

*An Account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland and Ireland in
Notebook VI.B.37*

Viviana-Mirela Braslasu and Ian MacArthur

In September 1936 Joyce's interest in the Irish-Viking descendancy prompted him to pick up Jens Jacob Asmussen Worsaae's *An Account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland and Ireland*, a book that he had read and annotated nine years earlier in notebook VI.B.18.¹ The study written for the English reader was, as Worsaae stated in the Introduction, the result of a twelve-month research trip in Scotland, Ireland, and England that had started in the spring of 1846, and 'the first fully detailed examination of the subject from the Danish side'. (*An Account* viii)

The notes from Worsaae's much harvested Viking related source—in 1927 Joyce had collected more than two hundred and eighty notes from *An Account*—start on page 078 in the notebook and they end on page 105. They cover the majority of the first part, The Danes in England, Section I to Section X, they skip the middle section of the book: The Norwegians in Scotland and follow with The Norwegians in Ireland. Repeating the same manner of note-taking as in notebook VI.B.18, Joyce does not start from the beginning of the book, but from page 38 in the source. The notes go on until page 90 in *An Account* and then jump to page 300. He then harvests most of the Ireland section, and stops exactly at the same page (351) as he had in VI.B.18, just before the conclusion. He then returns to the last page of Section I (page xx of the introduction), goes on to the next page xxi (the beginning of Section II of the introduction), then jumps to page 13, he goes on till page 18, to finish with two notes from pages 100-101.

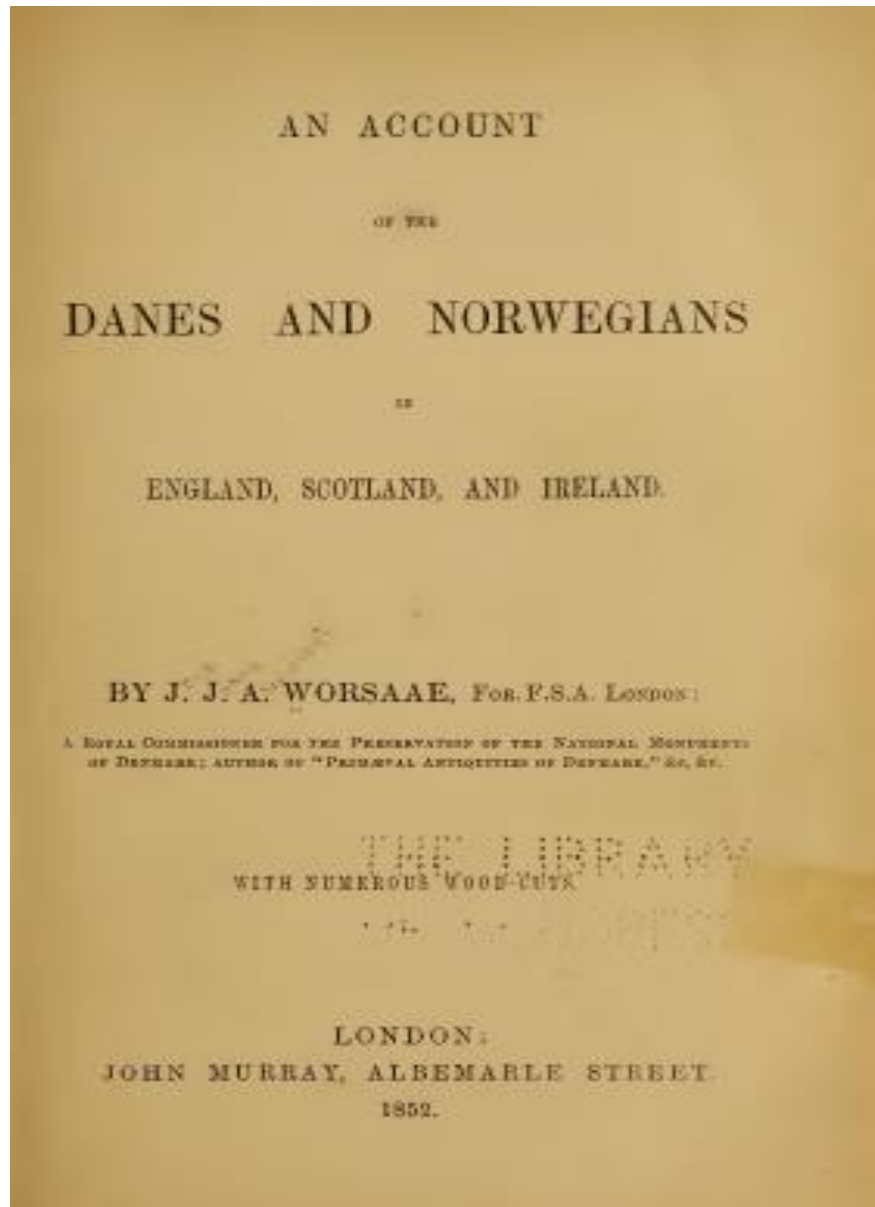
Interesting is that Joyce takes notes from the same two sections of *An Account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland and Ireland* and many harvested pages repeat in the two notebooks: xx, 13, 15-6, 17-8, 40, 46, 50, 56-7, 58, 66, 67, 81, 82, 83, 100, 101, 300, 313, 329, 332, 333, 343-4 and 351. This explains why many notes are harvested twice; some of them slightly changed or jotted down from different pages in the source. They are: 'Swear on armlet' (VI.B.18.217(k) entered in VI.B.37.097(g) as 'swear on armlets'), 'Danish hammers' (VI.B.18.209(f) transcribed in VI.B.37.091(e) as 'danes hammers'), 'Mac Ottar' (VI.B.18.213(a) entered in VI.B.37.104(d) as 'Mac Otter'), 'Finnyland' (VI.B.18.209(h) transcribed in VI.B.37.099(a) as 'Fine | land'), 'barrow' (VI.B.18.218(b) page 25 and VI.B.37.079(e) page 40) and 'Ironsides'/'ironsides'(VI.B.18.217(j) page 21 and VI.B.37.090(f) page 41) to name but a few.

Out of more than one hundred notes collected in the notebook, Joyce red-deletes twenty-two for immediate use in the revisions of Book II chapter 1, section 2. In addition, in the genetic transcription, we have *x* superscripted one other entry 'S Demetrius' (page 098(e)), which, although not crossed out, enters the same draft as the rest of Joyce's red-deletions.

Note:

1. See also *Dublin, Norwegians, Anglo-Saxons, Danes, Tristram and Medieval Nuns in Notebook VI.B.18* by Viviana Mirela Braslasu and Geert Lernout, *Genetic Joyce Studies*, Issue 16, June 2016.

In the following genetic transcription we have used the 1853 edition of *An Account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland and Ireland* by J. J. Asmussen Worsaae. This edition can be accessed online at: <https://archive.org/details/accountofdaneno00wors/page/n5>.



VI.B.37.078

(e) **stood to N E >**

(f) **ˈWatlinga-Stræt >**

?MS 47479-68v, ScrTsLPA: ^+with her ~~watlin~~ ^+wattlin+^ way for cubblin+^ | *JJA* 54:132 | 1936 | IL.3§1.2 | *FW* 328.03

(g) **bridges for soul >>**

VI.B.37.079

(a) **Siward >**

(b) **hustings >**

(c) **highgate >**

(d) **Mickelgatter >**

(e) **barrow**

An Account 38-40: SECTION VI.

Danish-Norwegian Memorials in the North of England.—Coins.—

The Raven.—The Danish Flag.

IF even the old Saxon south England is distinguished by its richness in legends and still existing memorials of the Danes, it is natural that they should be met with in still greater numbers in the old Danish districts to the north and east of Watlinga-Stræt.

Here also the Norwegian saint, “St. Olave,” has been zealously worshipped, both in the country and in the towns. In Norfolk (East Anglia) there is a bridge called “St. Olave’s Bridge.” In itself it is a remarkable monu-[38]ment of a time when bridges over rivers were regarded as such considerable and important structures that, like churches, they were named after, or dedicated to saints; in ancient Scandinavia they even built bridges, as several runic stones testify, “for their souls’ salvation.” In the city of Chester, on the northern frontier of Wales, there is to be found in the southern outskirts, opposite the old castle and close to the river Dee, a church and parish which still bear the name of St. Olave. By the church runs a street called “St. Olave’s Lane.” In the northwest part of York there is likewise a St. Olave’s church, said to be the remains of a monastery founded by the powerful Danish Jarl Siward, who was himself buried there in the year 1055. There can be no doubt that similar churches dedicated to St. Olave were scattered about in other towns of north England, where further researches might possibly yet discover at least some of them.

These traces of the importance formerly conferred on St. Olave in the towns of north England lead one to conjecture that, even after the Danish ascendancy in England was annihilated, a great number of Northmen must have continued to reside there, as was the Case in London. This is so much the more natural, as, long before the Norman Conquest, the Northmen preponderated in many, perhaps in most, mercantile towns of the north of England, and particularly in the fortified towns occupied by the Danes. At the time of the Conquest, the population in some of the largest and most important cities towards the east coast, such as Lincoln and York, is said to have been almost exclusively of Scandinavian extraction; hence it was that Lincoln and York, at least, preserved their original Scandinavian “husting” throughout the middle ages, and even later.

In and about the last-named city, which was the chief place in Danish north England, are numerous Scandinavian memorials. The names of several streets in York end in *gate*. In London, where the same termination of [39] the names of streets frequently occurs, some have, indeed, endeavoured to derive this *gate* from the gates which these streets adjoined; and, as far as regards London, this explanation may

probably in most cases be correct. But in York, where formerly there were at least a score of such streets, it is certainly by no means a probable conjecture that twenty gates existed from which their names were derived; and it therefore becomes a question whether these gates should not be derived from the old Scandinavian “*gata*” (a street), particularly when they appear in compound names, such as Petersgate (Petersgade), Marygate (Mariegade), Fishergate (Fiskergade), Stonegate (Steengade), Micklegate (from the old Scandinavian “*mykill*,” signifying great); which have a striking resemblance with Scandinavian names of streets; nay, there is even a legend respecting Godram, or Guthramgate, that it was named after a Danish chieftain, Guthrum or Gorm, who is said to have dwelt there. The historical accounts of the number and influence of the Northmen in York cannot but strengthen these suppositions in a high degree.

North-east of York, on the coast towards the German ocean, is a promontory called “Flamborough-head.” It is separated from the main land by an immense rampart said to have been raised by the Danes, and called on that account “the Danes’ Dyke,” behind which they intrenched themselves on landing. At no great distance, near Great Driffeld, is “the Danes’ Dale,” and “the Danes’ Graves,” where remains of the Danes who fell in a battle are said to have been dug up. South of York, on the Humber, between Richal and Skipwith, human bones and pieces of iron have likewise been found in several barrows, or tumuli, ascribed to the Danes. It is supposed that the Danes and Norwegians landed in this neighbourhood at different times, when proceeding up the Humber on their warlike expeditions.

(f) *ironsides*

An Account 41: A piece of ground near the bridge over the river Derwent is called “Battle-flats,” and in the surrounding fields, where, for about a century after the battle, large heaps of human bones were to be seen, joint-bones, together with iron swords and other weapons, have been ploughed up, as well as horse-shoes that would be suitable for the small Norwegian horses.

MS 47479-67v, ScrTsLPA: ^+and let lead pacts be being betving ye, he sayd, ^+by my main makeshift, he sayd,+^ one fisk and one flesk, as flat as, Estmand Edmonson you, you’re iron slides and so hompety domp as Paddley Mac Namara here he’s a hardy canooter+^ | *JJA* 54:130 | 1936 | II.3§1.2 | *FW* 325.22

MS 47480-159, ScrMT: ironsides since he might as well have rolled | *JJA* 55:279 | early 1938 | II.3§6B.*1 | *FW* 362.05

(g) *bautastone*

An Account 42: At first sight it might indeed appear that the Danes, who so early, and for so long a period, had extensive possessions in the north of England, must have left there a great number of tumuli, stone circles, and cairns; as well as, in consequence of their numberless fights and battles, a considerable quantity of entrenchments. It is sufficiently known how careful the old Northmen were to hand down to posterity the memory of a hero, and of his deeds. The doctrines of Odin even commanded it, as a sacred duty, to erect bauta-stones in memory of the brave; which is one of the principal reasons why Scandinavia is distinguished, even down to modern times, by such a striking abundance of ancient monuments.

VI.B.37.081

(a) *triangular shields*

An Account 46: It is also related by Giraldus Cambrensis that the Irish procured their battle-axes from the Northmen. The Danes in England, at least towards the latter part of their sway, are likewise said to have used shirts of mail, or chain armour, in which, however, the rings were not interlaced, but sewed on by the side of each other; helmets, with iron bands that covered the nose; and lastly, large pointed triangular shields.

(b) *harefoot*

An Account 47: But though, at present at least, it is scarcely possible to point out in England proper a single runic memorial of undoubted Danish or Norwegian origin, still there are found at times, particularly in north England, certain antiquities, with inscriptions that perfectly supply the want of those illustrations which the runic stones would otherwise afford, respecting the influence and settlements of the Northmen

in England. These are small silver coins struck by Danish-Norwegian kings and jarls during their dominion there. I do not allude, of course, to coins of such kings as Canute the Great, Harald Harefoot, and Hardicanute; for as these princes held a confirmed dominion in England—and that at a time when coining was general in Europe, and when on the whole the light of history begins to shine clearer—there would be nothing strange, nor particularly instructive in an historical point of view, that they also had coined money.

MS 47479-68v, ScrTsLPA: ^+, (harefoot, birdyhands, herringabone, beesknees),+^ | *JJA* 54:132 | 1936 | II.3§1.2 | *FW* 330.33

(c) **westerviking**

An Account 50: Cnut, whose name is found inscribed on the coins in such a manner that one letter stands on each of the four arms of a cross, whilst the inscription R, E, X. (Rex) is inclosed between them, [drawing of the coins] is probably he whom the Danes called “Knud Daneast” (or the Danes’ Joy), a son of the first Danish monarch Gorm the Old; as it is truly related of him that he perished in Vesterviking (or the western lands).

(d) **ʳ[what be] mint >**

MS 47479-50v, ScrTsLPA: ^+Meanly ^+^+in his lewdbrogue+^ ^+take+^+^ your tyon coppils token, with this good sixtric. It is minely well mint.+^ | *JJA* 54:100 | 1936 | II.3§1.2 | *FW* 313.28

(e) **ʳbloedaxe >**

MS 47479-61v, ScrTsLPA: ^+, the coarsehair ~~highsayman~~ ^+highsaydighsayman+^, ^+he sayd+^ the ^+bloedaxe ^+bloodooth+^+^ baltxebec, donconfounder him, and the kurss of all portnoysers befaddle him, the goragorridgorballyed pushkalsson, ^+he sayd,+^ a disagrees to his ramskew coddlelecherskithers’ zirkus+^ | *JJA* 54:122 | 1936 | II.3§1.2 | *FW* 323.04

(f) **ʳbluetooth**

An Account 51-2: Should any doubt still exist that, so early as the ninth century, Danish-Norwegian kings and jarls minted a considerable number of coins in York, in imitation of contemporary Anglo-Saxon and French coins, it is at all events certain that the Northumbrian kings Regnald, Anlaf or [51] Olaf, and Erik, who resided in York during the first half of the tenth century, caused coins of their own to be minted there, and which agree exactly with the historical accounts. Regnald, who reigned from about 912 to 944, was a son of King Sigtryg, and brother to the Olaf before mentioned, who fought the battle of Brunanborg; Erik (+ 951) is either King Erik Blodöxe of Norway, or a son of King Harald Blaatand of Denmark, who is said to have ruled in Northumberland about the same time.

Note: See also the following passage in *An Account*, pages 7-8: The Sagas often make mention of *Björn hin Bretske* (Bear the Briton) as being among his men; and it is said that when he [7] assisted at the funeral solemnities which his foster son, King Svend Tveskjaeg*, held in honour of his father, King Harald Blaatand†, the half of his suite were Britons. Svend himself had ravaged Bretland; and it was there, as is well known, that the Icelander, Thorvald Kodransön, surnamed Vidforle (the far-travelled), delivered him by his noble disinterestedness from a perilous imprisonment.

8n*: Split-beard.

8n†: Blue-tooth.

MS 47479-61v, ScrTsLPA: ^+, the coarsehair ~~highsayman~~ ^+highsaydighsayman+^, ^+he sayd+^ the ^+bloedaxe ^+bloodooth+^+^ baltxebec, donconfounder him, and the kurss of all portnoysers befaddle him, the goragorridgorballyed pushkalsson, ^+he sayd,+^ a disagrees to his ramskew coddlelecherskithers’ zirkus+^ | *JJA* 54:122 | 1936 | II.3§1.2 | *FW* 323.04

VI.B.37.082

(a) **ʳbanner called / land slayer**

An Account 54: The old Sagas in particular contain frequent accounts of the great value that the Northmen set on these flags, or, as they were then called, “mærker” (marks). Thus the Norwegian chief Harald

Haardraade, before he became king of Norway, and after his return from his many expeditions into the Greek Empire, sitting and conversing one evening (according to the nineteenth chapter of his Saga) with King Svend Estridsen of Denmark at the drinking table, Svend asked him what precious things he had that he set most value on? He answered, his banner, called Landöde (or, the land-ravager). Svend then asked what qualities this banner had, since he esteemed it so precious a thing? Harald replied, "They say that he before whom this banner is borne always gains the victory; and such has constantly been the case since I possessed it."

MS 47479-61v, ScrTsLPA: ^+, he sayd, till I split in his flags, he sayd, ^+the landslewder,+^ after Donnerbruch fire+^ | *JJA* 54:122 | 1936 | II.3§1.2 | *FW* 323.08

(b) **whitechrist** >

(c) **Ravengod** >

(d) **Ravenflok** >

(e) **Flok Vilgerdeson** >

(f) **ravenscream**

An Account 56-7: It was not till the time that the Danes and Norwegians began to invade the countries of the west, and to make great conquests there, and consequently not till the ninth century, that we find the oldest traces of the Danes, or rather perhaps the Danish-Norwegian Vikings, having fought under one Hag; which was not, like the earlier ones, that of a single chief, but rather an established national ensign. We must remember that they were heathens, making war upon a Christian land, and fighting for Odin and Thor against White* Christ. Regardless of their former contests in the north itself, the Vikings were now united on these foreign shores by the ties of mutual interest and a common religion; and nothing, therefore, was more natural than that the ensign which conducted them in battle should be consecrated to Odin, or, as he was called, the father of victory, in whose presence they expected at some time to assemble and enjoy the delights of Valhalla. The eagle had been consecrated to Jupiter by the Romans; among the Northmen the raven was Odin's (or, the Father-of-all's) sacred bird. One of Odin's names was therefore "Ravnegud" (raven-god). The ravens Hugin and Munin sat on [56] his shoulders, and only flew away to bring him intelligence of what happened in the world. The ancient Northmen had consequently an especial confidence in the omens of Odin's bird. When the Viking Floke Vilgerdesön set out from Norway to discover Iceland, he consecrated at a sacrifice three ravens, which he wished to take with him, to show him the way. He was therefore called Ravneflope. The Northmen, also, made prognostications from the scream and from the flight of the raven; and the warriors, in particular, regarded it as a good omen if a raven followed them as they marched to battle.

56n*: An epithet applied by the Northmen to our Saviour.

VI.B.37.083

(a) **Ravenlandeye** >

(b) **Corvus Terrae Terror**

An Account 58: The mighty Danish jarl Sivard, or Sigurd, surnamed "Digre" (the stout) (+ 1055), who ruled the earldom of Northumberland somewhat after Canute's time, and after the Danish dominion in England had ceased, also bore a raven ensign, which was called "Ravenlandeye," or the raven that desolates the land. ("*Corvus terræ terror*."") There seems to have been many legends among the people, both as to the manner in which Sigurd procured this ensign, and as to its supernatural power.

(c) **'Dannebrog** >

MS 47479-61v, ScrTsLPA: ^+, he sayd, till I split in his flags, he sayd, ^+the landslewder,+^ after Donnerbruch fire+^ | *JJA* 54:122 | 1936 | II.3§1.2 | *FW* 323.08

(d) **Livonia (Waldemar) >**

(e) **ʳsplit in the flag**

An Account 62-3: In the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries the raven, the Danebrog of heathenism, waved victoriously in the western lands. It was with Canute the Great at Ashingdon, with the Norman William at Hastings, and was thus present at two conquests of England.[...] If we may not assume that the present “Danebrog,” with its white, cross on a red ground, became the Danish national flag immediately after the introduction of Christianity, it is at least certain that the Danish kings, in the first two centuries after that event, bore flags with crosses as their personal banners, or marks; and particularly in the twelfth century, when the crusades against the heathen Wends began. An old Saga, or legend, relates, that during one of the crusades of King Waldemar the Victorious in Livonia, in 1219, the “Danebrog” fell from heaven among the Danish army. This much, however, is certain—that it is not till after these crusades that the “Danebrog” appears as the established national flag of the Danes; and ever since that time, for more than six centuries, it has continued to wave unchanged in the Danish fleets and armies. It is remarkable that, as the flag of the fleet, and of all fortified places, and as the royal flag, it is split; and it can scarcely be doubted that this form must have originated from the fringes and tongues, or points, with which the old Danish and Scandinavian flags were ornamented in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

MS 47479-61v, ScrTsLPA: ^+, he sayd, till I split in his flags, he sayd, ^+the landslewder,+^ after Donnerbruch fire+^ | *JJA* 54:122 | 1936 | II.3§1.2 | *FW* 323.08

(f) **cross the Eider**

An Account 64-5: Generally the lion was not, nor is indeed at present, found on coats of arms in England and France, whereas it appears very frequently in those of the [64] north. Sweden has, besides others, the Gothic lion; the Norwegian national coat of arms is a lion with a halberd; and Denmark has, besides the proper national arms, the Cymbric lion, and the two Sleswick lions. But the lion is so peculiarly Scandinavian that it does not even cross the Eider; Holstein, which is German, has an entirely different coat of arms—a nettle-leaf.

VI.B.37.086

(a) **Grimmsby >**

(b) **ʳDyrby >**

MS 47479-67, ScrTsILS: stork ~~derby~~. ^+dyrby.+^ | *JJA* 54:129 | 1936 | II.3§1.2 | *FW* 325.06

(c) **ʳthwaite { isolated / piece / of land >**

Note: See reproduction. ‘isolated piece of land’ added later in the right margin.

MS 47479-70v, ScrTsLPA: ^+from your thwaites and thorpes, withes, tofts and fosses, fells, ~~fells~~, haughs and shaws, lunds, garths and dales,+^ | *JJA* 54:138 | 1936 | II.3§1.2 | *FW* 331.20

(d) **ʳthorp >**

MS 47479-70v, ScrTsLPA: ^+from your thwaites and thorpes, withes, tofts and fosses, fells, ~~fells~~, haughs and shaws, lunds, garths and dales,+^ | *JJA* 54:138 | 1936 | II.3§1.2 | *FW* 331.21

(e) **ʳwith forest >**

MS 47479-70v, ScrTsLPA: ^+from your thwaites and thorpes, withes, tofts and fosses, fells, ~~fells~~, haughs and shaws, lunds, garths and dales,+^ | *JJA* 54:138 | 1936 | II.3§1.2 | *FW* 331.21

(f) **^rtoft >**

MS 47479-70v, ScrTsLPA: ^+from your thwaites and thorpes, withes, tofts and fosses, fells, ~~fells~~, haughs and shaws, lunds, garths and dales,+^ | *JJA* 54:138 | 1936 | II.3§1.2 | *FW* 331.21

(g) **^rfell fo[rce] >**

MS 47479-70v, ScrTsLPA: ^+from your thwaites and thorpes, withes, tofts and fosses, fells, ~~fells~~, haughs and shaws, lunds, garths and dales,+^ | *JJA* 54:138 | 1936 | II.3§1.2 | *FW* 331.21

(h) **^rdale, ~~howe~~ >**

Note: See reproduction. ‘howe’ black crossed out.

MS 47479-70v, ScrTsLPA: ^+from your thwaites and thorpes, withes, tofts and fosses, fells, ~~fells~~, haughs and shaws, lunds, garths and dales,+^ | *JJA* 54:138 | 1936 | II.3§1.2 | *FW* 331.22

(i) **^rhaugh ^rgarth >**

MS 47479-70v, ScrTsLPA: ^+from your thwaites and thorpes, withes, tofts and fosses, fells, ~~fells~~, haughs and shaws, lunds, garths and dales,+^ | *JJA* 54:138 | 1936 | II.3§1.2 | *FW* 331.21-2

(j) **^rlund grove**

An Account 66-7: An Icelandic Saga, written a hundred and fifty years after the conquest of England by the Normans, or after the battle of Hastings (1066), says that “Northumberland was mostly colonized by Northmen; for after Lodbrog’s sons, who conquered the country, had again lost it, the Danes and Norwegians often harried it; and there are still many places to be found in the district that have names taken from the Scandinavian tongue, such as Grimsby, Hauksfliot, and numerous others.”

Old English chroniclers also state that many towns in England had new names given to them by the Northmen; for instance Streaneshalch came to be called Whitby, and Northweorthig was named in the Danish language “Deoraby.”

A surer and more decisive proof than all written historical accounts of the Danish-Norwegian settlements and diffusion in the midland and northern districts of England is, that the above-named places, namely, Grimsby (“the town of Grim”), Whitby (Hvidby, “the White town”), and Deoraby Dyreby (“town of deer”), contracted to Derby, are to be found to this day in Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, and Derbyshire; and also that in these old Danish districts there is, moreover, a very considerable number of towns with names [66] of just as undoubted Danish origin. A close inspection of even a common map of England will soon show that there are not a few names of places in the north of England, whose terminations and entire form are of quite a different kind from those of places in the south.

The greater number of names of places in the south of England end in —ton, —ham, —bury, or —borough, —forth or —ford, —worth, &c. These, which are of Anglo-Saxon origin, and which also serve still further to prove the preponderating influence of the Anglo-Saxons in that part, are, it is true, also spread over the whole of the north of England. But, even in the districts about the Thames (in Kent, Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk) they already begin to be mixed with previously unknown names ending in —by (*Old Northern*, býr, first a single farm, afterwards a town in general), —thorpe (old Northern (sic) þorp, a collection of houses separated from some principal estate, a village), —thwaite, in the old Scandinavian language þveit, tved, an isolated piece of land, —næs, a promontory, and —ey, or öe, an isle; as in Kirby, or Kirkby, Risby, Upthorpe and others. As we approach from the south the districts west of the Wash, such as Northamptonshire and Warwickshire, the number of such names constantly increases, and we find, among others, Ashby, Rugby, and Naseby. As we proceed farther north, we find still more numerous names of towns and villages having in like manner new terminations such as, —with (*i.e.* forest), —toft, —beck, —tarn (*Scandinavian*, tjörn, or tjarn, a small lake, water), —dale, —fell (rocky mountain), —force (waterfall), —haugh, or, how (*Scand.*, haugr, a hill), —garth (*Scand.*, garðr, a large farm); together with many others. The inhabitants of the north will at once acknowledge these endings to be pure Norwegian or Danish; which is, moreover, placed beyond all doubt by the compound words in which they appear.

MS 47479-70v, ScrTsLPA: ^+from your thwaites and thorpes, withes, tofts and fosses, fells, ~~fells~~, haughs and shaws, lunds, garths and dales,+^ | *JJA* 54:138 | 1936 | II.3§1.2 | *FW* 331.21

VI.B.37.087

(a) **of Denby** >

(b) <**Wilberforce**> **wilberforce** >

(c) **immigrant**

An Account 70-2: Some towns are named after the trade or business of the original inhabitants as Smisby (Smithby) Weaverthorpe, and Copman thorpe (Kjöbmandsthorpe, i.e., merchants-thorpe); others point to the descent of the inhabitants, such as Romanby, Saxby, Flemingsby, Frankby, Frisby and Fristhorpe (but this possibly came from “Freyr”), Scotby, Scotsthorpe, Ireby, Normanby, Danby or Denby, and Danesdale.

It also deserves to be mentioned that many of these names of places have by degrees become family ones, which are constantly heard in England; for instance, Thoresby, Ashby, Crosby (whence again Ashby and Crosby Streets in London), Thorpe, Sibthorpe, Willoughby, Scoresby, Derby, Selby, Wilberforce, &c.

In order, lastly, to convey an idea of the abundance of Scandinavian, or Danish-Norwegian, names of places, which occur in the midland and northern districts of England, a tabular view of those most frequently met with is here subjoined from the English maps. This list, [70] [A Tabular View of Some of the Most Important Danish-Norwegian Names of Places in England] [71] which is principally drawn up for the use of those readers who have not a comprehensive map of England at hand, will, with all its deficiencies, clearly and incontestably prove the correctness of the historical accounts, which state that the new population of Danes and Norwegians that immigrated into England during the Danish expeditions, settled almost exclusively in the districts to the north and east of Watlinga-Stræt, and there chiefly to the west and north of the Wash.

(d) **ridings**

Note: Possibly the collective name for the three ridings in the list: A Tabular View of Some of the Most Important *Danish-Norwegian* Names of Places in England.

An Account 71: Yorkshire.

East Riding ...

West Riding ...

North Riding ...

(e) **seamer water**

An Account 72-3: For although in ancient times Danish and Norwegian were one language, with unimportant variations, so that it would scarcely be possible to decide with certainty in every single case whether the name of a place be derived from the Danes or from the Norwegians; yet it may reasonably be supposed that part at least of the last-mentioned names are Norwegian; namely, those ending [72] in —dale (as Kirk-dale, Lang-dale, Wast-dale, Bishops-dale); in —force (as Aysgarth-force in Yorkshire, High-force, and Low-force, in the river Tees, and in the stream called “Seamer Water”); in —fell (old Norwegian, fjall; Mickle-fell, Cam-fell, Kirk-fell, Middle-fell, Cross-fell); in —tarn (*Old Nor.*, tjorn, or tjarn, a small lake); and in —haugh (as in Northumberland, Red-haugh, Kirk-haugh, Green-haugh, Windy-haugh).

(f) **rigg (Mt ridge)** >

(g) **wath** >

(h) **kell (kyld)** >

(i) **Hol[m]**

An Account 76: The not inconsiderable number (1370) of Scandinavian names of places collected together in the preceding tabular view, could be much increased if we were to include all the Scandinavian appellations used by the common people in many parts of the north of England. A hill, or small mountain, is there called *hoe* or *how* (Höi in Jutland: Höw or Hyv); a mountain ridge, *rigg*; a ford, *wath*; a spring, *kell*; a holm or small island, *holm*; a farm (*Dan.*, Gaard), *garth*, &c, &c.

VI.B.37.088

(a) **Haldan >**

(b) **Else >**

(c) **ᵀNilsen**

An Account 80: Old Scandinavian national names, such as Thorkil, Erik, Haldan, Harald, Else, and several others, were formerly, at least, not unfrequently used in these districts. Surnames, such as Adamson, Jackson, Johnson, Nelson (Nielson), Thomson, Stevenson, Swainson, and others, all of which have endings in *son* or *sen*, which never appear in Saxon names, still frequently occur.

MS 47479-61v, ScrTsLPA: ^+from+^ the ~~fauxpawes~~ ^+statutes+^ of the Kongbullies and from the millestones of Ovlergroamlins+^ | *JJA* 54:122 | 1936 | II.3§1.2 | *FW* 322.32

(d) **Late (seek) >**

(e) **lite (to rely) >**

(f) **helle (to pour out) >**

(g) **hit (to find) >**

(h) **Δ { rock & garnwindle >**

(i) **back bword >>**

VI.B.37.089

(a) **clapbread >**

(b) **board cloth >**

(c) **bink (/or ben/) >**

(d) **ᵀlover (chimney) >**

MS 47479-68v, ScrTsLPA: ^+while ~~the~~ ^+her+^ fresh racy turf is ^+kindly+^ kindling up the lover with the flu,+^ | *JJA* 54:132 | 1936 | II.3§1.2 | *FW* 327.32

(e) **bower (/camera/) >**

- (f) **neat in boo[se]** >
- (g) **crib** >
- (h) **ling (fern)** >
- (i) **Roan** >
- (j) **allars** >>

VI.B.37.090

- (a) **gowk (cuckoo)** >
- (b) **to li[g]e breck** >
- (c) **ʳby mackshift** >
MS 47479-67v, ScrTsLPA: ^+and let lead pacts be being betving ye, he sayd, ^+by my main makeshift, he sayd,+^ one fisk and one flesk, as flat as, Estmand Edmonson you, you're iron slides and so hompety domp as Paddley Mac Namara here he's a hardy canooter+^ | *JJA* 54:130 | 1936 | II.3§1.2 | *FW* 325.21
- (d) **trows (2 boats)** >
- (e) **yuling** >
- (f) **yulecakes** >
- (g) **boars head**

An Account 81-3: These original Scandinavian terms are not only applied, as I have before said, to waterfalls, mountains, rivulets, fords, and islands, but are also in common use in daily life; as, for instance, *late* (*Dan.*, lede; *Eng.*, to seek), *lite* (*Dan.*, lide; *Eng.*, to rely), *helle* (*Dan.*, helde; *Eng.*, to pour out), *hit* (*Dan.*, hitte; *Eng.*, to find), *clip* (*Dan.*, klippe; *Eng.*, to cut), *forelders* (*Dan.*, Forseldre, or Forfaedre; *Eng.*, ancestors, forefathers), *updaals* (*Dan.*, opdals; *Eng.*, up the valley), *kirk-folk* (*Dan.*, Kirkefolk; *Eng.*, people going to church), *kirk-garth* (*Dan.*, Kirke-gaard; *Eng.*, churchyard), with many others.

These originally Scandinavian words are now chiefly found in the north-west of England, among the remote mountains of Yorkshire, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Lancashire, where they have withstood the changes of time. On entering a house there one will find the housewife sitting with her *rock* (*Dan.*, Rok; *Eng.*, a distaff) and *spoel* (*Dan.*, Spole; *Eng.*, spool, a small wheel on the spindle); or else she has set both her *rock* and her *garnwindle* (*Dan.*, Garnvinde; *Eng.*, reel or yarn-winder) aside, whilst standing by her *back-bword* (*Dan.*, Bagebord; *Eng.*, baking-board) she is about to knead dough (*Dan.*, Deig), in order to make the oaten bread commonly used in these parts, at times, also, barley-bread; for *clap-bread* (*Dan.*, Klappebröd, or thin cakes beaten out with the hand) she lays the dough on the *clap-board* (*Dan.*, Klappebord). One will also find the *bord-claith* spread (*Dan.*, Bordklæde; *Eng.*, table-cloth); the people of the house then sit on the *bank* or *bink* (*Dan.*, Bænk; *Eng.*, bench), and eat *Aandorn* (*Eng.*, afternoon's repast), or, as it is called in Jutland and Fünen, *Onden* (dinner). The chimney, *lovver*, stands in the room; which name may perhaps be connected with the Scandinavian *lyre* (Icelandic, ljóri); viz., the smoke-hole in the roof or thatch (*thack*), out of which in olden times, before houses had regular chimneys and "lofts" (*Dan.*, Loft; *Eng.*, roof, an upper room), the smoke (*reek* or *reik*, *Dan.*, [82] Rög) left the dark (*mirk* or *murk*, *Dan.*, mörk) room. Within is the *bower* or *boor* (*Eng.*, bed-chamber), in Danish, *Buur*; as, for

instance, in the old Danish word Jomfrubuur (the maiden's chamber), and in the modern word Fadebuur (the pantry).

Outside, in the *garth*, or yard (*Dan.*, Gaard), stands the roomy *lathe*, or barn (*Dan.*, Lade), which directly shows how fruitful the soil is that belongs to the *garth* (*Dan.*, Gaard; *Eng.*, a manor, farm). The shepherd or herdsman, whose *nowth* (*Dan.*, Nöd; *Eng.*, neat cattle) are restless in the *boose* (*Dan.*, Baas; *Eng.*, stall) and *crib* (*Dan.*, Krybbe; *Eng.*, manger), is about to cleanse the stable, and with a *greype*, or gripe (*Dan.*, Möggreve; *Eng.*, dung-fork), bears out the *muck* (*Dan.*, Mög; *Eng.*, dung) to the midding (*Dan.*, Mödding; *Eng.*, dunghill). If we accompany him to the fields he tells us in a lively tone about the many *threaves* of corn (*Dan.*, Traver, bundles of twenty or thirty sheaves), particularly of *big* (*Dan.*, Byg; *Eng.* barley) that have been got from the poor *ling* (*Dan.*, Lyng; *Eng.*, fern) which covers the sides of the *haughs* or *haws* (*Dan.*, Höie; *Eng.*, hills); of all the *slaa-torns* (*Dan.*, Slaatjörn; *Eng.*, sloes), *lins* (*Dan.*, Lindetræer; *Eng.*, linden trees), *roan trees* (*Dan.*, Rönnetræer; *Eng.*, Scotch rowan trees), and *allars* (*Dan.*, Elletræer; *Eng.*, alders), that grow in yonder little *shaw* (*Dan.*, Skov; *Eng.*, wood), or in that *lawnd* (*Dan.*, Lund; *Eng.*, grove), which is likewise full of *hindberries* (*Dan.*, Hindbær; *Eng.*, raspberries), and which is resorted to by many *gowks* (*Dan.*, Gjöger; *Eng.*, cuckoos). A field farther on, which in its time was acquired by *mackshift* (*Dan.*, Mageskifte; *Eng.*, deed of exchange), has been allowed to *ley-breck* (*Dan.*, ligge-brak; *Eng.*, to lie fallow). Through this field winds a *beck* (*Dan.*, Bæk; *Eng.*, brook), or rivulet well stocked with fish, in which with a *liester* (*Dan.*, Lyster; *Icelandic*, Ljöstr, grains, or a sort of barbed iron fork on a long pole) one may be able to make a good capture.

In the river are the *trows*, or troughs (*Jutland*, trow [82] *Old Scan.*, þró), made use of to cross over to the opposite shore. These *trows*, or troughs, are two small boats, originally trunks of trees hollowed out, and held together by a cross-pole. He who wishes to pass over places a foot in each trough or boat, and rows himself forward with the help of an oar. It is said that Edmund Ironsides and Canute the Great rowed over to the Isle of Olney (in the river Severn) in such boats at the time when they concluded an agreement to divide England between them. The original inhabitants of Europe undoubtedly passed the great rivers in the same simple manner.

Amongst the words in the popular language that still remind one of ancient Scandinavian customs, those of *yuletide*, *yuling* (Christmas), *yule-candles* (*Dan.*, Julelys), and *yule-cakes* (*Dan.*, Julekager), deserve particular notice. Christmas was certainly kept as a solemn feast among the Anglo-Saxons, but it does not appear to have had that importance with them which it had with the Scandinavians; of which this is a proof, that the old name of Christmas (*Yule*) is preserved only in those districts in the north that were more especially colonized by the Northmen. Yule, or the mid-winter feast, was, in the olden times, as it still partly is, the greatest festival in the countries of Scandinavia. Yule bonfires were kindled round about as festival-fires to scare witches and wizards; offerings were made to the gods; the boar dedicated to *Frejyr* (*Dan.*, Sonegalte) was placed on the table, and over it the warriors vowed to perform great deeds. Pork, mead, and ale abounded, and yuletide passed merrily away with games, gymnastics, and mirth of all kinds. It is singular enough that even to the present day it is not only the custom in several parts of England to bring a garnished boar's head to table at Christmas, but that the descendants of the Northmen, in Yorkshire and the ancient Northumberland, do not even now neglect to place a large piece of wood on the fire on Christmas Eve, which is by some called the *yule-block*, by others *yule-clog*, or *yule-log* (per-[83] haps from the old Scandinavian *læg*, *log*, a felled tree; Norwegian, *laag*). Superstitious persons do not, however, allow the whole log to be consumed, but take it out of the fire again in order to preserve it until the following year. Exactly similar observances of Christmas customs still exist in the Scandinavian North. At Smaaland, in Sweden, a boar's-head, called *julhös* (from *hös*, the skull), is set on the table at Christmas; and in East Gothland a large loaf, called *juhlegalt*, is seen on table throughout the festival, of which, however, nothing is eaten. *Juhlhös* and *juhlegalt*, as well as the boar's-head in the north of England before alluded to, owe their origin unmistakably to the expiatory barrow-pig, or "Galt," offered up by the old Northmen to Frejyr. The remembrance of the games of the Northmen is also preserved in England in the Scandinavian word *lake* (to play), which is heard only in the ancient Danish districts.

(h) p 85/86

Note: Possibly a reference to the tables on pages 85-6: *A Hundred Danish Words, selected from the Vulgar Tongue, or Common Language, North of Watlinga Stræt.*
See also VI.B.18.226(o)

VI.B.37.091

(a) **Engelisk strand**

An Account 88-9: In legends still existing in Jutland, the old connections with England, and the wars there, are not forgotten; nay, in some places the people tell of battles fought with the English in Jutland itself: of which ancient names of places likewise bear witness, as in the neighbourhood of Holstebro, “Angelandsmoor” (Angelandsmosen), with the adjacent “Prince Angel’s barrow” (Prinds Angels Høi), which is surrounded with a number of [88] tumuli. The remembrance of the same old connections with England still resounds in the Jutlandish and other ancient Scandinavian ballads, or heroic songs, in which the scene is frequently laid on the “engelandish strand.”

(b) **the burden (H/olmes/)**

An Account 89: The old ballad, in its characteristic form, belongs peculiarly to the countries of Scandinavia; and it is very remarkable that the corresponding English ballads, which often, both in their prevailing tone and in their form—as, for instance, with regard to the burthen—betray a surprising similarity with the Scandinavian, are in England found exclusively in the north.

Note: See also 092(a).

(c) **flit**

An Account 90: one is afraid to draw too strong conclusions from the striking agreement usually shown in the phantoms of the imagination among north Englishmen and their Scandinavian kinsmen. Yet it deserves to be mentioned that the Scandinavian name *Nök* (a river-sprite), is not yet forgotten in Yorkshire; although some by “Nick” or “Oud-Nick” erroneously imagine the devil to be meant, instead of the water-sprite. Many little tricks performed by the *nix* (*Dan.*, *nisse*, a brownie) are known there, as well as in Scandinavia. Once, in England, the conversation happening to turn on these little beings, I related our Scandinavian legend about a peasant who was plagued and teased in all possible ways by a *nisse* or brownie, till at last he could bear it no longer, and determined to *flit* (move house) to another place. When he had conveyed almost all his goods to the new house, and was just driving thither with the last load, he accidentally turned round, and whom did he see? Why, the brownie with his red cap, who sat quietly on the top of the load, and nodded familiarly to him, with the words, “Now we flit.” One of the persons present immediately expressed a lively surprise on hearing a legend related as Danish, and that, too, almost word for word, which he had often heard in Lancashire in his youth. The word *flit* was, and still is, used there by the common people.

(d) **Danish rath / ’s cast / rampart >**

(e) **danes hammers (stones)**

An Account 300: Everywhere, even far in the interior of the country, we are shown Danish raths (mounds and entrenchments), and among others the so-called “Danes-cast,” a long ditch and rampart in Ulster. “Danish cooking-places” are also pointed out, consisting of small circular spaces set round with stones, and bearing traces of embers and burnings, some of which are met with scattered about on heaths and moors. In the ancient copper mines in the south of Ireland roundish stones with a dent round the middle are now and then dug up, which it is evident were used in former times in working the mines. These stones are called by the common people “Danes’ hammers.”

VI.B.37.092

(a) **Old Irelanders / Young —**

An Account 305: O’Connell gave out that he would hold a great repeal meeting on the plain of Clontarf. Everybody knew beforehand that the real meaning of O’Connell’s speech was, that just as the Irish, with Brian Boromha at their head, had formerly defeated the Danes on that very place, and thus saved Ireland’s freedom, so should they now in like manner follow O’Connell (who, besides, gave himself out for a descendant of Brian Boru [?]), and make every sacrifice to wrest back their lost independence from

English, or “Saxon,” ascendancy. The English government, however, forbade the meeting, and indicted O’Connell. But the same extravagant notions respecting the national importance of the battle of Clontarf naturally continued to be generally received; and that not only amongst the adherents of O’Connell, or “Old Irishmen,” as they are called, but also among the members of a political party, the “Young Irishmen,” which has arisen since, and whose aim it is to sever the connection with England by open force. In the seditious songs of both these parties the Danes and the English generally share the same fate, as the war-cry, “The Saxon and the Dane,” constantly forms the burthen of the songs. It is but very rarely that an Irish repealer (for instance, Mr. Holmes) dares venture to express an opinion that it would probably have been no detriment to Ireland if the “Danes” had remained settled there.

(f) **swear on armlets**

?*An Account* 21: Near Wareham, in Dorsetshire, Alfred purchased peace with a host of the latter, who swore on their armlets to observe it; but, though this oath was regarded by the Danes as very sacred, they are said to have broken it immediately

VI.B.37.098

(a) **ʳColmcille [predicts] / 𐌆 >**

MS 47479-65v, ScrTsLPA: ^+As ^+our revelant+^ ~~Columfillen~~ ^+Colunnfiller+^ predigted ^+in last months ^+month’s+^ ^+chatterry ^+chattiry+^ sermon.+^+^ | *JJA* 54:126 | 1936 | II.3§1.2 | *FW* 324.26

(b) **Odo >**

(c) **Griffin**

An Account 307-8: The Irish accounts are, however, far from being always perfectly trustworthy. They not only reflect the customary hatred and prejudices of the Christians against the heathen Northmen, but frequently bear the stamp of being derived from early poetical legends. They relate how several Irish saints, as St. Columkill, St. Berchan, St. Kieran, and St. Comgall, had long before predicted the coming of the Scandinavian heathens and their barbarous proceedings. They likewise depict how terribly the heathens devastated and plundered unhappy Ireland. People were everywhere killed or maltreated; churches and convents were plundered, burnt, and desecrated. Thus the heathen chief Turges’ (Thorgils’) wife, Odo, sat on the altar of the conventual church in Clonmacnois, and on it, as on a throne [307] received the homage of the assembled people. At the same time the Danes everywhere endeavoured to settle themselves in the country. They launched ships even on the lakes, with which they coerced the people dwelling around their shores. In the tenth century (continues the Irish scholar Duaid Mac Firbis, in his unpublished treatise respecting “The Fomorians and Lochlanns,” written about A.D. 1650) “Erinn was filled with ships (or adventurers), viz., the ships of Birn, the ships of Odvin, the ships of Griffin (or Grisin), the ships of Suatgar, the ships of Lagmann, the ships of Earbalbh, the ships of Sitric (?), the ships of Buidin, the ships of Bernin, the ships of the Crioslachs, the ships of Torberd Roe, the ships of Snimin, the ships of Suainin, the ships of Barun, the ships of Mileadh Lua, the ships of the Inghean Roe (Red Maiden).

(d) **batt. Glennnana**

An Account 309: The ancient chronicle before mentioned concerning “The Wars of the Irish and the Northmen” states, for instance, that some time before the battle of Clontarf a desperate conflict took place at Glennmama, in the neighbourhood of Dublin, between the Irish king, Brian Boroimha, and the Danes in Dublin; with which latter were united the inhabitants of Leinster, who had shortly before entered “the Danish precinct of Dublin.” King Brian was victorious in the battle; “*and then there was not a threshing-spot from Howth to Brandon in Kerry without an enslaved Dane threshing on it, nor a quern without a Danish woman grinding on it.*”

(e) **Tara sunk after / unjust doom >**

(f) ***S Demetrius >**

MS 47479-56v, ScrTsLPA: ^+and ~~finning~~ ^+ringing+^ rinbus ~~ra~~ round Demetrius+^ | JJA 54:112 | 1936 | II.3§1.2 | FW 319.06

(g) **Kin >**

MS 47479-54v, ScrTsLPA: ^+of KinKincaraborg+^ | JJA 54:108 | 1936 | II.3§1.2 | FW 316.13

(h) **Kincara / borg**

An Account 310: The accuracy with which different places in Ireland are described affords a very remarkable proof of this. Thus the ancient seat of royalty “Teamor,” or Tara, which is also celebrated for its delightful situation, is mentioned in the “Kongespeil” under the name of “Themar;” and it is added that “the people knew no finer city on the earth.” In the same place it is further stated that the town and castle sunk suddenly into the earth, because a king pronounced an unjust judgment—a tradition common in Ireland to the present day.

Places in Ireland mentioned in the Sagas, but which formerly could not be traced, have recently been pointed out by the aid of the Irish records. The “Kongespeil” states, for instance, that Saint Diermitius had a church on a small island, “Misredan” or “Inisdredan,” in the lake “Logherne.” This island is evidently “Inisdrekan” in Lough Erne, where formerly St. Diermitius actually had a church. Subsequent transcribers of the book have clearly enough transformed Inisdrekan into Inisdredan, Misredan, &c. The same has been the case with the celebrated King Brian Boroiimha’s castle, which, by a mistake in copying, is called in the Sagas “Kanntaraborg” or “Kunjattaborg,” instead of “Kanncaraborg.” Brian Boroiimha’s castle, so celebrated in the Irish songs and legends, was called in Irish “Ceann-Caraidh” (pronounced Cancara), and was situated on the river Shannon, not far from Limerick. To the Irish Cancara the Norwegians, therefore, only added the Scandinavian termination “borg.”

MS 47479-54v, ScrTsLPA: ^+of KinKincaraborg+^ | JJA 54:108 | 1936 | II.3§1.2 | FW 316.13

VI.B.37.099

(a) **Fine | land**

An Account 313: On the flat shores in the middle of the eastern coast of Ireland, between Dublin and Drogheda, which are called Finngall, or “the strangers’ land” (from “finne,” a land, and “gall,” a stranger), and which in ancient times were colonized chiefly by Norwegians, is a small town called Baldoyle.

(b) **discharges Δ**

An Account 315: The central point, however, of the real Norwegian power was the present capital, Dublin. This considerable city, which is said to contain at present more than three hundred thousand inhabitants, lies on both sides of the river Liffey, near the spot where it discharges itself into the Irish Channel.

(c) **Thorkill (Frode)**

An Account 316: About the middle of the ninth century a celebrated Norwegian Viking, Olaf the White, is said to have taken Dublin, and made himself king of the city and district. After the death of Olaf in a battle, two sons of King Harald Haarfager (Fair-hair), of Norway, arrived there, namely, Thorgils, called by the Irish Turges, and Frode; who, by means of the sword, likewise won for themselves thrones in Dublin.

(d) **Ragnwald / Ottar / Roerik / R[ung] / Ostinus / (Einstein >>**

VI.B.37.100

(a) **Blackar**

An Account 317: the Scandinavian names of the kings (such as Olaf, Ivar, Eistein, Sigtryg, Godfred or Gudröd (?), Ragnvald, Torfin, Ottar, Broder, Eskil, Rörik, Harald, and Magnus) appear in general clear and distinct through the somewhat altered Irish forms, whilst a few names, such as Gluniarand (which in Irish signifies Iron-Knee), Eachmargach, Maelnambo, and Gilalve, seem to be mere Irish translations, or at all events purely Irish transformations, of Scandinavian forms.

Norwegian, or Scandinavian, Kings in Ireland.
{From Lindsay, "The Coinage of Ireland" Cork, 1839.)
A.—Kings of Dublin.

Anlaf (Olaf), 853.
Ifar (Ivar), 870.
Ostinus (Eistein), 872.
Godfred (Gudrod), 875.
Sihtric (Sigtryg), 893.
Sihtric, 896.
Regnald (Ragnvald), 919.
Godfred, 920.
Anlaf, 934.
Blacar (Blake), 941.

(b) draughtsmen / button

An Account 329: The Irish also seem to have had a somewhat similar mode of proceeding at that time, as among a great number of things undoubtedly Irish, discovered at Dunshauglin, there was found a bone button or knob, certainly a draughtsman, which, instead of a hole, is furnished with a metal point at the bottom, by which it was evidently intended to be fixed in the board. But for the Scandinavian Vikings, [329] who were so much at sea, and who, it seems, liked to while away the time by playing draughts, such a precaution was doubly necessary, as the rolling of the vessel would otherwise have thrown the draughtsmen together every moment. It is remarkable that at Kilmainham, as well as in Scandinavia itself, the draughtsmen are found deposited in the graves, by the side of the arms and ornaments of the warriors.

(c) westmen >

(d) papae

An Account 332: Thus, when the Northmen first discovered Iceland (about the year 860), they found no population there; but on "Papey," in "Papyli," and several places in the east and south of the country, they found traces of "Papar," or Christian priests, who had left behind them croziers, bells, and Irish books; whence they perceived that these priests were "Westmen," or Irishmen; for just as the Irish called the Scandinavians "Ostmen," because their home lay to the east of Ireland so also did the Scandinavians call the Irish "Westmen."

(e) S Sunniva >

(f) Patrickfjord / (Ireland)

An Account 333: Another proof of the influence of Christianity in Ireland on the North is, that an Irish princess, Sunneva, was at a later period worshipped as a saint in Norway. Her body is alleged to have been deposited in a large and handsome shrine over the high altar in Christ Church, in Bergen, and on the 8th of July the Norwegians celebrated an annual mass in her honour. Even in Iceland there is a fiord, or firth, on the northwest coast, called "Patreksfjorðr," after St. Patrick, the patron saint of Ireland.

VI.B.37.102

(e) Br. Bardagi

An Account 341: The cause of the battle of Clontarf, so celebrated in song and legend, or, as it is called in the Sagas, "Briánsbardagi" (Brian's battle, after King Brian, who fell in it in 1014), is not precisely known.

(f) Odin's holy raven >

(g) Sigurd the Stout >

(h) **Flag round body**

(i) **'Sigurdiarl >**

?MS 47479-49v, ScrTsLPA: ^+Recknar Jarl+^ | JJA 54:098 | 1936 | II.3§1.2 | FW 313.15

(j) **winding sheet**

An Account 342: The prospects of Sigtryg, and of the Norwegian power in Ireland, seem really to have been threatening enough; at least it is said that Scandinavian warriors hastened in numbers to Sigtryg's assistance from the Scandinavian kingdoms in England, the Isle of Man, the Syder Isles, and Orkneys. From the last, in particular, came Jarl Sigurd the Stout, with a chosen force, in the midst of which waved a flag with the image of Odin's holy raven. Sigurd's own mother had woven this raven, which, with fluttering wings, had often before led the warriors to victory and glory.

This time, however, the raven was checked in its flight. After many of the standard bearers had been killed, Sigurd Jarl himself took the flag from the staff, and wrapt it about his body. He seemed to foresee, what really happened shortly afterwards, that the raven flag would be his winding-sheet.

VI.B.37.103

(a) **Tulloch (Olaf) >**

(b) **Donat †**

An Account 343: The great respect in which the name of the Norwegian Saint Olaf was held in Dublin is also manifest from the circumstance that a church consecrated to St. Olave, or, as the Irish common people gradually corrupted the name, to "Tulloch" (compare the name of Tooley Street in London, corrupted from St. Olave Street), was to be found there till at least far into the sixteenth century. This church adjoined the northern end of Fishshamble Street, near Wood-Quay; but originally, perhaps, it was just outside the city.

In the same year (1038) that Christ Church was, partly through the exertions of Bishop Donat, erected in Dublin, he likewise built the chapel of St. Michael.

(c) **Sudreyjar**

An Account 345: It has lately been discovered (compare P. Chalmers in the *Journal of the Brit. Archæol. Assoc.*, Oct., 1850, p. 323, &c.) that these archbishops of Dublin not only administered their own diocese, but, at least at times, acted as superintendents of the Norwegian bishoprics in the Isle of Man and the Sudreyjar. There is a letter of Pope Honorius of the beginning of the thirteenth century, from which it appears that the archbishop of Dublin at that time consecrated a bishop of Man and the Sudreyjar, a privilege which in more ancient times belonged to the archbishops of York, and afterwards (from 1181 to 1334) to the archbishops of Trondhjem. It is quite certain that this was a result of the lively intercourse which undoubtedly took place between the successors of the Ostmen in Ireland and their near kinsmen in the Norwegian kingdoms in Man and the Sudreyjar.

(d) **Godfry ^+rd+^ Merenagh**

An Account 346-7: Shortly after the battle of Clontarf, Christianity was introduced into the Scandinavian North, and thus an end was put to the Vikings' expeditions, which had hitherto incessantly brought colonists and auxiliary forces into Ireland. Even the reinforcements which the Ostmen were able to obtain from their country-[346]men in Man, the Sudreyjar, and the Orkneys, were naturally not so important as before; since on these islands also Christianity gradually annihilated the bold Viking spirit of the people.

Under such circumstances it is surprising that Godfred (or Godred) Merenagh, king of the Ostmen in Dublin, had in the year 1095 a naval force of not fewer than ninety ships in the harbour of Dublin; and that the land forces of the Ostmen in that city were proportionately powerful. The Irish chronicles mention many battles in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in which the Dublin Ostmen brought numerous warriors into the field, and in which they often suffered very considerable loss, without, however, being entirely annihilated or driven out of the town. Even in the year 1167, and consequently a hundred and fifty years

after the battle of Clontarf, a great meeting of the Irish people was held by Athboy of Tlactga, at which, the Irish themselves say, *thousands* of the first Ostmen in Dublin were present.

(e) **O 4 E, 4 N, 4 I**

?*An Account* 348-9: Nevertheless we must not believe that the Ostmen were even now wholly expelled from Ireland, or that their influence there was entirely at an end. After the taking of Dublin by the English, so many Ostmen still remained in the city that “the Galls of Dublin” continued to have their own separate army, which even seems to have acted pretty independently of the English conquerors. An Irish chronicle (*Annals of the Four Masters*) states that Mulrony O’Keary, Lord of Carbury, was treacherously slain by the “Dublin Ostmen” in the year 1174, and consequently some years after the taking of Dublin. In the same year the English themselves were forced to obtain the assistance of the “Dublin Ostmen” against the Irish; and it is expressly stated that in a subsequent attack of the Irish on this united Anglo-Norwegian army not far from Dublin, there fell no fewer than “*four hundred* Ostmen”. The contemporary author, Giraldus Cambrensis, to whom we owe this account, also speaks of the Ostmen, after the conquest of Ireland, as a peculiar and [348] decidedly separate people, who carried on trade and navigation (“gens igitur hæc, quæ nunc Ostmannica gens vocatur,” &c).

Even more than a century afterwards we can still trace many Ostmen in the chief cities of Ireland, where, it seems, they continued to preserve those Scandinavian characteristics which distinguished them from the Irish and English. In the year 1201 a verdict was pronounced by twelve Irishmen, twelve Englishmen, and twelve Ostmen in Limerick, concerning the lands, churches, and other property belonging to the church of Limerick; which shows that the Ostmen were sufficiently numerous there to be placed on an equal footing with the English and Irish.

(f) **Mac Kitterick / (Sitric >>**

VI.B.37.104

(a) **O’Bruadair >**

(b) **Roaild >**

(c) **Maus >**

(d) **Cotta (Mac Otter)**

An Account 351: Even to the present day we can follow, particularly in Leinster, the last traces of the Ostmen through a similar series of peculiar family names, which are by no means Irish, but clearly original Norwegian names; for instance, Mac Hitteric or Shiteric (son of Sigtryg), O’Bruadair (son of Broder), Mac Ragnall (son of Ragnvald), Roailb (Rolf), Auleev (Olaf), Mánus (Magnus), and others. It is even asserted that among the families of the Dublin merchants are still to be found descendants of the old Norwegian merchants formerly so numerous in that city. The names of families adduced in confirmation of this, as Harrold (Harald), Iver (Ivar), Cotter or Mac Otter (Ottar), and others, which are genuine Norwegian names, corroborate the assertion that Norwegian families appear to have propagated themselves uninterruptedly in Dublin down to our times, as living evidences of the dominion which their forefathers once exercised there.

(i) **Tordenskjold**

An Account xx: But the favourite heroes of the Danes and Norwegians are seamen; as Christian IV., Niels Juel, Hvitfeld, and especially Tordenskjold, who, singularly enough, was contemporary with Charles XII.

(j) **Sw sabrecut**

An Account xxi: The victories of Sweden are of a modern date, and since the last two centuries; but those of Denmark are of the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. The remembrance of the Swedish sabre-cut yet remains fresh among the Russians, Poles, and Germans; nay, in some places, the Swedish name is still a terror to the common people.

VI.B.37.105

(a) **visited with fire >**

(b) **liffey[ness]**

An Account 13: From Sandwich it was but a few miles to Canterbury (in the northern tongue “Kantaraborg”), which, being a rich bishopric, was on that account exposed to remorseless plunder. In the year 1011 especially, the Jarl Thorkel the Tall, visited it with fire and sword. Christchurch, the principal church in England, was burnt down; the monks were put to death, and only one in ten of the citizens spared. Many, and among them Archbishop Elfeg, who was afterwards cruelly murdered, were cast into prison.

To the south of Canterbury, on the channel, lies “Dungeness,” and at the mouth of the Thames, “Foulness,” and “Sheerness.” The termination *ness*, in these names, seems to be neither Saxon, nor Celtic, but plainly the Danish and Norwegian *Næs* (a promontory, or lofty tongue of land, running out into the sea).

(c) **Lundunaborg**

An Account 15-6: Although London was at that time one of the most considerable towns in Europe, it was of course but very small compared with what it is at present. The walls enclosed only that proportionally small part of modern London called the “City,” and which forms the centre of its busy commerce. Close by lay a castle (whence the Northmen’s name for London, “Lundunaborg”), and undoubtedly on the same spot where, not long after Canute’s time, William [15] the Conqueror built the Tower.

(d) **S Clement**

An Account 16: Approaching the city from the west end, through the great street called “the Strand,” we see, close outside the old gate of Temple Bar, a church called St. Clement’s Danes, from which the surrounding parish derives its name. In the early part of the middle ages this church was called in Latin, “Ecclesia Sancti Clementis Danorum,” or, “the Danes’ Church of St. Clement.” It was here that the Danes in London formerly had their own burial place; in which reposed the remains of Canute the Great’s son and next successor, Harald Harefoot.

(e) **batt. of Sticklestad**

An Account 17-8: The Northmen had a [17] church in Sydvirke dedicated to the Norwegian king, Olaf the Saint. Olaf, who fell in the battle of Stiklestad, in 1030, was so celebrated a saint that churches were built in his honour, not only in Norway, where he became the patron saint of the kingdom, and in the rest of Scandinavia, but also in almost every place where the Northmen established themselves; nay, even in distant Constantinople the Varangians had a church called after him.

(f) **Lymfjord**

?An Account 100: During the Roman dominion in England, and probably even in far earlier times, a tolerably brisk commerce appears to have been kept up between England and the countries of Scandinavia, especially Jutland, Vendsyssel, and the districts round the Limfjord; where also, as a consequence of this, genuine Roman antiquities have been dug up at various times.

Note: Mentioned first on page 88 and last on page 175.

(g) **’thane**

?An Account 101: Even in Alfred the Great’s time (A.D. 900) the seas and lands of Scandinavia were but very little known to the Anglo-Saxons; for which reason Alfred, chiefly with a view to trade and commerce, sent Ulfsten and the Norwegian Ottar on voyages of discovery to the Baltic, and along the coast of Norway to the White Sea. That according to the laws of his country an Anglo-Saxon merchant obtained the rank and title of Thane, or Chief, when he had thrice crossed the sea in his own ship, sufficiently attests how desirous the Anglo-Saxon kings were to awaken among their subjects, by means of large rewards, a desire for such voyages.

Note: Mentioned next on page 138 and several times afterwards.

MS 47479-54, ScrTsOS: ~~Dane~~ ^+thane+^ | JJA 54:107 | 1936 | II.3§1.2 | FW 316.05