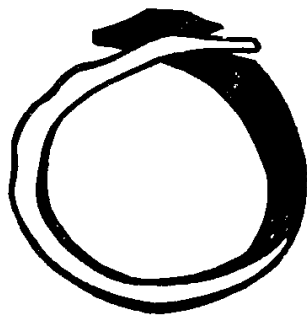


PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Seventh Viking Congress

Dublin 15-21 August
1973

EDITED BY
Bo Almqvist and David Greene



1976

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Seventh Viking Congress

Dublin, 1973

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Congress Diary

On Sunday evening, 15 July, the Organising Committee gave an informal reception in Trinity College. On Monday the President of the Royal Irish Academy, Professor David Greene, declared the Congress open, and an address of welcome was given by Professor Seamus Ó Duilearga. A paper was read by Charlotte Blindheim, and the members were guests of University College, Dublin, at a luncheon reception, after which they heard a paper from R. W. McTurk. They were entertained to dinner by the Lord Mayor of Dublin at the Tailors' Hall. On Tuesday, July 17, after hearing a paper by M. Oftedal, the members travelled by bus to Drogheda, where they were entertained to lunch by Cement Limited, proceeding later to Monasterboice and Tara and returning to Dublin for a reception given by Irish Life Assurance. On Wednesday, after hearing papers by M. Dolley and J. Graham-Campbell, the members were entertained to lunch by Arthur Guinness Son & Co. In the afternoon B. Ó Ríordáin lectured on the recent Dublin excavations, from the results of which an exhibition had been arranged in the National Museum; this exhibition was opened by Mr. R. Burke, Minister for Education, in the presence of members of the Congress, and he later entertained them at a reception in Iveagh House. On Thursday, July 19, after hearing papers from D. Greene and E. Haugen, the members were flown by Aer Lingus from Dublin to Shannon, and proceeded on a short tour of Co. Clare, spending the night in Limerick. On Friday morning, after hearing a paper from L. de Paor, the members returned to Dublin by bus, visiting Killaloe and Clonmacnoise on the way; they were later entertained by Bord Fáilte Éireann at the National Gallery of Ireland. On Saturday morning, July 21, after papers by Einar Ól. Sveinsson and Dag Strömbäck, the proceedings were brought to a close by the President of the Royal Irish Academy, and the Academy entertained the members at a luncheon reception.

All the papers delivered, with the exception of those by M. Dolley and D. Strömbäck, are included in this volume. The Editors have not changed the system of references used by contributors and have aimed only at consistency within individual articles.

A collection of Celtic (?) bronze objects found at Kaupang (Skiringsdal), Vestfold, Norway

By CHARLOTTE BLINDHEIM, Oslo

The main purpose of this lecture is to give a general account, and discuss the importance of, a large collection of insular objects, mainly of bronze, found during excavations on the Kaupang farms, near Larvik, Vestfold.

The better part of the Kaupang collection belongs to those groups of metal-work so well known from series of Viking graves and published *en bloc* in Shetelig's five-volume series *Viking Antiquities*. But as we all know most of this material comes from single graves; only now and then can we speak of a cemetery, and never before has insular metal-work of this type come to light on a habitation site in our country. I apply intentionally the very wide term "insular" because it seems to me that whilst it would be difficult to place the group as a whole anywhere but in the Anglo/Celtic area, it is extremely difficult for a person, who—like me—is not sufficiently familiar with the intricate questions of what should be catalogued as pure Irish, true Northumbrian—what may be Pictish, what seems to be Celtic, or merely Hiberno-Saxon—to have any opinion at all! Facing these problems one sometimes feels tempted to say: How right was The Bard when he said: "A rose by any other name would smell as sweet"

One example must suffice: The unique penannular brooch from Bergøy, Fister, now in Stavanger Museum, has a decoration of fine interlace on the front. On its back there is a beautiful engraving of e.g. two raised animals. In 1940 Jan Petersen catalogued this brooch as a piece of ornamented metal-work of Irish Style (Fig. 1)¹

In 1963, Egil Bakka said that the animal style "comes closer to being Northumbrian than any other penannular brooch of such early date"² In 1965 Françoise Henry used it as an example of "metal engraving which is very popular in Ireland at this time"³ In 1973 David Wilson placed it in "An Irish sea cultural zone"—"almost certainly in a Northumbrian workshop"⁴ If the terminals had been found alone I have no doubt that at least Scandinavian art historians would have found that the decoration on the back was secondary and belonged to the Urnes Style of ornament—thus giving convincing evidence that some of the Viking loot survived for centuries, venerated in certain families!

¹ *Viking Antiquities*, Vol. V, p. 44.

² Egil Bakka: Some English decorated metal objects. *Årbok Universitetet i Bergen*, No. 1 1963, p. 26.

³ Françoise Henry: *Irish Art in the early Christian period (to 800 A.D.)*, London 1965, p. 98.

⁴ Alan Small, Charles Thomas and David Wilson: *St. Ninian's Isle and its treasure*. Vol. I, Text. Oxford 1973, p. 86 and 129.

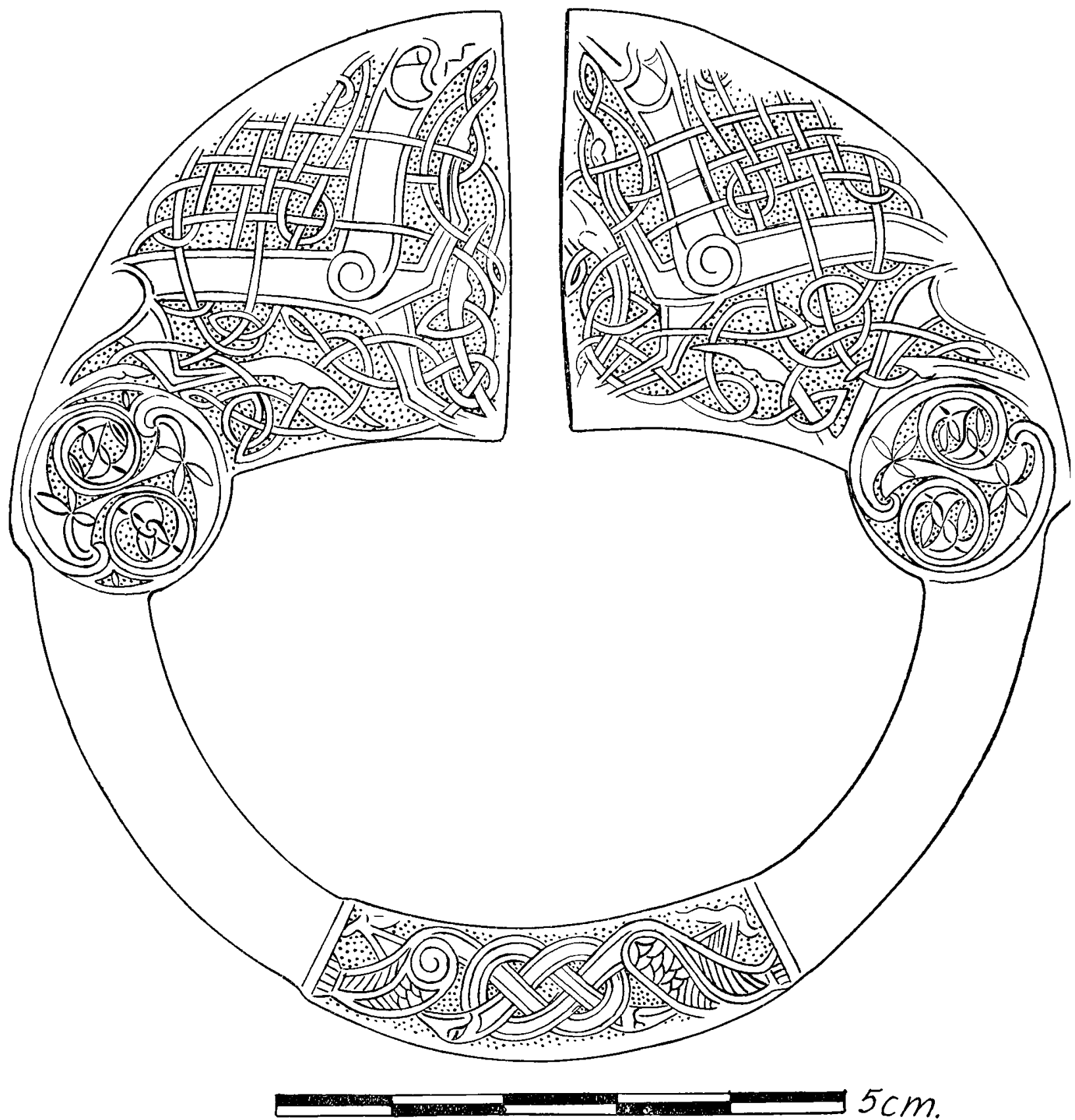


FIG. 1

The sense by which the different odours are perceived may be as fine as possible—still in my opinion much more research work must be carried out before we can dare to attribute the material found in the Norwegian graves to their proper art-historian provinces. And this must be done as teamwork by “Hiberno-Saxon” and Scandinavian scholars—art historians and archæologists. The importance of the trial pieces, found in this country, must also be taken into consideration.

The difficulties I have been up against in attributing my Kaupang collection to the different art provinces have convinced me that we ought to prepare a new Corpus presentation of the whole Norwegian group. Each object should be studied by the same eyes and drawn by the same hand.

In my presentation of the Kaupang group I will make certain attempts to localize its places of origin, but I wish to emphasize that I feel so uncertain when dealing with these particular questions of attribution that what I am really doing is asking for help!

I think, however, that we ought to spend a little time on the background to and general results of the Kaupang investigation before we turn to our special theme.

At the second Viking Congress in Bergen in 1953 I had the privilege to presenting a first report on the excavation, which had then recently begun (Fig. 2). These excavations were not terminated before 1967. The aim of our investigations was that of ascertaining whether there was a market-place site here—one which might definitely prove or disprove whether the Kaupang farms really do lie on the site of that “port” which Alfred’s Orosius calls Scíringeshéal. The fact that the district around the Kaupang area in different corrupted forms was called Skiringssal until the middle of the fifteenth century, when the present name Tjølling replaced it for good and all, caused historiographers, historians and philologists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to assume that the location of the port ought to be sought within the boundaries of to-day’s Tjølling. The farms of Kaupang came in focus of the discussion already at an early stage—partly because the name itself (cf. East-Scand. köping and Eng. Chipping) indicated some form of trading, partly because an unusually large number of barrows were concentrated on these farms.

To make a long story short: I think we are entitled to say to-day that we have reached our aim. An overwhelmingly rich grave-goods material and an equally rich material from the actual habitation site, both satisfactorily dated by articles of native origin and import-pottery as well as coin-evidence, point to the habitation having started a little before 800 A.D. The cemeteries must, however, have been in use at least a generation after the habitation was given up. Taken together our finds certainly indicate a type of settlement which based its existence not only on agriculture, but also on trade and handicraft. Those of you who might want a more detailed account and discussion of these problems I can only refer to an interim report (with English summary) in *Viking* 1969 and two other papers in print.⁵ Here it must suffice to say that the two types of handicrafts

⁵ Charlotte Blindheim: Preliminary Report on the recent Excavations in Kaupang near Larvik, Vestfold. *Annen Viking Kongress*, Bergen 1953, pp. 59-67.

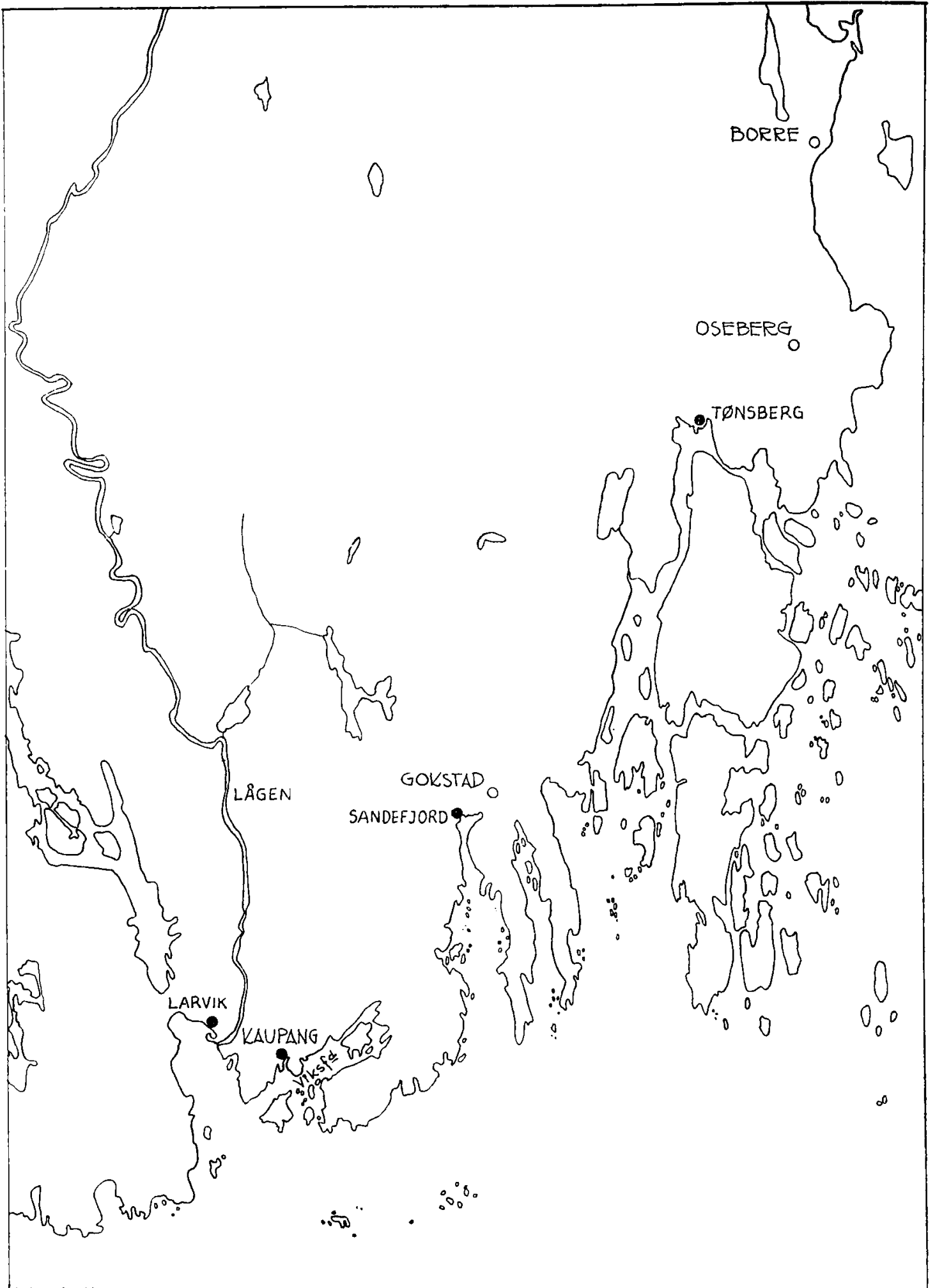


Fig. 2

which are dominant in our material are those of steatite production and metal production, especially iron making. The habitation layer also yielded convincing evidence of a local production of objects of gold, silver, lead and bronze. Refuse, ingots, bars, crucibles and moulds, as well as tools, testify to this statement. And this brings me to the main theme for my lecture here to-day.

As already stated the Kaupang cemeteries have yielded the largest collection of insular bronzes yet found on any single site in the North. In addition, the habitation area yielded some important pieces.

The catalogue of what I take to be objects of insular origin comprises forty to fifty items. I have divided them in two groups: A. Objects which would seem to belong in some ecclesiastical context and thus traditionally regarded as loot, and B. Objects for profane use which thus possibly could be regarded as trading goods.

Group A consists of altogether fifteen items: one bronze bowl with a runic inscription, already published by Aslak Liestøl⁶, ten decorated mounts, of which are enamelled two small millifiori plaques and two very curious objects, shaped like handles for modern toothbrushes. I also catalogued them as possible mountings for small brushes, though there are no traces of hair inside any of them. At the Göttingen symposium in 1972 I was, however, told by Peter Addyman and Martin Biddle that they seemed to them to be a pair of "manuscript-turners" and that there apparently were parallels for them from monastic sites either in England or Ireland. I have not been able to trace these and hope for references here. (Fig. 25).

The most monumental piece is the bronze bowl Fig. 3a, 3b. As stated by Liestøl parts of it were corroded away, but enough remained to permit a reconstruction of its shape and size. The diameter at the top is 32.4 cm, the bottom is convex. It belongs to the rather unusual type with a turned-in rim and two grooved ribbons underneath the rim, which apparently never was strengthened by iron bands. There is a fairly good parallel to the Kaupang bowl in a double burial grave from Bryn, Voss, Hordaland, dated to the ninth century by Jan Petersen (B. 3987 a-b. V.A. Part V, p. 96, fig. 103) and Birka, grave 544, which must be dated to about 900 A.D. It should be noted that inside the Birka bowl two drinking horns were found and there were also remnants of other drinking utensils, found near by.⁷ Neither of these two parallels to our Kaupang bowl are hanging bowls. It cannot be decided whether ours had escutcheons or not. There are small holes here and there underneath the rim, but it could not be ascertained whether these are due to corrosion only. The bowl was found in a boat-grave which had contained at least three persons, but must have belonged to a woman whose grave-goods included e.g. a set of tortoise brooches of Jan Petersen's type 51a. Three of our ornamented objects come from the neighbouring grave. One of them might perhaps be explained as an escutcheon of the round type bearing curvilinear patterns,

⁶ Aslak Liestøl: The hanging bowl, a liturgical and domestic vessel. *Acta Arch.* XXIV, 1953, p. 163.

⁷ B. 3987 a-b. V. A. Vol. V, p. 96, fig. 103 and Holger Arbman: *Birka I, Die Gräber*, pp. 170-171.

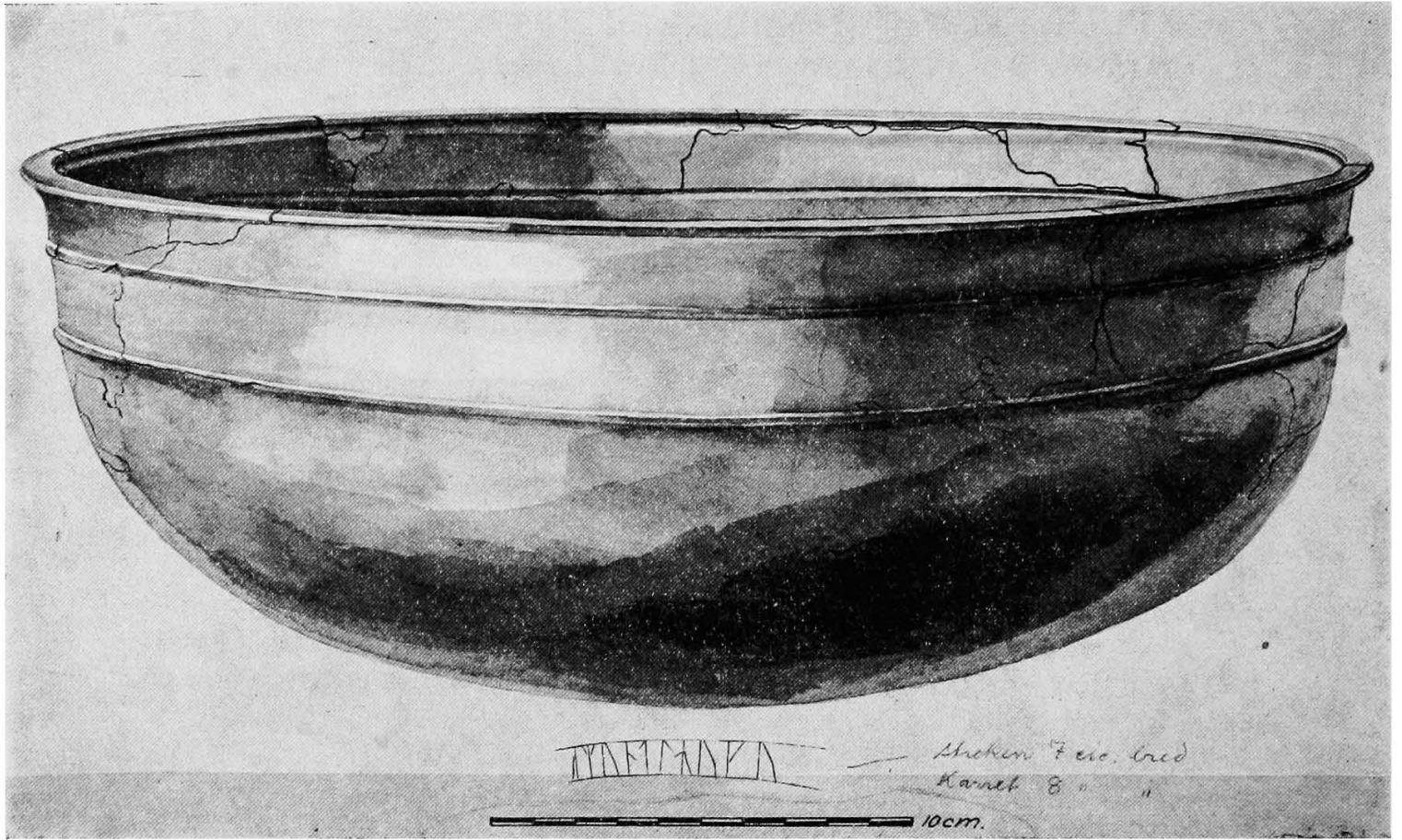


FIG. 3a

BRONSEBOLLE MED RUNEINNSKRIFT 1951
S. Bikjeholberg, H. Kaupang, Tjølling, Vestfold, Norge

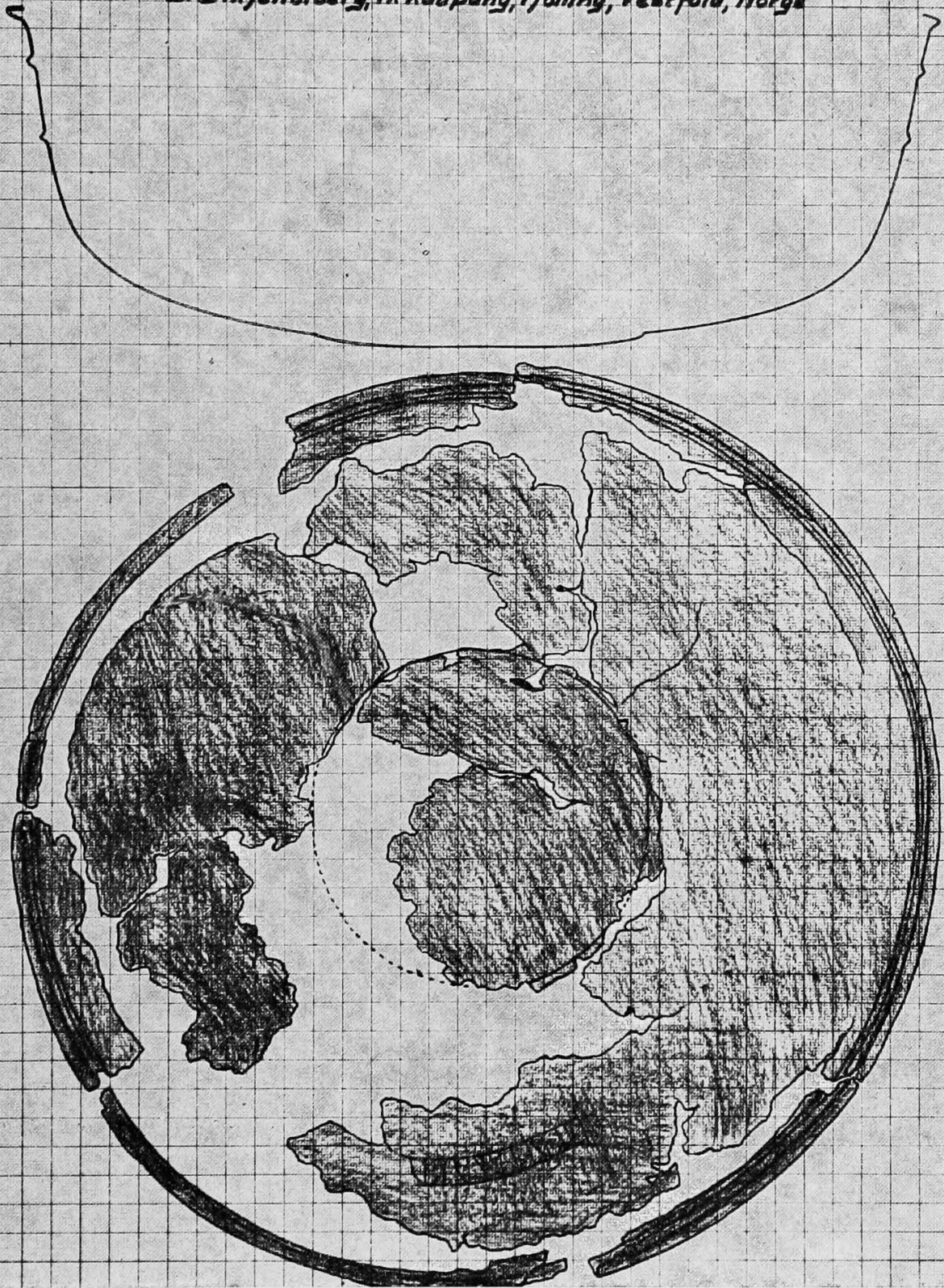


FIG. 3b

but no traces of enamelling can be seen on it (Fig. 4). It is a gilt cast piece, and it should perhaps better be regarded as an ornament of a house-shaped shrine of the Melhus/Copenhagen type. So it seems to be the safest *not* to attribute the Kaupang bowl to the hanging-bowl group, as already pointed out by Rupert Bruce-Mitford. On the other hand, Liestøl's interpretation of the inscription—*I muntlauku* (in the hand-basin)—points rather strongly to the bowl having been suspended in one way or another. If it was filled with water, it could hardly stand safely on a flat surface. And inside the bowl we found a small ring of bronze of the type common to escutcheons on hanging-bowls.⁸ As to the origin of the group of metal objects to which it belongs, I would find it safest to join the side which says that they were made somewhere in the Celtic west—whether in Ireland or Britain I do not dare to say. In his excellent publication of the St. Ninian Isle hoard David Wilson has put forward the idea that some of the “Norwegian bowls should... have been manufactured in Scandinavia”.⁹ His main argument is: “That there was a perfectly good bronze industry there at the time, as is evidenced in the manufacture of jewellery, why should there not be a local bronze bowl industry?” I cannot say that I find this convincing. The difference between the rather robust, mostly cast products of the bronze industry of the Scandinavian craftsman and the very thin beaten bronze of the hanging-bowls is too great in my opinion. Our bowl must be imported from somewhere in the Hiberno-Saxon art province.

To me the runic inscription suggests that this special bowl was a liturgical rather than a domestic vessel, but the fact that two drinking horns were found inside the bronze bowl in Birka grave 544, points to a non-religious use as well. David Wilson points out that the same can be said for a recently excavated example, from Fort, Wiltshire, which contained crab-apples and onions.¹⁰

From the same grave as the possible escutcheon come two other insular bronze objects. A square gilt mount with two projections shaped like vines in a style which comes very close to the plant ornaments on the Tassilo chalice as has been noted both by Egil Bakka and myself¹¹ (Fig. 5 a-c). I am in complete agreement with Bakka when he argues that this is “a pure Anglo-Saxon Northumbrian piece of work”, but I find it difficult to go as far as Bakka when he says that “it contains no Celtic ornament”.¹² It is true that the ribbon-patterns have good parallels on the Hillesøy brooch, which must be Anglo-Saxon. He may be right when pointing out that the ribbon interlace on two of its sides, “running knot-pattern” as he calls it, is rare in Irish art, but there are very close parallels to the entrelac on the two other sides, e.g. on the bronze gilt objects in the St. Germain

⁸ See e.g. V.A.V. fig. 102.

⁹ Small, Thomas and Wilson: op. cit. p. 107, note 10.

¹⁰ Wilson: op. cit. p. 111.

¹¹ Egil Bakka: 1963, pp. 44-45.

¹² op. cit. p. 44.

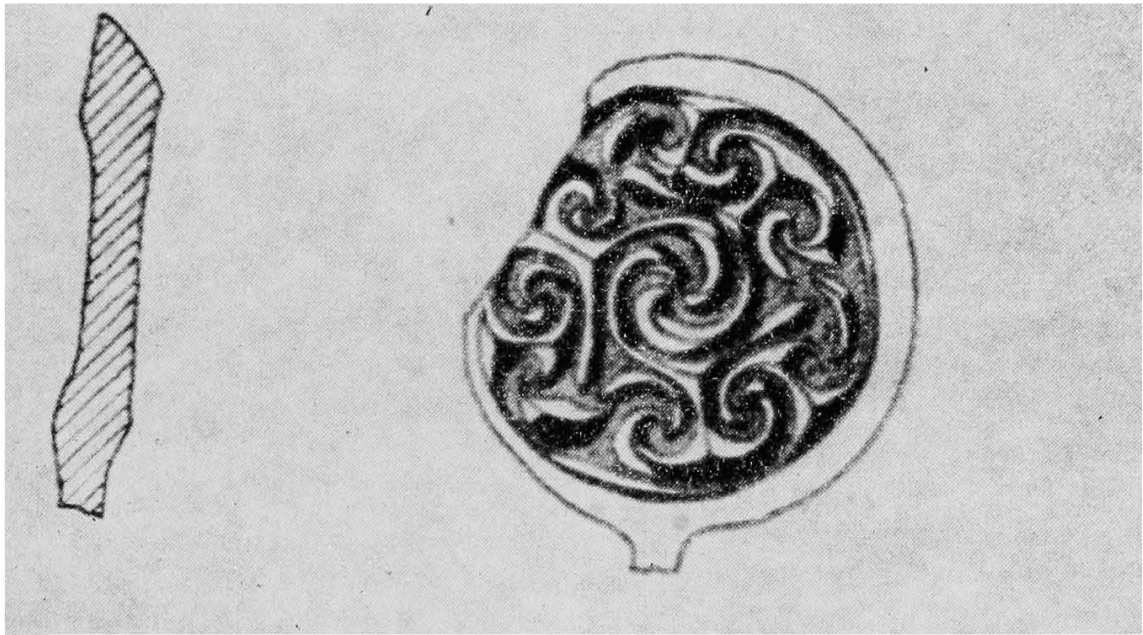


Fig. 4

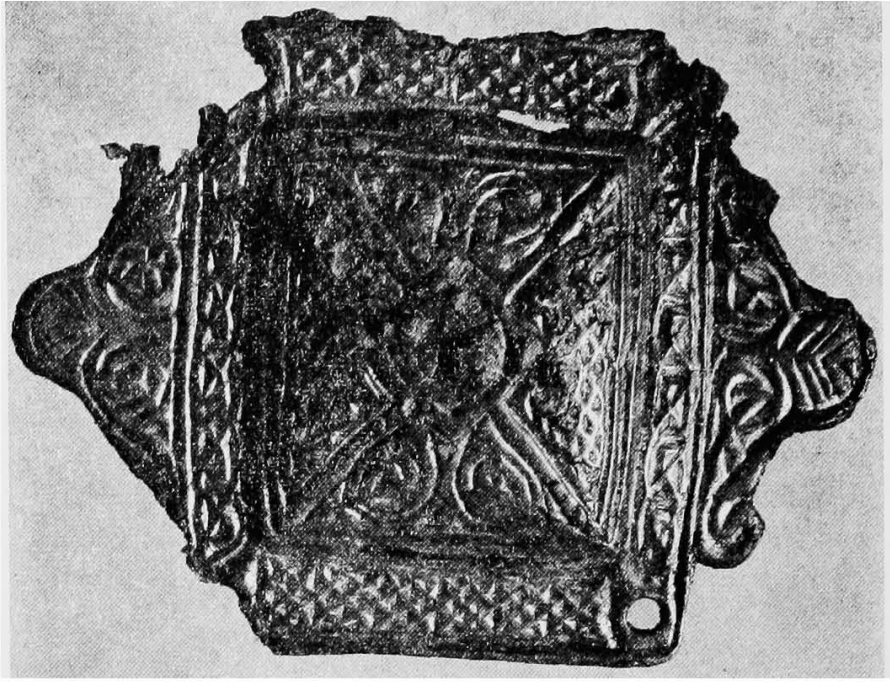


FIG. 5a

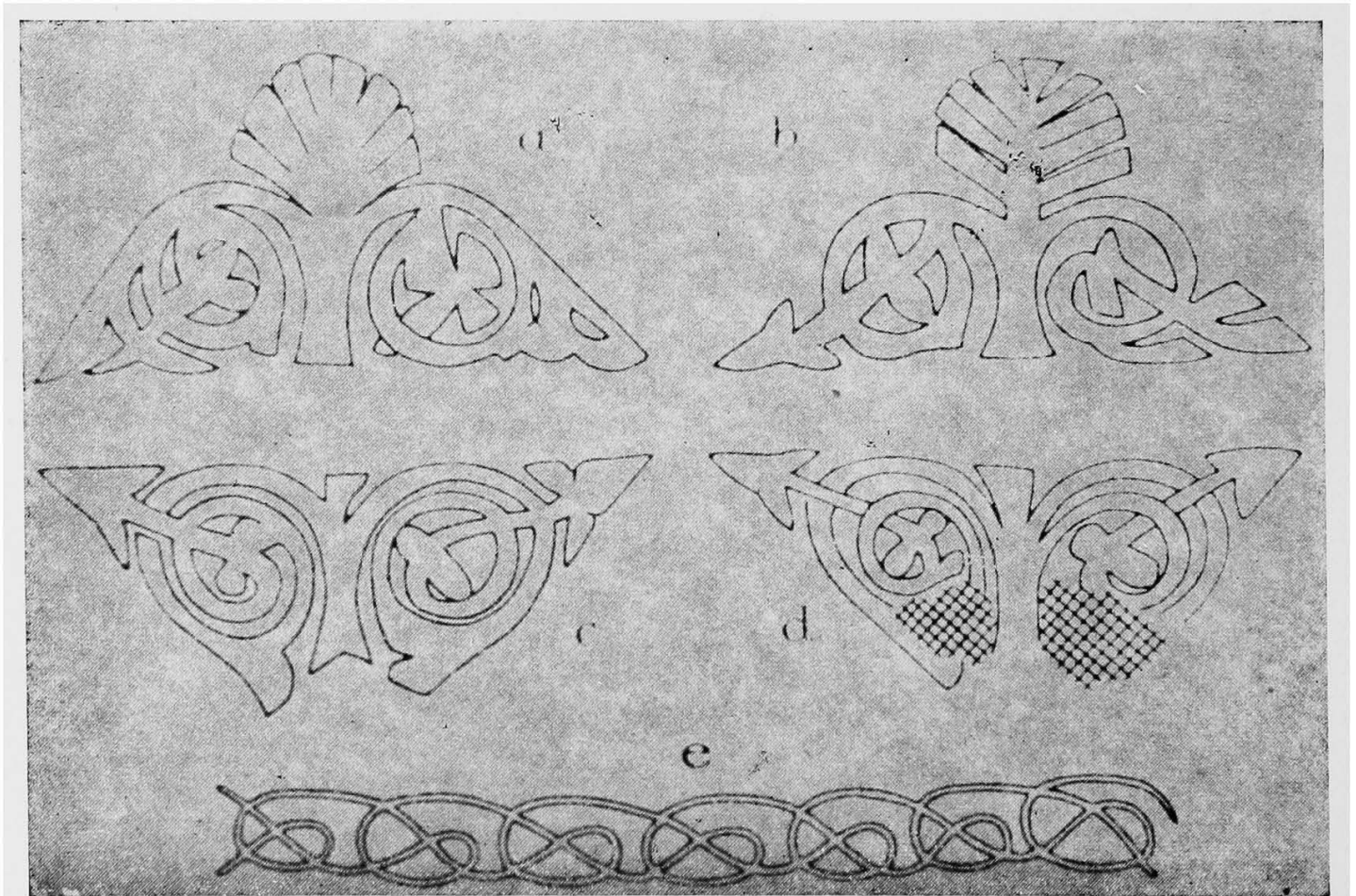


FIG. 5b

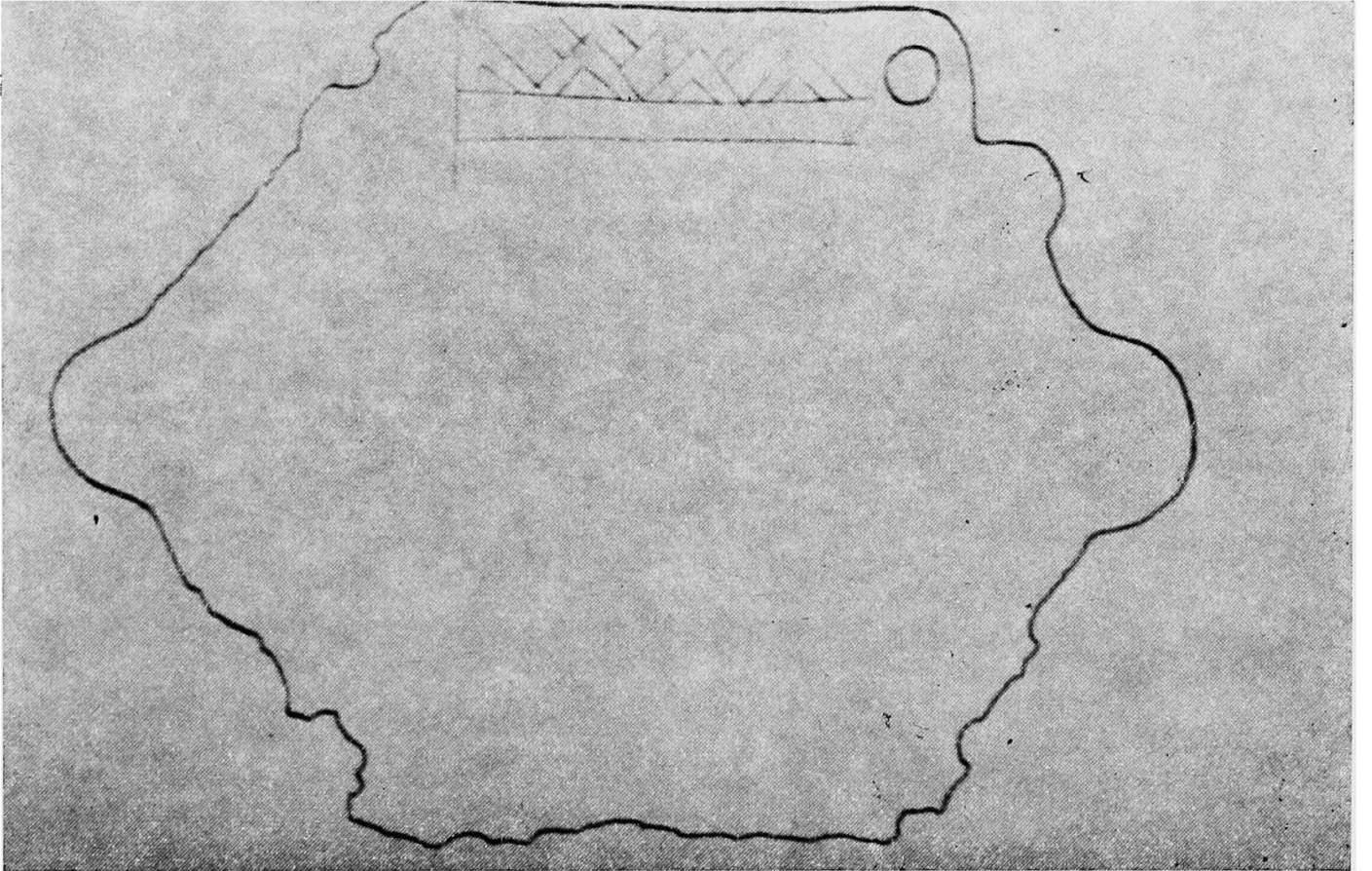


FIG. 5c



FIG. 6

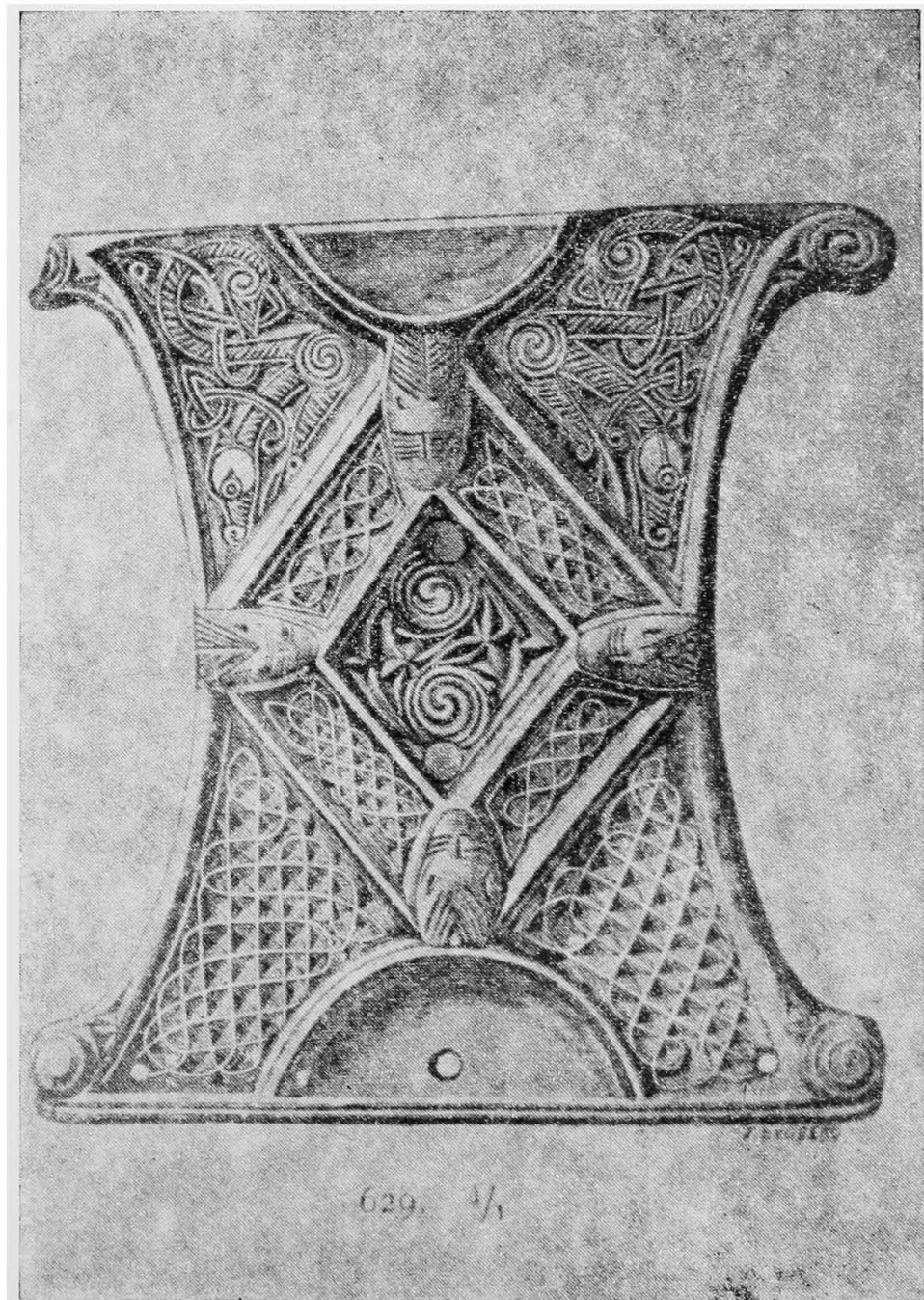


FIG. 7

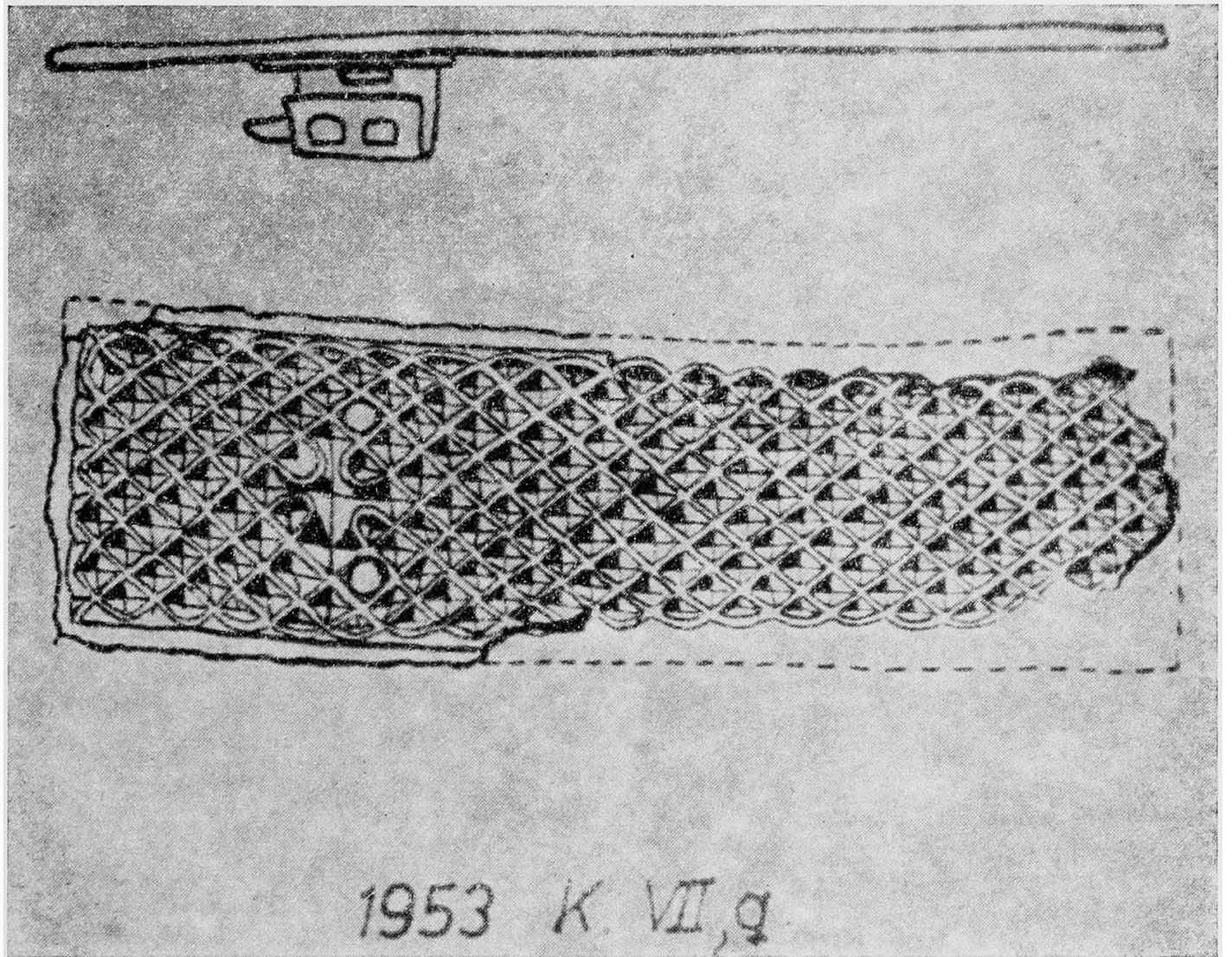


FIG. 8

Museum which are probably gables of a house-shaped reliquary.¹³ The Kaupang mount could perhaps best be explained as a book-mount. It was never adapted as a brooch, but on the back there is a finely incised geometric pattern.

The other insular bronze ornament found in this grave, a small trapezoid gilt piece, was obviously cut away from some larger ornament (Fig. 6). It is executed in deep relief, divided in two panels ornamented with similar, but not identical animals with long, rolled-back jaws, joint-spirals and a hatched ornament of the body. Máire de Paor has kindly suggested to me that it might be a panel from an object like the well-known bronze mount from Seim, Røldal, Hordaland (Fig. 7). This may well be so in spite of the fact that the type of animal is different. This Kaupang mount seems to me to be as typical a piece of Celtic work as the other one was Northumbrian. A trial piece of much the same type comes from Lagore. But it should be noted that both objects come from the same Norwegian grave—a boat-grave which contained two male burials and one female. The layer had been later disturbed, but it would seem that the whole complex may be dated within the ninth century. To one of the men's graves belong two ring-headed pins of the simple looped type, which had obviously been attached to a garment of, or lined with, fur.

From a neighbouring boat-grave comes another piece of bronze ornament—this one adapted as a brooch (Fig. 8). It is of rectangular shape, but was obviously originally longer and the whole surface is covered with fine-lined interlace in a chip-carved technique. The sides have been marked by thin raised lines, now partly disappeared. The mount is very thin and it seems difficult to say what use it may originally have had. Though it is humbler in character it would be tempting to group it together with mounts like those from the horse-trapping in the Källby grave from Scania, Sweden, which David Wilson has recognized as Anglo-Saxon.¹⁴ Wilson's attribution is based on an animal figure on some of the mounts. This animal is lacking on the Kaupang piece, but the interlace seems to be of the same type. The same effect is however found on e.g. the mount from Seim which I would regard as a Celtic piece of work. From the position in the grave it is clear that the Kaupang mount secondarily served as a "third" brooch together with a set of tortoise brooches of Jan Petersen's type 37, the most common of his ninth-century types.

The same is the case with another rectangular bronze ornament, in my opinion the finest in our Kaupang collection (Fig. 9). The dead woman also had a ring-headed pin attached to a necklace of very beautiful beads of amber and glass. The ornament has been broken off at one end, but it seems as if it was covered with a symmetrical composition of two identical long-snouted animals with ribbon-shaped bodies, triangular eyes and a curled-up crest. It is executed in a chip-carved technique with a rather deep relief-effect. The surface of the brooch (as we may call it) is very worn, but it can be seen that the bodies of the animals were finely cross-hatched. The space underneath the animal's head is filled

¹³ Egil Bakka: Anglo Saxon and Irish metalwork in Viking graves. *The Fourth Viking Congress*. York 1961. Aberdeen University Studies, No. 149, Edinburgh 1965, p. 39, Pl. V.

¹⁴ David M. Wilson: An early Viking grave from Källby. *Medd. Lunds Univ. Hist. Mus.* 1955, p. 105 ff.

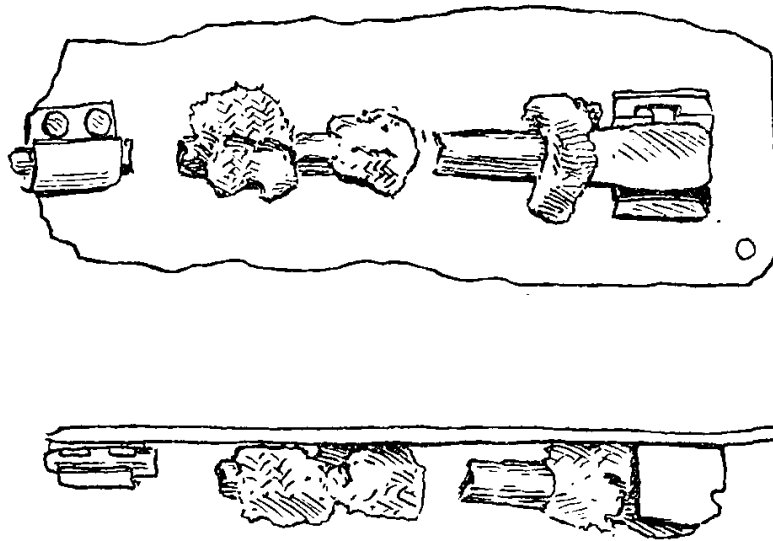
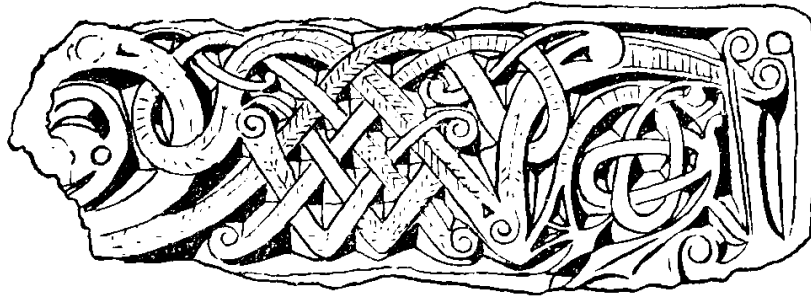


FIG. 9

with an open entrelac knot, which reminds one of the curious mount from Halsan in Trøndelag, ornamented with "human interlace" (Fig. 10). Like our mount it has a raised, rather coarse frame. It would seem likely that the Kaupang piece was originally a book mounting. Bakka has drawn attention to the fact that we have animals of very much the same type on the splendid hemispherical disc from Nomeland in Setesdal, but I have difficulties in following him here.¹⁵

The Nomeland disc would seem to belong rather to an Hiberno-Saxon art school,¹⁶ whilst the Kaupang mount appears to be purely Irish in origin. Again one can refer to trial pieces from Garryduff and Lagore with the same combination of animals treated in high relief and open entrelac.¹⁷

¹⁵ Egil Bakka: 1963, p. 39.

¹⁶ Cf. e.g. the mount from Fure, Askvold, Sogn og Fjordane.

¹⁷ Françoise Henry: *Irish Art during the Viking Invasions*, Fig. 18 a and b.



(6)

FIG. 10

These two rectangular mounts are the only ones from the Kaupang collection which have been adapted as brooches. From a woman's grave—partly damaged by accidental digging—comes a small cross of gilt bronze (Fig. 11). It has already

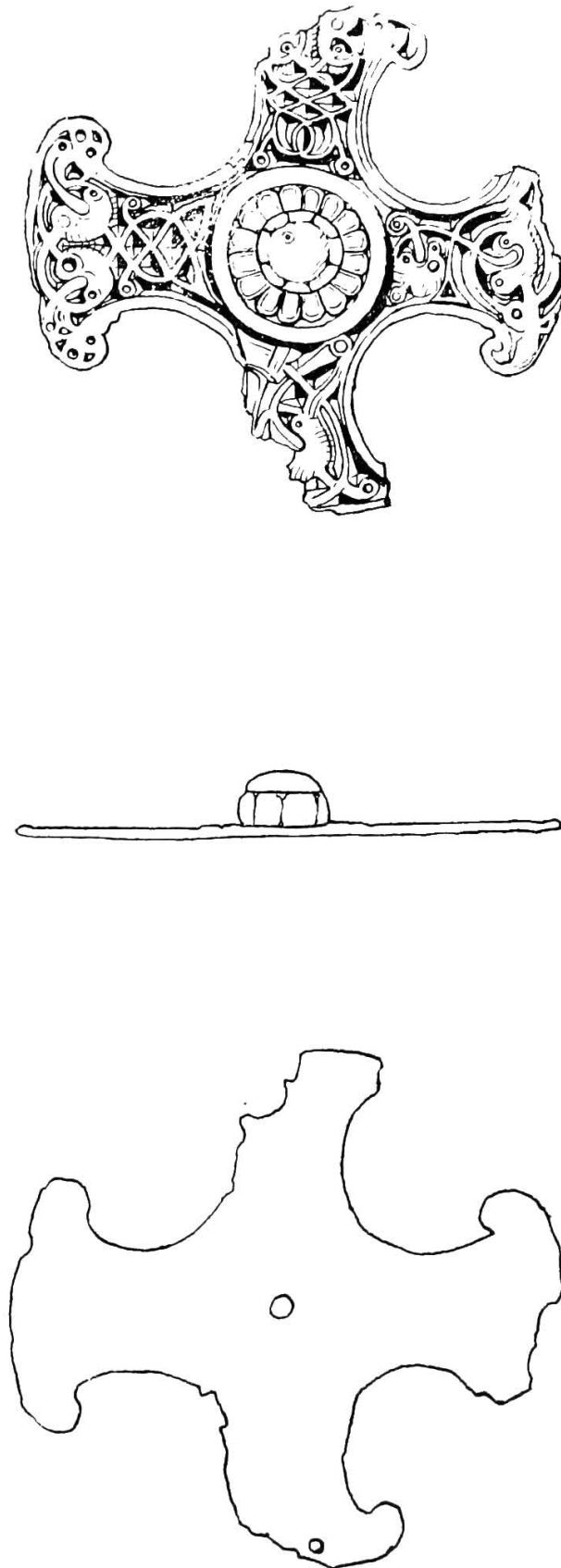


FIG. 11

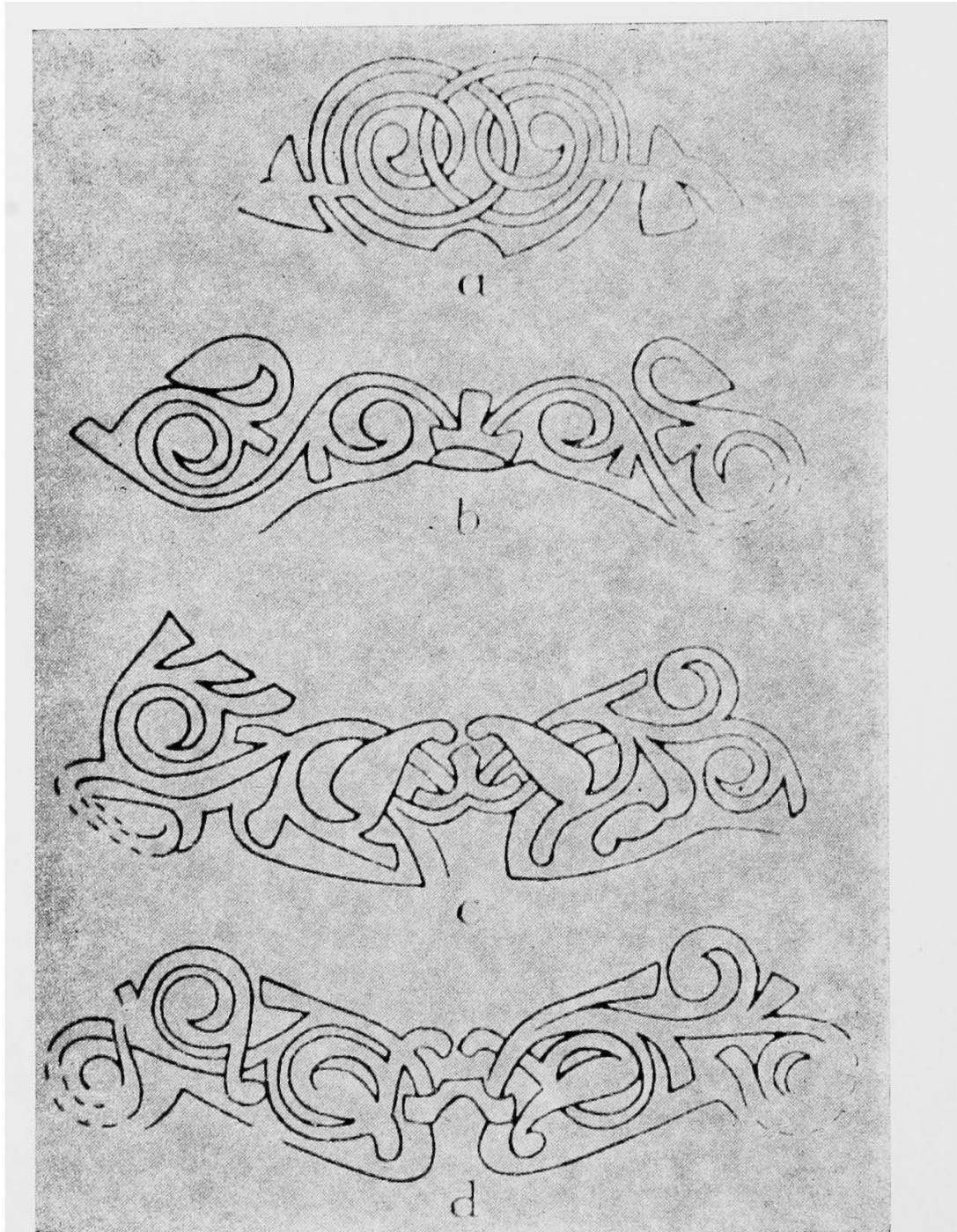


FIG. 12

been discussed by Bakka, who points out that it seems to be a late example of the "coiled animal late Saxon style group".¹⁸ This seems to fit in well with the fact that this cross is the only ornamental object in the whole Kaupang group, found together with double-shelled tortoise brooches; it would thus seem to belong to the tenth century.

To the same Late Saxon group can be referred a beautiful gilt bronze disc, the use of which I fail to see (Fig. 12). There is a small undecorated crescent in the middle of one of the plant-ornamented panels, indicating that another mount was fastened to the disc here. The top of it is also undecorated with a hole for a small rivet, so there some little boss or plaque must have been placed. On the back there are three little marks for soldering the disc to some other metal, so it would seem that it originally was the ornament of some bowl-shaped object—placed either on the bottom part or on the top of a lid. It has been discussed at length by Bakka who says that its plant ornament "can perhaps best be paralleled on the Fetter Lane hilt", whilst "the plant ornament on the shortest panel with the two intersecting coils ending in the centre of the coil in rounded swellings and outside it in triangular ivy-leaves is more reminiscent of the plant ornament of the Witham pins".¹⁹ Though I have difficulties in following Bakka in his last statement, I do indeed agree that the disc must be a pure Anglo-Saxon piece of work. The disc has No. 1 in our 1950 diary and was found in a disturbed layer, so its grave-context is uncertain.

The same must be said about a very fine enamelled round mount, decorated with a geometrical pattern in yellow and white (Fig. 13^a). A small shank projecting from the back seems to be cast with the object and indicates that the escutcheon, or whatever we may call it, was fastened to another material by way of riveting. I have only found two fairly good parallels to the design: a mount from Birka and the enamelled bronze disc which decorates one of the weights in the rich Setnes grave, published by Sverre Marstrander, but here the colouring is richer: red, yellow and green.²⁰ The other enamelled objects in the Kaupang collection all come from the habitation layer: a segment-shaped ornament with enamelling in red, yellow and green, two small plaques with millefiori inlay of the type found e.g. on the human-shaped escutcheon of the hanging bowl from the Myklebostad grave and part of an escutcheon, probably from a wooden bricket with S-shaped figures with traces of yellow enamel, whilst the colour in the enamelling of the background has now disappeared (Fig. 13^b). I find it more reasonable—as matters still stand—to regard all these objects as Irish in origin in spite of the fact that glass-rods have now also been found in an Anglo-Saxon context.²¹

¹⁸ Egil Bakka: 1963, p. 17.

¹⁹ Egil Bakka: op. cit. p. 19.

²⁰ Sverre Marstrander: A new Norwegian find from the Viking period. *Lochlann*, Vol. III, p. 19, fig. 10. For the Birka mount see Holger Arbman: *Birka, Sveriges äldsta handelsplats*, Stockholm, p. 121.

²¹ See David Wilson: *St. Ninian's Isle*, p. 98.

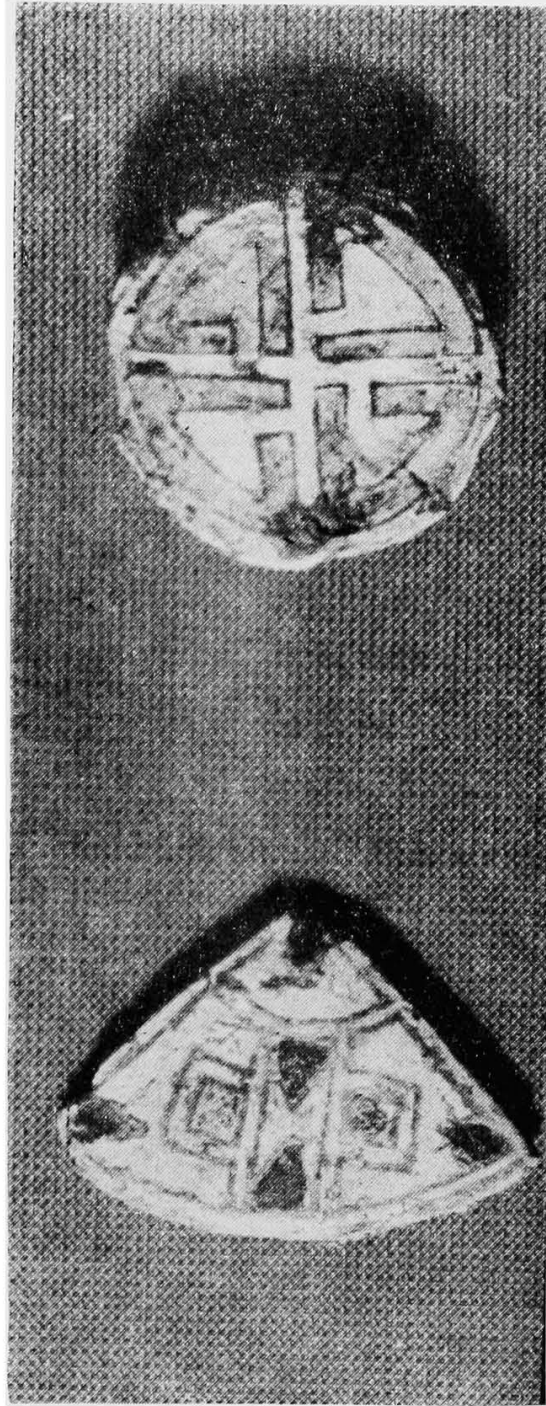


Fig. 13^a and 13^b

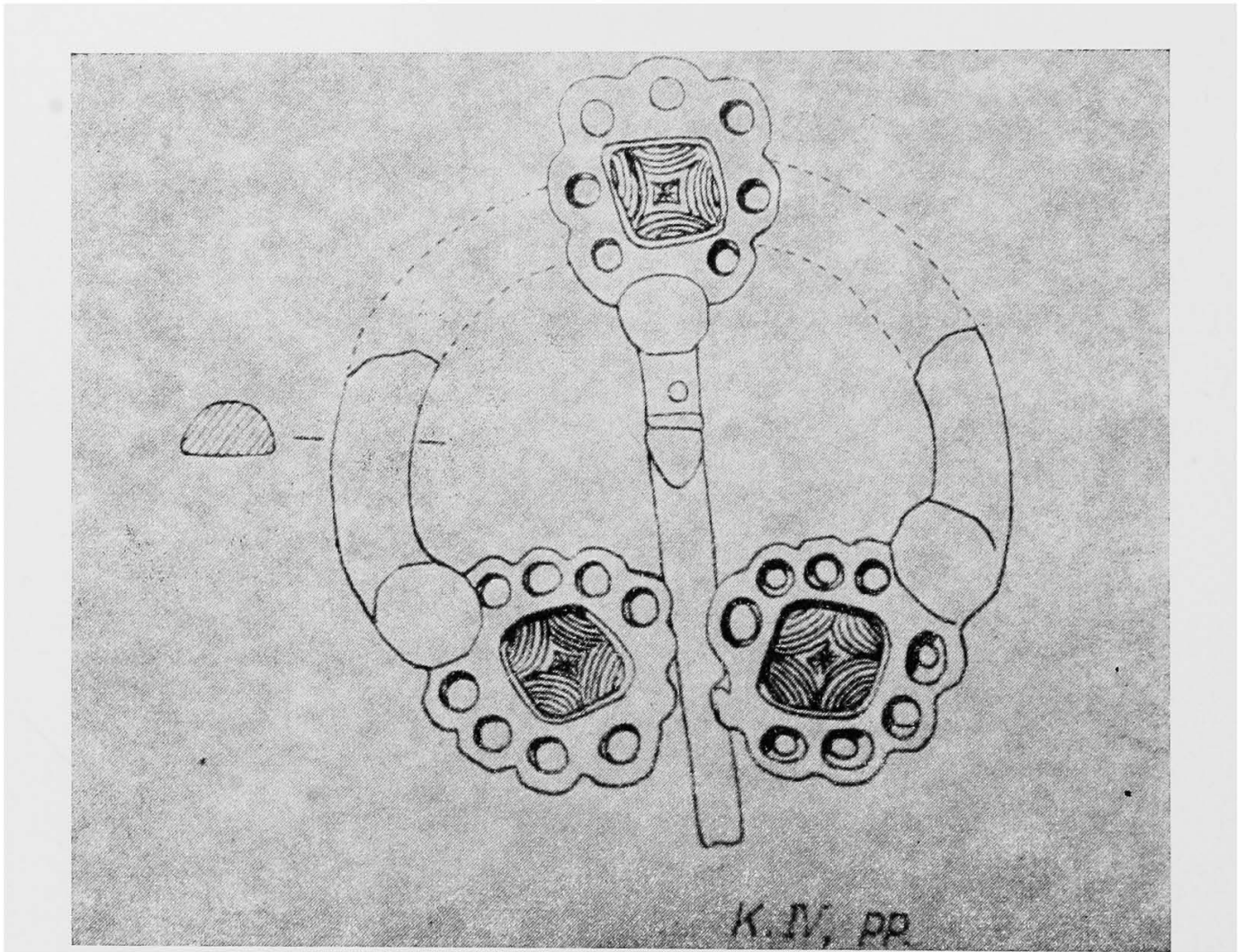


FIG. 14

A cross of silver of the so-called Anglian type, found in a woman's grave, unfortunately without any dating context, may serve as a transitional piece of work between the objects of probably ecclesiastical use and objects which must be profane.

By far the largest group consists of brooches and pins. There is one 5.7 cm broad brooch of a true penannular form, made of bad silver and in a very bad state of preservation (Fig. 14). It is of rather humble quality and at first I catalogued it as a possible Nordic copy of one of the finer insular types.

The nearest parallel I can point to which has been found in Norway is a smaller bronze pin from Ferkingstad, Skuedenes, Rogaland, which also has great enlargements with rhombic panels in the middle and open-work ornamentation on both sides.²² It was discussed by Reg. Smith in his *Irish Brooches of five centuries*. It differs, however, from the Kaupang specimen in the fact that it is not a true penannular, but is in fact a ring-headed pin. In his study of the St. Ninian Isle hoard David Wilson has demonstrated that the true penannular brooch is of Scottish and not Irish origin. Although the Kaupang brooch has some features in common with the St. Ninian Isle brooches—such as the fact that it is made of silver, its true penannular form, and its ends, which may perhaps be called lobed—the pin itself is entirely different, and it lacks any trace of chip-carvings in its decoration. Whether it had a decorated panel on top of the hook cannot be said, since this part of the brooch corroded into dust when it was found. So it would seem safest to regard it as a Scottish import.

Then there are three "thistle" brooches (Fig. 15). One has a rather elaborate design.²³ With all three knobs decorated with ring-chain design in typical Borrestyle, it should perhaps be regarded as a native piece of work, but an origin somewhere in the Western Viking Colonies must also be contemplated—a statement I base on the fact that two other Norwegian brooches, both from Rogaland,²⁴ with very much the same decoration, were found in context with insular imported bronzes, so that brooches of this type would at least seem to belong to a mixed milieu.

The two other "thistle" brooches are fragments only. One is an accidental find, found in dumps (*not ours*) from one of the cemeteries—the other comes from the habitation layer. They are two rather small specimens of the type (Fig. 15).

Of interest in this connection is the fact that the habitation layer also yielded a mould for a thistle brooch—as far as I know the only one existing. It should be noted that whilst all the other moulds from the habitation layer are made of soapstone, this has been analysed by Professor Ivan Rosenqvist, who says it is of a very special type of siltstone, which is not likely to be of Norwegian origin. He would prefer to regard it as imported from somewhere north of the Alps, perhaps Cornwall.

²² *Viking Antiquities*, Vol. V, p. 198, fig. 160.

²³ C 2274.

²⁴ St. 1980. Håland, Sandeid, Vikedal, see Jan Petersen: *Vikingetidens Smykker*, fig. 210 and St. 4194 a. Løvik, Marvik, Jelsa, *op. cit.*, 1. c. fig. 211.

I should be inclined to say that this indicates that the man who employed this mould was perhaps not a native of Kaupang. But on the whole I would rather await James Graham-Campbell's publication of the whole group, before I make up my mind about this question. I had also hoped that Tom Fanning's study on the ring-headed pins would appear before this Congress. We have quite a collection of them from Kaupang—altogether ten specimens, most of the simple looped, shouldered type with the ring round or rectangular in section (Fig. 16).

Tom Fanning has been kind enough to send me his comments on those of the Kaupang pins which he has had the opportunity to study himself. It appears that all except one can be paralleled in Irish finds.

Pins of this type often occur in Insular/Scandinavian context in the West. A fairly large number is known from Scotland.²⁵ David Wilson has published one from a boat-grave from Balladoole, Isle of Man,²⁶ and Tom Fanning one from a Viking grave from Larne, Co. Antrim, Ireland.²⁷ As those found in our graves frequently, though not always, occur together with objects of insular origin we tried to find out if this was also the case in the rest of the country.

Altogether about 100 pins of the looped type have been found in Norway's coastal districts. Vestfold heads the list with twenty-four specimens. Six of these were found together with other insular objects. Of those from the rest of the country only fourteen were found in such a context, so one cannot speak of any *marked* tendency. But if we consider the *milieu* in which they occur rather than the single-grave contexts, we will find that ring-headed pins usually occur on the same cemeteries as other insular imports.

We have, however, also found two specimens of another type of pin with a balustered head, "crowned" by a perforated projection through which a thin bronze wire has been drawn and joined into a simple ring. (Fig. 16^b). The Norwegian name for such a pin is a "stikknål", but I have never come across "stitch-pin" in English, so I think I must stick to "stikknål". A pin of similar, but not identical type has been found in Ireland and in connection with a Hiberno-Viking object, discussed by Liam de Paor who also points to parallels for it from e.g. Hedeby. He seems to be inclined to think that they are of Scandinavian origin.²⁸ This must indeed be the case with the type represented in the two "stikknåler" from Kaupang. Pins of this special type with the balustered head adorned by one to five round dots and with the perforated crowned head occur so frequently in the Kaupang-area and the whole of Vestfold that we have named them the Vestfold-type. They are found here and there in coastal Norwegian graves and once in a house-ground. One specimen is known from the habitation layer underneath Aggersborg in Jutland²⁹ and three from Viking graves in Iceland,³⁰ but as far

²⁵ *Viking Antiquities*, Vol. II.

²⁶ David M. Wilson: *Three Viking graves in the Isle of Man*. The Society for Medieval Archaeology. Monograph Series No. 1. London 1966. Pl. VIII E.

²⁷ Thomas Fanning: Viking Grave goods near Larne. *J.R.S.A.I.* Vol 100, p. 71. Fig. 2 A.

²⁸ Liam de Paor: Antiquities of the Viking Period from Inchbofin, Co. Westmeath. *J.R.S.A.I.*, Vol. XCII, Part II, 1962, p. 187 f.

²⁹ No. 358. See G. Schultz, Aggersborg. *Fra Nationalmuseets Arbeidsmark* 1949.

³⁰ See Kristján Eldjárn, *Kuml og haugfé*, Reykjavík 1956, fig. 139, p. 320.

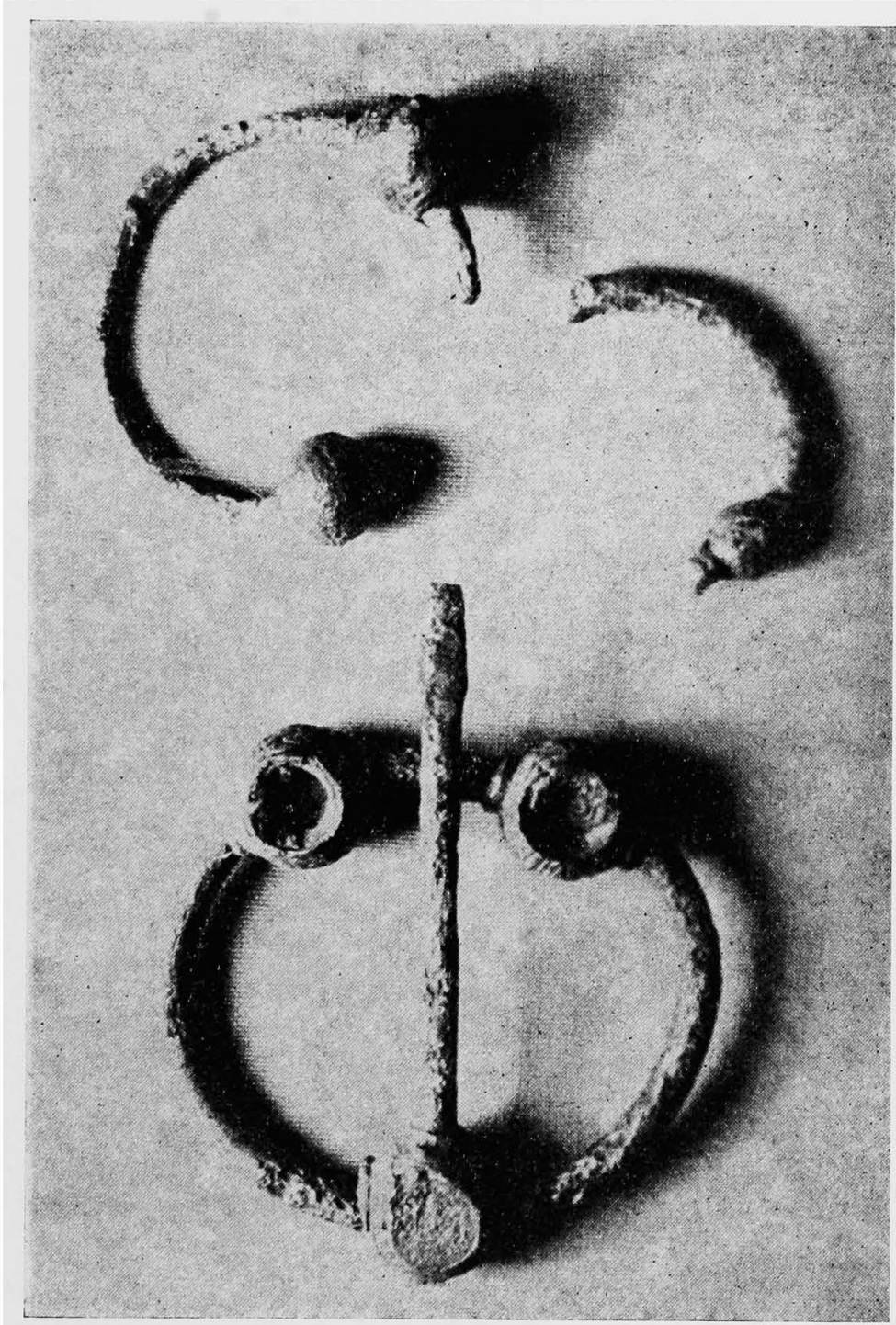


FIG. 15

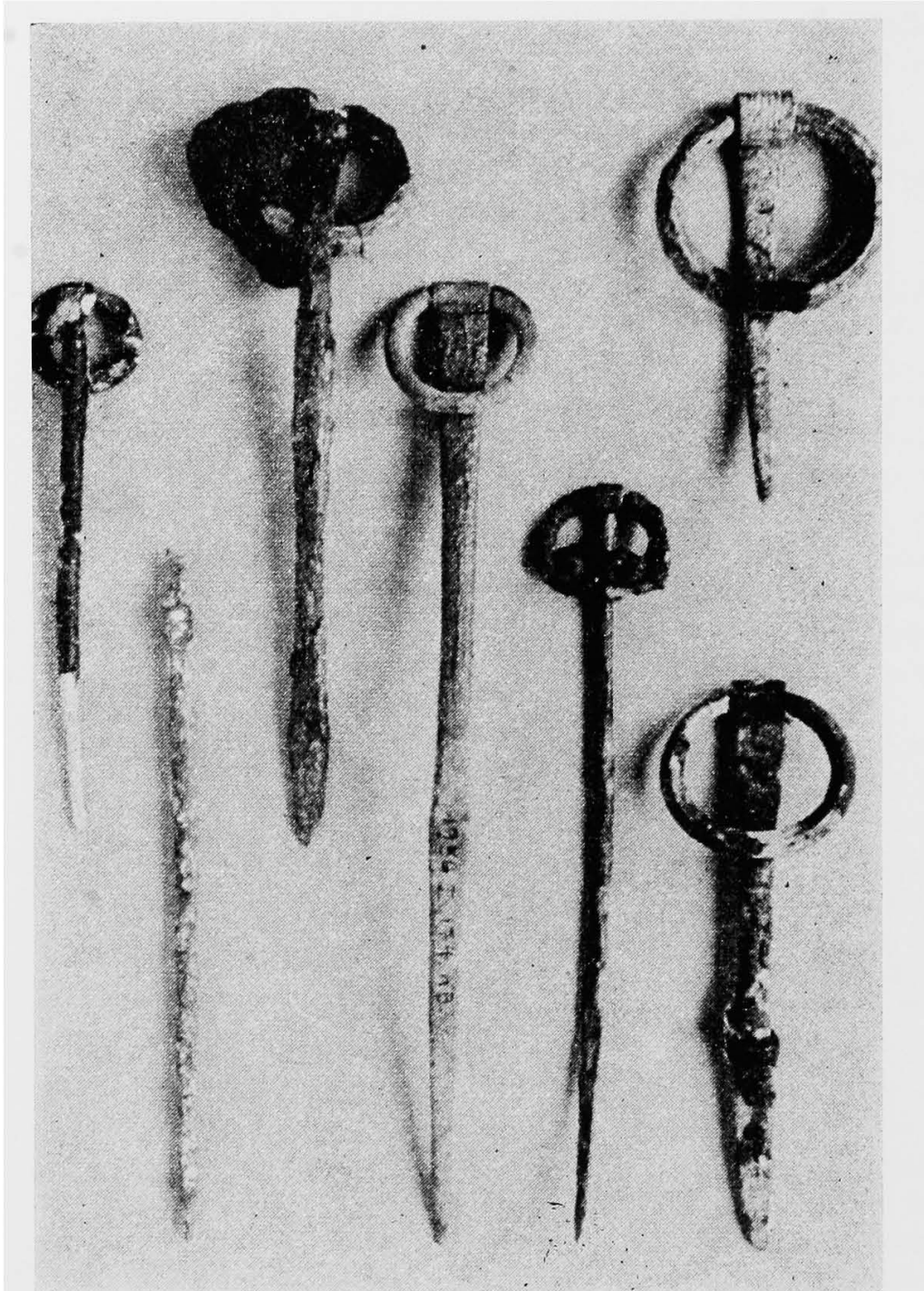


Fig. 16^a-g

N. Kaupang, Tjølling, Vestfold.

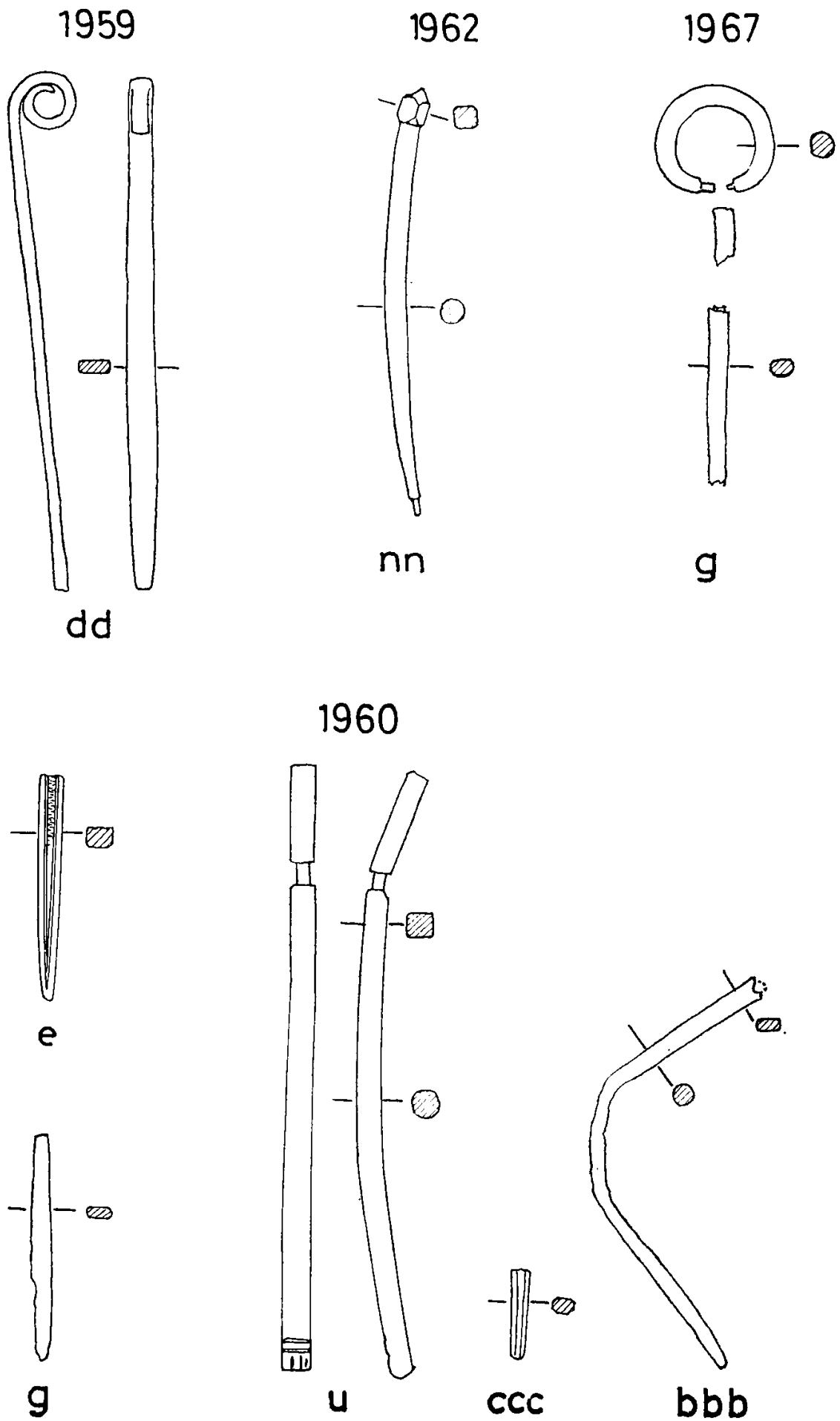


FIG. 17

as I can see never in an insular context, not even in the Islandbridge-Kilmainham material. One closely related specimen was found in Zealand, Denmark and a few in Gotland. I have noted at least three—one in a house-site in Burge, Lummelunda, another in a later tenth-century grave at Fredhem churchyard and one in Eskilhem churchyard.³¹

It would seem then that this is a non-western type. I would dare to suggest that "stikknåler" of this type were perhaps produced at Kaupang. The habitation layer yielded a series of pieces of bronze which would seem to be fragments of pins from ring-headed pins rather than anything else (Fig. 17). There are too many of them to be explained as lost property. Some of them seem to be only half-finished products. As only a few of them have been found with remnants of the heads, it is not possible to say for certain whether they belong to this type, but it is tempting to think that they point to a local production. One must assume that they were cast. No moulds have been found. It seems, anyway, extraordinary that so few specimens of this type have been found outside coastal Norway.

Then there are two more solid pins without hoops, one of which I have given an Irish origin because of the fastening arrangement, whilst I have difficulties as to the origin of the other (Fig. 18 c,d). It has a finely-incised cheque-pattern on the bow, and is distinctly tin-coated (Fig. 19 a,c). Both of them are without further dating context. Last but not least there is a hinged pin with a triangular head decorated with a partly human, partly animal gilt figure, rather crudely executed (Figs. 18^a and 19^b). It was, unfortunately, treated too roughly in our Laboratory, so that the decoration has now completely disappeared. We have, however, a sketch-drawing of it, done before it went to the Laboratory. The pin is certainly non-Scandinavian, but I am at a loss as to parallels to the ornament.

One pin only is made of silver. Its upper end is bent upwards in a spiral (Fig. 18^b). It has a parallel in bronze found in a plough-field at Quoybanks on the Mainland, Orkneys, and a similar one is reported to have been found in Burray.³²

We also have to turn to Ireland and Scotland to find parallels to the extremely fine animal head of lead and gilt bronze, which must have served as a weight (Fig. 20). There is one very closely related specimen in the set of weights found at Island-bridge-Kilmainham. The Scottish example I have in mind comes from the well-known Viking grave from Kiloran Bay, Colonsay.³³

There is also a close parallel in a Norwegian find from Berg, Hurum, in Buskerud, now in the Copenhagen Museum. It was found together with a pair of bronze seals.

³¹ Cand. mag. W. Armfelt, Copenhagen, kindly informed about the Danish find. For the Gotlandic, see Gustaf Trotzig: *Gegensätze zwischen Heidentum und Christentum im arch. Material des 11. Jahrh. auf Gotland. Acta Visbyensia* III 1969, p. 21 and Lena Thunmark och Gustaf Trotzig: *Bürge in Lumelunda, Gotländskt arkiv* 1971.

³² *Viking Antiquities*, Vol. II, p. 169, fig. 85.

³³ See *Viking Antiquities*, Vol. III, fig. 33 D and *Viking Antiquities*, Vol. II, fig. 32.

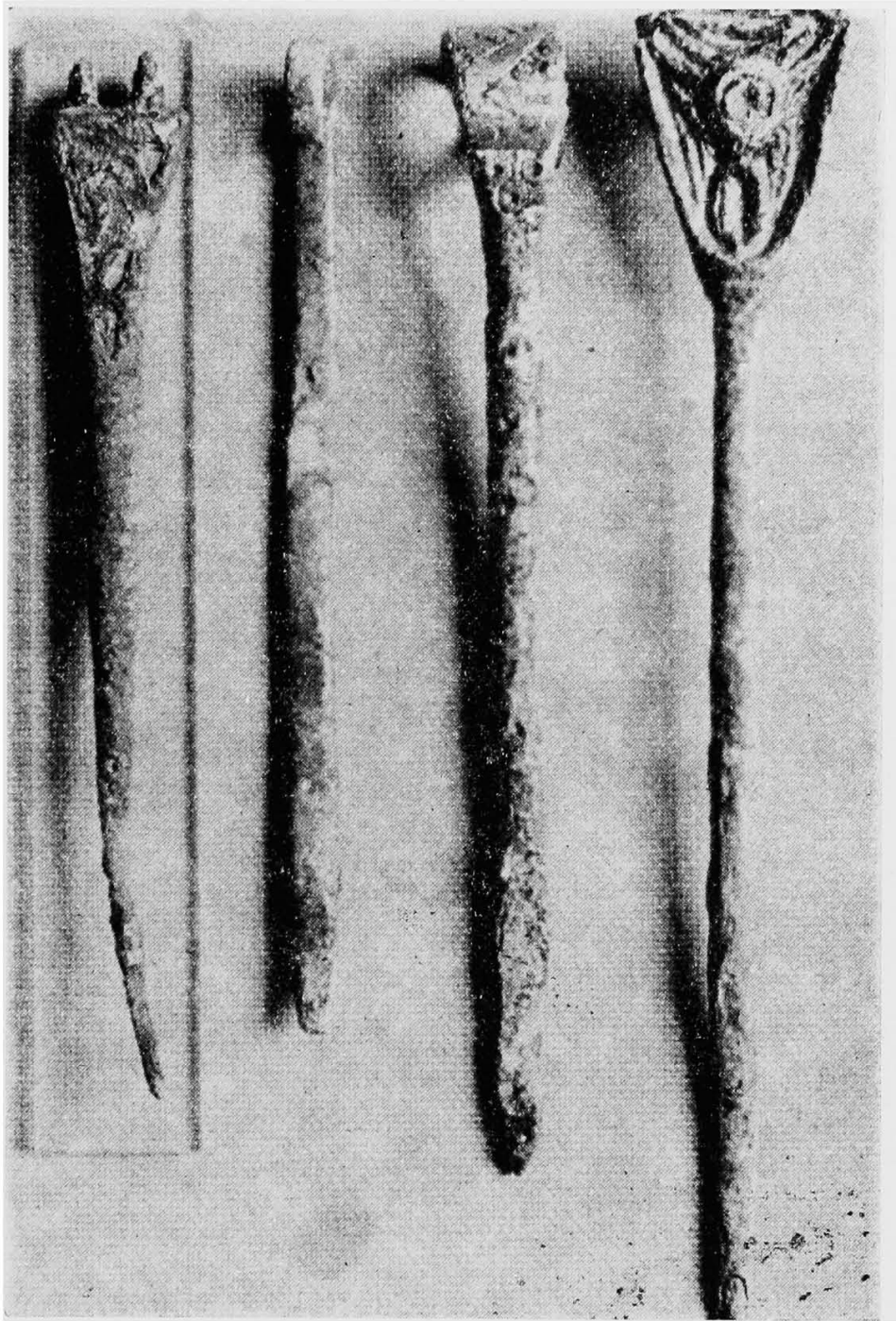


Fig. 18^{a-d}

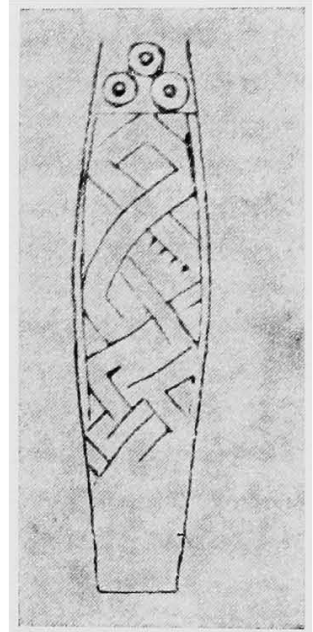
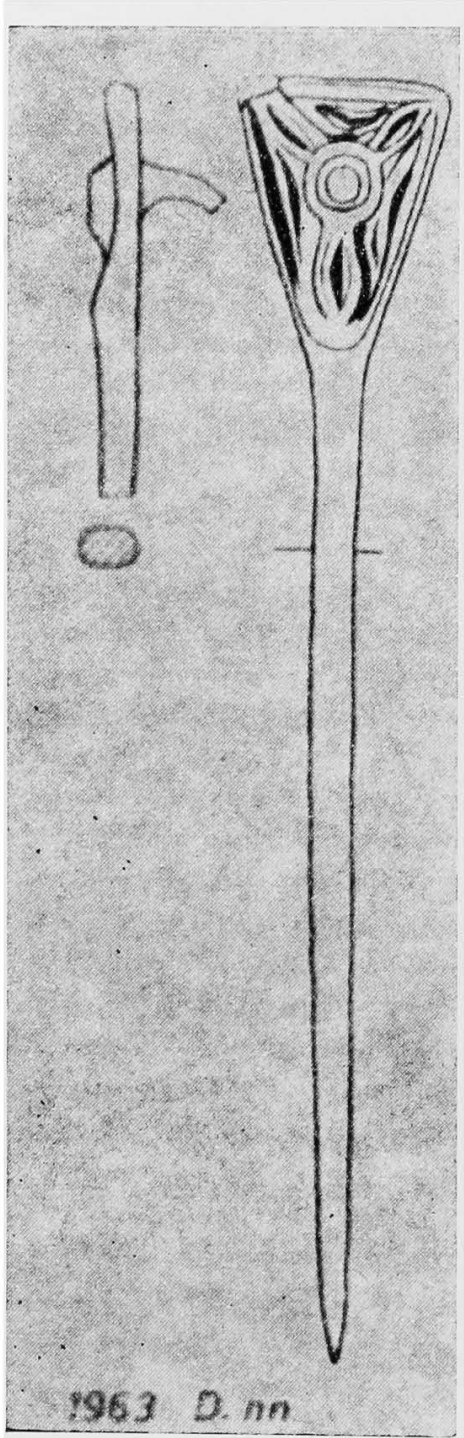


FIG. 19

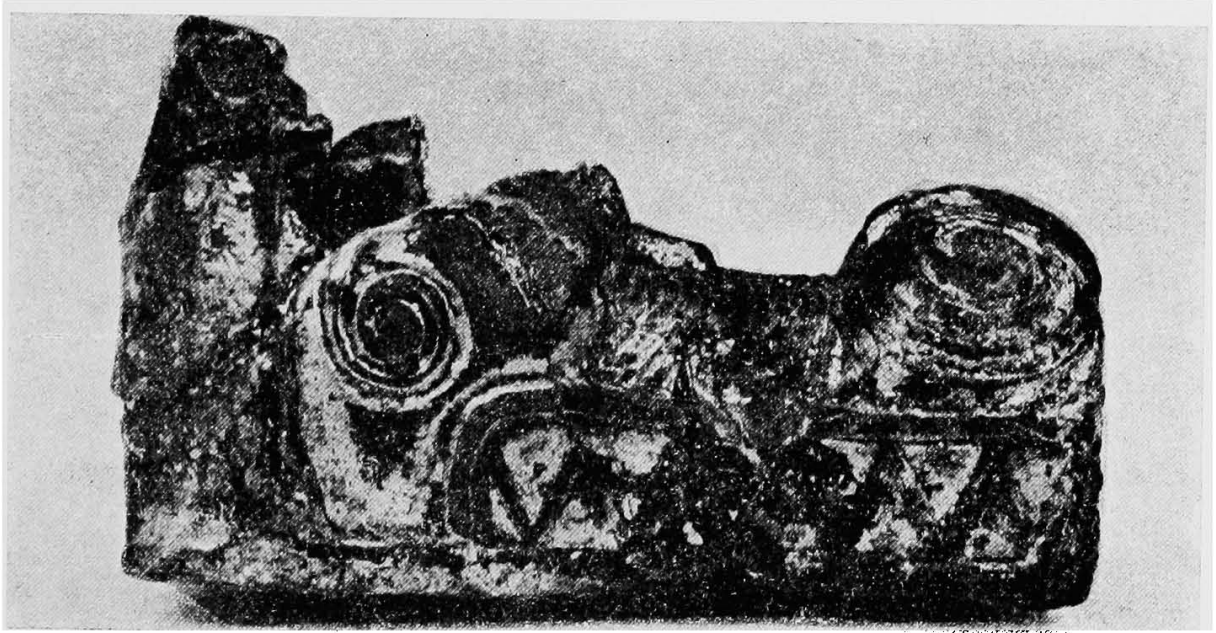


FIG. 20

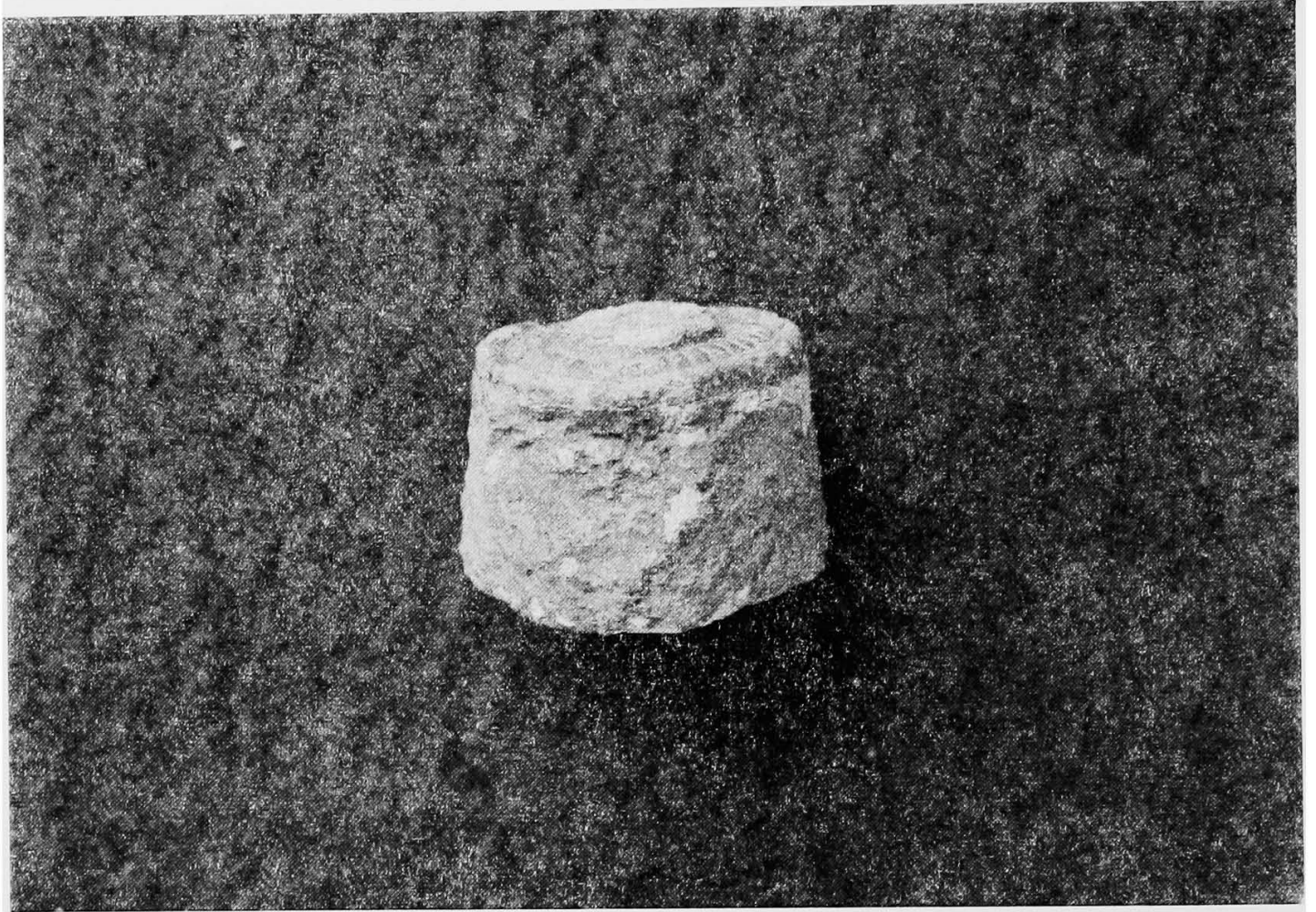


FIG. 21

C.4312 S. KAUPANG, TJOLLING

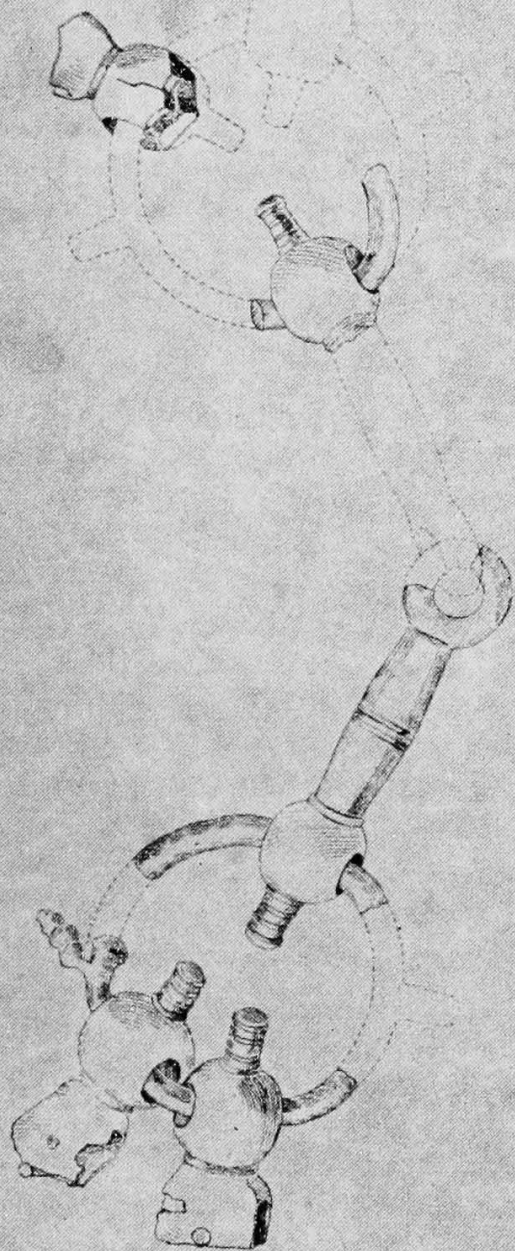


FIG. 22

In addition we have one lead weight, cylindrical with a bronze rosette sunk in its upper face (Fig. 21). Both these two weights were found in the habitation layer, where undecorated weights of bronze and lead appeared in great numbers—how many is difficult to say because of the very bad state of preservation of the bronzes.

In connection with the weights it should also be mentioned that in two or three of our Kaupang-graves were found fragments of balance-scales of bronze of the well-known type which often have decoration of finely-incised marigolds or a simpler geometric pattern. Tiny fragments of collapsible scales of this type were also found in the habitation layer. The tinny bronze of these scales has usually been taken as an indication that these scales belong to the same type of bronze alloy with a large percentage of tin hammered out to a very thin and fragile surface (see *Viking Antiquities* Vol. V, p. 8), which has been regarded as an indication of Western European production but Bruno Kirsch has seen them as proof of Arabic influence on Northern Europe in Viking Times.³⁴ Their distribution pattern in Scandinavia shows, however, a marked concentration in Western Norway, so it would seem that they reached us from the West.

From one of the earliest known graves—and also one of the richest—come a splendid bit and a bridle mount of bronze (Fig. 22). They belong to the equipment of a burnt boat-grave and are in a very bad state of preservation, but it has been possible to reconstruct the shape. The bit is made up of two solid bronze bars, slightly curving, with its thickest point in the middle of the bar. The rings have each two projections—probably meant to stop the leather harness straps. These have been fastened by bronze clasps to the rings. The nearest parallel to it is the Navan find in the National Museum of Ireland, which was found together with a series of trappings of insular workmanship, so that one must assume that the bit is also insular.³⁵ It can be paralleled also in a Scottish Viking context.³⁶ Here parts of a bronze harness were found together.

In Norwegian Viking graves I have traced altogether twenty-six specimens of similar or related types. Ten of these were found together with other insular bronzes, two of these again with a set of trappings of insular workmanship.³⁷ It should be noted that these bits occur fairly often in a tenth-century context.

A small series of belt-buckles and strap-tags also brings us to the western Viking realms when we ask for parallels (Fig. 23). To the belt-buckle there is a twin in the above-mentioned grave from Eigg. David Wilson has published a strap-tag from the Cronk Moar grave on the Isle of Man,³⁸ which he thinks was “almost certainly adapted secondarily from its original function as a book-clasp”. As there are good Irish parallels to the Cronk Moar object, e.g. from High Street,

³⁴ Bruno Kirsch: Weights and scales in Medieval Scandinavia. *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 1959. Vol. XIV, No. 2, p. 163 ff.

³⁵ Wilson: *Three Viking Graves*, p. 24.

³⁶ *Viking Antiquities*, Vol. II, fig. 38.

³⁷ C.1950. Soma, Høyland, Rogaland and B. 4233 a-i, Gausel, Hetland, Rogaland.

³⁸ *Three Viking Graves*, pl. XVI, b, pp. 75-76.

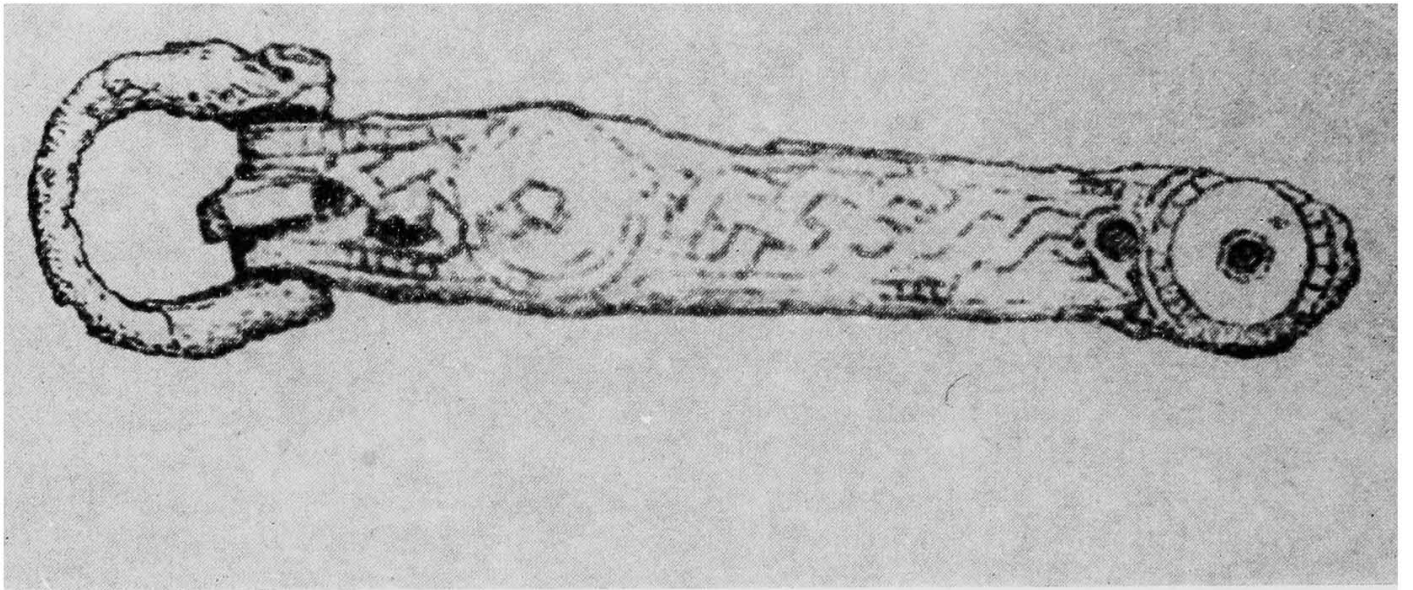


Fig. 23

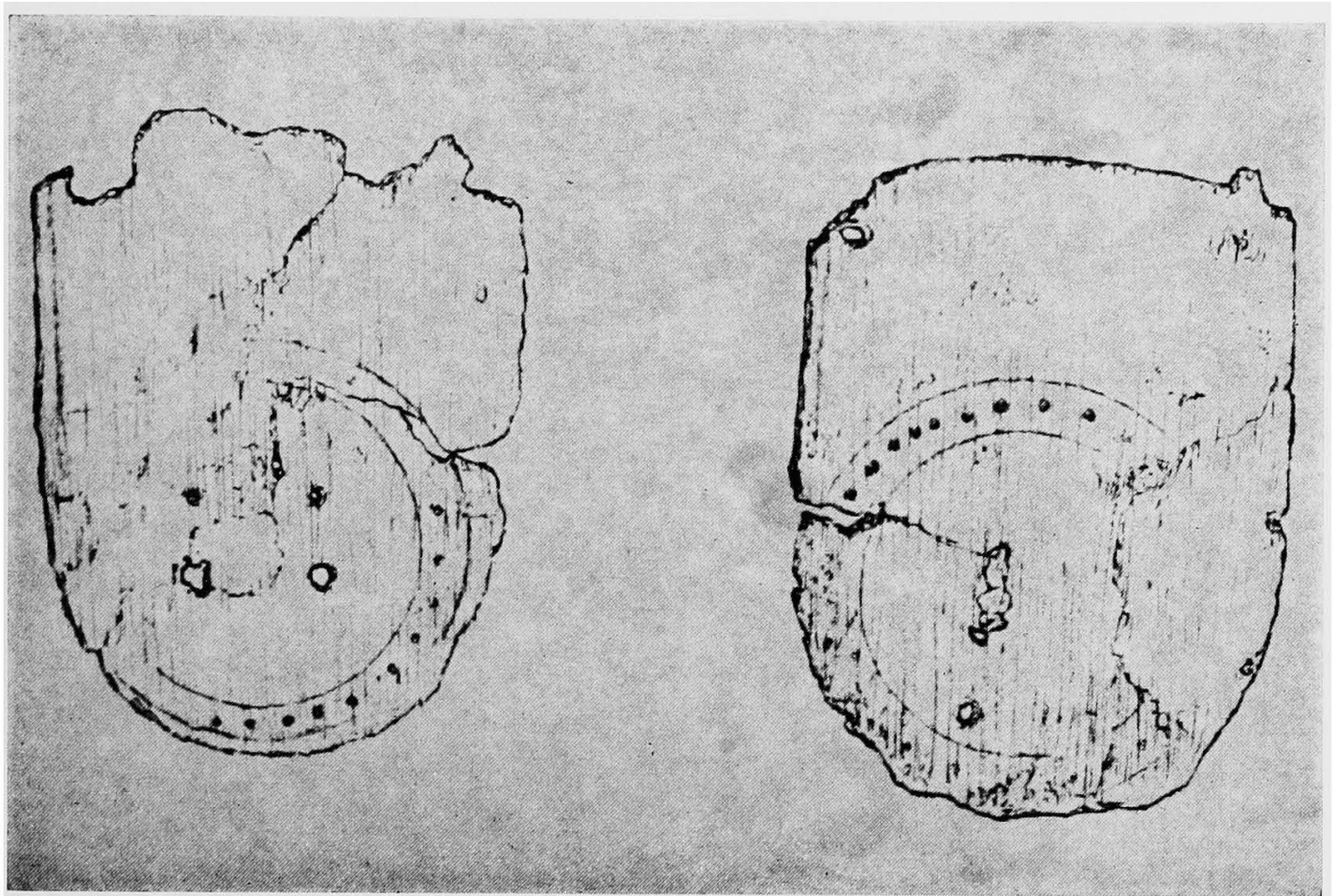


FIG. 24

Wilson finds an Irish origin the most likely one. The Kaupang-specimen belongs to a woman's grave which, by an equal-armed brooch and two tortoise-shaped brooches, can be dated to the ninth century.

To the same date belong the two identical tongue-shaped mountings of very thin tin-coated bronze with two simple incised circles with filled-in dots as the only ornamentation (Fig 24). They were found in such a position in the grave that it seems likely that they belonged to the sword-fitting. They were found together with two manuscript turners and some pieces of hack-silver and a ring-headed pin (Fig. 25). I have found no parallels to them, but they are certainly not of Scandinavian origin. The whole context of the grave points to their being western piece of work.

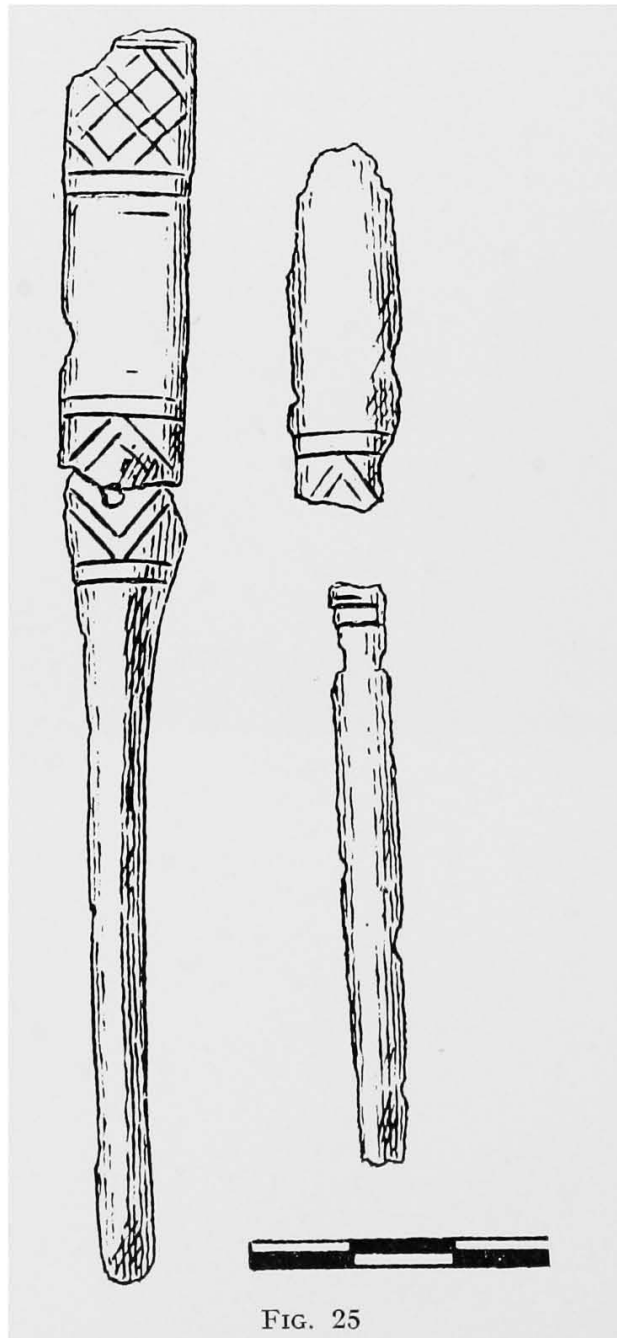


FIG. 25

In a place like Kaupang one might perhaps expect to find a fair number of what might be called "articles for hospitality and entertaining", such as, for instance, drinking-horn mountings. But only one specimen was found by us, curiously enough in a woman's grave and together with two very early specimens of tortoise brooches—one decorated with Salin Style III ornaments, the Jan Petersen Berdal type. The mount is of the simpler type (Bøe's type III) with a plain tube, which becomes wider at the end. Of the total number of fourteen terminals for drinking horns found in Norwegian Viking graves, five come from Vestfold, and at least one of these from graves in the immediate neighbourhood of Kaupang, so it would seem that there was an import via the market-place to the district. As to the origin of production of these mounts I can only quote Dr. Raftery when he says, discussing the drinking horn mountings from Norwegian graves: "if we realize that only one such object found in Irish soil is preserved . . . and that the Norwegian examples are undoubtedly of Irish workmanship, we can clearly see how incomplete our conceptions would be if we limited ourselves to the material in Ireland alone and forgot the external relationships, of a friendly or of a hostile nature, in this period".³⁹

CONCLUDING REMARKS

And this brings me right into one of the chief problems which the Kaupang collection presents us with: did these objects reach the market-place in Skiringssal in a friendly way, by trade, or should most of them be regarded as loot—perhaps to a certain degree sold second-hand to the inhabitants of Kaupang and the neighbouring districts?

It is a fact—realized long before we started our excavations at Kaupang—that the southern part of Vestfold is one of the richest in finds of insular objects in the whole of Norway.

The most striking feature about the group as such is its being so heterogeneous. The objects seem—at least to me—to come from all parts of the western insular areas. In addition to the bronze ornaments and pins it should be mentioned that there is one Anglo-Saxon sword hilt from one of the graves and a couple of jet-objects, partly from the graves, partly from the habitation site. We also have a small group of continental objects. In contrast to this very marked western influence we have three penannular brooches of Finnish-Baltic origin from men's graves and beads and other dress ornaments of bronze of Finnish type in one of the women's graves. The special grave ritual in the cemeteries uncovered by us, a campo santo of mainly boat-graves, would also seem to point to eastern contact, especially the Mälare region. This contact can be seen to go back to the time before the organizing of the market-place, but was apparently strengthened through interaction between Kaupang and Birka. But on the whole, the contacts of Kaupang with Hedeby seem to be much more marked in our material, as demonstrated by the amount of soapstone products in Hedeby and the amount of imported pottery in Kaupang, which indicates that the main

³⁹ Joseph Raftery: *Christian art in ancient Ireland*, Vol. II, Dublin 1941, p. 149.

trade route presumably went via Hedeby and other North Sea ports.⁴⁰ This agrees well enough with the route chosen by Ohtere on his way to Wessex. But does it agree with the material from Hedeby? In the Hedeby material there is a fair number of Hiberno-Saxon imports, some of them providing good parallels to the Kaupang finds. There is e.g. the well-known "Scheibenfibel", the plant-ornament of which gives the best parallel to the small gilt Kaupang-cross, and this would seem to be Anglo-Saxon (Fig. 26). And the best parallel to one of our thistle-brooch fragments from Kaupang comes from grave 276 in Hedeby.⁴¹

In his study on the ornamented metal objects from Hedeby, Capelle discusses the import of these insular bronzes and comes to the conclusion that "Ihre kleine Zahl zeigt wie gering die Verbindung Haithabus zum insularen Westen waren".⁴² This does indeed agree with our supposition—based on Ohtere's account as well as on archaeological material—that the most renowned route from southern Norway to the insular West went via Hedeby (Fig. 27). Ohtere must certainly be one among many who made use of the safer, more shallow Danish waters. Hedeby would also seem to be one of the obvious thoroughfares for missionaries from Ireland on their way to the Continent. In a recent paper Capelle seems to have modified his points—e.g. because a knob for a crosier of insular manufacture has now been found in Hedeby. Capelle seems inclined to think that this reached Hedeby "auf friedlichem Wege".⁴³

It does indeed seem likely that at least the insular objects of ecclesiastical character found in Hedeby should be seen in the light of missionary activity. This would explain their small number, but would not reflect the real extent of the contact between the two areas. What seems more surprising to me is that so few secular objects of insular origin have apparently been found in Hedeby. Somehow one would have expected e.g. a series of ring-headed pins, but apart from those discussed by Liam de Paor in his publication of the Inchbofin find and the thistle brooch, previously mentioned, it seems as if objects of this kind are lacking in the Hedeby material. But here it must be remembered that most of the ring-headed pins in Kaupang come from richer equipped graves, so scarce in Hedeby, where influence from Christian burial rites is much more felt.

I think that Capelle under-estimates the amounts of insular articles in Hedeby. Let me just mention that there is a series of strap-tags and belt-buckles which would seem to me—judging from the rather rich Norwegian material of comparison—to be of Anglo-Saxon origin. There is also a bracelet which readily finds parallels in the Lagore material.⁴⁴ A mould for a penannular brooch and another for a lozenge-shaped one, a specimen of which has now been found in the High Street excavation, may also be mentioned. And lately the knob for a crozier was found, as mentioned earlier. Capelle finds it to be an Irish import, but

⁴⁰ Charlotte Blindheim, *op. cit.* and Ellen Karine Hougen, *op. cit.*

⁴¹ Torsten Capelle: *Der Metall-Schmuck von Haithabu*, Neumünster 1968, Pl. 25, 1 and 2.

⁴² *op. cit.* p. 78.

⁴³ *Berichte über die Ausgrabungen in Haithabu. Bericht 4*, p. 17.

⁴⁴ *op. cit.* Taf. e. 4, 1-9.

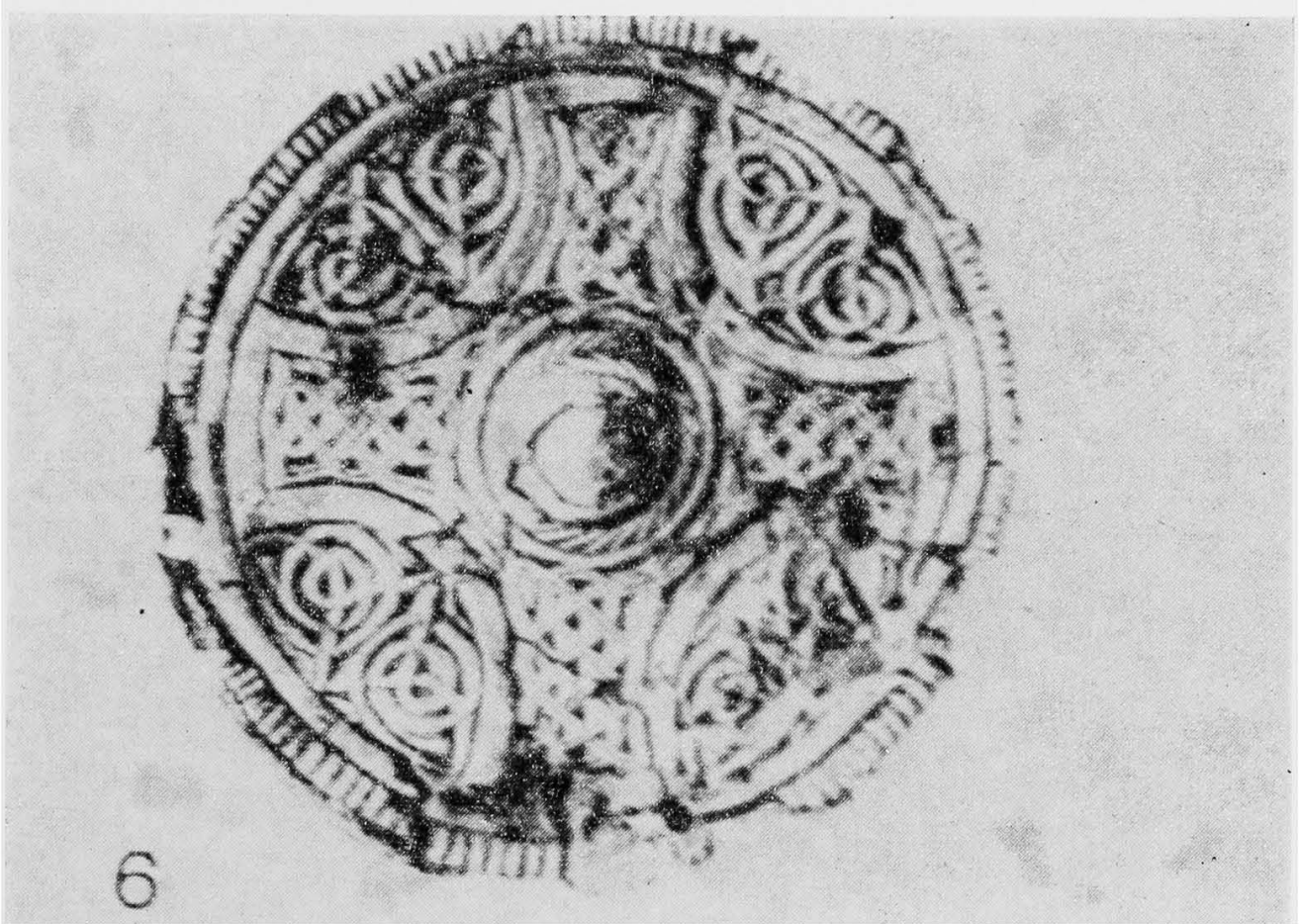


Fig. 26

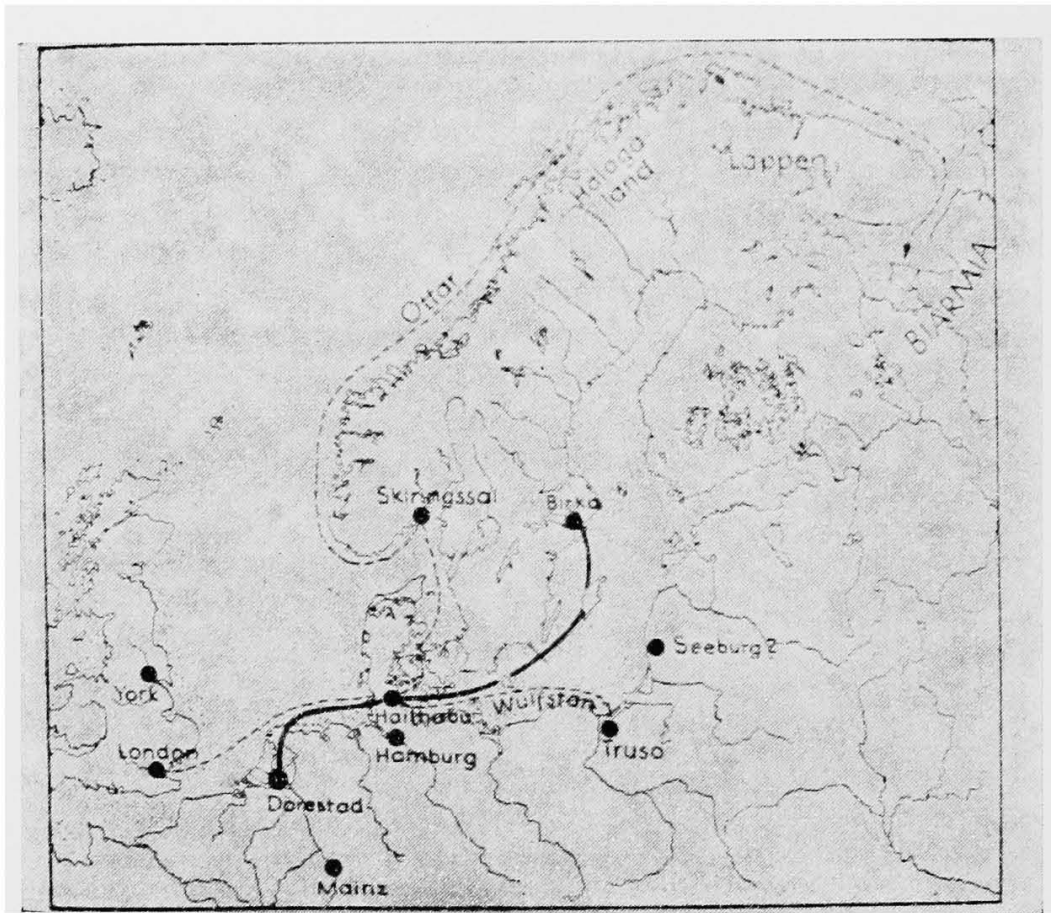


FIG. 27

I think it should rather be regarded as a Northern-English piece of work.⁴⁵ It seems related to the ornamentation on the Monymusk reliquary. What seems surprising in the Hedeby material is that so few pins of insular origin have been found. But here we must remember that most of the ring-headed pins from Kaupang have been preserved because a pagan burial rite still prevailed there. So on the whole I am inclined to think that we find support in the Hedeby material for the theory that Kaupang, Hedeby and the Hiberno-Saxon area were linked together in a strong chain in the ninth century. The fact that two of the links in this chain were recognized trading centres points indeed to trading rather than raiding.

In his studies of the imports Capelle discusses the problem of how these came to Hedeby. He is inclined to think that some are due to missionaries passing through whilst others should be regarded as loot.⁴⁶ I would be more inclined to think that all the insular material found in Hedeby came there in a peaceful way.

Quite another problem is whether if the same can be said for our Kaupang bronzes. On the face of it I would be inclined to think that our pins, belt-buckles, the strap-tag, the bronze-bit, the drinking-horn-terminal, etc., must be regarded as products of trade. All these categories can be paralleled to such a degree in other Norwegian Viking graves that it would seem that they reflect a real production of secular bronze objects in the west, which found a ready market in the Viking homelands. It is of interest to note that the same somewhat haphazard mixture of native articles and foreign imports of widely different origin is a characteristic also of the Viking milieu abroad. In this respect our Kaupang graves show clear relationship with Viking settlements in Ireland, Scotland and the Isle of Man—even that of Jarlshof.

Here it should be remembered that the problem of the amount of secular western imports to Birka never has been properly looked into. In my opinion it is considerably under-estimated.

But what then about our ornamented bronzes of ecclesiastical character—do they also reflect trade rather than raids? There is one feature which indirectly would seem to point in that direction: the fact that only two of them had been adapted as brooches. It would seem as if they might have been sold second-hand in the market-place. But this leads up to a new question: how large a percentage of all the other ornamented metal-work in Norwegian graves were actually provided with fastenings on their back? A survey, which is being carried out by us, points to this percentage having been highly over-estimated.

And so this survey has brought us back to our starting point: the demand for a new, up-to-date publication on the whole bulk of insular material found in Norway! The Kaupang collection can only be properly understood when seen in relation to the entire Norwegian material.

⁴⁵ Capelle: *Berichte über die Ausgrabungen in Haithabu. Bericht 4*, Neumünster, 1970. Abb. 6, p. 17.

⁴⁶ Capelle 1968: p. 78 and 1970, p. 17.

The Viking Towns of Ireland

By LIAM DE PAOR

It has become conventional to describe pre-Viking Ireland as a country without towns. "Tribal, *rural*, hierarchical and familiar" is Professor Binchy's description, which has become well known.¹ But this, like any such phrase, sums things up rather too neatly. There were, it would seem, if not towns, "pre-urban centres" or "incipient towns"² in Ireland on the eve of the Viking invasions. These were centres of population about which we know as yet surprisingly little in detail. They were the monasteries, which might well be called "centres distinguishable by the employment of their inhabitants in occupations other than agriculture"³ Not only did they conform to this description, but they had acquired certain other characteristics which are commonly referred to in discussions of the medieval town, notably the right of sanctuary applying within the precinct.

What eloquence could sufficiently extol the beauty of this church and the innumerable wonders of what we may call its city? For "city" is the proper word to use, since [Kildare] earns the title because of the multitudes who live there; it is a great metropolitan city. Within its outskirts, whose limits were laid out by St. Brigid, no man need fear any mortal adversary or any gathering of enemies; it is the safest refuge among all the enclosed towns of the Irish. The wealth and treasures of kings are in safe-keeping there, and the city is known to have reached the highest peak of good order. And who could number the varieties of people who gather there in countless throngs from all provinces? Some come [to Kildare] for the abundance of its feasts; others, in ill-health, come for a cure; others come simply to watch the crowds go by; others come with great offerings to take part in the celebrations of the feast of St. Brigid, who fell asleep on the First of February and, laying aside the burden of her flesh, followed the lamb of God into the heavenly mansions.⁴

So Cogitosus, writing as early as the seventh century, described his monastic city of Kildare. His account may possibly imitate a text which deals with some place outside Ireland; yet he thought it appropriate to apply it to Kildare.

We have other indications. Air photographs show us the considerable extent of many monastic sites, such as Clonard, where the evidence on the ground is meagre. We have references to paved streets in the monastic settlements, to

¹ D. A. Binchy, "Secular Institutions", in Dillon (ed.), *Early Irish Society* (1954), p. 54.

² W. Hensel, "The Origins of Western and Eastern Slav Towns", *World Archaeology*, vol. 1, p. 62.

³ See P. Bagby, *Culture and History: Prolegomena to the Comparative Study of Civilizations* (1958), p. 163; cf. H. Schlederman, "The idea of the town: typology, Definitions and approaches to the study of the medieval town in Northern Europe", *World Archaeology*, vol. 2, pp. 115-127.

⁴ Cogitosus, *Vita Brigidae*, ed. Migne, *P.L.*, vol. 72, pp. 775-790 (translation L. de P.).

different quarters (" thirds " in the case of Armagh), to houses maintained by different royal families in places like Armagh, to the burning of large numbers of houses on occasion. The evidence suggests centres of population on the scale of Iron-Age hill-forts or early medieval European towns. When we add to this the extensive evidence which indicates that by the end of the eighth century many of the ecclesiastical establishments had become secularised to a degree, we must qualify the conclusion that pre-Viking Ireland was without towns.

Yet it was not from these early centres that true towns developed. It is the later Scandinavian foundations, Dublin, Waterford, Limerick, Wexford, which survive to the present day. At Cork, it is true, there was a famous early monastery; but the conjunction here of pre-Viking ecclesiastical establishment and Viking town is probably fortuitous.

It is not clear how it came about that the western Vikings became founders of towns in Ireland, as the Swedish Vikings did in Russia. The Scandinavians, almost certainly from western Norway in the first instance, appeared off the Irish coasts first in the late eighth century (if we leave out of account a seventh-century reference to unknown " pirates " who attacked Tory Island off Donegal). They are recorded then as raiders. By the 830's, however, they appear to have been attempting a more serious exploitation of the resources of the country and were coming, not in small groups, but in fleets of sixty or more ships.

About 841 a *longphort*, or shore fortress, was established at the Liffey mouth, probably at this stage a very simple kind of base camp for ships which entered the pool formed by the confluence of the Dodder and the Liffey. A similar base was established at Linn Duachail (probably the little harbour at Annagassan, Co. Louth) in the same year. The Liffey base was still there about ten years later when it was attacked by another Viking fleet, " black foreigners " for a time displacing " fair foreigners ". Two years later we have indications of the beginnings of some more elaborate and permanent organisation. We are told that Olaf, described as " son of the king of Lochlann ", took command of all the foreigners.⁵

These events have been taken as marking the beginning of the city of Dublin, but there is some reason to doubt this. They conform rather to a common pattern in the affairs of ninth-century western Europe, in which sizable groups of Vikings, under leaders or kings, attempted to establish themselves in positions from which they could mount military expeditions to acquire land as well as plunder or trade goods. The Irish Sea by this time was much frequented by the ships of the Norwegians, and probably those of the Danes, and it was fringed with Viking settlement of a kind by the end of the century. Another base, very much on the ninth-century pattern, was established in Lough Ree, on the middle Shannon, and from there one " Turgesius ", commanding a fleet on the lake, conducted large-scale expeditions. The Vikings, however, if they were attempting to obtain lands for settlement, were generally unsuccessful in Ireland. Some coastal areas,

⁵ Dubhaltach Mac Fírbisigh, *Three Fragments* (ed. J. O'Donovan) (1860), p. 127. See the discussion in C. Haliday, *The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin* (1884, reprinted 1969), p. 20.

of limited extent, it is true, were settled, and one of the most important of these was along the shores of Dublin Bay and the low-lying coast, with shallow estuaries, to the north of the bay. South of Dublin, the hills come close to the coast, but beyond the sandy beaches was a discontinuous narrow strip of habitable land. It seems that the Viking settlements extended along this coastal strip too.

Olaf, the "king of all the foreigners", appears to have been the head of these settlements, referred to as the *Dyflinnarskíri*, and he built a fortress at Clon-dalkin, inland from Dublin Bay, which was sacked by an Irish raiding party in 866. A cemetery of the ninth-century Norse was discovered in the past century during railway construction at Islandbridge-Kilmainham, on the western outskirts of modern Dublin, on rising ground to the south of the river Liffey's narrow valley. This may well represent a settlement in that neighbourhood.⁶ In the mid-ninth century too, we have indications of attempts to establish a semi-permanent base on the middle reaches of the Shannon, where the leader called "Turgesius" established himself for a while. He is also reported to have tried to make a base of Armagh; perhaps Armagh and Clonmacnoise, already town-like in their size and variety, appeared to offer a focus for land-taking and settlement. There were other bases, or lairs, around the coast, as at Strangford Lough.

The cluster of bases, or lairs of maritime adventurers, at Dublin formed a small kingdom of farmer-warriors which was from time to time allied to or subordinate to the large kingdoms of Leinster and Ossory, but for much of the late ninth and tenth centuries the main interests of its rulers lay overseas. The kings of Dublin had for a time dynastic interests in York, until the resistance of the northern English became too strong for them. Possibly because of this distraction of attention, the Scandinavians appear to have won for themselves just enough land to produce a vigorous reaction from the Irish, but not enough to make intrusions of any size. Reaction came in the later ninth century with sufficient force to leave them without any permanent base in the northern half of the island. The Dublin Vikings appear to have been dislodged at this time, although not perhaps wholly expelled, since they clung to the small islands off the coast. In the early tenth century, fleets returned to Ireland, and a renewed effort at settlement appears to have been made.

Near Dublin itself, the Scandinavians were powerful enough in 919 to defeat and kill Níall Glúndubh, king of Tara. About this time too, Vikings established themselves on Inis Cathaigh, a monastic island at the mouth of the Shannon estuary. From here they could control the approaches to the river, and they soon moved up to the head of the estuary and established a trading base on the island formed by the confluence of the King's River with the Shannon, at Limerick. Further bases were formed at Waterford, Cork and Wexford, and it may be that the trading town on the permanent site at Dublin dates from this phase of settlement.

⁶ Coffey and Armstrong, "Scandinavian Objects found at Islandbridge and Kilmainham", *P.R.I.A.*, vol. 28 C (1910), pp. 107 ff.

It may be that the defeat and death of the king of Cashel, Cormac mac Cuileannáin, and of the king of Ossory, along with many Munster princes, at the battle of Bealach Mughna in 908 so upset the power balance in the south of Ireland that intrusion was easier there. At any rate, there was no strong over-kingship in the southern half of Ireland until later in the century; and it is round the coasts of Leinster and Munster that Scandinavian towns were established and grew. They seem to have been fortified. A coastal area beside Waterford was settled; otherwise the permanent pattern was of merchant towns, whose orientation was essentially to the sea rather than the land. Ireland forms a contrast to Scotland, northern England and France in this. Except for the small pockets mentioned, they did not succeed in taking and settling any extensive tracts of land as they did in the other western colonies; but they did in Ireland, as they did not in the other western colonies, establish towns.

These, in their relations with the hinterland, soon came under the suzerainty of various Irish kings. We have many accounts of raiding by the foreigners of the towns, but by the tenth century they did not differ markedly in this from the native Irish, by whom they were as freely taken and discarded as allies or enemies as fellow-Irishmen.⁷ In 980, Dublin, the largest and, potentially at least, the most powerful of the towns, was effectively subdued to a marginal place in the Irish polity. Its people were decisively defeated at Tara by Maelsechnaill, who took a large tribute from the town. Limerick had been taken in 967 after its men were defeated at Sulchvait by Mathghamhain, son of Cennétig, whose hitherto obscure little kingdom of Dál Cais was now expanding. Mathghamhain burned the town; but in 972 a Munster council, headed by Mathghamhain, found it necessary to banish the Norse officials and the foreigners of Limerick, and ordered that the fortress of Limerick be burned. These events, episodes in the expansion of the power of the kings in question, reflect the importance which the towns had begun to achieve in Irish politics as well as their absorption as small client-states into the Irish system.

By this stage the Scandinavians were probably largely Christian. After the battle of Clontarf (1014) in which a Scandinavian alliance, including contingents from overseas, was defeated by Mathghamhain's brother Brian, then high king of Ireland, the Ostmen (as they now begin to be called in the records) played a considerable part in the history of the Irish church. This was because they did not adopt the Irish form of ecclesiastical organisation, which was still wholly monastic, but chose instead to follow the practice, normal elsewhere in the west, of having bishops to direct their church affairs. They sent priests (Irishmen initially, to judge by their names) to Canterbury to be consecrated as bishops for the towns, and so, after the conquest of England in 1066, drew the attention of greedy Norman archbishops to Irish matters. This Ostman initiative was of some significance in the movement to reform the Irish church which was successfully carried through in those years. It may also have played some part in the process which led the church to encourage Henry II to intervene in Ireland.

⁷ See A. T. Lucas, "The Plundering and Burning of Churches in Ireland, seventh to sixteenth century" in Rynne (ed.) *North Munster Studies* (1967), pp. 172-229.

The Irish church reformers of the early twelfth century intended that there should be two archbishops, of Armagh and Cashel, with ecclesiastical provinces corresponding to the old traditional division of the island into a northern half and a southern half. In the final settlement of 1152, however, there was added not only an archbishop of Tuam (recognising the twelfth-century rise to importance of Connacht under its O'Conor kings) but also an archbishop of Dublin—showing the importance which had been achieved by the Ostman towns by this date.

The towns appear to have had but a limited sense of common identity. They are commonly found in the eleventh and twelfth centuries acting as auxiliaries of Irish kings—especially useful auxiliaries because of their ability to supply fleets and to operate from the sea—and often one Ostman town in this capacity will attack another. For example, in 1087 the men of Dublin burned the city of Waterford; in 1088 the men of Dublin, Wexford and Waterford were driven off by the Uí Eachach Mumhan when attempting to attack Cork. Yet the king of Dublin to the time of the Norman invasion is occasionally spoken of in the records as “king of all the foreigners in Ireland”. Dublin had family and other connexions, closer than those of mere alliance, with the Scandinavians of Man and the Hebrides. Its population was probably mixed, with West Scandinavian predominating, but its people seem to have remained in every sense close to the sea, maintaining by marriage and otherwise the links with their Scandinavian kin in the western colonies.

By the time of the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland in the 1160's, the Ostman towns were a long-established feature of the Irish scene, taken for granted in the scheme of things, yet still recognisably foreign. They differed from the Irish in a large number of respects—of which living and trading in towns was in itself one of the most important. They had their own language, their own customs, their own laws, their own continuing seaborne connexions with other Scandinavians, so that there is about them a faint air of impermanence, like the Portuguese in Goa or Macao in much later times. At the same time they were fairly well integrated politically and had a considerable influence on the Irish hinterland. They had begun minting coins in the late tenth century, and went on until the invasion. The first coins were faithful copies of English coins, showing that they were intended for trade in that country; this is fully borne out by the material found in the Dublin excavations. The main trade was overseas, and probably only a relatively small proportion of it involved the Irish hinterland. The towns were not so much ports as emporia and way-stations on the long sea routes which linked the Scandinavian homelands and colonies with the Mediterranean and North Africa, in the fundamental exchange of slaves for silver. But the availability of all kinds of imports in the towns affected considerably the formerly simple way of life of the Irish, even if trade with the hinterland still largely took the rather crude form of tribute and royal gifts. The Irish Sea was coursed by the Scandinavian ships, which travelled regularly and frequently to Bristol, for example, as Giraldus Cambrensis tells us. And we have many indications that by the time of the invasion the towns were beginning to replace the old centres like Tara and Kincora as places whose possession was one of the

emblems of Gaelic kingship. One source indeed tells us that Ruaidhrí Ó Conchubhair was inaugurated king in Dublin, and that afterwards he gave *tuarastal* to the Ostmen of the city (the acceptance of which acknowledged their submission to him), levying a tax of 4,000 cows on the men of Ireland to raise it.

Yet, with all these changes in Irish attitudes, there remains an ambiguity in the dealings of the Irish kings with the Scandinavian towns. They seem not quite to have grasped the importance of the urban development. So, for example, when Ruaidhrí Ó Conchubhair besieged Dublin in 1171, the city then being occupied by the Normans Strongbow and de Cogan, he offered Dublin, Wexford and Waterford, but none of the country behind them, to Strongbow as his terms. With the exception of Limerick, firmly held and used by the O'Briens, it would seem that the towns could preserve a good deal of freedom of action right up to the invasion. Dublin had for a long time managed to act with a fair measure of independence of its nearest powerful neighbour, the kingdom of Leinster, but in 1162 Diarmaid Mac Murchadha took the city and levied a heavy tribute. He had a grudge against the Ostmen, we are told, because his father Donnchadh, who had been killed in battle in 1115 at Dublin, was buried by the Ostmen with a dead dog as a mark of hatred and contempt.⁸ While he controlled the city, Diarmaid saw his brother-in-law, Laurence O'Toole, installed as archbishop. The Dublin fleet was active in the years immediately preceding the invasion, in 1164 on the Clyde in a joint expedition with the Scots of Argyll and the Norse of the Isles, and in 1165 off the Welsh coast when they sailed with the fleets of the other Ostman towns to assist Henry II in his wars. This brought them into the familiar waters of the Bristol Channel, where so much of their trade passed.

One of the items of trade which the Ostmen brought back from Britain was slaves: Anglo-Saxons sold into service and shipped overseas. Silver appears also to have been, as one might expect, a favourite trade commodity. Silver brooches and other objects, comparatively rare in Ireland before the beginning of the Viking period, then become common, and indicate the impact of the trade on the hinterland. The twelfth-century O'Brien account of the sack of Limerick after Sulchuaith in the late tenth century gives a suggestion of the other goods which might be obtained in an Ostman town: jewels . . . saddles "beautiful and foreign", silks, satins and other "beautifully woven cloth of all colours and of all kinds"⁹ The city of Dublin is said to have paid in tribute in 1023 to the king of South Bregha (the petty kingdom immediately to the north of the city) twelve hundred cows, sixty ounces of gold, sixty ounces of silver, one hundred and twenty Welsh horses and a special trophy known as the sword of Carlus. In the long lists of tributes and *tuarastail* set forth in the twelfth-century *Book of Rights* the Foreigners are separately listed on a par with the provincial kingdoms, probably because of their wealth.¹⁰

⁸ S. Ó hInnse (ed.), *Miscellaneous Irish Annals* (1947), p. 54.

⁹ J. H. Todd (ed.), *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh* (1867), p. 78.

¹⁰ M. Dillon (ed.), *Lebor na Cert* (1962), pp. 114 ff.

When the excavations in progress in Dublin, Cork and Limerick have been completed and published, we shall no doubt have a much fuller picture of the towns in their pre-Norman phase. Mr Breandán Ó Ríordáin's work on behalf of the National Museum in Dublin has already been extensive enough to help us form some picture of that city, with the aid of the early records and of comparative information from the investigation of contemporary Scandinavian towns elsewhere. The city stood on the high ground between the Liffey and the now subterranean Poddle stream, extending along a ridge westward and eastward from Christ Church. At the time of the Anglo-Norman invasion, when Dublin's existence as a Scandinavian town came to an end, the original cathedral, considerably smaller and simpler than the later medieval building, stood on the site of Christ Church, and was already more than a century old. There were other, no doubt very small, churches, some within the walls, some without. St Michael le Pole, to the south, had a round tower, and not very far away was the little oratory of St Patrick de Insula, on an island in the Poddle, about where St Patrick's cathedral is to-day, a short distance outside the town. The town was fortified. The wooden houses within the small circumference of the walls would have presented their gable-ends to the street on narrow frontages and would have been long and narrow. They had workshops, with blacksmiths, leather-workers, comb-makers, carpenters plying their trade. Some seem to have had their own fenced garden plots—such as are known from contemporary towns in Scandinavia—and these appear to be referred to in the *Book of Rights* and elsewhere.¹¹ Mr Ó Ríordáin's excavations have shown that there were wooden footpaths in at least some of the streets. Skins and furs were possibly then, as later, a main item in such export trade as there was from the hinterland, and excavation has shown that leather-working became an important craft in the city.

The unconfined Liffey, shallower and wider than now, flowed below the north wall of the city, presumably over the hurdle ford which gave the Irish name *Áth Cliath* to the place, and then immediately began to widen out into its estuary, so that the area which is now clogged with city traffic around O'Connell Street was then under water. On the opposite bank at the time of the invasion, masons were still probably working on the extensive buildings of St Mary's Abbey, founded thirty years before for the Savigniac Benedictine order, but Cistercian since 1147. To the west of the abbey the village later known as Ostmanby, later still as Oxmantown, had probably developed on the north bank. A large wood covered the high ground behind the abbey, sloping down from St Mo-Bhí's old monastery of Glasnevin to the shore at Clontarf. As far as the eye could see from Christ Church, the land, except for the mountains to the south, was Ostman territory—as some place-names of the Dublin area still testify—and it appears from some sources that the kingdom had a second stronghold at Liamhain (now Lyons Hill) about eight miles to the south-west.¹² The medieval Pale in miniature

¹¹ Dillon, *Lebor na Cert*, p. 116, line 1734.

¹² Dillon, *Lebor na Cert*, p. 140, line 2107.

already existed before the Normans came, and the Irish kings were only beginning to perceive what the incoming Normans appreciated at a glance—that Dublin was the key to the rule of Ireland.

The other towns, although less politically important than Dublin, were similar in size and character. We have a number of interesting references to the “market” at Limerick, which was apparently a permanent one, and was probably outside the walls. We know from Giraldus that Reginald’s Tower, which is still a landmark (although rebuilt) on the Waterford Quay, was standing in 1169, and he gives us a further little glimpse of the appearance of Waterford City: one house projected beyond the town wall, being supported on the outside by timber posts—in other words it was an upper storey that projected. The Normans breached the wall by cutting the posts, so that the house collapsed.¹³

The walls were undoubtedly one of the reasons why the Norman invaders, as early as possible, attacked the towns. They were the only ready-made fortresses, and they were sea-ports from which the Normans could retain connexions with their home bases. So Wexford, Waterford and Dublin played a leading part in the first act of the invasion.

The first contingent of Anglo-Normans, that led by Robert FitzStephen, Robert de Barry and Maurice de Prendergast, which landed at Bannow Bay to the east of the mouth of Waterford harbour in May, 1169, and was soon joined by Diarmaid Mac Murchadha and his men, straightaway marched on Wexford. The people of this town, which was the natural port for Diarmaid’s territory of Uí Chennsalaigh, were nevertheless consistently hostile to the king, and they put up a spirited resistance. Being repulsed, the invaders set fire to the ships which were drawn up on the shore beside the town, save one, which we are told had just arrived from Britain with a cargo of wine: this cut its cables and put to sea. But the following day the town surrendered, and in the ensuing campaign we find a contingent of Wexford Ostmen, plainly greatly distrusted by the rest, serving in the forces of Diarmaid and his allies.

The Norse of Dublin and Waterford suffered more severely in those campaigns. The people of Waterford were massacred in the streets after Strongbow, with the main invading force, had taken the city; but later, when the town was left with a reduced garrison there were enough Ostmen left to overpower the garrison and hold the town again for some months. Dublin, under its vigorous king Ansculf, attempted to pursue an independent policy at the time of the invasion, but with disastrous results. After some confused sieges and counter-sieges, the town was taken by a sudden assault, led by Miles de Cogan, who attacked the Ostmen and, in the words of the Four Masters, “made a slaughter of them in the midst of their own fortress and carried off their cattle and their goods.”¹⁴ In the words of Mac Carthy’s Book, they “drove out the Lochlannaigh, the merchants and the inhabitants, killed or drowned many women and men and youths and

¹³ J. F. Dimock (ed.), *Giraldi Cambrensis Topographia Hibernica et Expugnatio Hibernica* (1867), p. 255.

¹⁴ J. O’Donovan (ed.), *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland*, vol. 2 (1851), p. 1177.

carried off much gold and silver and clothing".¹⁵ The Dublin fleet, led by Ansculf, sailed hastily away, while the city burned. There were some fighting men left in the city's territory, for when in 1171 de Cogan's men plundered the ancient church of St Cianán at Duleek, they were slain by Dublin Ostmen "in revenge of Cianán". And Ansculf returned, his fleet augmented with allies from Man and the Isles, including a redoubtable character known as John the Wode. A bloody battle was fought: for the last time a Norse fleet and army were defeated at Dublin. Ansculf was killed. John the Wode's headless body was strung up by the heels, probably on the hill known as Hangr Hoeg outside the city to the east, and was blackening on its gibbet there when the armies of O'Connor, O'Rourke and O'Carroll arrived, too late, for a fruitless siege of the city. Henry II held court in a wattle pavilion by the east gate, specially built for the occasion, in the winter of 1171-72, and handed over the town for colonisation by the men of Bristol. The history of Ostman Dublin and of the other Ostman towns came to an end as these became English towns.

¹⁵ S. Ó hInnse (ed.), *Miscellaneous Irish Annals*, p. 52.

The Viking-age silver hoards of Ireland

By J. A. GRAHAM-CAMPBELL

Introduction

One of the principal aims of this paper, which is to be regarded as a preliminary report on research in progress, is to demonstrate the exceptional wealth of the silver and gold finds of the Viking Age in Ireland. That such a basic approach to this material should be necessary arises from the fact that the only available survey is that in H. Shetelig (ed.), *Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland* (Oslo, 1940). The relevant volume (vol. III), compiled by J. Bøe, can now be seen to present a totally misleading picture. In this volume are listed only four provenanced silver hoards containing non-numismatic material. This total of four hoards can now be increased to thirty-six (Appendix C), and there is every reason to believe that additional research will increase the number now known.¹ There has been a similar, if less marked, increase in the number of provenanced single-finds known from this period (Appendix D). It should be pointed out at this stage that discussion will be limited almost entirely to material for which at least a county provenance is known.

The reasons for this dramatic increase in the number of hoards now known are two-fold. Firstly, there have been a number of new finds since the 1930's, but these are, in fact, few. Secondly, a search has been made through the wealth of material recorded in nineteenth-century periodicals and manuscripts—manuscripts which include scrap-books, unpublished lithographs and letters, such as are preserved in the Royal Irish Academy, and elsewhere, both in Ireland and in England.² The finds recorded in these sources are often well illustrated so that there need be little doubt concerning them, even though they are now for the most part lost, those of gold and silver having doubtless found their way into the melting-pot.

This study of the Irish hoards follows on from the research of Professor Dolley into the numismatic evidence of the Viking Age in Ireland. Any such study must draw heavily on his Sylloge volume, *The Hiberno-Norse Coins in the British Museum* (London, 1966), for, without the framework provided by his analysis of the coin-hoards, interpretation of the coinless hoards and single-finds would be severely restricted. Numismatists must be beware, however, of attempting

¹ The author would be most grateful if information concerning hoards or single-finds not listed, or discussed, in Appendices B-D could be communicated to him at University College, London. Assistance in gathering the material included in the Appendices has been received from many individuals and it has not always been possible to give specific acknowledgments, but thanks must be extended to Dr J. Raftery and M. Ryan (National Museum of Ireland), R. Warner and T. Delaney (Ulster Museum), Mrs Leslie Webster (British Museum), D. Brown and D. Hinton (Ashmolean), Miss P. Beswick (Sheffield City Museum), also to A. Binns, S. Briggs, C. Doherty, Dr G. Eogan, R. Hall, Dr M. Herity, B. Ó Ríordáin, H. Pagan, Dr E. Shee, R. B. K. Stevenson, Professor D. Wilson and, in particular, to Professor M. Dolley for his every advice and encouragement.

² It is a pleasure to acknowledge the assistance of the librarians and staff of the Royal Irish Academy, the National Library of Ireland, and the Society of Antiquaries of London.

to draw general conclusions about the use of silver by the Scandinavians in Ireland, and about the distribution of wealth, from the evidence of the coin-hoards alone, when so much non-numismatic material can be shown to exist. Preliminary conclusions based on the full range of the evidence do tend, however, to amplify rather than to contradict those previously advanced on the evidence of the coin-hoards alone (Dolley and Ingold 1961; Dolley 1966).

Before turning to an examination of the evidence itself, it is worth emphasising the importance of the silver and gold finds for the general study of Scandinavian settlement in Ireland. After the results of the Dublin excavations, the hoards must represent the single most important body of archaeological evidence which can be used at present to elucidate the nature of the Scandinavian presence in Ireland. This potential may be better appreciated from a realisation of just how inadequate for this purpose are the other known Scandinavian antiquities.

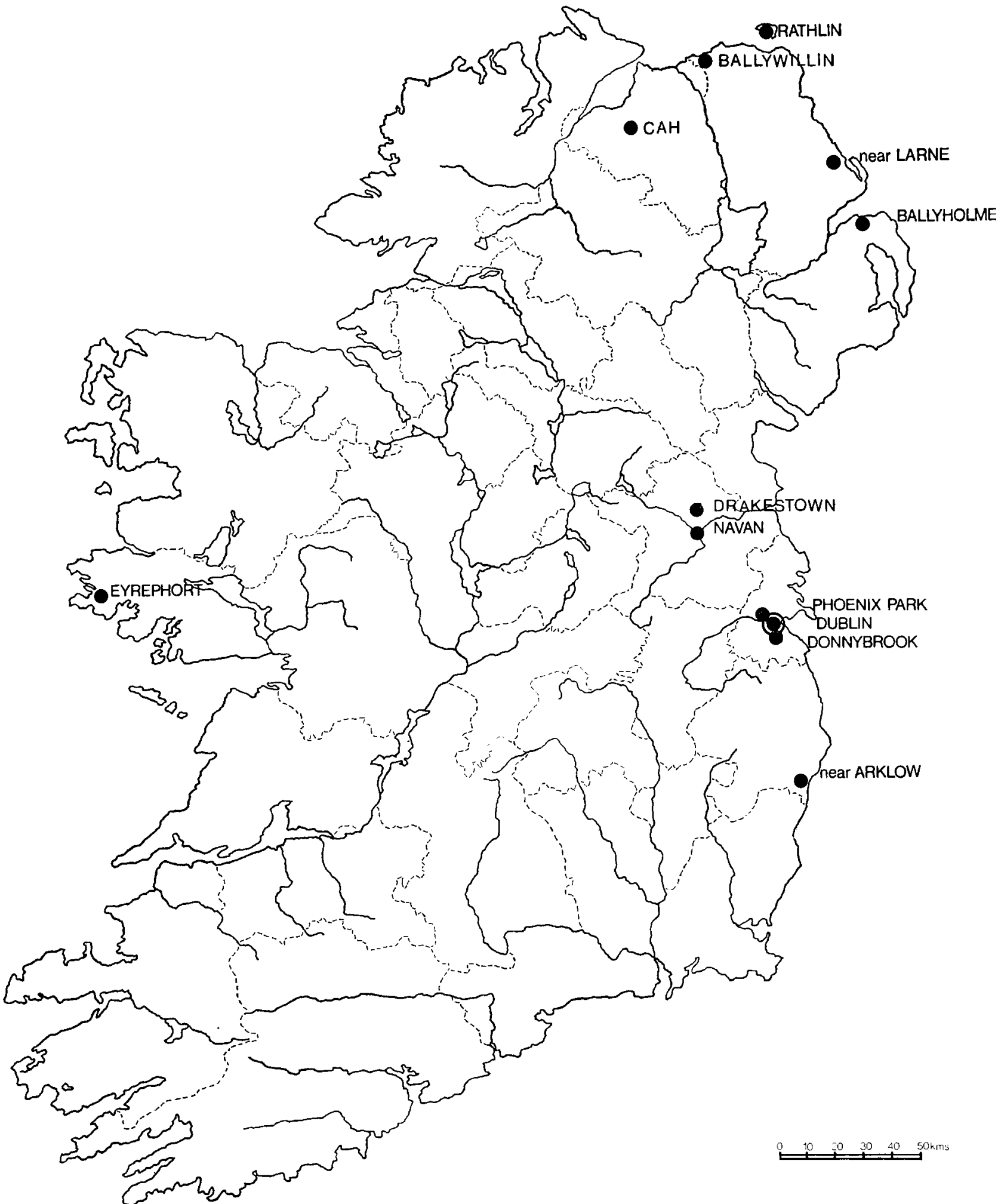
Scandinavian Graves in Ireland

The information which can be deduced from the grave-finds is disappointing (Appendix A).³ A possible exception would be the Kilmainham/Islandbridge cemetery in Dublin, but anyone working with this material labours under the disadvantage that it was virtually all recovered in the nineteenth century, and that there are no recorded associations from those diggings. The material from this cemetery displays, however, a remarkable homogeneity and includes nothing which has to be dated as late as the tenth century. Its ninth-century character is in direct contrast to the essentially tenth-century nature of the primary levels as revealed in the recent Dublin city excavations. Another important factor to be taken into consideration is that, in comparison with both Birka and Hedeby where the cemeteries are in close proximity to the towns, the Kilmainham/Islandbridge cemetery is situated at a considerable distance (over 2 km.) from the excavated settlement-site. These two factors strongly suggest that in the ninth century the settlement of Dublin was sited further upstream, in the vicinity of the cemetery.

It should not be forgotten that Dublin was founded twice over by Scandinavians. The first settlement, established in 841, came to an end in 902 with the destruction of Dublin by the Kings of Brega and Leinster. The Vikings were expelled, only to return in force twelve years later (Ó Corráin 1972, 90, 95, 102). On the evidence at present available, it would therefore seem probable that the original foundation of Dublin was situated near the Kilmainham/Islandbridge cemetery and that, for the second foundation, a move was made downstream, to the area at present under excavation within the medieval city walls, where there had no doubt been some subsidiary settlement in the ninth century. Burials associated with this later settlement would include the small group from College Green.

Apart from the Dublin cemeteries, there are some twelve graves from Ireland which may reasonably be considered to be those of Scandinavians, buried according to pagan rites. Their distribution (Map 1) is entirely eastern, with one

³ References to individual finds are provided in this appendix.



Map 1. Distribution of ninth/tenth-century Scandinavian burials. (Appendix A)

exception in Co. Galway which was situated on the edge of a beach and need represent no more than a temporary landing; two of the others were similarly sited.⁴ Of interest might have been a possible boat-burial from Ballywillin (Co. Antrim), but this is another nineteenth-century find which went virtually unrecorded (Appendix A, note i). The total corpus of grave-goods is not spectacular and on this basis alone the archæologist may offer little at present to the historian of the period.

Much the same must be said for the single-finds of Scandinavian objects in Ireland (*V.A.* III, 77-98). Chance finds of weapons are widespread—a considerable number being from rivers and loughs, and some from native sites. Their general distribution bears witness to the records of the Irish annalists for the wide-ranging raiding activities of Vikings within and around the island. Under the circumstances it is impossible to determine what part trade may also have played in the distribution of such objects of Scandinavian or Hiberno-Viking manufacture.

It must be added that Dublin is as yet the sole archæologically attested Scandinavian settlement in Ireland. In this light it can be seen why the large body of hoard evidence presents such potential for archæological research into the nature and extent of the Scandinavian presence in Ireland.

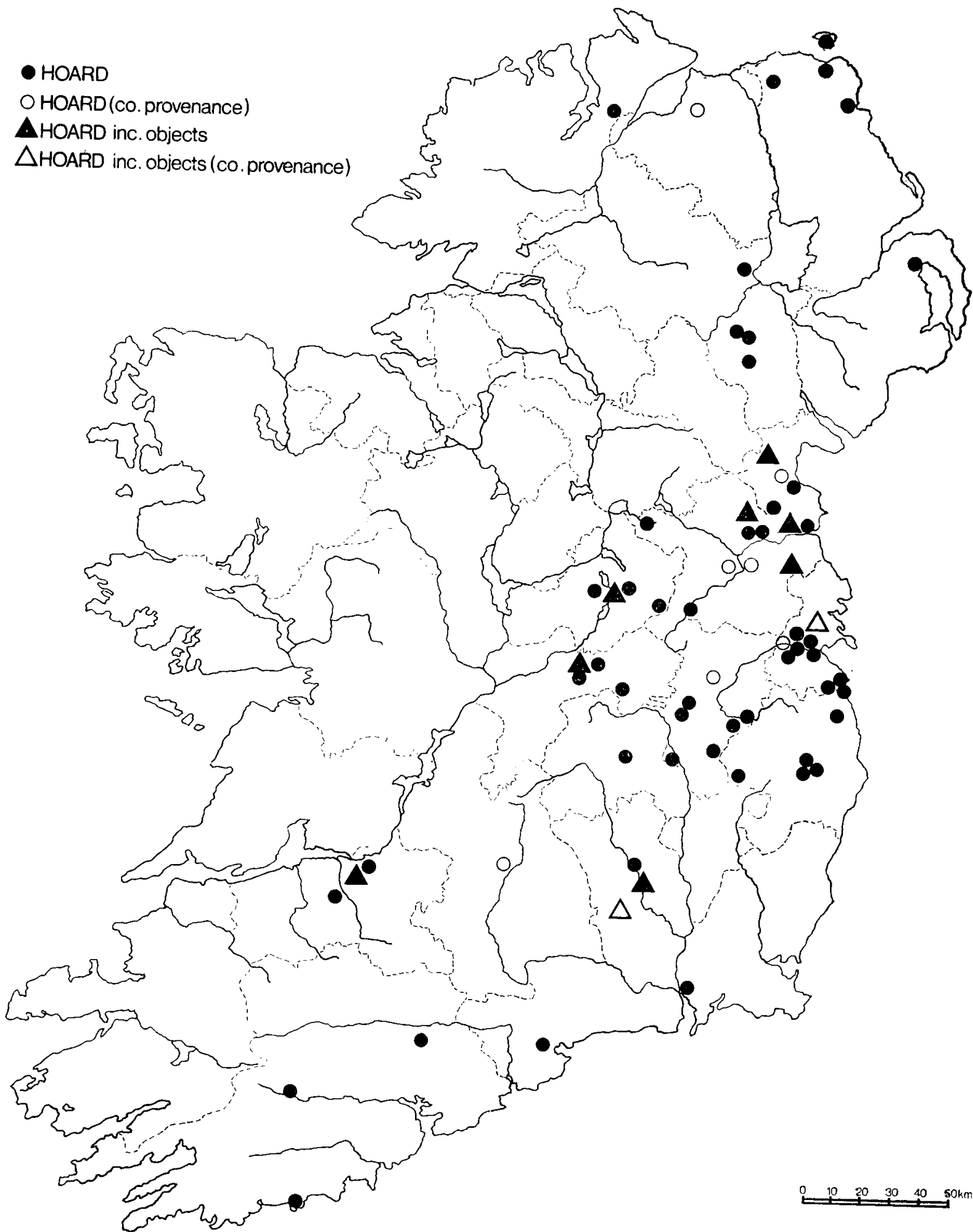
Distribution of Coin-hoards

Two main questions of a general nature arise from previous studies of the coin-hoards (Dolley and Ingold 1961; Dolley 1966). Firstly, does the distribution of the coin-hoards in Ireland represent the true distribution of Scandinavian wealth throughout the country? Secondly, does the study of the deposition dates of the coin-hoards indicate the period at which Scandinavians first introduced large quantities of silver into Ireland?

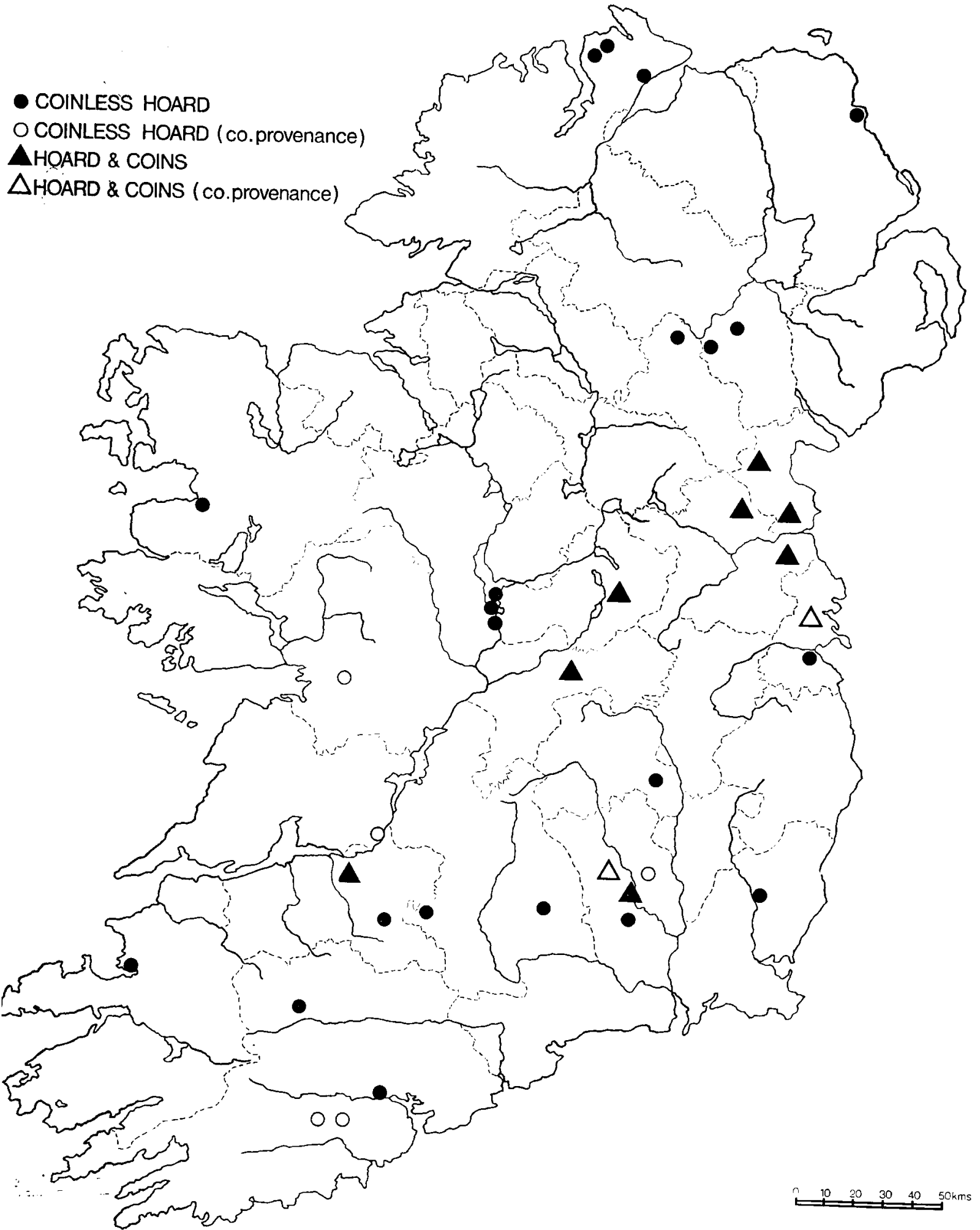
A distribution map of the coin-hoards (Map 2; Appendix B) makes it clear that these are strongly concentrated in the eastern part of the country. One immediate conclusion is that the Scandinavian settlements elsewhere in Ireland did not use coins, but it does not necessarily follow that they did not possess silver. A map of the thirty-six provenanced hoards (Map 3; Appendix C) which are known to have contained objects, whether ornaments, ingots or hack-silver, demonstrates that silver was in fact distributed over a far wider area. That there is a contrast in distribution-pattern is made clear when the totals of coin-hoards (deposited *c.* 800-*c.* 1075)⁵ by province are compared with those of coinless hoards (Fig. 1). The number of coinless hoards from Leinster when added to the total of coin-hoards makes little overall difference. For Ulster, there is a far more significant increase, whilst for Munster the total is more than doubled; Connaught, which is without coin-hoards, is brought into the picture for the first time.

⁴ Nr. Larne (Co. Antrim); Ballyholme (Co. Down).

⁵ The reasons for restricting the coin-hoards used in this comparative table to those deposited between *c.* 800 and *c.* 1075 are discussed, below, p. 49 and n. 10.

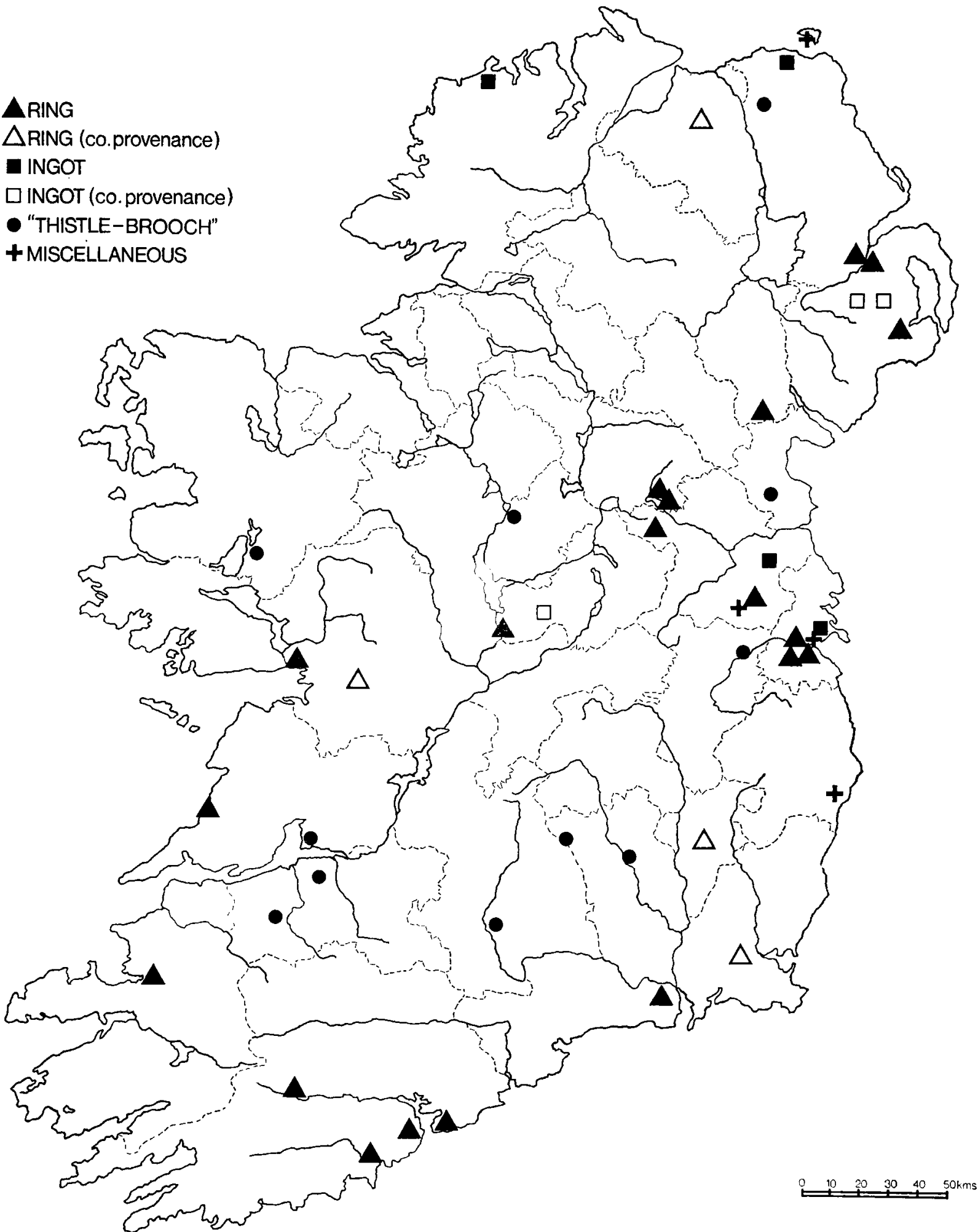


Map 2. Distribution of Viking-Age coin-hoards (c. 800-1170). Appendix B.



Map 3. Distribution of Viking-Age hoards containing gold and silver objects apart from coins. Appendix C.

- ▲ RING
- △ RING (co.provenance)
- INGOT
- INGOT (co.provenance)
- "THISTLE-BROOCH"
- + MISCELLANEOUS



Map 4. Distribution of Scandinavian and Hiberno-Viking gold and silver finds other than hoards and coins. Appendix D.

	<i>Coin hoards</i>	<i>Coinless hoards</i>
Connaught	—	2
Leinster	44	8
Munster	7	9
Ulster	9	7

FIG. 1. Distribution of Viking-age Silver Hoards
(c. 800-c.1075) by province

It is interesting to note that no Scandinavian silver is known from five counties, even when single-finds are also taken into consideration (Map 4; Appendix D). These counties are grouped in the north-west and consist of Fermanagh, Leitrim, Roscommon, Sligo and Tyrone. This gap in the distribution pattern is, in fact, more extensive in that it also includes west Donegal and north Mayo. The lack of coastal finds in this area might suggest that the normal Scandinavian trade route to Limerick, the second most important Scandinavian settlement in Ireland, lay to the south of the island. On the other hand, it is strange that the documented Scandinavian presence on Lough Erne passes unrecorded on these maps.

There can be no doubt that the greatest wealth of the Scandinavians in Ireland was concentrated in east Leinster, but the overall picture is rather more complex. Predictable concentrations of finds appear in the vicinities of Cork and Limerick, and a consistent pattern is noticeable along the coasts of Antrim and Down, as well as in relation to the southern rivers. Yet there is no clear-cut evidence in these distributions to support any suggestion of significant inland Scandinavian settlement during the period from the mid-ninth to the mid-eleventh century. Just as silver was introduced into Ireland by trade, it was similarly dispersed throughout those parts of Ireland in reasonable proximity to the major Scandinavian coastal settlements which are historically documented.

Chronology of Coin-hoards

On turning to the second question, that of chronology, it becomes necessary to establish the nature and contents of the hoards in greater detail. The bar-graph (Fig. 2) summarises the chronology of the deposition of coin-hoards in Ireland between c. 800 and 1170. It records, by decades, the deposition of a total of sixty-nine hoards (Appendix B),⁶ and the material so plotted can be divided conveniently into four groups, or phases. The first phase consists of the six finds belonging to the period from c. 800 to the opening years of the tenth century. The second phase runs from c. 920 to c. 1000 and encompasses the majority of the hoards. There follows a gap of some thirty years from which no hoards are known, so that the third phase starts c. 1030 and includes those hoards deposited

⁶ References to individual hoards are provided in this appendix. Dolley's (1973c) recent redating of the Ballycastle (Co. Antrim) hoard, from c. 1035 to c. 1045, was published too late for the alteration of Fig. 2.

COIN-HOARDS OF IRELAND (780-1170) after Dolley (1966), with additions

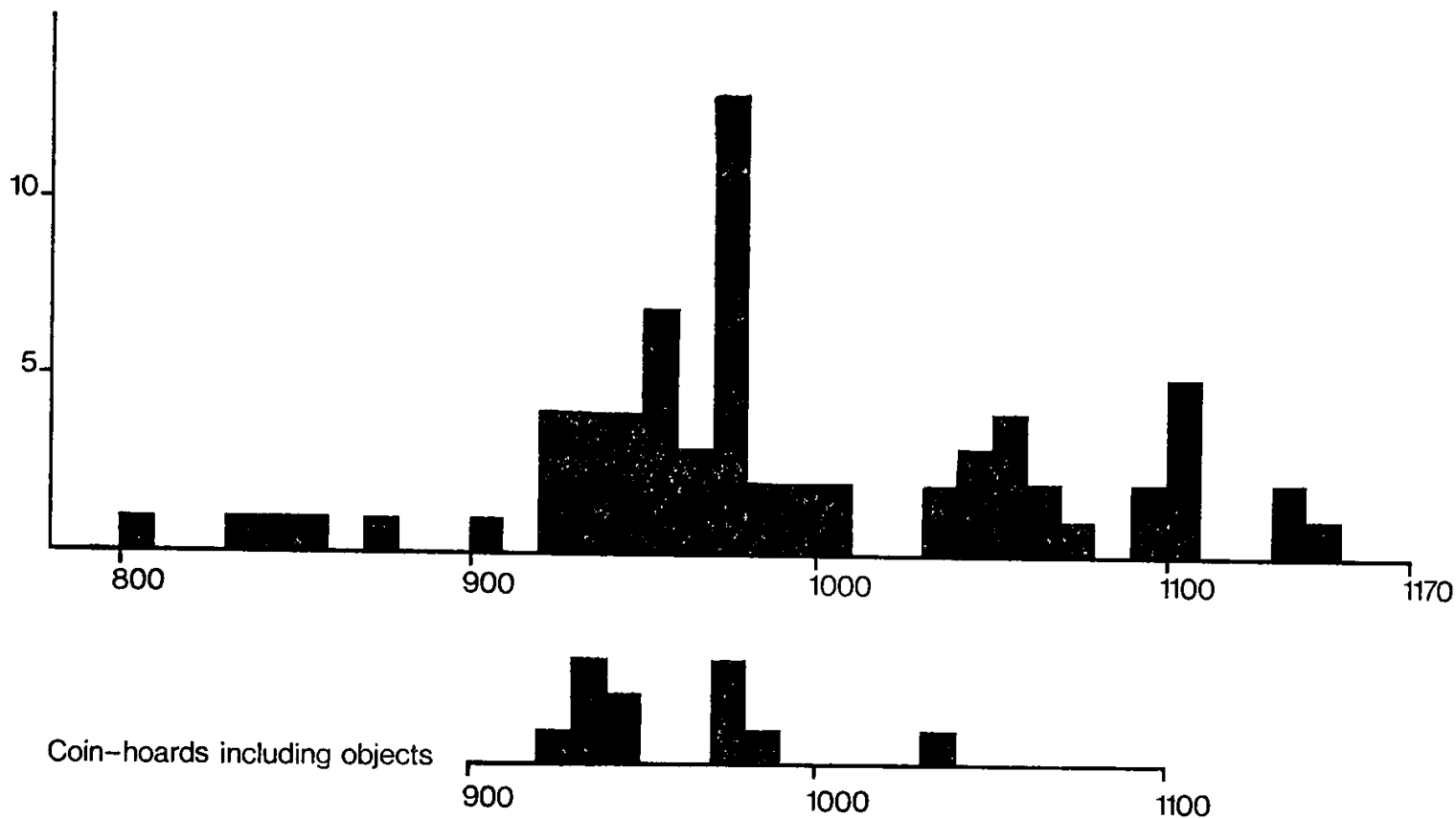


Fig. 2. Deposition of Viking-Age coin-hoards by decades.

up to *c.* 1075. The final phase consists of the ten hoards deposited between the closing years of the eleventh century and the capture of Dublin, in 1170, by the Normans.

The period as a whole begins with the first recorded Viking raids on Ireland, which took place in 795. The raids only became a serious and widespread menace during the 830's, and this intensification of the Scandinavian presence led to the first settlements of the 840's (Ó Corráin 1972, 81-82, 89-90). The small number of ninth-century coin-hoards should therefore be seen in the light of the fact that there was no Scandinavian settlement in Ireland before the middle of the century. Since three of the six hoards of the first phase consist of only two Anglo-Saxon coins each, it might be doubted as to whether they necessarily had any connection with Viking activity. The single most important factor is, however, that at this period neither the Scandinavians in Ireland nor the Irish themselves were coin-using (Dolley 1966, 24-25), so that such silver as was in circulation in Ireland would most likely have been in the form of ornaments or other objects. Two of these hoards of Phase I are of particular interest and merit further comment.

Firstly, there is the hoard deposited *c.* 847 at Mullaghboden (Co. Kildare) which contains only Carolingian coins. Dolley (1960-61) has demonstrated that this hoard represents loot from Aquitaine taken between 843 and 846. This might suggest that the earliest Scandinavian settlements in Ireland were being used as bases not only for raiding within Ireland, but also for forays to the Continent.

Secondly, there is the poorly documented hoard found at Drogheda (Co. Louth), in 1846.⁷ This hoard may have contained over 5,000 coins, although doubt has been cast on its reported size. This does not, however, seem so improbable when it is remembered that the immense Cuerdale (Lancs.) hoard contained something of the order of 7,000 coins.⁸ This latter was deposited (*c.* 903) at much the same date as that from Drogheda which, although not closely datable, must also have been concealed in the early years of the tenth century. The occasion for its deposition might have been connected with the defeat of the Norse of Dublin, in 902, and their expulsion from the city—events which bring Phase 1 to its close.

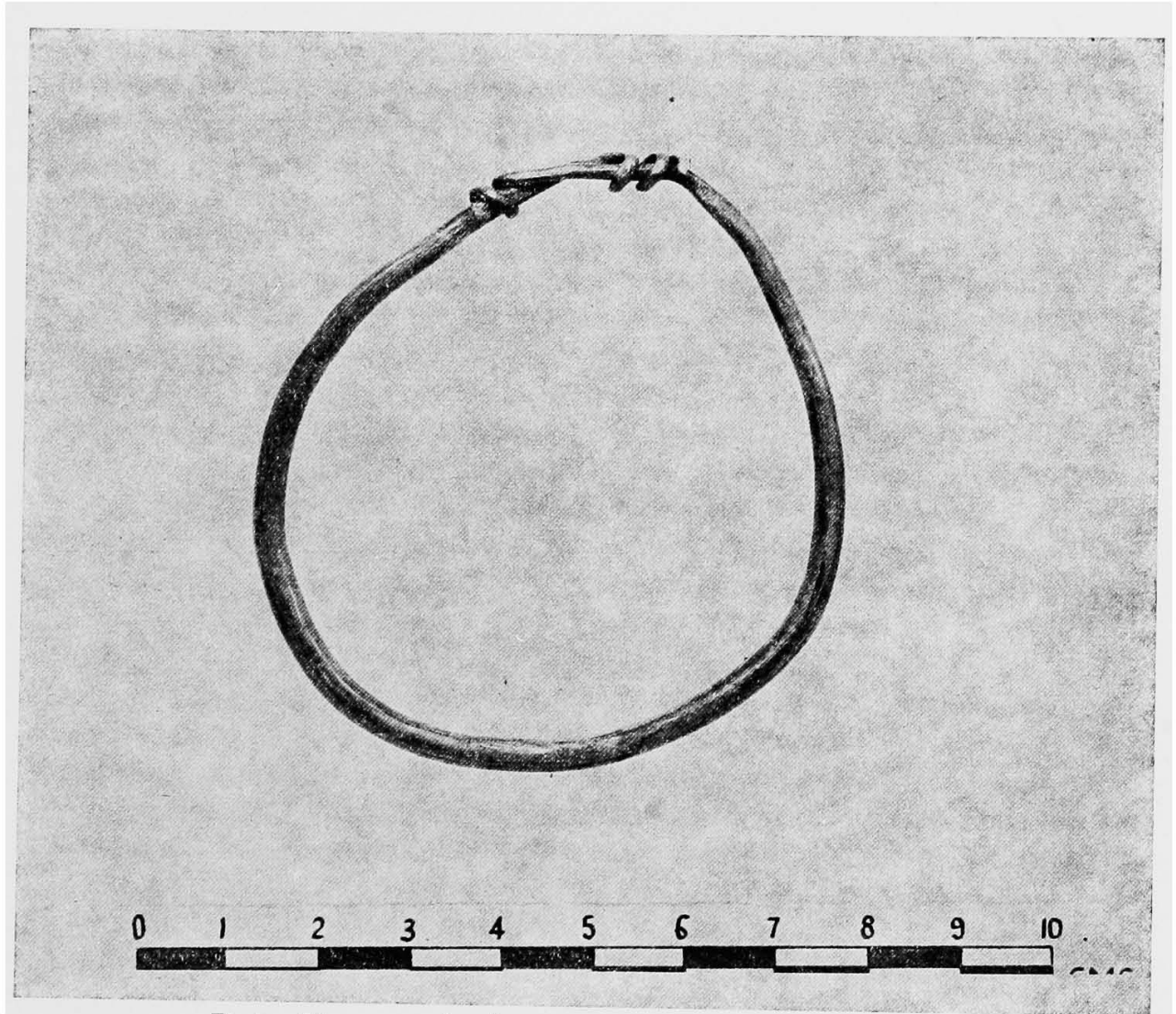
The second phase is of far greater importance for the present study since it represents the main period of coin-hoard deposition. From *c.* 920 to *c.* 1000, forty-one hoards were deposited and ten of these contain objects of silver and gold in addition to their coins. The phase begins soon after the re-establishment of Dublin as a Scandinavian trading centre and ends with its being once again plundered and burnt (Ó Corráin 1972, 123). On the basis of the hoard evidence, it has been suggested that the turning point in the fortunes of the Scandinavians in Ireland, during the tenth century, came in the 970's (Dolley 1966, 17-19, 133). This decade saw the deposition of thirteen hoards, approximately twice the number from any other decade, and came to an end with the defeat of the Dublin Vikings at the Battle of Tara, after which their city stood in a tributary relationship to successive Irish kings.

For a period of fifty years, between *c.* 925 and *c.* 975, the hoards of Phase 2 are dominated by Anglo-Saxon coins minted at Chester (Dolley 1972, 20). These coins were doubtless kept by the Scandinavians in Ireland for use in trade with Anglo-Saxon merchants at Chester and elsewhere. The increasing familiarity with the use of coins by the Dublin Vikings must have been a contributory factor behind the eventual establishment of a mint in Dublin, at a date which has recently been determined by Dolley (1973a, and b), as in or about 997.

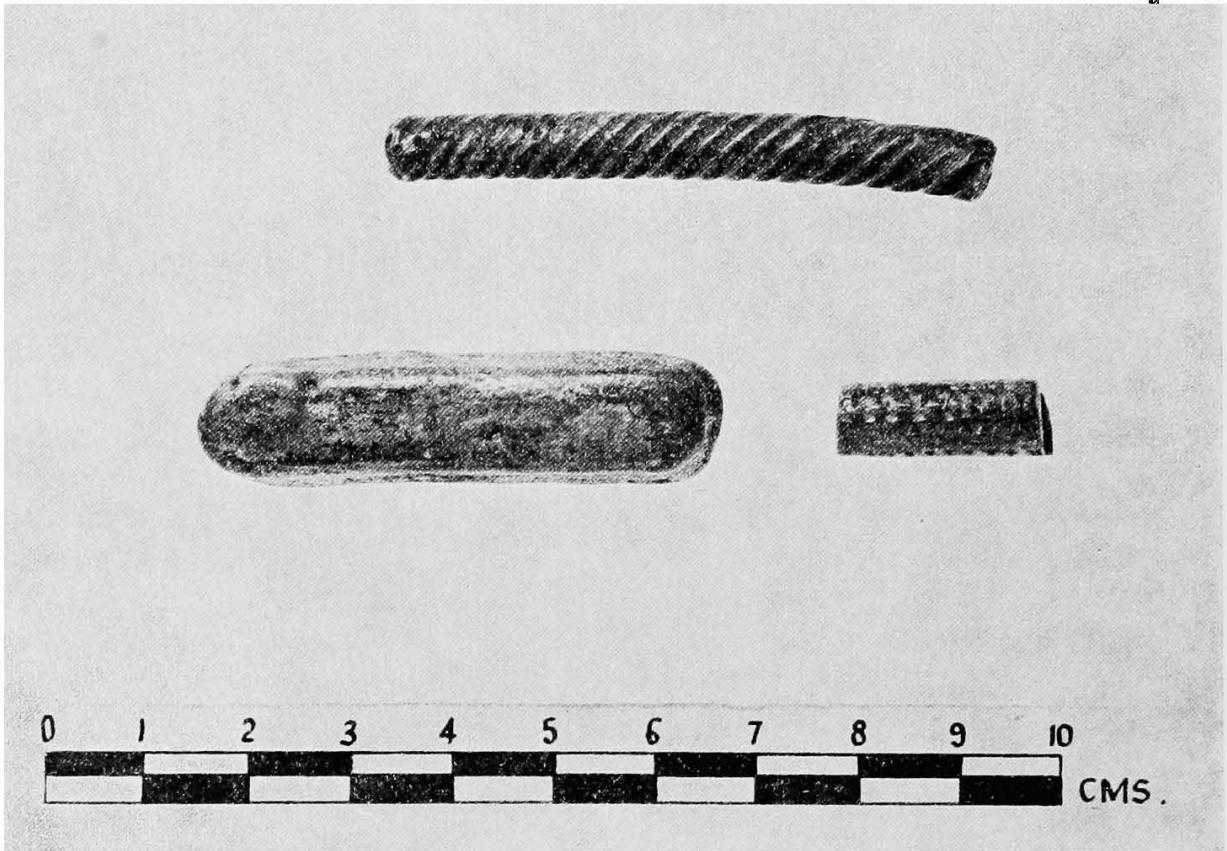
The hoards of the third and fourth phases are separated by a period of twenty years (*c.* 1075-*c.* 1095) from which no hoards are known. There are twelve hoards from Phase 3 (thirteen with the inclusion of Mullingar, no. 2 (Co. Westmeath) which, although not specifically datable, falls within this phase, see Appendix B, note vii). The earliest hoard from Phase 3 was deposited *c.* 1030, in a Neolithic mound, at Fourknocks (Co. Meath), and contained a single small ingot along with the coins. This is the latest Viking-age coin-hoard from Ireland

⁷ *J. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.*, iii (1848), 334; discussed by Dolley (1966, 26-27).

⁸ *Numis. Chron.*, v (1842-43), 4; Dolley, *Nordisk Numismatisk Årbok* (1957-8), 19-20.



Pl. 1. Silver arm-ring from unprovenanced hoard—' Ireland '



Pl. 2. Silver ingot and spiral-ring fragments from the 'Co. Dublin' hoard.

to contain anything in the way of ingots, ornaments or hack-silver.⁹ Since this hoard is separated by nearly fifty years from the main body of hoards containing such material (Fig. 2), it seems justifiable to include only those coin-hoards which fall within the period of the ninth to mid-eleventh centuries (Phases 1-3) in comparative and statistical studies with the coinless hoards.¹⁰ The Phase 4 hoards of late eleventh- and twelfth-century date, which consist exclusively of Hiberno-Norse coins, will therefore be discounted for present purposes.

Coin-hoards containing Non-numismatic Material

The coin-hoards of the first three phases total sixty-one¹¹ of which only eleven contain non-numismatic material (Appendix B, and C). It might be hoped that these eleven hoards would suffice to put the study of the coinless hoards and individual objects on to a firm footing, but unfortunately this turns out not to be the case. Eight of the eleven hoards contain only one or more ingots in addition to their coins, and nothing in the way of ornamented metalwork. Of the three remaining hoards, that without a provenance deposited in the 930's, contained a plain, single rod arm-ring (Pl. 1).¹² That from an unknown location in Co. Dublin, deposited *c.* 935, contained one ingot and two pieces of hack-silver in the form of fragments cut from spiral, or so-called 'Permian', rings (Pl. 2).¹³ The third hoard, from Mullingar, no. 1 (Co. Westmeath), deposited *c.* 985, is of greater potential interest in that it contained two silver pins with large heads and a penannular gold finger-ring, as well as ingots, but these are all lost and no drawing of them has been traced.

It must therefore be accepted that the entire corpus of silver objects, other than ingots, surviving from coin-dated hoards found in Ireland, totals only three pieces (Pls. 1-2). It is also evident that Ireland is lacking in such large mixed hoards as found in Scotland, England and the Isle of Man. It can, however, be demonstrated that this missing link, between those hoards containing only coins and coinless hoards, does most probably exist for Ireland in certain mixed hoards which, although deposited in Britain, do seem to constitute Hiberno-Viking wealth.

⁹ The possibility exists that the Donaghery (Co. Tyrone) hoard, deposited *c.* 1105, was contained in a silver cup, although the metal is not specified (Appendix B, note vi). If in fact the cup was silver, it would still not qualify this hoard for addition to the group in question which is characterized by the inclusion of ingots, personal ornaments and/or hack-silver.

¹⁰ The validity of this period, from the ninth to the mid-eleventh century, is confirmed by the evidence of the Scottish hoards. Apart from the isolated hoard from Plan Farm, St. Blane's (Bute), deposited in the 1150's (*Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, v (1862-64), 372-84), the terminal coin-dated mixed hoard is that from Dunrossness (Shetland), from which the sole surviving coin is one of Harald Hardrada, of *c.* 1055-*c.*1065 (Dolley and Skaare 1973).

¹¹ Included in this total, but not included in Fig. 2, are the following two hoards: Co. Derry; Mullingar, no. 2 (Co. Westmeath).

¹² Ashmolean (Oxford), 1909: 552.

¹³ Ashmolean (Oxford), 1909: 553-55. Plates 1 and 2 are published by kind permission of the Museum.

Coinless Hoards

Before discussing such relevant hoards from Britain, it is necessary to complete the survey of the material from Ireland with a consideration of the coinless hoards. At present such hoards number twenty-five provenanced examples, with at least a further six without provenances (Appendix C).¹⁴ A few of these hoards are uncertain; many of them are now missing.

Chief amongst the missing hoards is one of gold objects found in 1802 on Hare Island (Co. Westmeath) on the Shannon. This hoard (Graham-Campbell 1974), which consisted of ten arm-rings, was melted down in London but not before drawings of five of the objects had been made. The best is one prepared for the Society of Antiquaries of London (Pl. 3)¹⁵; less good are the drawings published by Vallancey (1804, pls. xiv-xv). These arm-rings include examples of a highly ornate type which is familiar in silver as, for instance, a pair from the Shannon at Athlone (Bruce 1880, pl. xxiii, 4). In England a fragment of an arm-ring of this type is present in the Cuerdale (Lancs.) hoard (Hawkins 1847, no. 47; *V.A.* IV, fig. 12), which was deposited *c.* 903, and a closely related example is known from the Bossall/Flaxton (Yorks.) hoard, deposited *c.* 927 (*V.A.* IV, 31, fig. 63).¹⁶ The other types in the Hare Island hoard are extremely simple and the purpose of the massive triple-ring, illustrated by Vallancey (1804, pl. xv, fig. 4) must have been to display the largest possible quantity of gold—in this case about one kilo in weight. The whole hoard contained *c.* 5 kilos of gold, which is twice the weight of the Hon (Vestfold) hoard, from Norway (Grieg 1929, 182-98), which has previously been regarded as the largest known gold hoard from the Viking Age. On the basis of the ornate arm-rings, this Hare Island hoard (no. 1) may be dated to the second half of the ninth or the first half of the tenth century (Graham-Campbell 1974).

There is also a lost silver hoard from Hare Island (no. 2) which consisted of arm-rings and ingots, one of each being illustrated by Vallancey (1804, figs. 1 and 2). This particular combination of rings and ingots is found in other hoards, including that which is probably the largest of the lost silver hoards from Ireland. This is a hoard found in 1851 at Derrynahinch (Co. Kilkenny) which was said to consist of 'about a quart full' of silver objects, that is about 1½ litres. Of these only one small undecorated ring survives in the National Museum of Ireland (Appendix C, note iii).

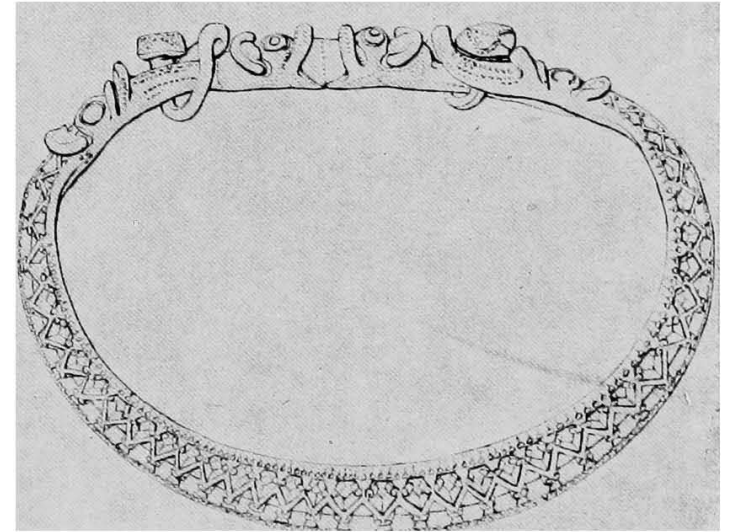
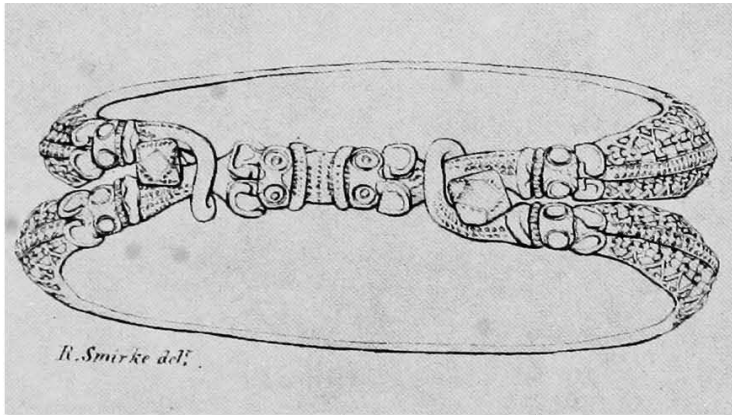
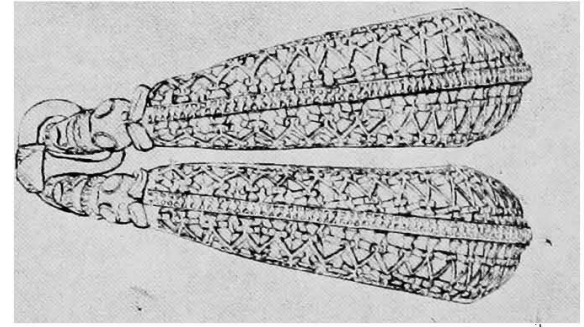
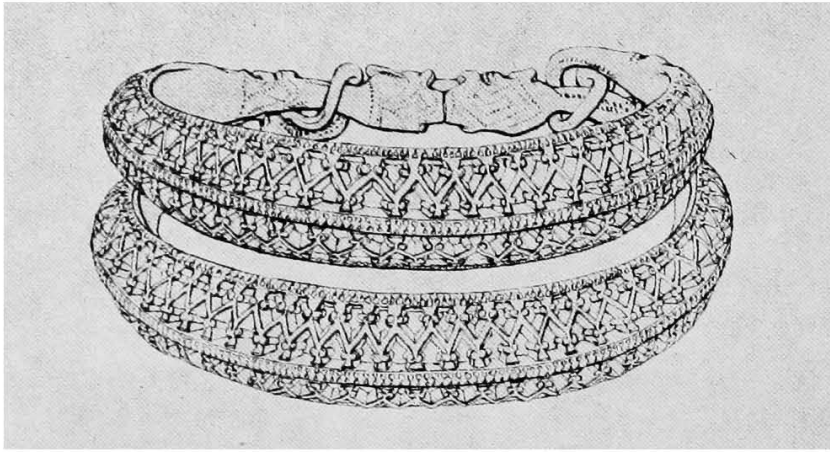
A late eighteenth-century find from north-west Inishowen (Co. Donegal) contained ten or eleven arm-rings, illustrations of two of which are preserved in the Royal Irish Academy (Pl. 4).¹⁷ One of these consists of a broad, thick band of silver decorated with vertical lines and a diagonal cross, or saltire, at its

¹⁴ References to individual hoards are provided in this appendix.

¹⁵ *Vetusta Monumenta*, v (1835), pl. xxx. Plate 2 reproduces the original drawing, with permission of the Society of Antiquaries of London, from the scrap-book entitled *Primæval Antiquities*, in their possession.

¹⁶ This hoard is not from York, as published in *V.A.* IV, 31. For the Bossall/Flaxton provenance, see Dolley 1955.

¹⁷ R.I.A., ms: 24.E.34, *Specimen Book*, p. 95, reproduced with permission of the Royal Irish Academy.



*Four Views of a gold Saxon Bracelet, found in Ireland.
Weight 12^o. 12^{ss}. Vich Vetust. Mon. Vol. V.*

Pl. 3. Gold arm-ring from the Hare Island (Co. Westmeath) hoard (No. 1). (Scale: c. $\frac{1}{2}$).

centre.¹⁸ Other versions of the same type are known, for example, from the Roosky (Co. Donegal) hoard, that from Cushalogurt (Co. Mayo), the small hack-silver hoard from Carraig Aille II (Co. Limerick), as well as the Hare Island (no. 2) hoard mentioned above.

The Hiberno-Viking Arm-ring Type

When all finds of this particular type of arm-ring in Ireland, whether provenanced or not, are taken into consideration, the number of individual rings totals over sixty (Appendix C, and D; *V.A.* III, 113-21, 125-27, 135-36). The rings combine all, or most, of the following characteristics (*e.g.* Pl. 5)¹⁹: they consist of a thick band of silver, of rectangular cross-section, and are penannular in form, tapering towards the ends; decoration is confined to the outer face and consists of a series of vertical grooves, executed with a variety of stamps, and in most cases with a simple diagonal cross at the centre, sometimes repeated towards the terminals.

Contrary to widespread belief, this particular arm-ring type is not common outside Ireland. In comparison with this total of over sixty from Ireland, there are four known from Scotland,²⁰ and about fifteen from Norway, including four from the Bøstrand (Nordland) hoard (Grieg 1929, 258-60, fig. 63). Of greater importance is the fragment (C 26387r) from the Grimestad (Vestfold) hoard, since its deposition is coin-dated to *c.* 930.²¹ There are five such rings from Viking-Age Denmark, where from their occurrence with spiral-rings they have been dated to the ninth century (Munksgaard 1969). There is only one possible fragment from Gotland (Stenberger 1947, pl. 7, no. 4). This distribution pattern strongly suggests that this particular variety of arm-ring should be considered as a specifically Hiberno-Viking type.

In England these rings are known from three coin-dated hoards. They are represented both in the Goldsborough (Yorks.) hoard of *c.* 920 (*V.A.* IV, fig. 7), and in the Cuerdale (Lancs.) hoard of *c.* 903 (*V.A.* IV, figs. 10 and 12). Of particular interest is the presence of a single fragment in the Croydon (Surrey) hoard deposited *c.* 875.²² Both on the grounds of its early date and of its location, the

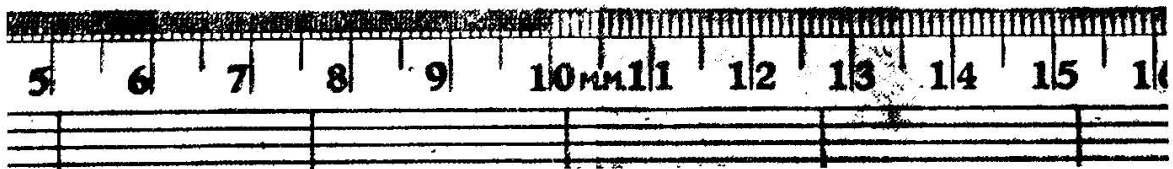
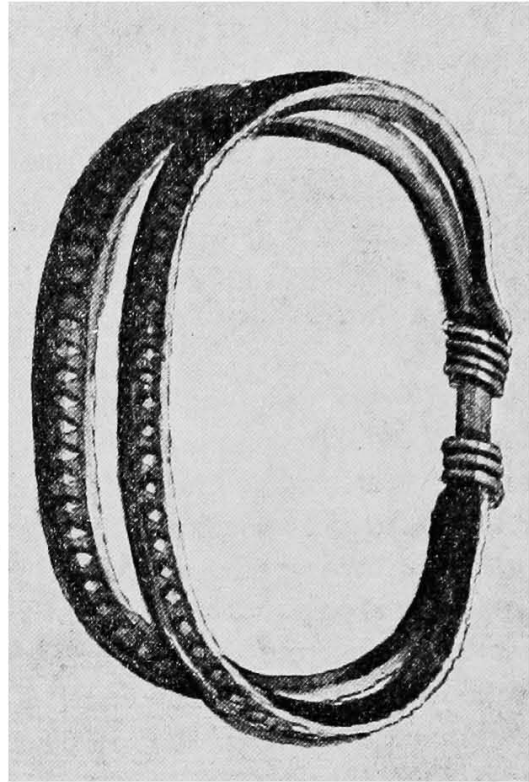
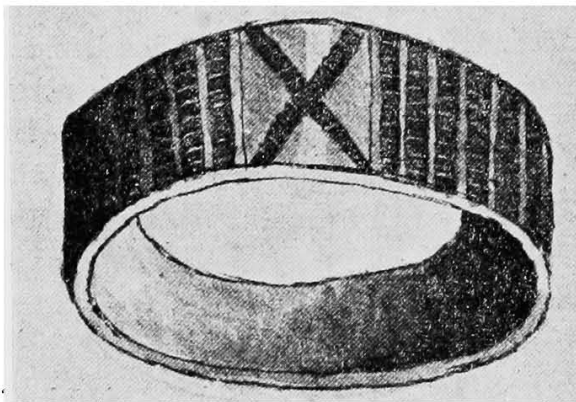
¹⁸ It is probable that the drawing of this ring is at fault in representing it as annular in form. The hoard is described as consisting of 'nine or ten of the narrow double Rings, hanging within the broad single one; each of the double Rings nearly resembling one another; differing only a little about the twisted parts, and in the form of the ornament on the circumference' (R.I.A. ms: 24.E.34, pp. 93-94). It is hard to envisage how the double rings could have hung within the single ring unless it was penannular. In addition, it should be noted that all other known rings of this type, from insular contexts, are penannular in form.

¹⁹ Reproduced from Windele ms: 12.C.1, p. 137, with the permission of the Royal Irish Academy. The drawings, by Windele himself, are captioned, 'Presented to Rich^d Sainthill Esq./by Aquilla Smith Esq M D./Nov. 1848'.

²⁰ Two constitute an unprovenanced hoard (*V.A.* II, 111, fig. 57); the third belonged to a lost hoard from Gordon, Berwicks. (*Hist. of Berwicks. Naturalists Club*, x (1882-85), 116, pl. 2); the fourth was found at Blackerne (Kirkcudbright) with an amber bead (*V.A.* II, 110).

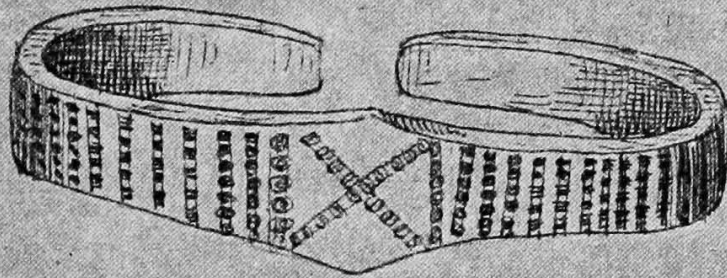
²¹ *Universitetets Oldsaksamlings Årbok* (1935-36), 268-73. Other examples include the two fragments illustrated by Rygh (1885, nos. 717-18) from the Osnes (Hordaland) hoard.

²² This hoard is published by Blunt and Dolley (1959, 222-34); for the arm-ring fragment see fig. 1. The untraced ingot and spiral-ring fragment (*ibid.*, p. 232) are now in the Liverpool City Museum (*ex* Nelson Collection; see *V.A.* VI, 242-43, fig. 84).

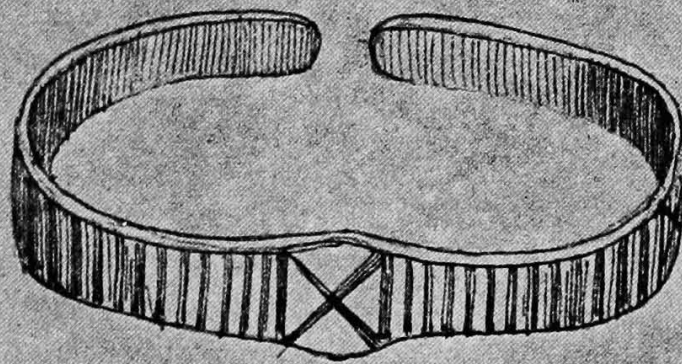


Pl. 4. Two silver arm-rings from the North-west Inishowen (Co. Donegal) hoard.

Original size
Silver Bracelet.



Weight 1oz 11 dwts 2 gr
Ornamenting punched



Weight 18 dwts 19 gr
5 Compartments are crossed.

Pl. 5. Two silver arm-rings of Hiberno-Viking type, from Ireland. (Scale: $\frac{1}{1}$)

Croydon hoard is an oddity. It may be suggested that it is essentially of Hiberno-Viking origin, since in addition to the Hiberno-Viking arm-ring fragment, the other objects consist solely of ingots and spiral-ring fragments which also constituted the non-numismatic content of the 'Co. Dublin' hoard (Pl. 2).

The evidence of the Croydon and Cuerdale hoards convincingly demonstrates that this Hiberno-Viking arm-ring type was in existence during the second half of the ninth century. When a list is compiled of relevant ninth/tenth-century coin hoards which contain ornaments (Fig. 3), it can be seen that these rings are not known from hoards dating any later than the middle of the first half of the tenth century. In consequence it is possible to say, with some degree of confidence, that a type of arm-ring has been isolated which was produced by Scandinavians in Ireland within the period of the second half of the ninth and the first half of the tenth century.

<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Deposit</i>	<i>Hiberno-Viking arm-rings</i>	<i>Bossed brooches</i>	<i>'Thistle-brooches'</i>
Croydon (England)	<i>c.</i> 875	x	—	—
Cuerdale (England)	<i>c.</i> 903	x	x	x
Goldsborough (England)	<i>c.</i> 920	x	x	x
Bangor (Wales)	<i>c.</i> 927	—	—	—
Bossall Flaxton (England)	<i>c.</i> 927	—	—	—
Grimestad (Norway)	<i>c.</i> 930	x	—	—
'Ireland'	930's	—	—	—
'Co. Dublin' (Ireland)	<i>c.</i> 935	—	—	—
Storr Rock (Scotland)	<i>c.</i> 935	—	x	—
Skaill (Scotland)	<i>c.</i> 950	—	—	x
Chester (England)	<i>c.</i> 970	—	—	x
Douglas (Isle of Man)	<i>c.</i> 975	—	—	x
Machrie (Scotland)	<i>c.</i> 975	—	—	—
Port Glasgow (Scotland)	<i>c.</i> 975	—	—	—
Tarbat (Scotland)	<i>c.</i> 975	—	—	—
Mullingar (Ireland)	<i>c.</i> 985	—	—	—
Iona (Scotland)	<i>c.</i> 986	—	—	—
Burray (Scotland)	<i>c.</i> 998	—	—	—

FIG. 3. Ninth/tenth-century coin-dated hoards, containing ornamented metalwork

The second question of general interpretation, as posed above, concerns the problem of whether the growing numbers of coin-hoards deposited in Ireland from the 920's onwards (Fig. 2) mark the first introduction by Scandinavians of large amounts of silver into Ireland, or whether they simply indicate that the Scandinavians had begun to conserve coin for use in trade. The isolation of the Hiberno-Viking arm-ring type has demonstrated that there existed a phase, commencing

in the ninth century, during which silver was brought into Ireland in some quantity and then converted into ornaments. Further evidence for the import of silver during the period preceding Phase 2 of the coin-hoard deposition emerges from a study of Irish penannular brooches.

Penannular Brooches

Olav Sverre Johansen (1973) has recently demonstrated the existence in Ireland of seven different varieties of silver bossed brooches, all of which are to be dated within the period *c.* 850-950. It does not in fact strain the evidence to suggest that the majority of them date to the earlier part of that period (Fig. 3; Graham-Campbell 1972, 114). With a few exceptions, such as the fine brooch from a Scandinavian burial on Rathlin Island (Appendix A, note ii), it has been suggested (Graham-Campbell 1975, *contra* Johansen 1973) that these bossed brooches are of native Irish manufacture. They represent a significant contrast in ornament to the brooches which preceded them in fashion, being made of plain silver without the addition of gold filigree, inlays or other settings. This abandonment of polychrome effects for the use of plain silver is in part to be attributed to the fact that the activities of the Scandinavians had resulted in quantities of silver becoming available to Irish craftsmen for the first time.

The so-called 'thistle-brooch' can now be seen to have originated as a native Irish type, appearing in the late ninth century. It represents the last development in a period of experimentation which produced a wide range of types (Graham-Campbell 1972), including the bossed brooches discussed above. Its early form, with small solid terminals, was rapidly taken up by Scandinavian craftsmen and became vastly elaborated. The coin-dated hoards indicate that the 'thistle-brooch' went out of fashion soon after the middle of the tenth century (Fig. 3). When taken together, the bossed and 'thistle' brooches do therefore provide further evidence that silver ornaments were being manufactured in Ireland during the second half of the ninth and the first half of the tenth century.

The Goldsborough (Yorks.) and Cuerdale (Lancs.) Hoards

These bossed and 'thistle' brooches are well represented in two hoards from England, to both of which reference has already been made in the discussion of Hiberno-Viking arm-rings. The hoard from Goldsborough (Yorks.) deposited *c.* 920, includes the remains of five brooches in addition to three Hiberno-Viking arm-ring fragments (*V.A.* IV, fig. 7).²³ The contents of this hoard suggest that it was originally brought together in Ireland, as would also appear to have been the case with the vast Cuerdale (Lancs.) hoard of *c.* 903, which contains the remains of over twenty Irish and Hiberno-Viking brooches, and a considerable variety of Hiberno-Viking arm-ring fragments (Hawkins 1847; *V.A.* IV, figs.

²³ In addition to the objects published in *V.A.* IV, 30-31, fig. 7, the Goldsborough hoard included a pendant Thor's hammer/cross (*Antiq. J.* xxxvii (1957), 72-73), and two ingots (unpublished drawing in the library of the Society of Antiquaries of London).

10-12). On its discovery in 1840, this hoard must have weighed something of the order of forty kilos, making it by far the largest Viking-Age hoard found anywhere outside Russia. In addition to about 7,000 coins, the hoard contained over 1,300 individual pieces of silver.²⁴

The deposition of such an exceptional hoard is likely to be related to some exceptional event. Bearing in mind the probable Hiberno-Viking origin of the Cuerdale hoard, and that the date suggested by the numismatists for its deposition is 903 ± 2 ,²⁵ it becomes tempting to associate its transfer to Lancashire from Ireland with the expulsion of the Norse from Dublin in 902. It is worth recalling that the lead chest, in which the hoard was contained, was buried in the bank of the River Ribble, seemingly straight out of a ship, only a few miles upriver from the Irish Sea.

Conclusions

The arm-rings and brooches discussed above have demonstrated the presence and circulation of silver in Ireland during the second half of the ninth and early tenth century. By themselves they may not give the impression of great wealth, but they must be considered alongside such finds as the Drogheda coin-hoard, the forty kilos of silver from Cuerdale, and the five kilos of gold from Hare Island. With such evidence, it can confidently be stated that the Scandinavians in Ireland were already in possession of considerable wealth before the beginning of the main period of coin-hoard deposition (Phase 2). The distribution pattern of coinless hoards and single-finds has demonstrated that silver continued in circulation, during the tenth and eleventh centuries, in those areas which did not, to any great extent, become coin-using.

Some idea of the real wealth of the Scandinavian settlements in Ireland, from the ninth to the twelfth centuries, may be obtained by comparing the grand totals of silver and gold finds for Ireland and Scotland. From Ireland there is a total of 104 hoards and over 150 single-finds of silver and gold objects. From Scotland there are 31 hoards and 14 single-finds. In addition it may be recalled that, in 1929, Grieg listed only 122 finds from the Viking Age in Norway.²⁶

Ireland during the Viking Age differed notably from Scotland in having a number of flourishing towns.²⁷ The Scandinavian settlement of Scotland was

²⁴ Although accompanied by additional illustrations, the account of the Cuerdale hoard in *V.A.* IV, 32-45, simply reproduces the original, highly selective, account by Hawkins (1847). The greater part of the hoard remains unpublished and is in the British Museum, the Liverpool City Museum (*ex* Nelson Collection, see *V.A.* VI, 243, figs. 85-86), the Ashmolean (Thompson 1956, pl. xii, a), and in private possession (Assheton Collection).

²⁵ e.g. Lyon and Stewart 1961, 110; Dolley 1966, 49, no. 56; Blunt 1969, 236.

²⁶ At first sight, Grieg (1929) contains 121 catalogue entries, but these include nos. 2a and 2b, nos. 12a and 12b, and two finds each entered as no. 64. These are all separate finds giving a revised total of 124; this needs to be reduced by two since nos. 5 and 88 consist only of bronze objects. It should, however, be pointed out that Grieg includes neither hoards consisting solely of coins nor finds from graves; finds from Bohuslän are also omitted.

²⁷ See L. de Paor, 'Dublin and the Viking World', *The Listener* (21 Feb., 1974), 238-40.

dispersed, as is evidenced by place-names, grave-finds and excavated settlement-sites.²⁸ Ireland is therefore also notable for its lack of dispersed Scandinavian settlement and, in particular, for its exceptional wealth measured in terms of silver and gold finds. The contrast with Scotland suggests that it must be the towns which account for the presence in Ireland of such wealth. It must not be forgotten that silver was one of the few non-perishable commodities that was extensively sought after and traded by Scandinavian merchants of the Viking Age, whether based on the Baltic, or on the Irish Sea.

²⁸ The most recent general account of the evidence from Scotland is Wilson (1971), with a new distribution map of Norse hoards and graves (*ibid.*, fig. 14).

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APPENDIX A

SCANDINAVIAN BURIALS IN IRELAND—A HAND LIST

(Map 1)

ANTRIM

- Ballywillin, ? boat-burial.
 nr. Portrush. Briggs 1974; see *infra*, note (i).
 Nr. Larne. Sword, spear, bronze ringed-pin, bone comb.
 J. H. Smith, *Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.*, ii (1841-44), 40-46;
 V.A. III, 76; T. Fanning, *J. Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*,
 c (1970), 71-78.
- Rathlin Island ? cemetery: silver penannular brooch, beads; sword;
 (Church Bay). ? third burial, with bronze vessel.
 Warner 1973; see *infra*, note (ii).

DERRY

- Cah, Banagher. Sword, hammer, whetstone.
 Information from S. Briggs (R.I.A., *O.S. Memoirs*).

DOWN

- Ballyholme. Pair of oval brooches, bronze bowl cont. wool.
 Proc. Soc. Antiq. London, 2nd ser., xxi (1905-06), 72;
 J. Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland, xxxvi (1906), 205-06 and
 450-54; *V.A.* III, 73-75; *An Archæological Survey of*
 Co. Down (Belfast, 1966), 140-41.

DUBLIN

- Donnybrook Sword, spear, arrow-heads; also multiple burial.
 (Ailesbury Road). W. Fraser, *Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.*, xvi (1879-88), 29-55;
 V.A. III, 66-67.
- Dublin city. (i) *Kilmainham/Islandbridge* cemetery.
 Wilde 1866; Coffey and Armstrong 1910; *V.A.* III,
 11-65; *V.A.* VI, 83-84, 104-05, 240-41.
 (ii) *College Green*—? cemetery: two swords, four spears,
 shield-boss, silver buckle (? brooch).
 Sirr Cat., p. 5, nos. 260-67; Haliday 1884, 155; *V.A.*
 III, 65.
 (iii) *Bride Street, Palace Row, Cork Street, Kildare Street*
 ? graves: finds of weapons.
 V.A. III, 66-68; *V.A.* VI, 84.
- Phoenix Park. Pair of oval brooches.
 V.A. VI, 241; see *infra*, note (iii).

GALWAY

- Eyrephort, Sword, dagger, shield-boss.
 nr. Clifden. J. Raftery, *J. Galway Archaeol. and Hist. Soc.*, xxix
 (1960), 3-6.

MEATH

- Drakestown. Axe, bone comb, etc.
 Nat. Mus. Ireland Report (1934-35), 24.
- Navan. Bronze horse-bit and harness mounts, etc.
 Wilde 1863, 573-74; E. C. R. Armstrong, *Antiq. J.*, ii
 (1922), 6-12; *V.A.* III, 76.

WICKLOW

- Between Three-Mile- Pair of oval brooches, silver chain.
 Water and Arklow. G. Coffey, *J. Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, xxxii (1902),
 71-73; *V.A.* III, 73.

NOTES

- (i) This boat was found (1813) in a mound about forty feet in diameter. The only other finds were some bones and silver coins. Since Briggs 1974, the following account has come to light, dated August 1813: 'a vessel of between 40 and 50 tons burthen was discovered in the bog of Ballywillian, near Coleraine; this bog is about 1 mile from the sea and about forty feet above it. The vessel was oak, some bones were found in her and a few silver coins of Edward III'. I am grateful to Tom Delaney for this reference which was found by Patrick Kernaghan in the Carrickfergus Town Hall Archives (1911 Catalogue No. 9: McCrum's memoranda). If the mound, boat and bones are accepted as representing a Viking boat-burial, then the hoard must have been deposited in the mound at a later date, but it is obvious that this is not the only possible interpretation of this find.
- (ii) The brooch in question is the so-called 'University' brooch, now in the National Museum of Ireland (*Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.*, xxxii C (1914-16), 247-48; Mahr 1932, pl. 48, 4; Johansen, 1973, 121-22, figs. 58-59).
- (iii) An unpublished oval brooch in the British Museum (54, 3-7, 1) represents one of this pair. The Register describes it as having been 'found in Phoenix Park, Dublin with another which was purchased by Mr Worsaae'. This latter is now in Copenhagen (*V.A.* VI, 241 and fig. 82).

OTHER POSSIBLE SCANDINAVIAN BURIALS

(unmapped)

Hencken and Movius (1934) have interpreted a late inhumation in the cemetery-cairn at Knockast (Co. Westmeath) as a pagan burial of either Iron-Age or Viking-Age date. The suggestion of a Scandinavian burial is based on the presence in the mound of a bronze penannular brooch with silver ornamentation

(pp. 252-53, fig. 5b). This Irish brooch, 'attributable to the tenth century A.D.', although more probably of ninth-century date, was found at the base of the cairn at a point where it was only three feet high. They suggest that its loss was associated with the burial of the skeleton, which was six feet away from the brooch, but the evidence is clearly not adequate to allow Knockast to be added to the above list.

A similar discovery of a ninth-century bronze pseudo-penannular brooch was made at Skreen (Co. Meath) in 1849. It is described as having been found (*Archæol. J.*, ix (1852), 199-200) near a layer of flints with calcined bones, about seven feet below the surface of a mound and below a large deposit of ashes. It is, however, extremely unlikely that a pagan Scandinavian burial would be accompanied only by an Irish brooch. The same applies to the Pictish brooch from a 'tumulus about 3 miles SE of the town of Galway' (*Ulster J. Archæol.*, V (1857), 246, fig. 8).

The postulated burial associated with two Anglo-Saxon coins from Cushendall (Co. Antrim) has already been satisfactorily disproved by Seaby (*Brit. Numis. J.*, xxix, ii (1959), 251). That with the hoard from Mullaghboden (Co. Kildare) has rightly been dismissed by Dolley (1960-61, 62).

Dr. Eogan (*Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.*, lxxiv C (1974), 68-69) has now withdrawn an earlier, tentative suggestion (*Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.*, lxvi C (1968), 371-73) that certain burials, with grave-goods, at Knowth (Co. Meath) were possibly 'Viking graves'.

There remains for consideration the possible burial from near Mullingar (Co. Westmeath). This hoard (Appendix B, and C) is described as having been found 'on or within' a skeleton (Lindsay 1849, 125; Dolley 1966b). If the hoard, deposited *c.* 985, was genuinely associated with this skeleton it would be the latest known Scandinavian burial with grave-goods from either Ireland or Britain. It would also be the only burial containing a significant mixed hoard, as opposed to just a few coins. A letter describing the circumstances of this find dated 20th July 1841, from J. Fitzgerald to the Rev. Richard Butler, is transcribed in a manuscript of J. Windele entitled *Miscellaneous Antiquarian Gleanings* (R.I.A., ms: 12. C.1), pp. 84-85. The relevant passage refers to the fact that the whole of the green island in the bog, in which the find was made, was 'literally imbedded with human bones'. Under the circumstances the association cannot be assumed to be other than fortuitous.

APPENDIX B

VIKING-AGE COIN-HOARDS (c. 800-1170) FROM IRELAND
A HAND LIST

(Map 2, fig. 2) After Dolley (1966, 48-54), with additions
+ = with silver objects

ANTRIM	Ballycastle	c. 1045	Dolley 1966, no. 155; Dolley 1973c.
	Cushendall	c. 850	Dolley 1966, no. 8.
	Derrykeighan	c. 975	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 111; <i>Brit. Numis. J.</i> , xxxiv (1965), 32-36.
	Rathlin Island	c. 1040 ?	Dolley, <i>Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin</i> (Feb. 1974), 39-40.
ARMAGH	Armagh	c. 970	Dolley 1966, no. 98.
	Armagh Cathedral	c. 1103	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 207.
	Outlack (?)	c. 1105	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 210.
CORK	Castlelyons	c. 1140	<i>Ibid.</i> , 86-90.
	Macroom	c. 950	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 86; <i>Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin</i> (1970), 199-200.
	Rathbarry	c. 950	See <i>infra</i> , note (i).
DERRY	?	9th/10th c.	<i>Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis</i> , vi, pt. i (1804), 211; see <i>infra</i> , note (ii).
DONEGAL	Burt	c. 970	Dolley 1966, no. 100.
DOWN	Scrabo Hill	c. 1130	<i>Ibid.</i> , 81-84.
DUBLIN	Bullock (no. 1)	c. 970	Dolley, <i>Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin</i> (1974), 145-48.
	Bullock (no. 2)	c. 970	<i>Ibid.</i>
	Clondalkin (no. 1)	c. 1065	Dolley 1966, no. 170.
	Clondalkin (no. 2)	c. 997	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 131.
	Dalkey	c. 975	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 110; Dolley, <i>Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin</i> (1974), 145-48.
	Dublin, Christ Church	c. 1103	Dolley 1966, no. 208.
	Glasnevin	c. 927	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 72.
	Kilmainham	11th/12th c.	See <i>infra</i> , note (iii).
	R. Liffey	c. 1040	Hall 1973.
?	c. 935	+ Dolley 1966, no. 77; Appendix C.	

KILDARE	Ballitore	c. 965	Dolley 1966, no. 94.
	Kilcullen	c. 1103	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 206.
	nr. Kildare	c. 991	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 127.
	Kildare		
	Round Tower	c. 1135	<i>Ibid.</i> , 84-86.
	Mullaghboden	c. 847	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 6.
	?	c. 935	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 78
KILKENNY	Dunmore Cave	c. 930	+ See <i>infra</i> , note (iv).
	nr. Kilkenny	c. 1040	Dolley 1966, no. 156.
	'In the west of'	c. 975	+ <i>Ibid.</i> , no. 116, Appendix C.
LAOIS	Ballylinan	c. 1050	Dolley 1966, no. 163.
	Dunamase	c. 1095	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 204.
LIMERICK	Adare	c. 1050	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 162.
	nr. Limerick	c. 1065	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 171.
	Mungret	c. 953	+ <i>Ibid.</i> , no. 88, Appendix C.
LOUTH	Castlebellingham	c. 920?	<i>Co. Louth Archaeol. J.</i> , i (1907), 104.
	Drogheda	c. 905	Dolley 1966, no. 57.
	Killincoole	c. 970	+ <i>Ibid.</i> , no. 103; Appendix C.
	Monasterboice	c. 953	+ Dolley 1966, no. 87; Appendix C.
	Smarmore	c. 970	Dolley 1966, no. 107.
	?	Offa	<i>J. Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland</i> , iii (1854-55), 61; Dolley, <i>Clogher Record</i> , vii, no. ii (1970), 204.
MEATH	Fennor	940's	Dolley 1969, 20.
	Fourknocks	c. 1030	+ Dolley 1966, no. 154; Appendix C.
	Killyon Manor	c. 958	Dolley 1966, no. 89.
	Knowth	950's	Dolley, <i>Brit. Numis. J.</i> , xxxviii (1969), 16-21.
	Leggagh	c. 923/4	+ Dolley 1966, no. 65, and 1972; Appendix C.
	Oldcastle	c. 958	Dolley 1966, no. 91.
	?	c. 970	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 104.
	?	c. 1075	See <i>infra</i> , note (v).
OFFALY	Durrow	c. 940	Dolley, <i>J. Old Athlone Soc.</i> , i, no. iii (1972-3), 140-2.
	Geashill	c. 920	Dolley 1966, no. 66.
	Rahan (no. 1)	c. 970	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 105.
	Rahan (no. 2)	c. 970	+ <i>Ibid.</i> , no. 106; Appendix C.
TIPPERARY	?	c. 942	Dolley 1966, no. 82.
TYRONE	Donaghenny	c. 1105	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 209, see <i>infra</i> , note (vi).
WATERFORD	Knockmaon	c. 1000	Dolley 1966, no. 135.

WESTMEATH	Derrymore	c. 1000	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 137.
	Lough Lene	c. 965	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 96; <i>Coins and Medals</i> , iv (1967), 336-39, 355-57.
	Mullingar (no. 1)	c. 985	+ Dolley 1966, no. 123; Appendix A, and C.
	Mullingar (no. 2)	11th c.	See <i>infra</i> , note (vii).
WEXFORD	Dunbrody	c. 1050	Dolley 1966, no. 164.
WICKLOW	Baltinglass	c. 1050	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 165.
	Delgany	c. 830	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 4.
	Glendalough (no. 1)	c. 1095	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 205.
	Glendalough (no. 2)	c. 942	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 81.
	Glendalough (no. 3)	c. 975	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 113.
' IRELAND '	? LEINSTER	c. 875	Dolley, <i>Brit. Numis. J.</i> , xxxvi (1967), 32-35.
	?	930's	+ Appendix C; see <i>infra</i> , note (viii).
	?	c. 965	Dolley 1966, no. 95.
	?	c. 980	Hall 1973, 78.

NOTES

- (i) H. E. Pagan (forthcoming) is to publish a note on a hoard of Athelstan and Eadmund coins from Rathbarry (Castlefreke) which may, in all probability, be equated with the 1799 find from ' Co. Cork ' (Dolley 1966, no. 76); as Hall 1973, 74. See now, *J. Cork Hist. Archæol. Soc.*, lxxix (1974), 62-63.
- (ii) In *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis*, vi, pt. i (1804), Vallancey states (p. 211) that ' great numbers of arabic coins, with inscriptions in *Cufic* characters, are to be met with in Ireland. An iron pot full was lately dug up in the county of Derry; two of them were presented to the Dublin Society '. Unfortunately these two coins cannot at present be traced.
- (iii) Lewis (1837, vol. II, 170) states that at Kilmainham (Co. Dublin) ' adjoining the Royal Hospital is an extensive cemetery . . . in it is an ancient tombstone . . . about 40 years since, having fallen down, it was again erected on which occasion a number of Danish coins was found '.
- (iv) This recent find (1973) consists of three plus seven coins and a small piece of ingot, cut at both ends. See now Dolley, *Old Kilkenny Review* (1975), 70-79.
- (v) Found 1787. Information from M. Dolley and W. A. Seaby—in process of republication.
- (vi) Dolley (1966, 80) describes the Donaghery hoard as having been found ' in a silver cup '. In fact there appears to be no evidence for the material of its container which is simply described, in the original source (Lewis 1837, vol. I, 480), as ' a small cup, or chalice '.

- (vii) Dolley suspects that this hoard (1856), of seventeen Anglo-Saxon and Hiberno-Norse coins, dates to the second quarter of the eleventh century. See Hall 1973, 79.
- (viii) This unprovenanced hoard is unpublished but, according to the register in the Ashmolean (Oxford), it consisted of a plain silver arm-ring (1909: 552) and 'coins of Eadweard and Æthelstan', suggesting a date for its deposition in the 930's. The present location of the coins is not known. The hoard once formed part of the Londesborough Collection (sold 1888), and then of the Sir John Evans Collection.

OTHER POSSIBLE COIN-HOARDS

(unmapped)

Dolley (1966, 54) documents two hoards, both containing Anglo-Saxon coins, with unknown provenances in Ireland, which he omits from his list on grounds of uncertainty. Uncertainty also surrounds the following find described by Lewis (1837, vol. II, 575). At Stillorgan (Co. Dublin) 'adjoining the grounds of Waltersland is a field called Silver Park, from the great number of silver coins and ornaments found there'. Such a hoard might equally well be Roman, or even post-Viking, in date.

The Ballywillin (Co. Antrim) hoard (Hall 1973, 84; Briggs 1974) is now known to be post-Viking Age (see *supra*, note (i) of Appendix A). R. Warner informs me that he now accepts Dolley's equation of the Carnsampson coins with the Ballycastle (Co. Antrim) hoard (queried in Warner 1973, 65; see Dolley 1973c).

APPENDIX C

VIKING-AGE HOARDS FROM IRELAND CONTAINING GOLD AND
SILVER OBJECTS APART FROM COINS—A HAND LIST

(Map 3)

ANTRIM	Garron Point nr. Cushendall	2 arm rings pin + chain	O'Laverty 1887, iv 564; <i>Bel- fast Muncipal Art Gallery and Museum Quarterly Notes</i> , vi (1907), 7.
ARMAGH	Nr. Armagh Tynan Abbey	2 rings 7 rings	<i>Day Collection</i> , no. 460. <i>J. Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland</i> , xcii (1962), 78-79.
CLARE	From the Shannon	3 rings	R.I.A., Windele ms: 12.M.10, p. 799.
CORK	Kilbarry, nr. Cork station	9 rings	R.I.A., Windele mss: 12.C.1, pp. 226-27; 12.C.2, pp. 589-90; 12.I.7, p. 215; <i>J. Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland</i> , i (1849-51), 332.
	Lohort Castle, nr. Kanturk	6 rings	R.I.A., Windele mss: 12.C.2, pp. 591-92, 599; 12.I.7, pp. 203, 210-11; <i>J. Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland</i> , i (1849-51), 332; <i>Bateman Cat.</i> , p. 22, no. 218.
	?	ring + 2 fragments	<i>J. Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland</i> , i (1849-51), 332.
	?	2 arm-rings	Sir W. Betham, <i>Sketch-Book of Antiquities</i> (Nat. Lib. Ire- land: Tx. 1959), 27; <i>V.A.</i> III, 128; see <i>infra</i> , note (i).
DONEGAL	Carrowmore, Quigley's Point	5 arm-rings	<i>Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.</i> , xlii C (1934-35), 174-82; <i>V.A.</i> III, 122.
	North-west Inishowen	10 (? 11) arm-rings	R.I.A., ms: 24.E.34 (<i>Specimen Book</i>), pp. 93-94.
	Roosky, Clonmany	4 arm-rings	<i>J. Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland</i> , xcix (1969), 133-36.
DUBLIN	High Street	2 gold arm- rings	<i>Viking and Medieval Dublin</i> , no. 10.
	?	c. 935, ingot 2 hack-silver	<i>Bull. Numis. Soc. Ireland</i> , vi. (Aug. 1962), 2-5; Appendix B.

GALWAY	?	1 neck-ring 4 arm-rings (?)	Armstrong 1915, nos. 53-58, 66, 84-85, 95; <i>V.A.</i> III, 112, 115, 118, 120; see <i>infra</i> , note (ii).
KERRY	Fenit	1 neck-ring 1 arm-ring	<i>J. Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland</i> , xv (1879-82), 346-47; <i>Day</i> <i>Collection</i> , nos. 452-53.
KILKENNY	Derrynahinch	rings and ingots	<i>J. Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland</i> , ii (1852-53), 355-56; <i>V.A.</i> III, 129; see <i>infra</i> , note (iii).
	Dunmore Cave 'In the west of'	c. 930, ingot c. 975, rings	Appendix B, note (iv). Lindsay 1842, 125; Appen- dix B.
	? (1840)	rings	<i>J. Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland</i> , i (1849-51), 332.
LAOIS	Ballyadams	ring and ingot (?)	Armstrong 1915, nos. 7 and 32; <i>V.A.</i> III, 107, 109; see <i>infra</i> , note (iv).
LIMERICK	Carraig Aille II, Lough Gur Mungret	3 ingots, ring 3 hack-silver c. 953, ingots (7 +)	<i>Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.</i> , lii C (1949), 62-64. <i>North Munster Antiq. J.</i> .. viii; no. iii (1960), 116-33; Appen- dix B.
LOUTH	Killincoole	c. 970, ingot	<i>North Munster Antiq. J.</i> ., viii, no. iii (1960), 128. Appendix B.
	Monasterboice	c. 953, ingots	Wright 1748, vol. III, pl. xiii; <i>Numis Chron.</i> (1957), 195; Appendix B.
MAYO	Cushalogurt, Westport	25 rings and fragments	<i>J. Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland</i> , ciii (1973), 78-85.
MEATH	Fourknocks	c. 1030, ingot	Dolley and Ingold 1961, 250- 55; Appendix B.
	Leggagh	c. 923/4, ingots	Dolley 1972; Appendix B.
MONAGHAN	Emy	arm-rings	Armstrong 1915, nos. 80 and 82; <i>V.A.</i> III, 117-18; see <i>infra</i> , note (v).
OFFALY	Rahan (no. 2)	c. 970, ingot	<i>Bull. Numis. Soc. Ireland</i> , 5 (March, 1962), 1-4; Arm- strong 1915, no. 6; <i>V.A.</i> III, 107; Appendix B.
TIPPERARY	Bog of Cullen Rathmoley, Killenaule	arm-rings 2 arm-rings	Vallancey 1804, 256. <i>J. Cork Hist. and Archæol.</i> <i>Soc.</i> , xliii (1938), 125-26.

WESTMEATH	Athlone (Shannon)	2 arm-rings	Bruce 1880, 94 and pl. xxiii, 4.
	Hare Island (no. 1)	10 gold arm-rings	Vallancey 1804, 255-59; Graham-Campbell 1974.
	Hare Island (no. 2)	arm-rings ingots	<i>Ibid.</i>
	Mullingar (no. 1)	c. 985, gold finger-ring, 2 pins, ingots	R.I.A., Windele ms: 12.C.1, pp. 84-85; Dolley 1966b; Appendix A, and B.
WEXFORD	Blackcastle, nr. Wexford	17 ingots	Armstrong 1915, no. 5; <i>V.A.</i> III, 107.
' IRELAND '	?	930's, arm- ring	Appendix B, note (viii).
	?	linked rings (? 8)	Armstrong 1915, nos. 24-31; <i>V.A.</i> III, 109; see <i>infra</i> , note (vi).
	?	2 arm-rings	<i>Vetusta Monumenta</i> , ii (1789), pl. xx, 1 and 2.
	?	2 arm-rings	See <i>infra</i> , note (vii).
	?	2 arm-rings	See <i>infra</i> , note (vii).
	?	2 ring frags.	See <i>infra</i> , note (viii).

NOTES

- (i) The two unprovenanced arm-rings, with animal-headed terminals, in the National Museum of Ireland (*ex* Petrie Collection; P. 867, 868) are illustrated together in Betham's *Sketch-Book of Antiquities*, p. 27, with the following caption: ' In the Museum of Geo. Petrie Esq. M.R.I.A. were found together in [] a in the county of Cork '. See Appendix D, note (viii), for a similar arm-ring of gold from Co. Wexford.
- (ii) The Co. Galway hoard is advanced here on the grounds that it would otherwise be remarkable for this county to have seven single-finds of silver objects and no hoards, when no other county, however rich in hoards, has more than five single-finds. Of the seven apparent single-finds, five are grouped here into the one hoard on the basis that they all appear to derive from a single Dublin collection, that of Donegan.
- (iii) In *J. Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, ii (1852-53), 355-56, the acquisition of a plain silver ring for the Society's museum (then the Kilkenny Archæological Society) is reported by the Rev. J. Graves. It is described as the sole surviving piece from a hoard ' which consisted of about a quart full of rings and pieces of silver ' found at Derrynahinch (Co. Kilkenny) in September 1851. When the collection of the Royal Society of Antiquaries (as it later became) passed to the National Museum it included only one silver ring that fits the detailed description of the Derrynahinch example (*V.A.* III, 129; R.S.A.I., 10, 49) which may thus once again be provenanced.

- (iv) Although listed separately by Wilde (Armstrong 1915, nos. 7 and 32), the fact that Ballyadams (Co. Laois) is the provenance of a ring and an ingot, both from the Dawson Collection, makes it very probable that they are associated, particularly as there are no finds from elsewhere in the county.
- (v) The arm-ring (Armstrong 1915, no. 80) is described as having been 'found with several others in the scarp of a rath, townland of Emy, county of Monaghan'. It formed part of the Dawson Collection, as did another arm-ring with the same provenance (*Dawson Cat.* nos. 13 and 15) which is no longer identifiable. It is, however, suggested that an arm-ring (Armstrong 1915, no. 82) from the Sirr Collection also forms part of this hoard, since it is described as having been 'found near Emyvale, county of Monaghan' (*Sirr Cat.*, p. 4, no. 34).
- (vi) A number of problems arise in any attempt to trace the history of the eight (unprovenanced) linked rings of *V.A.* III, 109. Six of these rings are illustrated, linked together, by Armstrong (1915, pl. xxv, 14). These six rings appear identical with six rings from the Dawson Collection, as illustrated in Sir William Betham's ms., *Sketch-Book of Antiquities*, p. 26 (Nat. Lib. Ireland: Tx. 1959). There they are depicted in two groups, one of four and the other of two rings; the group of four linked rings is published by Betham in *Trans. Roy. Irish Acad.*, xvii (1837), 15, together with the weights of all six. The *Dawson Cat.* further confuses the issue since item 41 consists of three linked rings and item 42 of seven linked rings; there appear to be no further relevant entries. Until the history of these groups can be more satisfactorily resolved, it would seem wisest to accept the existence of only one such hoard.
- (vii) There are two pairs of silver arm-rings in the British Museum, both without exact provenance. One pair (*V.A.* III, 135-36) is from the Crofton Croker Collection; the other pair (unpublished: 97, 3-23, 9 and 10) is from the collection of Lord Hastings.
- (viii) This unpublished find, in private possession, consists of a fragment of a Hiberno-Viking arm-ring and a plain-ring fragment. Information from M. Dolley and W. A. Seaby.

OTHER POSSIBLE HOARDS CONTAINING OBJECTS

(unmapped)

The hoard described in Appendix B, from Stillorgan (Co. Dublin), must also be mentioned in this context but remains equally uncertain.

The two gold hoards included in *V.A.* III, 101-03, that from the Edenvale caves (Co. Clare) and that from Vesnay (Co. Roscommon), are omitted from the list on the grounds of uncertainty as to their date. The plain penannular rings which constitute these hoards may well be prehistoric. A third hoard, consisting of two such gold rings, was found in 1860 in the kitchen garden of Glengarriff Castle (Co. Cork), R.I.A., Windele ms: 12.M.10, pp. 791-92.

In *The Archaeology of Ireland* (London, 1928), 70, Macalister casts doubt on a hoard of six silver rings said to have been found near Rathcormack (Co. Cork) and suggests that the published ring (*J. Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, xvi (1883-84), 52 and 185) 'is most probably a modern forgery'. This arm-ring, seemingly that now in Cork Museum, consists of a twisted band of silver ornamented with chevrons on both sides. It is thus unlike any normal Scandinavian or Hiberno-Viking arm-ring type, and so it seems probable that Macalister's interpretation of the 'find' is correct. Ó Ríordáin (*Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.*, xlii C (1934-35), 180-81, note 61) refers to a silver 'necklet' consisting of a band with chevron ornament on both sides, in the Farnham Museum (Dorset), as being from Rathcormack. This is presumably to be considered as also having formed part of the same 'find'

The Ardagh (Co. Limerick) hoard (Mahr 1932, pls. 51-56) is not included in the above list, although of the period, since it does not contain ornamented metalwork, ingots and/or hack-silver such as characterize Scandinavian and Hiberno-Viking hoards; the 'thistle-brooch' is listed, however, in Appendix D. On the other hand, the possibility must be borne in mind that the Ardagh hoard represents Viking loot.

According to one of the contradictory accounts of the discovery of the so-called 'Tara' brooch, from Bettystown (Co. Meath), it was found in a box containing other objects. These objects (Armstrong 1915, 310-11) are not such as to lend any credence to this account of association, and the find must be dismissed as a Viking-Age hoard. A new account of the discovery and recent history of the 'Tara' brooch is in preparation by Mrs. N. Whitfield.

APPENDIX D

PROVENANCED SCANDINAVIAN AND HIBERNO-VIKING FINDS
OF GOLD AND SILVER FROM IRELAND OTHER THAN HOARDS
AND COINS

(Map 4. See *infra*, note (i))

ANTRIM	Ballymoney	thistle- brooch	<i>Archæologia</i> , xvii (1814), 333 and pl. xxv, fig. 1; <i>V.A.</i> III, 136.
	Belfast (Corn Hill)	arm-ring	<i>V.A.</i> III, 127.
	Nr. Belfast	arm-ring frag.	R.I.A., Windele ms: 12.C.1, p. 133.
	Rathlin Island (Church Bay)	penannular brooch	Warner 1973; Appendix A, note (ii).
	White Park Bay	ingot	<i>Ulster J. Archæol.</i> , 3rd ser., viii (1945), 23-24.
ARMAGH	Forkill	ring	<i>Day Collection</i> , no. 461.
CARLOW	?	gold arm- ring	Armstrong 1920, no. 422; <i>V.A.</i> III, 101.
CAVAN	Virginia	gold arm- ring	<i>Archæol. J.</i> , v (1848), 154-55; <i>V.A.</i> III, 104-05.
	Nr. Virginia	arm-ring	Armstrong 1915, no. 34; <i>V.A.</i> III, 109.
CLARE	Miltown-Malbay	neck-ring	Sir W. Betham, <i>Sketch-Book of Antiquities</i> (Nat. Lib. Ire- land: Tx. 1959), 35; <i>V.A.</i> III, 122-23; see <i>infra</i> , note (ii). <i>V.A.</i> III, 132.
	Newmarket-on- Fergus	thistle- brooch	
CORK	Bandon (?)	gold finger- ring	<i>Archæol. J.</i> , v (1848), 155.
	Carrigaline	arm-ring	<i>Day Collection</i> , no. 455.
	Nr. Cloyne	arm-ring	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 456.
	Nr. Macroom	arm-ring	R.I.A., Windele ms: 12.C.2, p. 598; <i>J. Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland</i> , i (1849-51), 333.
DERRY	?	arm-ring	<i>Dawson Cat.</i> , no. 22.
DONEGAL	Murroe, Clondahorky	ingot frag.	Unpublished (Nat. Mus. Ire- land).
DOWN	Downpatrick	arm-ring	R.I.A. Windele ms: 12.C.1, p. 135.
	?	ingot	Armstrong 1915, no. 1; <i>V.A.</i> III, 105-06.
	?	ingot	Armstrong 1915, no. 4; <i>V.A.</i> III, 107.

DUBLIN	Dublin (College Green)	buckle (= ? brooch)	<i>Sirr Cat.</i> , p. 5, no. 267; Haliday 1884, 155; <i>V.A.</i> III, 65; Appendix A.
	Dublin (High Street)	gold finger- ring	<i>Viking and Medieval Dublin</i> , no. 11.
	Dublin (from the Liffey at Island- bridge)	gold finger- ring	<i>V.A.</i> III, 105.
	Dublin (Winetavern St.) Feltrim Hill	arm-ring ingot	Unpublished, see <i>infra</i> , note (iii). <i>J. Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland</i> , xciv (1964), 32.
GALWAY	Nr. Galway	arm-ring	Armstrong 1915, no. 72; <i>V.A.</i> III, 116.
	?	arm-ring	Armstrong 1915, nos. 35-38; <i>V.A.</i> III, 109.
KERRY	Nr. Tralee	arm-ring	<i>Day Collection</i> , no. 457.
KILDARE	Nr. Celbridge	thistle- brooch	Armstrong 1915, no. 40; <i>V.A.</i> III, 130; see <i>infra</i> , note (iv)
KILKENNY	Nr. Kilkenny	thistle- brooch	<i>J. Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland</i> , v (1858-59), 246; Armstrong 1915, no. 38; <i>V.A.</i> III, 130-31; see <i>infra</i> , note (v).
	Nr. Urlingford	thistle- brooch	<i>J. Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland</i> , ii (1852-53), 356; Armstrong 1915, no. 41; <i>V.A.</i> III, 131; see <i>infra</i> , note (vi).
LIMERICK	Ardagh	thistle- brooch	Mahr 1932, pl. 55, 2; <i>V.A.</i> III, 134-35; Appendix C.
	Ballynolan	thistle- brooch	F. Henry, <i>Irish Art during the Viking Invasions</i> (London 1967), pl. 61.
LONGFORD	Clooneen	thistle- brooch	<i>Proc. Soc. Antiq. London</i> , iii (1853-56), 13-14; see <i>infra</i> , note (vii).
LOUTH	Richardstown	thistle- brooch	<i>J. Co. Louth Archæol. Soc.</i> , xv, no. 3 (1963), 277-79.
MAYO	Ballinrobe	thistle- brooch	<i>Exshaw's Magazine</i> (February 1774), 125; <i>Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis</i> , i, no. ii (1774), 207-08; <i>ibid.</i> , iii, no. x (1782), 246-48.
MEATH	Collierstown, Duleek	ingot	<i>Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.</i> , xlii C (1934-35), 180.

	Lagore	pin + chain	<i>Day Collection</i> , no. 458.
	Lagore	arm-ring frag.	<i>Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.</i> , liii C (1950), 87, no. 481.
	Nr. Oldcastle	finger-ring	<i>V.A.</i> III, 129.
TIPPERARY	Cashel	thistle- brooch	<i>Collectanea de Rebus Hiberni- cis</i> , i, no. ii (1774), 207; <i>Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.</i> , xxxii C (1914-16) 243, 246; <i>V.A.</i> III, 135.
WATERFORD	Nr. Waterford	gold finger- ring	<i>Archæol. J.</i> , vi (1849), 58; <i>V.A.</i> III, 105.
WESTMEATH	Athlone	neck-ring	<i>Day Collection</i> , no. 454; <i>V.A.</i> III, 136.
	?	ingot frag.	<i>Day Collection</i> , no. 461.
WEXFORD	?	gold arm- ring	Unpublished; see <i>infra</i> , note (viii).
WICKLOW	Nr. Arklow	chain	<i>V.A.</i> III, 73; Appendix A.

NOTES

- (i) This list includes all such artefacts, with satisfactory provenances, of probable Scandinavian or Hiberno-Viking origin. The possibility exists that some of the simple rings and ingots may be of native manufacture, although well represented in the hoards, as may be some of the simpler 'thistle-brooches'. Since the majority of 'thistle-brooches' were, however, the products of the Scandinavian settlers, in Ireland and Britain, it has been thought desirable to follow the precedent of *V.A.* III and include all known provenanced examples. Silver pins and brooches of native manufacture, such as the majority of bossed brooches (as Graham-Campbell 1975), are omitted. All objects listed are of silver unless otherwise stated.
- (ii) This neck-ring from the Petrie Collection (P.885, 10) is published (*V.A.* III, 122-23) as having been 'found at Limerick'. However, in Sir William Betham's ms., *Sketch-Book of Antiquities*, p. 35, there is a drawing of this ring, dated 1840, with the provenance 'Found at Milton Malbay, Co. Clare'. Room for confusion exists in the possibility that the ring might have been purchased in Limerick.
- (iii) From the excavations directed by Mr. B. Ó Ríordáin, on behalf of the National Museum of Ireland, to whom I am most grateful for information on this find (Reg. no. E81:4198).
- (iv) This brooch is described as having been found 'nr. Mr Deese's place, county of Kildare' (Armstrong 1915, 297). The Dease (or Deece) family of Co. Kildare moved to Celbridge Abbey, in 1859, from outside the county.

- (v) The unprovenanced brooch (W.38) has a reference by Armstrong (1915, 297) to p. xiv of the Appendix in *Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.*, vi (1853-57), which contains the accounts of the Royal Irish Academy between April 1854 and March 1855. The purchase of two silver fibulae are noted, S. H. Bindon being paid £8 for one and J. F. Jones £3.15.6 for the other. It may be presumed that W.38 is that purchased from Bindon since 'thistle-brooches' represent the largest silver brooch-type known from Ireland. A letter from E. Clibborn to the Rev. James Graves, dated 24 December 1858, is published in *J. Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, v (1858-59), 246. This refers to 'those silver brooches with the arbutus berry or prickly nobs, such as the brooch in the Academy's collection, procured from the neighbourhood of Kilkenny, through the instrumentality of Mr. Bindon'. The combination of these two sources seems to put it beyond reasonable doubt that W.38 is to be identified as the brooch found near Kilkenny.
- (vi) This pin-head is published only as being from Co. Kilkenny (Armstrong 1915, 297), but on grounds of size it must be identified with that referred to in *J. Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, ii (1852-53), 356. It is there stated that 'the silver fibula-head (the largest known), found near Urlingford, and deposited in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy, in the year 1846, through the instrumentality of our Very Reverend President, had been mutilated by some sharp instrument'. Further reference to this pin-head is made in *J. Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, v (1858-59), 246.
- (vii) It is stated (*Proc. Soc. Antiq. London*, iii (1853-56), 13-14) that this brooch was found 'at Cloneen, on the Shannon, county Longford'. There is, however, no 'Cloneen' on the Shannon in Co. Longford; it should probably be taken as a mis-reading of 'Clooneen' which is so situated.
- (viii) This unpublished gold arm-ring is in private possession, but is penannular in form with animal-headed terminals (as *V.A.* III, fig. 86; see also Appendix C, note i). I am grateful to the Ulster Museum for this information.

OTHER POSSIBLE FINDS

In *V.A.* III, 129, it is stated that a small penannular ring, of square section, was 'found in the neighbourhood of Cork'. This ring (1893: 11) was purchased with a number of other silver objects at the sale of the Bateman Collection (lot no. 166). In the *Bateman Cat.* this provenance does not apply to this ring (p. 303, no. 321) but to the next item (no. 322), described as a 'Small twisted specimen of penannular *Silver Ring Money*, from the neighbourhood of Cork; weight, 4 dwts. 15 grs.'. This is now in the National Museum of Ireland (1893: 14), having also formed part of lot no. 166 at the Bateman Sale. It must therefore be considered most uncertain whether 1893: 11 was in fact found near Cork. The twisted ring (1893: 14) is omitted from the above list on the grounds of uncertainty as to its date. It is of the same form as the Bronze-Age gold earrings classified as Type C by C. Hawkes (*Folklore*, lxxii (Sept. 1961), 438-74).

The influence of Scandinavian on Irish

By DAVID GREENE

I begin by defining the scope of this paper. By 'Scandinavian' I mean the language brought to Ireland by the Viking raiders, and called Old Icelandic or Old Norse in current linguistic usage, although we know that the speakers of that language called it *dönsk tunga*; having made these reservations I will henceforth refer to it as (Old) Norse, abbreviated to ON. By 'Irish' I mean two things. Firstly, the corpus of Irish written literature from the sixth century to the sixteenth, a period during which little or no dialectal variation can be detected; the written language was the same for Ireland and for Gaelic Scotland—and perhaps even for the Isle of Man before the Viking Invasions, though that is a matter of speculation. This written Irish can be divided into three periods: Old (600-900 A.D.); Middle (900-1200), and Early Modern (1200-1600), and these terms will be used where necessary. The second sense in which the word 'Irish' is used is to describe the language spoken in Ireland from the seventeenth century onwards, whether attested from texts or from the spoken language; where necessary this will be described as Modern Irish. Evidence found only in the Eastern Gaelic area formed by Scotland and Man is thus excluded; the Scandinavian settlements in that area were far more important than those in Ireland, and their linguistic impact must be studied separately.

It is nearly sixty years since my revered teacher Carl J. S. Marstrander published *Bidrag til det norske sprogs historie i Irland* (1915), in which he set out in masterly fashion the relations between the phonological systems of Old Irish and Old Norse, and thus for the first time made it possible to assess the probability of apparent loans between the two languages. Sommerfelt (1925) offered some refinements of linguistic theory, but his paper 'The Norse influence on Irish and Scottish Gaelic', delivered to the First International Congress of Celtic Studies offered little new beyond the elegant explanation of the English forms *Leinster*, *Munster* and *Ulster* as derived from ON words such as *Ulaðztír*, where two Irish elements are combined in Scandinavian style with genitive *-s*; this is in fact an example of the influence of Irish on Norse. Kenneth Jackson's contribution at the same Congress, 'The Celtic languages during the Viking period', raises a number of important points and I will have occasion to refer to it again. Jackson very properly distinguishes between loanwords and structure and it will be convenient to begin by discussing the Old Norse loanwords in Irish, and then go on to consider the possibilities of deeper influence.

It is necessary to remember that not all Germanic loanwords in Old and Middle Irish derive from Old Norse. Some are clearly Old English, such as *sebec* 'hawk' from *heafoc*, where OE *h-* has been interpreted as a lenition form and *s-* restored in the base. Marstrander (1915: 24 n. 2) saw in *ainglis* 'English' a pre-umlaut form of OE *englisc*, and one therefore borrowed before 700 A.D.; this would be supported by Mac Neill (1922), who derived the indeclinable personal name *Conaing* from a pre-umlaut form of the OE *cyning* 'king'. In

view of these it seems unreasonable for Marstrander (1915: 23 ff.) to have attempted to insist that OIr *langphétir* 'hobble between the fore and back legs of cattle' must have a Norse origin, especially since he admits that Mid. Welsh *lawethyr* points to an OE **langfeter*. And there is general agreement that, although many Irish words relating to navigation are borrowed from Old Norse, *séol* 'sail' must be from Old English; the phonetic development involved is one which Jackson (1953: 143) would allot to the first half of the sixth century.

Although it is not strictly germane here, it is of interest to note that OIr *drepp*, usually translated as 'ladder', must be a loanword, in view of its final [p], and that it is strongly reminiscent of the *trappe*, *treppe* 'stair' of modern German and Scandinavian; unfortunately, the attestation of the latter word is comparatively late and its derivation unknown. It is possible, of course, that we have here a purely accidental resemblance. The two examples of *drepp* in Old Irish may mean 'cliff, steep places' rather than 'ladder'; in the later language Mod. Ir. *streapa*, *strapa* 'stile, cliff' and Sc.G. *streap* 'climb, struggle', tend to support this meaning, and in Old Irish *árad* is the normal equivalent of 'ladder', replaced by *dréimire* in Modern Irish.

It seems safe to say that no Scandinavian loanwords penetrated into Irish in the early period of contact, probably not until after the ninth century. It is impossible to say when linguistic contacts began, but when we read, AU 850, that an Irish king allied himself with the foreigners to attack a neighbour, we may deduce that there were some bilinguals capable of carrying out the necessary negotiations, and a modicum of bilingualism is the necessary prerequisite for borrowing. The famous glossary compiled by Cormac mac Cuileannáin at the end of the ninth century shows some knowledge of Scandinavian, but offers no evidence for genuine borrowing; as Marstrander says (1915: 93), an entry like *blindauga* 'maa vel snarere betragtes som en norsk sprogpøve end som et virkelig laaneord, optat i det irske sprog'. It might have been expected that at least the words describing the invaders would have been borrowed, but this is not the case. The ninth-century words are *Gaill* 'foreigners', originally 'Gauls', *geinti* 'pagans' (from Lat. *gentes*) and *Nortmanni*, usually inflected as a Latin word, and probably taken over from English sources; Cormac, who refers to English as *ainglis*, uses the Latin term *lingua nortmannica* for Scandinavian. The plural *Danair* 'Danes', from ON *Danir*, later provides an Irish *o*-stem *Danar* 'a Scandinavian', but *Danair* is first attested in the tenth-century text *Saltair na Rann* and in a passage which may well be an eleventh-century interpolation.

The main problem from this ninth-century period is, of course, the word *Lothlind*, *Laithlind*, later *Lochlann*. Marstrander had, on the basis of the latter form, confidently offered a derivation from *Rogaland*; on consideration of the earlier forms he admitted (1915: 56) that the equation was doubtful. We must begin with these early forms, and with the fact that none of the examples necessarily mean 'Norway' or 'Scandinavia'; all we can extract from them is that they refer to some maritime centre of Viking power. Things would be different if historians could identify *Tomrair erved tanise righ Laithlinne*, AU 848, or *Amhlaim mac righ Laithlindc*, AU 853, but they cannot; a recent writer (Ó Corráin 1972: 94) speaks of the latter as 'a son of a Norse king', which is

a very different matter from 'the son of the king of Norway'. It is worth noting in this respect that the ninth-century Irish annalists were much given to describing Viking estuarine bases by the name of *lind* 'pool'; *Duiblinn* 'black pool', 'Dublin', is, of course, the classical example. We may note from the Annals of Ulster for this period:

841. *Longport oc Linn Duachaill* . . . [usually identified with Annagassan, Co. Louth].

842. *Geinnti for Duiblinn beos . . . Longas Nordmannorum for Boinn, for Linn Roiss. Longas Nordmannorum oc Linn Sailech la Ultu . . . Moran mac Indrechtaigh . . . do ergabail do Gallaibh Linne . . . Comman abbas Linne Duachaill do guin.*

853. *Uastatio Aird Machae o Gallaibh Lindae* . . .

On two occasions the base is described as *Lind* without further qualification, presumably meaning *Lind Duachaill*, though we cannot be sure. It is at least possible that the original *Lothlind* was a more distant base, perhaps in Gaelic-speaking Man or Western Scotland; although any derivation must be purely conjectural, we might think of the first element as *loth/lath* 'mud, mire; quagmire, marsh'. It is then open to us to consider the possibility of interference from *Rogaland*, as well as a remoulding of the word under the influence of the elements *loch* 'lake' and *land* 'land', and the final identification with Norway which, however, is not certainly attested until AU 1101: *Maghnus ri Lochlainni*, about whose identity there can be no doubt.

As for the place-name *Iruath*, which Marstrander had sought to derive from ON *Hörðar*, it will suffice to refer to the exhaustive survey of the evidence by Mac Cana (1962: 87 ff.), who decisively rejects the derivation. As he points out, the identification of the native Irish place-name *Iruath* with Norway is first made in very late documents, and may well repose on such renderings of Eng. *Norway* as *Orbuaid* in the fifteenth-century translation of the Buke of Mandeville, and the *Ioruaidh* of modern Donegal folk-tales (Sommerfelt 1950). We must conclude, then, that the Irish had no specific word for Norway until the eleventh century, when *Lochlann* comes to be specialised in that meaning. *Danmargg* 'Denmark' is mentioned in the quatrain of *Saltair na Rann* in which the word *Danair*, discussed above, appears; it may therefore be as late as the eleventh century. For the first two centuries of contact with the Vikings, there is no strong evidence that the Irish learned much about Scandinavia proper; this need not surprise us, since the connections of the Vikings of Ireland were predominantly with the Atlantic area rather than with the homeland.

It is well known that the Irish took over many Norse personal names, which still survive in surnames such as MacManus, MacAulay, etc.; these are so numerous as to require a special study, and will not be dealt with here. It seems worth while, however, to draw attention to the names *Danar*, *Lochlainn* and *Uiginn*, of which the first two, at least, do not derive from a Norse name. *Danar* is marginal, and Marstrander was able to find only two examples to quote in the Dictionary of the Royal Irish Academy; this is hardly surprising, since the noun

danar has the secondary meaning 'a cruel and ferocious foreigner or barbarian, a robber, pirate, bandit', being often coupled with *díbergach* 'pirate, marauder'. *Lochlainn*, on the other hand, is very common indeed, and is attested as the name of the royal heir of Corcu Modruad in the Annals of Innisfallen in the year 983. This territory is in Co. Clare, and not far from the Viking city of Limerick; it may have been under Norse cultural influence. However the name was introduced, it became very popular and is still in use in Gaelic-speaking Ireland and Scotland, as well as forming the common surnames *Ó Lochlainn*, *Mac Lochlainn*. It is an indeclinable noun, like the older *Conaing*, and the same is true of *Uiginn*, which presents a good deal more difficulty. It occurs only in the surname *Ó hUiginn*, and in the supporting genealogy, in which the name *Uiginn* occurs twice; Mac Neill (1922) suggested that only the later occurrence was genuine, and that he flourished c. 1100 A.D.; it may be noted that the genealogy continued with *Roiberd*, *Gofraidh*, *Andilis*, *Lochlainn* and *Raghnall*, thus giving six generations with only one native Irish name between them. Both Marstrander and Mac Neill take it that the name derives from ON *vikingr*, which seems plausible at first sight. However, there is no certain example of Mid. Ir. *ucing* in the meaning 'a viking'; it is not attested before the twelfth century, and its meaning is rather 'maritime expedition, fleet'; that is to say, it represents ON *viking* fem. rather than *vikingr* masc. It is difficult to see how this meaning could furnish a proper name, and it would seem that we should look rather to the proper name *Vikingr*, which, as our lamented colleague Per Thorson pointed out (1971: 104), may have a different etymology. Even then, we are faced with phonetic problems. Marstrander (1915: 110) had rejected the obvious derivation of Sc. G. *ùig* 'cove' from *vík*, suggesting that the Scottish word should be compared rather with Mod. Ir. *uaig* 'sea-cave, indentation in cliffs'. This smacks of special pleading, since the Irish word is in fact *úig*, and is found only in northern Irish, which shows many signs of Scottish influence. Oftedal (1954: 388) rejects the comparison of *ùig* with *uaig*, and firmly identifies it with *vík*, remarking that 'the shifting of the vowel length from *i* to *u* is merely a way of preserving the old quantity'. That seems plausible enough, but why then should *Viking* give *Uiginn* and not **Úiginn*? No answer occurs to me, except Oftedal's salutary warning (1972: 118): 'No list of regular correspondences, however elaborate, is sufficient or adequate for the reconstruction of Norse place-names or loanwords in Gaelic'. The balance of evidence seems slightly in favour of accepting the equation *Vikingr* = *Uiginn*, in spite of the semantic and phonetic difficulties.

The earliest identifiable Norse loanword in Irish is *erell*, *iarla* from *jarl*; the variations in form arise from the fact that O. Ir. did not permit a long vowel or diphthong before final *-rl* in a monosyllable. The ninth-century occurrences of *erell/iarla* are, however, in connection with proper names, and it does not appear as an independent word until considerably later. Strange as it may seem, the next oldest word is *punnann* 'sheaf (of corn)' in *Saltair na Rann*, which is the only Norse loanword to occur in the 8,016 lines of this tenth-century composition (I exclude from consideration *Danair* and *Danmargg*, discussed above, since they are found in a passage of doubtful authenticity). As Oftedal points out elsewhere in this volume (p. 125), the Norse colonists in Scotland were farmers and fishermen,

while those in Ireland were rather merchants and sailors who never settled far from the coast, so this early example of the reception of an agricultural term comes as a surprise. Marstrander derives *punnann* from ON **bundan*, a form found in modern Norwegian dialects, compare the somewhat rare *bundin* of Old Norse; since there is no trace of any similar development of meaning in Old English, the derivation must be accepted. A further interesting point is that, while *punnann* has ever since been the normal Irish word for 'sheaf' (some points in Donegal have *sopóg*), there is no trace of it in Scottish Gaelic. The latter preserves the common Insular loanword from Lat. *scopa* (cf. W. *ysgub*) in the form *sguab*, and that this was also the normal Irish word before the borrowing of **bundan* is suggested by its survival in the Mid. Ir. collocation *sciúap lín* 'bundle of flax'. Common to both Scottish and Irish is *garrdha* from *garðr*; while in earlier Irish this word has a variety of meanings, in all forms of the modern language it means a fenced-in patch near the house in which potatoes, cabbage, etc., are cultivated and it seems likely that this continues the original usage, see the comment by Liam de Paor on p. 35 of this volume. Again common to Irish and Scottish is *pónair* 'beans', a collective deriving from the ON pl. *baunir*. Slender though this evidence may be, it is sufficient to establish the existence of a Norse-speaking agricultural community from an early date, no doubt settled on the rich land of *Fine Gall* in what is now north County Dublin.

As is well known, the most important category of Norse loans in Irish pertain to navigation: *ancaire* 'anchor' (ON *akkeri*, influenced by Lat. *anchora*), *bád* 'boat' (ON *bátr*), *scód* 'sheet' (ON *skaut*), *stiúir* 'rudder' (ON *stýri*), *tochta* 'thwart' (ON *þopta*) are still the normal Irish words for these objects. Before contact with the Scandinavians the Irish seem to have been most reluctant to go to sea; it is significant that, in our oldest sources, the word *longas* 'shipping' is usually found with the secondary meaning 'exile'. The development of navigational technique also made it possible to catch demersal seafish: Mod. Ir. *langa* 'ling' and *trosc* 'cod' derive from ON *langa* and *þorskr*, and *dorú* (earlier *dorgha*) 'fishing-line' comes from ON *dorg*. The Norse as merchants have given *margadh* 'market' from ON *markaðr* (but not *mangaire* 'pedlar', which is from M. Eng. *monger*), and their introduction of coinage brought with it *pinginn* 'penny' (ON *penningr*) and *scilling* 'shilling' (ON *skillingr*). Trading contacts have given a few terms for articles of dress: *scuirde* 'shirt, tunic, cloak' (ON *skyrtá*) is long since obsolete, but Mod. Ir. *cnaipe* 'button' derives from ON *knappr*. Mod. Ir. *bróg* 'shoe' earlier meant 'hose, trousers', and is from ON *brók*.

Most of the words quoted above are what Oftedal (1962) calls peripheral as opposed to central; as the most central Norse loanwords in Scottish Gaelic, he offered *nàbuidh* 'neighbour', *bideadh* 'to bite' and *rannsachadh* 'to search'. Of these, only the last exists in Irish (as *ransú*). But it may be possible to extend the Irish list somewhat. Although some of my colleagues have reservations, I continue to believe that the very common verb *leagadh* 'laying down, knocking down, etc.' derives from ON *leggja*, probably through a collocation with *seól* 'sail' in the sense of 'lowering sail'. Marstrander had already connected Mod. Ir. *crapadh* 'shrinking, contracting' with ON *krappr* 'tight, contracted', and there is no reason to doubt this. Nor should we reject Meyer's derivation of Mod.

Ir. *scagadh* 'filtering, straining' from ON *skaka* 'to shake'; the semantic link is the act of shaking the container to speed up the separation process. Again, the common verb *sciobadh* 'snatching (away)', provides us with a good example of a contamination product, for, as Marstrander showed (1915: 18 ff.) it derives phonetically from ON *skipa* 'to arrange' but semantically from a native Irish word, cognate with W. *chwyfu*, which would have been **sciobhadh* in Modern Irish. We must also note T. F. O'Rahilly's brilliant explanation of Mod. Ir. *práidhinn* 'press of business, distress, etc.' as deriving from ON *bráðung* 'haste, hurry'. In the same article O'Rahilly pointed out that the earliest form of Mod. Ir. *builín*, *builbhín* 'loaf of bread' is Mid. Ir. *bulbing* and that Zoëga lists ON *bylmingr* 'a sort of bread'. As far as I know the latter word has no received etymology, but Mid. Ir. *bulbing* is clearly a loanword, and the probability that it comes from Norse is very strong.

We have thus identified more than twenty words of Norse origin in common use in modern Irish; it would no doubt be possible to find a few more, though hardly the fifty or so which Oftedal (1962: 119) noted in Lewis. There are others which have gone out of use comparatively recently. Thus *undás* 'windlass' (ON *vindáss*) was noted by O'Rahilly from Early Modern Irish texts, and *slíobadh* 'polishing, whetting' (ON *slípa*) was in use up to the seventeenth century at least. But we may well doubt whether the number was ever very great. Thus, when Sommerfelt (1962: 76) speaks of the large number of terms for ships and seaman-ship rendered by Norse words in twelfth-century Irish and says 'the *Cath Cathardha* is full of them', it is worth while seeing just what that means; in fact, a check of Stokes's *Glossarial Index* reveals fewer than thirty words of Norse origin. A more diligent investigation might turn up a few more, but it is improbable that there could be as many as fifty. It is probably safe to conclude that at no period of the history of Irish did the number of Norse loanwords exceed the percentage of 0.2 of the total vocabulary estimated by Oftedal (1962: 123) for contemporary Lewis Gaelic.

Given this modest lexical contribution, we will not expect to find that Scandinavian influenced the internal structure of the Irish language. There is, however, a very real sense in which we can say that the Scandinavians brought about a change in the written norm. D. A. Binchy (1962: 131) says about them:

Their assaults jolted the country out of its old tribal framework; created, if not a modern sense of nationalism, at least a feeling of 'otherness' among peoples whose only loyalty had hitherto been to their local kings; and finally forced a primitive and pastoral society to adopt, very much against the grain, a more progressive economic technique. But all these changes, no matter how desirable they may appear to some modern eyes, entailed the destruction of that old order which had been embodied in the 'sacred' law, and which henceforth existed only on parchment in the law-books.

This 'passing of the old order' had its effect on the writing of Irish. Jackson (1962: 7) has said about Old Irish that it was 'a language of such unbelievable grammatical complication that it is difficult to see how anybody could ever

have spoken it'. That is a pardonable piece of hyperbole; putting it in soberer terms we might say that, for example, the verbal system of the Würzburg Glosses, usually assigned to the middle of the eighth century, shows a very high percentage of forms which could not be generated by synchronic rules, thus imposing a heavy burden on the learning capacity of the writer—for, of course, what is implied in Jackson's statement is that the spoken language had a much higher percentage of forms generated by synchronic rules. There is apparently no difficulty in maintaining a written norm, however great its complexity, in a conservative and unchanging society; once, however, the social fabric is damaged the written norm which it has supported is also in danger. We have a striking example of this at a much later period of Irish history. The English conquest of Ireland at the end of the sixteenth century brought with it the disappearance of Classical Modern Irish; within a century the dialects appear in writing in all their diversity, and Scottish Gaelic and Manx are revealed as distinct languages. Similarly, the swift change from Old Irish to Middle Irish is just one aspect of the passing of the old order which the Norse invasions precipitated, but the Norse language itself has nothing to do with it.

There is only one development in Irish where Norse influence might be suspected, and even here we have to assume the intermediacy of Scottish Gaelic. In the latter, long unstressed vowels are shortened, and this pattern is also found in Northern Irish, no doubt arising from contacts with Scotland. O'Rahilly (1932: 128) suggested that it was probable that the Scottish development took place as a result of contacts with Norse, so that the phonological system of Scottish Gaelic was brought into closer conformity with that of Old Norse. There is, however, strong evidence brought forward by Jackson (1951: 87 n. 4) which suggests that the shortening may be as late as the fourteenth century, thus making it impossible to ascribe it to Norse influence. In any case, the matter is hardly relevant to our discussion, since it is absolutely certain that the Northern Irish vowel-shortening did not take place under Norse influence; there were no Norse settlements of any importance in the northern half of Ireland.

Norse must have survived as a spoken language in Dublin and some other settlements up to the time of the English invasion of 1169 at least, for all the place-names discussed by Oftedal were received directly from Norse into English. It is of interest to note that in at least one case an Irish place-name has been taken into English through Norse instead of directly from Irish. This is *Limerick*, from ON *Hlymrekr*; the Irish form is *Luimnech*, and English borrowings of Irish names regularly render Irish *ch* [x] by *gh*: *Benagh* and *Bannagh* for *Beannach*. This was the last contribution of Norse to the speech of Ireland; its influence on the Irish language had long since been exhausted.

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The dotted runes: from parsimony to plenitude*

EINAR HAUGEN

The dotted runes might not seem to have much relevance to Irish-Scandinavian relations in the Viking Age, but at least there are dotted runes on Irish soil. On the bronze strip of a viking sword found at Greenmount in County Louth there are three instances of dotted *e* in the ownership formula, which according to Magnus Olsen (1954, 181) reads "Domnall Sealshead owns this sword" (Tomnal selshofop a soerp [p]eta). Since the vikings came with the sword and left with the cross, it is appropriate that one of the three other known Irish inscriptions should be on a cross in the cathedral precincts of Killaloe in County Clare. This short inscription contains no dotted runes, but it is interestingly bilingual. In runes it reads, according to Carl Marstrand (M. Olsen 1954, 181), "Thorgrim raised this cross" (þurkrim risti [k]rusþina), while in ogham it says "a blessing on Thorgrim" (beandac[h]t [ar] Toreaqr[im]).

Since we shall also be speaking of the insular hand which became the basis of Old Norwegian handwriting, it is not inappropriate to mention that this was first developed in Ireland before being transmitted to the North via England and Scotland.

I

It will be a purpose of this paper to focus attention on the so-called "dotted runes", which still offer many puzzling aspects and have not received the attention they deserve. We shall question some of the statements about them found in handbooks on the runes and urge some points of view that might be considered by future researchers. What we are dealing with is nothing less than the process by which the "parsimony" of the younger futhark from the Viking Age (Haugen 1969) was replaced by a plenitude of symbols in the medieval inscriptions of Scandinavia.

If we limit "medieval" to the period from about 1100 to 1500, it is safe to say that the medieval inscriptions and the runes in which they are written have been neglected in comparison with the pre-viking or older runes and the viking or younger runes. A change in this situation has come about in the last few years, as noted recently by Elisabeth Svärdström (1972a), thanks to the incredibly rich finds in the excavations in Bergen, but also to the publication of many medieval inscriptions from Sweden and new finds from the excavations of Swedish cities like Lund, Lödöse, Skara, Nyköping, and Uppsala. A new realization has dawned concerning the widespread everyday use of runes by large segments of the population. Now that hundreds of casual messages and markers have been unearthed, the monumental use of runes no longer stands as the sole or even primary domain of runic writing.

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The most challenging problem in the development of medieval runes is their relationship to the Latin alphabet, which entered into competition with the runes after the coming of Christianity. The clergy imported Latin books and before long began adapting the Latin alphabet for writing native texts. But by and large the Latin alphabet remained on parchment, while laity and clergy alike continued to use the pagan alphabet known as the futhark for messages that were carved or scratched on wood, metal, bone, or stone. The Church did not condemn runic writing as un-Christian, but neither did it adopt it for the writing of books. We have no way of knowing how widespread literacy was, but we gain the impression that learned men knew both writing systems, while even the unlearned could manage to read the runes and in a pinch many might even carve a simple runic message.

Those who knew both writing systems could hardly help noticing the similarities as well as the discrepancies between the alphabet and the futhark. These were obviously based on the same graphemic principle and they had many characters in common. Neither one fit the phonemic system of Old Scandinavian very well, but the sixteen-character futhark fell even more short with its three vowels (*a i u*) instead of five and its three stops (*b t k*) instead of six, to mention only two major defects. The puzzle is that in filling out its deficiencies the Scandinavians did not follow either of two logical procedures, viz. to adopt Latin symbols (though this does occur in very late inscriptions, especially in modern carvings from Dalecarlia) or to make up new runes to resemble the old (as the English had done in expanding their runic alphabet). Instead, they chose to develop an entirely new system for which there is no obvious source in the Latin tradition. This was the practice of dotting, i.e. the placing of a dot (or a small cross-bar) on one of the ambiguous runes to mark a different value. We are here adopting the term "dotted", though "pointed" has also been used (Elliott 1959, 25). In Scandinavia they are known alternately as *stungne* "pricked" or *punkerte* "pointed", a vacillation that goes back to the *Third Grammatical Treatise* of Iceland by Ólafr Þórðarson Hvítaskáld (c. 1250). In listing the runic letters he included one dotted rune under his discussion of *i*, the rune known as *íss* "ice", saying that "*íss* is sometimes used for *æ* [i.e. *e*] and is then *stunginn*. . . ." In trying to describe the difference in pronunciation, he asserted that undotted *íss* "has its sound in the upper part of the throat", but when *punktaðr* it is "in the lower part of the throat, and sounds like *e*" (B. M. Ólsen 1884, 42). His phonetic observation no doubt reflects an awareness of the dimension of tongue height.

The *e* (†) is the only dotted rune discussed by Ólafr, perhaps because it was also the most widespread and earliest to be adopted. It appears in Denmark around the year 1000, and others follow shortly, as if in step with the introduction of the Latin alphabet. From the handbooks one gets the impression that the sole stimulus in the development was the Latin alphabet, e.g. in Elliott: "One can see the influence of the Latin alphabet in the more obviously phonetic approach underlying the pointed runic script, as well as in the alphabetic sequence of the runes now adopted in place of the traditional Germanic order of the futhark" (1959, 25). Similar statements can be found in Brate (1922, 87),

Brøndum-Nielsen (NK 6, 142, 1933), von Friesen (NK 6, 229, 1933), Reichardt (1936, 25), Musset (1965, 318, fn. 2), and Düwel (1968, 54). At this point the handbooks often present what is called the *helstungne runealfabet* (or in von Friesen's German, "das vollständig punktierte Runenalphabet"), in which the order is alphabetic and the Latin letters all have runic equivalents, permitting a letter-by-letter transcription from one to the other.

Yet there are large questions here: how can dotting be derived from the Latin alphabet? If Latin made the runemasters more conscious of phonetic distinctions, why did not all the dotted characters develop at once and make up a new expanded futhark? Why were they not institutionalized like the older and the younger futharks? The evidence for a *helstungen* futhark is extremely tenuous, as we shall see. The fact is that the sixteen-rune futhark remained the basis of runic writing throughout the medieval period, and that the dotted runes were neither added to it nor intercalated in it, and that except for scattered and very late instances, the order remained that which had always been traditional in runic carving. So far there has been no monograph devoted to the dotted runes and their development, showing exactly where they are found, how they developed, and when they came into use. This paper is only a tentative exploration of some of these issues, with more questions raised than answers given.

2

First of all we must be aware that phonetic and phonemic changes were going on in the language itself. One was the change of nasalized *á* to *ó*, which incidentally made it possible to use the old *ansuz*-rune for *o*, thereby distinguishing it from the *u*-rune. The merger of the old *z*-rune (by this time a palatal buzz) with *r* left the rune *yR* available as a symbol for *y*, on the same acronymic-mnemonic principle. Both writings have been attributed to influence from the English Latin alphabet (Seip NK 28B, 2, 1954; also 1956, 41), but they are natural enough results of the phonetic changes of Old Scandinavian itself.

Another linguistic change which made it useful to have a distinction between *i* and *e* and between *u* and *o* was the development of vowel harmony in the Danish dialects of Skåne and Jylland and in East Norwegian. This is a feature of unstressed syllables, whereby the high vowels *i* and *u* appear chiefly after high vowels in the stressed syllable, *e* and *o* after mid and low vowels. In my discussion of the younger futhark (1969), I suggested that the unstressed syllables may have played a significant role in the loss of the runes for *e* and *o*. Now they may have helped to bring them back as these syllables developed a five-vowel system instead of a three-vowel one. Examples in Danish inscriptions noted by Bjerrum are *-u* in *rispu* vs. *-e* in *pise* (no doubt pronounced *pässe*) in Gårdstånga 1 (DR 329; Bjerrum 1952, repr. 1973, 116-129; Nielsen 1960). Seip pointed out Norwegian examples like *-i* in *ibir* vs. *-e* in *take*, *pise* in Flatdal (NIYR 2.217, ab. 1150; Seip-Saltveit 1972, 85). Even before the Latin alphabet developed characters for the umlaut *æ* and *ø*, the Norwegian inscriptions show a fairly consistent use of long-branch varieties of the runes for *a* and *o* (von Friesen 1918-19, 49).

Parallel with these expansions went the step by step development of dotting. In the Danish inscriptions, where *yR* was not yet available, a dotted *u* served for *y* (𐌚). Before long some of the consonants were dotted, the earliest being dotted *k* for *g* (𐌗). By 1100 we find that *t* is being dotted to make a *d* (𐌛) and *b* to make a *p* (𐌛). In the classic period of Uppland rune carving the last two are absent, but *y g e* are common (von Friesen 1913, 77-86). Gotland took over *y d g p* in the eleventh century and even extended the principle to create dotted *l* and *n* for some phonetic varieties. In Sweden some enthusiastic carvers even dotted *þ* to make its voiced counterpart (Icelandic *ð*) and *f* or *u* to make a *v* (Hjelmquist 1912; von Friesen *NK* 6, 229, 1933; Brate 1911: xxix), on both points going beyond the Latin alphabet.

The gradualness of the development makes it unlikely that dotting was anyone's deliberate reform, and the chronology makes impossible the attribution of it to that Icelandic *Þóroddr Rúnameistari* who is mentioned in the Prologue to the grammatical treatises attached to Snorri's *Edda* (B. M. Ólsen 1883; Bæksted 1942, 17 ff.). It is hard to assess the exact significance of the discussion by Ólafr mentioned above of the dotted *e*. He clearly does not regard it as a new rune, for he describes it merely as a variant of *i*. He does not add it to the futhark. Similarly with the dotted consonants, which he clearly knew, since he includes them in an alphabetic jingle that he claims to have learned at the court of King Valdemar in Denmark. But, as pointed out by Bæksted (1942, 215), the jingle was not really based on a runic alphabet, but on a Latin one, as shown by the use of geminate consonants. And the characters that he himself proposes to add to the futhark are not dotted runes, but digraphs.

3

The special characteristics that mark the practice of dotting include a number of oddities which set it off from the Latin alphabet.

(1) The dots are purely diacritic and have no phonetic feature in common. In *e* they mark lowering, in *y* fronting, while in *g* and *d* they mark voicing, in *þ* unvoicing, etc. In terms of Prague School phonology each dot marks one distinctive feature, or in the wording of Ólafr Þórðarson, one rune "is written for two consonants, because these consonants have a more similar sound than others" (Ólsen 1884, 50). In each pair the traditional value of the rune is treated as the unmarked member of a minimal opposition, while the other is given a dot to show that it is marked.

(2) Another frequently discussed oddity is that the method is nowhere applied either to its full extent or with complete consistency, aside from such learned texts as the *Codex Runicus*. Von Friesen points out for the rune stones of Uppland how *i* and *e*, *k* and *g* etc. vacillate even within one inscription, e.g. *min* (*menn*) vs. *eftir*, *kiara* (*giera*) vs. *hagua* (*haggva*), *ikim[a]r* (*Ingimar*) vs. *baka* (*Banka*), all on Runby (von Friesen 1913, 78). In terms of an opposition of marked and unmarked, this is what we might expect. The original rune continues to function in both values, but from time to time the carver indicates the marked value, when he does not find it superfluous.

(3) A third oddity, already noted for the *Third Grammatical Treatise*, is that the dotted runes are not added to the futhark itself. Among the very considerable number of futharks of which we shall speak later, very few include dotted runes. In the mnemonic verses known as the *Rune Poems* there are no new verses for the dotted or other novel runes. When their names are given, only the sixteen old runes have any; if the new ones are listed, they appear as symbols only (Bæksted 1942, 220). This is strikingly different from the Old English tradition, with its rapid expansion of the futhark, and its creation of symbols with names and a place in the futhark itself, after the old symbols. When the Scandinavian futhark was adapted to represent the nineteen numbers of the golden cycle in the calendars, three new runes were created for numbers 17-19, none of them dotted (*DR*, col. 812; for examples see *DR* 224 Bårse). These had names, but no phonetic value (Bæksted 1939, 113; Svärdström 1966). Finally, we should note that the use of runic cipher (e.g. the so-called "twig runes") continued to depend throughout the Middle Ages on knowledge of a sixteen-rune futhark in traditional order, divided into three "families" (*ættir*).

For all these reasons it is misleading to speak of a "dotted futhark", and even more so of a "complete dotted futhark", except in reference to certain "runic alphabets" which are found in learned sources. It is rarely made clear in the handbooks that the *helstungne runealfabet* is a learned construction, usually by modern runologists; Jacobsen and Moltke candidly admit that theirs is *sammenstykket* ("pieced together") from the inscriptions themselves (*DR*, col. 772).

4

The order of the medieval futharks remains fixed in spite of expected influence from that of the Latin alphabet. The example of alphabetic order that is constantly cited is the stone amulet of Øster Marie in Bornholm (*DR* 396). It is still far from a *helstunget alfabet*, however, for it includes only two dotted runes (*e*, *g*). It is late or post-medieval and reveals other features suggesting a cloistered life. Elsewhere in Denmark there are no other runic alphabets, only futharks, ten of them, with only one expanded by the addition of new runes (*DR* col. 772; Moltke 1938).

Among the 600 odd inscriptions from Norway listed in *NIYR* there are only two alphabets, one on a spinning whorl from the late Middle Ages (539) and the other on an oblate iron no older than 1400 (547). Against this stand thirty more or less complete futharks, only five of which are expanded, one with dotted *e* (*NIYR* 35). Of 553 inscriptions excavated in Bergen there are fifty-eight futharks, only three expanded by one rune (*e* on 35 and 490, *x* on 533). Of eighty-four other unpublished inscriptions four contain futharks, without expansion (A. Liestøl, private communication).

In Sweden the only runic alphabets I have been able to find are the sixteenth-century *Alphabetum Gothicum* in Johannes Magnus' *Gothorum Sveonum Historia* (1554) and an eighteenth-century rune stick from Älvdalen with both a Latin and a runic alphabet (von Friesen 1918-19, 51, and *NK* 6, 240). There are few

futharks in the published volumes of *Sveriges Runinskrifter*, since these include almost only runic monuments, and the futharks are mostly in casual inscriptions. But there are two in Västmanland (Jansson 1964), five in Småland (Kinnander 1935-61), eight in Västergötland (Jungner and Svärdström 1958-70), five in Gotland (Vol. I, Jansson and Wessén 1962), and five in Uppland (Wessén and Jansson 1940-58). And others have been found, e.g. on a knife from Nyköping (Svärdström 1965), a stick from Lödöse (Svärdström 1972b), a baptismal font in Västergötland (Svärdström 1967, 285: *fuþorkk*).

In Iceland nearly all runic inscriptions are late tombstones, but of the four remaining inscriptions, two are regular futharks (Bæksted 1942, 205-225). There are runic alphabets in several fourteenth-seventeenth century manuscripts and on a magic stick from the seventeenth-eighteenth century. There are no futharks in the British Isles, except one on Man (along with an ogham alphabet), and there is one futhark in Greenland, both traditional (M. Olsen 1954; Moltke 1936, 1961).

Alphabetic order is therefore the exception and not at all the rule, and the new dotted runes are not usually added to the futhark. The only influence on the order that can legitimately be attributed to the Latin alphabet is the occasional inversion of *m l* to *l m* (after 1100). This point is not clearly stated in most accounts, though it is explicit enough in one of the oldest, Ludvig Wimmer's *Runenschrift* ("Die punktierten runen [wurden] nicht in den alten futhark eingereiht oder in derselben hinter den älteren zeichen aufgenommen" 1887, 253; also 1893-1908, l.xxxv), and one of the newest, Aslak Liestøl's in *KL* ("Den gamle 16-tals futharken er grunnlaget i skriftsystemet" 1969, 476). In short, there was no *helstunget runealfabet* until the learned antiquarians began making them up.

5

But what is then the origin of runic dotting? Von Friesen maintained that the idea came from England, where the Danes had close contacts at the end of the tenth century. He found the model in the *y* of the English runic futhark, which is an old *u*-rune with an inserted miniature *i* (𐌚) (von Friesen 1918-19, *NK* 6, 172, 1933). Jacobsen and Moltke questioned his theory on the grounds that the English inscriptions are too early, and that in Denmark *y* was too rare and too late to form the model for the whole dotting procedure (*DR*, col. 1000; cf. Musset 1965, 317-19 and Keller 1938). There also seems to be a large gap between the reduced *i* of the very rare English rune and the dots that were applied so freely in Scandinavia.

Instead of looking at the English runic *y*, perhaps we should consider the Latin *y*. In Old Scandinavian manuscripts of the earliest period *y* is regularly dotted, e.g. Old Norwegian and Old Icelandic from the twelfth century (Seip *NK* 28B, 20; H. Benediktsson 1965, 24 ff.), Old Danish and Old Swedish from the thirteenth century (Erik Kroman *NK* 28A, 48; Sam Jansson *NK* 28A, 104). The dot is not like the slanting line that marks *i* or other letters and is printed as an acute accent in our editions. Various tentative suggestions concerning its purpose have been made, e.g. Kroman suggesting that it distinguished minuscule

y from *r* (NK 28A, 38), Seip that it distinguished *y* from insular *w* (OE *wen*), noting that many times *y* looks like a *u* with a dot over it (NK 28B, 20). A glance at English writing from 950 and later shows that it was common there, e.g. in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for the year 1001 (Spehr 1929, 51; Keller 1906, 42; Flom 1915, 532). But it was not invented in England, for it occurs in the continental Carolingian minuscule at least from the beginning of the ninth century. E. M. Thompson's *Introduction to Greek and Latin Paleography* (1912) shows it in Latin manuscripts from France before 814 A.D. (No. 132: *hylé, hylén*) and in Austria by 819 (No. 153: *aegypto*). Latin manuscripts in England, Denmark, and Sweden show the dot in the earliest specimens known (*Necrologium Lundense*, 1131, Specimen 1 in Kålund 1903; for Sweden see Kock 1906, 1.433, 473).

For our purposes it is needless to ferret out the ultimate origin of the dot on *y*, but it appears clear that it had the diacritic function of clearly distinguishing *y* from *u* and *v* (H. Benediktsson 1965, 24 ff.). Its origin could well be the same as that of the English runic *y*, a small *i*; we are reminded of the iotized ypsilon of Greek. Medieval grammarians were well aware of the origin of Latin *y* from Greek and knew that its sound value as well as its shape was a combination of *u* and *i*; indeed, it is often written *ui* or *iu*. On this point I refer to my new edition of the *First Grammatical Treatise* of Iceland (Haugen 1972, 68-69; von Grienberger 1899). There is accordingly no need to attribute the dotted runic *y* either to English runic *y* or to the dotted *wen* of the insular hand. It was fully available to Danish writers who were at this time learning the Carolingian minuscule, and the idea of a dot under the runic *y* might naturally suggest itself as an equivalent of the dot over the minuscule *y*.

We still face the objections of Jacobsen and Moltke that the runic *y* was too rare and late to have suggested the dotting of the other runes. I will therefore tentatively propose some further potential sources of dotting. The First Grammarian proposed dots to mark nasal vowels, but I can see no connection here. In the short-branch runic futhark the *h*-rune had reduced its shape (𐌺) to a single branch with a dot in the middle (𐌺̇) and *s* had reduced its curlicues (𐌸) to a short high stem with a dot at its lower end (𐌸̇). These were available, but dotted *e* occurred only in futharks containing the long-branch *h*. The idea of a dot to replace a bar was therefore current, and could be applied in the case of *e* by starting from a capital *E* in the Latin alphabet. The dotting of *h* to make a *g* was not unlike the relationship of Latin capital *C* to *G*, with its short diacritic stroke.

These last are all highly speculative proposals, and I shall merely throw them out for others to consider who are more competent in paleography and runic epigraphy.

What I hope to have established by my discussion is that:

- (1) The dotted runes are worthy of a more thorough investigation and analysis than they have so far been accorded.
- (2) The principles of dotting cannot be directly derived from any practice known in adding runes or letters to the Runic or Latin alphabet either in England or Scandinavia.

- (3) Dotting was a way of designating the marked member of a minimal distinctive contrast and as such remained an *ad hoc* method of indicating distinctions where they were felt to be necessary.
- (4) Dotted runes were therefore not regarded as distinct runes, but continued to bear the old names, which were memorized in the same order as before.
- (5) There was never at any time a *helstunget runealfabet* or "dotted futhark", and it is misleading to speak of one as having come into being as the result of imitation of the Latin alphabet.
- (6) The order was never changed to that of the Latin alphabet except after the proper runic period by learned men who wished to transliterate texts from one alphabet to the other.
- (7) While dotting may have been suggested by the dotted *y* of the Latin alphabet, its development is peculiar to Scandinavia and independent of Latin grammatical theory or practice.

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Ragnarr Loðbrók in the Irish Annals?¹

By R. W. McTurk

In the published version of her communication on "The Vikings and the Western World" to the first International Congress of Celtic Studies, held in Dublin in 1959, the late Mrs. Chadwick rejects the identification of Imhar, the Viking king of Dublin, with Ívarr beinlauss, son of Ragnarr loðbrók;² and in a review of the Proceedings of the Congress, published in *Irish Historical Studies* in 1963, Francis John Byrne argues persuasively against Mrs. Chadwick on this point. His acceptance of the identification for various reasons—some of which will be discussed later in this paper—leads him to conclude that "the basically Norwegian settlement of Dublin was ruled by a Danish dynasty."³

Behind the use of the name "Ragnarr loðbrók", which is common to both Mrs. Chadwick and Professor Byrne, there seems to lie an assumption that there once existed, historically, a person of that name; and Professor Byrne's remarks imply, among other things, an assumption on his part that this person was a Dane. These two assumptions may be traced back to a view which, in spite of the efforts of Storm⁴ and de Vries,⁵ and in spite of its recent somewhat cavalier rejection by Gwyn Jones,⁶ still runs the risk of being accepted without reservation. This is the view—advanced most cogently by Steenstrup,⁷ and accepted by, among others, Vogel,⁸ Kendrick⁹ and Turville-Petre¹⁰—that Reginheri, the Viking

¹ I am grateful to Professors Bo Almqvist and Francis Byrne, and to Dr. Edward James, of University College, Dublin; to Dr. Gearóid Mac Niocaill of University College, Galway; to Dr. Jo Radner of the American University, Washington, D.C.; to Dr. Denis Brearley of the University of Ottawa; to Dr. Henry Mayr-Harting of St. Peter's College, Oxford; and to Dr. Robert Ireland, Mr. John Townsend and Dr. Richard Perkins of University College, London, for help and advice on various aspects of this paper. What errors remain, are, of course, entirely my own; and I cannot claim to have removed altogether the marks of oral delivery which were present in the original text of the paper.

² See Nora K. Chadwick, "The Vikings and the Western World", in *Proceedings of the International Congress of Celtic Studies held in Dublin, 6-10 July, 1959* (1962), 13-42, p. 24, n. 35.

³ Francis John Byrne's review is printed in *Irish Historical Studies*, XIII (1963), 269-71. See p. 269.

⁴ In Gustav Storm, "Ragnar Lodbrok og Lodbrokssønnerne. Studie i dansk Oldhistorie og nordisk Sagnhistorie", first published in (*Norsk Historisk Tidsskrift*, Række II, Bind I (1877), 371-491, and reprinted in his *Kritiske Bidrag til Vikingetidens Historie* (I. *Ragnar Lodbrok og Gange-Rolv*) (1878), 34-129, 193-200. It is to the 1878 reprint that reference will be made in this paper.

⁵ In Jan de Vries, "Die historischen Grundlagen der Ragnarssaga loðbrókar", in *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, XXXIX (1923), 244-74.

⁶ In Gwyn Jones, *A History of the Vikings* (1968), 212.

⁷ In Johannes C.H.R. Steenstrup, *Normannerne I. Indledning i Normannertiden* (1876; reprinted 1972), 81-127 ("Regner Lodbrog og hans Sønner"). Steenstrup later replied to criticisms of his view in an appendix to *Normannerne II* (1878; reprinted 1972), 379-88 ("Regner Lodbrog"). References to these volumes in this paper will give the earlier dates, 1876 and 1878, rather than 1972.

⁸ In Walther Vogel, *Die Normannen und das fränkische Reich bis zur Gründung der Normandie (799-911)* (1906) Heidelberg Abhandlungen . . . Heft XIV. See pp. 104-05.

⁹ In T. D. Kendrick, *A History of the Vikings* (1930; reprinted 1968), 203.

¹⁰ In G. Turville-Petre, *The Heroic Age of Scandinavia* (1951) (Hutchinson's University Library). See p. 69.

leader who according to contemporary Frankish sources sacked Paris in 845 and was associated with the court of the Danish king Horicus I,¹¹ "is probably to be identified with Ragnar of the Hairy Brecks (*loðbrók*), the most famous of all viking heroes in the traditions of the North".¹² It should be emphasised at this point that, while it is not impossible that Reginheri, whose name corresponds to Ragnarr,¹³ was nicknamed *loðbrók*,¹⁴ there is no certain evidence that "Ragnarr" and "Loðbrók" ever existed, historically, as one and the same person; and since such evidence is lacking it is somewhat misleading to use the name "Ragnarr loðbrók" in a discussion of the purely historical background to the Ragnarr-legend. This is one of the reasons for the question mark in the title of this paper. Until the evidence for a historical Ragnarr loðbrók is better established, no-one, if we are speaking in purely historical terms, can safely be said "to be identified" with Ragnarr loðbrók, or with a son of Ragnarr loðbrók;

¹¹ Specific reference will be made below to those of the sources for this incident which are particularly important for the present discussion. The principal sources for the Viking attack on Paris in 845 have been documented in detail and assembled into a coherent narrative by Vogel, 104-17, and excerpted and translated into Danish by Niels Skyum-Nielsen in his *Vikingerne i Paris* (1967) (Selskabet til historiske kildeskrieters oversættelse), see pp. 13-42. The principal source for Reginheri's association with Horicus I is the *Miracula Sancti Germani in Normannorum adventu facta*, c. 30, see G. H. Pertz, ed., *Monumenta Germaniae historica . . . Scriptorum* tom. XV, pars 1 (1887), 16. For a critical examination of the information given in this source, see Vogel, 112-15.

¹² See note 10, above, and the reference there given.

¹³ See Adolf Noreen, *Altnordische Grammatik I. Altisländische und altnorwegische Grammatik . . .*, IV. Auflage (1923; reprinted 1970), 65.

¹⁴ Storm (1878), 84-85, held the view that Loðbrók, which he took to mean "leather breeches" or "trousers of pelt" (*Skindbuxe*) was the name of the *mother* of the Vikings who later came to be regarded as sons of Ragnarr loðbrók. This view was based on the wording of a runic inscription in Maeshowe in the Orkneys, the relevant part of which may be quoted as follows: "Sjá haugr var fyrr hlaðinn heldr Loðbrókar. Synir hennar þeir váru hvatir . . .", "This mound was raised before Loðbrók's (mound); her sons they were bold. . .". The fact that the feminine form of the third person singular pronoun is used here with reference to Loðbrók does indeed suggest that the latter was regarded as a woman by the author of the inscription. Aslak Liestøl, in a paper on "The Maeshowe Runes: Some New Interpretations", in Bjarni Niclasen, ed., *The Fifth Viking Congress, Tórshavn, July 1965* (1968), 55-61, suggested, pp. 60-61, that the use of the feminine form indicates a lack of respect for Ragnarr loðbrók, who is here being ironically contrasted with his sons—an argument which, as will be evident, presupposes that Ragnarr and Loðbrók were the same (male) person. Henrik Schück suggested that the name Loðbrók originally belonged to a figure of Swedish heroic legend who, he claimed, was pictorially represented on one of the four seventh-century bronze plates found on Öland in 1870; the plate shows a man naked to the waist, wearing shaggy breeches, and engaged in combat with a monster. See Henrik Schück, "Till Lodbrok-sagan", in *Svenska Fornminnesförenings tidsskrift*, XI (1902), 131-40, esp. 138-40. It now seems to be generally accepted, however, that these bronze plates represent archetypal rather than individual figures, see Margaret A. Arent, "The Heroic Pattern, Old Germanic Helmets, *Beowulf* and *Grettissaga*", in Edgar C. Polomé, ed., *Old Norse Literature and Mythology: A Symposium* (1969), 130-99, esp. 133-34. Jan de Vries, in his "Die westnordische Tradition der Sage von Ragnar Lodbrok", in *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, LIII (1928), 257-302, p. 270, and in his "Die Entwicklung der Sage von den Lodbrokssöhnen in den historischen Quellen", in *Arkiv f. nord. filol.*, XLIV (1928), 117-63, p. 133, suggested that the word meant originally neither more nor less than a rough, uncouth Viking clad in shaggy skin garments, and that it may thus be regarded as a typical nickname for a Viking. In the former of these two articles, de Vries, p. 270, n. 33, was rejecting, without specific reference to the studies in question, the view advanced much earlier by Fred Schiern in his "Om Navnet Lodbrog hos Angelsaxerne" in *Annaler for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* (1858), 8-11, which found the support of Jón Jónsson in his "Merki 'Loðbrókarsona'", *Arkiv f. nord. filol.*, XXVI (1910), 371-76, namely that the word "loðbrók" derives by folk-etymology from a putative Old English word "*læodbrōga", meaning "terrifier of the people", i.e. a war-banner.

the names "Ragnarr" and "Loðbrók", therefore, will be used together in this paper only when they quite definitely refer to the legendary Ragnarr loðbrók of Scandinavian tradition. In his long article on the West Norse tradition of the Ragnarr-legend, de Vries suggests that Ari Þorgilsson (d. 1148), in his *Íslendingabók*, is the first person to combine Ragnarr and Loðbrók into one person—a suggestion which, while admittedly a bold one, is of value as a reminder that there is no clear-cut evidence from before the time of Ari that Ragnarr and Loðbrók were the same person; and there is, of course, a considerable gap between the middle of the ninth century, when Paris was first sacked by the Vikings, and the first half of the twelfth century, the time of the composition of *Íslendingabók*.¹⁵ The names "Ragnarr" and "Loðbrók", or their equivalents, are nowhere coupled together in the relevant Irish, English or continental sources for the Viking Age; nor is there any compelling evidence in these sources that the two names designate the same person.

The view that Reginheri, the leader of the Viking attack on Paris in 845, was the person who later came to be regarded as Ragnarr loðbrók, is based on three main considerations: first, the *name* of the Viking commander (who is called Reginheri in the *Annales Xantenses* for 845;¹⁶ Ragneri dux Nortmannorum in the *Chronicon Fontanellense* for 845;¹⁷ princeps Reginerus in the *Miracula Sancti Richarii*, Liber I, c. 11;¹⁸ Ragenarius dux incredulorum in the *Miracula Sancti Germani in Normannorum adventu facta*, c. 30;¹⁹ and Ragenarius dux in the augmented version of the *Miracula Sancti Germani* made by Aimoin, Liber I, c. 10²⁰); secondly, the fact that the *date* of the Viking expedition to the Seine, 845, fits reasonably well with the dates of the recorded activities of certain Viking leaders—most notably Berno, Inwære, Ubba and Sigifridus—who later came to be regarded as sons of Ragnarr loðbrók²¹ (chronologically at least, these

¹⁵ See de Vries, *ZfdPh* (1928), 257-58. De Vries allows for the possibility that a predecessor of Ari's may have been responsible for the combination.

¹⁶ See Rudolf Buchner, ed., *Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters, Freiherr vom Stein-Gedächtnisausgabe*, Band VI, Reinhold Rau, ed., *Quellen zur karolingischen Reichsgeschichte*, Teil II (1972), 348.

¹⁷ See G. H. Pertz, ed., *Mon. Germ. hist. . . Scriptorum* tom. II (1829), 302.

¹⁸ See Pertz, ed., *Mon. Germ. hist. . . Scriptorum* tom. XV, pars. II (1888), 917.

¹⁹ See Pertz (1887), 16.

²⁰ See Joanne Carnandet, ed., *Acta Sanctorum . . . Maii* tom. VI (1866), 789.

²¹ The names Berno, Inwære and Sigifridus correspond to those of Björn járnsíða, Ívarr beinlauss and Sigurðormr-í-auga, all of whom, according to the Icelandic *Ragnars saga loðbrókar* and *Ragnarssona þáttr* (see further note 34 below) were sons of Ragnarr loðbrók. The name Ubba corresponds to that of Ubbo, who according to the ninth book of Saxo's *Gesta Danorum* (see further note 23 below) was a son of Regnerus Lothbrog. The name of Halbdeni, who according to the *Annales Fuldenses* for 873 was a brother of Sigifridus, is omitted here, since as far as I can discover no-one with a name corresponding to his is represented as a son of Ragnarr loðbrók in Scandinavian tradition. For additional occurrences of the names or variants of the names in question in West and East Norse tradition, see E. H. Lind, *Norsk-isländska dopnamn ock fingerade namn från medeltiden* (1905-15) and Lind, *Norsk-isländska dopnamn . . .*, Supplementband (1931); Magnus Fredrik Lundgren and Erik Brate, *Personnamn från medeltiden* (1892-1915) (*Svenska landsmål ock svenskt folkliv*); and Gunnar Knudsen and Marius Kristensen, *Danmarks gamle personnavne . . . I. Fornavne . . . A-K* (1936-40) and *L-O* (1941-48).

Vikings could have been sons of a Viking leader active in 845²²); and thirdly, the fact that Saxo Grammaticus, in his account of Regnerus Lothbrog in the ninth book of his *Gesta Danorum*, mentions an outbreak of a *dysenteric disease* (*laxi ventris profluvium*) among the troops of Regnerus during an expedition led by him against the king of Bjarmaland,²³ while there is evidence in Frankish sources—notably the *Annales Bertiniani* for 845,²⁴ the *Annales Xantenses* for 845,²⁵ and the *Mir. S. Germani in Norm. adv. facta*, c. 30²⁶—to suggest that the followers of Reginheri were plagued by dysentery after the sack of Paris. These may not seem to be the strongest of reasons for regarding Reginheri, the leader of the Seine expedition, as a historical model for Ragnarr loðbrók, but they at least have the merit of providing us, in the figure of Reginheri, with a reasonably firm foothold in the history of the period in which the father, or fathers, of the Vikings later regarded as sons of Ragnarr loðbrók may be thought to have been active. It will be necessary to find out as much as possible about Reginheri from the sources most likely to give a reliable account of him—namely the Frankish annals for the ninth century—before it can be decided whether or not he may reasonably be regarded as a historical model for Ragnarr loðbrók, and whether or not he and his family are mentioned in the Irish annals.

To deal briefly with last things first, it must be stated that de Vries's discussion of the *death* of Reginheri in his article on the historical background to the Ragnarr-legend serves to show convincingly that unless really strong evidence can be produced to show otherwise, Reginheri must be assumed to have died shortly after his attack on Paris in 845.²⁷ The cause of his death, it would seem, was the sickness—recorded as dysentery in the *Mir. S. Germani in Norm. adv. facta*, c. 30²⁸—which assailed the Vikings after the sack of Paris. The *Annales Bertiniani* for 845 record the sickness, without, however, mentioning the Viking

²² It cannot confidently be stated that Inwære and Ubba (and Healfdene, who according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and the *Chronicon Æthelwardi* for 878 was a brother of Inwære, see p. 120, below) make their first recorded appearance in 855, as de Vries (1923), 248, 257, believed; this view of de Vries's was based on the so-called *Annales Lindisfarnenses*, which are edited in Pertz, ed., *Mon. Germ. hist. . . Scriptorum* tom. XIX (1866), 502-07, and which, it has been suggested (though not yet proved, so far as I am aware) are a Durham compilation of the twelfth century. See Wilhelm Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (1946), 114, and further, Peter Hunter Blair, "The Bernicians and their Northern Frontier", in H. M. Chadwick and others, *Studies in Early British History* (1954; reprinted 1959), 137-72, p. 150, n. 1. On the other hand, the evidence that Inwære, at least, was present at the capture of York in 867 seems relatively certain, since Iguuar is named by Æthelward as a leader of the great heathen army which arrived in East Anglia in 866 and took York the following year. See A. Campbell, ed., *The Chronicle of Æthelward* (1962) (Nelson's Medieval Texts), p. 35.

²³ See J. Olrik and H. Raeder, eds., *Saxonis Gesta Danorum*, tom. I (1931), 257.

²⁴ See Buchner (1972), 64, 66. Dysentery is not mentioned in this source. The Vikings are said to have been "blinded by darkness and struck down by insanity" (*vel tenebris cæcati vel insania sunt percussi*); and the foregoing winter is said to have been very severe (*Hiems asperrima*). These details do to some extent correspond, however, to Saxo's account of Regnerus Lothbrog's expedition against the king of Bjarmaland, see Steenstrup (1876), 97 ff.

²⁵ The passage in question is quoted below, p. 97. The *clades* in question is later referred to as a *plaga*, though the nature of the plague is not specified. See Buchner (1972), 348.

²⁶ See Pertz (1887), 16, where the Norsemen are said to have been "dissenteria turgentique inflatione percussi".

²⁷ See de Vries (1923), 250-53.

²⁸ See note 26, above, and the reference there given.

leader's death;²⁹ the *Annales Xantenses*, on the other hand, make, in the annal for 845, the following statement: Postea vero ingenti clade percussi sunt predones, in qua et princeps sceleratorum, qui Christianos et loca sancta predaverat, nomine Reginheri Domino percutiente interiit.³⁰ It is true that there is some evidence in this statement of wishful thinking on the part of the annalist, particularly in the phrase "Domino percutiente", which of course suggests that the annalist sees the Viking leader's death as an instance of divine vengeance. His death is also recorded in the *Mir. S. Germani in Norm. adv. facta*, c. 30,³¹ and in Aimoin's *Miracula Sancti Germani*, Liber I, c. 12,³² but in a much more obviously legendary and embellished way. Nevertheless, the person responsible for the so-called *Annales Xantenses*, the cleric Gerward of Lorsch,³³ is a contemporary authority, and we are bound to regard his evidence as more reliable than that of the Scandinavian accounts, which are very much later, and according to which, as is well known, Ragnarr loðbrók died in a serpent-pit as the victim of King Ella.³⁴ Now these later accounts are, of course, heavily influenced, as de Vries has shown, by the fictional embellishments of legend. Ragnarr's death in the serpent-pit shows considerable similarity to that of Gunnarr in the lays of Atli, and de Vries has argued convincingly—by pointing out, among other things, the possible similarity of an earlier form of the name Ella to the name Atli—that the story of Ragnarr's death has here been influenced by the Atli-legend.³⁵ Nevertheless, since Ella, or Hella as he is called in Saxo, can be traced back to the Ella who according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* became King of Northumbria around 867,³⁶ it has been thought that the later tradition provides evidence of Reginheri having died at a time closer to that date than to 845, the year of the Seine expedition. This view has been thought to find support in a passage in the fragments of Irish annals copied by Mac Firbisigh and edited by O'Donovan,³⁷ which will be discussed in this connection later in this paper.

²⁹ See note 24, above.

³⁰ See Buchner (1972), 348.

³¹ See note 26, above, and the reference there given.

³² See note 20, above, and the reference there given.

³³ See Buchner (1972), 8-9.

³⁴ See, for instance, Saxo's account in Olrik and Raeder, 262; the accounts in chapter XV of *Ragnars saga*, in Magnus Olsen, ed., *Völsunga saga ok Ragnars saga loðbrókar* (1906-08) (Samfund til udgivelse af gammel nordisk litteratur), pp. 157-59; and in chapter III of *Ragnarssona þáttur*, in Finnur Jónsson, ed., *Hauksbók* (1892-96) (Det kongelige nordiske Oldskrift-Selskab) p. 463; and *Kvákumál*, ed. Finnur Jónsson in his *Den norsk-islandske Skjaldedigtning A*, Bind I (1912), 641-49 and *B*, Bind I (1912), 649-56. See esp. stanzas 24, 26 and 27.

³⁵ See de Vries (1923), 252-53.

³⁶ See John Earle and Charles Plummer, eds., *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, Vol. I (1892), 68-69. On the dating in this paper of events recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for the latter half of the ninth century, see note 105 below.

³⁷ See John O'Donovan, ed. and trans. *Three Fragments copied from Ancient Sources by Dubhaltach Mac Firbisigh* (1860) (Annals of Ireland). These Fragments have recently been re-edited in the form of a Harvard University Ph.D. thesis by Dr. Jo Radner, now of the American University, Washington, D.C.

The two points made so far may now be briefly summarized:

- (1) There is no compelling evidence in contemporary or near-contemporary sources to suggest that Ragnarr and Loðbrók ever existed, historically, as one and the same person.
- (2) It seems likely that, unless really convincing evidence to the contrary is found, Reginheri, the leader of the Seine expedition, died in 845.

What more can we claim to know about Reginheri, the leader of the Viking attack on Paris in 845? If Dümmler³⁸ and de Vries³⁹ are right in assuming, as they do, that the Seine expedition of 845 was part of a larger Danish war effort against the Frankish kingdoms under the supreme command of Horicus I, who in the same year sent six hundred ships up the river Elbe against Louis the German,⁴⁰ then it is possible that Reginheri, the man entrusted with the leadership of the Seine expedition, was a person of some importance at the Danish court. In view of this possibility, and in view of the fact that Ragnarr loðbrók is represented as a king in Denmark in later tradition,⁴¹ it may be asked whether the Reginheri of the Seine expedition was related in any way to the Danish king Horicus I. Before this question can properly be answered, however, it will be necessary to place Horicus I himself in his historical and genealogical context, and this ought properly to be done by a detailed examination, such as Storm carried out long ago in his *Kritiske Bidrag til Vikingetidens Historie* (1878) of the information given about Horicus I and other Danish kings in the Frankish annals for the ninth century.⁴² It would take me too far from the subject of this paper, however, to embark on such an examination here; but it will be clear from the genealogies printed below that I accept, in its outlines at least, the view advanced principally by Storm,⁴³ but also supported by Vogel⁴⁴ and de Vries,⁴⁵ that in

³⁸ See Ernest Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches*, II. Auflage, Band I (1887), pp. 280 ff.

³⁹ See de Vries (1923), 245.

⁴⁰ See the *Annales Bertiniani* for 845, in Buchner (1972), 66. Vogel was not quite so ready to make this assumption, however; see Vogel, 104, n. 1.

⁴¹ The name of Ragnarr loðbrók is included in various Danish regnal lists dating from the Valdemar period, some of which, at least, seem dependent on Saxo, see M. Kl. Gertz, ed., *Scriptores minores historiae Danicae medii ævi*, Vol. I (1917-18; reprinted 1970), 147, 149-51, 163, 168, 175. These are the only possible obstacles I have found to being able to say that Saxo's *Gesta Danorum* provides the earliest known clear-cut evidence for the notion that Ragnarr loðbrók was a king in Denmark.

⁴² See Storm (1878), 35-47. The parts of this work relevant to the present discussion were in fact first published in 1877, see note 4, above.

⁴³ See Storm (1878), 41-44.

⁴⁴ See Vogel, 403-04. Vogel is less confident than Storm in his acceptance of this view, and allows for the possibility that the two groups which Storm sees as separate dynasties may originally have been branches of the same family.

⁴⁵ An acceptance of the view is implied by the genealogy drawn up by de Vries (1923), 249, which does not seem to include members of what Storm regards as the house of Herioldus I—though I confess that I am at a loss to know where de Vries has found the Halpdan whom he names in his genealogy as a brother of Godofridus I and as the father of Hemmingus, d. 812. The *Annales Fuldenses* name a Halpdanus as the father of a Hemmingus who died on Walcheren in 837, see p. 105, below, but this Hemmingus obviously cannot have been identical with the one who died in 812. Other possible references to this Halpdanus, who is tentatively included here in genealogy nr. II as the father of Herioldus II and his brothers, are given below, p. 105.

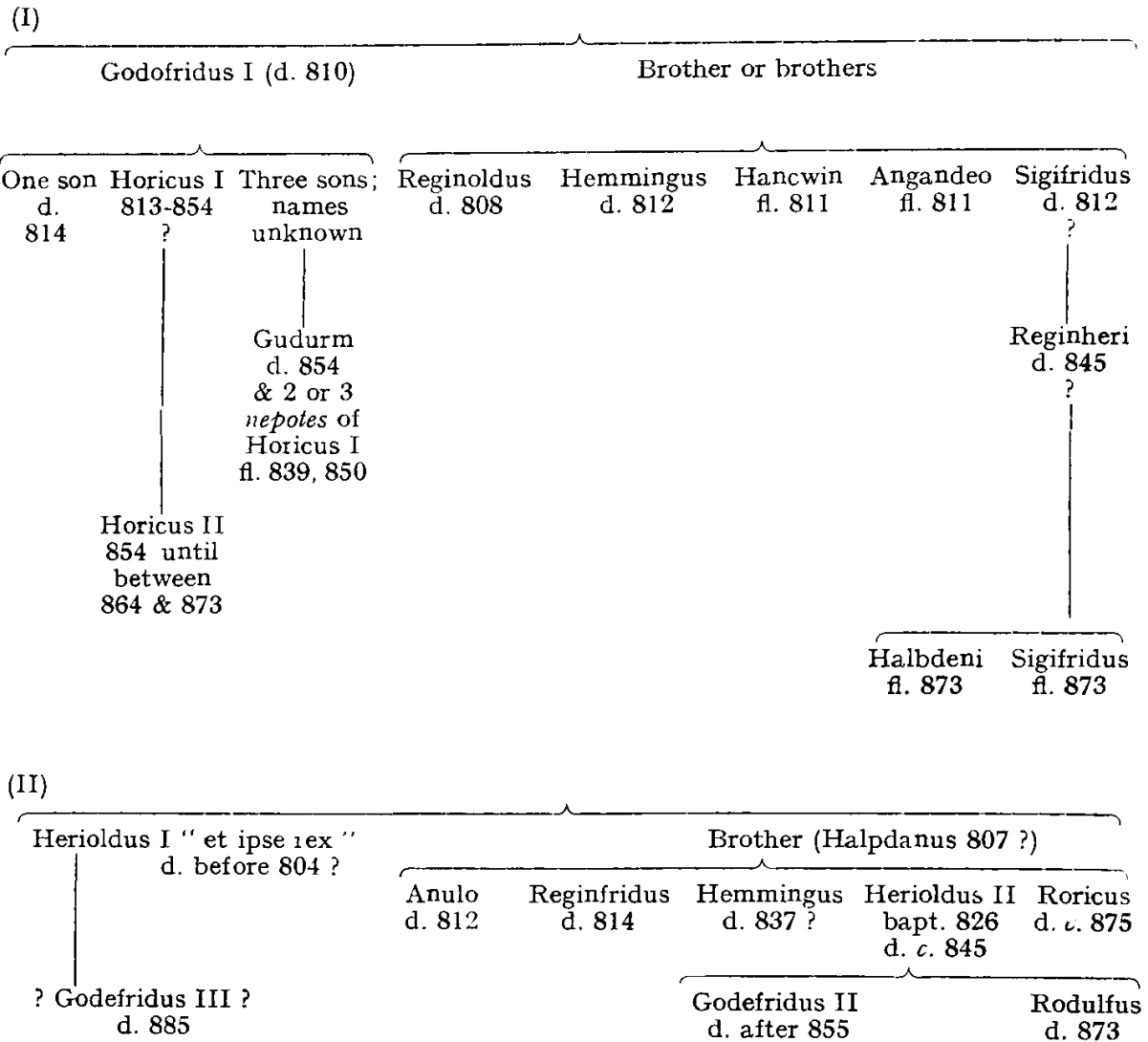
ninth-century Denmark there were two different royal houses, which, while they occasionally enjoyed friendly relations with each other and twice ruled jointly,⁴⁶ were for the most part mutually engaged in a long and bitter struggle for supremacy. The two houses in question are, on the one hand, the group of relatives which has, as its earliest known representative, Godofridus I, the Danish king of unknown parentage who from 804 until his death in 810 had increasingly hostile relations with Charles the Great,⁴⁷ and on the other the group of relatives which has, as its earliest known representative, a certain Herioldus, who, if we may trust the two most recent editors of the *Annales regni Francorum* (ARF), was a king himself (*et ipsius regis*),⁴⁸ and may thus be designated as Herioldus I. From now on, the two groups will be referred to as the houses of Godofridus I and of Herioldus I respectively. While the house of Godofridus I seems to have had dominions and allies in Eastern Norway and

⁴⁶ This seems to have happened first in 819, when according to the *Annales regni Francorum*, two of the sons of Godofridus I expelled two of their brothers from Denmark and allied themselves with Herioldus II with the intention of ruling the kingdom with him jointly; from 825, however, until his final expulsion from Denmark by the sons of Godofridus I in 827, Herioldus II's relations with the sons of Godofridus I became increasingly hostile, and his relations with the Emperor Louis (the Pious) increasingly friendly. See Rudolf Buchner, ed., *Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters, Freiherr vom Stein-Gedächtnisausgabe*, Band V, Reinhold Rau, ed., *Quellen zur karolingischen Reichsgeschichte*, Teil I (1974), 120-53. The second time this happened was in 857, when, according to the *Annales Fuldenses*, Roricus took possession, with the consent of Horicus II, of the part of the kingdom lying between the river Eider and the sea. This, incidentally, is the first mention by name of Horicus II in contemporary sources. See Rudolf Buchner, ed., *Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters, Freiherr vom Stein-Gedächtnisausgabe*, Band VII, Reinhold Rau, ed., *Quellen zur karolingischen Reichsgeschichte*, Teil III (1960), 50. By 862, however, Roricus was in Frisia, as is shown by a letter written to him in that year by Hincmar of Rheims, abstracted in Flodoard's *Historia Remensis ecclesiae*, Liber III, see Pertz, ed., *Mon. Germ. hist. . . . Scriptorum* tom. XIII (1881), 541; and a letter to Horicus II from Pope Nicholas I in 864 (containing the last mention of this Horicus in contemporary sources) gives the impression that in that year Horicus I was sole monarch of Denmark: *Nicholaus Servus Servorum Dei Horico Regi Danorum*. See Joanne Carnandet, ed., *Acta Sanctorum . . . Februarii*, tom. I (1863), 412, and Vogel, 193-94.

⁴⁷ See Buchner (1974), 78-97.

⁴⁸ This view of Storm's is based partly on a passage in the *Annales regni Francorum* which in the two most recent editions (Buchner, 1974, 98, 100, and Fridericus Kurze, ed., *Annales regni Francorum . . .*, 1895, *Scriptores rerum germanicarum in usum scholarum . . .*, 136) reads as follows: DCCCXII. Nec multo post Hemmingus Danorum rex defunctus nuntiatur. Cui cum Sigifridus nepos Godofridi regis et Anulo nepos Herioldi, et ipsius regis, succedere voluissent neque inter eos, uter regnare deberet, convenire potuissent, comparatis copiis et commisso proelio ambo moriuntur. Pars tamen Anulonis adepta victoriam fratres eius Herioldum et Reginfridum reges sibi constituit; quam necessario pars victa secuta eosdem sibi regnare non abnuit. Storm was using the text printed in Pertz, ed., *Mon. Germ. hist. . . . Scriptorum* tom. I (1826), 199, which instead of the phrase *Anulo nepos Herioldi, et ipsius regis*, has *Anulo, nepos Herioldi quondam regis*. This text is based on the readings of a group of manuscripts (E) which have been shown to go back to the work of a reviser, wrongly thought to be Einhard, who was concerned to improve the language and narrative coherence of the original text (See Buchner, 1974, 3). If the phrase *et ipsius regis* is taken as referring to Godofridus, then it must be assumed that what have here been called the houses of Godofridus I and of Herioldus I were originally interrelated, whether the Herioldus in question was a king or not; if, on the other hand, the phrase *et ipsius regis* is taken as being in apposition to *Herioldi*—which seems to be the view of Vogel, 57, and of Kurze and Buchner (1974), to judge from these two editors' punctuation of the text—then Herioldus was an earlier king, as Storm and Vogel thought—and as Kurze and Buchner seem to confirm in their indexes to the texts, where they give two kings named Herioldus I and II—and there is no need to assume that the two houses were related. A third possibility is that the phrase *et ipsius regis* refers, through the connecting relative *cui*, to Hemmingus,

Sweden,⁴⁹ the house of Herioldus I seems chiefly to have looked for friendship and support to the southern neighbours of the Danes, the Wends and the Franks.⁵⁰ The genealogies of the two houses may now be given:



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and that Anulo was thus a *nepos* of this Hemmingus. This seems highly unlikely, however, since the preceding annal, for 811, has spoken of two brothers of Hemmingus, namely Hancwin and Angandeo, who would surely have had stronger claims to the throne against a *nepos* of Godofridus I than any *nepotes* that Hemmingus, himself a *nepos* of Godofridus I, may have had. There is also evidence for regarding the two families as unrelated in the *Annales Fuldenses* for 854, see below, p. 102. On the possibility that the two houses may originally have been related, but had grown sufficiently apart and hostile to each other to be regarded as unrelated by 854, see Jón Jónsson, "Rannsóknir í fornsögu Norðurlanda. B" in *Timarit hins íslenska bókmenntafélags*, XI (1890), 1-87, p. 46, n. 1. I am grateful to Drs. Robert Ireland and Denis Brearley for help with this footnote.

⁴⁹ Storm (1878), 39-40, deduces that this was the case from the information given in the *Annales regni Francorum* for 813, where it is said that the people of Westarfolda, which Storm (1878), 37, identifies with Vestfold, in Eastern Norway, refused to submit to Herioldus II and Reginfridus; the reason for this refusal, he argues, was that the people of Westarfolda were loyal to the sons of Godofridus I, who at that time, according to this same annal, were living in exile in Sweden. See Buchner (1974), 102.

⁵⁰ See Storm (1878), 39-43.

Four important points arising out of the historical background to these genealogies may now be noted. One is that after the death of Godofridus I in 810 at the hand of one of his own followers (a quodam suo satellite, ARF 810),⁵¹ he was succeeded by his fraternal nephew Hemmingus (Hemmingus filius fratris eius in regnum successit, ARF 810),⁵² rather than by any of his sons; it would appear that in Denmark at this time there was a rule of succession whereby the eldest member of the entire royal family inherited the throne.⁵³ This is also suggested partly by the fact that another fraternal nephew of Godofridus I, Reginoldus (filium fratris sui Reginoldum, ARF 808), who died in a battle against the Abotriti in 808,⁵⁴ is called in the *Chronicon Moissiacense* for 808 "the foremost in the kingdom next the king" (Reginaldus, nepos eius, qui primus post eum in eo regno fuit),⁵⁵ and partly by the fact that another *nepos* of Godofridus I, Sigifridus, seems to have considered himself next in line for the succession after the death of Hemmingus in the winter of 811-12,⁵⁶ neither the sons of Godofridus I, nor Hemmingus's brothers Hancwin and Angandeo (mentioned in ARF 811)⁵⁷ seem to have made claims for the throne at that time. It may also be mentioned here that while it is clear (from ARF 811) that Hemmingus, Hancwin and Angandeo were brothers,⁵⁸ it is not certain that the other two *nepotes* of Godofridus I, Reginoldus and Sigifridus, were brothers either of these three or of each other.

A second important point arising out of a study of the background to these genealogies is that there is evidence to suggest that, apart from Horicus II, who is first mentioned by name in the *Annales Fuldenses* for 857,⁵⁹ no member of the house of Godofridus I survived the battle of 854 in which Horicus I was slain. Horicus I, who is the only one of the sons of Godofridus I to be known by name, is specifically mentioned for the first time in the *Annales regni Francorum* for 827;⁶⁰ in that year also, say these same annals, the sons of Godofridus I (presumably including Horicus I) deprived Herioldus II of the share in the kingdom which he had obtained by alliance with two of the sons of Godofridus I in 819 (ARF 819).⁶¹ Horicus I is referred to in the *Annales Bertiniani* (AB) for 836 as Horich rex Danorum;⁶² for 845 as Nortmannorum rex Horicus;⁶³ and for 847

⁵¹ See Buchner (1974), 94.

⁵² See Buchner (1974), 96.

⁵³ This was argued by Storm (1878) 38-39, and was accepted and to some extent developed by de Vries (1923), 249. See also below, p. 133.

⁵⁴ See Buchner (1974), 88.

⁵⁵ See Pertz (1826), 308, and Pertz (1829), 258.

⁵⁶ See the passage in Buchner (1974) quoted in note 48 above.

⁵⁷ See Buchner (1974), 98.

⁵⁸ The wording of the annal at the relevant point is: de parte vero Danorum inprimis fratres Hemmingi, Hancwin et Angandeo, deinde ceteri honorabiles inter suos viri. See the reference given under note 57.

⁵⁹ See the appropriate reference given under note 46, above.

⁶⁰ See Buchner (1974), 148: . . . Hohrici filii Godefridi regis Danorum.

⁶¹ See Buchner (1974), 120.

⁶² See Buchner (1972), 30.

⁶³ See Buchner (1972), 66.

as Horic Danorum regem.⁶⁴ In 849, according to Rimbert's *Vita Anskarii*, chapter 24, the events of which fall between the years 849 and 854,⁶⁵ he was absolute monarch in the kingdom of the Danes (qui tunc solus monarchiam regni tenebat Danorum).⁶⁶ In 850, however, according to the *Annales Bertiniani*, he was forced by the hostility towards him of two of his *nepotes* into partitioning the kingdom,⁶⁷ and in 854, according to the *Annales Fuldenses*, war broke out between him and his fraternal nephew Gudurm, who had lived the life of a Viking since being earlier expelled by him from the kingdom.⁶⁸ In a battle lasting three days, says Prudentius of Troyes (d. 861), the author of this part (835-61) of the *Annales Bertiniani*,⁶⁹ King Horicus and the other kings—almost all the nobility of Denmark—perished (AB 854).⁷⁰ “King Horicus was slain in the battle”, says Rimbert, in the *Vita Anskarii*, c. 31, “and with him likewise all the foremost people of that country who were followers and friends of the lord bishop [Ansgar]”;⁷¹ and according to Rudolf of Fulda (d. 865), the author of this part (838-63) of the *Annales Fuldenses*,⁷² “the ordinary people fell in great numbers, and of the royal family, indeed (de stirpe vero regia), none survived except one boy.”⁷³ Storm quite reasonably points out, on the basis of this information, that the “royal family” mentioned by Rudolf, and the “other kings” mentioned by Prudentius, refer to the descendants and relatives of Godofridus I, since relatives of Herioldus II, the nephew of Herioldus I, are several times mentioned in Frankish sources *after* the year 854.⁷⁴ The “other kings” of Prudentius must surely be the *nepotes* of Horicus I whose hostility towards him compelled him to divide up the kingdom in 850. The use of the expression *stirps regia* in the sentence just quoted also suggests that the relatives of Herioldus II surviving beyond 854 did not belong to the “royal family” to which Rudolf is here referring; Storm regards this evidence, indeed, as decisive for his conclusion that there were two different royal houses in ninth-century Denmark.⁷⁵ This was also the view of Vogel⁷⁶ and de Vries,⁷⁷ as is shown by the genealogies printed above, which are largely based on the ones drawn up by those two scholars; but it may nevertheless be pointed out that, of the three principal sources for the battle of 854, just quoted, only one, the *Annales*

⁶⁴ See Buchner (1972), 70.

⁶⁵ See Rudolf Buchner, ed., *Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters, Freiherr vom Stein-Gedächtnisausgabe*. Band XI. Werner Trillmich and Rudolf Buchner, eds., *Quellen des 9. und 11. Jahrhunderts zur Geschichte der hamburgischen Kirche und des Reiches* (1961), 79, n. 121.

⁶⁶ See Buchner (1961), 78.

⁶⁷ See Buchner (1972), 76.

⁶⁸ See Buchner (1960), 46.

⁶⁹ See Buchner (1972), 1.

⁷⁰ See Buchner (1972), 88.

⁷¹ See Buchner (1961), 100.

⁷² See Buchner (1960), 2.

⁷³ See Buchner (1960), 46.

⁷⁴ See Storm (1878), 42, and, for documentation of the activities of the house of Herioldus I both before and after 854, see Vogel, 405-09.

⁷⁵ See Storm (1878), 42.

⁷⁶ See note 44, above.

⁷⁷ See note 45, above.

Fuldenses, mentions the single survivor. The other two say, respectively, that almost all the nobility of Denmark perished (AB 854), and that all those nobles perished who had been friends of Ansgar. The possibility that Rudolf of Fulda may here have combined the *succeeding* survivor of the dynasty into its *sole* survivor should not be overlooked, particularly if evidence is found for other members of the house of Godofridus I surviving beyond 854. On the other hand, such evidence would naturally have to be pretty conclusive if Rudolf of Fulda's testimony were to be abandoned. His statement about the battle of 854 may be compared with that of Gerward of Lorsch in the *Annales Xantenses* for 845 in relation to the death of Reginheri;⁷⁸ it may be somewhat embellished or exaggerated, but it is the evidence of a contemporary, and should be accepted unless it is contradicted by more convincing evidence. It may also be pointed out that Rudolf's statement, while it is more specific than the statements of the other two sources, does not contradict them.

The third point I want to make at this stage concerns two Danish kings, the brothers Halbdeni and Sigifridus, who crop up in the *Annales Fuldenses* for 873. These two would appear to have divided the kingdom between themselves, since each of them is found independently negotiating with Louis the German.⁷⁹ They seem to have been the successors of Horicus II, who is presumably the same person as the boy mentioned by Rudolf of Fulda as the one member of the royal family to survive the battle of 854; he is first mentioned by name in the *Annales Fuldenses* for 857, as we have said, and is last mentioned in contemporary sources in a letter to him from Pope Nicholas I, dating from 864, in which he is clearly designated as king of the Danes (Horico regi Danorum).⁸⁰ As Storm has pointed out in contrast to Dümmler,⁸¹ the brothers Halbdeni and Sigifridus were most probably not the sons of Horicus II, since it is unlikely that this Horicus, who must have been born about 840, had sons old enough to be kings in Denmark in 873. Storm also points out, and by no means unreasonably, that these two brothers cannot have belonged to the house of Godofridus I, since it would appear, as we have just seen, that only one member of this house, in all probability Horicus II, survived the battle of 854.⁸² Allowance has just been made, however, for the *possibility* that members of the house of Godofridus I other than Horicus II survived beyond this year, and this should be borne in mind when the parentage of Halbdeni and his brother Sigifridus is considered below. Storm suggested that Halbdeni and this Sigifridus were two of the five sons of a woman named Loðbrók, who according to Storm was a close relative of the brothers Herioldus II and Roricus, possibly a daughter of one of them.⁸³ An alternative to Storm's rather startling view that Loðbrók was a woman, which was based on the wording

⁷⁸ See p. 97, above, and the reference given under note 30.

⁷⁹ See Buchner (1960), 88.

⁸⁰ See the relevant references given under note 46, above.

⁸¹ See Storm (1878), 42, and the reference there given.

⁸² See Storm (1878), 43.

⁸³ See Storm (1878), 86.

of one of the runic inscriptions in Maeshowe in the Orkneys,⁸⁴ was offered by Aslak Liestøl at the Fifth Viking Congress; Liestøl's view, however, leans rather too heavily on the assumption that Ragnarr and Loðbrók were the same person.⁸⁵ In any case, the evidence that Halbdeni and Sigifridus were historically the sons of a person named Loðbrók is not convincing.⁸⁶ Storm *considers* the possibility that the Reginheri of the Seine expedition was the father of the five persons, including Halbdeni and Sigifridus, whom he regards as sons of the woman Loðbrók, but rejects it on the grounds that since, in his view, this Loðbrók is related to Herioldus II and Roricus, she is unlikely to have been married to Reginheri, who seems to have been associated with Horicus I and thus with the house of Godofridus I.⁸⁷ Storm's arguments here, though in many ways open to question, do have the advantage of drawing attention, once again, to the lack of certain evidence for regarding Ragnarr and Loðbrók as historically the same person. But to return to Halbdeni and Sigifridus: Storm, as I have just pointed out, at least considers—though he does not accept it—the possibility that Reginheri was the father of these two brothers; and since the two of them, according to the *Annales Fuldenses*, were kings,⁸⁸ this re-opens the question of whether Reginheri was himself of royal blood. Now Vogel and de Vries both tentatively regard the brothers Halbdeni and Sigifridus as sons of Reginheri, the leader of the Seine expedition, but their views as to the parentage of Reginheri himself differ. J. de Vries, whose arguments are in my opinion rather more convincing than Vogel's, regards Reginheri as the son of Sigifridus, the *nepos* of Godofridus I.⁸⁹ Vogel, on the other hand, for reasons which also lead to a discussion of the fragments of Irish annals edited by O'Donovan, regards Reginheri as the son of a certain Halpdanus, whose name, it will be noticed, is tentatively included in the genealogy of the house of Herioldus I, printed above, as the father of Herioldus II and his brothers.⁹⁰

My fourth preliminary point concerns this Halpdanus, who must not, of course, be confused with Halbdeni, the brother of Sigifridus, any more than this Sigifridus, the brother of Halbdeni, must be confused with Sigifridus, the

⁸⁴ See note 14, above.

⁸⁵ See the appropriate references and comments in note 14, above.

⁸⁶ Adam of Bremen (c. 1076) speaks of Inguar, filius Lodparchi; see Buchner (1961), 139, 208. According to de Vries (1923), 263, and de Vries, *Arkiv. f. nord. filol.* (1928), 132, the name Lodparchus may be regarded as a (corrupt) form of Loðbrók. Since the names of Inguar and Hubba are found together in one relatively early source, namely the late tenth-century *Passio Sancti Eadmundi* by Abbo of Fleury, see Thomas Arnold, ed. *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, Vol. I (1890) (*Rerum Britannicarum mediæ ævi scriptores*), pp. 3-25, esp. 9 ff, and since there is some evidence that Ubba, at least, had Frisian connections, see sections 10 and 14 of the mid eleventh-century *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* in Thomas Arnold, ed., *Symeonis monachi opera omnia*, Vol. I (1882) (*Rerum Britannicarum mediæ ævi scriptores*), pp. 202, 204, it is just possible that Adam of Bremen's information is here based on a reliable tradition. Before it can be said that the brothers Halbdeni and Sigifridus were sons of Loðbrók, however, it must be demonstrated, at the very least, that these two were also brothers of Inwære~Inguar; and this is by no means easy to do. See below, pp. 117 ff.

⁸⁷ See Storm (1878), 86.

⁸⁸ See Buchner (1960), 88, where we read of "Sigifridi Danorum regis legati", later of "Halbdeni frater Sigifridi regis", and later still of "supradictos scilicet reges"

⁸⁹ See de Vries (1923), 247-49.

⁹⁰ See Vogel, 411-12.

nepos of Godofridus I. It was mentioned earlier that after the death of Hemmingus, nephew of Godofridus I, in the winter of 811-12, Sigifridus, the *nepos* of Godofridus I, seems to have thought himself next in line for the succession.⁹¹ His claim to the throne was opposed by Anulo, however, who is designated as “*nepos Herioldi, et ipsius regis*” (ARF 812), and in a battle resulting from this both Sigifridus (the *nepos* of Godofridus I), and Anulo (the *nepos* of Herioldus I) were slain. Anulo’s side won, however, and his brothers Herioldus II and Reginfridus both became kings in Denmark.⁹² These two established peaceful relations with the Emperor Charles and successfully asked for their brother Hemmingus, who was evidently at the Frankish court, to be returned to them (ARF 812, 813).⁹³ Vogel, who is here rather cautiously following Steenstrup,⁹⁴ very tentatively suggests that this Hemmingus may have been the same person as a Hemmingus, son of Halpdanus (Hemmingum Halpdani filium), who according to the *Annales Fuldenses* was slain by Vikings on the island of Walcheren in 837,⁹⁵ and that Halpdanus, the father of this Hemmingus, may have been identical with a Halptani who appears as a Danish ambassador at Charles’s court in 782 (ARF 782),⁹⁶ and with an Alfdeni, “Northmannorum dux”, who, according to the metrical annals attributed to the poet Saxo concerning Charles the Great, became a vassal of Charles in 807.⁹⁷ If the first at least of these two suggestions is correct—and it cannot be proved to be so—then Halpdanus is the name of the father of Herioldus II and his brothers. The relevance of this point will become clear a little further on when I discuss the Ragnall, son of Albdan, mentioned in the fragments of Irish annals edited by O’Donovan, to which I must now turn.

First, however, I shall briefly summarize these four points:

- (1) There is evidence to suggest that, in the house of Godofridus I, there was a rule of succession whereby the eldest member of the entire royal family inherited the throne.
- (2) Unless we find convincing evidence that members of the house of Godofridus I other than Horicus II survived the battle of 854, we must take it that Rudolf of Fulda is correct in saying that only one member of the family, a boy, survived.
- (3) It has been suggested that the Danish kings and brothers Halbdeni and Sigifridus, mentioned in the *Annales Fuldenses* for 873, were sons of Reginheri, the leader of the Seine expedition; this raises the question of whether Reginheri was himself of royal blood.
- (4) It has also been suggested, though very tentatively, that the brother of Herioldus I, and the father of his various *nepotes*, including Herioldus II and Reginfridus, was a person called Halpdanus.

⁹¹ See the passage in Buchner (1974), 98, 100, quoted in note 48, above.

⁹² See Buchner (1974), 100.

⁹³ See Buchner (1974), 100, 102.

⁹⁴ See Vogel, 405-06, and Steenstrup (1876), 116.

⁹⁵ See Buchner (1960), 22.

⁹⁶ See Buchner (1974), 42.

⁹⁷ See Pertz (1826), 263.

As I have said, Vogel held the view that the father of Reginheri was named Halpdanus, and that this Halpdanus may have been the same person as the one whom Vogel tentatively puts forward as the father of Herioldus II and his brothers.⁹⁸ Vogel is here following Steenstrup, who in 1876 suggested that the historical prototype of Ragnarr loðbrók was to be found not only in the Reginheri of the Seine expedition, but also in a Ragnall, son of Albdan, who is mentioned in the fragments of Irish annals edited by O'Donovan.⁹⁹ The passage in question forms part of the entry to which O'Donovan (or his printers) gave the date 869; this figure, however, as de Vries has pointed out, should probably be corrected to 866 or 867.¹⁰⁰ The passage may be quoted in the recent, as yet unpublished translation of Dr. J. Radner:¹⁰¹

At this time came the Aunites (that is, the Danes) with innumerable armies to York, and they sacked the city, and they overcame it; and that was the beginning of harrassment and misfortunes for the Britons; for it was not long before this that there had been every war and every trouble in Norway, and this was the source of that war in Norway: the two younger sons of Albdan, king of Norway, drove out the eldest son, i.e. Ragnall son of Albdan, for fear that he would seize the kingship of Norway after their father. So Ragnall came with his three sons to the Orkneys. Ragnall stayed there then, with his youngest son. The older sons, however, filled with arrogance and rashness, proceeded with a large army, having mustered that army from all quarters, to march against the Franks and Saxons. They thought that their father had returned to Norway immediately after their departure.

Then their arrogance and their youthfulness incited them to voyage across the Cantabrian Ocean (i.e. the sea that is between Ireland and Spain) and they reached Spain, and they wrought many bad things in Spain, both destroying and plundering. After that they proceeded across the Gaditanean Straits (i.e. the place where the Irish sea [*sic*] goes into the surrounding ocean), so that they reached Africa, and they waged war against the Mauritanians, and made a great slaughter of the Mauritanians. However, as they were going to this battle, one of the sons said to the other, "Brother", he said, "we are very foolish and mad to be killing ourselves going from country to country throughout the world, and not to be defending our own patrimony, and doing the will of our father, for he is alone now away from home, and discouraged in a land not his own, since the other son whom we left along with him

⁹⁸ See note 90, above, and the reference there given.

⁹⁹ See Steenstrup (1876), 91-97, and O'Donovan, 159.

¹⁰⁰ See Jan de Vries, "Om Betydningen av Three Fragments of Irish Annals for Vikingetidens Historie", in (*Norsk*) *Historisk Tidsskrift*, Række V, Bind V (1924), 509-32; see p. 511, n. 1, where de Vries suggests that the date 869 may be a misprint which should be corrected to 866.

¹⁰¹ I am most grateful to Dr. Radner for making available to me, for quotation in this paper, the relevant part of her new translation of these fragmentary annals.

has been slain, as has been revealed to me". It would seem that that was revealed to him in a dream vision; and his [Ragnall's] other son was slain in battle; and moreover, the father himself barely escaped from that battle—which dream proved to be true.

Steenstrup pointed out that the Viking raids in Spain and Africa in the years around 859, for which there is evidence in Arabic sources,¹⁰² seem to confirm the statement in this passage that the sons of Ragnall made hostile visits to those two countries "not long before" the years 866-67; and he cited certain medieval historiographers, notably William of Jumièges (c. 1070) to suggest that the sons of the historical Reginheri were involved in these raids. The Lotbroci regis filius, nomine Bier costae quidem ferreae, who according to William shared with Hastings the leadership of a Viking expedition to the Mediterranean area in the latter half of the ninth century, would seem to correspond to Björn járnsíða, son of Ragnarr loðbrók.¹⁰³ It was also significant, Steenstrup argued, that in the account in the Irish fragment the father, Ragnall, dies in the British Isles while his sons are in the Mediterranean area, much as in the Icelandic *Ragnars saga*, at the time of their father's death in England, the sons of Ragnarr loðbrók are away in Italy.¹⁰⁴ Steenstrup also drew attention to the fact that the account in the fragment, in mentioning a Danish attack on York, seems to be referring to the Viking capture of York recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for the year 867, at which certain Viking leaders who appear in later tradition as sons of Ragnarr loðbrók were very likely present.¹⁰⁵ In this connection Steenstrup also raised the question of the historical veracity of the Scandinavian accounts of King Ella's death, inquiring whether Ella was really the victim of Vikings who, in slaying him, were avenging their father.¹⁰⁶

Some of these questions raised by Steenstrup may be dealt with fairly summarily here. J. de Vries has argued convincingly that while it is not impossible that a Viking leader named Björn was involved in the Mediterranean expedition of c. 859, there is no good reason for supposing him to have been the son of a

¹⁰² The principal Arabic sources referred to by Steenstrup (1876), 94-96, are Ibn al-Qūtiya, Al-Bakrī and Ibn al-'Idari, whose accounts of Viking raids in the Mediterranean area have since been translated into Norwegian and discussed by Harris Birkeland in his *Nordens historie i middelalderen etter arabiske kilder* (1954), 44-47, 64-66, 106-11. Cf. also, however, the views of Arne Melvinger in his *Les premières incursions des Vikings en Occident d'après les sources arabes* (1955), esp. 128-77.

¹⁰³ See Steenstrup (1876), 96, and Jean Marx, ed., *Guillaume de Jumièges: Gesta Normannorum ducum* (1914), 5-6, 8-9, 16-17. Since William of Jumièges gives the name Lothbrocus, but no name corresponding to Ragnarr, Steenstrup is misrepresenting the situation in saying that "Björn Jernside, Regners Søn, nævnes af Vilhelm af Jumièges"

¹⁰⁴ See Olsen, 159-61.

¹⁰⁵ See note 22, above, and the reference given there to *The Chronicle of Æthelweard*. See also p. 119, below. In referring to events recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* I have accepted Dorothy Whitelock's word in her edition (with others) of *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, a Revised Translation* (1965), xxxii, that the date given in the left-hand margin of her translation "is the actual date of the events described, wherever it can be ascertained, so that the reader is relieved of the necessity of correcting chronological dislocations in the manuscripts", though, like Miss Whitelock, xxiv, I am aware of the fact that, from a present-day point of view, certain events are dated a year too late in the annals for the period now under discussion, see F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edition, (1971), p. 246, n. 3.

¹⁰⁶ See Steenstrup (1876), 97.

person called Ragnarr, or even of one called Loðbrók;¹⁰⁷ and that while Inwære and Ubba, the Viking leaders most probably present at the capture of York in 867, *may* have been sons of a person called Loðbrók, there is no reliable evidence for their having had a father called Ragnarr.¹⁰⁸ J. de Vries rather boldly assumes, in much the same way as he assumes that Ari Þorgilsson was the first person to combine together the two names Ragnarr and Loðbrók, that William of Jumièges was the first person to connect Björn with Loðbrók by making him the latter's son; and this assumption, bold as it is, serves the useful purpose of drawing attention to the lack of evidence for this connection from before the time of William.¹⁰⁹ The latter's *Bier costae ferreae*, *Lotbroci regis filius* may be traced back to the Berno mentioned in the Frankish annals between the years 855 and 858, who very possibly spent some time harrying with Healfdene, Ubba and Inwære before parting company with them in 858.¹¹⁰ There is no very certain evidence in English annalistic sources that Healfdene, Ubba and Inwære were brothers;¹¹¹ de Vries concludes from an examination of the available evidence that Inwære and Ubba belong together, and may just possibly have been sons of a person named Loðbrók, while Healfdene occupies a more independent position, and may conceivably, for reasons which will be discussed below, have been a son of Reginheri, the leader of the Seine expedition.¹¹² The *Chronicon fani Sancti Neoti*, in a passage of doubtful origin, names Hinguarus and Hubba as brothers of the daughters of Lodebrochus,¹¹³ and Adam of Bremen speaks of Inguar filius lodparchi.¹¹⁴ According to de Vries, either William of Jumièges or some monkish predecessor of his will have derived the name Lotbrocus from English or German sources, or both, and will have regarded Loðbrók—the father, according to Adam, of Inguar the cruellest of all the Viking leaders mentioned by him as being active in France—as an appropriate father for Björn.¹¹⁵ As far as the questions of Ragnarr's and Ella's deaths are concerned, it has already been noted that unless really convincing evidence is found to lead to a different conclusion, Reginheri must be assumed to have died in 845, shortly after the Seine expedition; and it is, in fact, most unlikely that he died anywhere in the British Isles, or that the slaying of Ella was motivated by vengeance. The

¹⁰⁷ See de Vries (1923), 253-56.

¹⁰⁸ See de Vries (1923), 257-63.

¹⁰⁹ See de Vries, *Arkiv f. nord. filol.* (1928), 130-34. J. de Vries allows for the possibility that some predecessor of William's may have been responsible for the connection.

¹¹⁰ See de Vries (1923), 256. It should be borne in mind, however, that the evidence for Viking leaders with the names Healfdene, Ubba and Inguar being active before the year 866 is based on the *Annales Lindisfarnenses*, the authenticity of which has been called in question. See note 22, above.

¹¹¹ See de Vries (1923), 271 and pp. 118 ff., below.

¹¹² See de Vries (1923), 262-67, 270-71, and pp. 115-16 below.

¹¹³ See William Henry Stevenson, ed., *Asser's Life of King Alfred together with the Annals of Saint Neot's erroneously ascribed to Asser*. New impression with article . . . by Dorothy Whitelock (1959), 138. See also 265-67. The story of the raven banner, which is here said to have been woven by the daughters of Lodebrochus, and to have fluttered before victory and drooped before defeat, has been thought to lend support to the etymology of the name Loðbrók suggested by Schiern, see note 14, above.

¹¹⁴ See Buchner (1961), 208.

¹¹⁵ See de Vries, *Arkiv f. nord. filol.* (1928), 132-33.

notion of Ragnarr's death in England, as de Vries shows, will have originated in the Viking colonies there as part of a gradual process of whitewashing the slaying of King Edmund by explaining the killing as an act of vengeance and by substituting the figure of Ella for that of Edmund;¹¹⁶ and the notion of the gruesome manner of Ella's death—the cutting of the blood-eagle on his back, a form of killing which seems to have been associated with vengeance for a slain father—may perhaps have been aided, according to de Vries, by a misunderstanding of a passage in Abbo of Fleury's *Passio Sancti Eadmundi*.¹¹⁷

Certain other objections to Steenstrup's arguments as to the details of this Irish account, however, and particularly those raised by Storm and de Vries, will need to be given rather lengthier consideration. Storm argued, first of all, that the name Ragnall was an Irish form of Ragnvald rather than of Ragnarr;¹¹⁸ this view of Storm's has since found the support of Marstrander.¹¹⁹ Nevertheless, the possibility that the two names Ragnvald and Ragnarr could easily become confused should not be overlooked; and de Vries, who was otherwise in general agreement with Storm on this subject, differed from him in allowing for this possibility.¹²⁰ Storm also pointed out, however, and with good reason, that the fragments edited by O'Donovan generally distinguish clearly between Norwegians and Danes; the Irish name "Lochlannaigh", which early became a comprehensive term referring to the "Northmen" or Scandinavians in general, seems in these fragments to refer to the Norwegians, while the Danes are called "Danair" (or "Daunites", p. 116, or "Aunites", p. 188).¹²¹ It would thus seem that Ragnall, son of King Albdan of Lochlann, was a Norwegian prince, and hardly identifiable, therefore, with the Reginheri of the Seine expedition, who in all probability was a Dane. Steenstrup's later attempts to counter Storm on this point were not convincing.¹²² J. de Vries was ready to admit that a

¹¹⁶ See de Vries, *Arkiv f. nord. filol.* (1928), 148-63.

¹¹⁷ See de Vries, *Arkiv f. nord. filol.* (1928), 161-62 and Arnold (1890), 15. The passage in question is as follows: Ille (i.e. the Danish lictor) seminecem, cui adhuc vitalis calor palpitabat in tepido pectore, ut vix posset subsistere, avellit cruento stipiti festinus avulsumque, relectis costarum latebris prae punctioibus crebris, ac si raptum eculeo aut sævis tortum unguis, jubet caput extendere. . . . The information that the hollows between the ribs were opened, and the possibility of the word *eculeus*, *equuleus*, meaning "a (horse-shaped) rack", being confused with the word *aquila*, meaning "an eagle", may well have assisted the notion of the blood-eagle in connection with Ella and the sons of Ragnarr loðbrók.

¹¹⁸ See Storm (1878), 67.

¹¹⁹ See Carl J. S. Marstrander, *Bidrag til det norske sprogs historie i Irland* (1915), 74. Marstrander in fact derives the name Ragnall from Ragnaldr, rather than from Rögnvaldr, but this supports rather than contradicts this particular part of Storm's argument.

¹²⁰ See de Vries (1923), 246. Storm does in fact allow for this possibility himself in a rather different context, see Storm (1878), 86, and is thus inconsistent on this point, as Steenstrup (1878), 381-82, points out.

¹²¹ See Storm (1878), 67-68.

¹²² See Steenstrup (1878), 380. Steenstrup admitted that in these fragments Norwegians and Danes were in general clearly distinguished, but claimed that in the passage now under discussion this was not the case, since in these fragments the homeland of the Vikings, whether Danish or Norwegian, is always called Lochlann, as in this passage (where Lochlann is the word translated by Dr Radner as Norway), and it is said there that the reason why the Danes attacked York was that they had been expelled from Lochlann, their own country. This seems to me to be a misrepresentation of the passage in question, which does not necessarily imply a direct causal relationship between the expulsion of Ragnall from Lochlann and the sack of York.

Norwegian prince *might* have commanded the Viking fleet which sailed to the Seine, and briefly considered the possibility that Sigurðr hringr, the father of Ragnarr loðbrók according to later Scandinavian tradition, was identifiable with a Sigurðr, king of Hringaríki, the historical prototype, possibly, of Snorri's Sigurðr hjörtr, who according to his *Hálfðanar saga svarta* (chapter V) ruled in Hringaríki in the early ninth century;¹²³ and there is evidence, as I have already hinted, that the Danish kings of the house of Godofridus I had dominions in Norway at that time.¹²⁴ It is quite true, too, that, in the later tradition, as Mawer says, "while Ragnarr loðbrók is represented as king in Denmark, he and his sons are very closely connected with Norway."¹²⁵ But there remains, as de Vries was careful to emphasize, the difficulty that Ragnall, in the account in the fragment, is said to be the son not of someone with a name corresponding to Sigurðr, but of someone named Albdan;¹²⁶ and Mawer's very tentative suggestion that this is a case of inverted genealogy has little firm evidence to support it.¹²⁷ J. de Vries also pointed out that this Irish account of Ragnall, son of Albdan, shows signs of legendary embellishment, in that Albdan and Ragnall are said to have three sons each, and there is a marked preoccupation with the eldest son of the one and with the youngest son of the other. These features appear to show the stylization characteristic of folktale,¹²⁸ and taken together with the story of Ragnall's son's dream would seem to indicate that the account as a whole is hardly the reliable or contemporary source that Steenstrup suggested it might be.¹²⁹ It is difficult, indeed, to escape the impression that we have here an example of what Peter Hunter Blair, in his discussion of the fragments in his article on Óláfr hvíti, calls "embellished annals", or even of what he calls "long passages which can only be described as saga".¹³⁰ In view of these various difficulties, it seems safest to follow the example of Storm and de Vries in separating Ragnarr and Ragnall altogether; and it may also be pointed out that, even if these two *had* been shown to be identical, and the son of a certain Albdan, it would still be necessary to examine Steenstrup's and Vogel's suggestion that Ragnarr~Ragnall was the brother of Herioldus II and Reginfridus¹³¹—since it is by no means certain, as I emphasized earlier, that these two brothers had a father named Halpdanus;¹³²

¹²³ See de Vries (1923), 246-47.

¹²⁴ See note 49, above, and the references there given.

¹²⁵ See Allen Mawer, "Ragnar Lothbrók and his Sons" in *Saga Book of the Viking Club*, VI (1909), 68-89, p. 75.

¹²⁶ See de Vries (1923), 247.

¹²⁷ See Mawer, 87, n. 2. The question of whether the Albann of the *Annals of Ulster* for 877 may be equated with a "Ragnall's son" mentioned in the *Cogadh Gædhel re Gallaihbh* will be discussed below, p. 115 ff.

¹²⁸ See de Vries (1923), 246, and Axel Olrik, *Nogle grundsætninger for sagnforskning* (1921) (Danmarks folkeminder, Nr. 23), p. 75, section 74.

¹²⁹ See Steenstrup (1876), 94, where he refers to O'Donovan, 177, as his authority for this suggestion.

¹³⁰ See Peter Hunter Blair, "Olaf the White and the Three Fragments of Irish Annals", in *Viking, Tidsskrift for norrøn arkeologi*, III (1939), 1-35, esp. 2-3.

¹³¹ See Steenstrup (1876), 115-18, and Vogel, 411-12.

¹³² See p. 105, above.

and even if it were definitely established that they did, there would still be the problem of identifying this Halpdanus with Albdan, the father of Ragnall. The difficulties seem insurmountable.

J. de Vries's arguments as to the parentage of Reginheri are in my opinion rather more convincing, though this does not mean that I accept them wholeheartedly, as I shall show presently. Before discussing them, however, I should like to draw attention, briefly, to a passage in the entry for the year 831 in the *Annals of Ulster* which has been brought into connection with a passage in Saxo's account of Regnerus Lothbrog in the ninth book of his *Gesta Danorum*.¹³³ In the *Annals of Ulster* we read that in the year 831 Conaille in County Louth was invaded by the heathens, who captured Mael Brigte, its king, and Canannán, his brother, and carried them to their ships.¹³⁴ The passage in Saxo says that, on his first expedition against Hella, Regnerus went to Ireland, slew its king, Melbrietus, besieged Dublin and received its surrender.¹³⁵ Because of the striking coincidence of the names Mael Brigte and Melbrietus, and because Saxo is thought to be quite independent of the Irish annals, it has been suggested that we have here an incident in the career of one of the historical figures who later came to be combined into the legendary Ragnarr loðbrók.¹³⁶ Whether or not this historical figure was Reginheri, the leader of the Seine expedition, however, is impossible to say for certain, partly because none of the Vikings responsible for the capture of Mael Brigte is named in the *Annals of Ulster*, and partly because there is evidence to suggest that at least two historical figures, Reginfridus and Reginheri, were used by Saxo as models for his Regnerus Lothbrog.¹³⁷ Since Reginfridus died in 814, however, according to the *Annales regni Francorum*,¹³⁸ it obviously cannot be he who was active in Ireland in 831, but we should not discount the possibility that Saxo is here attributing to Regnerus the activities of yet a third historical figure. This would be a more far-fetched conclusion, however, than that Reginheri was, historically, one of the people involved in the capturing of Mael Brigte, and it may be that this passage brings us as close as we shall ever get to being able to speak of Reginheri in the Irish annals.

Returning now to de Vries's arguments as to the parentage of Reginheri, we may note once more that he sets out to show that Reginheri's father was Godofridus I's *nepos* Sigifridus, who in 812 fell in battle against Anulo, who had opposed his claim to the throne. These events were outlined earlier.¹³⁹ J. de Vries takes as his starting point the statement in Chapter III of *Ragnars saga* that

¹³³ See Mawer, 88.

¹³⁴ See William M. Hennessy, ed. and trans., *Annals of Ulster*, Vol. I, A.D. 431-1056 (1887), 329. It should be noted that from 487 onwards (until 1012) these annals are dated one year too early, see Kathleen Hughes, *Early Christian Ireland: Introduction to the Sources* (1972) (The Sources of History), p. 101, n. 1. A new edition of the *Annals of Ulster*, with an English translation, is at present being prepared by Dr. Gearóid Mac Niocaill of University College, Galway.

¹³⁵ See Olrik and Raeder, 261.

¹³⁶ See note 133 above, and the reference there given.

¹³⁷ See P. Herrmann, *Erläuterungen zu den ersten neun Büchern der dänischen Geschichte des Saxo Grammaticus*, Teil II . . . (1922), 630-31.

¹³⁸ See Buchner (1974), 106.

¹³⁹ See p. 105, above.

Ragnarr's father, Sigurðr hringr, fought against and slew Haraldr hilditönn at the famous battle of Brávellir.¹⁴⁰ Since this is obviously an unhistorical statement if Ragnarr loðbrók is to be traced back to a historical person living in the middle of the ninth century,¹⁴¹ de Vries raises the question of whether there lies behind this statement a confused recollection of the battle of 812 in which both Sigifridus and Anulo were slain, and which resulted in Anulo's brothers, Herioldus II and Reginfridus, becoming kings in Denmark.¹⁴² His reasons for believing that this might be the case are as follows:¹⁴³ the name Anulo, which later developed the form Áli, was frequently written as Ring in the historical writings of medieval Denmark, through confusion with the Latin word *anulus*, meaning "a ring". Thus Sigifridus, who historically fought against Anulo, was often represented as having fought against Ring (Hringr). The name Sigifridus corresponds, as Storm points out, to Old Norse Sigfrœðr, a name which gradually fell together with the Norwegian Sigurd, which latter name corresponds to Danish Sivard.¹⁴⁴ Now since these two rival claimants to the throne, Sigifridus on the one hand, and Anulo, misnamed Ring, on the other, were contemporaries, their names were placed side by side in the Danish regnal lists, as C. A. E. Jessen has shown, and this led eventually to their being regarded as one and the same person, whose name became Siwardus Ring or Sigurðr hringr.¹⁴⁵ The memory of the battle between them lived on, however, and Sigifridus, now named Siwardus Ring, had to have an opponent in this battle. The historical opponent of Sigifridus had of course been Anulo, misnamed Ring, and Saxo, indeed, has the information that Regnerus's father, Siwardus Ring, fought against and slew his kinsman Ringo, who was master of Jutland.¹⁴⁶ Now since Anulo, misnamed Ring, was a brother, historically, of Herioldus II, who is famous in West Norse tradition as Klakk-Haraldr,¹⁴⁷ it is reasonable to suppose, says de Vries, that in the course of time the name of the more famous Herioldus (II) or Haraldr replaced that of his little-known brother Anulo. Thus Haraldr, rather than Anulo or Ring, became the opponent in battle of Sigurðr hringr, and it was a short step from this notion to the statement in chapter III of *Ragnars saga* about Sigurðr hringr fighting against Haraldr hilditönn at Brávellir.

¹⁴⁰ See Olsen, 117.

¹⁴¹ The battle of Brávellir, according to Turville-Petre, 57, has been dated as early as 550 and as late as 750. On this battle see, in the first place, Storm (1878), 200 ff; and, for further bibliographical information, the article "Bråvallakvadet" in *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder*, II (1957), cols. 295-97.

¹⁴² See de Vries (1923), 247, the reference given in note 140, above, and the passage in the *Annales regni Francorum* for 812 quoted in note 48, above.

¹⁴³ The account which follows partly summarizes and partly enlarges on the arguments of de Vries (1923), 247-49.

¹⁴⁴ See Storm (1878), 37, n. 2.

¹⁴⁵ See C. A. E. Jessen, *Undersøgelser til nordisk oldhistorie* (1862), 13-17.

¹⁴⁶ See Olrik and Raeder, 250-51.

¹⁴⁷ This was the view of Jón Jónsson in his *Vikingasaga* (1915), see the entry Haraldr (Klakk-) in his index, p. 375, and the references there given. For a list of places where Klakk-Haraldr is mentioned in West Norse tradition, see under his name in E. H. Lind, *Norsk-isländska personbinamn från medeltiden* (1920-21), col. 202.

It is against the background of these considerations that de Vries raises the question of whether Reginheri was the son of Sigifridus, the *nepos* of Godofridus I. The supposed sons of Reginheri, in de Vries's view, make their first recorded appearance in the *Annales Lindisfarnenses* for 855, by which time, presumably—since they are said to be commanding an army of Vikings—they are grown men.¹⁴⁸ The year of the eldest son's birth, then, can hardly have been much later than 835, and Reginheri himself will certainly not have been born later than 815. As Sigifridus died in 812, Reginheri, if he is the son of Sigifridus, may be regarded as a son born to Sigifridus in the last few years of his life. Now it was noted earlier that a nephew of Godofridus I, a certain Reginoldus, died in a battle against the Abotriti in 808, and that this Reginoldus is called in the *Chronicon Moissiacense* "the foremost in the kingdom next the king."¹⁴⁹ Storm conjectures that Reginoldus was an elder brother of Hemmingus, nephew of Godofridus I;¹⁵⁰ but de Vries suggests that he might just as easily have been an elder brother of Sigifridus, who, as was shown earlier, seems to have been next in line for the succession after the death of Hemmingus in the winter of 811-12.¹⁵¹ Evidence was also given earlier in support of the view, shared by Storm and de Vries, that in ninth-century Denmark there was a rule of succession whereby the eldest member of the entire royal family inherited the throne.¹⁵² If it is accepted that this was the case, and that it was because of his seniority in age that during the reign of Godofridus I Reginoldus was "the foremost in the kingdom next the king", then Reginoldus, the heir apparent until his death in 808, will have been followed as such by Hemmingus, who later succeeded Godofridus I as king in 810, leaving Sigifridus as heir apparent until the death of Hemmingus in 811-12. Sigifridus's own death followed soon after that of Hemmingus in 812.¹⁵³ J. de Vries refers at this stage to the ancient Germanic notion of a special relationship between uncle and nephew, and to the custom of passing on the name of a deceased person to the first child born to the family after that person's death. The transmission of the whole name appears to have developed out of the earlier systems of, on the one hand, variation (that is, in its simpler form, the transference to the descendant of one of the elements in the name of the father or mother, or of some other relative),¹⁵⁴ and on the other hand, alliteration, which "as a survival", according to G. T. Flom, "obtains clear down to the Viking Age."¹⁵⁵

¹⁴⁸ The wording of the annal in question at the appropriate point is: Paganorum exercitus, scilicet Dani et Frisones, ducibus Halfdene, Ubba et Inguar applicant in insula Scepeige, see Pertz (1866), 506. On the possible suspect nature of these annals, see note 22, above.

¹⁴⁹ See the references given above under note 55.

¹⁵⁰ See Storm (1878), 38.

¹⁵¹ See de Vries (1923), 249.

¹⁵² See p. 101, above.

¹⁵³ See de Vries (1923), 249.

¹⁵⁴ See Gustav Storm, "Vore Forfædres Tro paa Sjælevandring og deres Opkaldelses-system", in *Arkiv f. nord filol.* IX (1893), 199-222, esp. 203-05.

¹⁵⁵ See G. T. Flom, "Alliteration and Variation in Old Germanic Name-giving", in *Modern Language Notes*, XXXII (1917), 7-17, p. 11.

This would make it credible, de Vries argues, that Sigifridus named his last son, Reginheri or Ragnarr, after the Reginoldus or Ragnaldr who died shortly before this son's birth; and Reginheri will thus have been born between the years 808 and 812.

Reginheri, the son of this Sigifridus, will thus have been the first cousin, once removed, of Horicus I. If de Vries's account of the matter is correct, then Reginheri was younger than Horicus I and his brothers, but at the same time older than any sons that Horicus I may have had. Now since this Horicus appears to have been estranged from his brothers in the years around 845, it is likely that Reginheri at that time, like his uncle Reginoldus a generation earlier, was "the foremost in the kingdom next the king", and thus in a position to have the leadership of the Seine expedition entrusted to him.

These arguments are so intricate and ingenious that one might be tempted to think, on first reading them, that de Vries had created here what Ole Widding once called in another context "a card castle that will collapse if anyone sneezes."¹⁵⁶ It must be admitted, though, that they stand up reasonably well to critical examination. One might initially be rather suspicious at the fact that de Vries, who is constantly stressing the danger of being over-influenced by the later tradition in trying to determine the historicity of the Ragnarr-legend,¹⁵⁷ should take a statement from the thirteenth-century Icelandic *Ragnars saga* as a starting point for his argument; but his view that the Sigurðr hringr of *Ragnars saga* may be traced back to the historical Sigifridus, *nepos* of Godofridus I, is so very cogently argued that it is difficult indeed not to accept it. More questionable is de Vries's use of the date 855—the year in which, according to him, Healfdene, Ubba and Inwære make their first recorded appearance—for the purpose of determining the date of Reginheri's birth. At this stage of his argument, de Vries ought not to be assuming that these Vikings were the sons of Reginheri, or that the dates of their activities have any significance for determining the dates of Reginheri's lifetime; and he does, indeed, go on to argue that the evidence for these Vikings being his sons is very far from conclusive.¹⁵⁸ Furthermore, it has been suggested, since de Vries's time, that the so-called *Annales Lindisfarnenses* from which he gets the date 855 for the year in which these Vikings first appeared, were not a contemporary source, but a Durham compilation of the twelfth century.¹⁵⁹ Nevertheless, this part of his argument does find some slight support in the passage referred to earlier from the *Annals of Ulster* for the year 831; if Reginheri was in Ireland as a Viking in that year, which as we saw earlier he may have been, then it would be very reasonable to suppose that he was born *before* the year 812, the year in which Sigifridus died. It is, indeed, a little surprising that de Vries does not refer to that passage in this context. That Reginheri was born after the year 808 is made plausible by the

¹⁵⁶ See Ole Widding, "Dating *Rauðúlfs Þáttr*" in *Medieval Scandinavia*, I (1968), 115-21, pp. 115-16.

¹⁵⁷ See, for instance, the introductory remarks in de Vries (1923), 244.

¹⁵⁸ See de Vries (1923), esp. 257-67.

¹⁵⁹ See note 22, above.

ingenious suggestion that Reginoldus, who died in that year, was the uncle of Reginheri, and that we have here an example of the name of the deceased uncle being passed on, in part, to the nephew. While it may seem a rather bold assumption that Reginoldus was the brother of Sigifridus, it is perfectly possible that this was the case, since Sigifridus is called a *nepos* of Godofridus, and the word *nepos* can be shown to have the meaning of "fraternal nephew" in several cases in the Frankish annals. Reginoldus himself, as we have seen, is referred to on one occasion as a *nepos* of Godofridus (in the *Chronicon Moissiacense* for 808),¹⁶⁰ and on another as his brother's son (ARF 808).¹⁶¹ Finally, while there may not be very much specific evidence for Horicus I being on bad terms with his brothers in 845, Rimbert is clear that in 849, at any rate, he was absolute monarch in the kingdom of the Danes,¹⁶² and in the *Annales Bertiniani* for 850 we read of him dividing up the kingdom because of the hostilities towards him of two of his *nepotes*,¹⁶³ as was mentioned earlier. The inference that Horicus I's relations with his brothers were not of the friendliest in the years around 845 seems quite justifiable.

Thus de Vries's arguments seem to hold good on most of the points on which he might conceivably be criticized. What, then, it may well be asked, have I to offer that de Vries has not? Before answering this question—and the answer will not, I fear, be a particularly exciting or positive one—I should like to look briefly at de Vries's very tentative suggestion that the brothers Halbdeni and Sigifridus mentioned as being kings in Denmark in the *Annales Fuldenses* for 873 were sons of Reginheri, the leader of the Seine expedition. This is based on three main considerations: one, that the year 873 fits well with the years in which Healfdene of Northumbria is absent from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*; two, that there is reason to regard this Healfdene as identical with an Albann, king of the dark heathens, whose death near Strangford Lough is recorded in the *Annals of Ulster* for 877; and three, that the *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh* appears to speak of this Albann as the son of Ragnall.¹⁶⁴ The *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh* has the following account: ". . . Ragnall's son and the foreigners were slaughtered by Aedh, son of Niall, at the banquet that was made for Ragnall's son of Ath Cliath. A battle was fought between themselves, viz., between the Fair Gentiles and the Black Gentiles, that is to say, between Barith and Ragnall's son, in which fell Ragnall's son and many with him".¹⁶⁵ The chief reason for the very tentative way in which de Vries puts forward his suggestion is that he regards the first of these two sentences as referring to the events recorded in the *Annals of Ulster* for the year 874, when Healfdene of Northumbria, as is fairly clear from the

¹⁶⁰ See p. 101, above, and the references given in note 55.

¹⁶¹ See p. 101, above, and the reference given in note 54.

¹⁶² See p. 102, above, and the reference given in note 66.

¹⁶³ See p. 102, above, and the reference given in note 67.

¹⁶⁴ See de Vries (1923), 263-67. I have not listed de Vries's arguments in quite the same order as that in which he presents them.

¹⁶⁵ See James Henthorn Todd, ed. and trans., *The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill* (1867), 27.

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, cannot have been in Ireland.¹⁶⁶ On these events, the *Annals of Ulster* have the following information, quoted here in the recent, as yet unpublished translation of Dr. Gearóid Mac Niocaill:¹⁶⁷ "Aed son of Niall led an army to Laigin and they profaned Cell Ausili, and other churches were burned with their oratories". These events are so very different, however, from those recounted in the *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh* that they hardly seem to form a serious obstacle to de Vries's suggestion: the name of Aed, son of Niall, is virtually all the two accounts have in common. J. de Vries himself admits that there is a marked difference in content between these two accounts; and Professor Byrne, whose help in this connection I very gratefully acknowledge, assures me that there is absolutely no reason to equate Aed's aggressive behaviour at the banquet in the *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh* with his expedition to Laigin in the *Annals of Ulster*. It would seem that de Vries is making things unnecessarily difficult for himself here. This means, then, that provided his arguments are otherwise correct,¹⁶⁸ we still have open to us the possibility that the Albann who according to the *Annals of Ulster* was killed near Strangford Lough in 877 is identical with Healfdene of Northumbria and with the Halbdeni, brother of Sigifridus, mentioned in the *Annales Fuldenses* for 873. Since there is reason to suppose, as we have seen, that this Albann's father was named Ragnall, it may be argued that the brothers Halbdeni and Sigifridus were sons of Reginheri, the leader of the Seine expedition. This argument is by no means water-tight, however, not least because of the confused nature of the account of Ragnall's son's death in the *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh*, which corresponds only in part to the information given in the entry for 877 in the *Annals of Ulster*, the relevant part of which may now be quoted, in Dr. Mac Niocaill's translation: "A skirmish at Loch Cuan, between the fair heathens and the dark heathens, in which Albann, king of the dark heathens, fell."¹⁶⁹

Thus de Vries argues, on the one hand, that Reginheri was a member of the house of Godofridus I, and on the other that the brothers Halbdeni and Sigifridus were sons of this Reginheri. Now there is, unfortunately, a complication here. It was noted earlier that de Vries rightly attaches considerable importance to the statement about the death of Reginheri in the *Annales Xantenses* for the year 845; his attitude seems to be that the statement in question

¹⁶⁶ See Earle and Plummer I, 70-75, Whitelock (1965), 46-48, and de Vries (1923), 263. It seems clear that Healfdene was in England continuously between and during the years 871 and 876. J. de Vries (1923), 265, also argues that the sentence Oistin mac Amlaith regis Nordmannorum ab Alband per dolum occisus est, in the *Annals of Ulster* for 875, refers to the slaying of Þorsteinn, son of Óláfr hvíti, not by a person named Alband, but by the Scots, since the word Alband has here arisen through confusion with the word Alba (= Scotland). If this argument is accepted, then it goes some way towards removing the difficulty of Healfdene seeming to have been active in Irish waters in 875—when, according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, he was active in England.

¹⁶⁷ I am most grateful to Dr. Mac Niocaill for making available to me, for quotation in this paper, the relevant parts of his new translation of the *Annals of Ulster*. See also Hennessy, 388-89.

¹⁶⁸ See the discussion under note 166, above.

¹⁶⁹ See note 167, above, and Hennessy, 390-91.

may be somewhat embellished or exaggerated, but is the evidence of a contemporary, and should be accepted unless it is contradicted by other, more convincing evidence.¹⁷⁰ The very same thing could be said, however, and indeed was said earlier in this paper, about Rudolf of Fulda's statement that in the battle of 854 all members of the royal family, except one boy, were slain. J. de Vries unfortunately leaves this statement out of consideration. It was pointed out earlier that this statement, while it is more specific than those of other contemporary sources, does not contradict them; and that, provided we accept Storm's arguments that the royal family in question was the house of Godofridus I, we should have to find pretty conclusive evidence for members of this family other than Horicus II and his progeny surviving beyond the year 854, if we were to abandon Rudolf of Fulda's testimony.¹⁷¹ Can de Vries be said to have found such evidence in Irish sources? While his arguments from these sources, as I suggested earlier, are perhaps rather more persuasive than he himself realized,¹⁷² it does not seem to me that the Irish evidence is strong enough to stand up against Rudolf of Fulda's testimony, which de Vries ignores. If Halbdeni and Sigifridus were sons of Reginheri, then Reginheri cannot have been a member of the house of Godofridus I. If Reginheri was of the house of Godofridus I, then Halbdeni and Sigifridus cannot have been his sons. It is difficult for de Vries to have it both ways.

Before summarizing and concluding this paper, I should like to return briefly to the point of disagreement between Mrs. Chadwick and Professor Byrne to which I referred in my opening paragraph. Professor Byrne's acceptance of the identification of Imhar of Dublin with a person who later came to be regarded as Ívarr beinlauss, son of Ragnarr loðbrók, is based on four considerations: first, the fact that Inwære is mentioned in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* only in those years when Imhar is absent from the Irish annals;¹⁷³ secondly, the wording of Imhar's obit in the *Annals of Ulster* for 873 (Imhar rex Nordmannorum totius Hiberniae et Britanniae vitam finivit);¹⁷⁴ thirdly, the appearance of Albann

¹⁷⁰ See pp. 96-97 above.

¹⁷¹ See pp. 101-103 above.

¹⁷² See pp. 115-16, above.

¹⁷³ This, on its own, is hardly a strong argument, since Inwære, Ingware is mentioned by name only twice in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*—once in the F-version for 870, see Earle and Plummer I, 70-71, n. 6, as one of the leaders of the Danes who slew king Edmund, and once in all versions of the Chronicle for 878, where there is a reference to "the brother of Inwære and of Healfdene", see Earle and Plummer I, 74-75. The first instance is quite possibly of small historical value, cf. Stenton, 246, n. 2; and the second instance is relatively unimportant, since here it is not Inwære himself, but his unnamed brother, with whom the annalist is primarily concerned. Imhar is mentioned in the *Annals of Ulster* for 870—where we read of him besieging Dumbarton with Amhlaiph—but not for 869, which is the actual date of the slaying of king Edmund. See Hennessy, 380-83, and Stenton, 246, nn. 2 and 3. It may also be pointed out that there is no mention of Imhar in the *Annals of Ulster* for 865-66, while Æthelweard names as Iguuar the leader of the great heathen army which arrived in East Anglia in 866, correct date 865. See Campbell, 35, and Stenton 246, n. 3.

¹⁷⁴ See Hennessy, 386. According to Æthelweard, Iguuar died in 870. See Campbell, 36.

subsequently in Ireland;¹⁷⁵ and fourthly, the struggle of Imhar's Dublin descendants for the control of York in the tenth century.¹⁷⁶ Professor Byrne's arguments imply, among other things, that in his view Inwære and Healfdene were brothers, and the sons of a person who later came to be regarded as Ragnarr loðbrók. It has just been shown that there is a case, though hardly a strong one, for regarding the Albann of the *Annals of Ulster* as the son of a certain Ragnall; and a reasonably strong case—aided, incidentally, by the fact that each of the three Vikings in question is referred to as a king in each of the three sources—that this Albann is identical with the Healfdene who according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* conquered Northumbria in the years 875-6, and with Halbdeni, the brother of the Danish king Sigifridus mentioned in the *Annales Fuldenses* for 873.¹⁷⁷ It remains, then, to examine the question of whether Inwære and Healfdene (and for that matter Ubba) may be regarded as brothers. It should first be mentioned, though, that in his article on the historical background to the Ragnarr-legend—an article which neither Mrs. Chadwick nor Professor Byrne takes into account—de Vries argues emphatically *against* the identification of Imhar of Dublin with the Inwære of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, for two principal reasons: first, that in the “*Annales Inisfalenses*” a distinction is made between Anlafus and Imarus on the one hand, and Hingarus and Hubba, leaders of the “*Danes of Britain*” on the other; and secondly, that in the fragments edited by O'Donovan, Imhar is said to be one of the three sons of the king of Lochlann (the other two being Amhlaeibh and Oisli), and thus a Norwegian rather than a Dane.¹⁷⁸ To this Professor Byrne would doubtless reply that de Vries's information is here drawn, as far as the first point is concerned, not from the authentic and largely contemporary *Annals of Inisfallen*,¹⁷⁹ but from the so-called “*Dublin Annals of Inisfallen*”, which were compiled from various sources in 1765;¹⁸⁰ and, as far as the second point is concerned, from the fragments edited by O'Donovan, which as Peter Hunter Blair has shown,¹⁸¹ and as was hinted earlier in this paper,¹⁸² can by no means always be regarded as a reliable or

¹⁷⁵ By this Professor Byrne presumably means the reference in the *Annals of Ulster* for 877 to Albann, king of the dark heathens, who was slain near Strangford Lough. It is not specifically stated in the *Annals of Ulster* for 875 that the slaying of Oistin by Alband took place in Ireland, even if it is accepted that the word Alband here refers to a person, rather than to the men of Alba, cf. note 166, above.

¹⁷⁶ It is clear that Professor Byrne accepts here, in broad outline at least, the views of Kendrick, 250 ff. and 283 ff. Kendrick's book, as Donncha Ó Corráin hints in his recent *Ireland before the Normans* (1972) (The Gill History of Ireland, 2), p. 199, is still the best general narrative in English of the activities of the Vikings.

¹⁷⁷ See pp. 115-16, above.

¹⁷⁸ See de Vries (1923), 258-60.

¹⁷⁹ See Seán Mac Airt, ed. and trans., *The Annals of Inisfallen* (Ms. Rawlinson B. 503) (1951).

¹⁸⁰ J. de Vries's authority for his argument, Storm (1878), 70, n. 1, reveals that the “*Annales Inisfalenses*” to which both he and Storm refer are not the ones contained in the Bodleian manuscript volume Rawlinson B. 503. On the so-called “*Dublin Annals of Inisfallen*” contained in T.C.D. MS. H. 1. 7, see Mac Airt, vii, and the reference given there, n. 5, to an article (in Irish) entitled “*The Dublin Annals of Inisfallen*” (in Séamus Pender, ed., *Féilscribhinn Torna*, 1947).

¹⁸¹ See the article by Hunter Blair referred to under note 130, above.

¹⁸² See p. 110, above.

contemporary source. No distinction between Imhar of Dublin and another Viking of a corresponding name active in England is made or implied in the authentic *Annals of Inisfallen*;¹⁸³ nor is it stated in the *Annals of Ulster* that "Amhlaim, and Imhar, and Auisle" were brothers. It is true that three "Kings of the Foreigners" with these names are referred to in the *Annals of Ulster* for 863, and that these same annals record that in 867 Auisle, the third King of the Foreigners, was slain by his brothers.¹⁸⁴ The brothers are not named, however, and as Peter Hunter Blair says, "It is greatly to be doubted that these three vikings were in fact brothers. Such a relationship might easily have been given by an Irish annalist to chieftains of the same race who were closely associated with each other in Ireland, and the word 'fratres' in the annals of Ulster 866 could just as well be translated as 'brethren', meaning to imply no more than an affinity of race."¹⁸⁵ Considerations of this kind, while they may leave open to us the possibility that the Imhar of the Irish annals is identical with the Inwære, Ingware of the English annals,¹⁸⁶ should nevertheless also be rigorously applied to any apparent evidence in these latter annals that Healfdene, Ubba and Inwære were brothers. Apart from the reference to these three Vikings in the possibly suspect *Annales Lindisfarnenses* for 855,¹⁸⁷ Iguuar is named in the *Chronicon Æthelwardi* as the leader of the Vikings who arrived in East Anglia in 866 and took York the following year;¹⁸⁸ the F version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* names Ingware and Ubba as leaders of the Vikings responsible for the slaying of King Edmund in 870;¹⁸⁹ and Healfdene is mentioned in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* between the years 871 and 878—in the annal for 871 he is named as a heathen king in the Danish army at the battle of Ashdown, and in the annals for 875-6 he is the only one of the Viking conquerors of Northumbria to be mentioned by name.¹⁹⁰ In the annal for 878 in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* there is a curious reference to "the brother of Inwære and of Healfdene" ("Inwæres broþor ond Healfdenes"), an unnamed brother who was killed with a large number of his men in the kingdom of the West Saxons (in Devon).¹⁹¹ J. de Vries suggests, not unreasonably, that this unnamed brother may have been Ubba,¹⁹² but, while not excluding the possibility that Inwære and Ubba were

¹⁸³ The relevant year is 870; see Mac Airt, 134-35.

¹⁸⁴ See Hennessy, 372-73, 376-77.

¹⁸⁵ See Hunter Blair, 6.

¹⁸⁶ By "English annals" are meant here, in order of importance, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the *Chronicon Æthelwardi*, and the so-called *Annales Lindisfarnenses*.

¹⁸⁷ See note 148, above.

¹⁸⁸ See Campbell, 35.

¹⁸⁹ See Earle and Plummer, I, 70-71, n. 6. The F-version's information on this point is too late, however, to have independent authority. See Stenton, 246, n. 2.

¹⁹⁰ See Earle and Plummer, I, 70-77.

¹⁹¹ See Earle and Plummer, I, 74-75. It is here, too, that the capture of the banner called "Raven" is briefly mentioned, though not in the legendary and embellished manner of the *Chronicon fani Sancti Neoti*, see Whitelock (1965), 49, n. 10, and note 113, above.

¹⁹² See de Vries (1923), 261. This suggestion has the twelfth-century authority of Gaimar, as Whitelock (1965), 49, n. 5, points out. For a discussion of the evidence for Hubba being associated with Inguar in connection with the slaying of king Edmund, see Dorothy Whitelock, ed., *English Historical Documents c. 500-1042* (1955) (English Historical Documents, Vol. I), p. 31.

brothers,¹⁹³ is reluctant to regard Healfdene as the brother of these two—partly because “Führer, die in längerer Zeit zusammen auftreten, werden gerne als Brüder betrachtet, oder jedenfalls als nahe Verwandte”; partly because the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is here “sehr unklar in ihrer Mitteilung”; and partly because Inwære and Ubba are not referred to as kings, as Healfdene is in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for 871.¹⁹⁴ In the *Chronicon Æthelweardi*—a work which, according to Dorothy Whitelock, “has authentic details of its own, especially in relation to south-western affairs”,¹⁹⁵ we find, in the passage corresponding to the one just quoted from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, not “the brother of Inwære and of Healfdene” but “Healfdene, Iguares tyranni frater”; this Healfdene, according to Æthelweard, arrived in Devon in 878 and was killed there with 800 of his men.¹⁹⁶ While Æthelweard’s designation of Healfdene as the brother of the tyrant Iguar might strengthen the view that he was a brother of Inwære and possibly, therefore, of Ubba, the information that this Healfdene was alive until 878 would invalidate the view that he was identical with the Albann of the Irish sources who arguably was a son of Ragnall, since this Albann, according to the *Annals of Ulster*, died in 877. On the other hand, there would be nothing in the way of continuing to regard this Albann, whom the *Annals of Ulster* call “king of the dark heathens”¹⁹⁷ as identical with Halbdeni, the royal brother of King Sigifridus, mentioned in the *Annales Fuldenses* for 873, or, alternatively, continuing to regard Healfdene, whom Æthelweard calls “barbarum rex”,¹⁹⁸ as identical with this Halbdeni. So uncertain, then, is the evidence that Inwære, Healfdene and Ubba were brothers and the sons of someone with a name corresponding to Ragnarr, that it is hardly worth attempting to bring the two names “Ragnarr” and “Loðbrók” together by examining de Vries’s suggestion that, because of the Frisian connections of these three Vikings hinted at in the so-called *Annales Lindisfarnenses* and apparently confirmed in the case of Ubba in the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*,¹⁹⁹ it is possible that Adam of Bremen, a German historiographer, based his information that Inguar was a son of Lodparchus on a reliable tradition.²⁰⁰

¹⁹³ See de Vries (1923), 262-63.

¹⁹⁴ See de Vries (1923), 271.

¹⁹⁵ See Whitelock (1965), xviii.

¹⁹⁶ See Campbell, 42-43. It should be noted that Campbell, p. 43, mistranslates the Latin phrase “Healfdene, Iguares tyranni frater” as “the brother of Healfdene and of the tyrant Inwær”—no doubt under the influence of the wording of the annal for 878 in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

¹⁹⁷ See Hennessy, 390-91.

¹⁹⁸ See Campbell, 43.

¹⁹⁹ See note 148, above, and the reference to the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* given under note 86, above, where Ubba is called “dux Fresciorum” and “dux Fresonum”. J. de Vries (1923), 270-71, very tentatively suggests that Ubba was identical with a certain Hebbi, mentioned in the *Annales regni Francorum* for 811, see Buchner (1974), 98, and that since this person was clearly a man of importance at the Danish court, he may have been a member of the house of Godofridus I.

²⁰⁰ See de Vries (1923), 261-63.

In summary and conclusion: de Vries has argued persuasively that Reginheri, the leader of the Seine expedition, was a member of the royal house of Godofridus I and a first cousin, once removed, of the Danish King Horicus I. He accepts the evidence of the *Annales Xantenses* that this Reginheri died in 845, shortly after the expedition to the Seine. He also suggests that Halbdeni, who, like his brother Sigifridus, is named as a king in Denmark in the *Annales Fuldenses* for 873, is identical with Healfdene of Northumbria and with an Albann who, according to the *Annals of Ulster*, died in Ireland in 877. Since there is some evidence for this Albann being a son of Ragnall, de Vries draws the very tentative conclusion that Halbdeni~Healfdene~Albann was a son of Reginheri. Here de Vries is inconsistent, insofar as he disregards the evidence of the *Annales Fuldenses* for 854 that in a battle in that year all members of the house of Godofridus I, with the exception of one boy, were slain. This boy was almost certainly Horicus II. This evidence, if it is accepted, means that Viking leaders known to have been active after the year 854 cannot be regarded as members of the house of Godofridus I, unless they were clearly descended from this Horicus. The evidence of the *Annales Fuldenses* in relation to the battle of 854 resembles that of the *Annales Xantenses* in relation to the death of Reginheri in 845; while it may not be entirely free from embellishment or exaggeration, it is the evidence of a contemporary, and is not contradicted in other contemporary sources; it should be accepted unless really convincing evidence is found to contradict it. It cannot be said that such evidence has been found in Irish or other sources. Furthermore, while it is possible to make out a case, as de Vries has done, that the Albann who died in 877 was the son of a certain Ragnall, and identical with Healfdene of Northumbria and with the Danish King Halbdeni, it cannot confidently be said that this person was a brother of Inwære and Ubba, who later came to be regarded as sons of Ragnarr loðbrók; indeed, a confident acceptance of the view that Healfdene was the brother of Inwære (Iguuar), which might perhaps be based on the *Chronicon Æthelweardi* for 878, would seem to involve a rejection of the identification of Healfdene with Albann, who arguably was a son of Ragnall. There is no early evidence for Inwære and Ubba being brothers apart from an obscure phrase in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for 878, quoted above, and the fact that they are found together as partners in the late tenth-century *Passio Sancti Eadmundi* by Abbo of Fleury.²⁰¹ It is just possible that Inwære was the son of a person named Loðbrók, since Adam of Bremen speaks of Iguuar filius lodparchi. We are left, then, with various alternative conclusions, which I list here, in order of likelihood, under five headings:

(1) We must conclude that Reginheri, the leader of the Seine expedition, who may have been active in Ireland in 831 and who died in 845, was a member of the house of Godofridus I, and that his sons, if he had any, were wiped out in the battle of 854; and that while there is some evidence for the Viking leaders Halbdeni, Sigifridus, Inwære and Ubba being brothers, absolutely nothing is

²⁰¹ See the reference to Arnold (1890) given in note 86, above, and the reference to Whitelock (1955) given in note 192, above.

known about their parentage except, perhaps, for the names Lodparchus (in the case of Inwære) and Ragnall (in the case of Halbdeni). These names could point to either one quite unknown person or two, and it seems in fact safer to assume that they point to two, since while it is clear that Halbdeni and Sigifridus were brothers, it is not certain that Inwære and Ubba were brothers of Halbdeni and Sigifridus (or indeed of each other).

(2) Assuming that de Vries is right in claiming that Halbdeni = Healfdene = Albann = Ragnall's son and that the evidence for this man being a brother of Inwære and Ubba is unreliable, we must conclude that Halbdeni and Sigifridus were sons of Reginheri, about whom, however, nothing is known apart from his name, the possibility that he was active in Ireland in 831, his leadership of the Seine expedition, his death in 845, and his association—which could not have involved ties of blood—with Horicus I; and that Inwære and possibly Ubba were sons of a person called Loðbrók (> Lodparchus), about whom nothing is known apart from his (or her) name.

(3) Assuming that the relevant part of the *Chronicon Æthelweardi* for 878 is right and that the corresponding part of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for that year is wrong, we are left, as was pointed out above,²⁰² with two alternative assumptions: *either* that Albann was identical with the Danish king Halbdeni, brother of Sigifridus, *or* that Healfdene was identical with this Halbdeni. So, (a) if we choose the former alternative, then we must conclude that Halbdeni and Sigifridus were sons of Reginheri, about whom nothing is known apart from his name, his possible presence in Ireland in 831, his association with Horicus, his leadership of the Seine expedition, and his death in 845; and that Inwære and his brother Healfdene (who was *not* identical with Halbdeni), and possibly Ubba, were sons of a person called Loðbrók, about whom nothing is known apart from his or her name. (b) If we choose the latter alternative, then we must conclude that Halbdeni (who was *not* identical with Albann), Sigifridus, Inwære, and possibly Ubba, were sons of a person called Loðbrók, about whom nothing is known apart from his or her name; and that there is no evidence for these brothers having had a father with a name corresponding to Ragnarr. Since each of these two alternative conclusions seems to me as likely as the other, I have listed them here under a single heading.

(4) Assuming that the relevant part of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for 878 is right, and the corresponding part of the *Chronicon Æthelweardi* for that year wrong, and that Albann was identical with Halbdeni and with Healfdene, and was thus a brother of Sigifridus and of Inwære (and possibly of Ubba), we must conclude that these three (or four) were all sons of a person or persons with the names Ragnarr and Loðbrók. Nothing is known about their parentage apart from these two names, and Ragnarr's possible presence in Ireland in 831, his association with Horicus I, his leadership of the Seine expedition, and his death in 845.

²⁰² See pp. 119-20 above.

(5) We must make the same assumptions as under (4) above, with the following additional assumptions: (a) that the unnamed "brother of Inwære and of Healfdene" in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for 878 was Ubba; (b) that Ragnarr and Loðbrók were the same person; and (c) that Rudolf of Fulda was wrong in saying that all members of the house of Godofridus I, with the exception of one boy, were slain in the battle of 854. Then, and only then, are we entitled to conclude that Albann~Healfdene~Halbdeni, Sigifridus, Inwære and Ubba were sons of a historical Ragnarr loðbrók, who was a member of the house of Godofridus I.²⁰³

²⁰³ Since this paper went to press, three studies which are to a greater or lesser degree relevant to certain matters discussed here have come to my attention. These are: Jón Helgason, "Átlaug på Spangereid", in *Nordiske Studier*, the *Festschrift* volume for Christian Westergård-Nielsen, published in November 1975; Niels Lukman, "Ragnarr loðbrók, Sigifrid, and the Saints of Flanders", forthcoming in *Medieval Scandinavia*, and A. P. Smyth, *Scandinavian Kings in the British Isles 850-880*, shortly to be published by the Oxford University Press.

Scandinavian place-names in Ireland

By MAGNE OFTEDAL

Over a hundred years ago P. W. Joyce wrote: 'When we consider how prominently the Danes [Joyce's term for Scandinavians] figure in our history, it appears a matter of some surprise that they have left so few traces of their presence. We possess very few structures that can be proved to be Danish; and that sure mark of conquest, the change of local names, has occurred only in a very few instances: for there are little more than a dozen places in Ireland bearing Danish names at the present day, and these are nearly all on or near the east coast' (Joyce 1869, p. 105).

This statement is no doubt exaggerated, but it is essentially true: the number of Scandinavian place-names in Irish territory is surprisingly small, especially when we contrast the inventory of such names in Ireland with the huge number of Scottish place-names of Scandinavian origin. In the Scottish Gaidhealtachd there are literally thousands of them. This difference in the number of borrowed names reflects a difference in social conditions. While the Hebrides and parts of the Scottish mainland were colonized by farmer-fishermen, the Scandinavian settlers in Ireland were merchants who founded towns and were occupied with commercial navigation, and who never settled far from the coast. In spite of mixed marriages and other forms of social ties, the townspeople in Ireland remained an ethnic group apart until, after their final defeat in 1171, they gradually lost their Scandinavian marks of identity. The farming and fishing Scandinavians in Scotland may, for a time, have been a ruling class with few connexions with the Gaels, but as Gaels and Scandinavians shared the occupations of farming and fishing, the fusion between the two peoples must have begun much earlier than in Ireland and been more complete in the end. To this may be added the fact that the Scandinavians of Scotland arrived on the scene earlier than those of Ireland and retained their supremacy longer. With their supremacy they may also have retained their language longer, probably for a long time even after the Treaty of Perth (1266), when they lost their political power in the Scottish Gaidhealtachd.

The paucity of Scandinavian place-names in Ireland is well in accordance with the fact that the overall Scandinavian influence on other parts of the Irish language is surprisingly small. A comparison between Irish and Scottish Gaelic shows that the latter not only has more Scandinavian loanwords but is also strongly influenced by the Scandinavian sound system (e.g., Borgstrøm 1974), while Irish phonetics are hardly influenced by Scandinavian at all.

So far I have used the term 'Scandinavian' in a rather loose sense. It is now time to specify what I mean by 'Scandinavian' in this particular context. We know that there were Danes as well as Norwegians among the invaders of Ireland. We read, for instance, in the Annals of Ulster at the year 850, that the 'Black Gentiles' came to Dublin, made a great slaughter of the 'White Foreigners' and plundered their fortress. From the context it seems fairly clear

that the 'Black Gentiles' were Danish and the 'White Foreigners' Norwegian, but in most cases this distinction is less clear, and usually no distinction is made at all in Irish historical documents, Danes and Norwegians being referred to more or less indifferently as *Gaill* 'foreigners, strangers', *genti* 'gentiles', *Danair* 'Danes' or *Danmarcaigh* 'Danmarkians', while the name *Lochlann* is applied almost indiscriminately to Denmark and Norway, exceptionally even to Germany. Thus, historical sources give us no reliable clue to the original habitat of the Scandinavian occupants. But where political history fails, linguistic history may enlighten us a little. Marstrander (1915 pp. 128 ff.) assumes that they were essentially Norwegians. He bases his view on the following reasoning, which I render in a condensed form: the difference between Danish and Norwegian had begun to manifest itself by the beginning of the Viking Age and grew during the ensuing two or three centuries, but it was still small, only a difference between dialects. In the majority of Scandinavian loanwords in Irish (including names) there is nothing to tell us whether the loans are of Danish or Norwegian origin. But in a certain number of loans—Marstrander enumerates about forty—there are features either of vocabulary or of phonetic development which could only be Norwegian and more specifically south-west Norwegian, while there are no features that point unambiguously to Denmark.

I subscribe to this view. In my opinion the majority of Scandinavian place-names in Ireland are Norwegian, hence I shall call them Norse (i.e. West Scandinavian) in the following. I do not contend *a priori* that all these names are Norwegian; one must keep one's mind open to the possibility that some names were originally given by speakers of Danish, but among the names I have examined there are none that show any particularly Danish features.

Borrowed place-names are a sub-class of loanwords. In our case we know that the loan-givers were Norse, but we have not yet dealt with the question of who the borrowers were. Even a superficial examination of the material shows that in the majority of cases they were not speakers of Irish but speakers of English. The majority of localities with a Norse name are denoted by this name only in English speech, while speakers of Irish use entirely different names for the same localities. The peninsula *Howth* on the outskirts of Dublin is called *Beann Éadair* in Irish, *Dursey* Island in County Cork has the Irish name *Baói*, and *Smerwick*, in West Kerry, is called *Ard na Caithne* in the local Irish dialect. This phenomenon is so widespread that Norse place-names in Irish speech are practically non-existent. Among the few exceptions we find the island or rock name *Sceillig*, in English *The Skelligs*. But this name may not be Norse at all, see further on.

A corollary of this is that all or nearly all the Norse place-names are relatively recent in the speech of Irishmen. As English was not spoken in Ireland before the Anglo-Norman invasions, from 1169 on, the borrowing from Norse into English must have taken place after that date, mostly considerably later, when speakers of English began to settle permanently in Ireland. The only Norse place-names that may have been borrowed earlier are those that were adopted in Irish speech, and as I have just pointed out, these are extremely few.

Theoretically a Norse name could be borrowed into Irish at an early stage and subsequently be borrowed into English from Irish. This is what would, at first sight, appear to have happened with such names as *Ballyfermot*, formerly spelled *-thermote*, *-turmot*, *-thormod*, probably reflecting an ON man's name *Þormundr* (hardly *Þormóðr* as the spelling might lead one to think), *Ballygunner*, which certainly contains the ON man's name *Gunnarr*, and *Ballytruckle*, which is very likely a compound with the man's name *Þorkell*. These place-names, however, are not Norse names. Although they each contain a Norse constituent they are entirely Irish in structure and must have arisen among speakers of Irish who had previously borrowed the Norse personal names in question. On this point I disagree with Sommerfelt (1952 p. 229) who equates *Ballygunner* with the Lincolnshire place-name *Gunnersby*. It can be inferred from the context that Sommerfelt believed *Ballygunner* to be an Irish translation of an already existing Norse name *Gunnarsbør* or *-býr*, but I do not think that such an assumption is permissible. As a parallel I may mention the Scottish Gaelic name *Sgeir nan Sgarbh* 'skerry of the cormorants' which, according to Sommerfelt, is a translation of an ON name *Skarfasker*. In my opinion this is not so: *sgarbh* 'cormorant' and *sgeir* 'skerry' are common appellatives in Scottish Gaelic to-day and were borrowed from Norse perhaps a thousand years ago. *Sgeir nan Sgarbh* is thus not a borrowed place-name but a Gaelic one, although both its lexical constituents were originally borrowed from Norse. The *Bally-* names are very similar in structure; they consist of two components which were both Irish by the time the names came into being, although one component had been borrowed from Norse at some earlier date. It may be added that the *baile* names in Ireland are all relatively young, even those which contain no Norse component. According to an article by Price (1963), no *baile* name can be shown to have existed before about 1150.

Although the place-names consisting of one Irish and one Norse element are entirely Irish as linguistic creations, they are nevertheless interesting specimens of Norse linguistic influence. They also introduce us to a different class of place-names: those which contain one or more Norse elements adapted to Irish, and which were later adapted to English in their entirety. These names will usually have undergone so many changes in the process of adaptation that they are difficult to identify. If we come across a place-name which defies explanation as Irish or Norse or English, there is always the possibility that it is a product of such double borrowing. In most cases a place-name or place-name constituent borrowed twice will be impossible to reconstruct with any amount of certainty, but in a very few cases we can at least guess at the history of the names. A fairly clear case is *Ballytruckle*, which probably contains one Norse element but is an Irish creation, as we can see from the presence of the element *baile* and the Irish grammatical arrangement. The second element is similar to the ON personal name *Þorkell*, but in a direct loan from ON to English the *þ* would hardly have become *t* and the metathesis *-or-* > *-ro-* would hardly have taken place. But this could very well have happened in the borrowing process from Norse to Irish. In Irish, *t* is the regular substitute for ON *þ*, and there is at least one other certain instance of the metathesis: The ON appellative *þorsk* (acc.) 'cod' became *trosc*

when it was borrowed into Irish. We know that the man's name *Porkell* was normally reproduced in Irish as *Torcall*, without the transposition of sounds; we also know that the name survives in the Scottish Gaidhealtachd in the form *Torcull*, and my supposition rests upon the assumption that the Norse name could *also* be borrowed into Irish in the hypothetical form *Trocall*. Another hypothesis is the remote possibility that an Irish *Baile Torcaill* became *Bally-truckle* when it was adapted to English, perhaps under the influence of the already existing English word *truckle*.

A different and somewhat more difficult name is *The Skelligs* which I have already mentioned, the name of a group of islets and skerries off the coast of Kerry. *Sceillig*, *sceillec* is given in the dictionaries (Dinneen, *RIA Contributions*) as an appellative meaning 'small piece of rock, steep rock, crag, rocky islet, reef', etc., but neither the appellative nor the place-name can be satisfactorily accounted for as belonging to the hereditary Irish vocabulary, and one might reasonably search for an ON source. It has been maintained that its Norse origin is doubtful because the Annals of Ulster, at the year 823, record that a man named Éitgal was carried off from the place by the Gentiles, and the name *Sceiligg* is used in this early entry in the Annals. I do not regard this as decisive. The oldest reliable manuscript of the Annals of Ulster was written in the late fifteenth century, some five and a half centuries after the reported event, and some time during this long period a pre-Norse Irish name of the locality, presumably used in the oldest manuscripts, may have been abandoned by some copyist in favour of the more recent Norse name *Sceiligg*. If one is not ready to admit this, I have another hypothesis which may at least be worth discussing. According to this hypothesis *Sceillig* is a very early Norse loan, earlier than 823. We know that names *could* be borrowed from ON into Irish in the first half of the ninth century. The best example of this is the personal name *Gofraidh* or *Gothbrith*, the name of an Irish chieftain who, according to the Four Masters, went to Scotland in the year 835. The name is undoubtedly identical with ON *Goðfrøðr* (in classical ON mostly written *Guðrøðr*), and if we assume that its bearer was an adult man at the time, he must have received his Norse name not later than about 815, well before the first mention of the name *Sceiligg*. If a Norse personal name could be borrowed into Irish at this early date I do not find it impossible that the Norse place-name could have been adopted as well.

Having established the possibility of the name being of Norse origin, it remains for us to reconstruct the Norse original. In spite of the superficial resemblance I do not think it has anything to do with ON *sker* 'skerry', especially because the ordinary appellative for 'skerry' is *sceir* in Irish, an obvious loan from Norse. Besides, the *l* for *r* is unexpected, as well as the dissyllabic form of the name. My conjecture is that the name is ON *Skellingar* 'the resounding ones', derived from the verb *skjalla* 'to resound', 'to make noise'. Two groups of small islands and skerries off the coast of Norway have names that go back to ON *Skellingar*. It was a common custom to name skerries after peculiarities in the sound of waves breaking on them. Some examples are *Brekjen* 'the Bleater', *Dryna* 'the Boomer', *Knakjen* 'the Creaker' and *Luren* 'the Trumpet'. The Skelligs apparently also have a characteristic sound: in Dinneen's

Dictionary, under *sceillig*, we find *géim na Sceallag* 'the roar of the Skellig reefs'. We would have an almost complete certainty of this etymology if it were not for the termination *ig* instead of the expected *-in'*, the modern Munster equivalent of *-ing*. A development of the cluster *ng*, broad or slender, into an occlusive—broad or slender *g*—is frequent in Scottish Gaelic, as in */kū-əg/ cumhang* 'narrow', */faRsig'/farsuing* 'wide', */taRig'/tarruing* 'pull', but we can hardly assume this development to have taken place in a Kerry name. Accordingly, this explanation of the name *Skelligs* must be accompanied by a question mark, like so many other explanations of its kind.

So much for the names that have passed from ON into Irish and from Irish into English. I shall mention one small category of names that have been borrowed from Irish into ON and from ON into English: they are the names of three of the main provinces of Ireland, *Ulster*, *Leinster* and *Munster*. Sommerfelt (1958) has shown, in my opinion convincingly, that these names are borrowings from Norse forms containing the Old Irish names *Ulaid*, *Laigin* and *Mumu* (probably in the oblique forms *Ulad*, *Laigen*, *Muman*) plus the ON genitive ending *s* plus an appellative *tír* borrowed from the Irish *tír* 'land'. One of these Norse forms, with both lexical constituents borrowed from Irish, is attested in the sagas as *Ulaðstír*, which was, in turn, borrowed into English as *Ulster*.

On another point I am in disagreement with Sommerfelt (1958 p. 224) and with others who hold the view that the name *Wicklow* is ON *Uikinga-ló*¹ 'meadow of the Vikings'. This name would contain the genitive plural of the noun *uikingr* 'Viking' followed by the feminine noun *ló* 'meadow'. This hypothesis is supported by the Middle English spelling *Wykynlo* and the *Wikingelo* of Giraldus. In my opinion this is one case where old spellings should be mistrusted. There is something about the name *Uikingaló* and the translation 'meadow of the Vikings' which is not quite convincing. I think anyone who has done serious work in Scandinavian place-names will have an uneasy feeling about this explanation. I have attempted to find out why we have this feeling, and these are my results:

The word *uikingr* in the sense of 'Viking' can nowhere else be proved to have been used as a Scandinavian place-name element. I have found eight names in Norway which contain the stem *uiking-*, but three of these are modern developments of ON *Uikings-staðir* 'Viking's homestead', where the strong masculine noun *Uikingr* can only be a man's name, not an appellative. In the other five we have the form ON *uikinga-* which is probably the genitive (singular) of an unattested man's name *Uikingi*, a weak masculine. *Uikinga-uágr* thus means 'Vikingi's bay' and *Uikinga-nes* 'Vikingi's headland', without reference to Vikings. The strong and the weak forms of the name must have been interchangeable to a certain extent: In the *Landnámabók* a certain stream in Iceland is called *Uikingslōkr* 'Viking's brook', but in *Haralds saga harðráða* the same watercourse is called *Uikingalōkr* 'Vikingi's brook'. *Vikingavatn*, the modern name of a lake in Northern Iceland, may contain either the weak noun in the

¹ I spell *u* in Old Norse forms to indicate the pronunciation [w], but *v* (to be pronounced [v]) in the Modern Icelandic forms.

genitive singular, in which case the name *Uikingi* is implied, or else the genitive plural of either the strong or the weak noun. If it is a plural it can be neither of the two possible men's names. Then what can it be? It can, and probably does, contain the plural of the appellative for 'Viking', in which case we have in *Vikingavatn* the only authenticated occurrence of the element *uikingr* 'Viking' in a place-name. But we cannot be absolutely certain. The plural *Uíkingar* can also mean 'people from *Uík*', just as *Þórsnesingar* means 'people from *Þórsnes*', *Sandfellingar* 'people from *Sandfell*', and *Krossuikingar* 'people from *Krossauík*'. It is even possible that *Vikingavatn* is an abbreviated form of *Húsuíkingavatn* 'lake of the *Húsuíkingar* or people from *Húsauík*'. The lake is located not far from the present town of Húsavík.

This should suffice to show why the presence, in the name *Wicklow*, of an element *Uikingr* in the sense of 'Viking' is unexpected. Let us now turn to the second element of the postulated ON name *Uíkingaló*. The feminine noun *ló* is cognate with English *lea* and has approximately the same meaning: 'meadow, grassy plain'. As a place-name component it seems to be more frequent in Norway than anywhere else; we have at least fifty *-ló* names. These names are also found in Sweden and Denmark but are apparently much less frequent there. In Iceland I have found no occurrence of names in *-ló*; in the Hebrides there is no authenticated example; for the Faroes, Shetland, Orkney, the Scottish mainland, and England I have insufficient information, but I have the impression that *-ló* names are rare if they occur at all. It would certainly be somewhat unexpected to find a *-ló* name in Ireland, but if we admit that *Wicklow* is an exception, we still have to consider the nature of the place-names known to contain *-ló* as a second component.

In the Norwegian *-ló* names the first component may be (a) an adjective, as in *Lang-ló* 'long meadow' (I give the names in their reconstructed ON forms), (b) a prefix as in *Aðal-ló* 'main or chief meadow', (c) nouns of various categories denoting for instance features of vegetation as in *Birki-ló* 'birch meadow', animals as in *Hafrs-ló* 'he-goat meadow', objects indicating shape as in *Geir-ló* 'spear meadow', 'meadow shaped like a spear-head', allusions to rivers as in *Ár-ló* 'river meadow', *Her-ló* 'meadow of the river *Herja*', features of location as in *Hjall-ló* 'meadow on the ledge', etc. In no instance do we find unequivocal reference to a person or to persons. (The only possible exception is *Oslo*, early ON *Ás-ló*, if this name contains *áss* in the meaning of 'god', but this etymology has not been firmly established.) A name *Uíkingaló* would accordingly not conform to the usual pattern, regardless of the meaning of the element *uiking-*, man's name or appellative.

My uneasiness about the 'meadow of the Vikings' has, consequently, a double foundation: the word *uikingr*, as an appellative meaning 'Viking', is rarely if ever used as a place-name element at all, and the element *ló* is rarely if ever combined with a noun denoting a person or a class of persons. This is why the construction *Uíkingaló* sounds so artificial. Personally I prefer to think that *Wicklow* was ON *Uíkar-ló*,² 'meadow of the bay', or *Uík-ló* with the same

² ON *uik* is usually inflected as an *ō*-stem in place-names in Norway (gen. *uikar*), rather than as a consonant stem (*uikr*, Mod. Icel. *vikur*)

meaning. At least the former corresponds well with the alternative Middle English spelling *Wickelow*. Then what about the other Middle English spelling *Wykyngo* and the *Wikingelo* of Giraldus? I should ascribe them to what is generally known as 'popular etymology', although in this case it is rather a learned man's error. Any learned medieval scribe would know the word *wicing* from Old English, where the word was early established. But he did not so readily understand *uíkar* or *uík*, so he simply substituted a known element for the unknown one.

I have given a rather detailed account of the two names *Sceillig* and *Wicklow* because I wanted to show the great variety of problems and possibilities with which we are so often faced in bilingual place-name research. I do not propose to give a full enumeration of possible Norse place-names in Ireland, but I would like to make a few remarks on four or five selected names.

The name of the peninsula *Howth* is usually taken to be the Norse neuter *hofuð* 'head', but I do not think this can be right. As far as I can see the word *hofuð* is hardly ever used as a place-name in its own right in Norway and the former Norse colonies. It is found only in compounds, usually in combination with an animal name, such as *Uxa-hofuð* 'bull's head', *Kýr-hofuð* 'cow's head'. There is, however, an ON masculine derived from *hofuð*, namely *hofði*, in the oblique cases *hofða*. It means essentially a projecting rocky eminence, usually a steep one, often connected with some larger land feature (mainland, mountain) by a lower and narrower 'neck'. This noun is used freely and extensively in Norse toponymy, in combination and as a name in its own right. I believe, consequently, that *Howth* is ON *hofði*, *hofða*.

Dalkey, near Dublin, is attested as far back as 1229, in the form *Dalkeye*. The Irish name is *Deilginis Cualann* 'the thorn island (or cloak-pin island) of Cualu'; it is mentioned in the Annals of Ulster at 733 A.D. and is presumably pre-Norse. The step from Irish *Deilginis* to English *Dalkey* indicates an intermediary ON *Dálk-oy* 'cloak-pin island' or 'dagger island'. (The similarity in sound and meaning of Irish *delg* and ON *dálkr* is more than coincidental: either the ON word was borrowed from Irish at some earlier stage, or Irish and Norse borrowed it from some common source. Its etymology is obscure in all the languages in which it occurs.)

Leixlip, also near Dublin, is a name which has puzzled investigators. It is known that the name corresponds to the *Saltus Salmonis* of Giraldus, and Joyce (1869 p. 109) writes that it must have been *lax-hlaup* 'salmon leap' in ON. The word is not attested in ON, and Marstrander (1915 p. 149) voices the opinion that if the name is Norse at all, it must go back not to *lax-hlaup* but to *lax-hlöypa* 'salmon's leaping place', which is also unattested. But Marstrander doubts that the name is Norse because, in his opinion, the sound combination [ks] would have become [sk] in Irish and the postvocalic [p] would have yielded Irish [b]. He prefers to regard *Leixlip* as a postulated Middle English *Lex-lyp*. It is obvious that Marstrander made a slip here: this name never went through an Irish stage at all but was transmitted directly from Norse to English. I think, however, that Marstrander was right in rejecting *laxhlaup* and preferring *laxhlöypa*.

A small number of names have such obvious solutions that their ON forms can be reconstructed quite easily. One example of this is the name of the island *Lambay* (off the coast of Co. Dublin) which can be nothing but an ON name meaning 'lamb island'. It must, however, be noted that there is nothing in the modern form of the name to help us decide whether the ON form was *lamb-øy*, where *lamb* has its stem form, or *lamba-øy* with *lamb* in the genitive plural. Another 'easy' name is *Smerwick* (on the Dingle Peninsula in West Kerry) which can hardly be other than an ON *Smjör-uík* 'butter bay'. It may seem curious to some that the word for butter is used in a place-name, but in fact it is not uncommon in Norse toponymy. In Norway we find 'butter mountain', 'butter hill', 'butter valley', etc.; in Iceland we find *Smjörfjöll* 'butter mountains' and *Smjör Sund* 'butter sound', and in the Orkneys and Shetland there are several *smjör* names. In the Outer Hebrides we find *Smeircleit* (South Uist), from ON *Smjörklettr* 'butter hill'. The word for 'butter' is, in these names, used as a term of praise, denoting fertility of soil or pasture. Butter was, as it still is in farming communities, a valuable commodity.

Two additional island names are certainly of Norse origin, although only one can be reconstructed with a reasonable amount of certainty. These are *Saltee* off the coast of Wexford, and *Dursey* in Co. Cork. *Saltee* is almost certainly ON *Salt-øy* 'Salt Island'; *Dursey* is more difficult. It is tempting to reconstruct the name as ON *Dýrs-øy* 'deer's island', but as a compound of *dýr* and *øy* one rather expects a name without the genitive *s*; moreover, the vowel *u* and still more the *o* of the sixteenth-century spellings *Dorsees* and *Dorsies* seem unlikely to represent an ON *y*. This is one of a considerable number of cases in which a name can safely be stated to be of Norse origin although we are unable to find a plausible ON equivalent.

Finally, let us consider the five *-fjörðr* names *Ulfreksfjord* (early name for Larne Harbour), *Strangford*, *Carlingford*, *Wexford*, and *Waterford*. These have all passed directly from Norse into English, without an intermediate Irish stage.

Ulfreksfjord, written *Wulfrichford* in 1210, is quite transparent and also attested in *Ólafs saga hins helga* as *Ulfreksfjörðr* 'Ulfrekr's fjord', compounded with a man's name.

Strangford is equally obvious. It represents ON *Strangfjörðr* 'rough or rapid fjord', with reference to the tidal currents in the narrow entry.

Carlingford was thought by Joyce (1869 p. 107) to be of mixed origin and meaning 'fjord of Cairlinn', containing the Irish proper name *Cairlinn*. I think, however, that we can safely reconstruct the name as ON *Kerlingafjörðr* 'fjord of the hags'. Miss Deirdre Flanagan, of Queen's University of Belfast, tells me in a private communication: 'The coastal pilot (and others) have said that what one is most conscious of as one comes into the mouth of the Lough are three mountain-tops, the Three Nuns as they are called, sitting there, as the pilot said, like three black stacks. Boats entering the lough plot their course from these'. The element *kerling*, in the singular or plural, is not infrequently used in Norse toponymy, and it usually denotes mountains of a certain shape. The fjord evidently got its Norse name from the stacks called the *Three Nuns*. It is very likely that the English mountain name is a translation from an Irish name, now

lost, that contained the word *caillech* 'nun; hag'. An Irish *Loch na gCaillech* may also be the basis for the Norse *Kerlingafjorðr*. There is no contradiction here: the name may very well be an original Norse creation based on natural features and, at the same time, a loan translation based on an Irish name. The Irish name of Carlingford, *Cairlinn*, mentioned by Joyce (loc. cit) and Marstrander (1915 p. 154 footnote) may also have played a role in the creation of the Norse name. For the phonetic probability of ON *kerling* > English *Carling-*, compare Anglo-Scots *carlin(e)* 'hag', borrowed from ON *kerling*. (There is also an Irish word *cairling* 'hag', see Meyer's *Contributions*; this was probably borrowed through English *carlin(e)*.)

Wexford, early English *Weisford*, is in all likelihood ON *Ueigs-fjorðr* 'fjord of *Ueig*'; cp. *Vegsund*, ON *Ueig-sund* 'sound of the island *Ueig*' in Borgund, Norway. The original meaning of the element *ueig*, found in several Norwegian place-names, is not quite clear; it may have meant 'water-logged island or piece of land'.

Waterford, early English *Vadrefjord*, is ON *Ueðra(r)-fjorðr* 'ram fjord' or 'windy fjord'; cp. *Veravikja* in Granvin, Norway, ON *Ueðrar-uík*, named after a skerry called *Veren*, ON *Ueðr-inn* 'the ram'.

A complete inventory of the Scandinavian place-names in Ireland has not yet been established. There must be a number of such names which have not yet caught the toponymists' attention, although this number can hardly be very high. We can begin to study them systematically only when the corpus of place-names in Ireland—Irish and English—has been thoroughly sifted for names of possible Scandinavian origin. The above is no more than an attempt to show that in spite of the scantiness of the material we have here an interesting and possibly a rewarding field of study.

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The High Street Excavations

By Breandán Ó Ríordáin

Entries in a number of Irish annals¹ indicate that a *longphort* was established by the Norse at Dublin in the mid-ninth century² and the importance of the town which developed there has been noted by several writers.³ In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries archaeological material of the Viking and Medieval periods was discovered in the course of sewer-laying operations in streets which lay within the bounds of the medieval town.⁴ In 1962 redevelopment schemes initiated by the municipal authority, the Corporation of Dublin, resulted in the removal of a number of houses bordering on High Street and Nicholas Street and the National Museum of Ireland was afforded an opportunity of investigating a limited area. In 1967, when a more extensive plot of ground became available at High Street, further excavation was undertaken and continued annually during the period 1967-72. From 1969-73 excavation was carried out, also, at Winetavern Street⁵ and in 1972 investigation of another site was commenced at Christ Church Place, south of the Cathedral and lying between it and the bounds of the medieval town wall at Ross Road⁶ (Pl. 1).

In all of the sites investigated a considerable amount of artifacts and structural features were found which ranged in date from the tenth to the early fourteenth century. Many of the discoveries relate to the Viking period and these include

¹ *Annals of Ulster* edited by William M. Hennessy and B. MacCarthy, vols. 1-4, Dublin, 1887-1901; *Chronicum Scotorum* edited by William M. Hennessy, London, 1866; *The Annals of Clonmacnoise* edited by Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., Dublin, 1896.

² Relevant entries in the *Annals of Ulster* are as follows:

A.D. 837: Longas (eile) tre fhichet long for abaind Liphí . . .

A.D. 841: Longport oc Duiblinn asrorta Laigin ⁊ Oí Neill etir tuatha ⁊ cealla, corice sliabh Bladhma . . .

A.D. 851: Tetacht dubgennti du Ath cliath, co ralsat ár mór du fhinngallaibh ⁊ co ro [s]latsat in longport etir doine ⁊ moine . . .

³ e.g. Young, Miss Jean I., 'A Note on the Norse Occupation of Ireland', *History* 35, 1950, 11-33 and references therein.

⁴ The principal collection of artifacts of this type is that which was assembled by Thomas M. Ray during the years 1856-59. This material together with other objects found in Dublin and formerly in the Hewson, Hassé, Verschoyle-Campbell and Frazer collections are now preserved in the National Museum of Ireland. Some bone combs and iron knife blades which have a Dublin provenance and which formed part of the Bell collection are now preserved in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland. Some of the Dublin finds are listed in Wilde, W. R., *Catalogue of the Antiquities in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy*, Dublin, 1861, in Wakeman, W. F., *Descriptive Catalogue of Objects in the Collection of the Royal Irish Academy*, Dublin, 1894 and in Bøe, Johs, 'Norse Antiquities in Ireland', *Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland*, edited by H. Shetelig, pt. III, Oslo, 1940, 65-69 and figs. 45, 56.

⁵ For a summary report and illustrations of some of the principal finds and structures see Ó Ríordáin, Breandán, 'Excavations at High Street and Winetavern Street, Dublin', *Medieval Archaeology* XV, 1971, 73-78, figs. 20-28 and pls. V-X; see also Dolley, Michael and Seaby, W. A., 'A Find of Thirteenth-century Pewter Tokens from the National Museum Excavations at Winetavern Street, Dublin', *Spinks Numismatic Circular*, December 1971, 446-448.

⁶ A small selection of finds from the Christ Church Place excavation is incorporated in *Viking and Medieval Dublin: National Museum Excavations, 1962-1973—Catalogue of Exhibition*, Dublin, 1973; some objects and structures discovered on this site since the date of holding of the Seventh Viking Congress in Dublin have been included in this article.

over fifty examples of trial pieces, the majority of which are of bone. This is the largest group of trial pieces recovered from any single centre in Ireland or elsewhere. The geometric and zoomorphic designs carved on the trial pieces (Pls. 2-6), many of which were found in late tenth, eleventh and twelfth-century levels, bear a close affinity to those which occur on contemporary metal-work and manuscripts such as the Soiscel Molaise,⁷ the Shrine of the Cathach of Colmcille,⁸ the Kells Crosier,⁹ the Crosier of the Abbots of Clonmacnoise,¹⁰ the Shrine of St. Senan's Bell (Clogán Óir),¹¹ the Southampton Psalter¹² and the Liber Hymnorum.¹³ In a number of instances the patterns on the trial pieces are carved in the Borre style and in the Hiberno-Viking version of the Ringerike style. Part of a wooden board or panel, which may have formed part of a bench or chest and which has carved interlace and zoomorphic patterns in the Ringerike style, bears comparison with the design on the slab from St. Paul's Churchyard, London.¹⁴

Elements of Urnes style are also present on some of the trial pieces and a finely-incised design in this style occurs on the wooden handle of an iron knife (Pl. 7).

Three objects bearing runic inscriptions were found in the Christ Church Place site: two are of wood, the third is an animal long bone. One example of the inscribed wooden objects which was found in a twelfth-century stratum has been examined by Mr. Aslak Liestøl, who has kindly supplied the following report:

The runic piece (Reg. No. EI22:361) Pl. 8, which I think is an ordinary spade, was examined by me at the National Museum, Dublin, Saturday, 21 July 1973. The Museum had supplied me with a good low-power binocular microscope and good working light. The piece was kept in water and had not been treated in any way.

The inscription is partially damaged, probably by wear and tear. There is no indication of recent damage to the runes. A portion of the original surface, containing the lower part of the last two runes has worn away, except for a small trace of rune no. 6. A small portion of rune no. 5 is also missing. The damage does not, however, affect the reading of runes

⁷ *Christian Art in Ancient Ireland*, edited by Adolf Mahr, vol. I, Dublin, 1932, pls. 57, 58.

⁸ *Christian Art in Ancient Ireland*, edited by Joseph Raftery, vol. II, Dublin, 1941, pls. 113, 114.

⁹ MacDermott, M., 'The Kells Crosier', *Archæologia* 96, 1955, 59-113.

¹⁰ *Christian Art in Ancient Ireland*, edited by Joseph Raftery, vol. II, Dublin, 1941, pls. 87, 88.

¹¹ *Christian Art in Ancient Ireland*, edited by Joseph Raftery, vol. II, Dublin, 1941, pl. 82.

¹² Henry, Françoise, 'Remarks on the Decoration of Three Irish Psalters', *Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.* 61 (C), 1960-61, 23-40.

¹³ Henry, Françoise, *Irish Art in the Romanesque Period 1020-1170*, London, 1970, 56-58 and fig. 4. The writer is indebted to Dr. Henry and Miss V. Ó Meadhra for comments on the trial pieces.

¹⁴ Foote, Peter and Wilson, David M., *The Viking Achievement, the Society and Culture of Early Medieval Scandinavia*, London, 1970, pl. 26a.

no. 5-6. The same cannot be said about rune no. 7, where less than one half of a full rune-stem is preserved. The lower end of this line (cut) disappears in a dent. On the other side of the dent there is a fissure in the wood in the same direction as the stem. This is not cut by a sharp instrument but split or torn. There is a possibility that the inscription was longer, and that several runes have been worn away, but I do not think it is likely.

When so little is left of the last rune, there is more than one possible reading.

- (1) r. 7 = S which gives *Kirlaks*, probably genitive of *Geirlákr*. *Geirláks*, a man's name, the owner of the spade. This is not a usual type of owner's inscription. Only one example, and a dubious one, is known (*Danmarks Runeindskrifter* col. 356).
- (2) r. 7 = R *KirlakR*, the same name in the nominative. This is a common type of inscription, but the use of palatal r (R) in the eleventh or twelfth century is very unlikely.
- (3) r. 7 = A *Kirlaka*. This will give the usual type of owner's inscription "N.N. owns," (*á* is third person present tense of *eiga*, own). In this case the nominative of the personal name has lost its ending *-r*. This is, however, attested in similar contexts, viz. some of the Manx crosses (Andreas II, Michael II and IV, Maughold I and II).

On the whole the third possibility seems to be the most likely, and there is no difficulty explaining the missing twig. There is ample room for it, and if it was placed only a little lower than the corresponding twig on rune no. 5, it would have been worn away.

The other rune-inscribed wooden object (Pl. 9) is thought to be part of a small smoothing plane¹⁵ and it bears inscriptions on each of the long sides. It was found in an occupation level of the late eleventh century in which many slivers and chips of wood were present and among which a small but finely-carved representation of a human head with decorative features executed in the Ringerike style was also discovered (Pl. 10).

In the High Street and Christ Church Place sites in particular a considerable amount of evidence relating to the craft of comb-making was recovered. The principal raw material was red deer antler and large quantities of antler waste and partly finished component pieces of combs indicative of the existence of comb-making workshops were found. Most of the discarded antler burrs exhibited natural ruptures indicating that shed antlers collected in the haunts

¹⁵ The writer wishes to thank Professor Ole Klindt Jensen, Aarhus University, for this suggestion. The excavations at Bryggen, Bergen, have produced a number of examples, also, for which see Herteig, Asbjorn, *Kongers Havn og Handels Sete*, Oslo, 1969, pl. 49.

of the deer were the main source of supply (Pl. 11). Over 600 examples of combs were discovered and the vast majority are of the single-sided type.¹⁶ A number of comb-cases were found, also.

Evidence of metalworking, bronzeworking in particular, was recovered from all the sites investigated but the large numbers of crucibles present in the Christ Church Place site suggest that this was an area of intensive metalworking in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The occurrence on the same site of many examples of carved bone trial pieces suggests that these may have been used in some stage of the metalworking process but definite evidence for this supposition is lacking. It also seems probable that bronze pins were made in the town as the excavations have produced one of the largest collections of bronze pins of the Viking and Medieval period yet discovered. Upwards of 800 specimens have been recovered and this figure does not include the large number of simple but well-preserved iron pins. Many of the bronze pins show traces of tinning or silvering and a large proportion are of gilt bronze. Two main groups have been identified: simple stick pins and the more elaborate ringed pins. The writer is indebted to Mr. Thomas Fanning for the following note on bronze ringed pins from sites at High Street and Winetavern Street.

The bronze ringed pins which total about 150 can be grouped into four distinct classes: spiral-ringed (Pl. 12: 1), plain-ringed (Pl. 12: 2, 3), stirrup-ringed (Pl. 12: 4, 5) and kidney-ringed (Pl. 12: 6). To date only one example of the spiral-ringed form has been found, a fact which tends to confirm rather than disprove the pre-Viking associations of this class. Of the remaining forms the stirrup-ringed class is by far the most numerous occurring mainly in the eleventh and twelfth-century levels. Another form (Pl. 12: 5) is of particular interest as its occurrence on the Dublin sites and its distribution pattern elsewhere supports the known evidence for the Hiberno-Norse involvement in the Viking settlement of the Isle of Man, York, the Western Isles of Scotland and perhaps even Iceland. From a recent study of the ringed-pin series^{16a} a typological sequence can be postulated based on the development of the ring and head forms and terminating in the small pin with its pin-head and kidney ring cast as one (Pl. 12: 6). This sequence has some chronological validity (illustrated here by the numerical sequence in Pl. 12) though one must also assume a certain amount of overlap and continuity. The sequence, as such, is largely supported by the evidence of the associated and stratified specimens from Dublin.

¹⁶ Many of the combs have been examined by Mrs. Mairead Dunlevy-Reynolds who has kindly informed me that the majority of the single-sided combs are of types (her Classes F and G) recorded from sites in Norway (Brøgger, A. W., *Osebergfundet* II, Oslo, 1928, figs. 136-138; Grieg, S., *Middelalderiske Byfund fra Bergen og Oslo*, Oslo, 1933, figs. 190, 191), Sweden (Arbman, H., *Birka I, Die Gräber*, Uppsala, 1940, pls. 159-160, 164; Blomquist, R. and Mårtensson, A. W., *Archæologica Lundensia* II, Lund, 1963, figs. 230, 231; and Scotland (Hamilton, J. R. C., *Excavations at Jarlshof, Shetland*, Edinburgh, 1956, fig. 69, nos. 11, 12 and pl. XXXII, 4) in particular. Examples are also known from Frisia (Roes, Anna, *Bone and Antler Objects from the Frisian Terp-Mounds*, Haarlem, 1963, pl. XXI: 2-4) and from England (*Archæologia* XCVII, 1959, pg. 88, fig. 16).

^{16a} See T. Fanning, *N. Munster Antiq. J.* 12 (1969), 6-11.

Although weapons were not numerically conspicuous among the finds the examples which came to light included spear-heads and arrow-heads of Viking type (Pl. 16); a well-preserved iron sword from a late eleventh-early twelfth-century level in the Christ Church Place site bears an inscription reading SINIMIAINIAIS on one face of the blade. Material associated with the sword which was found within a house of post and wattle construction included sherds of a tripod pitcher of late Saxon type.¹⁷ Apart from the two sketches of Norse-style ships found incised on wooden planks in the Winetavern Street site¹⁸ numerous large iron boat nails, a small number of boat models and examples of strakes, ribs, an attachment for a steering oar and a wooden rowlock¹⁹ were also recovered. The existence of trading contacts between the inhabitants of Dublin and Britain, the Netherlands and northern France during the eleventh century is exemplified by the finding of coins of Aethelred and Cnut,²⁰ of late Saxon wheel-stamped ware of Stamford type²¹ and of sherds of Andenne ware²² and vessels, including storage jars and cooking pots, imported from northern France.

The excavations produced a considerable amount of information about the types of buildings in use between the mid-tenth century and the early fourteenth century and in a number of instances fairly complete plans of structures were recovered. The houses and workshops were sub-rectangular in plan and varied in size from 3.80 m. by 3.20 m. to 8 m. by 6 m. Virtually all of the structures were of post and wattle construction and in many examples the doorways were provided with wooden thresholds and with jambs of squared timber, the outer edges of which had vertical slots to house the ends of the rods of wattlework which formed the side walls. A few examples of stave-type structures were found, including one house of which the complete ground plan was recovered in a habitation level attributable to the mid-eleventh-century period. Rectangular in plan, it was 8 m. long and 5 m. wide and its long axis was orientated

¹⁷ Identified by Mr. John G. Hurst, Senior Inspector, Department of the Environment, London. The writer is much indebted to Mr. Hurst and to Mr. K. J. Barton, Director, Portsmouth City Museums, for information and advice on the large collection of pottery recovered in the Dublin excavations.

¹⁸ *Medieval Archaeology* XV, 1971, 77 and fig. 27a and b; carvings of ships found on a stone from Gauldalen, Sørtrøndelag, Norway, illustrated in *Nicholay* no. 13, 1973, fig. 17 depict a somewhat similar treatment of the fuiled sail as that on the larger of the Dublin examples.

A study of the Dublin ship sketches, boat models and other finds of this nature is being carried out by Mr. Arne Emil Christensen, University Museum of National Antiquities, Oslo, to whom I am indebted for many useful references and information.

¹⁹ For illustrations of rowlocks of similar type on the gunwales of boats found on board the Gokstad ship see Du Chaillu, Paul B., *The Viking Age*, London, 1889, II, fig. 923; other examples have been found in Novgorod and Bergen.

²⁰ Coins from the sites have been examined by Professor Michael Dolley, The Queen's University, Belfast.

²¹ Hurst, J. G., 'Saxo-Norman Pottery in East Anglia', *Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc.* LI, 1958, 37-65; the Crowland Abbey, Lincolnshire bowl illustrated therein (pl. V) is a close parallel to the Dublin examples of wheel-stamped ware.

²² For a discussion on this ware and its origins see Hurst, J. G. (editor) 'Red-Painted and Glazed Pottery in Western Europe from the Eighth to the Twelfth Century', *Medieval Archaeology* XIII, 1969, 93-147.

E-W. Although only fragments of the walls survived, sufficient remained to indicate that they had been constructed of a combination of staves (tree trunks split lengthwise with the curved surfaces facing outwards) and vertical timber planks. The outer edges of the staves had been provided with grooves to accommodate the planks which had been slotted between each pair of staves.²³ The bases of the staves and intervening planks rested on wooden sill beams or sole plates at ground level (Pls. 13 and 14). Structural evidence was found which showed that the side walls had been reconstructed and the finding of three superimposed hearths in the central area of the house suggests that occupation had continued for a fairly lengthy period of time. Features of particular interest in the house included internal divisions indicating that one large room containing the centrally placed stone-edged hearth had been provided with a bench or *pallr* along each of the side walls. At the western end of the house two small chambers at opposite sides opened off the central passage. Another small chamber or annexe abutting the eastern end wall appears to have included a privy as an under-floor wooden culvert formed, in the main, of discarded ship strakes, originally discharged into a cess-pit located within the annexe. The entrance to the house was in the form of a plank-floored vestibule with its opening in the southern side wall.

Upwards of 600 artifacts were found on and in the compressed layers of brushwood and other organic material of the benched areas and in the trodden soil of the central area of the floor of the main chamber and of the smaller chambers at the western end of the house. The principal finds included a number of decorated leather scabbards and the largest example, which was 37 cm. long, bore an inscription which reads + EDRIC ME FECIT. A silver coin of the Sitric series, tentatively dated to the 1040's, was found in one of the benched areas (F 87-1) and other finds—illustrating in microcosm the general range of material from the Dublin sites—included fish-hooks, knives, nails, staples, pointed implements, arrow-heads and small tools of iron, barrel padlocks and keys, fragments of hair-nets, textiles—including small pieces of gold braid—weaving tablets and bone spindle whorls. Many wooden objects were also present: barrel lids, staves, lathe-turned vessels and a wooden shoe last. Evidence of metal-working in the form of crucible fragments, vitreous matter and stone ingot moulds was found and items of bronze included stick pins and ringed pins, a small bell-like object and a bronze spur. Comb-making in the form of antler waste and unfinished tooth plates was in evidence. Single-sided decorated combs and one example of a double-sided comb, which appears to be of whale bone, were found. Potsherds included Andenne ware and sherds of northern French wares and fragments of vessels made of steatite.

²³ See Müller-Wille, Michael, 'Nya Stavbyggnader i Rhenlandet', *Viking* 32, 1968, 7-18 and fig. 1: 1 and references therein. I am much indebted to Mr. Patrick Healy, Newgrove Avenue, Sandymount, Dublin, for surveying these features and for his constant and enthusiastic assistance in recording other structures and material from the excavations. I also wish to express my thanks to Dr A. T. Lucas, Director, National Museum of Ireland, and Professor David M. Wilson, University College, London, for helpful discussion and comments on the structures and artifacts discovered.

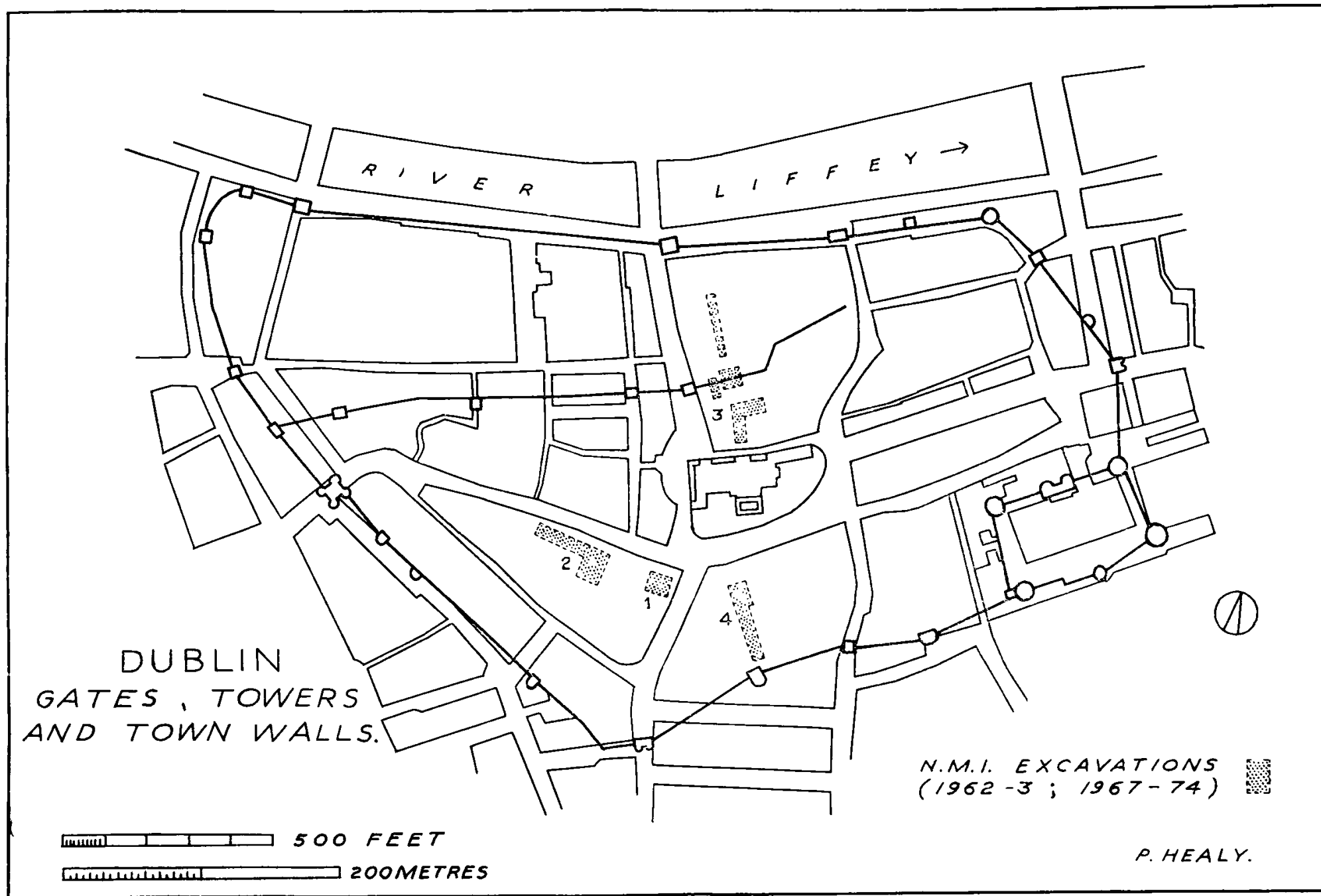


Plate 1. Map of the old City of Dublin showing the sites of National Museum excavations at High Street (1, 2), Winetavern Street-Wood Quay (3) and Christ Church Place (4).



Plate 2. Stone trial piece from eleventh-century level. Christ Church Place. Scale c. $\frac{2}{3}$



Plate 3. Details of bone trial piece, Christ Church Place. Scale c. $\frac{2}{3}$



Plate 4. Bone trial piece. Christ Church Place. Scale c. $\frac{1}{2}$

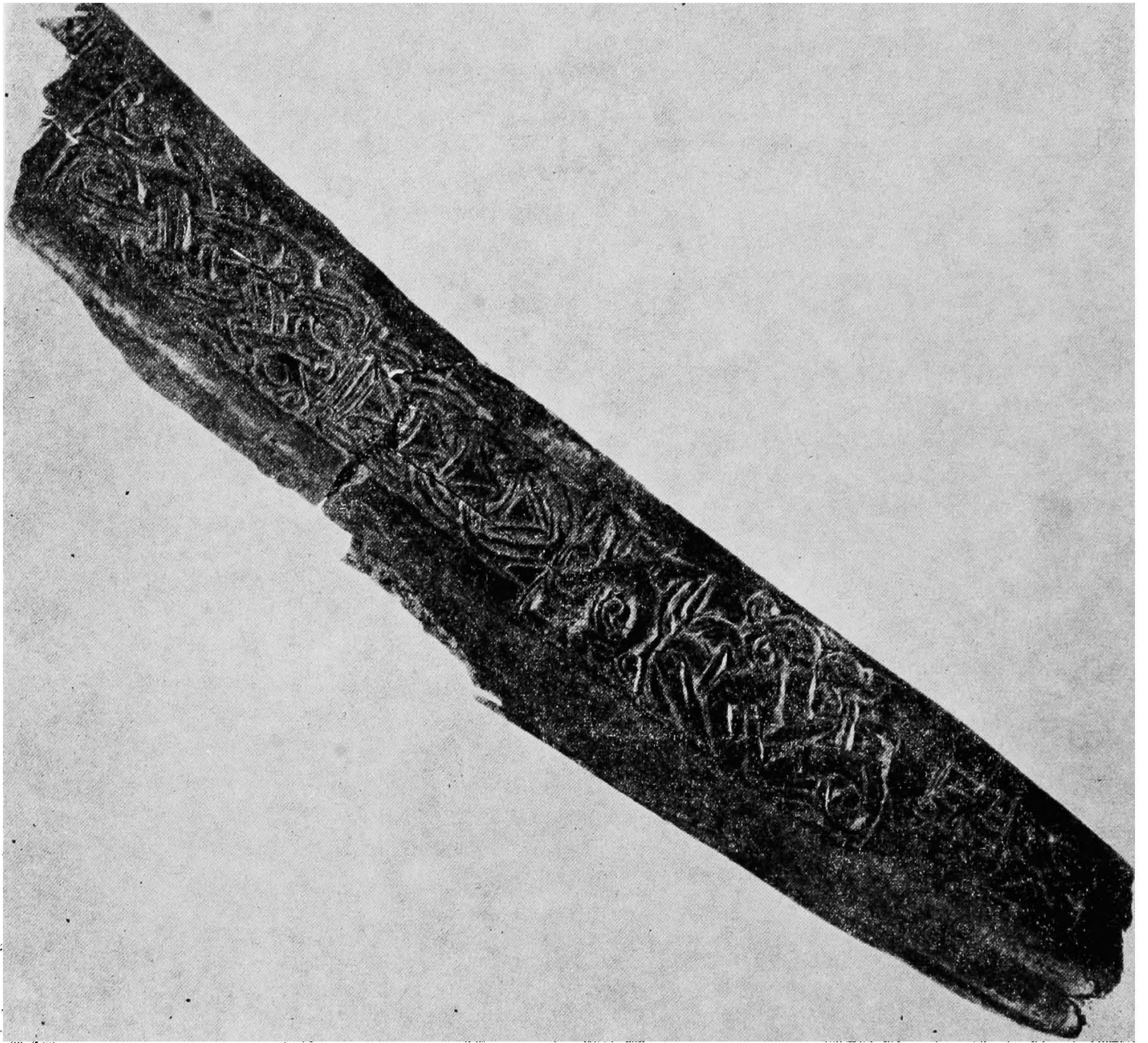


Plate 5. Bone trial piece. Christ Church Place. Scale c. $\frac{2}{3}$

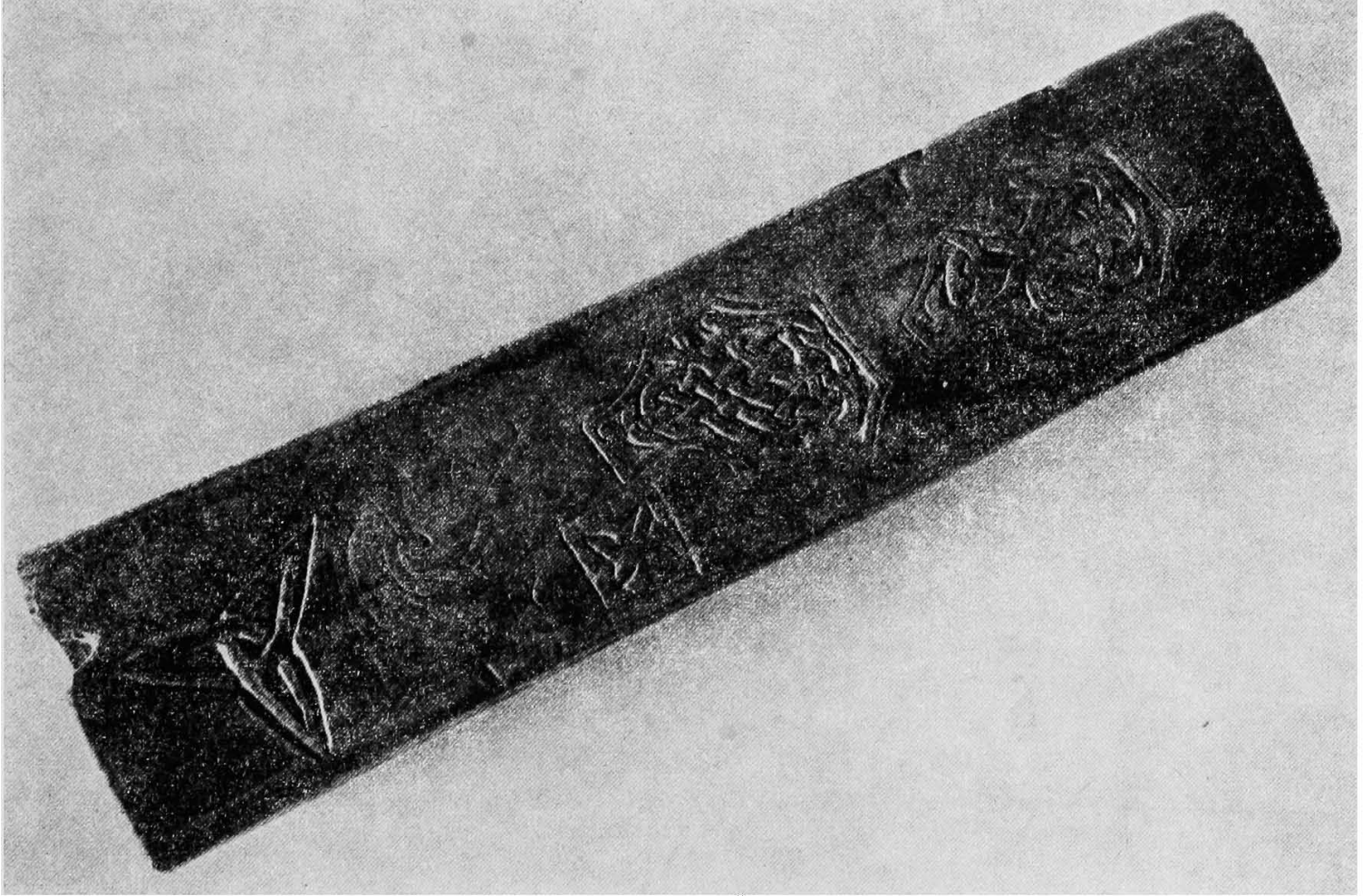
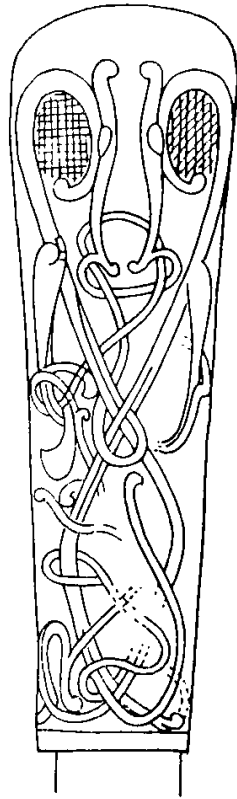


Plate 6. Bone trial piece. High Street. Scale c. $\frac{2}{3}$



WOODEN KNIFE HANDLE
SCALE 5 CMS.

Plate 7. Incised Urnes-style design on wooden knife handle. Christ Church Place.

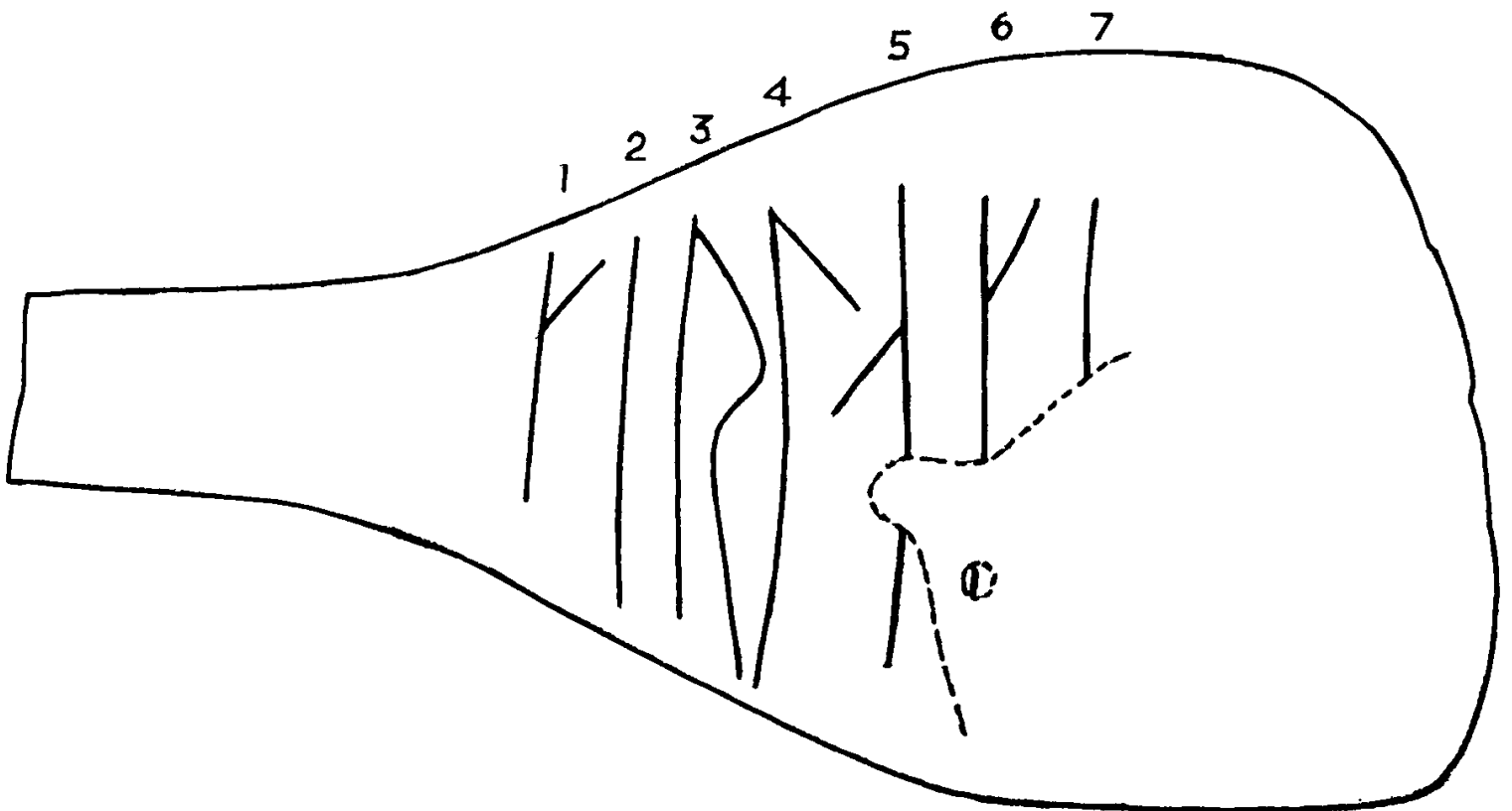


Plate 8. Rune-inscribed spade-like wooden object. Christ Church Place. Scale c. $\frac{1}{2}$ cm.

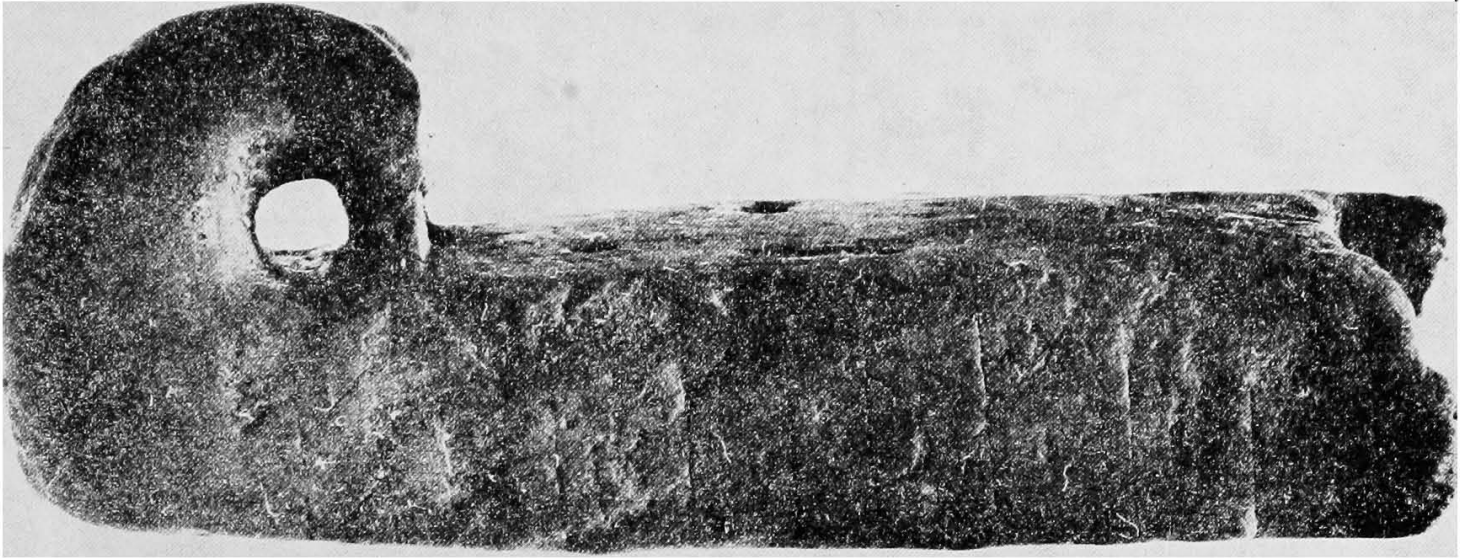


Plate 9. Fragment of rune-inscribed smoothing plane. Christ Church Place. Scale c. $\frac{1}{4}$



Plate 10. Carved wooden head. Christ Church Place. Scale c. $\frac{1}{4}$



Plate 11. Waste from comb-makers' workshop: discarded **burrs** and **tines** of red deer antler.
Christ Church Place.

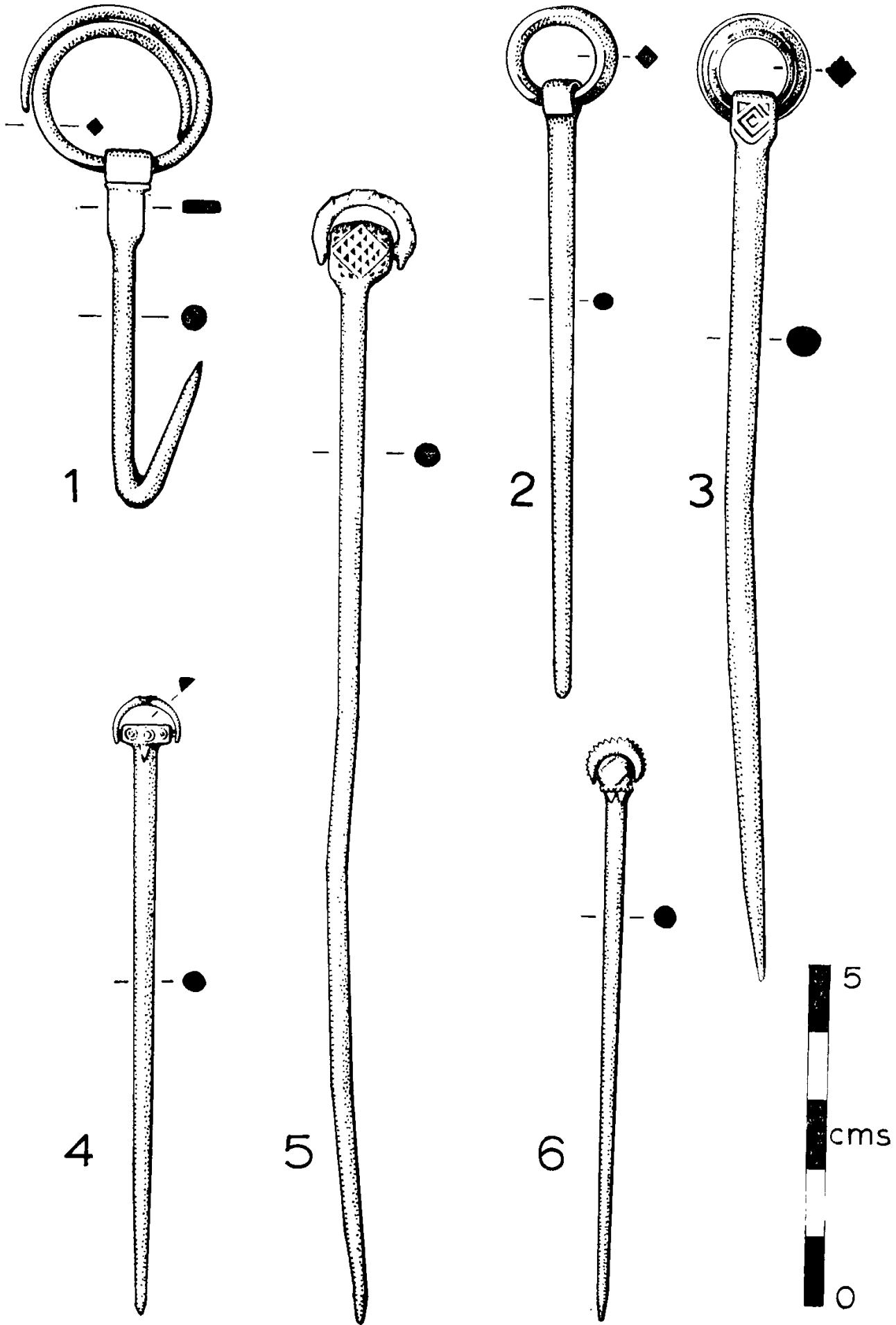


Plate 12. Classification of bronze ringed pins.

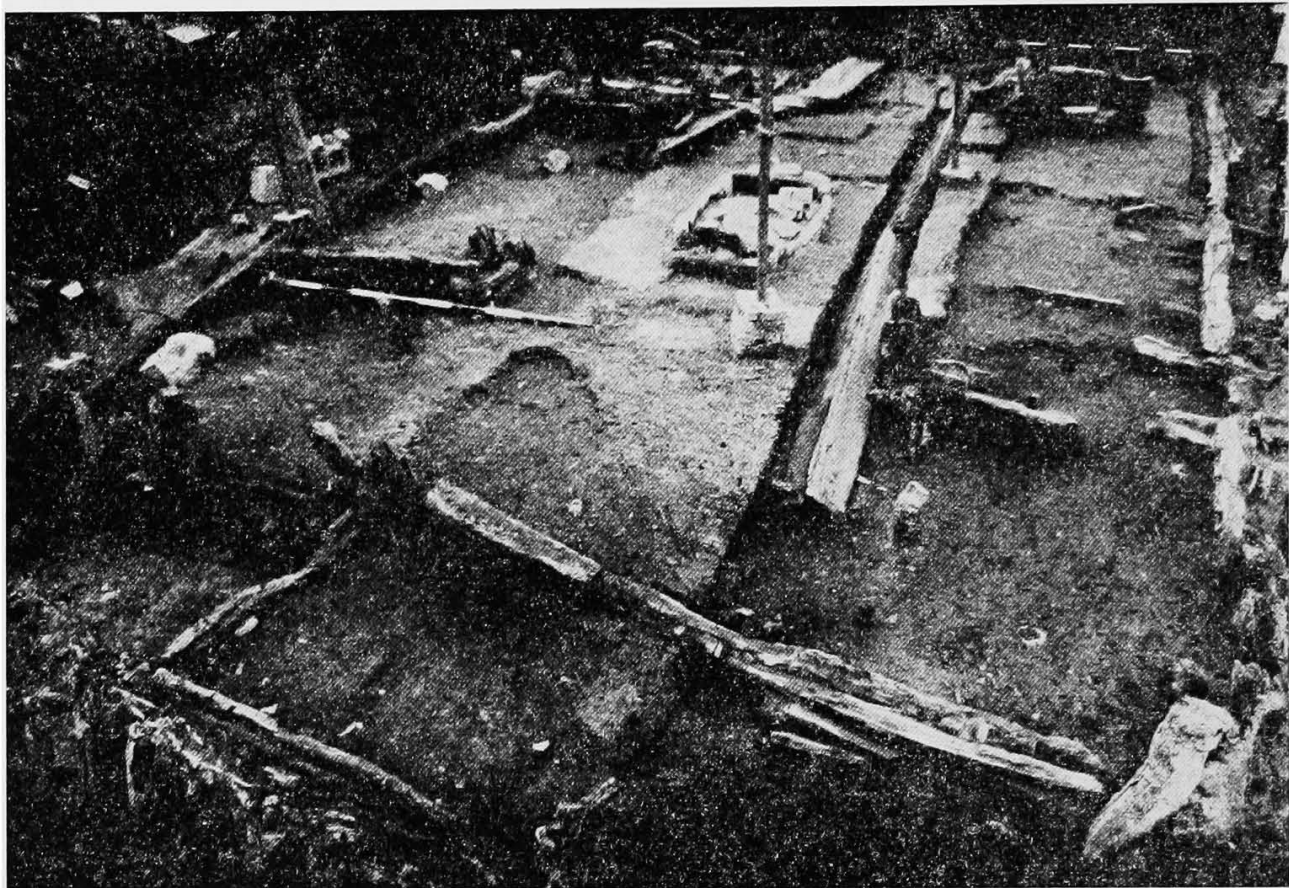
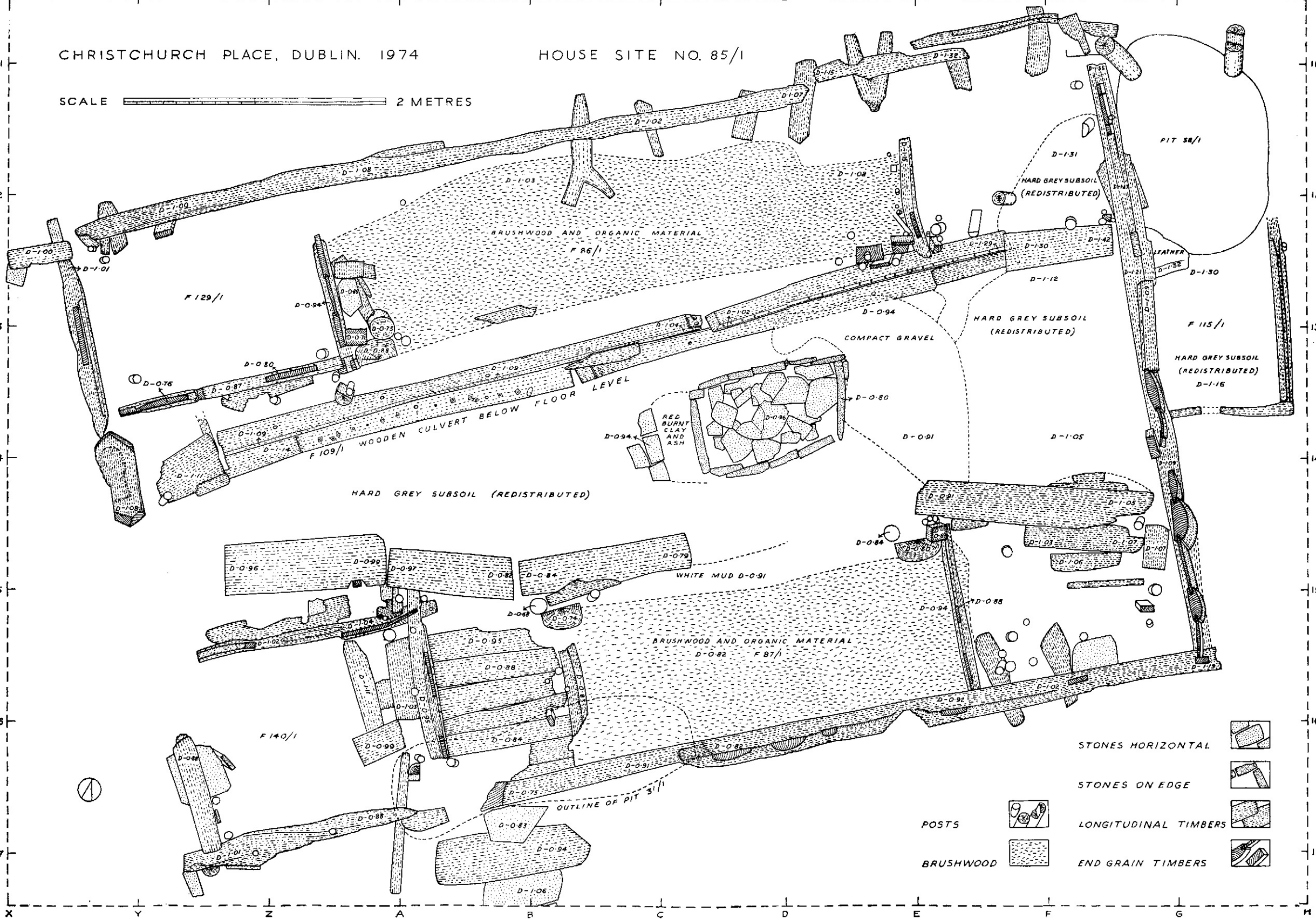


Plate 13. Stave type house (No. 85/1) of eleventh-century date. Christ Church Place.

CHRISTCHURCH PLACE, DUBLIN. 1974

HOUSE SITE NO. 85/1

SCALE  2 METRES









- STONES HORIZONTAL 
- STONES ON EDGE 
- POSTS 
- BRUSHWOOD 
- LONGITUDINAL TIMBERS 
- END GRAIN TIMBERS 

Plate 14. Stave-type house 85/1: view from East. Christ Church Place



Plate 15. Whalebone implement. High Street.

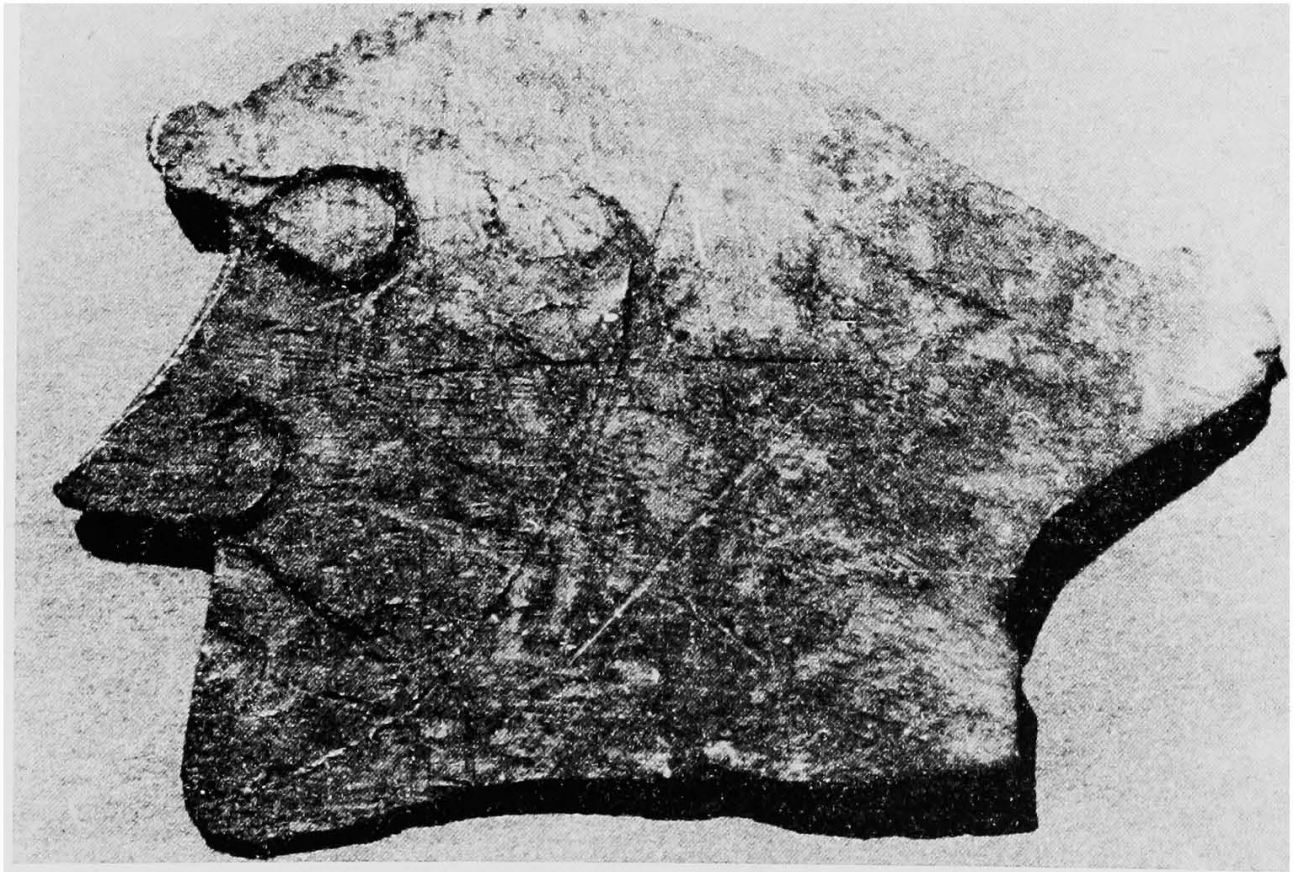


Plate 15. Worked antler: representation of human head. Christ Church Place.

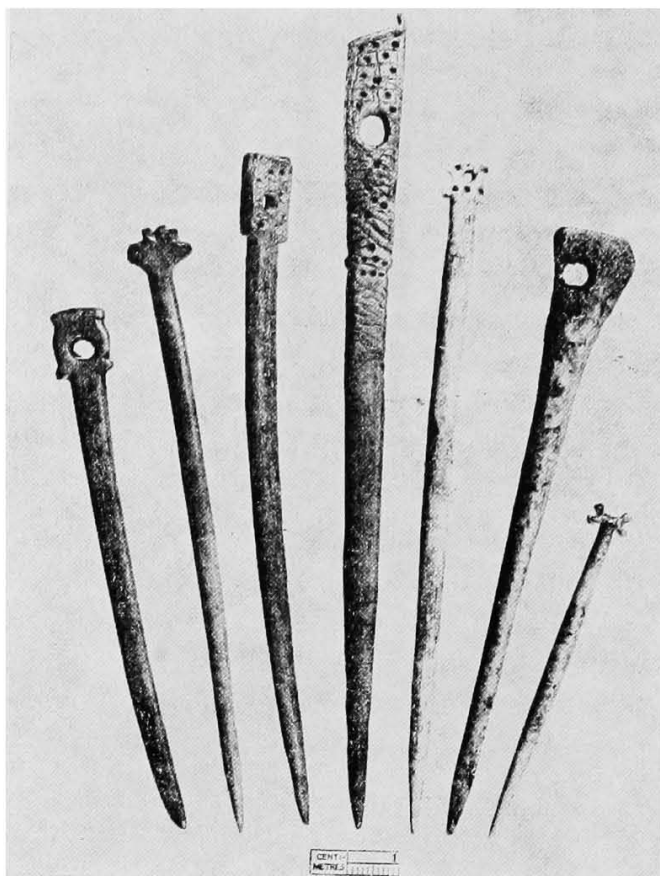


Plate 16. Selection of polished bone pins. High Street.

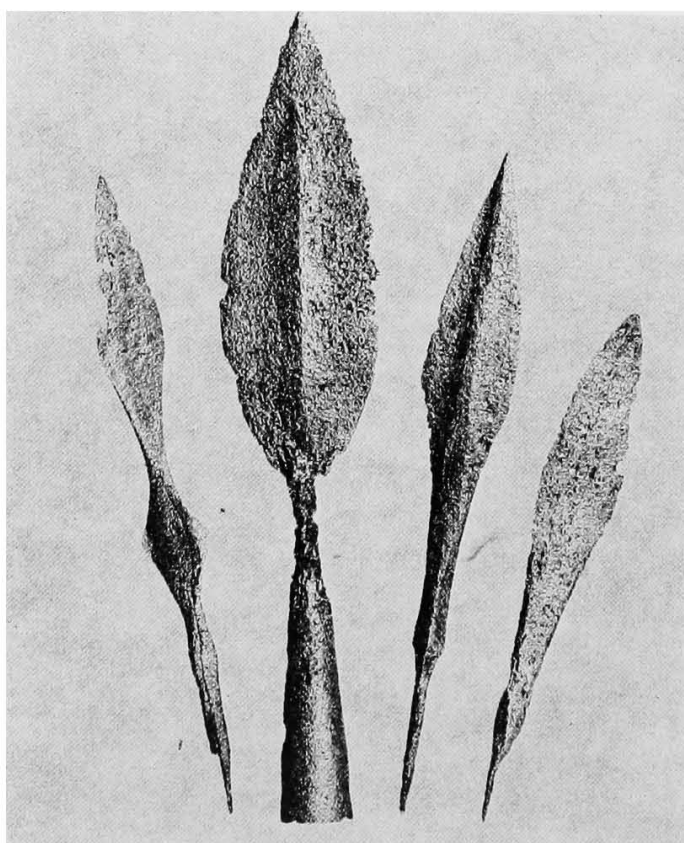


Plate 16. Selection of Viking-period iron spearheads. High Street.



Plate 17. Decorated bronze bridle mount with enamelled pendant.
Christ Church Place.

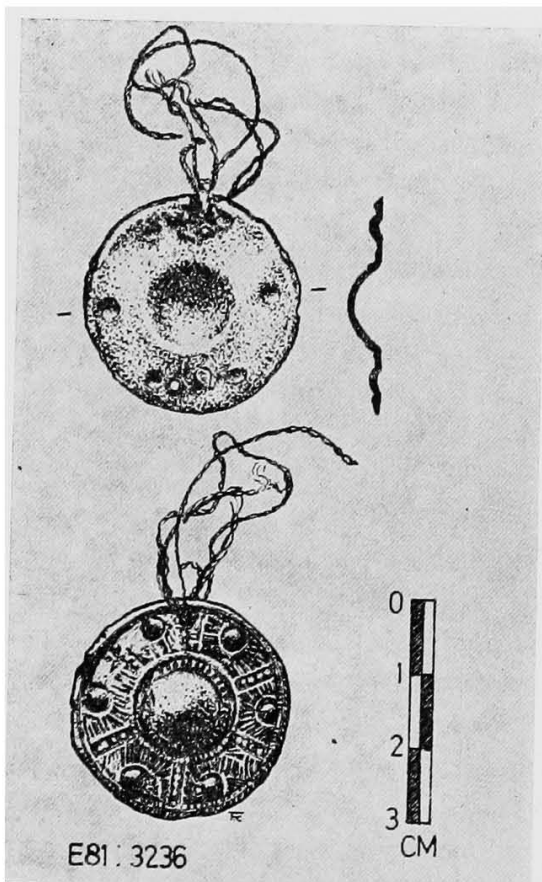


Plate 18. Pewter brooch.
Winetavern Street

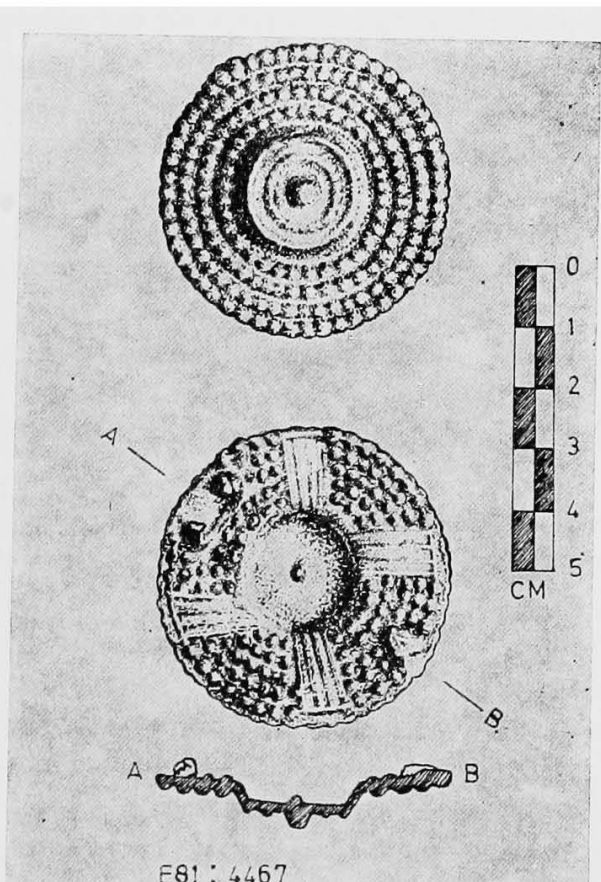


Plate 19. Pewter brooch.
Winetavern Street

An old Irish verse form wandering in the North

By EINAR ÓL. SVEINSSON

Among the most unusual metrical forms found in Scandinavia in ancient times are those called *alhneppt* and *hálfhneppt* and others related. I propose to comment on these, try and analyse them, and finally consider their origin. They have a long history in Iceland, for they appear at a very early date, are fairly common in the Age of the Icelandic Republic, but they live much longer; even in the years between 1920 and 1930 they are used by Icelandic poets. One of them wrote about the usefulness of mowing machines.

I shall later try to describe these measures a little better, but for the time being I shall only give a summary analysis of their characteristics.

The oldest examples of this verse form belong to the time of the Icelandic Settlement, before and after 900. To the same time belongs a remarkable fragment ascribed to Harold the Fine-haired, the first sole ruler of Norway; whether this attribution is correct we do not know, but it is suspected by many scholars.

Looking at this verse, we notice at once that in comparison with one of the chief metres of the North, called *dróttkvætt* (see Supplement, nr. 1), we lack one unaccented syllable at the end of each verse-line. We call this *stýfing* or *hneppling*, in Greek it is called *catalexis*. Otherwise we note a great flexibility in the length of the verse-lines. Sometimes the verses are six syllables, sometimes five, sometimes four. We may, like Snorri Sturluson, our great prosodist of the thirteenth century, name the last type *alhneppt*, that is completely catalectic, the second last *hálfhneppt*, half-way catalectic. But a more careful analysis will show us that these two types are really the same metre, and both types can be met with in the same poem. But with time the great prosodists differentiate *alhneppt* and *hálfhneppt* strictly; see e.g. Snorri Sturluson's examples in his *Háttatal* or catalogue of metres.

Let us now consider more thoroughly the rhythm of the metre. It is evident that the catalexis—the masculine line-endings—give the verses strength and individuality, just as the degree of freedom in the number of syllables gives them flexibility.

In his study of Germanic prosody, *Allgermanische Metrik*, Eduard Sievers maintains that the basis of the *alhneppt* metre is $\underline{\text{ } \text{ } / \underline{\text{ } \text{ } }$, and the *hálfhneppt* is related to it, though its rhythmic pattern "im einzelnen nicht sicher ist". On the other hand E. A. Kock believes the rhythm to be $\underline{\text{ } x(x)(x), \underline{\text{ } \cup}$ which I confess that I do not understand. I think both these scholars are wrong in the interpretation of the rhythm. Nearer to the truth is Heusler, who believes in four lifts. We shall come to this later.

For convenience, let us set out a verse in catalectic metre on the page. The accented syllables are in italics and appear in vertical rows which may be numbered 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th row. With the horizontal lines these form a frame, and where the eight horizontals and four verticals intersect are the lifts.

The verse is one ascribed in *Eyrbyggja saga* to Björn Breiðvíkingakappi :

Rhythmic "rows" in catalectic metre

1st row	2nd row	3rd row	4th row
Sýld -a	/skar ek (skar'k)	/svan-a	/fold
súð -um	/því at (því't)	/gæ-i-	/brúðr
ást -um	/leidd-i	/oss	/fast
aust -an	/með	/hlað-it	/flaust;
við -a	/gat ek (gat'k)	/vás-	/búð
víg -	/lundr	/ní um	/stund
hell -i	/bygg-ir	/hug-	/fullr
hing -at	/fyr	/kon-u	/bing.

Examining the above strophe we see that each line contains four stressed syllables. The last of these is not followed by any short syllable, that is the line has masculine ending or is catalectic, and the syllable is long or is counted as long. The third row consists either of a long stressed syllable (—) or a short one plus a syllable of indifferent length (called by Sievers *Auflösung*), a phenomenon well known in Old Norse poetry. The first and second row are somewhat changeable. It also happens sometimes that an otherwise unstressed syllable occupies the place of a lift, which in Old Northern poetry must be considered something very unusual and strange. The limits of each measure are denoted by oblique strokes.

The alliteration in the odd lines (marked in bold face) falls on the first and third rows, or the second and third, or the third and fourth. This means that we follow the so-called Schweitzer's rule which applies to all Icelandic poetry with four lifts or more, and appears early in the verse form called *hrynhent*. Of that later. If the alliteration falls on the second and third rows, or the third and fourth, it is not altogether uncommon for a syllable which is lightly stressed in ordinary speech to form the lift in the first row.

Admittedly the verbal content of the examples mentioned above, with the weakening of the first row, is by no means always the same. I shall mention a poem from the thirteenth century about the Holy Virgin, which is the oldest complete catalectic poem in the North, the older ones being fragments. In this poem we have thirteen examples of a word with secondary stress occurring in this position, performing its function in some degree, but there are fifteen occasions where the lifts contain about the least emphatic words imaginable. If the alliteration falls on rows three and four, and the line begins with a word having heavy stress, then the second row is often lightly stressed.

It was mentioned above that the second rhyme (*hending*) in catalectic metres always occurred in the fourth row, strengthening it.

The investigation made above indicates that in every line of these metres there are four rows capable of containing a lift, though their verbal content is not of equal stress or importance. The most significant factor here, however, is the placing of the alliterative words, which seem to draw strength to themselves and demand space to such a degree that in some other rows it is as if only words

of little stress can be accommodated. This occurs sometimes in the first, but especially in the second row, whereas the last two rows retain their value to a greater extent or entirely.

But at all events each of these vertical positions is capable of containing a lift, and more often receives a stress than loses one. How these metres should be read is, however, a question I shall not go into here. I would willingly allow the rhythms of natural speech to play a major part, though it may well be that a moderate amount of stylization could also have its effect on the hearer. But doubtful points like this will always arise when there is tension between disparate elements in the verse itself.

For the interplay of opposites is a major characteristic of these metres. The verbal content within the metrical framework is extremely varied. The number of syllables to the line is from four to seven. Hence the rhythmic pattern is bound to be variable. But there are three factors that combine to create stability: the invariable and effective masculine endings of the lines; the four stresses, and a number of devices serving to weaken the first or second row. This strange interplay of variety and stability is what gives the metre its remarkably attractive elasticity.

What explanation can be found for this unusual verse form? Four lifts to the line are not found in Norse prosody, except in the *hrynhenda* and the longest *runhenda* (though the latter does not seem to occur before the second half of the twelfth century, or from the end of that century, and is thus too late to provide evidence for the poetry of the tenth century).¹ Andreas Heusler has therefore conjectured that these catalectic metres were derived from *hrynhenda* through catalexis.²

But in fact these metres differ from *hrynhenda* in far more ways than in the catalexis (shortening). To understand this it must be remembered that *hrynhenda* is a bastard measure, born of the Latin hymn and the court metre and with family characteristics of both. From the hymn it gets its four lifts. At the start *hrynhenda* had a regular trochaic beat, and though in the course of time it was influenced by the free rhythms of old Germanic prosody in the first two feet (the court metre being undoubtedly an intermediary here), the regular rhythmic pattern remained predominant in poems in this metre.³ One need only consider the oldest remains of a poem in this metre: the fragments of *Hafgerðingadrápa*, where there are four feet, each generally — x. It is said to be composed by a Christian from the Hebrides, and the subject is certainly Christian. Compare this with the catalectic metres, in which these can be monosyllabic (e.g. *víða gat ek* (gat'k) *vás-búð*, *víg-lundr nú um stund*, *helli byggir hug-fullr*), while the first or the second row can contain unstressed monosyllables. Later the influence of the court metre on *hrynhenda* increases somewhat (here we have influence from the

¹ Cf. Einar Ólafur Sveinsson, *Saga och sed* (1960), 118-29.

² See A. Heusler, *Deutsche Versgeschichte* 1, 302, ff.; also Jan de Vries, "Het Snjofridslied", in *Ex Libris, bibliografiske breve til Munksgaard*, 170; Einar Ólafur Sveinsson, *Íslenskar bókmenntir í fornöld*, I, 35.

³ See further A. Heusler, *Deutsche Versgeschichte*, I, 302-04.

first two feet of the court metre on those of the line in *hrynhenda*, while the two later ones remain regular and trochaic), though all the time *hrynhenda* is orderly and pleasantly consistent. On the other hand, the catalectic metres contain considerable tension created by the conflict and interplay of opposing elements mentioned above.

But it is now time to come out into the open and reveal my conclusions on the origins of these metres.

In earlier pages I have tried to describe "catalectic metres", and it soon became evident that the metrics of Sievers, with his five main categories or types, would not serve. In general there seems to be something very un-Norse about the rhythm of the catalectic metres, though at the same time to my ear the metre possesses great charm. It appears to be ancient and to have been widely diffused. It occurred to me that it might have been based on some kind of foreign model—though in adapting it to Norse a master hand had been at work—but knowing of nothing like it I tried first to follow in Heusler's footsteps and account for it in terms of a truncation of *hrynhenda*. Nevertheless, as demonstrated above, there were no small divergences. I explored in all directions, but there seemed to be no clear way out of the impasse. Then I began to investigate Irish books on metrics and prosody, and it was as if light suddenly dawned, for there was the foreign model I had been looking for.

My conclusion is as follows: *that a class of Irish metres provided the prototype for the Norse catalectic metres.*

From fragments of ancient Irish poetry, scholars have deduced that from very early times alliteration was used in Ireland, and at a glance this was not unlike the early Germanic poetic forms. Admittedly there is a difference, but it seems unnecessary to go into that here in detail, and I shall content myself with a reference to G. Turville-Petre's study on the subject: "Um dróttkvæði og írskan kveðskap," in *Skírnir* 138 (1954), pp. 31 ff., especially 36-37. He wrote in Icelandic, and I had the great pleasure of being the editor of *Skírnir* at that time.⁴ His comparison of the two, the poetry of the Irish and Norsemen shows an unusual understanding of their similarities *and* differences.

It should be mentioned that alliteration also occurred in Welsh poetry and was formerly used by the Finns—see the Kalevala—and it must be considered likely that there was once a very large area in which alliteration was an accepted poetic practice; and that the island Celts at least, as well as the Germanic tribes and the Finns, shared in this, though each racial group probably did so to a greater or lesser extent in its own way.⁵ It should be mentioned that alliteration continued among the Irish for a long time, and was sometimes more in evidence, sometimes less. But for them, at least later on, it was an ornamental addition to poetry; not a *sine qua non*, as for the Icelanders.

⁴ Discussed by Jan de Vries in *Ogam* ix (1957), 13-26; English translation by Gearóid Mac Eoin in *Ériu* (1971), 1-22, and in Gabriel Turville-Petre, *Nine Norse Studies* (Viking Society, 1972), 154-80.

⁵ Gerard Murphy, *Early Irish Metrics* (Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, 1961), 6-7, gives examples of poetry with some alliteration from among the Romans.

But now the difficulties of your lecturer are really beginning. My knowledge of Irish metrics and language are truly superficial; what I know about your people and its literature, e.g. your old stories, is perhaps a little more. But on the whole I cannot boast. When I began this study, the works of older scholars seemed to show that I was on the wrong lines, but I have been lucky in that, when I was engaged on it, important new metrical studies appeared in Ireland and strange to say, some of them seemed to meet the results I had arrived at in the Icelandic texts. It was for me a very welcome *rencontre*. And, of course, in what follows I shall try to make use of those very interesting studies of Irish metrics which have recently appeared.

A good many years ago the great scholars Rudolf Thurneysen and Kuno Meyer carried out important researches into Irish metres. They maintained that after the spread of Christianity in Ireland Irish poetry was subject to considerable Latin influence. Rhyme then became common, while alliteration continued to a greater or lesser degree, and it became a general rule to have a fixed number of syllables in a line, though not necessarily a regular arrangement of lifts.

In his book *Early Irish Lyrics* (1956) Gerard Murphy expresses views similar to those of Thurneysen and Meyer on this subject.

In more recent years it has come to be realized that the history of Irish prosody was far less uniform than was previously supposed, and some account of this fact will now be given. In his book, *Early Irish Literature* (1958, p. 152; see also p. 151), the Irish scholar Myles Dillon writes as follows:

“The earliest surviving poems are, then, mere alliterative groups without rhyme or rhythm and date from the sixth century. Then rhyme appears toward the end of the sixth century, but there is still no fixed number of stresses or of syllables. The fragments that have come down to us in these earliest forms are largely historical or encomiastic and not of great literary value, although there are some lively satires. *Then in the seventh century regular rhythm appears, combined with rhyme in many metrical varieties.*⁶ And a lyric note comes into the poetry, which is illustrated in some examples quoted hereafter. . . .”

Later he says:

“It was apparently a favourite form for the purpose of memorization and survives in the sagas into the Middle Irish period. Finally, perhaps in the eighth century, the syllabic count becomes dominant, and there is no regular ictus, the word-accent serving only for alliteration and rhyme; and this system, in many metres, was maintained into the seventh century.”

Thus the words of Myles Dillon, and they give ample food for thought. We will especially notice his words about the regular rhythm appearing in the seventh century. Compared with the opinions of Thurneysen and Meyer this seems to be something new.

We now come to a remarkable study by Calvert Watkins: “Indo-European Metrics and Archaic Irish verse,” in *Celtica* vi (1963). It is a comprehensive study, and as time is always short at congresses, I must pick out such things as might be of special interest for our purpose.

⁶ My italics.

Professor Watkins mentions former studies, of Old Greek and Old Indian metrics by Meillet, Wilamowitz, Bergk and others, of the Slavonic languages by Roman Jacobson, and now comes Watkins's study of Old Irish.

One of the most interesting Indo-European metres in this connection is decasyllabic. Watkins describes the chief characteristics in the following manner: (1) a constant number of syllables in the line; (2) a final *anceps* preceded by a fixed quantitative close (cadence); (3) a compulsory cæsure with a fixed or slightly variable position; (4) freedom of quantity of the initial syllables.

In Greek and Indian poetry, a musical accent is spoken about, not a stress or dynamic accent. But the Germanic and Irish accent develop along their own lines in this respect. In place of a rhythm with a quantitative and musical accent, they get stress rhythm, which falls generally on the beginning of a word. According to Calvert Watkins this produces great contractions in the endings of the Germanic languages and in Irish on a still greater scale. Calvert Watkins says: "The establishment of the system of initial mutations has been dated by Jackson to the fifth century of our era, the development of the accent system must be contemporary". And he believes that the line became one of only seven syllables with the syncope of the unstressed ones.

Now, much of Professor Watkins's study is outside my competence, but we shall next have a look at other interesting studies in Irish metrics.

A very interesting point is mentioned by David Greene and Frank O'Connor in their *Golden Treasury of Irish Poetry* regarding the poem *Summer*, printed both in Irish and in English translation (in Irish it begins "Táinic sam slán soer").⁷ On its metre they say: "All the verses but the fifth and last are in five-syllable metre with three strong beats at the end of each line, and can be sung to the tune of "The White Cockade"; the others are in six-syllable metre that resembles a waltz." It was as if a door was opened to me.

Here, then, we have verses that break the rules both of a fixed number of syllables in a line and of freedom of stress. Kuno Meyer⁸ tried to re-arrange the fragments of the poem by syllabic count, but a newcomer to the field is tempted to ask what the intention of the poet *himself* might have been, and whether *he* was in fact one among a class of poets who cared only for the number of syllables and not for rhythm. To correct a poem in accordance with rules that may not have been part of the poet's intention is questionable. And there can be nothing fortuitous about the regular rhythm of this poem. It may belong to the class of accentual poems to which Myles Dillon refers. A comparison with the Norse catalectic metres shows obvious similarities. The last three syllables of the Irish lines correspond to the three final rows of the catalectic metres, while the initial syllables of the Irish lines are equivalent to the first row.

In the above-mentioned book, Kuno Meyer reproduces a spring poem (generally called *Cétamon* in Irish) which is thought to be closely related to the summer poem previously referred to.⁹ It may be noted that in this poem the number of

⁷ David Greene and Frank O'Connor, eds., *A Golden Treasury of Irish Poetry, A.D. 600-1200* (1967), no. 32, pp. 137-39.

⁸ Kuno Meyer, *Four Old Irish Songs of Summer and Winter* (1903), 16-23.

⁹ See *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7.

syllables to a line is even more irregular.¹⁰ Again, these good scholars make every effort to re-arrange the verses, and again in the mind of the newcomer arises a doubt whether the poet adhered to the same fixed rules regarding number of syllables.

At this stage of the enquiry a new study on the subject by Professor James Carney came into the hands of the present writer. "Three Old Irish Accentual Poems".¹¹ The points in this essay most relevant to the present investigation will be noted hereafter.

As the title of Carney's essay indicates, it deals in particular with three ancient Irish poems: I, *Sét no tiag*, II, *Cétamon*, and III, *Tánic sam*. Carney regards all these poems as being accentual, with an undetermined number of syllables. His view is summarized in the following words: "When the syllabic count in an early rhyming and highly alliterative poem is uneven and the unevenness cannot be convincingly eliminated by ordinary editorial processes, we may suspect that we have to do with accented verse. It is clear that in the present poem [i.e. I] the syllabic count is uneven; nor will any form of editorial ingenuity produce convincing syllabic uniformity."¹² Carney uses similar words of the other two poems.

Let me now quote an example from Poem I:

Sét no tiag téiti Crist
crích i mbéo bíth cen tríst

The path I walk, Christ
walks. May the land I
inhabit be without sorrow.

This semistrophe is the equivalent of a catalectic quarter-verse in Norse. There are generally four stressed syllables to a line, corresponding in some degree to the four lift rows of the catalectic metres. The final row is monosyllabic, which applies also to the bulk of the rhyme-syllables in Irish (as in this poem). But Carney mentions an example of this which deviates with regard to stressed syllables earlier in the line. One phenomenon attracts special attention, owing to similarity to the Norse catalectic metres: in this poem we find the words: *ata-teoch*, *narop lond*, *ar mo chiunn*; here *teoch*, *lond* and *chiunn* are considered stressed syllables, but the others are by nature (i.e. in ordinary speech) unstressed. A syllable which can carry stress is therefore wanting, and it is not possible to provide it, except by assuming that one of the unstressed syllables (at the beginning of these word-combinations, without doubt) is made to carry stress, in spite of everything, and then presumably secondary stress.¹³

There are of course many metrical peculiarities in Irish and Icelandic poetry. But for the study of the catalectic metres in Ireland, these seldom provide much when we are studying "influence".

¹⁰ See, for example, the above-mentioned work by Kuno Meyer, p. 6; Gerard Murphy, *Early Irish Lyrics* (1956), 233-34, etc.

¹¹ *Ériu* xxii (1971), 23 ff.

¹² *op. cit.*, p. 24.

¹³ Marked here with a grave accent: *áta*, *nàrop* and *ár* (cf. moreover *ár chech caingin*, *nàrom - tairre*)—a phenomenon also occurring in the other two poems: e.g. *is fo-cen* (II, 2), *imme chevb* (II, 2), *dò cach dinn* (II, 6), *imma sernar* (II, 13), *òcus daim* (III, 2), *fòr cach luss* (III, 5), *dàr cach tír* (III, 7).

So alliteration is found in both countries, but that seems to indicate old times, and certainly not "influence" belonging to the Viking Age. A study of similarity in the sphere of internal rhyme would hardly give any certain results for this investigation although there might be some possibility of connection here. But court-metre, with its internal rhymes, is of ancient date in the North and might have influenced the rhyme-pattern of the catalectic poetry. I shall also mention a *curiosum*. The so-called Irish *aicill*-rhyme reminds me always of some phenomena in the internal rhymes of Bragi Boddason, one of the oldest poets of the North, who lived in the ninth century.

I shall now leave these matters, where the Irish metrical phenomena steadily remind one of Old Northern ones and vice versa.

But for the similarity of the Old Norse catalectic poetry and the accentual Irish poetry mentioned above I think any chance of fortuitous character is out of the question; *here* I think one can undoubtedly reckon with a special connection, and in this case "influence" from the Irish poetry on the Northern.

I shall now try to sum up the most important similarities between the Irish verse-forms under discussion and the Northern catalectic metre.

Point one. The masculine endings of the lines in Irish correspond to the catalectic endings of the Northern metre.

Point two. The four lifts of the catalectic metre can easily be explained as a derivation from the accentually regulated Irish verse-form.

Point three. According to Professor Carney's opinion the lifts fall sometimes on syllables which are otherwise unstressed (or half-stressed); the same phenomenon is found in the Northern catalectic metres, but is otherwise unknown in Old Norse or Old Germanic poetry.

At this point the speaker broke off the reading of his paper with the words: "Now I should very much like to call upon my friend and colleague Professor James Carney to help me to make an experiment. He has kindly consented to read an Old Irish accentual stanza, and I shall read a Northern catalectic semistrophe". Professor Carney now ascended the podium. Then the speaker read a semistrophe from the fragment ascribed to King Harold (see p. 1):

*Hneggi ber ek æ ugg;
óttu hlýði mær drótt
(dána vek ek dular mey)
drauga á kerlaug.*

And Professor Carney answered by reciting an Old Irish accentual stanza:

*Canaid cú céol mbind mbláith
dia mbí súan sám réid;
lengait éoin ciúin crúaich
ocus daim lúath léith.*

Then a change was made in the recitation. The speaker read line one of his semistrophe, and Professor Carney line one of his stanza, then came line two in both examples, and so they proceeded to the end of the verses. Then the lecturer continued to read his paper.

I hope this helps to show the strange similarities of the Irish verse form in question and the Norse catalectic metres. I think they are so many, in fact, that this could scarcely be a matter of chance; here the word "influence" must surely be appropriate, and indeed the catalectic metres are not particularly Norse in character. But undeniably there are also many differences, for example, in the alliteration. In Norse it is used sparingly but is an essential element of the metre, whereas in all but the oldest Irish poetry—which is also different from the Norse—it becomes ornamental and no longer an essential requirement of the verse. But then alliteration has become an obligatory and fixed feature with the Germanic peoples long before the arrival of the Norsemen in Ireland in the Viking Age. And there is every indication that the rhyme system was fully developed in Scandinavia before it was adopted in the catalectic metres.

At this point I should add a few words on the forces that may have increased the differences between the Irish accentual and Norse catalectic metres.

Even if only a single Irish verse had been used as a model, it could well have been the ancestor of a whole class of verses in Scandinavia. However, no such dubious eventuality need be looked for here. It has been established that there existed in Ireland an accentual poetry sufficiently known and widely diffused for Norsemen to have had some knowledge of it. How acquainted with Irish poetry the first composer of catalectic metre in Norse may have been is something we cannot tell, though. Moreover, it may not have been easy at first to compose in Norse with an Irish metre. One wonders how the Irish verse may have sounded to the ear of a Norse poet. It is possible that, either unconsciously or deliberately, he may have had recourse to Norse poetic traditions to help him in one respect or another. But it may be supposed that the poet in question was impressed by the Irish line-endings—making the metre so different, for example, from court-metre—with syllables like hammer-blows; and perhaps other rhythmic phenomena had begun to play in his mind.

I mentioned the difficulties of a Norse poet who wished to compose in a foreign metre. But there is one factor that should not be forgotten: poets can be obstinate. As Fröding remarked: "Så jag målar, Donna Bianca, ty det roar mig att måla så" (Thus do I paint, Donna Bianca, because it amuses me to paint that way!) The poet's own will, his independence of mind, could have a considerable effect on the kind of version of the Irish metre his might turn out to be. There was nothing to compel him to compose in any way other than he pleased. He was under no obligation to imitate his model slavishly.

Here I would add that if a melody was attached to the Irish poems, it could doubtless have helped the transfer of the metres to a Norse context, supporting the introduction of a foreign rhythmic system into Norse prosody, just as *hrynhenda* emerged through the combination of foreign hymns with the Norse court-metre.

The thread followed to this point seems to bring me to the end of my present enquiry. My conclusion is that no obstacles are to be found to invalidate my derivation of the Norse catalectic metres from a special kind of Irish accentual metre.

Besides the chief catalectic metres, we have in the North pretty early examples of some variants of catalectic metres. One of them was partly composed by the Icelandic poet Kormakr. The name gives a suggestion for its origin. Another somewhat different verse is preserved; it is said to have been composed by Þórir snepill, son of a man who had been for a long time in the West; the paths between Iceland and Ireland at that time were innumerable.

I might now add only a few words. Some scholars have maintained that the chief metre of the North, the court metre, might possibly show Irish influence. Turville-Petre in the above-mentioned paper seems to be in two minds about it, but the similarities in question seem to have convinced Jan de Vries. For me the origin of the court measure (*dróttkvætt*) seems to be full of riddles, but I cannot go into that here. But the arguments between northern catalectic metres and the Irish accentual ones are still stronger. And therefore it seems to me that scholars should become receptive to the idea of Irish influence, more prepared to give due consideration to any evidence that may be offered, whether linguistic, cultural or literary. Provided the evidence is valid, it should come as a shock to no one. Just as an example, let me mention the stories circulated among both Celtic and Norse peoples during the Viking Age.¹⁴ The same applies to individual words, etc., a matter you have heard at this Congress. And we have also heard about a stream flowing the opposite way, from the Norsemen to the Irish, and we were interested to see remains of the settlement of the Norsemen in this town.

On this note of optimism, and at the same time with a note of caution, let me conclude for the time being.¹⁵

SUPPLEMENT

Some metrical signs

- : long syllable.
- ∪: short syllable.
- ⌞: long, stressed syllable.
- ∩: short, stressed syllable.
- ⌞̣: long syllable with secondary stress.
- ∩̣: short syllable with secondary stress.
- x: unstressed syllable, long or short.
- `: indicates stress: ´ indicates secondary stress.

The cadence of the court measure is always ⌞ or ∩, but that of the Norse catalectic metres is ⌞̣ or ∩̣, and the preceding "row" may be ⌞ or ⌞x or ∩x.

¹⁴ Cf. Einar Ólafur Sveinsson, "Celtic Elements in Icelandic Tradition", in *Béaloides, Journal of the Folklore of Ireland Society*, 1957 (1959), 3-24; R. Th. Christiansen: *Studies in Irish and Scandinavian Folk-tales* (1959), etc.

¹⁵ The basic argument of this paper has recently been published in Icelandic (with a summary in English) in an expounded and somewhat altered form in Einar Ól. Sveinsson, *Löng er för, þrjú þættir um írskar og íslenskar sögur og kvæði*, *Studia Islandica* 34 (1975), 171-217.

A few scaldic metres.

1. *Dróttkvætt* (Court measure)

Þél høggr **stórt** fyr **stáli**
stafnkvígs á veg *jafnan*
Út með **éla** *meitli*
andærr jötunn *vandar*

Lines generally eight, usually six syllables in each line, sometimes more: of these, three stressed; cadence $\underline{\text{L}} \text{ x}$.

The first four syllables have a somewhat irregular rhythm. Alliteration (in bold face type) always falls on *two stressed* words in the uneven lines, and on the *first stressed* syllable in the even lines.

Internal rhyme: one of the first four syllables rhymes with the stressed syllable of the cadence.

Even lines: full rhyme (afn . . . afn).

Uneven lines: consonance (él . . . ál).

2. *Hrynhenda*

Mínar bið'k at **m**unka *reyni*
meinalausan farar *beina*;
heiðis **h**aldi **h**árar *foldar*
hallar dróttinn of mér *stalli*

Four lifts in each line, last four syllables $\underline{\text{L}} \text{ x} / \underline{\text{L}} \text{ x}$ (sometimes $\cup \text{ x} / \underline{\text{L}} \text{ x}$). Generally eight stressed syllables in each line. In the oldest poems there is a tendency towards a trochaic rhythm throughout the line.

Alliteration in uneven lines falls on first and third, second and third, or third and fourth stressed syllables ("Schweitzer's rule"). In the even lines the alliteration falls on the first stressed syllable.

Internal rhyme: as in the court measure.

3. *Runhenda*

Vestr kom'k of **v**er,
 en ek **V**iðris *ber*
munstrandar **m**ar,
 svá 's **m**itt of *far*.

Runhenda is a mixture (bastard) of *fornyrðislag* (the old Germanic metre) and Latin rhyming metres. Its basis is the old Germanic poetry with roughly four syllables in a line and two lifts; alliteration is much as in no. 1, but instead of the internal rhyme we have here *end-rhyme*. Usually eight lines. No internal rhymes. Later, we meet different metres, with longer lines, but with end-rhyme.

4. *Hnepptir hættir*: catalectic metres

1st row	2nd row	3rd row	4th row
Sýld -a	/skar ek (skar'k)	/svan-a	/fold
súð -um	/því at (því't)	/gae-i-	/brúðr
ást -um	/leidd-i	/oss	/fast
aust -an	/með	/hlað-it	/flaust;
víð -a	/gat ek (gat'k)	/vás-	/búð
víg -	/lundr	/nú um	/stund
hell -i	/bygg-ir	/hug-	/fullr
hing -at	/fyr	/kon-u	/bing

The stressed syllables are in italics, alliteration marked in bold face type. It is not certain whether we should read *skar'k* ("bragarmál"), or *skar ek*, and so on. Each line has six-seven syllables and four lifts. Cadence $_ / _ /$ or $\cup x / _ /$.

Internal rhyme as in court measure. Alliteration in uneven lines is on the first and third, second and third, or third and fourth syllables; in even lines on the first stressed syllable.

Alongside this type we also have the one called *alhnepptir*, where the unstressed syllables are mostly left out:

Hrönn skerr, hratt ferr
húfr kaldr, allvaldr . . .

Examples of some Irish verse-forms.

Cadence: two or three beats at the end of the line; the beginning of the line two-three syllables.

Example 1. *A Golden Treasury of Irish Poetry*, by David Greene and Frank O'Connor (1967). Cadence three beats.

Canaid cúí céol mbind mbláith	The cuckoo sings sweet music;
dia mbí súan sáim réid;	There is smooth restful sleep;
lengait éoin ciúin crúaich	Gentle birds leap upon the hill;
ocus daim lúath léith.	And swift gray stags.

Example 2. J. Carney. "Three Old Irish Accentual Poems." Number of syllables in the line irregular.

Cétamon cáin rée,	Lovely season of May
rosaír and cucht (crann)	Most noble then is the colour of trees;
canait luin laíd lán	Blackbirds sing a full lay,
díambi laí gaí gann.	When the shaft of day is slender.