Dublin, Norwegians, Anglo-Saxons, Danes, Tristram and Medieval Nuns in Notebook VI.B.18

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Buffalo Notebook VI.B.18 was filled in the spring and early summer of 1927, when Joyce had just started on chapter I.6, while revising and correcting the other chapters of Book I for publication in *transition*. The sources in this notebook seem to have been mostly historical, but they vary widely. Since the first of the questions to be answered in I.6 was about the "myther rector," quite a lot of these notes have to do with the city and county of Dublin and the Scandinavian history of the British isles.

The first extended set of notes was taken from *The History of the City of Dublin: From the Earliest Accounts to the Present* by John Warburton, James Whitelaw and Robert Walsh. The two volumes were published on 1818. The clergyman and philantropist James Whitelaw, who had earlier made a census of the Dublin population, collaborated on this history of the city with John Warburton, deputy keeper of records in Dublin Castle and the manuscript was later completed by John Walsh. Although mostly based on earlier studies, the book was widely read. Joyce makes use of the earliest chapters of the first volume and then suddenly stopped after filling no more than three notebook pages.

The next source is another older history, this time of the whole county of Dublin, published in 1838 by the Dublin lawyer John D'Alton. It is more of a natural history and description of the different villages and locales in the county than a history in the modern sense of the word. Joyce begins to take notes from the very first sentences of the fairly short chapter on the Liffey and he ends his annotation work when he reaches the end of that chapter.

After a brief interruption, we move to an even older historical study published in four volumes between 1799 and 1805 by Sharon Turner. Turner was an English lawyer-historian who persuaded Benjamin D'Israeli's father to have his children baptised in the Church of England. His whig history of Anglo-Saxons was a defense of Saxon liberty (as opposed to Norman despotism) and an inspiration for Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*. Joyce only ended up using just a few words from this book, this time from the second chapter that describes the population of the British isles before the coming of the Phenicians and Carthagians.

Somewhat later Joyce began to make notes from a much more recent history of medieval English nunneries by Eileen Edna Powers, the second female professor of economic history at the London School of Economics. In this modern scholarly book (1922) Powers demonstrates that nuns belonged to the upper classes of society. Joyce begins to make notes from the beginning of the book and he reads straight to page 76 in a book of more than 700 pages, covering only the first two chapters, on novices and about the "head of the house," ending his annotations after reading the section on "Luxurious clothes and entertainments."

More than a hundred pages later, Joyce started to make notes from another Viking related source, *An Account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland and Ireland* by Jens Jacob Asmussen Worsaae, starting with the third part, which describes the Norwegian influence in

Ireland. Worsaae was a pioneering Danish historian and archaeologist, director of the National Museum in Copenhagen. Joyce took notes from most of the Ireland section, but then he stopped just before the conclusion and he began again at the very beginning of the book, on the first page of the introduction.

The final larger source is the final story in Mabel Quiller-Couch's *Cornwall's Wonderland* (1914). Mabel was the sister of the writer Arthur, editor of the famous *Oxford Book of English Verse 1250-1900*. Joyce took plenty of notes from her prose version of the Tristram and Isolde story published in this collection of Cornish folk tales. When Joyce had finished with the Tristram story, he briefly returned to the chapter titles that was printed at the start of the book, noting the title of an earlier story, but he stopped there.

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VI.B.18.004

- (f) ^bRoderick O'Conor >
 - *Note:* The name of the hero of one of the early sketches predates the taking of this note.
- (g) wonderful limehouse / castle Tuam 1167 >

The History of the City of Dublin 44: Roderick O'Connor,* king of Conaught, is reported to have been the first person in Ireland, who erected a castle of lime and stone at Tuam, and that so late as the year 1161, which was looked upon as a novelty then, that it got the name of the Wonderful Castle. 44n*: The descendants of the kings of Conaught, spell their names O'Conor.

(h) Quintus Centimachus / conn >>

MS 47472-381, PrRMA: his ^+^+our+^ ^+Quintus Centimachus'+^+^ | JJA 46:176 | May-Jul 1927 | $I.4\$1.7/\underline{2.7}$ | FW 100.16

VI.B.18.005

(a) finegleis ∧

The History of the City of Dublin 45: For there having been many sharp battles fought between Con Ceadcathach, (in Latin Quintus Centimachus), king of Ireland, who began his reign A.D. 177, and Mogha Nuagad, king of Munster; a peace was at length made between them, which produced a new division of the kingdom; whereby the south part, bounded by a chain of litle [sic] hills, extending from the High Street, of the city of Dublin, in various branches through the kingdom to Galway, and called Aisgir Reida, fell to the share of Mogha Nuagad, and from thence was called Leth-Mogha, or Mogha's share, and all northward of those bounds was allotted to Conn, and called Leth-Quin, or Conn's portion. This bipartite division was made about the year 191; but it did not subsist longer than a year, when it was overturned by the ambition of Mogha-Nuagad, who thought himself over-reached in the partition; because the half of the harbour of Dublin, which he observed to be commodious for traffic and fishing, did not fail within his allotment, to recover which he again commenced hostilities, and fell in the attempt

Joceline † also, in his life of St. Patrick, mentions Dublin in the following manner: "St. Patrick, departing from the borders of Meath, directed his steps towards Leinster, and having passed the river Finglass, he came to a certain hill, almost a mile distant from Ath-Cliath, now called Dublin, and casting his eyes round the place, and the circumjacent country, he is reported to have broke out into this prophecy; *That small village shall hereafter be an eminent city; it shall increase in riches and dignities, until at length it shall be lifted up into the throne of the kingdom.*"

MS 47472-381, PrRMA: ^+fineglass+^ | JJA 46:176 | May-Jul 1927 | I.4§1.7/2.7 | FW 100.23

(b) Dinis Dulin >

(c) D. Blaneys

The History of the City of Dublin 47-8: We have observed before, that it was called Eblana by Ptolemy; upon which word, Mr. Baxter* has a conjecture, not indeed unsatisfactory, that the word Eblana has been maimed, and that the true reading is Deblana, which proves to be the termination of two British words, dur and lhun, i. e. black water or a black channel, the bed of the Liffey in this place having been boggy, and consequently the water black. It is certain that ancient geographers have often truncated the initial letters of proper names of places. For instance, instead of Pepiacum, and Pepidii in Wales, Ptolemy writes Epiacum and Epidii; and for Dulcinium, now called Dolcigno, in Dalmatia, he has Ulcinium, and Pliny, Olchinium. The inhabitants of Fingal † call this place Divelin, and the Welch, Dinas-Dulin, or the city of Dulin, to this day.

SECTION III.

Who were the original inhabitants of Dublin, is a matter both as uncertain and obscure as the time in which it was built: at best, we are under the disagreeable necessity of founding our reasonings on conjecture. The [47] Blanii, Eblani, or Deblani, (according to Mr. Baxter's notion, before mentioned,) inhabited the tract of country, now comprehending the city and county of Dublin, and a considerable part of the county of Meath.

It is probable they were ancient natives, and either gave the name of Eblana to the city, or took their names from their situation in or near it.

47n*: Glossar. verb. Deblana.

MS 47472-380, PrBMS: the ^+D. Blayney's+^ | JJA 46:175 | May-Jul 1927 | I.4§1.7/2.7 | FW 099.34

(d) bpossessed himself of / her mouth >

MS 47474-79v, PrLMA: ^+, struggling to possess themselves of your boosh, one son of Sorge for all daughters of Anguish,+^ | JJA 47:478 | Aug-Sep 1927 | $I.7\$1.7/\underline{2.7}$ | FW 189.17-18

(e) 1st erection

The History of the City of Dublin 66: That the walls and fortifications about Dublin were raised by the Ostmen or Danes in the 9th century, is a point that admits of no controversy; historians are uniform upon this head, though none of them are so particular as to fix an æra for the first erection. As it was the head and capital of their colonies in Leinster, from when they issued out upon all occasions against their enemies, it is no way improbable but they rendered it fit for defence and security soon after they first possessed it; which seems to have been about the year 838, when we are told "that a fleet of sixty sail of those foreigners entered the river Liffey, and another of the same number possessed themselves of the mouth of the river Boyn, at Drogheda." Ware indeed, from the authority of some Irish histories, takes it for granted, "that the Danes possessed themselves of the city of Dublin, and of the neighbouring territory called Fingal, before the year 851."

(f) compell >

(g) street where taverns go / scarlet alley

The History of the City of Dublin 67-8: Cambrensis,* who was contemporary with these actions, gives also the same account; from all of which it is evident, that the city was encompassed with walls before the arrival of the English; and it may be seen before, p. 15, that in the writ sent by King John to the Lord Justice Fitz-Henry, in 1204, for building the castle, he commanded him to compell the citizens to strengthen the city walls, the fortifications about the city having then, it seems, gone in some measure to decay. [...] where (proceeds Pembrige) we still see a "tower beyond the gate, with another gate in the street where the taverns "are," i. e. in Wine-tavern street. From this description given by Pembrige, some judgment may be formed how the ancient walls of the city were carried, namely, from Wine-tavern gate along the south side of Cook-street, till they joined Owen's arch, which yet remains, and was a portal to the city and from thence were continued north of Owen's church-yard, to a castle called Fagan's-castle, in Page's court, where was another portal, and and [sic] from thence they extended to Newgate. [...]

From the north or Store tower of the castle, formerly mentioned, the city wall was carried by the garden of Cork House, which was anciently the church-yard of St. Mary les Dames, unto Dames'-gate, which stood upon the rising of Cork-Hill, oppposite to a small alley, called by some Scarlet-alley, and by some Salutation-alley.

(h) <Ameliffe> Aneliffe >

(i) To proceed

The History of the City of Dublin 68-9: from the wall of the said city on the west, unto a garden late in the tenure of William Grace or Patrick Kelly, or one of them, and the orchard called Fagan's orchard, and so along by the mears of the said orchard unto the Hogg-lane on the east, and from the river Aneliffe on the north [68] unto the walls of the said city and the King's way, called Dame's-street, on the south and west, together with the ground, soil, and bottom, and other appurtenances, of and in the limits aforesaid, in the county of the city of Dublin. Also a tenement late covered with thatch, and two gardens adjoining, in the parish of St. Andrew's, without the Dame's-gate, within or near to the said city, in the county of the city of Dublin, late parcel of St. Mary's abbey, near Dublin." We have given this part of the record at large, though it does not all properly belong to the subject of the present chapter; yet we thought it necessary, as it shews how much the city is increased in buildings and improvements, even since the reign of King Charles I. when gardens, void spaces of ground, and thatched houses were to be seen even within the narrow compass of the walls. To proceed.

MS 47472-361, PrLMA: ^+To proceed.+^ | JJA 45:283 | May-Jun 1927 | I.3§1.7/2.7/3.7 | FW 067.07

(j) Isod's fort /b—- tower

The History of the City of Dublin 70: The tower before mentioned under the name of Isod's tower, together with Chape-lizod, a village near the city, (and the same may be said of Isod's fort in the Park), are reported by a historian "to have taken their names from La-Beal-Isoud, or the fair Isoud, daughter of Anguish (I know not what) King of Ireland, and that the tower was a castle of pleasure for the kings to recreate themselves in."

MS 47472-270, TsILA: and shouting ^+from Isod's towertop.+^ | JJA 46:100 | Apr-May 1927 | I.4§1.5/2.5 | FW 087.29

(k) Fagui's castle >

(1) Cuckolds' post

The History of the City of Dublin 71-2: From Case's-tower westward on the walls of the city, at the end of Fishamble-street, stood a castle, that in different ages bore two names, viz. Proutefort's castle, and Fyan's-castle, possibly from some families of both those names, who either built or inhabited it. [...] This gate was not coeval with the bridge, which was built in the reign of King John, but was erected in the year 1316 against Bruce's attempt. It was placed between two turrets, furnished with a port cullis, and ornamented with a public clock¶ for regulating the [71] motions of market people homewards, which was set up in the year 1593, and seems to liave been done from observations made on the conveniences which three public clocks* set up in the year 1560, by Queen Elizabeth, afforded the citizens; namely, one at the Castle, one in the city, and a third at St. Patrick's church. This gate, having through age suffered great decays, was repaired † at considerable expence by that glorious queen, and at the same time her royal arms were erected on the north side thereof, fronting Oxmantown, and an inscription fixed thereon, bearing date MDXCVIII.

From this gate the wall was continued on the west side of Bridge-street, to another gate which stood between the south end of the said street, and the lower end of New-row, near a place called by Stanihurst ‡ the Cucull or Cuckold's-post.

(m) friars predicants

The History of the City of Dublin 72n**: Anno 1316, the city walls on the north ran close by St. Owen's church and Wine-tavern-street; in which places were two gates (described in Cambden's Irish annals) and by the stones of St. Saviour's, the friars predicants church; the mayor and citizens enlarged and built a new wall to the city from Newgate, from thence so called) to Ormond's gate, which stood at the foot of King John's bridge.

Units (1) and (m) vertically written in the left margin.

VI.B.18.006

(a) marshalsea of 4 courts

The History of the City of Dublin 72-3: From Ormond-gate the wall stretched up a steep hill to Newgate; but between both stood a square tower, within the verge of the marshalsea of the four courts, commonly called the Black Dog,‡‡: from the sign of a [72] Talbot there hung up.

MS missing: see *JJA* 46:129 | May-Jul 1927 | I.4§1.7/2.7

Note: The point-of-entry draft is missing. The unit is first found on the next level: MS 47475-39: the four with them, setting around upin their judges' chambers, in the muniment room, of their marshalsea |JJA|46:186 | Jul 1927 | I.4§1.8/2.8 | FW 094.24-5

(b) it is recited

The History of the City of Dublin 75: Having thus surrounded the city, and traced the ancient fortifications of it, we shall close the account with an act of parliament passed in the fourteenth year of King Edward IV, wherein it is recited, "That King Henry VI. had on the sixth of February, in the thirty-third year of his reign, had granted to four citizens of Dublin, six pounds out of the fee farm rent of "the city for forty years, for the reparation of the walls and gates thereof, and that King Edward IV. on the twenty-third of June, in the fourth year of his reign, had granted to four other citizens twenty-marks for forty years out of the said fee farm for the same purposes, and all the said citizens being dead, it was enacted that the mayor, bailiffs, and citizens should have and retain annually in their hands the said six pounds, and twenty marks during the remaining years, to be employed on the walls and gates of the city. Provided the said act be not prejudicial to Thomas Kelly, prior of the Dominicans of Dublin, as to ten marks granted to him for life out of the said fee farm."

VI.B.18.046

(f) Libnius Labius / △ & Sniff

The History of the County of Dublin 666-7: The Liffey, the Libnius of Ptolemy, and Labius of Richard of Circencester, "though not so majestic and rich in princely villas," writes Dr. Milner, "as the Thames in the West of London, is perhaps even more enchantingly diversified by its meandering turns, its alternate shallows and depths, its hanging woods, and its lofty [666] banks, now smoothly shelving to the water edge, now surmounting it in bold rocks and perpendicular precipices."

(g) 1687 △ flood / boats in street / cathedral flows / books float

The History of the County of Dublin 670: In 1687 a great inundation happened in this river from excessive rains and a violent storm, which laid the low parts under water up to the first floors, insomuch that boats plied in the streets. A part of Essex Bridge, which had been built but eleven years before, was broken down, and a coach and horses, passing over it, fell into the river. It had rained incessantly for two months, and on the 3rd of December there arose a sudden storm of wind from the south-east, accompanied with rain, which continued with violence. The flood also swept away a mill that stood at the foot of the bridge, called Bloody Bridge, while St. Patrick's Cathedral and its chapels suffered so much, that the water rose above the desks, and the books were almost all destroyed.

(h) frost 1338 / 1738

The History of the County of Dublin 669-70: In 1308 John Decer, the liberal Mayor of Dublin before alluded to, built at his own charge a bridge over this river near the priory of St. Wolstan; and in 1338 so remarkable a frost prevailed from the 2nd of December to the 10th of February, that the Liffey was covered with persons dancing, running, playing football, and even fires were made upon it. The depths of the snow stated to have fallen during this frost is almost incredible. [...] In 1739, on the

occasion of the no less memorable frost, the Liffey was so completely congealed, that, as in 1338, crowds walked upon it, fires were made, and joints of meat roasted for the people.

VI.B.18.070

(k) Cumer Cimmerian / Cyrini (Ch) Umbri

The History of the Anglo-Saxons 35-6: From these it is manifest, that the earliest inhabitants of the north of Europe, were the Kimmerians or Kimbri; and that they spread over it from the Kimmerian Bosphorus, [35] to the Kimbric Chersonesus; that is from Thrace and its vicinity, to Jutland and the German Ocean; to that ocean from which the passage is direct to Britain;—the regular voyage in our times from Hamburgh to England or Scotland.

The habit of moveable nations in the uncivilized or nomadic state, would lead us to infer, as these Kimmerii or Kimbri are characterised as a wandering nation, and are shown by all that remains of their history to have been so, that at some early period, after they reached the shores of the German Ocean, they crossed it in their rude vessels to Great Britain. This reasonable supposition, analogous to all that we know of the customs of such nations, and of the colonization of other parts of the world, has a remarkable support in the name and traditions of the Welsh and their ancient British literature. It is agreed by the British antiquaries, that the most ancient inhabitants of our island were called Cymry (pronounced Kumri): they are so named in all that remains of the ancient British literature.

VI.B.18.071

(a) woad

The History of the Anglo-Saxons 76: ALL the Britons stained themselves of a blue colour with woad, which gave them a more horrible appearance in battle.

(b) falchion

Not found in The History of the Anglo-Saxons.

- (c) Hu the mighty >
- (d) the 'hazy' ocean >

?MS 47473-96, PrBMS: hurry-me-off-from-Queenstown^+o'er-the-hazy+^ | *JJA* 46:421 | Jun 1927 | I.5<u>§1.7</u>/4.7 | *FW* 111.24

(e) triad ■

The History of the Anglo-Saxons 37-8: The historical triads of the Welsh connect themselves with these suppositions in a very striking manner. They state that the Cymry [37] were the first inhabitants of Britain, before whose arrival it was occupied by bears, wolves, beavers, and oxen with large Protuberances. They add, that Hu Cadarn, or Hu the Strong, or Mighty, led the nation of the Kymry through the Hazy, or German Ocean, into Britain, and to Llydaw, or Armorica, in France; and that the Kymry came from the eastern parts of Europe, or the regions where Constantinople now stands. Proceedings of the Protuction of the Rymry came from the eastern parts of Europe, or the regions where Constantinople now stands.

37n27f: The Welsh have several collections of historical triads; which are three events coupled together, that were thought by the collector to have some mutual analogy. It is the strange form into which their bards, or ancient writers, [37] chose to arrange the early circumstances of their history. One of the most complete series of their triads has been printed in the Archaiology of Wales, vol. ii. p. 57-75. It was printed from a MS. dated 1601, and the writer of it states that he had taken them out of the books of Caradoc of Llancarvan, and of John Breckfa. Caradoc lived in the twelfth century. Breckfa was much later.

38n28: It may not be uninteresting to translate the whole triad. "Three names have been given to the Isle of Britain since the beginning. Before it was inhabited, it was called Clas Merddin (literally the country with sea cliffs), and afterwards Fel Ynys (the island of honey). When government had been imposed upon it by Prydain, the son of Aedd the Great, it was called Ynys Prydain (the island of Prydain); and there was no tribute to any but to the race of the Kymry, because they first obtained it; and before them, there were no men alive in it, nor any thing else but bears, wolves, beavers, and the oxen with the high prominence." Triad 1. Arch. v. ii. p. 57.

38n29: "The three pillars of the nation of the isle of Britain. First, Hu Gadarn, who led the nation of the Cymry first to the isle of Britain; and from the country of Summer, which is called Deftrobani, they came; this is where Constantinople is: and through the hazy ocean they came to the island of Britain, and to Llydaw, where they have remained." Triad. 4. p. 57.

VI.B.18.090

(a) ^ggentlenun >

MS 47474-76, PrRMS: ladies and laymen ^+, laities and gentlenuns,+^ | *JJA* 47:474 | Aug-Sep 1927 | I.7§<u>1.7</u>/2.7 | *FW* 177.08

(b) I'm not yr sister

Medieval English Nunneries 4-5: "Wenes these churles to overlede me," cried this worthy daughter of a knightly family, "or sue the lawe agayne me? They shall not be so hardy but they shall avye upon their bodies and be nailed with arrows, for I am a gentlewoman, comen of the greatest of Lancashire and Cheshire, and that they shall know right well." A tacit recognition of the aristocratic [4] character of the convents is to be found in the fact that bishops were often at pains to mention the good birth of the girls whom, in accordance with a general right, they nominated to certain houses on certain occasions.

4n6f: Lysons, *Magna Britannia*, v, p. 113. Compare the remark of a nun of Wenningsen, near Hanover, who considered herself insulted when the great reformer Busch addressed her not as "Klosterfrau" but as "Sister." "You are not my brother, wherefore then call me sister? My brother is [4] clad in steel and you in a linen frock" (1455). Quoted in Coulton, *Medieval Garner*, p. 653.

- (c) regrateress >
- (d) 'vintners >

?MS 47473-121, ScrILA: ^+Vintner,+^ | JJA 47:013 | May-Jul 1927 | I.6§1A.*0 | FW 139.34

(e) grape & unicorn quilt

Medieval English Nunneries 5-6: But the case of the well-born lady was different. The knight or the county gentleman could not apprentice his superfluous [5] daughters to a pursemaker or a weaver in the town; not from them were drawn the regrateresses in the market place and the harvest gatherers in the field; nor was it theirs to make the parti-coloured bed and shake the coverlet, worked with grapes and unicorns, in some rich vintner's house. There remained for him, if he did not wish or could not afford to keep them at home and for them, if they desired some scope for their young energies, only marriage or else a convent, where they might go with a smaller dower than a husband of their own rank would demand.

(f) tretys nose

Medieval English Nunneries 9: Her pets are the pets of ladies in metrical romances and in illuminated borders; "smale houndes," delicately fed with "rosted flesh, or milk and wastel-bread." Her very beauty

(Hir nose tretys; hir eyen greye as glas, Hir mouth ful smal, and ther-to soft and reed; But sikerly she hadde a fair forheed; It was almost a spanne brood, I trowe; For, hardily, she was nat undergrowe)

conforms to the courtly standard. Only the mention of her chanting of divine service (through the tretys nose) differentiates her from any other well-born lady of the day; and if Chaucer had not told us whom he was describing, we might never have known that she was a nun. It was in these ideals and traditions that most of the inmates of English convents were born and bred.

(g) Thomasina

Medieval English Nunneries 13: All these houses were in the diocese of London and either in or near the capital itself; they lay in the counties of Middlesex, Kent, Essex, Hertford and Bedford¹². It was but rarely that city girls went as far afield as Denny in Cambridgeshire, where the famous fishmonger and mayor of London, John Philpott, had a daughter Thomasina.

(h) ⊢ her groom

Medieval English Nunneries 16: Probably the real factor in determining the social class from which the convents were recruited, was not one of rank, but one of money. The practice of demanding dowries from those who wished to become nuns was strictly forbidden by the monastic rule and by canon law². To spiritual minds any taint of commerce was repugnant; Christ asked no dowry with his bride. The didactic and mystical writers of the period often draw a contrast between the earthly and the heavenly groom in this matter.

(i) <MCIXXXII> XCIXXXII

- (j) maser >
- (k) pilch >
- (1) shanks (rabbitfurs)

Medieval English Nunneries 19n3f: Testamenta Eboracensia, III, p. 168. The sum left for entrance of Ellen Fairfax to Nunmonkton was about the same, £10. 13s. 4d. (16 marks). Above, p. 18, note 4. There is an interesting note of the outfit provided for an Austin nun of Lacock on her profession in 1395, attached to a page of the cartulary of that house. "Memorandum concerning the expenses of the veiling of Joan, daughter of Nicholas Samborne, at Lacock, viz. in the 19th year of the reign of King Richard the second after the conquest. First paid to the abbess for her fee 20s. then to the convent 40s., to each nun 2s. Item paid to John Bartelot for veils and linen cloth 102s." (this large sum may include a supply for the whole house). "Item to a certain woman for one veil 40d. Item for one mantle 10s. Item for one fur of shankes (a cheap [19] fur made from the underpart of rabbit skin) for another mantle, 16s. Item for white cloth to line the first mantle, 16s. Item for white cloth for a tunic 10s. Item one fur for the aforesaid pilch 20s. Item for a maser (cup) 10s. Item for a silver spoon 2s. 6d. Item for blankets 6s. 8d. Item in canvas for a bed 2s. Item for the purchase of another mantle of worsted 20s. Item paid at the time of profession at one time 20s. Item for a new bed 20s. Item for other necessaries 20s. ... Item paid to the said Joan by the order of the abbess." The total (excluding the last item) is £17. 6s. 2d. Archaeol. Journ. 1912, lxix, p. 117.

(m) sparver

Medieval English Nunneries 20: It will be noticed that Elizabeth took with her not only a lump sum of money, but also clothes and a bed, the cost of which more than doubled the dowry. Canon law specifically allowed the provision of a habit by friends, when the poverty of a house rendered this necessary; and it is clear from other sources that it was not unusual for a novice to be provided also with furniture. The inventory of the goods belonging to the priory of Minster in Sheppey, at the Dissolution, contains, under the heading of "the greate Chamber in the Dorter," a note of

stuff in the same chamber belonging to Dame Agnes Davye, which she browghte with her; a square sparver of payntyd clothe and iiij peces hangyng of the same, iij payre of shets, a cownterpoynt of corse verder and i square cofer of ashe, a cabord of waynscott carved, ij awndyrons, a payre of tonges and a fyer panne.

(n) pravity

Medieval English Nunneries 21: Bishop Ralph of Shrewsbury has heard that the Prioress of Cannington received four women as sisters of that house for £20 each, falling into the "pravity of simony"⁶; William of Wykeham writes to the nuns of Romsey in 1387 that

in our said visitations it was discovered and declared that, on account of the reception of certain persons as nuns of your said monastery, several sums of money were received by the Abbess and Convent by way of covenant, reward and compact, not without stain of the pravity of simony and, if it were so, to the peril of your souls

(o) subhusband

Medieval English Nunneries 22-3: Similarly at Langley Dame Cecily Folgeham said that her friends gave ten marks to the house "when she was tonsured, but not by covenant." The most interesting case of all was that of Nuncoton. The Subprioress, Dame Ellen Frost, said "that it was the custom in time past to take twenty pounds or less for the admission of nuns, otherwise they would not be received." The Bishop proceeded to examine other members of the house; Dame Maud Saltmershe confirmed what the Subprioress had said about the price for the reception of nuns; two other ladies, who had been in religion for fifteen and eight years respectively, deposed to having paid twenty pounds on their entrance and Dame Alice Skotte said that she did not know how much she had paid, but that she thought it was twenty pounds. Clearly there was a fixed entrance fee to this nunnery and it was impossible to become [22] a nun without it; all pretence of free-will offerings had been dropped.

When it is considered that this entrance fee was twenty pounds (i.e. about £200 of modern money) it is easy to see why poor girls belonging to the lower orders never found their way into convents; such a luxury was far beyond their means.

- (p) Skillet >
- (q) selar >
- (r) tester

Medieval English Nunneries 20: And under "Dame Agnes Browne's Chamber" is the entry:

Stuff given her by her frends:—A fetherbed, a bolster, ij pyllowys, a payre of blankatts, ij corse coverleds, iiij pare of shets good and badde, an olde tester and selar of paynted clothes and ij peces of hangyng to the same; a square cofer carvyd, with ij bad clothes upon the cofer, and in the wyndow a lytill cobard of waynscott carvyd and ij lytill chestes; a small goblet with a cover of sylver parcel gylt, a lytill maser with a bryme of sylver and gylt, a lytyll pece of sylver and a spone of sylver, ij lytyll latyn candellstyks, a fire panne and a pare of tonges, ij small aundyrons, iiij pewter dysshes, a porrenger, a pewter bason, ij skyllots, a lytill brasse pot, a cawdyron and a drynkyng pot of pewter.

She had apparently been sent into the house with a complete equipment in furniture and implements. *Note*: Units *(p)* to *(r)* written in the left margin.

VI.B.18.091

(a) bfor the rest of / humanpernatural life

Medieval English Nunneries 25: The novice who entered a nunnery, to live there as a nun for the rest of her natural life, might do so for very various reasons. For those who entered young and of their own will, religion was either a profession or a vocation. They might take the veil because it offered an honourable career for superfluous girls, who were unwilling or unable to marry; or they might take it in a real spirit of devotion, with a real call to the religious life.

Not located in MS/FW.

(b) Slapped a fellow / nun

Medieval English Nunneries 26: At Studley in 1445 he found a girl who had been in religion for two years and was then thirteen; she complained that one of the maid-servants had slapped a fellow nun (doubtless also a child) in church! At Littlemore there was a certain Agnes Marcham, who had entered at the age of thirteen, and had remained there unprofessed for thirteen years; she now refused to take the full vows. Some of the nuns at Romsey in 1534 were very young, two being fourteen and one fifteen.

- (c) her dorter >
- (d) speak in $\frac{1}{2}$ tones >
- (e) converted

Medieval English Nunneries 28: She, although the daughter of a powerful and wealthy man ... burned so from her earliest childhood with zeal to be converted (i.e. to become a nun), that she used often to say to her mother: "Mother, make me a nun." Now she was accustomed with her mother to ascend Mount St. Saviour, whereon stood at that time the convent of the sisters of Burtscheid. One day she climbed secretly in through the kitchen window, went up to the dorter and putting on the habit of one of the maidens, entered the choir with the others. When the Abbess told this to her mother, who wanted to go, she, thinking that it was a joke, replied "Call the child; we must go." Then the child came from within to the window, saying: "I am a nun; I will not go with thee." But the mother, fearing her husband, replied: "Only come with me now, and I will beg thy father to make thee a nun." And so she went forth. It happened that the mother (who had held her peace) once more went up the mountain, leaving her daughter asleep. And when the latter rose and sought her mother in vain in the church, she suspected her to be at the convent, followed her alone, and, getting in by the same window, once more put on the habit. When her mother besought her to come away she replied: "Thou shalt not deceive me again," repeating the promise that had been made to her. Then indeed her mother

went home in great fear, and her father came up full of rage, together with her brothers, broke open the doors and carried off his screaming daughter, whom he committed to the care of relatives, that they might dissuade her. But she, being (as I believe) not yet nine years of age, answered them so wisely that they marvelled. What more? The Bishop of Liège having excommunicated her father and those by whom she had been taken away, she was restored to the place and after a few years was elected Abbess there³.

28n3f: [...] On the following day (continues Caesarius) "she came again and since she replied *Dominus* when she was saluted, the [28] maiden added: 'Good Sister Gertrude, why come you at such a time and what seek you with us?' Then she replied: 'I come here to make satisfaction. Because I willingly whispered with thee in the choir, speaking in half tones, therefore am I ordered to make satisfaction in that place where it befell me to sin. And unless thou beware of the same vice, dying thou shalt suffer the same penance.'[...]

VI.B.18.092

- (a) gentle homan >
- (b) commendacious >
- (c) attendanse >
- (d) ghumely

Medieval English Nunneries 30n5f: See the letter from John Clusey to Cromwell in her favour: "Rygthe honorable, after most humyll comendacyons, I lykewyce besuche you that the Contents of this my symple Letter may be secret; and that for as myche as I have grete cause to goo home I besuche your good Mastershipe to comand Mr Herytag to give attendans opon your Mastershipe for the knowlege off youre plesure in the seyd secrete mater, whiche ys this, My Lord Cardinall causyd me to put a yong gentyll homan to the Monystery and Nunry off Shafftysbyry, and there to be provessyd, and wold hur to be namyd my doythter; and the troythe ys shew was his dowythter; and now [31] by your Visitacyon she haythe commawynment to departe, and knowythe not whether Wherefore I humely besuche youre Mastershipe to dyrect your Letter to the Abbas there, that she may there contynu at hur full age to be professed. Without dowyte she ys other xxiiij yere full, or shalbe at shuche tyme of the here as she was boren, which was abowyte Mydelmas. In this your doyng your Mastershipe shall do a very charitable ded, and also bynd her and me to do you such servyce as lyzthe in owre lytell powers; as knowythe owre Lord God, whome I humely besuche prosperyusly and longe to preserve you. Your orator John Clusey." Ellis, Original Letters, Series I, II, pp. 92-3. An injunction had been made that profession made under twenty-four years was invalid, and that novices or girls professed at an earlier age were to be dismissed.

MS 47483-198, PrLMS: special ^+humely+^ | *JJA* 57:392 | May 1928 | III§2A.10/2B.8/2C.10 | *FW* 450.13

- (e) fermery >
- (f) seynies >
- (g) ghosey

Medieval English Nunneries 33: At Nuncoton in 1440 a nun informed Bishop Alnwick that two old nuns lay in the fermery and took their meals in the convent's cellar "and likewise the infirm, the weak minded (imbecilles) and they that are in their seynies do eat in the same cellar". Complaints of the presence of idiots were fairly frequent. It is easy to understand the exasperation of Thetford over the case of Dorothy Sturges, when one finds Dame Katherine Mitford complaining at the same visitation that Elizabeth Haukeforth is "aliquando lunatica"; but a few years later Agnes Hosey, described as "ideota," gave testimony with her sisters at Easebourne and excited no adverse comment. In an age when faith and superstition went hand in hand a mad nun might even bring glory to her house; the tale of Catherine, nun of Bungay, illustrates this. In 1319 an inquiry was held into the miracles said to have been performed at the tomb of the saintly Robert of Winchelsea, Archbishop of Canterbury, whose canonisation was ardently desired by the English; among these miracles was the following:

Sir Walter Botere, chaplain, having been sworn, says that the miracle happened thus, to wit that he saw a certain Catherine, who had been (so they say) a nun of Bungay, in the diocese of Norwich, mad (furiosam) and led to the tomb of the said father; and there she was cured of the said madness and so departed sane; and he says that there is public talk and report of this.

MS missing: see both *JJA* 61:002 | 1931 | III§3B.17 and *JJA* 61:300 | 1931 | III§3B.17'

Note: The point-of-entry draft is missing. The unit is first found on the next level: MS 47487-104: in this vongn of Hoseyeh!) | *JJA* 62:193 | 1937 |

III§1A.13/1B.4/1C.10/1D.12//2A.14/2B.12/2C.14//3A.11/<u>3B.18</u>//4.8 | FW 553.35

(h) gnunsongs

Medieval English Nunneries 34: The chanson de nonne, the song of the nun unwillingly professed, is a favourite theme in medieval popular poetry³; and dry documents show that it had its foundation in fact. It is possible to collect from various sources a remarkable series of legal documents which illustrate the practice of putting girls into nunneris, so as to secure their inheritance.

MS 47483-199, PrRMA: ^+sweet nunsongs+^ | *JJA* 57:393 | May 1928 | III§2A.10/2B.8/2C.10 | *FW* 457 29

(i) frater

Medieval English Nunneries 39-40: Was she to listen meekly to chiding in the dorter, and in the frater to bear with sulks? Impossible. How she, comported herself we know not, but the bishop "found grave discord existing between the Prioress and dame Isabel Clinton, some of the sisters adhering to one and some to the other." Evidently a battle royal. The [39] bishop, poor man, did his best. He enjoined peace and concord among the inmates; the sisters were to treat the prioress with reverence and obedience; those who had rebelled against her were to desist and the prioress was to behave amicably to all in frater, dorter, and elsewhere.

(j) bedeswoman

Medieval English Nunneries 40: The occasional cases in which wives left their husbands to enter a convent were less likely to provoke discord. Such women as left husband and children to take the veil must have been moved by a very strong vocation for religion, or else by excessive weariness. Some may perhaps have found married life even such an odious tale, "a licking of honey off thorns," as the misguided realist who wrote Hali Meidenhad sought to depict it. In any case, whether the mystical faith of a St Bridget drew her thither, or whether matrimony had not seemed easy to her that had tried it, the presence of a wedded wife was unlikely to provoke discord in the convent; the devout and the depressed are quiet bedeswomen.

(k) Orleans namesake / in USA →

Note: Maybe inspired by this note: *Medieval English Nunneries* 42: "I take it that Prioress Joan was an heiress, and, in fact, the last representative of the elder line of her family, and the nuns knew perfectly well what they were about when they chose a lady of birth and wealth, and highly connected to boot, to rule over them. [...]"

(1) lifemonk

?Medieval English Nunneries 45: But Jocelin of Brakelond has taught us that a monastic election was not always a foregone conclusion, that discussion waxed hot and barbed words flew in the season of blood-letting "when the cloistered monks were wont to reveal the secrets of their hearts in turn and to discuss matters one with another," and that "many men said many things and every man was fully persuaded in his own mind." Nuns were not very different from monks when it came to an election

(m) ostiaria >

(n) Voices (votes)

Medieval English Nunneries 46: Three novices and other lay persons having departed, the director and other men explained the forms of election to the nuns in the vulgar tongue and they agreed to proceed by way of scrutiny. Matilda Sheldon, sub-prioress, Alice Boifeld, precentrix, and Anne Preston, ostiaria (doorkeeper) were chosen as scrutineers and withdrew into a corner of the chapter house, with the notary and witnesses. There Matilda Sheldon and Anne Preston nominated Cecilia Starkey, refectoraria, while Alice Boifeld nominated Elizabeth Boifeld, sacrist, evidently a relative. The three scrutineers then called upon the other nuns to give their votes; Anne Wake, the prioress, named Cecilia Starkey; Elizabeth Boifeld and Cecilia Starkey (each unable to vote for herself, but determined not to assist the other) voted for a third person, the subsacrist Helen Snawe; and Helen Snawe and all the other nuns, except two, gave their votes in favour of Elizabeth Boifeld. Consternation reigned among the older nuns, prioress, subprioress, refectoraria and doorkeeper, when this result was announced. "Well," said the Prioress, "some of thies yong Nunnes be to blame," and on the director asking why, she replied: "For they wolde not shewe me so muche; for I asked diverse of them before this day to whome they wolde give their voices, but they wolde not shewe me." What said they to you?" asked the director. "The said to me," replied the flustered and indignant prioress, "they wolde not tell to whome they wolde give their voices tyll the tyme of thellection, and then they

wolde gyve their voices as God shulde put into their mynds, but this is by counsaill. And yet yt wolde have beseemed them to have shewn as much to me as to the others." And then she and Dame Cecilia said, "What, shulde the yong nunnes gyve voices? Tushe, they shulde not gyve voices!"

(o) buxomness

Medieval English Nunneries 50: Here was a pretty state of affairs in the home of buxomness and peace.

(p) proffer

Medieval English Nunneries 55: Sir, it is so that there is divers and many of my friends that hath written to me that I should make labour for the said house unto your mastership, showing you that the King's grace hath given it to master Harper, who saith that he is proffered for his favour two hundred marks of the King's saddler, for his sister; which proffer I will never make unto him, nor no friend for me shall, for the coming in after that fashion is neither godly nor worshipful.

(q) Amice ut offeras

Medieval English Nunneries 56: But cases hardly less serious undoubtedly occurred at an early date. The gross venality of the papal *curia*², even in the early thirteenth century, is not a very happy omen for the behaviour of private patrons; smaller folk than the Pope could summon a wretched abbot "Amice, ut offeras"; nor was it only abbots who thus bought themselves into favour.

(r) glopp (flea) >>

Units (p) to (r) vertically written in the left margin. MS 47483-94, PrLMS: $^+$ +come to $^+$ +ibat lopp's+ $^+$ party,+ $^+$ | JJA 57:320 | Mar 1928 | III§1A.10/1BC.1/1D.10 | FW415.30

VI.B.18.093

(a) rgout >

?MS 47477-57, TsILA: $^+$ Gout strap Fenlanns! And send Jarge for Mary Inklenders+ $^+$ | JJA 51:053 | late 1932 | II.1§2.1+ | FW 229.03

- (b) (a / cap of estate >
- (c) budge

Medieval English Nunneries 74-6: The diverting history of the flea and the gout shows that the luxurious abbess was already a byword early in the thirteenth century. The tale runs as follows:

The lopp (flea) and the gout on a time spake together, and among other talking either of them asked [the] other of their lodging and how they were harboured and where, the night next before. And the flea made a great plaint and said, "I was harboured in the bed of an abbess, betwixt the white sheets upon a soft mattress and there I trowed to have had good harbourage, for her flesh was fat and tender, and thereof I trowed to have had my fill. And first, when I began for to bite her, she began to cry and call on her maidens and when they came, anon they lighted candles and sought me, but I hid me till they were gone. And then I bit her again and she came again and sought me with a light, so that I was fain to leap out of the bed; and all this night I had no rest, but was chased and chevied ['charrid'] and scarce gat away with my life." Then answered the gout and said, "I was harboured in a poor woman's house and anon as I pricked her in her great toe she rose and wetted a great bowl full of clothes and [74] went with them unto the water and stood therein with me up to her knees; so that, what for cold and for holding in the water, I was nearhand slain." And then the flea said, "This night will we change our harbourage"; and so they did. And on the morn they met again and then the flea said unto the gout, "This night have I had good harbourage, for the woman that was thine host yesternight was so weary and so irked, that I was sickerly harboured with her and ate of her blood as mickle as I would." And then answered the gout and said unto the flea: "Thou gavest me good counsel yestereven, for the abbess underneath a gay coverlet, and a soft sheet and a delicate, covered me and nourished me all night. And as soon as I pricked her in her great toe, she wrapped me in furs, and if I hurt her never so ill she let me alone and laid me in the softest part of the bed and troubled me nothing. And therefore as long as she lives I will be harboured with her, for she makes mickle of me." And then said the flea, "I will be harboured with poor folk as long as I live, for there may I be in good rest and eat my full and nobody let [hinder] me" [...]

Our visitation documents show us many abbesses and prioresses like the gout's hostess or the tormented lady in St Patrick's [75] Purgatory. In the matter of dress the accusations brought against Clemence Medforde, Prioress of Ankerwyke, in 1441, will suffice for an example:

The Prioress wears golden rings exceeding costly with divers precious stones and also girdles silvered and gilded over and silken veils, and she carries her veil too high above her forehead, so that her forehead, being entirely uncovered, can be seen of all, and she wears furs of vair.... Also she wears shifts of cloth of Reynes which costs sixteen pence the ell.... Also she wears kirtles laced with silk and tiring pins of silver and silver gilt and has made all the nuns wear the like.... Also she wears above her veil a cap of estate furred with budge. Item she has round her neck a long cord of silk, hanging below her breast and on it a gold ring with one diamond.

VI.B.18.206

(d) b Cnut >

MS 47473-186, ScrLMA: ^+like old King Cnut+^ | *JJA* 47:052 | Jul-Aug 1927 | I.6§1(AB).*1 | *FW* 139 05

- (e) a still more Canutes >
- (f) Cut >
- (g) Jorvik (York) >
- (h) fikings

An Account vi: C has invariably the sound of k (with which, indeed, it is frequently interchanged). The names of Cetel, Oscytel, &c, are to be pronounced Ketel, Oskytel. Where c or k precedes another consonant, it retains, as in German, its distinct and proper power. In order to represent this power, Latin and English writers have sometimes substituted the syllable ca for the initial c or k; as, for instance, in the name of Canute (Dan., Cnut or Knud). This has led to the very common error of pronouncing the name as if it consisted of two syllables, with an accent upon the first; as Cán-ute, instead of Cănúte.

J has the sound of the English y; as in Jarl (Yarl, earl), Jorvik (Yor-vik, York).

The consonants th (the Icelandic p^*) are pronounced like a single t. The word Thing (assizes, &c), which the reader will so frequently meet, is sounded like Ting. The proper pronunciation is preserved in the word Hus-ting, but by altering the spelling. Thus, Thor, Thorkil, &c, must be pronounced Tor, Torkil.

Lastly, the Vikings (*Isl.*, Vikingr, a sea-rover, pirate), who played so great a part during the Danish conquests, were not Vi-kings, but Vik-ings (Veék-ings); so called either from the Icelandic *Vik* (*Dan.*, Vig), a bay of the sea, or from *Vig*, battle, slaughter.

VI.B.18.209

(e) Danish O' Connyugs

An Account 305: When at length this representation of the battle of Clontarf, as one of the most important fought by Ireland for liberty, had been so impressed upon the common people that it seemed an event which had only recently taken place—and which, at least in the lively imagination of the Irish, might possibly enough be repeated—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 Boriomha 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.

- (f) Danish hammers / frighten the Danes >
- (g) the Danes are coming

An Account 300-1: 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." [...] [300] [...]

Nevertheless the Irishman has preserved, like the Englishman, the remembrance of the Danes' contempt of death, and irrestible bravery. "That might even frighten a Dane," says the Irishman at times, when speaking of some desperate undertaking. A kind of superstitious fear of the redoubted Danes seems in some places to have seized the common people: at least it is an acknowledged fact, that in several parts of the country they continue to frighten children with "the Danes."

(h) 'Finnyland >

MS 47477-76v, TsLPS: fin flip ^+flip flap in all Finnyland+^ | JJA 51:100 | late 1932 | II.1 \S 4.4/5.2 | FW 245.16

- (i) Finnlochlann >
- (j) Baldoygle

An Account 313: But the best and oldest Irish chronicles distinguish, as it has been previously remarked, between the light-haired "Finn-Lochlannoch," or "Fionn Locblaonaigh" (the Norwegians), and the dark-haired "Dubh-Lochlannoch," or "Dubh-Lochlannaigh" (the Danes); or, what is the same, between Dubgall ("Dubh-Ghoill") and Finngall ("Fionn Ghoill"). The above-mentioned chronicle of "the Wars of the Irish and the Northmen," which draws a clear distinction between the Norwegians and Danes, expressly says that the Danes were only one of those tribes that made expeditions of conquest to Ireland. We even learn from the Irish chronicles that the Norwegians and Danes often fought between themselves for the dominion in Ireland. For instance, it is stated in the Irish annals in the year 845: "the Dubhgalls (the Danes) came this year to Dublin, sabred the Finngalls (the Norwegians), destroyed their fortresses, and carried away many prisoners and much booty with them." Similar intestine disputes are mentioned in other places of the annals; yet, as might be expected, the Danes appear still more frequently as fighting in alliance with the Norwegians. 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.

VI.B.18.210

- (b) <Dondory> Dundory >
- (c) Danescast
- (d) Ragnald's Tower

An Account 318: Still Waterford appears to have derived its present name from the Norwegians. The Irish called the town "Port Lairge;" to which name, however, modern Irish scholars would ascribe a "Danish" origin, as it is supposed to be derived from a Danish chief called Lairge, mentioned in the Irish annals in the year 951. The Norwegians, on the other hand called it "Veðrafjörðr," the resemblance of which to Waterford is not to be mistaken. Near the coast of this "fiord," which may have given name to the town, is still to be seen a monument, very rare in Ireland, of the ancient Norwegians' art of fortification, namely, a round tower, said to have been erected in the year 1003 by the reigning Norwegian king in Waterford, Regnald or Reginald (Ragnvald), and which to the present day is commonly called "Reginald's Tower."

This tower, which in Irish was also called "Dundory," or the king's fortress, was afterwards used both as a fortress and a mint. After the English conquest of Waterford, Earl Strongbow used it in the year 1171 as a secure dwelling-place; and, among other prisoners, for a long time kept Reginald, the last king of the "Danes" in Waterford, imprisoned in it.

(e) Congolaich m Radnalt / (d. of Olaf) } / Murtagh / olaf m Danelath } / Glunjaran ~ Morogh Mac Finn / (K of Leinster) } / = BB = Gormlaith = Olaf / Teige Donoghe Sitric

An Account 320: According to the old Irish book called "the Book of Lecan," the Irish king Congolaich (934-954) had a son, Mortogh, by Radnalt, daughter of the Dublin king Anlaf, or Olaf. At a somewhat later period a Norwegian king in Dublin, named Anlaf, was married to an Irish woman, Dunlath, who was mother of the Dublin king "Gluin-Jarainn" (Iron-Knee). Similar marriages between Norwegian and Irish royal families are often mentioned; even King Brian Boru, so adored by the Irish, was nearly related to the Norwegian kings. He was father of Teige and Donogh, by Gormlaith, or Kormlöd, a daugher of Morogh Mac Finn, king of Leinster. But Gormlaith was also married for a long time to the Dublin king, Anlaf, by whom she had a son, afterwards the celebrated king of Dublin, Sigtryg Silkjesæg (Silk-beard); and thus Brian Boru's two sons Teige and Donogh—of whom Teige

afterwards married Mor, a daughter of the "Danish" king Eachmargach of Dublin—were half-brothers of their father's enemy, King Sigtryg.

VI.B.18.211

(a) Thorgils Orraskjald / & / Gunnlaug Ormsby / (sing at Dublin)

An Account 321: The Icelandic bards, Thorgils Orraskjald and Gunnlaug Ormstunga, are expressly stated to have visited the court of the Norwegian kings in Dublin the tenth and eleventh centuries, where they diverted the Scandinavian warriors with the national songs.

(c) Ill lived at Oxmanstown

An Account 322-3: One of the chief causes that the Norwegians in the Irish cities maintained uninterruptedly their Scandinavian characteristics, and consequently their independent power likewise, was that they not only lived in the midst of the Irish, but that, as Geraldus Cambrensis expressly intimates, they erected in every city a town of their own, surrounded with deep ditches and strong walls, which secured them against the attacks of the native. They built a rather [322] extensive town for themselves in the river Liffey, near the old city of Dublin, which was strongly fortified with ditches and walls, and which, after the Norwegians and Danes (or Ostmen) settled there, obtained the name of Ostmantown (in Latin, "vicus," or "villa Ostmannorum"), i.e. the Eastmen's town. Even the Irish chronicles, which attest that, as early as the beginning of the tenth century, the Norwegians in Dublin had well intrenched themselves with walls and ramparts, also state that in the art of fortifying towns they were far superior to the Irish. Ostmantown continued through the whole of the middle ages to form an entirely separate part of Dublin, and the gates of the strong fortifications with which it was surrounded were carefully closed every evening. The walls were at length razed, and Ostmantown, or, as it was now corruptly pronounced, "Oxmantown" (whence an Irish peer has obtained in modern times the title of Lord Oxmantown), was completely incorporated with Dublin. But to the present day the name of Oxmantown remains an incontrovertible monument of an independent Norwegian town formerly existing within the greatest and most considerable city of Ireland.

(d) Hoveth / Hofda >

(e) the skerries

An Account 324: At the southern entrance of the bay of Dublin is the Island of "Dalkey" (in Irish, "Delg Inis"), and at the northern entrance the high and rounded cape Howth (in Irish, "Ceann Fuaid," or "Beann Edair") which in ancient letters is called Hofda, Houete, and Houeth." This is clearly the Scandinavian "hofud," or "Hoved" (head), a name particularly suited to the place. In the immediate neighbourhood is also the old Danish town Baldoyle, and the district of Finngall, colonized by the Norwegians. Directly north of Howth rises "Ireland's eye" (in Irish, "Inis Eirinn" and Inis Meic Ness-áin"); and still farther to the north the islands of "Lambay" (in Irish "Rachrainn") and "Skerries," or the Skjære (reefs).

(f) the Charles V Nuphe

Not found in An Account.

(g) 'Vikloe

An Account 325: It is doubtful whether the county of Wicklow, which adjoins that of Dublin, derived its name form the Norwegians; though it is not improbable that it did, as in Irish it is called Inbhear Dea, but in old documents Wykynglo, Wygyngelo, and Wykinlo, which remind us of the Scandinavian Vig (Eng., bay) or Viking.

MS 47478-17, PrRMS: shore ^+-Vikloe,+^ | JJA 53:062 | Jan 1928 | II.2§8.4 | FW 290.24

- (h) draughtsman >
- (i) spiked knobs >
- (j) buttons with / buttonhole

An Account 329-30: There are also some very peculiar small bone buttons (Fig. 12), having a small hole in the flat side, penetrating the button for some way without entirely piercing through it. Buttons of this form have not been before found in Ireland, though they are very well known in the Scandinavian North. They are discovered in Sweden and Norway, in graves of the period of the iron age, or times of the Vikings. It is highly probable that in those times they served as men, or counters in some game, as they are generally found, especially in Norway, collected together in great numbers, and in conjuntion with dice. To judge from the holes in the bottom, they have cetainly been used in a

sort of game of draughts; for, till late in the middle ages, nay, almost down to our own times, the Icelanders were accustomed to furnish their boards with small pivots, on which they place the men, that they might not by any accidental shaking of the table be mixed with one another, and the whole game thus suddenly disturbed. 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.

VI.B.18.212

(a) bautstone

An Account 330-1: In corroboration of the conjecture that Scandinavians were buried in it, it may be mentioned that a tall upright stone with carved spiral onraments stands there—a sort of monumental, or bauta-stone, under which, [330] several years ago, various coins were discovered, minted by Norwegian kings in Ireland; and near them a handsome two-edged iron sword, with a guard and a longish flat pommel.

(b) vipurgs (grass) >

(c) Westman

An Account 332-3: At a very early period numbers of churches and convents were erected in Ireland, which was also celebrated for its many holy men. It was a common saying that the Irish soil was so holy that neither vipers, nor any other poisonous reptiles, could exist upon it. Numerous priests set out from Ireland as missionaries to the islands lying to the west of Scotland; nay, they even went as far as the Faroe Islands and Iceland, long before these islands had been colonized. 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." The most southern group of islands near Iceland is called to the present day "Vestmannaeyjar" (the Westman Isles), [332] because, at the time of their colonization, a number of Irish serfs, or Westmen, were put to death there for deceiving their masters.

(d) hlimrik >

(e) Copeman's eye

An Account 336: The Sagas mention regular trading voyages to Ireland from Norway, and even from Iceland; where there was, for instance, a man named Rafn, who was commonly called Rafn Hlimreksfarer (Eng., Limerick trader], on account of his regular voyages to Limerick (Limerick being called by the old Northmen, Hlimrek). The Sagas further mention, under the head of Ireland, "Kaupmannaeyjar" (Eng., the merchant islands), probably what are now called "Copeland Islands," on the north-eastern coast, where there may have been a sort of rendezvous for the ships of Scandinavian merchants.

(f) filled the see / Dub 1038 Donat / 1084 Patrick / 1095 Done O'Haingly / 1121 Samuel —-

An Account 343-4: 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. Half a century later (1095) another "Ostman" built Saint Michan's Church in the "Ostmen's" town in Dublin; and about the same time the cathedral in Waterford, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, was founded and erected by the Ostmen there.

The "Ostmen" in Ireland thus possessed not only their own churches, but likewise, as the Irish records also mention, their own bishops, who were consecrated in England by the archbishop of Canterbury; whilst the Irish bishops were consecrated in Ireland itself by the Irish archbishop [343] of Armagh. The Dublin "Ostmens" first bishop Donat, or Dunan, died in the year 1074, and was buried in Christ Church, to the erection of which he had himself so considerably contributed. After him, by desire of the Dublin king Godred, or Godfred, another "Ostman," Patrick was chosen bishop of the Ostmen in Dublin, but perished by shipwreck on his voyage home from Canterbury (1084). He was

succeeded by the "Ostman" Donat O'Haingly (+ 1095); whose cousin, Samuel O'Haingly, previously a monk in the convent of St. Alban's in England, afterwards filled the see of the "Ostmen" in Dublin until the year 1121.

(g) M° Kitrick / MacKitterick / Shiterick >>

VI.B.18.213

(a) MacMagnus / Rolfe / Mac Ottar

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.

(b) Ankleland >

(c) 'inkland

An Account xiii: In all these voyages proportionally few Swedes took part. Inscriptions on runic stones in Sweden sometimes speak, indeed, of men who had settled or met their death in the west over in England (Anklant or Inklant).

?MS 47477-57, TsILA: ^+Gout strap Fenlands Fenlanns! And send Jarge for Mary Inklenders+^ | JJA 51:053 | late 1932 | II.1 \S 2.1+ | FW 229.03-4

(d) <Whitfeld> Vhitfeld >

(e) "Tordenskjold >

MS 47477-56v, TsLPA: ^+No more turdenscaulds! Free leaves for ebribadies! All tinsammon in the yord! And harm and aches till Farther alters!+^ | *JJA* 51:052 | late 1932 | II.1§2.1+ | *FW* 228.36

(f) Kong Kristian stod ved / höjen Mast / I rög og damp / Kong Karl den unge hjelte / Han stod i rog og dam

An Account xx: The chief heroes of the Swedish nation, and those who live most in the memory of the people, are, Gustavus Adolphus, Charles X., and particularly Charles XII.; although that monarch, by his rash wars in Russia, Poland and Germany, inflicted deep wounds upon Sweden, which took a long time to heal. But the favourite heroes of the Danes and Norwegians are seamen; as Christian IV., Wiels Juel, Hvitfeld, and especially Tordenskjold, who, singularly enough, was contemporary with Charles XII. The difference between the people is clearly expressed in the opening lines of two of the most favourite national songs. The Danish—formerly the Norwegians also—runs thus:

"Kong Christian stod ved höien Mast

I Rög og Damp,"

("King Christian stood by the high mast, enveloped in mist and smoke"), where there is an allusion to a fight at sea. But the Swedish lines,

"Kung Karl den unge hjelte Han stod i rök och dam,"

("King Charles the young hero, stood in smoke and dust"), allude to battle and victory on land.

(g) \triangle her <skrim> skrimhow arm / about the burler's waist

An Account 1: The plains are watered by noble and smooth-flowing rivers, which receive in their protecting embraces the thousands of ships which from all quarters seek the coasts of England.

(h) bsnowdon

An Account 2: Farthest towards the west rise the mountains of Wales, England's real highland. The valleys here are short and narrow, yet the country has not the wildness of mountain tracts. Although it contains England's highest mountain, Snowdon, whose summit is nearly three thousand five hundred feet above the sea, still it unites the charms of plain and mountain. The whole of Wales may be regarded as a knot of mountains opposed by nature to the enormous waves of the Atlantic Ocean and

Irish Sea. The middle is the highest part, whence rivers flow towards the east and west; the latter of which, after a short and foaming course, discharge themselves into the sea.

MS Yale 6.1-67, PrILS: fell on ^+snowdon+^ | JJA 48:180 | Sep-Oct 1927 | I.8§1.8 | FW 205.21

VI.B.18.214

(a) thrall >

(b) dirty ears war

An Account 4-5: The Britons, moreover, under the dominion of the Romans, had, like their kinsmen across the channel, already begun to grow cowardly and effeminate. Long oppression had given the power of the Celts a death-blow: and they were conse-[4]quently unable to withstand the powerful and undegenerate tribes of Germany, which now, in the great tide of emigration from the east and the north of Europe, rushed into the Celtic countries, and made themselves new abodes, either, for the most part, putting the ancient inhabitans to death, or reducing them to a state of thraldom. [...] After a sanguinary war, which lasted more than a hundred and fifty years, all their fine fruitful plains fell into the hands of their foreign conquerors, who continually brought more and more of their countrymen over, to build again and inhabit the burnt or destroyed towns and houses, and to cultivate the neglected fields.

(c) a stormish brewer >

(d) Twayshag / Svend

Account 7-8: the intercourse between kinsmen in England and in their northern fatherland, now suddenly teemed with the numberless barks of the Vikings, which, from the close of the eighth century, constantly showed themselves in all the harbours and rivers of England. For about three centuries the Danes were the terror of the Anglo-Saxons. They generally anchored their ships at the mouths of rivers, or lay under the islands on the coasts. Thence they would sail up the rivers to the interior of the country, where they frequently mounted on horseback, and conveyed themselves with incredible speed from one place to another. Their frightful sabre-cuts resounded everywhere. Their progress was marked by the burning of churches and convents, castles, and towns; and great multitudes of people were either killed or dragged away into slavery. In a short time they began to take up their abode in the country for the winter, and in the spring they renewed their destructive incursions. The terrified inhabitants imagined they beheld a judgment of God in the devastations of the Vikings, which had been foretold in ancient prophecies.

Not even the remote and poorer districts of Wales were spared. It is true that it was extremely difficult for the Danes to force an entrance on the land side, and, in order to do so by sea, it was necessary to make a troublesome and dangerous voyage round the long-extended peninsula formed by the modern Cornwall and Devonshire. In general its rivers were not large or navigable, and the number of good harbours was but small. Nevertheless, the Northmen seem to have known Wales well, as the old land of the Britons; since it was always called "Bretland," to distinguish it from England. Palnatoke, the celebrated chief of the Jomsvikings, is said to have married there, during one of his warlike expeditions, Olöf, a daughter of the Bretland jarl, Stefner, whose Jarledömme (earldom) Palnatoke afterwards possessed. 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 with his foster son, King Svend Tveskjæg*, held in honour of his father, King Harald Blaatand†, the half of his suite were Britons.

8n*: Split-beard. 8n†: Blue-tooth.

(e) 'form at the mouth' $/ \Delta \Pi$

Account 11-2: But it becomes doubly remarkable when we [11] recollect that this spectacle is neither a new one, nor has arisen under a single people; but that it has been repeated, in a somewhat altered form, for about two thousand years, under the most different circumstances: namely, under the dominion of the Britons, the Romans, the Anglo-Saxons, the Danes, and the Normans. In this respect there is no river whatsoever that can be compared with the Thames. Had it not been one of the most, or indeed quite the most, favourably situated stream in Europe for commerce, the greatest commercial city in the world would hardly have risen on its banks.

But just as the Thames brought, in the olden times, numerous merchant vessels, and, along with them, wealth and prosperity to the south of England, so must it also have frequently drawn down

ruin on the surrounding districts, since it attracted thither almost all the Vikings who sought for booty and conquest. Nature herself has cut a deep bay into the eastern coast of England, at the mouth of the Thames, and thus pointed out to the Vikings the way they should pursue. The ships of the Danish Vikings constantly swarmed at the mouth of the Thames.

MS 47477-77, TsILA: $^+$ and forming at the mouth,+ $^+$ | JJA 51:101 | late 1932 | II.1 \S 4.4/5.2 | FW [243.02]

- (f) Canteraborg >
- (g) Thorkill the Taller >
- (h) visit with fire >
- (i) Dungyness / Foulness >
- (j) 'free leave

Account 13: We find the same name for places in Orkney and the Shetland Isles, in Iceland, and Norway. 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 Noes (a promontory, or lofty tongue of land, running out into the sea).

The nearer we approach London by the Thames, the more memorials we find of the Danes. Just before we reach the metropolis, we sail past Greenwich, on the left, called by the northmen "Grenvik" (nearer, perhaps, "Granvigen," the pine-bay), whose celebrated hospital contains in our days a little host of England's superannuated seamen, who have fought in defence of her honour, and who, supported by the public, enjoy an old age free from care.

MS 47477-56v, TsLPA: $^+$ No more turdenscaulds! Free leaves for ebribadies! All tinsammon in the yord! And harm and aches till Farther alters!+ $^+$ | JJA 51:052 | late 1932 | II.1 $^+$ 228.36

VI.B.18.216

(f) Thingaman

Account 14: From this time it became the custom for the English monarchs to have continually a standing army, composed mostly of Danes, "Huskarlene," or "Thingmen," as they were called (þingmannalið), whose duty it was to keep the country quiet, and to defend it against foreign invasion; whence they sometimes came to fight against their own countrymen.

(g) Lundunaborg >>

VI.B.18.217

(a) "wet his thistle

An Account 15-16: 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 inclosed only that proportionally small part of the 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. Somewhat higher up the Thames, on an island which, from the many thorns growing there, obtained the name of Thorney (Anglo-Saxon Thornege), or the Thorn Island, stood another castle, said to have been inhabited at different times by Canute.

MS 47483-213, PrTMA: ^+Wet your thistle where a weed is and you'll rue it despyneedis+^ | JJA 57:399 | Jun 1928 | III \S 2A.11/2B.9/2C.11 | FW 433.35

(b) S. Clement Dane

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."

- (c) Olaf the Saint >
- (d) sweet smell of ole jewry >
- (e) S. Olave's Upwell

Account 17-18: 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. There is still a street in Southwark, close by London Bridge and the Thames, which bears the significant name of Tooley Street, a corruption of St. Olave's Street. On the northern side stands a church, called St. Olave's Church, and which is found mentioned by that name as early as the close of the thirteenth century.

Within the city, in what may be strictly called ancient London, where the Sagas already mention a St. Olaf's Church, there are to be found at this day no fewer than three churches consecreated to St. Olave: namely, in Silver Street; at the north-west corner of Seething Lane, Tower Street; and in the Old Jewry (St. Olave's Upwell).

- (f) midsts of Inland >
- (g) Danelagh >
- (h) Danescast >
- (i) ridge watershed

Account 20-21: In the heart of the city of London, near St. Paul's Cathedral, is a street called "Watling-Street." Anciently it was connected with the great high road of the same name (or more properly Watlinga-Stræt), which had been made by the Britons from the Channel and London through the midst of England to the north-east of Wales, Chester, and the Irish Channel. On account of the importance of this road, as communicating with the interior of England as well as with Ireland, the Romans improved it. But, like most of the high roads of ancient times, it was carried over heights, with the constant view of avoiding streams which would require the erection of bridges. It followed, as nearly as possible, the natural division of the watercourse in England, or the ridge of the land watershed whence rivers take their course in all directions.

About the year 1000 this road not only showed the natural boundary between the northern and southern river-valleys, but likewise indicated in the clearest possible [20] manner a political boundary between the inhabitatns of different extraction, and different manners and customs. The districts to the north and east of this road belonged for the most part to the so-called "Dena-lagu," or "Danelagh," that is, the Dane's community (from *lag*, whence in the north itself, in Norway, for instance, *Thröndelagen*, and in Sweden, *Roslagen*).

- (j) Ironsides >
- (k) 'Swear on armlet

Account 21: To the south of Watlinga-Street, which had already often been agreed upon between the Danish conquerors and the Anglo-Saxon kings as the boundary between the Danish and Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, Edmund Ironsides received his share of England by agreement with Canute. It was in these districts that the Anglo-Saxon kings had always found their truest and most numerous adherents, and they had therefore generally been the theatre of the more important battles between the Anglo-Saxons and the Danes. Near Waresham, 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.

MS 47475-146, PrRMA: Excuse me for swearing, love, I swear I didn't mean to. ^+by this armlet!+^ | *JJA* 47:295 | late 1931-early 1932 | I.6§1.6+/2.4+/3.9+4.5+ | *FW* 148.22

(1) bdunsky tunga

Account 24: That they have so implicitly awarded the first place in Scandinavia to the Danes, has not originated solely from the fact that, anciently, the Danes were really regarded as the leading people in the north—whence also the old Norwegian language was often called "dönsk tunga" (Danish tongue); MS 47474-78v, PrLMS: tongue ^+dunsky tunga+^ | JJA 47:477 | Aug-Sep 1927 | I.7§1.7/2.7 | FW 185.11

VI.B.18.218

(a) chalking horse >

(b) Daneblood / Danewort / —field / — 's banks / — barrow

Account 24-5: To this must be added the names of places; as, the Danes-walls, the Danish fort, the Dane-field, the [24] Dane-forest, the Danes-banks, and many others of the like kind. Traces of Danish castles and ramparts are not only found in the southern and south-eastern parts of England, but also quite in the south-west, in Devonshire and Cornwall, where, under the name of Castelton Danis, they are particularly found on the sea coast. In the chalk cliffs, near Uffington, in Berkshire, is carved an enormous figure of a horse, more than 300 feet in length; which, the common people say, was executed in commemoration of a victory that King Alfred gained over the Danes in that neighbourhood. On the heights, near Eddington, were shown not long since the entrenchments, which, it was asserted, the Danes had thrown up in the battle with Alfred. On the plain near Ashdon, in Essex, where it was formerly thought that the battle of Ashingdon had taken place, are to be seen some large Danish barrows, which were long, but erroneously, said to contain the bones of the Danes who had fallen in it. The so-called dwarf-alder (Sambucus ebulus), which has red buds, and bears red berries, is said in England to have germinated from the blood of the fallen Danes. It is therefore called Daneblood and Danewort and flourishes principally in the neighbourhood of Warwick where it is said to have sprung from, and been dyed by, the blood shed there, when Canute the Great took and destroyed the town.

(c) Caer < Eabrieg > Eabriec / Eboracum / Eoforwic / < Yorirk > Yorvik

Account 32: Built on the river Ouse, which falls into the Humber, it carried on an intensive trade; and, as the principal seat of the Northumbrian kings and chiefs, was doubly important. The Britons called it "Caer Eabhroig," or "Eabhruc," the Romans "Eboracum," the Anglo-Saxons "Eoforwic," and the Danes "Jorvik;" whence it is plain that the form "York," now in use, is derived.

(d) Grynte vilde Grisene / Kjendte de Galtens / Skjaebne

Account 33: The Saxon king, Ella, advanced against [Regner] from York; a battle ensued, and, after the bravest resistance, Regner was overcome and made a prisoner. With true northern pride he would not make himself known to Ella, who caused him to be thrown into a pen filled with snakes; and it was not till the dying Regner had sung his swan's-song, "Grynte vilde Grisene, kjendte de Galtens Skjebne" (How the young pigs would grunt if they knew the old boar's fate), that Ella too late observed to his terror that he had exposed himself to the fearful vengeance of the king's sons; who, guided by the shrewd Ivar Beenlöse, had long been silently preparing for the conquest of Ella's kingdom.

(e) 'Harald Hairyfar >

MS missing: see *JJA* 47:243 | late 1931 | I.6§1.6/2.4/3.9/4.5

Note: The point-of-entry draft is missing. The unit is first found on the next level: MS 47475-238: herald hairyfair | JJA 47:271 | late 1931-early 1932 | 1.6\$1.6+/2.4+/3.9+/4.5+ | FW 134.27

(f) Eric Bloodaxe >

(g) he met his love

Account 35: Many Norwegians came over; nay, even the King Erik just mentioned may possibly have been the renowned Norwegian King Erik Blodöxe, a son of Harald Haarfager, the first absolute sovereign of Norway. After the death of Harald, Erik became chief sovereign in Norway; but he and his queen, the notorious Gunhilde, ruled here with so much cruelty, that the Norwegians gave Erik the surname of Blodöxe (Blood-axe). Driven from his kingdom, he at length repaired to Northumberland, where King Athelstane is said to have made him a tributary king, and where, after many vicissitudes of fortune, he met his death.

(h) ^bHarald Hairwire

Account 37: Harald Haardraade was indeed a Christian, and a king in Norway; but with him, as with many of his contemporaries, Christianity dwelt only on his lips.

MS 47474-73v, PrTMA: ^+he was an outlex between the lines of Ragonar Blaubarb and Horrild Hairwire and+^ | *JJA* 47:472 | Aug-Sep 1927 | I.7§1.7/2.7 | *FW* 169.04

VI.B.18.219

(a) Micklegate / Stonegate / Marggate

Account 39-40: 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 probably conjecture that twenty gates existed from their names were derived; and it therefore becomes a question whether these gates should not be derived from the old Scandinavian "gata" (a street), particulary when they appear in compound names, such as Petersgate (Petersgade), Marygate (Mariegada), 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.

(b) Watlinga Straet

Account 41: It would lead us too far to relate, even in an abbreviated form, all the legends, or to reckon up all the numerous memorials, which, to the north of Watlinga-Stræt, are connected with the Danes.

(c) 'battlewatchers' / —- flats

Account 40-1: The popular legend of the bloody battle by Stamford Bridge, or, as it was afterwards called, "Battle Bridge," is [40] not yet obsolete. 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 47475-270, PrLPA: $^+$ Them Lads made a trion of battlewatschers and They Totties a doit $^+$ doeit+ $^+$ of deers;+ $^+$ | JJA 46:452 | 1936 | I.5 $\S1.9+$ /4.9+ | FW 105.33

VI.B.18.222

(m) black and white sails / Finn

An Account 46: Some are even of opinion that these coats of mail were commonly black, and that this gave rise to the Danes being sometimes called "the black Danes." Others derive this surname from the colour of their hair and skin, which must at that time have been in general considered darker than the Norwegian complexion; whilst others, again, infer that the Danes generally used black sails for their ships, and the Norwegians white. The Scotch and Irish distinguish clearly between "Dub-gall" or the black stranger (whence the present name Dugal), and "Finngall," or the fair stranger.

VI.B.18.223

(a) mintage 1927

An Account 48: The countries of Scandinavia had not a mintage of their own before the year 1000, or thereabout; when the Danish king, Svend Tveskjæg, having brought with him from his expedition into England, a quantity of Anglo-Saxon coins, began to have them imitated.

- (b) S Comes >
- (c) the die

An Account 49: But the chief mass, namely, three thousand pieces, consisted of peculiar coins, with the inscriptions, "Siefredus Rex," "Sievert Rex," "Cnut Rex," "Alfden Rex," and "Sitric Comes" (jarl); and which, therefore, merely from their preponderating number, may be supposed to have been the most common coins at that time, and in that part of the North England where the treasure had been concealed. Cnut's coins were the most numerous, as they amounted to about two thousand pieces of different dies; which proves a considerable and long-continued coining.

- (d) Vesterviking >
- (e) Gorm the Old >
- (f) Daneseast / joy

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, is probably he whom the Danes called "Knud Daneast" (or the Dane's 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).

(g) Uffington

An Account 25: In the chalk cliffs, near Uffington, in Berkshire, is carved an enormous figure of a horse, more than 300 feet in length; which, the common people say, was executed in commemoration of a victory that King Alfred gained over the Danes in that neighbourhood.

- (h) ravengod >
- (i) white Christ >
- (j) Hughen & Mooner

An Account 56-7: 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; [...]. 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.

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

(k) marksman

An Account 56: It was customary for every chief to have a peculiar sign, often an animal, delineated on his shield; and which was likewise represented on the banner that he carried with him into battle. This banner, or mark, was generally borne before him in the combat by his "marksman;" and at sea it waved on the prow of his ship.

(1) Magellan cuddled reeking

An Account 57: ?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 Ravnefloke.

- (m) Sigurd the Stout >
- (n) Ravenlandode >
- (o) 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 terrae terror.")

VI.B.18.224

(a) ba raaven pendant / on a fjeld dove

An Account 59-60: On the chief banner, the only one of that form among the many flags in the tapestry, but which in its whole shape and pendant fringes bears a striking likeness to the [59] old Danish flags before mentioned, there is seen in the middle the figure of a little bird, which may, with the greatest probability, be taken for Odin's raven.

MS 47473-185, ScrLMA: $^+$, is too funny for a fish and has too much outside for an insect, bears a raaven gueulant on a fjeld duiv,+ $^+$ | JJA 47:051 | Jul-Aug 1927 | I.6§1(AB).*1 | FW 136.13

(b) bdearby durby

An Account 66: 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 nothern 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

MS 47474-76v, PrTMA: ^+from Cardinal Lindundarri and Cardinal Carchingarri and Cardinal Loriotuli and Cardinal Occidentaccia (ah ho!) in the dearby darby doubled+^ | *JJA* 47:475 | Aug-Sep 1927 | 1.7§1.7/2.7 | *FW* 180.15

- (c) with (forest) >
- (d) toft >
- (e) force

An Account 67: 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*, byr, first a single farm, afterwards a town in general), —thorpe (old Northern borp, 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 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.*, harðr, a large farm); together with many others.

(f) thwaite

An Account 68-9: Almost all these names, to which a great number of similar ones might be added, answer to names of places still in use in Den-[68]mark, only with this difference, that *thwaite* has there passed into *tvede* or *tved*, and *thorpe* into *trup*, *drup*, or *rup*.

(g) Micklegaard / (Stamboul)

An Account 46: Nay even from the distant Myklegaard, or Constantinople, where the Northmen, under the name of Varangians, served for a long series of years as the Greek Emperor's bodyguard, stories have reached us of the particular kind of battle-axes which they wielded with such strength.

(h) Ormsby

An Account 69: Names of places containing personal names are, however, beyond comparison far more numerous, and were probably taken from the first Scandinavian conquerors; as, for instance, Rollesby (Rolfsby), Ormsby (Gormsby), Ormskirk

VI.B.18.226

- (a) Kirkfolk >
- (b) forelders

An Account 81: 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 [...] forelders (Dan., Forældre, or Forfædre; 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.

- (c) clapbread / [—] board >
- (d) gboardcloth >

MS 47483-218, PrLMA: ^+Remove this boardcloth!+^ | *JJA* 57:404 | Jun 1928 | III§2A.11/2B.9/2C.11 | *FW* 456.14

- (e) bink >
- (f) aandorn >
- (g) loft (roof) >
- (h) mirk >
- (i) bower >
- (j) nowth >
- (k) boose >
- (1) big = barley >
- (m) haw >
- (n) gowks = cucu

An Account 81-2: 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., [81] 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 room *lathe*, or barn (*Dan.*, Lade), which directly shows how fruitful the soil is that belongs to the *garth* (*Dan.*, Gaard; *Eng.*, 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); [...] or in that *lawnd* (*Dan.*, Lund; *Eng.*, grove), which is likewise full of *hindberries* (*Dan.*, Hindbær; *Eng.*, raspberries), and which is resorted to be many *gowk* (*Dan.*, Gjöge; *Eng.*, cuckoos).

(o) cloathes

An Account 86: Hundred Danish Words, selected from the Vulgar Tongue, or Common Language, North of Watlinga Stræt.

Provincial English*.

English.

Danish.

skift

the change (clothes)

skifte (Klæder)

(p) bhad your pigeoness with an / arch girl

Not found in An Account.

MS 47474-79, PrTMA: $^+$ (he would always have little pigeoness somewhere with an arch girl)+ $^+$ | JJA 47:477 | Aug-Sep 1927 | I.7 $^+$ (1.7 | FW 186.27-8

(q) Merry Maudhir

An Account 83: Amongst the words in the popular language that still remind one of ancient Scandinavian customs, those of *yuletide*, *yulingt* (Christmas), *yule-candles* (*Dan.*, Julelys), and *yule-cakes* (*Dan.*, Julekager), deserve special notice.

VI.B.18.227

(a) bhesitence / hesitate

An Account 93: The Christian Anglo-Saxons of those times felt no hesitation in secretly massacreing the Danes who had settled in England; and as many of these had been converted, one Christian thus murdered another!

MS 47473-167, ScrILA: ^+hasitate to+^ | JJA 47:062 | Jul-Aug 1927 | I.6§1(AB).*1 | FW 149.16

MS 47474-79, PrRMA: ^+and the moods and hesitence ^+hesitensies+^ of the deponent+^ | JJA 47:477 | Aug-Sep 1927 | $I.7\S1.7/2.7$ | FW 187.30

(b) Hates Christian Europe >

(c) Madjarers

An Account 95: The Christian States were now attacked at once and on all sides by the enemies of Christianity, the Mahometans and heathens. The Saracens, towards the south; the Magyars, or Madjarers, the forefathers of the Hungarians, towards the east; and the Northmen towards the north and west, all invaded the Christian States. Europe long groaned under this terrible scourge. [...] It was now that a period was put to the throes which had given birth to a new and Christian Europe.

(d) Haleyri, Sound fair / (Elsinor)

An Account 100: Already, in the most ancient times, a number of trading places were scattered round the north, and large annual fairs were held. Once a year the ships of the merchants assembled together from the whole of Scandinavia, perhaps even from the other nearest situated countries, in the Sound of Haleyri, or, as it is now called, Elsinore.

(e) Thane after 2 / <seav> seatrips

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 is 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.

(f) boxus

An Account 103: The road ran either from Transoxana (in Turan) to the countries north of the Caspian Sea, whence the merchandise was then brought along the river Volga to the Baltic; or else from Khorasan (in Iran), through Armenia, to the Black Sea; whence the Khazars and other people again conveyed it up the rivers farther towards the North.

Note: See also: p 32 of prospectus: WOOD'S (LIEUT.) Voyage up the Indus to the Source of the Rivers Oxus, by Kabul and Badakhshan. Map. 8vo, 14s.

MS Yale 6.1-61, PrRMA: $^+$ O, pass me that and oxus another! $^+$ Don Dom,+ $^+$ Dombdomb and his wee follyo!+ $^+$ | JJA 48:174 | Sep-Oct 1927 | I.8§1.8 | FW 197.17

- (g) ss Ormen hin Lange >
- (h) longships >
- (i) dragon >
- (j) barden >
- (k) karven >
- (1) snekken >
- (m) skeiden

An Account 109-10: It is not, therefore, to be regarded as pure exaggeration if the Sagas use strong expressions in celebrating the war-ships of that time, particularly the galleys, or, as they were called, long ships; and amongst others that magnificent royal vessel "Ormen hin Lange" (the long snake), which bore the Norwegian king, Olaf Trygvesön, in the celebrated sea-fight of Svöldr (near [109] Greifswald) in the year 1000. These long ships were also called "Dragons," because the sterns were frequently ornamented with carved, and even gilded, images of dragons; or else were beheld there figures of vultures, lions, and other animals, ornamented with gold. These long ships had sometimes crews of several hundred men. Other, and partly smaller, ships had different names, such as "snekken," "barden," "skeiden," "karven," "barken," and several others.

VI.B.18.228

(a) again discover U.S.A

An Account 113-4: There are even some who think that Christopher Columbus during his stay in these harbours, through conversations with Iceland navigators, and possibly by a voyage to Iceland itself, obtained information of the ancient voyages of the Northmen to Greenland and America; and that he was thus first completely confirmed in his opinion, that a large and unknown continent must lie in the far west, across the Atlantic Ocean. But even if this supposition be unfounded, or destitute as yet of certain [113] historical proof, may it not at least be probable that Columbus had heard in some other way of the Northmen's former voyages to Greenland; and that this might have had some influence on the resolution he afterwards formed to set out across the Atlantic on a voyage of discovery towards the west?

But under any circumstances, the regular voyages of the English to Iceland were certainly connected with the subsequent complete discovery of the New World. They had served to make them familiar with more extensive voyages on the open ocean, and thus essentially contributed to foster that daring Viking spirit, which they had inherited from their Scandinavian forefathers, and which in process of time was to become so important in cementing the connection between the Old and the

New World. No sooner was the latter a second time discovered than the Vikings' spirit again strongly displayed itself in a renewed form among the English people.

(b) age of <be>brass

An Account 116: The Scandinavian antiquities that are dug up, belonging to the older period, or what is called "the age of bronze," as well as those of the latest times of heathenism, or "the iron age," may on the whole, with regard to form and workmanship, be even ranked with contemporary objects of a similar kind manufactured in England, France, or Germany.

VI.B.18.231

(f) Ustmanian

An Account 121: names that did not sound well in the ears of Christians; also "Northman" and "Ustman," or "Östman," by which the Anglo-Saxons designated the Norwegians and Danes, who came from the North and the East. "Östman," especially, was an appellation commonly given by the inhabitants of the British Isles in those times to the Scandinavian tribes that dwelt to the east of them.

VI.B.18.232

(a) Widfara

An Account 122: Another remarkable name is that of "Widfara" (the far-travelled), which seems to indicate that its bearer had come from a great distance, or had made long voyages.

(b) fowel >

(c) Ravn Duvvy

An Account 122: Names of birds appear on the whole to have been often assumed in the old Danish part of England. Thus in York we find a "Ræfn," or "Ravn" (Raven); "Siafuel," "Sæfuhel," or "Söfugl" (Seafowl); "Swan" or "Svane" (Swan); and "Winterfugl" (Winterfowl).

(d) Peterborrow

An Account 130: Meanwhile, however, the convent of Ely, as well as that of Medehamstede (Peterborough), was plundered and destroyed by the Vikings.

(e) presbyter

An Account 128: According to the chronicles of the convent, compiled by one of the abbots in the eleventh century, it was governed, shortly after the year 800, by an abbot of the name of Sivard; in whose times there is also mentioned in the convent a priest (presbyter) named "Turstan," and a monk "Eskil" (Askillus monachus).

(f) circegaarth

An Account 134: Contemporary with Abbot Thorketil, a certain "Oscetel," or Osketil, is also named a churchwarden (circeværd) in the King's letters-patent in the year 949; probably the same Osketil who, between the years 955 and 970, constantly signed the King's letters as Archbishop of York.

(g) proselytiser SP

An Account 135: Sprung from Scandinavian families, which, though settled in a foreign land, could scarcely have been so soon forgotten their mother tongue, or the customs which they had inherited, they could enter with greater safety than other priests on their dangerous proselytizing travels in the heathen North

(h) ^bAntwarp

MS 47473-121v, ScrLPS: ^+not Antwarp not not Byrne's not Weir's+^ | *JJA* 47:014 | May-Jul 1927 | I.6§1A.*0 | *FW* 140.02

(i) attercop (spider)

Note: For the source see: 236(*m*).

(j) myrehoved (anthead)

An Account 140: This was Thorketil, surnamed Myrehoved (Ant-head); and, according to the same chronicles, a Dane named Ulfketil Snilling, sheriff or earl in East-Anglia, was even married to Ethelred's own daughter Ulfhilde!

(k) awns (corn >

- *(l)* to bank >
- (m) bigginn >
- cluve (hoof) >> (n)

VI.B.18.233

- festingpenny > (a)
- **(b)** fremfolks >
- to glow (stare) > (c)
- grise > (d)
- halikild > (e)
- **(f)** kern milk >
- hesp > **(g)**
- (h) mauf, meeaugh / svoger >
- <neaffyll> neaffoth > (i)
- <reise> raise cairns > **(j)**
- read hair >> (k)

VI.B.18.236

- (a) reasty (toast) >
- **(b)** scarn (dung) >
- bskrieked > (c)

MS 47473-187, ScrLMA: ^+outskriek hyelp hyelp nor his hair the efter buggelars, +^+^ | JJA 47:055 | Jul-Aug 1927 | I.6§1(AB).*1 | FW 141.13

- unrid > *(d)*
- to scoll > (e)
- smoothhole > (f)
- **(g)** smiddy >
- (h) stut >
- *(i)* speer >
- smouch > (j)
- (k) stew >
- *(l)* woadmel >
- (m) wong

An Account 85-6: Hundred Danish Words, selected from the Vulgar Tongue, or Common Language, North of Watlinga Stræt.

Provincial English*. English. Danish.

spider Edderkop attercop beads of corn Avner awns to beat banke bank

bygge, Bygning to build, building big, biggin Klov, Hov [...] cluve hoof festing-penny earnest-money Fæstepenge frem folks strangers Fremmede Folk

gloende glowing (glowering) staring Griis grise young pig Helligkilde halikeld holy-well

churn-milk Kjernemelk kern-milk Haspe (Dör) hesp latch mauf, meaugh brother-in-law Maag, Svoger [85] neaf (or neif) neaf-full fist, handful Næve, Nævefuld raise a heap of stones, cairn Rös, Steendyasse read to comb rede (Haar) reasty toasted ristet scarn dung Skarn (Smuds) schrike (or skrike) to cry, shriek skrige unrid disorderly, filthy uredt, urede toast (health) Skaal (Drikkelag) scoll smooth-hole hiding-place Smuthul blacksmith's shop Smedie smiddy young horse, or bullock Stod (Hest) stot speer (or spar) to ask spörge smouch kiss Smadsk (Kys) dust Stöv stew wadmal, woadmel coarse woollen cloth Vadmel wong Vænge

VI.B.18.237

- (a) Wore Cloke on Both / Shoulders >
- (b) Knut &12 Housekerl / Thingmen >
- (c) Witherlagsretten

An Account 141-2: [Canute the conqueror] divided all England into four earldoms (Jarledömmer):—Wessex, the most Saxon part of England, he himself took, as being the most dangerous and hostile district. Mercia, or the middle par of England, which was half Saxon and half Danish, he gave to Edrik Streon, who was in favour with the mixed population there, possibly because, as the proverb runs, he wore his cloak on both shoulders. [...] Canute increased, moreover, the number of his guards of Scandinavian Huskarle, or *Thingmen*, of whom his forefathers had already availed themselves; and drew up for them a special code of laws, of such severity, that even the king himself could not infringe them with impunity. These Huskarle, or body guards, being thus totally separated from the English by a peculiar system of law, became, in consequence, a really firm support for the kings. His Huskarle law, [141] called Witherlagsretten, remained in force in the Danish court long after Canute's time.

(d) <Oggood>Osgood <Clapaham> Clapham

An Account 143: Lastly, Osgod Clapa, and Toui Pruda are mentioned in the history of Hardicanute, but on a mournful occasion. It was at the marriage festival which Osgod Clapa made for his daughter and Toui Pruda, that Hardicanute had a stroke of apoplexy, from which he never recovered. Some, therefore, are of opinion, that the marriage did not take place at Lambeth (see p. 20), but at Clapham (Clapa-ham, or Clapa's home), in Surrey, to the south of Kennington, which now forms part of London.

(e) meet a Dane upon a bridge

An Account 143-4: The old English chroniclers complain bitterly of the severe humiliations which the native were compelled to endure. If, for instance, Anglo-Saxons met a Dane upon a bridge, they were obliged to stand still, and make low bows; nay, even if they were on horseback, they must dismount, and wait till the Dane had [143] passed. At the same time the Anglo-Saxon nobility gradually lost the many fiefs and lucrative posts of honour which had formerly been in their possession, but which were now transferred to their powerful conquerors.

(f) bdapifer

An Account 145-6: Northmen, or at least chiefs of Scandinavian origin, filled the highest posts at Edward's court. Between the years 1060 and 1066, a letter mentions the following royal chiefs, or "Hofsinder:" "Jaulf, Agamund, Ulf, Wegga (Viggo), Locar (Loke), and Hacun." In one of Edward's letters, dated 1062, the following names appear:—"Esgarus, regiæ procurator [145] aulæ;"

"Bundinus, regis palatinus;" "Adzurus, regis dapifer;" "Esbernus princeps;" "Siwardus princeps;" "Hesbernus regis consanguineus."

MS 47473-154, ScrLMA: $^+$ was dapifer, then pancircensor then hortifex magnus;+ $^+$ | JJA 47:066 | Jul-Aug 1927 | I.6§1.*2 | FW 136.17

- (g) sacam, socam >
- (h) tol a thiam

An Account 149-50: A remarkable instance of this, though taken only from a single district, is afforded by William's own "Domesday-Book," drawn up about twenty years after the conquest. In this, under the head of Lincolnshire, are mentioned the great persons who possessed the right of [149] administring justice on their estates, together with other privileges belonging to noblemen, such as sacam and socam, and Tol and Thiam

(i) trial by [—]

An Account 152: nor, indeed, are we able to point out with exactness what really Scandinavian customs the Normans established in that country. Yet it can scarcely be doubted that they introduced there trial by jury, as well as trial by battle, and other Scandinavian legal institutions. [...] It is an incontrovertible and notorious fact, which has, however, hardly been sufficiently insisted upon, that about half of England—the so-called "Danelag," or community of the Danes—was for centuries subject to Danish laws; that these laws existed even after the Norman conquest; and that they did not pass into the general or common law of England, till the successors of William the Conqueror at last united into a whole the various discordant parts into which England had been previously divided.

(j) Danelag law on Mercian

An Account 156: From this state of things, it happened that four different sorts of law were in force in four different parts of the kingdom. Farthest towards the west, where the remnant of the ancient Britons dwelt, the Welsh law was in force; among the West Saxons, the West-Saxon law; in Mercia, the Mercian law; and in the so-called Danelag, or country to the north-east of Waltinga-Stræt, the Danish law.

VI.B.18.239

(d) horegwene

An Account 157: A cursory view of these different laws will soon show, both that Scandinavian words and juridical terms were employed in the *Danelag*, and that by degrees, but mostly in the time of Canute the Great and William the Conqueror, they were introduced into the common laws of England: as, for instance, "hor-qwene" (Hoerquinde; *Eng.*, adultress), [...] and others.

(e) dreng

An Account 158: Other landed proprietors, or agriculturists, with pure Scandinavian names, appear in Cheshire under the appellation of "drenghs" or Drenge.

- (f) holda >
- (g) bond

An Account 157: A peculiar sort of Danish chiefs or Udallers ("holdas," from the old Norsk hölldr), is mentioned in East Anglia, who, like the Norwegian "Höldar," or "Odelsmænd," held their properties by a perfectly free tenure. It is probable that the original Udallers were the chief leaders, or generals, of the Danish conquerors settled in East Anglia. From the fines fixed for the murder of such "holdas," it is plain that they held a very high rank. The old Scandinavian name for peasant, "Bonda," was also disseminated in the north of England.

- (h) thingawaller >
- (i) Ding >
- (j) Tyne

An Account 158: The Danes and Norwegians in North England settled their disputes and arranged their public affairs at the *Things*, according to Scandinavian customs. The present village of Thingwall (or the *Thing-fields*), in Cheshire, was a place of meeting for the *Thing*; and not only bore the same name as the old chief *Thing* place in Iceland, but also as the old Scandinavian *Thing* places, "Dingwall" in the north of Scotland; "Tingwall," in the Shetland Isles; and "Tynewald," or "Tingwall," in the Isle of Man.

(k) fylker >

- (1) thriding >
- (m) $\frac{1}{4}$ s >
- (n) weapontake >
- (o) weepandtake >
- (p) gemoot

An Account 159: In Scandinavia, and particularly in the south of Norway, provinces of Fylker (petty kingdoms) were not only divided into halves (hálfur) and fourths (fjórdðjungar), but also into thirds, or *Tredinger* (þriðjungar), which completely answer to the North-English "thrithing." It was, moreover, precisely to the *Tredings-things* that all disputed causes were referred from the smaller district *Things*.

It is more doubtful whether we may ascribe to the Danes alone the introduction of the word "Wapentake" (*Vaabentag*), as the peculiar designation for a district. In the northern counties of England, viz., Northamptonshire, Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire, this term is still used instead of the customary one of "Hundred." Yet there is some probability that it may have been derived from the circumstance that the Danes, like the ancient inhabitants of the North in general, elected their chiefs, and signified their assent to any proposition at the *Things*, by Vaabentag, or Vaabenlarm (sound, or clang of arms). Vaabentag (Wapentake) might thus have become the name of a small district, having its own chief and its own *Thing*. A law of King Ethelred's (see Thorpe *Leges et Instit. Anglo-Sax.*, Glossary, *Lahman*), which seems to have been promulgated only for the five Danish burghs, and the rest of the Danish part of England, orders that there shall be in every Wapentake a *Gemot* or *Thing*.

VI.B.18.240

(a) <conjurors > cojurors

An Account 160: In law-suits among the Anglo-Saxons, the usual kinds of proof were by oath, by witnesses, by cojurors, and by the ordeal of hot iron, or the judgment of God.

(b) gthe reeve >

MS missing: see *JJA* 57:285 | Feb 1928 | III§1A.9/1D.9

Note: The point-of-entry draft is missing. The unit is first found on the next level: MS 47483-105: I'll reeve tomorry for'twill be, I have hopes of, Sam Dizzier's feedst. | JJA 57:315 | Mar 1928 | III§1A.10/1BC.1/D.10 | FW 408.22

(c) gon the relic

An Account 162-3: In order to prove this, they point especially to a passage in one of Ethelred's laws (Ethelred, iii § 3), which ordains "that every Wa-[162]pentake shall have its *Thing*;" and "that a 'Gemot' be held in every Wapentake, and the XII senior Thanes go out, and the reeve with them, and swear on the relic that is given to them in hand, that they will accuse no innocent man, nor conceal any guilty one."

MS 47483-213, PrLMA: ^+Rely on the relic.+^ | *JJA* 57:399 | Jun 1928 | III§<u>2A.11</u>/2B.9/2C.11 | *FW* 435.22

(d) navning

An Account 161: But a peculiar, and in its results highly important, judicial institution prevailed in the North, namely "Næfn," "Næfninger" (Nævninger); or, as it has been called in later times in English, "Jury." According to the most ancient Danish laws the accuser had a right, particularly in important criminal causes, to select from among the people a certain number of jurors (Nævninger), who, after taking an oath, were to condemn or acquit the accused; and judgment was not pronounced till they had given their verdict.

An Account 165: It would, indeed, have been quite inexplicable that the Danes should have given up their peculiar Scandinavian Nævn in a country like England, where the Danish law obtained by degrees so extensive a footing that, during the reign of the first Norman kings, it was still in force in one-half of the kingdom.

(e) gholmgang

An Account 161: This sort of combat was called "holmgang," because the duel generally took place on a small island, or holm, where it was conducted according to fixed laws.

MS missing: see *JJA* 57:377 | Jun 1928 | III§2A.11'/2B.9'/2C.11'

Note: The point-of-entry draft is missing. The unit is first found on the next level: MS 47483-228v: holmgang or betrayal bay ^+buy+^ jury | *JJA* 57:422 | Jun 1928 | III§2A.12/2B.10/2C.12 | *FW* 466.29

- (f) Sandeman >
- (g) Lagman

An Account 166: In Jutland even "Sandemænd," or jurors appointed by the crown, were instituted, who seem to have answered to the before-mentioned Lag-men, or Lahmen, in the north of England.

(h) freeman

An Account 169: The smaller Anglo-Saxon agriculturists were frequently serfs, though, for the most part, perhaps, leaseholders, or hold other subordinate situations; whilst the Danish settles, being conquerors, were mostly freemen, and, in general, proprietors of the soil.

(i) parcel of land

An Account 170: The number of these independent landowners was consequently greatest in the districts earliest occupied by the Danes, where they naturally sprung up from the Danish chiefs' parcelling out the soil to their victorious warriors.

VI.B.18.273

- (h) Lioness >
- (i) K. Melodias

The Story of Sir Tristram and La Belle Iseult 195: Long, long ago, when Arthur was King of England, and King Mark was King of Cornwall,—for there were many petty kings, who held their lands under King Arthur,— there was born in Lyonesse a little boy, a king's son.

Instead, though, of there being great joy and rejoicing at the birth of the little heir, sorrow reigned throughout Lyonesse, for his father, King Melodias, had been stolen away by enchantment, no one knew where. Nor could anyone tell how to release him, and the heartbroken queen was dying of grief, for she loved her husband very dearly.

VI.B.18.274

(b) bSon of Sorrow / d of Anguish

The Story of Sir Tristram and La Belle Iseult 195: When she saw her little son her tears fell fast on his baby face. "Call him Tristram," she said, "for he was born in sorrow," and as she spoke she fell back dead. [...] For two years after his return from France, Tristram lived in Lyonesse, and then it happened that King Anguish of Ireland sent to King Mark of Cornwall to demand seven years' truage that was due to him.

MS 47474-79v, PrLMA: ^+, struggling to possess themselves of your boosh, one son of Sorge for all daughters of Anguish,+^ | JJA 47:478 | Aug-Sep 1927 | I.7§1.7/I.79.189.18-19

(c) T brings harp to Ireland

The Story of Sir Tristram and La Belle Iseult 204-5: So, with all speed was a vessel prepared, and on board it Sir Tristram was carried, and with his man Gouvernail, his dogs, his horses, and his harp, he sailed until he came to Ireland. Here they all landed, and Sir Tristram was borne carefully on shore, to a castle prepared for him, where he was laid on a bed, and there on his bed he lay day after day, playing on his harp so [204] exquisitely that all the people crowded to listen to him, for such music had never been heard in that country before.

(d) She cures him

The Story of Sir Tristram and La Belle Iseult 224-5: Hearing, though, by some means, of his sad [224] condition she sent to him a message by Dame Bragwaine's cousin, bidding him to go to Brittany, for King Howell's daughter, Iseult la Blanche Mains,—or Iseult of the White Hands,— could cure him, and no one else. So he took ship and went, and this other Iseult healed his wounds, and restored him to perfect health. But she grew to love him, too, for he was a man to whom all women's hearts softened.

(e) ⊢ & K is /T's/ Ro/?/

VI.B.18.277

(b) I née Anguish

The Story of Sir Tristram and La Belle Iseult 209: "Who is he?" cried King Anguish, springing to his feet, "and where?"

"Sir, it is this same knight whom your daughter has healed, and whom we have loved and treated well. I beseech you have no mercy on him, for he deserves none."

"Alas, alas," cried the king, "I am right sorry, for he is as noble a knight as ever I saw. Do him no violence. Leave him to me, and I will deal with him according to my best judgment."

So the king, who loved Sir Tristram, and could not bring himself to have him slain, went to Tristram's chamber, and there he saw him dressed, and ready to mount his horse. Then and there the king told him all that he had learnt, and said, "I love you too well to do you harm, therefore I give you leave to quit this court on one condition, that you tell me your real name, and if you really slew my brother-in-law, Sir Marhaus."

So Tristram told him all his story, and then took leave of the king and all the court; and great was the grief at his departure, but by far the saddest leave-taking was that between him and La Belle Iseult, for they loved each other very dearly. And when they parted Sir Tristram swore to be ever her true and faithful knight

(d) 'the loth word

The Story of Sir Tristram and La Belle Iseult 215: "Dear brother," said Bleoberis to Blamor, "remember of what kin you are, and how Sir Launcelot is our cousin, and suffer death rather than shame, for none of our blood was yet shamed in battle."

"Fear not," answered Sir Blamor stoutly, "that I will ever disgrace our kin. Yonder knight is a goodly man, but I will never yield, nor say the loth word. He may smite me down by his chivalry, but he shall slay me before I say the loth word."

MS 47478-19, PrBMA: $^+$, gayed that he would have ever the lothst word,+ $^+$ | JJA 53:064 | Jan 1928 | II.2\$8.4 | FW 300.11

(e) bswallowship

The Story of Sir Tristram and La Belle Iseult 219: So, on a certain day a dainty vessel, all painted white and silver, and furnished with the utmost richness and beauty, set sail from Ireland. At the prow glittered a golden swallow, all set with gems, and on board were Tristram and Iseult.

MS 47473-186, ScrILS: ^+a deer, a ship ^+swallowship+^ in full sail, a whiterobe lifting a host.+^ | *JJA* 47:052 | Jul-Aug 1927 | I.6§1(AB).*1 | *FW* 139.04

(f) my face

The Story of Sir Tristram and La Belle Iseult 221:"Alas, alas for her beauty!" cried Sir Tristram. "It has been the undoing of many good men and true, who have died for love of her. Her beauty has been a sore curse to her, poor lady."

"Then," answered Iseult, looking up at him with serious, innocent eyes, "right thankful I am that my face will never bring ill-fortune to any man!" And Sir Tristram had to turn from her to hide his pain, for his love for her was greater than ever.

(g) let him talk

The Story of Sir Tristram and La Belle Iseult 222: From time to time he came to her to encourage and reassure her, but although she felt no fear, she did not tell him so, so dearly did she love to hear his voice, and feel his care for her."

(h) bmy sweet parted lips

The Story of Sir Tristram and La Belle Iseult 223: Tristram impatiently awaited her, when, close by the couch of Dame Bragwaine, she spied a beautiful golden flask full of a rich sparkling liquid. With a cry of relief she snatched it up, and running up on deck, "Drink, drink," she cried, unloosing the fastening, "the perfume is intoxicating. Such wine I never before beheld."

"Nay, sweet Lady Iseult," cried Sir Tristram, pressing it back into her hands; "deign first to put your lips to it; do me that honour, or I will never taste it." So to her sweet parted lips she raised the flask, and drank, and then, smiling and glad, she handed it to him.

MS 47473-189, ScrILS: like I used to do ^+my sweet parted lips+^ with Dan | *JJA* 47:060 | Jul-Aug 1927 | I.6§1(AB).*1 | *FW* 147.30

(i) bhairymajig >

MS 47473-139, ScrMT: your hairymajig | JJA 47:037 | May-Jul 1927 | I.6§1A.*0 | FW 146.02

(j) b I to H 16 yrs >

MS 47477-81, TsBMA: $^+$ What he with fifteen years will do, the ring in her mouth of joyous guard, $^+$ | JJA 51:103 | late 1932 | II.1 $\S4.4/5.2$ | FW 246.12

(k) \dashv sends T to \vdash

The Story of Sir Tristram and La Belle Iseult 224-5: Hearing, though, by some means, of his sad [224] condition she sent to him a message by Dame Bragwaine's cousin, bidding him to go to Brittany, for King Howell's daughter, Iseult la Blanche Mains,—or Iseult of the White Hands,—could cure him, and no one else. So he took ship and went, and this other Iseult healed his wounds, and restored him to perfect health. But she grew to love him, too, for he was a man to whom all women's hearts softened.

She was but a child, this White-handed Iseult. She had barely reached her sixteenth year.

(1) bMr Cornwallis West

The Story of Sir Tristram and La Belle Iseult 227: So they were married with great rejoycings, and all the kingdom was glad, and so was Sir Tristram, for now he thought, he could quench that fatal love for Iseult of Cornwall, and could spend the rest of his days in this sunny land, happy with his sweet child-wife

Note: Mary Cornwallis-West was the sixteen years old Irish mistress of the future Edward VII who was married off to William Cornwallis-West in 1872.

MS 47473-221, ScrMT: and she rounded her arms like Mrs Cornwallis-West | JJA 47:131 | Jul-Aug 1927 | I.6§3.*0 | FW 157.33-4

VI.B.18.278

(a) bJoyous Gard >

MS 47477-81, TsBMA: ^+What he with fifteen years will do, the ring in her mouth of joyous guard, +^ | JJA 51:103 | late 1932 | II.1§4.4/5.2 | FW 246.13 |

(b) on a day

The Story of Sir Tristram and La Belle Iseult 228-9: But on a day soon after he had left her there was brought to her the story of his love for that other Iseult, and of hers for him. Then was the young wife filled with shame that ever she had showed her love for him, and jealousy raged in her, turning her love to bitter hate, and herheart hardened so that night and day she longed to be revenged.

Thus a whole year passed away, and Tristram and Queen Iseult loved each other as dearly as ever; but King Mark in his jealous anger kept them so watched that they could never see or speak one to the other, and they had no peace or [228] joy in life, until at last they could bear the pain no longer, and one day they managed to escape together and to reach the Castly of Joyous Gard, where the king had no power to reach them, even had he know where they were hid. Of their love and happiness there no tongue can tell, and of the peace and joy of their life, for they loved each other above all else, and when they were together nothing had power to pain them.

But at last, on a sad, sad day, the trusty Gouvernail came to Sir Tristram with word that a summons had been sent him from King Arthur, to go to the aid of Sir Triamour of Wales, for he was sore beset by a monster named Urgan, and needed help.

(c) ⊢ you can travel >

(d) whither I go / or rest >

(e) birond bound coast >

?MS 47473-185, ScrLMA: $^+$, was born with a nuasilvar tongue in his mouthe and went round the coast of Iron with his left hand to the seen, lifted up but two fingers yet smelt it $\frac{\text{was}}{\text{+}}$ +would+ $^+$ day, + $^+$ | *JJA* 47:051 | Jul-Aug 1927 | I.6§1(AB).*1 | *FW* 138.21

(f) < newhave> newmade wife

The Story of Sir Tristram and La Belle Iseult 232-3: But they were parted, those two, by a fate as strong as death. And she lay immured in her castle home, while he sailed on and on, not heeding nor caring whither he went, for all that he loved dwelt on that bleak iron-bound coast, as far from him as though the whole wide world lay between them.

And so at last, not heeding whither he sailed, he came to that sunny land where his wife Iseult dwelt, praying always for revenge because she [232] had been scorned by him. On the coast at Brittany he landed, close by his own castle, but no sooner had he stepped ashore than he was met by a knight who knelt before him and besought his aid.

"Noble sir," cried he, "I am in sore distress. Some robbers, who infest this land like a scourge, met me as I was riding along with my new-made bride, and I being alone and single-handed, they quickly mastered me, and binding me, carried my bride away. And how to rescue her I know not. Come to my aid, sir, I beseech you, for you look a noble and trusty knight."

(g) Biancamano

The Story of Sir Tristram and La Belle Iseult 235: Over by the window of the big hall sat Iseult la Blanche Mains, gazing with stony, unseeing eyes out over the golden sea, paying no heed to the noise and bustle going on about her.

(h) Master Mouse

Not found in The Story of Sir Tristram and La Belle Iseult.

(i) ^bblanchemanges

The Story of Sir Tristram and La Belle Iseult 235: Over by the window of the big hall sat Iseult la Blanche Mains, gazing with stony, unseeing eyes out over the golden sea, paying no heed to the noise and bustle going on about her.

MS 47473-138, ScrILS: that her open hand ^+blanche manges ^+mainges+^+^ | *JJA* 47:036 | May-Jul 1927 | I.6§1A.*0 | *FW* 164.28

(j) win his love

The Story of Sir Tristram and La Belle Iseult 236: And she, poor little Iseult, her heart aching sorely with love and jealousy and bitter pain, returned to her seat, and no movement did she make to heal her lord of his wound, though she alone could do so. But in her heart she had vowed that she would not give him health and life only that he might leave her again to go to that other Iseult. So, stern and cold she sat by the window looking out upon the sea, and never spake one gentle word, or tried to win his love.

(k) Ganhardine (sister)

The Story of Sir Tristram and La Belle Iseult 237: So calling to him Ganhardine, his wife's brother, who loved him greatly, bade him, by the love they bore each other, to take his ship "The Swan," and with all speed sail in her to England; and there to land at Tintagel, and by fair means or foul to convey to Queen Iseult the ring which he there gave him. To tell her, too, how that he, Sir Tristram, was like to die, but could not die in peace till he had seen her face once more.

(1) Houdaine (dog)

Not found in The Story of Sir Tristram and La Belle Iseult.

(m) as if his life depended / on to / her

The Story of Sir Tristram and La Belle Iseult 237: So Sir Ganhardine left upon his errand, and sailed for Tintagel in "The Swan," and the journey did not take him long, for the ship flew through the waters like a real bird, as though she knew she was bound on her master's errand, and that his life depended on her swiftness.

VI.B.18.279

(a) bring in mouth

The Story of Sir Tristram and La Belle Iseult 238: So with Branwaine's gladly given help, Ganhardine conveyed Sir Tristram's ring to Queen Iseult in a cup of wine, so that when the queen drank, there at the bottom of the cup lay Sir Tristram's ring, one that she had given him long ago. And there she saw it, and her pale sad face lit up with such a wondrous joy that she had some ado to conceal her emotion from the king and those around her who were ever keeping her watched.

Deftly, though, she slipped the ring out of her mouth, and deftly she presently managed to slip it into her bosom, marvelling much the while whence and how it came, and why.

MS 47477-81, TsBMA: $^+$ What he with fifteen years will do, the ring in her mouth of joyous guard, $^+$ | JJA 51:103 | late 1932 | II.1\$4.4/5.2 | FW 246.13

(b) <da> my face not / her face

The Story of Sir Tristram and La Belle Iseult 239-40: And all the time, a little way from him sat White-handed Iseult, pale and cold without, the better to bide the burning rage within.

"Iseult! Iseult!" cried the sick man in his sleep. [239]

"I am here. What would you? She answered coldly, and he opened his eyes with a half-doubting joy in them; but his heart sank like lead, and all the joy died out of him, for the voice was not the voice of his love, nor the face her face, and sore wearily he sighed, and turned his face away.

(c) within a while

The Story of Sir Tristram and La Belle Iseult 240: Then within a while he spoke again. "My wife," he said, "when morning comes, look across the sea, and tell me if you see a ship coming, and if its sails be black or white, that I may the sooner be out of this miserable uncertainty."

VI.B.18.280

(e) Tamar Tavy & Taw

Note: Cornwall's Wonderland vii: Title of the third story in the collection: "The Legend of the Tamar, the Tavy and the Taw".