evɪ ] had apparently been reached by 1500. cp. Evy, M.R. 1492; Evie, P.R. 1500, 1595.

E/GILSEY. 112, 113, 114, 171, 190, 195.

Egilsay, the scene of the slaying of St. Magnus. As Munch first suggested, the name is derived from O. Ir. eclais: "a church", the O.N. form having the natural appearance of being "Egil's isle." See full discussion by Dr. Marwick in P.S.A.S. LVII. 259-260.

EYJAR. Passim.

Used universally for the Orkney Islands, except in three cases, 99<sup>y</sup>, 101<sup>y</sup>, and 264<sup>c</sup>, when the term refers to the Hebrides.

EYIN HELGA. 302.

Text:- 302<sup>2</sup> Flat. - for hann i Eyna Helga.

The island of Eynhallow between Rousay and Evie. Anehallow, R.E.O. 1584. Name fully discussed in Mr J. Mooney: Eynhallow, ch. IV.

It is probable that Hellisey (O.S. 296<sup>c</sup>) is a scribal error for Eyin Helga.

FJQRDR. 273.

The Bay of Firth. Abbreviation for Aurriðafjörör (q.v.) apparently by the 12th century. It has given its name to the parish. It is similarly used without prefix in Shetl. three times (J.J.: Aarb. 92).

The modern pronunciation [ fɪrθ ] is apparently earlier than first Rental in 1520. cp. Firth, P.R. 1500; R.E.O. 1551. Fyrth, R.E.O. 1553.

quoted above. The phonological connection between Flyðru- and FLETTUNES. is too doubtful to make the identification more than merely a possible one. Flyðrunes may have been almost equivalent in the Orkneys.

A mis-reading in Flat. (O.S. 224) for Glettunes (q.v.).

FLYÐRUNES. 130, 168, 224.

- Text:- 130<sup>y</sup> - MSS.325, Flat. - Flugunes.  
MS. O. - Fludunes.
- 168<sup>20</sup> - MS. Flat. - Flyðrunes.  
MS. O. - Fuldunes, corrected to Fludnes, with the marginal note: "Flud vocant saxa latentia in mare."
- 224<sup>14</sup> - MS.325 - Flyðrunes.  
MS. Flat. - Scribe accidentally omits it, through writing Flettunes for Glettunes in the same line, thus thinking he has copied the right word beginning with F.  
MS. O. Fludunes.

The correct spelling is fairly certainly Flyðrunes, being supported by Flat. and 325; cp. Flyðruney, a flat headland in Viderø, Faeroes, and Flyðrunes in Icel., Gisl. S. 7<sup>8</sup>, 8<sup>8</sup>.

← From O.N. Flyðra "a flounder" † nes.

If the orig. spelling be taken as Fluðunes, it may be derived from fluð, a low skerry or reef covered by the sea. In support of this are three considerations:-

- (i) Fluðunes becomes Mod. Liddieness more naturally than Flyðrunes.
- (ii) There is a low reef at the point of Liddieness in Tankerness.
- (iii) The author of O. derived and described it thus. (vide supra).

The Saga (130<sup>y</sup>) says that it is "in Hrossey." Dasent assumes that, since Blaan, son of Thorsteinn of Flyðrunes, becomes (168<sup>20</sup>) warden of Damsay Castle, Flyðrunes was in Rendal, on the shore opposite Damsay.

Mr J.S.Clouston, however, has identified it with the Point of the Liddle in Tankerness, arguing that the neighbouring farm of Sebay may have been the seat or bú of Thorsteinn (Orkn. Par. 4, and P.O.A.S. V. 46). The derivation is a possible one. For loss of r cp. O.N. Ormst and Unst; for loss of initial f cp. O.N. Flesinn and Lashan (N. Ronaldsay). There is a sunken reef at the Point, where flounders may be caught. But the name may have arisen from the flat shape of point; cp. the parallel Faeroese name quoted/

quoted above. The phonological connection between Flyðru- and Liddie is too doubtful to make the identification more than merely a possible one. Flyðrunes may have been almost anywhere in the Orkneys.

The inflexion was lost by the end of the 18th century.

**GÁREKSEY.** 129, 161, 203-231.

Gairsay, "the island of Gárekr." Gárekr does not occur in extant sources as a pers. n.; but it is probably formed from O.N. Geirrekr on the analogy of Hárekr from Heinrekr, and Bárekr from Boðrikr (q.v. in Lind: Dopn., and Bugge: Arkiv f.n. Fil. II. 246.) Geirrekr appears frequently as Gerik-, Gerek-; and we have Gerixstahir, now Gjerstad, Bamle, Norw. (1390. D.N. I. 382<sup>15</sup>).

For discussion of the site and structure of Sveinn's hall on Gairsay, see Clouston: Hist. of Orkn. 127-128.

The mod. spelling occurs in Rentals in the 16th century (P.R. 1500, 1595; R.E.O. 1575).

**GEFSISNES.** 129.<sup>20</sup>

A mis-reading in Flat. for Hreppisnes (q.v.).

**GEITABERG.** 190.

Interpreted by Dasent as "Goat-hill"; but more probably "the hill of Geiti." Geiti is a weak form of the pers. name Geitir found in place names (Lind: Dopn.). E.g. Geita stahir (1307. D.N., II. 74<sup>16</sup>), now Gjestad, Ullensaker, Norway.

The farm, a 3d land near Scapa (P.O.A.S., V., 46), apparently had the alternative name of Geita-gnipa (also meaning "the hill of Geiti") which occurs in a MS. Rental of 1492 as Gaitnepe and is the modern Gaitnip - the Saga name having failed to survive.

This identity of Geitaberg with Gaitnip is, I think, beyond doubt. Gaitnip is admirably situated for such a view as Borgarr had of Sveinn's merchant-ship crossing Scapa Flow (see O.S., 190); and illustration in J.S.C.: Orkn. Hist. 88).

**GLETTUNES.** 130, 224.

Mentioned twice as the home of Grimkell (O.S., 130<sup>14</sup>, 224<sup>14</sup>) Whether Glaitness in St. Ola or Glaitness in Stronsay, it is impossible to say.

Apparently derived from an O.N. word represented in N.N. by gletta, f., (gen. glettu): "a smooth point." The name may be descriptive/

descriptive, or may have been, as in Tannskaranes, a nickname. That the name is an unusual one is shown by its alteration to Flettunes in its second occurrence in Flat., possibly through confusion with another name in the same sentence, Flyðrunes.

The inflexion was lost by the end of the 16th century.

- e.g. Glaitness. P.R. 1595.
- Gleltnes. P.R. 1614.
- Glettnes. P.R. 1614.
- Gletnes. P.R. 1642.

GRIMSEY. 188, 272.

- Rental Forms. Grymesaye. M.R. 1492.
- Grymesay. " " P.R. 1500, 1595.
- Grymsay. R.E.O. 1586.
- Grimsay. R.E.O. 1587.
- Gramsay. " "
- Gramesay. R.E.O. 1597; P.R. 1642.
- Gremsey. P.R. 1614.

Graemsay, an island in Hoy Sound. From O.N. Grims (gen. of Grimr, pers. n., and by-name for Odin, bulur, jj.3.7.) + ey; island. cp. Grimsey, N. Iceland; Grimbister, Orkn. and Shetl. (from \* Grims bólstaðr), etc.

The mod. pron. [grimse] shows a lowering of O.N. [i] nearly but not quite to [e], and spelled mae (through analogy of L.Sc. Græme). The Rental forms in a and e show that the change took place in the 16th century. The Rentals show similar changes in Grimsetter, St. Ola, which appears with a in R.E.O. 1550, reverting however to y in P.R. 1614 and to i in 1642; and Grimsquoy, St. Ola, has the a form in R.E.O. 1550, e in R.E.O. 1596, reverting to y and i in the 17th century.

HAEY. 130, 185, 188.

Hoy, the "high island," the only island in the Orkneys that can be described as mountainous. "The only inhabitant mentioned in John Wing, of Uppland, brother of Richard of Brecks in Stronsay. From the Rentals we learn that Hoy was bordland - the private estate of the Earls. Hence John Wing must have been one of Earl Paul's goethingar or vassal chieftains, holding a fief of part of Hoy" (J.S.C.: Orkn. Par. 217).

HAFNAVÁGR. 272<sup>20</sup>.

Described in text as being in Hrossey. Identical with Hammavoe, now Hamlavoe, the inner end of Stromness harbour.

From O.N. hafna, gen. of hofn: "harbour" + vágr: "narrow bay." cp. Thamnabhaigh, Lewis (from O.N. \* Hafnavágr) (Henderson, 148), and Hammavoe, Northmaven, Shetl.

HAUGSEID/

HAUGSEIÐ. 16<sup>y</sup>.

The isthmus of Hoxa in the N. of S. Ronaldsay where can still be seen a "howe" where, it may be, Thorfinnr Skull-Splitter, was buried. See Illustration III.

As previous editors have noted, the Saga (MS. Flat.) reading of Haugahaeide, for normal Haugaheiði, is a scribal emendation for Haugseið. The form Haugsaieiði actually occurs in a letter of 4th April 1329 among the estates bought from the High Steward Erling Vidkunson (D.N. II. No.170, or R.E.O). Indeed, the alteration is necessary to explain the modern x which first occurs in the form Hoxa, R.E.O. 1562. For the weakening of -eið to -a, cp. O.N. Skálpeið with Scapa.

From O.N. haugs (gen. of haugr: "a mound", "barrow") + eið: "isthmus." cp. Haugsnæs, Skagafjord, Icel.

The howe was excavated by W.H.Fotheringham in the 40's and his description of it is given in Wilson's Prehistoric Annals of Scotland, II. 107-110 (London, 1863).

HAVARÐSTEIGAR. 17<sup>24</sup>.

From O.N. Havarðr and teigar: "strips of meadow land." cp. Magnustegs, (from O.N.\* Magnúss-teigar), Foula; Ulesteg (from O.N.\* Ólafs-teigr), Fetlar, Shetl. (J.J.: Aarb. 156).

No trace of the name is now to be found in the Orkneys. But in a letter from the antiquarian George Petrie to Munch dated 1st Jan., 1850, is the statement that he has been informed that there are some "muckle or big knowes" on the minister's glebe at Stennis called Havarðstig or -ty (Laerde Brev fraa og til P.A. Munch, 398; Oslo, 1924). If Petrie's information is correct, this may have been Havarðsteigar.

It may be noted that Dietrichson renders the name as Howardsty, as if it still survived (Mon. Orc. 67)

HELLISEY. 296<sup>5</sup>.

Not Helliær Holm as previous editors take it, but probably a scribal error for Eyin Helga, Eynhallow. See J. Mooney: Eynhallow, 39-43. Acc. to Dr Marwick (J. Mooney, l.c. 42), "the story of the cave suggested to some bright scribe that the true name of the island was Hellis-ey, the cave-island."

HLAUPANDANES. 24<sup>22</sup>.

Name not extant, but to be identified with the low headland at Sandwick, Deerness, on which the farm of Skail now stands. Literally, "Land-louper's ness." (See my study of the name in P.O.A.S. IX, 42).

HÓFSNES/

According to the Saga it is in Stronsay, and obviously to be identified with Huipness [hópnes], a hook-shaped promontory enclosing an Oyee in the N.E. of the island. The Saga states that Sveinn and Anakol lay "off Huipness" in wait for Earl Erlendr. But as Dr. Marwick points out (P.O.A.S. V. 67), they probably took shelter on the inner side of the Ness, in the Oyee of Huip. Earl Erlendr approached "from the open sea" (af hafi), that is, from the East, probably round the North of Papa Stronsay. It is suggested, however, by Mr Clouston (Orkn. Par. 290)<sup>1861</sup> the selection of Hófsnes for an anchorage may have been because Sveinn's brother-in-law Thorfinnr Brusi's son was, it may be, the owner of the farm of Huip; and this would allow us to assume that he anchored not in the Oyee but on the other side of the ness, beside the farm.

The derivation of the name presents several problems. In all MSS. (332, 325, Flat.) the o is short, suggesting a derivation from O.N. "hof: "a heathen temple." For other traces of heathen worship see P.O.A.S. V. 70. A large mound below the farm of Huip still awaits excavation.

But it is more probable that the name originated in the hóp or inlet called redundantly today the Oyee of Huip. Noreen in his Altisl. Gram. § 247 points out the O.N. and O. Icel. dislike for the consonantal combination ps and quotes an O. Icel. example from Heiðarvíga Saga (ed. Kálund, 64) of Ó. Icel. Hófs as gen. sing. of Hóp. This seems to be our name, and I take the liberty of assuming that the o was long - the scribes leaving it short on the false analogy of hof: "a temple."

It may be added that one requires orig. Hóp to account for the mod. pronunciation [hóp] (O.N. ó > ø. H.M.: Orkn. Norn. XLI); and for the Rental spellings:-

<u>Hupe.</u>	<u>R.E.O.</u> 1422; <u>S.C.R.</u> 1595.
<u>Hwpe.</u>	<u>P.R.</u> 1595 pr.
<u>Huip.</u>	<u>P.R.</u> 1595 pe.

I have to thank Mr William Scott of the farm of Huip for answering a number of queries regarding the farm and its field names.

HREPPISNES. 129, 302.

Rapness in Westray.

This name, now contracted to Rapness, is derived, as frequently happens, from a man's name. It is "the ness of Hreppir," a bye-form of the more frequent pers. name Hrappr familiar to readers of Njáls Saga. Cp. two Norwegian farm names: Reppeskaal (from O.N. \*Hreppis skáli: "Hreppir's hall") in Hedrum (Lind: Dopn); and Repshus (from O.N. \*Hreppis hus: "Hreppir's house") in Eidskogen, Hedemarken (N.C., III., 229).

It may be noted that although the vowel in the first syllable has changed in spelling to a, it retains today a markedly mid-front/

The other MSS., 325 and Flat., have a Karrarabúsum "in Karraton." But this is a fairly obvious scribal error in their favour.

mid-front pronunciation, [raepnɪs]. The modern form appears first in a Manuscript Rental as Rapnes in 1492.

HRÓLFSEY. 128, 159-302.

Text:- MS. Flat. has Rolfsey in three places (161n, 188n, 299n) where Nordal, on the authority of MSS. 325 and O, reads Hrossey.

Rousay, "the island of Hrolfr."

The following Rental forms show that the older pronunciation appears to have existed for some time alongside the modern contraction [fause]:-

<u>Rollesey</u> (Rowsey).	R.E.O. 1369.
<u>Rowsay</u> .	P.R. 1500; R.E.O. 1564.
<u>Rolsa</u> .	R.E.O. 1531.
<u>Rousay</u> .	P.R. 1595.

The antiquities and Saga references are fully discussed by Dr. Marwick in P.O.A.S. II.15-21.

HROSSEY. Passim.

The Mainland of the Orkneys. Obsolete. From O.N. hross: "a horse" + ey. Cp. Rossanes, Weisdale, Shetl. and Rossahul, Burrafirth, Unst, Shetl., which show the genitive inflexion which is lost (or may not have existed) in Hrossey.

Among possible explanations of the name may be that the Norsemen found ponies there in large numbers. The name may, of course, be a translation from O. Celt.

HOFN. 181<sup>10</sup>.

This "Haven" in Westray can hardly be anything other than that of Pierowall. Extensive Norse grave finds have been made on the links there, and Brøgger (Anc. Emigr, 119-120) shows that they date back as far as the 9th century. Such proof of early settlement suggests that Pierowall was the Hofn par excellence. The village and a church are mentioned in O.S. 182<sup>3</sup>.

According to Mr Clouston (Orkn. Par. 332) Helgi's residence at Hofn must have lain in the 36d land of Waa. See also P.O.A.S. V. 46.

JADDVARARSTADIR. 130<sup>9</sup>.

"The farm of Jaddvor." This name occurs only in O. (paa Jadvarstodum) as the residence in the early 12th century of Jaddvor, daughter of Earl Erlendr, mother of Borgarr of Geitaberg.

The other MSS., 325 and Flat., have a Knarrarstaubum: "in Knarston." But this is a fairly obvious scribal error in their common/

common original, Nordal's Z. For in Knarston there lived in 1136 Arnkell and his sons (O.S. 168<sup>2</sup>), and in 1154 Botolfr Bungle (O.S. 286<sup>15</sup>).

As a name, Jaddvararstaðir is now lost. The earliest rentals have no trace of it. It was probably a neighbouring farm to Geitaberg (q.v.).

Mr Clouston (Orkn. Par. 27) appears to think it an alternative name for Geitaberg; he is reading O.S.130 in the Flat. and 325 text, which suggests that Borgarr lived at Jaddvararstaðir.

KIRKJUVAGR. Passim.

Kirkwall, the capital of the Orkneys. Cp. Kirkjuvágir, Helgeland, Norw., (Fins. IX. 340). As the following Rental forms show, it had attained its mod. pronunciation ['kirkwə] by the middle of the 15th century.

<u>Kirkwau.</u>	R.E.O.	1435.
<u>Kirkwaw.</u>	R.E.O.	1438
<u>Kyrkwaw.</u>	R.E.O.	1480.
<u>Kirkwall.</u>	P.R.	1500.
<u>Kyrkvall.</u>	R.E.O.	1510.
<u>Kirkvald.</u>	"	1532.
<u>Kirkwald.</u>	"	1547.
<u>Kirkuall.</u>	"	1550.
<u>Kyrkwall.</u>	"	1577.
<u>Kirkvall.</u>	"	1579.

KJARREKSSTAÐIR. 269, 273.

This name, occurring twice (269<sup>16</sup>, 273<sup>21</sup>; MSS. 325. Fl.) is fairly certainly to be identified with the bú and castle of Cairston near Strommess. (For full study of castle, and general history and topography of the estate, see Clouston: The Orkney Bús, P.O.A.S. V. 41-50; and Three Norse Strongholds in Orkney, P.O.A.S. VII. 57-74).

Literally, "the farm of Kjárrekr." Kjárrekr is not listed as an extant pers. n. or n'm by Lind. It may, however, be formed by adding the common suffix -rekr to the early pers. n. Kjarr (Lind: Dopn.)

It may be noted that Munch (N.H. III. 849n) emended the name Knarrarstaðir, Knarston, in order to explain Arni's flight from the battle there to Kirkwall. But Clouston (S.H.R. XVI. 20n and Hist. Orkn. 112n) shows that this is unnecessary. Only at Cairston is there a castle. As very similar fights took place at Cairston and Knarston, he argues that Arni's flight has possibly become attached to the wrong battle.

The following Rental forms show that the name had its mod. pron. ['kerstən] by the beginning of the 15th century:-

<u>Kerstane</u>	M.R.	1492.
<u>Kerston.</u>	M.R.	1492; S.C.R. 1595.
<u>Karstane.</u>	P.R.	1500.
<u>Kairstane.</u>	P.R.	1595.
<u>Cairstane.</u>	P.R.	1614.
<u>Cairsten, -in.</u>	P.R.	1614.

KLIFSEIÐ. 267<sup>4</sup>

A mis-reading in MS.325 for Skalpeið in MSS.332 and Flat.

(The name may mean "the lobe of the ...")

KNARRARSTADIR. 130, 168, 194, 285, 286.

Knarston, St. Ola, the residence in 1136 of Arnkell and his sons (168<sup>2</sup>) and in 1154 of Botolfr Bungle (286<sup>16</sup>). Mr Clouston argues that Knarston and the neighbouring farm of Lingro once made up a bú; see P.O.A.S. V. 49.

From O.N. Knarrar, (gen. of Knorr, pers. name. (Lind) + staðir: "farm." Knorr also means "a ship" and Dasent interpreted the name as "the Stead of Ships." But there is no good harbourage nearer than Scapa; and staðir is usually preceded by a pers. name.

As the following Rental forms show, the mod. spelling, and probably the mod. pronunciation ['narstən] were attained by 1500:-

<u>Ovir and Nethir Knarstane.</u>	M.R. 1492.
<u>Ovir Knarstane.</u>	P.R. 1500.
<u>Nethir Knarstane.</u>	P.R. 1500.
<u>Knarstane.</u>	P.R. 1595.

MULI. 162, 268.

Mull Head, Deerness, often called locally "The Mull."

From O.N. Múli: (1) "muzzle," "snout."  
(2) "a headland."

Cp. Blue Mull, Unst, Shetl.  
Mula, Northmaven, Shetl. (J.J. Aarb. 133).

NORÐREYJAR. 172<sup>25</sup>

The "North Isles" of the Orkneys. The name appears only once in the Saga, although in frequent modern use. One is especially surprised not to find it employed by the original author of those confusing chapters where Brusi, Thorfinnr and Einarr are quarrelling over the "thirds" of the Orkneys. Probably the explanation is that the name is a late one; that at the time of its use in Rognvaldr Kali's Saga (O.S. 172<sup>25</sup>) it is still more of a description than a pl. n. And its lateness is explained by the fact that the early settlers in the Orkneys did not think so much in terms of North and South, as of East and West; e.g. West-ray (from vestr - ey); Auskerry (from \*austr - sker).

ORKAHAUGR. 273'

The only other occurrence of the name is in the Maeshowe rune:- iorsala farar brutu orkoug: "The pilgrims to Jerusalem broke into Orkahaugr." This identifies it clearly with the famous chambered/  
h

chambered mound of Maeshowe. Munch's suggestion of a farm Orkhill (adopted by Nordal) is quite erroneous; so also is Vigfusson's "Orquill, now called Maeshowe."

(The name may mean "the howe of the Orcs," the Pictish tribe)

I venture no interpretation of how and when first element ~~Or~~ Orka became Maes. For the word Maes in pl. ns. see Dr Marwick's discussion on the group of names in Sanday with this element, in P.O.A.S. I, 27, and P.S.A.S. LVII, 260.

ORKNEYJAR. Passim.

I shall not attempt an excursus on the many early references to the Orkneys and the various interpretations of the name. The most valuable treatment of the name is to be found in a pamphlet by Professor W.J. Watson, The Picts: Their Original Position in Scotland, publ. by The Inverness Courier, Inverness, 1921. He gives a list of the early references to the Orkneys in Classical and O. Irish sources (l.c. 10-14); and he is of the opinion that the name is of tribal origin, the Orcs (like the Cats of Caithness) being a section of the Picts, Ore being the O.Ir. for "a wild boar" (l.c. 23-24).

The O. Celtic name which the Norsemen heard was probably Innse Orcc: "the islands of the Orcs." A normal O.N. translation of this would be \*Orka-eyjar, becoming contracted to \*Orkeyjar, and giving a modern form \*Orkey. For such a form parallels could be found in Orkahaugr (q.v.), the Ness of Ork in Shapinsay, and several Ork names in Shetland (J.J. Aarb. 245). But there is a medial n in the O.N. and the modern forms. This was either taken over from some O. Celt. bye-form of the name that has not survived, or was added on the analogy of O.N. orkn: "a seal" - "Seal-isles" being a not inaccurate description of the island-group.

PAPEY inn LITLA. 77!

Papa Stronsay, "the smaller Papey," in contrast to the larger Papa Westray. From O.N. papa (gen. plur. of papi: "priest" or "pope") + ey. For an exhaustive study of this pl. n. element, see J.J. Aarb. 217. As explained in the Prologue to Ldn., Papar was the name given in Icel. to the Culdee monks who settled there and in other northern lands, Orkney, Shetland and the Hebrides. Names with this element are thus of great antiquity, going back to the Viking period.

In Papa Stronsay there is to be seen the ruins of a possibly Culdee chapel dedicated to St. Nicholas, in the S.E. of the island. It is described in the Old Stat. Account (J.S.C.: Orkn. Par. 318).

It may be noted that there is a Papa Little in Shetl., and a Papa Stour (from O.N. Papey inn stóra, "the great").

The mod. pron. is still ['pape] in spite of the spelling Papa. Cp. the earliest Rental form, Papay Stronsay, R.E.O. 1566.

PAPEY/

PAPEY (inn MEIRI). 79, 173.

Text. 79<sup>18</sup>, MSS. 325a, 325, Flat. - til Papeyiar hinnar meiri.

173<sup>16</sup> MS. Flat. - i Papey.

"Papey the Greater", now Papa Westray, or, more properly, as it is called locally, just Papey. Indeed, as Dr Marwick points out (P.O.A.S. III. 36) the Saga name is really just Papey (173<sup>16</sup>); in the other ref., inn meiri is added merely to distinguish it from Papey inn Litli in 77<sup>1</sup>. The earliest Rental form is Papay in Westray, R.E.O. 1492.

In Papey Thorsteinn Ragna's son and his mother had a bú, probably, says Clouston, either mod. Backaskaill or Breckaskaill (Orkn. Par. 337). On Papey also is the chapel dedicated to St. Tredwell who appears in O.S. 326<sup>24</sup> as Trollhoena. Among the graves still visible round this chapel may be that of Rognvaldr Brusi's son, who acc. to O.S. 79<sup>18</sup> was buried in Papey. See further Marwick: Antiq. Notes on Papa Westray in P.O.A.S. III, 31-47.

PAPULI. 107<sup>16</sup>, 109<sup>6</sup>, 172<sup>21</sup>, 285<sup>7</sup>.

Text. MSS. 325a, 325, Flat. - i Papuli, i Papule.

This name is usually derived from O.N. \*papa-býli: "the abode of the papar or priests." (See note on Papey). It is obviously a name of great antiquity. First the inflexional -a has atrophied; then pb has been assimilated to pp, giving the form found in Ldn. 98<sup>16</sup>, Pappýli, and in Papil, Unst, Shetland, of which the following early forms are extant:-

j Papile. D.N. III. 310 (1360).  
j Papiliu D.N. I. 2 (1405).

It will be noted, however, that the Orkney form has ú and not y in the penultimate syllable. Now ú is not the normal development of O.N. y in the Orkney Norn (H.M.: Orkn. Norn, XLII). There seem to be two alternative explanations of this:-

(i) The ú in Papúli is the unmutated y of \*Papabyli. For parallel instances, see H.M.: Orkn. Norn, XLVIII.

(ii) The second element in the compound was not býli but ból (dat. sing. bóli): "a farm", "a settlement." Acc. to H.M.: Orkn. Norn, XLII, ú is a frequent development from O.N. ó in the Orkney Norn, and took place at a very early period. The Saga name would therefore be \*Papúl, the dat. sing. of which, Papúli gives us the extant Saga form, and, by a shifting of stress, the modern name Paplay. This shifting appears to have taken place by the 16th century, as the Rental forms show:-

Paple, Mnd. R.E.O. 1509.  
Paplay, S. Ron. M.R. 1492, P.R. 1500, R.E.O. 1561.  
Papla, S. Ron. R.E.O. 1562.

Bayble in Harris (G. Pabaill) seems to be derived from the same orig. \*Papaból.

There/

There are two districts called Paplay in Orkn., one in W. Holm, Mnld., the other in W. of S. Ronaldsay. There is no indication in O.S. as to loc., except that it must be near Scapa, since Thorbjorn Clerk turns aside thither on his journey from Caithness to Scapa (285<sup>7</sup>), and some distance from Orphir, since Sveinn Asleif's son is suspected of hiding there after slaying Sveinn Breast-rope in Orphir (172<sup>21</sup>). Both places satisfy these conditions; and Dasent (Index) thinks both are required, one for 107, the other for the other refs.

But several factors point to Holm. (i) Munch (quoted, A.96) argued that the name of the island is usually added in O.S. when the Mnld. is not meant. But this does not always hold. It is more sound to argue that Papúli, being the larger farm of the two - it was originally a 36d land (J.S.C. in P.O.A.S. II, 66) - was well enough known to require no further specification.

(ii) Papúli in O.S. was bordland or Earldom property; and Paplay in W. Holm seems to have been so. The facts are as follows. Gunnhildr, daughter of Earl Erlendr gets a bú in Papúli - prob. only the part of the large estate due her by odal right - when she is married to Kol Kali's son (O.S. 107<sup>46</sup>). And Thora, widow of Earl Erlendr lives at Papúli at a bú after she is married to Sigurthr (O.S. 109<sup>6</sup>). This may be the same bú as Gunnhild's; for Gunnhildr may have given it up when she went to Norway with her husband (O.S. 107<sup>19-20</sup>); or it may be another part of the estate.

It may be argued of course that Papúli may have belonged to Sigurthr and not to Thora. But it is more simple to imagine this woman, of good Icel. stock, and strong-minded enough to feast the murderer of her son, keeping her ancestral estates under her eye, and possibly even intact, and passing them on to her son by her second husband - apparently her only surviving one - Hakon the Elder (O.S. 172<sup>21</sup>, 285<sup>7</sup>).

In passing into the hands of Hakon it passed out of the Earldom property. This might explain away the fact that Paplay is not mentioned as bordland in the early Rentals.

But that Paplay in Holm has the distinct exterior marks of a bordland bú is amply demonstrated by J.S.C. (P.O.A.S. V.66). The bú referred to in O.S. 107, 109, may have been what the Rentals call the Bull of Skail (now represented by two farms called The Bu), with the surrounding umbesettors or small farms, and a chapel on the shore.

#### PETTLANDSFJÖRÐR. Passim.

The Pentland Firth. The early Norse raiders must have called the North of Scotland Péttland, the land of the Péttir or Picts. Hence we read in Saxo Grammaticus that Ragnarr Lothbrog ravaged in Scotland and Petland (ed. Muller, IX. 448).

There are many Pétrr names in Shetl. See J.J. Aarb. 213, 217.

The intrusive n now fairly universally added in pronunciation is a modern emendation the origin of which I have not been able to trace.

RAUDABJÖRG. 68, 69, 88.

The site of the sea-battle between Earls Thorfinnr and Rognvaldr Brusil's son. Most probably to be identified with Robery, a headland on the South side of Cantick Head, S. Walls.

From O.N. rauða, gen. sing. of rauði: "red iron ore," once supposed by Norse settlers to be found in all red stone or soil (C.V.); and O.N. björg, plur. of bjarg: "a rock," used collectively in the sense of "a cliff."

A full discussion of the very problematical identity of the headland will be found in my study, Some Saga Pl. Ns. in P.O.A.S. IX. 43. See also J.S.C.: Hist. Orkn. 47-49.

REKAVÍK. 122<sup>16</sup>, 127<sup>16</sup>.

Either Rackwick [ræk'wik] in the W. of Hoy, or Rackwick on Rapness, Westray. Given as the residence of Thorljotr, son-in-law of Frakokk and Ljotr of Sutherland (122<sup>16</sup>). Clouston (Orkn. Par. 217) thinks that Rackwick in Westray must be meant, because Thorljotr was "too important a man to have so miserable a fief as Rackwick in Hoy," and "because it was bordland property." But it is more likely that Frakokk would marry her daughter to a man in Hoy just across the Pentland Firth than to one in far distant Westray. And the fact that Thorljotr sent his son Oliver the Unruly to Frakokk in Sutherland to foster (127<sup>15</sup>) suggests also that the nearer of the two to Scotland is the Rekavik of the Saga. In Hist. Orkn. 78n, Clouston suggests a third (less probable) identification of Rackwick near Stromness. The identity, I think, is still an open question.

There are two possible and equally probable derivations.

- (i) From O.N. reka (gen. of reki: "something that has drifted ashore") + vik: "bay." Cp. rekaströnd: "drift strand," where whales or trees are driven ashore. Rackwick, the only bay in the W. of Hoy, must have much drift wood washed in.
- (ii) From O.N. Reka, gen. of Reki, a nickname occurring once (Lind) in D.N. IV, 733<sup>13</sup> (1484), + vik.

The Rental forms show that the inflexion had as usual been lost by 1500.

<u>Rakwic.</u>	<u>M.R.</u> 1492,	<u>P.R.</u> 1500.
<u>Rackwick</u>	<u>P.R.</u> 1595.	
<u>Raikwik.</u>	<u>P.R.</u> 1614.	

The last form is of interest in showing the [æ] sound (by back-mutation from O.N. e) which has survived till today, in spite of the mod. spelling a.

RENNADALR. 290<sup>14</sup>, 292<sup>2</sup>.

Text:- MS. 325. - til Rennudals.  
 MSS. 332, Flat. - til Rennadals.

The correct form is certainly Rennadalr. In the two cases/

cases where 325 has Rennudalr, it is contradicted by both Flat. and 332, which cannot have derived an error from the same source. And 332 has the best, and 325 the worst spelling of all the MSS. Cp. notes on Daminsey and Skálpeið where the same orthographical variations occur.

The parish of Rendall. The etymology is difficult. The Rental forms are too late to give any assistance.

<u>Rendale.</u>	<u>M.R.</u> 1492.
"	<u>P.R.</u> 1500, 1595.
"	<u>R.E.O.</u> 1503.
<u>Rendaill.</u>	<u>R.E.O.</u> 1565.
<u>Randell.</u>	<u>R.E.O.</u> 1580.

(Note the back-mutation of e to a in the first element; cp. Rekavík and Rackwick).

The first element in the name appears to be the same as that in Rennabú (Fms. VIII, 37, 333), now Rennebo, a farm in S. Trondhjem, Norw. (N.G. XIV, 166). It appears at first sight to be connected with the O.N. river name Renna ("a stream") (Norske Elvenavnene, 190). But that gives us a genitive Rennu, which probably was in the mind of the copyist who transcribed the name wrongly in MS. 325.

In Ark. f. nord. Fil. XXII, 112, I find a suggested solution by Magnus Olsen. On the analogy of the formation of O.N. birki: "a group of birch-trees" from bjork: "a birch-tree," he deduces \*renni (gen. \*renna): "a group of houses" from rann: "a house." Rennadalr is thus the "dale of houses." The suggestion does not seem to me a very good one, but I add it for what it is worth. Some connection with Renna is more probable, although no proof of this seems possible.

The original district of Rendall was probably, Dr Marwick points out, (J.S.C.: Orkn. Par. 190n), the small valley at the foot of which stands the Hall of Rendall - past which runs a small stream which may have given it its name.

RINANSEY. Passim.

It has been customary to regard Rinansey (now N. Ronaldsay) as "the Island of St. Ringan or Ninian," support being found in the fact of church sites dedicated to that saint on the island. It is so regarded for example by Rev. A.B.Scott in his article Nynia in Northern Pictland in S.H.R. II, (1905), 382.

Ringan, however, is the Lowland Scots form of the name and is much too late to be borrowed by the early Norwegian settlers in the Orkneys. The Gael. form of the name, Truinnean, is phonetically an impossible derivation.

We are forced to classify Rinansey in the N.E. of the Orkneys with Unst, Yell and Fetlar in the N.E. of Shetland as words of unsolved etymology; they are conceivably of Pictish origin.

The change from Rinansey to Ronaldsay is fairly certainly due to Mainland or even Scottish influence. Local folk still refer/

refer to their island as Rinnalsay. The first occurrence of the corrupted form is in Fordoun's Revaldisay (14th cent.), where the y, as Dr Marwick remarks in P.O.A.S. I, 53, is probably a mistake for n. Jo Ben's Randlsay (?1529) shows the confusion surrounding the name. Blaeu's Ranals øy (1667) gives a fair rendering of the true local form.

The bu of Thorsteinn Ragna's son can be located near the farm of Busta (from O.N. \*Bolstaðr) in the S. of the island; Busta was a 9d land and had the usual chapel (J.S.C.: Orkn. Par. 251).

ROGNVALDSEY. Passim.

South Ronaldsay. The mod. pronunciation ['rɒnəldse] has existed from Norse times. Cp. Ronaldsey, R.E.O. 1329; Ronaldsay, R.E.O. 1492, 1503.

The first recorded instance of "South" being added to the name, to distinguish it from North Ronaldsay (once Rinansey) is in 1570 (R.E.O.).

SANDEY. 166, 185, 268, 281, 294.

Sanday, the "sand isle." One of the first islands to be settled by the Norsemen. (See J.S.C.: Orkn. Par. 247; H.M.: Antiq. Notes on Sanday in P.O.A.S. I, 21).

SANDVIK. 24, 30, 45, 48, 288.

Sandwick in Deerness, where in the farm of Hlaupandanes lived Thorkell Fosterer, and where a century later Sveinn paid a visit to his kinswoman Sigrithr (288<sup>9</sup>).

Rental forms:-

<u>Sandvyk.</u>	<u>R.E.O.</u>	1534.
<u>Sandvik.</u>	"	1561.
<u>Sandwick.</u>	<u>P.R.</u>	1595.

SKALPEIÐ. 168, 191, 267n, 284, 285, 306.

The form is certainly Skálpeið, although MS. 325 in one instance has Klifseið, where 332 and Flat., two MSS. not having the same source, have Skálpeið. Cp. notes on Daminsey and Rennaðalr.

The eið or isthmus of Scapa, which divides the Mainland into two large unequal areas.

The first element in the name appears to be O.N. skálpr: (a) "sheath for a dagger;" (b) "ship," found only in Gylfaginning, and in pul. IV, 2,3. Perhaps it was named in the latter sense through the custom of dragging boats over it from the Peerie Sea in Kirkwall to Scapa Flow.

The following list of Rental forms shows that, as with Haugseið/

Haugseið, the suffix had weakened by 1500, and that, as with Hrolfsey, the l was lost during the course of the 16th century.

- Scalpaye. M.R. 1492.
- Scalpay P.R. 1500, R.E.O. 1578.
- Scalpa. R.E.O. 1595.
- Scapa. P.R. 1595.
- Scapay. P.R. 1642.

The last of these forms still represents the local pronunciation.

**SKEGGBJARNARSTAÐIR. 268.**

From Skeggbjarnar (gen. of Skeggbjorn: "bearded bear," a nickname, Lind: Bin.)+ staðir: "a farm." A farm named after an early bondi.

Anderson, followed by Vigf. and Nordal, identified it with some farm near Skebro Head in Rousay. But this seems to be in the wrong place.

It is probably (but not necessarily) in Deerness. Anakol is in Deerness (O.S. 267<sup>18</sup>) and sends Gauti of Sk. to Sveimn who has rounded Mull Head from the South (O.S. 268<sup>1</sup>). But there is no trace of the farm today, or on any map, or in the Rentals.

**STEINSNES. 17<sup>22</sup>.**

Stennis. The name Steinsnes occurs only once (17<sup>22</sup>) in Flat. (The reading in O is not given in Nordal's ed. and might be of further assistance). It seems necessary to connect the name with the circle of Standing Stones on the spit of land that forms the inland "ness" between the lochs of Harray and Stennis. But Steins is gen. sing., not gen. plur. We expect \*Steinanes - a form that is much more likely to be contracted to mod. Stennis ['stenəs]. There is no medial s in any of the Rental forms:-

- Stanes, Staness. M.R. 1492.
- Stanehous. P.R. 1500.
- Stannes. R.E.O. 1527.
- Stennis. R.E.O. 1546.
- Stanehous. R.E.O. 1551, P.R. 1595.
- Stenhous. R.E.O. 1595.

Blaeu's Stonesthous has the medial s; but no account can be taken of such a corrupt form.

It would be interesting to know if O., the M. Dan. trans. of the Saga, has the medial s. But even without that information we are fairly certain in assuming that the Saga form is really \*Steinanes, which was altered to Steinsnes by the scribe of Flat. or of some earlier MS. either by mistaking the a for an s or mistaking the first element in the name for the pers. n. Steinn, gen. Steins (as in Stainsby, Derbyshire).

There are several parallel names to Stennis - Steinnis, Lewis; Stennes, Northmaven, Shetl. But these may be orig. O.N. \*steinhus: "stone house" (J.J. Aarb. 114). The Rental form Stanehous shows that/

that a similar folk etymology for Orkn. Stennis must have been current in the 16th century, no doubt suggested by the chambered mound of Maeshowe nearby.

The a in the first syllable in the Rental forms shows the sound [e] which has persisted from the O.N. period till today in spite of the mod. spelling Stennis.

There is no ref. in O.S. to any particular people living at Stennis. But ruins of a castle have been discovered. See J.S.C. Orkn. Par. 167-168, and P.O.A.S. V, 47.

STRAUMEY. 300<sup>14</sup>.

The island of Stroma. From O.N. straumr: "stream-tide" + ey: "island;" the "stream-tide" being that which flows through the Pentland Firth in which Stroma lies.

STRJONSEY. 130, 166, 172, 185, 268.

Text:- The spelling is fairly certainly Strjónsey, which is found in MSS. 332, O., 325, and in three instances in Flat. In 130<sup>12</sup> Flat. has Streamsey and in 172<sup>27</sup> Straumsey; the latter apparently a scribal effort to give meaning to an unknown word. Curiously enough we find Stromesay in the 14th century Scottish historian Fordun.

The island of Stronsay. The meaning of the name is uncertain. The earliest Rental form is Stronsay, R.E.O. 1535. There are many parallels among Scand. pl. ns. with the element Strjón (see N.G. X, 72); and the Danish island Strynø may be connected with the same root. Magnus Olsen (N.G. l.c.) derives the name tentatively from a word represented in O.E. by strēon: "gain", "profit," and hence, "places rich in fishing, etc." Strjóna occurs as the nickname of an Englishman Eadrik in Flat. II, 22, and elsewhere. Dr Marwick (P.O.A.S. V, 73) offers another O.E. parallel in Bede's name for Whitby Strēones-halh, which Bede translates sinus fari: "beacon-bay." But, as Dr Marwick says, there seems no reason to call Stronsay "Beacon-island." Olsen's etymology is more probable.

SVEFNEY. 167<sup>18</sup>.

A misreading in Flat. for Svíney (q.v.).

SVELGR. 188<sup>7</sup>.

The famous Swelkie whirlpool near Stroma in the Pentland Firth. O.N. svelgr: "a whirlpool." In Grottasongr, Elder Edda, it was fabled to be caused by the sea being sucked down through the eye of the quern "Grotti" which grinds the salt for the sea. Its terrors seem to have been a byword among the Norsemen. In O.S. 188<sup>7</sup>, Sveinn is described as sailing "between Hoy and Graemsay, east of Swelkie and thence to the Moray Firth" - a sentence which gives it an importance that seems greater than its/

its due.

In Ol. H.S. ch. 184 (Hkr. 374) Earl Hakon Eirik's son's ship is lost at sea on his way from Norway to England, possibly in the Pentland Firth; and "they who believe this say he was driven into the Swelkie" (Hkr. l.c.). Theodericus (ed. Storm, 31) calls the Swelkie "Charybdis" and goes out of his way to describe its terrors. In Hak.S. ch. 327, King Hakon loses a ship in the Swelkie.

SVÍNEY. 130<sup>3</sup>, 167<sup>16</sup>

Text:- MS. 325. - 130<sup>3</sup>, 167<sup>16</sup> - Sviney.  
MS. Flat. - 130<sup>3</sup>. Sviney.  
167<sup>16</sup> Svefney.

Spelling clearly Sviney, Flat's Svefney in 167<sup>16</sup> being an unexplainable scribal error.

The island of Swona in the Pentland Firth, residence of "a poor man" Grimr, and his two stalwart sons Asbjorn and Margathr.

From O.N. svína (gen. plur. of svín: "swine") + ey:  
"island." Cp. Swine Holm near Gairsay (O.N.\* svína-hólmr).

The O.N. form has undergone little alteration in pronunciation beyond the shortening of the first vowel. The first Rental form - Swinnay, R.E.O. 1550 - still represents the local pronunciation. The spelling with o, however, is of almost equal antiquity:-

Swonay. R.E.O. 1566.

TANNSKARANES. 129, 161, 162.

The Flat. reads Tannskaarunes (O.S., 161<sup>20</sup>, 162<sup>3</sup>); but MS. 325, which gives more reliable spellings, has Tannskaranes thrice (O.S. 129<sup>6</sup>, 161<sup>20</sup>, 162<sup>3</sup>).

The first element in the name is O.N. tannskari, a nickname occurring in Þjalar Jóns Saga, compounded of O.N. tann: "a tooth," and skara: "to jut out" (C.V.). Tankerness is therefore "Tannskari's Ness," "the Ness of the man with the jutting-out tooth." Cp. Tannanes in D.N., VIII, 279 (1509).

I quote the Rental forms, which show in an interesting fashion the development of the name:-

Tansker/nes - R.E.O., 1455.  
Tangskeriness - M.R., 1492.  
Tanskernes. - R.E.O. 1495.  
Tankarnes. - P.R., 1500, R.E.O., 1500.  
Tankernes. - R.E.O. 1519, 1563, 1566; P.R., 1595.  
Tankyrnes. - R.E.O. 1543.  
Tankirnes. - R.E.O. 1559, 1597.

From the above we may argue that the inflexions in both elements in the compound, s and a (i in M.R., 1492), survived at least into the 15th century, and that the second element remained accented/

accented into the 16th.

Erlingr and his stalwart sons who lived in Tankerness (O.S. 129<sup>b</sup>) probably had their bú where Tankerness Hall now is (See ~~Art.~~ by J.S.C. in P.O.A.S. V. 46).

UPPLAND. 130<sup>"</sup>, 185<sup>g</sup>.

This is given as being in Hoy, and the residence of John Wing. As Clouston points out (Orkn. Par. 217) all Hoy was borderland or Earldom property, so that John Wing must have held part of it in fief as a vassal chieftain of Earl Paul. He thinks that Uppland does not refer to a particular estate or house, but merely to the more hilly or northern half of the island, and that John Wing lived, presumably, at the Bu of Hoy, the head house of the Parish.

VÁGALAND. 285<sup>3</sup>, 288<sup>1</sup>, 300<sup>9</sup>.

The parish of Walls, the S. portion of the island of Hoy.

From O.N. vága (gen. plur. of vágr: "a voe" or inlet of the sea) + land; - "the land of the voes." The mod. name Walls [wes] comes from the nom. plur. vágar (r to s prob. through Scots influence). The antiquity of the mod. contraction is shown by Fordoun's spelling and the Rental forms:-

<u>Wawis.</u>	Fordoun (14th cent.).
<u>Wawis.</u>	M.R. 1492.
<u>Wallis.</u>	M.R. 1492, P.R. 1500.
<u>Wais.</u>	R.E.O. 1568.
<u>Walls.</u>	P.R. 1595.

Cp. Walls, similarly pronounced, in Shetl.

VESTFJØRÐR. 166<sup>23</sup>.

Vigf. and later editors have taken this to be Westray Firth. But this would be a long and hazardous route for a ten-oared boat from Stronsay to Orphir. The natural route is to sail to the Bay of Firth, leaving about 7 miles to be done on foot or on horseback.

Dr. Marwick (P.O.A.S. V. 66) assuming that, leaving the Bay of Holland in Stronsay, they took the route via Mull Head and Holm Sound, surmises that Vestfjorðr is Stronsay Firth. It is indeed quite conceivable that the earliest Norse settlers in the eastern isles of the Orkneys should call this Firth the West Firth.

But/

But if the route via the Bay of Firth was taken, then Vestfjörðr must be identified with Wide Firth between Shapinsay and Rendall.

VESTNES. 89, passim, to 193.

Westness in Rousay, where dwelt "a man of rank" Sigurthr, a close friend of Earl Paul Hakon's son. The site of his skáli is probably not at the present Westness House but at the old house of Skail, where Mr ~~J.S.~~ Clouston has discovered the foundations of a square built tower, closely resembling the keep on Wyre, with traces of a courtyard. See J.S.C. in P.O.A.S. V, 46, and H.M. in P.O.A.S. II, 17, for further details.

VESTREY. 129, passim, to 182, 302.

Westray, "the West island," so named by the early Norse settlers in the Eastern isles of the Orkneys.

VIÐIVÁGR. 282<sup>21</sup>.

Widewall Bay in S. Ronaldsay (O.S. 282<sup>21</sup>), an L-shaped bay still used as a shelter for storm-bound ships. Apparently named after the vegetation on its low but sheltered shores.

From viði (compounding form of viðir, "willow" C.V.) + vagr: "voe"; - "Willow-bay." Cp. Viðidalr, -nes, -skogr in Ldn.; and in Shetl., -

Videl (from \*viði-dalr), Fetlar.

Vister (from \*viði-setr), Dunrossness.

(J.J., Aarb. 190, however, derives the two latter from viðr, "a wood.")

The earliest Rental forms give a spelling closely corresponding to the mod. pronunciation ['waidwɔ]:-

Widewaw, Wydewaw, M.R. 1492.

Widwall, Wydwall, P.R. 1500.

Wydewall, Wyddwall, P.R. 1595.

Cp. also Wydwa, Blaeu, 1667.

VIGR. 214.

Text:- 214. - MS. O (only) - Viger (supplied in text by S.N. as Vigr).

The island of Wyre between Rousay and Gairsay. O.N. vigr means a "spearhead", and the island is doubtless so named from its shape.

On Wyre was the castle of Kolbeinn Hrugá, the giant Cubbie Roo of Orcadian folk lore. See Dr. Marwick's article on Kolbeinn/

Kolbein Hruga's Castle in P.O.A.S. VI 9-11.

The mod. pronunciation [waɪər] is interestingly represented in the early Rental forms:-

<u>Wyre</u>	<u>M.R.</u> 1492.
<u>Wyir</u>	<u>P.R.</u> 1500.
<u>Wyer</u>	<u>P.R.</u> 1495.

VOLUNES. This name, occurring only once (O.S. 297<sup>18</sup>; MSS. Flat. and 332) as the residence of Barþr, a kinsman of Sveinn's in Sanday, has not survived. It was probably in the S.W. of Sanday, since Sveinn approached the island from the S. of Rousay and being in danger of pursuit would naturally make land as soon as possible.

In the S.W., however, we have only Spur Ness and Hacks Ness. In Clouston's Orkney Parishes (under Sanday) the suggestion is made that the name may survive in a field-name Volvar on the farm of Stove near the Point of Hacks Ness; this name appears in ~~Ret.~~ P.R. Rental as Walgarth. But I am unable to connect this phonologically with any etymological interpretation of Volunes given below.

Volu may be any of three things:-

- (i) Acc. plur. of volr: "a round stick; a blunt edge."
- (ii) Gen. sing. of vala: "a knuckle-bone; a nickname for a dog."
- (iii) Gen. sing. of volva: "a witch." (C.V.).

The first of these can be ruled out as meaningless.

The second is conceivable; a nickname given to a dog may well have been applied to a man. There is an instance of knuckle-bones being used for fortune-telling, whence the adjective volu-spakr: "knuckle-wise." (C.V.). The nickname may have had some such significance.

I favour, however, the third interpretation. "The Witch's Ness" would be an interesting addition to the list of Orkney place names with necromantic associations.

ÞINGAVOLLR. 293<sup>6, 10</sup>.

From O.N. þinga (gen. plur. of þing: "assembly of bondar;" see C.V.) + vollr: "field" - "the field of the Things."

Tingwall in Rendall, Mld. It is the only place of that name in Orkney and is near Damsay (O.S. 293). (It may be noted in passing that Vigf. mis-spells it Tynvall, and Nordal (Index) puts it in Rousay). Cp. Tingwall, Shetl.; Dingwall, Ross and Crom.; Tynwald, Isle of Man, and Dumfries. The earliest Rental form is Tyngwell, R.E.O. 1492. It seems to be referred to in O.S. 112<sup>2</sup>, in the þingstod Orkneyinga (see note). It is the residence of Helgi Hrolf's son, uncle of Sveinn Asleif's son. (O.S. 293). A large mound - like the Tynwald mound in Man - marks where the Things were prob. held. For descrip. of mound, see article by J. Fraser in P.O.A.S., VI, 69-70.

ORFJARA. 125, 166, 168, 169, 172, 285, 287.

CATHNESS and SUTHERLAND.

The parish of Orphir, Mnld., although in Norse times the name may have applied only to the district round about the Earl's Hall beside the present Old Parish Church.

O.N. orfjara means "ebb-tide." An island approachable ~~at~~ on foot at a low-water was called in Icel. Orfirisey; cp. Orfasay, Yell, Shetl. Dr Marwick (in J.S.C.: Orkn. Par. 65) suggests that the name Orfjara first appeared in connection with the tidal island, the Holm of Houton, and was thence extended to the neighbouring Mainland district, and finally to the parish. All that is known of the Earl's Hall will be found in A.W. Johnson's article, The Earl's Bu at Orphir, in Saga Book of Viking Club, III.

The Rental forms are as follows:-

<u>Orphara.</u>	<u>M.R.</u> 1492.
<u>Orphir.</u>	<u>M.R.</u> 1492
<u>Orphair.</u>	<u>P.R.</u> 1500; <u>R.E.O.</u> 1574; <u>P.R.</u> 1595, 1642.
<u>Orpher.</u>	<u>R.E.O.</u> 1529; <u>P.R.</u> 1614.
<u>Orphare.</u>	<u>R.E.O.</u> 1530.
<u>Orphir.</u>	<u>R.E.O.</u> 1579.
<u>Orphar.</u>	<u>R.E.O.</u> 1597.

The modern pronunciation ['orfer] appears to have been established in the late 15th century.

BURVIA (or BERUDALA). 281c.

The name occurs three - in the ... of the ... of the ... of Scotland). In ... parallel ... Note 23) conjectures a ... "bridal feast," a word which ... But it is simpler to take it as ... and 278" for Berudal ... which Earl Harald would ... coast of Sutherland to ... Burvik is improbable, for ... of the river (cp. A., 18). ... before Burvik are normally ... and over a watershed. ... quite early sources:-

- Burvik.
- Burvik.
- Burvik.
- Burvik.

From O.N. burv, gen. sing. of bur, a very common ... Sound, river-name, & dall. ... also a woman's name, and in ... became a river-name (See ... (Paradise), 1867; O.N. ... XIII, 130).

DALAR. 301<sup>17</sup>, 307<sup>13</sup>.

Mackay (Hist. of ... 18) argued that the name ... was/

CAITHNESS and SUTHERLAND.

ASGRIMSERG. 315<sup>9</sup>.

Literally, "Asgrim's erg or shieling." Erg is the O.N. form of Celt. airigh ['erix] the name still given to a turf hut used by herdmen when the cattle are on hill pasture. Ord. Surv. Maps usually call it an Erd or an Earth House. The normal O.N. term was setr (See O.S. 309<sup>73</sup>).

Gael. airigh is now pron. ['eri] and usually appears in pl.n.s. as airy or ary. E.g. Aulasary, Uist, (\*Óláfsairigh). It is therefore reasonable to assume that Anderson was right (A.187) in identifying Asgrimserg with Assery, a farm at the North end of Loch Calder, Caithness. Whether this was the original site of the erg is questionable. See note on ch.103, and my study of the ch. in P.O.A.S., X, 24.

Valuable discussions of the term erg will be found in P.S.A.S. LVII (1923), Dr. Marwick's art. on Celt. Pl.Ns. in Orkney; and in Ekwall: Scands. and Celts in N.W.Engl. 74. Previously, MacBain had treated the word at length (Pl.Ns. of H. and I. of Scotl., 289-292); but he confused the word with O.N. hqrgr: "a heathen place of worship."

BERUVÍK (for BERUDALR). 281n.

The name occurs thrice - in 44<sup>24</sup>, 276<sup>9,12</sup>, 281n. In the ~~first two~~ <sup>second</sup> cases it is certainly Berwick-on-Tweed (See Pl.Ns. of Rest of Scotland). In 281n, it occurs in Fl., and not in the parallel MSS. 325 and O. Gray therefore (C. and S. in S. Time, 148, Note 33) conjectures a misreading in Flat. for bruðkaupi: "bridal feast," a word which occurs a few lines above (281<sup>9</sup>). But it is simpler to take it as a misreading on analogy of 44<sup>24</sup> and 276<sup>9,12</sup> for Berudal (Mod. Berriedale in Latheron, Caithness) up which Earl Haraldr would naturally travel on his way from the coast of Sutherland to Thurso. That the original reading was Beruvik is improbable, for there is no vik or bay at the mouth of the river (cp. A., 18). And the prepositions of an frá before Beruvik are normally used (C.V.) of a journey up a valley and over a watershed. Moreover the name Berriedale occurs in quite early sources:-

<u>Byridale.</u>	<u>Orig. Par.</u>	1337.
<u>Beridale.</u>	"	1340.
<u>Berridail.</u>	"	1456.
<u>Beredail.</u>	"	1497.

From O.N. beru, gen. sing. of bera, a very common O. Scand. river-name, + dalr. Bera means "a she-bear," but is also a woman's name, and it is not certain in which sense it became a river-name (See Norske Elvenavne, 10-12). (Cp. Berdal (Beredal, 1567; O.N. \*Berudalr) Leikanger, Norw. (N.G. XII, 134).

DALAR. 301<sup>12</sup>, 307<sup>13</sup>.

Mackay (Hist. of Prov. of Cat., 15) argues that the name was/

was applied loosely to the long parallel valleys running down from Strathnaver in Caithness to the sea in the West, comparing them to the sheep-raising Dalir of W. Icel. and W. Norway.

But Skene (Celt. Sc. I. 376, 390, 397) is probably right in regarding the term as one applied to a particular region - the old Scot. Kingdom of Dalriada, by the first syllable of which indeed the O.N. name may originally have been suggested; (it is significant that the form Dalar is older than the more usual O. Icel. Dalir). For this, the Saga gives good evidence. According to 307<sup>13</sup>, Sumarliði holdr had a riki, a definite "realm," in Dalar. Then his family get the name of Dalverja aett (307<sup>17</sup>): "the race of the men of Dalar"; and -verjar is normally applied to a particular tribe, as in Manverjar: "men of Man," Rómverjar: "Romans," (C.V.). In Nj.S. ch. 87 (Rolls. 88 I, 323<sup>1</sup>) we read that "Sigurthr held Moray and Ross, Sutherland and Dalar;" here again, the usage is of a particular political unit.

"in Scotland's  
Firths"

Reg:

These facts confirm Skene's proof (l.c. I, 397, note 22) from the Chron. Man. 60, where Sumarlithi is called Sumarled Regulus Herergaidel, i.e. ruler of Airer Gaidhel (Mod. Argyll), of which Dalriada was a part.

Of its extent it is difficult to judge. It probably stretched from as far North as Glendhu (See Myrkvafjörör) and possibly as far South as Mull, or further.

DALAR. 19.

This name, "Dales," might refer to any of the valleys in Caithness. It is probable that the word was originally singular, Dalr, and perhaps to be identified with Dalr, O.S. 122<sup>7</sup>. But any identification is conjectural.

DALR. 122.

The residence of Moddan, father of Helga and Frakokk.

There are several farms called Dale in Caithness. Perhaps it is to be identified with the old farm of Dale (see Blaeu) up Thurso Dale, South of Halkirk. It may have gained an early prominence as a farm site through the presence of a large broch furnishing abundant building stone (Inv. Mon. Caithness, 34).

DUNGALSBOER. 44, 129, 166, 167, 198, 206, 207, 208.

Lit., "the farm of Dungall," the latter pers. n. being the O.N. form of the Celt. pers. n. Dubgall (= \*Dubh Gall: "black stranger" or "Dane").

Fully dealt with by J. Mowat in Pl. Ns. of Canisbay, 168-169.

EKKJALL/

EKKJALL. 50.

As is shown in the note on Ekkjalsbakki, this is clearly the River Oykeell flowing into the Dornoch Firth. According to Henderson (Norse Infl. 28) it is derived from Celt Oichel: "high" (cp. Ochil Hills), and is named from the high craggy range of hills on its North bank.

EKKJALSBAKKI. 8, 188, 197.

Lit., "The bank of the Oykeell." Skene (Celt. Sc. I, 337n) tried to prove that it was to be identified with the banks of the R. Findhorn. The reading in O. in O.S. 197<sup>13</sup> certainly suggests a location near Elgin. But the Saga text is here confused. (See note on 197<sup>13</sup>). All other evidence points to the craggy North bank of the Oykeell, which may equally be identified with the  $\delta\chi\theta\eta \psi\psi\eta\lambda\eta$  of Ptolemy's map. Gray (C. and S. in Saga Time, 21) points out that the term "backie" is still applied to ranges of hills in Caithness and Sutherland; e.g. Backies in Dunrobin Glen, and Coldbackie and Hysbackie near Tongue. Further, it is possible to identify the burial mound of Sigurthr at Ekkjalsbakki (O.S. 8), with Sydera or Cyderhall near Dornoch (Syvardhoch, from O.N. \*Sigurdar-haugr, in Eccles. Charter, 1222, C.S.R. 15). According to Gray (l.c.), Dr Joass identified the mound as one called Croc Skardie on the S.E. bank of the R. Evelix near the farm of Sydera.

EYSTEINSDALR. 327<sup>20</sup>.

This is probably to be identified, as Munch suggested (N.F.H. III. 453) with Ausdale, Latheron, Caithness. This name occurs in a Geog. Description of Latheron, 17-, in M.G.C. I, 163, 165, and in Blaeu as Ousdale.

Ausdale is not, as the Saga says, the boundary line between Caithness and Sutherland; it is considerably further North. But the final section of O.S. in which the name occurs is not particularly reliable.

A note on the name appears in Orig. Paroch., III, 804.n.l., which states that it "was evidently on the range named the Mound or Drumhallesdell." This assumes that ~~its location is correct~~, the Saga description of its location is correct.

The question remains as to whether the name is a Norse or a Celtic one. O.N. Eysteins- may conceivably have become Aus-, for Eysteinn occasionally occurs in early MSS. as Austeinn (Lind: Dopn).

FORS. 309, 310, 315.

The farm of Forsie (from the O.N. locative case, Forsi) still to be found at the N. end of Loch Calder (if Kalfadal, O.S. 309<sup>20</sup>). The fors or waterfall that gives its name to/

to both farm and river is near by.

A full study of its location and the events connected with it will be found in my art. on The Death of Earl Rognvaldr in P.O.A.S. X. 21-25.

HAKIRKJA 330.

Literally, "High Church," now Halkirk up Thurso Dale. Appears first in Scottish sources, as Haukyre, in Bagimont's Roll of Teinds from the Bishopric of Caithness, 1275, 1276 (C.S.R. 42, 82).

The present church, which no doubt occupies the site of the original one, is situated with a fine view down the valley, the hills of Hoy being visible on the sky-line. Near it is the remnant of the older part of the village.

HJÁLMUNDALR. 197.

Helmsdale. Near the foot of the valley on an uncertain site was the chief residence of the virago Frakokk in which she was burned to death by Sveinn Asleif's son, c.1139.

The etymology is problematical. See my study of the name in P.O.A.S. IX, 42, and a note by Mr Clouston in P.O.A.S. XI, 62.

HJÁLMUNDALSÁ. 198.

From Hjálmundals (gen. sing. of Hjálmundalr) + O.N. á: "river."

The R. Helmsdale or Ullie which flows down Hjálmundalr (q.v.).

HQFN. 20<sup>12</sup>.

Hqfn in Caithness, the burial place of Earl Hlothver (O.S. 20<sup>12</sup>), was identified with Huna, a small bay near John o' Groats, in Orig. Paroch., 813. Orig. Paroch. quotes an early spelling Hwnaye from a Retour of 1574. This identification is accepted without comment by Anderson.

But there seems no phonological connection between Hqfn and Hwnaye. Indeed, O.N. hqfn normally appears today as Ham.

It is much more likely that Hqfn here is Ham (or Ham Berry), a narrow bay in the parish of Dunnet which has long been a harbour for small vessels. In a series of Answers to Queries addressed to Mr Wm. Dundas (?17th cent., quoted in Macfarlane's Geog. Collections, III, 84), we read: "The harbours for livering and loading are Thurso water (Week, Staxigo, Murkle, Ham for smaller vessels)."

A three-chambered mound known as "the Earl's Cairn" stands about/

about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles inland from Ham Berry near the farm of Holland Maik. It is fully described in the Inv. of Anc. Mon. in Caith. 23-24. Was this the mound of Hlothver?

Mr John Mowat has independently reached the same conclusions as myself with regard to this pl. n. (Pl. Ns. of Canisbay, 177).

KALFADALR. 309, 310.

The straight and rather picturesque valley in which lies Loch Calder. In O.S. 309<sup>b</sup> it is described as projecting off the valley of the River Thurso. The modern farm of Forsie (O.N. Fors, 309<sup>c</sup>) lies just N.W. of the Loch. These two facts corroborate the identification.

From O.N. Kálfa (gen. sing. of Kálfi, wk. form of Kálfr, a nickname and pers. n. meaning "a calf.") + dalr; "Kalfi's dale." Cp. Kolvidel (occurring as J Kalfadali, 1360, D.N. III 1), Shetl. (J.J. 87);

↳ Caldale, St. Ola, Orkn.

The O.N. form survives in Blaeu's Caldel.

But the O.N. name seems to have been superseded by the common Gaelic name for a wooded stream, Choille-dur, Anglicized normally as Calder, not because of woodland (of which there is little) but as the nearest Gaelic equivalent to the sound of the O.N. word.

KALFADALSÁ. 315<sup>3</sup>

Probably the stream that drains Loch Calder into Forss Water, called Alltan Ghuinne. It lies  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile below Forsie and Assery (O.N. Ásgrimserg, 315<sup>9</sup>).

From Kálfadals (gen. sing. of Kálfadalr) + O.N. á: "river"

KATANES. Passim.

Caithness and Sutherland originally formed one province which was called in Celt. Cat as early as the 6th cent. (Chron. Picts and Scots, 25) and as late as the middle of the 12th (ib. 135). From this name the Norsemen formed a wk. gen. sing. Kata to compound with the suffix nes, (on the analogy perhaps of Katanes in Icel.) giving the name, so far as Saga information goes, to the Northern part only of the Province of Cat.

C.V. quotes a folk etymology of the name given in Isl. Þjóð-sögur, II, 85: "Then Horör gave a name to the Ness and called it Katanes, because it seemed to him that many a small ship (O.N. katl) perished there."

The inflexion in the first element of the name is found dropped as early as The Book of Deer (12th cent.) which has the form/

form Catness, although the three syllable form survived in Latin as Cathanesia and in Shetl. Norn Kadanes (J.J.: Etym. Dict. of the Norn Lang. in Shetl., I, XVIII).

Further early spellings are to be found in Mackenzie: Sc. Pl. Ns. 159.

LAMBABORG. 208, 209, 212, 266, 273.

Identified with Bucholly Castle, S. of Freshwick Bay by Munch and Anderson. This rock headland is certainly sufficiently isolated to make an utterly impregnable fortress. But it runs parallel to the shore, whereas Lambaborg projects seawards (langt með sjánum annan veg, 208<sup>16</sup>). And it is not so precipitous on the seaward side as to require the ropes Sveinn and Margathr used to lower themselves into the sea. See Map V, and Illustrations I and II.

A visit to Freshwick in 1929 convinced me that the probable site was the Broch of Ness, a headland 70-80 yards long jutting out to sea much nearer Freshwick House and Burn, on which the ruins of a fortress with protective ditch and wall can still be seen. A.W. Johnston (Old Lore Misc., vol. IX, pt. III, 156) had already come to the same conclusion, and is supported by M.S. Clouston (Hist. Orkn., 123). The latter notes that it is near enough to Freshwick Burn for a man (i.e. Eirikr, 274<sup>12</sup>) to be recognised at once from there; and he adds that the term borg shows it to have been a stronghold of the primitive kind and not a kastali like that on Wyre or Damsay. Without doubt it was a rebuilt Pictish broch. See plan and description in the Report by the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments, Inv. Mon. Cthness, 131.

From O.N. Lamba (gen. of Lambi, a pers. n.) + borg; - "Lambi's broch" or "Lambi's fortress." Lambi may have been the man who rebuilt the broch. The name occurs frequently in pl. ns. Cp. Lambaness, in Sanday, Orkn., and in Northmavine, Shetl.

MYRKKOL. 16<sup>13</sup>.

The district of Murkle round the large farm of West Murkle, three or four miles east of Thurso. There is a small sandy bay near the farm suitable for beaching boats, and a rocky bay nearer still called the Haven, with ruins on a protruding sea-bank, resembling a chapel.

Earl Arnfinn's presence at Murkle suggests that it was bordland or Earldom property. This is confirmed by several facts. In 1297, Earl John of Caithness swore fealty to Edward I at Murcle. (Genealogy of the Earls of Sutherland, 37). Again, we read of James V in 1527 granting Muirkill to William Sinclair as heir apparent (Reg. Mag. Sig. XXI, No.42).

Derivation from O.N. roots is possible. We might have any of the following:-

(i)/

- (i) from O.N. myrr + kollr: "mire-head."  
 (ii) from O.N. myrk + kollr: "dark-head."  
 (iii) from O.N. myrk + hola: "dark hole."

But there are no extant Scand. parallels for such names; the name seems unknown to both scribes, and none of the above etymologies suits the scenery.

We must look to Celtic Muirchol, occurring in Adamnan's name of Ardnamurchan, Art-da Muirchol (according to W.J.W.: McBain's Pl. Ns. 93) from O. Celt. Art-da (plur of ar-dd "high cape") + muir: "sea," + col: "wickedness"; - "capes of sea-wickedness" or piracy. A similar name may well have been given by the Cats of Caithness to the sheltered Murkle Bay in early Viking days.

MYRKVAFJÖRÐR. 308.

Lit. "Dark Firth." It is not to be confused with Myrkva-fjörðr, O.S. 211", which is the Firth of Forth. This "Dark Firth" must be on the West Coast. It is the scene of the slaying of Gilli Odran by Sveinn while the latter was on a war-cruise against Sumarlithi of Dalar (q.v.) who had his quarters in Skotlandzfirðir.

Vigf., following P.W.Thomas, identified it with Loch Linnhe, which has the alternative Gael. name of Linne Dubh: "Black Pool" (Rolls 88, I, XXXVIII).

Anderson (A.182), however, was more probably right in choosing Loch Slennidh, the inner part of Kylestrome in Sutherland. The name suits very well its dark steep sides. It would make an excellent hiding place for a pursued ship.

But the question is still open; the answer is partially dependent on the location of Dalar.

NES. Passim.

A frequent abbreviation in O.S. for Katanes (q.v.).

SKARABÓLSTAÐR. 326<sup>4</sup>.

Scrabster, in W. of Thurso Bay. Between the present Scrabster pier and Thurso the remains of Bishop John's Palace or borg are still to be seen - a large grass-covered mound on the shore.

From O.N. Skára (gen. sing. of Skári (Lind), a nickname and, pers. n. meaning "a young sea gull") + bólstaðr: "farm"; - "Skári's farm." Skári occurs frequently in pl. ns. in Scandinavian and Scotland.

- E.g. Scarrabus (from \*Skárabólstaðr), Islay, Scotl.  
 Scaravat (from \*Skáravatn), Harris.  
 Scarista (from \*Skárastaðir), Harris.  
 Scarinish (from \*Skáranes), Tiree.  
 Skárastaðir/

Skarastaðir, Icel., Þorðar S. (Ed. 1848) 59<sup>23</sup>.  
Skorstad (from \*Skarastaðir), Namdal, Norway, N.G. XV. 331.

A full description of the Bishop's Palace at Scrabster is to be found in Bishop Forbes' Journal, 197, 198 (quoted in D. Beaton: Eccles. Hist. of Caithness, Wick, 1909, p.41).

SKIÐAMYRR. 20', 21<sup>9</sup>.

This battle site is probably the stretch of moorland near the farm of Skitten (from O.N. \*Skíðatun) a few miles N.W. of Wick. The mod. name is the Moss of Killimster.

The name is paralleled by Skimyr (from \*Skíðamyrr) in Hjartdal, Bratsberg, Norw., N.G. VII, 312.

The first element in the compound is fairly certainly gen. sing. of the pers. n. Skíði (Lind: Dopn.) Cp. its occurrence in other farm names:-

- Skistad (from \*Skíða-staðir), Overhallen, Norw., N.G. XV. 317; and elsewhere.
- Skirod (from \*Skíðaruð), Vaaler, Smaalerenes, Norw., N.G. I. 366.
- Skiary (from O.N. \*Skíða + Celt. airigh), Loch Hourn, Sutherland.
- Skibo (from \*Skíða-ból), Dornoch Firth. Skibo (Gael. Sgiobul) appears in early charters as Scithebol, 1222-45, and Scythebolle, 1275 (C.S.R., 19,47).

There is no reason to assume any connection with the O.N. river name Skíða (N.G. XV, 245), which would give a gen. sing. Skíðu-.

STAURR. 284<sup>18</sup>.

The narrative shows Staurr to be a point on the West coast of Scotland probably not far South of Cape Wrath. Anderson's identification with Ru Stoer, Assynt, Sutherland (A.167) is beyond question. This identification also fits the ref. to it in Sigurðarbolkr (c.1140) of Ivarr Ingimund's son, where we read that Sigurthir Sham-deacon "as commander fed the ravens with Scots blood in the Firths (i.e. Skotlandzfirðir) and won a victory on the inner side of Staurr" (inn frá Stauri) (Skjalög. B.I.469). The same point may also be referred to in Sturlunga Saga (ed. Vigf. II. 290) where Hrafn Sveinbjorn and his fleet took shelter from a N. wind "off the place that is called Staurr."

O.N. staurr means a "pale" or "stake," and as a pl. n. was applied to a tall stack of rock like the Old Man of Hoy. In fact Mr John Mooney informs me that he has heard the Old Man called "The Staurr." In Shetland we have "De Staur," Fladabister, Cunningsburgh, and the "Stauris o' Kinora," W.Hoy (J.J.Aarb. 152), and "The Old Man of Stoor" near Portree in Skye. There is a stack of rock just south of Ru Stoer from which the headland must have taken its name.

As O. N. au became Celt ò, the name appears to have been at/

271<sup>9</sup>  
The f

at an early period confused by Celtic speakers with stòr: "large" (from O.N. stórr); hence its use as an adj. qualifying Celt. ruadha: "a headland" instead of as a noun. It is as an adj. that it appears first in Scottish sources: Rowestore, 1386 (C.S.R. I. 173).

Not only the ancient Celts were confused by the similarity of the two terms. McBain (P.Ns. of H. and I. of Scotl. 17) wrongly derives Staurr from O.N. stórr.

SUDRLAND. Passim.

Sutherland, the "South land," - the name given by the Norse settlers in Caithness to the Southern portion of the old province of Cat.

VÍK. 202, 208, 209n., 266.

The town of Wick, named from the vík or bay in which it lies. The absence of any qualifying prefix suggests that it was a very early Norse settlement.

PJÓRSA. Passim.

The reading is normally Pórsá in MSS. 332, 325, and O. Flat. in two cases has Porsey (128<sup>6</sup> and 186<sup>7</sup>) but otherwise Porsaa. In one case MS. 325 has Pjorsa (128<sup>6</sup>); cp. the Gael form Inbhir-Thiòrsa. As both Pórsá and Pjórásá have Scand. parallels it is difficult to say which was the original form.

In Icel. was a river Pórsá: "Thor's river," and Pórsnes, ~~Icel.~~, Myrb.S.7 (ed. Vigf.); and there is Torshavn, Faeroes. But Porr is not listed in Norske Elvenavne as a river name element.

On the other hand we have the Icel. river Pjórásá: "Bull's river," mentioned in many of the Sagas. The Gael. name lends support to this form, <sup>although</sup> the earliest spellings in Scottish sources incline in the other direction:-

<u>Turishau.</u>	<u>C.S.R.</u>	1275.
<u>Thorsau.</u>	"	1276.

There may also be some support for this in Ptolemy's "Tarvedum or Cape Orkas," which may be Dunnet Head. The first syllable may be Gael. tarbh: "a bull," so that the O.N. name would be a translation of an orig. Celtic one.

I incline to the second form.

PJÓRSDALR. 309<sup>7</sup>, 330<sup>8</sup>.

Thurso Dale; from the river Pjórásá which drained it.

PRASVIK. 266<sup>5</sup>, 274<sup>6</sup>.

The incidents in ch. 92, 93 show that this is mod. Freswick/

Freswick ['fræzɪk], a picturesque sandy bay between Wick and Duncansby, with the large homestead of Freswick farm on the S. shore. See Map V, and Illustration I.

The mod. spelling with F is found in the earliest refs. in Scottish sources.

Fraswiln, Balnagown Charters, 1361 (Orig. Paroch. III. 812).  
Freswic, 1410 (C.S.R. I. 189).

There is no phonological difficulty in the change from P to F. The interchange of dental and labial spirants is a common phonetic phenomenon. The a becomes e through i- mutation.

There is a parallel name in Norway, - Fresvik, Leikanger, N. Bergenhus (N.G. XII. 128). This appears in a 1317 charter as Fraeysvik (D.N. I. 133), - apparently the "bay of Freyr." But for the existence of the Saga form, this would appear to be the derivation of Freswick in Caithness, as well as of other similar names - e.g. Fresgill, Durness, Sutherland. But the Saga form is confirmed by its occurrence also in Nj. S. ch. 84 and ch. 158, except that in the former case it is spelt Praðsvík.

The most probable theory of the derivation of Prasvîk is is one given by A.W. Johnston in a note in J. Mowat: Pl. Ns. of Canisbay, 157. He notes that the Gael. name for Freshwick is Camas na Tràghad: "the bay of the ebbing-tide." The Norse invader merely translated camas as vik, and prefixed it by as near a transliteration of Tràghad as he could make in O.N. - Prað, which he gave a gen. -s as if it were the O.N. pers. n. Praðr. In due course this became contracted to Pras-, the form found in O.S.

and Aberdeen  
Aberdeenshire  
de Yeteri Aberdeen  
and Aberdeen  
de Aberdeen  
de Aberdeen  
de Aberdeen  
and Aberdeen

variations by showing  
as a river name  
Gael. name of the river  
Gael. Praðr, a river  
second name would give the charter  
the O.N. form in -vîk

MS. 1015 - 158<sup>o</sup> - of Aberdeen  
MS. 702 - 152<sup>o</sup> - of Aberdeen  
MS. 1111 - 1587-1590 - of Aberdeen  
158<sup>o</sup> - of Aberdeen  
157<sup>o</sup> - of Aberdeen

Attack here and elsewhere is the same as in MS. 1015. But Prasvîk is the primary form, being nearer to the Gael. original.

4. MORAY, ROSS, AND THE REST of SCOTLAND.

APARDJÓN.

- 267<sup>11</sup>. ~~02-02~~ - 325 - i Afardion. (text).
- 332 - i Apardjón.
- Flat.- i Ardion.

The superior authority of MS.332 is here attested by finding Apardjón in Einarr Skuli's son's Runhenda c.1155 (Skjaldeg. B.I.446.)

The O.N. name is a phonetic development of a Celt. form \*Abhirdeathan pronounced [ab̥er̥deon], represented by Abberdeon in a charter of David I to the Monks of Deer, c.1150 (Lawrie, 181). To the first syllable, which is simply Celt. abhir: "at the mouth of", the Norsemen endeavoured to give the appearance of an O.N. gen. sing. The second syllable shows normal stress-shifting from first to second element in diphthong (A.N. §132.b.2.)

Speculations as to whether the second element is derived from the Dee or the Don will be found in G.M.Fraser: The Lost Shieling, Aberdeen 1908, and J.Milne: Celt. Place Names in Aberdeenshire, Aberdeen, 1912. The difficulty of the problem I shall illustrate by quoting the 12th century spellings which I have taken from Lawrie; all are from royal charters.

<u>apud Aberdon</u>	c.1120.	L.28.
<u>Abbirdonensis</u>	c.1137.	L.89.
<u>de Veteri Abbirdon</u>	"	"
<u>apud Aberden</u>	"	"
<u>de Aberden</u>	"	"
<u>de Aberdon</u>	c.1150.	L.181.
<u>de Aberden</u>	c.1150.	L.182.
<u>de Aberden</u>	?	L.183.
<u>apud Abbirdeon</u>	c.1150.	L.181.

Watson (Celt.Pl.N.Sc.211) removes the difficulty of these variations by showing that the form Don (whether in Aberdon or as a river name) is a doublet - of Pictish origin - of the Gael. name of the river, Deathan ['deon]. Derived from E. Celt. Dēvonā, a river goddess, fem. of Dēvos, a god, this second name would give the charter forms in -den and -deon, and the O.N.form in -djón.

ATJOKLAR, or ATJOTLAR.

- MS. 325 - 158<sup>9</sup> - af Atiaclum.
- MS. 702 - 195<sup>6</sup> - af Atjotlum.
- MS. Flat. 158<sup>9</sup> 186<sup>10</sup> 195<sup>6</sup> - af Atioklum.
- 188<sup>10</sup> - til Atiotla.
- 197<sup>14</sup> - til Atiokla.

Atjoklar here and elsewhere is the more frequent MS.form. But Atjotlar is the primary form, being nearer to its Celt. original/

original. Substitution of k for t before a liquid or nasal is a common phonetic phenomenon, although infrequent in O.N. (See A.N. § 259.2.).

O.N. Atjotlar is from E.Celt. \*Athfotla, repr. by Athfhotla in Tigernach, 739, and the second element by Fodla in Pict. Chron., 10th cent., and by Fotla in Nennius (see Skene: Celt. Sc. I. 185, or W.J.W. 107, 108.). Athfótla is a compound of Celt. ath = Lat. re, and Celt. Fótla, a son of the mythical Cruithne, and a name for Ireland; hence Athfótla means "New Ireland"; cp. "Little France," near Edinburgh, or "New England".

The phonology of the O.N. name shows the substitution of tj for the unfamiliar consonant combination thf, and the substitution of k for t before liquid (v. supra). Final -a becomes -ar to give a declinable nom. plur.

It may be noted that both Gael. and M. Sc. showed a similar dislike for the combination thf. In Mod. Gael. we have Athall and Abhail; in M. Sc., Athwotle; and in Mod. Sc., Atholl (W.J.W. 229).

BERUVÍK. 44<sup>24</sup> 276<sup>9,12</sup>

In the second case  
 Prob. Berwick-on-Tweed rather than North Berwick, which is too far away from any islands answering to Blyhólmar (q.v.).  
~~The name occurs also in O.S. 876 and 281n, but there it refers to Berriedale in Caithness; see Caithness Pl. No.~~

Not an orig. O.N. name, but a natural Norse adaptation of O.E. Berewic, which occurs as late as 1150 in a charter of David I (Lawrie, 79). O.E. Berwic is from O.E. bere: "barley", and wic: "village", and occurs elsewhere in Engl.; for which, see J.B.J.

In the first case (44<sup>24</sup>), an O.N. name for a bay somewhere in the West of Scotland, possibly in Argyll. See note on ch.20.

BREIÐAFJÖRÐR. 48, 49, 188, 197, 213, 276.

Lit., "Broad-firth". From context, clearly the Moray Firth. Mackay's conjecture of the Dornoch Firth (Hist. Prov. Cat., 58) does not fit the facts. Named on the analogy of Breiði Fjörð in Iceland.

BAEFJÖRÐR. 49n.

Much ingenuity has been wasted over this name, which occurs only in Flat. (O.S. 49<sup>24</sup> note) in the phrase, "at Torfnes (Tarbatness) in the South of Bæfjörðr."

Literally, it means "House-firth." Munch (followed by Skene and Nordal) identified it with Beaully Firth on the ground that the neighbouring castle of Beaufort looked like a corruption of the O.N. name. But as Anderson pointed out (Orkn. S. 2ln.) Beaufort is a much later appellation; and indeed Torfnes /

Torfnes cannot be identified with anything in Beaully Firth.

Vigfusson's suggestion of Banff-firth has nothing to support it.

Without a doubt Bæfjorðr is a simple misreading for Breiðafjorðr, "Broad-firth," or the Moray Firth, which occurs in the same context in MS.332, and is the text accepted by both Vigfusson and Nordal. The scribe of Flat. is in the habit of remoulding pl.ns. to his heart's desire; in O.S. 197'', Breiðafjorðr appears as Borgarfjorðr. Moreover, Tarbatness might ~~can easily~~ be described as being "in the South of the Moray Firth."

Further, if the name were correct, we would expect the gen. sing. Bæjar. The fact that the Flat. scribe wrote Bæfjorðr implies that he regarded it as a different word from Bæ-.

DALAR.

See Caithness Pl.Ns.

DUFYRI.

~~Sp. in Saga.~~ 197'', ~~Ch. 73~~; 210<sup>23</sup> ~~Ch. 83~~ - Flat. - til Dufeyra.

Sole occurrence in O.N. Dufeyra might be either gen. sing. of wk. masc. Dufeyri, or gen. plur. of Dufeyrar. V. and S.N. adopt the latter; but I adopt with Munch the former, which allows of simpler derivation.

The identity of this "market-town in Scotland", as the Saga calls it, has been variously conjectured. Munch makes it Banff on the river Deveron; Dasent, Deveron (?); Vigf., Duffus (?); Anderson, Burghead; Mackay, Duthac or Tain; Nordal, following Munch, Banff; Craigie (Celt. Zeit. I.450), Duffus (?).

The etymology, however, is clear, and points to the fact that the market town stood at the mouth of the R. Deveron, either on the Banff or the Macduff side. O.N. Dufeyri corresponds almost exactly phonetically with the orig. name for the river, Celt. \*Dubh Éire, or "Black Ireland," the loc. of which, \*Duibh Éireann, appears in early charters as Douern and Duffhern, and gives Mod. Sc. Deveron. Watson (Celt. Pl.Ns. Sc. 230) compares Findhorn (from loc. of \*Fionn Éire or "White Ireland"), and remarks upon the significance of the fact that Banff is from Celt. Banbh, another name for Ireland.

But if Banff was the market-town known to the Norsemen, why did the writer of Earl Rognvald's Saga call it by the name of the river ?

EDINABORG. 211, 278.

There are four sets of early forms of Edinburgh, the first two based on folk etymology:

(i)/

- (i) Edwinesburg, found in Simeon of Durham (c.1108) and in David I's Charter for Foundation of Holyrood (c.1128) (Lawrie, 117). This spelling is suggested by derivation from Eadwine, King of Northumbria, d.683.
- (ii) Medanburgh, Maidenburgh, suggested, acc. to J.B.J., by derivation from St. Edena or Medana.
- (iii) G. Dùn-éideann (Anglice, Dunedin) which occurs as early as Pict. Chron., c.970, as Oppidum Eden.
- (iv) Early Sc. Edeneburg, Edensburg, Charter of David I, c.1147 (Lawrie, 149).

The Scots form is obviously a translation of the Gael., or rather Celt. Dun-Eidyn, which is, acc. to Watson (Celt. Pl. Ns.Sc. 341), a compound of Dun, a fortress, and Eidyn, a word of obscure meaning, with parallels in other Celt., O.Welsh, and O. Ir. pl.ns.

It was probably from the Scots form represented by Edeneburg in the Charter of David I, c.1147, that the O.N. form was derived. The first element has been "naturalized" into a pseudo-gen-plur. (with *artida*) of O.N. eið.

ELGIN. 197m.

Elgin, Morayshire. Earliest spelling, Elgin, occurs in a Charter of David I to monks of Urquhart, 1136, (Lawrie, 86).

A variety of attempts at derivation, most of them impossible, is to be found in D. Mathieson: Place Names of Elginshire, Stirling, 1905. Watson (Celt. Pl.Ns.Sc. 226, 231), following Meyer ( ) derives it simply from Gael. Eilginn, a dimin. of Eilg, from E.Celt. Ealg, a name for Ireland; cp. Dufeyri, and Atjoklar.

The O.N. form can thus be regarded as a simple phonetic transference.

FIFI. 51.

The "Kingdom" of Fife. The O.N. form is apparently from Celt. Fibe, loc. of Fib which occurs in Pict. Chron., ~~10th cent.~~ c.970.

The aspiration of medial b may have been on the analogy of other O.N. words beginning fif- (e.g. Fifa, name of ship), or may have already taken place in Celt.

GADDGEDLAR. 62<sup>1b</sup>.

The reading, that of Fl. only, is not certain. The only other/

other occurrence in Scand. sources is in the same context in the Dan. trans., O - Gaardgedlar - an obvious attempt at making the first syllable more intelligible. It should be noted that the real form may be Gaddeolar.

To be identified with Galloway, "where", as the Saga says (62<sup>7</sup>), "Scotland and England meet." It should be noted that the displacement of the sentence in Fl. has given rise to erroneous and needless speculation by Anderson (Orkn.S., 28n.) and others. (See note on 62<sup>6</sup>).

Apparently from Celt. Gall-Gaidhil [ gal-'gærl ] "the foreign Gael," a term first applied in Irish Annals, 852-3, to the mixed race of Scots and Norsemen down the W.Coast of Scotland, and finally limited to a single area, Galloway. (Skene: Celt. Sc. I. 239, 311; W.J.W.: Celt. Pl. Ns.Sc. 172-174).

That the O.N. name is a very early one is shown by the fact that Gall-Ghaidhil appears in the almost modern form Galweya in Pict. Chron., c.970; and it was actually superseded in O.N. by another form Galvei, which occurs in Hakons S. 165.

When the O.N. form is uncertain, it is impossible to be dogmatic on its phonology. dd for ll appears to be a careless scribal transcription rather than a phonetic change. That it is plur. may be due to the fact that the name was borrowed by O.N. while it was still applied to a race of people rather than a territory.

LJÓÐHÚS. 101, 202, 265, 301.

Ljóðhús must be, as Nordal points out (O.S. 101, note 2.), a neut. plur. The sp. is corroborated by liodhus in the Magnús drápa (c1100) of Bjorn kreppendi. (Skjaldeg. A.I. 435, 5.1.).

Ljóðhús appears to be an adaptation of a Celt name, the O.N. analogy being Ljóðhús, now Lödöse, Sweden, mentioned in Sturl. S., IV. 41. 6, 7. Lit., "Song-homesteads," the name might be applied to a settlement in Sweden, but scarcely to a large island in the Hebrides.

When we turn to the G. name, Leódhas, [ ljō̃as ], and the early spellings, not only is etym. impossible (W.J.W. does not attempt it in his Celt. Pl. Ns. Sc.), but it is difficult to find a form from which the O.N. name might reasonably be derived. In the Wars of Gaidhil and Gaill, (1100), we have Leodus; in a Tract on the B. of Clontarf (Skene: Celt.Sc. I. 387), Lodhusa.

From a Celt. form such as is repr. by the first of these spellings our O.N. form may come; but we cannot be sure that that spelling, Leodus, is uninfluenced by the O.N. form itself.

MAEYJAR. 211, 278.

The earliest forms in Scottish sources are all Mai, in the/

the Charters of David I (Lawrie, 120, 131, 148, 162). We have thus little etymological assistance there.

If the name is a Norse one, we might follow J.B. Johnston in deriving it from O.N. már: "a sea-gull", on the analogy of O.N. má-grund, a skaldic kenning for "the sea". But it is dangerous to use a skaldic analogy for a prose usage; and we would rather expect más, gen. sing. of már.

But the Norsemen probably did not give the name to the island. The fact that it is plur. instead of sing. shows that it was not well known. Some variety of spellings shows that scribes found it unfamiliar. I know of no Scand. parallels. It is probably like other E. Coast O.N. names, a Norseman's pronunciation of Sc. May, of derivation unknown.

### MYRKVAFJÖRÐR. 211"

To be identified with the Firth of Forth as is clearly proved by the following extract from Libellus de Adventu, Saxon Chronicle (966), 212 (quoted in Skene: Celt.Sc. I.369).

"Deinde sub Eadgaro rege Oslac præficitur Comes Eboraco et locis ei pertinentibus; et Eadulf, cognomento Yvel-child, a Teisa usque Myreforth præponitur Northymbris."

A.O. Anderson (S.A.E.C. 77) reads Myreforth; but, whichever form is correct, the identity is certain.

Lit., "Firth of fog," from the white haar that still drifts in with an east wind. The name is not unknown in Scandinavia, e.g. Myrkvafjörðr, Hkr. 273, now, acc. to E. Magnusson, Mörköfjärd, Södermanland, Sweden.

### MAERHOEFI.

Sp. in Saga Text.:- MS.332. - 6, 7, 49 - Maerhoe fi.  
MS.Flat. - 197<sup>13</sup> - fyrir Maehævi.  
210<sup>22</sup> - til Maehöfi.  
321<sup>22</sup> - af Morhefi.

As the form in 321<sup>22</sup> occurs in a section of the Saga that is of later date than the rest, we may postulate two indeclinable O.N. forms, Maerhoe fi., and Morhefi.

Clearly to be identified with the ancient province of Moray stretching from the Spey to the Beaully, and from the coast of the Moray Firth to the head of Loch Lochie in the South.

Mod. Gael. is Moiresabh, and early forms are Muref (12th cent), Mureb, Morro, Mortho and Lat. Moravia (J.B.J.) It is generally agreed (see McB: Pl. Ns. of H.A. of Sc. 323; W.J.W.: Celt. Pl. Ns. Sc. 115) that the first element in the word is E. Celt. Mor, the compounding form of muir, "the sea." Watson/

The name was probably applied originally to Dalriada

Watson (l.c.) suggests that the second element was E. Celt. treb, "a settlement." With the whole name we can thus compare the Gaulish sea-coast tribe, the Morini.

If this derivation is correct, then the h in the first two O.N. forms might be a relic - lost in Gaelic - of medial tr. I suggest the following series of phonetic changes:

[tr] > [θr] > [hr] > [r].

On the other hand, as is much more likely, the Norsemen heard a name [morav], repr. by Muref (v. supra), and created in imitation of its sound a rather meaningless O.N. compound from O.N. maer: "a maiden," and hæfi: "fitness." Morhefi is a variant on the analogy of O.N. mor: "a swarm."

ROS. 6, 44, 49, 329.

Ross, the province in Scotland lying between Sutherland and Moray. The name is fully dealt with by Watson in his Place Names of Ross and Cromarty, XXI. He favours derivation from a Pictish word (unknown) represented in Welsh by rhos: "a moor." First mentioned in Scottish sources in the legendary Life of St. Codroe (11th cent.). Occurs also in Ldn. 2.1536<sup>28</sup>.

SÁTÍRI 49, 105, 325.

The peninsula of Cantyre in the West of Scotland.

The peninsula appears to have had two names in Celt. - (i) Ceann-tiri: "the head of the land", occurring as Cindtire in the Wars of Gaidhil and Gaill (1100). Adamnan's Caput regionis (c.700) is a literal translation of this name. (ii) \*Sáil-tiri: "the heel of the land." This name Watson (Celt. Pl. Ns. of Sc. 92) deduces from the O.N. form Saltíri or Salltíri in Nj.S. 203<sup>5</sup>.

The more common O.N. form, however, is Sátíri, a being lengthened to compensate for loss of l; for loss of l before t cp. Hjaltland with Hjetland. That this form is fairly early is shown by its occurrence in one MS. of a verse by Bjorn krepp-hendi (Skjaldeg. A. I. 436) on the ~~first~~ expedition of Magnus Bare-legs in 1098.

A bye-form Santiri in MS.39 of the above verse may have been influenced by the other name for the peninsula, Ceanntiri.

SÁTIRISEID 105.

The isthmus of Cantyre where Magnus Bare-legs played his famous trick on Malcolm Canmore. See Sátíri.

SKOTLAND. Passim.

The name was probably applied originally to Dalriada only/

only, the land of the Scots proper; see Skotlandzfirðir. But throughout O.S. I find that it is used, sometimes rather vaguely, for what we call Scotland today, excluding the Hebrides or Suðreyjar, Shetland, the Orkneys and Caithness, which were regarded as Norse rather than Scottish.

SKOTLANDZFIRÐIR. 61, 105, 198, 307, 308.

The precise use of this term can only be studied by a close examination of the context. It occurs in O.S. as follows:-

- 61<sup>6</sup> . ~~A.D.~~ 1039. "Thorfinnr harried ..... far and wide round the coasts of Scotland's firths" (um Skotlandzfjörðu).
- 105<sup>12</sup> . ~~A.D.~~ 1098. Magnus B. sent his men "into Sc. firths" to sail round all the small islands (i Skotlandzfjörðu).
- 198<sup>5</sup> . ~~A.D.~~ 1139x. Oliver fled up Helmsdale and "down to Scotland's firth, and thence out to the Hebrides" (til Skotlandzfjarðar).
- 307<sup>11</sup> . 1156. Gilli Odran went (?by land or sea) from Caithness "to Sc. firths." (i Skotlandzfjörðu).
- 307<sup>13</sup> . 1156. There he found Sumarlithi who had a realm in Dalar (Dalriada) "in Sc. firth" (i Skotlandzfiðri; but v. inf.).
- 308<sup>3</sup> . 1156. Sveinn sailed from Orkney "West round off Sc. firths" (fyrir Skotlandzfjörðu).

It will be seen that except for 198<sup>5</sup> and 307<sup>13</sup> (text Flat.), the plur. form is usual, as indeed it is in Hkr. 523<sup>6</sup>, 525<sup>3</sup>. Further, in 307<sup>13</sup>, the Dan. Trans. O gives a plur. form which corrects Fl. (S.N.note). There is no doubt, as Vigf. pointed out (Rolls 88, Index), that the plur. form is the right one, and that Skene, and Anderson and his translators were wrong in adopting the singular form in the sense of the Minch. The Minch is not a fjörðr in the Norse sense at all.

The term was originally applied as in 105<sup>12</sup> to the sea-lochs in the West of Scotland, and thence extended to the land adjacent; cp. fjord names in Norway. The term is thus in 307<sup>13</sup>, for example, a general name for the West coast of Scotland from Cape Wrath to Cantyre. Whether it was applied first to the sea-lochs of Dalriada (see Skotland) we cannot say.

SUÐREYJAR. Passim.

"The Southern Isles" included all the islands on the West coast of Britain, as far as and including the Isle of Man (see O.S. 105<sup>8</sup>), but excluding Ireland (see O.S. 140<sup>7</sup>). Thus, although I translate "Hebrides," it must be remembered that Man is included.

The survival of the name in the title, "Bishop of Sodor and Man" has been studied by A.W. Moore (see his Hist. of Man, 169 note, or Manx Names, 208-210). Acc. to Moore, Pope Gregory/

Gregory IX in 1231 called Peel Island (near Isle of Man) Sodor in error, and hence the erroneous title was perpetuated.

SUDREY. 202<sup>19</sup>, 203<sup>3</sup>, 205<sup>20</sup>.

Occurs in three cases in Fl. only. Cannot be explained otherwise than as a scribal error for Suðreyjar (q.v.).

SUÐRRIKI. 199.

Scribal error in Fl. (S.N.text) for Suðreyjar or simply Suðreyjar. Cp. normal O. Synderóer.

SUDREYJARIKI. 325.

"Realm of the Hebrides." Only one occurrence, in the final chs. of the Saga.

TORFNES. 10<sup>9</sup>, 49, 50, 262.

Clearly Tarbatness in Ross, since it is described by Arnorr (O.S. 50<sup>12-19</sup>) as being in the S. of the Dornoch Firth (i.e. on S. of R. Dykell).

It may be noted that the compiler of O.S. seems to think that Torfnes and Dornoch Firth are on the Moray Coast of the Moray Firth. See 49<sup>23-24</sup>, 188<sup>7-11</sup>, 197<sup>10-14</sup> and notes thereon.

The Saga (10<sup>9</sup>) explains the name by saying that Turf-Einarr first cut turf or peat there. But it is unlikely that an early Orkney Earl should cut peat first on the shores of the Dornoch Firth. I suspect that the compiler of O.S. having copied out the eponymous Introduction (ch.1-3) is now trying a little amateur place-name study on his own. My suspicion is increased by the obvious connection between Torf- and Tarbat- (from G. tairbeart: "an isthmus").

Torf- may conceivably be a phonetic corruption of the first element in G. tairbeart. But here another difficulty meets us: there is no noticeable isthmus at Tarbatness, as there is, for example, at Tarbert in Cantyre or in Harris; "Isthmus-ness" is almost a contradiction in terms. Tarbat- may possibly be derived from the O.N. form.

Returning to O.N. in search of parallel names, we find many derived from the O.N. pers. ns. Torfa and Torfi. e.g. Torfastaðir ("Torfi's farm") freq. in D.I.; Torfuones (for Torfunes; "Torfa's ness"), D.I. V.271<sup>15</sup>; and Turrafield (from O.N.\*Torfafjall; "Torfi's hill") Fetlar, Shetl. But these forms are all inflected. Only one possible parallel can I find - Torness (from O.N.\*Torfnes), Hillswick, Shetl. (J.J.: Aarb. 158). The name is merely a descriptive one - "Turf-ness."

Is it possible, however, that O.N. Torf is here a trans./

trans. of G. Ros (= "moorland"; v. Ros supra), ~~the~~ province ~~of~~  
 of which Tarbatness is the most Northerly tip?

TYRVIST. 172, 198.

The island of Tíree (G. Tiridhe) on the West coast of Scotland, the residence of Holdbothi Hundi's son. Its identity is placed beyond doubt by its occurrence in Magnúsdrápa, (Skjaldg. B.I. 405) beside Skid or Skye.

The earliest extant Celtic form is Tiri iath in MS. Rawlinson B. 502, 115a 5 (1000 x 1100), from E. Celt. tir: "land," and \*eth, a word of uncertain meaning (W.J.W.: Celt. Pl. Ns. Sc.86); cp. Adamnan's Latin ~~name~~, Ethica Terra (c.700).

The first syllable of the O.N. name is a simple transliteration, Tir becoming Tyr on the analogy of the god Tyr. O.N. vist: "provisions", has no phonetic connection with Celt. iath [jaθ]. It may be based on a false folk-etymology of the Celt. name. Watson (l.c.86) suggested as the false root, O. and M.Ir. ithe: "the act of eating." Gillies (Place Names of

Argyll, 125) made a similar suggestion of a false etymology from E. Celt. etho, gen. sing. of ith: "corn". Or possibly vist may be the Norseman's guess at the meaning of iath through its similarity to such a word as Celt. iothlann: "a cornyard." Tíree is, for the Hebrides, an island of more than usual fertility, and this may have lent weight to the interpretation.

One other explanation of the element vist has suggested itself to me. The O.N. name for the neighbouring island of Uist (G. Uibhist) was Ivist - contemporary with Tyrvist, for it also occurs in Magnúsdrápa (c.1100). Ivist is probably an O.N. pronunciation and spelling of a Celt. name now lost: (O.N. i vist = "at home"). Tyr-vist may have been formed on the analogy of this name for no other reason than the obscurity in sound and meaning of Celt. iath in Tiriath.

Watson points out (l.c. 86) that the O.N. name appears to survive in Mod. Gael. Tiristeach: "a Tíree man."

VATZFJQRDR. 61<sup>12</sup>

Lit., "Water-firth". Prob. Loch Vatten in Skye. O.N. vatr occurs in occasional pl. ns. in the Hebrides; cp. Loch Langabhat, Lewis.

VESTRLQND. 21n, 52, 98n, 99, 320, 321, 325.

British Isles.

Lit., "Western Lands." (A., D.). Not used very frequently; but signifies normally the whole British Isles (v. S.N.). In 21n, and 99<sup>10</sup>, however, it is definitely contrasted with England, and would seem to mean the West of the British Isles only/

only (i.e. Orkney and Shetland, W. Highlands, Hebrides and Ireland). It may also, though not definitely, be used in this sense in O.S. 320<sup>9</sup>, 321<sup>10</sup>, and 325<sup>3</sup>, and in Hkr., 138<sup>10</sup>, 480<sup>23</sup>. In O.S. 52<sup>20</sup> it probably includes all of Scotland and England round the coasts of which Earl Thorfinnr was in the habit of harrying. (For other refs. see C.V.)

Probably the term was originally a viking one for the whole British archipelago. After settlements began its meaning was sometimes restricted to the Western portion. Hence we have a loose and not much favoured term, like Mod. Engl. Levant.

~~Incidentally, the varied uses of the term support the assumption of multiple authorship.~~

The name, which occurs in the plural, is Islas and Pl., means lit. 'the islands'.

It may not, however, have been originally plural. For in O.S. 277<sup>4</sup> we find 'between the islands' (uppi 4 hilmannum); and in O.S. 17<sup>1</sup> 'between the island and the land' (uppi 4 hilmannum 4 landi).

Whether singular or plural, however, we must look for it as a small island or group of islands such that Knut the King could reach it in less than seven hours. Holy Island, the Farne Islands, Cocket Island are satisfactory as far as the name is concerned. Is land found on any of them?

Pending information on the subject I suggest an alternative explanation. Dever (Deverland and Durbah, 88) quotes two early names of the coast of the River Elyth (from O.S. Blind, a common name).

Blip, O.S. Blip  
Blis, Blis

This contracted pre-form has been suggested by Blipburg (Blipburg, O.S. Bl., 1066). It is suggested that we might have a group of a few small islands at the mouth of the River Elyth. The Town Clerk of the Borough of Elyth, Mr. Blip, has informed me that there is at the mouth of the River Elyth a group of islands called 'the Blip and Blis' which is an island of the Elyth. It is possible that this group of rocks may have been an island in the 12th century.

158, 20, 101, 102, 104, 105, 106.

Blis. From O.S. Blis: 'the islands' and land

Blis.

The O.S. form is Blis. Blis form are England

5. ENGLAND and WALES.

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BLYHOLMAR. 276 "17.

The name, which occurs in acc. and dat. plur. in MSS.325 and Fl., means lit., "Lead-isles."

It may not, however, have been originally plural. For in O.S.277<sup>6</sup> we find Sveinn's men going "up on to the island" (uppi á hólmanum); and in O.S. 277<sup>7</sup> Sveinn suggests anchoring "between the island and the land" (á milli hólmsins ok landzins).

Whether singular or plural, however, we must look for it as a small island or group of islands South of Berwick-on-Tweed such that Knutr the Mighty could sail thither in less than about 15 hours. Holy Island, the Farne Islands, Coquet Island are satisfactory so far as position is concerned. Is lead found on any of them ?

Pending information on this point I suggest an alternative explanation. Mawer (Pl. Ns. of Northumberland and Durham, 26) quotes two early bye-forms of the name of the River Blyth (from O.E. Blīðe, a common river name):-

- Blye, Cal. Charter Rolls, 1257.
- Blie, Placitorum Abbreviato, 1208.

This contracted bye-form has many parallels; cp. Blyborough (Bliburg, Dom. Bk., 1086), Blyton, Blyford, etc. These forms suggested that we might have in Blyhólmar the name of a few small islands at the mouth of the River Blyth. The Town Clerk of the Borough of Blyth, Mr J. Leigh Turner, has informed me that there is at the mouth "a group of rocks known as the 'Sow and Pigs' which is an island at low water." It is possible that this group of rocks may have been an island in the 12th century.

BRETLAND. 15n, 26, 101, 103, 104, 198, 199.

Wales. From O.N. Bretar, "the Welsh" and land.

ENGLAND. Passim.

The O.E. form is Englaland. Normal M.E. forms are Engleland/

Engleland, Engelond. Mod. E. England appears first in 1558 (N.E.D.).

The Norsemen must have heard the name first in its O.E. form, and may have had a form of their own somewhat like it. But at an early period, certainly by the middle of the 11th century, they contracted it to England, thus anticipating and probably influencing the similar process of contraction in M.E.

*also Yngland from Ulcans.*

GRIMSBOR. 140, 141.

Grimsby. Lit., "Grim's town". An original O.N. name - probably from an early conqueror - which became in E.M.E. Grimsby (e.g. Grimesbi in Dom. Bk., 1086, and Pipe Rolls, 1156). An apocryphal story of its foundation is told in the M.E. romance of Havelok (c.1300).

HALLORNES. 90.

Text:- Flat. - Hallarnes.  
O.- Hallornes. (S.N.'s text).

Hkr. 502<sup>20</sup> has Hellornes. The spelling is thus somewhat uncertain; but English forms suggest that Hellornes is most nearly correct.

(Pl. Ns. Engl.)

Clearly Holderness on the North bank of the Humber. J.B. Johnston, ignorant of the O.N. form, suggested that the English form was derived from O.N. holdr: "freeman". Mawer (Introd. Surv. Engl. Pl. Ns., 88) corroborates this, and compares Bonby, Lincolnshire (from O.N. \*Bonda-boer). But Johnston lists a series of early spellings which together with the O.N. forms makes this derivation unlikely:-

Heldernesse. Dom. Bk., 1086.  
Heldrenesse. Dom. Bk., 1086.  
Hildernessa. Ordericus: Hist. Eccles., c.1070.

With these J.B.J. compares the early spellings of Hinderwell, N. Riding, Yorks:-

Heldrewelle, Hildrewelle, Ildrewelle. Dom. Bk., 1086.  
Hilderwalle. Pipe Rolls, 1179.

and Hildersham; and Hinderskelf, (Yorks) which has early forms -

Hildreschelf, Ildreschelf in Dom. Bk., 1086.

All these, says Johnston, seem to come from an original \*Hildr or \*Heldr; with which he further compares three Heldreds and a Hilderic in Onom. Anglo-Sax.

Without attempting to derive Hildr or Heldr, or to postulate the original O.N. form, I suggest that the Norsemen heard a form like that in Dom. Bk., ['hildornes]; and the Hkr. form most nearly represents this.

*to Uwell.  
HRAFNSEYRR/*

HRAFNSEYRR. 91<sup>5</sup>.

9

Ravenseer near Holderness, Yorkshire. Lit., "Hrafn's beach."

It was the point of departure of Olafur son of King Haraldr Harðræði for Orkney after the battle of Stamfordbridge. The name occurs in other references to the incident, - in Hkr. 510<sup>24</sup>, and in Óláfsdrápa (c.1070) by Steinm Herdi's son (Skjalldg. A.1410.5.4.).

HUMRA. 231.

Text:- 231<sup>3</sup> - 325 - (Omits) (Text).  
Flat.- fyrir Hveru mynni.  
702. - fyrir Humru mynni.

231<sup>5</sup> - 325, 702 - fyrir Humru mynni.  
Flat.- fyrir Hvera mynni.

(Note:- 702 and Flat., or a common original, may have picked up the phrase from a line or two below, thus repeating somewhat unnecessarily and unnaturally in the sentence introductory to the verse).

The correct form is Humra, of which Humru is the dat.

Hvera in Fl. is probably a scribal emendation. But it might of course refer to the Wear. See Hvera.

The Humber Estuary. From O.E. Humbra, found in Bede. The name occurs in an O.N. River-name Mnemonic (Skjalldg., bul. IV. v.4.), in Egils S., ch.62, in Breta Sogur, ch.35, and in Fms. VI.406.

*Wear's River names*

HVERA. 231.

A probably spurious variant in Fl. for 325, 702, Humra (q.v.). It might refer to the Wear, and be derived from an O.E. form represented by O.E. Wirra in Hist. St. Cuthb. (c.800); this being a bye-form of the normal O.E. Were in Bede.

JARLSNES. 199<sup>24</sup>.

Lit., "Earl's Ness." Described as being in Wales, it is the site of a raid by Sveinn and Holdbothi, 1140x.

The name occurs also in Egil S. ch.53, where ~~after the~~ Alfgeirr, Earl of Northumbria, travelled south and then west after the battle of Vinheiör till he came to Jarlsnes whence he took ship for France.

It was probably in Pembroke where Norse names are common. But diligent search in Ord. Surv. Maps, Blaett's Atlas, and Owen's Pembrokeshire has failed to produce any name resembling it or of which it might be a translation.

JÓRVÍK/

JÖRVIK. 90<sup>14</sup>.

York. O.E. Eoforwic (A.S.Chron., 738) suffered atrophy of medial f [β] before o (Prim. Germ. u) so that we have Eurwich in Richer, 998, and Euruic in Dom. Bk. It was this form, probably pronounced ['eørwɪk], that the first Norse visitors, Ragnarr Lothbrog and his sons, heard in 866. It became in O.N. Jörvik, with shifting of stress in first syll. to the second element in the diphthong (cp. pers. n. Jör-unn), and lengthening of second syll. on false analogy of O.N. vik: "bay."

It is possible, of course, that the Norsemen may have heard Eoforwic, and have dropped the medial f as they normally did earlier than the O. English. See A.N. § 235.2. In this case the O.E. Eurwich was influenced by the Norse form.

KLIFLAND. 90<sup>14</sup>.

Cleveland, Yorkshire. The earliest ref. I can find is in Pict. Chron., c.970.

Scotti praedaverunt Saxoniam ad Stanmoir (Stanmore) et ad Clivam.

In Simeon of Durham, De Gestis Regum, 1093, we have Cliveland. There is thus nothing to show whether the name is from O.N. klif or O.E. clif, both meaning "a cliff."

LUNDEY 200, 201, 206.

Text:-	200 <sup>15</sup>	- Flat.	- <u>i eyþær</u> <u>Lund heitir.</u>
		O.-	.... <u>Lúndó</u> .....
	201 <sup>21</sup>	- Flat.	- <u>i Lundey.</u>
		O.-	<u>udi Lundó.</u>
	206 <sup>4</sup>	Flat.-	<u>or Sudreyum.</u>
		O.-	<u>til Lundó</u> .....

Lundey is the correct form. Cp. the similar omission of -ey in MSS. Flat. and 325 in the case of Dollzey (O.S. 142 '7), where ey had already been used in the sentence.

Island of Lundy in Bristol Channel. Fairly certainly from O.N. lund: "a grove," a term frequent in Dan. and Swed. pl.ns. (C.V.); cp. also Lundaster (from O.N. \*lundarstaðir) Northmavine, Shetl., and Lunnasting (from \*O.N. lundefiösbing: "the Thing of the wooded isthmus") Wuld., Shetl. (J.J. Aarb. 190).

Other derivations without convincing parallels have been given. J.B. Johnston suggests O.N. lundi: "the puffin." He quotes another sugg.<sup>9</sup> a nasalized form of O.Celt. lud: "marshy" (Gael. lodan), and compares Loch Lundie in Lochalsh.

MANARBYGD. 69.

The inhabited part of the Isle of Man; a common use of bygd.

MARIUHQFN. 305.

Port St. Mary's in the Scilly Isles. Lit. "The haven of Mary."

MQN. 6, 64, 105, 199, 200, 201, 317.

The Isle of Man, in the viking period (O.S.6) a good field for plunder, but later well settled by the Norsemen, among them the great Sveinn Asleif's son.

We are not concerned with the great variety of early spellings and derivations of this name; for them see A.W. Moore: Manx Names, London, 1903. Prof. Craigie (Celt. Zeit. I. 451) points out that O.N. Mon is a back-mutated form of Manu; and Manu seems to correspond phonetically to the form represented by Manaw in O. Welsh sources. For declension, O.N. had the analogy of mon, gen. manar: "a mane."

It may be noted that O.N. Mon is correctly transliterated Maun on the runic cross at Kirkmichael, Isle of Man:-

Gout kirþi þano auc ala i Maun:

"Gaut carved this [cross] and all in Man."

NORÐIMBRALAND 14n., 15n., 231.

The Northern kingdom of Northumbria in Anglo Saxon Britain. J.B. Johnston quotes the following early forms.

Nordanhymbri. Bede, 731.  
on Norþanhymbrza þeode. Aelfred, c.890.  
Norþhymbre. A.S.Chron., 898.  
Norðhymbralande. Aelfric, c.1000.

It would therefore seem to have been in the 10th century that the O.N. name was stabilised.

SKARÐABORG 90.

~~Scarborough.~~

Scarborough on the coast of Yorkshire, captured by Haraldr Sigurth's son at the beginning of his invasion in 1066. Lit., "the fortress of Skarði." Skarði is a nickname meaning "hare-lip" (Lind: Bin.) and occurs as a pers. n. and in pl. ns. in Norw. (See Lind: Dopn).

In M.E. the O.N. ð became the voiced stop d.

e.g. Scardeburch Pipe Rolls, 1179-80.  
Scardleburg Roger de Hoveden, 1194.

The form Scarborough appears first (J.B.J.) in 1436.

J.B. Johnston's derivation from O.E. sceard: "a shard" neglects the O.N. form altogether.

According to Kormaks S., ch27, the fortress was built by Kormak's brother Thorgils Skarði, 966 x 967. Romances about Skarði (none extant) are referred to in Robert Mannyng of Brunne's Story of Inglande, line 14789.

ONGULSEY. 10 Stamford Bridge, seven miles East of York.

The O.N. name is quite meaningless, stafn being a ship's prow, and furðu an intensifying adverbial prefix usually rendered "very." We have here the usual Norseman's transliteration of a foreign name - the common O.E. pl.n. Stānford: "stone-ford." A more exact transliteration is found in Hkr. 503<sup>34</sup>, Stanforðabryggjur; and a partial translation in Hauksbók, 340, Steinfurðubrygiu.

The alteration between u and o in the second element is explained by Ekwall (Fest. til. F.J. 214) as occurring on the analogy of kona and kuna, stofa and stufa. But where an O.N. scribe is spelling a foreign word only partially naturalized, no phonological explanation seems called for. (Linn).

The latter deriv. is probably correct.

SYLLINGAR. 21 n, 201, 305.

os.  
^  
os.  
^  
os.  
^

The Scilly Isles, where King Olaf Tryggvi's son was converted in 993 (21n.), and which Sveinn Asleif's son plundered on one occasion (305). A monastery appears to have existed there; for Sveinn stole a merchantship belonging to monks from Syllingar (201). This might explain the conversion of King Olaf better than the traditional tale of the soothsayer as told in Hkr. 124-126.

I refrain from discussing the derivation; for several conjectures thereon, see J.B.J. The sole early forms given by J.B.J. are:

Sylinaneis insula. Sulpicius Severus, c.400.  
Insula Suilli. Gervase: Otia Imperialia, 1212.

The O.N. form must have come by phonetic transference from some intermediary between these two forms.

VESLARSANDAR. 231<sup>8</sup>

~~Text~~ - MS 325 - fyrir Veslu saundum 221<sup>8</sup>  
Flat. fyrir Veizlu saundum  
702 - fyrir Vetu saundum.

The correct form is that in MS.325, which alone gives a satisfactory meaning; the other readings are scribal emendations of a difficult name. The form in 325 is dat. of the nom. plur. Veslarsandar: "Little Sands." Vesall occurs in landsmaal pl.n.s. in Norway. e.g. Lillestrond, called Veslestrond, N. Aurdal, Kristians Amt (N.G. IV.263). See a study of the word by S.Bugge in Ark. f.nord. Fil.II. 226. As this is a non-literary usage, I have found no parallel pl. ns. in O.N. sources.

Veslarsandar must be one of the many stretches of sand between the Tweed and the Humber, or possibly a little further south. Diligent search in Ord. Surv. Maps, books on pl. ns. and gazetteers, has, however, proved fruitless.

ONGULSEY. 102, 103.

The island of Anglesey off Carnarvon, annexed by Magnus Barelegs in 1098. From O.N. Ongull. Ongull may be taken in its primary sense of "angle," "turn," "bend," which was applied to any place with a sharp turn (N.G., Indledning, 39). Ongull however also appears as a nickname (see Index of n's) and a pers. n., and acc. to Lind (Bin. and Dopn.) is frequent in pl.ns.

e.g. Avngulsnes, now Ungersnes, Enebak, Norw. (D.N. XII. 152<sup>28</sup>, 1427).

Ongulsvik, Ongulstaðir, etc. (Lind).

The latter deriv. is probably correct.

ONGULSEYJARSUND. 101, 103, 107.

Menai Strait between Anglesey and the mainland in which was fought the sea battle between Magnus Barelegs and the two Earls Hugh. See Ongulsey.

unmutated.

It will be noted that the name Ongulsey is not the appropriate, which survives in the name of the strait (Joyce, I. 45).

For Publin see Publin and Publin (Publin).

Passin.

From Passin (Passin) a name of Passin also Passin (Passin)

A discussion of Passin in Joyce, II. 400.

ONGULSEY. 107, 108.

Connacht, Connacht (Connacht) E. end -l is Connacht (q.v.).

ONGULSEY. 101a, 107, 108.

The primary O.N. form is Ungull (Ungull) which was easily contracted to Ungull (Ungull) (Pl.), Ungull.

The/

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DYFLINN. 42n., 86, 317, 319.

Dublin. From O.Ir. Dubhlinn, "Black Water," a name for the R. Liffey on which the city stands. Dubhlinn occurs in Irish sources - in Tigernach, c.1088; in the Bk. of Leinster 160a, 193a etc., c.1167 (Hogan).

In the first syll., u became in O.N. y through i-mutation. Contrast Dufeyri (from O.Celt.\*Dubh-Eire) which is unmutated.

It will be noted that the anglicized form has lost the aspirate, which survives in pers. ns. like Devlin, Dowling. (Joyce, I. 45).

For Dublin as a Norse town, see L.J.Vogt: Dublin som Norsk By, Oslo, 1906.

IRLAND. Passim.

Ireland.

From O.Ir. Eire, the old name for Ireland, and O.N. land. Cp. O.E. Irland. The name first occurs in O.N. in a verse of Kormakr, c.955-970 (Skjaldr. B.I. 84). We have also Irar: "the Irish" and Irskr: "Irish" (adj.).

A discussion of the various early forms is to be found in Joyce, II. 458.

KUNNAKTÍR. 107, 108.

Connaught, plundered by Magnus Barelegs. From O. Ir. Connacht (Hogan), where ch [x] becomes the voiceless stop k, and -ir is added, apparently on the analogy of Úlaðstír (q.v.).

ÚLAZTÍR. 101n, 107, 108.

Ulster.

The primary O.N. form is that in Hkr., Úlaðstír, which was easily contracted to the O.S. form (MSS. 325a and Fl.), Úlaztír.

The/

Fl. (also in Hkr.) derived from Ulaðstir is an O.N. gen. sing. formed from O.Ir. Uladh, itself a gen. of the plur. Ulaidh, a name given in the Annals of Ulster to the men of Ulster (Hogan).

The second element, acc. to N.E.D., is probably O.Ir. tír: "land."

It is possible that there was a local bye-form of the name with medial [v] in place of medial [ð]; compare Fsk. Ulfastír with an Anglo-Fr. form Ulvestre, 1225, quoted by N.E.D.

ULFREKSFJQRDR. 26, 27.

Lough Larne.

The spelling is well attested by its form in Flat. and the MSS. of Hkr. (see O.S., 26<sup>4</sup>, 27 note).

The Saga narrative mentions it merely as the site of a battle in Ireland between Earl Einarr and an Irish King Conchobar (O.N. Konofogor), in which Einarr was defeated. Its identification with Lough Larne originates with Worsaae (Danes and Norwegians, 311; followed by Anderson, Vigf., Dasent, and Nordal). Worsaae's evidence is partly archaeological; several Scandinavian burial sites were found on its shores, and in one of them, a Scandinavian sword. To this meagre evidence he adds an important documentary reference. In 1210, King John granted to Duncan, son of Gilbert Earl of Carrick, "the town of Wulfrichford and all the lands which Roger de Preston and Henry Clemens held near Wulfrichford" as far as Glenarm. (Cal. Canc. Hiber., II., 354; quoted in G.H. Orpen: Ireland under the Normans, II. 267).

Worsaae's fairly certain identification is confirmed by the etymology of the name. The name of the principal river flowing into Lough Larne was in O. Ir. Olarba (see Hogan). Onomasticon Goedelicum). The first element in the O.N. name is, like O.N. Tyrvist and Ivist, an attempt to give this Celtic word a Norse sound and appearance; the analogy being the O.N. personal name Ulfrekr, gen. Ulfreks. (See Lind: Dopn).

The Middle English name Wulfrichford is a transliteration of the O.N. form to the corresponding Old and Middle English personal name Wulfric (see Searle: Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum; cp. Woolstone, Berks, from O.E. Wulfrices-tun).

Corruptions of the O.N. or M.E. name occur in 16th century maps - Olderfleet, Wolderfrith (Hogan, loc.cit.). It would therefore seem that the pronunciation of the name has varied considerably through the centuries. Possibly that may explain why - so far as the writer is aware - the name does not now survive.

PURSASKER. 42n., 86.

Occurs in a verse of Arnorr (86) and in a passage in Fl./

Fl. (also in Hkr.) derived from this, stating that Earl Thorfinnr "was obeyed from pursaker to Dublin." At first, following Vigfusson, I searched in the far north for a name. I found nothing better than Turdaskerri, Foula, Shetl.; but as Jakobsen shows (Aarb.200) this is from O.N. þorðasker.

But a note from Anderson (O.S.44) settled the difficulty. "This quotation from Arnorr seems to have reference only to Thorfinn's conquests in Ireland ..... pursaker appear to be the outlying skerries off the S.E. of Ireland, still known as the Tuscar Rocks."

Account of  
Ladoga  
The town of  
Lake Ladoga  
in 1010 in Birka  
(Birka) etc.  
Ladoga was  
the Arnor's son

7. SCANDINAVIA, including Iceland.

AGDIR. 100, 107, 108, 139, 141, 142, 175, 310n.

Agder, the extreme S.W. Province of Norway. Agder comes into prominence in the Saga since it was there that Earl Rognvald's father and grandfather had large estates.

AKRINN. 322.

According to Nordal, to be identified with Kalvskindsagern in Nidaros.

ÁLABORG. 85.

Town of Aalborg in Limfjorden, Jutland, Denmark. Visited by Earl Thorfinnr on his pilgrimage to Rome.

ÁLANDSHAF. 2,

Álandshaf ("Sea of Åland") between the Åland Archipelago and the Swedish Coast.

ALVIÐRA. 145.

The district of Alversund, Nordhordland, Norway. As Nordal points out (O.S. VIII), the Saga puts it South and not North of Bergen. See Note on 145.

ASKR. 156.

According to Nordal, Asker in Hedemarken.

ALDEIGJUBORG. 55, 56, 57.

The town of Aldeigja, now Ladoga, near the Eastern shore of Lake Ladoga, N. Russia. The name occurs as early as c.1010 in Banddrápa of Eyjolfr daðaskáld:- Aldeigio brauzt: "he (Eirikr) stormed Ladoga." (Skjalðg. A.I. 201.6.5).

Ladoga was the scene of the dramatic meeting between Kalfr Arni's son and Rognvaldr Brusi's son.

AUSTR-AGÐIR. 140, 152.

Eastern Agder. See Agðir.

BEITISSTOÐ. 5<sup>4</sup>

MS.332 (S.N.text) gives Beitstoð and Beitsaer. But Flat. Bæitisstod and Bætissaerr (S.N.note) are probably nearer to a correct text; for they are more consonant with the Dipl. Norv. spellings given below, with the form in Flat. I.250, Bæitzstodum, and they are etymologically more simple.

Now Beitstaden at the head of Trondhjemsfjorden, Norw. The early spellings of Beitstad are:

a Bæistod. D.N. V. 16., 1336.

i Beitzstodh D.N. V. 421., 1430.

Beitisstøð, which might be conjectured from these spellings without the help of the form in Fl., means lit., "the harbour of Beitir," the latter term being a masc. bye-form of the river name Beita occurring in the obsolete Beitudalir (af Beitodalum, in Aslak Bolts Jordebog, 11, 1430x40). This conjecture I accept from two valuable notes in N.G. V. 230, 232.

The folk-etymology given in the Saga is impossible, for the gen. of Beiti is neither Beits nor Beitis, but Beita. The writer has apparently assumed its declension to be that of beiti, neut. "a ship," with gen. beitis.

BEITISSAER. 5<sup>4</sup>

Spelling discussed under Beitisstøð. It occurs in Egils S. ~~as Beitsjór~~, as Beitsjór.

The name, now apparently obsolete, given to the innermost branch of Trondhjemsfjorden, called Beitstadsfjorden. For etym., see Beitisstøð.

[See Beitisstøð]

BJARG. 4.<sup>10</sup>

According to the Saga it is in Hedemarken. It is either Bjørge(a) in the district of Ringsaker near Lake Mjøsen (N.G.III.5.); or Bjørge(b) in the district of Furnes, also near Lake Mjøsen (N.G.III.78.). Both places occur in early sources.

(a) a Biorgum. D.N. X. 96., 1414.

(b) a nedre Biorgum i Biærase. D.N. II. 218, 1343.

BJØRGYN/

BJÖRGYN. Passim.

Bergen, Norw., the natural port of departure for any ship going to Shetland, Orkney and the West coast of Britain.

BYSKUPSTUNGUR. 262.

bú. In Southern Iceland. Here Thorhallr Asgrim's son had a

DANMØRK. Passim.

Denmark.

DOFRAR. 4.

The district of Dovre in N. Gudbrandsdalen, on the southern slopes of Dovrefjeld (O.N. Dovrafjall).

DOLLZEY and DOLLZHELLIR. 142, 143.

Text:- 142<sup>7</sup> ~~ch. 6~~. MSS. 325, Fl., O. - Dollz.  
702. - Dollzey.

Dollzey is the correct form. Cp. the similar omission of -ey in MS. Flat. in the case of Lundey (O.S. 200<sup>15</sup>), where ey had already been used in the sentence.

The cave, now Dollstenschulen, can still be seen (according to Munch, N.H. III.688) on the island of Sandø (formerly apparently Dollzey), near Cape Stadt, Norway. The scene of the swimming exploit of Kali Kol's son and a certain Havarthr.

DOLLSHELLIR. 142, 143.

[See Dollzey].

ELDUEIÐ. 5.<sup>5</sup>

MS. 332. Eldueið is the correct reading, although we have Aeiskrueid in Fl. here, and Ellida in Flat. I. 22. For, apart from the parallels to and survival of the name, it occurs also in Ldn. ~~201~~<sub>105<sup>10</sup></sub>, and Egils S., ch. 22.

Lit., "the isthmus of Elda"; originally applied to the valley from Lyngenfjorden in Namdalen to Beitstadfjorden, but later used only of the northernmost part; and finally dropped for Namdalenseidet (N.G. V. 256, 247).

O.N. Elda (which occurs in Hkr. 604<sup>31</sup>) is an original river-name/

river-name, occurring also in the districts of Storelvedalen, Ringebu and Rennebu, and is apparently derived from eldr: "fire" (N.G. l.c.). It is now Elden, a river flowing into Aas Sogn.

EYSTRASALT. 2<sup>8</sup>.

Lit., "the more Eastern salt." From the context, and refs. elsewhere, it is obviously the Baltic Sea.

EYRAR (in Eyraþing). 57.

The broad shingle beach on the W. bank of the River Nid at its mouth below Nidaros, the site of Things held in connection with the affairs of the crown. Frequent refs. in Hkr. and Sv. S.

FINNLAND. 1.

Finland.

FINNMORK. 2.

Finmarken, the most Northern province of Norway.

FLORUVAGAR. 156, 328.

A sound between Askó and Bergen. Later called Flore-vaag, but the name is now lost. For exact situation, see Brøgger: Anc. Emigr. 70, or Map of Bergen at end of Sephton's Trans. of Sverris Saga, where it is marked as the middle one of the three main entrance sounds to Bergen. A study of this name, with early spellings and parallel names, is to be found in N.G. XI. 281. Cp. also Fluravag, Unst, Shetland.

FYRILEIF. 155, 156.

Now Ferlöv, Bohuslen, ~~Sweden.~~ Norway.

GANDVIK. 1<sup>5</sup>.

Lit., "Magic bay," an old name for the White Sea through association with the neighbouring Lapps and Finns long reputed among the Norsemen as sorcerers. It was also regarded as the dwelling-place of giants. e.g. in Þórsdrápa (c.1000) of the Iclander Eilifr Guthrun's son it is said that/

that "Thor, the giant-visitant, is stronger than the dwellers in Gandvik."

The name survives in Gandvik, Nesseby, Finmarken, (N.G. XVIII. 247).

GAUTASKER. 2.<sup>9</sup>

The group of skerries off the coast of Østergothland, Sweden. Probably Gauta is gen. of Gautar: "the men of Gothland."

GAUTLAND. 108.

Originally a kingdom running across the Southern peninsula of Sweden, including the island of Gothland. Lake Vetteren divided it into Vestra-Gautland and Eystra-Gautland.

GIZKI. 100.

Gurskø, an island near Søndmør, Norway.

GRAENINGASUND. 145, 146.

The sound between the island of Sartorø and the mainland, S.W. of Bergen.

HALLAND. 156, 216n.

In the first case, it is the Province of Halland, S.W. Sweden. In the second case, where it occurs in Flat., it is clearly a scribal error for O. Halogaland.

HALOGALAND. 216.

Helgeland, a province in Norway running from Namdalen to Malangerfjorden.

HEIÐMORK. 4.

The province of Hedemarken, Norway.

HAUGAR (in Haugabing). 155.

A hill East of Tønsberg, Norway, on which a provincial Thing was held.

HELSINGJABOTNN. 1.<sup>5</sup>

A misreading in MS. Flat. for Helsingjaland.

HELSINGJALAND. 1.<sup>5</sup>

MS. Flat. has Helsingjabotn (S.N. text), but MS. O. has Helsingeland and this suits the context very much better; it is the land and not the botn or "gulf" that is being described. Helsingja is gen. of Helsingjar, an ancient tribe which has left its name in Helsinki (Helsingfors).

HERNAR. 175, 176.

The islands known as Hennøer in N. Hordland, Norway. The home of Aslacr Erlend's son, one of Earl Rognvald's friends.

HLÉSEY. 2."

The island of Laessó in the Kattegat. In O.S. it is apparently thought to be derived from O.N. Hlér, the mythol. personage representing the sea, frequently used in poetic kennings. But as F. Jónsson suggests (Lex. Poet.), it is more probably from O.N. hlé: "lee," "calm water;" for it gives shelter to ships after as they leave the North Sea.

HORDALAND. 85, 149, 261.

The province of Hordland, S.W. Norway.

ÍSLAND. 9, 27n., 203n.

Iceland. Note the remarkable paucity of references in comparison with those to Norway, Sweden, or Denmark. Yet the Saga was compiled in Iceland, and much of it must have reached Iceland on the tongues of wandering Icelandic traders and skalds. There are only two Icel. pl. ns. in the Saga, Byskupstungur and Síða (q.v.).

JAMTALAND. 54, 57.

The province of Jämtland in Central Sweden.

JÓTLAND. 1n, 52n, 82.

Jutland (Dan. Jylland). In 52n., however, it is a scribal error, in Flat. only, for Skotland in other MSS.

JÓTLANDZHAF. 83.

The Kattegat, between Jutland and Sweden. Lit., "the sea of Jutland."

KJQLR/

KJQLR. 2, 54, 57.

Kólen, the "keel" or back-bone of hills running N. and S. in <sup>the</sup> Scandin. peninsula, forming the natural frontier between Norway and Sweden.

KVENLAND. 1, 2, 4.

The land of the Kvenir (Lat. Cayani, O.E. Cwēnas). Orosius' description of its situation is fairly precise and fits the known facts:-

"..... and over against land [of Finland] Northward is Cwēna land. The Cwēnas sometimes make war on the Northmen over the wastes; sometimes the Northmen on them. And there are very large fresh water lakes beyond the wastes, and the Cwēnas carry their boats overland into the lakes, and thence make war on the Northmen. They have very little boats, and very light." (Aelfred's Orosius, ch. 1, ed. Bosworth, 21).

Kvenland would thus lie between the Gulf of Bothnia and the White Sea, and include the old Norwegian province of Finmarken and the Northern part of modern Finland.

MJORS. 3.

Lake Mjøsen in Hedemarken, Norway.

MJÓLA (in n'n. Mjólukollr). 216.

The island of Melø off Helgeland, Norway, the home of Guthormr, a friend of Earl Rognvald's. See Index of n'n's.

MOERR. 3, 5, 11.

Møren, a district in the E. of Norway stretching from Namdalen south to Søndfjord, and divided into North and South Møren by the district of Romsdalen.

NAUMUDALIR. 5.

Lit., "the dales of Nauma," Nauma being an O.N. river name. (N.G. V. 299). Now the name is singular: Namdalen, a district stretching from North Møren to Helgeland. ~~in Norway.~~

NIDARÓSS. 57, 107.

Trondhjem, Norway, recently given its old name, Nidaros.

NÓRAFJQRÐR. 4.

Now Norumfjorden in Sogn, Norway. Possibly from a fem. nom./

SEKKR. 260.  
 nom. plur. Nórar: "narrows," from nór, neut., "an inlet;" change of gender in plur. is not uncommon in pl. ns. (N.G., Indledning, 11ff; and XII 96).

The first element in the name occurs separately;

e.g. i Norum. D.N. IV. 649., ? 1442.

i Nore. D.N. IV. 680., 1452.

In the modern name the above locative Nórum has replaced the more grammatical gen. Nóra.

The folk-etymology in the Saga is obviously wrong; for the gen. of Nórr is not Nóra, but Nórs.

NÓREGR. Passim.

Norway. Contraction for <sup>sk</sup>Norðrvegr, with compensatory lengthening of first syllable. The name, signifying "the North Way" must have been originally applied to the coast by travellers from the South, and thence extended to all the land up to the hills.

The folk etymology in the Saga (4<sup>15-18</sup>), deriving Nórvegr from the mythical king Nórr, is, like all the other etymologies in the introductory chapters of the Saga, a false one. We would expect the gen. of Nórr, - Nórs-vegr. Cp. Nóra-fjörðr.

The name is fully discussed in M. Olsen: Hedenske Kultminder i norske Stedsnavne, 285 (Oslo, 1915). For further bibliography see A.N. § 235.F.

NORÐRHÁLFA. 97.

Occurs only in the chapter on Hakon Paul's son's encounter with the soothsayer. Signifies "Northern Europe."

ÓSLA. 154.

Oslo, where King Sigurthr died on Feb. 26, 1130.

RAUMSDALR. 5.

Romsdalen, the district wedged between North and South Móren.

REYR. 260.

Rór, Hedemarken, Norway, home of Havarthr the Freeman.

SEKKR/

SEKKR. 260.

Sekken in Romsdalsfjorden, Norway, where King Hakon Broadshoulders was killed in battle.

SELEYJAR. 80, 81.

The islands now called Seløer, N.W. of the Naze, Norway.

SÍÐA. 89.

A district, now Sida, in the S. of Iceland. Here resided Hallr in the early 11th century, a man named in many Icel. Sagas.

SJÓLAND. 84n.

Zealand (Dan. Sjælland), the E. island of Denmark on which stands Copenhagen.

SKÁNEYRR. 83, 84n.

Skano<sup>r</sup> in the province of Skan<sup>e</sup> in the extreme S. of Sweden, belonging to Denmark till 1660.

SOGN. 3, 100, 142, 148, 149, 322.

Sogn, the district round Sognefjorden, Norway. See Sóknadalr, of which it is a contraction.

SÓKNADALR. 3<sup>26</sup>

The correct form is Sóknardalr; for this occurs in Dipl. Norv. (see below) and is necessary to the etymology. The Saga form, however, is also found in Dipl. Norv., and may have sugg. the Saga folk-etymology from the mythical Sókn, gen. Sókna.

Ident. with Sognedalen, Norway. Early spellings are:

i Soknadale. D.N. IV. 71., 1307.

Soknardalls. D.N. IV. 298., 1355.

passing to:

Sognodal, Sogedals, Sognedaal. D.N. II. 679., 1481.

From Sókn, gen. Sóknar, a river-name; meaning "an advance/

advance," "an attack," it was probably first applied to an impetuous torrent (N.G. X. 1). Cp. rivers Sokni in Laerdalen, and Sokna in Ringarike.

STAÐR. 84n, 144.

CapeStadt, the Westernmost point of Norway.

STEIG (in Steigar-þórir). 98, 175.

Steig, the home of Thorir slain by Magnus Barelegs for rebellion in 1094, is a district in upper Gudbrandsdalen, Norway.

STIKLASTAÐIR. 53, 77.

Stiklestad, ~~a farm~~ in the lower part of Vaerdalen, Norway; site of the tragic battle in which St. Olafr the King was slain.

STUÐLA. 149, 151, 152.

Støle, a small district in N. Hordland, S.W. Norway, where Wrinkly-Ormr lived.

SVIASKER. 2.

Stockholm Skerries.

SVÍPJOÐ. 54. 57. 84n. 93. 94.

Sweden.

SVQÐR. 23.

A seaport a little W. of Rügen Island in the N. of Germany; the scene of the famous battle between King Sveinn and King Olafr Tryggvi's son in 1000.

SAETR. 142, 152.

Saetersdalen, Kristiansand, Norway, where lived Harekr, grandfather of John Limp-leg. (N.G. III. 307).

TUNSBURG. 140, 142n., 154, 155.

Tønsberg, Norway.

UPPLOND/

UPPLOND. 4<sup>8</sup>

Now Oplandene, a collective term for the inland provinces of Norway in the S.E.

VALDRES. 3.

Now Valdres, a district bounded on the East by Sogn, and on the North by Gudbrandsdalen. Acc. to N.G. IV. 225., "probably named after one of the early settlers."

VÉBJORG (in Vébjargabing). 84n.

The district of Viborg, Jutland, Denmark, where a Thing was held at which in accordance with ancient custom the kings of Denmark were elected.

VERADALR. 57.

Vaerdalen in the province of Trondhjem, Norway.

VESTRA-GAUTLAND. 94.

A province in ancient Sweden lying between Lake Vetteren and the Kattegat.

VÍKIN. 81, 156, 260.

Viken, the sea-bight running up to Oslo, and used loosely (as in O.S.) of the lands that enclose it.

~~VINDLAND. 91.~~

~~The Northern coast of Germany, inhabited by Vindin or Wends.~~

VORS, (in n'n. Vorsakrákr). 89

Voss, a district in N. Hordland, Norway.

ÞRÁNDHEIMR. 3, 5, 57, 142.

The province of Trondhjem, as distinct from the town of Trondhjem or Nidaros. The Saga form is O. Icel., the O. Norw. form being þrónðheimr: "the home of the þraendir," an ancient Norw. tribe (C.V.).

8. THE REST OF EUROPE, etc.

AFRIKA. 245n.

Africa.

AKRSBORG. 253, 254.

"The fortress of Acre" on the coast of Palestine, the scene of many encounters between Crusaders and Saracens. In Mod. Arabic, Akka. The form Akre first appears in Josephus, 1st cent. A.D. (Encycl. Brit., 11th ed.).

BOLGARALAND. 259.

Bulgaria, which at that time extended to the West coast of the Balkan peninsula, and was subject to the Byzantine Emperor. Bolgara- is gen. plur. - "the land of the Bulgars."

DYRAKSborg. 259.

Durazzo in Albania. From L. Lat. Dyrrachium, which <sup>is</sup> from Gr. Δυρραχίου. The nearest port in the Balkan peninsula to Italy. Lit., "the fortress of Dyrakr" on the analogy of such pl. ns. as Lambaborg, "the fortress of Lambi."

ENGILSNES. 257<sup>21</sup>

Munch's identification of this ness with Cape St. Angelo (now Cape Malea) still stands (N.F.H. III. 840n). The difficulty arises of how it came to be passed by Rognvaldr Kali on his way from Acre to Istanbul. It was probably inserted in the Saga as a well-known landmark on the standard sea-route to Istanbul. A similar error occurs in the Saga of Sigurthr the Crusader, ch.11 (Hkr. 539).

The name was formed on the analogy of such common O.N. pl. ns. as Engilsstaðir, Engilsruð.

The reading Engilsnes occurs in MSS. 702 and in Hkr., and is in some degree supported by Egilsnes in O. and 325. Flat. however, reads Aegissness, which might be a cape near the mouth of the R. Aegos in the Dardanelles. This disposes of the geographical difficulty above-mentioned. But the reading is probably false; and the cape is too obscure.

GALICIULAND. 235, 242.

Galiccia.

Galiccia in the N.W. of Spain, then part of the kingdom of Castile. From Lat. Gallaecia, with an O.N. gen. sing. inflexion -u.

GARDAR/

GARÐAR, GARÐARIKI. 54, 55.

The old Scandinavian kingdom in Western Russia. Mentioned as early as 996 in Hallfrothr Troublesome-skald's Ólafsdraða (Skjalög. B.I. 148). V.L.P. Thomsen suggests that the name is probably not O.N. garðr: "an enclosure," but O. Slavonic grad (Russ. gorod): "a stronghold," "a town" (Relations between Anc. Russ. and Scand. 80n). Garðariki would thus mean "the kingdom of strongholds" - a very fitting title.

HOLMGARÐR. 54, 55, 56, 57.

Novgorod, "New-town", in contrast to the older fortress of Ladoga situated two miles below where the R. Volkhov issues from Lake Ilmen. The first fortress or garðr (see previous name) may have been built by the Scandinavians on a holm in the river. Mullenhof, however, suggests a corruption of Ilmen (O. Russ. Ulmen) (Haupt's Zeit. f. deutsches Alterthum, XII, 346).

IMBOLAR. 256<sup>5</sup>, 257<sup>8</sup>.

Imbólum (dat. plur.) is what appears in the Saga text. We may deduce the nom. (plur.) to have been Imbólar, or, less probably, Imbóli.

Since the Crusaders visit the town on the way from Acre to Istanbul, it obviously lies on the West coast of Asia Minor. It has been variously identified and derived. I have no fresh suggestions to offer, nor can I single out any one hypothesis as more probable than the rest.

(1) Vigfusson conjectures cleverly a Norse transliteration of Gr. ἑμπολις, on the analogy of Istanbul from Gr. ἑς τὰν πόλιν.

(2) Dasent suggested the island of Imbros (Gr. Ἰμβρος) at the mouth of the Dardanelles, assuming that the variant reading in Flat. Aegissness (for Engilsnes, 702, Hkr.) to be identical with a cape at the mouth of the R. Aegos at the mouth of the Dardanelles.

(3) Bugge (Norges Hist. II. 215) identifies it with the ancient Amphipolis.

(4) Meissner (Ark. f. nord. fil. XLI, 183-184) excludes the possibility of Amphipolis, as<sup>17</sup> being in the wrong place. He fails to find any trace of a Gr. equivalent such as ἑμβολος. But Lat. embolum = rostrum, a pulpit in a forum. He thus argues that it is not a pl. n. at all, but a bazaar in some unnamed port. Under Meissner's hypothesis the name would be in the nom. not Imbólar but Imbólum, indeclinable.

JORÐANÁ. 121, 234, 254, 255.

"Jordan River." From L. Lat. Jordan + O.N. á: "river."

JORSALAHEIMR/

- JORSALAHEIMR. 109, 116, 125, 215, 224, 229, 264.
- JORSALALAND. 253, 254, 256.
- JORSALABORG. 255.
- JORSALIR. 121.

These names are best treated together. The first chronologically appears to have been Jorsalaheimr, an O.N. transliteration of L. Lat. Jerusalem, with the spurious meaning of "home of the Jorsalir." This name occurs normally and, so far as I can ascertain, exclusively in the general idiom for going on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, or, at any rate, to the holy places in and near it. It thus came to mean more than the city itself, its place being taken by Jorsalaborg, or by the tribal name alone, Jorsalir. It may be noted that Jorsalir is the name for Jerusalem in St. Magnus' Saga and Jorsalaborg in Earl Rognvald's Saga.

Jorsalaheimr can best be translated "the Holy Land."

From the imaginary tribal name is also derived Jorsalaland: "Palestine."

- KRIT. 252, 253.

Crete.

- MARSEL. 244.

Marseilles, founded as a seaport by the Phoenicians, c. 600 B.C. Gr. Μασσαλία, Lat. Massilia.

- MIKLAGARÐR. 55, 215, 256, 258, 259, 279.

Istanbul, the capital of the Byzantine Empire. Lit., "the great city"; see under Garðar.

- NERBÓN. 231, 234, 250.

The identity of this name is bound up with the interpretation of the narrative in the Crusade-pátttr. If the narrative is taken as it stands, some town in the Bay of Biscay must be found. Vigf. suggested Bilbao on the R. Nervion in N. Spain. But it is not certain that such a town was in existence in 1151. On the other hand, if Jónsson's reconstruction of the narrative is accepted (see Hist. Tidskrift, 8 R. IV. 154, and note on O.S. ch. 86) then it is clearly to be identified with Narbonne in the South of France; from O. Fr. Nerbone.

The form is well attested, occurring in two verses of Earl Rognvaldr (234<sup>15</sup> and 250<sup>27</sup>).

NORÐMANDI. 5.

Normandy. O.N. form of O. Fr. Normandie which in turn was of O.N. origin.

NORVASUND. 243, 244.

The Straits of Gibraltar, the first Norseman to navigate which was Skopti in 1099 (~~Fms. VII. 66~~)(Hkr., Magn.B.S.ch.23)

The form varies in O.N. from Norvasund to Njorvasund and Norvasund. The rendering "Narrow Sound" cannot be accepted. Engl. narrow (O.E. nearu) has no cognate forms in any other Teutonic language except Dutch and Frisian (N.E.D.). In his Altisl. Gram. (§§82, 365, 424) Noreen uses the name to illustrate certain types of vowel change, but it is doubtful if the variant spellings can be reduced to such phonological order. They appear to be O.N. renderings of some unknown foreign word (perhaps O.E. nearu). Analogies for the three forms can be found in the mythological father of Night in Sn. Ed. I. 54 - Norvi or Norvi (Lind: Dopn.); and the fictitious king Njorvi in Fornaldar S. II. 400 (Lind: Dopn.). But both names are probably much younger than Norvasund.

PÚL. 259.

The province of Apulia, now Puglia, in S. Italy. For loss of initial <sup>vuvr</sup> before p, cp. O.N. postoli: "apostle," and pistill: "epistle."

RÓM. 85, 116, 121.

Rome.

RÓMABORG. 259.

Rome. The more usual name for Rome, used in the Saga of Rognvaldr Kali. Róma is an O.N. pseudo-gen.-plur., - "the fortress of the Romans." Cp. Jórsalaborg.

RÓMAVEGR. 259.

The standard overland route to Rome for pilgrims from the North. See note on 259."

SARDINAREY. 245.

Sardinia. The Latin name with but little phonetic alteration has been given the appearance of a normal O.N. island name, "Sardin's island."

SAXLAND/

SAXLAND. 85.

Lit., "the land of the Saxar," the uncontracted form being \* Saxaland. The name meant more than Saxony, however, for it included the greater part of the great central plain of Germany. Trans., "Germany."

SERKLAND hit mikla. 245, 252.

"Saracen-land the Greater," the North coast of Africa; "the Lesser" was the South coast of Spain. Engl. Barbary translates the name fairly well. Serk- and Serkir are O.N. simplifications of L. Lat. Saracenus, a word "of uncertain etymology" (N.E.D.).

### B. PERSONAL NAMES.

SPÁNN, SPANLAND. 242, 243, 244, 245.

Spain. From L. Lat. Spania.

VALLAND. 231.

"The land of the Valir" (cp. L. Lat. Wallus), the Celtic or "Welsh" peoples in the N.W. of France. Although originally restricted to this area (see Fms. IV. 59) the term became used loosely for the whole of France, as in O.S.

ÞRASNES. 234, 254.

The authenticity of the name is attested by its presence in a verse of Oddi the Little (254<sup>6</sup>).

It is clearly a Norse transliteration of a name in a foreign tongue on the analogy of a pl. n. like Þrasvík. The context suggests that it might be found on the North coast of Spain. The only name bearing it any faint resemblance is Cape Torinana, a little N. of Cape Finisterre; (suggested by Meisner in Ark. f. nord. Fil. XLI. 160 who quotes Thuriaen and Torian as early forms). But as it is passed by the Crusaders before they reach Galicia (O.S. 234), I doubt if this identification is possible. As the name appears in a verse along with that of Acre (O.S. 254), it is more probable that it is to be sought in the Eastern Mediterranean. As there is considerable geographical confusion in the Crusading chapters, more reliance is to be placed on inferences drawn from verses than on statements made in the prose narrative.

VINDLAND. 21n.

Wendland, the land of the Vindir or Wends, in the North of Germany.



1. Personal Names in the Mythological Introduction.

AEGIR. 1.

FROSTI. See Hlér.

BEITI. 4, 5.

A "sea-king" or mythical viking, son of Gorr, mentioned in a mnemonic list of sea-kings (Pul. IV. a. 1), and used in but one extant kenning: Beita borg: "the fortress of Beiti," i.e. the sea (Skjaldg. B.I.451). Deriv. uncertain; see C.V.

EYSTEINN GLUMRA. 5.

Eysteinn Rattle is mentioned as father of Earl Rognvaldr of Møren here and in Hkr., Har. Harf. S., ch.10 and Ol. H.S., ch.96. Nothing more is known of him.

FORNJÓTR. 1.

The name of this mythological being of Finnland and Kvoenland is fully discussed by E. Hellquist in Ark. f. nord. Fil., XIX, 134. From this article I have compiled the following notes.

The following interpretations have been made of the name:

- (i) from O.N. forn-jótr: "old-Jutlander." Grimm, and Rask.
- (ii) from O.N. for-njótr: "former settler." Uhland, Keyser and Falk.
- (iii) from O.N. forn-njótr: "ancient settler". Noreen, Uppsalastudier, 219.

Noreen suggests further that he is to be identified with Pjazi, and he in turn with the giant Hraesvelgr: "Devourer of corpses."

- (iv) from O.N. forn-bjóltr: "the old storm," in the sense of a storm god; cp. O.N. Arn(n)órr from Arnbórr. Kock, Indogerm. Forschungen, X, 103.

(v) Hellquist himself finds little that is probable in any of these but the first. He suggests further that jótr besides being the tribal term may have been a generic term for "man", connected with O. Icel. ytar: "men"; cp. Gautr and Gautar. He adds that there is no reason to believe that Fornjótr was a storm-god as Noreen and Kock assume him to be. The fact that his three sons are the three elements Water, Wind and Fire suggest rather that he is the Creator. But whatever his origin, he remarks, Fornjótr was a very abstract mythological figure, and this no doubt accounts for the relative absence of reference to him in skaldic poetry. We do find his name in a mnemonic list of giants (Pul. IV.b.3) and/

Ivarr, Earl of West...  
grandfather/

and in a kenning for the wind in Skaldskaparmál, xxvii:-

grandfather of Earl Rognvaldr of Møren. Nothing more is known of him.

"First began to fly  
Förnjot's sons ill-shapen."

KARI. 1.  
FROSTI. 1.

The son of Kari, the storm-god. Mentioned as a dwarf in Pul. IV, ii,5, and in Voluspá, 16. In the other version of the tale, Hversu Noregr byggðisk he is called Jokull, the O.Icel. name for a glacier.

GÓI. 1, 4.

The daughter of Thorri, and sister of Norr and Gorr. But really the month that follows Porri, from mid-Feb. to mid-March, and used thus in O.S. 175<sup>v</sup>. Mod. Icel. Góa. For the mythical origin of the name see C.V.

GÓRR. 1-5.

A "sea-king" or mythical viking, son of Thorri, who shared Norway with his brother Norr. Mentioned in a mnemonic list of sea-kings (Pul. IV. 2,2) and in Ldn. 95<sup>8</sup>.

HALFDAN HINN GAMLI. 5.

Halfdan the Old is mentioned here as the great-grandfather of Earl Rognvaldr of Møren. Nothing more is known of him.

HEITI. 4.

A "sea-king", son of Gorr and brother of Beiti, mentioned in sea-king mnemonics (Pul. III, 1., IV. a.3) and several kennings for the sea. Of note is Arnor's description of Earl Thorfinnr as Heita konr: "son of Heiti" (Skjaldeg. B.I. 306); for the significance of this see Introd.: Sources of ch.1-3. Of uncertain etym.

HLÉR or AEGIR. (q.1.)

A god of the sea. To him Bragi in Skaldskaparmál teaches the metaphors of skaldic poetry. Both names occur in kennings for the sea, the second one frequently. E.g. Hlés doetr: "the daughters of Hler"; i.e. waves; Aegis doetr: ditto (Skjaldeg. B.I. 387, 388). For the name Hlér see an art. by Kock in Indogerm. Forschungen X. 105, and cp. Welsh llyr: "the sea." Aegir is cognate with A.S. eagor, which survives as the "eager" or tidal bore of the R. Severn.

HROLFR OR BJARGI. 4.

Perhaps to be identified with Hrólfr hinn gamli: "H. the Old" in Hyndluljóð, 25. See a note on the name in Ark. f. nord. fil. 1. 255.

IVARR UPPLENDINGAJARL. 5.

Ivarr, Earl of the Uplanders, is mentioned here as the grandfather/

SVEIÐ grandfather of Earl Rognvaldr of Mōren. Nothing more is known of him.

A "sea-king", son of Heiti, and mentioned as the great-great-grandfather of Earl Rognvaldr of Mōren. Mentioned in a mnemonic (Pul. IV. a.1) and used in two unimportant kennings (F.J.: Lex. Poet.). Of uncertain sign.

KÁRI. 1. "Storm." Probably a weak form of kárr: "violent" (F.J.: Lex. Poet.). Mentioned in a mnemonic list of poetic names for wind (Pul. IV. oo.1.).

LOGI. 1. Described as the "son of Snow," but really just the winter month, extending from mid-Jan. to mid-Feb. Deriv. uncertain.

Logi or "Fire" is described in Ynglingatal, 140, as the "fiery-hot son of Fornjotr." His name occurs frequently in kennings, and is found in a mnemonic list of names for fire (Pul. IV. pp.3). Cognate with Ger. loke, Dan. lue, and L.Sc. lowe. Not to be identified with the god Loki.

NÓRR. 1-5.

A "sea-king," son of Thorri, from whom the name Nóregr was traditionally derived. Mentioned in a mnemonic list of kings (Pul. IV. hh).

ROGNVALDR JARL HINN RÍKI. 5.

Earl Rognvaldr the Mighty of Mōren, the person to whom the Mythol. Introd. of O.S. works up, for it was to him that the earldom of the Orkneys was first granted; see O.S. ch.4.

SNAER HINN GAMLI. 1.

"Snow the Old," son of Frosti. Too simple a piece of mythology to be used by skaldic poets.

SOKNI. 3.

A mythical king of Norway not mentioned elsewhere, and probably invented at some time or other to explain the pl.n. Sóknadalr (q.v.)

SVADÍ JQTUNN. 4.

Svathi the Giant of Dovre appears to have been a mythical being of some importance. He is here named as the father of Hrolfr of Bjarg and of a daughter called Hoddr (Flat.I.22). Another son, Rauthfeldr the Strong, is mentioned in Barðar Saga, 4<sup>5</sup> (ed. Vigf., Copenhagen, 1860). In the fictitious Saga of Halfdan Eystein's son (Fornaldar S. III.556) Thor is named as his father, but in Ldn. 95<sup>6</sup> he is called "Svasi's son." Svaði occurs as a pers. n. in O. Icel. (Lind). See a study in Ark. f. nord. fil. XVI. 23 foll.

O.N. svaði meant a slippery place, especially on half thawed icy ground. He would appear to have been one of the "Frost-giants." But his name does not appear in any of the mnemonic ~~verses~~ lists of such beings.

SVEIÐI/

SVEIÐI. 5.

A "sea-king", son of Heiti, and mentioned as the great-great-grandfather of Earl Rognvaldr of Mōren. Mentioned in a sea-king mnemonic (Pul. IV. a.1) and used in two unimportant kennings (F.J.: Lex. Poet). Of uncertain etym.

PORRI. 1.

Described as the "son of Snow," but really just the fourth winter month, extending from mid-Jan. to mid-Feb. Deriv. uncertain.

AFNERA. 12th cent. 318

The first wife of Harold Godwinson's son. Reference to her in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (1138) for year 1138, where she is mentioned as offering Harold Godwinson's daughter of Malcolm Canmore again his former spouse. This is apparently the same as the (1138) Duncan was first wife of Malcolm.

The same name was also the name of a female daughter of a certain Fergus of Gallura, daughter of Africa, daughter of cent. (Chron. Reg.) other occurrences of the name.

ANAKOL. d. circa 1160. 363-211

A Hebridean viading. Craigie (Zeit. f. Celt. Phil. I. 187) origin. It occurs as name of an island Floamanna Sava, 187, and is in the list of Gaelic names in the register.

AURNA. 20<sup>th</sup>.

See Eōne.

BJADHYNJA NYRKJARTANEDOTTER. c.1100. 107

From G. Ir. Blathuine (Craigie). For Ir. J. 1873 3.11. 1; cp. Ir. Blathuine For G. Ir. Blathuine (Ir. Myth.)

The precise date of the marriage between Blathuine and Sigarthr is uncertain. It is in the first expedition.

2. Personal Names of Celtic Origin.

Note. The primary authority for the above is an article by Sir W.A. Craigie on Gaelic Words and Names in the Icelandic Sagas in Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie, I. 439 foll. From this article I have taken most of the O. Celt. spellings I have used in my translation and in the following brief studies. But the textual and historical notes are my own. I have not ventured on a phonological study of the names, as the forms are frequently uncertain, as are also the dates at which the names were first heard by the Norsemen.

AFREKA. 12th cent. 316<sup>19</sup>.

The first wife of Haraldr Maddadh's son. There is a reference to her in the Chronica of Roger de Hoveden (S.A.E.C. 318) for year 1196, where we find William King of Scots offering Haraldr Caithness if he will "put away his wife the daughter of Malcolm MacHeth" (i.e. Hvarfloð, q.v.) and "take again his former spouse the daughter of Duncan Earl of Fife." This is apparently Afreka. According to A.O.A. (E.S.S.H. II 348) Duncan was fourth Earl of Fife and died in 1154.

The same name occurs in Affrica or Aufrike, an illegitimate daughter of William the Lion (Rymer's Foedera, I. 2. 776; quoted in E.S.S.H. II. 399); in Affrica, daughter of Fergus of Galloway, 12th cent. (Chron. Reg. Man. 60); and in Affrica, daughter of Guthrothr, King of the Hebrides, 12th cent. (Chron. Reg. Man. 80). In O.N. sources there is no other occurrence of the name.

ANAKOL. d. circa 1156. 264-291.

A Hebridean viking. Sole occurrence of the name in O.N. Craigie (Zeit. f. Celt. Phil. I. 444) regards it as of Celt. origin. It occurs as name of an Irish farmer, c.992, in Floamanna Saga, ch.26; and, in the form Anekol, among a list of Gaelic names in the Register of Paisley, 1233.

AUÐNA. 20<sup>10</sup>.

See Eðna.

BJAÐMYNJA MÝRKJARTANSDÓTTIR. c.1100. 107.

From O. Ir. Blathmuine (Craigie). For Ir. 1 <sup>becoming</sup> ~~from~~ O.N. j, cp. Ir. Blathmae ~~from~~ <sup>and</sup> O.N. Bjaðmakr (Ldn. ~~2, 10~~ <sup>30<sup>16</sup></sup>).

The precise date of the marriage between Blathmuine and Sigurthr is uncertain. O.S. puts it in the first expedition/

expedition of Magnus Bare-legs, in 1198. But several Irish chronicles put it in the second expedition, in 1102; (see E.S.S.H. II. 115-117, 126, and especially 136).

BLÁNN. 10th cent. 20<sup>th</sup>.

1. Bl. Thorstein's son, warden of Damsay Castle. 12th cent. 130, 168, 171.

2. Bl. brother of John Wing. 12th cent. 301.

From Celt. Bláán. Bláán occurs as the name of one of the earliest Bishops of Kingarth; see E.S.S.H. I. 176-177.

BRIÁNN ÍRAKONUNGR. d.1014. 23.

The famous Irish King Brian Boroinne (Brian Boru) slain in the battle of Clontarf.

DUFGÁLL SUMARLEÐASON. c.1200. 307.

King of the Hebrides. For further details see E.S.S.H. II. 137, 231, 255, 465, 595.

From Celt. Dubh-gall: "Black stranger," the name applied to the Danes, the fairer Norwegian being a "white stranger" or Finn-gall. Dubhgall survives in the names Dougall, Dugald, and Dowell.

DUFNJÁLL.

1. D. Dungaðarson. c.1100, 111. Identity not established. Speculations in E.S.S.H. II. 162 do not take into account the name of his father and are probably erroneous.

2. D. Hávarðsson. 12th cent. 89, 129, 206, 208. One of the Orkney chieftains who accompanied Sveinn Asleif's son on his expedition against Holdbothi.

From O. Ir. Domhnall (Gael. Donald). The real O.N. form, as Craigie points out, is Dufnall, as in Ldn. 158<sup>27</sup>. The more frequent bye-form originates through false analogy with O.N. Njáll. In Chron. Mailros, 34, we find a king called Dufnal who, according to A.O.A. (E.S.S.H. I. 479n) may be identified with King Dunguallaun of Strathclyde mentioned in Welsh sources (E.S.S.H. I. 480). The sole other occurrence of the name in O.N. sources is Dufnalldur Haraldsson in Shetland, D.N. I. 438 (1405).

DUNGAÐR.

1. An unknown earl, father of Dufnjall who was slain by Earls Hakon and Magnus (111n).

2. King Duncan II of Scotland, 1094, May to Novr. (88).

From O. Ir. Donnadh, surviving as Duncan.

Nothing is known of this Scottish chieftain in Scottish sources.

**EDNA.** 10th cent. 20<sup>10</sup>.

Daughter of Kjarvalr King of Ireland; married to Earl Hlothver.

Flat. reads Audnu (acc.) and O. Ednu. Eöna is probably the correct form; for it is the O.N. form of O. Ir. Eithne. It occurs also in Ldn. 13<sup>28</sup>. The variant Auöna also occurs a second time, in D.N. X. 107 (1421). It was probably formed on the analogy of the pers. n. Auöun.

See Gilli Ódran, and Gilli in Index of nicknames.

**ENGUS.**

1. Engus the Open-handed, referred to as one of the brothers of Frakokk (128<sup>5</sup>).

2. Engus, referred to as one of the sons of Sumarlithi King of the Hebrides (307<sup>16</sup>).

From Celt. Aengus, surviving as Angus.

**FINNLEIKR SKOTAJARL.** d.1020. 20, 21.

From O. Ir. Finnlaech (Craigie), surviving in the name Finlay, Findlay.

Fairly certainly to be identified with Finnlaech son of Ruadri, the mormaer of Moray who was slain by the sons of Maelbrigte in 1020 and whose son Macbeth murdered Duncan in 1040. See notes on ch.20 and E.S.S.H. I. 551, 581.

**FRAKOKK.** 12th cent. 122-268.

The high-spirited and unscrupulous daughter of Moddan of Dale in Caithness; married to Ljotr the "Nothing" in Sutherland.

There are many MS. forms of this name:-

<u>Frakauck</u>	325.
<u>Frakaurk</u>	Flat. (122-162).
<u>Frakauk</u>	Flat. (166, 190).
<u>Frakok</u>	Flat. (196, 197).
<u>Frackok</u>	Flat. (198-268).
<u>Frakaut</u>	O.

The name does not occur elsewhere in O.N. It is probably of Celtic origin, although I have not succeeded in discovering any Celtic name resembling any of the above forms. The form adopted has the support of MSS. 325 and Flat., although the possibility of O. having the correct form (Frakaut or Frakot) must not be lost sight of.

**GILLI ÓDRAN.** 12th cent. 307, 308.

The form in Flat. is Gilla, but O. gives Gille, representing/

representing what is probably the correct form, Gilli ~~representing~~ <sup>being</sup> Celt. Gille: "a servant." Oöran no doubt represents Celt. Odhrain: "of Odhran."

Nothing is known of this Scottish chieftain in Scottish sources.

GILLI. 12th cent. 136.

See Gilli Oöran.

GILLI-KRISTR. 140, 141.

See Gilli Oöran, and Gilli in Index of nicknames.

HOLDBOEDI HUNDASON. 12th cent. 172-206.

A chieftain of Tíree who became involved in a bitter feud with Sveinn Asleif's son.

The name, which is attested by MSS. Flat. and O, does not occur elsewhere in O.N. and is probably of Celtic origin.

There are alternative readings of Hornbogi, Flat. (200, in a title), and Hornboði, Flat. (200-206). These may be on the analogy of Hornbori, a pers. n. occurring in Sn. Edda, II. 470 and in several pl. ns. (Lind: Dopn.). Holdboði is probably the correct form.

HUNDI.

1. Father <sup>of</sup> Karl, "King of Scots," in ch.20, perhaps to be identified with the Earl Hundi in Nj. S. ch.86.

2. The name of the son of Sigurthr the Stout whom Olaf Tryggvi's son took as a hostage to Norway (22n).

3. Father of Holdbothi of Tíree (172).

A translation of Celt. Cuilean: "a dog," - Cuilean being a common pers. n.

HVARFLOÐ MELKOLMSDOTTIR. 12th cent. 321<sup>21</sup>.

The second wife of Haraldr Maddadh's son.

The name is a corruption of the Celt. name represented in O. Ir. by Gormflaith. Another corruption of the name occurs in Nj. S. ch.155, where Olaf Cuaran's wife Gormflaith is called Kormloð. The form Kormloð occurs also in Ldn. 123<sup>16</sup>.

Harald's marriage to Hvarfloð must have taken place before 1196, and while his first wife Afreka was still alive; see Chronica of Roger de Hoveden (S.A.E.C. 318) quoted under Afreka. Her father was Malcolm MacHeth of Moray, the arch-rebel in the reign of William the Lion. The marriage immediately/

immediately dragged Haraldr into disastrous conflict with that king.

HVELPR. 22n.

Given as an alternative name for Hundi, son of Sigurthr the Stout. It is also a translation of Celt. Cuilean: "a dog."

KJARVALR ÍRAKONUNGR. 10th cent. 20<sup>10</sup>.

From O. Ir. Cerball. His daughter Eithne was married to Earl Hlothver. As Kjarvalr he is frequently mentioned in O.N. sources; see E.S.S.H.

KONOFOGOR ÍRAKONUNGR. 11th cent. 27.

A probable corruption of O. Ir. Conchobhar. Several Irish kings are so called, but it does not seem possible to identify any of them with this Konofogor, who fought against Earl Einarr Sigurth's son in 1018.

KOSTNAMI. 11th cent. 10ln.

The name occurs thus in O. only. An alternative form Kostnami is found in M<sub>2</sub>. He is described in O. as a king of Sadriri (prob. Ulster) in Ireland, and as brother to the Welsh Earls Hugh the Stout and Hugh the Proud. In M<sub>2</sub> he is described as their father. Both accounts seem unlikely. Nothing is known of him, at any rate, in Welsh or Irish sources. The name may not be Celt.

KVÁRAN. 10th cent. 2ln.

The nickname of Olafr King of the Irish, referred to here as brother to Gytha, whom Olafr Tryggvi's son married in 993. See Kváran in Index of nicknames.

MADDAÐR. 12th cent. 158-263.

Maddaðr, according to O.S., succeeded Melmari as Earl of Athole. In Scottish sources there are references to his having witnessed several charters in the reign of David I, his name occurring as follows:

<u>Madeth comes</u>	Lawrie: <u>Charters</u> , 63.
<u>Madoc comes</u>	" " 97.
<u>Maduc consul</u>	" " 79.
<u>Madd' Comes</u>	" " 80, 108.

The first of these is very similar to the O.N. form and suggests/



identified with Malcolm Canmore (1058-1093). No explanation can be offered for the curious paraphrase of Celt. Ceanmhor. There is, so far as I have been able to ascertain, no explanatory comment on the nickname Canmore in any Scottish, English or Irish sources, until George Buchanan's gloss:-

..... Milcolumbum Cammorum (quasi dicas Megalocephalon)  
(Rerum Scoticarum Historia, ed. 1583, 61).

3. Malcolm King of Scots, to whom Magnus Erlend's son flees, 1098 (104<sup>22</sup>) and from whom Magnus Bare-legs receives envoys in the same year (105'). Apparently an error for King Edgar (1094-1107).

4. Malcolm King of Scots, visited by Sigurthr Sham-deacon, 1128x36 (125). An error for David I (1124-1153) mentioned earlier in the same chapter.

5. Malcolm IV, son of David, King of Scots, visited by Sveinn Asleif's son in spring 1152. Another error for David I; see note on ch.91.

6. Malcolm IV (1153-1165) (264<sup>16</sup>, 306<sup>28</sup>; referred to in 278<sup>13</sup> and 309<sup>1</sup>).

7. Malcolm MacHeth, mormaer of Moray, referred to as the father of Hvarfloð (321<sup>22</sup>).

MELMARI. 12th cent. 158<sup>11</sup>.

Referred to as father of Maddadh, Earl of Athole.

The above form occurs in MS.325. Flat. has (erroneously) Melkolmr. O. has Melmure which is of interest in that it resembles the form malmuri in an O.N. runic inscription in the Isle of Man (see Bugge in Aarb. 1899, 232) and is nearest to the O. Ir. form Maelmuire.

This Earl of Athole is probably to be identified with Malmore d'Athotla in B. of Deer, 95. O.S. (l.c.) describes him as a brother of Malcolm Canmore, but this is doubtful. See E.S.S.H. II. 182 for further speculations regarding him.

MODDAN, MUDDAN.

1. A puppet ruler of Caithness set up by Karl Hundi's son, 11th cent. (44,45,48,49). He is described (44<sup>8</sup>) in MS. 332 as "Mumtan or Muddan", in Flat. as Muddan, and in O. as "Mutatan or Muddan."

2. A wealthy Caithness chieftain dwelling at Dale, father of Frakokk, (12th cent. (122)). His name is given in MS.325 as Moddan, in Flat. as Maddan, and in O. as Muddan.

It is difficult to say what the correct O.N. form was. The name seems to be related to that of Matain mac Caerill, mormaer of ?Buchan, in B. of Deer, 92. Derivation from O. Ir. Modudhan is suggested by Craigie, and lends some support to O.'s Mutatan being nearer to the original O.N. form.

MYRKJARTAN. c.1100. 107<sup>3</sup>.

Referred to as son of Pjalbi,<sup>as</sup> father of Bjaðmynja, and King of Connaught. Referred to elsewhere in Saga literature (Laxd./



The torturing may have been the result of his attempting to enforce the payment of papal dues. For the papal correspondence on the 3. Churchmen. VII. Nos. 2 and 3 (quoted in C.S.H.)

ADALBRIKT PRESTR. c.1100. 123<sup>4</sup>.

A Norwegian priest with whom Rognvaldr Kali went to take shelter. Referred to as father of Sigurthr Sham-Deacon.

BALDVINI ABÓTI. 12th cent. 211.

An unrecorded abbot of the Isle of May. See note on 211<sup>3</sup>.

BJARNI KOLBEINSSON BYSKUP. d.1223. 214, 316, 321, 322, 328.

The most distinguished of the Orkney bishops, not only in his own sphere but as the author of the stirring Jómsvikinga-drápa. Son of Kolbeinn Hruga of Wyre. He flourished too late to play any part in O.S. and his name occurs only in interpolations in the text. For the theory that he was the author of O.S., see Introd.: Author. For further information regarding Bjarni see Dowden: Bishops of Scotl. 256.

ERLINGR ERKIDJAKN. 12th cent. 89<sup>4</sup>.

Referred to in the genealogies in ch.33 as one of the descendants of Ragnhildr, daughter of Earl Paul Thorfinn's son.

HRÓLFR. 12th cent. 194, 195.

Earl Rognvaldr Kali's hirðprestr or chaplain who recognised Bishop John from Athole on his arrival at Knarston.

JÓN BYSKUP from Athole. 12th cent. 194, 195.

At Christmas, 1138, this Bishop John came to Earl Rognvaldr Kali as an emissary from Earl Maddadh in Athole. But Scottish sources record no Bishop John of Athole. Indeed there was no bishopric of Athole. He may have been John, Bishop of Glasgow (x1118 - ?1147; see Dowden: Bishops of Scotl. 295) and have been sent not by Earl Maddadh but by King David I in connection with the apparent alliance between David and the Orkney Earldom as revealed by the presence of Orkneymen in the Scottish army raiding England in 1138; see quotation from Ailred de Rievaulx in S.A.E.C. 189. Alternatively, the partitioning of the Orkney Earldom between Rognvaldr Kali and Haraldr Maddadh's son as proposed by Bishop John may have been a scheme of David's to gain control over the Orkneys. This would also explain the apparently excessive friendliness of David I to Sveinn Asleif's son (ch.83 and 93), for the latter had kidnapped Earl Paul to clear the way for the candidature of Haraldr Maddadh's son of Athole.

JÓN BYSKUP of Caithness. c.1200. 326.

Consecrated 1185x, tortured in 1201, and died probably in 1213, when his successor was elected; see E.S.S.H. II. 355-356, Dowden: Bishops of Scotl. 233, and notes on ch.111. The/

The torturing may have been the result of his attempting to enforce the payment of papal dues. For the papal correspondence on the matter see D.N. VII. Nos.2 and 3 (quoted in C.S.R.)

RIKARÐR. 12th cent. 145<sup>✓</sup>.

A Norwegian priest with whom Rognvaldr Kali went to take shelter for a time.

VILJÁLMR BYSKUP. d.1168. 121-259.

William the Old was the first of the Norwegian bishops of Orkney, having his seat first at Birsay and later, on the erection of the Cathedral, at Kirkwall. On more than one occasion he made peace between rival factions in the Orkneys. He had enough of adventure in his disposition to accompany Earl Rognvaldr Kali on his crusade. He was buried in St. Magnus Cathedral. In 1848 a cist was found between the last two pillars on the South side of the choir containing bones and a leaden plate inscribed: Hic requiescit Willialmus senex, felicis memoriae, and, on the reverse, Primus Episcopus. As the choir is a later part of the Cathedral, the bishop's relics must originally have rested elsewhere. Mr J. Mooney (P.O.A.S. III. 77) suggests that the original tomb was between the two broad pillars in front of what was then the high altar. For further detail regarding Bishop William, see Dowden: Bishops of Scotl. 252-253.

VILJÁLMR BYSKUP d.1188. 321<sup>24</sup>.

Referred to as the predecessor of Bishop Bjarni. Nothing further is known of him. See Dowden: Bishops of Scotland, 255.

An unnamed Welsh bishop is mentioned in 104<sup>13</sup> as giving shelter to Magnus Erlend's son for a time while in exile.

4. Personal Names: Miscellaneous.

GYÐA. 10th cent. 2ln.

Not known outside O.N. sources. She is mentioned as the sister of Olafur Kvaran in O.S. 2ln. (Vigf. alters O. sóster to dóttir without comment and misleads A.O. Anderson in E.S.S.H. I. 506); in Hkr. 126; in Odds Ólafs S. 14; and in the Longer Ól. Trygg. S. (Fms. I. 149).

Hkr. (126-7) gives a whole chap. to her marriage with Olafur Tryggvi's son, which must have taken place (A.O.A. l.c.) c.993. Acc. to Hkr. Gytha had been previously married to "a powerful earl in England," and brought her second husband large estates in England in which he dwelt alternately with Ireland.

A.O. Anderson (l.c.) says that her story is "romantic rather than historical;" for Olafur Kvaran died in 980. But that does not make the marriage impossible. It is well attested in a multitude of sources. Further, acc. to Hkr. 417<sup>31,33</sup> a pretender appeared in Norway c.1033, claiming to be the son of Olafur Tryggvi's son and Gytha "the English woman" (Enska).

MORU-KÁRI. 11th cent. 90<sup>15</sup>.

This is the curious O.N. form of O.E. Morkere (M.E. Morcarr), the first syllable of the name being transformed into a kind of cognominal prefix, on the analogy of such names as Horða-Kári (Hkr. 66<sup>6</sup>) and Berðu-Kári (Ldn. 88<sup>26</sup>). This Morkere was the son of Aelfgar, Earl of Mercia, became Earl of Northumbria 1064-1065, and was slain at York by Haraldr Sigurth's son in 1066. See O.S. l.c., and Hkr. 347, 496, 502, 503, for what the Sagas have to say about him; and see also E.S.S.H. II. 14.

GERMANUS. 12th cent. 231.

✓ The father of Ermingerör (q.v.), Count Aymeri de Narbonne The corruption is a strangé one; still stranger the further corruption Geirbjörn in Flat. But as F. Jónsson points out (Hist. Tidsskr. IV R. 8, p.165), it is not without significance for identification that he is referred to as earl (O.S. 231<sup>16</sup>) and not as king.

GUÐIFREYR. 12th cent. 235-244.

The chief in the castle near Narbonne captured by Earl Rognavaldr. Not identified. See note on ch.85-89.

GEIRBJÖRN.

See Germanus.

ERMINGERÖR/

ERMINGERÐR. 12th cent. 232-243.

In an article on the Narbonne episode in Zeit. f. deutsche Philologie, XLIII (1911), 428-434, H. Gering identifies her with Ermengarde, daughter of a Count Aymeri de Narbonne (d.1134). She was married to a Spanish Count in 1142, and in 1145 to Bernarde D'Anduse. See note on ch.86.

GUÐRØÐR ÓLÁFSSON. 12th cent. 325'.

Identical with Guðrøðr son of Olafr klíningr ("Butter") referred to in Hkr. 609<sup>17</sup>, and with Godfrey, King of the Hebrides (?1154-1187) in Chron. Reg. Man. I. 62 foll.

RØGNVALDR GUÐRØÐARSON SUBREYJAKONUNGR. c.1200. 324<sup>34</sup>.

Identical with Reginald, son of Godfrey, King of the Hebrides, in Chron. Reg. Man. I. 78-94. He ruled 1188-1229.

MENELAUS. 12th cent. 258<sup>18</sup>.

"Menelaus whom we call Manúli" - the Emperor Manuel of the Eastern Empire (1143-1180). The O.N. form Manúli occurs by itself in Hkr. 537<sup>33</sup>.

MANÚLI.

See Menelaus.

HALLFRØÐR. c.1000. 101'.

This foster-son of Thorleifr the Wise, great-great-grandfather of Rognvaldr Kali, was a famous skald who received the unusual soubriquet of Vandraeðaskald: "Troublesome-skald." See his poems in C.P.B. or Skjalldg.

KOLBEINN HRUGA. 12th cent. 89, 214, 302, 321.

For the many Saga references to Kolbeinn Lump, see Hruga in Lind: Binamn. For the legends regarding him as "Cubbie Roo," see P.O.A.S. V. 71 foll. For his castle on Wyre, see P.O.A.S. VI. 9-11.

TROLLHOENA. 326.

Fairly certainly to be identified with the Celtic Saint Triduana (Sc. Tredwell). See A.197 and P.O.A.S. III for the few relevant facts and legends known regarding her. If Bishop John actually did visit her shrine, he must have come to Restalrig near Edinburgh where according to tradition she/

she died and was buried.

The O.N. form of her name is a curious one. Dr. Marwick points out (P.O.A.S. III.34) that it appears to survive in the name of a fishing ground - Trallyo ground - N.E. of Papa Westray, in which island there is a chapel dedicated to her. "St. Tildrin's Day," a Westray expression, may also be a corruption of the O.N. or the Sc. form (H.M.: Orkn. Norn). A study of the name by Bugge (which I have not seen) is to be found in Studier (Uppsala) I. 24.

VALBJÓFR. 12th cent. 202n, 212, 213.

This Scottish Earl slain by Thorbjorn Clerk, 1143x1148, cannot be identified with any of the men named Waltheof in the index to E.S.S.H.

C. NICKNAMES AND SURNAMES

GLOSSARIAL INDEXES.

C. NICKNAMES and SURNAMES.

ÁBÓTI, Baldvini. 12th cent. 211.

"Abbot".

ADALSTEINSFÓSTRI, Hákon Haraldzson. d.961. 14, 16n.

"Athelstan's foster son". The story of how when a boy Haraldr son of Har.Harf. came to be fostered by King Athelstan is told in Hkr., Har.Harf.S., ch.40-41.

ALLI, Hlífólfr hinn. 12th cent. 325.

D.- "the Quick". (Whence? Not in C.V.) But according to F.J., it is a weak form of \*allr, positive to ellri, elztr; (= gamall; old). Occurs as a name on the Glavendrup Stone and in other places (900-925). Occurs in the pl.n. Allaby, D.N. III. 332 (1382).

Trans., "the Old".

ÁRBÓT, Álofa Haraldzdottir. c.900. 11.

Lit., "Improver of the harvest". Trans., "Harvest-Heal." (D).

ÁRSAELI, Hávarðr Þorfinnzson. 10th cent. 16, 17, 18.

"Harvest-happy". (D., F.J.) i.e., having rich harvests during his reign. Elsewhere in written sources applied only to King Eiríkr, Hkr. 546. (Lind).

AUÐGI, Knútr hinn. 12th cent. 276, 278.

Rich in worldly goods (F.J.). Trans., "the Wealthy".

BARN, Hákon. 12th cent. 89, 214.

Not "child" or "bairn" (D), but "the Younger". Corresponds to Mod. Engl. "Minor" or "Junior". Acc. to Lind, not very frequent in written sources.

BEGLA, Bótólfr. 12th cent. 285.

Identical with N.N.begla, an ill-willed hindering person (Torp). Occurs in O.N. in the phrase sem begla hjá fogru smíði: "like bungling beside good workmanship" (C.V.); and in/

in the name of the 12th cent. Rimbegla, or "Arithmetic Miscellany". Connected with the O.N. word bagr, awkward, clumsy, as opposed to hagr, skilful; (Fornaldar S. III. 195). Cp. Shetl. begel, to crumple, and bekel, to walk clumsily (J.J.); and prob. Engl. boggle, although N.E.D. connects with Engl. bogle, a spectre. Occurs in the pl.n. Bjeglerud (from \*Begluruð), N.G.2. IV. 216. (Lind).

Trans., "Bungle", "Boggler", "Botcher".

BERBEINN, Magnús Ólafsson. d.1103. Passim.

"Bare-legs". (D). Also called Berfoettr and Berleggr. For origin of nickname, see Hkr., Magn. B. S. ch.18

BYSKUP, 1. Ádam. d.1222. 329, 330, 331.  
 2. Bjárni. d.1222. 214, 316, 321, 322, 328.  
 3. Jón af Atjoklum 12th cent. 194, 195.  
 4. Jón á Katanesi c.1200. 326, 329.  
 5. Viljálmr. d.1168. 121-259.  
 6. Viljálmr. d.1188. 321.

"Bishop....."

BITLINGR, Ólafr. 12th cent. 122, 307.

Sole instance of this nickname. D. gives "bitling" in the text, explaining it as "little bit" or "the tiny". Obviously a dimin. of bit. Cp. Engl. bitling, a little bit (N.E.D. 17th cent.). Trans., "Snippet".

In Shetland we find, however, bitel, a big tooth, and Bitli, Botli, a nickname given in Nesting to people with big teeth (J.J.). It is possible, therefore, to trans. "Tusk" (Cp. Tonn). There are references to Ólafr in Irish sources, but the epithets applied to him are purely decorative (See Skene's Celt. Scotl. III. 410).

BLÁ-, in Blá-Kári. 12th cent. 295.

Not distinguished as a nickname by Anderson, Vigfusson or Dasent. It means either "Black", or, possibly, "Foolish" (C.V.). As a nickname it does not occur elsewhere (Lind).

BLÓÐØX, Eiríkr Haraldzson. d.c.950. 14, 15, 16, 33.

"Bloody-axe".

BLÓT-, in Blót-Sveinn. 11th cent. 94.

Lit., "Sacrifice-Sveinn". Blót, which is cognate with Goth. blótan ( \*λατρενείν ) and A.S. blótan (= immolare), meant first "sacrifice"; in the Christian era it developed the bad sense of Heathen sacrifice, and the subsidiary connotation of cursing and swearing (C.V.). As a nickname it was applied to a zealous pagan and maker of sacrifices within Christian/

Christian times; cp. Hakon Blótjarl in Flat. (F.J.).  
Trans., "Sveinn the Apostate", or merely "Sacrifice-Sveinn".

The narrative of his election as king of Sweden in place of King Ingi, the Christian reformer, shows how old customs died hard. But the explanation of the nickname, and the general tenour of the passage show that neither the author nor his readers approved of, or knew much about, the "old customs" referred to.

BREIÐMAGI, Þórarinn. 12th cent. 203.

"Broad-paunch" (D.) or, more alliteratively, "Broad-belly".

BRJÓSTREIP, Sveinn. 12th cent. 160 - 192.

Lit., "Breast-rope" (D.). Sole occurrence. Of uncertain significance. Fritzner explains it as a synonym of brjóstgjörð, saddle-girth. Jónsson suggests "Bauldrick". Lind ventures no explanation at all. N.E.D. gives Engl. breast-rope as a nautical term meaning a rope securing the yard-parrels, or a rope supporting the leadsman when sounding; but neither meaning seems possible in Saga times. The name may in some way be connected with Sveinn's heathen practice of "out-sitting". Trans. literally.

BUNU-, in Bunu-Pétr. 12th cent. 301.

Text:- Flat. - Bunu-Pétr.  
O.- Hvinu-Petr.

Prob. Bunu-Pétr. For O renders unusual nicknames badly; and Hvinu- is difficult to explain (q.v.).

D. renders "down-at-heel". Bunu is gen. sing. of O.N. \*buna, ident. with N.N. buna, leg-bone. Cp. Faer. buna, something big and clumsy; and N.N. bunabeist, a big-limbed, coarsely-built animal. Jónsson suggests "Clumpfoot". Trans., "Clumpy Peter".

An alternative derivation is from O.N. buna, a stream, used as a nickname in Ldn. Þ for Björn, father of Ketill Flatneb, in the sense of "ungartered"; - i.e., his sock was "streaming" down his leg.

- DIGRI, 1. Sigurðr Hloðvesson. d.1014. 14 - 331.
- 2. Steinvör Ljotzdóttir hin digra. 12th cent. 122, 127.
- 3. Hugr hinn. d.1100. 101.

"The Stout" (D.).

DJÚPÚÐGA, Auðr hin. 9th cent. 6.

Weak form of djúpúðigr, an adj. formed on the analogy of ást-úðigr, loving-minded, and ill-úðigr, evil-minded. Úðigr is an adj. formed from úð, a contraction, acc. to C.V. of hugð, thought, used only in compounds.

Trans., "the Deep-minded" (D.).

DREKASKOLTR/

See Flatanásmír.

DREKASKOLTR, Þorðr. 12th cent. 136.

From O.N. dreki, a dragon, + skolptr or skoltr, the snout of a dog, or dragon, etc. D. renders "dragon-shot" or "beak", - unnecessary paraphrases. F.J. suggests some connection with a dragon- or long-ship. Probably used of a man with a thin hooked nose, like an inverted prow. Cp. Porkell dreki, Eirspennill, 445.

Trans., "Dragon-snout".

Lind, on the analogy of the nickname gassakoltr (Biskup Eysteins Jordebog, 181"), emends to drekakoltr, connecting koltr with N.N. koltr, a tree-stump; but the emendation is unwarranted and unnecessary.

DRENGR, Qgmundr Kyrpinga-Ormsson. 12th cent. 149, 214, 259.

"The Brave" (D.). Drengr is the standing term in runic inscriptions for the brave, generous and gentle heart. Thus Amorr seems to use it of himself in O.S. 69<sup>26</sup>. As a nickname it occasionally signifies an honest young boy or apprentice (F.J.). Cp. Shetl. drengi, a young unmarried man (J.J.). Occurs in M.Sc. in the sense on "a low and base fellow" (N.E.D.). In O.E. and M.E. it signifies a free tenant in Northumbria holding land by a tenure older than the Norman Conquest, occurring thus in Maldon, 149 (c. 1000) and in Dom.Bk. (1086) (See Maitland: Engl.Hist.Rev. V. 632, and N.E.D.). Such a multitude of derived meanings makes it dangerous to draw conclusions from any one of them, and it is safest to follow D. in giving the term its primary meaning.

ERKIDJÁKN, Erlingr. 11th cent. 89, 91, 93n, 101, 107.

"Archdeacon".

EYJAR-SKEGGJAR. 12th cent. 328.

The first nickname given to the company of Orkneyman under Olaf and John Halkell's son which fought against King Sverrir. Literally, "Island-beards", it was prob. originally satirical in intention, but in the end became a normal synonym for "Islanders".

Trans., "Island-beardies".

EYMUNI, Eiríkr. d. 1137. 94, 156.

"The Ever-memorable" (D.). C.V. suggests that the word as a nickname may be trans. "the Ever-beloved"; but the paraphrase is unnecessary.

FJARANSMUÐR, Þorsteinn hqldr. 12th cent. 122.

See Fjatansmuðr.

FJATANSMUÐR/

FJATANSMUÐR, Þorsteinn hólðr. 12th cent. 122.

Text:- Flat.- fjaransmunnr.  
325.- fiatansmuðr.  
O.- fiatansmuder.

Fairly certainly fjatansmuðr, the t being supported by the two earlier MSS.

D. renders "Dribble-mouth", reading fjaransmuðr as from O.N. fjara, ebb-tide; cp. the Orkn.pl.n. Qrfjara. F.J., unsatisfied with this, guesses at first "terrible or dreadful mouth"; but mentions alternatives - a connection with fjarri, far off; or with fjaernt, unexpected; applied respectively to a man who talked much, or who talked paradoxically. But none of these derivations explains satisfactorily the presence of the -ans-.

The more probable reading fjatansmuðr has been derived by K. Maurer ( ) acc. to Lind, from O.Ir. fetan (Mod. Ir. feadán), to whistle, giving the nickname "Whistle-mouth". This interpretation has been accepted in the translation.

But the word may have been connected with N.N. fjata, clumsy; or with N.N. fjaatt, simple, shallow; = giving "Clumsy-mouth" (of a thick-speaking man) and "Shallow-mouth" respectively.

FLATR, FLETTIR, Þorkell. 12th cent. 130 - 185.

Text:- Flat.- fletta 130'. (Nom. case).  
fleetti 160'.  
flettir 161', 185 .  
flettu 172<sup>29</sup> (Dat. case).  
325.- flatr 130', 161 .  
flettir 160'.  
O.- fleite 130'. (Nom. case).  
fleiter 160'. (Dat. case).  
fleiter 161'. (Nom. case).  
fletter 172<sup>29</sup>. (Dat. case).

Vigf. and Nordal are right in accepting flettir as the correct reading; for not only is it of most frequent occurrence, but it is common to both 325 and O. on the sole occasion on which they agree - O.S. 160<sup>4</sup>.

Some of the above inconsistencies admit of explanation.

In MS.325 the double occurrence of flatr is prob. an effort of the scribe to substitute a known nickname. Cp. þórir flatr (D.N.XVI. 59<sup>33</sup>).

In Flat. only two of the five spellings are correct. The form fletta (dat. flettu), meaning "a plait", seems also to be a scribal effort to make an unintelligible word intelligible.

The translator in O. seems to be thoroughly puzzled by the word. His inflexions are meaningless. But fleiter is the form he prefers. His return to fletter in 172<sup>29</sup> looks like an admission of failure to render the O.N. term in Danish.

D. translates "flat" or "the flayer", vacillating between the two readings. Lind, accepting the more prob./

The nickname need not be translated.

(Flatr, flettir).

prob. flettir, follows Ross in suggesting a possible connection with N.N.fletta, an eager, active fellow (from O.N.fletta, to flay, plunder). Cp. Haraldr flettir, Hkr. III 520<sup>b</sup>, and two other occurrences as a nickname (Lind).

Trans., "Flayer"; or "Plunderer"; "Riever".

FÓSTRI, 1. Þorkell Ámundason. 11th cent. 24 - 78.  
2. Þorkell Sumarliðason. d.1100. 123, 124, 125.

"Fosterer".

FÓTR, Jón Pétursson. d.1154. 141n - 257.

Lit., "Foot". Trans., "Limp-leg" (D.). We are told that Jón had a sore leg and limped.

GALINN, Hákon. d.1214. 329.

D.- "the silly". Applied to three other historical persons. Past pcp. of O.N.gala, 1. to crow, 2. to chant, espec. a magic song. Hencelit., "bewitched", with a suggestion of violent frenzy. There are many cognates and derivatives. Cp. Norw. golen, mad, and gjaela, a fool; A.S. galan, to howl; Shetl. (Fetlar) galafer, given to frolicsome mirth; Orkn. tó golder, to talk noisily, and goliment, a state of high spirits (H.M.).

Trans., "Madcap".

GALLI, Ívarr. 12th cent. 322.

D.- "the bitter", deriving the word directly from O.N. gall, gall, bile. But galli itself occurs in the sense of a blemish or fault, in the moral rather than the physical sense (F.J. and Lind). A fairly frequent nickname.

Trans., "Blemish".

GAMLI, 1. Hálfðan. Mythol. 5.  
2. Haraldr. 12th cent. 322.

"The Old" (D.). Better, of Haraldr at least, "the Elder".

GILLI, 1. Haraldr Magnússon. d.1136. 140 - 262.  
2. Gilli Óðran. 12th cent. 307, 308.

From O.Ir. gille, a servant, and specifically a servant to some saint; e.g. Gael. Gilli-callum, servant to Columba, and Gilpatrick, servant of Patrick. As an O.N. nickname, poss. used as synonymous with "Irishman"; in Theodericus' Historia (ed. Storm, 66<sup>3</sup>) Haraldr is given the sole cognomen of hyberniensis.

The nickname need not be translated.

HARBRÁÐI, *Haraldur Blátǫnn* 9th cent. 5.

From O.N. glumra, to rattle (C.V.), the reference being first to noise in general, and then to the rattle of thunder. D. renders "the Noisy". On the analogy of "our amiable Rattle" in She Stoops to Conquer, we may translate simply "Rattle".

GÓÐI, Magnús Ólafsson. d.1047. 54n - 91.

"The Good".

GULLBEINAR. 12th cent. 328.

The second nickname - Eyjarskeggjar (q.v.) being the first - given to the company of Orkney-men that fought against King Sverrir at Florevaag in 1194. Lit., "gold-legs", apparently from the wearing of gilt anklets or garters.

Trans., "Gold-shanks" (D.).

GULLBRÁRSKÁLD, Bjarni Hallbjarnarson. 11th cent. 70n, 71n.

Lit., "the skald of the lady with the golden eyelashes" D. does not translate, since Gullbrá is a proper name. At the expense of a picturesque phrase, there fore, it is rendered in the translation "Gullbra's skald".

GONGU-, in Gøngu-Hrólfur Rognvaldzson. d.931. 5, 9, 11.

D.- "Ganging-Hrolfr". Some historians call him "Hrolfr the Ganger". But it better to eschew archaism and translate "Walking-Hrolfr".

HÁFOETA. 13.

Used by Turf-Einarr in one of his verses for Hálfðan Háleggr. See below.

HÁLEGGR; Hálfðan. 9th cent. 10, 11, 12, 13.

"Long-legs" (D.).

HARÐKJÓPTR, Einarr. 10th cent. 18.

D.- "hardchaft". But chaft is a rare word. Translate, rather, with a suggestion of animalism, "Hard-chaps". The nickname suggests a loud and thick speaker, possibly dogmatic and overbearing. Cp. O.N. kjøptugr, talkative, tale-bearing.

1. Sveinþór 10th cent. 106n, 107, 108.  
2. Þorvaldur 10th cent. 122, 127, 136, 142, 143.  
3. Hávarðr 10th cent. 144.

Primarily a legal term, fully explained in C.V., meaning a free man who held his land by inheritance.

HARÐRÁÐI, Haraldr Sigurðarson hinn. d.1066. <sup>^</sup> 42n - 99, 263.

One who gives strong advice, and pronounces it vigorously (F.J.). One may translate "the Tyrant", or follow usage and render "Haraldr Hardrada".

HÁRFAGRI, Haraldr Hálfðanarson. d.933. 5, 6, 10 - 99.

"Fair-hair".

HAUSAKLJUFR, Þorfinnr Torf-Einarsson. 10th cent.  
14, 15n, 16, 18.

"Skull-cleaver" (C.V.). Or more alliteratively, as D. renders it, "Skull-splitter".

HELGI, 1. Magnús Erlendzson. d.1116. 89 - 193, 324.  
2. Óláfr Haraldzson. d. 1030. 27 - 119.

"Saint - ". Applied to a man who has a reputation for miracles and has been formally canonized (F.J.).

HERÐIBREIÐR, Hákon Sigurðarson. d.1162. 260.

"Broad-shoulders" (D.).

HRÚGA, Kolbeinn. 12th cent. 89, 214, 302, 321.

D.- "the burly". Lit., "a heap". Occurs four times as nickname; as name of mythol. king, in Sn.Edda II. 271<sup>32</sup> (ed.1887); and in pl.ns. of rocky scenery - e.g. Ruggs o<sup>o</sup> Brough, o<sup>o</sup> Kirkabister, Shetland (J.J.). Survives in Scand. dialects, and in Orkn. roo, a small heap of stones, and the Orkn. folklore hero Cubbie Roo (= Kolbeinn Hrúga). See P.O.A.S. I and VI for further details of this interesting personage.

Trans., "Lump".

HVINU-, in Hvinu-Pétr. 12th cent. 301.

Improbable reading; see Bünu-Pétr. Can only be gen.sing. of O.N. Hvina, shráeking, whistling. Cp. Faer. hvin, 1. shráeking, 2. one who is always shrieking. Lind gives several nicknames in which hvin- occurs as part of a compound, but he does not list hvinu-.

HVÍTI, Óláfr. 9th cent. 6.

"The White". Of frequent occurrence as a nickname, often in the strong form hvítr. Ólafr may have been an albino, or have gone prematurely grey.

HQLDR, 1. Sumarliði. 12th cent. 305n, 307, 308.  
2. Þorsteinn. 12th cent. 122, 127, 196, 202, 213.  
3. Hávarðr. 12th cent. 260.

Primarily a legal term, fully explained in C.V., meaning a free bondi who held his land by inheritance

(Hóldr).

from both father and mother. See N.G.L. II. 146. It was a distinct social rank, between those of bondi and lendirmaðr (e.g. Hann veltisk ór jarldóminum ok tók hóldr rétt; "He abdicated from the Earldom and assumed the rank of hóldr"). As a nickname, it appears to be used more loosely; e.g. Gerðisk hann ekki handgenginn konungi, því ver hann kallaðr Björn Hóldr: "He did not enter the King's Bodyguard, for which he was called Björn hóldr". (Egils S. 128).

Trans., "the Freeman" (D.).

HQRÐA-, in Hqrða-Knútr Knúttson. d.104<sup>2</sup>~~3~~ 63, 64.

Gen. of Hqrðar, the inhabitants of Hqrð in Jutland. Named after his father Hqrða-Knútr Sigurðarson, of whom it is said (Flat. I. 98) - Hann var faeddr á Hqrð á Jótlandi: "He was brought up in Hqrð in Jutland."

Trans., "of the Horthat."

JARL.

Passim.

"Earl".

JARLAMÓÐIR, Ingibjörg Finnzdóttir. 11th cent.  
65, 75, 86, 88, 91.

"Earls' Mother". The wife of Earl Thorfinnr Sigurth's son; she was the mother of Earls Paul and Erlendr.

JARLASKÁLD, Arnórr Þorðarson. 11th cent. 42n - 86.

"Earls' Skald". He was a skald in the retinue of both Earl Rognvaldr Brusil's son and Earl Thorfinnr, his command of vigorous and flamboyant diction being eminently suited to chronicle the deeds of these rulers of the Orkneys.

JARLSMÁGR, Sigurðr. c.1100. 109, 129.

"Earl's Kinsman-by-marriage". So-called because of his kinship with Earl Erlendr. Cp. Óláfr jarlsmágr (d.1194), kinsman of Earl Haraldr of the Orkneys (Flat. II. 519').

Trans., "Earl's-Kinsman".

JÓRSALAFARI, Sigurðr Magnússon. d.1130. 100 - 260.

D.- "the Jewryfarer" - an unnecessary coinage. Better, "the Crusader". Cp. Þormóðr Jórsalamágr in Sturl. S. Sigurthr was also called Jórsala-Sigurðr, as in Sturl. S. I. 54 .

JQTUNN, Svaði. Mythol. 4.

"The Giant" (D). Not applied to historical figures in written sources (Lind). Cp. Jotun-Björn, a mythol. king (Flat. I. 23.).

KALI, Rognvaldr Kolsson. d.1158. 154 - 329.

Kali, which means "a cold gush" and, metaphorically, "coldness", "unkindness" (C.V.), was Earl Rognvald's own name. But it became a nickname or surname in 1129, when King Sigurthr, on presenting him with the Earldom of the Orkneys, gave him the new name of Rognvaldr after the famous Rognvaldr Brusi's son (O.S.154<sup>1-5</sup> ).

KARL, 1. Hákon Sigurðarson. 12th cent. 109 - 291.  
2. Hákon. 12th cent. 302.  
3. Kolbeinn Kolbeinsson. 12th cent. 214.

D. (incorrectly) - "the churl". Means "an old man".  
Cp. L.Sc. carl. Trans., "the Elder", thus distinguishing the two Hákons from Hákon barn (q.v.).

KEISARI, Heinrekr. d.1056. 85.

"The Emperor Henry" (D.).

KLAKKA, Þórir. 10th cent. 22n.

Text:- The text is far from certain, for the word occurs only in the Dan. translation O., in the form Klucke (acc.case). In Hkr. 138" and elsewhere (see Lind) we find klaka, klakka, and klacka. With F.J. I accept klakka as most probable.

Among possible interpretations are the following:-

(i) D., reading with Vigfusson klaka, renders "the whiner", from O.N. klaka, to twitter, chatter. We might translate "Clacker", "Clack-tongue", "Chatterbox".

(ii) Klakka, a descriptive gen. sing. of klakki, weak form of klakkr, the peg of a saddle; equiv. to kló, a claw. Trans., "Hook-fist".

(iii) Klakka, from O.N. klakkr (Lind), one of the meanings of which was "a lump", e.g. of rock. Cp. N.N. klakk; Shetl. and Orkn. klakk, a lump of rock (J.J. and H.M.); and the twin headlands Dimunar Klakkar, in Breiðafjörðr, Iceland. Equiv. to hrúga (q.v.). Trans., "Lump".

The third rendering is adopted in the translation.

KLAUFI, Sigurðr. 12th cent. 267.

Several interpretations are possible. F.J. takes it as "one whose hand is like a hoof and in consequence "clumsy"; i.e. from O.N. klaufr (from kljúfa, to split), a cloven hoof. Cp. in Stalky and Co., the nickname of clumsy Prout - Hooper. We might trans., "Clumpy", "Clumpy-fist"; or with D., more literally, "Cloven-fist". Cp. Shetl. kloy, claw, used in jest of men's feet (J.J.). Lind/

Lind, while supporting F.J. in the above, mentions the possible identity of klaufi with the nickname skarði, hare-lip; cp. also Shetl. hovmark, hare-lip (J.J.).

KLERKR, Þorbjörn Þorsteinsson. d.1158. 122 - 315.

"Clerk". Not necessarily a priest (F.J.). Cp. the similar slightly ambiguous use of the term in M.E. and in Faer. klerkur.

KLÍNINGR, Einarr. 10th cent. 16, 17, 18.

Lit., "battered-bread". Survives in Mod. Norw. From O.N. klína, to smear. Cp. Mod. Dan. and Icel. kline, to smear with paste; Faer. klina, to smear; and Orkn. klino, battered bread (H.M.).

D. renders "Oily-tongue"; but a more literal and equally expressive translation may be found in "Einarr Butter".

KLÓ, Hákon. 12th cent. 89, 124, 129, 314.

"Claw" (D.). Used normally of a beast of prey - cub, lion, eagle, raven - and, metaphorically, of a man's hand (C.V.); e.g. kólnar nu á klónum: "His claws are growing cold now" (Grett. S. 94). Probably Hákon had a hook-fist, a hand twisted inwards.

KONUNGR, Passim.

"King".

KROKAUGA, Þorkell. 12th cent. 130n, 224.

"Crook-eye" (D.), or "Cross-eye".

KVÁRAN, Óláfr. 10th cent. 21n.

"Brogue". From O.Ir. cuáran: a shoe. Cp. M. Ir. cúarán, covering for the foot or leg (McBain: Etym. Gael. Dict.). One may only speculate as to whether this Norse king of Ireland got his Irish nickname from the distinctive appearance of his footwear, or from being seen with one shoe like Jason.

KYLLINEF, Þórarinn. 12th cent. 305.

D. - "codnose". From O.N. kyllir, a sack, and nef, nose. Lit., "Bag-nose". Cp. Shetl. kul, some kind of protuberance; to wash de kuli o' de face, N.Roe (J.J.). There are many cognate words: Engl. cowl; L.Sc. coulie; also in pl.ns.

Trans., "Bottle-nose".

KYRPINGA/

KYRPINGA-, in Kyrpinga-Ormr. 12th cent. 149, 214.

D. does not translate. Kyrpingr is used contemptuously of fisher-folk in Grett.S.94. Bjorn Halldor's son uses it in a verse in the sense of vir rugosus, an old, wrinkled, rather decrepit man (F.J.). In Lex. Poeticum, F.J. suggests its derivation from O.N. korpin, by metathesis from kroppin, crooked, crippled; (from O.N. kroppr, a lump on the body; cp. Engl. crop of a bird, and Ger. kropf, a swelling). Lind, less probably, derives it from O.N. korpr, a raven. The translation "Wrinkly-Ormr" is sufficiently accurate and suggestive.

KYRRI, Ólafr Haraldzson. d.1093. 93.

"The Quiet". Weak form of adj. kyrr, quiet; (cp. Mod. Icel. kjurr, Mod. Dan. kver, etc.). The word suggests a combination of gentleness with taciturnity. Olafr is described in Konungatal (C.P.B.II. 316) as friðsamr, and ársæll, peaceful and blessed with good harvests.

LANGHÁLS, Melkolmr Skotakonungr. d.1093. 88, 104, 105.

"Long-neck" (D.), the Celtic equivalent being Ceannmhor, "Big-head".

LITLI, Oddi Glúmsson hinn. 12th cent. 220n, - 254.

"The Little" (D.).

LJÓMI, Guðrøðr Haraldzson. 9th cent. 10.

Lit., "beam of sunshine". Trans., "the Bright" (D.); or "the Splendid". Used of a certain Ivarr in Flat. because he was allra manna vaenstr: "the most handsome among men" (F.J.). Used in Har's description of Baldr in Sn. Edda, ? . Cp. Faer. ljomi, splendour.

LOGMAÐR, Rafn. c.1200. 325, 330.

"The Lawman" (D.) A title rather than a cognomen or nickname. See Index of legal terms and titles.

"Nosey" (D): from nas, nose. Cp. nas.

ÞINGMAÐR, Þingmaðr. 12th cent. 123, 124.

D. - "the dastard" (lit. the man who makes a locality the strongest term of abuse) cp. Þingmaðr, slender. As a nickname, used as a term of abuse. Engl. slendering was a favourite part of Sir Walter Scott's for a cowardly rascal. Cp. Dan. slindring, rascal, and L.S. slindring.

Trans. "the dastard", "the man who makes a locality the strongest term of abuse".

NORROENI, Magnús Eiríksson. 12th cent. 316, 322.

D., taking it as the pronoun "nobody", translates "mannikin". But F.J. points out that it is still used in Icel. as a pet name among children for the name Magnus, with a child's metathesis of gn. It is therefore left untranslated. The nickname occurs in pl.n.s. - Manga Rud, Vaaler, Norw. (N.G.I.376); Mangaster (from Manga-staðir), Shetl. (J.J.Aarb.). For metathesis, cp. Ranghill, from Ragnhildr (A.N. § 275).

MJOLUKOLLR, Guthormr. 12th cent. 216, 230.

D.- "Mjola-pate". Mjolu is gen. of Mjola, now Meló an island off Helgeland, Norw.

Trans., "Meló-pate".

MUNNR, Sigurðr Haraldzson. d.1153. 214n, 260.

D. does not translate. Lit., "mouth". In Hkr. 586<sup>2</sup> Sigurthr is described as being munnljótr, ugly-mouthed - a sign of his base descent. In the same passage, however, he is described as snjallastr ok gorrvastr í máli: "eloquent and ready of speech"; and this quality may have give him his nickname.

Trans. (non-committally), "Mouth".

MURTR, Sigurðr Ívarsson. 12th cent. 322, 323, 324.

D.- "mannikin". Murtr, which does not occur in written sources except as a not infrequent nickname, is connected with O.N. murta, a small trout, and means merely "a little thing"; cp. Swed. mört, a trout; Daer. murtur, a little thing; and Shetl. murt, a little thing, man or animal, but especially a fish (J.J.). It is said of Jón murtr Snorrason in Sturl.S. I. 48<sup>26</sup> that he was littil maðr í barneskju, því var hann murtr kellaðr: "a little fellow in his boyhood, so that he was called murtr".

Trans., "Minnow", "the Mite", or "Minim".

NEFJA, Hrólfr. 9th cent. 5.

"Nosey" (D); noun from nef, nose. Cp. Lat. Naso.

NÍÐINGR, Ljótr. c1100. 122, 124.

D.- "the dastard" (text); or "the nithing". Legally, the strongest term of abuse; cp. O.E. nidring, slander. As a nickname, used as a term of pure contempt. Engl. niddering was a favourite word of Sir Walter Scott's for a cowardly rascal. Cp. Dan. nidding, rascal; and L.Sc. a poor nidderet creature.

Trans., "Niddering", "Milksoap", or, alliteratively, "Ljotr the Lily-livered".

NORROENI, Hákon.c.1100. 94.

D.- "the Northman". Used of six hist. persons (Lind).  
Trans., "the Norwegian".

ÓMÁLGI, Páll Hákonarson. 12th cent. 123.

D.- "hold-tongue" (text); or "the mute". Lit.,  
"the Speechless". Paul is described as fálynðr,  
reserved (O.S.123<sup>7</sup>); and as fámáluðr optast ok ekki  
talaðr á þingum: "usually chary of words and no  
orator at Things" (O.S.128<sup>9</sup>). The nickname implies,  
therefore, not dumbness but taciturnity.

Trans., "Tongue-tied"; "the Speechless", "Muzzle-  
mouth".

ORRI, Eysteinn Þorbergsson. d.1066. 90, 91.

D.- "the gorcock". Name given to the moorfowl  
tetrao tetrix or "black-cock" (C.V.). A frequent  
nickname, presumably applied because of some bird-  
like quality in the victim's gait, features or temp-  
erament.

Trans., "Blackcock"; or "Heathcock".

PIK, Hákon Sigurðarson. 12th cent. 89, 129, 180, 191.

D.- "pick" (text); or "pike", or "of the peak".  
Not an O.N. word in normal literary usage, although  
frequent as a nickname. It may have originally  
signified something small; cp. Shetl. a pig o'  
kail; Þig also being used to describe a small person  
(J.J.). Or it may have signified a sharp point; cp.  
Engl. pike, peak, pick, and cognate words in other  
Teut. languages, the etymology of which is very  
confused; see N.E.D. In any case, the nickname  
pík suggests a small, lean, sharp-featured man.

Trans., "Pike".

PRESTR, Aðalbrikt. c.1100. 123.

"The Priest" (D.).

PRUÐI, Hugl hinn. d.1098. 101, 102.

"The Proud" (D.). Used in a good sense (F.J.).  
Of Bolli hinn pruði in Ldn. 284<sup>5</sup> it is said that he was  
ofláti mikill ok vitr maðr: "very fond of fine dress and  
a man of wisdom".

RÁÐGJAFI, Stefán Hqsvisson. 12th cent. 306, 311.

"Councillor" (D.). The title is fully discussed  
by J.S.Clouston in Hist. Orkn., 160, 190-191 (q.v.).  
In Norw. ráðgjafi was a formal title similar to  
Privy Councillor, but in Orkn. it implied definite  
personal attendance on an Earl or chief. Although  
only Stefán has the term as cognomen, it was also

(Ráðgjafi).

applied in the Saga to Havarthr Gunni's son, councillor to Earl Hakon; Anakol, councillor to Earl Erlendr; and Thorbjorn Clerk, councillor to Earl Haraldr.

RANGMUÐR, Einarr Sigurðarson. d.1020. 22n - 67.

"Wry-mouth" (D.).

RAUÐI, RAUÐR. 1. Auðun hinn rauði. 12th cent. 249, 251. 2. Þorsteinn Ólafsson rauðr. 9th cent. 6.

"The Red". Weak and strong forms respectively. Both very frequent as nicknames.

RÍKI, 1. Knútr Sveinsson hinn. d.1035. 2. Sigurðr Eysteinnsson hinn. 9th cent. 6, 7, 8, 329.

D.- "the rich". Better, "the Mighty".

RÓSTA, Qlvir. 12th cent. 122, ~~127~~ - 198.

Sole occurrence as nickname. In normal usage, a weak fem. noun meaning "a brawl", "tumult". Occurs with long and short o (C.V.). Cp. róstamaðr, an unruly person, used as a nickname for Þórarinn Há-Snorrason, Sturl. S. 137; and Mod. Icel. rusti, a clown; and L.Sc. rost, roist, roust, atumult (Jam.).

Trans., "the Unruly" (D.), "Brawler".

SAVAKOLLR, Þorgeirr. 12th cent. 229.

Text:- Flat.- skotakollr.  
325.- savakollr.  
O.- saare, koller.

It is impossible to state which is the correct reading. Of the three, Flat. skotakollr is the only <sup>one</sup> easily interpreted, and occurring elsewhere; but if it is the original reading, it is difficult to see how two scribes should so mis-spell or misinterpret it as in M.S.S. 325 and O. It is therefore possible that all three readings are errors.

The three readings give three different meanings:-

(i) 325.- savakollr. From O.N. sava, gen. sing. of safi, the sap of plants; and O.N. kollr, the head. F.J. suggests that Þorgeirr may have been fond of sucking the sap from grasses, etc. The explanation is not very convincing.

(ii) O.- saare koller, if it means anything at all, might mean "wounded head".

(iii) Flat.- Skotakollr. From O.N. Skota, gen. of Skotar, the Scots; and kollr, the head. Cp. Þorkell skotakollr, Biskupa. S. 72, and others with the same nickname; and Scotcol in Björkman's Nordische Personnamen in England, 124. Cp. and also the very similar Mjölukollr (q.v.). Trans., "Scotpoll" (D.), "Scots-pate". Along with Armothr, Oddi, and Thorbjorn, he is

(Savakollr).

described as one of the skalds of Earl Rognvaldr Kali, and may have been of Scottish birth.

Note:- F.J.'s derivation of the word from O.N. skotta, shaking, is based on a misreading of Flat. as skottakollr.

SILKISKEGG, Sigtryggr. c.1000. 23.

"Silky-beard" (D.).

SKAKKI, Erlingr Kyrpinga-Ormsson. d.1179. 149-279, 322.

D.- "wry-neck". Weak form of O.N. skakkr, skew, awry; equiv. to Lat. Claudus (C.V.). Trans., "Crick-neck". The origin of Erling's crick-neck is described in O.S.249<sup>6-7</sup>.

SKÁLD, Bjarni. 12th cent. 214.

"The Skald" (D.).

SKALLI, Lifólfr. 12th cent. 322, 323, 324.

Lit., "a bald head". Cp. Engl. scall, scald-head. Frequent in pl.ns. of a bare headland of hill, - e.g. Skallanes, Ldn.30<sup>3</sup>; Skallobrekk, Brough, Shetl. (JJ). Occurs as a personal name, - e.g. Skalli, Skallagrím; and as a nickname for a bald-headed person in Shetl. and in the Faeroes.

Trans., "Bald-pate".

SKEIFR, Einarr. 12th cent. 277, 278.

Literally, "askew", applied, among other things, to the legs, inn-skeifr being "Knock-kneed" and út-skeifr being "bow-legged".

Trans., "Skew-legs".

SLAGBELLIR, Eiríkr.

See Slaagbrellir.

SLEMBIDJÁKN, Sigurðr. d.1139. 123, 124, 125.

Text:- M.S.S. Flat. and 325. vary between Slembir and slembidjákn. But the former is an abbreviation of what was his recognized nickname. Lit., "Sham-Deacon". According to Hkr., Magn. Blinð. S. ch.14, Sigurthr as a youth became a cleric and was consecrated a deacon, but found sea-roving and adventuring more to his taste. Hence, no doubt, his nickname.

d.1127.  
SLÉTTMÁLI, Haraldr Hákonarson. 122 - 186, 264.

Lit., "the smooth speaker". Trans., "Smooth-tongue", or "the Glib".

SNEIS, Sigurðr. 11th cent. 107, 140.

Lit., "a skewer", by which a long sausage was skewered into a coil (C.V.). Cp. O.E. snās, a spit; Faer. sneis, Dan. snes, N.N. sneis, a stake. As a nickname it occurs thrice. Probably given to a thin man, with a hint of his unimportance; for this cp. Faer. sneisabóð, sneisaþrindi, a useless errand.

Trans., "Skewer (D.)."

SOKKI, Sighvatr. c.1100. 111, 114.

D.- "sock". Weak form of O.N. sokkr, a sock. But exact interpretation by no means simple. Occurs as a nickname but once, and but once in the strong form, - Thorkell sokkr, D.N. III. 520<sup>45</sup>. But frequent as a personal name; see Lind; Dopn. F.J. takes it as being applied to a man who distinguished himself by wearing socks. But surely the wearing of socks was not so rare; possibly it was the distinctive colour of the socks that gave rise to the nickname. Lind, following Ross, connects the personal name with N.N. sokka, to drag one's feet along, weary and shoeless; for this connotation, cp. Shetl. sokk, a slatternly woman (J.J.). Or possibly Sighvatr's socks were ungartered and "down-gyved at the heels"

Trans., "Socks", or "Sloven".

SPAKI/

SPAKI, Eiríkr Hákonarson. d.1146. 94.

STERKI, Hpsvir himn. 13th cent. 306, 309.

Weak form of O.N. spakr, 1. gentle (cp. Dan. spag), 2. wise (= Lat. sapiens), with the suggestion of having second-sight. A common nickname, espec. in Iceland, where belief in second-sight was strong.

Trans., "the Wise".

SPÝTULEGGR, Árni. 12th cent. 227, 228, 229.

Two possible interpretations:-

(i) From O.N. spýta, a running sore (from spýja, to spew), and leggr, leg (C.V.). Trans., "Game-leg", or "Sore-leg".

(ii) From O.N. spýta, a long thin piece of wood (from spjót, a spear), and leggr, leg. (F.J. and Lind). Trans., "Spindle-shanks" (D.), or "Wooden-leg".

The second interpretation is adopted in the translation.

STAGBRELLR, Eiríkr. 12th cent. 124 - 322.

Text:-	Flat.	<u>slagbellir</u>	124, 128, 285.
		<u>stagbellr</u>	316, 322.
		Omitted.	281.
	325.-	<u>stagbrellr</u>	124, 128, 281, 285.
	0.-	<u>stagbellur</u>	128.

The reading is, from the evidence of the above, fairly certainly stagbrellr. This is confirmed by Eirspennill, 340<sup>24</sup>, and by Codex Frisianus, 479<sup>3</sup> (ed.1871).

D.- "stay-brails", - a meaningless transliteration. Lind makes no effort to translate. O.N. stag means primarily the mainstay on a ship, from the mast to the stem; and, secondarily, a clothes rope (rare) (C.V.). O.N. brellr, not occurring elsewhere, appears to be a masc. noun or strong adj. connected with brella, a trick, and N.N. braela, to gambol; cp. Mod. Icel. brallur, tricks; and Orkn. brail, the splashing of fish (H.M.). The form brell- is a bye-form of an apparently more frequent form bell-, found in bella, do deal with, espec. unfairly; cp. Faer. bella, to deceive. We may therefore translate the nickname "Stay-trickster", or "Mainstay-trickster", interpreting it to mean, as F.J. takes it, "one who played a trick with the use of the stay". The name may record some occasion when Eiríkr brought a mast about a crew's ears by loosening or cutting the mainstay.

STEIGAR-, in Steigar-þórir. 11th cent. 98, 175.

Gen. case of Steig, a district in Guðbrandsdal in Helgeland, Norw.

Trans., "Thorir of Steig."

STERKI/

STERKI, Hǫsvir hinn. 12th cent. 306, 309.

"The Strong" (D.).

STREITA, Eiríkr. c.1100. 124.

Text:- Fāat.- straeta 124 .  
325.- streita 124 .  
O.- strenta 124 .

Either streita or straeta - prob. the former, as it is the less obvious.

Lind, accepting the reading straeta, connects it with N.N.strætar, vagabond, tramp, translating "Tramp". D., from the same reading, renders "the straight".

O.N.streita, the reading I prefer, means "a struggle"; cp. N.N.streita, to struggle. F.J. explains the nickname as "one who does something with difficulty". Trans., "Struggle".

SVARTI, 1. Óttar. 11th cent. 41.  
2. Þorbjörn. 12th cent. 224, 253, 254.

"The Black".

TÍGNA, Ingibjörg. 12th cent. 98, 124, 128.

D.- "the honourable! Better, "the High-born". Applied as a rule to kings and earls only; here an exception.

TORF-, in Torf-Einarr. d.900. 6, 8, 9.

"Turf Einarr" (D.). According to the Saga (O.S.10<sup>9</sup>) he was so named from the instruction he gave in the burning of peat. But this explanation may be apocryphal; cp. the explan. of the pl.n. Torfnes (q.v. in Glossary of pl.ns.).

TRESKEGG, Þórir. 9th cent. 8, 10.

"Tree-beard" (D.). Sole occurrence as a nickname. Prob. a bushy beard forking into branches at the lower extremity; hardly a hard beard, as F.J. suggests.

TÖNN, Melbrikta Skótajarl. 9th cent. 6, 7, 8.

D.- "toothy". Named from the famous tooth that protruded from his mouth and caused the death of Sigurthr the Stout (O.S. 8).

Trans., "Tusk", "Buck-tooth".

ÚLFALDI, Brynjólfur. 11th cent. 89.

"Camel" (D.). Cp. O.E. olfend, and Goth. ulbandus. Not extant as an O.N. personal name, but occurring in pl.ns; e.g. Wllualda stadir (= Úlfaldastáðir) D.N. I. 376, (1384). Probably the victim of the nickname had a hump on his back.

UNGI, 1. Eindriði. d.1163. 214 - 260.  
2. Erlendr. 12th cent. 276, 285, 286.  
3. Haraldr Eiríksson. ~~c.986.~~ 316-328.  
d.1198.

"The Younger" (D.).

ÚRARHORN, Eyvindr. d.1019. 27, 38.

D. does not translate. Úrar is gen sing. of O.N. \*úrr, the urus or aurochs, an extinct European wild ox. F.J. suggests that Úrr is used merely to "give the Runic atmosphere". The nickname probably refers to some hunting or drinking episode.

Trans., "Buffalo-horn".

VAENGR, 1. Jón. 12th cent. 130, 185, 291.  
2. Jón. 12th cent. 291 - 302.

"Wing" (D.). Used of no other men than these two - uncle and nephew. Of doubtful origin.

VORSÁKRÁKR, Einarr. c.1100. 89.

Gen. case of Vorsar, the inhabitants of Vors (now Vosse) in Norway; and krákr, a crow. Apparently the Vorsar were nicknamed "Crows"; cp. the Kats of Caithness, and, in Orkney to this day, the Shapinsay sheep, and the Stronsay limpets. Cp. Vorsa-Úlfr, Ldn. 211<sup>34</sup>.

Trans., "Vosse-Crow".

ÞAMBARSKELFIR, Einarr. d.1050. 55, 56n, 84n.

From O.N. þomb, 1. abdomen, 2. bow-string; and skelfir, shaker (from skelfa, to shake). D., taking the first meaning of þomb, renders "paunch-shaker". But I take the second and more frequent meaning and translate "Bow-string-shaker" (F.J. and Lind). Einarr was a famous bowman, his prowess at the battle of Svölör being the subject of ch.103 in Olafur Tryggvi's son's Saga in Heimskringla (Hkr. 177-178).

ÞEGJANDI, Þórir Rognvaldzson. c.900. 6, 9, 11.

Weak pres. pcp. of O.N. þegja, to keep silent.

Trans., "the Silent".

ONGULL, Sigmundr Andréásson. 12th cent. 199, 240, 241.

D.- "angle". Means really a fish-hook, whereas Engl. "angle" suggests to the Waltonian a fishing-rod. Frequent as a personal name, and in pl.ns.

Trans., "Fish-hook".

QLBOGI, Eyvindr. d.1103. 100.

"Elbow" (D.). Of doubtful origin.

QRVI, Engus Moddansson. 12th cent. 128.

D.- "of the open hand". Used of a mythol. king, Gautrekr, in Ldn. 40<sup>a</sup>.

Trans., "the Open-handed", "the Beneficent".

QDLINGR, Viljalmr Viljalmsón. 12th cent. 88.

"The Prince" (D.). O.N. qðlingr is from óðal, odal land. Meaning primarily a holder of odal land, the term is used only of noble leaders and hofðingjar, and is frequent in poetry. In Mod. Icel. it has been lowered socially to signify a person merely of kind and gentle disposition. Viljalmr may have won the name by his natural nobility; his father is described in O.S. as hinn ágæti maðr, the man of worth. There is no evidence of the influence of O.E. æðeling.

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ANKERT. 249<sup>1</sup>.

"An anchor," that of the "dromond" captured by Earl Rognvaldr (1151). It appears to have been a large one, for several men stood on the stock and hauled at the dromond's bow. According to the Saga here, its parts are leggr or leg, ankaria-stokkr or stock, and flainn or fluke.

GLOSSARIAL INDEXES.

ALFVINN. Passim.

"All ready." The technical term applied to the ship that is ready for sea.

ANDASTA. 220n.

D. NAUTICAL TERMS.

To row against a current to keep a fishing boat in place. Etym. doubtful (O.F.).

APTR. 83<sup>6</sup>.

"Aft."

AR. Passim.

"Aur."

BARBORDI. 5<sup>8</sup>, 245<sup>3</sup>.

The port or larboard side of a ship, so named because the helmsman sits with his back half turned to it. Cf. Den. backbord.

BAED. 243<sup>15</sup>.

"Bow."

BATH. 145<sup>11</sup>, 283<sup>30</sup>.

A small open boat with seat that will carry 25 eight-oared boat classified as a bath at least a mile. Kall's boat had apparently 1200 oars. Cf. a boat one passenger with him (145<sup>11</sup>).

BEITA UT. 243<sup>21</sup>.

"To beat out, to sail close hauled."

BORG. Passim.

General name for the sides or bulwarks of a ship.

BORGAMUND

AKKERI. 249<sup>1</sup>.

"An anchor," that of the "dromond" captured by Earl Rognvaldr (1151). It appears to have been a large one, for several men stood on the stock and hacked at the dromond's bow. According to the Saga here, its parts are leggr or leg, akkeris-stokkr or stock, and fleinn or fluke.

ALBUINN. Passim.

"All ready." The technical term applied to the ship that is ready for sea.

ANDAEFA. 220n.

To row against a current to keep a fishing boat in place. Etym. doubtful (C.V.).

APTR. 82<sup>5</sup>.

"Aft."

ÁR. Passim.

"Oar."

BAKBORÐI. 5<sup>8</sup>, 248<sup>5</sup>.

The port or larboard side of a ship, so named because the helmsman sits with his back half turned to it. Cp. Dan. baakbord.

BARÐ. 243<sup>15</sup>.

"Prow."

BATR. 145<sup>11</sup>, 283<sup>20</sup>.

A small open boat with less than eight oars; an eight-oared boat <sup>was</sup> classified as a skip, or at least a skúta. Kali's boat had apparently four oars, for he took one companion with him (145<sup>11</sup>).

BEITA UT. 243<sup>21</sup>. 10th cent.

"To beat out," to sail close hauled.

BORÐ. Passim.

General name for the sides or bulwarks of a ship.

BORÐAMUNR/

BORÐAMUNNR. 69<sup>12</sup>. 162<sup>13</sup>.

The difference between the freeboard of two ships, giving one party the advantage in attack. Lit., "the difference of bulwarks."

BORÐHAR. 248<sup>9</sup>.

"Of high freeboard;" said of the dromond.

BRYGGJA. 225<sup>3</sup>, 256<sup>13, 15</sup>.

A collapsible wooden gangway carried by ships and run ashore across shallow water (C.V.)

In 225<sup>3</sup>, it appears to be a permanent structure; trans., "wharf."

BUIT SKIP. 216<sup>10</sup>, 220n.

"An ornamented ship," with carvings and costly plating.

In 220n the phrase means merely a fishing boat ready for sea.

BYRÐINGR. 79<sup>5</sup>, 175<sup>7</sup>, 175<sup>22</sup>, 266<sup>11</sup>, 297<sup>13</sup> etc.

"A ship of burden," carrying either merchandise or stores for an expedition, as in 175<sup>22</sup>. According to C.V., from byrðr: "a burden," but E.M. sugg. an origin from borð: "free board," a cargo-ship being a ship of more than normal freeboard. See E.M.422.

BYRR. 82<sup>1</sup>, 83<sup>16</sup>, etc.

"A fair wind."

DREKI. 226<sup>6</sup>.

Lit., "dragon", the term was applied only to the richly ornamented "viking" ship par excellence, adorned with dragon prow and stern. Such a ship was that which Eindrithi the Younger built to spite Earl Rognvaldr on his voyage to the Orkneys in autumn 1150. Cp. Gr. δράκων, Lat. draco, O.E. draca, Ger. drache. Obviously of foreign origin, it occurs in the skalds as early as the 10th cent. Full note in E.M.423. See also Taxen: Aarb.87.

DRÓMUNDR. 246<sup>3</sup> ff.

"A dromond," a heavy, slow-moving Mediterranean merchantship with/

with a very high freeboard, the capture of one of which by Earl Rognvaldr furnishes one of the most exciting chapters in the Saga. From Mid. Lat. dromon from Gr. δρόμων. Cp. O.H.G. drahemond, M.E. dromonde.

EFRI RÚM, HINN. 249.

"The upper deck" of the dromond, contrasted with hinn neðri rúm: "the lower deck."

ENNISPAENIR (plur.). 225<sup>b</sup>.

Carved work on prow and stern of old warships. Lit., "forehead-carvings;" cp. Swed. Ännespan: "head-wreath." Used of the ship John Limp-leg had made for Earl Rognvaldr.

EPTIRBATR. 290<sup>b</sup>.

An "after-boat" or dinghy. It is used as a nickname in Faereyinga Saga in the sense of "a laggard." Although rarely mentioned in the Sagas, probably most ships of deep draught had either an eptirbátr or a bryggja (q.v.).

FAR. 203<sup>6</sup>.

Without epithet, far usually means "a passage" on ship-board. But in compounds or with an adjective (here islendzkt) it signifies a trading-ship (c.v.).

FJARA (noun) 228<sup>b</sup>.

"Ebb-tide."

FJARA (verb) 228<sup>c</sup>.

"To ebb."

FLEINN. 249<sup>1</sup>.

The curved "fluke" of the anchor which was hooked on to the gunwale of the dromond.

FRAM Í SKIPIT. 147<sup>13</sup>.

"Forward."

FYRIRMAÐR. 206<sup>17</sup>.

The "leader" of a fleet (here Sveinn), in contrast with skip/

skip-stjórnarmaðr, the captain of any particular ship.

FYRIRRÚM. 101<sup>17</sup>. 290<sup>2</sup>.

The part of a langskip immediately "before" the poop or lypting, and behind the rowers' thwarts. This is clearly shown by O.S. 101<sup>17</sup>; "Magnus Erlend's son sat down aft in the fyrirrum;" and Fms. X. 360; "King Olafr jumped from the poop into the fyrirrum." It was the part of the ship reserved for the leader and his nearest retainers. In 290<sup>2</sup>, Ormr, Ufi and Earl Erlendr are sleeping together in the fyrirrum when they are surprised by Earl Haraldr.

GANGA UPP.

[See uppganga].

HAF. Passim.

The open sea. E.g. naerr til hafs: "towards open water" (83<sup>14</sup>); vestr um haf: "West over the sea" (See vestr).

HALDA FRÁ. 47<sup>17</sup>

To "hold off" from another ship.

HÁLS. 220n.

The "neck" or bow of a boat.

HJÁLMUNVOLR. 5<sup>1</sup>.

The tiller or helm. Lit. "helm-stick."

HLÝRBJATR. 226<sup>1</sup>.

Lit., "cheek-bright." With painted bows; said of Hindrithi's ship.

HRINDA SKIP. 273<sup>15</sup>.

"To launch a ship."

HRJÓÐA SKIP. 71<sup>17</sup>. 162<sup>14</sup>.

"To clear a ship" by driving its occupants into another, or overboard.

HUÐFAT/

HUÐFAT. 187<sup>8,23</sup>.

A sleeping bag made of skins.

HVÍLA. 103<sup>15</sup>, 104<sup>9</sup>.

A bed or bunk ashore or on board ship.

HQFN. Passim.

General term for any kind of harbourage.

HQFUÐ. 226<sup>6</sup>.

The figure-head on a ship, usually a dragon's "head."  
See krókr.

KAUFSKIP 262<sup>4</sup>.

"A merchant-ship." This one belonged to an Icelander, Thorkallr Asgrim's son. Cp. far. A heavier and deeper craft than the langskip.

KIST. 276<sup>13</sup>.

A large "sea-chest" containing arms, standing in Sveinn's ship on the poop or lypting. It seems to have stood also in the "after-well" or fyrirrum; see E.M. 437.

KJÓLL. 317<sup>24,27</sup>.

A name for a ship. Although frequent in old poetry, it occurs in prose only twice (here and Flat. II.175), and in each case of an English ship. It is therefore not directly connected with O.N. kjól: "a keel", but is a loan-word from O.E. ceol. The two kjólar in O.S. were sailing from England to Dublin.

KOMA VIÐ. 48<sup>14</sup>, 68<sup>23</sup>.

"To make land at" some place.

KRÓKR. 226<sup>6</sup>.

Lit., "a crooked thing." In the plur., krókar, applied to the twisted dragon's tail carved at the stern of a dragon-ship or dreki. Opp. of hofuð (q.v.)

KUGGR/

KUGGR. 138<sup>5</sup>, 201<sup>2</sup>.

A kind of ship, originally a foreign one, as here. In 138<sup>5</sup>, the kuggr is an English ship. In 201<sup>2</sup>, it is one belonging to monks from the Scilly Isles. Of uncertain origin; but cp. Engl. and Dan. cog. (C.V.)

KYRT (adj.) 83<sup>15</sup>.

"Calm."

LEGJA (FRAM) SKIP AT (or i móti) SKIPI. 47<sup>10</sup>, 71<sup>3</sup>.

To lay one's ship against that of an enemy for the purpose of boarding it.

LANGSKIP. Passim.

A "long-ship" or warship.

A good concise description of its main features will be found in a note by Dasent in Rolls. 88.II. Introd., LVI. An exhaustive study, with plans of hypothetical 20 and 30 "roomed" ships, will be found in an article by N.E. Tuxen in Aarb. f. nord. Oldk., 1886 (especially pp.82-134). In comparison with the 9th cent. Gokstad ship, he states, the typical langskip of the 11th and 12th centuries was much longer, narrower and deeper, being built rather for oars than sail. The size of a langskip can be best described by detailing Tuxen's hypothetical measurements for a 20-"roomed" ship or tvitug-sessa such as was possessed by Earl Thorfinnr (81<sup>7</sup>) or by Earl Haraldr Mod-dadh's son (263<sup>2</sup>) (Tuxen: l.c. 117, 134). Each thwart, rúm or sessa (q.v.) was in two halves, a lane running down the centre of the ship. Each half-thwart seated 2 oarsmen to every oar; that would make 80 oarsmen. In addition to that we would have four "fore-castle-men" or stafnbúar (q.v.), four poop-defenders, the leader or Chief, and the steersman. This total of 90 might be exceeded by putting extra men in the forecabin or the after-cabin. Such a ship would be about 90' long from stem to stern, or of 71' 6" keel, with a beam of 17', and amidships a depth of 9' and a draught of 4' 9". Loaded with arms and stores for 4-6 weeks, it would have about 65 tons displacement. The mast might be 60' high, and the yard-arm 36' long, giving the sail an area of about 1400 sq.ft. The oars would have an average length of 18' and be about 3' apart. Tuxen gives a similar outline of a 30-"roomed" ship (Tuxen: l.c. 124, 134).

LEGR. 249<sup>2</sup>.

"Leg" or shank of an anchor.

LINA. 243<sup>14</sup>.

"A rope, perhaps the sheet."

LYPTING/

LYPTING. 47<sup>13</sup>, 80<sup>18</sup>, 82<sup>5</sup>, 276<sup>23</sup>.

The raised poop at the stern of a warship on which the helmsman was stationed at the tiller, and from which the ship's captain or skipstórnamaðr had a clear view of the rest of the ship. The lypting furnished a good platform from which to hurl spears into a hostile ship.

NEÐRI RÚM, HINN. 249<sup>0</sup>.

(See efri).

RÓA. Passim.

"To row."

RÓÐR (noun). Passim.

"Rowing", use of oars.

RÓÐRARSKIP. 317<sup>7</sup>.

Ship fitted with oars. Sveinn used five large ones on his last war-cruise.

RÓÐRARSKÚTA. 145<sup>19</sup>, 267<sup>3</sup>.

A skúta or cutter fitted for rowing.

RÚM. 104<sup>11</sup>, 247<sup>9</sup>, 249<sup>10,11</sup>, 274<sup>8</sup>.

The thwarts in a langskip did not run right across the vessel, freedom of movement in fighting being thus increased. Each pair of half-thwarts was called a rúm or "room", and each half thwart and the space in front of it a hálf-rými or half-room. In his hálf-rými each oarsman kept all his belongings, including weapons, and in it he slept. In 104<sup>11</sup> and 247<sup>9</sup>, rúm is used loosely for hálf-rými. Each "room" occupied about 3 ft. of the length of the ship. See Tuxen: Aarb. 104 ff., 134.

Rúm appears to be used in the special sense of deck with reference to the dromond (249<sup>10,11</sup>) ~~of which~~ There is an upper and a lower ~~one~~.

RÚMATAL. 225<sup>4</sup>.

"Number of 'rooms'" in a ship. Earl Rognvald's warship had thirty-five "rooms" or seventy "half-rooms" (See rúm); i.e. it was a 70-oared ship, with two or three rowers at each oar.

RÓ/  
/

RÓ. 244<sup>17</sup>.  
"Yard-arm."

SAUMFOR. 71<sup>11</sup>.  
"A row of nails in a ship's planking. Used in a verse of Arnorr for a seam between two planks."

SEGL. Passim.  
"Sail, frequently striped in colours. A ship normally had only one. Phrases describing the furling and unfurling to be found in 225, 226, 284, etc."

SESSA. 81<sup>7</sup>, 263<sup>2</sup>.  
The "seat" or thwart in each rum (q.v.) in a ship. See langskip.

SIGLA (noun). 162<sup>16</sup>, 276<sup>23</sup>.  
"Mast of ship, set normally a little more than half-way forward. For method of stepping it, see plan in Aarb. 134."

SIGLA (verb). Passim.  
"To sail."

SKIP. Passim.  
"Ship."

SKIPA. Passim.  
"To man a ship. Usually in such phrases as vel skipuð: "well manned" (81<sup>7</sup>, 163<sup>22</sup>, 284<sup>11</sup>, etc.); litt skipuð: "poorly manned."

SKIPSTJORNARMAÐR. 206<sup>18</sup>, 224<sup>9</sup>, 230<sup>15</sup>.  
The "captain of a ship, contrasted with fyrirmaðr, the commander of a fleet."

SKÚTA. 105<sup>6</sup>, 175<sup>21</sup>, 263<sup>4</sup>, 274<sup>4</sup>, 295<sup>3</sup>, 306<sup>16</sup>.  
A small langskip (see 175<sup>21</sup>), apparently of from 10 to 20 thwarts/

thwarts. (E.M. 431, q.v.) It was a skúta which Magnus Barelegs had drawn over the Isthmus of Cantyre (1056). Anakol crossed the Pentland Firth with 20 men in a skúta (274<sup>4</sup>). Thorbjorn's skúta had 30 men (306<sup>6</sup>). But Sveinn manned one with only 10 men for a short journey from Rendall to Gairsay (295<sup>2,3</sup>). Tr. "cutter."

SNEKKJA. 285<sup>1</sup>.

A particularly fast type of langskip of shallow draught of from 20 to 30 thwarts. See E.M. 432, and Tuxen; Aarb. 87. From O.N. snákr: "snake." Occurring but once in the Saga, it appears to be used by the author as a compliment to Sveinn and his ships.

STAFN. 79<sup>7</sup>.

In the singular the prow, including all the space forward of the front rower's thwart, i.e. the forecastle. The plur. stafnar means "stem and stern" (79<sup>7</sup>).

STAFNBUI. 161<sup>2</sup>.

A "forecastle man." In the stafn were put the sturdiest fighters when an engagement was imminent, so that it became a position of great honour.

STAFNLI. 47<sup>18</sup>.

"A grappling hook. Lit. "a prow-scythe." Attached to a tengsl or grappling rope, it was flung to bring the hostile ship to close quarters so that hand to hand fighting could begin without delay.

STAG.

(See stag-bröllr in Index of Nicknames).

STJÓRNBORÐI. 248<sup>5</sup>.

The "starboard" side of a ship, over which hung<sup>2</sup> a large steering paddle or rudder.

STJÓRNFASTR. 105<sup>4</sup>.

"With rudder set" in position. The significance of this stipulation in the bargain made between Magnus Barelegs and the King of Scots lay in the fact that the rudder sank below the keel and thus gave it a deeper draught.

STOKKR. 249<sup>47</sup>.

The "stock" or cross-piece of the anchor hanging over the/

the bow of the dromond.

STRENGR. 243<sup>14</sup>.

"Anchor-cable."

STÓRSKIP. 175<sup>21</sup>, 230<sup>15</sup>.

A full sized langskip; i.e. one of 30 and more thwarts.

SVIÐVÍS. 244<sup>7</sup>.

Perhaps the sail of a ship. The word occurs in a verse of Earl Rognvald's, and the text may be corrupt. See note on the verse.

TENGJA. 46<sup>7</sup>.

"To lash together" two ships after they have been grappled to each other.

TENGL. 47<sup>7</sup>, 69<sup>20</sup>, 71<sup>18</sup>, 163<sup>10</sup>.

The "grappling ropes" attached to the stafnlé or grappling hook. Continually do we read of the losing side making frantic efforts to cut the tengsl.

TJALD. 276<sup>21</sup>.

An "awning" spread over the ship from gunwale to gunwale at night when in harbour, but only when no hostile attack was expected. The stretching of their awnings by some of Sveinn's followers off Blyhólmar (276<sup>21</sup>) against their leader's advice almost brought them disaster.

TRÉ. 178<sup>6</sup>.

"Mast," in the phrase í mitt tré: "at mid-mast."

UTFARARSKIP. 216<sup>13</sup>.

Lit. "an out-passage ship." A ship of pilgrimage to the Mediterranean.

UPPGANGA. 47<sup>16</sup>, 69<sup>18</sup> etc.

The technical term for boarding a ship by force after it has been grappled.

VEÐRVITI. 225<sup>6</sup>.

"A weather-vane," frequently, as here, ornamented, and probably set at the mast-head.

VESTR UM HAF. Passim.

Lit., "West over the open sea." The technical term for a voyage from a Norwegian port such as Bergen out to the British Isles.

VÍGÐ-GYRÐLAR. 247<sup>18</sup>.

"Shield-wall," the arrangement of shields along the gunwale of a langskip as a protection against the rowers. See the famous Bayeux Tapestry langskip. According to Tuxen (Aarb.89), the shields were stuck on pegs thrust into straps fastened on the inner side of the gunwale.

VISTABYRÐINGR. 175<sup>15,20</sup>.

"A provision transport," three of which here accompanied Rognvaldr Kali on his first expedition to the West in 1136.

PILJUR. 101<sup>21</sup>.

Plur. of pilja: "a plank." Signifies "the deck" of a ship, under which Magnus Erlend's son is told to go to be out of the way of the feet of the combatants (101<sup>21</sup>).

BAKELDAR. 79.

The "baking-fires", lit in the evening to bake the body and limbs into a glow before retreat to bed. See note on 77<sup>3</sup>.

BAKUS. 295.

Contraction for bakirhús: "bake-house" (S.V.). But both reading and interpretation are doubtful, and the phrase in which the term appears may be merely "at the back of the house". See note on 295<sup>7</sup>.

BALKR. 78<sup>6</sup>.GLOSSARIAL INDEXES.

Normally a cross-wall or balk of some kind. Here the lower half of a door which as in a modern smithy has been made in two parts. Earl Rognvaldr Brusil's son made his gallant effort to escape in Fopa Strengsey by jumping over a balk in the door of the house in which he was.

BÓL. 62<sup>7</sup>.E. BUILDINGS, LAND, ETC.

"A farm." Sole occurrence in O.S., in a verse of Arnorr. In O.Icel. prose usage, it is more frequent in compound nouns; eg. bólstaðr (q.v.). According to Gleason (E.F.A.N. 25-26), a ból was originally a "lot" or part of a larger farm given to a brother or a son as his odal inheritance.

BOLSTAÐR. 128<sup>7</sup>.

"A farm." More frequent in compound nouns. In O.S. here, it occurs only in N's version of the Miracle-Book (ch.57).

According to Gleason (E.F.A.N. 25-26), the term bólstaðr was originally applied to a ból (q.v.) held as a single bit of land, not as a set of strips. Hence to colonists in Orkney, Shetland, and the Hebrides, bólstaðr meant simply a "one-lot" farm. See also Brøgger: Ant. Svalb. 28; and N.A. E.O.L.S. IX. 29.

BORG. 7, 202 *passim* to 272, 326.

There are two main uses of the term in O.S.

- (1) A fortress, artificially constructed, as opposed to vigi, a natural stronghold; a more general term than kastali, which was a borg of a particular kind (cp. O.I. Borgh). In Bar. 220 is described a borg built at Sargr near Dale by King Olaf Harald of stones, turf and wood, with a ditch round it, large enough to contain a small town (hence second use below).

The/

BAKELDAR. 77

The "baking-fires", lit in the evening to bake the body and limbs into a glow before retiral to bed. See note on 77<sup>3</sup>.

BAKHÚS. 295.

Contraction for bakstrhús: "bake-house" (C.V.). But both reading and interpretation are doubtful, and the phrase in which the term appears may be merely "at the back of the house!" See note on 295<sup>4</sup>.

BÁLKUR. 78<sup>5, 6</sup>.

Normally a cross-wall or balk of some kind. Here the lower half of a door which as in a modern smithy has been made in two parts. Earl Rognvaldr Brusii's son made his gallant effort to escape in Papa Stronsay by jumping over a balk in the door of the house in which he was.

BÓL. 52<sup>8</sup>.

"A farm." Sole occurrence in O.S., in a verse of Arnorr. In O.Icel. prose usage, it is more frequent in compounds; eg. bólstaðr (q.v.). According to Olsen (F.F.A.N. 55-56), a ból was originally a "lot" or part of a larger farm given to a brother or a son as his odal inheritance.

BÓLSTAÐR. 138<sup>n</sup>.

"A farm." More frequent in compound pl.n.s. In O.S. here, it occurs only in M's version of the Miracle-Book (ch.57).

According to Olsen (F.F.A.N. 55-56), the term bólstaðr was originally applied to a ból (q.v.) held as a single bit of land, not as a set of strips. Hence to colonists in Orkney, Shetland, and the Hebrides, bólstaðr meant simply a "one-lot" farm. See also Brøgger: Anc. Emig. 88; and H.M. P.O.A.S. IX. 29.

BORG. 7, 208 passim to 278, 326.

There are two main uses of the term in O.S.

- (i) A fortress, artificially constructed, as opposed to vigi, a natural stronghold; a more general term than kastali, which was a borg of a particular kind (cp. O.E. burh). In Hkr. 220 is described a borg built at Sarpr near Oslo by King Olaf Helgi of stones, turf and wood, with a ditch round it, large enough to contain a small town (hence second use below).

The/

The two examples of this use are the borg built by Earl Siguthr Eystein's son "in the South of Moray," perhaps at Burghead, ?874x892 (O.S.7); and Sveinn's borg at Lambaborg, 12th cent. (O.S. 208, 209, 212, 266, 273, 274).

For the site of the latter, see Lambaborg in Index of Pl.Ns.

- (ii) A large town that was, or had been, fortified, - a small unfortified town being referred to as a boer (q.v.).

Examples of this are such pl. ns. as Eiðinaborg and Jórsalaborg, referred to simply as borginn in 278<sup>4</sup> and 255<sup>21v</sup> respectively. Sæborg is also used of a seaport town (presumably fortified) in N.Africa (252<sup>6v</sup>) and of Narbonne (231<sup>15</sup>).

There are two specialized uses of the term in O.S. The Norse settlers appear to have used it to describe the large stone fortresses or "brochs" (from O.N.borg) they found in Orkney and Shetland; e.g. Moyseyjarborg (O.S. 275<sup>9</sup>).

The Bishop's Palace at Scrabster (?1201) is called a borg (326<sup>4</sup>); it was prob. well fortified.

BORD. 169<sup>20</sup>.

The board or table in the hall, usually in early days laid on tressles. A borð stood in front of the hásaeti or high-seat at the end of the hall; and if the hall was a large one, there would be one down either side of the hall for the serving men and women.

BYGGHÚS. 136<sup>1</sup>.

Barley-barn. Sole occurrence in O.N.

BYGD. 5, 6, 52, 64, 95, 96, 283, etc.

A word used primarily of a district, large or small, that has been colonized and has now a settled population. Translated, "settlement", "inhabited district."

BOER. Passim.

There are two main uses of the term in O.S.

- (i) A farm in the sense of the group of farm-buildings, such as that of Jörundgaard in Sigrid Undset's Kristin Lavransdatter (plan on p.929). According to Olsen (F.F.A.N.130) an older term than -staðir and -land. For brief bibliog. on the term, see Olsen, 39. See also Brøgger: Anc. Emig. 80, 83; and H.M.: P.O.A.S. IX, 31-33.

The/

The following is a list of its occurrences in O.S. in the above sense:-

Earl Thorfinn's boer in Birsay which Earl Rognvaldr Brusi's son set on fire (75<sup>2</sup>, 76<sup>4</sup>). Perhaps on site of present Earl's Palace ruins.

The boer in Papa Stronsay where Earl Rognvaldr was surrounded (77<sup>14</sup>). Not identified.

The boer of Unustaðir in Shetland (137n. MS. M<sup>o</sup> only). Not identified.

Frakokk's boer in Helmsdale (198). Not identified.

Sveinn's boer in the Isle of Man (201).

A boer of ?Sigurthr Clumpy, probably at Scapa (267<sup>8</sup>).

The boer at Freshwick (274<sup>15</sup>); reference made to part of the boer, the skálahús, in the next line. Now the Hall of Fréshwick.

An unnamed boer in Rousay (292<sup>12</sup>).

Sveinn's boer in Gairsay (295<sup>6</sup>), on site of the present Langskaill.

(ii) An unfortified town or village. The term, according to Olsen (F.F.A.N. 25) attained the meaning of a group of small farms created by odal division, and hence a township or village. According to C.V. this application is a typically Norw., Swed., and Dan. development, there being no towns in Icel. It is used of Bergen (1537, 225<sup>14</sup>) and of Oslo (154<sup>13</sup>).

BU.

For a full discussion of the Orkney bú, see the brilliant paper on The Orkney "Bús" by Mr S. Storer Clouston in P.O.A.S. V. 41-49.

In the Saga there are two terms, bú and boer (q.v.), the former applied invariably to an earl's or chief's hall and estate. The term bú - which survives in the forms The Bu, Bu of, Bow, Bull - "was a generic term for a large farm, worked by itself and not in run-rig with other places." (Cp. L.Sc. "main" or "home farm" and Norw. aðalból or ából). In Orkney Mr Clouston has shown that it is applied specifically to farms with four distinct characteristics They were large, being either 9d or 18d lands; they had one or more umbesetters or crofts rented out; they were usually built on a slope looking down to the sea, about a quarter of a mile from the shore; and there was a chapel near by, sometimes, as in Orphir, attached to the hall (O.S. 169<sup>2</sup>). The extent, tenancy and rateable value of these lands can be studied in the old Rentals of the 16th and 17th centuries; and there are still traces of the old boundaries, halls and chapels to be seen today.

The following is a list of the bú's explicitly referred to in O.S.

North/Holdbott

North Isles:-

Ragna's bú in Gairsay=~~(O.S. 2~~ N. Ronaldsay (O.S. 173<sup>5</sup>), probably to be identified with the township of Busta, the house being at or near the present farm of Kirbest (O.N. \*Kirkjubólstaðr) (J.S.C.: Orkn. Par. 251).

Ragna's second bú in Papa Westray (O.S. 173<sup>5</sup>), probably consisting of the two farms of Backaskaill and Breckaskaill (O.N. \*skáli: "hall") (J.S.C.: Orkn. Par. 337).

Valthjof's bú in Stronsay (O.S. 172<sup>8</sup>, 185<sup>0</sup>) may have been the Earldom or "bordland" bú of Holland held by him in fief (J.S.C.: Orkn. Par. 289; Hist. Orkn. 178).

Sveinn's bú in Gairsay (O.S. 203, 229, 272, 294, 318). (See J.S.C.: Hist. Orkn. 177).

The bú (plur.) of Brusi referred to in O.S. 59<sup>1</sup> would be all the bordland property in Westray, Sanday and Stronsay:- Rapness in Westray; Tofts, Walls, Lopness, Tresness, Brough and Halksness in Sanday; and Holland in Stronsay (J.S.C.: P.O.A.S. V. 42ff.).

Mainland.

The Earls' bú at Orphir (O.S. 126, 166, 212, 285, 287). See note on 168<sup>6</sup>.

The bú at Paplay in Holm - a bordland bú (now the Bull of Skail), first held by Gunnhildr, bride of Kolr Kali's son (O.S. 107) and later by Thora, widow of Earl Erlendr, and her son Hakon the Elder (O.S. 109). (J.S.C.: P.O.A.S. V. 66; Hist. Orkn.: 172).

The bú of Knarston near Scapa, then earldom property (O.S. 194<sup>7</sup>) and tenanted in 1136 by Arnkell and his sons, and in 1154 by Botolfr Bungle. (J.S.C.: P.O.A.S. V. 49).

Caithness and Sutherland.

The bú of Freshwick, the property of Sveinn's step-son Sigmundr <sup>Fish-hoaks</sup> ~~Angle~~ (O.S. 266<sup>5</sup>). Its history in early Rentals has not so far been investigated.

Frakokk's bú (plur.) "up in Sutherland" (O.S. 127<sup>12</sup>, 197<sup>23</sup>); in Helmsdale, perhaps at Shenachu or at Borrobol. See note on 197<sup>23</sup>. Further investigation necessary.

Olaf Hrolf's son's second bú in Duncansby, the first being in Gairsay (O.S. 129<sup>4</sup>). Not definitely identified.

Norway.

Kol's bú (plur.) in Agder (O.S. 139<sup>5</sup>). Sigurthr Skewer's bú in East Agder (O.S. 140<sup>3</sup>).

John Limp-leg's bú (plur.) in Sogn (O.S. 142<sup>8</sup>).

Miscellaneous.

Dagfinn's bú in Fair Isle (O.S. 174<sup>24</sup>).

Holdbothi's bú (plur.) in Tiree (O.S. 172<sup>2</sup>).

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A "great" bú belonging to a certain Andrew and Ingirithr in the Isle of Man (O.S. 199<sup>5</sup>).

Thorhallr Asgrim's son's bú at Byskupstungur in Iceland (O.S. 262<sup>6</sup>).

There is, however, a number of farms and estates vaguely mentioned or existing by implication in O.S., and many of these have been proved by Mr Clouston by the evidence of the four conditions enumerated above to have been bú's:-

#### North Isles.

Magnus Havarth's son of Sanday (O.S. 166<sup>9</sup>) may have held in fief one of the six bordland bú's mentioned above (see O.S. 166<sup>9</sup>). (J.S.C.: Orkn. Par. 246, 248).

Kugi's residence in Rapness in Westray (O.S. 129<sup>9</sup>), probably on the farm still known as "The Bu," then a bordland bú. (J.S.C.: P.O.A.S. V.).

Helgi's residence at Pierowall in Westray, (O.S. 129<sup>20</sup>, 181<sup>0</sup>) probably on the farm of Waa (O.N. vágr: "bay", from which the village takes its name (J.S.C.: Orkn. Par. 332; P.O.A.S. V. 46).

Thorkell Flayer's residence, acc. to O.S. 130<sup>1</sup> in Westray, but more probably, as Mr Clouston argues (Orkn. Par. 333, 350), elsewhere—perhaps in Shapinsay, on some site unknown.

Sigurthr of Westness (O.S. 128<sup>6</sup>) had a bú there, probably not at the present Westness but at Skail (O.N.\* skali) in Outer Westness (H.M.: P.O.A.S. II.17; J.S.C.: P.O.A.S. V. 46).

Kolbeinn Hrugar's castle and lands in Wyre (O.S. 214) constituted a bú (J.S.C.: Hist. Orkn. 172; P.O.A.S. V. 44).

#### Mainland.

Erlingr of Tankerness (O.S. 129<sup>5</sup>, 162<sup>3</sup>) probably lived at the bú now known as the Hall of Tankerness (J.S.C.: Orkn. Par. 4; P.O.A.S. V. 46).

Thorsteinn of Flyörunes (O.S. 130, 168, 224) may have lived on the bordland bú of Sebay in the parish of St. Andrews, if the identification of Flyörunes with the Point of the Liddle is accepted (J.S.C. P.O.A.S. V. 46; Orkn. Par. 4. See also Flyörunes in Index of Pl. Ns.).

Helgi Hrolf's son, uncle of Sveinn, lived at Tingwall in Rendall (O.S. 293<sup>6</sup>), to be identified with the later Bu or Hall of Rendall. The same estate was probably that held by Kolbeinn of Rendall in the 13th cent. (Hak. S. ch.171) (J.S.C.: Orkn. Par. 185-7; P.O.A.S. V.; Hist. Orkn. 155 etc.)

The Earldom bú of Cairston where traces of the kastali referred to in O.S. 270 can still be seen (J.S.C.: P.O.A.S. V. 42, VII.57 ff.; Hist. Orkn. 156).

In addition to the above, it is possible that Richard of Brecks/

Brecks' estate in Stronsay (O.S. 130, 185) may have been then a bú (H.M.: P.O.A.S. V. 67; J.S.C.: Hist. Orkn. 174).

John Wing's estate at Uppland in Hoy may be identical with the present Bu of Hoy (J.S.C.: Orkn. Par. 217-8; P.O.A.S. V.). As all Hoy was bordland, John must have held his land in fief and not by odal tenure.

DRYKKJUSKALI. 169', 321'<sup>5</sup>.

Lit., "hall of drinking." Descriptive title of the great hall in Orphir described in ch.66, and of Sveinn's in Gairsay.

DYRR. 30<sup>9</sup>, 78<sup>3</sup>.

A double door. Term applied to the inner as well as the outer doors of a skáli or hall. See útidyrr. They seem to have been made occasionally in two parts, as in a modern smithy (See bálkr, and note on 78<sup>5</sup>).

ELDAR. 31, 150.

The fires burning down the centre of a hall from near the table in front of the "high-seat" to near the door at the other end. The smoke curled its way up to the vent between the sooty rafters. It was usual to pile on much wood in the evening to make bakeldar (q.v.)

ETUSTALLR. 150'<sup>13</sup>.

The manger in a hrossahús. Sole occurrence in O.N.

GAFLAÐ. 169<sup>2</sup>, 310'<sup>15,20</sup>, 321'<sup>4</sup>.

For gafll-hlað: "gable end." In the plural, in 321'<sup>4</sup>, it appears to mean a partition built across Sveinn's hall - a unique signification.

GARÐR. 142, 286.

(i) An enclosure or "yard," the primary usage; of the farmyard at Knarston, (286<sup>22</sup>).

(ii) A house in a town, especially in Norw., Swed., and Den. (C.V.); used of an ale-house in Bergen (142<sup>5</sup>).

GEILAGARÐR. 310.

In C.V. this is described as "a 'glen formed' fence, a walk", of which I cannot make any meaning. In the context (q.v.) it appears to mean a wall bordering a lane. See geilar, and note on 310<sup>21</sup>.

GEILAR/

GEILAR. 310.

Plur. of geil: "a glen." Here, apparently, a lane running between two lines of stacks up to the house at Forsie, Caithness. See note on 310".

GOLF. 30<sup>20</sup>, 31<sup>4</sup>.

Floor.

HALL, or HOLL. 233<sup>v</sup>.

A hall; used only of a king's or an earl's dwelling, a private hall being a skáli. Here used of the hall of Ermengarde in Spain.

HASÆTTI. 188<sup>12</sup>, 195<sup>8</sup>.

The high seat on the cross-dais at the end <sup>or side</sup> of a hall.

HELLA. 169<sup>8</sup>, 170<sup>24</sup>.

A flagstone; here a large one doing duty as a partition at the entrance to the Orphir skáli. See plan in note on 169'.

HLIÐVEGGR. 169.

Side-wall, as opposed to gable; of the Orphir skáli. See note on 169'.

HROSSAHÚS. 150<sup>1</sup>.

Stable; here at Støle, Norw.

HURD. 30<sup>12</sup>.

A door; here the door at the "high-seat" end of the skáli at Hlaupandanes. Perhaps it was a small door, or not a double one, and hence permitted another name than the usual dyrr.

HUS. Passim.

"House." Used of all types of dwelling from cottage to castle.

HUSABOER. 168<sup>16</sup>.

A homestead; applied to the large skáli, church and adjacent small buildings at Orphir.

HYBYLI/

HYBYLI, or HIBYLI. 137<sup>23</sup>.

A homestead; a nom. plur. form, here applied in the "Miracle-Book" (O.S. ch.57) to the farm of Baliasta, Unst, Shetl.

JQRÐ. 137<sup>23</sup>. 149<sup>10</sup>.

An odaller's land; here that of Uni in Sogn. Acc. to C.V. the usage is an Icel. one, answering to Norw. ból, which we would expect here of a Norwegian farm.

KASTALI. 168, 171, 214, 235, 270, 281, 282, 288.

A castle, differing from a borg in being a place of residence as well as of defence. It is used of five structures in O.S.

The castle in Damsay, kept by Blann, Thorsteinn's son, 12th cent. (168<sup>9</sup>, 171<sup>9</sup>. Its "great skáli" is referred to in 288<sup>7</sup>, and it is called a hús in 289<sup>4</sup>). For description, see J.S.C.: Orkn. Par. 171; quoted in my note on Damsay in the Index of Pl. Ns.

Kolbeinn Hruga's castle in Wyre, 12th-13th cent. (214<sup>3</sup> - in an interpolation). Described in O.S. as "a good stone-castle" and "a safe stronghold," it stood a heavy siege in 1231 (Hak. S. ch.171). A history and description (with plan) of this castle is to be found by Dr. Marwick in P.O.A.S. S.VI. 9-11. A more extensive plan and a photograph of the interior is to be found in J.S.C.: Hist. Orkn. 160.

The castle in Galicia captured by Earl Rognvaldr Kali, 1151 (235ff). It is possible, however, that this castle was not in the North of Spain, but near Narbonne on the Mediterranean coast of France, since the siege took place near Christmas as one of the Earl's verses shows (O.S. 241<sup>3</sup>). See my study of the episode in P.O.A.S. XI, 48.

Cairston castle near Stromness, 12th cent. Named in O.S. 270<sup>1</sup> but probably in error for Knarston; see note on 269<sup>76</sup>. Referred to in O.S. 269, 273. A description and plan of what remains of it by Mr J. Storer Clouston will be found in P.O.A.S. VII, 57-74.

A castle at Thurso where Earls Haraldr and Rognvaldr Kali met in the summer of 1154 to come to terms (281<sup>9</sup>, 282<sup>1</sup>). Probably it was this castle that was destroyed by William the Lion on his punitive expedition into Caithness, 1198. (See Roger de Hoveden: Chronica, IV, 10). No trace of this castle remains.

Besides the above, two other castles, the remains of which can still be seen, are referred to, without the name kastali, in the Saga. A keep at Westness in Rousay, whither Earl Paul on two recorded occasions paid a visit of state (ch.65, 74), has been partially excavated; but it may belong to the following century (See H.M.: Antig. Notes on Rousay in P.O.A.S. II. 15-21, and J.S.C.: Early Norse Castles. An illustration is to be found in J.S.C.: Hist. Orkn. 161). The second is also a recently excavated ruin/

ruin on the mound called Castlehowe (from O.N. <sup>x</sup> Kastalahaugr) in Paplay - perhaps built by Hakon the Elder who, according to O.S. 109, 172, 285, lived there in the middle of the 12th century (For description, see J.S.C.: Early Norse Castles),<sup>33-35</sup>.

KIRKJA.

The following is a list of all the churches, large or small, mentioned in O.S.

Christ's Kirk in Birsay, built by Earl Thorfinnr, ?1048x, probably on the site of the present old parish church. This building, according to Dietrichson (Mon. Orc. 76-79) is an 18th century structure but with medieval masonry in the southern wall; this wall contains a pointed window under the sill on which, in 13th or 14th century capitals, is cut S. Bellus - an unknown saint (Illustration in Mon. Orc. l.c.) (O.S. 86, 87, 120, 121, 131, 133).

The church in Egilsay (O.S. 115, 116, 171) where St. Magnus was murdered, ?1117, - probably near the present St. Magnus' Church which Dietrichson regarded as belonging to the middle of the 12th century (Mon. Orc. 95-105).

St. Magnus' Church above mentioned, which appears to be referred to in the sentence interpolated in the translation in ch.51 (O.S. 119') from M<sub>2</sub>, to the effect that "a church was afterwards built" on the spot where Magnus fell.

The church in Kirkwall where the relics of St. Magnus were taken and a multitude of miracles were performed (O.S. ch.57 passim). It was probably in the doors of this church that Arni Hrafn's son stuck fast with his shield on his back, Sept., 1152 (O.S. 270<sup>5</sup>). Probably the Church of St. Olaf, of which an old doorway can be seen in a wall in a house in Bridge St. Lane. (Illustration and description in Mon. Orc. 74-76).

The church at the Earls' Hall at Orphir, 1135 (O.S. ch.66), quite possibly the Round Church the ruins of the chancel of which are still to be seen beside the old parish church (Dietrichson: Mon. Orc. 86-90. See also Dryden: Ruined Churches in Orkney).

St. Magnus Cathedral in Kirkwall, begun in 1137; the last reference to it in O.S. is in 1158 (O.S. 176, 193, 194, 291, 303, 306, 315). The principal studies of its history and architecture are by Dryden (Description of the Church dedic. to St. Magnus), by McGibbon and Ross (Eccles Archit. of Scot. I, 259-292), and by Dietrichson (Mon. Orc. 137-171). For the tombs and relics see articles by Mr J. Mooney in P.O.A.S. III and VI.

The church in Pierowall, Westray, where Rognvaldr Kali attended Divine Service on a Sunday in April 1136 (O.S. 182<sup>3</sup>). Ruins still to be seen. (Plan, illustration and description in Mon. Orc. 109-110). But the incident in which the church appears may be fictitious; see note on 182<sup>4</sup>.

A church at ?Knarston, deduced from the mention of the Earl Rognvaldr Kali's chaplain there (O.S. 194<sup>2</sup>) and of Divine Service held there (O.S. 195<sup>10</sup>), Dec., 1138. There is no trace of one to be found to-day (J.S.C.: Hist. Orkn. 148).

The church where Earl Haraldr was buried, 1154. There is no/

MUNKLIFI. no clue to its identity. See note on 291<sup>4</sup>.

A church near ?Wick built on the spot where Haraldr the Younger fell, 1198 (O.S. 324<sup>22</sup>).

Church of St. Tredwell or Triduana in Papa Westray where Earl Rognvaldr Brusi's son was probably buried, 1046 (O.S. 79<sup>18</sup>). Ruins still to be seen, with ancient graveyard surrounding them.

The High Church or hofuðkirkja in Acre in Palestine where Thorbjorn the Black was buried, 1152 (O.S. 254<sup>13</sup>).

A church in Imbolar (not identified) where John Limp-leg was buried, 1152 (O.S. 257<sup>19</sup>).

KOT. 52<sup>4</sup>.

Cottage.

LAUNDYRR. 298<sup>1,20</sup> 310<sup>19</sup>.

A concealed door, apparently, as here, a door filled in loosely with stones which may be heaved out to provide an emergency exit; here in the house of Barthr at Volunes in Sanday, and of Hallvarthr at Forsie, Caithness.

LITLA STOFA. 126 , 304.

A small room or parlour partitioned off at one side of the cross-dais or bverpallr (q.v.) of a great hall. Frakokk and Helga sat in one in the Earl's homestead in Orphir sewing the shirt that was to be the death of Helga's son Haraldr (126<sup>5,6</sup>). Earl Haraldr and Sveinn sat drinking peacefully in one, apparently in Kirkwall (304<sup>6</sup>).

LOPT. 49. 305.

A loft or upper room; a bed-room in a house in Thurso in which Muddan was sleeping (49<sup>4,5</sup>); a room in a house in Kirkwall where Thorbjorn Clerk defended himself (305<sup>24</sup>).

LOPTSVALIR. 49<sup>5</sup>.

Lit., "the loft balcony." Along the front of a Norse house there frequently ran a projection from the roof, forming underneath a long porch or veranda, and above, when a wooden railing was fixed along the front, a balcony accessible from a skylight in the loft. An example can be seen in the threshing-barn and loft-house in the Älvros Farmyard in Skansen, Stockholm. The term loptsvalir was applied to both the porch and the balcony. See "Gallery" in E.M. 338; and Guðmundzson: Privatboligen paa Isl. 100. It was from this balcony that Muddan leapt in his endeavour to escape.

248.  
MUNKLIFI. 189<sup>3</sup>, 211<sup>3</sup>.

A monastery. The word is used only twice in O.S., in the first instance by Earl Paul when pleading for his life before Margaret of Athole; and in the second instance of the monastery in the Isle of May (see note on 211<sup>3</sup>).

But three other monasteries are indirectly referred to in the Saga:-

A monastery in Westray, or perhaps at Munkerhouse in Papa Westray whence the sixteen monks may have come, whose tonsure caused Earl Rognvaldr such amusement, April 1136 (ch.72). Munkerhouse is a part of the shore on the Westray side of Papa Westray, is near the old Parish Church, and foundations of buildings and a large midden deposit can still be seen. But this incident may be attached to the wrong locality. See note on 182<sup>4</sup>.

The monastery in Eynhallow, its ruins still to be seen - the subject of Mr John Monney's fascinating study, Eynhallow: A Holy Island in the Orkneys. Its existence is assumed in O.S. in the reference to the monks of Eynhallow in O.S. 297<sup>4</sup> and, less obviously, by the fact that Olafr, son of Sveinn Asleif's son, was apparently being brought up on that island (302<sup>2</sup>).

A monastery in the Scilly Isles can be deduced from the statement (201<sup>2</sup>) that Sveinn captured a ship of burden belonging to monks from there, 1141x. I have not been able to make any identification here.

MUSTERI. 86, 176.

A minster, a term of some grandiloquence - from Eccles. Lat. monasterium - applied eulogistically to Christ's Kirk in Birsay (867) and by Kolr to the projected St. Magnus Cathedral (176<sup>20</sup>).

MYRKVASTOFA. 189<sup>2/</sup>.

A "dark room" or dungeon, in which it was said that Earl Paul was confined.

PALLR. 31<sup>1</sup>.

The dais at the end of a hall on which was the "high-seat" and its table, the place of principal honour in the hall. See bverpallr.

PLOGSLAND. 194<sup>12</sup>.

Lit., a "plough's land." "An acre of land" (C.V.) Orig. no doubt the area that a man could plough on an average in a day. Hence its use in the story of Gefjon in Hkr. 6<sup>1</sup>. In O.S. a plógsland is used by Earl Rognvaldr as a basis in Orkney for taxation in 1137. The usual term in Orkney, however, was not plógsland but eyrisland: "ounce-land."

RAFT. 325<sup>5</sup>.

Rafter; in the idiom "had never come under sooty rafter" -  
i.e. lived continually on ship-board.

REKKJA. 127<sup>3</sup>.

Bed.

SEL (in auðnar-sel) 315<sup>4</sup>.

A shieling or hut on the hill pasture land where the herd stays with the cattle in the summer months. According to C.V., it is an Icel. word, the Norw. one being setr. Like jorð this word affords some evidence of the Icel. authorship of the Saga.

SETR. 309n<sup>3</sup>

The Norw. equivalent of the Icel. sel (q.v.). In the M. Dan. form setter it occurs as a gloss on erg in the Dan. trans. O only ("erg, which we call setter"). It need not therefore have stood in the original text of the Saga, and cannot be used as an argument in favour of non-Icelandic authorship.

SKÁLI. 30, 169, 274, 295, 321.

Originally, according to C.V., this word meant a shed or hut for temporary use (cp. L.Sc. shieling), a usage that survived in Norway. In the Icel. Sagas it is normally used of a chief's hall, the large single building in which men ate, talked and slept; an illustration and plan will be found in E.V.Gordon: Introd. to Old Norse, 28 and 207. In Orkney, as Mr Clouston shows (Hist. Orkn. 14-18) the term was used exclusively and specifically for the halls of the chief men, surviving as Skail. In O.S. it occurs six ~~five~~ times, always in this sense.

The "great skáli", with doors at both ends (an unusual feature), of Thorkel Fostri at Hlaupandanes, Sandwick, Deerness (30<sup>4</sup>). No trace to-day. But see Hlaupandanes.

The drykkjuskáli at the Earls' bú in Orphir, the foundations of which can still be traced just North of the Round Church. See note on 169'.

The skáli at Freshwick, Caithness, through which Eiríkr dashed in an endeavour to escape Anakol, Jan., 1153 (274'). On the site of the present Hall of Freshwick.

Sveinn's drykkjuskáli in Gairsay, the name still surviving in the farm name Langskail (295<sup>5</sup>, 295<sup>4</sup>, 315<sup>5</sup>). The shape of the original hall, 60 ft. long by 16 ft. wide, can still be traced, and portions of the original masonry courses can still be seen; see J.S.C.: Hist. Orkn. 127-128.

SKALADYRR. 30<sup>9</sup>, 298<sup>21</sup>.

The doors of a hall, probably, as the context suggests, the inner ones.

SKÁLAHÚS/

SKALAHUS. 274<sup>16</sup>.

Lit., "house of the skáli." Apparently ~~nothing~~ <sup>merely</sup> but a variant of the term skáli. Used of the skáli at Freshwick, Caithness.

SKJALDÞILI. 75<sup>15</sup>.

More properly skjal-þili, from skilja: "to divide"; cp. Norw. skjeltile (C.V.). And hence the term means literally "dividing planking" - either a loft floor (as Mr Clouston takes it in Hist. Orkn. 51, q.v.) or a partition such as that dividing a hall from its vestibule. It was by breaking through a skjaldþili that Thorfinnr and his wife escaped from their hall in Birsay when it was set on fire by Rognvaldr Brusi's son. I feel that none of the above usages fits the passage, and that the partition that afforded an avenue of escape must have been between the hall and some out-house or perhaps a stofa (q.v.) "at the back of the house" untouched by the fire.

SKEMMA. 228<sup>9/0</sup>.

Usually a small building detached from the main skáli used as a dormitory or ladies' "bower," and, in later times, a store-house. See C.V. and E.M. 356. In this skemma in one of the North Isles Arni Spindle-shanks and his cronies are drinking when they are surprised by Sveinn. It was probably a sleeping-house or bothy.

SKJAVINDAUGA. 171<sup>15</sup>.

A window, in a room in the hall at Orphir through which Sveinn Asleif's son escaped after the slaying of Sveinn Breast-rope. According to C.V., a skjár was the circular opening fitted with a hoop or frame (O.N. skja-grind) which had a membrane (O.N. skjall) stretched over it, which was used instead of glass and could be removed at pleasure.

Note that Lex. Run. (S.N.note) here reads ljóri: "louvre", the opening in the roof to let out the smoke which was frequently made to close. This was an occasional meaning of skjár (C.V.), but is obviously wrong here.

SKYTNING. 53<sup>5</sup>, 141<sup>19</sup>, 144<sup>6</sup>.

Originally a club of persons meeting at regular intervals for an evening's drink, and paying each his own "scot" or share of the ale. Later applied to the house in which the convivialities took place. cp. hyukólf. Tr., "ale-house." Freq. in Norw.; only one doubtful reference in Icel. (C.V.) In 53<sup>5</sup> there is only a vague reference to their existence in Orkney; in the other two cases, the reference is to the ale-house of Good-dame Unnr in Bergen.

STAÐR. 256<sup>4</sup>, 257<sup>9</sup>, 319<sup>24,24</sup>.

Lit., "a place." Used of a town.

STEINMUSTERI. 176<sup>20</sup>.

A stone-minster. Applied to the projected St. Magnus Cathedral. See musteri.

STOFA. 171, 310.

The living-room in a boer, containing the beds of the householder, his wife, and children, either attached to the skáli or separate. In Norway it became the aarestue or hearth-room, for which see S. Undset; Kristin Lav. 927-931. This is the meaning in 310<sup>11</sup> - the living-room (trans. "dwelling-house") at Forsie, Caithness. In 171<sup>4</sup> the stofa may be a living-room attached to the large skáli, but is more probably a small room in the vestibule of the skáli (see plan in note on 169<sup>1</sup>). For variety of uses of the term see C.V. and E.M. 356.

The name survives in the farm name Stove, Deerness.

SVEFNHÚS. 188<sup>22</sup>.

A bedroom. Originally this term, "sleeping-house," must have been applied to the separate sleeping quarters on a Norw. or Icel. farm. See S. Undset's note referred to above.

SAEBORG. 231, 252.

"Sea-port town," of <sup>Narbonne</sup> Bibao (231<sup>16</sup>); in Barbary (252<sup>6n</sup>). See borg.

TJQLD. 222<sup>12</sup>.

Tapestry or hangings, on which is embroidered in gold an old warrior dealing a vigorous stroke with his sword upon another, a description of which formed the subject of a skaldic contest between Earl Rognvaldr and Oddi the Little.

TUN. 287<sup>6</sup>.

286<sup>22</sup>. Farmyard; a synonym for garðr used a few lines above, in

UTIDYRR. 169<sup>6</sup>, 170<sup>5,7,14</sup>.

The outer double doors of the skáli at Orphir. See dyrr, and note on 169<sup>1</sup>.

VANDBALKR. 297<sup>23</sup>.

A wicker partition dividing two rooms in Barth's house at/

at Volunes, Sanday.

VEGGR. 237<sup>27</sup>, 238<sup>8</sup>.

A wall; here of the castle of Guthifreyr in Galicia.

VÍGI. 200, 208, 214.

A natural stronghold, as opposed to borg, a fortress artificially constructed; this is clearly proved by O.S. 208<sup>''</sup>,<sup>''4</sup>; see note thereon. It is applied to Holdbothi's stronghold in Lundy (200<sup>'5</sup>), to Sveinn's fortress at Lambaborg (208<sup>''</sup>), and to Kolbeinn Hruga's castle in Wyre (214<sup>3</sup>). In the latter instance, however, the use is a special one, for the site has no natural advantages; this peculiarity may be due to the passage being an interpolation.

VIRKI. 240<sup>6</sup>.

Synonym for borg, fortress; here applied to the castle of Guthifreyr in Galicia.

PORP. 52, 182, 199, 200.

A village; of villages in Scotland (52<sup>3</sup>); of Pierowall, Westray (182<sup>3</sup>); of a village near Jarlsnes, Wales (199<sup>25</sup>, 200<sup>'</sup>).

PVERPALLR. 126<sup>6</sup>, 304<sup>6</sup>.

The cross-dais at the end of a hall. See pallr for further details.

OLSTOFA. 170<sup>15</sup>.

"Ale-store," as is clear from the context (see note on 170<sup>15</sup>), not "drinking-hall" as C.V. and D. take it. According to C.V., it does not occur elsewhere. For its situation in the Hall at Orphir, see plan in note on 169<sup>'</sup>.

GLOSSARIAL INDEXES.

F. LEGAL TERMS and TITLES, ETC.

The following Index of Legal Terms and Titles does not claim to be a complete list of all such terms in O.S. There are so many O.N. words which have a legal as well as a general significance that the Index might be extended very indefinitely. The principal terms, however, have been included. As most of them have already been exhaustively treated elsewhere (by Taranger, Hertzberg and Clouston) the Notes have been kept as brief as possible.

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"Total"

ESPIONAGE

"Harm"

ESPIONAGE

FRAENDLEIFD 176  
ARMAÐR. 291<sup>18</sup>. 298<sup>3</sup>.

"Inherited property." Lit., "what is left by will."  
A "steward" or bailiff. Contrasted with sýslumaðr (q.v.)

ARMENNINGR. 307<sup>4,9</sup>.

"Bailiffry" or "stewardship." Contrasted with sýsla (q.v.)  
Introd., used of provinces in Norway.

BÓNÐI, plur bóndar. Passim.

The bóndi was originally any freeman holding land by odal right, i.e. in complete ownership. The term became later restricted to the lowest landowning class - "peasant proprietor" being a fair English equivalent. But both usages occur undistinguishably in O.S., and, as stated in the note on 8<sup>13</sup>, it has been found necessary to retain the O.N. term (with its plural) in the translation. For further studies of the term, see C.V., Hertzberg, and J.S.C.: R.E.O. xxxi-xxxiv.

BÓT. 38<sup>22</sup>.

doemði boetr (plur.): "fixed compensation." The compensation was that fixed by King Olafr for the death of Eyvindr Buffalo-horn at rate for three lendirmenn. Acc. to the Older Gula-thing's Law, ch.200 (N.G.L. I. 74) this would amount to 18 silver marks (144 oz. of silver).

BRÚÐKAUP. 291<sup>15</sup>.

"Bride-buying" - lawful wedlock.

EIÐR. 121<sup>8</sup>.

"An oath."

EIGN. 33<sup>19</sup>, 39<sup>13</sup>, 107<sup>16</sup>, etc.

"Heritable property;" usually in the plural - "landed estates." Sometimes best translated "rights of ownership."

EINA LATIT. 268<sup>7</sup>.

Hafði eina latit: "had divorced." See also skilit við.

EPTIRMAL. 229<sup>12</sup>.

An "after-suit;" a claim for compensation for the death of a man made by his relatives or heirs.

ERFD. 176<sup>19</sup>.

"Inherited property."

ERFDALQND 87<sup>3</sup>.

"Hereditary lands."

FRAENDLEIFD/

FRAENDLEIFÐ. 176<sup>19</sup>.

"Inherited property." Lit., "what is left by one's kin."  
Cp. foðurleifð.

FYLKI. 4<sup>22</sup>.

"A province." Sole occurrence in O.S., in the Mythol. Introd.; used of provinces in Norway.

FOÐURLEIFÐ. 109<sup>1</sup>, etc.

What is "left" by one's "father;" - "inheritance," "patrimony."

GJALDKERI. 140<sup>2</sup>.

A royal official calling in rents and other dues from towns and cities; cp. Nicholas Beard in Bergen (Hkr. 604<sup>32</sup>) and Thorbjorn gjaldkeri in Bergen (Hkr. 626<sup>10</sup>). Here used of Solmundr in Tønsberg. Acc. to C.V. the word is "probably of foreign origin." Trans. "royal steward."

GÓÐI.

~~"A priest." Occurs only as a cognomen; see Index of N'ns.~~

GOEÐINGR, plur. goeðingar. 88, 89, 92, 123, 129, 160, 166, 179, 224, 261, 313.

This word, almost peculiar to O.S. appears to be etymologically connected with O.N. goeði: "dues" or "emoluments" (O.S. 267<sup>13</sup>), and was a title applied to the greater landowners or lëndirmenn in the Orkneys who were in some way related to the family of the Earls; (see especially the reference in ch.33, O.S. 89<sup>18</sup>). They appear to have had certain duties of local government, and they were the Earls' chief lieutenants in time of war, supplying both ships and men. See the valuable studies by Mr Clouston in R.E.O. XXXIX-XL, 393-394; in S.H.R. XVI (1918) 21-28; in P.O.A.S. VI. 23; and in Hist. Orkn. 157-168.

GRÍÐ. 210<sup>11</sup>.

The settlement of a dispute by the free pardoning of the offending party. Distinguished from saett, where a settlement was made by the payment of compensation. Both terms are used in the above reference.

HANDGANGA. 33<sup>21</sup>, 57<sup>4</sup>, etc.

Submission to a liege-lord.

HEIMAMAÐR. 144<sup>8</sup>, 151<sup>7</sup>, 310<sup>6</sup>.

"Farm-servant."

HERAÐ/

HERAÐ. 3<sup>3</sup>.

"A district;" in Norway and in Iceland used of a rural district as opposed to boer: "a town." Used here only in the Mythol. Introd. Occurs also in the pl. n. Byrgisherað (q.v.), and in De Herra, Fetlar and Yell, Shetland.

HIRÐ.  
HIRÐMAÐR.  
HIRÐVIST.

The hirð was the personal body-guard of a king or earl. O.S. refers to Thorfinn's large hirð (53<sup>3</sup>), and that of Malcolm, King of Scots (104<sup>22</sup>). Sveinn Breast-rope is referred to as a hirð-man of Earl Paul (160<sup>20</sup>), and Thorarinn Bottle-nose is introduced as the friend and hirð-man of Earl Rognvaldr Kali (305<sup>18</sup>). In a probably spurious passage, Sveinn Asleif's son is erroneously given the same title (321<sup>4</sup>).

Hirðvist, "the position of hirð-man," occurs with reference to the applications of the skalds Hallr, Armothr and Oddi to join Rognvaldr Kali's hirð (204<sup>8</sup>, 205<sup>11</sup>, 221<sup>4</sup>).

The term of course originated in the Norwegian court. The duties and privileges which the royal hirð attained are set forth in Hirðskrá in N.G.L. II. 390-450.

HUSKARL. 143<sup>4</sup>.

A free-born man in service. "Servant" is an adequate translation, although "house-carle" has been the accepted rendering since Dasent's time.

HÖFÐINGI. Passim.

"A chief." A term sometimes applied to any man of high birth, but more usually to one of the greater earls or bondar distinguished for his qualities of strength of character and natural gifts of leadership. The latter use is normal in the first half of O.S. Earls Turf-Einarr, Ljotr, and Thorfinnr are described as becoming "great chiefs" (10<sup>8</sup>, 18<sup>9</sup>, 42<sup>15</sup>). In the Saga of Rognvaldr Kali, however, it is used in the sense of "a ruler" over a realm (158<sup>10</sup>, 193<sup>21</sup>, 271<sup>13</sup>, 316<sup>17,18</sup>); the author of this part of O.S. appears also to have used the term in this sense in a few sentences about Hakon Paul's son added to the end of ch.52 (122<sup>4</sup>). In the sense of "the leader of an attacking force" it is used of Oliver the Unruly (159<sup>21</sup>).

HQLDR.

The social rank between bóndi and lendirmaðr. See Index of N's.

As an isolated title it is used of a Welsh chief who attached Holdbothi in Tíree (198<sup>18</sup>, 199<sup>10</sup>, 201<sup>21</sup>). Translated, not very satisfactorily, "Freeman."

HQLDSRETT. 8<sup>16</sup>.

The rank of a hqldr (q.v.)

JORÐ/

See E. Hertzberg: lén og veig i Norræn germanistiske

JORD. 149<sup>10</sup>.

An odaller's land, here that of Uni in Sogn. According to C.V. the term is an Icel. one, answering to Norw. ból, which we would expect here.

KARLMADR. 75<sup>10</sup>.

Ufrjalsar karlmenn: "bondmen."

KUNNMID. 267<sup>1</sup>.

An O.N. spelling of O. Celt. word for "the quartering of men" represented in O. Ir. by coimmed. See the lengthy note on the context.

LAGASETNING. 86<sup>5</sup>.

"The making of laws."

LANDSETI. 227<sup>16</sup>, 288<sup>15</sup>.

"Tenant."

LANDSKYLDIR. 228<sup>3</sup>.

"Land-rents." Survived in Orkney till the 16th century; cp. land skuld in a 1503 Rental (Peterkin's Rentals, 26).

LANDZVIST. 68<sup>14</sup>.

The right of residence unmolested in a particular place - a right that was inseparable from one's eignir (q.v.) or private estates.

LANDVORN. 64<sup>6</sup>.

"The defence of the land," here England.

LANDVARNARMENN. 54<sup>19</sup>.

"A defence force," here that of Jaroslav in Novgorod.

LAUNGETINN. 89<sup>25</sup>.

"Illegitimate."

LEN. 33, 38, 58, 59, 66, 68.

Land held i len, "in fief", was held in non-hereditary feudal tenure. Distinguished from veizlur, grants of land made to chiefs to enable them specifically to maintain a fighting force for the use of the overlord. The existence of the distinction is shown in Hkr. 287<sup>32,33</sup>, where King Olaf Helgi gave Aslacr Fitjaskalli in S. Hordland what is described as len mikit ok veizlur storar.

See E. Hertzberg: Len og veizla i Norges sagatid, in Germanistische

Germanistische Abhandlungen zum LXX Geburtstag K. Maurers, Göttingen, 1893, pp.283-331.

LENDR MAÐR, plur. lendirmenn. Passim.

"A landed man"; translated "landed proprietor." The name given by Haraldr Fair-hair to the nobles or hersar who became his men. They were called goeðingar (q.v.) in the Orkneys. See C.V.; E.M. 369; Hertzberg; and J.S.C.: Hist. Orkn. 158.

LEYSTISK. 302<sup>21</sup>.

"To ransom one's self."

LYÐSKYLDUR. 33<sup>21</sup>, 35<sup>29</sup>.

"Vassal."

LOÐ. 118<sup>4</sup>.

"Law." Plur. of lag: "something laid."

LOÐMAÐUR. 325.

"Lawman." The term originally signified, in the ancient Scandinavian kingdoms, a man skilled in the law (then unwritten) who was first spokesman at a Thing. In the Orkneys the term appears repeatedly in the translation lawman in the records of the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries for the chief official legal representative of the crown. See C.V., Hertzberg, R.E.O., and Orkn. Norn. for further details. The term is here used as a kind of cognomen for Rafr of Caithness; he was probably the chief legal authority there.

MÁLAVOXTR. 68<sup>6</sup>.

"The state of a case," involving the probability or improbability of a successful outcome.

MAELA. 82<sup>20</sup>.

"To sue for," "to plead a cause."

ODAL.

"Odal lands" or "rights." A concise account of all that O.S. tells us of the history of odal rights in the Orkneys will be found in Mr A.W.Johnston's Fiscal Antiquities in Orkn. and Shetl., 137-139 (Old Lore Misc. IX. pt.3); and the full history of the odal lands may be read in Mr J.S.Clouston's Hist. Orkn. The main Saga references are as follows:-

- O.S. ch.8. Turf-Einarr assumes the odal rights in order to pay a fine of 60 gold marks to Haraldr Fair-hair (894x).
- ch.11 Sigurthr the Stout returns the odal rights to the bondar (x995).
- ch.76 Rognvaldr Kali gets the bondar to buy their odal lands outright (1137).

PLÓGSLAND/

PLOGSLAND. 194<sup>12</sup>.

"A plough-land" or urisland. See Index of buildings, etc.

RADGJAFI. 66<sup>6v</sup>, 114<sup>20</sup>, 264<sup>13</sup>, 305<sup>10</sup>, 306<sup>21</sup>.

"Councillor." See Index of N's, where the term is discussed. Mr J.S. Clouston remarks in Hist. Orkn. 190 that that the plural form is never used in O.S., the word raðuneyti being employed instead. In 66<sup>6n</sup> MS. O. has an extra phrase oc Raadgiffuer: "and Councillors," which may, however, have been raðgjafar in the original text.

RADUNEYTI. "Page-boy."

Normally a body of advisers, Earl Thorfinnr in his youth had a raðuneyti (36<sup>b</sup>); King Magnus Bare-legs gave his son Sigurthr an r. when he left him to rule over the Orkneys (101<sup>b</sup>); and he consulted his own r. when his men were deserting (105<sup>20</sup>).

The word has the abstract meaning of "counsel," "advice," in 269<sup>5</sup>.

SENDIMAÐR. 66<sup>b</sup>, passim.

"An envoy," in disputes great or small.

SKATTR. 28<sup>4</sup> and passim.

Any form of tax or tribute, usually paid in money; cp. O.E. sceat: "a coin."

SKILIT VIÐ. 207<sup>13</sup>.

"Divorced," "legally separated from." See also eina latit.

SKIRSLA. 154<sup>22</sup>.

"Trial by ordeal," here that of Haraldr Gilli. See note on context.

SKUTILSVEINN.

"Cup-boy," "cup-bearer." An office at court for the ambitious stripling, introduced into Norway, acc. to C.V., about the time of Olaf the Quiet (1067-93). Frequently in use in the following century. In O.S., Magnus Erlend's son became sk. to Magnus Bare-legs (103<sup>7</sup>); Sveinn Hroald's son became sk. to Earl Rognvaldr Kali (202<sup>15</sup>); and Earl Rognvaldr Kali himself acted as sk. to Bishop John of Athole on his visit to the Orkneys (195<sup>9</sup>).

SKYLDIR. 328<sup>31</sup>.

"Rents."

STALLARI. 100<sup>20</sup>.

"A marshall." Used first as a title (e.g. Bjorn stallari/

stallari) by King Olaf Helgi (1015-1030). The stallari was the spokesman for the king at public assemblies and was regarded as of sufficient importance to have his seat (stallara - stóll) opposite the high seat of the king. Acc. to C.V., from O.E. stallare, from Low Lat. stabularius.

VRIZLA. 202, 205, 212.

SVARDAGI.

See leg.

binda swardogum: "to bind with oaths" (34<sup>18</sup>).

SVEINN. 312<sup>20</sup>.

"Page-boy."

SÝSLA. 207<sup>20</sup>.

SÝSLUMADR. 325 ff.

Sýsla meant first "work" or "business", but had the specialized meaning of the stewardship of a district held from a king, bishop, or earl, with the principal duties of tax-collecting and administering justice. Sýsla was contrasted with armenningr (q.v.) which was the bailiffry of an estate (E.M. 297, 455). For a detailed study see Hertzberg, and K. Leymann: Abhandlungen zur germanischen insbesondere nordischen Rechtsgeschichte, Berlin, 1888, pp.175-215.

SAETT. Passim.

A settlement of a dispute, normally by the payment of compensation. Distinguished from gríð (q.v.) See note on 38<sup>16</sup>.

UPPNAEMR. 70<sup>18</sup>.

Lit., "forfeitable" to an overlord. Used here and elsewhere metaphorically in the sense of "within the power of."

ÚTBÓÐ. 25<sup>15</sup>, 63<sup>21,23</sup>, etc.

A "levy" of fighting men. Lit., "an outcalling."

ÚTISETA. 161<sup>1</sup>.

The illegal rite of "outsitting" practised by Sveinn Breast-rope. See note on context.

ÚTLAGA. 265<sup>18</sup>.

"Outlawed." Gunn Olaf's son is outlawed by Earl Erlendr for seduction.

VALDZMENN. 319<sup>22</sup>.

The "rulers" of Dublin. A generic name rather than a title. See note on context.

VARÐVEITA/

VARÐVEITA. 26<sup>20</sup>.

"To keep watch and ward." Here in the phrase menn til at varðveita, translated "commissioners."

VEIZLA. 202, 205, 213.

See lén.

ták veizlu með: "paid a formal visit to;" the official visit of Earl Rognvaldr to one of his Caithness lendirmenn (202<sup>6</sup>). In the sense of official hospitality the term survived into the 17th century in the form wattle (q.v. in H.M. Orkn. Norn).

VÍG. 119.

"Man-slaying," which if not concealed was punishable at the most by death at the hands of the next of kin, and at the least by the payment of compensation to them. Used (119<sup>9,21</sup>) of the slaying of Earl Magnus in Egilsay.

YFIRSOKN. 156, 166, 264.

"Stewardship," for the sake of defence of the district allotted and for the supplying of an armed force to aid the earl or overlord granting the stewardship. Almost equivalent to veizla. Used normally in O.S. of Caithness.

ÞING.

It would appear that the Thing or judicial court of chief men characteristic of the Scandinavian countries was less active in the Saga period in Orkney than elsewhere. In O.S. the Earl is usually the arbiter in disputes. The term Þing is frequently used in O.S. of what appears to be a merely consultative assembly of the chief bondar (25<sup>7,15</sup>, 184<sup>2</sup>, 191<sup>13,16</sup>, 194<sup>9</sup>, 229<sup>17</sup>, 271<sup>4</sup>). In one instance it is used in the unusual sense of a meeting for negotiations between rival Earls (32<sup>13</sup>). In three instances a Thing in Norway is referred to: Eyrabing (57<sup>17</sup>), the Thing at which Magnus Sigurth's son was proclaimed king (154<sup>13</sup>), and Haugabing (155<sup>3</sup>). In two cases we find launþing, a secret meeting of conspirators (182<sup>18</sup>, 183<sup>2,6</sup>) in Westray surprised by Rognvaldr Kali. In two instances we have húþing, a private "council-of-war" (176<sup>2</sup>, 284<sup>4</sup>), and vapnabing occurs once (106<sup>6</sup>).

The usage of the term is thus very varied, and there is little to suggest the existence of the judicial body which must have met at Tingwall in Rendall and survived as the Law-thing of the 15th century. See the studies of the Orkney Thing in J.S.C. Hist. Orkn., espec. 182-186.

ÞINGMANNALÍÐ. 85<sup>3</sup>.

Lit., "a force of Thing-men;" the picked body-guard of King Knutr and his successors in England. See note on context.

ÞINGSTOÐ. 112<sup>2</sup>.

"The Thing meeting-place," in this case probably at Tingwall in Rendall, Orkn. See note on context.

ÞRIÐJUNGR. Passim in chs.13-32.

A "third" or "trithing", surviving in the West Riding of Yorkshire. Not strictly a legal term, but used as such in the complicated negotiations over the division of Orkney \* Earldom in the above chapters. The alternative term used was hlutr: "a share."

ECCLESIASTICAL TERMS.

Note:- Few of the following terms can be described as technical in the sense in which the legal terms may be so regarded. But GLOSSARIAL INDEXES. is included among the Glossarial Indexes if for no other reason than that it illustrates the small place which ecclesiastical terms hold in the vocabulary of the saga. The chapters on Saint Magnus of course contain most ecclesiastical terms, together with much vaguely pious phraseology which I have not attempted to include in the present glossary.

G. ECCLESIASTICAL TERMS.

AFTRÉ. 131.

Lit. "an untruth." Used in sense of "heresy."

APTANSQWER. 166, 166.

"Everlong."

HLÓT. 1<sup>11</sup>, 94<sup>13</sup>.

A heathen sacrifice.

BYSKUP. Darrin.

"Bishop."

BYSKUPSTÓLL.

The episcopal seat in the Orkneys, at first at Birsay (86, 121, 131, 132), but, after the removal of Saint Magnus' relics to Kirkwall, transferred to that town.

CORPUS DOMINI TAKA. 118<sup>19</sup>.

"To take the sacrament."

DJAKE. 78<sup>11</sup>.

"Deacon," the dignitary for whom Earl Rogvaldr Brusi's son appears to have been mistaken while leaving the house in Papa Stronsay; see note on context.

SKRIFJARN/

ERKIDJÁKN

89<sup>#</sup>

"Archdeacon."

HA-ALTARI.

134<sup>20</sup>

"High-altar."

HÁMESSA.

152<sup>20</sup>ECCLESIASTICAL TERMS.

Note:- Few of the following terms can be described as technical in the sense in which many of the legal terms may be so regarded. But the following list is included among the Glossarial Indexes if for no other reason than that it illustrates the small place which ecclesiastical terms hold in the vocabulary of the Saga. The chapters on Saint Magnus of course contain most ecclesiastical terms, together with much vaguely pious phraseology which I have not attempted to include in the present glossary.

HELSIR DÓMAR

121-137.

"Holy relics," "relics."

AFTRÚ.

131<sup>7</sup>.

Lit. "an untruth." Used in sense of "heresy."

"guard priest."

APTANSQNGR.

168, 169.

JARTER

"Evensong."

"A miracle."

BLÓT.

1<sup>11</sup>, 94<sup>20</sup>.

JARTER

A heathen sacrifice.

BYSKUP.

Passim.

"Bishop."

KIRKJA.

Passim.

BYSKUPSTÓLL.

"Church."

The episcopal seat in the Orkneys, at first at Birsay (86, 121, 131, 132), but, after the removal of Saint Magnus' relics to Kirkwall, transferred to that town.

"Christianity."

CORPUS DOMINI TAKA.

118<sup>19</sup>.

KROSS.

"To take the sacrament."

"Crucifix."

DJÁKN.

78<sup>4</sup>.

LANGFAS

"Deacon," the dignitary for whom Earl Rognvaldr Brusil's son appears to have been mistaken while leaving the house in Papa Stronsay; see note on context.

ERKIDJÁKN/

ERKIDJÁKN. 89<sup>14</sup>  
"Archdeacon."

HÁ-ALTARI. 134<sup>26</sup>  
"High-altar."

HÁMESSA. 169<sup>20</sup>  
"High Mass."

HEIÐINGI. 247<sup>13</sup>  
"A heathen," "an infidel."

HEIÐNI. 94<sup>16</sup>  
"Heathenism."

HELGIR DÓMAR. 121-137.  
"Holy relics," "halidom."

HIRÐPRESTR. 194<sup>22</sup>  
Earl Rognvaldr Kali's "chaplain" Hrolfr. Lit., "body-guard priest."

JARTEIN. 131, etc.  
"A miracle."

JARTEINABÓK. 121<sup>6w</sup>  
"Book of Miracles." See Introd. Sources of Interpolations.

KIRKJA. Passim.  
"Church."

KRISTNI. 94<sup>10</sup>  
"Christianity."

KROSS. 255<sup>23</sup>  
"Crucifix."

LANGFAST. 112<sup>8</sup>, etc.  
"Long fast," - Lent.

LAUSN/

LAUSN. 86<sup>1</sup>.

"Absolution."

MESSA. 118<sup>19</sup>, 132<sup>9</sup>.

"Mass."

MUNKAR.

Monks. In ? Westray (182); in the Scilly Isles (201); in Eynhallow (297).

MUNKLIFI. 189<sup>13</sup>.

"A monastery."

MUSTERI. 86, 176.

"A minster;" see note on 86<sup>7</sup>, where the term is applied to Earl Thorfinn's church in Birsay. In 176<sup>20</sup> the term steinmusteri, "stone minster," is used by Kolr to describe the projected Cathedral of Saint Magnus.

NON. 170<sup>3</sup>.

"Nones" (Lat. nonae), the religious exercises performed at the "ninth" hour or 3 p.m.

NONTIÐIR. 303<sup>23</sup>.

Divine service at nones.

PÁFI.

The pope.

1. Leo IX. (86<sup>1</sup>).
2. Calixtus II. (121<sup>13w</sup>).
3. Coelestinus III (316<sup>4</sup>).

PALMADAGR. 112<sup>8w</sup>.

Palm Sunday.

PALMARI. 121<sup>16</sup>.

"Pilgrim," "palmer."

PARADÍS. 118<sup>6</sup>.

"Paradise."

PASCHAVIKA. 175, 301.

"Easter week."

SKRÍN/

SKRIN. 134-138.

"Shrine."

TÍÐIR. 169<sup>18</sup>, 182<sup>2</sup>, 195<sup>0</sup>.

A church service.

VAKA YFIR. 131, 132.

"To keep vigil over" the tomb of St. Magnus.

VÍGJA BYSKUP. 321<sup>25</sup>.

"To consecrate" a bishop.

VILLUMENN. 249<sup>14</sup>.

Maumetz villumen: "Mahomet's wild men;" - the Norsemen's description of the Saracens.

WEAPONS, ARTICLES OF DRESS, COMMON UTENSILS, ETC.

GLOSSARIAL INDEXES.

Note: None of the terms analyzed for "sword," "bracelot," "necklace," etc. in the various parts have been included in the following list.

H. WEAPONS, ARTICLES OF DRESS, COMMON UTENSILS ETC.

BELTI. 32  
"A belt."

BORDBUNADR. 153<sup>15</sup>.  
The "table-service" of King Sigurth the Crusader.

BORÐKER. 233<sup>2</sup>.  
"Wine-cup."

BRINNUSTEINN OK RIK. 240<sup>10</sup>, 245<sup>10</sup>, 248<sup>10</sup>.  
"Brimstone and pitch," said to be hurled over walls and ships' bulwarks by Saracens.

BRYNSJARR. 103<sup>7</sup>.  
Wearing a brynja or coat of mail.

BÚÐ. 238<sup>19</sup>.  
"A tent."

ELDISKJA. 143<sup>2</sup>.  
"A torch."

ELDZVIHET. 143<sup>2</sup>.  
"A tinder-box."

FÉSKER. 150<sup>2</sup>.  
"A money-bag."

FINGRULI.

FINGRGULL 168<sup>5</sup>, 217<sup>10</sup>.

Earl Rogvaldr Eali's "golden finger-ring."

FJOTURR. 183<sup>8</sup>.

"A fetter" or chain.

FREDSKJOLDR 295<sup>24</sup>.

WEAPONS, ARTICLES of DRESS, COMMON UTENSILS, ETC.

A white "truce-shield."

GADDAY. 304<sup>15</sup>.

Note: None of the many synonyms for "sword," "bracelet," "necklace," etc. in the verses of the *Younger Edda* have been included in the following list. *Gadday*, from *gadd*, dimin. of *gádr*, a twisted twig or withe used for making anything.

GALGI. 301<sup>17</sup>.

BELTI. 324<sup>2</sup>.

GULLBLAD. "A belt."

BORÐBUNADR. 155<sup>13</sup>. "A golden fillet," with which Brnengarde bound up her

The "table-service" of King Sigurthr the Crusader.

HANDBOGI. 193<sup>7</sup>.

BORÐKER. 233<sup>3</sup>.

"Wine-cup."

HJALMR. 50<sup>1</sup>.

BRENNUSTEINN OK BIK. 240<sup>10</sup>, 246<sup>16</sup>, 248<sup>11</sup>.

"Brimstone and pitch," said to be hurled over walls and ships' bulwarks by Saracens.

BRYNJADR. 102<sup>8</sup>. "A grinding-horn."

MOZA. Wearing a brynja or coat of mail.

BUD. 238<sup>14</sup>.

HUTAV. "A tent."

ELDISKIÐ. 143<sup>6</sup>. Used loosely of any kind of hood or cap; here the hood the cloak or *kápa* worn by Bishop Jarm of Athole.

"A torch."

HOFIÐDUKR. 204<sup>12</sup>.

ELDZVIRKI. 143<sup>4</sup>.

"A tinder-box."

IGANGSKLARI. 318<sup>1</sup>.

FÉSJÓÐR. 150<sup>9</sup>. "A money-bag."

"A money-bag."

FINGRGULL/

FINGRGULL 168<sup>5</sup>, 217<sup>10</sup>.

Earl Rognvaldr Kali's "golden finger-ring."

FJQTURR. 183<sup>5</sup>.

"A fetter" or chain.

FRÍÐSKJÖLDR. 299<sup>2b</sup>.

1. A white "truce-shield."

2. In plur., "clothes."

GADDAN. 204<sup>15</sup>.

KNÍFR. 324<sup>6</sup>. Ragna's "head-dress." Sole occurrence of the term in O.N. C.V. suggests Celtic origin;- perhaps from Celt. gadan, dimin. of gād, a twisted twig or withe used for binding anything.

KORRAMSTR. 310<sup>4</sup>.

GÁLGI. 301<sup>19</sup>.

"A stack of oats."

"Gallows."

KUFL. 207<sup>1</sup>.

GULLHLAÐ. 233<sup>5</sup>.

A cloak with sowl attached. Ident. with kapa.

"A golden fillet," with which Ermengarde bound up her hair.

KUFLMADR. 220b - 221n.

HANDBOGI. 102<sup>5</sup>. "Hand-man" with whom Rognvaldr Kali went fishing in Shetland.

"Handbow."

KYRFILEL. 82<sup>7</sup>, 118<sup>7</sup>, 218<sup>13</sup>, 304<sup>11</sup>, 324<sup>21</sup>.

HJÁLMR. 50<sup>1</sup>.

"A kirtle" or tunic. A red kirtle was often worn on important occasions. A gilded "helmet" worn by Earl Thorfinnr.

HORN. 170<sup>5</sup>, 240<sup>10</sup>.

A drinking-horn. The walls of Guthfrayr's castle.

HOSA. 278<sup>16</sup>, 298<sup>11</sup>.

"Hose." bracks."

HÚFA. 195<sup>2</sup>, 104<sup>1</sup>, 126<sup>12</sup>.

Used loosely of any kind of hood or cap; here the hood attached to the cloak or kápa worn by Bishop John of Athole.

HÖFUÐDÚKR. 204<sup>20</sup>.

"Head-dress." worn by Sveinn Asleif's son.

ÍGANGSKLAEDI. 318<sup>2</sup>.

"Wearing apparel." (See A. 118).

KÁPA/

KÁPA. 195<sup>1</sup>.

A cloak with a cowl. Ident. with kuf1.

KER. 169.

A battle standard, made by Sigurdr the Stool's mother in the form of a raven spreading its wings for flight (20<sup>23</sup>). A banner or standard was also carried at the battle of Clontarf (23<sup>4</sup>), and Karl Hund's son had a standard at Torkel's (50<sup>1</sup>).  
"A cup."

KLAEDI. 327<sup>12</sup>.

- 1. "cloth," as here.
- 2. In plur., "clothes."

KNIFR. 326<sup>16</sup>.

"A knife."

KORNAMSTR. 310<sup>5</sup>.

The "korn napkin" which Ragna wound round her head when Earl Rognvaldr mocked her head-dress.  
"A stack of oats."

KUFL. 80<sup>17</sup>.

A spear with a fiatta or cord attached used in sea-fights. Ident. with kapa.

KUFLMAÐR. 220n - 221n.

The "Cowl-man" with whom Rognvaldr Kali went fishing in Shetland.

KYRTILL. 82<sup>7</sup>, 118<sup>7</sup>, 218<sup>13</sup>, 304<sup>11</sup>, 324<sup>2</sup>.

"A kirtle" or tunic. A red kirtle was often worn on important occasions. Also in the skirkja-rakki. The name used of Rognvaldr Brusil's son's lapdog (72<sup>13</sup>).

LIM. 237<sup>13</sup>, 240<sup>10</sup>.

The "lime" in the walls of Guthifreyr's castle.

LINBRAEKR. 126<sup>14</sup>, 298<sup>22</sup>.

"Linen breeks."

LINKLAEDI. 78<sup>3</sup>, 104<sup>1</sup>, 126<sup>1b</sup>.

"Linen shirt." In plur. probably linen shirt and trousers, or perhaps "underclothing."

LOÐKÁPA. 276<sup>23</sup>.

"A fur cloak", worn by Sveinn Asleif's son.

LÚÐR. 201<sup>13</sup>.

"A trumpet." (See A.118).

MERKI.

A battle standard, made by Sigurthr the Stout's mother in the form of a raven spreading its wings for flight (20<sup>26</sup>). A raven banner or standard was also carried at the battle of Clontarf (23<sup>10</sup>), and Karl Hundi's son had a standard at Tarbatness (50<sup>8</sup>).

MOTULL. 126<sup>14</sup>.

"A cloak."

NEFBJORG. 102<sup>11</sup>.

The "nose-shield" on a helmet.

SILKIDÚKR. 205<sup>7</sup>.

The "silken napkin" which Ragna wound round her head when Earl Rognvaldr mocked her head-dress.

SKEPTIFLÉTTA. 163<sup>1</sup>.

A spear with a flétta or cord attached used in seafights. Oliver the Unruly hurled one at Earl Paul in the battle of Tankerness.

SKIÐ. 139<sup>16</sup>.

"Ski."

SKIKKJA. 304<sup>12</sup>.

A sleeveless cloak.

Also in the term skikkja-rakki, the name used of Rognvaldr Brusi's son's lapdog (78<sup>13</sup>).

SKINFELDR. 218<sup>11</sup>.

The "skin-cloak" which Earl Rognvaldr had to wring out when shipwrecked in Gulberwick.

SKJQLDR. Passim.

"A shield."

SKÓR. 298<sup>23</sup>.

"A shoe."

SKRUÐ. 318<sup>10</sup>.

1. A ship's shrouds.

2. A kind of cloth, as here, where the term is used of the stuff stolen by Sveinn Asleif's son.

SKYRTA/

SKYRTA. 126<sup>13</sup>, 298<sup>22</sup>.

"A shirt."

SPARÐA. 31<sup>6</sup>

A kind of pole-axe. Occurs as spart or spert in medieval lists of armour; (see Hist. Comm. Report, 1877, I, 491).

SPJÓT. 291<sup>3</sup>, 299<sup>23</sup>.

A spear, for both throw and thrust.

SPJÓTSKAPT. 291<sup>3</sup>.

"A spear-shaft." DICES.

STÍGREIP. 311<sup>5</sup>.

"A stirrup."

SVERÐ. 50<sup>2</sup>, 171<sup>3</sup>.

"Sword."

A. Chronological Tables.

TAFL. 139<sup>12</sup> Listing of Events by the Compiler of G.S.

C. "Tables," "draughts."

B. Omissions in the Gokneyinga Saga.

TENNINGR. 138<sup>10</sup>.

E. MS. 3250: Orthography, Dialect, and Date.

"A dice."

F. Snorri's Use of G.S. in Heimskringla.

TJALD. 222<sup>12</sup> Comparative Table of Chapter Numbers in Vigfusson's and Nerdal's Texts.

"Tapestry."

ULL-LAUPR. 20<sup>23</sup>.

"A wool-basket."

OLKER. 169<sup>6</sup>.

"An ale-cask."

QR. 102<sup>11</sup>.

"Arrow."

QX. 227<sup>17</sup>, 248<sup>21</sup>.

"Axe." The "broad-axe" or breiðox occurs in 246<sup>15</sup> and 303<sup>12</sup>; and the lighter handox in 228<sup>7,17</sup>.

APPENDIX A

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES

(See Note on Chronology in Introduction to Present Translation)

1. THE ORKNEY TABLES

APPENDICES

1874 - (820x893)	Sigurth the Mighty, brother of Rogvaldr of Mren.
890 x 893	Guthorm Sigurth's son (One winter).
891 x 894	Hallathe, son of Rogvaldr of Mren (? One winter).
(891x894) - 894	Turf-Sinarr, son of Rogvaldr of Mren.
894 - (894x897)	Erlendr, Turf-Sinarr's son.
(850x854)	Thorfinn, son of Turf-Sinarr.
	A. Chronological Tables.
	B. Dating of Events by the Compiler of <u>O.S.</u>
	C. References to Oral Tradition.
	D. Omissions in the <u>Orkneyinga Saga</u> .
875 - 89	E. MS.325b: Orthography, Dialect, and Date.
	F. Snorri's Use of <u>O.S.</u> in <u>Heimskringla</u> .
1891 - 1014	G. Comparative Table of Chapter Numbers in Vigfusson's and Nordal's Texts.
1014 - 1014	Sunnlaithi Sigurth's son.
1014 - 1020	Hinnar Wry-mouth, Sigurth's son.
1014 - (1080x1088)	Brusi Sigurth's son.
1014x - 11085	Thorfinn the Mighty, Sigurth's son.
(1087x1088) - 1048	Rogvaldr Brusi's son.
11065 - 1099	Paul Thorfinn's son.
11065 - 1099	Erlendr Thorfinn's son.
(1104x1105) - 1123	Hakon Paul's son.
(1108x1112) - 1117	Ragnus Erlend's son (St. Magnus).
c.1123 - 1128	Rarald the Smooth-tongue, Ragnus's son.
c.1123 - 1124	Paul the Speechless, Ragnus's son.
1128 - 1128	Rogvaldr Kall, son of Paul of Apple.
1128/	

1138 - 1206	Haraldr Maddadh's son.
(1151x1153) - 1154	Erlendr, son of Haraldr Smooth-tongue.
1206 - 1214	David, son of Haraldr Maddadh's son.
1206 - 1251	John, son of Haraldr Maddadh's son.

APPENDIX A.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.

(See Note on Chronology in Introd.: Present Translation).

839 - 860	Halfdan the Black.
860 - 933	Haraldr Fair-hair.
7934 - (950x954)	1. <u>THE ORKNEY EARLS.</u>
7936 - 961	Hakon the Good.
?874 - (890x893)	Sigurthr the Mighty, brother of Rognvaldr of Møren.
890 x 893 0	Guthormr Sigurth's son (One winter).
891 x 894 0	Hallathr, son of Rognvaldr of Møren (? One winter).
(891x894) 0 - x946	Turf-Einarr, son of Rognvaldr of Møren.
x946 - (950x954)	Arnkell and Erlendr, Turf-Einar's sons.
(950x954) 0 - 976.	Thorfinnr Skull-splitter, son of Turf-Einarr.
1033 - 1103	( 1. Arnfinnr Thorfinn's son.
( 1103 - 1130	( 2. Havarthr Harvest-Happy, Thorfinn's son.
{ 976 - 991	( 3. Ljotr Thorfinn's son.
{ 1103 - 1183	( 4. Hlothver Thorfinn's son.
{ 1183 - 1115	
( x991 - 1014	Sigurthr the Stout, Hlothver's son.
( 1014 - x1018	Sumarlithi Sigurth's son.
1014 - 1020	Einarr Wry-mouth, Sigurth's son.
1014 - (1030x1035)	Brusi Sigurth's son.
1014x - ?1065	Thorfinnr the Mighty, Sigurth's son.
(1037x1038) - 1046	Rognvaldr Brusi's son.
?1065 - x1099	Paul Thorfinn's son.
?1065 - x1099	3. <u>THE</u> Erlendr Thorfinn's son.
(1104x1105) - c.1123	Hakon Paul's son.
(1106x?1112) - ?1117	Magnus Erlend's son (St. Magnus).
c.1123 - ?1128	Haraldr Smooth-tongue, Hakon's son.
c.1123 - 1136	Paul the Speechless, Hakon's son.
1136 - 1158	Rognvaldr Kali, son of Kolr of Agder.
1138/	

1138 - 1206	Haraldr Maddadh's son.
(1151x1153) - 1154	Erlendr, son of Haraldr Smooth-tongue.
1206 - 1214	David, son of Haraldr Maddadh's son.
1206 - 1231	John, son of Haraldr Maddadh's son.

## 2. THE KINGS of NORWAY.

839 - 860	Halfdan the Black.
860 - 933	Haraldr Fair-hair.
?934 - (950x954)	Eir <del>ikr</del> kr Bloody-axe.
?936 - 961	Hakon the Good.
961 - 963	Sons of Eir <del>ikr</del> kr Bloody-Axe.
995 - 1000	Olafr Tryggvi's son.
1015 - 1030	Saint Olafr ( <u>Olafr helgi</u> ).
1035 - 1047	Magnus the Good.
1047 - 1066	Haraldr the Tyrant ( <u>harðráði</u> ).
1067 - 1093	Olafr the Silent ( <u>kyrri</u> ).
1093 - 1103	Magnus Bare-legs.
( 1103 - 1130	Sigurthr the Crusader ( <u>Jórsalafari</u> )
( 1103 - 1123	Eysteinn.
( 1103 - 1115	Olafr.
( 1130 - 1135	Magnus the Blind.
( 1130 - 1136	Haraldr Gilli.
1136 - 1157	Sigurthr, Ingi, and Eysteinn.
1157 - 1161	Hakon Broad-shoulders.
1161 - 1184	Magnus Erling's son.
1184 - 1202.	Sverrir.

## 3. THE/

NOT RECORDED  
 In the present  
 edition's edition  
 Ed. Ork. 1102

APPENDIX 3  
3. THE KINGS of SCOTLAND.

(From A.O.A.: E.S.S.H. I. cxiii).

DATING of EVENTS by

843 - 858	(See Intro)	Kenneth, son of Alpin.	
858 - 862		Donald, son of Alpin.	
862 - 877		Constantine, son of Kenneth.	
877 - 878		Aed, son of Kenneth.	
878 - 889		Eochaid, son of Run.	
889 - 900		Donald, son of Constantine.	
900 - 943		Constantine, son of Aed.	
943 - 954		Malcolm, son of Donald.	
954 - 962		Indulf, son of Constantine.	
962 - 966	(Text)	Dub, son of Malcolm.	
966 - 971		Culen, son of Indulf.	
971 - 995	"When Kenneth, son of Malcolm.		995
995 - 997	Constantine, son of Culen.		
997 - 1005	Kenneth, son of Dub.		
1005 - 1034	Malcolm II, son of Kenneth.		1005
1034 - 1040	Duncan I, son of Crinan.		1040
1040 - 1057	Macbeth, son of Finnlaech.		
1057-1058	Lulach, son of Gillacomgain.		1057
1058 - 1093	Malcolm III (Canmore), son of Duncan I.		
1093 - 1094	Donald Bán, son of Duncan I.		1093-1094
1094, May-Novr.	Duncan II, son of Malcolm III.		
1094 - 1097	Donald Bán.		
1097 - 1107	Edgar, son of Malcolm III.		1097
1107 - 1124	Alexander I, son of Malcolm III.		
1124 - 1153	David I, son of Malcolm III.		
1153 - 1165	Malcolm IV, grandson of David I.		1165
1165 - 1214	William the Lion, grandson of David I.		

NOTE REGARDING GENEALOGIES: No genealogical tables are included in the present work. Very full tables will be found in Vigfusson's edition of O.S., xlii-lii, and in Mr J.S.Clouston's Hist. Orkn. 382-388.

"This was in the latter days of his reign." 1214.  
(Hakon)

DATING of EVENTS by the COMPILER of O.S.

(See INTRODUCTION, p. 28).

38.	99 <sup>14</sup>	Thorir of Skarphedin	1094x
43.	105 <sup>14</sup>	A year or two after the death of King Magnus, Hakon Paul's son was crowned King of the West.	1104x5.
35.	214 <sup>14</sup>	"At that time King Magnus ruled in Norway and made a visit to King Harthaknutr."	1148.

<u>Chap.</u>	<u>P. (S.N. Text)</u>		<u>Date.</u>
8.	14 <sup>16-18</sup>	"When Haraldr Fair-hair died, Eirikr Bloody-axe was king for two years. At that time Hakon Athelstan's foster-son came from England, while Eirikr fled the country."	936
12.	23 <sup>2</sup>	The battle of Clontarf is dated "five years after the battle of Svoldr," i.e. 1005. It took place, however, in 1014.	1005 for 1014.
19.	42 <sup>12</sup>	"This (Thorfinn's getting two "thirds" of the Orkneys) happened when Knutr got the realm in Norway and Olafr was in exile."	1029.
24.	63 <sup>12</sup>	"At that time Harthaknutr ruled over England and Denmark. (Thorfinnr and Rognvaldr Brusi's son go a-warring in England).	1040-42
25.	65 <sup>11</sup>	"At that time Kalfr Arni's son was banished by King Magnus." (The renewal of strife between Thorfinnr and Rognvaldr is described as being some time after this (1036x) and probably took place 1042x1046).	1036x
30.	83 <sup>16</sup>	"That summer King Magnus caught that illness of which he died." (This follows immediately upon the account of how Thorfinnr made his peace with the King for the slaying of Rognvaldr Brusi's son).	1047.
32.	86 <sup>27</sup>	"He (Earl Thorfinnr) died in the latter days of Haraldr Sigurth's son."	1065.
35.	93 <sup>7</sup>	"This was in the latter days of his reign." (Hakon/	1093.



A P P E N D I X C.

REFERENCES to ORAL TRADITION.

(See INTRODUCTION, p. 53).

Note. It is difficult to say whether a phrase like Nu er at segja: "Now it must be told," is or is not a definite reference to some oral tradition; but such phrases are given the benefit of the doubt and are here included. It may be noted that they occur most often where, on other grounds, we can deduce a close adherence to oral tradition.

<u>Chap.</u>	<u>P. (S.N. text).</u>	
40.	118 <sup>13</sup>	<u>Saga of Turf-Einar.</u>
		None.
52.	119 <sup>2a</sup>	<u>Linking chapter (ch.8).</u>
8.	16 <sup>7</sup>	"And he (Thorfinnr Skull-splitter) was remembered as a mighty man."  <u>Paettir of sons of Thorfinnr Skull-splitter.</u>  None.  <u>First Þáttir of Thorfinnr.</u>  None.
61.	144 <sup>7</sup>	<u>Second Þáttir of Thorfinnr.</u>
20.	45 <sup>5</sup> , 49 <sup>16</sup> 50 <sup>3</sup> , 50 <sup>10</sup>	"Now it must be told of Karl ... " "So is it said that he (Thorfinnr) stood foremost..!" "But some men say that he (Karl) was killed ....." But Arnorr says as follows ....."
21.	53 <sup>15</sup>	"Now it must be told of Rognvaldr Brusi's son ..."
27.	72 <sup>24</sup>	"Now it must be told of Earl Thorfinnr ....."
29.	78 <sup>15</sup>	"But some men say that Thorkell Fosterer slew him (Rognvaldr) because there were no other men dared do it."  Linking/

Chap.	P.(S.N.text)	
		<u>Linking chapter (ch.32).</u>
32.	86 <sup>16</sup>	"It is truly said that he (Thorfinnr) <u>has</u> been the most powerful of all the Orkney Earls."
		<u>Linking chapter (ch.34).</u>
34.	91 <sup>1</sup>	"Men say they had but one life between them (Haraldr Sigurth's son and his daughter Maria).
		<u>Paettir of Hakon Paul's son.</u>
		None.
		<u>Saga of Magnus.</u>
48.	114 <sup>10</sup>	"Now it must be told of Earl Hakon ..."
49.	117 <sup>"</sup>	"So says Holdbothi, a trustworthy bondi from the Hebrides, concerning their conversation."
50.	118 <sup>18</sup>	"Some men say that he took the sacrament and that then a mass was sung for him."
52.	119 <sup>17m.</sup>	"Wise men say that that spring when they were to have made their peace, Thora, Magnus' mother, had bid them both to a feast."
52.	120 <sup>20</sup>	"It is also said of the men who had been most deep in treachery against St. Magnus the Earl that most of them died wretched and miserable deaths."
		<u>The Miracle-Book.</u>
		None.
		<u>Saga of Rognvaldr Kali.</u>
61.	144 <sup>4</sup>	"It is not mentioned that anything else worthy of note happened on their voyage that summer."
61.	144 <sup>9</sup>	"There were also many other men of his (John's) there, though they are not named."
61.	145 <sup>15</sup>	"Now it must be told that Brynjolfr ..."
61.	149 <sup>12</sup>	"Nothing is told of his (Hallvarth's) wayfaring ..."
64.	159 <sup>14</sup>	"Now it must be told of Frakokk..."
75.	189 <sup>21</sup>	"No more than this is told of the Earl's (Paul's) words."
75.	189 <sup>23</sup>	"And that is Sveinn's account of this incident. But a less seemly story is told by some men, that Margaret/

The presence of certain...  
 tradition. With the...

Chap. P.(S.N.text).

		Margaret had induced Sveinn Asleif's son's men to blind Earl Paul..... But we do not know which is the truer tale. But all men know that he never came back again to the Orkneys, and he had no realm in Scotland."
82.	205 <sup>19</sup>	"It is told that Sveinn heard...."
85.	224 <sup>10</sup>	"The following of lesser note, so far as they are named, went with him."
85.	227 <sup>6</sup>	"Of Eindrithi it must be told...."
86.	231 <sup>1</sup>	"... and five others who are not named who were friends of Eindrithi."
86.	231 <sup>14</sup>	"Nothing is told of their voyage until they came to the seaport town called Narbonne."
87.	245 <sup>11</sup>	"Nothing is told of the voyage of the Earl and his men until they came south along the coast of Barbary..."
88.	250-1	The story of how Rognvaldr Kali made a verse to establish and preserve a true account of the capture of the dromond.
88.	257 <sup>20</sup>	"Nothing is told of their voyage until they came North to <u>Engilsnes</u> ."
91.	262 <sup>13</sup>	"Now it must be told what was happening in the Orkneys..."
91.	263 <sup>18</sup>	"And there were very diverse stories told of his (Eysteinn's) expedition."
93.	273 <sup>8m.</sup>	"... one was called Ketill, but the other is not named."
107.	320 <sup>2</sup>	"Now it must be told what went on in the town (Dublin)."
108.	321 <sup>8</sup>	"Now is Sveinn's story ended. And it is the judgment of men that he <u>has been</u> the biggest man in every way in the British Isles, both in days present and days past, among men who had no higher title of honour than he."
		<u>The additional chapters (ch.109-112).</u>
109.	324 <sup>14</sup>	"The Caithness men say that he (Lifolfr) broke three times through the ranks of Earl Haraldr the Elder."
112.	327 <sup>4</sup>	"Now the story turns to the stewards."
112.	327 <sup>25</sup>	"... it is said that he (Haraldr Maddadh's son) raised 6000 men."

The presence of skaldic verses also implies a reference to oral tradition. With the exception of the Norwegians Turf-Einarr,

Haraldr the Tyrant, Magnus Bare-legs and Rognvaldr Kali, they were all Icelanders. Other ~~Icelanders~~ named in the Saga as being present at important events, and therefore probably the original authorities for the facts given, are as follows:

Hallvarthr, "an Icelander from the Eastern Fjords", present at the slaying of Earl Einarr in Deerness in 1020 (ch.16)

Holdbothi, not an Icelander but "a trustworthy bondi from the Hebrides", accompanied Saint Magnus on his last voyage to Egilsay, ?1117. (ch.49).

Thorkell Asgrim's son of Byskupstungur gave Rognvaldr Kali a passage from Norway to Scotland in 1153. (ch.90).

Thorgeirr, of unknown nationality, is mentioned as being present when Arni Hrafn's son stuck fast in the doorway of the church in Kirkwall in which he sought sanctuary, 1152. (ch.92).

rela  
events  
ings

In compiling  
A.G. Anderson's Early Sources of  
frequent references.

The saga...  
over the...  
preceded this...  
the 5th century...  
Norse...  
xii, and...  
respectively...  
of Orkney...  
work gives a...

Absence of a full...  
tion to the...  
See note on...

Visit of...  
marries off...  
married Earl...  
cp. also...

In the...  
son stays with...

Return of...  
(ch. 91. 1153. 3. ch. 16)

Visit

A P P E N D I X D.

OMISSIONS IN THE ORKNEYINGA SAGA.

(See INTRODUCTION, pp. 139)

The following list of events and references to events relating to the Orkneys does not pretend to completeness; for many events described in O.N., Scot., Engl., and Ir. sources have bearings of an indirect nature on Orkney history.

In estimating the importance of the compiler's omissions, account must be taken of the fact that he was not writing a history of Orkney, but of the Orkney Earldom.

In compiling the following list, I am most indebted to A.O.Anderson's Early Sources of Scottish History, to which I give frequent references.

x?874 The Saga describes the beginnings of political suzerainty over the Orkneys (ch.4) but not of the settlements which must have preceded this, beginning, according to recent research, early in the 8th century. (See A.W.Brøgger: Ancient Emigrants and Den Norske Bosetningen på Shetland-Orknøyene; H.Marwick: Orkn. Norn, xii, and articles on Sanday and Stronsay in P.O.A.S. I and V respectively; and J.Storer Clouston: A Fresh View of the Settlement of Orkney in P.O.A.S. ix, and Hist. Orkn. ch.I and II. The last work gives a convenient summary of all the evidence).

x874 Absence of a full account of Haraldr Fair-hair's expedition to the West such as we find in Hkr. (Har. Harf.S. ch.22) See note on ch.4.

39x900 Visit of Authr the Deep-minded to the Orkneys where she marries off Groa her grand-daughter, whose daughter Greloth married Earl Thorfinnr Skull-Splitter. (Laxd.S. ch.4; Ldn. 36<sup>32</sup>; cp. also Hkr., Ol. Helg. S. ch.96).

[In the fictitious Kjalnesinga Saga, ch.12, Bui Andrithi's son stays with Turf-Einarr for one winter].

c976. Return of the sons of Eirikr Bloody-axe to the Orkneys (Hkr., Ol. Trygg. S. ch.16)

Visit/

976x990. Visit of Kari, and of Helgi and Grímr, sons of Njáll, to the Orkneys. Kari becomes one of Sigurðr the Stout's Body-guard and fights at Dungalsgnipa (perhaps to be identified with Skíðamyrr in O.S.) with the Scots Earls Hundi and Melsnati. (Nj.S. ch.83-86, 89-90; in E.S.S.H. I. 495-500, 502-503).

999x and 1008x1012 Two visits of Gunnlaugr Serpent's-tongue to Sigurðr the Stout, on the second occasion accompanied by Hallfróðr Troublesome-skald. (Gunnlaugr and Sig. plunder together in the Hebrides (Gunnl.S. ch.11,20).

x1014. Thoroddr, an Icelandic merchant returning from Dublin, sells his small boat to agents of Sigurðr the Stout to enable them to return with the revenues from Man. (Eyrb. S. ch.29; in E.S.S.H. I. 528).

1012-1014. Visit of Thorsteinn, son of Hallr of Sida to Sigurðr the Stout, whose fore-castle-man he becomes in 1013. (Thorst. Siðu-Halls S. 215-216; in E.S.S.H. I.529).

x1012. Bjorn, a Norwegian, and Thorkell Krafla, a relative of Sigurðr the Stout, plunder with Sigurðr in Scotland. (Vatzd.S. ch.43).

[To the reign of Sigurðr also is given the fabulous tale of Helgi and Ulfr and the everlasting battle (In Rolls 88. I. 342-346)]

1010-1014. Absence of such an account of the battle of Clontarf and the events that led up to it as we find in Nj.S.ch.157 (in E.S.S.H. I.534-541).

1075x1087 A punitive expedition in Wales by Paul and Erlendr. (See B. Dickins: An Orkney Raid in Wales, in P.O.A.S. VIII. 47-48).

1098 and 1103. Telescoping occurs here of events in the two expeditions of Magnus Bare-legs. Cp. fuller accounts in Esk. and Mork; and see study of sources of ch.39-43.

1100-?1117 Legends of unascertainable reliability surviving in the Longer and Shorter Magnus Sagas and in the common stock of medieval lore regarding the chief saints in the calendar. Mr John Mooney is at present engaged on a biography of St. Magnus - an attempt to winnow the wheat from the chaff.

1110-1125 A controversy over the appointment of Ralph Nowel as Bishop of the Orkneys by Thomas, Archbishop of York, 1109-1114, when William the Old (mentioned repeatedly in O.S.) appears to have/

have been already consecrated - probably by the Archbishop of Hamburg - in ?1102. The controversy was an acute one; see Dowden: Bishops of Scotl. 252-254, and - for the papal correspondence on the matter - S.A.E.C. 164-165.

1123x1135 Earl Paul's friendship with Henry I of England. This is ~~merely~~ referred to by William of Malmesbury, and is worth quoting in full:-

Paulus Orcadum comes, quamvis Noricorum regi hereditario jure subjectus, ita regis amicitias suspiciebat ut crebra ei minuscula missitaret: nam et illa prona voluptate exterarum terrarum miracula inhiabat: "Paul, Earl of the Orkneys, although subject by hereditary right to the king of the Norwegians, so regarded King [Henry I's] esteem that he sent him frequent presents; for [Henry] took ready delight in receiving the wonders of foreign lands ...." and here follows an account of his menagerie at Woodstock (W. of M.: Gesta Regum Anglorum, 485).

?1151. A very brief account is given of King Eysteinn's expedition to the West (O.S. ch.91). A much fuller account is found in Hkr. (Ingi's S. ch.20), describing the raids made on Aberdeen, Hartlepool, Whitby, and an unidentified place Langatún. The brevity of the O.S. account may be due to the fact that "very diverse tales are told of this expedition" (O.S. 263<sup>8</sup>), but more probably because further detail was not relevant to the narrative.

?1154. Visit of Godfrey Olaf's son, King of Man, to the Orkneys on his return home from Norway (Chron. Reg. Man. I. 62-66; not an event of much importance).

1154-1164. The feud between Godfrey and Sumarlithi of Argyll (Chron. Reg. Man. I. 68 ff) culminating in Godfrey becoming King of the Hebrides in 1160, and followed by the death of Sumarlithi at Renfrew in 1164 (See E.S.S.H. II. 254). These events must have had political repercussions in the Orkneys, where some of the chief families (like that of Sveinn) had territorial claims in the Western Isles. But the Sumarlithi in O.S. ch. 100, 101 is not the great Sumarlithi of Argyll; see my note in P.O.A.S. XI, 46.

1168. Visit of Sverrir to the Orkneys, apparently during his residence in the Faeroes (1156-1176) for it is given in the Icel. Annals under 1168 (E.S.S.H. II. 266).

1170. A raid by Orkneymen on Inislachain, now Inislaughlin, on the borders of Antrim and Down (Annals of Ulster, II. 166; in E.S.S.H. II. 271).

1171. "Askel Thorkel's son, the King of Dublin, and Eoan from the Orkney Islands were killed by the same foreigners" (i.e. the English under Raymond Gerald's son) (Annals of Ulster, II. 166-168; in E.S.S.H. II. 272).

The Additional Chapters (ch.109-112).

These chapters are so confused chronologically and, in part, so sketchy, that a mere recital of omissions would fill several pages. But several of the more important are here appended.

- 1194-1195. The disastrous expedition of the "Island-Beardies" against King Sverrir, and the diplomatic mission in the following year of Bishop Bjarni and Earl Haraldr (Sv. S. ch. 118-120, 124-125; merely mentioned in O.S. ch.112).
- 1198-1202. The war between Earl Haraldr Maddadh's son and William the Lion. A fuller narrative, not easily reconcilable with that in O.S., occurs in Roger de Hoveden's Chronica, iv. 10-12 (in S.A.E.C. 316 ff.). The complicated story is discussed by P.A.Munch in N.F.H. III, 41, and by J. Storer Clouston in Hist. Orkn. ch.XII. To the account by Roger de Hoveden must be added a reference to a battle between William the Lion and Roderic and Thorfinnr, sons of Haraldr, in Moray, ~~in~~ in Chron. Mailros, 103 (in E.S.S.H. II. 347).
1202. Visit of Earl Haraldr Maddadh's son to King John in England (Lawrie: Ann. of Malc. and Wm. 341).
1206. Negotiations between Saemundr, son of John Lopt's son of Oddi in Iceland, with Haraldr Maddadh's son with a view to his marriage to the latter's daughter Langlif (referred to in O.S. 321<sup>24</sup>); which negotiations fell through because Saemundr would not come to the Orkneys, nor would Haraldr send his daughter to Iceland (Sturl. S. I. 212).
- 1202-1210. Submission of Haraldr Maddadh's son and later his sons John and David to King Ingi of Norway; referred to in Ingi Bard's son's Saga (in Fms. IX. 192-194).

(ii) Consonants:

t repr. by t normally; by þ in three endings; by tt once.

kk repr. by k normally; by ke once.

d repr. by d normally; by dd once; omitted twice.

A P P E N D I X E.MS.325b: ORTHOGRAPHY, DIALECT, and DATE.

This MS. is used by Nordal as his text in O.S. 51 - 61 . It is a single page - a mere fragment - but is probably the earliest extant MS. of the Saga, and for this reason the following special study of its orthography, dialect and date has been made.

ORTHOGRAPHY.A. General Peculiarities.

- c for k, in oc and in the combination ck (for kk).
- i for j.
- z in middle-passive for earlier -sk and later -zst and -zt.
- z for ds, for s medially, for s finally after nn, for st in superl. adjs.

B. Sporadic Peculiarities.(i) Vowels:

- i beside e in weak syllables.
- u beside o in weak syllables.
- q represented by ð, o, and au.
- o repr. by o and ð.
- æ repr. by ø (see S.N. XXXIII); and by ð (see S.N. ib.)
- e before ng repr. by e and ei.
- ey repr. by ey and æy.
- ei repr. by ei and æi.
- ę repr. by e and æ.
- e before m in frendsemi (60<sup>3</sup>) repr. by y in frendsymi (59<sup>1</sup>).
- i omitted (once) in Suðreynga (59<sup>1</sup>).

(ii) Consonants:

- t repr. by t normally; by ð in three endings; by tt once.
- kk repr. by ck normally; by kc once.
- d repr. by d normally; by dd once; omitted twice.

(iv) There

k repr. by k normally; by c before k; by g finally once.

þ repr. by þ normally; by ð once.

ð repr. by ð normally; by þ in 16 cases.

nn repr. by nn normally; by n in 12 cases.

ll repr. normally by ll before d or t; by l in 4 cases.

hl repr. by hl normally; by l in 3 cases.

v occurs by analogy once, in vorðit (56<sup>10</sup>).

C. Inconsistencies in the spelling of proper names. This is a very noticeable feature in the orthography.

Aldegioborg (55<sup>6</sup>); Aldeigioborgar (57<sup>7</sup>); Aldeyioborg (56<sup>8</sup>)

Holmgarði normally; Holmgarpi (55<sup>8</sup>)

Knytlingum (56<sup>3</sup>); Knyttlinga (56<sup>4</sup>).

Sviþioð normally; Sviðsioðar (54<sup>2</sup>).

Þorfinnr normally; Þorfinr in three cases.

D. Inconsistencies in spelling lying close together.

<u>i gegnum</u>	<u>i gðgnum</u>	(53 <sup>4,11</sup> )
<u>orrostu</u>	<u>orrostu</u>	(53 <sup>16,18</sup> )
<u>auðr-om</u>	<u>flottamaun-um</u>	(53 <sup>18,19</sup> )
<u>Hðlmgarði</u>	<u>Hðlmgarpi</u>	(55 <sup>2,8</sup> )
<u>aðr</u>	<u>abr</u>	(55 <sup>4,12</sup> )
<u>Magnuse</u>	<u>Magnusi</u>	(57 <sup>4,5</sup> )
<u>beiddiz</u>	<u>beidiz</u>	(59 <sup>3,6</sup> )
<u>hafðe</u>	<u>hafði</u>	(59 <sup>2,4,6</sup> )

And a number of others.

General Conclusions:

(i) The scribe is normally carefully in his orthography; a fact that is support to the assumption - which Nordal (O.S. XXXI) makes on grounds of handwriting - that the M.S. is the work of a professional scribe.

(ii) The scribe is careless to the point of obvious inconsistency in:

(a) e and i, o and u in weak sylls.

(b) placing of accents.

(c) double and single consonants.

(d) unfamiliar proper names.

(e) the vowels o, o, and au.

(iii) The scribe is slightly careless in the use of ð, þ, and t.

(iv) There are a dozen mere slips of the pen.

DIALECT.

A. O. Icel. elements.

1. Positive evidence.

(i) Orthography:

Relative fondness for  $\beta$  in place of  $\delta$ ;  $\beta$  is used normally except in one case, when it is repr. by  $\delta$  (Sviðioðar, 54<sup>3</sup>); but there are 16 cases of  $\delta$  being repr. by  $\beta$ .

(ii) Phonology:

$i > e$  in weak syllables (A.N. §145.2) is not confined to syllables after a, á, é, o, ó, ø, ø, ø, æ.

I.e.  $i > e$  after these vowels - 28 cases.

$i > e$  after other vowels - 21 cases.

$u > o$  in weak syllables (A.N. ib.) is not confined to syllables after these same vowels.

úr repr. by or (53<sup>8</sup>)

$e > ei$  before ng (A.N. §102); six cases.

E.g. beingil (52); feingit (58<sup>8</sup>)  
There is one exception: fengi (60<sup>8</sup>).

$ey$  in leyste (57<sup>8</sup>) for O.Norw.  $\phi y$  (A.N. §99).

$e (= e)$  for O.Norw.  $\phi$  (A.N. §117); e.g. kerleikum (58<sup>6</sup>)

Normal use of hr-, hl-; 3 exceptional cases of l- (A.N. §289). See O.Norw. elements.

Retention of -r in proper names after  $\delta$ ; lost in O.Norw. before 1200 (A.N. §301).

(iii) Accidence:

við (54<sup>6</sup>), not O.Norw. viðr.

2. Negative evidence.

(i) Orthography:

Absence of gh for spirant g.

(ii) Phonology:

Absence of front mutation of ou as  $\phi y$  or  $\phi ey$

Absence of assimilation of rl as ll.

Absence of i for y.

B. O. Norw. elements.

1. Positive evidence.

(i) Orthography:

$\phi ey$  for ey; ræyr (52<sup>10</sup>) for O.Icel. reyr.

æi for ei; mæin (52<sup>'3</sup>) for O.Icel. meim.

Both are isolated cases.

(ii) Phonology:

æ for orig. e, repr. in O.Icel by e. (A.N. §117)  
I.e. hværr (54<sup>"</sup>); frændi (60<sup>"</sup>). But again these  
are isolated cases; cp. hvervetna (52<sup>3</sup>) and  
hvert (52<sup>"</sup>); frendsemi (60<sup>"3</sup>).

Absence of u-mutation of a by retained u (A.N.  
§77.2; 80.3)

I.e. baðum (60<sup>3</sup>, 60<sup>4</sup>) for O.Icel. boðum.  
But again an isolated case; cp. iorlum (53<sup>6</sup>),  
honum (56<sup>6</sup>).

Labial mutation of i to y, found sporadically  
in O.Norw. prob. just after 1300 (A.N. §85).

I.e. frendsymsi (60<sup>'</sup>) for O.Icel. -simi,  
earlier -semi.

But an isolated case; cp. frendsemi (60<sup>"3</sup>).

hefði for hafði in 2 cases (60<sup>6</sup>, 60<sup>"7</sup>) (A.N. §52On2).

l- for hl- in 3 exceptional cases; (A.N. §289).  
I.e. luti (59<sup>7</sup>, 60<sup>"4</sup>); lutom (60<sup>6</sup>).

c. Other elements.

There are no other forms that can be localised. And  
in particular it may be noted that there are no  
forms peculiar to any S.W. Norw. dialect, such as  
that of Orkney or Shetland.

General conclusions.

- (i) The dialect is Old Icelandic, the MS. being clearly  
of Icelandic origin.
- (ii) The eleven isolated O.Norw. forms are probably mere  
scribal mis-spellings, of which - as has been  
shown - there are not a few in the MS.

DATE.

The language is in the main the Classical Old Icelandic  
of the period 1150-1350. The following evidence enables us  
to set narrower limits.

A. Anterior limits.

i > e > i in weak syllables (A.N. §145.1)

e occurs in 49 cases.

i occurs in 158 cases.

Therefore after c.1250.

But erratic orthography may explain the variations, for  
single words are spelled in both ways; e.g. hafði, atti,  
veitti, Magnusi.

u > o > u in weak syllables (A.N. §146.1.)

o occurs in 27 cases.

u occurs in 138 cases.

Therefore after c.1225.

But further,

o in closed syllables became u by c.1225;  
o " open " " " " c.1300.

And in MS. 325b,

u in closed syllables occurs in 91% of possible cases;  
u " open " " " 61% " " "

Therefore prob. nearer to 1300 than to 1225.

l > ll before d and t, except in 4 cases (A.N. §260)

Therefore after c.1200.

But possibly erratic orthography; the change was a sporadic one.

-z used throughout for earlier -sk in middle-passive (A.N. §554); 25 cases in all.

Therefore after c.1200.

Marking of long vowels in a few cases - 12 in all.

Therefore after c.1200.

#### B. Posterior limits.

e > ei before ng (A.N. §102); 6 cases; one exception, fengi (60<sup>18</sup>)  
Therefore before c.1300.

u > o > u in weak syllables (A.N. §146.1.); presence of o in 39% of possible cases.

Therefore before c.1300.

-ok > -og (A.N. §248); i.e. hvernog (55<sup>8</sup>)

Therefore before c.1300.

-at > -að in verbs (A.N. §248; 531.4)

-at occurs normally - in 12 cases;

-að occurs in 2 cases; ritað (54<sup>4</sup>), iatað (60<sup>6</sup>).

Therefore before c.1300.

It may be noted that the change was beginning may be seen from the mistake of the scribe with farit (59<sup>9</sup>), which he wrote first farið (new spelling); then he added -it (old spelling); so that the MS. reads fariðit (See S.N. XXXII).

Absence of diphthongisation of e to ie (A.N. §103)

E.g. mer (59<sup>2</sup>)

Therefore before c. 1300.

#### General conclusions.

From the above evidence it can be fairly safely concluded the MS. 325b was written between 1250 and 1300 - probably about the middle of that period.

1. Ísl. Málfr. Sögur, ch. 22, 24, 27, 30-32; from O.S. ch. 2-4.

2. Ísl. Málfr. Sögur, ch. 3-5; 10; from O.S. ch. 5.

3. Ól. Málfr. Sögur, ch. 12.

4. Ól. Málfr. Sögur, ch. 47; from O.S. ch. 12.

5. Ól. Málfr. Sögur, ch. 55-100; from O.S. ch. 12-18.

6. Ísl. Málfr. Sögur, ch. 11-14; from O.S. ch. 12.

7. Magr. Þarf. Saga, ch. 22, 24, 27, 30-32; from O.S. ch. 4-8.  
 8. Sig. Eyst. Ól. Trygg. Saga, ch. 3-5, 10; from O.S. ch. 8.  
 9. Magr. Bl. Trygg. Saga, ch. 16.  
 10. Ingl-Sig. Saga, ch. 83-98; from O.S. ch. 34.

SNORRI'S USE of O.S. in HEIMSKRINGLA.

In his volume Snorre Sturlassons Historieskrivning, (61-65) Gustav Storm placed considerable emphasis on Snorri's borrowing of material from some early version of the Orkneyinga Saga. It is indeed one of the few sources which Snorri actually mentions in Heimskringla, (see Hkr. 275<sup>32</sup>). Storm, however, contents himself with giving a list of those chapters in Hkr. which seem to borrow from O.S., remarking in passing that there is no reference in Hkr. to Orkney history between 1105 and 1150. F. Jónsson, (Litt. Hist. II. 655), carries the examination of the facts no further than to note that Snorri employs the Saga only where it is of definite use to him, and on fairly certain ground.

In making a study of the sources of O.S. by means of comparing parallel passages in it and in other thirteenth century texts I began to doubt the reality of these borrowings, and this impression was deepened as I proceeded with my collation.

As the conclusions<sup>g</sup> reached are scattered through the chapter on Sources in the Introduction, I summarize them here so that the complete extent of Snorri's debt may be more easily envisaged. The following is the list of the passages in Hkr. referred to by Storm as apparently based wholly or partly on O.S.:

1. Har. Hárf. Saga, ch. 22, 24, 27, 30-32; from O.S. ch. 4-8.
2. Hák. G. Saga, ch. 3-5, 10; from O.S. ch. 8.
3. Ól. Trygg. Saga, ch. 16.
4. Ól. Trygg. Saga, ch. 47; from O.S. ch. 12.
5. Ól. Helg. Saga, ch. 96-103; from O.S. ch. 4-19.
6. Har. Hárd. Saga, ch. 83-98; from O.S. ch. 34.

7. Magn. Berf. Saga, ch.8-11, 23, 25; from O.S. ch.39-43.
8. Sig. Eyst. Ól. Saga, ch.2; from O.S. ch.43.
9. Magn. Blind. Saga, ch.13; from O.S. ch.54.
10. Ingi-Sig. Saga, ch.17, 20; from O.S. ch.85-90.

This passage consists of three sections:-

(i) Ch.90, which appears to be a summary of events in O.S.

ch.4-12. Har. Harf. S. borrows from its foundation to the time of Thorfinnr the Mighty.

1. Har. Harf. S., ch.22, 24, 27, 30-32.

(ii) At first sight apparently based on O.S. ch.4-8 (14<sup>12</sup>)

but on closer study based upon a common original, a lost Saga of Turf-Einarr (referred to in Ldn. <sup>94<sup>r3</sup></sup> ~~iv. 14.2~~) (Introd. 65-66).

2. Hæk. G. S., ch.3-5.

(iii) Ch.103 (Hkr. 274 - 275), which consists of a general

Very similar to O.S. ch.8 (14<sup>12</sup> to end), but if O.S. does not here borrow from Hkr. (as Nordal thought, Aarb. 1913, 45) then the two passages are probably based on a common original, a lost Saga of Eirikr Bloody-Axe. (Introd. 69-70).

3. Ól. Trygg. S., ch.16.

Here we have a reference to a second visit paid by Gunnhildr and her sons to the Orkneys after the death of Earl Thorfinnr Skull-splitter, in the reign of his sons. Although there is no mention of a second visit in O.S., A.O.Anderson (E.S.S.H. I. 48ln) assumes that this reference of Snorri's comes from the earlier version of O.S., and uses it in evidence to prove the existence of two versions of O.S. But his arguments are based on the mistake of assuming that Gunnhildr and her sons made only one visit to the Orkneys; see Introd. 76. Indeed there is no necessity to postulate any special source for Hkr. here other than the lost Saga of Olafr Tryggvi's son which is here Snorri's main source.

4. Ól. Trygg. S., ch.47.

Very similar to O.S. ch.12, but if O.S. does not here borrow/

borrow from Hkr. (as Nordal thought, l.c.) then the two passages are probably based on a common original. (Introd. 72-73).

5. Ól. Helg. S., ch.96-103.

This passage consists of three sections:-

- (i) Ch.96, which appears to be a summary of events in O.S. ch.4-12, the history of the Orkney Earldom from its foundation to the time of Thorfinnr the Mighty.
- (ii) Ch.97-103 (Hkr. 275<sup>35</sup>), which is identical with the first of the three þættir of Earl Thorfinnr which the compiler of O.S. has worked into his narrative as ch.13-19.
- (iii) Ch.103 (Hkr. 275<sup>35</sup> - 276<sup>6</sup>), which consists of a general estimate of Thorfinnr and his reign, identical with the end of the þáttir in O.S. ch.19 as found in Flat. (quoted by S.N. in a note, O.S. 42).

With regard to the above, while the possibility of a common source for sections (ii) and (iii) need not be excluded, it is probable that the whole passage was based by Snorri on an early version of this part of O.S. (Introd. 74-78).

6. Har. Harð. S., ch.83.

This passage has points of contact with O.S. ch.34, but there can be little doubt that both passages (together with parallel passages in Mork. and Fsk.) are based upon a common original, a lost Saga of Haraldr Harðráði. (Introd. 88-89).

7. Magn. Berf. S., ch.8-11, 23, 25.

In O.S. the corresponding chapters are 39-43 describing Magnus Bare-legs' expeditions to the West. The reference in O.S. ch.42 to "what Snorri Sturluson says" cannot safely be used to prove the priority of the Hkr. version, for it is possibly an interpolation (Introd. 118). A careful study of the many versions of the narrative points once again fairly/

fairly certainly to a common original, a lost Saga of Magnus Bare-legs (Introd. 95).

8. Sig.- Eyst.- Ól. S., ch.2.

In this Saga of the sons of Magnus Bare-legs, ch.2, a brief one of five lines, looks very like a direct quotation from O.S. ch.43 (O.S. 108<sup>15-19</sup>). It refers to the visit of Hakon Paul's son to Norway, and his return to the Orkneys, c.1105, with the title of "Earl."

But, as has already been pointed out, ch.39-43 in O.S. are mainly based on the lost Saga of Magnus Bare-legs used also by Snorri. The same reference as found in Hkr. appears in substantially the same form at the beginning of the Hulda version of Sig.- Eyst.- Ól. Saga. As Hkr. and Hulda did not borrow from each other, a common original must be postulated - probably the lost Saga of Magnus Bare-legs referred to above.

9. Magn. Blind. S., ch.13.

This chapter in the Saga of Magnus the Blind (Hkr. 567) conveys a first impression that Snorri is using O.S. ch.54 (O.S. 123-125) for information regarding the doings of Sigurthr Slembidjagn in the Orkneys and Scotland.

The account in Hkr., however, is found in Mork. 202 in a rather fuller form, so that the three versions fairly certainly have a common original - possibly Eiríkr Odd's son's Hryggjars-tykki (Introd. 101-102).

10. Ingi.-Sig. S., ch.17.

This chapter appears to be (from Hkr. 582<sup>26</sup>) a short summary of the long Crusade báttir in O.S. chs.85-90. An almost identical chapter is found, however, in Mork. 223-224. Storm (l.c., 199) argues that Snorri got this chapter from Mork., and made a few alterations in it after collation with O.S. (e.g. Eindriði was given, rightly, "six" ships instead of Mork's "five.")

But/

But the relationship is much less simple, for there is another longer summary of the Páttir in Hulda, Ingi-Sig. S., ch.17, and all versions have peculiarities of their own. A common original must be postulated, possibly the lost Saga of Erlingr Cricknick referred to in O.S. 260<sup>9</sup>. (Introd. 111-113).

### Conclusions.

(1) There is no evidence that Snorri made use of O.S. in any other part of Hkr. besides Ól.Helg.Saga., which was composed separately from the rest of that work. At all points of contact (with the single exception of Ól. Helg. S., ch.96-103 and O.S. ch.4-19), a common source can with varying degrees of certainty be postulated to account for the similarity of fact and phrase.

(2) There is no evidence that Snorri knew any more of O.S. than the earlier part, from the expedition of Haraldr Hárf. to the Orkneys in ?874 to Earl Thorfinn's assumption of two thirds of the Earldom in 1029 (O.S. ch.4-19). There is no evidence of borrowing from the remaining major portion of O.S., the Sagas of Paul and Erlendr, Hakon, Magnus, and Rognvaldr Kali as we now have them.

It would be dangerous to argue that because he does not mention such a picturesque figure as Sveinn Asléif's son and gives an entirely inferior account of the great pilgrimage of Rognvaldr Kali, he had not read the latter part of O.S. Yet this may be the truth. The compilation of O.S. seems to have been the work of one man who built it up of þaettir of the Orkney Earls with linking chapters based on the same lost King's Sagas as Snorri used, --- the compiler himself writing and adding the Saga of Rognvaldr Kali. Snorri may have seen a copy of the earlier part only of this compilation. Possible <sup>explanations of</sup> ~~reasons for~~ this are discussed in Introd. 44-46.

Vigfusson.

Nordal.

APPENDIX G.

COMPARATIVE TABLE of CHAPTER NUMBERS in VIGFUSSON'S  
and NORDAL'S TEXTS.

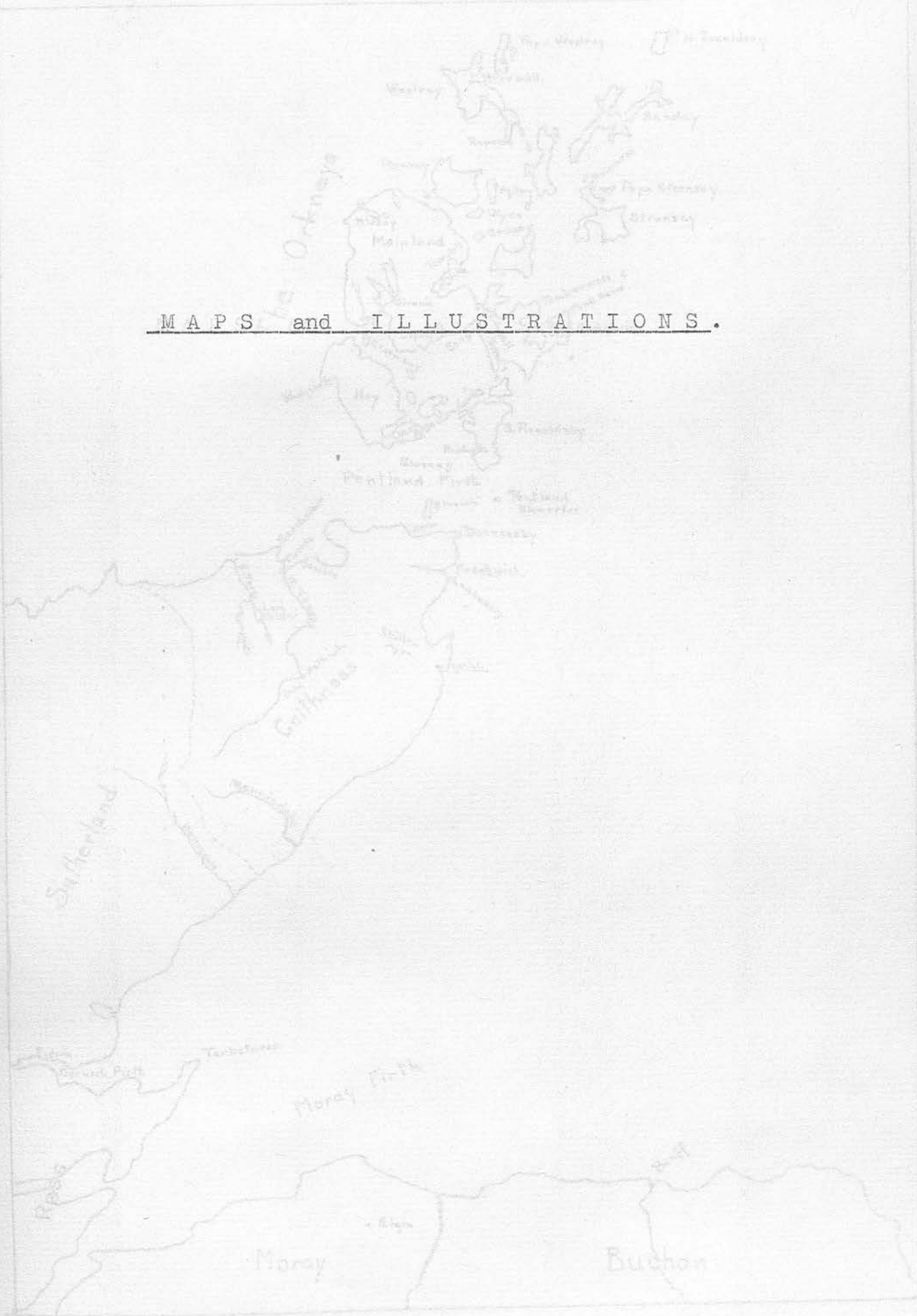
Vigfusson and Dasent.	Nordal and Present Translation.	Vigfusson and Dasent.	Nordal and Present Translation.
1.	1.	46.	43.
2.	2.	47.	44.
3.	3.	48.	45.
4.	4.	49.	46.
5.	5.	50.	47.
6.	6.	51.	48.
7.	7.	52.	49.
8.	8.	53.	50.
9.	9.	54.	51.
10.	10.	55.	52.
11.	11.	56.	53.
12.)	12.	57.	54.
13.)	13.	58.	55.
14.)	14.	59.	56.
15.)	15.	60.	57.
16.)	16.	61.	58.
17.)	17.	62.	59.
18.	18.	63.	60.
19.	19.	64.	61.
20.	20.	65.	62.
21.	21.	66.	63.
22.)	22.	67.	64.
23.)	23.	68.	65.
24.)	24.	69.)	66.
25.)	25.	70.)	67.
26.)	26.	71.	68.
27.)	27.	72.	69.
28.	28.	73.	70.
29.	29.	74.	71.
30.	30.	75.	72.
31.	31.	76.	73.
32.	32.	77.	74.
33.	33.	78.	75.
34.	34.	79.	76.
35.)	35.	80.	77.
36.)	36.	81.	78.
37.	37.	82.	79.
38.	38.	83.	80.
39.	39.	84.	81.
40.	40.	85.	82.
41.	41.	86.	83.
42.	42.	87.	84.
43.	43.	88.)	85.
44.	44.	89.)	86.
45.	45.	90.)	
		91.)	
		92.)	
		93/	

(Additional chapters given separately.)

Vigfusson.Nordal.

93.	87.
94.)	
95.)	88.
96.)	
97.	89.
98.	90.
99.	91.
100.	92.
101.	93.
102.)	
103.)	94.
104.)	
105.	95.
106.	96.
107.	97.
108.	98.
109.	99.
110.	100.
111.	101.
112.	102.
113.	103.)
	104.)
114.	105.
115.	106.
116.	107.
117.	108.
	109.
(Additional chapters	110.
given separately.)	111.
	112.

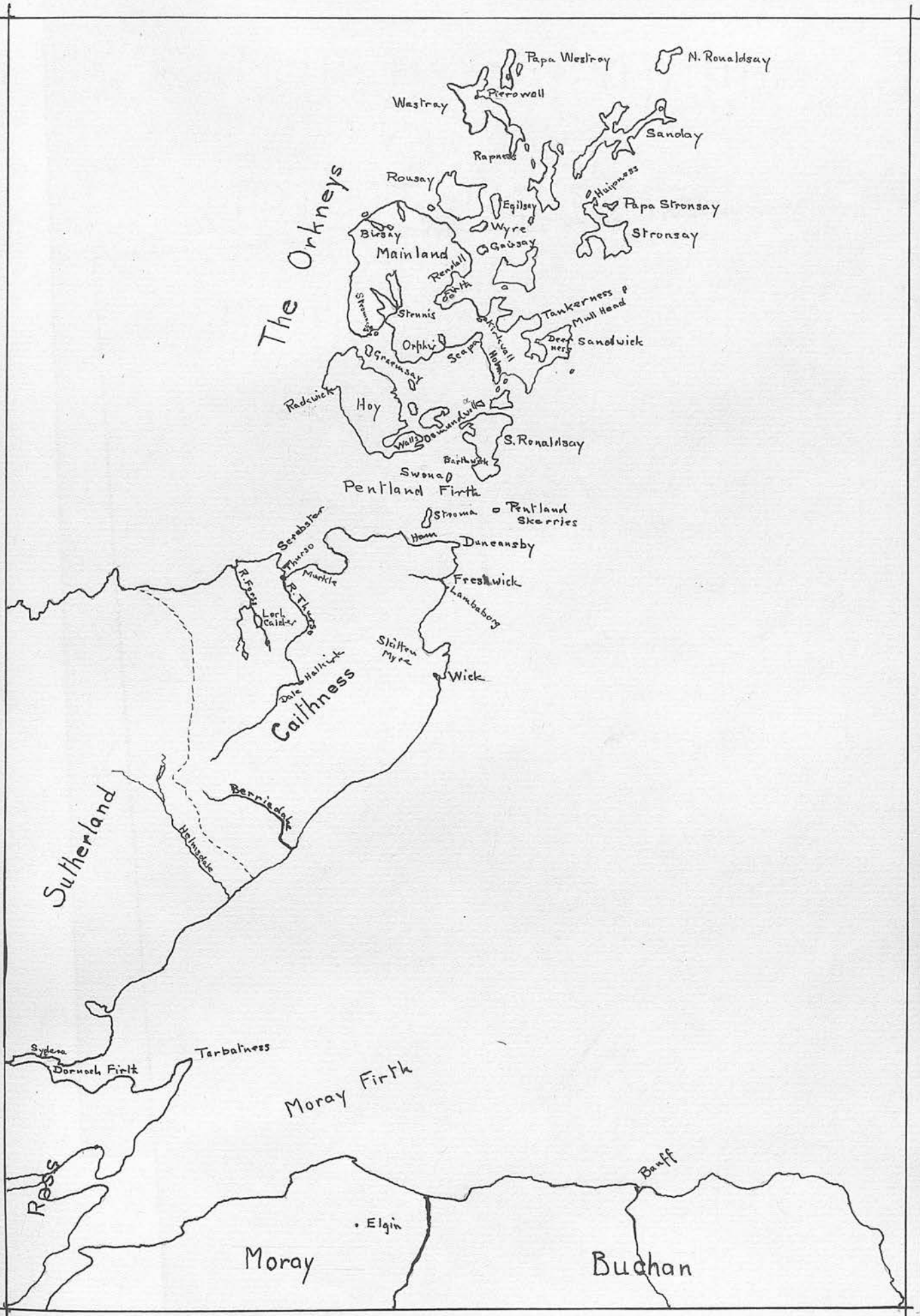
MAP 1.



MAPS and ILLUSTRATIONS.

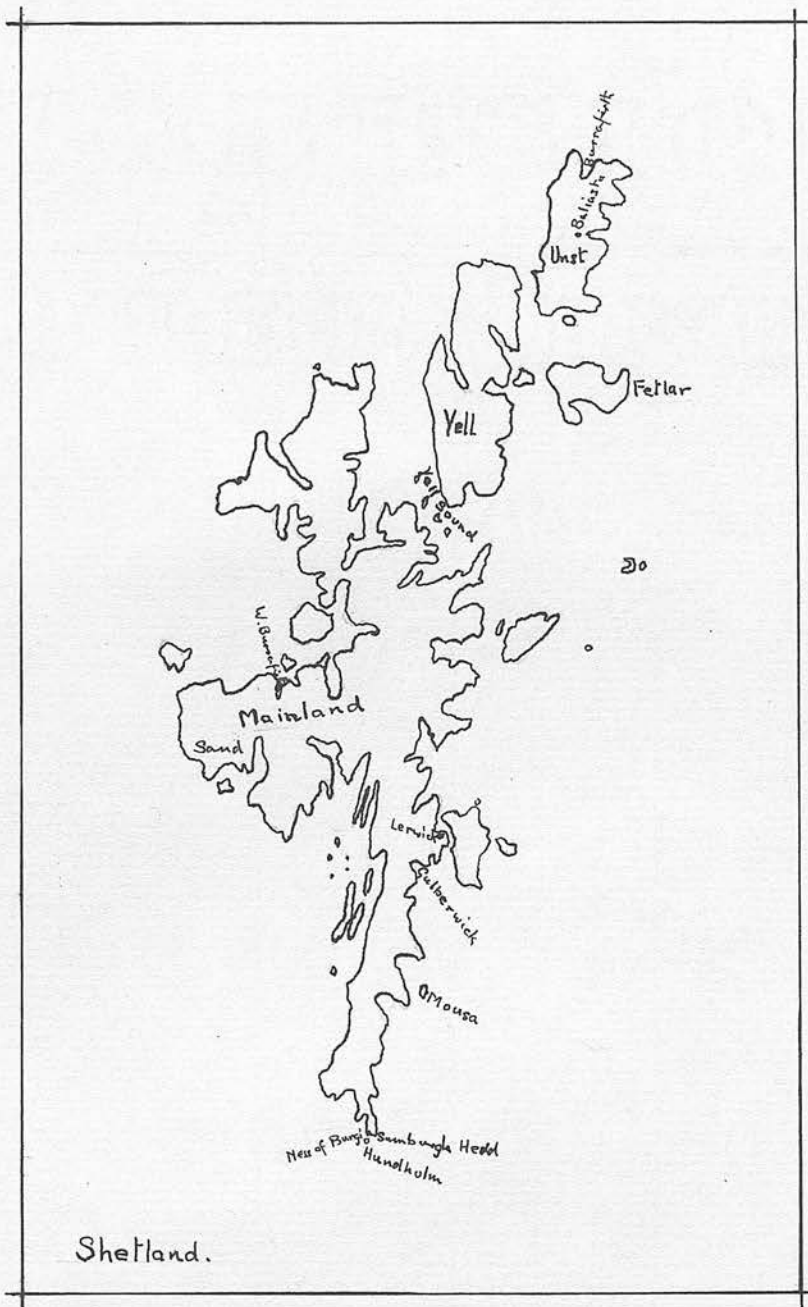
The Main Scene of Action in the Argentine Wars.

MAP I.



The Main Scene of Action in the Orkneyinga Saga.

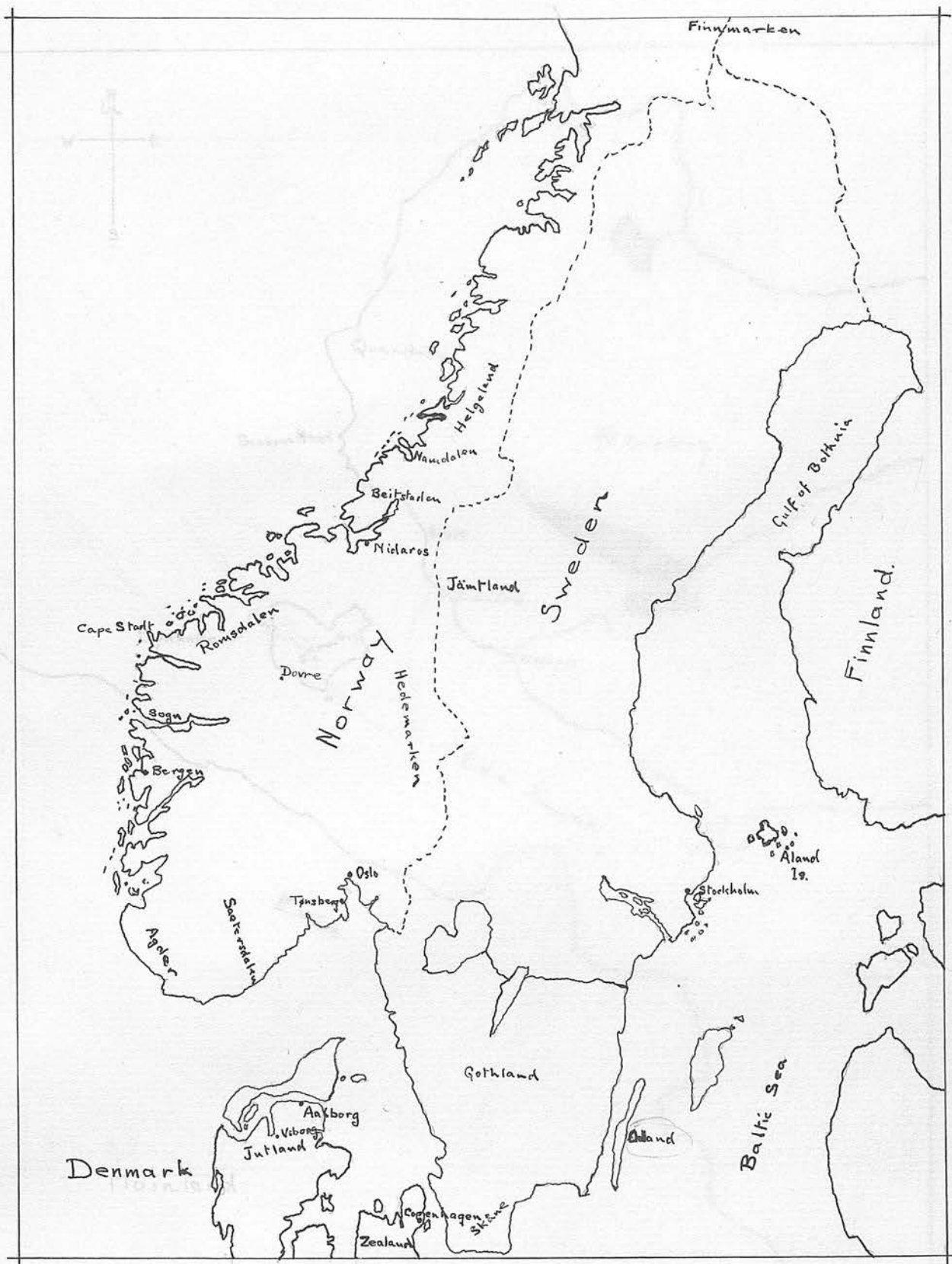
MAP II.



Shetland.

(On the same scale as Map I)

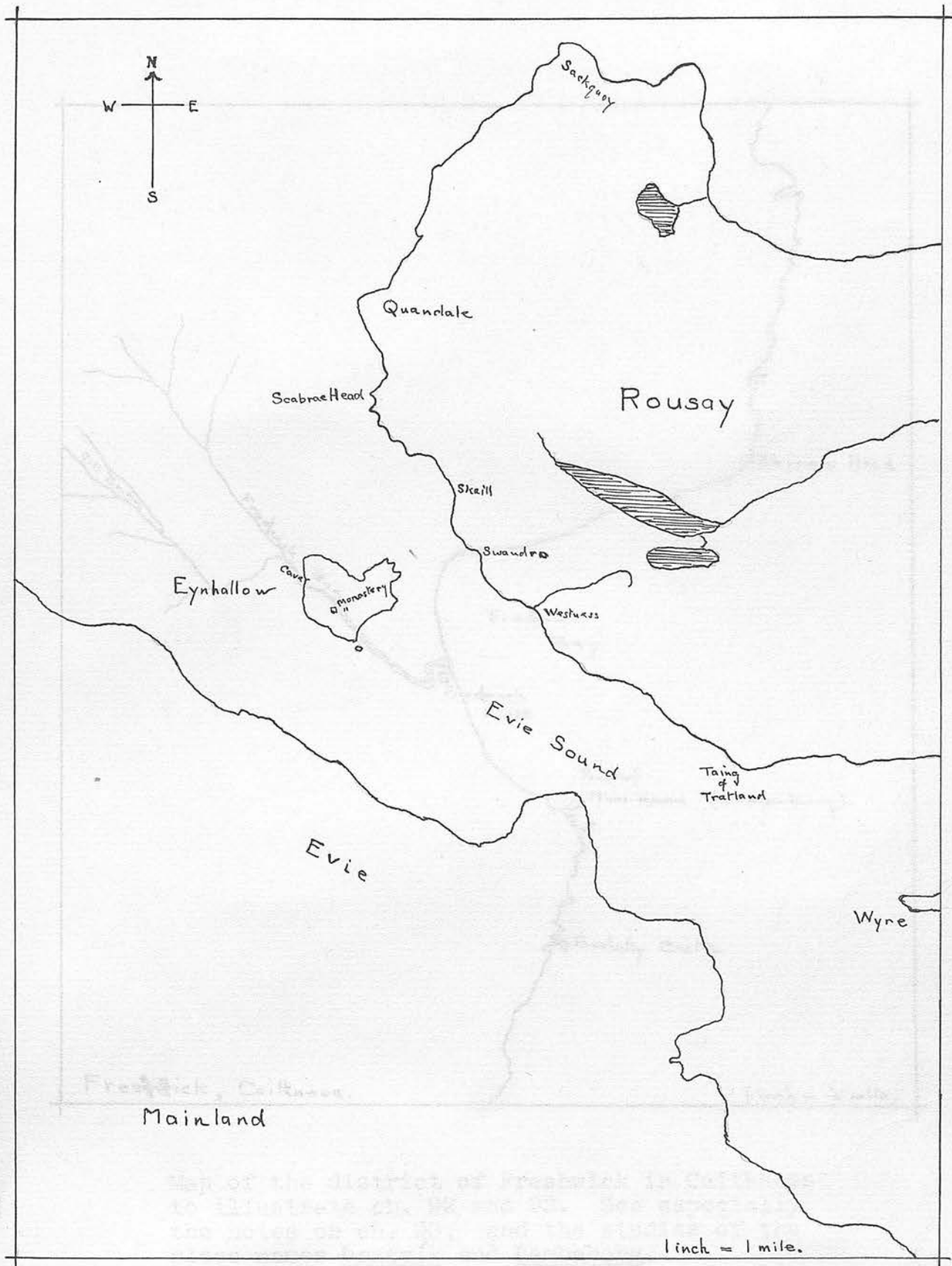
MAP III.



Scandinavia.

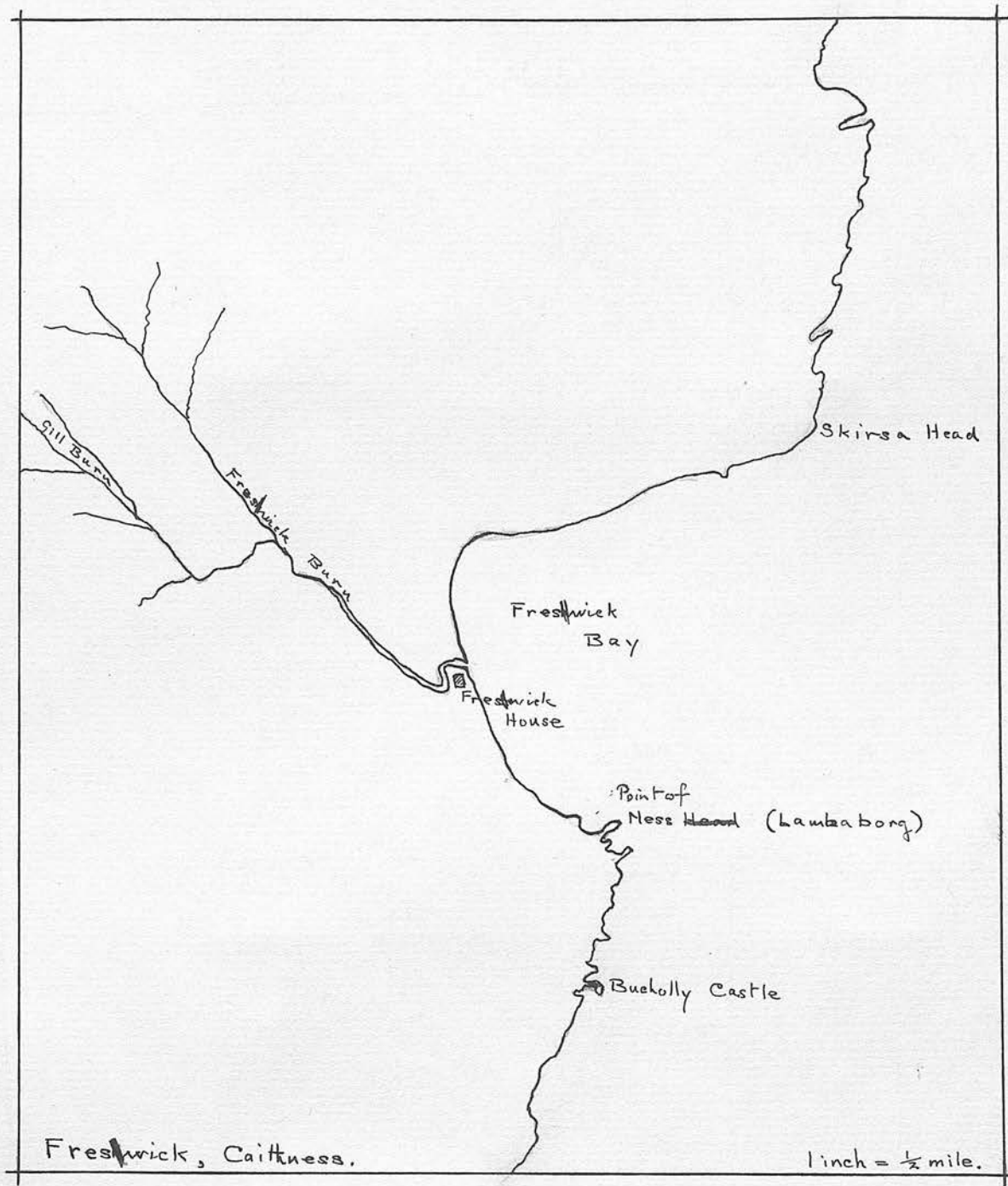
Map to illustrate the language of  
Earl Paul. See notes on p. 4 and  
on the pl. 2. pages.

MAP IV.



Map to illustrate the kidnapping of Earl Paul. See notes on ch.74 and on the pl.n. Vestnes.

## MAP V.



Map of the district of Freshwick in Caithness to illustrate ch. 92 and 93. See especially the notes on ch. 93, and the studies of the place names Prasvik and Lambaborg.

## ILLUSTRATION I.



Freshwick Bay, Caithness, from the South, showing Freshwick House, and with Ness Head (probably the Lambaborg of the Saga) across the foreground. To illustrate ch. 92 and 93, and the study of the place name Lambaborg. See also Map V.

## ILLUSTRATION II.



Bucholly Castle, Caithness, from the North. It lies half a mile South of Ness Head above, and was supposed wrongly by Munch and Anderson to be the site of Lambaborg. See Lababorg in Index of place names.

## ILLUSTRATION III.



The isthmus of Hoxa (O.N. Haugseið), South Ronaldsay, Orkney, seen from Scapa Flow, showing the "howe" in which the Saga says Thorfinnr Skull-splitter was buried. See notes on ch. 8, and study of the place name Haugseið.

## ILLUSTRATION IV.



The road up to the farm of Forsie, Caithness, as it is to-day. The farm buildings can be seen in the middle background. To illustrate the note on 310<sup>12</sup> (ch. 103).

PUBLISHED ARTICLES

submitted in support of Thesis.

Some Saga Place-Names, in the Proceedings of the Orkney Antiquarian Society (P.O.A.S.), vol. IX (1930-1931), 41-45. Most of the material in this article has appeared in the Glossarial Index of Place Names.

The Death of Earl Rognvaldr, in P.O.A.S., vol. X (1931-1932), 21-25. This article supplements the Notes on ch.103.

Studies in the Orkneyinga Saga, in P.O.A.S., vol. XI (1932-1933), 45-49.

- I. A Recent German Translation - A note on Baetke's translation that appears substantially in part I, pp.169-170.
- II. An Unrecorded Manuscript - A note supplementary to the list of MSS. in Introd.: MSS. and Editions; see part I, p.14.
- III. Sumarlithi Hglđr - A transcript of the Note on O.S.307'<sup>2</sup>.
- IV. Earl Rognvald's Crusade - An article which appears substantially in the study of the sources of O.S. ch. 85-89 (part I, pp.109-115) and in the Notes on O.S. ch.86. It is at points superseded by both of these.

The Orkneyinga Saga: Its Relation to other Saga Literature, in P.O.A.S., vol.XII (1933-1934), 59-62. This study appears with a few amendments as the first chapter of my Introduction (part I, pp. 1-10).

The Orkneyinga Saga: Its Place of Composition, in P.O.A.S. , vol. XII (1933-1934), pp. 63-64. This study appears in an amended form as the third chapter of my Introduction (part I, pp. 19-24).

# SOME SAGA PLACE-NAMES

BY ALEX. B. TAYLOR

Kirkwall, 6th April, 1931

Bæfjörðr.  
 Dufeyri.  
 Gáreksey.  
 Geitaberg.  
 Glettunes.  
 Hjalmundalr.  
 Hlaupandanes.  
 Hreppisnes.  
 Hofn (Caithness).  
 Kjarreksstaðir.  
 Norðreyjar.  
 Rauðabjörg.  
 Rinansey.  
 Skeggbjarnarstaðir.  
 Tannskaranes.  
 Völunes.  
 Úlfreksfjörðr.

## Bæfjörðr.

Much ingenuity has been wasted over this name, which occurs only in *Flatleyjarbók* (O.S., 402<sup>a</sup>) note in the phrase, "at *Torfnes* (Tarbatness) in the south of *Bæfjörðr*."

Literally, it means "House-firth." Munch (followed by Skene and Nørdal) identified it with Beaulieu Firth on the ground that the neighbouring castle of Beaufort looked like a corruption of the O.N. name. But as Anderson pointed out (*Orkn. Saga*, 21 note), Beaufort is a much later appellation; and indeed *Torfnes* cannot be identified with anything in Beaulieu Firth.

Vigfusson's suggestion of Banff-firth has nothing to support it.

Without a doubt *Bæfjörðr* is a simple misreading for *Breiðafjörðr*, "Broad-firth," or the Moray Firth, which occurs in the same context in MS. 332, and is the text accepted by both Vigfusson and Nørdal. The scribe of *Flatleyjarbók* is in the habit of remoulding place-names to his heart's desire; in O.S., 197<sup>a</sup>, *Breiðafjörðr* appears as *Borgarfjörðr*. Moreover, Tarbatness can easily be described as being "in the south of the Moray Firth."

Finally, if the name were correct, we would expect the genitive *Bæjar*. The fact that the *Flat.* scribe wrote *Bæfjörðr* implies that he regarded it as a different word from *Bæ*.

## Dufeyri.

This name occurs twice in the Saga, in MS. *Flat.*, in the form *Dufeyra*. It does not occur elsewhere in O.N. sources. *Dufeyra* might be either the genitive singular of a weak masc. *Dufeyri*, or the genitive plural of plur. *Dufeyrar*. Vigfusson and Nørdal adopted the latter form. But I follow Munch in adopting

the former, which, as I shall show, allows of easier derivation.

The Saga (O.S. 197<sup>a</sup>, 210<sup>a</sup>) describes *Dufeyri* as being "a market-town" in Scotland. It is twice visited by Sveinn Asleif's son, and is obviously on the south coast of the Moray Firth. Its identity has been variously conjectured. Munch makes it Banff; Anderson, Burghhead; Vigfusson and Craigie, Duffus (?); Dasent, Deveron (?); A. Mackay, Duthac or Tain; Nørdal, following Munch, Banff.

The etymology, however, is clear, and points to the fact that the market town stood at the mouth of the R. Deveron, either on the Banff or the Macduff side. O.N. *Dufeyri* corresponds almost exactly phonetically with the original Celtic name of the river, \**Dubh Eire*, or "Black Ireland," the locative case of which, \**Duibh Eireann* appears in early charters as *Douern* and *Duffhern*, and gives the modern *Doveron* and *Deveron*. Professor W. S. Watson in his *Celtic Place Names of Scotland*, 230, (where the above early forms were obtained) compares the name with Findhorn (from locative of *Fionn Eire*, or "White Ireland"), and Banff itself (from Celt. *Banbh*, another name for Ireland).

But if Banff was the market town known to the Norsemen, why did the writer of Earl Rognvald's Saga call it by the name of the river?

## Gáreksey.

*Gáreksey* or Gairsay, the home of the great Sveinn Asleif's son, cannot mean anything other than "the island of *Gárekr*." *Gárekr*, however, is not listed as a pers. name. But it is probably formed from the O.N. pers. name *Geirrekr*, on the analogy of *Hárekr* from *Heinrekr*, and *Bárekr* from *Boðrikr* (see Lind: *Dopn.*, and Bugge: *Arkiv for nord. filologi*, II., 246). *Geirrekr* appears frequently as *Gerek*, and *Gerik*; and we have *Gerixstadhir*, (1390. D.N., I. 382<sup>a</sup>), now Gjerstad, Bamle, Norway. The modern form first appears in P.R. 1500, *Gairsay*.

## Geitaberg.

Interpreted by Dasent as "Goat-hill"; but more probably "the hill of *Geiti*." *Geiti* is a weak form of the pers. name *Geitir* found in place names (Lind: *Dopn.*). E.g. *Geita stadhir* (1307. D.N., II. 74<sup>a</sup>), now Gjestad, Ullensaker, Norway.

The farm, a 3d. land near Scapa (P.O.A.S., V., 46), apparently had the alternative name of *Geita-gnípa* (also

49<sup>24</sup>

J.

meaning "the hill of *Geiti*" which occurs in a MS. Rental of 1492 as *Gaitnepe* and is the modern *Gaitnip*—the *Saga* name having failed to survive.

This identity of *Geitaberg* with *Gaitnip* is, I think, beyond doubt. *Gaitnip* is admirably situated for such a view as *Borgarr* had of *Sveinn's* merchant-ship crossing *Scapa Flow* (see *O.S.*, 190).

#### *Glettunes.*

Whether this refers to *Glaitness* in *St. Ola*, it is impossible to say. It is mentioned twice as the home of *Grimkell* (*O.S.*, 130<sup>14</sup>, 224<sup>14</sup>).

That the name is an unusual one is shown by the scribal emendation it suffers in its second incidence in the *Flateyjarbók*—*Flettunes*. It is apparently derived from an *O.N.* word extant only in *N.N. gletta*, *f.*: "a smooth point." This first element may have been a descriptive genitive, or a nickname like *Tannskari*. (See *Tannskaranes*.)

The loss of the inflexion appears to have taken place by the end of the 16th century; cf. *P.R.* 1595, *Glaitness*; *P.R.* 1614, *Glettnes*.

#### *Hjalmundalr* and *Hjalmundalsá.*

Occurring in *O.S.*, 197<sup>18</sup> and 198<sup>4</sup>, and described as starting "near the middle of *Sutherland*," this dale is plainly *Helmsdale*, known today more usually by the Gaelic title of *Strath Ullie*. Near the foot of the valley on an uncertain site was the chief residence of the virago *Frakokk* in which she was burned to death by *Sveinn* (c. 1139).

The etymology of the name has not, so far as I know, been adequately dealt with. *J. B. Johnston* (*Place Names of Scotland*) and *G. Henderson* (*Norse Influence on Celtic Scotland*) describe it as "*Hjalmund's* dale." *Hjalmundr* is not listed as an extant personal name by *Lind* in his *Norsk-Islandske Dopnamn*; and *O.N. \*Hjalmundardalr*, such as the original form would have been, has no necessary, or easily paralleled phonetic connection with *Hjalmundalr* or modern *Helmsdale*.

It would seem, in fact, that *Hjalmundalr* and *Helmsdale* had separate derivations. But before I go into these, I shall give the spellings in the *Saga*. *Flateyjarbók* gives *Hjalmundal* and *Hjalmundalsaar*. The seventeenth century Danish translation of *O.S.* in the same places has *Hjalmdal* and *Hjalmundalsaa*. *Hjalmundalr* does not occur elsewhere. The name occurs first in Scottish sources as *Helmsdale* in a Latin charter of *John, 7th Earl of Sutherland*, July 2, 1444 (*Caith. and Suther. Records*, *Viking Society*, I. 232).

Modern *Helmsdale* appears to have been simply *O.N. \*Hjalmsdalr*: "the dale of *Hjalmr*." *Hjalmr* was a personal name not infrequently used in place names (*Lind: Dopnamn*). A similarly named dale occurs in *O.S.* 327<sup>20</sup> in *Eysteinsdalr*, which is probably the valley of *Ousdale* near *Helmsdale*. The loss of *O.N. j* in the first syllable is normal in Gaelic; cf. *G. laom* = *O.N. ljómi*.

There is likewise a perfectly natural derivation for *Hjalmundalr*. According to *A. Noreen* (*Altisländische Grammatik*, ed. 1923, § 254), *Hjalmun-* is from *Hjalmul-*, the *l* being assimilated to *n* before the dental *d*. In its turn *Hjalmul-* is (*Noreen: loc. cit.*, § 254, 148) a

preliterary phonetic contraction (for word-building purposes) of *hjalmvölr*: "a helm, tiller." This phonological connection of *Hjalmun-* and *Hjalmvölr* is corroborated by the name of a man in *Pórsnep*, *Hjalmun-Gautr* (10th cent.) who gained his nickname by using a tiller as a weapon. (See *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, I., 361, No. 18.) *Strath Ullie* is shaped not unlike the partial *S-form* of a tiller. And there is a parallel riven name, *Hjalmunlq*, in a River Name Mnemonic (See *Jónsson: Den Norsk-Islandske Skjaldedigting, Pulur*, IV., v. 4.)

Plausible as this derivation may seem, it cannot be regarded as certain. The river-names in the Mnemonic above-mentioned are mostly non-Norse or mythical in nature; and when *Hjalmunlq* does occur (and that but once) in a skaldic verse of *Sighvatr* (c. 1038. See *Jónsson: loc. cit.*, *Sigs.*, 10, 5), it is as a general synonym for "billows." I cannot find any place name even in such a rich repository as the seventeen volumes of *Norske Gaardnavne*. Yet the name is well attested by the *Saga MSS.*

I venture no solution to the problem of which name was the original one. I call attention, however, to the similarity of the Gael. *Ullie* to the second syllable *-ul-* in *\*Hjalmuldalr*, the hypothetical earlier form of the *Saga* name.

Whatever the explanation, the problem is much greater than has hitherto been admitted.

#### *Hlaupandanes.*

This name occurs but once in the *Saga* (*O.S.* 24<sup>23</sup>), and is not extant either today or in any of the *Rentals*. But as the site of the principal house in *Sandwick* in *Deerness*, the residence of *Amundi* and his more famous son *Thorcell Fosterer*, it cannot be anything other than the low headland on which now stands the farm of *Skail* and the *Parish Church*.

The first element in this name is the gen. sing. of *hlaupandi*, the pres. participle of *hlaupa*: "to leap." It seems to be a nickname, rather like *stígandi* (see *Lind: Bin.*), signifying a "land-louper," one who flees from justice to alien territory. Cp. *hlaupandir menn* in *Finnboga Saga* and *Magus Saga* (C.V.). Literally, the place-name means "Land-louper's Ness," and was probably called so after an early settler.

The nickname occurs in Norwegian place-names. E.g. *Laupstad*, *Ibbestad*, *Tromsø* (*N.G.*, XVII., 48) which occurs in 1380 as *Laupanzstaðir* (*D.N.*, V., 348), from an original *O.N. \*hlaupanda-staðir*. Similarly *Laupstad* in *Vaagen*, *Salten* (*N.G.*, XVI., 310), and in *Egersund* (*N.G.*, X., 87), and *Lopness* in *Sanday*.

The same element seems to occur in the river name *Laupendbækken* in Norway. But, as *O. Rygh* points out (*Norske Elvenavne*, 140), this is probably the normal participial use—"the leaping stream"; he refers to the similar use of the participles *dynjandi*: "resounding," and *fallandi*: "falling." Grammatically *hlaupanda* in the *Saga* name might be a similar participle. But a low headland such as it is would scarcely be called "Leaping Ness."

#### *Hreppisnes.*

This name, now contracted to *Rapness*, is derived, as frequently happens,

from a man's name. It is "the ness of *Hreppir*," a bye-form of the more frequent name *Hrapp* familiar to readers of *Njalssaga*. Cp. two Norwegian farm names: *Keppeskaal* (from O.N.\* *Hreppis skáli*: "Hreppir's hall") in Hedrum (Lind: *Dopn.*); and *Repphus* (from O.N.\* *Hreppis hus*: "Hreppir's house") in Eidskogen, Hedemarken (G.N., III., 229).

It may be noted that although the vowel in the first syllable has changed in spelling to *a*, it retains to-day a markedly mid-front pronunciation, [ræpnɪs]. The modern form appears first in a Manuscript Rental as *Rapnes* in 1492.

#### *Hofn* (Caithness).

*Hofn* in Caithness, the burial-place of Earl Hlothver (O.S., 20<sup>13</sup>), was identified with Huna, a small bay near John o' Groats, in *Origines Parochiales*, 813. *Orig. Paroch.* quotes an early spelling, *Hwnaye*, from a *Retour* of 1574. This identification is accepted without comment by Anderson.

But there seems no phonological connection between *Hofn* and *Hwnaye*. Indeed, O.N. *Hofn* normally appears to-day as *Ham*.

It is much more likely that *Hofn* here is Ham (or Ham Berry), a narrow bay in the parish of Dunnet which has long been a harbour for small vessels. In a series of *Answers to Queries addressed to Mr. Wm. Dundas* (? 17th century; quoted in Macfarlane's *Geog. Collections*, III., 84), we read: "The harbours for living and loading are Thurso water, Week, Staxigo, Murkle, Ham for smaller vessels."

A three-chambered mound known as "the Earl's Cairn" stands about 3½ miles inland from Ham Berry near the farm of Holland Maik. It is fully described in the *Inventory of Ancient Monuments in Caithness*, 23-24. Can this have been the mound where Hlothver was buried?

#### *Kjárreksstaðir*.

This name, occurring twice (O.S., 269<sup>14</sup>, 273<sup>21</sup>; MSS., 325, *Flat.*) is fairly certainly to be identified with the *bu* and castle of Cairston near Stromness. (See Mr. J. S. Clouston's papers on *The Orkney Bus* and *Three Orkney Castles* in *P.O.A.S.*).

Literally, the name means "the farm of *Kjárrekr*." *Kjárrekr* is not listed as an extant personal or nick-name by Lind. But it may be formed by adding the common suffix *-rekr* to the early personal name *Kjár* (Lind: *Dopn.*).

The name appears to have assumed its modern pronunciation by the end of the 15th century. cp. M.R. 1492, *Kerstone*, *Kerston*; P.R. 1500, *Karstane*.

#### *Nordreyjar*.

Although frequent in modern usage, the term "The North Isles" of the Orkneys occurs but once in the Saga (O.S., 172<sup>22</sup>) in Rognvaldr Kali's saga. One is especially surprised not to find it employed by the original author of those confusing chapters where Brusi, Thorfinn and Einarr are quarrelling over the "thirds" of the Orkneys.

Probably the explanation is that the name is a late one; that at the time of its use in Rognvald's saga (c. 1200-1220)

it was still more of a descriptive phrase than an actual Place Name. And its lateness is explained by the fact that the early settlers in the Orkneys—and indeed the Norsemen in general—did not think so much in terms of North and South as of East and West. (Cp. Westray, from O.N. *Vestr-ey*; Auskerry, from O.N.\* *Austr-skær*).

#### *Raudabjörg*.

*Raudabjörg*, the site of the sea-battle between Earls Thorfinn and Rognvaldr (1042 x 1046) is mentioned in the Saga three times—68<sup>1</sup>, 69<sup>2</sup>, 88<sup>3</sup>. It is derived from O.N. *raudá*, gen. sing. of *raudi*: "red iron ore," once supposed by Norse settlers to be found in all red stone or soil (C.V.); and O.N. *björg*, plur. of *bjarg*: "a rock," used collectively in the sense of "a cliff." Cp. *Raudabjörg*, now Rodberget in Stadsbygd, Trondhjem Fjord, *Sverri's Saga*; and *Rowber* (from O.N.\* *Raudaberg*) in Stronsay, Orkney.

Identification is difficult. From O.S. we deduce it to be in or near the Pentland Firth; for Rognvaldr sailed from the North "to" or "into" the Firth (O.S., 69<sup>2</sup>, a *Pettlandz-fiord*). It must be a convenient spot for a sea-battle, and there must be a part of the shore nearby where a landing can be made with comparative safety in order to put ashore 80 dead.

Anderson (*Orkn. S.*, 33, note) suggested *Rattar Brough*, a crag a mile or so East of Dunnet Head, supporting the identification with the hypothesis that Thorfinn's dead may have been buried in a nearby chapel burying ground where Norse armlets were found in 1872.

But there are three objections to this identification. First, the etymology is improbable. *Rattar* is a conceivable corruption of *Raudá*; but *brough* is the normal development not of *björg*, but of O.N. *borg*, "a castle" (see Wright: *Engl. Dialect Dict.*; and Marwick: *Ork. Norn*, under *broch*). Secondly, had Rognvaldr sailed across the Firth to Rattar Brough, the Saga would have said "across" or "over," (O.N. *yfir*) and not merely "to" or "into." Thirdly, the crag is so inconspicuous that any eye-witness would have naturally described the spot simply as "at" or "near Dunnet Head."

Vigfusson (*Orkn. S.*, index, followed by Dasent and Nordal) identified it doubtfully with *Dunnet Head* itself. But it has the same geographical objection as the last; and, moreover, *Dunnet Head* is rather grey than red.

Munch, followed by Clouston (*Orkn. Parishes*, 1927), suggested with some probability *The Berry*, a 600 feet headland in W. of Walls parish, Hoy. This magnificent headland is by far the most conspicuous of the many red cliffs in the Pentland Firth, visible all along the Caithness coast from Reay to Canisbay. It is conceivable that Rognvaldr may have come down the West coast of the Orkneys. On rounding Rora Head (and thus coming "to" the Pentland Firth) he would be spied by Thorfinn were he in Thurso. And if Thorfinn put to sea at once, they would meet near *The Berry*.

But there are likewise three objections to *The Berry*.

The first, as before, is etymological. It is conceivable that *Raudá* may have

dropped out of use; but *Berry* is the normal development not of *björg* but of *bergi* (dat. sing. of *berg*, "a cliff"; by-form of *bjarg* above; see Marwick: *Ork. Norn*).

Secondly comes a geographical difficulty. All the geos within three miles of The Berry are too narrow, and the sea normally too turbulent for Thorfinnr to land 80 dead and many wounded, and to reorganise his forces.

The third and most important objection, however, is that the name of The Berry appears to have been originally O.N.\* *Há-berg*, "High-cliff." This is suggested by Blaeu's *Hyberry* (O.N. dat. \**Háu-bergi*, with unrounding of diphthong in first syllable). It is corroborated by the bay of *Ha Wick* (O.N.\**Há-vík*.) three miles to the S. of The Berry; and by the name of Hoy itself (O.N. *Há-ei*). Indeed, the "The" in the name "The Berry" is probably a corruption of the 17th century *Hy-berry*. (I should be glad to hear of the local pronunciation.) Cp. also *Håbjarg*, *Biskupa S.*, l., 49; and *Haberry Head*, *Latheron*, Caithness.

A fourth identification was given by Mackay (*Hist. of Prov. of Cat.*, 21, 22)—Red Head (Gael. *Ceann Dearg*) in W. of Stroma, a low, round promontory of 150 feet, but bright red, with rocks low enough near to it to permit the landing of men; it is definitely "in" the Pentland Firth.

The difficulty arises, however, of getting the rival fleets to meet at this particular spot. Indeed it is unlikely that either would seek battle so near to the famous Swelchie (see O.S., 188').

Fifth and most plausible is the suggestion (made to me by Dr. Marwick) of *Roberry*, a headland on the S. side of Cantick Head, S. Walls. (See 6<sup>th</sup> Ord. Survey Map.) *Roberry* appears to come from *Raudabergi*, locative of the by-form of *Raudabjörg*. In order that the fleets may meet there, we must assume first, that the tide was on the ebb and flowing strongly W. through the Firth; and secondly, that Thorfinnr sailed out from Duncansby (where we know he had a house and harbourage; see O.S., 44<sup>21-23</sup>) as soon as he saw Rognvald's fleet rounding Torness, Hoy. Rognvaldr, to avoid an adverse tide, hugs the coast of Walls as steamers do to-day. Thorfinnr, on the other hand, is carried rapidly across the Firth between Stroma and Swona. They meet precisely at *Roberry*. Finally, if the tide were running West, the fleets would drift towards Aith Hope where the 80 dead might easily be landed on the shelving beach.

#### Rinanseý.

It has been customary to regard *Rinanseý* (now N. Ronaldsay) as "the island of St. Ringan or Ninian." support being found in the fact of church sites dedicated to that saint on the island. *Ringan*, however, is the Lowland Scots form of the name and is much too late to be borrowed by the early Norwegian settlers in the Orkneys. The Gael. form of the name, *Truinnean*, is phonetically an impossible derivation. We are forced to classify *Rinanseý* in the N.E. of the Orkneys with Unst, Yell and Fetlar in the N.E. of Shetland as words of unsolved etymology; they are conceivably of Pictish origin.

#### Skeggbjarnarstaðir.

Occurring only once (O.S., 268<sup>2</sup>; MSS. 325, 332, *Flat.*) this name means "the farm of *Skeggbjörn*," the latter a nickname meaning "bearded bear." (Lind: *Bin.*)

Is there any trace of this name in any of the field names in Deerness?

#### Tannskaranes.

The *Flateýjarbók* reads *Tannskaarunes* (O.S., 161<sup>20</sup>, 162<sup>2</sup>); but MS. 325, which gives more reliable spellings, has *Tannskaranes* thrice (O.S. 129<sup>2</sup>, 161<sup>20</sup>, 162<sup>2</sup>).

The first element in the name is O.N. *tannskari*, a nickname occurring in *Pjalar Jóns Saga*, compounded of O.N. *tann*: "a tooth," and *skára*: "to jut out" (C.V.). Tankerness is therefore "Tannskari's Ness," "the Ness of the man with the jutting-out tooth." Cp. *Tannanes* in D.N., VIII., 279 (1509).

I quote the Rental forms, which show in an interesting fashion the development of the name:—

R.E.O., 1455—*Tanskerness*.  
M.R., 1492—*Tangskeriness*.  
R.E.O., 1495—*Tanskernes*.  
P.R., 1500, R.E.O., 1500—*Tankarnes*.  
R.E.O., 1519, 1563, 1566; P.R., 1595—*Tankernes*.

R.E.O., 1543—*Tankyrnes*.

R.E.O., 1559, 1597—*Tankirnes*.

From the above we may argue that the inflexions in both elements in the compound, s and a (i in M.R., 1492), survived at least into the 15th century, and that the second element remained accented into the 16th.

#### Vólunes.

This name, occurring only once (O.S., 297<sup>14</sup>; MSS. *Flat.* and 332) as the residence of Barðr, a kinsman of Sveinn's in Sanday, has not survived. It was probably in the S.W. of Sanday, since Sveinn approached the island from the S. of Rousay and being in danger of pursuit would naturally make land as soon as possible.

In the S.W., however, we have only Spur Ness and Hacks Ness. In Clouston's *Orkney Parishes* (under *Sanday*) the suggestion is made that the name may survive in a field-name *Volyar* on the farm of Stove near the Point of Hacks Ness; this name appears in Pet. Rental as *Walgarth*. But I am unable to connect this phonologically with any etymological interpretation of *Vólunes* given below.

*Vólur* may be any of three things:—

- (i) Acc. plur. of *vólur*: a round stick; a blunt edge.
- (ii) Gen. sing. of *vala*: a knucklebone; a nickname for a dog.
- (iii) Gen. sing. of *vólva*: a witch. (C.V.).

The first of these can be ruled out as meaningless.

The second is conceivable; a nickname given to a dog may well have been applied to a man. There is an instance of knuckle-bones being used for fortune-telling, whence the adjective *vólur-spakr*: "knuckle-wise." (C.V.). The nickname may have had some such significance.

I favour, however, the third interpretation. "The Witch's Ness" would be an interesting addition to the list of Orkney place names with necromantic associations.

*Úlfreksfjörðr.*

The spelling is well attested by its form in *Flateyjarbók* and the MSS. of *Heimskringla*; (see *O.S.*, 26\*, 27 note).

The Saga narrative mentions it merely as the site of a battle in Ireland between Earl Einarr and an Irish King Conchobar (O.N. *Konofogur*), in which Einarr was defeated. Its identification with Lough Larne originates with Worsaae (*Danes and Norwegians*, 311; followed by Anderson, *Vigf.*, Dasent, and Nordal). Worsaae's evidence is partly archaeological; several Scandinavian burial sites were found on its shores, and in one of them, a Scandinavian sword. To this meagre evidence he adds an important documentary reference. In 1210, King John granted to Duncan, son of Gilbert Earl of Carrick, "the town of Wulfrichford and all the lands which Roger de Preston and Henry Clemens held near Wulfrichford" as far as Glenarm. (*Cal. Canc. Hiber.*, II., 354; quoted in G. H. Orpen: *Ireland under the Normans*, II., 267).

Worsaae's fairly certain identification is confirmed by the etymology of the name. The name of the principal river flowing into Lough Larne was in O. Irish, *Olarba* (see Hogan: *Onomasticon Goedelicum*). The first element in the O.N. name is, like O.N. *Tyrvist* and *Ivist*, an attempt to give this Celtic word a Norse sound and appearance; the analogy being the O.N. personal name *Úlfrekr*, gen. *Úlfreks*. (See Lind: *Dopn*).

The Middle English name Wulfrichford is a transliteration of the O.N. form to the corresponding Old and Middle English personal name *Wulfric* (see Searle: *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum*; cp. Woolstone, Berks, from O.E. *Wulfricestun*).

Corruptions of the O.N. or M.E. name occur in 16th century maps—*Olderfleet*, *Wolderfriih* (Hogan: *loc. cit.*). It would therefore seem that the pronunciation of the name has varied considerably through the centuries. Possibly that may explain why—so far as the writer is aware—the name does not now survive.

## ABBREVIATIONS.

- O.N. Old Norse.  
*O.S.* *Orkneyinga Saga*, Ed. S. Nordal, Copenhagen, 1916.  
*C.V.* Cleasby & Vigfusson's *Old Icel. Dict.*, Oxford, 1874.  
*N.G.* *Norske Gaardnavne*, Ed. O. Rygh, Oslo, 1897-1919.  
*D.N.* *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, Oslo, 1847-1915.  
Lind: *Bin.* *Norsk-Isländska Binamn*, Ed. E. H. Lind, Uppsala, 1921.  
Lind: *Dopn.* *Norsk-Isländska Dopnamn*, Ed. E. H. Lind, Upsala, 1915.  
P.R.—Peterkin's *Rentals*.  
*R.E.O.* *Records of the Earldom of Orkney*, ed. J. Storer Clouston, 1914.  
M.R. Manuscript Rental.

# THE DEATH OF EARL ROGNVALDR

BY A. B. TAYLOR, M.A.

Kirkwall, 18th February, 1932.

*Orkn. Saga*,—ed. Anderson, ch. 107.; ed. Vigfusson & Dasent, ch. 113; ed. Nordal, ch. 103.  
Nordal's text used, and quoted by page and line.

No chapter in the *Orkneyinga Saga* presents a more fascinating topographical study than that relating to the death of Earl Rognvaldr Kali at Forsie, in Caithness, on August 20, 1158.

In first translating this chapter I made use of the 1-inch Ord. Survey Map for guidance. In comparing my translation with those of Hjaltalin and Goudie, and of Dasent, I discovered that none of these had made any attempt to verify their renderings by reference to the lie and contour of the land. And I further came to the conclusion that an accurate translation was impossible without a personal visit to the scene of action. Accordingly, armed with Saga text, map and camera, I set off one day in August, 1929, on a bicycle to trace out the journey made by Earl Rognvaldr on those two fateful August days 771 years before.

The result was gratifying in the extreme. I was able to amend the translation of several ambiguous prepositions, to fit the contour of the ground. I identified quite clearly the *myrr* and *fen* ("bog" and "morass") of the Saga with "Little Moss" between the farm of Forsie and Loch Calder. *Kalfadalsá* I judged to be merely Alltan Ghuinne, the stream that drains Loch Calder into the River Forss. And where the text of *Flateyjarbók* gave a reading not wholly compatible with the ground contour, I found that the reading from O., the sixteenth century Danish translation of the Saga, usually removed the difficulty. The reconstruction of events now attempted is thus based on a collation of all textual variants with the topography of the scene of action.

## The Earls in Caithness.

Earls Rognvaldr, Kali and Haraldr Maddadh's son went to Caithness every year in late summer, deer-stalking. And on this occasion on their arrival in Thurso they heard that the rebellious Thorbjorn Klerk was in hiding up in Thurso Dale—probably with his crony Hlifolfr; he had "not a few men" with him, and was awaiting the opportunity to make an attack on the Earls.

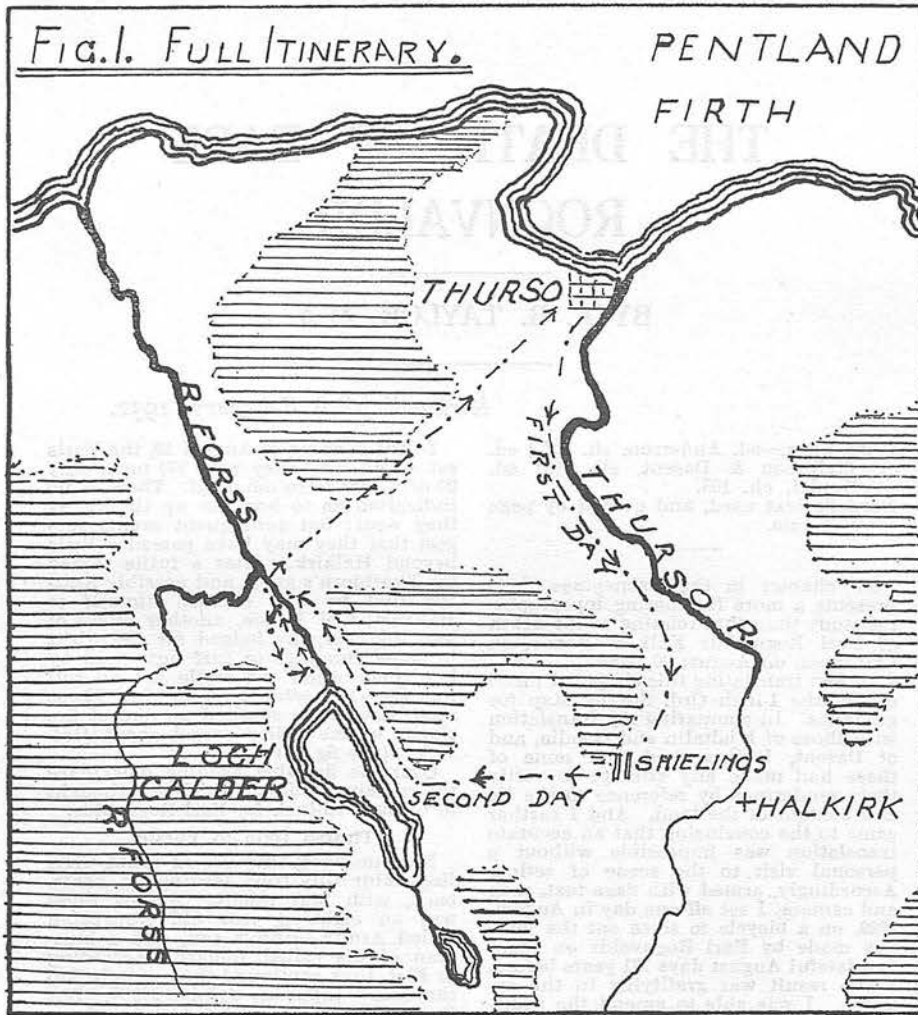
In the evening of August 19, the Earls set off up the valley with 100 men, only 20 of whom were mounted. There is no indication as to how far up the valley they went; but subsequent events suggest that they may have passed a little beyond Halkirk. After a futile search for Thorbjorn's gang, and possibly hearing that he had betaken himself to Hallvarthr of Forsie, another crony of his, the company lodged for the night in some shielings or turf huts used by herdsmen when the cattle are on hill pasture (O.N. *setr*; Gael. *airigh*). These must have been situated on one of the slopes of the valley round about Halkirk. (See fig. 1.)

Over the fire that evening took place the sneezing incident which was thought to betoken ill-luck for Earl Rognvaldr.

## Thurso Dale to Forsie.

Next morning they set off again, Earl Rognvaldr this time leading on horseback, with four others. Among these was an eighteen year old Norwegian called Asolfr Gunni's son, and a kinsman of his called Jomarr. According to *Flat.* they continued their march "up the dale" (*upp um dalinn*, 309<sup>1</sup>). But O. reads a non-committal *derfra*: "from there," and this seems the better reading. For we immediately read of their being in the valley of Loch Calder (310<sup>1</sup>), which would be well off their road if they continued "up the dale." The reading in *Flat.* is probably an accidental repetition of an *upp um dalinn* a few lines above (309 "18").

Immediately, as I have said, we read of their being in the Calder valley. According to *Flat.*, they rode *fyrir upp eftir Kalfadal*; this suggests movement forward, up and along the Calder valley. It is corroborated by O.'s *op til*: "up to." Apparently the author imagines that the Calder valley is a valley tributary to Thurso Dale, instead of being, as it is, an independent and parallel drainage system. Anderson (*Orkn. S.*, 187, note 1) is guilty of the same mistake. What Rognvaldr must have done was to have turned to the right at some point, probably south of Halkirk, and ridden up over the ridge between the two valleys, and then down to and along (i.e. *eftir*) the near edge of Loch Calder. This is the obvious road to Rognvaldr's destination, the farm of Forsie where he now hoped to find Thorbjorn. (See fig. 1.)



#### At the Farm of Forsie.

The farmstead of Forsie stands today as the Saga describes it—a *brekku nokkuri hárr*: “on a high piece of rising ground” (310<sup>12</sup>). Dasent translates *hárr* as “steep”; but a visit to the spot shows this rendering to be quite inaccurate. The slope is a gentle one.

Before the farmstead today is an enclosed piece of ground which looks as if it had been used as a stackyard—perhaps the stackyard of the Saga (310<sup>2</sup>). It is easy for the visitor to imagine that on the site of the present farmhouse or steading there stood the dwelling house or *stofa* in which Thorbjorn sat drinking. (See fig. 2.)

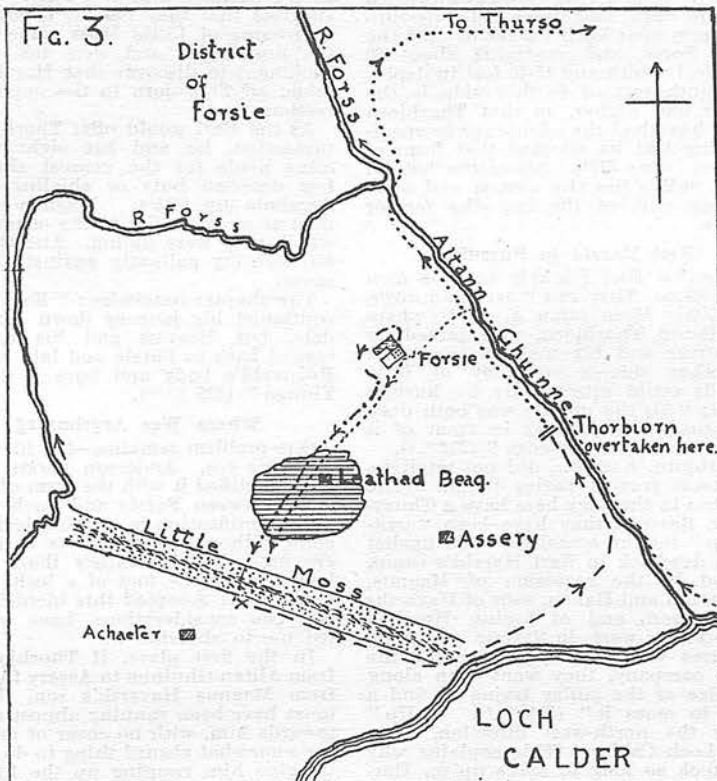
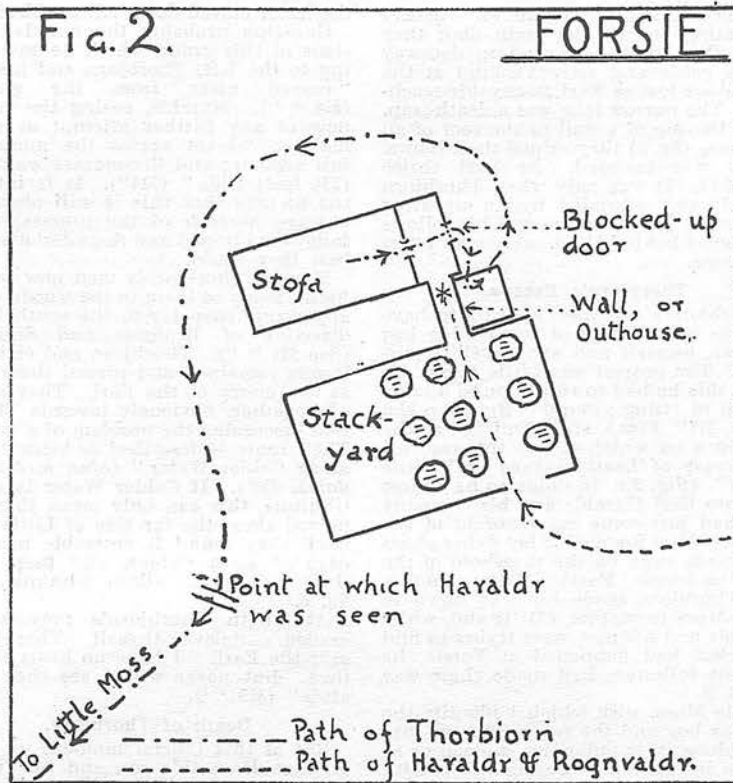
Earl Rognvaldr and his bodyguard rode up to the farm probably on a path now marked by the road to Forsie. At the top of the slope was a stackyard in which he saw the bondi Hallvarth on top of a stack building it, while his men stood by forking the oats up to him.

In order to warn Thorbjorn of who had arrived, he greeted Earl Rognvaldr loudly by his name, and noisily asked him for news. As the Saga remarks,

with Scandinavian sub-sarcasm, “He could have been heard had he been even further away.”

Between the stackyard and the dwelling house was a walled-in lane (*geilar þreyngar*, 310<sup>12</sup>). This lane was *viðbrekt mjök*: “high-walled on either side”; Dasent translates this as “very steep,” but it is impossible for anything to be “very steep” near Forsie. The high walls on either side may have been ordinary walls, or else the walls of out-houses or other buildings. The lane reached a main-door at the end of one side of the dwelling house near the gable, in which gable was an old door loosely blocked up with stones. We have no information about the orientation of the house. Perhaps expert opinion might be able to make some deduction from the present farm buildings. Fig. 2 represents one of several possible arrangements which fit the Saga facts. In this fig. it is assumed that house and stackyard were in their present position.

Hearing Hallvarth's shouting, Thorbjorn and his fellows immediately de-



terminated to take the offensive. Instead of coming out by the main door they broke through the blocked-up doorway in the gable and arrived round at the main door just as Earl Rognvaldr reached it. The narrow lane was a death-trap. From the top of a wall or the roof of an outhouse (fig. 2) they rained their blows. Asolf was maimed, the Earl thrice wounded. It was only when Thorbjorn himself was wounded by an upthrust of Jomar's spear that he and his fellows ran round behind the house in an effort to escape.

#### Thorbjorn's Escape.

Thorbjorn's intention appears to have been to put a piece of impassable bog between himself and any possible pursuers. The nearest was Little Moss. To reach this he had to run "round a large stretch of rising ground" (*fyrir brekku mikla*, 311<sup>10</sup>, *Flat.*), still identified as the eminence on which stands the deserted farmhouse of *Leathad Beag* or "Little Slope." (Fig. 3.) In doing so he almost ran into Earl Haraldr and his company who had just come up, ignorant of the fact that Earl Rognvaldr lay dying about fifty yards away on the threshold of the dwelling house. Passing them unmolested, Thorbjorn made his way down to Little Moss (*a myrina*, 311<sup>23</sup>); and, while Haraldr and his men were trying to find out what had happened at Forsie, he and his followers had made their way across it.

Little Moss, with which I identify the *myrr* or bog and the *fen* or morass running along it, is today not so deep or so wet as it apparently was in the twelfth century. It is a long straight gully—a *diki* the Saga sometimes calls it—running from near Loch Calder to near the Rover Forss, and averaging about 50 yards in breadth and 15-20 feet in depth. The south-west or further side is the steeper and higher, so that Thorbjorn would have had the advantage in spear-throwing had he adopted that form of defence. (See 312<sup>4</sup>.) Along the bottom of the gully lies the wettest and most stagnant part of the bog—the *fen* or morass.

#### Earl Harald in Pursuit.

At length Earl Haraldr and his men took action. They ran "over and down to" Little Moss (*ofan a*, 311<sup>25</sup>) where they found Thorbjorn, now joined by Hallvarthr and his men, stationed on the other side—a company of fifty. Haraldr could attack only by hurling spears; "for the morass was both deep and broad and the bog in front of it soaking wet up to its edge" (312<sup>5 6</sup>).

Thorbjorn, however, did not retaliate, and some sort of parley began. (The speeches in the Saga here have a Thucydidean flavour; they have been "written up" for the occasion.) The upshot was a deadlock in Earl Harald's camp, marked by the secession of Magnus, Thorsteinn and Hakon, sons of Havarthr Gunn's son, and of Sveinn Hroald's son. These were in favour of strong measures with Thorbjorn; leaving the Earl's company, they went "up along the edge of the gully trying to find a place to cross it" (314<sup>2 4</sup>). "Up" meant the north-west direction, away from Loch Calder. (This explains why they took so long to make up on Haraldr and Thorbjorn afterwards when

the latter moved down Alltan Ghuinne.)

Guessing probably the hostile intentions of this group which he saw moving to the left, Thorbjorn and his men "moved away from the gully" (314<sup>9 10</sup>). Haraldr, seeing the futility now of any further attempt at peace-making, "leapt across the morass in full armour; and the morass was 9 ells (13½ feet) wide" (314<sup>12</sup>). It is interesting to note that this is still about the average breadth of the morass. His followers jumped and floundered over as best they could.

Most of Thorbjorn's men now took to flight, many of them to the woods which apparently then lay to the south in the direction of Brubster and Shurrery. (See 314<sup>20 21</sup>). Thorbjorn and eight followers remained and placed themselves at the mercy of the Earl. They all set off together, obviously towards Thurso, still discussing the problem of a pardon. Their route is described as being "down along Calder Water" (*ofan með Kalfadalsá*, 315<sup>1</sup>). If Calder Water is Alltan Ghuinne, this can only mean that they moved along the far side of Little Moss until they found it crossable near the edge of Loch Calder, and then made their way down Alltan Ghuinne. See fig. 3.

At length Thorbjorn's prayers succeeded. "Save thyself, Thorbjorn," said the Earl, "I have no heart to slay thee. But never will I see thee hereafter" (315<sup>2 3</sup>).

#### Death of Thorbjorn.

But at this crucial moment up came Magnus Havarth's son and his friends in no friendly mood. Their violence suggests that they had at length made a crossing of Little Moss some way to the north-west, and were not a little indignant to discover that Haraldr had taken off Thorbjorn in the opposite direction.

As the Earl would offer Thorbjorn no protection, he and his eight men-at-arms made for the nearest shelter, a few deserted huts or shielings called Asgrim's *erg* (315<sup>9</sup>). Magnus and his men at once set fire to the structure in which they were hiding. And there all fell fighting gallantly against fire and spear.

The chapter concludes: "Earl Harald continued his journey down along the dale, but Magnus and his company turned back to Forsie and laid out Earl Rognvald's body and bore it down to Thurso" (315<sup>18 20</sup>).

#### Where Was Asgrimserg?

One problem remains,—the identity of Asgrim's *erg*. Anderson (*Orkn S.*, 187) first identified it with the farm of Assery lying between Forsie and Loch Calder. The identification is etymologically possible, although one expects to find an *erg* on a hillside rather than on the low slope at the foot of a loch. For a long time I accepted this identification. But two considerations have recently led me to abandon it.

In the first place, if Thorbjorn ran from Alltan Ghuinne to Assery for safety from Magnus Havarth's son, then he must have been running almost directly towards him, with no cover of any kind—a somewhat absurd thing to do. If we imagine him running up the hill past Leurary, or (assuming an encounter

further downstream) taking refuge on Bailie Hill, then his movements become intelligible.

In the second place, in 315<sup>a</sup> we read that Magnus Havarth's son on leaving Asgrim's *erg* "turned back to Forsie"; an examination of the passage shows that "back" means "away from Thurso." But Forsie is further down the valley leading to Thurso than Assery.

The conclusion must be that the original *Asgrimserg* has still to be identified, and may be sought near Leurary or on Bailie Hill; unless, of course, the name has been transferred to form one of these districts to modern Assery.

It is disappointing not to be able to locate more accurately the final scene of a dramatic chapter.

Such is what seems to me to be a remarkably accurate Saga itinerary. There is no doubt that the author was familiar with the scene. He appears to know Caithness well; he shows a similarly accurate knowledge of Freshwick in chapter 93.

But it does not appear probable that he was actually present on Rognvald's fateful expedition. He is vague about the situation of the *erg* or shielings in which the Earls spent the first night. The speeches have the already-mentioned artificial Thucydidean flavour. Despite the accuracy of the itinerary there is no one detail in the whole which stamps it as the work of an eye-witness.

# STUDIES IN THE ORKNEYINGA SAGA

BY ALEX. B. TAYLOR

Kirkwall, 2nd March, 1933.

## I. A RECENT GERMAN TRANSLATION.

W. H. H. Baetke: *Die Geschichten von den Orkaden, Danemark und der Jomsburg.* Thule Series, No. 19. Jena, 1924.

This well printed and neatly bound volume contains a translation of the greater part of the *Orkneyinga Saga*, *Knytlinga Saga*, and *Jómsvíkinga Saga*. The translation of O.S. does not include the Mythological Introduction or the Saga of Earl Magnus. It is based on the latest text, that of Nordal, but does not take advantage of the textual variants in Nordal's footnotes. There are a few topographical and biographical notes, derived, it would appear, from Vigfusson's and Nordal's indexes of names. The translation is, like that of Dasent, a literal one. Even to one not too well acquainted with German it conveys the impression of being pedestrian in the extreme. I have repeatedly sought help from it in revising my own translation, but it has been of little assistance.

Although it has nothing new to offer the student of Orkney history, it is a picturesque addition to the Orkney bookshelf.

## II. AN UNRECORDED MANUSCRIPT.

During a visit to Yale University, in the city of New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A., in May, 1931, I spent a few days browsing in the New Yale Library, a magnificent cathedral-like structure large enough to house 5,000,000 books, recently completed at a cost of £1,300,000. As I usually do in a strange library, I looked up "Orkney" in the card catalogue: I have often been surprised by the number of old books on Orkney and Shetland in American University libraries. But on this occasion my reward was unique. I found catalogued a MS. of the *Orkneyinga Saga* entitled *Orkneyinga Paattr*, which appears to have escaped the notice of Sigurthor Nordal, the most recent editor of the Saga text. (See Nordal's O.S., pp. XLIV.-XLV.)

The MS. consists of 150 quarto pages with fly-leaves at either end. The first page has the title *Paattr* (sing., "story"); but the rest of the pages are

headed more correctly *Paattur* ("stories"). The MS. is well preserved. The paper is of average quality. The watermark consists of horizontal lines 25.5 mm. apart, with spangled decorations at the edges next the binding. At intervals the name "J. Honig" takes the place of these decorations. The present binding dates from the eighteenth century. The backing paper projects in one or two places, disclosing some German print and some eighteenth century Danish.

The script, which covers an area in each page of 207 mm. by 161 mm., is a clear if not too regular Roman hand, the letters being fairly uniformly 3 mm. in height. The initial letters are only modestly ornamental.

Examination of the text shows that the MS. is a copy of the fourth section of the Saga found in the *Flateyjarbók* (Nordal's O.S. 42-331.) The MS. is thus a late one, probably belonging to the sixteenth century like the other paper MSS. listed by Nordal (O.S. p. XLV.). It is of no value so far as supplementing the text of the Saga is concerned.

Though lacking in this vital interest, however, there is still the problem of how a sixteenth century Icelandic manuscript found its way into the library of Yale University. Several previous owners have left their names on the fly-leaves. The rear fly-leaf has been much scribbled on. But one can make out faintly "Johanes Kristjansson," and, less faintly, "Einar Jonasson af ?Saltvijk af ?Fiomiurs." On the front fly-leaf is the name "E. Halldórsson." All of these men, and several others, have left marginal notes of a quite insignificant nature. One unknown owner has underlined many archaeological terms in red, and has indexed them on the rear fly-leaf.

Inquiry at the Accessions Department of the library elicited the information that the MS. had been presented to Yale in 1919 by Mr. Edward A. Bowers, since deceased, along with a collection of postage stamps and several volumes on Roman law. This curious assortment of gifts was intriguing. Learning that Mr. Bowers was a Yale graduate, I repaired to the Yale Memorabilia Room to see what information regarding him was to be found there.

Mr. Bowers, I discovered, was born on August 2, 1857, and graduated in Law at Yale in 1881. He had a distinguished career as a Federal Inspector of Public Lands, and as Assistant Comptroller of the U.S. Treasury. As a Treasury official he travelled widely, visiting Europe several times. I could get no information as to the countries he passed through. But it would appear to have been on one of these visits that he acquired our MS., which seems to have been the only one which he possessed. He died, unmarried, on December 8, 1924. A sister and a brother died in the following year. No near relatives were to be found.

Thus my investigation came to an end. Of Mr. Bowers' character and interests I could learn nothing, although I did my best to extract reminiscences from one of the older librarians who had been his contemporary at Yale in the early '80's. The investigation lasted several days, and was conducted with the most cordial assistance of the library staff, whose hospitality to a foreigner was such as few visiting students in this country can hope to experience. In the Yale Library the MS. will probably remain undisturbed until another wandering student of Scandinavian Literature arrives to delve deeper into its secret.

### III. SUMARLITHI HÖLDR.

(O.S., 307-8).

"Gilli Odram was received by that chief who was named Sumarlithi Höldr (Freeman). He had rule over Dalar (apparently Argyll) in the West coast of Scotland. Sumarlithi's wife was Ragnhildr, daughter of Olaf Bitlingr (Snippet), King of the Hebrides. These were their children: King Dufgall, Rognvaldr and Engus; they were called the Dalar family."

At first sight this Sumarlithi appears to be identical with Somerled, Regulus of Argyll, who, according to *Tighernach*, *Chron. de Mailros* and *Annals of Ulster*, was killed in making an attack on Renfrew in 1164. J. Anderson so identifies him.

But it is impossible to square the account in O.S. with those in other sources; and O.S. makes him die at the hand of Sveinn Asleif's son in the N.W. coast of Scotland, c. 1157. Is the Saga here, as A. O. Anderson believes, "highly fabulous"? (*Early Sources of Scot. Hist.*, II., 225.)

There is a simple explanation which does not damage the assumed veracity of the Saga. The Sumarlithi of the Saga was not Somerled Regulus, but a Höldr or freeman with smaller lands and a much smaller following; he had "seven ships," (O.S., 308<sup>a</sup>). The author of this section of O.S., however, had heard of the great Somerled, and confused the two, giving to Sumarlithi the Freeman the title, territories and family of his greater namesake.

### IV. EARL ROGNVALD'S CRUSADE, O.S., CH. 85-89.

The narrative of Earl Rognvald's Crusade in O.S., ch. 85-89, rightly described by Mr. Clouston in his *History of Orkney* as without rival in Old Norse literature as a tale of sheer adventure, raises two sets of problems for the student of the Saga,—the problem of its authorship

and sources, and the problem of how the extant narrative can be explained in the light of the known facts of the geography of the Mediterranean.

#### AUTHORSHIP.

In translating the Saga I sensed in these chapters when I came to them a certain immaturity and formlessness of style as compared with the rest of Earl Rognvald's Saga. This syntactical formlessness—if it may be so called—is not sufficiently marked to suggest separate authorship, nor is it inconsistent with the vividness and rapidity of the narrative. But it suggested some sort of separate identity for the crusading chapters. Closer study revealed a series of factors which indicate that these chapters form a *páttir* or short story such as we find commonly incorporated in the sagas of Iceland. These factors are as follows:—

(i) These chapters have a definite unity of subject—the Crusade of Earl Rognvaldr Kali to the Holy Land.

(ii) There is a definite break in the narrative in the Saga between ch. 84 and ch. 85, and between ch. 89 and ch. 90. As a self-contained *páttir* the tale has a clear beginning and ending.

(iii) Ch. 85 begins in the year 1148, the year of the accession in Norway of the sons of Haraldr Gilli. This appears to jump a few years from the events in the previous chapter—the death of Earl Valthjofr.

(iv) Ch. 89 carries the narrative chronologically further than the succeeding chapters of the Saga (until, of course, we come to the last group of chapters, chs. 109-112). Ch. 89 concludes with a summary of the careers of Erlingr Crickneck and Eindriithi the Younger until the latter's death in (probably) ~~1169~~ Feb. 27, 1163; but the next chapter, ch. 90, returns to Earl Rognvaldr in Hordland in the summer of 1153.

(v) The chapters are peculiar in their exceedingly liberal use of skaldic verses.

(vi) Most of the chapters are unusually long—in all MSS.—for Rognvaldr Kali's Saga.

(vii) People appear in ch. 85 without the usual formal introduction—"There was a man called. . . ." E.g. Eindriithi the Younger in O.S., 215<sup>a</sup>.

(viii) The interest of the narrator seems to be oriented towards Norway rather than, as in the rest of Rognvaldr Kali's Saga, towards the Orkneys and Caithness. This may be due to the use of the lost Saga of Erlingr Crickneck as a source of information. The probability of this is discussed in the study of the sources of the narrative below.

(ix) The prose style, as has been already mentioned, is immature and formless.

Such an array of facts leaves it beyond doubt that we have here a distinct Crusade *páttir*, possibly an earlier work of the author of Rognvaldr Kali's Saga, and later worked into that by him.

#### SOURCES.

At first sight the *páttir* appears to be based directly upon oral tradition around the nuclei of a large number of occasional verses composed by several of the Crusaders—Rognvaldr Kali, Oddi the Little, Armothr, Sigmundr Fishhook, and Thorbjorn the Black. No part of the Saga has so many references



well into the narrative at beginning and end. There is not sufficient evidence, however, to show whether it was inserted during or after the composition of the *pátr*.

#### GEOGRAPHICAL PROBLEMS.

The Crusade appears to have lasted from the summer of 1151 to the summer of 1153, the salient dates reported in *O.S.* being as follows:—

- 1151.—Left Orkneys—Late summer, 230<sup>10</sup>, 233<sup>17</sup>. Stayed Narbonne—"A long time," 233<sup>17</sup>. Arr. Galicia—"Before Christmastide," 235<sup>11</sup>. Captured castle—During Christmastide, 239<sup>9</sup>, 241<sup>2</sup>.  
 1152.—Left Galicia—"After a short time," 242<sup>17</sup>. Reached Jordan—St. Lawrence Day, August 10, 255<sup>20</sup>. Arr. *Imbólar*—Autumn, 256<sup>6</sup>. Stayed *Imbólar*—"A long time," 256<sup>6</sup>. Stayed Istanbul—"For the winter," 258<sup>21</sup>.  
 1153.—Arr. Norway—Summer, 261<sup>3</sup>. Arr. Orkneys—"A little before Christmastide," 262<sup>10</sup>.

Unless we follow Vigfusson in identifying *Narbón*, not with Narbonne, but with Bilbao on the River Nervion on the North of Spain, then we meet the difficulty of explaining how Narbonne on the Mediterranean coast of France was reached before the Straits of Gibraltar were entered. The author appears to think that it is on the Atlantic coast of France.

To this problem must be added the identity of the place names *Imbólar*, *Prasnes*, and *Engilsnes*, and of *Germanus* and the lady *Ermingerör* of Narbonne. All of these problems have been exhaustively studied by three Continental scholars in the following articles:—

Hugo Gering: *Die Episode von Rognvaldr und Ermingerör*, in *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, XLIII. (1911), 428-434; and XLVI. (1914), 1-17.

Finnur Jónsson: *Rognvald jarls Jorsalfærd*, in the Danish *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 8, R. iv. (1912), 151-165.

R. Meissner: *Ermengarde und Rognvaldr*, in *Arkiv for nordisk Filologi*, XLI. (1925), 140-191.

To Gering we owe the identification of *Ermingerör* with Ermengarde, daughter of a Count Aymeri of Narbonne (d. 1134). Gering, however, quite unnecessarily discounts the whole narrative as legendary and based on a *chanson de geste* which by some means had found its way to Iceland.

Jónsson, realising the genuineness of the verses, accepts the narrative as based on actual fact and seeks to arrange the verses—apart from the prose narrative—in such an order as to give a geographically possible order of events.

Meissner reviews Gering's and Jónsson's articles at length, and adduces additional arguments in favour of Jónsson.

From these elaborate studies it is refreshing to turn to Mr. Clouston's concise summary of the main problems in his footnote on p. 95 of his *History of Orkney*. He argues quite simply that if we accept the assumption that the name *Narbón* was substituted by some scribe for the name of an Atlantic seaport in the original, which he did not understand, then the narrative may be accepted as it stands.

But such an assumption, I fear, we cannot make. The authenticity of the name *Narbón* is too well attested. It occurs in two of Earl Rognvald's occasional verses (*O.S.*, 234<sup>10</sup> and 250<sup>17</sup>) at the end of the eighth line in each. Verses were usually regarded as reliable and scribes rarely tamper with them. Indeed, a name beginning with *n* and having *-on-* in the second syllable is necessary to the metre of each verse. If Mr. Clouston's assumption does not stand, one may presume that his conclusion falls also.

After a careful reading of the three studies above referred to, with the Saga text before me, I have no doubt in my mind that Professor Jónsson has found the key to the problem. So far as I know, no English version of his views has appeared, and I feel I cannot do better than give a brief exposition of them.

The author of the *pátr*, he argues, thought that *Narbón* was on the Atlantic coast of France, and as a result of this mistaken idea transposed what must have been the actual order of events. The visit to Ermengarde was actually made after coasting past Galicia and round Spain into the Mediterranean just after the separation from Eindriði, and immediately preceding the attack on Guthifreyr. Jónsson guesses astutely that the purpose of going to Narbonne was to winter. As has been mentioned, he bases his theory on a close study of the verses, some of which in their present context are slightly awkward. For example, Earl Rognvald's verse at *O.S.*, 244<sup>10</sup> reads: "An East wind has driven our ship this winter season far from the hands of the Spanish lady. . . . The wind drives the sea-stag swiftly along the coast of Spain." In the Saga narrative this verse appears just before the entry into the Straits of Gibraltar—an impossible connection. But it is comprehensible of a ship leaving Narbonne in the early months of 1152. In the next verse the east wind seems to have slackened, and they are driving south or south-west: "The land recedes to the north. . . . A hateful cruise for one land-lubber have I carved with my thin prow away from Spain this day" (*O.S.*, 245<sup>10</sup>). Yet in the Saga this appears while they are cruising along the coast of Barbary. Again it is significant that the name of Ermengarde, which is so well bespattered over the verses made in the East Mediterranean, does not occur in any of those that clearly refer to the voyage round the coast of Spain—for the presumable reason that the Earl had not then met her! The close connection of the visit to Ermengarde and the attack on Guthifreyr is shown by their being mentioned together in a single verse, *O.S.*, 239<sup>15</sup>. Indeed, he argues, there is a Gaulish sound about the first part of Guthifreyr; and we remember that he speaks French (*O.S.*, 238<sup>10</sup>).

The real itinerary would therefore be as follows:—

- 1151.—Left Orkneys — Summer. Arr. Galicia—October. Left Galicia—"After a short time." Arr. Narbonne—November. Captured Guthifreyr's castle—Christmas.  
 1152.—Left for the Holy Land—January-February.

It will be noted that it is necessary to transfer Guthifreyr and his castle from Galicia to the neighbourhood of Narbonne in order to keep the siege near Christmas, at which time one of the Earl's verses (*O.S.*, 241<sup>a</sup>) shows it to have been.

As to the identity of the other doubtful place names in the *pátr*, it is still difficult to decide. I shall not attempt here a discussion of all the alternatives. *Prasnes* may be Cape Torinana, near Cape Finisterre; but as it is passed by the Crusaders *before* they reach Galicia (*O.S.*, 234), I doubt if this, or any, identification is possible. As the name appears later in a verse along with that of Acre (*O.S.*, 254<sup>a</sup>), it is more probable that it is to be sought in the Eastern Mediterranean. As has been already pointed out, more reliance is to be placed on inferences drawn from verses than on categorical statements made in the prose narrative. *Imbólar* may be, as Dasent

guessed, the island of Imbros at the mouth of the Dardanelles. Meissner in his article takes the Saga *Imbóllum* (dative case) as having been also the nominative, and equivalent to Latin *embolum*, a *rostrum* or pulpit in the forum. He thus argues that it is not a place name at all, but just a bazaar in some unknown seaport town. Vigfusson had a similar ingenious explanation to offer, of a transliteration from the Greek *empolis*; and Bugge (*Norges Hist.*, II., 2, 15) suggests Amphipolis. Dasent's Imbros seems to fit the narrative and is near enough to the O.N. word; but again it is a mere conjecture. *Engilsnes* may be, as is usually assumed, Cape St. Angelo. The difficulty arises of how it came to be passed on the way from Acre to Istanbul. It was, probably, inserted by the author as a well known landmark on the standard sea-route to Istanbul whither so many stalwart Norsemen found their way.

## THE ORKNEYINGA SAGA: ITS RELATION TO OTHER SAGA LITERATURE

BY A. B. TAYLOR

Kirkwall, 30th August, 1934.

### The Family Saga.

AMONG the Sagas which were written down in Iceland in the late twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, three main types can be distinguished. Of these, the Family Sagas, commonly called *Islendinga Sögur*, "the Sagas of the men of Iceland," are the largest and the most interesting group. They include such tales as *Grettis Saga*, *Laxdæla Saga*, and *Brennu-Njáls Saga*, and had their origin in the aristocratic traditions and genealogical interests of the older Icelandic families. The events dealt with consist mainly in the adventures and relationships of the chief men in these families in the late tenth and the eleventh centuries. They have the characteristics of what Professor Chadwick in his recent volume *The Growth of Literature* calls the Post-Heroic Period. The point of view is aristocratic. The interest is centred in a hero and his exploits, but without that often humourless exaggeration which marks the narratives of the Heroic Age proper—as in *Beowulf*, and indeed often in Homer—or of the later Age of the Romance of Chivalry. The Saga narrative is sober and matter-of-fact, the prose style straightforward and conversational, with no trace, except in isolated passages, of that verbosity which spells Latin influence. Manslayings, blood-feuds, law-suits, outlawries, voyages to distant lands fill many pages in these Sagas. Family genealogies are an essential part of them. Christianity has little influence on either the motives of the characters, or the point of view of the authors, although both the Sagatellers or *spakir-menn* who composed and handed down the Sagas by word of mouth and the scribes who first put them in writing were probably often family priests. The old Destiny-motif of the Heroic poems is present, but is less oppressive; it is viewed not so much in the form of a doctrine as for its psychological implications and its dramatic value, even as Euripides viewed the tragic situations of Greek Heroic Legend—bizarre as only a malevolent Diety could make them—with an eye of pity, and yet an eye for art. When Gunnarr in *Njáls Saga* is overborne by circumstance he seems to become a stronger and a finer man. When the coils of

fate begin to close round the outlaw Grettir, his bewilderment is crystallized into one terrible emotion, the fear of the dark. Few things in any literature are so impressive as these two re-interpretations of the predestination of the Heroic Age. With few exceptions these Family Sagas give the impression of vivid narratives founded on fact, and both for their artistic excellence and their bulk—they occupy 3,500 pages in the Reykjavik edition—they are unique in their kind among early literature.

### The "Kings' Lives."

The second type of Saga literature—contemporary with the first—is that which we regard today as more purely historical—the Sagas of the Kings of Norway and of Denmark, composed no doubt during or immediately after their life-times, but surviving only in such compilations as *Agrip af Noregs konunga sögum*, *Fagrskinna*, *Morkinskinna*, Snorri's *Heimskringla*, *Hulda*, and, for Denmark, *Knýllinga Saga*. The sole isolated Saga surviving in approximately its original form is that of Sverrir, King of Norway 1184-1202, written partly in Norway at Sverrir's dictation and partly in Iceland. To this class also belongs *Jómsvikinga Saga*, a vivid account of the foundation and history of the viking fortress at Wollen in Pomerania. The compilations above-mentioned cover each a wide period of time. Those dealing with Norway normally begin with Halfdan the Black in the ninth century and come down to the death of King Eysteinn in 1177; this appears to have been accepted as the natural stopping place on the ground that the succeeding period was covered in *Sverris Saga*. *Knýllinga Saga* begins with the reign of Haraldr Gorm's son c. 930 and comes down to 1190. All these compilations make use of oral tradition— anecdotes and verses that have found their way to Iceland on the tongues of traders and wandering skalds. All in varying degrees make use of written sources—Sagas, Latin annals, genealogies; these sources being sometimes used freely and critically, as in *Agrip* and *Heimskringla*, and sometimes more slavishly, as in *Fagrskinna* and *Hulda*. The striking feature of these Kings' Lives is the mass of historical detail in

them regarding places, people, movements of men and ships, negotiations between rival kings and earls. Anecdotes of peculiar human situations, or revealing significant traits in the characters of the chief personages, scraps of conversation, quick retorts, sudden fits of daring or of violence—all have an air of truth. There are, it is true, continual discrepancies between the various Lives, which create a Synoptic problem very similar to that which faces the student of the Gospels. But Ari, the first Icelandic historian, set a noble example in accuracy of statement which was not lost on his successors. As one would expect in an historical work, the narrative in these Lives is mainly episodic; interest is in events more than in personages; and the Destiny-motif is almost entirely absent.

#### The "Sagas of Olden Times."

The third type of Saga literature is known as *Fornaldar Sögur*, "the Sagas of olden time." This name was given to those Sagas based on early legends such as are found in Heroic and Mythological poems. Among them are *Ynglinga Saga* with which Snorri began his *Heimskringla*, the lost *Skjoldunga Saga* which preceded *Knjtinga Saga* in a similar way, *Hrólfs Saga kraka*, and *Hervarar Saga*. These do not appear to have come into existence until the thirteenth century, and probably had no "oral" history as Sagas. They are products of the great literary and historical movement in Iceland to which we owe the writing down of all Old Icelandic poetry and prose. But the material of these Sagas is clearly of great antiquity. The personages are but shadows, insubstantial things; the tale is often broken music. They are truly Sagas "of olden time."

#### Other Types of Saga Literature.

Other minor types of Saga are the fictitious Sagas (*lygisögur* or "lying Sagas"), the romantic Sagas of foreign origin, and the ecclesiastical Sagas. Examples of the last of these are *Kristni Saga* telling the story of the introduction and growth of Christianity in Iceland down to 1118, and *Biskupa Sögur*, a collection of ecclesiastical biographies. These are characterised by a simplicity of narrative style and a general naiveté of outlook; the sanctity of the personages and the significance of the incidents are deemed to be self-evident and self-explanatory.

To the same class belong translations of Latin "Saints' Lives." These are verbose in style, prolix in detail yet without verisimilitude, and display an avid belief in all that is miraculous. One of the largest of these is a life of St. Thomas à Becket called *Thomas Saga erkibiskups*, available in an English translation in the Rolls Series.

#### The Orkneyingá Saga and the Family Sagas.

That the *Orkneyingá Saga* stands somewhat apart from other Saga literature has already been noted by Vigfusson in a short study of the Saga in his *Prolegomena to Sturlunga Saga*, and by Professor Finnur Jonsson of Copenhagen in his *Litt. Hist.* II. 653.

One does not expect it to resemble the Icelandic Family Saga. The scene is remote from Iceland and it cannot

have had in Iceland the stimulus of family pride in its compilation. Indeed, certain features of the Family Saga are noticeably absent.

In the first place, there are few private law-suits. It might be argued that these are not to be expected in a Saga dealing with earls and kings. But there are many private individuals, *goethingar* and *lendirmen*, who had occasion to make use of arbitration at a Thing. We read of many Things in the Orkneys, but they are political and not judicial assemblies. We hear much of arbitration and "going-between," of *saett* and compensation, but negotiations are informal, and not infrequently little information is given regarding the terms of settlement. We can only conclude that a system of civil law had not developed so fully in the Orkneys as in Iceland, and that there was lacking among Saga-men and Saga audiences in the Orkneys that enthralling interest in legal procedure which existed in Iceland at the same period.

In only two sections of the Saga is there a strong legal interest. The first *páttir* or Short-Saga about Earl Thorfinnr (O.S. ch. 13-19) is a well written account of the diplomatic struggle between Earls Thorfinnr, Einarr and Brusi for the favour of King Olaf Helgi and the possession of as large a share as they could get of the Orkney Earldom. The authorship of the *páttir* is unknown. It appears to have so impressed Snorri that he included it, none too relevantly, in his Saga of Olaf Helgi in *Heimskringla* (*Hks.*, *S. of Ol. H.*, ch. 97-103). The second instance of a legal interest is the tale of the feud between Kolr, father of Rognvaldr Kali, and John Limp-leg in Norway, which is related less for its intrinsic interest than for the influence it had in the fortunes of Rognvaldr.

The second feature noticeably absent is the genealogy which in a Family Saga normally accompanies each new personage who enters the tale. For example, in introducing a new character, *Njáls Saga* usually reads like this:

"There was a man called Skapti. He was the son of Thoroddr. Thoroddr's mother was Thorvor. She was the daughter of Thormothr Skapti's son, son of Olaf the Broad, son of Oliver Old-child. That father and son were great chiefs and well skilled in the law. . . ." (*Nj. S.*, ch. 56.)  
The *Orkneyingá Saga* in similar circumstances reads as follows:

"There was a man called Amundi. He was rich and well-to-do and lived on the Mainland at *Hlaupandanes* in Sandwick. He had a son called Thorkell, in every way the most accomplished of all men born and bred in the Orkneys. . . ." (*O.S.*, ch. 14.)

There are, it must be admitted, two longer genealogical passages in the *Saga*, the first in ch. 33, and the second spread over chs. 53, 55, and 56. After a careful study of these in relation to the rest of the *Saga* I have come to the conclusion that they were written by the compiler to introduce succinctly and for easy reference the persons who were to play a part in the succeeding narrative, so that such paragraphs as those on Skapti Thoroddr's son and Thorkell Amundi's son would be unnecessary. That this was his purpose in the sec-

ond set of genealogies I have little doubt; all the people mentioned occur later in the tale. His purpose in the first (ch. 33) is a little less clear. It is more of a genealogy *per se*. Although we are told that "all these men come into the Saga later" (O.S. 89<sup>18</sup> 19), many of them do not. The compiler probably had at hand a written genealogy of the family of the Earls Paul and Erlendr, copied it into his text, and added the above conventional sentence in the genuine belief that its promise would be fulfilled.

In two families, it may be noted, the *Saga* shows peculiar interest, that of Frakokk the virago of Caithness, and that of Kolbeinn Hruqa of Wyre. The interest in Frakokk's family (O.S. ch. 53-55, 78) may be accounted for by the probability that the compiler had resided for a time in Caithness. The genealogies of Kolbeinn's family occur in passages that were fairly certainly later additions to the *Saga* text, at the end of ch. 84 (O.S. 213<sup>25</sup>-214<sup>26</sup>), and the end of ch. 108 (O.S. 321<sup>27</sup> 28), and in ch. 109 (O.S. 321<sup>24</sup> 25); the consecration of Bjarni, son of Kolbeinn, as Bishop of the Orkneys).

This interest in Kolbeinn's family is all the more noticeable in that it has little relevance to its context. It may be explained by the fame of Bishop Bjarni in Iceland as churchman, poet, and diplomatist.

Such points of contact with the Family Saga as have been described above are found mainly in the latter half of the *Orkneyinga Saga*, which tells the Saga of Earl Rognvaldr Kali. Other points of contact can be found in this section of the *Saga*. The scrapes of Sveinn of Gairsay and his cronies have the same picaresque appeal as one meets in *Grettis Saga*, and *Viga-Glúms Saga*, two of the great Sagas of Out-lawry. The presentation of Sveinn's character, the position he occupies in the centre of the drama, the admiration of the author for the hard realism of his personality, an admiration apparent but without explicit expression until we read of his death in ch. 100—all these are in the best manner of the Family Saga. So also are the aristocratic point of view, the careful dating of events season by season, and the revelation from chapter to chapter of the essence of the story-teller's art—the continued gratification of expectant curiosity.

#### The Orkneyinga Saga and the "Kings' Lives."

The *Orkneyinga Saga* as a whole, however, seems more closely related as regards its structure and its intention to the Kings' Lives than to the Family Saga. Its compiler seems to be trying to do for the Earls of the Orkneys what Snorri did for the Kings of Norway and what the unknown author of *Knýtlinga Saga* did later for the royal house of Denmark. Our *Saga* is a compilation of individual Earl's Sagas and *þættir*, some of which had survived orally and some in written form; and this collection is preceded by a Mythological Introduction (O.S. ch. 1-3) giving a mythological ancestry to the Orkney Earls, just as Snorri's introductory *Ynglinga Saga* did for the Kings of Norway, and *Skjöldunga Saga* did for the Kings of Denmark. Our *Saga* has the same efforts at chronology, the same reliance on skaldic verses for confirmation of anecdotes

surviving orally, the same mass of historical detail as these collections of Kings' Lives. It claims implicitly to be history rather than art. The Destiny-motif is absent. There are frequent references to sources of information—skaldic poems, eye-witnesses, and (more rarely) written Sagas.

In one feature the *Orkneyinga Saga* can claim a certain individual quality in its technique. The various Earls' Sagas and *þættir* are very skilfully linked together, sometimes by a genealogical chapter such as has been described above, more often by brief abstracts from the same Kings' Sagas which were used *in extenso* by Snorri and his fellows. These original Kings' Sagas or Lives, as has been said, are now lost, but their existence can be deduced from the similarities and dissimilarities between these linking chapters in our *Saga* and the relevant chapters in Snorri's work and in *Fagrskinna* or *Morkinskinna*. For example, the latter part of O.S. ch. 8 is drawn in all probability from a lost Saga of Eiríkr Bloody-Axe, and bridges the gap between the punitive expedition of Haraldr Fairhair (894 x) and the *þættir* (O.S. ch. 9-11) of the sons of Thorfinnr Skull-splitter (977 x). In the latter part of the *Saga*, ch. 91, based probably on the lost Saga of Ingi and Sigurthr, deals with King Eysteinn's expedition to the British Isles in the summer of 1151 and serves as a transition from the conclusion of the *þáttir* of Earl Rognvaldr's Crusade (ch. 85-89) to the narrative of events in the Orkneys during his absence (ch. 92-93).

There are traces of these linking chapters in *Knýtlinga Saga*. Ch. 20 is an excursion into Norwegian history to explain Haraldr Gilli's flight to Denmark and the events consequent thereon, and is probably based on the lost Saga of Haraldr. But as a principle of composition the linking chapter is not employed with the conscious purpose apparent in the *Orkneyinga Saga*. The latter has at least five such chapters (chs. 8, 21, 34, 62, 91); and perhaps ch. 12 and the group of chapters (ch. 39-43) based on the lost Saga of Magnus Barelegs may be classified in the same manner.

#### The Orkneyinga Saga and Other Types of Saga Literature.

With the remaining types of Saga literature the *Orkneyinga Saga* has affinities only in parts. The Mythological Introduction (O.S. ch. 1-3) already referred to belongs to the third main type, "the Sagas of olden time." It may have had a poetic origin; for the myth of Fornjotr is very old. It appears to have been an independent document which the compiler found suited to his purpose and used with little alteration.

Again, the Saga of Saint Magnus (O.S. ch. 44-52, and ch. 56 (end only) -57) stands apart from the bulk of the *Orkneyinga Saga* in being neither a cool historical narrative nor a tale told by the chimney corner, but a Saint's Life of the orthodox medieval variety. In unctuous terms are described his early sanctity, his martyrdom, burial, and the reburial of his relics within the sanctuary, and the miracles supposedly performed at his shrine. It says much for the historical sense of the compiler that

of the three extant versions of the Saga of Saint Magnus, the most sober is that contained within his *Orkneyinga Saga*.

Lastly, there are romantic elements in the tale of Earl Rognvald's Crusade (*O.S.* ch. 85-89) which are out of harmony with the tone and temper of both the Family Saga at its best and the Kings' Lives. In its gaiety and spirit of adventure, its love interest and knight-errantry, it is equally removed from the solemn purposefulness of Kari or even Olaf Peacock on their voyages abroad, and the more sober chronicle of Sigurthr the Crusader's journey to Palestine and Istanbul (*Hkr., S. of Sig., Eyst., and Ol.*, ch. 3-13). It would be dangerous to assert the influence of the French Romance of Chivalry here at so early a period. We know that in Norway in 1226 a translation of the romance of Tristram was made for King Hakon. It is possible, although no direct evidence can be adduced, that similar tales

had found their way to Iceland on the mouths of travelling skalds by 1210-1220, during which period our *Saga* was probably compiled.

#### Conclusion.

To sum up, the *Orkneyinga Saga* is a clever compilation made on the model of the Collections of Kings' Lives, but in its various parts it has affinities to all the other classifiable types of Saga literature—in the Mythological Introduction to the "Sagas of olden time," in the Sagas of the early Orkney Earls to the Kings' Lives themselves, in the Saga of Saint Magnus to the ecclesiastical Saints' Lives, and in the Saga of Rognvaldr Kali to the typical Family and Outlaw Sagas and the late Romantic Saga. Where the compiler found all this diversity of material, how far he copied, adapted, or wrote from what he himself had heard are problems which must be left as the subject of a future study.

## THE ORKNEYINGA SAGA: ITS PLACE OF COMPOSITION

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ALTHOUGH the *Orkneyinga Saga* deals in such a detailed manner with the history of the Orkneys for three centuries, and although it differs in certain important features from the typical Sagas of Iceland, there can be no doubt that it was first written down in that Northern island. F. Jónsson (*Litt. Hist.* II., 655) and S. Nordal (*O.S.* VII-VIII) have no doubt upon the matter. It is well, however, to display in order the evidence for place of composition and even to inquire if it is possible to localize the Saga in any particular part of Iceland.

The evidence for Iceland as the place of composition is as follows:—

- (i) The two earliest extant MS fragments, AM 325 III B 4-to (known as 325 b) and AM 325 III A 4-to (known as 325 a), are Icelandic. A careful study of the orthography and phonology of the former has revealed less than a dozen O.Norw. forms, all of them isolated and probably mere scribal aberrations. There is no trace of distinctively S.W. Norwegian forms, such as would suggest the possibility of an Orkney origin for the Saga.
- (ii) The vocabulary is, in the main, the standard vocabulary of the Sagas of Iceland. There are, it is true, terms that are used in a sense that is peculiar to the Orkneys:—*gæðingr*, *raðgjafi*, *hóldr* (q.v. in Index of Legal Terms). There are also several land and property terms that are non-Icelandic:—

*ból*: a "farm," used alone (52<sup>s</sup>).

*garðr*, in the sense of "a house in a town" (142<sup>s</sup>).

*bær*, in the sense of "an unfortified town or village"; of Bergen, 153<sup>r</sup>, 225<sup>14</sup>; of Oslo, 154<sup>13</sup>.

*skytning*: "an alehouse" where each paid his own "skot" (53<sup>s</sup>, 141<sup>18</sup>, 144<sup>s</sup>).

But these may all be accounted for by the foreign origin of the oral traditions on which the written Saga was based, and by the fact that although non-Icelandic they would not be strange to the compiler who, it would appear, must have resided for some length of time in Caithness and the Orkneys.

On the other side we find several usages typically Icelandic. In 137<sup>23</sup> we find O.Icel. *þorð* for O.Norw. *ból*. In 315<sup>s</sup> we find O.Icel. *sel* for O.Norw.

*setr*: a "shieling," a term used to explain the word *erg* (for Celt. *airigh*) earlier in the same chapter (309n). Indeed, the need for explaining the word *erg* would not have arisen in the Orkneys or in Caithness, where there are numerous farm names derived from it, usually ending to-day in *-ary*. Lastly, though of less value as evidence, the standard spelling throughout the different parts of the Saga of O.Norw. *Prándheimr* (Trondhjem) is O.Icel. *Prándheimr* (3<sup>r</sup>, 5<sup>s</sup>, 57<sup>16</sup>, 142<sup>16</sup>).

- (iii) The majority of the skalds whose verses are quoted in the Saga were Icelanders. The only important exceptions are Turf-Einar, five of whose verses appear in his own Saga, and Rognvaldr Kali, who is responsible for thirty-two in his. It is probable that Turf-Einar's verses found their way to Iceland at an early period, and those of Rognvaldr Kali during his lifetime, probably on the lips of Oddi the Little and Armothr and the other Icelandic skalds who visited Earl Rognvaldr in the Orkneys.

- (iv) The repeated mention of the Sagas of the Orkney Earls in almost contemporary Icelandic literature is fairly certain proof, as S. Nordal points out (O.S. l.c.), of its Icelandic provenance.

- (v) One would expect that an Icelander who had travelled in the "Western" Isles would, in writing for his countrymen, take pains to explain the relative positions of places and give a little more topographical detail than is usual in Sagas where the scene is laid in Iceland. We do not find this to be so. Indeed, it is not the Saga way. The Saga rarely explains people, and often describes them most meagrely; and it rarely describes places. Only by an acquaintance with the scene of action can one appreciate the skill of Sveinn in kidnapping Paul in Roussay, or in escaping from *Lambaborg*. Only by a visit to Caithness can one follow Earl Rognvaldr on his last ride to his death at Forsie. In a few instances one finds an explanatory sentence:—

"Northumbria . . . which is a fifth part of England." (14n.)

"Anglesey is a third part of Wales." (103<sup>1</sup>.)

" . . . the whole of Cantyre; it is better than the best island in the *Sudreyjar*, with the exception of the Isle of Man. It projects to the West from Scotland and [there is] a narrow isthmus at the landward end, so that ships are frequently hauled over." (105<sup>a</sup> 11).

" . . . *Dufeyri*: that is a market-town in Scotland." (197<sup>a</sup>.) But the first three of the above occur in parallel passages in *Hkr.*, and the second and third in similar passages in *Mork.*: so that they belong originally not to O.S. but to the lost Kings' Sagas on which portions of it are based.

- (vi) Akin to actual descriptions are "sailing directions." One might expect that an Icelander would betray his point of reference, as it were, by his use of the points of the compass and of verbs of coming and going. Actually, the most contradictory of results can be obtained from such phrases. A few, however, seem definite:—

"Thorbjorn was by turns out in the Orkneys" (*ut i Orkneyjum*, 196<sup>a</sup>).

"There were not at that time two men out in the West (*fyrir vestan haf*) not of higher birth who were thought more powerful than Sveinn and his brother-in-law Thorbjorn" (196<sup>b</sup> 21).

" . . . West to the Isle of Man" (199<sup>a</sup>; really South, but, to the sea-faring Icelander in British waters, further West meant merely further from home).

- (vii) Finally, our Saga is too close an imitation of the Icelandic collections of Kings' Lives to have been compiled far away from where they were put together.

As to the actual part of Iceland where the *Orkneyinga Saga* was compiled we have little evidence. F. Jónsson (*Litt. Hist.* II, 656) suggested the North. One type of evidence—though of the negative variety—is the compiler's ignorance of facts known in other parts of Iceland. For example, the early history of Norse rule in the Hebrides, and the great personalities of Authr the Deep-minded and Ketill Flat-neb, and the rebellion of the latter against Haraldr Fair-hair appear to have been well-known in the West of Iceland, for they play a considerable part in *Laxdoela Saga*, and are mentioned in *Eyrbyggja Saga*, *Landnámabók*, and elsewhere, as part of the common stock of the Saga-teller's knowledge. Had he been in possession of this information, the compiler would surely have used it to explain Harald Fair-hair's attack on the Hebrides on his second expedition to the West (894x), instead of confusing the two expeditions and making a mere mention of the attack in the account of the first (cp. O.S., ch. 4 and ch. 8). Again, much

more seems to have been known in the South and West regarding the reign of Sigurthr the Stout, whose reign receives but scant attention in O.S., ch. 11-12. In *Njals Saga*, a southern Saga, there survives a long story of the visit of Kari, and of Helgi and Grimir, sons of Njall, to the Orkneys (976 x 990) and of their fight with the Scots Earls, Hundi and Melsnati at *Dungalsgnipa* (perhaps to be identified with *Skidamjrr* in O.S., ch. 11). The same Saga gives an account of the battle of Clontarf in 1014 and the events that led up to it—a much better account from the point of view of the history of the Orkney Earldom than our compiler seems able to give us. There are many other Icelandic visitors to Earl Sigurthr mentioned in the Sagas. The Skald Gunnlaugr Serpent-tongue paid two visits (999 and 1008 x 1012) and he and Sigurthr plundered in the Hebrides together (*Gunnl. S.*, ch. 11, 20;—a Saga of the West). Between 1012 and 1014 Thorsteinn, son of Hallr of Sida, was in Sigurth's service (*Porst. Sidu-Halls S.*, 215-216;—a Saga of the East). Thoroddr, an Icelandic merchant returning home from Dublin, sold his small boat to agents of Sigurthr to enable them to return with taxes from the Isle of Man, x 1014 (*Eyrb. S.*, ch. 29;—a Saga of the West). Bjorn, a Norwegian, and Thorkell, a relative of Sigurthr, plundered widely with him in Scotland, x 1012 (*Vatzd. S.*, ch. 43;—a Saga of the North).

The three last instances are perhaps not of much importance. The rest, if they prove anything at all, point to the North as the probable place of composition. The North was the home of Grettir and of Viga-Glum, two potent personalities beside whom Sveinn of Gairsay may fitly stand. In the North was composed *Vatadoela Saga*, the only Family Saga which quotes from O.S. Vigfusson (*Prol. to Sturl. S.*, LXVII) professed to see in O.S. a similarity in style and treatment to *Ljóstvetninga Saga*, another Family Saga of the North. But beyond the fact that *Ljóstvetninga Saga* is a compilation of disconnected *Pættir* written in a somewhat pedestrian style, there seems to me no point in the comparison.

A further piece of evidence, also somewhat negative in character deserves mention. Our compiler must have had at hand a collection of Lives of the Kings of Norway which was not *Agrip* or *Heimskringla* or *Fagrskinna* or *Morkinskinna*, but one similar to them. The compilation of O.S. and of *Hkr.* were almost contemporary, but the discrepancies between the two, especially in the accounts of Haraldr Fair-hair and of Magnus Bare-legs, must preclude the possibility of any consultation between the two compilers. As Snorri probably compiled *Hkr.* at home on his estate at Reykjaholt in the South-East, we may again suggest—but only suggest—the North as the locus of our Saga.