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CELTIC AND SCANDINAVIAN LANGUAGE AND CULTURAL CONTACTS DURING THE VIKING AGE

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VILNIAUS UNIVERSITETAS

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KELTŲ IR SKANDINAVŲ KALBŲ IR KULTŪRINIAI KONTAKTAI VIKINGŲ LAIKOTARPIU

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1. Celtic and Scandinavian Language and Cultural Contacts during the Viking Age

Viking Age Celtic and Scandinavian language and cultural contacts resulted in profound changes in both societies, and have therefore received a lot of attention. Yet the geographical extent of these contacts, and the scope of the issues are so vast that much work remains to be done. New and uninvestigated aspects of Celtic-Scandinavian relations continue to cast fresh light upon existing theories about this period.

In this dissertation I deal with contacts in the Isle of Man and Shetland Islands, using various Scandinavian sources for comparative purposes, as well as exploring the broader cultural and historical context.

1.1 The focus of the dissertation

During the Viking Age the islands in the North Atlantic underwent extensive historical, political, social and cultural changes, generating as a result an amalgam of Celtic and Scandinavian cultures. Despite a great deal of historical, linguistic and literary research into the cultural impact of Celtic-Scandinavian relations, the literature has not fully come to grips with some aspects of these relations, and certain related sources, which were of importance to unique cultural development of the area.

In analyses of Scandinavian sources from this area the Celtic contribution has often been neglected or underappreciated. Various written Scandinavian sources such as runic inscriptions from the Celtic area have been studied, but an analysis of the runic and Ogam stone-carving tradition in relation to Scandinavian material has not hitherto been undertaken. Gaps in the research such as this concern detail – specific areas of contact – but they also concern breadth of enquiry, and reflect a lack of systematic thinking about the central problem of cultural development. Investigation of Celtic-Scandinavian contacts can explain the transition experienced by these societies during the Viking

Age; the result adds to our picture of the forms that society can take – including forms of cultural and social organisation.

The Isle of Man is one of the most convenient locations for this kind of research, because it contains both the stone-carving traditions at issue (often within the same sites and artefacts), and is a manageable, defined area. As Michael P. Barnes and Raymond Ian Page put it, bilingual Ogam-rune inscriptions are distinct, but related (Barnes & Page 2006: 87-97). The Isle of Man also offers us monolingual runic inscriptions containing other evidence about contacts between its Celtic population and Scandinavian newcomers.

Another group of islands, the Shetland Islands are also of particular interest in the study of these contacts. In contrast to thorough studies of the material from Orkney, very little attention has been paid to available Shetlandic material, which was considered scanty and probably not worth separate investigation. However, analysis of the Shetlandic sources may shed new light on events in this area of the Irish Sea in this period.

When Scandinavian and Celtic literary sources had been analyzed, coincidences or concatenation due to Celtic influence were mistakenly dismissed by scholars, who searched for a singular literary text lying behind the obvious similarities. However, it is necessary to sift the groups of interrelated tales in order to find proof of Celtic lineage. The texts' age, place of origin, range of dissemination and relationship with other Celtic and Scandinavian texts indicate that they could not have been influenced by a single medieval text. Because literary concepts merged easily, it is necessary to undertake research on a thematic level in order to identify the most significant connections between the Gaelic and Norse tales.

1.2 The object of the dissertation

The dissertation has two main objects: a) to articulate the characteristics of contact between Celtic and Scandinavian population and identify the underlying historical and cultural context which generated paradigmatic

change in both societies; and b) to identify language, literary and cultural contacts during the Viking Age in the two smaller island groups, the Isle of Man and Shetland Islands, which were outposts for further Viking intrusions into the territory of the Celts and Anglo-Saxons. The islands were fertile ground for influences to take root and recombine with indigenous elements. On one hand, the corpus of Scandinavian runic inscriptions in the Isle of Man serves as an illustration of early Celtic and Scandinavian contacts. Runic inscriptions reflect political circumstances, and artistic and linguistic influences in the region of their production. On the other hand, Shetlandic material serves as a reflection of literary contacts between the Celts and the Vikings and also provides the possibility to identify the channel of transmission for Celtic literary motifs. The two case studies are intended as illustration of the synthesis between two different societies and the implications of this interlinked system for language diversity.

1.3 Research aims

The aims are:

a) to investigate the corpus of Scandinavian runic inscriptions in the Isle of Man and identify the parallels between the Scandinavian tradition of carving runes and the local Celtic tradition of carving Ogam;

b) to compare the corpus of runic inscriptions in the Isle of Man with Viking Age runic inscriptions in Scandinavia;

c) to analyze bilingual Ogam-rune inscriptions in the Isle of Man as a particular example of Celtic and Scandinavian cultural contact;

d) to consider Manx runic inscriptions as a whole, including their lay-out, content, formulae and linguistic features.

e) to analyze the Shetlandic material and discern the Celtic literary parallels;

f) to identify the route of Celtic literary influence on the Shetlandic material.

1.4 Research material

Since the chapters of the dissertation are structured so as to deal with different sets of sources, I have chosen to examine the sources thoroughly at the beginning of each chapter.

The records dealt with in the Chapter 3 are primarily a corpus of Scandinavian runic inscriptions of the Isle of Man; a selection of inscribed objects dated to the Viking Age, each of which employs some form of Scandinavian runic alphabet to illustrate some variant of the Scandinavian language group. All Manx inscriptions in this work are considered as a group.

Further, all Scandinavian runic inscriptions dated to the Viking Age have been employed for comparative purposes. I used the All-Nordic Rune Database (Samnordisk runtextdatabas) deposited in Runverket (Stockholm), which allows access to almost all Scandinavian runic inscriptions. Special attention has been paid to the Scandinavian rune-stones or rather cross-slabs inscribed with runes from neighbouring areas inhabited by the Celts, i.e. Ireland and Scotland. Concerning the Manx corpus, titles and numbers of runic inscriptions in my account follow Magnus Olsen (Olsen 1954).

The corpus of Ogam inscriptions in the Isle of Man is provided by Patrick Sims-Williams (Sims-Williams 2003) and Robert Alexander Stewart Macalister (Macalister 1945).

Research material for Chapter 4 is a Shetlandic ballad written in Norn, called *Hildinavisen*, first analyzed by Marius Hægstad in 1900. The ballad was recorded comparatively late, being first published in 1879 by George Low. I argue that a ballad recorded so late may well contain adapted and transformed material transmitted during the Viking Age through contacts with the Celtic population.

For the research of the origin of the motifs I also used corpuses of Scandinavian ballads, among them Norwegian, Danish, Faroese and Icelandic, and various Icelandic sagas including Family Sagas, but particularly the group called *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda* ‘Sagas of Ancient Time’ or ‘Legendary Sagas’. The research also encompasses various Old Irish and Welsh sagas,

particularly the Irish *Fled Bricrenn* 'Bricriu's Feast' and *Scéla Muicce Meic Da Thó* 'The Story of Mac Dá Thó's Pig', the Welsh *Branwen Uerch Lyr* 'Branwen Daughter of Llŷr' and numerous other Celtic stories.

1.5 Methodological principles and theory applied

In the Chapter 3 I use some aspects of Language Contact theory, especially intra-sentential code-mixing as developed by Shana Poplack (1993), Uriel Weinreich (1953) and especially Pieter Muysken (2000). Intra-sentential code-mixing helps us to understand language interaction as the result of contact. The term code-mixing refers to all cases where lexical items and grammatical features from two languages appear in one sentence.

I also use the Comparative Method for comparison of various Scandinavian runic inscriptions. An important tool has been the comprehensive All-Nordic Rune Database (Samnordisk runtextdatabas) mentioned above. The database catalogues of rune-stones exist in a machine-readable medium and are available via a programme called *Rundata*. In the current edition, published on December 3, 2008, there are over 6,500 inscriptions in the database; it has given me the opportunity to conduct comparative research based on Viking Age rune-stones all over Scandinavia.

The lay-out of the inscribed stones is compared and grouped empirically.

The Comparative method for the ballad studies used in Chapter 4 was conceived by Svend Grundtvig (1941-1972), and developed by Axel Olrik (1921) and Knut Liestøl (1970). However, most scholars practicing the method relied almost entirely on abstractions from each text, i.e., on their motif-sequences (Kemppinen 1954).

In Chapter 4 I investigate the relationship of the ballad to other genres and deal with ballad origins, the relation of ballads to medieval literature, and the origin of some particular motifs which seem to be the result of Celtic-Scandinavian contacts as early as the Viking Age.

1.6 Previous research

The subject has been tackled by generations of scholars researching various aspects of Celtic and Scandinavian language and cultural contacts. Previous research of the material is outlined and closely discussed in each chapter since, as we have said, the chapters address different sets of sources.

Most of the runic inscriptions discussed in the dissertation have been previously described and investigated. The subject has been approached a number of times from the mid 18th century when Scandinavian slabs were first depicted (in the 1722 Gibson edition of Camden's *Brittania*). Attempts to cover the subject have included surveys of the stones' exact locations, with photographic records and gathering of all available information.

In the latter part of 19th century an extensive debate sprang up concerning the stone slabs and crosses and their inscriptions, which culminated in 1907 with Philip Moore Callow Kermode's significant work, *Manx Crosses*. *Manx Crosses* remains to this day the principal source book for the series; however, much work has since been done to correct Kermode's interpretations of the inscriptions and his often rather fanciful identifications applied to the iconography and artistic tradition.

The next major step was taken by Olsen in 1954, who discussed with Kermode the inconsistencies in his research. Scandinavian runic inscriptions in the Isle of Man from the Viking Age have been recorded and interpreted in M. Olsen's comprehensive study *Runic Inscriptions in Great Britain, Ireland and the Isle of Man* (Olsen 1954: 151-233).

The first attempt to catalogue and provide a complete bibliography of the runic inscriptions of the Isle of Man, Great Britain and Ireland was by Hertha Marquardt in her first volume (1961) of *Bibliographie der Runeninschriften nach Fundorten*. However, the catalogue has several shortcomings since it conflates different periods or rune-carving tradition and includes inscriptions both in Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian runes. It also lists some non-runic inscriptions and even some items now known to be fake.

The most recent textual study of Manx inscriptions of the Viking Age was made by Page (1983). He examined Manx inscriptions in general terms and claimed that there was a lot of room for improvement, because Olsen's "work derives from the collections made during a visit as far back as 1911" (Page 1983: 133). Despite this observation, the latest full scale study of Scandinavian runic inscriptions in Britain by Barnes and Page (Barnes & Page 2006) does not include the Isle of Man.

The iconography of the Manx crosses has been discussed by Sue Margeson (Margeson 1983: 95-106), and the art of the Manx crosses has been analyzed in articles by David M. Wilson (Wilson 1983: 175-187).

These previous treatments of the runic inscriptions in the Isle of Man did not include comparative material from Scandinavian inscriptions of the same period and are not concerned with generating historical and cultural perspectives on the synthesis of Celtic and Scandinavian cultures. As regards the historical and cultural aspects, I seek to expand rather than substitute the studies of other scholars. Scandinavian runic inscriptions in the Isle of Man remain to be reappraised in the light of recent research.

The Ogam tradition in the Celtic area including the Isle of Man was reevaluated and discussed by Damian McManus in his monumental book *A Guide to Ogam* in 1997.

With regard to *Hildinavisen*, the text of the ballad was published by Hægstad (1900) and Liestøl (1936). Hægstad undertook the philological analysis of the text, but it is limited to the deciphering of the text of the ballad employing and comparing it to the texts of other Scandinavian ballads.

1.7 The novelty of the dissertation

The Manx runic corpus has been studied using data from the All-Nordic Rune Database for comparison, as well as broader cultural and historical contexts. My analysis of runic inscriptions in the Isle of Man takes into consideration

Scandinavian Viking Age runic inscriptions as well as the Celtic Ogam tradition present in the same area.

Socio-cultural and linguistic interaction of Scandinavian and Celtic population and synthesis of two cultures in the Isle of Man as manifested in the Manx runic corpus sheds a new light on the scope and character of contacts and issues of bilingualism. The comparative research of various stone-carving traditions in the same area highlights previously unexplained phenomena in terms of language and cultural contact. Previous work on the subject is reappraised and new conclusions are drawn about the nature of contacts by the method of comparative study, with linguistic forms, historical and cultural phenomena, furnishing the basis for the study. It incorporates investigation of some aspects such as lay-out, formula, legal background, the cult of local saints, Celtic and Scandinavian names, grammar and syntax of Manx inscriptions, elucidating the ways of coexistence of Celtic population and Scandinavian settlers**.**

Shetlandic material, particularly *Hildinavisen*, has been neglected by generations of scholars possibly due to textual difficulties. The text has never been studied in a broader context, including the possibility of reception of individual motifs from the Celtic literary tradition. Former philological studies do not address the origin of individual motifs. The study of various coherent groups of Celtic and Scandinavian narratives illuminates the issue of migration and transmission of the motifs and supports Gísli Sigurðsson's theory of Orkney as the possible route of transmission.

The study outlines the character and scope of contacts in smaller group of islands, the Isle of Man and Shetland Islands supplying lacking bits of mosaic to the multidimensional field of the studies of contact in the area. The interplay of cultures has been investigated extensively. However, the study broadens the perspective of the phenomenon of cultural diffusion and provides new illuminating examples. It produces general conclusions about the impact of the Scandinavians on the culture and language of the indigenous Celtic population and puts the cultural and language contacts in a new context providing a new

framework for interpreting the course of human history and events during the Viking Age.

1.8 Theses

1. The Manx runic corpus dated to the Viking Age contains some features which are unparalleled in other Scandinavian inscriptions, e.g. exceptional lay-out, special usage of formulae, content of the inscriptions, high frequency of Celtic names, higher frequency of females commemorated in the inscriptions and unorthodox grammar. Together they indicate a certain degree of contact with the Celtic population and adoption of Celtic culture.

2. Bilingual Ogam-rune stones are limited to the Celtic area of contact and may be seen as evidence of the knowledge of each other's traditions.

3. The only recorded Shetlandic ballad *Hildinavisen*, written in Norn, reflects literary influence from Celtic sources. Because *Hildinavisen* reflects very early versions of Celtic stories, the transmission of Celtic motifs and elements should be dated to the Viking Age.

4. Shetlandic literary material, namely *Hildinavisen*, supports Gísli Sigurðsson's conjecture that the Orkney Islands were one of the important channels for transmission of Celtic literary motifs in the Viking Age. Being on the route of transmission, the Shetland Islands have also preserved early Celtic elements in the aforementioned ballad.

1.9 The structure of the dissertation

The text of the dissertation following this framework section consists of four main chapters. Chapter 2 lays the foundation for the study of Celtic and Scandinavian linguistic and cultural phenomena as a result of contact. It

contains a historical and evolutionary account of cultural contacts between the Celts and Scandinavians in the Viking Age, and deals with the issues of bilingualism; intermarriages in the Celtic area in general; and contacts to be studied further. I interlace the discussion with historical illustrations to show that these contacts indeed existed and functioned and can be retrieved from the existing historical and literary record.

After sketching out the historical framework in Chapter 2, I consider the contacts on two geographically restricted areas.

Chapter 3 contains the analysis of the Manx runic corpus in the light of Ogam tradition and focuses on various aspects of contact manifested in the runic corpus, e.g. layout of the Manx runic inscriptions, formulae, Christian context, commemoration of women, names, grammar and syntax.

In Chapter 4 I consider the literary contacts that emerged in Shetlandic society and creation, consistent with the dynamic forces of social change, of a novel cultural world combining the Scandinavian and the Celtic. A short outline of Celtic literary influence on the Scandinavian literary tradition serves as an introduction to Chapter 4. I next undertake a detailed analysis of various literary sources and of the Celtic literary influence on the only recorded Shetlandic ballad, *Hildinavisen*, written in the Norn language. The parallels are drawn not only from Celtic literary sources but also from Scandinavian ones, where Celtic literary influence has already been identified.

Chapter 5 presents conclusions and a short final discussion including a series of implications for the future of research of Celtic and Scandinavian language and cultural contacts.

The dissertation also contains a summary in Lithuanian and a bibliography.

2. History of Contacts

In this chapter I provide a historical framework for the development of contacts between the Vikings and the Celts, and examine the cultural and ideological transformation that resulted from them.

2.1 Í vestrvegum - Vikings in the territories of the Celts

Data from the Viking Age reveals a dramatic change in the pattern of trade connections. In order to provide a livelihood for a growing population, they extended to the Arab world from existing eastern trade-routes through Russia and the Baltic. Scandinavians began to import goods from Byzantium and North Africa, and traded with Lapland and England (Foote & Wilson 1980: 191). The background for expansion was partly economic, social and political development within Late-Iron-Age societies in Scandinavia, including the development of superior ship-building technology (Larsen & Hansen 2001: 115).

This study is concerned with contacts *í vestrvegum* 'to the west' (*vestrvegar* meaning 'the western routes'). In the vocabulary of the rune-stones, this direction is usually indicated using an adverb *vestr* or *vestarla* 'to the west'. The term *vestrvegar* is also present in runic inscriptions and is always given in the plural, because there were several ways leading to the west. This particular meaning is found in Old Norse where the word *vestrvegr* is used to define the British Isles specifically (Palm 2004: 43). There are other variants for indicating the westerly direction, namely from Orkney, such as the phrasing *fyrir vestan haf* (Barnes 1994: 148) found in a runic inscription in Maeshowe (Maeshowe XVIII, Orkney). One of the western routes led to the Celtic territories which in many cases served as a strategic location for onward destinations. During the Viking Age the Scandinavian expansion westwards was to play a pivotal role not only in Ireland but also in England, the Scottish Isles and the entire process of *landnám* 'taking of the land' in the North Atlantic (Larsen & Hansen 2001: 115).

2.2 The evolutionary character of contacts in the west

The earliest historical and linguistic evidence for Celtic-Norse connection addresses the interface of history and language and is to be found in the contemporary account, *Annála Uladh* 'The Annals of Ulster' (Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill 1983). *The Annals of Ulster* constitutes one of the most reliable contemporary documents of the Irish annual records which describe the nature of the interaction between the two peoples and also reflect the evolution of this interaction.

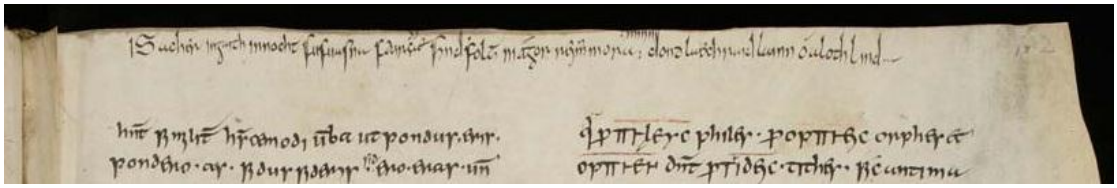
The two literatures Old Norse and Old Irish are not contemporaneous. The most restless and violent period of Viking occupation lasted from c. 800 to 1014 A.D., and it was a full century after the latter date before historical composition began in Iceland. The Irish chroniclers were closer in space and time to the events they reported than were their Scandinavian counterparts (Craige 1897: 439). The evolutionary character of contacts is described by Rune Palm who distinguishes four stages. The first stage is sporadic territorial incursions (793-864 A.D.), which from about 840 grew in intensity. The second stage (876-896) is characterized by regular appearance of the Vikings and temporary settlement such as overwintering. The third stage (991-1012) is dominated by tribute paying, and the fourth (1013-1066) by substantive political settlement (Palm 2004: 46-47). It has been suggested by Liam Mac Mathúna that the Irish had difficulties in adequately describing the invaders in Irish, both as a whole and then as constituent sub-groups of invaders (Mac Mathúna 1997: 41-42).

According to *The Annals of Ulster*, the very first Norse attack on Ireland occurs in 795 on the island of *Rechru*. There are several islands having this name. However, it seems to have been either Lambay Island in County Dublin, or Rathlin Island in County Antrim off the north-eastern tip of Ireland. Smaller islands (called *insula* in Latin or *inis* in Old Irish) with their sparse populations were chosen by the Viking raiders as advantageous places for prompt and

successful attacks, and as easily controlled and temporary shelter after the hardships of seafaring.

Many of these islands were populated by Irish monks either living in monasteries or otherwise seeking isolation from the secular world, a "desert in the ocean" (Adam 2000: 2) as anchorites. The monasteries were often located on small islands off the coast. This local population was peaceful, vulnerable and helpless in the face of determined assaults by violent armed Norse groups. The earliest entries in *The Annals of Ulster* support the theory that Norse invaders first used small islands as bases of naval operations and for surveying the coastline for further targets. *The Annals of Ulster* enumerates several incidents where anchorites and priests were killed, and shrines and reliquaries plundered. For example, the entry from the year 828 records a slaughtering of porpoises and the violent death of an anchorite: *Mucar már di muccaibh mora i n-airer nArdde Ciannachta o Gallaibh, & martre Temhnen anchorat.* 'A great slaughter of porpoises on the coast of Ard Ciannachta o Gallaibh, and the violent death of the anchorite Teimnén.'

It seems that inland raids only became common some 25 years later (Mac Mathúna 1997: 43). The Irish annals register the change of tactics of the Vikings by applying different terminology. The activities of the Vikings are described as *orgun/orcun* (OI) 'murdering/murder' or 'raiding/ravaging'. The intensity and brutality of these invasions and the frustration of their victims is expressed in an Irish poem written by a contemporary witness on the margin of folio 112 of *The Irish Priscian manuscript of St. Gallen*, written in an Irish scriptorium (Bangor monastery or Nendrum monastery in Ireland) and dated 845-846 (Flower 1954: 93) or 845 or 856 (Güterbock 1895: 92), the poem reads:



I. The Old Irish text of the poem at the top of the page of the manuscript.

Is acher ingáith innocht	'Bitter is the wind tonight:
fufuasna fairggae findfolt	it tosses the ocean's white hair:
ni ágor réimm mora minn	I fear not the coursing of a clear sea
dondláechraid lainn ua lothlind.	by the fierce warriors from Lothlend.'

(Stokes & Strachan 1975: 290)

At the start of the invasions the term applied by the Irish annalists is *gentiles* in Latin, but later on the Vikings are given an Old Irish term *gen(n)ti*, also *gein(n)ti* 'heathens/pagans', which comes from Latin *gentes*. Later in the 9th century the term *gaill* 'foreigners/Scandinavian invaders' (singular *gall*), first recorded in 827, is used regularly (Mac Mathúna 1997: 45). Sarah Sanderlin made a statistical analysis of the occurrences of *gaill* and *geinnte* and claims that the earlier term was *geinnte* (Sanderlin 1975: 254). However, the statistics show that in 920-970 the shift has taken place and *gaill* is used in 92% of all cases. The change of nomenclature is evidence for the stabilization of Celtic-Scandinavian contacts. The word *geinnte* was used in a pejorative sense, but the word *gaill* is apparently neutral.

2.3 The Viking settlement in Ireland

After their first transitory and sporadic incursions the Norse invaders began to settle either semi-permanently or permanently. The Vikings who began to establish themselves in Ireland, in fortified settlements near the mouths of rivers, were no longer anonymous. *The Irish annals* document the names of leaders such as Saxolb (Sǫxulfr) in 837, Turges (Þurgestr) in 845, and Agonn (Hákon) in 847. According to Donnchadh Ó Corráin, in the middle of the 9th century the Viking kings who coordinated the attacks in Ireland were from Viking settlements in Scotland, variously called *Lothlend*, *Laithlinn* or *Lochlainn* which "probably includes [The Isle of] Man" (Ó Corráin 1998: 10). The kingship of Viking Scotland had come into being and the kingdom began to exercise authority over the Vikings and their settlements in Ireland (Ó Corráin 1972: 20; 1998: 5).

At this stage a new technique of taking hostages was introduced which required staying in the country for a longer period of time. *The Life of St Fintan* describes slaving and taking captives for sale occurring by the middle of the 9th century (Holder-Egger 1887: 502-506). The permanently settled Vikings continued their onslaughts further into Irish territory using the *longphort* 'camp, encampment, temporary stronghold' as, rather, a permanent base. The *longphort* were constructed beside narrow, comparatively shallow inlets or coastal pools (Mac Mathúna 1997: 50). The annals for the year 841 record the establishment of a permanent Viking base at Dublin. The term *longphort* gives way to another term *dúnad* 'a permanent entrenchment/fort'. A year later in 842, the Irish and the Vikings start to cooperate militarily. *The Annals of Ulster* describe an attack by the Vikings aided by native Irish from the margins of society, called *goídil* 'wild men' (an Old Irish word *goídel* is cognate to the Welsh *gwyddel*, meaning 'wild'). This account probably referred to outcasts, but later on the Norse pursued their interests through alliances with social elites - the Irish kings. This type of collaboration is crowned by an event in 863, when the Irish *síd* (bronze-age megalithic burial mounds) of Knowth and Dowth were ransacked by the Vikings assisted by the Irish. The text of *The Annals of Ulster* from 863.4. reads:

Uamh Achaidh Alddai ₇ Cnodhbai ₇ uam Fheirt Boadan os Dubadh ₇ uam Mna Angobann ro scruidiset Gaill, quod antea non perfectum est, .i. a fecht ro slatsat .iii. righ Gall feronn Flaind m. Conaing, .i. Amhlaim ₇ Ímhar ₇ Auisle; ₇ Lorcan m. Cathail leo occa, rí Mide.

'The cave of Achad Aldai, and Cnogba, and the cave in the Mound of Boadán above Dubad, and the cave of the Blacksmith's Wife, were ransacked by the foreigners. This happened when three kings of the foreigners, Óláfr and Ívarr and Auisle, raided the territory of Flann mac Conaing [king of Brega]; and Lorcán mac Cathail, king of Mide, was helping them'.

This unexpected turn of events caused discord among the Irish and was reflected in the 9th century literary tradition. The Medieval Irish text *Cath Maige Tuired* 'The Second Battle of Mag Tuired' (Gray 1982: 24-73) was compiled when Viking activity in Ireland was fast accelerating. *Cath Maige Tuired* is a political allegory which describes the consequences of breaking

taboos, neglecting traditional values and cooperating with the enemy. The text contains the description of the enforcement of the tribute to the Irish by the three foreigners, which reflects almost literally the events described in *The Annals of Ulster* in 863.

2.4 The Viking struggle for hegemony in Dublin

In 849 began a crucial campaign for rulership of Dublin when King Tomrair mac Ailchi (also called Thórir Helgason) appeared with a fleet of 140 ships to establish his authority over the Vikings in Ireland. An entry from 851 in the *The Annals of Ulster* describes the clash between the two groups of Norse invaders in Dublin – *Finngaill* literally 'fair(haired) foreigners' and *Dubgeinti* or *Dubgaill*, 'black(haired) foreigners' – and the slaughter of the former group. (*Finngaill* are thought to have been Norwegians and *Dubgeinti* to have been Danes). The control of Dublin amounted to no less than command over the main trading post controlling the sea route linking the Scandinavian countries, their western colonies and Mediterranean region. The Dublin kings were therefore in a position to maintain control over raiding and trading around the Irish Sea, and were linked with the Norse invaders in The Isle of Man, Orkney, Shetland and the Hebrides. In the middle of the 9th century numerous ships and armed forces were concentrated around Dublin in order to extract taxes from the Irish kingdoms.

After the arrival of Amlaíb (ON Óláfr hinn hvíti) in 853 the Vikings in Dublin began to conduct intersive warfare against the Irish kings. Amlaíb was later joined by two of his brothers Ímar (ON *Ívarr* probably *Ívarr inn beinlausi Ragnarsson* (Ivar the boneless)) and Auisle (ON *Ásl*), who ruled together with him for a period. The dynasty focused on the marine operations around Dublin and shared legal and administrative decisions with the Irish kings. Later on, Auisle was murdered by his kinsmen. The *Fragmentary Annals of Ireland* elaborate that Auisle was killed by Amlaíb in a quarrel over Amlaíb's wife, a daughter of king Cináed (Radner 1978: 127).

Deteriorating relations between the brothers may have prompted the Irish attempt to regain power over Dublin which involved intrusion and burning of the fortress of Amlaíb at Clondalkin near Dublin. After the death of Ímar in 873 and of Amlaíb (perhaps in 874), fresh dynastic strife broke out and soon at least three rival families fought over Dublin. The power of Dublin was ebbing fast (Ó Corráin 1972: 21).

2.5 The expulsion of the Vikings

Once the power of the ruling Viking kings had crumbled, two east-coast Irish kings Máel Findia mac Flannacáin, king of Brega and Cerball mac Muirecáin, king of Leinster launched the final attack on Dublin and defeated the Norsemen. The Vikings fled to smaller islands and later on to Scotland, England and even Iceland. There are some place names in England which suggest that the Vikings knew some Irish (Collingwood 1927: 172-80). Auðr djúpúðga, the wife of Óláfr hvíti, king of Dublin, seems to have been one of those who accepted Christianity in Dublin and migrated to Iceland via the Hebrides after the expulsion. Dublin remained in the hands of the Irish for fifteen years. The former kings of Dublin, who returned to Scotland, managed to preserve their influence and power there and also to conquer Northumbria. From here, they again attacked Ireland and re-established the kingdom of Dublin.

2.6 The Return of the Vikings

The second Viking Age in Ireland began in 914 with the arrival of a great fleet of Norsemen in Waterford. However the crucial attack on Dublin was launched in 917 by *Sitriuc h. Imair do tuidecht i nAth Cliath,* 'Sitriuc grandson of Ímar entered Áth Cliath.'

Sitriuc came together with his kinsman Ragnall, who belonged to the exiled Dublin dynasty. Ragnall was the grandson of Ímar, called *rí Dubgaill*

‘king of the Danes’ because during the Vikings’ absence from Ireland he managed to conquer and become king of Danish Northumbria. The command of Dublin was regained and the Viking power re-established in Ireland. This date is now generally accepted by scholars as that of the founding of the earliest Dublin town for which there is archaeological evidence (Wallace 1992: 1). Viking towns were in general located on relatively high ground overlooking the confluences of tidal river estuaries and their tributaries, also at the estuaries of great rivers which often gave access to wealthy hinterlands (Wallace 2001: 37-38). It seems that Dublin was no exception.

However, both Sitriuc and Ragnall were more interested in their dominions in the north of Britain. In 918 Ragnall went back to the nort of Britain and made himself king of York, ruler of Northumbria and probably also of Cumbria. He died in 920 or 921 and was called *ri Finngall & Dubgall* ‘king of the Norse and the Danes’. Sitriuc left Dublin in 920 to claim the kingdom of York after Ragnall. In 926 he met king Athelstan in conference at Tamworth, became a Christian and married Athelstan’s sister. The Dublin-York axis that was to have such influence in Ireland and England for over half a century had been established, and the dynasty of Dublin was now more powerful than ever before (Ó Corráin 1972: 22).

The Irish Sea kingdom including the Hebrides, Scotland and Northern England was established in the mid 10th century and held its political power and legitimacy for almost a century.

The dynasties established on the Dublin-York axis generated powerful leaders. One of them was Amlaíb Cuarán (ON *Óláfr Sigtriggson Kváran*), the king of York in 943 who became the king of Dublin in 945 and greatly expanded Dublin’s territorial influence in Ireland (Ó Corráin 1972: 23). He was a king of Dublin from 945 until his abdication after the battle of Tara in 980. At the end of his life he went to Iona as a penitent and died there in religious retirement in 981. These events are reflected in the Icelandic saga *Sörla þáttr eða Héðins saga ok Högna* ‘The Saga of Hethin and Högni’, dated to the 14th or 15th century (Malone 1964: 35), but containing different names.

According to Niels Lukman, the saga incorporates a specific version of the story of *Hjaðningavíg* 'The Battle of Hjadnings' which differs from that found in other Scandinavian sources. This peculiar fight is held on the island Há, identified as the island of Hoy in Orkney by Snorri Sturluson in *Skáldskaparmál* in Prose Edda. However, Lukman identified the island with Iona (OI Hí; Ia) (Lukman 1977: 57). In the saga this fight continues for 143 years and is finished by Ólafr Tryggvason, king of Norway, and Ívar ljómi. Ólafr Tryggvason was identified with Óláfr Sigtriggson Kváran, king of Dublin, who was defeated and left the city in 980, and died on a pilgrimage to Iona in 981.

2.7 Brian Boru and the Battle of Clontarf

Numerous dynastic contests for hegemony in Ireland eventually led to the battle of Clontarf which is described in various sources both Irish and Scandinavian. The most reliable of these is the Irish source *Annála Uladh* 'The Annals of Ulster', which is contemporaneous with the events. Another somewhat later source which gives an account of the battle is *Cogad Gáedel re Gallaib* 'The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill'. This chronicle recounts King Brian's warfare against the Vikings and was written in the early 12th century, at least a hundred years after the event (Todd 1867).

The battle of Clontarf marks the culmination of the campaign for dominion in Ireland. An entry in the *Annála Uladh* for the year 1014 describes the events leading to the battle in detail and includes the names of the kings and leaders who fought on each side. It appears that some Irish kings, the Viking rulers of Dublin called *Gaill Atha Cliath* 'the Foreigners of Dublin' and their allies from Scotland *a coimlin do Ghallaib Lochlainne leó* 'an equal number of the Foreigners of Lochlainn' formed an alliance against the Irish kings. However, when the annalist enumerates the leaders of the opposing troops who fell in the battle, the alliance appears to be much broader and includes *Siuchraidh m. Loduir iarla Innsi Orcc* who is identified as Sigurðr digri son of Hlǫðver, earl

of Orkney; *Brotor qui occidit Brian, .i. toisech na loingsi Lochlannaighi* ‘Broðar who killed Brian, commander of the Viking fleet’, probably from the Isle of Man; and troops from the Hebrides (Ó Corráin 1998: 11).

The version of events in *Annála Uladh* is supported by *Cogad Gáedel re Gallaib* which also describes the breadth of the alliance as follows:

Ro tochured cucu dna Siucraid mac Lotair, iarla Insi Orc 7 na nInnsi archena, comtionol sloig buirb barbarda dicheillid dochisc dochomaind do Gallaib Insi Orc 7 Insi Cat, a Manaind 7 a Sci 7 a Leodus, a Cind Tiri agus a hAirer Goedel
‘They invited to them also Sigurðr son of Hlǫðver, earl of Orkney and the Hebrides as well, and an assembled host of uncouth, barbarous, berserk, stubborn, treacherous foreigners from Orkney, Shetland, Man, Skye, Lewis, Kintyre and Argyle.’

Scandinavian sources such as the Icelandic *Brennu-Njáls saga* ‘The Story of Burnt Njal’ (Einar Ólafur Sveinsson 1954: 448-53), *Þorsteins saga Síðu-Hallssonar* ‘Thorstein Sidu-Hallsson's Saga’(ISD) and *Orkneyinga saga* ‘The History of the Earls of Orkney’ (Finnbogi Guðmundsson 1965: 27) also describe the battle of Clontarf in detail – in these cases called *Brjánsorrosta* ‘the battle of Brian’. *Brennu-Njáls saga*, mentions both Sigurðr (who is called Sigurðr jarl Hlǫðvisson (Einar Ólafur Sveinsson 1954: 448)) and Bróðir, who killed *Brjánn*. In *The Annals of Ulster* Bróðir is called Brotor. Bróðir is associated with the Isle of Man in *Brennu-Njáls saga,* which recounts that he along with another Viking called *Óspakr* have their fleet of thirty ships nearby the Isle of Man – *Víkingar tveir liggja úti fyrir utan Mon ok hafa þrjá tigi skipa* ‘there are two Vikings lying off the west of Man; and that they have thirty ships’ (Einar Ólafur Sveinsson 1954: 445). *Brennu-Njáls saga* was probably written in Iceland in the 12th century, but some material used in the saga is earlier and based on oral stories from the West. The oral tradition surrounding the Battle of Clontarf was later incorporated into *Brennu-Njáls saga* and *Þorsteins saga Síðu-Hallssonar* (Einar Ólafur Sveinsson 1954: xlv-xlix). Both sides suffered great losses. Brian Boru was killed in the battle, but the Vikings were defeated and 6,000 of them were killed or drowned. It is clear that control

of Dublin and its resources had become a prerequisite for being a credible claimant to the kingship of Ireland (Ó Corráin 1972: 26).

The battle of Clontarf with its dramatic outcome reverberated in several Irish and Scandinavian texts and forged a literary tradition.

2.8 Dynastic and racial intermarriages

Political or economic alliances and the mutual loyalty required for them were often reinforced by intermarriage. Especially for elites, intermarriage was a means of ensuring that power and title remained within the family. Intermarriage also took place among ordinary people, but there are very few accounts of it in the surviving literature.

The internal and external trade of slaves was an important source of income for the Vikings, and trade in female slaves was no exception. *Annála Uladh* from 821 record a great number of women taken into captivity by the Vikings:

821.3. *... pred mor di mnaibh do brid ass.*
'...they carried off a great number of women into captivity.'

These women were generally used as servants, maids or concubines, but there were also cases of legal marriage. In the Icelandic *Laxdæla saga* 'The Laxdale Saga', one of the characters acquires an Irish slave-woman, Melkorka (OI Mael Corcrae), the daughter of an Irish king Mýrkjartan (OI Muircertach). She becomes the owner's concubine and after the birth of their son, Melkorka teaches the boy Irish. When he returns to Ireland, he seems to be fluent in Irish (Einar Ólafur Sveinsson 1934: 27; 52-59).

There are several accounts of mixed marriages among the elite. *Annála Uladh* records that Amlaíb Conung (ON Óláfr hvíti Ingjaldsson), who came to Ireland in 853, subdued the foreigners of Ireland and also took tribute from the Irish, was a son-in-law of Aed Finnliath, the King of Tara. It is recorded in the Annals that Amlaíb Conung and his brother Ímar made alliances with Aed Finnlaith and Mael Sechlainn of the Southern Uí Neill, and that the marriage

was a part of this. After the death of Amlaíb Conung, his Irish wife was reportedly pregnant at the time of being sent back to her father. However, Icelandic literary tradition, namely *Landnámabók* 'The Book of Settlements' and *Laxdæla saga* provide a different genealogy. They suggest that Óleifr enn hvíti (Amlaíb Conung) was the Viking in Ireland, became the king of Ireland and married Auðr/Unnr djúpúðga 'Aud the Deep-minded', daughter of the ruler of the Hebrides, Ketill Flatnefr **'**Ketil Flatnose' (Jakob Benediktsson 1968: 136).

The *femme fatale* of Ireland, Gormlaith, daughter of Murchad mac Finn, king of Leinster, who saw her marriages as a route to power, is described in both Irish and Icelandic sources as the instigator of the battle of Clontarf. *Trí lémend ra ling Gormlaith* 'three leaps [i.e. marriages] did Gormlaith perform' - a leap at Dublin, a leap at Tara and a leap at Cashel. Her courtesan role is described in the above mentioned Irish text *Cogad Gáedel re Gallaib* (Todd 1867) and the Icelandic *Brennu-Njáls saga* (Einar Ólafur Sveinsson 1954), which portray her as a manipulator, instructing her son Sitriuc to gain support from the Vikings against her husband Brian Boru at all costs. In addition, she is referred to in the Welsh biography *Historia Gruffud vab Kennan*, as well as in a poem preserved in 12th century genealogies (Ní Mhaonaigh 2002: 1). Her first husband was the Viking king of Dublin and York, Amlaíb Cuarán (Ó Cuív 1988: 86) by whom she bore a son, Sitriuc Silkenbeard, another king of Dublin. The leap at Tara probably represents her marriage to Mael-Sechnaill II, the king of Tara by whom she also had a son Conchobar, king of Tara. The leap at Cashel represents her marriage to Brian Boru, killed in the battle of Clontarf, the king of Ireland by whom she bore a son, Donnchad (who became a king of Munster). The battle of Clontarf was fought by protagonists who were closely related. Mael Sechnaill II was Sitriuc's step-father and Donnchad, son of Brian, was the uterine brother of Sitriuc Silkenbeard and was married to the daughter of the Viking ruler of Waterford. Two of Gormlaith's three husbands were involved in the battle and her son, Sitriuc Silkenbeard, was married to a daughter of her former husband

Brian. Brian, then, was both stepfather and father-in-law to Sitriuc Silkenbeard, while Donnchad, son of Brian, was first cousin of Sitriuc (who was also brother-in-law to Ólafr Tryggvasson, king of Norway). Clontarf was the most notable military conflict within this bilingual Irish and Viking elite of the late 10th and early 11th centuries – an elite that shared a common political, literary and artistic culture (Ó Corráin 1972: 26). In the Icelandic sagas the name of Gormlaith is given an Old Norse form *Kormlöð*. She is the wife of Olaf Kvaran, and mother of the Earl Sigtrygg mentioned in *Brennu-Njáls saga* (Bugge 1867: 154). There are 18 poems attributed to Gormlaith in Early Modern Irish tradition from the 12th to the 16th century. Narratives about Gormlaith abound also in Scottish tradition. In these poems she is depicted as spending her widowhood in Kells as a battered old hag talking to a rag of clothing and yearning for the days of glory (Greene & Kelly 2003: 308-315).

2.8.1 The provenance of names

The provenance of names in Ireland among the Vikings of Dublin is revealing. They reflect their mixed Norse and Celtic ancestry and become fashionable among those emigrating from Ireland, Scotland and the Hebrides to Iceland, the Faroe Islands and even Greenland. Names of prominent historical figures such as kings Dubgall and Amlaíb are favoured by families of Scandinavian-Celtic lineage.

Sobriquets (bynames) were popular among people of mixed race. In some cases names of Scandinavian origin are followed by Irish bynames, and in other cases it is the other way around. For example the Scandinavian name of the king of Dublin Amlaíb, (ON Óláfr Sigtriggson Kváran) has a sobriquet Cuarán which corresponds to the Old Irish *cúarán* ‘shoe, slipper’. In the Icelandic source *Landnámabók* the Irish byname is preserved as *Óláfr kvarán í Dyflinni*. The grandson of Amlaíb Cuarán, Glún Iairn (ON Járnkné Óláfsson), king of Dublin, who ruled from 980 to 989, has a Scandinavian name, but the first part of it is translated into Irish as *glún* ‘knee’ and the second part is kept

in Scandinavian and added as a sobriquet corresponding to the Old Norse *járn* 'iron'. However, *The Index of names in Irish Annals* (INIA) indicates that in the earliest entries of *Annála Uladh* the name appears in its Old Norse form *Iercne* or *Ergne*. Tracing the dynasty of Glún Iairn his son Gilla Ciaráin has a purely Irish (and furthermore, Christian) name meaning 'the servant of Saint Ciarán'. Another interesting case is the name Grísín(e), which according to Carl J. S. Marstrander is the Old Norse personal name Gríss 'Pig' with the Irish diminutive ending *-ín*, *-íne -éne* (Marstrander 1915: 51). Diminutive forms were prolific in Old Irish and particularly widespread in personal names. In this particular case the diminutive form was tagged onto the original Scandinavian name, which indicates close linguistic and social connections between Scandinavians and Irishmen. The name Amlaim mac Laghmaind belongs to the Hiberno-Norse world of the Isles and Man. The name Lagmann corresponds to the Old Norse appellative logmaðr 'lawman'. This name for a profession became a personal name in the Orkneys (and as we know from the Irish annals, in the Hebrides), but not in Scandinavia proper. In 962 Lagmann is attested (in the plural, Lagmainn) as the name of an aristocratic kindred or group in the Hebrides engaged in late Viking attacks on Ireland. It is found as a personal name in Scotland, the Isle of Man and the Isles. The Scottish surnames Lamont and MacLamond derive from it (Ó Corráin 1998: 14).

Brian Ó Cuív (1988) and Diarmuid Ó Murchadha (1993: 69) give a veritable array of personal and family names which the Norse got from the Irish. The Hiberno-Scandinavian settlers were forced further to the North by political events. If the influx from Norway mingled with the northward moving Hiberno-Scandinavian population, would presumably have had a significant influence on the forging of a common cultural identity in the North Atlantic communities. The first settlers in the Faroe Islands and in Iceland bore either Christian or Celtic names (Larsen & Hansen 2001: 124). Among the Norse names most commonly brought into use in Irish families between the 9th and 11th centuries were *Amlaín* (from Old Norse *Óláfr*), *Gothbrith*, *Gothfrith* or *Gofraid* (Old Norse *Goðroðr*), *Ímar* (Old Norse *Ívarr*), *Ragnall* (Old Norse

Ragnvaldr), *Sichfraid* or *Sichfrith* (Old Norse *Sigfrið* or *Sigroðr*). Names such as *Dubgall*, *Lochlainn*, *Magnus* and *Somairle* (Old Norse *Somarliði*) are of great importance, being Gaelic names of Norse origin that contributed to the formation of surnames which occurred in Ireland from the mid 10th century onward. Ó Cuív dates the phenomenon a century earlier (Ó Cuív 1988: 85). Examples of surnames with the prefix *Mac* 'son' are *Mac Amhlaoibh*, *Mac Dubhghaill*, *Mac Gofradha*, *Mac Íomhair*, *Mac Maghnusa*, *Mac Raghnaill*, *Mac Somhairle* and *Mac Lochlainn*. Surnames with the prefix *Ua* (later *Ó*) include *Ua Dubhghaill*, *Ua Lochlainn*, *Ua Siochfradha* and *Ua hUiginn*. This latter name, anglicized as Higgins, engendered much speculation by Greene, who on balance opted for its being derived from Old Norse *víkingr* 'a Viking' (Greene 1976: 78).

2.9 Bilingualism and language contacts

These specific historical conditions gave rise to people of mixed Irish and Viking blood, the so called *Gall-Goídil* (literary translated from OI 'Foreigner-Irish'). The *Gall-Goídil* were most likely bilingual, at least to some extent, and mutual fosterage was a well-known phenomenon (Young 1950: 18). A fear of 'otherness' is expressed in *The Fragmentary Annals of Ireland* (FA) for the year 856 which incorporate an interpolation describing the mixed race for the first time in negative terms:

... Scuit íad, 7 daltai do Normainnoibh íad, 7 tan ann adbearar cid Normainnigh friú. Maidhidh forra ré nd-Aodh, 7 cuirthear a ndeargár na nGallGhaoidheal, 7 cinn imdha do bhreith do Aodh leis; ra dhlighsiot na hEireannaigh an marbhadh soin, uair amhail do-nidis na Lochlannaig, do-nidis-siomh
'… they are Gaels and foster-children of the Vikings, and sometimes they are even called Vikings. Aed defeated them and slaughtered the Gall-Goídil, and Aed brought many heads away with him; and the Irish were entitled to do that killing for as the Vikings did, so also did they [the Gall-Goídil]'.

Irish self-definition was established by portraying Norse newcomers as barbarian and inferior. Edith Hall claimed that most ethnic minorities in

ancient Europe were stamped as 'other' and ascribed stereotyped, negative features by their contemporaries (Hall 1989).

In Irish literature stereotypes about other ethnic groups appear in two 17th century burlesque texts *Párliament na mBan* 'The Parliament of Women' (Ó Cuív 1952) and *Pairlement Chloinne Tomáis* 'The Parliament of Clan Thomas' (Williams 1981). These caricature the settlers, their appearance, way of life and manners – but also the Irish who imitate them.

Similar attitudes about the settlers appear in Old Irish metrical tracts, especially satires. In one of the satires an Irishman named Gúaire is ridiculed for adopting Viking dress and manners:

Gúaire na ngallbróc, gáire gaill
'Gúaire of the foreign shoes, a foreigner's laughter' (McLaughlin 2008: 164-165).

Snáith glais ri gallat
'blue threads attached to a foreign helmet' (McLaughlin 2008: 162-163).

In the satires, the term gall may in some instances refer to Viking settlers. On the one hand early Irish literary sources imply that the Vikings became integrated into Irish society in both economic and military roles, and the term *Gall-Goídil* indicates that there were marital as well as political and economic alliances between the two communities (Ó Cuív 1988: 85-86). On the other hand there are a number of satires where the Vikings as a group are viewed as something repugnant and their way of life is ridiculed or criticised.

The subject in the satires was identified with specific categories of individuals, such as those with low status occupations or foreigners (McLaughlin 2008: 9-10). For example the profession of comb maker (OI *círmaire*), usually practiced by the Vikings of Dublin, was of low status, as was that of ring maker (OI *nascaire*). In one of the Old Irish satires the subject is described as *mesce círmaire* 'as drunk as a comb maker', where the comb maker may mean a Viking (McLaughlin 2008: 28).

According to one Middle Irish poem (Quin 1981) the comb makers will perish in hell along with other representatives of low status occupations such as

bancháinte ‘female satirists’, *crossána* ‘jesters’, *clíara ciúil* ‘musicians’ and *cornaire* ‘horn players’.

Not only occupation, but also the dress of these immigrant or foreign communities was slightly different. Archaeological research reveals novel, composite aesthetic forms in clothing and other textiles. The original Irish form of a dress pin, for example, was adopted by Scandinavian communities in Ireland and combined with ornamental patterns on the pins that were in the Scandinavian tradition (Fanning 1994: 34). Another group of artefacts with a mixed heritage was weapons, which from the second half of the 9th century show strong Viking influence as a result of the free interchange of technical skills between craftsmen on both sides (Lucas 1966: 73). As a consequence of Viking invasions, the enlargement of Irish fleets in the early 10th century may have employed Norsemen living in Ireland (Walsh 1922: 35-39; 40-43). However, in settlement pattern, the Vikings followed vernacular building customs of Scandinavia and exploited natural resources around places of habitation as was the tradition in rural Scandinavian society (Larsen & Hansen 2001: 122).

All of the above mentioned innovations in dress, weapons, ships and housing caused a reaction in the indigenous population encountering them, as reflected in various Irish texts including satires and curses. For example a low status profession and Viking buildings facing the waterfront deserve to be mentioned side by side in the satire *fíacail círe, cleth i curchais* ‘a tooth of comb, a house post in a clump of reeds’ (McLaughlin 2008: 164-165). The Vikings are represented as headless, inseparable from water and exploiting the countryside: *gall cen chenn* ‘a headless foreigner’(McLaughlin 2008: 167–168); *gall bladach ar bilairlic* ‘a splendid foreigner on a watercress-covered flag-stone’ (McLaughlin 2008: 162-163); *gall ic cnúasach cnó* ‘(like) a Viking collecting nuts’ ((McLaughlin 2008: 245). The Vikings’ ships, which perhaps made the greatest impression (given the great number of Old Norse loanwords to Old Irish connected with seafaring), are satirically called hempen ships - *íarraid dam gall cas a cnápluing* ‘let you seek for me a curly-headed foreigner

from a hempen ship' (McLaughlin 2008: 134-135). However, the greatest attention and the most abusive expressions in the Early Irish satires are reserved for the language of the settlers. The monkish scribes, for their part, termed the Vikings *meic báis* 'sons of death' in contrast to themselves as *meic bethad* 'sons of life' (McCone 1986: 5).

The term Gall-Ghàidhell or Gall-Gáidhell[1] was presumably first used in Scotland. References to Gall-Ghàidheil/Gall-Gáidheil (plural form of Scottish-Gaelic Gall-Ghàidhell) are found in a versified calendar of saints originally composed circa 800 and called *Félire Oengusso Céli Dé*. Different manuscript versions have notes added later which contain two references to Gall-Ghàidheil:

1) *Téit iarum Donnán i Gallgáidelu ocus geibid aitrebb ann.*
'Donnán went after that among the Gall-Gaidheil, and took his abode there' (Stokes 1905: 116).

2) *Bláán .i. Baláán epscop Cinn Garad hi nGallgaidelaib.*
'Bláán ie. Baláán Bishop of Kingarth among Gall-Gaidheil' (Stokes 1905: 184).

Saint Donnán lived in the Inner Hebrides; Kingarth is on the island of Bute in the west of Scotland. Of course the two above mentioned saints belong to an earlier period than the advent of the Gall-Ghàidheil, but at the time these notes were added the Gall-Ghàidheil must have been identifiable in that area.

In his analysis of historical and linguistic evidence for the Gall-Ghàidheil and Norse presence in Western Scotland, Andrew Jennings also claims that there is a corroborative evidence for the mixed population, which would have developed after 825 (Jennings 1996: 66). Jennings translates literally as 'Stranger-Gaidhell', but by 850s *gall* in the Irish Annals was a term applied more or less exclusively to Scandinavians, so it should be translated as 'Scandinavian-Gaidhell' and was surely created to describe people of mixed Gaelic and Norse ethnicity (Jennings 1996: 66).

[1] Scottish-Gaelic spelling

There is an Old Norse word *gaddgeðlar* which appears twice in the Icelandic sagas – in *Orkneyinga saga* (Finnbogi Guðmundsson 1965: 59) and *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* 'The Saga of Haakon Haakonarson' (ISD). In both sagas it is a place-name somewhere in Scotland. *Orkneyinga saga* gives the further explanation that it is a place where Scotland and England meet: *þar mætisk Skotland and England*. *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* mentions Aleinn, earl of Scotland, son of Rollant, the earl of Galvei. Galvei seems to be the same word as *Gaddgeðlar* and has been identified with Galloway.

Gáidheil is primarily a linguistic rather than a ethnic term. A person could not be described as a Gaidheal unless he or she spoke or had learned the language. This was presumably also the case in the mid 9th century, so although the term Gall-Gáidheil indicates an ethnically mixed people, its coinage by the Irish annalist suggests he understood the dominant language of this unusual ethnic group to be Gaelic. The Gall component of the name probably referred to unambiguously Norse characteristics which distinguished them from other Gáidheil, presumably in the field of dress and equipment (perhaps the ships by which they arrived in Ireland).

The years 825 to 850 probably saw the Norse settlers and their descendants in Ireland become absorbed into the surrounding Gaelic society, even adopting Gaelic as a means of communication with their neighbours. On the other hand, these neighbours must have also adopted some of the new-comers' culture (Jennings 1996: 68-69).

It seems that much attention was paid to the language of the new settlers, which was usually characterized in pejorative terms. The pidgin or creole spoken by this mixed race population was disparagingly characterized as *gic-goc Gallgaidhel* (Mac Mathúna 1997: 54), an expression found in one of the Old Irish Anecdota. Anecdota ii, 72.6 is from *Airec Menman Uraird maic Coise* 'The Stratagem of Urard mac Coise' (Byrne 1908: 72.1.6), a late 10th or 11th century text famous for containing Version B of the medieval Irish tale-lists. The context invoked here is that the king of Tara, Domnall mac Muirchertaig, has just heard a disguised plea for compensation from Urard mac

Coisse (presenting himself as the poet Máel Milscothach [i.e. Máel of sweet-words]) and he calls together the nobles of his people to seek their advice. And what he hears from his nobles and elders is good advice; it was not 'the babbling of the Norse Irish ... the mindless chatter of merchants'.

The phrase *gíc-goc Gall-Goídil* is generally understood to mean 'the babbling of the Gall-Goídil'. The people of mixed Irish and Norse descent, many of whom would have been bilingual, probably spoke both languages. The word *gic-goc* is onomatopoeic, probably of Norse origin (Marstrander 1915: 383) and means 'guttural, unintelligible chatter' (similar to *baba*, whence Barbarian). The phrase in Old Norse *gigga ok gugga* was used in the same sense – 'to babble'.

The adjective *got* 'stammering, lisping' is also used contemptuously to describe the speech of foreigners and particularly Vikings (McLaughlin 2008: 32). The element *gíc* may have survived into modern Irish as *gíog* ('sound, squeak'; Anglicised as *geek* or *geg*): one would regularly say in Hiberno-English that 'there wasn't a meg or a geg out of him', i.e. he remained silent. There is also another phrase with the same meaning, *gib-gab* (which Kuno Meyer believes is derived from Anglo-Saxon), which is also cited only once in the same text (three lines after *gic-goc*) *gib-gab na gcennaighi* 'the chatter of the merchants'. This phrase has survived into modern Irish as *giob-geab* which means 'chit-chat, pecking' (often referring to the sound of hens). It could be compared another Old Irish word *gib-gab,* also onomatopoeic and meaning 'unintelligible gabbling, jargon'.

The usage of these words about foreigners reflects their language situation and with all probability implies code-mixing. There are other Early Irish texts containing belittling phrases about the Vikings, e.g. *a rí Gáedel is Gall ngot* 'O, king of the Gaels and of the stammering foreigners' (Hyden 1912: 268) and *coniuratar guit báin* 'fair stammerers will be slain' (Stokes 1905: 46). Whitley Stokes suggests in the note 8 that this may refer to 'the fair-haired Norsemen'. Early Irish Satires and curses also have abusive phrases which refer specifically to the speech or mouths of foreigners: *mac ro boí oc gaillsig goit*

grúcbuirr ‘a son whom a stammering, surly, puffed-up foreign woman had’ (McLaughlin 2008: 134-135), *bél gaill gopluim* ‘the mouth of a bare-mouthed foreigner’ (McLaughlin 2008: 162-163), *bérla in lomgaill* ‘speech of the naked foreigner’ and *mant in mergaill* ‘jaw of the deranged foreigner’ (McLaughlin 2008: 168-169).

Even if the main language seems to have been Gaelic, Old Norse was used on a regular basis in bilingual communities. Alexander Bugge (Bugge 1905) collected evidence from administrative documents – charters, grants and the like, which attest that Old Norse continued to be spoken down to the middle of the 13th century and beyond. After the conquest, the Vikings were given their own settlement near Dublin and in 1192 it was still called Austmannabyár, a name that survived until 1488. The good burghers of Dublin had every reason to speak Norse: money talked in the form of their lucrative trade with their fellow Scandinavians, and they kept up social, cultural and commercial connections at the highest level with Norway and Iceland – at least until the Norman conquest (Ó Corráin 1972: 27).

2.10 Contacts in Shetland and Orkney

Viking Age history in the North Atlantic reflects an amalgam of processes and events (Hansen 1996: 133). Settlement probably took place first in Orkney and Shetland: the area of Britain closest to Norway and an important staging-post on voyages further south and west. Small islands were easier targets than large ones for conquest and settlement (Barnes 2000: 171), and finally both groups of islands were heavily colonised.

It was not *terra nullius* when Scandinavian (mostly Norwegian) Vikings came to Orkney and Shetland. In Shetland the land had been populated for about 5,000 years, in contrast to the Faroe Islands which were uninhabited at the arrival of the Vikings. Part of the evidence that Shetland was inhabited is the absence of juniper, which is abundant in Faroe, but extinct in Shetland (Hansen 1996: 118). As was mentioned above, the settlers were mainly from

western Norway. The Vikings came in about 800 A.D. when settlement from Norway began in earnest. It is very difficult to define the relations between the newcomers and the indigenous population on the basis of our present knowledge – to what extent the rural Norse communities in the Faroe Islands and Shetland became integrated into trading systems or networks, or how their cultural identities were established (Hansen 1996: 133).

The nature of these relations has therefore been a matter of widely divergent vonjecture. It has been variously claimed that the Northern Isles were all but deserted before the Norsemen arrived; that the pre-Viking inhabitants were exterminated or driven out; or that they were assimilated. However, there is no evidence that Orkney and Shetland were thoroughly depopulated.

Recent archaeological discoveries point to a degree of co-existence between Viking invaders and natives, but the total obliteration of pre-Norse place names in the Northern Isles and Caithness suggests a much larger influx of settlers there.

Even if local inhabitants and Vikings coexisted in one or other form, it is clear that indigenous language rapidly withered and gave way to a form of Scandinavian based on the 9th century dialects of western Norway (Barnes 2000: 173). Because it has left so few traces, the nature of this indigenous language has also proved controversial. Recent scholarly opinion favors a P-Celtic tongue[2] (Barnes 2000: 173).

This unique situation caused multilevel cultural composites and this unique society used them to produce a matrix of life which was *en pointe.* One can read this creation as a result of a dance of two cultures – a by-product of interaction between settlers and newcomers. The living and economic conditions differed in the individual communities depending on the natural resources that a particular place had to offer for the newcomers.

For our ensuing analysis of the artistic features of Manx rune-stones it is first of all important to stress the presence of both Scandinavian and Celtic

[2] Celtic languages are divided into Q-Celtic and P-Celtic. Q-Celtic languages are: Irish, Scottish Gaelic and Manx (the language used in the Isle of Man). P-Celtic language are: Welsh, Cornish and Breton.

elements in various every-day artefacts found in Ireland and the Scandinavian communities in the North Atlantic. There are many examples of cultural diversity, where contacts of the two cultures, of course with some longer or shorter interruptions, were of a more permanent character. The Scandinavian settlers created their own emigrant identity which in the course of the 10th century was expressed by their way of life.

2.11 Contacts in the Isle of Man

Two elements have been of crucial importance in the forging of Manx identity – Scandinavian and Celtic. The relationship between language and culture is of great importance "and it would appear that there never has been any serious doubt that the true Viking Age on Man exhibits any geographical dichotomy where its archaeology is concerned" (Dolley 1981: 178).

Manx, the Celtic language of the Isle of Man (*Ellan Vannin*)[3] is one of the three Goidelic languages along with Scots Gaelic and Irish. It is a direct descendant of Old Irish. The The standard position is that Manx diverged from Irish in the 13th century along with Scots Gaelic, and bifurcated from the latter after a further 200 years. The period in which we view Irish, Scots Gaelic and Manx as the one language is known as 'Common Gaelic'. It seems this language reached the Isle of Man in the 4th and 5th centuries (as part of the Irish expansion into neighbouring Britain) where it ousted a pre-existing British language.[4]

The language survived the Scandinavian presence (from the 9th century to 1266) and there seems to have been a Gaelic-speaking aristocracy in the islands during this period, which may have supported a bardic tradition. An example of this bardic literature is *A Poem in Praise of Raghnall, King of Man*, dated to the end of the 12th century (Ó Cuív 1957: 283-301).

[3] Ptolemy's map (c. 150 AD) calls the island *Manavia*.
[4] One later piece of evidence thet would point towards an original British language on the island is the survival of the placename *Hentre* – cf. Welsh *hendref* 'old inhabitation' which parallels *Sentreb* 'Santry' exactly (*Sentreb* 1st mentioned in the Annals of Ulster s.a. 829).

For the final 200 years of the Viking presence, there was a Scandinavian 'Kingdom of the Man and the Isles' encompassing Man and the western Scottish islands (the Hebrides). With the end of the kingdom, none of the rulers of Man were Gaelic-speaking and Gaelic was not used for administration. However, it is clear that the general population continued to speak this Celtic language. Basil Megaw convincingly demonstrated that a language similar to the Manx we know today was spoken on Man at least as early as the 12th century (Megaw 1976). This was termed the sub-Viking Age (1079-1266), when for almost two centuries Man was ruled by a dynasty, ultimately from Dublin, which gave Norse names at the front, but used Gaelic nicknames (Dolley 1981: 174). The numerical majority on the island remained Gaelic and Christian, with its Christianized Norse ascendancy better integrated than was the case elsewhere in the Irish Sea area (Dolley 1981: 178).

By the end of the 8th century, when the first Viking incursions took place, the invaders had started to exploit natural harbourages around the coast of the Island. The long sandy beaches of the glacial lowland to the north of the Isle of Man offered ideal landing areas, while the plain's fertility would have made it also the most attractive area for settlement by the incomers (Cubbon 1983: 13).

In fact, the island has been a cultural crossroads for thousands of years, including a time when Christianity vied with Norse paganism to be the island's principal religion. The language of the Vikings here can be called 'Manx Norse' as Norse underwent various changes in the unusually international milieu of the island with its concentration of locals; 'local' and 'non-local' Vikings (i.e. the townsmen of Dublin expelled after the town's capture by the Irish in 903); and Christian and pagan cultures. Local written monkish culture that was so prominent in the Isle of Man at that time certainly made an impression on the newcomers. It can be argued that language was a badge of political ascendancy, Norse being the language of the assembly, tribunals and taxation, while proto-Manx was the language of pillow, kitchen and farm (Dolley 1981: 177).

Another very important factor to be mentioned here is the island character of the location. Contact between newcomers and the locals must have been established faster and maintained on a closer footing, given both groupings were contained within a small land mass. The need to find ways of coexisting was therefore greater. Thus, the Viking settlement in Man is not confined just to the coastal areas as in many other cases, but is evenly spread all over the island; various archaeological finds are from the inland, rural context. Rune-stones are no exception.

2.12 Summing up and conclusions of this chapter

The Viking age proper and the sub-Viking Age until the Norman invasion in 1266 featured thriving bilingual Celtic and Scandinavian communities, moulded by cohabitation and involving a complex process of give and take between two cultures. The Norse sphere of interest gradually expanded to incorporate communities in Ireland, parts of England, major parts of the Scottish mainland, the Hebrides, Orkney, Shetland, the Faroe Islands, Iceland and Greenland. This created numerous social bonds which in turn generated a whole new cultural layer as reflected in both historical and literary texts. The North Sea region and North Atlantic regions further north were transformed into a cultural inland sea where smaller islands, such as the Orkneys, Shetland and the Isle of Man became crucial for exchange of ideas between the two cultures.

3. Scandinavian rune-stones in the Isle of Man

In this chapter I analyse Manx rune-inscriptions in the light of Birgit Sawyer's research based on a huge quantity of rune-stones (2,307 inscriptions in the main corpus (Sawyer 2000: 35)). The corpus comprises all inscriptions that yield a minimum of textual information and covers the whole Scandinavian area, but not the locations which I discuss in this chapter, namely the Isle of Man and other Celtic areas. Sawyer's research and conclusions are perfect *comparanda* material for the analysis of Manx inscriptions. Another very important tool used for this study is *Samnordisk runtextdatabas* 'The All-Nordic Rune Database of Scandinavian Runic Inscriptions' (SR), deposited in Runverket (Stockholm), which has enabled to conduct comparative research based on rune-stones all over Scandinavia (and especially from Norway and Denmark).

Runic inscriptions in the Celtic area and particulary those in the Isle of Man are investigated in the light of almost all Scandinavian inscriptions of the Viking Age, specifying their features and identifying their pecularities and differences from the rest of the runic corpus. The Manx rune-stones are examined in their art, design, lay-out, script, formula, content and language. This differs from other studies in that the rune-stones are examined as a whole, taking into consideration various aspects of inscriptions and comparing them with other Scandinavian inscriptions in *Samnordisk runtextdatabas*.

The study entails the necessity of considering Ogam stones and Ogam inscriptions found in the Isle of Man and also in Ireland, insofar as they touch on the argument I want to make in this chapter. One of the shortcomings of previous scholarly research on Manx rune-stones is the lack of acknowledgement of this other stone-carving tradition. The survival and coexistence and then transition between these two traditions in the same territory is in itself unique, astonishing and worthy of exploration.

3.1 Establishing the corpus

A group of Viking Age rune-stones is found in the Isle of Man, which are distinctive both for their exceptional density (it is a small territory) and their obvious divergence in character from the rest of the runic corpus. There are nearly 30 Viking Age rune-stones in the Isle of Man. Olsen counted 31 but two of them are tiny fragments, another is very worn. According to Sawyer, there are 51 Viking Age rune-stones in Norway (Sawyer 2000: 135) and these are not concentrated, but scattered over a far larger territory than the Isle of Man, even though the greater part of Norway was not inhabited.

The development of runes in the Isle of Man followed a peculiar pattern. The tradition of carving runes was brought there by the Norwegian Vikings, but the increase of Manx stones is due to a combination of two energetic traditions (Page 1995: 227), Scandinavian and Celtic. At any rate, it is clear from even a brief examination of the runic crosses that they show both tradition and innovation in their inscriptions (Page 1995: 231).

Discussing the art of Manx crosses, Wilson is more cautious and speaks only of influences "from the regions round the Irish sea" (Wilson 1983: 177). These Viking Age runic crosses are seen by many scientists as a homogenous group, but Wilson claims that 'Manx sculptured stones are not so homogenous as is often thought to be the case by our Scandinavian colleagues' (Wilson 1983: 185).

There are many difficulties to be faced in this study. One of them is that the individual monuments cannot be closely dated and here I will have to rely on the dating of other scholars. Olsen places Maughold I and II in the latter 12th century, the rest of his 29, he regards as Viking (Olsen 1954: 153). Wilson's own chronology is established taking into consideration the artistic shape and form of the rune-stones. He states that "there is little likelihood that any of the Viking crosses were made much earlier than the second quarter of the tenth century – perhaps as early as 930. The latest ornamental stones may date as late as 1010/1020, a date which would seem to accord with the runic evidence" (Wilson 1983: 185). By contrast, in Norway most of Viking Age

runes-stones are earlier than 1050 although a few may be later (Sawyer 2000: 146).

It has already been mentioned that previous research has revealed the influence of Celtic upon Scandinavian language. To take two examples, in his corpus Olsen noted certain traits of word order that he thought betokened the effect of Celtic patterns of speech, and observed a number of Celtic personal names in the texts. He believed that inflectional confusion would be likely to arise in a bilingual society (Olsen 1954). Marstrander had denied (Marstrander 1937) that there was much Celtic influence in the inscriptions, though he detected in one case, as he thought, the effect of Celtic ecclesiastical phraseology, and remarked of Maughold II (a 12th century stone) Celtic modification of the Norse phonetic system (Page 1980: 222).

3.2 Design (lay-out) of runic inscriptions

As we have said, it is often forgotten that Irish tradition has a technique of stone carving similar to the runic: Ogam stones. This may be one of the reasons why runic inscriptions were so well accepted and flourished in geographical areas where Ogam had already made its entrance. Ogam had existed as a way of writing for several centuries and was widespread in the Celtic territories, especially in Ireland and Wales. The Isle of Man was no exception.

The design – that is to say, the lay-out – of 90% of Scandinavian Rune-inscriptions is known: rows or bands are typical in Norway, Denmark and southern Sweden (Sawyer 2000: 26), while serpents dominate in Uppland and Södermanland, Sweden. The lay-out of Manx rune-stones corresponds to the western Scandinavian pattern and is very often presented in rows or bands. For Ogam writing the rows or bands are never used because Ogam adapted a different and more uniform mode of carving.

Concerning the lay-out of the inscriptions in the Isle of Man, Wilson remarked that carvings are generally on long, flat ragstones, with crosses on

one or both sides, and little embellishments of men on horseback or in combat, stags, dogs, birds, or other devices. These latter would probably in most cases illustrate the achievements of some notable person. The inscriptions are usually on one edge running from the base upwards – as is usually the case in Norway.

Page has noted that 16 of the Manx inscriptions have their texts cut along the edge of a slab, on the very narrow side of the comparatively slim stone. In 13 of these cases the inscription runs from the base upwards; in one it runs from top downwards; in two others the stone is too fragmentary for us to be sure which. Thus it is common for a memorial inscription to run up (much less often down) one side.

II. Gautr's cross, Kirk Michael 101, inside the Church of Kirk Michael.
http://www.runesnruins.com/runes/manx101.htm

Having identified this general pattern, Page claims that it is also found in Scandinavia, though at the same time he recognizes that it is virtually never used in Denmark. In that country it is found only if the narrow side of a slab holds part of a longer inscription which also occupies part of the face. By contrast, he argues, it is quite common in Norway, in the western provinces of Vest-Agder and Rogaland as well as in the more inland and easterly areas of Opland and Buskerud. "In Norway, I think, the inscription always runs upwards" (Page 1995: 229). The artistic composition of Gautr's cross is good (see the picture above) and this type of lay-out can be called non-intrusive.

Page identifies a second common pattern of lay-out of Manx inscriptions. In this type the rectangular slab has a sculptured cross in relief on its face, together with other ornamentation. The inscription is also on the face, running upwards and filling the space to one side of the stem of the relief cross. There are six examples of this general design on Man, and it is a type not to be found in Norway or in Denmark in the Viking Age (Page 1995: 229).

III. Ballaugh 106, inside the Church of Kirk Michael.

The Isle of Man Guide (http://www.iomguide.com)

In this case the runic inscription appears instead of the ornament, which had it been in place would keep symmetry with the ornament on the other side of the cross shaft inscription. Since the whole composition is faltering, this type of lay-out can be called intrusive. An intrusive lay-out is also found on the Inchmarnock stone (SC 10 Inchmarnock A) in Scotland in the Inner Hebrides. This cross-slab was found in connection with the old burying-ground in the vicinity of St Marnoc chapel on Inchmarnock, a small island off the west coast of the Isle of Bute (Black 1890: 438). The lay-out of this stone (inscription runs up the shaft of the cross) closely parallels a runic inscription in the Isle of Man, Braddan II.

IV. Kirk Braddan cross (Braddan II). http://www.runesnruins.com/runes/manx138.htm

V. Inchmarnock's runic inscription. http://test.ooklnet.com/web/read_more.php?id=243456

Inchmarnock's runic inscription in Scotland, and Braddan II in the Isle of Man, are cut between pairs of clearly incised framing lines. The content of Inchmarnock's runic inscription is very similar to those found on Manx rune-stones and is dated 1050 (*terminus ante quem*) or thereabouts (Spurkland 1995: 53-54), which also corresponds to the Manx crosses. The inscription has the typical formula of the Manx crosses and reads:

SC 10 Inchmarnock

] (k)rus : þini : til : kuþ * i ** [

[NN reisti] kross þenna til MM

[NN raised] this cross for MM (Barnes & Page 2006: 232-237)

The lay-out found in the Manx corpus is specific and it is worth drawing attention to the *comparanda* material presented by Sawyer, which in case of Norway is meagre: 51 Viking Age rune-stones. The number of rune-stones relevant to our research in the west of Norway, i.e. areas mentioned by Page, is lower still. This raises the question whether western Norwegian lay-out was the only influence on Manx rune-stones, or whether there were other factors such as Ogam inscriptions and Latin insriptions that left their mark.

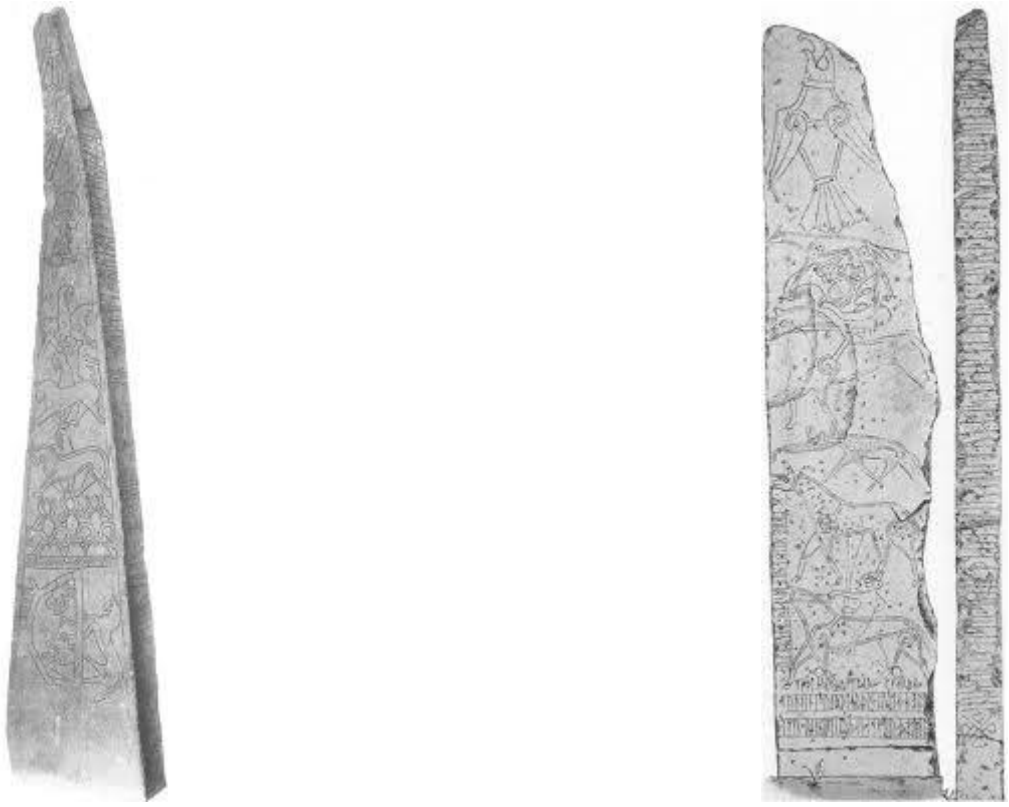
3.2.1 Lay-out of the Norwegian Viking Age rune-stones

The lay-out of Norwegian runic inscriptions (specifically from the Viking Age) is similar to the Danish, i.e. the inscription appears on the narrow side of the stone only if it is a part of a longer inscription which also occupies (part or all of) the face of the rune-stone.

There are several main types of lay-out found in Norwegian rune-stones:

a) The first type

In Norway the face of the stone is often covered with ornamentation or drawings other than runes. A prominent example of this type of lay-out is the Dynna rune-stone found in Opland, dated to 1040–1050 AD. Its imagery is considered to be among the earliest Christian pictorial art in Norway. A similar lay-out is on the Alstad rune-stone found in Toten from ca. 1050, and on the Tu rune-stone found in Rogaland.



VI. The Dynna rune-stone, Opland, Norway.

Norwegian Runic Inscriptions http://www.home.no.net

b) The second type

The second type of Norwegian lay-out features a band running along the side of the rune-stone. Typical examples would be the Gran rune-stone I, found in Opland, the Stangeland rune-stone in Rogaland and the Nørstebø rune-stone, found in Opland.

VII. Nørstebø rune-stone, Opland, Norway.

Norwegian Runic Inscriptions http://www.home.no.net

c) The third type

In the third type of lay-out the inscription is in rows, usually on the face of the stone, regardless of whether the stone is narrow or broad. In both cases the inscription is not by original design carved on the edge of the stone. Typical examples would be the Veum rune-stone II found in Telemark, the Bore Church V rune-stone and the Sele rune-stone in Rogaland, the Flatdal rune-stone in Telemark and the Søgne rune-stone in Vest-Agder.

VIII. The Flatdal rune-stone II, Telemark, Norway

Norwegian Runic Inscriptions http://www.home.no.net

d) The fourth type

The fourth type is similar to the third one except that the rows' borders are not given an outline on the stone. As in the third type, the inscription is on the face of the stone regardless of the stone's breadth and inscriptions are not by original design carved on the edge of the stone. Examples of this type would be the Fåberg rune-stone in Opland, the Skadberg rune-stone in Rogaland, the Egge rune-stone in Buskerud, the Huseby rune-stone in Vest-Agder and the Skolevoll rune-stone in Vest-Agder.

IX. The Skadberg rune-stone, Rogaland, Norway

Norwegian Runic Inscriptions http://www.home.no.net

e) *The fifth type*

The fifth type has a similar lay-out as the Manx inscriptions, because as there, the runic inscription on the face is found on the edge of it and also on the narrow side of the stone. Examples would be the Oddernes rune-stone

(inscribed on the face of the stone and also on the narrow side of it) in Vest-Agder from ca. 1040 – 1050 or even later; the Stavanger II rune-stone (The Maria church) in Rogaland, where the inscription is found just on the narrow side of the stone; the Gran rune-stone IV in Opland; the Skafså rune-stone in Telemark; and the Tandberg rune-stone I in Buskerud.

X. The Oddernes rune-stone, Vest-Agder, Norway
Norwegian Runic Inscriptions
http://www.home.no.net

Having looked at various types of Norwegian lay-out, I draw the conclusion that inscriptions appear to be on the narrow side of the stone in just two types – *the first type*, when the front side of the stone is already filled (not necessarily by runes, but sometimes also ornamention or pictures); or in *the fifth type* when the runes are deliberately put on the edge of the front side of the stone, or on the narrow side of the stone. *The first type* of lay-out is characteristic only of Opland, but *the fifth type* is spread all over the country, i.e. Vest-Agder, Rogaland, Opland, Telemark and Buskerud.

The question is why rune-carvers in the Isle of Man chose to lay out their inscriptions in these two formations and why there are few bands and rows in the Manx inscriptions compared to the general pattern in Norway.

The explanation for this choice might be the influence of the Ogam lay-out on the lay-out of Manx rune-stones. Ogam stones (with few exceptions) have their inscription on the edge of the stone disposed right or left diagonally

across the stemline on the edge of stone monuments, but also across an imaginary stemline in the case of rounded boulders, or cut on the stemline in the case of notches. Ogam inscriptions (with very few exceptions, usually in Scholastic Ogam) run upwards, as do runic inscriptions in the Isle of Man. Furthermore, Ogam inscriptions have no outlines to their borders, nor are there any other lines on the stone. The presence of Ogam stones proves that there was non-runic literacy in Man from an early period, and that stone carving skills were practiced there in the pre-Viking age.

A second type of lay-out identified by Page, which he claims is unique to the Isle of Man, is in my opinion an innovation made in the Isle of Man. However, in the Norwegian tradition there are some examples where runes are inscribed on the face of the cross (e.g. Stavanger cross, dated to 1028), the difference being that Manx crosses are ornamental and with a relief on their faces. The majority of the Manx rune-stones correspond to the above described Norwegian first and fifth types. When the face of the slab is already filled, the inscription is put on the narrow side of the stone. The choice of this pattern was probably encouraged by the Ogam tradition, where the inscription is always found on the edge of the stone. There is also another non-runic inscription on a Manx cross previous to the Scandinavian samples; Guriat's cross in Maughold bears an inscription in Latin on its edge, reading CRUX GURIAT. The Latin word *crux* 'cross' is used in the inscription and may have influenced the formula adapted by rune-carvers.

The influence of pre-existing artistic traditions is not unique to the Isle of Man. The same typological developments, where runic inscriptions absorb the features of older techniques can be traced in other places. Curiously, these typologically identical examples originated and developed on islands, which seem to have formed the style of their own. For example, the form of rune-stones in Gotland, Sweden is exceptional; the rune-stones there have the same mushroom-shape as the earlier picture stones, with the inscription round the edge, and there are often one or more horizontal bands across the stone under the cross. There is also a specific "Ölandic" style, from the island of Öland in

Sweden, where inscription runs around the edge but with interlaced band ornaments in the middle (Sawyer 2000: 26). It seems to be a tendency that islands develop their own rural patterns. This is also the case with the Manx rune-stones.

An intermingling of two cultures is also reflected in the iconography of Manx crosses. Margeson states that, judging from the range of the repertoire, it would seem that both Celtic and Norse influences played their part (Margeson 1983: 99). The combination of pagan and Christian elements, of Celtic and Viking influences and inscriptions, is a response to a mingling of peoples and traditions. On the one hand, iconographically four rune-stones in the Isle of Man reflect aspects of the Vǫlsung legend. On the other hand, there are numerous Christian motifs, for example the figure with cross and book on the Kirk Andreas fragment, and the Christ figures on Kirk Michael 129 (101) and Grim's cross at Kirk Michael 130 (104) (Margeson 1983: 105).

3.2.2 Summing up and conclusions of this chapter

In the Manx corpus, lay-out generally corresponds to the Norwegian tradition, especially to two specific types thereof. The characteristic feature of *the first type* typical of Opland in Norway is that the face of the stone is covered usually not by script but by ornaments or pictures; the characteristic of *the fifth type* found in various areas in Norway is the runes' being deliberately carved on the edge of the face of the stone, or on the narrow side of the stone. Even though the Manx corpus seems to follow the Norwegian pattern, the choice of lay-out in the Isle of Man is therefore rather limited. The Isle of Man has developed a particular style and a particular lay-out which is not detected in other Scandinavian areas, presumably as a result of the contact of Celtic and Scandinavian cultures. In all likelihood the writing on the edge and the narrow side of the stone was encouraged by the Ogam and Latin traditions (witness Guriat's cross) and is not merely a translation of Norwegian practice, because in the Norwegian Viking-age lay-out of rune-stones is diverse in form and the

types used in the Isle of Man are far from being the most usual ones. The iconography of the Manx crosses clearly incorporates both Scandinavian and Celtic (Christian) ornaments and motifs.

3.3 Ogam stones

The circumstances that led to the invention of the Ogam alphabet, or more correctly the *Beithe-luis-ninv* – *beithe* (meaning 'birch') being the first letter – are shrouded in mystery; this is one of the earliest forms of writing found in the British Isles. However, the distribution of Ogam inscriptions suggests that it might have originated in the south of Ireland (McManus 1997: 1). By far the highest density is found in County Kerry, Ireland (Ó Muirchú 1985: 12). It was easier to carve shorter inscriptions on stones and grave markers in Ogam letters than in Latin, the letters of which evolved towards a more rounded form.

Ogam (Ogham in later spelling) is a form of writing in which the alphabetic units are represented by varying numbers of strokes and notches disposed right or left diagonally across a stemline on the edge of stone monuments. In the case of rounded boulders it has an imaginary stemline or is cut on the stemline. Ogam writing may also have been used on lengths of wood and bone. Numerous examples of Ogam used on wood can be found in early Irish sagas and texts.

Ogam was apparently designed for the Irish language but was later "taken by Irish colonists to south-west Scotland and to the Isle of Man, and very likely its vogue in Wales and south-west Britain is due to a re-introduction from Ireland rather than to its having been first invented there" (Jackson 1953: 157). From the Old Irish period (7th to 9th century), the Ogam system was the framework for the study of Irish letters and was regarded as uniquely Irish. Traits of Ogam are exhaustively discussed in a text called *In Lebor Ogaim* 'The Ogam Tract', preserved in the 14th century manuscript *The Book of Ballymote*. The actual text, however, dates back as far as the 11th century (Ó Concheanainn 1981: 15-25). Another text, *Auraicept na nÈces* 'The Scholars'

Primer' (Calder 1917), based in the 7th century (Griffiths 2006: 85), deals with the origin of the Irish language and demonstrates the aetiology of Ogam; records Ogam letter-names; asserts its status and prescribes it to be read for the *fili* 'poet' in their first year of study.

Joseph Vendryes called the Ogam alphabet *alfabet végétal* (Vendryes 1941: 110-113) erroneously believing all the Irish letter-names to be names of trees. In the manuscript *Egerton 88*, preserved in the British Library, the Latin alphabet is laid out together with the Ogam alphabet followed by its letter-names. The letter-names are illustrated by two-word kennings. However, it seems that these "arboreal meanings" were a "figment of the medieval Irish glossator's imagination", as has been demonstrated by Damian McManus (McManus 1988: 129-130).

According to *Macalister's figures* in his Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum, there are 369 known extant Ogam inscriptions (Macalister 1945: 37). As mentioned above, the highest concentration of Ogam inscriptions is observed in the southern part of Ireland. Outside Ireland, Ogam inscriptions have been found in Devon and Cornwall (7), Wales (40) and the Isle of Man (5) (McManus 2004: 4).

The carving of Ogam inscriptions must have been a specialist skill. Ogam stones were carved on behalf of individuals possessing wealth and status, and are found in prosperous communities with a well-established ruling class. *In Lebor Ogaim* also claims that the Ogam script was invented by Ogma mac Elathan "who is said to have been skilled in speech and poetry and to have created the system as proof of his intellectual ability and with the intention that it should be the preserve of the learned, to the exclusion of rustics and fools" (McManus 1997: 150). Whatever the origins of Ogam, this description demonstrates that the Ogam script was practiced solely by the *literati*. "The exclusivity of Ogam is highlighted here once again, though in this case it is probably no more than a statement of the *de facto* situation with regard to literacy, which cannot have been very widespread at the time" (McManus 1997: 150).

Ogam inscriptions are divided into two sub-groups. The first sub-group is called Orthodox Ogam, which is the Ogam of the oldest inscriptions on stone dated to the 5th -7th centuries. The second sub-group is called Scholastic Ogam, which is found in later manuscript tradition. Orthodox Ogam has declined as a script on stones, but continued as an alternative script in the manuscripts. This is in a way convenient because the later manuscript Ogam tradition provides us with supplementary information on the sound system and other features of this script. However, the key to reading Ogam inscriptions comes from Orthodox bilingual (Latin/Roman and Irish/Ogam) inscriptions found in Wales, the Isle of Man, Devon, and Cornwall. The later tradition or Scholastic Ogams are of particular importance to this research, because it is Scholastic Ogam that is found in the bilingual Scandinavian/Irish inscriptions to be discussed later.

3.3.1 Runes as prototype of Ogam

Similarities between rune-names and Ogam names and their partial overlap in meaning have long been an object of discussion among scholars. Alan Griffiths compared rune-names with Ogam names and concluded that "the Irish manuscripts can be useful in throwing light on connexions between rune-names and alphabets, and there may even have been Irish involvement in the coining of at least some of the rune-names" (Griffiths 2006: 104). He investigated the ogam letter *h* which is not attested in epigraphic Ogam and was treated by the Irish grammarians as an aspirate. However, in the Ogam series, *h* was treated as a consonant. Griffiths claims that it was influenced by the runic *h* which was also treated as a consonant. He ventures to compare Ogam letter *(h)úath* 'fear, horror' with runic *hagal* 'hailstorm', taking into consideration various kennings on *(h)úath* and also kennings on *hagal* found in the 'The Anglo-Saxon Rune Poem', and concludes that taken together, these kennings "show a remarkable metaphorical correspondence with the Old English stanza's description of a hailstorm" (Griffiths 2006: 90).

Scholars have consistently maintained that Germanic runes are the likely prototype of Ogam script. McManus collected multiple arguments (McManus 1997: 23) for this theory suggested by various scholars, the most forceful being the similar principle of carving on stone and the purpose of inscriptions, in particular, their magical associations (Arntz 1935: 369). Both the runes and the Ogam letters are divided into groups called *ættir* (sg. *ætt*) 'one's family, extraction pedigree' in Old Norse and *aicmi* (sg. aicme) 'race, family, tribe' in Old Irish. Each group is called after the first character of each *ætt* or *acme*, for example, *Hagals ætt* can be compared to *Aicme hÚatha* etc. (Arntz 1935: 378; Thurneysen 1937: 199). Runes like Ogam letters have names (Thurneysen 1937: 199), some of them being names of trees (Arntz 1935: 349) and the order of both Ogam and runic alphabets deviate from the classical alphabetic sequence (Arntz 1935: 396). There is also a special symbol for the sound /ŋ/ in both Ogam and the *Fuþark* which is absent in the classical alphabets (Thurneysen 1937: 199). Another difference from the classical alphabets is the graphic distinction of vocalic and consonantal *u* in both Ogam and the *Fuþark* (Arntz 1935: 348).

Whatever the prototype of Ogam, this work is mainly concerned with the typological or formal parallels between Ogam and the *Fuþark*.

3.3.2 Similarities of rune-stones and Ogam stones

1. Like rune-stones, Ogam stones were commissioned by families of wealth and status. There are numerous indications that rune-stones like Ogam stones were erected by or to commemorate a person of high status, usually a landowner. For example, some runic inscriptions include titles and honorific epithets (Sawyer 2000: 92) confirming or establishing the eminence of a certain family in the area. In western Scandinavia most sponsors are confined to a fairly restricted elite, while in the east they represent a broader section of the landowning group (Sawyer 2000: 122). Both Ogam stones and rune-stones were a public display of social

privileges that conferred status and prestige and that were rooted in ownership of land.

2. Another feature characteristic of both runic and Ogam traditions is the commemorative and legal functions of inscribed stones. Typically, references to the erection of Ogam stones in the Irish sagas are connected to orthodox commemorative inscriptions. Ogam stones are often described as memorials. In recension I of the legendary Irish saga *Táin Bó Cúailnge* ('The Cattle Raid of Cooley' or 'The Táin') there is a tale called *Aided Etarcomail* ('Etarcomol's death'). It recounts the story of Etarcomol mac Eda's death at the hands of Cú Chulain. The tale is concluded as follows: *Cladar a fert íarom. Sátir a lia. Scríbthair a ainm n-ogaim. Agair a gubae*. 'His grave is dug, his headstone is fixed [in the ground], his name is recorded in Ogam and his keening is performed.' (O'Rahilly 1976: 43), translation by McManus (McManus 2004: 8). This formula occurs repeatedly in the Irish sagas. There is slight variation in the terminology, but the 'engraving' is invariably denoted by the Old Irish verb *scríbaid* 'writes, composes' and the inscription is always referred to as an *ainm n-oguim* 'the name in Ogam' and is used here in a technical sense denoting a funerary inscription (McManus 1997: 154). There are also Early Irish legal texts which explicitly refer to Ogam inscriptions called *ogam i n-ailchib* 'Ogam in stones' or *int ogam isin gollán* 'the Ogam in the pillar stone', both being technical terms evincing the right of inheritance; this type of Ogam stone served as a document confirming the title to land on the grounds. Standing uprights, they defined the boundary of the ancestor's territory as well as marking his grave. Both in the texts and in the later gloss and commentary, reference is made to Ogam inscriptions on stone as evidence of title to land. In the legal tract *Berrad Airechta* 'Shearing of the Court' dealing with court procedure, types of sureties and evidence, the question *Cid i n-airecar fír la Féniu* 'How is truth (with regard to land ownership) found in Irish law?' is answered *I mbiat la comorbu cuimne,*

cen ogom i n-ailchib, cen accrues n-aithgnith, cen macu, cen ratha (...) IT e tiubaithsir fiadain 'When heirs have [only] memories, without Ogam in stones, without (officially) recognized lot-casting, without *mac* and *ráth* sureties (…) it is witnesses who fix truth (Thurneysen 1928: 59; Binchy 1978: 596). This statement reveals that *ogom i n-ailchib* would be acceptable evidence and is further confirmed by the gloss *amal fiadain he* 'it is like a witness' on the phrase *int oghom isin gollán* 'the Ogam in the pillar stone' (McManus 1997: 163-164). This piece of evidence does not stand alone as a proof for the exceptional rights of the offspring to the lands of their ancestors. Ownership of land remained skewed toward the powerful nobility. However, multiple individuals had claims over the land. The original use of the Ogam stone was to indicate the kinsmen or ancestors who owned the land and thus demonstrate both proprietary interest and possessory fact. It has been widely recognized that rune-stones also served as memorial inscriptions and declarations of inheritance (Sawyer 2000: 47-70). A runic inscription likewise established the possession of the land and title and also served as boundary marker. The sponsors of runic inscriptions were closely related to the deceased and thus might have had an interest in his or her property. Sawyer claims that almost *all* inscriptions reflect inheritance and property rights (Sawyer 2000: 47). It is also clear that the sponsorship pattern shows who controlled property, whether inherited or acquired in some other way (Sawyer 2000: 68). The rune-stone was also a route to proof of title when the offspring had to protect his property or title from other claimants.

3. Formula is an inherent feature of both runic and Ogam inscriptions. The purpose of formulaic language in Ogam was to store and record lexical items in a certain grammatical sequence. The convention in the Ogam inscriptions is to record the name of the person being commemorated (invariably a male in Ireland, in one instance a female in Wales). This represents one of a set of formulae. The name of the person in question,

though it generally comes first, is always in the genitive case, as are all names and formula words following it. A governing word is absent and is suggested, but it might have been *lie* 'stone' or 'memorial'. The formulae are of the type *X MAQQUI Y* '(stone/inscription/in memory of) X son of Y', *X MAQQUI Y MUCOI Z* '(stone of) X son of Y, member of the tribe of *Z*', *X (MAQQUI Y) AVI Z* '(stone …of) X (son of Y) descendant of Z' etc. Occasionally one finds a single name *X* '(stone of) X'. This type of formula is called a pure memorial. In runic inscriptions, the convention is to record the name of the sponsor and then the name of the deceased in formulae, such as: *X raisti stain* or *risti stin eftir Y*. (Of course, it would be a generalization to claim that all runic inscriptions contain this particular formula.) It is important to stress that the oldest runic inscriptions also had a purely memorial formula, but they are usually carved in older *Fuþark* and in the most archaic looking inscriptions, in the younger *Fuþark*. An example of the old formula is the Snoldelev rune-stone in Själland, Sweden, which reads: *Gunnvalds stœinn, sonar Hróalds, þulaR á Salhaugum* 'Gunvald's stone, Hroald's son's, speaker's at Salhaugr' (Palm 2004: 121). Here the name of the person who is commemorated and some other formula words *sonar* 'son's' and *þulaR* 'speaker's/skald's' is used in the genitive case, as is always the case in Ogam inscriptions. The only difference between this archaic runic formula and Ogam formulae is the use of the word *stœinn* 'stone', which is never used but probably suggested in Ogam inscriptions. The sponsor of this runic inscription is not mentioned, whereas it always is in Ogam inscriptions. Another rune-stone with a similar formula is Röksten in Östergötland, Sweden, where the deceased stands in the first position or in other words "the deceased one is placed in the centre" (Palm 1992: 135) - *Aft Vœmóð standa rúnaR þár* 'After Vamod stand these runes'. This kind of memorial formula appears on a few Viking Age rune-stones which echo the formula of the older inscriptions (Palm 2004: 121-122). The memorial formula focusing on the deceased is unusual and is dated to the early Viking Age, i.e. 9th century or beginning of the

10th, but in the 10th and 11th centuries there is a clear transition whereby the formula comes to focus on the living (Palm 2004: 123). This type of formula is called a "sponsor formula"[5] (Palm 1992: 135). Some rune stones also have facultative or additional formulae divided into two groups – "rune carver's signature"[6] and "invocation"[7]. "The rune carver's signature is embodied in verbal phrases such as *risti* (*reist*) 'carved' or *hjó rúnar* 'cut/carved the runes' in order to commemorate the carver and his toil. Invocations are purely Christian and are directed to God or Jesus Christ, but can also be directed to Mary and very rarely to a saint" (Palm 1992: 135-136). They consist of a typical formulaic phrase (there can be some minor variations) such as *Guð hjalpi sálu hans* 'God help his soul' as for example, in the Ög 201 (SR) inscription in Veta, Sweden. One of the bilingual Ogam-Rune crosses in Killaloe, Ireland, along with the runic inscription, contains an Ogam inscription *BENDACHT FOR TOROQRIM* which means 'a blessing on Torgrim'. It does not conform to the typical Ogam formula, but is rather an invocation similar to those popular in the runic tradition. During the Viking Age the runic "sponsor formula" was clearly predominant over the purely memorial one, thus causing a break from the tradition (Palm 1992: 143).

4. Most Ogam and runic inscriptions have been recently identified as conforming to Christianity. Crosses on Ogam stones were previously described by scholars as Christian vandalism – namely, later additions designed to cleanse the stones of their paganism (McManus 2004: 6). The language of the inscriptions, however, reflects developments which were taking place in the period of the cult, while the crosses can be shown on occasion to be earlier than the inscriptions. As for runic inscriptions, most of them carved in the 10th-11th century are also treated as Christian. They

[5] Swedish original: "resarformel". Translation from Swedish is my own.
[6] Swedish original: "ristarsignatur". Translation from Swedish is my own.
[7] Swedish original: "förbön". Translation from Swedish is my own.

were often raised in response to the coming of Christianity (Sawyer 2000: 124-145).

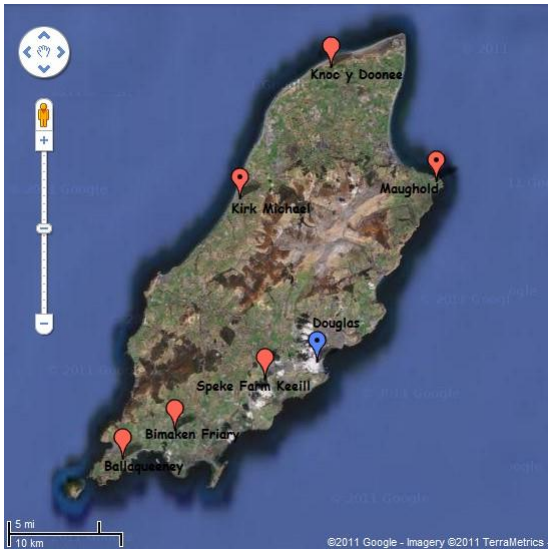
5. Form of letters suitable for carving on stone or other hard materials is typical for both Ogam and runic inscriptions, it is also clear that they also have been carved on wood. It seems though that Ogam inscriptions carved on wood were not memorial. The inscription usually serves to communicate a message (there are many examples in the Irish sagas about writing of Ogam on wood (McManus 1997: 156-161). The same can be said of runic inscriptions on wood.

6. Ogam inscriptions, and particularly those in orthodox Ogam, tend to run upwards. Standard practice was to cut the inscription along the left-hand arris (edge) of the stone from bottom to top. Variations on this, such as up-up readings or a disposition on the face of the stone are found, but they are relatively uncommon (McManus 2004: 5). Turning to rune-stones, many west Scandinavian runic inscriptions run upwards, but it is far from being a standard practice.

7. Carving of runes or Ogam required specialist skills and it seems to have been a preserve of intellectuals. Ogam inscriptions always remain anonymous, i.e. the carvers are not known. In the runic tradition 'a rune-master's signature is found in 13% of the inscriptions, most frequently in Uppland (18%) and in Södermanland (11%) but relatively rarely in the rest of Scandinavia (Sawyer 2000: 27). It seems that in western Scandinavia rune-carvers usually remain anonymous.

Ogam stones from the Isle of Man were first described by Kermode (Kermode 1911: 437-450). In the Isle of Man compared to Ireland the Ogam stones are not abundant. Seven Ogam stones (5 Orthodox and 2 Scholastic)

have been found in the Isle of Man, three of them are bilingual. The distribution of Ogam stones indicates that the tradition of Ogam writing was known all over the place where Manx runes were carved.



XI. Ogam stones in the Isle of Man

Red tags mark the sites of Ogham inscriptions (a dot indicates that the stone is in situ)

Blue tags mark museums or other sites where Ogham stone are held.

http://www.babelstone.co.uk/Ogham/Maps/OghamMapMan.jpg

This was enough for the Vikings to become familiar with the Ogam tradition. Four of the Ogam inscriptions are clearly of pure Munster type, but there are also inscriptions that belong to the class of so called Pictish Ogams met with in Scotland and the northern islands. The face of the Kirk Michael III slab (bilingual) with Pictish Ogams shows the perfect Ogam alphabet of twenty letters, reading from below upwards. The stem-line is deeply cut, but the scores have been very finely made, and are just legible with close scrutiny in favourable light. The characters consist of Bind-Ogams, groups of different lengths and at different angles, by which they are rendered more easily distinguishable.

From an analysis of the treatment of the personal names on bilingual Latin and Irish stone, Kenneth Hurlstone Jackson has argued for British and Irish

speaking communities side by side around the period c. AD 500 (Jackson 1953: 173).

An example of Ogam material in the Isle of Man is Ogam stone from Ballaqueeney, Rushen.

XII. Ogham stone from Ballaqueeney, Rushen.

http://www.gov.im/lib/images/mnh/archaeology/oghamStone.jpg

The Ogam inscription reads:

BIVAIDONAS MAQI MUCOI CUNAVA

(…the stone of) BEO-AED, SON OF THE TRIBE OF CUNAVA (….)

It is dated to the Early Christian period – 500 AD to 798 AD. It is not *in situ* anymore but on display in the Manx Museum. This Ogam stone containing an inscription was found in 1871 at the keeill site at Ballaqueeney. Very often as in this example the edges of the stone are used as the stemline line from which the characters protrude.

3.3.3 Summing up and conclusions of this section

It seems that the presence of Ogam inscriptions had an accelerator effect on the carving of runic inscriptions, and that the runic tradition was not rejected by the locals in the Isle of Man. On the contrary, it was readily accepted and used with great zeal by the mixed population. Formal resemblances of Ogam and runic stonecarving traditions triggered the tradition of writing on the monuments using the local script. Ogam tradition, which was alive only in manuscript tradition, was revived again.

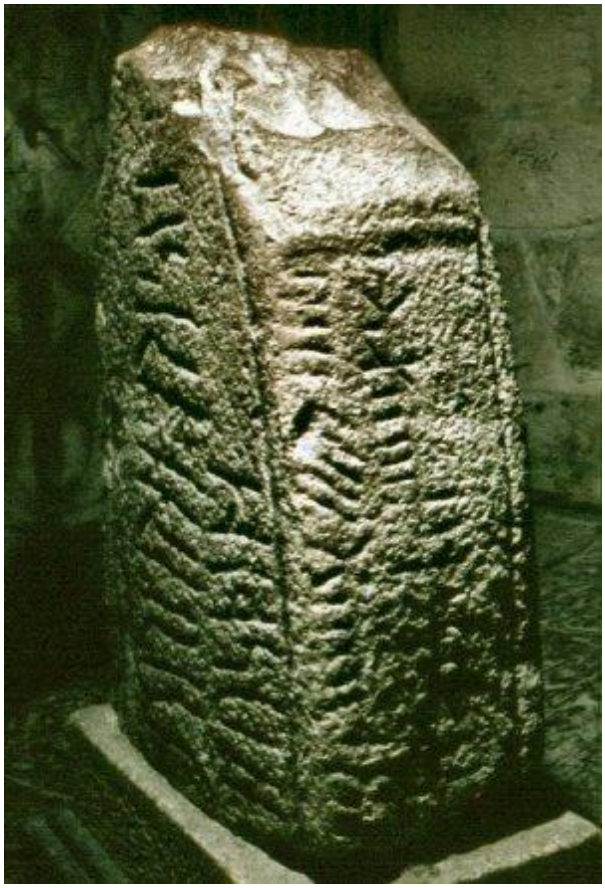
3.4 Bilingual Ogam and Rune Inscriptions

In an analysis of two Ogam inscriptions found at the Kirk Michael on the 11th-century Scandinavian slab, Kermode mentions parenthetically that these inscriptions, i.e. runic and Ogam, have nothing to do with each other. However, it is obvious that inscription in runes and Ogam are the alphabets respectively. Whichever an inscription was made first, the second carver could understand it and was willing to demonstrate his own skills and his own tradition on the same stone.

The idea of bilingual Ogam and Rune inscriptions seems to have been taken over from the Celtic area (particularly Wales), where Ogam inscriptions are as a rule accompanied by an inscription in Latin. “The alignment of the Ogam and the vertical disposition of the runes are reminiscent of the bilingual inscriptions of Britain” (McManus 1997: 130). Thus bilingual Latin and Ogam stones might served as inspiration for bilingual Rune and Ogam stones both in the Isle of Man and in Ireland.

Bilingual Ogam and runic inscriptions on the same stone are not limited to the Isle of Man. There is a similar and revealing piece of evidence in Killaloe, Ireland, which might be illuminating for the analysis of bilingual inscriptions of this type in the Isle of Man.

The Ogam inscriptions on these stones are scholastic which implies a later date for their production. McManus' research reveals that scholastic Ogams on stone are rare (McManus 1997: 131).



XIII. Bilingual Ogam and Rune stone in Killaloe Cathedral in Ireland.
The runes are carved on the face of the stone and Ogam on the side of it.
http://www.irishmegaliths.org.uk/pillarstones2.htm

Post- 7th century examples of the Ogam script are categorised as scholastic. During this period Ogam began to decline as a monument script. "The grammar and orthographical convention together with some features of the outward appearance of these Ogams – such as their use of a stemline, of long scores of equal length to the consonants for vowels, the frequent use on hard materials of the first supplementary letter for E (but not for K), the appearance of an arrow-head to indicate the direction of writing (clearly visible

in the Ogam inscription on the side of Killaloe stone above) and to separate words or names – derive from manuscript usage and do not continue the earlier genre in a direct line" (McManus 1997: 129)

A piece of a cross now exhibited inside the Killaloe St. Flannan's Cathedral was built into the wall surrounding the Cathedral enclosure in Killaloe. The runic inscription is carved on the face of the stone. It reads:

IR 2 (SR)
(þ)(u)rkri risli + (k)rus þina…

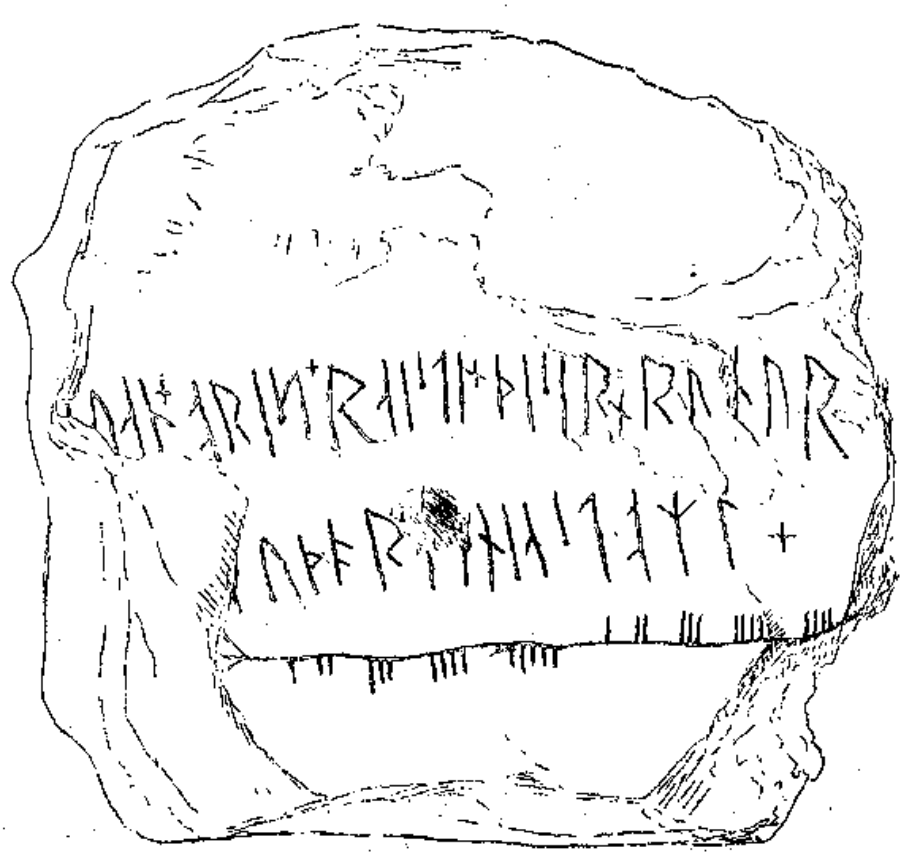
Þorgrímr reisti/risti kross þenna...
Torgrimr erected/carved this cross…

This runic inscription is accompanied by a damaged scholastic Ogam inscribed on the side reading:
BENDACHT (E written with the first supplementary character) **… TOROQR…** The Ogam inscription can be reconstructed as *BENDACHT FOR TOROQRIM* 'a blessing on Torgrim'.

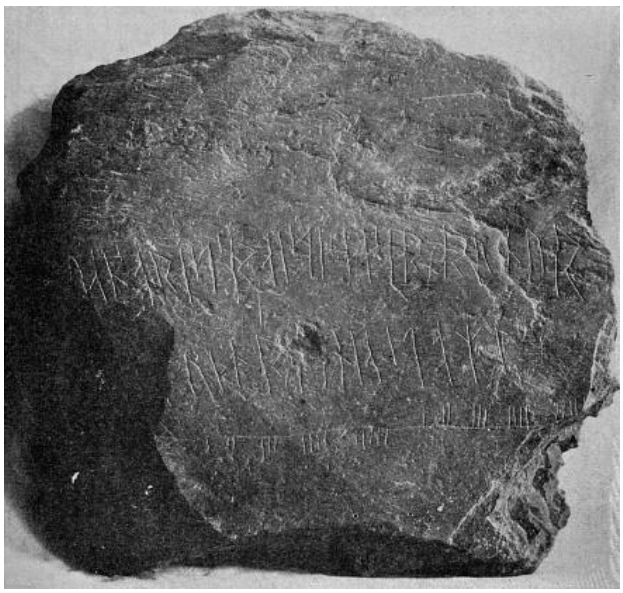
The first letter **O** in the Ogam inscription reflects the pronunciation of the Scandinavian name. The runic alphabet has no separate symbol for the sound and the U-rune is usually used for both /u/ and /o/. Ogam **Q** reflects the K-rune used for /g/.

The fact that both runic and Ogam inscriptions contain the same name of Scandinavian origin indicates that these inscriptions were probably made at the same time, exploiting two different stone-carving traditions, in commemorating the same person. Marstrander dates the stone to the 11th century and treats it as contemporary artefact witness of the Norwegian invasion of Ireland (Marstrander 1930: 398). As was mentioned in the previous chapter, this inscription deviates in formula from other Ogam inscriptions on stone and probably conforms to the runic practice of invocations of the type *Guð hjalpi sálu hans* 'God help his soul'.

Two other stones with bilingual inscriptions of this type are found in the Isle of Man. These are Maughold I and Kirk Michael III. The first of these is a broken slab of slaty stone from Maughold *in situ*.



XIV. Runic inscription and Ogam alphabet, Maughold I (Kermode 1910–1911 fig. 5)



XV. Runic inscription and Ogam alphabet, Maughold I (Brate 1907, Fig.1)

It bears a runic inscription reading:

Maughold I (SR)

[i]uan + bris + raisti + þisir + runur

Jóan prestr reisti þessar rúnar.

John, the priest, carved these runes.

The inscription is followed by the runic alphabet **+ [f]uþor(k)(h)niastbml +** carved in short-twig runes and the first two *aicmi* of the Ogam alphabet. The Ogam alphabet like the *Fuþark* was complete, but owing to the damage to the stone the rest of it is missing. The inscription can be dated quite accurately because it is affiliated to another runic inscription in the Isle of Man, Maughold II, through the same carver. Maughold II was carved by the same 'John the priest' and invokes three Irish saints – Malachy, Patrick and Adamnan. The first saint invoked on Maughold II, Malachy (Máel-Máedóc Úa Morgair (Kenney 1929: 764-7)) died in 1148. The exact year of his death provides us with *terminus post quem* for the Maughold II inscription. That, in turn, suggests that both Maughold I and Maughold II were carved after the year

1148 by the same carver. The Ogham alphabet on Maughold I was probably carved at the same time as runes because the Ogham used here is scholastic and is carved on the face of the slab. The stemline is used and the arrow-head indicates the direction of writing, which is conventional for the late Ogam inscriptions. The lay-out of both Rune and Ogam inscriptions and the succession of carving (first runes and afterwards Ogam) also attest to the fact that both inscriptions were probably carved at the same time.

The second bilingual stone found *in situ* in the Isle of Man is a stone slab from Kirk Michael (on the opposite side of the Isle of Man close to Maughold). It is a sculpted cross, Kirk Michael III, with relief carvings of several figures and two animal chasing scenes placed on each side of the shaft and decorated with ribbon interlace. It contains two lines carved in Ogam alphabet. The first line in Ogam on the front of the stone is a complete Ogam alphabet **blvsn hdtcq mgŋzr aouei**. The second inscription is on the back of the cross, indistinct and illegible. The stemline is used in both Ogam inscriptions and the ends of strokes of each Ogam letter are joined by straight lines. This ingredient in Ogam carving is typical in the Pictish Ogams (McManus 1997: 130).

Regarding Kirk Michael III (SR), the runic inscriptions are on the back of the stone and read:

1.

mal:lymkun:raisti:krus:þena:efter:mal:mury:fustra:sine:totortufkals:kon a:is:aþisl:ati+

2. **[b]etra :es:laifa:fustra:kuþan:þan:son:ilan+**

According to Olsen (Olsen 1954: 216), the inscriptions read as:

1. *M. reisti kross þenna eptir M. fóstra sín, dóttir Dufgals, kona es Aðísl átti*
2. *Betra es leifa fóstra góðan en son illan*

1. M. erected this cross after his foster mother M., Dufgal's daughter, the wife whom Aðísl married.
2. Better it is to leave a good foster son than a bad son.

Page (Page 1995: 234-236) translated the first part of the inscription:

mallymkun reisti kross þenna eptir malmury fóstra sín, dóttir Dufgals, kona er Aðísl átti
Mallymkun [male] raised this cross after Malmury [female] his foster son(?), the daughter [object] of Dufgal, the wife [subject] whom Aðísl married

XVI. Runic inscription and Ogam alphabet, Kirk Michael III (Kermode 1907, Plate LIV)

Kirk Michael III is one of the most studied inscriptions in the Isle of Man (Brate 1907: 84-85; Page 1995: 234-236; Olsen 1954: 216; McManus 1997: 130-131; Kermode 1907: 100-102; Palm 2004: 72-74) and deserves a detailed discussion. It seems that the knowledge of Scandinavian language is lax. It serves as an example of how the minority language is becoming grammatically weaker in the multilingual milieu. The inscription starts with 'Mallymkun (male) put this cross in memory of Malmury (male?)' after which the grammatical trouble begins with the phrase **fustra sine**. It would be natural to take **fustra sine** as in apposition to Malmury. The ending of **sine** is, however, impossible, whatever **fustra**'s sex. If **fustra** is accusative, as we expect and as it should be in this interpretation, its form is that of a masculine character

(which is possible and works well together if Malmury is a male character), but this would require us to reconsider the tentative interpretation of the text.

I take Malymkun to be female. Most probably the name *Mael Lomchon* ‘devotee of Lomchu’ was transformed into **mallymkun** in the Scandinavian inscription. However, the name itself, *Mael Lomchon* with an element *Mael*, is not attested in the Irish sources. The element *Mael* is usually used in the formation of masculine proper names, but can also be used in the formation of female names. I consider the name Malmury to be a male name. The whole name should be read as *Mael Muire* ‘devotee of Mary’. Kevin Murray claims that statistics show this proper name for females was rarely used in Ireland until a later date, as devotees of Mary in Ireland had traditionally been males. If Malmury is masculine it goes well with **fustra**, which is in the masculine accusative form. The problem remains with **sine**. I think, the last rune in the word **sine** should be taken as n-rune, because the forms of n-rune and i-rune are very similar.

The text continues – **totor tufkals** ‘daughter of Dubgal’, with the word **totor** in the accusative, which adds a futher confusion. The text ends **kona is aþisl ati** ‘the wife whom Aðísl married’, with the word **kona ‘**wife’ in the nominative. Thus if we reorder the text and take Mallymkun as a female character it gives us the reading, ‘Mallymkun, daughter of Dufgal, the wife whom Aþisl married, set up the cross in memory of Malmury her foster son.’ This reading involves taking 1) **sine** as **sinn**, 2) the whole phrase **totor tufkals kona is aþisl ati** as defining Mallymkun rather than immediately preceding Malmury, and 3) having an accusative **totor** instead of a nominative.

There are other runic examples when the defining phrase does not immediately follow the defined word. For example, in Denmark, King Gorm (who died in 940) erected the carved rune-stone Jellinge II, which is dated on historical grounds to the middle of the 10th century, for this wife Þyrvé. The Jellinge II inscription reads:

kurmr : kunukr : karþi : kubl : þusi : aft : þurui : kunu : sina : tanmarkaR : but

Gormr konungr gerði kuml þessi ept Þyrvé konu sina tanmarkar bót

King Gorm made this monument in memory of Þyrvé, his wife, Denmark's salvation (Wimmer 1895: 13).

It is possible that in this stone 'Denmark's salvation' is not Þyrvé, but King Gorm himself. Scholars have discussed this inscription extensively and there is a slight possibility that the defining phrase is attributed to King Gorm rather than to immediately preceding Þyrvé.

My interpretation of Kirk Michael III is:

1.

mal:lymkun:raisti:krus:þena:efter:mal:mury:fustra:sinn:totortufkals:kona:is:aþisl:ati+

2. **[b]etra :es:laifa:fustra:kuþan:þan:son:ilan+**

1. *mallymkun reisti kross þenna eptir malmury fóstra sinn, dóttir Dufgals, kona er Aðísl átti.*

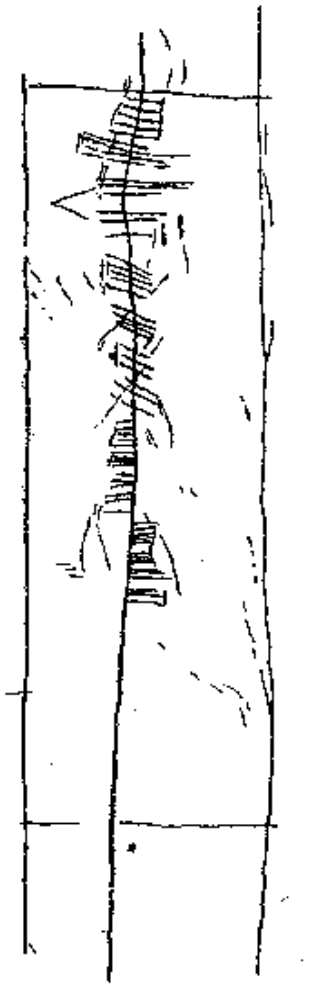
2. *Betra es leifa fóstra góðan en son illan.*

1. Mallymkun [female] raised this cross after Malmury [male] her foster son, the daughter [subject] of Dufgal, the wife [subject] whom Aðísl married.

2. Better it is to leave a good foster-son than a bad son.

If we read the first inscription like this, the second inscription on the same stone matches the first one, because it implies that the dead foster mother have left a living foster son. Palm also claims that the context shows that here we have a woman, Dufgal's daughter, who was married to a man with a Nordic name Aðísl and that she was a foster mother to Malmury (Palm 2004: 72).

According to Palm, the phrase **fustra : sine** seems to be composed of the masculine noun *fóstri* and the feminine dative form *sinne* of the posessive pronoun *sinn*. Tis grammatical inadequacy causes the biggest confusion for the interpretation of the inscription. Whatever the interpretation, one faces grammatical problems, and must finally admit that whoever wrote the text for this stone was a poor writer of classical Old Norse.



XVII. Ogam inscription A (Ogam alphabet) Kirk Michael III (Kermode 1910–1911, fig. 6)

In the context of bilingual Rune and Ogam stones in the Isle of Man and in Ireland, all of them cross-slabs, the extravagantly decorated Bressay Pictish Ogam cross-slab found in the Shetland Islands, which allegedly contains

Scandinavian names, is particularly revealing. According to Richard A.V. Cox, the Bressay stone is an Ogam one, but the language of the Inscription is Old Norse. He claims that "the use of the Norse language in these inscriptions suggests that the language of their composers was Old Norse" (Cox 1999: 166). If Cox is right, the carvers of Pictish Ogams took it one step further and used the local stone-carving Ogam tradition in order to register the Old Norse text. It remains though to explain why they used the Ogam alphabet instead of runes.

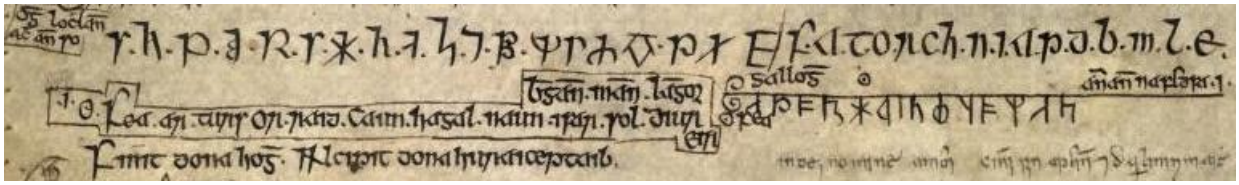
Both bilingual stones in the Isle of Man enclose runic and Ogam alphabets. "The custom of inscribing alphabets on stone and other hard materials, possibly for purposes of instruction, is well known in runic tradition, and it is significant that these unique examples of the same in Ogam occur together with Scandinavian inscriptions" (McManus 1997: 131). Numerous examples of the runic alphabet can be found in the 9th century inscriptions. One of the rune-stones in Gørlev in Zealand, Denmark, serves as an example. Runic alphabets were also carved in Gaelic speaking areas. For example, there are two 11th century *Fuþarks* from Dublin, found on a re-used bucket stave (Barnes, Hagland & Page 1997: 37-9).

Ogam alphabet inscriptions on stone are not known outside the Isle of Man, even though the tradition of inscribing alphabets on stone was known in Ireland. For example, there is an Old Irish alphabet inscription in Kilmalkedar church. This alphabet stone is dated to the 6th century on palaeographical grounds (Bieler 1949: 271). The only appearance of scholastic Ogam alphabets is found along with runic alphabets, which implies that the runic tradition influenced Ogam practices. That is, it might be that the Viking tradition of writing on stone influenced the revival of Ogam writing on stone. Ogam writing on stone started to decline in the 7th century and was gradually ousted by the Latin script. These bilingual Ogam and Rune monuments suggest a growing mutual interest between the stone-carving tradition and the revival of Ogam as a monumental script.

Irish medieval scholars' interest in runic tradition is indisputable. The Irish manuscript *The Book of Ballymote*, dated to 1390 AD, contains the tract called *In Lebor Ogaim* 'The Ogam Tract', which includes discussions of alphabets in general, in particular Ogam. It contains a symbolic number (100) of putative alphabets. These "alphabets" have no practical capacity and do not occur outside the tract. The purpose and the context of their exposition in the tract are not clear.

Among many varieties of Ogam there is a group called Foreign alphabets: (84) Hebrew, (85) Egyptian and (86) African. Along with foreign alphabets there is the Ogam alphabet, which is given number 91 and called *Ogam Lochlannach* 'Scandinavian Ogam'; and numbers 92 and 93 called *Gallogam* 'Viking Ogam' i.e. a *Fuþark*. Along with *Gallogam* there are names of the runes where every letter stands for the word which starts with that letter as in the real Ogam script.

The names of Scandinavian runes are known from both various medieval lists of alphabets, so called *abecedarier* and runic poetry. 'The Anglo-Saxon Rune Poem' dates to the 11th century whereas 'The Icelandic Rune Poem', preserved in several manuscripts, dates to the 16th century and 'The Old Norwegian Rune Poem' dates to the 17th century. 'The Anglo-Saxon Rune Poem' provides names and kennings of the *Older Fuþark* consisting of 24 runes. 'The Icelandic Rune Poem' and 'The Old Norwegian Rune Poem' consist of sixteen verses, corresponding to the number of runes in the *Younger Fuþark*.



XVIII. The Book of Ballymote: the In Lebor Ogaim passage containing the Rune alphabet and the names of the runes.

The set of runes in *In Lebor Ogaim* manifests Irish familiarity with the Younger *Fuþark*, consisting of sixteen letters. The terms *galoga* and *ogam lochlannach* also designate the Younger *Fuþark*, which was known through the Viking contacts in Ireland and the Isle of Man. Therefore, although *The Book of Ballymote* manuscript is late it may nevertheless be that *Fuþark* was known to the Irish long before the date of the text itself.

The extract of *In Lebor Ogaim* above, reads: *ogam lochlannach andso* 'Scandinavian Ogam here': *f.a.t.o.r.ch.n.i.a.s.d.b.m.l.e.* The scribe was indubitably aware of the symbolic values of runes and recorded their names in Old Norse, which indicates knowledge of the runic alphabet.

The manuscript continues: *galoga, -- anmand na feda. i. fea, ar, turs, or, raid, caun, hagal, naun, isar, sol, diur, bangann, mann, langor, eir.* The 'Viking Ogham names of fifteen letters:

1. *fea* comes from Old Norse *fé*, a word for 'cattle, wealth, property'. In Anglo-Saxon it is spelt *feoh*;
2. *ar* comes from Old Norse *úr* which means 'drizzle' in 'The Icelandic Rune Poem' (Elliott 1959: 46); the meaning of the word is expressed as the kenning *skýja grátr* 'the cry of the clouds'. In the 'The Old Norwegian Rune Poem' the word means 'dross'. In Anglo-Saxon it is spelt *ūr* or *úrr* meaning 'aurochs' from Proto-Germanic **ūruz* (Arntz 1944: 189);
3. *turs* comes from Old Norse *þurs*, meaning 'giant, troll'. 'The Anglo-Saxon Rune Poem' has clear Christian elements and the name of the pagan creature is avoided. Thus the rune is given the more innocuous name *þorn* meaning 'thorn' (Arntz 1944: 190);
4. *or (ur)* comes from *óss* and in 'The Icelandic Rune Poem' means 'god';
5. *raid* comes from Old Norse *reið* and means 'riding, chariot, wagon'. In Anglo-Saxon it is spelt *rād* (Arntz 1944: 196);
6. *caun* comes from *kaun* and means 'ulcer, boil';
7. *hagal* comes from Old Norse *hagall* and means 'hail';
8. *naun* comes from Old Norse *nauð(r)* and means 'need, distress';

9. *isar* comes from Old Norse *íss*, older form *īsaz (Moltke 1981: 37). Hence comes, perhaps, Irish *Fuþark*'s form *isar*. It means 'ice'. In Anglo-Saxon it is spelt *īs* (Arntz 1944: 205);
10. *sol* comes from Old Norse *sól* and means 'sun';
11. *diur* comes from Old Norse *týr* which means 'pagan god Tyr'. In Anglo-Saxon it is spelt *tīr* (Arntz 1944: 216);
12. *b(an)gan(n)* or *b(er)gan(n)* is clearly associated with Old Norse *björk*, meaning 'birch(-twig)'. Both 'The Icelandic Rune Poem' and 'The Old Norwegian Rune Poem' have the form *bjarkan* which is very similar to the form of the 'Viking Ogam'. The manuscript reads *b-ann*, i.e. the suspension stroke above the *n* is an n-stroke. George Calder (Calder 1917: 313) reads it as *bangann*, but the letters between *b* and *g* are not certain, perhaps they could be read as *bergann*;
13. *mann* comes from Old Norse *maðr* 'man'. In Anglo-Saxon it is spelt *man* (Arntz 1944: 221);
14. *langor* or *lāgor* is probably associated with Old Norse *lögr*, meaning 'sea' or 'water'. The form is probably *langor* because the suspension stroke above the *a* is an n-stroke. In *Abecedarium Nordmanicum* from the 9th century manuscript Codex Sangallensis 878, which enumerates the runes of the Younger *Fuþark*, there is a phrase *lagu the leohto* 'the holy water' which is closer to the Irish 'Viking Ogam'. *Abecedarium Anguliscum*, found on the same page of the manuscript, also has the form *lagu*. It is worth noting that Codex Sangallensis 878 was preserved in the Abbey Library of Saint Gall in Switzerland and probably originated in Fulda monastery in Ireland. This proves that the Irish were familiar with the runes as early as the 9th century. In the Irish 'Viking Ogam' *–r* is preserved as in the words *or* and *diur*. It can also be a genitive singular form *lagar* from Proto-Norse *lagaz < lagōz 'sea' (Schneider 1956: 88). Both 'The Icelandic Rune Poem' and 'The Old Norwegian Rune Poem' have the form *lögr* (Arntz 1944: 225);
15. *eir* comes from Old Norse *ýr* which means 'yew'.

Analysis of the Old Norse rune names in the manuscript adapted to Old Irish/Middle Irish shows that the modification is mostly systematic and predictable. The study of phonological interference by Britta Schulze-Thulin confirms that the basic vowels /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, /u/ presented no problems in adaption in stressed syllables since they were present both in Old Norse and Old Irish/Middle Irish.

For example, /a/>/a/ in ON *hagall* was adapted to OI/MI as *hagal*. Old Norse *h* is here preserved in initial position. In Old Norse loanwords *h* was usually omitted, but there are cases when *h* is represented orthographically. Old Norse /a/>/a/ in ON maðr, acc. *mann* is also adapted to OI/MI as *mann*. Here the most frequent oblique form *mann* is used in OI/MI. The adaption is very similar to that of Anglo-Saxon *Fuþark – man*. Old Norse /e:/>/e:/ in ON *fé* 'cattle possession' is adapted to OI/MI as *fea* (Marstrander 1915: 64). Old Norse /i:/>/i:/ in ON *íss* is adapted to OI/MI as *isar*. Old Norse /o:/>/o:/ in ON *óss* is adapted to OI/MI as *or (ur)*; the same adaption is found in Old Norse *sól* which is adapted to OI/MI as *sol*. Old Norse /u/>/u/ in ON *þurs* is adapted to OI/MI as *turs*. Old Irish/Middle Irish word initial /p/, /t/, /k/ appear as /f/, /θ/, /χ/ in leniting context. For that reason Old Norse /f/ and /θ/ were sometimes reinterpreted as the initials of lenated forms (Pokorny 1969: 9ff; Schulze-Thulin 1996: 95). Thus /θ/ was reinterpreted as /t/ as in the word *turs*.

There are phonemic difficulties in adaption of Old Norse N /y(:)/ and /ø(:)/, which had no phonemic equivalents to OI/MI and had to be replaced (Schulze-Thulin 1996: 88). Thus /y:/>/u:/ in ON *týr* is adapted to OI/MI as *diur*. Old Norse /ø/>/a/ in ON *björk* which is adapted to OI/MI as /a/ or /e/ as in *b(an)gan(n)* or *b(er)gan(n)* and ON *lögr* is adapted to OI/MI as *langor* or *lāgor*. The word *b(an)gan(n)* or *b(er)gan(n)* causes more difficulties because the exact letters cannot be established, since the scribe of *The Book of Ballymote* uses scribal abbreviations. It seems though that the very productive OI/MI morpheme *-ann* is added to the ON word. This morpheme indicates a diminutive form, so *b(an)gan(n)* or *b(er)gan(n)* might mean 'little birch'or

'birch-twig'. This theory is supported by the rendering of the ON personal name *Ásmundr* which is adapted to OI/MI as *Asmann* 'little Ásmundr' (Marstrander 1915: 151). In case of *langor* or *lāgor* and *isar* the second vowel could be the reflection of the older form as discussed above. If the Old Norse secondary stressed/unstressed vowel is maintained, the adaption seems to be early, as in *langor* and *isar*. If not, it points to later adaption.

OI/MI had no phonemic counterparts to the ON diphthongs but did have a set of diphthongs which bore resemblance to them (Schulze-Thulin 1996: 87). The ON diphthong /ei/ was rendered as /aí/ as in ON *reið* which was adapted to OI/MI as *raid*. The ON diphthong /au/ was rendered as /au/ as in ON *kaun* which was adapted to OI/MI as *caun* and as in ON *nauð* which was adapted to OI/MI as *naud*.

McManus' research indicates that scholastic Ogams on stone are quite rare. Apart from the above mentioned inscriptions, one finds just a couple of instances (McManus 1997: 131). There are of course other examples of scholastic Ogam inscribed on hard materials other than stone.

3.4.1 Summing up and conclusions of this chapter

During the Viking Age, the Ogam carving tradition on stone, which started to decline in the 7th century, underwent a revival both in the Isle of Man and in Ireland. This revival was caused by the Vikings who brought rune-carving tradition to the area. Celtic and Scandinavian stone-carving traditions went hand in hand resulting in the appearance of bilingual Ogam and Rune stones which are unique to the Isle of Man and Ireland. There are no bilingual Viking Age runic inscriptions elsewhere outside the Celtic area. It is possible that this kind of development was influenced by local bilingual Ogam and Latin inscriptions on stone.

Ogams on the bilingual Ogam and Rune stones are scholastic, i.e. late. This is attested by their use of the stemline, and of an arrow-head to indicate

the direction of writing and to separate words. These features clearly draw on manuscript convention.

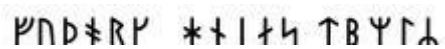
Irish intellectuals were familiar with runes and their names as early as the 9th century. The Younger *Fuþark* is present in the manuscript *Codex Sangallensis* 878 which presumably originated in Fulda monastery in Ireland. *In Lebor Ogaim* in *The Book of Ballymote* manuscript enumerates among other alphabets the Younger *Fuþark*, including the names of runes which were known through the Viking contacts in Ireland and the Isle of Man.

The bilingual Ogam and Rune inscriptions are usually followed by alphabets for the purposes of learning and for the demonstration of the similar tradition of stone carving. Ogam alphabets on stone are not found outside these bilingual stones and are unique in the Ogam tradition. However, runic alphabets on stone are quite numerous. It seems that the runic tradition of alphabet carving on stone triggered off the corresponding Ogam practice.

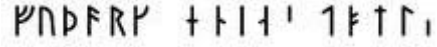
The blessing for the deceased in the Ogam inscription in Killaloe probably reflects this type of invocation in runic tradition.

3.5 The runic characters found in Manx runic corpus

The Scandinavian runic inscriptions in the Isle of Man employ variants of the younger **Fuþark**, or younger runic, alphabet. More complex shapes of runes of the younger **Fuþark**, also called 'Danish', 'common', 'long-branch' or 'normal', were used in the territory of Denmark and simpler ones, also called 'short-twig', 'Swedish-Norwegian' and 'Rök', in Sweden. Norway seems to employ both the complex and the simplified types of runes. However, even in this geographically limited area there can be variations of form.



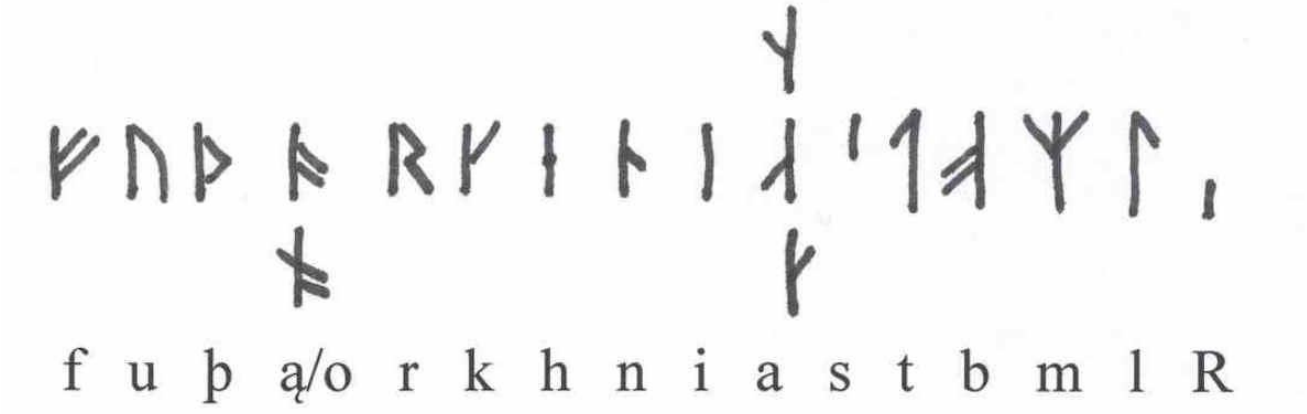
Long-branch runes.



Short-twig runes.

The runes found in the Isle of Man were called Jæ(de)r-type, a type best known in the Southwestern district of Norway as Jæ(de)ren (Jaðarr). The Norse colonists carried this type to the British Isles, and later it was called Man-Jær-type. Olsen claims there is every possibility that here in Man, within a small and sharply defined geographical area, we have a collection of runic memorials that constitute a homogenous series by themselves, but it is obvious that this type was used in a wider interrelated area, namely from Man northwards along the West coast of Scotland right up to Shetland (Olsen 1954: 154-157). R. I. Page also researched the variety of Manx runes and divided all inscriptions into five groups:

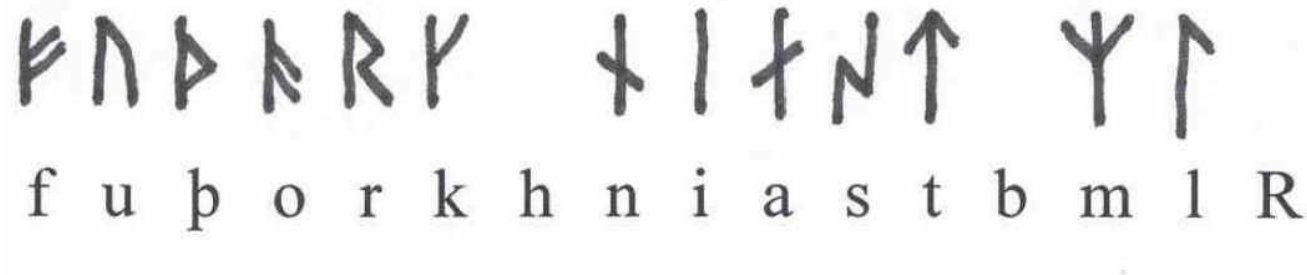
1. Short-twig runes:
Andreas I, II, III, IV; Ballaugh; Braddan I, II, III, IV; Bride; German I (St John's), German II (Peel); Jurby; Kirk Michael I, II, IV, V, VI; Marrow (Rhyne); Maughold I, II (Corna valley), V and Onchan



2. Mixed runes (mix of short-twig runes and Danish runes):
Maughold IV

2. Danish runes:

Kirk Michael III

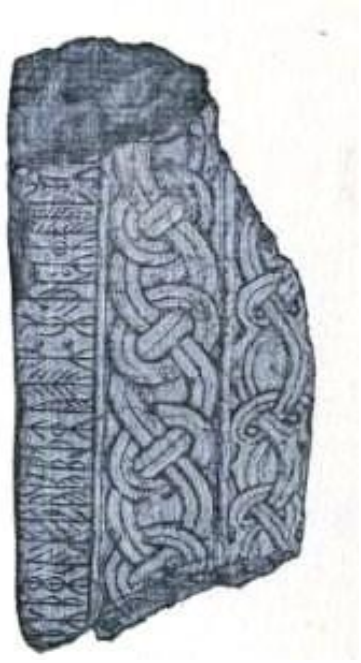


4. Indeterminate or too fragmentary:

Balleigh, Braddan, Braddan V, Kirk Michael VII, VIII, Maughold (Ballagilley) III

5. Cryptic/conglomerate runes:

Andreas V (Page 1983: 141)

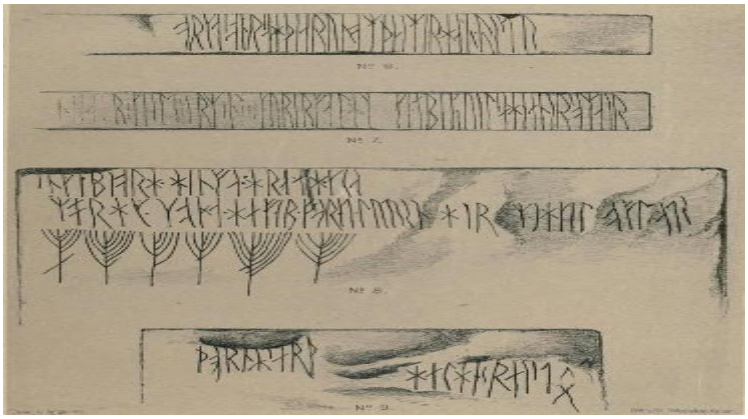


XIX. Andreas V inscription
http://t3.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn:ANd9GcQ3XbHUEG-VeES4CYYztcLHLugi5DrOD6taydBGGNCo38_sCOds

The fifth group has been variously called 'secret script',[8] 'secret runes',[9] 'cryptic runes',[10] (Olsen 1903: 16-17) and 'conglomerate runes' (MacLeod 2002: 175). Conglomerate runes are runic forms apparently composed of peculiar combinations of runes and branches, and cannot be identified with bind-runes. The 26 multi-branched Andreas V runes are the earliest documented examples of these peculiar runic combinations. The inscription is composed entirely in conglomerate characters, which bear an undoubted resemblance to bind-runes (although most would involve ligatures of three or more characters). They were transliterated by Kermode (Kermode 1907: 161).

However, the interpretable inscriptions carved entirely in bind-runes do not exist. This is reason enough to be suspicious of texts, like the Andreas V inscription, that are composed exclusively in compound runic formations (MacLeod 2002: 175).

[8] Norwegian original: 'lønskrift'; translation from Norwegian is my own.
[9] Norwegian original: 'lønruner'; translation from Norwegian is my own.
[10] Norwegian original: 'kryptruner'; translation from Norwegian is my own.



XX. Maeshowe XXII in the Orkneys – Nr. 8 in the picture above by James Farrer VIII

http://freepages.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~wakefield/history/34816-h/34816-h.htm

The Andreas V inscription has often been compared to the Maeshowe XXII inscription in the Orkneys. The inscription from the Isle of Man is certainly older than Maeshowe XXII; like most of the runic inscriptions in Man, it dates back to the 11th century. Cryptic runic puzzles occur during all runic periods, and secret runic writing – apparently motivated by a desire to unduly complicate the deciphering of an inscription – is usually attributed to a riddling sense of humour, although sometimes more sinister purposes are suspected such as sorcery or the desire to conceal a message from the uninitiated (Düwel 1983: 101). Some scholars have claimed that they represent a development of the bind-rune technique and that the characters on the Andreas V inscription were a manifestation of the same phenomenon (Black 1899: 332-43). However, despite the rich runic tradition of runic monuments in the Isle of Man, no examples of bind-rune have been established among the more than 30 monumental inscriptions found there. The Isle of Man, home to a blend of so many cultures, evidences no ligatures in its runic corpus. Manx runes are usually associated with the Norwegian runic tradition and the Viking Age Norwegian inscriptions have comparatively few monumental bind-runes. None of the Manx memorial crosses has bind-runes (MacLeod 2002: 176-177), and there are no certified bind-runes in Ireland (Barnes, Hagland & Page 1997:

6), where most of the runic inscriptions are fragmentary texts on small portable objects. Andreas V should not be considered as a 'bind-rune inscription' but together with conglomerate runes (MacLeod 2002: 176-177).

To date, the only analysis of the inscription that can be deemed relevant in any way is by Olsen who claimed that most of the rune shapes of Maeshowe XXII demonstrate similarities with Kirk Andreas in the Isle of Man (Olsen 1903: 3-16). Concerning the shapes of the runes Olsen claimed that they were created 'changing the symbols of the usual rune row of the younger **Fuþark** according to certain principles.'[11] (Olsen 1903: 14).

Andreas V is a fragment of a runic cross with a line of runs carved along its edge. The inscription consists of 28 symbols, 26 of which are unique. Despite numerous attempts the Andreas V inscription has not been deciphered. Sophus Bugge suggests the inscription of three bind-runes standing between two dots could be read as **krus þana af** 'this cross after' (Bugge 1899 [1900]: 244), but so long as the rest of the runes are unread, any such interpretation must remain uncertain.

Even if the principles indicated by Olsen are not formulated in the exact manner, on examination of both inscriptions one can see certain similarities, indicating the existence of some kind of system and that Olsen is right in claiming some shapes of runes from Maeshowe XXII and Andreas V look alike. Since there are similarities between the Andreas V and Greenlandic cryptic-rune inscriptions the Maeshowe XII in the Orkneys and the 12th century Andreas V the Isle of Man may be attempts by Viking settlers in the North Atlantic colonies to forge a new identity.

[11] Danish original: 'ved forandring af den almindelige yngre runerækkes tegn efter visse bestemte principer'; translation from Danish is my own.

XXI. The Kingigtorssuaq rune-stone in Greenland.
http://www.arild-hauge.com/gron-greenland.htm

Another aspect, which is often forgotten, is that the Ogam script is based on the repetition of the same notches and lines as Andreas V, which may have provided the rune-carver with inspiration. However, Andreas V is still to be deciphered.

3.5.1 Summing up and conclusions of this section

The Scandinavian runic inscriptions on the Isle of Man employ variants of the younger runic alphabet. However, there are a few variations in rune usage and in the forms of letters, for example, A-rune in Kirk Michael II, which has two different forms. There are several different usages in the area, implying continuity of rune carving in the Isle of Man and certainly among several rune-carvers. Maughold IV shows a strong influence of so-called Danish or normal runes, which occur on prestigious monuments even in Norway. The Andreas V inscription, with conglomerate or cryptic runes that were probably inspired by the local tradition of Ogam script, indicates the innovation of the Norse colonies in the West.

3.6 Christianity and reflection of Christian ideas on the rune stones of the Isle of Man

According to legend, the first Christian missionary to land on the Isle of Man was St. Patrick. He is said to have landed on St. Patrick's Isle, a small islet, at some point during the 5th century AD. One of St. Patrick's first acts was to see off the ancient magician, Manannan, who had dominated the island until then and whose ability to turn himself into a three-legged creature ('Whichever way you

XXII. The flag of the Isle of Man.

throw me, I stand') is said to be the basis of the triskelion symbol that appears on the Manx flag. Whatever the truth behind the legends, and whether or not it was St. Patrick himself who first brought Christianity to the Isle of Man, it was certainly monks from the monasteries that he founded who were foremost in spreading the Christian faith across the Irish Sea.

These early missionaries, the first of whom arrived in the Isle of Man around 500 AD, brought with them knowledge of agriculture and other skills as well as their faith. They built tiny, simple chapels, or keeills, from which they would preach and minister to the local community. The earliest Christian burial found in the Isle of Man took place around 590. Maughold and the other Christian centres in Man had relatively limited wealth, especially when compared with that of the major Irish monasteries. However, the outstanding quality and sophistication of the crucifixion carving found at the hermitage site on the Calf of Man indicates that the Isle of Man was familiar with the high quality art of the late-8th century Celtic church (Cubbon 1983: 13). So indications are that the Celtic inhabitants of the Isle of Man prior to the Norse settlement have been Christian for several centuries.

The first Norse settlers were buried in accordance with Scandinavian custom. However, the archaeological evidence suggests that few Scandinavian

women got as far as Man; to date, not one example of a pagan female grave has been found and the majority of female names recorded in the Manx runic inscriptions are Celtic rather than Scandinavian. It seems likely that the Norse settlers in Man intermarried with the local Celtic women, and it is therefore not surprising that Christian beliefs were being re-established in the Island by the second quarter of the 10th century (Cubbon 1983: 19). The efforts to convert the newcomers are reflected in the images on Andreas II and (particularly) Andreas III crosses, which probably express the triumph of Christianity over paganism.

XXIII. Andreas 128, the Isle of Man.
http://www.archeurope.com/index.php?page=thorwald-s-cross-slab

One side of the cross shows the wolf Fenrir devouring a bold figure with a raven on his shoulder (probably Óðin), a Ragnarök scene depicting the end of Óðin. The other side has a Christian motif, a man holding a cross in his left hand and a book in his right with a fish, a symbol of Christ, in front of him; the figure represents the triumph of Christianity.

Christian keeils, or chapels, attest to the re-establishment of Christianity in the area. Marstrander has claimed there is a broad correlation between the distribution of treens and the keeils that functioned in the Isle of Man

following the 10th century adoption of Christianity by the Norse settlers (Marstrander 1937: 307). Page claimed there is 'close connection between the rune-stones and churchyards' and also argues that most of them were memorial stones (Page 1980: 218). His research on the sites where the rune-stones were found shows they were connected with churches and churchyards; most were found standing outside churchyards or used as building stones in the churchyard wall and as doorstep stones (Page 1980: 217-218).

Many Manx rune-stones are cross-shaped and/or have crosses on them, crosses being the most common manifestation of Christianity. But although the Celtic influence is remarkable in the Isle of Man, tone cannot give credit to western Scandinavian custom for putting crosses on the rune-stones; in Denmark, just 11 per cent of rune-stones have Christian crosses and in Norway 21 per cent, while the highest numbers are to be found in Uppland (59 per cent) and in Södermanland (54 per cent) in Sweden (Sawyer 2000: 26). In general the proportion of the monuments in western Scandinavia that lack crosses and/or Christian prayers is much higher. In Norway 70 per cent of all monuments lack crosses and prayers (Sawyer 2000: 125). According to Palm, Norway also has fewest monuments with crosses (6 per cent or just two stones) followed by Denmark (around 15 per cent), and the most monuments with crosses are in the Swedish area (around 60 per cent) (Palm 2004: 148–150). These statistics indicate that in Norway and Denmark the level of Christian influence is quite low. In Norway prayers are found on the inscriptions dated just after the Viking Age and they are rare in the relatively early days of Christianity in Denmark and Norway, but more common in the areas that became Christian later (Palm 2004: 152).

However, most of the rune-stones in the Isle of Man are ostentatiously Christian. It is possible that Christianity had to be defended against the new pagan settlers and the larger number of Christian rune-stones suggests great tension between the two populations. Moreover, the rune-stones clearly demonstrate an affinity with local (Celtic) cult, for example in inscriptions containing the names of the Celtic saints. Almost all the Manx rune-stones

contain declarations of faith, indicating that the decision to convert was taken by individuals or families. In general it appears that erection of rune-stones reflected religious and social needs in the period of transition and contact with the different, rich, and clearly Christian culture.

Perhaps the main function of rune-stones for the newcomers was to proclaim their acceptance of Christianity. The sponsors of manifestly Christian rune-stones not only declared their faith but also publicly acknowledged responsibility for protecting and supporting the clergy. It is possible to 'add a refinement that the Church, with its stress on the written record, rendered the runic tradition more fruitful than it might otherwise be; that far from banning runic as a pagan type of script, the Church welcomed any method of recording for Christian purposes. There is a similar development in the Anglo-Saxon runic tradition of northern England.' (Page 1995: 228)

3.6.1 Priest as a rune-carver

The commemoration of the priest in the Isle of Man runic inscriptions demonstrates that the clergyman was not for banning runic inscriptions but was committed to carving runes himself in order to advocate for Christianity and the Celtic cult of saints. Two inscriptions, from Maughold I and Maughold II, commemorate **iuan brist** 'John the priest', who is a rune-carver.

The word 'priest' is quite usual in runic inscriptions. Samnordisk runtextdatabas (SR) gives 10 runic inscriptions containing the word 'prestr'. All of them are Norwegian with the exception of two very late ones from Möðruvellir and Höskuldsstaðir in Iceland (dated ca. 1400 and 1383). In a word index to the Swedish Viking Age runic inscriptions (on stone from the period c. 800–c. 1100 within the medieval boundaries of Sweden), *Svenskt runordsregister* (SR) by Lena Peterson, there is no entry of 'prestr'. It was probably a west Scandinavian priority to write 'prestr' on the rune-stones. Most of the Norwegian inscriptions incorporating the word are also dated to the Middle-Ages; just two are dated to the Viking Age. In the two Norwegian

Viking Age inscriptions priests are commemorated as the rune-carvers. The first inscription is found on a wooden object and is made ca. 1180. It reads:

N 150 (SR)
+ aslagr : pr(e)str * reit * runa=r þessa=r

Áslakr prestr reit rúnar þessar.
Áslakr the priest wrote these runes.

The second inscription, found in Stavanger in Rogaland, reads:

N258 (SR)
al(f)---ir : (b)r(i)str : rasiti : stain : þina : aft : arlik trot(i)n : (s)(i)(n) : -(s)-(i)(n)(u)(a)s : --(a)—
(n)-------- : (i)s (h)an (:) (b)ar(i)þ is(k) : uiþ ol(a)if

<alf—ir> prestr reisti stein þenna ept Erling dróttin sinn <-s-inuas> ..., er hann barðisk við Óleif.
<alf—ir> the priest raised this stone in memory of his lord Erlingr … when he fought with Óleifr.

It seems the tradition to name the priest who carved the runes originated in Norway, but it may have come from the Celtic area. Whichever it is, on Maughold I and Maughold II the rune-carving priest elevates the Celtic cult.

The combination of the word ‘prestr’ and the name Ioan is also found in *Sturlunga saga* ‘Sturlunga saga’ and is written as Prest-Ióan, Prest-Ioan and also Ion prestr (Lind 1920-1921: 280). In some cases the word ‘prestr’ is used as a byname (cognomen), and not as an occupational title, for example **Auzur prestr** skeppsstyrman, **Styr prestr** haufðingi, **EinaR prestr** sýslumaður á Rogalandi around the year 1200 and **Einarr prestr** hirðmaðr (Lind 1920-1921: 280-281).

However, in the case of **iuan brist** ‘John the priest’ from Maughold II, it is hardly likely that the word ‘priest’ is used as byname since the purpose of the inscription is to spread the Christian faith and the cult of Celtic saints, and to introduce Christian reforms.

On the one hand, both inscriptions of rune-master John the priest contain deviations from the Old Norse grammar and the runic tradition in general (**raisti** for **risti**, **þisir** for **þisar**, **runur** for **runar**, and **þ** for **t** in the words **krisþ**, **baþrik**, **kurna þal**) and other orthographic distinctiveness. On the other hand, he may have been familiar with the Irish manuscript tradition because he uses geminates in the runic inscription. According to Erik Brate, who takes **iin** for a conjuction, ‘double letters are a bit surprising and appear in Manx inscriptions for no apparent reason.’[12] (Brate 1907: 81) This feature, the use of double vowels in a word to indicate vowel length, appears in other Manx inscriptions, for example, Braddan I **ufaak** and Braddan II **siin**. The reason might be double letters (geminates), which are not uncommon in Irish manuscripts.

It is possibe that this particular inscription contains an Old Irish form *Críst*, which in Old Irish is indeclinable. The word **krisþ** (*Krist*) in the runic inscription lacks a masculine singular ending *-r*. In Scandinavian inscriptions ‘Christ’ is used in its usual Norse form **Kristr**, as in **syndalausi Kristr** ‘Christ without sin’ (Palm 2004: 152).

In general the inscription is a valuable linguistic memorial. Marstrander claims that it has been carved by a man who ‘spoke Norse with Gaelic articulation’. The rune **þ** is used to represent ‘the strongly aspirated Manx occlusive’. From this inscription Marstrander has been able to ascertain how Norse was pronounced in a small walley in the northeast of this island in the second half of the 12th century (Marstrander 1937: 305). It is undoubtedly to that period that the inscription must be assigned. The form **kurnaþal** is particularly illuminating. In the district where the stone was found there is a

[12] Swedish original: ‘fördubblingen av i är något överrasakande, men någon gång förekommer uti manska inskrifter dubbelteckning utan synbart skäl’; translation from Swedish is my own.

group of place names that must all contain the name of the valley-river, Corna, or of its first element. One of these, 'Cardle', can be formally identified with Kornadal(r) (Olsen 1954: 204). The name of the river, which forms the first element of this compound with*dalr*, had in its original form *Kverná*, 'quern-river' (Marstrander 1937: 309).

3.6.2 Commemoration of three Celtic Saints by the priest on Maughold II

krisþ malaki okbaþrik aþanman

The Maughold II inscription (and also Maughold I because it broadens out the context of Maughold II and is linked to the former by the content, i.e. the same **iuan brist** 'John the priest' who is mentioned on both rune-stones) is exclusive; in Scandinavian inscriptions 'no saints are invoked on the rune-stones. Apart from Christ, we meet only Mary and the archangel Michael.' (Sawyer 2000: 140)

Samnordisk runtextdatabas (SR) matches some of the runic inscriptions with the names of saints. The crucial difference is that these inscriptions are usually in Latin and all of them dated to the Middle Ages. In the same database there are two further runic inscriptions in Latin containing the names of angels (N A284 M, GR 43 $M), but they are carved on objects other than stone and also dated to the late Middle Ages. The only example of the names of the saints on stone is the 12th or 13th century runic inscription in Latin from Rogaland in Norway:

N A362 M (SR)

1) **+ esse krusem tomini : fugite partes atuerse uisit le(o) te tribu iuta ----- ... ----... kua(t)uor grana in pentalum in--... fo(n)te tutit : aaron : iesus +**

2) **(o)hannes markus maþeus lukas**

3) **agla alpha et o + - :**

1) *Ecce crucem Domini, fugite partes adversæ. Vicit leo de tribu Juda, [radix David]. Quatuor grammis in petalon ... fronte tulit Aaron, Jesus.*
2) *[J]ohannes, Marcus, Matheus, Lucas.*
3) *Agla. Alpha et O[mega]* ... (SR).

This inscription contains the names of the four apostles. The first and the last letters of the alphabet, Alpha and O[mega], are also on the inscription reflecting the same idea of carving the alphabet as practiced in the Isle of Man (**Fuþark** and Ogam alphabets on Maughold I and Kirk Michael III). However, Maughold II is the earliest and only example where local Celtic saints are invoked on the rune-stone and there are no other rune-stones in the corpus of Scandinavian runic inscriptions invoking Scandinavian or Celtic saints.

The Isle of Man style of inscribing the names of saints might have come from the Latin tradition, which was prominent there. The Maughold II inscription draws upon the popular practice of devotion to the local Celtic saints and reflects sympathy for their cult among Scandinavian settlers.

Christ is mentioned on the Maughold II stone as 'number one'. In general references to Christ and the Trinity are very rare but in the Isle of Man Christ is mentioned in three inscriptions (Maughold II, Conchan inscription line 5: **krus isukrist** and Braddan IV inscription with Latin majuscule: **IHSUS**). In the Conchan inscription it seems the Old Norse genitive form *Krists* was unintended. The whole phrase was probably written in the Old Irish language because the genitive case for Old Irish 'Jesus Christ' is actually *Ísu Crist* (as for example in the phrase *tosach Íssu Christ* 'principle of Jesus Christ'. In Braddan IV **IHSUS** is simply written in Latin. In *Rundata* the Latin form **ihsus** is registered in runes just once, on the tree object found in Torpo church in Norway, and is dated to the late Middle Ages.

The frequency with which the name of Christ is used and the variety of its forms and traditions demonstrated the extent of piety among local inhabitants, who succeeded in communicating it to the newcomers. The reason for the absence of references to the Trinity has been much discussed. Beskow

and Reinhart suggest one explanation: 'Missionaries had to emphasize the unity of God in contrast to pagan polytheism. In order to avoid misunderstanding that the Christians had three Gods, the missionaries simplified their teachings by identifying God with Christ.' (Beskow & Reinhart 1994: 22)

Brate points out that the Maughold II inscription, using the conjunction **ok** 'and', links both Irish saints Saint Malachy, archbishop of Armagh and Saint Patrick and sets against Adamnán of Scottish provenance (Brate 1907: 79).

However, it is necessary to point out that division of the saints is not based on their background (since St. Patrick is also a foreigner), but according to their importance when the stone was erected. Malachy is unexpectedly mentioned as the first of the three. In general the combination of these three particular names is unusual; the three Celtic saints that are usually mentioned together are St. Patrick, St. Adamnán and St. Brigit. Malachy (Máel-Máedóc Úa Morgair), the latest of these (Kenney 1929: 764-7) and already identified with the archbishop of Armagh and papal legate to Ireland, was chosen by 'John the priest', because St. Malachy was an advocate for a very important 12th century Irish ecclesiastical reform movement. The main issues of the reform were sexual irregularity and immorality, neglect of religious obligations and lawlessness. St. Malachy was not just an adherent of the reform, but also the first Irishman proclaimed to be a saint. Pope Clement III bestowed sainthood on Malachy in 1190, which was 'the first formal canonization of an Irish person' (Scully 2006: 239). Another important factor for the exceptional status of the saint was *Vita Sancti Malachiae* 'The Life of St. Malachy', written by the great Cistersian reformer Bernard of Clairvaux who was with Malachy when he died at the Feast of All Souls in Clairvaux, and who 'was instrumental in securing his canonization' (Scully 2006: 239). The *Vita Sancti Malachiae* was very popular among the ecclesiastics in Ireland. In *Vita* Bernard describes a renewed process of conversion of the Irish through St. Malachy, which St. Patrick started. Bernard's description links Malachy and

Patrick, depicting Malachy praying in the place where St. Patrick was buried and witnessing an altar burst into fire (Scully 2006: 256). In Bernard's own words, '[A]t Malachias, intelligens signum esse magni meriti illius vel illorum, quorum sub altari illo corpora requiescerent, currens et se mediis immergens flammis, expansis brachiis, sacram amplexatus est aram' 'Malachy, sensing that this was a sign of the great merit of him or those who rested beneath the altar, ran and plunged himself into the midst of the flames, embracing the holy altar with both hands and emerged blazing with heavenly fore.' (Ledercq & Rochais 1963: XXIX.65) Thus Malachy completes the process of Gentile conversion in Ireland and the spiritual transformation of the Irish people (Scully 2006: 256). It is therefore not a coincidence that St. Malachy and St. Patrick are commemorated on the stone together and coupled together using a conjunction **ok**. It is possible that 'John the priest', bearing in mind his occupation, may have been familiar with the *Vita Sancti Malachiae*.

How much time it took for a cult of St. Malachius to develop in Ireland is not clear, but *Vita Sancti Malachiae* was written 'not long after the saint's death' (Scully 2006: 239). It is also uncertain whether it reached the Isle of Man directly from Ireland or from the west coast of Scotland where St. Malachy was very popular. 'Contacts between Ireland and the Isles (the Isle of Man and the islands off Scotland's west coast) had perhaps always operated at a significant level since geographical proximity made it inevitable.' (Duffy 1992: 93) The tutor of St. Malachy was Ímar ua hAedacáin (Ó Cuív 1988: 82), who died in 1148 on pilgrimage to Rome. Ímar ua hAedacáin was a recluse, doubtless a *deórad* (OI 'exile, pilgrim'), and a promoter of the reform (Kenney 1929: 765). Malachy's Hiberno-Norse background raises the possibility of connections between Hiberno-Norse inhabitants and the future St. and may explain the later reverence paid to him as a saint. as far as the Isle of Man. In any case, because of Malachy, Maughold I and II can be dated closely and *terminus post quem* ('limit after which') can presumably be put at some time after 1148, the earliest date that can be attributed to these two stones.

Historical circumstances might explain the necessity to highlight the predominance of the overlordship of Ulster, and the rune-stones might have served as a reminder of their rights to the Isle of Man and the Isles exhibiting the name of the most important Ulster saint of the time.

The year 1148 is marked by another death, the assasination of Ottar, a Hebridean sea-lord and possibly a grandson of the Earl of Ottar, ruler of one half of the Isle of Man in 1098. Ottar had managed to seize the city of Dublin, unite his patrimony in the Isles with Dublin, and to hold it for a full six years (Duffy 1992: 122). During this time there were lively contacts between Dublin and the Isles, including the Isle of Man. After Ottar's rule the overlordship of Dublin passed to the northern king, Muirchertach MacLochlainn. When his rule was threatened in 1154, MacLochlainn managed to hire a fleet from Galloway, Arran, Kintyre, Man, and other territories of Scotland to defend his rule. This incident shows how tight the contacts were between Dublin, the Isles and Scotland (Duffy 1992: 123-125). Besides, the Manx Chronicle relates the events of 1152, when an army from Dublin invaded the Isle of Man and overthrown the reigning king, Amlaíb, son of Gofraid Méránach (Duffy 1992: 126). The struggle for the overlordship of Dublin extended to the Isles, including the Isle of Man, and may have been the context for raising the rune-stones as an implicit claim to, and confirmation of, the rights of Ulster in the territory of the Isle of Man. *Vita Sancti Malachiae* is patently antagonistic to the rulers of southern Ireland, refering to the feud between the King of Munster and his brother (Ledercq & Rochais 1963: IV.9) and asking how St. Malachy managed to be so pious and not also 'frater fuit draconem et socius struthionum' / 'a brother of dragons and champion of ostriches.'[13] (Ledercq & Rochais 1963: XXVII.60) The Maughold rune-stones in the Isle of Man might reflect political games enacting the dominion of Ulster not just in Dublin but also in the Isles by using the name of this new saint, Malachy, bishop of Armagh, favoured by 'John the priest'.

[13] The dragon and ostrich appear in scripture and patristic exegesis as symbols of evil and cruelty.

St. Patrick, mentioned along with St. Malachy, is a patron saint of the Isle of Man and was the effective founder of the Christian Church in Ireland. He was consecrated bishop and went to Ireland in 432 where he stayed until his death about 30 years later. St. Patrick was the first Christian to recruit a substantial number of converts, and to leave behind him a lasting organized church (Hood 1978: 1). There is no proof that St. Patrick ever set foot on the Isle of Man, but it certainly lay within his sphere of influence and he could have visited one of the places associated with his name on his journeys to and from Britain. His personal disciples certainly visited Man, notably St. German, who taught from Peel, and St. Maughold who was miraculously cast ashore on the headland named after him. The Irish Missionaries were in Man from 447 AD onwards, and during the second half of the 5th century numerous keeills were built. Moreover, the local Christians had such a good reputation that the Irish Chroniclers record that its name was changed from 'Inis Falga' (or Noble Isle) to 'Ellan Shiant' (The Holy Isle). St. Patrick's name is to be found throughout the Island; the islet on which stands the ruined Cathedral of St. German, a parish, two parish churches, nine keills, six wells, and the famous St. Patrick's Chair on the Garth Farm at Marown. Several farms are called 'Ballakilpherick', the place or home of the Chapel of St. Patrick. The place names connected with St. Patrick appear at very early dates, the earliest being St. Patrick's Isle, which is mentioned in the *Annals of Ulster* in 798 as *Inis Patraic*. In 1231, the Bull of Pope Gregory IX mentions Holme, Sodor vel Pile. Both the *Annals of Ulster* and the *Annals of the Four Masters* record the burning of Inis Patrick by foreigners in AD 798.

The Four Masters record that they bore away the shrine of Dochonna on this occasion, and committed depredations between Ireland and Alba (Scotland). There is a very lucid and interesting account of this shrine, a facsimile of which is now in the Manx Museum. Dachonna, or Machonna of Inis Patrick, was a Manx saint whose dedication date was January 13th, and it is probable that there was a church on St. Patrick's Isle dedicated to him, from which the Vikings took away a shrine containing his relics in 1978. The

earliest name for this islet was, therefore, *Inis Patric* 'Patrick's Isle', which when translated into Latin became *Insula Patricii*. The Norsemen called the Island Hólmr, meaning 'an island in a bay, creek, lake or river'. The name 'Sodor', a contraction of 'Norse Suðreyjar', or 'Southern Islands', is applied to the Hebrides, but how it can be applied to St. Patrick's Isle is not clear.

Another very important place connected with St. Patrick is St. Patrick's Church**.** It is mentioned in 1231 in the Bull of Pope Gregory IX as *Ecclesia Sancti Patricii de Insula*. The ruins of the Church, which is on St. Patrick's Isle, are still in a fair state of preservation. In ancient times it was the parish church of Kirk Patrick and Ecclesiastical Courts were held there until the late 17th century. The last place-name associated with St. Patrick is St. Patrick's Well at Peel Hill on the west coast. It is sometimes called the Silver Well; according to legend, when St. Patrick landed there from Ireland on a silver-shod horse, the imprint of one of its shoes was left in the rock from which, and a spring gushed forth (Kneen 1925: 35-47).

The cult of St. Adomnan has also been celebrated in the Isle of Man. Around 447 AD Irish missionaries known as 'culdees' began to populate the island and spread the message of Christianity. These monks built small shelters (keeills) and worked on local farms for food while they served as priests. In 1188 the small chapel first known as Keeill-ny-Traie 'The Chapel by the Shore' was given in land to the monks of St. Bees and rebuilt. When the island moved into English control and the land was divided into parishes Keeill-ny-Traie became known as St. Adamnán, the parish church of Lonan (Kirk Lonan). Kirk Lonan is dedicated to St. Adamnán, who lived from about 624-704 AD and was the biographer of St. Columba, founder and first Abbot of Iona in 563 AD. St. Adamnán became ninth Abbot of Iona, ruling from 679 AD to his death in 704. St. Adamnán, as one of the leaders of the Celtic Catholic Church, which followed the teachings of St. John, was sent on a mission to King Alfred and the leaders of the Roman Catholic Church, which followed the teachings of St. Peter. The purpose of this meeting was to persuade the Celtic Catholic Church to celebrate a unified date for Easter and

observe the canonical rites of the Roman Catholic Church. Adamnán decided that this would benefit Christianity and forge a united Church, though the Celts would lose their independence. In this movement Adamnán carried with him most of Ireland and Scotland but not his own Monastry, Iona, which did not conform until 715, 11 years after his death. In the Isle of Man, St. Adamnán was greatly revered by the natives for using their local speech, and especially by the womenfolk for his courage in openly condemning the evil practice of taking women and children as hostages in the tribal raids, and even at times using them as human shields.

3.6.3 Summing up and conclusions of this section

When the Vikings arrived on the Isle of Man they found a well-established and sophisticated Christian tradition. It was already deeply rooted in the native population and elaborately expressed in the material culture, the richness of which probably surprised and attracted new converts.

The convention of putting crosses with runic inscriptions could not have come from Norway (which has just two Viking Age runic crosses) or Denmark, but is clearly local.

Maughold II is unique in the context of Scandinavian runic tradition. The commemoration of the saints on the stone is unique; Scandinavian equivalents containing saint's names appear later in time or are written in Latin. Besides, none of the commemorated saints is of Scandinavian origin; all of them are Celtic, which indicates that the cult of the local population is fully adapted, including the saints.

The commemoration of these particular saints reflects the political situation for the advantage of Ulster. It could be called a propaganda stone promoting ecclesiastical reform of great importance and putting the Isle of Man on the map of recent developments in the ecclesiastical reform movement, which connects it with Europe. The runic inscription that commemorated

locally worshiped Saints indicates those that were important for the region and includes general information about the cult of the Saints in the Isle of Man.

3.7 The difference of formula in the Manx corpus

Both Ogam and runic inscriptions contain a certain stringent and rather conservative formula or 'genre binding formula'.[14] (Palm 1992: 133) However, the formula used in the runic inscriptions in the Isle of Man features unique elements. The architecture of the formula does not diverge from the general Scandinavian pattern. The Manx runic crosses conform to the common Norse memorial formula pattern frequently used in the Viking Age and called 'the sponsor formula'.[15] (Palm 1992: 139) However, Manx rune-stones have certain distinctions.

Firstly, 'whereas the Scandinavian examples speak of raising a stone, Manx ones raise a cross **krus** (Page 1980: 222). Instead of the formula ***X raisti stein eftir Y*** 'X raised the stone after Y', the formula is ***X raisti krus eftir Y*** 'X raised the cross after Y'. 'Even where the Scandinavian stones are in fact cross-shaped or strongly decorated with a cross motif, the word used on them is nevertheless **stein**, even Stavanger III in Norway which was erected by the priest. Cross is late and rare in Norwegian epigraphy. Denmark also avoids the word.' (Page 1980: 222) Two entries of the word 'cross' – **krus** Sö227 and **kus** Sö340$ – in a word index to the Swedish Viking Age runic inscriptions (Peterson 2006) testify to their rarity in Sweden. Moreover, both rune-stones are located in a limited geographical area, namely Södermanland (SR) in Sweden, and the word 'cross' is used in the inscription outside the framework of Norse memorial formula. This feature will be discussed later in this chapter. Page suggests that the Manx usage of the word 'cross' is unique and probably represents the influence of Latin or Celtic usage (Page 1980: 222).

[14] Swedish original: 'den genreobligatoriska formeln'.
[15] Swedish original: 'resarformeln'.

Secondly, even if the word **krus** is found in Scandinavian runic inscriptions, it usually stands alone at the end of the inscription rather than being an integral part of the above-mentioned formula.

Runic inscriptions with the word **krus** used in this particular formula are found only in the Isle of Man, in Scotland and in Ireland. There are just three Manx rune-stones that deviate from this formula, which suggests that the formula originated in the Isle of Man and was brought to Scotland and Ireland from there.

In the numerous corpus of Irish runic inscriptions only one, the earlier discussed Killaloe stone in County Clare, has this formula.

XXIV. Bilingual runic and Ogam stone in Killaloe Cathedral, County Clare, Ireland (J. Demetrescu 2008)
http://www.Saintsandstones.net/Saints-killaloecathedral-ogham2.htm

There are two Scots inscriptions – from Inchmarnock in Buteshire and Kilbar in Barra – that also contain this formula. Even if examples in Ireland and Scotland are few, this memorial formula is evidently an attribute of the Celtic and Scandinavian contact area and it does not bestride this regional designation. The Irish, Scottish and Manx people can boast of a long tradition

of erecting stones and lavishly embellished crosses, usually without any inscriptions.

XXV. Cross of the Scriptures in Clonmacnoise in Ireland.

The Cross of the Scriptures in Clonmacnoise in Ireland can serve as a good example. The Isle of Man can also boast of the numerous impressive crosses of elaborate workmanship without any inscriptions.

XXVI. The Dragon Cross in Kirk Michael Church, Isle of Man.

http://www.gov.im/mnh/heritage/story/Image.gov?id=3973

XXVII. Wheel-Headed Cross, Kirk Lonan.

http://farm3.staticflickr.com/2727/4115303943_6a74f05c4a_z.jpg

The incoming Norse settlers, exposed to the Celtic tradition of erecting crosses of diverse design, integrated it into Norse practise even changing an entrenched memorial runic formula in order to adapt to the new circumstances. ‘It is reasonable, therefore, to take it as Celticism introduced into Norse usage,

and so it gives coherence to the Manx examples – they employ a common Norse formula of commemoration, with a common Celtic variation of wording.'(Page 1995: 228-229)

Wilson maintains that slabs and crosses were carved on the island itself before the Scandinavians appeared there. Some were apparently influenced by Ireland. The most famous of these peaces is the crucifixion slab found on the Calf of Man (Rushen 61), dating back to the late 8th or 9th century. The iconography and ornamentation of this slab are of Irish origin. The presence of Ogam stones proves that there was non-runic literacy in Man from an early period, and that the ability to carve stone existed there in the pre-Viking age (Wilson 1983: 177-178). It is difficult to say when the first crosses were produced in the Isle of Man under Scandinavian patronage. It would, however, be very difficult to identify any Scandinavian sculpture dated earlier than the 10th century.

Thus, 'the Manx rune-stones indicate the conflation of two cultures, the indigenous Celtic and the incoming Norse. When the two nations came together, the Norse tradition was enriched by the Celtic, or the Celtic modified by the Norse, and hence the Manx runic memorial cross with its typical memorial formula.' (Page 1980: 222)

As was mentioned before, out of all Manx inscriptions there are just three rune-stones that deviate from this unique Manx formula. There are, of course, rune-stones containing the word 'cross' elsewhere, but my investigation shows that the word 'cross' in Scandinavian inscriptions is used in a completely different context.

The research method applied in order to come to terms with the usage of the formula was to review all the inscriptions containing the word 'cross' found in *Samnordisk runtextdatabas*. I have entered all possible variations of the word 'cross' – **krus**, **kros**, **kors** and **kus** – and found 29 runic inscriptions containing this word. It appeared that most of them are from the Isle of Man.

1) **krus** – 25 words in 24 inscriptions;

2) **kros** – 3 words in 3 inscriptions;

3) **kors** – 2 words in 2 inscriptions;
4) **kus** – 1 word in 1 inscription.

After close analysis of the usage of the word ‘cross’ in runic inscriptions, several different tendencies can be highlighted:
1. The word ‘cross’ usually stands at the end of the inscription. Its purpose is to place or transport the inscription to the Christian context. In other words, its function could be compared to that of the word ‘Amen’ at the end of prayers. A stone from Södermanland, Sweden, can serve as a good example:

Sö 227 (SR)
× rota × lit × hakua × mirki × þisa × iftiR × kaiRfast × boroþur × sin × mag × aubiarnaR × krus

Róta(?) lét hôggva merki þessi eptir Geirfast, bróður sinn, mág Eybjarnar/Auðbjarnar. Kross.
Róta(?) had these marks cut in memory of Geirfastr, his brother, Eybjôrn's/Auðbjôrn's kinsman-by-marriage. Cross.

The stone with the inscription was found at Sundby in the Sotholms area and dates from the Viking Age.

2. The second type of usage of the word ‘cross’, found elsewhere in Scandinavian runic inscriptions, is related to proverbs and prayers in Latin. However, these inscriptions are late and usually dated to the Middle Ages. In this case the word ‘cross’ is present not on rune-stones, but on various items such as a church bell, lead cross, a stick with runic inscription, sandstone font, etc. We have many examples of this kind of usage from Sweden, Denmark and Norway. For example, the inscription on the church bell from Hardeberga church in Skåne, Sweden, dated to the Middle Ages, reads:

DR 299 †M (ANRD)

[pær krusis ok sihnum : fgiaþ : prokul : omne : malihnum +]

Per crucis hoc signum fugiat procul omne malignum.
'With this sign of the cross will all evil flee far away.'

The most important inscriptions for this analysis should be the Norwegian ones, since most of the Vikings who came to the Isle of Man were Norwegian. There are some Norwegian examples of the second type of usage of the word 'cross', i.e. in connection with prayers and proverbs in Latin. One of the examples is the lead cross from Sande in Rogaland, which dates back to the 1200 or 1300 AD and another is a wooden amulet with a runic inscription from Bergen, which is dated ca. 1300 AD and contains a somewhat cryptic prayer. The second type of usage is not relevant to the Manx runic formula because these inscriptions are late.

3. The third type of usage of the word 'cross' is when the word constitutes a compound. These compounds are 'krossmessu' and 'krosskirkju' on **N 227** and **N A322** (SR). Both examples are from Norway. The first example is an inscription on wood in Klepp church, which probably dates back to ca. 1100 AD, and the second one is a fragment of a rib from Oslo, dated to ca. 1200 AD. However, the compounds are not relevant as comparative material to the Manx runic corpus.

The only Scandinavian example that corresponds to the Manx formula is an inscription in Svanøy church in Norway that dates to the Viking Age, around the year 1000 AD. Another important factor about this particular inscription is that runes are carved on the stone cross. Svanøy cross-slab is not decorated, but the form of the cross is so precise that it was probably raised on Christian ground (Johnsen 1968: 84).

XXVIII. Svanøy cross-slab, Norway.
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Olaf_cross_at_Svan%C3%B8y,_1912.jpg

The inscription reads:

N 417 (SR)

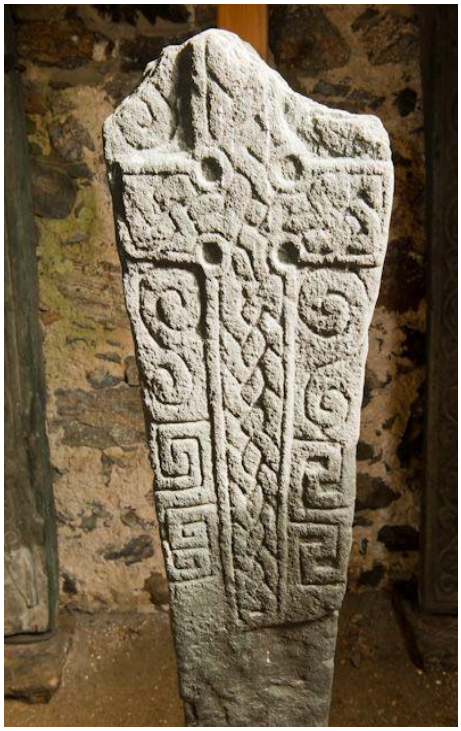
+ þur... lit raisa krus þina aft-- -----

Þór[ðr] lét reisa kross þenna ept[ir] ...

Thord let raise this cross after…

The artistic shape and the formula used on the stone reflects the Norse tradition of the western colonies of the North Atlantic rather than genuine Norwegian runic tradition.

Kilbar cross-slab on Barra in Scotland, preserved in the National Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh, is inscribed with runes and has been linked to the Manx rune-stones by various scholars. Even though this runic inscription contains the word 'cross', the formula differs from those of Manx rune-stones. 'The Kilbar cross-slab is a clear corroboration reached by onomastics, that a Norse-speaking society was established in Scotland.' (Jennings 1996: 69). This cross-slab, undoubtedly an expensive item, was erected in memory of a woman of high social class (Jennings 1996: 69) as were a few of the crosses in the Isle of Man.



XIX. The Kilbar cross-slab on Barra, Scotland.
http://www.britainexpress.com/images/attractions/editor/Cille-Bharra-2581-s.jpg

The inscription reads:

BR SC8 (SR)

I **]*ir : þur(:)kirþu : s(t)i * ar**

II **]*r (:)is(:)kurs:s**(:) ristr**

III]*(:)** (Barnes and Page 2006: 222)

‘Eptir Þorgerðu Steinar[s] (dóttu)r es kross sjá reistr.’

‘After Thorgerth Steinar’s daughter this cross is erected.’ (Olsen 1954: 175)

The interpretation of Olsen is generally accepted, but not the dating of the monument. Barnes and Page argued that it cannot be dated to the late Viking Age and thus identified as the model for the cross-slabs in the Isle of Man. Manx crosses were made somewhat after 900 AD and not around the year 900 as it was earlier claimed by Haakon Shetelig on art-historical grounds (Shetelig 1948: 78-80). Shetelig claimed that it is a crude copy of Scots cross-slabs. If it is ‘presumably the oldest runic memorial in the Norse settlements over in the West’ (Olsen 1954: 177), then the formula, though including the word ‘cross’ (in this inscription it is spelt **kurs**, which must be a metathesis of vowel /u/ and /r/), is rather unusual and in this form never used on Manx rune-stones. The formula used on the Barra cross-slab is much older than the formula used on Manx rune-stones. This type of purely memorial formula, where the sponsor is not mentioned and the deceased is placed in the centre, is, for example used on the famous Röksten in Sweden. Purely memorial formulas (‘after X is this cross raised’) as found on Barra cross-slab are found otherwise only in inscriptions in the older **Fuþark** and in the most archaic looking of those in the younger, conventionally dated 9th to early 10th centuries (Barnes & Page 2006: 227). However, the verb *reisa* (to raise) used in this formula is late Viking Age and the verb usually used in the archaic formula is *setja* (to place). If Kilbar cross-slab is as old as Olsen claims then its formula is close to the formula of Ogam inscriptions, which is usually purely memorial.

Olsen and Shetelig assumed an articulate affinity between the Manx cross-slabs and Killbar cross. Katherine Holman indicates that the Barra rune-stone and Manx rune-stones have three features in comon; similarity of lay-out, commemoration of the female and the use of a patronymic (Holman 1996: 205). However, such parallelism should not be taken to imply Man influence on Barra tradition or vice versa. Innovations in runic writing may have spread directly from Scandinavia to both places, or developed independently in both (Barnes & Page 2006: 231). Concerning the layout the parallelism between Barra and Manx inscriptions is doubtful, because Barra inscription covers, more or less, one face of the stone and the cross is found on the opposite side. The layout of Manx inscriptions is rather different. However, K. Holman mentions two other features – commemoration of a woman and patronymic *Steinarsdóttur* paralleled on German II, and the appearance of **krus** (**kurs**) in the inscription – which leaves no doubt about the connection between Kilbar and Manx traditions. It is often forgotten that the word *krus* in this type of formula appears on the inscriptions as late as the 9th century (apart from Kilbar on Barra it never appears in old memorial formula). It has been claimed that the usage of the word *krus* is perhaps a Gaelic rather than an island feature (Barnes, Hagaland & Page 1997: 54,78), but monuments like Iona IV (Barnes & Page 2006: 243-249) and Thurso I (Barnes & Page 2006: 237-43) prove that even if the cross is raised in memory of the deceased, it is not described as a cross, but as a stone. The same tendency is to be found in the runic inscriptions in Ireland, for example the Beginish stone in County Kerry. Even if the connection between Kilbar and Manx inscriptions is not direct, it indicates knowledge of each others traditions.

Inchmarnoc rune-stone from Buteshire in Scotland is also in the National Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh, and although just the upper part of it is preserved the formula is clearly the same as on the Manx crosses, with one exception:

SC 10 (SR)

. . . krus : þina : til : kuþl - - . .

. . . kross þenna til Guðl - - . .

. . . this cross after Gudl -

The inscription clearly has the sponsor formula, but the usage of the preposition **til** (to) in the sponsor formula is otherwise unknown. Usually the preposition **ept** or **eptir** (after) is used.

3.7.1 Summing up and conclusions of this section

The analysis of the inscriptions containing the word 'cross' in the Scandinavia and Celtic areas has revealed that except for one Norwegian inscription, N417, none of the other Scandinavian examples could have had any influence on the Manx formula, because the context of usage of the word 'cross' is completely different. Besides, some inscriptions are too late to have had any influence on the Manx corpus. The exception from Norway could not be the source of inspiration for Manx crosses and the usage of this certain formula, but it is possible that the Manx runic formula has been an inspiration for this single inscription in Norway. However, slightly different examples of the formulae from the Celtic area (e.g. Scotland) on the Scandinavian inscriptions may reveal knowledge of each other's traditions.

The presence of this new and unique rune-stone formula seems to be the symptom of the changed bilingual Celtic-Scandinavian population and a response to the social and economic changes caused by religious and political developments during the 10th and 11th centuries in the Isle of Man.

3.8 Rune-stones in the Isle of Man: the commemoration of women

Manx runic inscriptions from the Viking Age more frequently commemorate women, as compared with contemporary equivalents in Scandinavia.

According to the previous research by Sawyer, the stones raised in memory of women are extremely rare. “That the women (alone or together with men) were honoured with a rune-stone is nearly an exception if we evaluate runic material as a whole (7%)” (Sawyer 1992: 102). In Scandinavia 92.3% of all rune-stones were erected exclusively in memory of men, 4.2% exclusively in memory of women, and almost 3.5% in memory both of men and women. Female sponsors in the whole corpus of Scandinavian rune inscriptions constitute 12.5% and together with men 15%, often in widow and son combination but also in other constellations (Sawyer 1992: 101).

The explanation might be that Scandinavian women’s legal position as regards land and other property ownership in patrilineal Viking societies was lower than that of men. But even if inscriptions on stones are indicative of property claims and commemorate only those individuals who had full rights, the proportion of women commemorated still seems low (Sawyer 2000: 69). It is hard to decide why so few women were commemorated. Sawyer also suggests that if the male kinsmen were alive, they avoided the commemoration of women and sought to trace their rights to property along the patrimonial line. The difference in the proportions of commemorated and sponsoring women may reflect a change in woman’s rights of disposal in Scandinavia. But if such a change had indeed taken place, we would expect more rune-stones raised by female sponsors.

The situation in the Isle of Man is the opposite of that in Scandinavia. Of nearly thirty rune-stones in the Isle of Man there are at least eight (26.6%) – Andreas II, Bride, German II, Kirk Michael III, Kirk Michael V, Mughold IV, Mughold V and Onchan – that commemorate women. Women as sponsors are represented only once on Manx rune-stones, on Kirk Michael III. In the rest of inscriptions they are the deceased. On Manx rune-stones women are always commemorated alone, not along with men.

In various Scandinavian legal texts there is direct and indirect reference to women’s rights of inheritance and to disposition of property. However, this usually concerns dowry and personal, movable property or belongings. Rights

of inheritance were initially vested only in men (Åqvist 1989: 39). This is the case in the Icelandic *Grágás* 'Grey Goose Laws'; Swedish *Äldre Västgötalagen* 'The Older Västmanna Law' and *Dalalagen* 'The Law of Dalarna'; and Norwegian provincial law codes. After a wedding the woman's property belonged to and was administered by her spouse. In this aspect Early Irish law does not differ from the Scandinavian. According to Scandinavian law, spouses did not inherit from each other, but property could pass from one spouse to the other via their children: so called reverse inheritance (Sawyer 2000: 49).

The example of spouses commemorating each other should therefore imply that the surviving spouse claimed, among other things, his or her share of what had been jointly owned. Such joint ownership in marriage (Norwegian *félag*) is supposed to have been introduced to Scandinavia during the Viking Age and was regulated in all the provincial law codes. However, husbands commemorate their wives in only 2% of the inscriptions (Sawyer 2000: 59).

If a husband commemorated his wife, it was considered as a future claim to reverse inheritance. There are also regional differences in the distribution of the so-called spouse-stones. In total, there are only 36 Viking Age inscriptions in the Scandinavian runic corpus where a husband commemorates his wife. Outside the main rune-stone areas there are only four; in the East zone there are 13 (out of total of 1,100 inscriptions); while in the South/West there are 19 (of 594 – six in Denmark and just two in Norway) (Sawyer 2000: 62).

Even if almost all runic stones were manifestations of property rights or the right to inheritance, there were regional differences. Women are more represented as sponsors in Sweden than in Denmark and Norway. The female sponsors of rune-stones were widows, who after the death of their husbands were left with considerable wealth. As such, women who sponsored rune-stones alone (sole sponsors) were economically independent and thereby manifested their social and economic responsibility, rights of ownership and disposal and high status. It seems that in Denmark and Norway women did not achieve such a high status as in Sweden.

On the one hand, the runic inscriptions in the Isle of Man follow the South/West Scandinavian, especially the Norwegian, pattern. The proportion of women sponsors is low. There is only one inscription where a woman sponsor commemorates her foster son. However, the commemoration of the foster son is also unique to the corpus of Scandinavian runic inscriptions and will be discussed below. On the other hand, the number of women named as the deceased in the two extant Norwegian inscriptions is also low. In this respect the Manx inscriptions differ from the Norwegian ones, because fully seven of them commemorate a female deceased, even though the Isle of Man is such a limited territory. In five inscriptions a husband commemorates his wife, in one inscription a son commemorates his mother, and in one inscription a father commemorates his daughter.

What is the reason then for such a number of women being commemorated as the deceased in the Isle of Man? Ogam stones could not have been a factor, because Ogam inscriptions do not commemorate women (with only one exception in the whole corpus of Ogam inscriptions). Rather, my hypothesis is that more women were commemorated in the Isle of Man because of differences in Scandinavian and Celtic Law of the same period. After the death of male relatives, survivors would have had an interest in property otherwise falling into a woman's possession, and it was important to spell out this interest. It appears that in five out of eight examples a husband commemorates his wife. Again the number of this type of inscriptions is unusual compared to Scandinavia.

Inscriptions commemorating women in the Isle of Man:

1. **Andreas II** – the husband commemorates his wife (**kuinu sina**). Both names are Scandinavian: *Sandulfr hinn svarti + Arinbjǫrg*.

2. **Bride** – the husband commemorates his wife (**kunu si [n]**). The husband has a Celtic name, i.e. *Truian sonr Tufkals + Aþmiul* (Admiul is probably

Celtic and might be connected with an Old Irish noun *admolad* ‘act of praising/great praise’, but there are no other Irish proper names that would correspond to Admiul.

3. **German (Peel) II** – the husband commemorates his wife (**kunu sina**). The husband’s name is illegible + Scandinavian name – *Ás(t)ríð*.

4. **Maughold V** – the husband commemorates his wife (**kuina sina**). The husband’s name is probably Celtic; the wife’s name is not readable.

5. **Onchan** – the husband commemorates his wife (**[k]u[i]nu sina**). The husband’s name is illegible; the wife’s name, *Murkialu*, is probably Celtic, which may come from Old Irish Muirgeilt or Muirgheilt.

6. **Kirk Michael V** – the son commemorates his mother (**muþur sina**). The son’s name is illegible (*sonr Þórolfs hins rauða*); the wife has a Scandinavian name *Fríða*.

7. **Maughold IV** – the father commemorates his daughter (**tutur sina**). The father has a Scandinavian name, *Heðinn*; the daughter’s name is not known, but Olsen reconstructed it as Scandinavian *Hlífhildr* (Olsen 1954: 207).

8. **Kirk Michael III** – the foster mother commemorates her foster son (**fustra sine**). Both names are Celtic; *Malymkun*, reconstructed as Máel Lomchon, Malmury, reconstructed as Máel Muire.

The customs of inheritance in the Isle of Man during the Viking period are unknown. As there are no Manx legal texts from the Viking Age, the early Irish laws have provided the background for interpretation. The linguistic evidence shows that many texts were originally written in the 7th and 8th

centuries; they are well documented in manuscripts dated from the 14th to the 16th century.

In Manx runic inscriptions it is usually the husband that claims inheritance after the death of his wife. It is possible that the fusion of two cultures generated also legal difficulties, namely who is going to inherit after whom. In order to better understand the situation, it is necessary to focus on the position of women in early Irish society. The laws reveal a society in which a woman is generally without independent legal capacity. The Old Irish legal tract *Díre* defines the legal status of women under Irish law. It states that women do not have the same rights to exercise legal capacity as men: "her father has a charge over her when she is a girl, her husband when she is a wife, her sons when she is a [widowed] woman with children, her kin when she is a woman of the kin, the Church when she is a woman of the Church" (Thurneysen 1931: §38).

However, there were some exceptions to that principle. A woman could inherit a life-interest in land when her father had no sons. In this case she was called in Old Irish a *banchomarbae* 'femail heir' and – like any male land-owner – had the right to make formal legal entry into her rightful inheritance. If she married a landless man or a stranger from another *túath* (the legal texts indicate that the basic territorial unit is the *túath,* 'tribe/petty kingdom'), the normal roles of husband and wife are reversed: she makes the decisions and pays his fines and debts. After her death, the property of a *banchomarbae* normally reverts to her own kin and does not pass to her husband and sons (Kelly 1988: 76). But if her husband is an alien, e.g. a Briton – who would have no land in the *túath* – she is entitled to pass on property to her son (Kelly 1988: 104).

Another case, in which paternal kin had no responsibility for children (i.e. responsibility was assumed by the maternal kin), concerned another type of outsider; *cú glas,* literally the Old Irish for 'grey dog/wolf', a term applied to an exile from overseas. Most references to the *cú glas* deal with the legal consequences of his marriage to the woman of the *túath*. Being an outsider, he had no legal status of his own. He had no *lóg n-enech* (usually translated from

Old Irish as ‘honour-price’ or ‘the price of the face’). The ‘honour-price’ was the measure of a person’s status and had to be paid for any major offence committed against him. If the union of a *cú glas* and a local woman was recognized by the woman’s kin, the *cú glas* was entitled to half of his wife’s ‘honour-price’. But in any case he was not allowed to make any legal actions without his wife’s permission and was not responsible for rearing of the children (Kelly 1988: 6). Since according to early Irish law the husband could not inherit from his deceased wife, it is possible that men in the Isle of Man were using the Scandinavian law.

Though the legal status of women in Scandinavian and Celtic law seems to be roughly the same, there is one main difference: according to Celtic law the part of the property of a woman after her death was **always** returned to her family, **except** when her husband was an alien, i.e. not from the same *tuath* (then the property went to her son); whereas according to Scandinavian law, the husband could inherit via their mutual children (reverse inheritance). It is then possible, that according to Scandinavian law, even Celtic husbands, who otherwise would not be able to inherit from their wives via the children, saw their chance to get the share of the deceased wife’s property and honoured their wives with the rune-stone. This would explain why in some inscriptions both the spouse and the sponsor of the rune-stone, as well as the commemorated wife, have Celtic names. Why did a husband with the Celtic name claims inheritance from his deceased wife also with the Celtic name as in the Bride inscription? If the wife was of Scandinavian origin, her Celtic husband may have seen an excellent opportunity to inherit after her via their children. The same held if the sponsor of the runic inscription was the son, who also had to claim his inheritance from a deceased mother. Kirk Michael V is such an example. Maybe it was one of the ways to claim property which belonged to kin on the wife’s side, who sometimes was not of Scandinavian origin, and thus appealed to different laws.

The runic inscription Kirk Michael III, where the foster mother commemorates her foster son, is unique in the runic tradition. The only

example of female sponsorship in a stone commemorating a foster son, Kirk Michael III, shows that the foster mother claims inheritance after her foster child (**fostra**). It is almost certain that it was the foster son and not the foster daughter, because the second part of the inscription says: *Betra es leifa fóstra góðan en son illan* 'Better it is to leave a good foster son than a bad son'.

Various literary and legal sources reveal that fosterage was widespread in early Irish society. Children were sent to foster parents at an early age. In the Irish language the importance of this institution is illustrated by certain linguistic phenomena. In most Indo-European languages the words for 'mother' and 'father' have intimate forms, used particularly in childhood. By contrast, in Old Irish the intimate forms have been transferred to the foster parents. Thus *muimme* is used not of the mother, but of the foster mother. Similarly, the usual word for foster father is *aite*, which reflects an intimate form attributed to the father in other Indo-European languages.

The laws distinguish two types of fosterage: for affection and for a fee. If the fosterage is for a fee, the fee for a girl is higher than for a boy. In cases where a minor's relatives are dead, the foster father may be solely responsible for him/her. An Old Irish gloss on *Cáin Aicillne* 'law of base client-ship' refers to *óenchiniud*, literally 'solitary offspring' who has no living kinsmen, but only the foster father by whom he/she is reared. In such cases the property of the deceased foster-daughter or foster-son would go to the foster father (Kelly 1988: 86-88). In *Corpus Iuris Hibernici* it is clearly indicated that after the death of a foster son, the foster father gets one third of his 'honour-price' (Binchy 1978: 440).

The All-Nordic Rune Database has two Viking Age examples where the rune-stone is raised either for the foster son, foster father or foster brother, and one where the rune stone is raised either for foster mother, foster daughter or foster sister. All of them are from Sweden. The first two are from Uppland: U163 and U204 (RS). In U163 the word *fustra* is carved differently, namely **fusra**. The second part of inscription U163 from Sweden reads:

...auk × kamal × iftiʀ × fusra sin f-str × iaʀk

...ok Gamall eptir fóstra sinn. ...f[a]str hjó

… and Gamall in memory of his foster father. ...-fastr cut.

The Old Norse word *fóstra* (masculine singular accusative) might have various meanings: ‘foster father’, ‘foster son’ or ‘foster brother’. In this case it is not clear which one is meant. The inscription U204 contains the word *fóstrsonr*, carved **fostrsun** (*fóstrson* masculine singular accusative) ‘foster son’ (Peterson 2006: 15).

The form used in the Vg13 inscription is carved **stro** (*fóstru*) (feminine singular accusative) meaning either ‘foster daughter’, ‘foster -mother’ or ‘foster sister’:

Vg13

× þorir × skuba × risti stin : þikno : iftir ÷ kitil × sun : sin :× auk × (u)ftir : olaf × stro : sino ×

Þórir Skorpa reisti stein þenna eptir Ketil, son sinn, ok eptir Ólǫf, fóstru sína

Thórir Rusk raised this stone in memory of Ketill, his son, and in memory of Ólǫf, his foster mother/foster daughter.

There are no Viking Age inscriptions in Norway commemorating a foster son or a foster daughter. The context in Scandinavian runic inscriptions naming **fostra** or **fostrsun** is slightly different from the Manx inscription. In the inscriptions from Uppland they are commemorated along with other relatives and only U204 commemorates the foster son alone. There are two other inscriptions containing the word **fostra/fustra** (oblique case from weak masculine noun *fóstri*) which date from the Viking Age. One of them is from Södermanland in Sweden and another one is from Denmark:

Sö 97

asgautr : raisti : stin : þena : ... ...(r)(l) : faþur : sin × fostra : arna
Ásgautr reisti stein þenna ... ..., fôður sinn, fóstra Árna.

Ásgautr raised this stone ... ... his father, Árni's foster son.

DR 125

tufi : kitu : sun : sati : … …i : filaka : sin : fustra : þurknus
Tófi Geddu sonr setti … … félaga sinn, fóstra Þorgnýs.

Tófi Gedda's son placed ... ... , his partner, Þorgnyr's foster son.

The first stone Sö 97 is raised for the father who happened to be the foster brother/foster father/foster son of Árni. But the inheritance is claimed after the father, not after the foster brother/foster father/foster son. In the second inscription DR 125 the property is claimed after the partner, who also is someone's foster son, but not directly from the foster son.

Thus, the Manx inscription Kirk Michael III is different, because there the inheritance is claimed by the woman (foster mother) after her foster son. This might be explained by the broader legal context of the early Irish law and the widespread tradition of fostering in general. In the Isle of Man the property of the foster son could be claimed by the foster mother, which according to Scandinavian law was impossible.

3.8.1 Summing up and conclusions of this section

The higher number of women and especially wives commemorated in the runic inscriptions in the Isle of Man may depend on the difference between Old Irish and Old Norse law. The bringing of the legal material into analysis sheds a new light on the peculiar function of the Manx rune stones. The runic stones in the Isle of Man may have had a legal role and the commemoration of the deceased could have represented a claim to the deceased person's inheritance. The difference in legal systems may have created a convenient loophole for Celtic husbands, who under the Irish law could not claim the inheritance after

their deceased wives, as the property had to be returned to their kin. Since fosterage was a widespread phenomenon in early Irish culture, there was also a possibility for the foster mother to claim inheritance from a deceased foster son. According to Old Norse law, it was unusual for a woman to claim inheritance from persons who were not closely related.

3.9 Celtic and Scandinavian names in the inscriptions: proportion and features

There are 44 names in the Manx inscriptions. Some of these names are used repeatedly on several rune stones, thus the frequency of occurrence of names is higher. Three-fourths of them are identified as Norse and one-fourth as Irish (Table 1). Among them 37 names appear to be male and seven, female (Table 2). However, in several cases the unusual grammatical forms and damage to the inscription hinder the identification of male and female names. These cases will be discussed separately. There are also three names of Celtic Saints.

Table 1

Total Number of Names	Norse Names	Irish Names
44	33	11

Table 2

Male Names		Female Names	
36		8	
29 Norse	7 Irish	4 Norse	4 Irish

3.9.1 Celtic names

Celtic names in Scandinavian runic inscriptions in the Isle of Man often contain the element *Mael*. ‘When in due course the Irish decided to honour the saints and invoke their blessing by naming children after them there arose the practice of prefixing to a saint’s name, in the genitive form, an element, such

as *Mael* ‘tonsured one’ (rather translated as ‘a devotee’) or *Gilla* ‘servant’, to form a loose compound, thus *Mael Eóin*, *Mael Maire*, *Mael Míchíl*, *Mael Sechnaill*, *Gilla Brigte*, *Gilla Ciaráin*, *Gilla Pátraic* and *Gilla Usaille.*’ (Ó Cuív 1988: 79)

Kirk Michael III contains two instances of Celtic names with the element *Mael* – **mal lymkun** and **mal mury**. ‘Mallymkun and Malmury are troublesome because we do not know the sex of these characters. The names could be either male or female since the first element is the Celtic word for ‘servant’, and a servant could be of either sex. The Celtic sources that supply us with examples of personal names are sex-biased, having more male than female citations.’ (Page 1995: 235)

It cannot be denied that the Old Irish word *mael* could be of either sex, i.e. both masculine and feminine. The first meaning of the word is ‘crop-headed, shorn’, and by extention ‘bald’. It could also mean ‘tonsured’ when used about a priest. *Dictionary of the Irish language* (DIL) indicates that *Mael* was ‘largely used in the formation of masculine proper names (rarely feminine).’ (Dictionary of the Irish Language 1990: 449) *Mael* is largely used followed by the genitive of a proper name. In this case the word should be translated not as ‘servant’ or ‘slave’ but rather as ‘devotee’. This meaning of the word ‘received its chief development after the introduction of Christianity, generally in combination with names of saints (in this connection the meaning ‘tonsured’ may have been implied; it is ocasionally glossed in Latin as *calvus* ‘bare, bald’).’ (Dictionary of the Irish Language 1990: 449)

As *Mael* was mostly used in the formation of proper names, it is important to identify the second element of the name *Mallymkun*, which has baffled Celtic scholars, though earlier commentators chiefly equated it with the name *Lomchu*. David Dumville first identified the second element of this name as *Lomchon*, the genitive form of the name *Lomchu* (*Lommchú*), recorded as that of a disciple of St. Patrick (O’Hanlon 1875: 151). This identification is plausible because the cult of St. Patrick was established in the Isle of Man. His name is mentioned in the runic inscription on Maughold II along with the

names of the other two Celtic saints. Besides, the name *Lomchú* occurs twice in Irish martyrologies in connection with the unidentified church in Ulster *Ceall Lomchon* / 'Lomchú's Church' and is not attested elsewhere. Both entries, *Félire hÚi Gormáin The Martyrology of Gorman* (Stokes 1895: 12) and *The Martyrology of Donegal* (Todd & Reeves 1864: 10) read: *Lommchu*, gl. *o Chill Lomchon i n-Ultoibh* 'Lomchu, of the Church of Lomchu in Ulster'. The Isle of Man and Ulster in Ireland had an intense connection. Thus, the name *Mael Lomchon* / 'Devotee of Lomchu' reached the Isle of Man and was transformed into *Mallymkun* of the Scandinavian inscription. However, the name *Mael Lomchon* with the lement *Mael* has not been attested in the Irish sources.

As was mentioned earlier, the element *Mael* is used in masculine proper names, but it also occurs in female names. In the inscription of Kirk Michael III, a woman acts as a sponsor of the monument and she is described later as Dufgal's daughter, foster mother of Malmury and wife of Aðísl so it would probably be correct to identify *Mallymkun* as a female character.

'*Malmury'* (Kirk Michael III) has been identified as a female and translated as 'servant of Mary'. I disagree with this interpretation. The second element of the proper name is certainly Old Irish *Muire*, later form of *Maire* (Mary). As is clear from the discussion above concerning the first element of the name, the whole name should be read as *Mael Muire* and translated not as 'servant of Mary', but as 'devotee of Mary'. Here I am indebted to Kevin Murray, who claims that according to the statistics, this proper name for female was used rarely in Ireland and in general it began to be used for women at a later date, as devotees of Mary in Ireland traditionally have been males. Thus this name could be masculine. The Irish name *Mael Muire* is also used in Scandinavian sources. A man named Melmare, brother of King Malcolm of Scotland, and father of Earl Maddaðr, is documented in *Orkneyinga Saga*, Chapter 66, which was written down ca. 1200 (Craigie 1897: 449).

The same name is also found with three other Irish names written in Ogam on the Ballyspellan silver pennanular brooch found in County Kilkenny,

Ireland, and dated to about the 9th century (Macalister 1945: No. 27), which seems to have belonged to a man. However, Mael Maire occurs twice as a woman's name in *The Annals of the Four Masters*. In one of the cases the female Gaelic name Mael Maire was also in use in the aristocratic Viking family where the Irish high-king Mael Sechlainn had as wife a daughter of Amlaíb Cuarán with such a name, her death in 1021 is noted in the *The Annals of the Four Masters*.

Another argument in favour of *Mael Muire* as a male character lies in the fact that the Kirk Michael III runic inscription matches the second runic inscription on the same stone, which is not problematic and reads: 'It is better to leave behind a good foster-son than a bad son.' However, there is a slight possibility that *Mael Muire* was a female character, especially when we take into consideration the second part of the first inscription. Palm claims that both the beginning and the end of the second inscription sound like a proverb or a phraseological unit and it might be the reason for its preservation in initial grammatical form (Palm 2004: 72). If it is a proverb it must be Scandinavian because such a proverb is not found in the Old Irish material.

The third name with an element *Mael*, **Mailbrikti**, is found in the Kirk Michael II runic inscription. The second element is a proper name of the Irish saint, *Brigit* (genitive singular *Brigte*), the whole name meaning 'devotee of Saint Brigit' and is undoubtedly a male name. Devotees of St. Brigit in Ireland have traditionally been male, as with devotees of Mary. The name is very common in Ireland and occurs 22 times in *The Annals of the Four Masters*.

The full name of the sponsor of Kirk Michael II is **mail:brikti:sunr:aþakans:smiþ**. The second name **aþakans** (Kirk Michael II) is probably the Irish *Adagán*, which is rather unusual in Irish manuscripts. The name can probably be connected with the Old Irish word *adaig,*. 'night'+ diminutive suffix *-an* meaning 'a little dark one'. The name occurs, spelled differently, five times in *The Annals of the Four Masters*. It goes well with 'Smith', the eke-name or cognomen that indicates his craft or profession. The ON word *smiðr* 'smith' was used for a worker in hard material, such as a

blacksmith, carpenter or stone-mason (Olsen 1954: 211), but as a byname it is rather unusual (Lind 1920-1921: 342). If we translate the entire name **mail:brikti:sunr:aþakans:smiþ**, it implies that at least two generations had Celtic names.

Another clearly Celtic name used twice in the inscriptions is Tufkals (*tufkal*) (Kirk Michael III), as is the name tufkal. The first syllable 'tuf' can be compared with other popular Irish names of the same period: Duf-an, Duf-gus, Duf-bakr (Stokes 1876: 187). The Old Irish form of tufkal is *Dubgall*. This word is common in early Irish manuscripts, but it usually occurs as an appellative, not as a proper name. It is a compound made up of two words: an adjective *dub* meaning 'black, swarthy, dark' and *gall* meaning 'stranger, foreigner'. The word *dubgall* thus means 'black foreigner' or 'Dane', the opposite to *findgall*, i.e. 'white foreigner' or 'Norwegian'. The word *dubgen(n)te* used in the plural means 'black heathens' or 'Danes'. For example, an entry in *The Annals of Ulster* for the year 850 refers to the arrivals of Vikings to Dublin: *tetacht dubgennti du Ath Cliath*.

Although the name was not borrowed from Scandinavian it has associations with the Vikings. Yet the only occurrence of this personal connection with a Viking is in the list of those killed in the battle of Clontarf, where Dubghall mac Amlaim is named among the foreigners in *The Annals of Ulster* 1014. In contrast to this, the name *dubgall* is used in an Irish context as far back as the beginning of the 10th century (Ó Cuív 1988: 83).

The runic inscription reflects the pronunciation of the Celtic name, not its written form, because instead of using the rune **b**, the rune-carver uses the rune ***f***, the sound value of which in this case is /v/. Consequently, the Scandinavians could pronounce it correctly. Old Norse ***f*** represents the infected Old Irish ***b*** and appears also in the name *Dyf-linn* (in *Landnámabók*) from *Dub-linn*. The name is also found in the Icelandic sagas, e.g. Dufgall, son of Sumarliði in *Orkneyinga saga*.

Another Celtic name is **krinais** (Braddan I), used here in the genitive. The Old Irish form of the name is Krínán. The Celtic name used in this

inscription is not common in Irish manuscripts. The Old Irish word *crín* means ‘withered; old, decrepit’. Together with a diminutive suffix *-án* the proper name would mean ‘a little old one’. Olsen suggested that the grammatical form **krinais** reflects the written form of the Old Irish genitive *Crínain* + Old Norse genitive ending *-s*. The Irish genitive Crínáin is believed to have been pronounced /ān/, with palatal *n*, and without the preceding *i* being heard. There is also an opinion that a branch of the rune **n** has been forgotten and that it should really have been inscribed **k(r)inans** (Johnsen 1968: 227).

There are also syntactic difficulties reading the inscription. According to Olsen, caution is necessary in regard to Braddan I. There, it is true, we find an Irish name, but the inversion-compound does not open the inscription: *Þorsteinn reisti kross þenna ept Ófeig* **sun : krinais**. As the father’s name is not attached to Thorsteinn, a possibility exists that, in the phrase placed in apposition to the name of the deceased, there is an indication, that Thorstein is only a half-brother of Ofeig, and not himself a son of Crínan (Olsen 1954: 228).

The name of **Þorleif**’s son **fiak** (Braddan IV) indicates that **Þorleifr** was married to an Irish woman. The Old Irish proper name ***Fíacc*** was very popular in Ireland and probably comes from the word *fiach* meaning ‘raven’.

All names in the Bride inscription are Celtic; **[t]ruian** Druian, **[t]ufkals** Dubgalls and **aþmiul** Admiul. Druian is probably Celtic formed from the Old Irish word *druí*, i.e. ‘druid, magician, poet’ + the diminutive suffix *-an*, the whole word probably meaning ‘little poet; magician’. ‘This name *Truian* is preserved in that of a Quarterland adjoining the church, still known as Glentruan.’ (Kermode 1907: 109) The second name Dubgall has already been discussed; it is found on Kirk Michael III as **tufkals**. It seems that this name was popular in the Isle of Man. The female name **aþmiul** is uncertain, but it must be Celtic because it does not correspond to any Scandinavian female proper name. Admiul is probably connected with the Old Irish noun *admolad* meaning ‘act of praising; great praise’. However, there are no other Irish proper names that would correspond to *Admiul*.

Another female name **murkialu** in the Conchan inscription is especially interesting. The Old Irish equivalent is Muirgeilt. The name occurs in *The Annals of Ulster* under the year 571, which reported in Latin *in hoc anno capta est in muirgheilt* 'that year the mermaid was caught' (Hull 1952: 107-108). Muirgeilt means 'a sea-lunatic/a sea-fugitive/a sea-wanderer', a term applied to the mermaid, Lí Ban, rare as a name, but used as an appellative. Lí Ban is a sister of the Celtic sea-goddess, Fand, and probably a sea deity herself. She appears in the Irish tale *Serglige Con Culainn* 'The Wasting Sickness of Cú Chulainn', first as a sea bird and then as an avenging goddess. The name also occurs in Icelandic *Landnámabók* 2, 16 as Myrgjǫl, daughter of Gljómal, an Irish king *hon var margkunnandi. Hon varðveitti barn drottningar óborit, meðan hon var í laugu* 'she was knowledgeable. She preserved the unborn child of the queen while she was bathing.' (Jakob Benediktsson 1968: 138) It is curious that in this passage, set in the Irish context, she is also connected with water. The names of the Celtic saints **malaki baþrik aþanman** have been discussed in 3.6.2.

3.9.2 Scandinavian names

Scandinavian proper names are also unusual, especially the female ones. Our knowledge of Old Norse female names is incomplete, so it is not surprising that a runic inscription presents us with some hitherto unknown ones, for example, the name **arin biaurk**, probably ON Arinbjǫrg, in Andreas II.

The female name **friþu** in Kirk Michael V is an accusative case of ON name Fríða, probably from the ON adjective *fríðr* 'beautiful' in the original sense of 'beloved'. It has been attested in Denmark as Fritha and Swedish as Fridha (NR). However, in runic inscriptions it has been attested only in the Isle of Man. The case in Ög160 (SR) is dubious. Another female name **lif....** in Maughold IV has been reconstructed by Olsen as *Hlíf[hildi]*. A woman's name *Hlífhildr* is otherwise unknown. The initial *h* is absent from **lif** as in other male names, for example, **roskitil** in Braddan II and **rumun[nt]** in Michael IV

(Olsen 1945: 207). According to Marstrander, it is an inherent phonetical feature of the inscriptions found in the Celtic territories that *h* is missing in front of *l, m* and *n* (Marstrander 1915: 307).

The Scandinavian name **asriþi,** ON Ás(t)ríði (Ástríðr), in German II has been well attested in runic inscriptions from Sweden. It appears in Old Danish as Estrith, and in Old Swedish as Astridh. The first element, *Ás- Æs-*, may be derived from ON *ást* 'love, affection'. However, this has been recently called into question. It is possibble that the first element has been derived from *-Áss*, ON 'pagan god'. The second element is *-fríðr* 'beautiful'. Both German inscriptions seem to be written in impeccable Norse and contain only Scandinavian names.

'Among the Norse male names one is struck by the number of compounds of the god's name ***Þór***. In all there are seven persons, or almost a fourth, of the Norse men's names. By way of comparison it may be mentioned that in the index to *Landnámabók* (Finnur Jónsson 1925) personal name compounds of **Þór** take up almost 30 of 128 columns, thus about 32%.' (Olsen 1954: 231) One can say that the Scandinavian-Celtic community in the Isle of Man developed not only a special style of rune-stones, but also special proper names.

þurulfs hins rauþa Þórolfs hins rauða (Kirk Michael V)
þur[ ] steinn Þorsteinn (Braddan I)
þ[u].... Þorbjorn
þurlibr nhakki Þorleifr hnakki (Braddan IV)
þurualtr Þorvaldr (Andreas III)
þurb... (Jurby)
þurbiaurn Þorbjorn (Marown)

Bynames, or nicknames, are popular in the Manx corpus. There are five male names accompanied by the byname, if we treat 'Iuan the priest' as a byname. If the person had a blemish or part of his body was somehow

misshapen, it often became a reason for giving him a byname or, rather, nickname (Lind 1920-1921: 9). Nicknames described physical, mental or moral characteristics of the bearer. Many were derogatory and others were ironic.

Thorleif hnakki (i.e. nape). *Hnakki* appears as a byname in Västergötland, Torin 64 (Leksberg) **iftr** x **oa[li]b** x **naka**; and in Torin 53 in the same parish appears its older form *hnaki*. Both **Hnaki** and **Hnakki** appear in Norwegian place names, e.g. **Nakkastadir** *BJ* 26, now Nakstad in Mosviken and **Nakka rud** *EJ* 101, now Nakkerud in Hole (Lind 1920-1921: 150). However, it was also used in the Irish context. The nickname Hnokkan is attested in *Landnámabók* (Finnur Jónsson 1925: 274-275; 367) in an Irish context. It is a nickname of Áskell Dufþakson or Dofnaksson and it probably comes from the Old Irish *cnocán* meaning 'mound, hill'. The Irish word explains the nickname better. It probably means 'hump/hunchback', which was later identified with Old Norse *hnaki*. Hnaki is also used as a proper name in *Landnámabók* (Finnur Jónsson 1925: 140). **Sant ulf hin suarti** /Sandulfr hinn svarti, **[k]rims ins suarta** Grímr hinn svarti, **þurulfs hins rauþa** Þórolfr hinn rauði and **iuan brist** Iuan prestr were other popular nicknames in Scandinavia.

The name Sandulfr has not been attested elsewhere in Scandinavia (NR). The first element derives from ON *Sand-* 'sand' and the second element is the widely attested *-ulfr*. The name Grímr has been also been widely attested in runic inscriptions in Sweden. However, in Old Danish and in Old Swedish it is usually found as a byname (NR). The name probably comes from ON *grímr* 'person who wears a mask', from Old Norse *gríma* 'face mask' or from the Old Norse adjective *grimmr* 'grim, cruel, atrocious'.

Aþisl Aðísl is the only Scandinavian name found in a company of three Celtic names in the Kirk Michael III inscription. The name is unusual and is found only in Uppland, Sweden, and Denmark (Palm 2004: 71). The name Ófeigr **[t]ufaik** (Andreas I) and **ufaak** is used twice and is a popular Scandinavian name well attested both in *Landnámabók* (Finnur Jónsson 1925) and Scandinavian runic inscriptions. However, it is usually found as a byname

and is derived from the ON adjective *úfeigr* / 'not fey, not doomed, one who will live a long life' (NR). The name Iórulfr (Hiörulfr) has not been well attested. It appears once in a runic inscription in the accusative form **iurulf** G110B. The initial form of the name is Hiörulfr and it is probably the same name as in the Istaby stone (600) **hAeruwulafiR**. The initial *h* is absent as in other Scandinavian names in the Celtic area.

The other two names in which the initial *h* is dropped are Hrossketill **roskitil** in Braddan II and Romund **rumun[nt]** in Michael IV. The name Hrómundr with initial *h* has been well attested in *Landnámabók* (Finnur Jónsson 1925) and in runic inscriptions with and without the initial *h*. In Old Swedish it occurs as Romund. The initial form of the name was Hróðmundr. The first element *Hróð-* derives from ON *hróðr* 'praise, fame' (< proto-Scandinavian *hróþiR) and the second element *-mundr* derives from ON *mundr* 'mind'. The name Hrossketill **roskitil** is unique and does not apper elsewhere in Scandinavia. The first element is ON *hross* 'horse' and the second element, *-kæ(ti)ll*, is derived from ON *ketill* 'kettle-helm, helmet' (NR). The name Ásröðr **asruþr**, although not unique, is rare in Scandinavian runic inscriptions.

The name **fra[k[a** Frakki probably means 'Frank'. It appears in Norwegian place names and corresponds to the Anglo-Saxon *Franca* (Brate 1907: 29).

The names **utr** Oddr **uts** Odds (used two times), **habrs** Hafrs Hafr 'bock', **kaut** Gautr **kautr** Gautr (used two times), **biarnar** Bjarnar Bjarni, **heþin** Heðinn and **arni** Arni occur in *Landnámabók* (Finnur Jónsson 1925). Hafr is also found as a byname and is derived from ON *hafr* 'buck, he-goat'. Likewise, Gautr is found as a byname and appears in the singular and the plural. ON *gautar* means 'inhabitant of Götland, Götlander'.

The two names **ulb** Ulf and **aulaibr liutulbsunr** Áleifr Ljótolfssonr deserve special attention.

Both are Scandinavian, though Áleifr is rare in Scandinavian runic inscriptions. The use of *b* in **ulb**, **aulaibr** and **liutulbsunr** is unusual, because **ulfr** is

expected. The orthography may reflect the v-sound (Brate 1907: 83), since *b* was pronounced as *v* in Old Irish, e.g. *dub* 'black', *tabair* 'give', *labraithir* 'she speaks'. In the Old Irish text, *Tochmarc Emere* 'The Wooing of *Emer'* (Meyer 1890), there is a name Ulbecán (Saxa), which is generally interpreted as an Irish rendering of Anglo-Saxon hypocoristic Wulf (Scandinavian Ulfr).

Shetelig, in his chronology of Manx rune-stones, divided them into four groups dated on stylistic grounds (Shetelig 1947: 100). Olsen added a fifth group, namely inscriptions which cannot be dated on stylistic grounds (Olsen 1954: 229).

The first group is dated ca. 930-950 AD. It contains three inscriptions with Celtic names: Michael II, Braddan I and Bride. The second group does not contain any inscriptions with Celtic names. The third group is dated ca. 980-990 AD. It contains one inscription with a Celtic name: Braddan IV. The fourth group does not contain any inscriptions with Celtic names. The fifth group contains two inscriptions with Celtic names, Conchan and Michael III. Here we should also add Maughold II, which is seen to be later than other Manx inscriptions, but it contains three names of Celtic saints.

Page gives a new Andreas example, which supplies one more case, but with a difference. For the wife commemorated on the Andreas I stone it is easy to find a Norse equivalent, such as *Tofa*, while no Celtic name suits the context. The men's names are harder. The only Scandinavian name that fits the genitive *m…ns* (with the third rune either *u* or *r*) seems to be some spelling of *Marteinn*, and is in the post-Viking Age in both Norway and Iceland. On the other hand, Old Irish could supply such names as *Marcán, Martan, Mercán,* and *Mercón*. The first masculine name of the inscription **…ban** could also be Irish, for *-án* is a common diminutive ending, as in *Dubán*. A Welsh name may also be possible in the Manx context, perhaps some spelling of Old Welsh *Mermin*, a name recorded early in Man. The son's name could then be Old Welsh *Urban*. Names do not clearly indicate race, but there is a likelihood of a Norse woman marrying a Celtic man, while hitherto we have had Norse-named men marrying Celtic-named women (Page 1980: 222).

If Shetelig's chronology is correct, we can see a continuity of the strong and vibrant Scandinavian-Celtic community from 930 AD. Actually, we have most Celtic names in the first phase of contact from 930 to 950 AD. Then diminution of Celtic names is observable and finally we see them make a come back, along with pride in their tradition, towards the end of contacts with the Vikings, because most of the bilingual Ogam rune-stones come from this period.

3.9.3 Summing up and conclusions of this section

Judging by the proper names in Manx rune-stones, the families that raised them were multilingual and clearly influenced by both Celtic and Scandinavian cultures. There are different types of families commemorated in the rune-stones, but most of them may have been mixed. Some Celtic names found in the Isle of Man were not used in Ireland or used as appellatives. Names like *Dubgall* 'a black Viking' and *Druian* 'a little druid' are unique for the Isle of Man and reflect the new mixed tradition. Most Scandinavian names are popular in Scandinavia, but there are a number of them that are unique to Manx corpus. Scandinavian female names are also unusual. The diversity of unusual Celtic and Scandinavian names and their combinations on the rune-stones reveal a unique development of cultural patterns in the Isle of Man.

3.10 Morphology

The Manx runic inscriptions are more or less comprehensible to the rune-reader. However, many unorthodox features complicate the reading, including muddled grammar. For example, the majority of the inscriptions, even those commissioned by or commemorating peoples with Gaelic names, are in flawless Norse, but a few exhibit unorthodox grammatical forms, so that the sense is impaired. While examining the Manx runic inscriptions it is important to have in mind the possibility of Irish influence.

Marstrander (1937), Olsen (1954) and Page (1983) examined the grammatical and syntactical variability in Manx runic corpus. Marstrander indicated inconsistent linguistic features as contact-induced changes due to the influence of the Celtic language. However, he argued that the lack of grammatical precision was induced by the rune-carvers of the Isle of Man, who were isolated and less confident in Scandinavian rune-carving tradition. This presumption should be rejected because many Manx inscriptions are written in inerrable Norse. Another argument for the contact-induced changes is that the Norse in runic inscriptions in Anglo-Scandinavian England also shows loss of inflection and confusion of grammatical gender (Page 1995: 187). Olsen, who analyzed Viking Age Norwegian inscriptions, argued for the influence of Celtic language.

The Manx runic corpus reveals contact-induced language changes. A pair of languages in contact may exhibit results of linguistic effects that reflect imperfect learning. Among the unorthodox morphological features in Manx Scandinavian is the nominative of strong masculine nouns. Some of them have lost the ending *-r* (*sąntulf* Andreas II, *kaut* Kirk Michael II, *[k]rim* Kikr Michael IV). However, in the majority of runic inscriptions inflectional *-r* is retained (*kautr*, *sunr* Andreas I, *þurualtr* Andreas III, *ąulaibr, liutulbsunr* Ballaugh, *utr* Braddan III, *þurlibr* Braddan IV, *su(n)r* Bride, *ąsruþr* German I, *sunr* Kirk Michael II, *sunr* Kirk Michael V, *sikuþr* Maughold IV, *sunr* Maughold V, *sunr* Onchan). Kirk Michael II has two different forms in the same inscription, *sunr* where the inflectional *-r* is retained, and *kaut*, where it is lost. The ending *-r* is also missing in the later Maughold inscriptions I and II *brist* (Page 1983: 142).

A feature of the receiving language may be lost without replacement as a result of interference, but the feature may be only partly lost or only partly replaced. Scandinavian, as the recipient language, has lost an ending *-r*, because Old Irish never has an ending *-r*, and the trigger for this change is found in the influence of Old Irish. It is an interference from Celtic morphology, since Old Irish does not signal the difference between nominative

and accusative in its o-stem nouns. There were a few classes of nouns in Old Irish where the nominative ended in a consonant, and where no additional syllable was added in genitive, dative and accusative or in dative and accusative. The loss of the inflectional *-r* in the Manx runic inscriptions is also observed in words whose stems in Old Norse ended in consonants. Hence, in certain groups or circles of people disintegrating influences may have set in early, as a result of which the nominative ending *-r* of the Norse inflectional system came to be regarded as superfluous (Olsen 1954: 224).

Scandinavian masculine names, with stems ending in consonats borrowed into Old Irish, also reflect the loss of inflectional *-r*, e.g. *Ulb* (ON *Úlfr*), *Amlaíb* (ON *Óláfr*), *Ragnall* (ON *Ragnvaldr*). The same contact induced loss of the inflectional *-r* also appears in runic inscription found in Killaoe, Ireland, where the name *þurkrim* has no expected *-r*.

It seems that by analogy this feature is also transplanted on feminine nouns. Onchan inscription contains a feminine name *þuriþ* instead of the expected *þuriþr*. The same inscription also contains the word *krist* instead of the expected *kristr*. However, there is a slight possibility that the whole phrase is written in the Old Irish genetive case, *Ísu Christ* (Page 1983: 142).

There are a few Manx inscriptions where the Scandinavian *-s* genitive forms occur as expected (*habrs* Braddan IV, *þurulfs hins rauþa* Kirk Michael V, *krims in suarta* Kirk Michael VI). However, there is one example where the genitive singular of a strong masculine noun has lost its *-s* ending in *smiþ* (Kirk Michael II).

The Maughold V inscription has a phrase, *kuina sina*, where a weak feminine noun, *kuina*, remains in the nominative case instead of the expected accusative *kuinu*. However, in Onchan inscription, the same noun in the phrase *[k]u[i]nu sina* is inflected correctly. The usual Norse form for ‘woman’ is **kona**, oblique case **kunu (SR),** but *Svenskt runordsregister* (SR) has two entries from Sweden, **kuino** U1039B and **kuinu** U148 (Peterson 2006: 28), which are similar to the Manx usage. The form with the sound /v/ is probably

used here because this form was usual in the Celtic areas since the word was borrowed to the Old Irish language as *cuiniu* as early as the 9th century.

The expected feminine accusative ending *-u* is also absent in two Manx inscriptions, **arin:biaurk** (Andreas II) and the Celtic female name **aþmiul** (Bride). It seems that the distinction between the feminine name *Arinbjǫrg* (nominative) and *Arinbjǫrgu* (accusative) in the bilingual community was treated as unnecessary.

The addition of a new feature to the recipient language stock of linguistic material may also affect the structure of the recipient language. Three Manx runic inscriptions contain Celtic names where *-s* genitive is added to the words of Celtic origin (*krinais* Braddan I, *[t]ufkals* Bride, *aþakans* Kirk Michael V). Inflectional *-s* in genitive singular does not occur in Old Irish (OI genitive forms *Crínáin*, *Dubgaill*, *Adagáin*). The name *krinais* shows another contact-induced feature. Brate, who analyzed the Braddan I inscription as early as 1905, claimed that the ending of the word *krinais* is **nais** and that the name is used in the Old Irish genitive case (Brate 1907: 25). Olsen read this name as **krinais** and explained it as a mixed form constructed of the Norse genitive ending *-s* added to the Old Irish genitive *Crínáin* (OI nominative form *Crínáin*).

The same can be said about an Old Irish female name **muirkialu** (Muirgeilt) in Conchan where the Norse regular ending is added to the Irish name.

The variety of forms for the word **runar** / ‘runes’ in the Manx runic corpus confined to such an isolated territory, is astonishing. Along with the correct form, *runar*, appear other forms such as *runer*, *runir* and finally *runur*. The phrase **risti × runar × þisar**, as it is found in Scandinavian inscriptions, is formulaic and thus grammatically very stable. However, it is possible that the old runic formula deteriorated with the introduction of a different formula usage in the Isle of Man, where the word ‘cross’ dominates in the inscriptions.

The correct plural *runar* occurs in German I, Maughold IV and Kirk Michael VII. However, there are a few cases in the Manx corpus where the

word *runar* and the accompanying plural demonstrative pronoun is incorrect. In Onchan line 6, occurs the form *runer*, a weakening, as it would appear, in the general direction. It seems that in Onchan line 5 there is an inscription in Old Irish, **krus isukrist** *Krus Isu Krist*, followed by Onchan 6, **þuriþ raist runer** *Þuriðr raisti runar.* The form *runer* is attested in one Norwegian Viking Age rune-inscription DR NOR 1998;8 (SR), which is now preserved in Lunds kulturhistoriska museum in Sweden. Another incorrect form *runir*, which occurs in Michael II, is not attested elsewhere in Scandinavia during the Viking Age.

Both inscriptions made by John the Priest (Maughold I and Maughold II) contain other unorthodox Norse forms: **raisti** instead of the expected **risti**, **þisir** instead of **þisar**, **runur** instead of **runar**, and rune **þ** instead of **t** in the words **krisþ**, **baþrik** and **kurna þal**. It has been claimed that these inscriptions are late and probably reflect the deterioration of Scandinavian languge in the bilingual community. However, it seems that the variety of forms for the word ’runar’ reflect the contact induced language change in Old Norse.

Didrik A. Seip drew attention to a parallel breakdown of inflecional patterns recorded in the early Norwegian written texts. He claimed that *-r* is lost in the common assimilation to *l* and *n* and there are cases of less regular assimilation, as in *son*, *sæl*, for *sonr*, *sælr*; *-r* in contact with another *-r* is lost in written texts ca. 1200, as in *burð*, *styrc*, *prest*, and also in some loanwords such as *biscup* ‘bishop’. In the 14th century there is more widespread evidence of the loss of *-r*. The argument of Seip that the loss of *-r* was usual in the manuscripts is not plausible, because the absence of *-r* in the manuscripts is late compared to the rune-stone material in the Isle of Man. On the other hand, such a loss of *-r* is statistically so rare in Old Norse that it cannot be taken as an argument for the change that seems to have happened in the Isle of Man (Seip 1930: 401-404).

With regard to the loss of the genitive ending *-s* one can identify the same problem. The earliest Norwegian and Icelandic manuscripts show an occasional loss of *-s* in the genitive of nouns whose stem ends in *-ð*, e.g. *guð,*

æið. Seip maintains that Celtic was probably not the cause of the non-classical Manx forms; they show the early appearance in Man of Norse forms that were to occur in the later written texts on the mainland of Norway. The statistics show, that such a loss of *-s* is very rare and limited to certain words. Such a slight variation in classical Old Norse would not have had a serious effect on the whole system. Besides, Seip did not use evidence from the Viking Age Scandinavian runic inscriptions, which never show a loss of the masculine nominative ending *-r* or genitive masculine ending *-s*. There is no evidence to support Seip's idea that loss of endings is an inherent feature of classic Old Norse (Page 1983: 142-143).

It seems that some of the Manx crosses show a somewhat different grammatical tradition from that of the Norwegian monuments. Olsen pointed out that in Norse settlements from Greenland to Orkney the nominative *-r* and the inflection of women's names were not affected by such influences until far into the Middle Ages. These settlements were occupied only by Norsemen. In the case of the Isle of Man it was quite different; the conquerors of that isle included men of both the Norse and Irish races and of similar social status, so that there we have to reckon, to some extent at least, with a dominant bilingual population.

It is clear that some grammatical forms in the same situation are correct and some not. This situation is usual in the cases of interference. Bilingual speakers tend to merge grammatical forms in some cases and in other cases they get them correct. These types of mistakes can be readily identified in modern languages where interference is still active.

3.11 Syntax

The syntax of some runic inscriptions is also illuminating and should be discussed with reference to the word order of Old Irish. It is very difficult to make a judgment about the change of syntax in the Manx corpus, because inscriptions are formulaic. The Bride stone can be compared to Ballaugh.

Bride:

(t)ruian : sur (t)ufkals : raist krs þina : a(ft) aþmiu(l) : kunu si(n)[a]

Ballaugh:

aulaibr : liutulbsunr(:) raisti (:k)rs. þ(a)na : aiftir (:) u(l)b : sun [:] sin

In Bride we have the Irish word order, *Druián mac Dubgaill* (Druian son of Dubgal's). In those two inscriptions what concerns us is the personal designation consisting of a name, a father's name in the genitive, and the word 'son'. In Old Norse a group of three such words may occur in different contexts, but this inquiry is restricted to one syntactic case, where the reader is introduced to the person in question, without any addition in regard to the father of an immediately following eke-name, or of appositional word(s), or of place. It may be noted that in the inscriptions above the word order is different.

According to a fixed rule in Old Norse, the person 'A. B's son' is introduced as indicated above, e.g. Óleifr Ljótolfson, Geirþjófr Valþjófsson and Skagi Skoptason.

This has the normal word order used in plain narrative. There are exceptions to this, for example Chapter 377 of *Landnámabók* begins: *Olvir son Eysteins nam land…* However, this exeption can be explained by the fact that Eysteinn is mentioned four lines above and the author does not want to be repetitive. This type of word order belongs to exceptions in Old Norse prose.

The word order *Druián sonr Dufgals reisti* is of alien character in Old Norse and due to Irish influence. The accentuation corresponds to Irish personal designation, with *mac* coming between the son's name and that of his father. In Irish surnames, *mac* suffered apheresis, with the result that only the final consonant remains: *Corkill* from *Mac Þorkell*; Manx *Kissack* from *Mac Isac*, etc. It follows that the likelihood of an appositional construction of Bride can be ruled out, i.e. not 'Druian (who is) son of Dufgal', but 'Druian Dufgalson'. On the other hand, the apposition probably appears in Andreas I:

Gautr, sonr Bjarnar frá Kolli, where the place of origin most probably applies to the father. In Michael V we certainly have an apposition (an eke-name attached to the father's name), as also in German II and Michael III where *dóttur Odds* and *dóttir Dufgals* are coordinated respectively with, or supplementary to, a preceding apposition (compare also Michael VI).

Even though among the bilingual population of Man an Irish speech pattern existed as the basis for the type of expression 'A. son B's', this construction was no isolated phenomenon in Viking colonies in the west (Olsen 1954: 223-228).

3.12 Summing up and conclusions of this chapter

The study of Manx rune-stones reveals a complex cultural give and take as a result of contact between two different nations. The mixture of Celtic and Scandinavian proper names in the Manx corpus is a manifestation of a bilingual community making use of the inherent features of both cultures. The peculiarities of runic inscriptions seem to be due to the formation of the new cultural milieu. The runic stones may have been a symptom of crisis and reflection of the contribution of the two cultures in the Isle of Man during the 10th and 11th centuries**.** They reflect the religious and political changes of a bilingual population registering their rights to property and land in Old Norse. The Norse language mirrors grammatical and syntactical changes, which is a proof of language interference.

There are several dimensions to the influences of both cultures. These influences are observed in the artistic shape of rune-stones and their layout and design, which follow the Norwegian pattern, but they also have peculiarities that were enriched by the Celtic tradition of stone carving, i.e. Ogam stones. The most convincing argument is the presence of bilingual Ogam rune-stones, as their inscriptions seem to have been carved at the same time.

4. Hildinavisen as a reflection of Celtic and Scandinavian contacts in the Shetlands

In this chapter I will analyze the literary contacts that emerged in the society in the Shetland Islands starting with a short outline of Celtic literary influence on the Scandinavian literary tradition. I will trace the Celtic literary motifs that influenced the Shetlandic ballad, *Hildinavisen*, written in the Norn language.

4.1 Celtic and Scandinavian literary contacts

Literary contacts between Celtic, especially Old Irish and Scandinavian (Old Icelandic) literatures, have been a research subject for years. Gísli Sigurðsson asserts that Old Icelandic literature was influenced by the Gaelic world, where oral literature was highly developed and written prose sagas were produced in the vernacular (Gísli Sigurðsson 1988: 11).

The Norse could possibly understand and enjoy Irish literary entertainment in the 10th century, since there is an account of the chief poet of Ireland who composed a poem for Amlaib of Ath Cliath (probably Óláfr Kvarán, king of Dublin), and was given in exchange *ech d'echaib* 'a horse of the horses.' (Gwynn 1903: 52-53). Irish-Norse contacts as early as the 9th century suggest that it was possible for the Norse in Dublin to enjoy and acquire some knowledge of Irish oral literature before they left the city towards the end of the 9th century (Gísli Sigurðsson 1988: 22).

The names of Celtic heroes were not used in Icelandic stories. However, some of them reflect Celtic literary tastes, ideas and motifs that were transmitted orally. Most of the Celtic motifs and ideas in Old Icelandic literature are found in the material that closely resembles the oldest tradition in Iceland, namely the *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda* 'Sagas of Ancient Times' and the mythological material (Gísli Sigurðsson 1988: 119). There are two main types of literary influence: general influence of ideas and single motifs.

4.1.1 General influence

General resemblances are found in stories about rebirth and barrows. Nora Chadwick compared the Irish story, *Tochmarc Étaíne* 'The Wooing of Étaín', with some episodes in the Old Icelandic *Poetic Edda*. Her research indicates that *Edda* characters like Helgi and Sigrún are reborn in the same fashion as various Celtic heroes. Old Irish rebirth motifs are also paralleled in *Hrómundar saga Gripssonar* 'The Saga of Hromund Gripsson' (Chadwick 1957: 180-81). Certain elements are recognizable, but their succession and exact character are not the same.

Chadwick also studied the function of the *síd* 'otherworld' in Celtic tradition and *haugr* 'barrow' in Icelandic tradition and found various motifs in the latter that can be traced to Celtic tradition (Chadwick 1957: 180). Early Celtic literature contains numerous tales belonging to the *echtra* 'adventure' genre. These tales describe a certain hero's adventure in the Otherworld and his encounters with various supernatural beings. These stories developed mostly in the 8th and the 9th centuries. Another type of tale with echoes in Icelandic literature is that of the *immram* 'journey'. For example, *Immram Brain maic Febail* 'The Voyage of Bran son of Febal' is one of the earliest of the *immrama* 'voyage tales', possibly written in the 8th century but no later than the 9th (Steward & Welch 1996: 257). These tales were thought to have found their way into Icelandic literature via continental romances, but Rosemary Power in her study of Icelandic stories about Otherworld adventures claims that though continental works may have reinforced the use of the Otherworld theme, analogues of Norse secular tales are to be found in Irish secular works, which were written in Irish and did not enjoy widespread circulation (Power 1985: 167). According to her the motifs reached Iceland in oral form during the period of settlement in the late 8th and 9th centuries.

4.1.2 Single motifs

Single motifs are particularly abundant in Old Icelandic literature and can be found in almost all genres. One may suggest that Gaelic influence on Old

Icelandic myths would be limited to single motifs and episodes (Gísli Sigurðsson 1988: 74). For example, the Irish story *Táin Bó Fraích* / 'The Fraech's Cattle Raid' has been suggested as a source for some episodes in the skaldic *Þórsdrápa* / 'Lay of Thor', and since the putative Irish source is older than the oldest Icelandic text, the receiver is deemed to be the Icelandic/Scandinavian tradition (Rooth 1961: 72-75). However, Celtic tradition neither formed the Scandinavian mythological tradition nor changed its basic characteristics; it was simply enriched with Celtic elements.

There is also some local influence on individual Icelandic family sagas. It has been argued, that though the Icelandic family sagas were recorded late, the information (also of Celtic origin) was passed orally and preserved. However, Celtic material was open to change and by no means stable and fixed. Celtic elements in the sagas, especially from the west of Iceland, seem to be common. *Laxdæla saga* 'The Saga of the People of Laxárdalr' relates the story of the settlers in the west of Iceland. Some of these settlers arrived in Iceland via Ireland and were connected to the Irish tradition. One of the saga characters, Auðr djúpúðga 'Auð the deep-minded' was married to the king of Dublin and after his death arrived in Iceland via the Scottish Isles towards the end of the 9th century. She was a daughter named Ketill whose family belonged to the mixed milieu of the Gall-Gaidheil. *Landnámabók,* or 'The Book of Settlements', relates that the above-mentioned Auðr djúpúðga, Ketill's nephew, Örlygr Hrapsson and grandson Ketill inn fiflski 'Ketil the foolish', were Christian, while his son Helgi bjólan and his great-grandson Óláfr feilan bore Gaelic nicknames (Jennings 1996: 68). Helgi Bjólan had a nickname that appears to be a diminutive of Old Irish *bél* 'mouth' (Modern Gaelic has *beulan* 'little mouth or orifice'), while Óláfr feilan had a nickname that means 'little wolf' from Old Irish *fáelan*. Alfred P. Smyth pointed out that these nicknames provide an indication of a strong Gaelic influence on this family (Smyth 1984: 123). Both names also occurred in Gaelic as first names, Beollán and Fáelán (Corráin and Maguire 1981: 31, 92-3).

There are a few more characters with Irish names in *Laxdæla saga*, such as Melkorka (Old Irish *Mael-curcaigh*), daughter of *Mýrkiartan* (Old Irish *Muir-certach*), who teaches her son, Ólafr pá, Irish (Craige 1897: 449). His son in turn is called Kjartan, named after his Irish grandfather. Hermann Pálsson identified the Irish story about St. Cellach – *Caithréim Cellaig* (written about the 12th century, but based on earlier material) – as a possible source for the story about Kjartan in *Laxdæla saga* (Hermann Pálsson 1964: 392-402).

Kjalnesinga saga 'Saga of the People of Kjalarnes' is also known as the one that includes some general similarities to certain Celtic elements. The Irish text, *Táin Bó Cúailnge* 'The Cattle Raid of Cooley', describes the Boyhood Deeds of Cú Chulainn (O'Rahilly 1976: 399-456), which are paralleled in Chapters 1 and 2 of *Kjalnesinga saga* (Jóhannes Halldórsson 1959). This parallel was first noticed by Helgi Guðmundsson (1967: 92-93). Cú Chulainn is one of the most famous heroes in Irish saga tradition and Einar Ólafur Sveinsson believed that *Kjalnesinga saga* reflects this tradition in Iceland (Einar Ólafur Sveinsson 1959: 15). The parallels found in the Icelandic tradition are not exact equivalents of the Irish elements and they may have developed later within the country. We see from the examples that Gaelic Influence on the Icelandic Family Sagas is not extensive. However, the occurence of Celtic motifs is undeniable.

It has been variously claimed that Icelandic skaldic poetry was also influenced by Old Irish poetry. Gabriel Turville-Petre discussed skaldic metres and argued that some Icelandic scalds could have been in contact with Irish poets among the Gall-Ghaedhil and thus learned this art from them (Turville-Petre 1954). Einar Ólafur Sveinsson asserted that the rhythm could be borrowed by Norsemen who heard the Irish metres accompanied by music (Einar Ólafur Sveinsson 1975: 171-217). Bridget Gordon MacKenzie reviewed Turville-Petre's studies and agreed that skaldic poetry must be seen alongside its Irish contemporaries (Mac Kenzie 1981). Kristján Árnason pointed out that both Old Irish and Old Norse had initial word stress (except Irish compounds) and distinguished between long and short stressed vowels. These features

could affect metrical rhythm and thus make it easier for Irish metres to find their way into Old Norse (Kristján Árnason 1981: 197-109). Even if it is impossible to prove that skaldic metres originated in Irish metres, it should be remembered that we cannot prove that skaldic metres originated in Norway (Gísli Sigurðsson 1988: 117).

While discussing the nature of contacts, Gísli Sigurðsson highlighted the route by which Celtic motifs and stories reached Iceland. Alongside Michael Chesnutt (1968) and Bo Almqvist (1981) he emphasized the importance of Orkney as an intermediary between the Gaelic and Icelandic cultures and claimed that Icelandic authors had no other means to bilingual literary tradition (Chesnutt 1968: 129).

4.1.3 Literary contacts in the Orkney

The Orkneys seem to have been of particular importance in transmitting certain Celtic material. Gísli Sigurðsson argues, however, that it is likely the cultural contacts and exchanges between Icelandic and Gaelic-speaking people in the Orkneys were limited to single motifs, tales or poems. This does not mean that single features are limited in number, only that they are found as isolated items in a tradition that had to be developed in Iceland from the cultural elements available in the country (Gísli Sigurðsson 1988: 42). Though the Orkneys were an ideal meeting place where Scandinavian and Celtic cultures could exchange traditions, the Gaelic custom in question existed in Iceland as well, having been brought there by the Gaelic settlers. Morover, these traditions could have been reinforced because of the contacts in the Orkneys (Gísli Sigurðsson 1988: 44). Among the most important elements identified as transmitted through contacts via the Orkneys are stories including *Hjaðningavíg* 'The Battle of Hjadnings'. In *Sörla þáttr eða Heðins saga ok Högna* (Guðni Jónsson 1954: 365-382) the protagonists come to the island of Há where the eternal battle of *Hjaðningavíg* is in progress.

Einar Ólafur Sveinsson suggested that Celtic tales played an important part in forming Icelandic ideas about the everlasting fight (a motif that became extremely common in Iceland) to the 19th century, but is rare in the rest of Scandinavia (Einar Ólafur Sveinsson 1959: 17-18). *Háttalykill* 'Clavis metrica' or 'Key to Metres', was composed in the Orkneys in 1145 by an Icelander and the Orkney Earl Rognvaldr kali. It contains what is believed to be the earliest reference to the 'Everlasting fight' motif in Old Norse/Icelandic literature, the motif being taken over from the Irish 9th century tale *Cath Maige Tuired* 'The Battle of Mag Tuired' (Chesnutt 1968: 132).

The literary works that are likely to have emerged from the cultural mixture in the Orkneys and the Scottish Isles are poems such as the skaldic poems, *Darraðarljóð* and *Krákumál* (Holtsmark 1939: 82). *Konungs Skuggsjá* 'King's mirror' contains a passage on Ireland with similarities to the *Topographia Hibernica* 'Topography of Ireland' of Giraldus Cambrensis (Holtsmark 1964: 667). The source may have been a written one. Chesnutt goes further and claims that Latin may have been the medium of communication (Chesnutt 1968: 135). Considering the transmission of various motifs, it seems that Orkney was a channel through which motifs could travel from Scandinavian to Celtic areas and vice versa. The Celtic material, such as single motifs, tales or poems could also have reached the surrounding areas, especially the Shetland Islands.

The Shetland material has never been discussed before in this aspect, though the Shetland Islands were clearly on the route for the transmission of Celtic material. Ideas from the Orkneys could be easily transmitted to Shetland (the distance between the clusters of the Orkney and Shetland Islands is about 80 kilometres). The Norn ballad, *Hildinavisen*, which seems to contain Celtic elements, was influenced by the Orkney tradition, because its main protagonist is *Jarlin d'Orkneyjar* 'Earl of Orkney'. However we should not imagine that the Orkney Earldom was always an intermediary in the exchange of such tales. There was also direct Gaelic influence on western Scandinavian, especially Icelandic and Faroese folk tradition, since some of the Scandinavian settlers in

these islands came via Ireland and Scotland and had sometimes lived there and absorbed Gaelic culture (Almqvist 1981: 89).

4.2 Language of the settlers

The variety of Scandinavian language in Orkney and Shetland came to be called "Norn". "Norn" is a contracted form of the feminine adjective *norræn* (from Old Norse *norðrænn*, 'coming from the north'), which in the 13th century came into use in order to differentiate between the western and eastern variety of Norse. Until then, all Scandinavian languages were called "Dǫnsk tunga", a term which has survived in Orkney dialect to this day (Rendboe 1987: 1). The term "Norn", meaning '(Western) Norse language', 'Norwegian language', '(Western) Norse' or 'Norwegian' was first recorded in an endorsement in Scots appended to a Norwegian document of 1485 dealing with Shetland matters. Although it was also occasionally applied to Norse speech elsewhere in Scotland (Barnes 1996: 21), Norn is in most contexts used exclusively of the Northern-Isles variety (Barnes 2000: 179). Norn was not a dialect, since its speakers looked on their speech community in the same way as the speakers of Faroese (Barnes 1996: 13). These islands retained their Scandinavian character for a long time, even after they had been pledged to King James III of Scotland in 1468-9 (Barnes 2000: 173).

4.3 The sources in Norn

The settlers and their descendants have not left many written sources, either in runes or the roman alphabet, and the few texts that exist tend to mirror faithfully the contemporary idiom of Norway (Barnes 2000: 179). A few runic inscriptions from the 11th century and some old diplomas exist. The oldest one is from 1299 written in Old Norse; some of them are written in Old Danish. Another coherent text is James Wallace's Orkney version of the Lord's Prayer, published in the second edition of *An Account of the Islands of Orkney*

(Wallace 1700). Probably the most interesting sources were registered by Low. Low was from Edzell in Angus, but resident in Orkney, more an amateur student of natural history than a linguist. He recorded samples of Norn from the Shetland island of Foula during a visit there in 1774 from the 19th of June until the end of August and included them in his book *A Tour through the Islands of Orkney and Shetland,* first published 1879. Low also recorded a Shetlandic version of the Lord's Prayer (source unknown), and a list of thirty English words translated into Norn, presumably by various informants.

Another text is a 35-stanza ballad obtained from an old man "William Henry, a farmer in Guttorm, in Foula". This old ballad, never recorded previously, is now popularly called *Foulavisen* or *Hildinavisen,* after the heroine. It has been assumed that the language of this song is much older and represents the language from 1660 (Flom 1937: 127). I would argue that its language could be even older, because of its poetic form, which usually conserves the grammatical forms and content.

Another text in Norn is the so-called *Coningsburgen Phrase*, a maxim which people in the village of Cuningsburgh recited to unwelcome quests. Other materials come from the period when Norn was no longer a living language. Here the most important are Jakob Jakobsen's collections. This scholar from the Faroe Islands called *Jákup doktari* contributed significantly to the understanding of individual Scandinavian words (Barnes 1996: 1). His dictionary contains ca. 10,000 items. Hugh Marwick's glossary of Norn contains ca. 3,000 items. The scantiness of sources is frustrating, especially when it comes to coherent texts.

4.4 The Norn ballad

Though the ballad *Hildinavisen* is recorded in Foula, it does not mean that it was composed there. There were plague epidemics in 1700, 1720 (when just six inhabitants out of ten survived), 1740, 1760 and 1769. So *Hildinavisen* may have been brought from the mainland of Shetland, because people were fleeing

to the islands, especially to the islands further North. As noted, *Hildinavisen* was sung by William Henry, a farmer in Guttorm in Foula. In a letter from 1776, Low wrote of the old man that he "could neither read nor write, but had the most retentive memory I ever heard of" (Low 1879: 107). In his book Low claims that "the following song is the most entire I could find, but the disorder of some of the stanzas will show that it is not wholly so… Here it is worthy to be observed that most of the fragments they have are old historical Ballads and Romances, this kind of poetry being more greedily swallowed and retentively preserved by memory than any others". Low continues that "he [William Henry] spoke of three kinds of poetry used in Norn, and repeated or sung by the old men; the Ballad (or Romance, I suppose); the *Vysie* or *Vyse*, now commonly sung to dancers; and the simple Song. By the account he gave of the matter, the first seems to have been valued here chiefly for its subject, and was commonly repeated in winter by the fireside; the second seems to have been used in public meetings, now only sung to the dance; and the third at both" (Low 1879: 107). He also notes that William Henry "repeated and sung the whole day" (Hægstad 1900: 11). The peculiarity of the recording is that Low did not know any Scandinavian language, i.e. he did not understand a word of what he was writing down. He writes: "In this Ballad I cannot answer for the orthography. I wrote it as an old man pronounced it; nor could he assist me in this particular" (Low 1879: 107). Having in mind the words of William Henry, one can call this ballad a diffuse continuum of the earlier epic tradition. Oral performance provides evidence of a persistence of cultural tradition and the adoption of a piece of art.

The analysis of this ballad is a complicated matter, because the reording is faulty. The late date of the recording is one factor. But at least we can be sure that when this ballad was recorded, Norn still was a living language. This is indicated not only by Low but also by other sources, such as *The Description of the Isles of Orkney and Zetland*, published in Edinburgh in 1771 by Sir Robert Sibbald. He describes conditions in Shetland around 1680 as follows: "All the Natives … can speak the Gothick or Norwegian Language, and

seldom speak other among themselves" (Sibbald 1771: 48-49). It seems though that this situation soon changed, and, according to Laurits Rendboe, Norn lived out its last days (Rendboe 1987: 6).

The ballad was transmitted orally, and Low presented what he heard through the medium of English, and to a limited extent French, orthography. Thus we have several factors that complicate the analysis of the ballad: the lack of other similar texts in Norn; an incomplete information on which projections are made, and the paucity of other texts.

The fact that Low did not understand what he was writing may mean that the text, as we have it, reflects the pronunciation. "Stylistically, one would not expect … a (medieval?) ballad to reflect everyday speech" (Hammershaimb 1981: 181). However, it is to be expected that the language of this ballad was preserved by its bound form, and since the ballad was sung, the melody must have preserved the form and contents unchanged.[16] This allows us to consider the language of the ballad to be more or less archaic and its content to have been preserved without drastic changes.

4.5 The language of Hildinavisen

It is impossible to give a thorough analysis of the language of *Hildinavisen* since Low who recorded the ballad did not know any Scandinavian language and the recorded text teems with various shortcomings. Words are linked together or separated in inappropriate places; articles, endings and modal verbs are missing and it is clear that the text reflects the pronunciation.

However, one of the linguistic features of the ballad is the loss of an initial *h* in front of the vowel or attachment of it where it does not belong. Low indicates that the loss of initial *h* was not unusual in Norn and is known not just from Foula dialect (Low 1879: 104-105).

Minor influences on a foreign language usually happen in the form of loanwords, affecting the lexicon but sometimes also the grammar, morphology

[16] The fact that it was sung at the time when it was recorded is known from Low's letter mentioned above.

and syntax and phonology. The loss of initial *h* in front of a vowel is a case of interference in a non-lexical category. In some cases the Norn language is strives to meet the requirements of the phonological system and, in particular, of the morphophonemic system of initial mutations found in Celtic languages. In the Celtic languages words never start with an initial *h* if it is not lenated. Lenition, formerly called aspiration, is the term used to describe a mutation of consonants which normally originated in a reduction of the energy employed in their articulation. It affected not only medial but also such initial consonants as were closely associated with the preceding word (Thurneysen 1980: 74). The only examples beginning with *h* in the *DIL* are English loanwords. It means that when the grammatical environment required lenition, it was produced. In words beginning with a vowel it meant an addition of initial *h.*

If the population was bilingual, i.e. spoke a Celtic and a Scandinavian language, we should expect various changes in the pronunciation. Scandinavian words borrowed into a Celtic language and beginning with *h* followed by the vowel would tend to drop initial *h*. This happens in examples such as the absorption into Old Irish of the loanword *ugan* meaning 'cap' from the Old Norse *húfan*. Another example is the word *orin* or *uriin* (the latter form given by Jakobsen), a Shetlandic taboo-name for 'a seal'. Here also we see the loss of initial *h*, because the word may have come from the old word for 'seal' - *háringr or *hæringr 'the hairy'. This name was given to the seal, which in the old days was counted as fish and differed from them because of its fur (in Shetland it was also called hair-fish).

There are also reverse examples of probable Celtic influence, in which the Scandinavian word adds initial *h* where it does not belong. One example is the word in Low's list *heosa* 'a ladle'. Bugge claims it to have come from Old Norse *ausa* (Bugge 1865: 89). Jakobsen found this word in Foula in forms *josa* and *hjosa* (Jakobsen 1897: 128, 136). Another example is from *Hildinavisen*, which is connected with the name of the main protagonist, is Hildina, since the Norn word *hildin* stands for *ildin* from the Old Norse *eld(r)inn* 'fire'. This holds not just for Foula dialect but exists in Shetland-Norn in general

(Jakobsen 1897: 136). Hægstad noticed the attachment of initial *h* in the phrase *Fugla Heon* 'Birds' island' (the name of one of the little islands) recorded by Low in his list of words, and also in a similar combination *Uttrie Heon* 'Outer island' (Hægstad 1900: 63). The first combination consists of the Old Norse word *fugl* 'bird' in genitive plural + Old Norse *eyja* 'island'. In Old Irish a noun following another noun in genitive plural is always lenated and if the word begins with a vowel, *h* is naturally added. So in Celtic the grammatical environment in this case would demand the addition of initial *h*. The phrase we have here is in Norn. Nevertheless the phonological change is present. In the second phrase the grammatical circumstances are different, but the change is still present. It might be that analogy has been at work here. Low also writes that 'to a man they misplace the aspirate, affixing it where it should not be, and leaving it out where it should. This holds not just when inhabitants of Foula spoke Scottish-English, but also when they spoke Norn. This can also be seen in *Hildinavisen* (Low 1879: 35).

However, the attachment and loss of initial *h* cannot be solely explained by Celtic influence because something similar is found in the so-called half-language 'halvemål' in Norway, about which Hans Ross says the following: in some words *h* is lost in many places. It also happens that in some places, mostly around the fjord of Oslo (Oslofjorden) *h* is added to some words: for example in *haka* < *aka*; *həusa* < *ausa* (Ross 1905: 25).

Examples of the phenomenon listed by Ross are very few in contrast to *Hildinavisen* where the loss of initial *h* before the vowel penetrated all parts of the language, including pronouns and verbs, whereas in Celtic languages lenition works just on nouns and adjectives and in specific grammatical environments. For example, with the definite article, after pronominals, after numerals, and after certain prepositions *di, do, fíad, ó/úa* followed by dative; *amal, cen, im, sech, tri/tre* followed by the accusative and *ar, fo* followed by the dative and the accusative. The only plausible explanation is that in Norn (in *Hildinavisen*) the change had been caused by analogy. Even if, as per Ross, Norwegian tends to lose *h* followed by a vowel, the number of examples in

which *h* stands before a vowel in *Hildinavisen* is astonishing. It might be that the change was inherent in Old Norse and accelerated by contact with a Celtic language, a contact which started as early as the Viking Age.

4.6 The sources of the Scandinavian material

There is a voluminous tradition related to the names of the two protagonists of the Shetlandic ballad (*Hiluge* and *Hildina*) in Scandinavian sources.

1) First of all, they go back to *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra* 'The Saga of Illugi, Grid's Foster Son' which belongs to *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*. However, *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra* is not preserved in any of the collections of *Fornaldarsögur* from the Middle Ages. The oldest manuscript of this saga is AM 123 8vo, which is on parchment, but hardly much older than 1600 (Davíð Erlingsson 1975: 11). With regard to *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*, Liestøl supported the traditional opinion that it dates back to about 1300 (Liestøl & Moltke 1985: 125). The writing of *Fornaldarsögur* is generally believed to have started at the end of the Golden Age in Icelandic literature in the late 13th century. It became increasingly popular in the 14th century, when most of these sagas are thought to have been written down (Gísli Sigurðsson 1988: 48).

2) Secondly, there are a few ballads containing names similar to the protagonists' of *Hildinavisen*:

Two versions of the ballad (A and B) found in the Faroe Islands are called *Kappin Illugi.* The second protagonist is Hilda (in version A) or Hildur (in version B). Both versions of the Faroese ballad were published by Venceslaus U. Hammershaimb in *Færöiske kvæder, 2*.

3) A version of a ballad which has a similar story is found in Norway and is called *Kappen Illhugin*, published by Magnus B. Landstad in *Norske Folkeviser*, nr. 2.

4) In Denmark, the ballad is called *Herr Hylleland henter sin jomfru*. It was published by Grundtvig in *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, nr. 44 (Grundtvig 1853). The difference is that here the male protagonist is called *Hylleland* instead of *Illugi*.

5) Finally, there is a Shetlandic ballad called *Foulavisen* or *Hildinavisen* which contains protagonists with the same names. However, the content of the Shetland ballad differs greatly from the Faroe, Norwegian and Danish ballads, as well as from the Icelandic saga.

Hildinavisen contains completely different features and even a different story which accommodates the so-called "Celtic love triangle" by introducing a new character, *Jarlin d'Orkneyar.* Other major aspects that make it specific are Hiluge's negative character and the female protagonist's name Hildina. The etymology of the name *Hiluge* (*illr* 'ill' + *hugr* 'mind') might indicate that it was attached to an evil personage or a troublemaker from the very beginning, similar to *Bricriu* and *Efnisien* in Celtic medieval literature.

4.7 Features and classification of Scandinavian ballads

In the *Ancilla*, a practical guide to the standard editions of Scandinavian ballads, also containing a description of an index to the entire corpus of Scandinavian balladry, all the above-mentioned ballads are attributed to the type E (Nolsø 1978: 13). Group E is defined as a group containing heroic ballads. It belongs to the second largest group of categories, which consists primarily at least in principle of material of West Scandinavian origin, i.e. mainly of Norwegian and Faroese. However, it also includes a handful of ballads of possible Icelandic origin. In their style, these show a close connection to late Icelandic sagas, i.e. *fornaldarsaögur*, with their description of romantic and fantastic adventures. The term *fornaldarsögur* refers to stories transmitted orally and essentially based in Norse narrative tradition. The stories were gradually recorded in the 13th/14th and as late as the 15th century.

The appearance of this genre is connected with the arrival in Iceland of translations of French romances, which caused a change in literary tastes (Gísli Sigurðsson 1988: 48). These French romances contain many Gaelic motifs integrated with Icelandic literature. Einar Ólafur Sveinsson demonstrated that Celtic motifs emerged in great numbers in this late genre (Einar Ólafur

Sveinsson 1975: 16). The suggestion was made that *fornaldarsögur* represent what is called "Viking-saga", a saga genre believed to have arisen under Gaelic influence among the Vikings in the West and spread to Scandinavia and Iceland in the 11th century. The "Viking-saga" hypothesis was proposed by Olrik (1908), but vigorously opposed and rejected by Andreas Heusler (1914) and Finnur Jónsson (1920). One of the main arguments against the "Viking-saga" hypothesis is that *fornlaldarsögur* are late compared to Family Sagas and Kings' Sagas.

However, the dates of manuscripts tell us little of the age of the original written saga.

There is overwhelming evidence to the effect that *fornladarsögur* flourished at an early stage, most likely in oral form, and that many of the Gaelic motifs are likely to be derived directly from Gaelic tradition (Gísli Sigurðsson 1988: 51). In Iceland, the *fornladarsögur* were founded on older poetic lore which was then transposed into oral prose narrative (Gísli Sigurðsson 1988: 119). According to scholars such as Gísli Sigurðsson (Gísli Sigurðsson 1988: 70-72) and Lukman (Lukman 1977: 41-57) some *fornladarsögur* have an Irish substratum, i.e. a set of features traceable to Irish oral stories or even written texts.

The ballads share with these sagas a fondness for drastic exaggerations. In fact, many of these ballads stem from prose sagas. Group E is divided into two parts, the first dealing with fights between human champions ('*kämpavisor'* in a very narrow sense), and the second with fights between men and ogres or giants ('*trollvisor'*). Some ballads within group E might equally have been placed in Group D; here the West Scandinavian origin determined their categorization (Nolsø 1978: 17).

The Danish ballad *Herr Hylleland henter sin jomfru* also belongs to this type and goes under the subtitle - *Woman abducted by giant is saved* (E 140 – 148). It shares the number E 140 with the above- mentioned Faroese and Norwegian ballads (Nolsø 1978: 258) and also has an additional annotation – *Man saves princess from ogress to marry her*.

Norwegian, Danish and Faroese ballad versions start in the same way:
The king's daughter has been carried away by an ogress. The king promises to give his daughter to the man who can bring her back, and Hylleland volunteers. He goes to the mountain where the ogress lives, and she says he might spend one night with the princess, but in the morning he must lose his life. Hylleland sleeps with the princess, and in the morning the ogress arrives to kill him.

In the Danish ballad Hylleland uses runic magic to make the ogress change her mind, release the princess and let them leave with gifts of riches. The Norwegian version differs here in the way that *Hylleland kills the ogress and all her relatives.* The Faroese versions end differently:
The princess and Hylleland make a wooden dummy which the ogress tries to kill instead of Hylleland. He laughs at her mistake, and this makes her relent. She lets them leave with rich gifts. When the king's men see them return they want to attack the ogress, but Hylleland defends her.

Norwegian, Danish and Faroese versions come to the same point:
Hylleland and the princess are married.

Hildinavisen, though it differs from the rest of Scandinavian ballads containing the names of the main protagonists, is also ascribed to the same type E, but the subtitle of course is different, that is *Blood revenge* (E 92 – 99). The exact number of the ballad is E 97 (Nolsø 1978: 237-241).

Among the ballads in the subgroup *Blood revenge* (E 92 – 99), *Hildinavisen* (E 97) appears as unique. It is the only ballad in the subgroup where a woman undertakes an act of revenge: *Hildina* burns *Hiluge* for all the evil deeds he has performed. In the rest of the subgroup it is either a son or a father who is responsible for the act of revenge (Nolsø 1978: 239-241).

The element of burning is a frequent occurrence in various Scandinavian ballads, for example in *Grimmars kvæði* F, *Snæúlvs ríma* F and the sagas, where kings are given so much to drink that they fall asleep, fire is set to the house, and the kings and their company perish (Grundtvig 1941-1972: 51-92).

Hildinavisen is the only instance where a drink is dispensed in connection with burning not by men but by a woman, *Hildina*.

As has already been mentioned, the plot of the Danish, Norwegian and Faroese ballads has an analogy in the Old Norse saga *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*. This saga may have been known in the Orkneys, because its protagonists go pillaging both in the Orkneys and Scotland: *Tekr konungsson nú orlof af feðr sínum, sigla nú fyrst til Orkneyjar ok Skotlands ok gera hvárttveggja, margar upprásir ok vinna mikinn sigr á Skotum, fá nú of fjár. Leggja þeir hvergi þar til, at eigi hafi þeir sigr. Var allt fólk við þá hrætt* (Guðni Jónsson 1981: 416). 'Now the prince takes leave of his father, and they sail first to the Orkneys and Scotland and carry out many raids and achieve a great victory over the Scots, winning much wealth in the process. There isn't a place they land where they aren't triumphant. Everyone was scared of them' (Translated to English by Peter Tunstall). The events in the saga reflect the tenor of all the above-mentioned Scandinavian ballads except the Shetlandic *Hildinavisen*. Liestøl in his research made in 1910 came to the conclusion that the ballads are based on the saga in the form in which the saga is preserved or similar to it (Liestøl 1910: 269-286).

Davíð Erlingsson believes it is hard to determine the age of the ballads with any certainty, so it was natural that Liestøl tried to find dating proofs in connection with the known *fornaldarsögur* (Davíð Erlingsson 1975: 11). Liestøl dated *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra* to about 1300 and thought that the ballads could not be much younger, because the oldest version, which is from around 1550, contains many changes. Davíð Erlingsson re-examined the relationship between the saga and the ballads about *Illugi* and argued that the ballads cannot be derived from the saga. On the contrary, for David Erlingsson it is probable that the saga-writer used the ballad as his main source and expanded its tale with common story-matter to make a *fornaldarsaga* of it (Davíð Erlingsson 1975: 42). Earlier the saga was accepted as the earlier of the two. However Davíð Erlingsson traced the differences between the saga and the ballad and showed that the ballad gives us the story closer to its original

form. In comparison the version of the legend in the *fornaldarsaga* is clearly derivative. He emphasized two motifs: the sworn brotherhood of *Illugi* and the prince, and the one concerning the evil counsellor (Björn).

The latter motif singled out by Davíð Erlingsson is also to be found in *Hildinavisen.* But here the counsellor's name is *Hiluge*. Though the plot of *Hildinavisen* differs from other Scandinavian ballads, the evil counsellor motif could derive from an earlier common source where *Hiluge* is the name for the main protagonist. The etymology of the name is suggestive of this. The other possibility is that the motif of the evil counsellor came to *Hildinavisen* independently from a Celtic source. Davíð Erlingsson claims that the role of the evil counsellor is inconsistent. This person, named Björn, must be the same as Herebjønn in the Norwegian ballad. Since there is no evidence of the existence of a third piece of literature (distinct from both the ballad and the saga) about Illugi, it is more plausible that the saga drew its matter from the ballad. The Shetlandic ballad contains some material analogous to the three Scandinavian ballads and the Icelandic saga, and in it the motif of an evil counsellor is inherent but presented in different form and in a different story.

4.8 Celtic influence

In the introduction to Section III I mentioned some elements identified as transmitted through contacts via the Orkneys, such as stories including the motif of *Hjaðningavíg*. The motif is clearly of Gaelic origin, but there are many instances in which the origins of the motifs are hard to prove. If the Celtic motifs were introduced to Icelandic material in oral, "binding evidence is not available, and never will be, in this field. But the most likely development can be suggested from the existing evidence, taking into account the wider historical context and other features which suggest literary links" (Gísli Sigurðsson 1988: 63–64). The evidence that a motif is Gaelic is often secondary, i.e. legal tracts, annals, names, and so forth. It is equally hard to trace motif origins of Shetlandic material. If transmission of the motifs was as

early as the Viking Age, the process of identification is an arduous and often unrewarding undertaking. However, copious studies of motif origins reveal that Celtic motifs are abundant in Scandinavian medieval literature. The stories containing the topos of the *álög* (a spell that compels someone to do something) seem to be of peculiarly Celtic origin (compare the Old Irish *geasa*). According to Power, it appears in quest and transformation tales. The motif is embodied in "a specific formula or 'run' which appears to have survived quite independently in the oral tradition of both the Gaelic world and Iceland over a long period of time" (Power 2006: 799). The Old Irish plural form *geasa*, Scots Gaelic *geasan*, refers to a positive injunction like the plural Icelandic word *álög* (sg. *álag*). The meaning of *geasa* differs from that of the singular form *geis* 'a tabu, a prohibition, the infraction of which involved disastrous consequences' (DIL 1990: 358). *Álög* is inherent in stories developing the "King and goddess" theme to be discussed in a separate section. Grundtvig and Bugge demonstrated significant similarities between various medieval texts such as Danish and Swedish ballads, the Icelandic *Hjálmþérs saga ok Ölvérs* 'Saga of Hjálmþér and Ölver' and the Welsh story of *Culhwch ac Olwen* 'Culhwch and Olwen' (Einar Ólafur Sveinsson 1940: 231). The penetration date might vary, but there is a group of tales which contain common motifs.

Also some Icelandic sagas reflect a certain degree of contact between Celtic and Scandinavian tradition. For example, similarity in the names *Arawn* and *Arán*, which seem to be unknown elsewhere in Welsh and Norse literature, is noticeable. Chadwick suggested that the saga may originally have been a Hebridean one. It may have passed from the Hebrides to Ireland and to Wales either directly or through an Irish intermediary (Chadwick 1953-1957: 33). In Icelandic the name *Arán* is mentioned in *Egils saga einhenda og Ásmundar berserkjabana* 'The Saga of Egil One-Hand and Asmund Berserkers-Slayer'. *Arán* is a supernatural huntsman who meets prince *Ásmundr* and makes an unusual agreement to spend a stated period of time in the supernatural regions. In the Welsh sources *Arawn* is one of the main protagonists in the story *Pwyll*

Pendeuic Dyuet 'Pwyll Prince of Dyfed' (Thomson: 1986), who makes a similar contract with Pwyll Prince of Dyfed; the prince swaps places with the Lord of the Otherworld. A close reading of *Pwyll Pendeuic Dyuet* and a passage from *Egils saga einhenda og Ásmundar berserkjabana* leaves no doubt that the Welsh story is the literary source for a passage in the Icelandic saga. The same Ásmundr has a foster-father, Illugi, who has a saga of his own, i.e. *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*. It is possible that there was a cluster of sagas containing Celtic parallels or elements introducing characters from the same family.

Thus, the Icelandic saga *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*, which makes mention of the two protagonists in *Hildinavisen,* is implicitly connected with Celtic tradition. The network of relationships between the tales and ballads in question is intricate and requires meticulous investigation. The study of the motifs in *Hildinavisen* can be justified by a broader research tradition. Scandinavian ballads are often examined for comparative purposes and referred to as receivers of Celtic motifs. For example, Einar Ólafur Sveinsson investigated the nature of motifs in the Eddaic poems *Grógaldr* and *Fjölvinnsmál,* compared them to the Danish ballad *Ungen Svendal*, and claimed their affinity with the Irish story *Echtra Airt meic Cuind* 'The Adventures of Art Son of Conn' (Einar Ólafur Sveinsson 1975: 75).

4.9 Celtic motifs in Hildinavisen

Comparative literature studies enable us to discover various types of connection between the literature of different countries. Motifs and tales often have a wide distribution and it is often unsafe to suggest an intimate connection between various tales merely because each is a complex of similar motifs.

A motif can be defined as the simplest form of a basic situation (Carney 1979: 48). Motifs or elements usually undergo a process of adaptation and reapplication. For Roland Barthes, narrative on the level of the story is

translatable into different media and different cultural settings without fundamental damage. “It is the last layer, the discourse, which resists transference” (Barthes 1977: 121). I do not claim that the elements to be discussed below derive directly from certain Irish or Welsh stories, but I would like to emphasize that these elements are unique to Scandinavian balladry and it is not unlikely that they have other sources than Scandinavian. I discovered a number of parallels to the motifs in Shetlandic ballad in Celtic medieval literature.

Regarding the transference of literary motifs, or elements, it is necessary to touch upon the change of literary medium, i.e. the difference of genre. Celtic sagas are prose with some poetic interpolations, whereas Scandinavian ballads are in verse. These two genres are different and have their own limitations. It is possible that stories were transmitted orally and the ballads were created from their motifs. Be that as it may, the sagas are not contemporaneous with the composition of the ballads. Prose texts usually provide space for countless details, while the poetic form of the ballad demands compression and details tend to be obliterated. As Liestøl put it, “instead of somewhat complicated content arrangement which is customary in *fornaldarsögur*, simpler and more popular fairytale motifs dominate in the ballads with the same subject” (Liestøl 1910: 272). “A process of reduction, of stripping the story down to its essentials, is usually taken to be a typical ballad feature” (Pehnt 1994: 265). Besides, in prose there is much less repetition and density of formulae. Compared with the verse, dialogue in prose is natural and free in its movement, and is often conducted with a swift-moving economy and concision.

4.9.1 Hurling of the Head

As indicated, there is some evidence of strong links between Celtic sources and Scandinavian balladry in general. I would like to note some motifs which are especially prominent in Celtic literature and that also appear (albeit transformed) in this only ballad found in Shetland.

In order to facilitate the analysis of the motifs I give the content of *Hildinavisen* after Low. About the content of the ballad Low wrote "A literal translation of the above (the ballad) I could not procure, but the substance is this:" (Low 1879: 113)

An Earl of Orkney, in some of his rambles on the coast of Norway[17], saw and fell in love with the King of the country's daughter. As their passion happened to be reciprocal, he carried her off in her father's absence, who was engaged in war with some of his distant neighbours (v. 1-3). On his return, he followed the fugitives to Orkney, accompanied by his army, to revenge on the Earl the rape of his daughter (v. 7). On his arrival there, Hildina (which was her name), first (!) spied him, and advised her now husband to go and attempt to pacify the King (v. 9). He did so, and by his appearance and promises brought the King so over as to be satisfied with the match (v. 12). This, however, was of no long standing, for as soon as the Earl's back was turned (!) a courtier, called Hiluge, took great pains to change the King's mind, for it seems Hiluge had formerly hoped to succeed with the daughter himself (v. 15-16). His project took, and the matter came to blows (v.16-18); the Earl is killed by Hiluge, who cut off his head and threw it at his lady, which, she says, vexed (!) her even more than his death, that he should add cruelty to revenge (v. 22). Upon the Earl's death, Hildina is forced to follow her father to Norway, and in a little time Hiluge makes his demand of her father to have her in marriage; he consents, and takes every method to persuade Hildina, who with great reluctance, agrees upon condition that she is allowed to pour the wine at her wedding (v. 26). This is easily permitted (v. 27), and Hildina infuses a drug (v. 25) which soon throws the company into a dead sleep, and after ordering her father to be removed, sets the house on fire (v. 29-30). The flame soon rouses Hiluge, who piteously cries for mercy, but the taunts he had bestowed at the death of the Earl of Orkney are now bitterly returned, and he is left to perish in the flames (v. 31-34).

The first episode in *Hildinavisen* according to the summary of the ballad given by Low, "the Earl is killed by Hiluge, who cut off his head and threw it at his lady, which, she says, vexed (!) her even more than his death, that he should add cruelty to revenge' (Low 1879: 113). The translation given by Low can be compared with the same lines from the ballad *Hildinavisen*:

Hildinavisen 22

[17] The mark for something that Low says, but which is not found in the ballad.

Nu fac an Iarlin dahuge
Dar min de an engin gro
An cast ans huge ei
Fong ednar u vaxhedne mere mo. (Hægstad 1900: 6).

'Now the Earl got a deathblow – nobody could help / save him. He (Hiluge) cast his head into her (Hildina's) lap (embrace, chest) and she was angered' (Translation from Norn is my own).

Two Irish sagas which have similar episodes connected with beheading. One of them is *Fled Bricrenn* 'Bricriu's Feast', the other is *Scéla Muicce Meic Da Thó* 'The Story of Mac Dá Thó's Pig'. Both sagas have "the constellation of concepts that may be conveyed by headings such as 'contention at the Celtic feast','the Celtic cult of the head', and others of this type" (Koch 2000: 23–25). This feature was earlier described by Jackson as the 'head hunting and the beheading game' (Jackson 1964: 19-20, 35-37). The beheading motif can be called a stock motif and it is counted among those belonging to the earliest Celtic tradition. It figured abundantly in various Irish sagas about the ideal warrior, whose honour and status were often amplified through acts of decapitation and collection of severed heads. Vernacular Irish literature exhibits numerous examples of head-taking which is a natural part of combat, demonstrating the military prowess of the hero.

The motif of beheading is not only found in the domain of literature. Early Irish laws and annals have scores of episodes reporting slaying and beheading (Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill 1983: 416-417). The motif of beheading is so productive in secular literature that Irish hagiographical literature designs the counter-motif of recapitation. It is "the hagiographical reply to vernacular literature's manipulation of the beheading topos to portray the warrior ideal" (Johnson 2007: §4). The motif of recapitation is also found in Icelandic *Brennu-Njáls saga* which recounts the battle of Clontarf. *Síðan tóku þeir lík Brjáns konungs ok bjoggu um; hǫfuð konungsins var gróit við bolinn.* 'After that they took King Brian's body and laid it out. The king's head had grown fast to the trunk' (Einar Ólafur Sveinsson 1954: 453). The motif is used in the Irish

context, which proves that it was borrowed from the Irish hagiographical narratives. However, the specific type of beheading episodes found in the two above- mentioned sagas is pertinent to the analysis of *Hildinavisen*.

The earliest version of *Fledd Bricrenn* is found in the oldest Irish manuscript *Leabhar na h-Uidre* 'The Book of the Dun Cow', written at Clonmacnoise in about 1100 but containing interpolations from 1250–1300. As was demonstrated in 1912 by the Irish palaeographer R. I. Best, the manuscript was written by three different scribes.[18]

To judge by the language, the story was first committed to writing in the 8th century (O'Brien 1968: 68–69). *Fledd Bricrenn* contains the 'beheading game episode', where Cú Roi is beheaded three times, only to recover instantly. Concerning the sources of 'the beheading game episode' in the Icelandic *Sveins rímur Múkssonar*, Einar Ólafur Sveinsson rejected the idea that the motif in the Icelandic version could have been taken over from English or French sources (Einar Ólafur Sveinsson 1975: 134).

The Irish story is closest to the Icelandic one, but the influence of Arthurian works indicates that the rímur could not have derived directly from the Irish tradition. A now lost source, possibly written in England, might therefore have served as an intermediary (Einar Ólafur Sveinsson 1975: 134).

Orgain Mic Da Thó 'Mac Dá Thó´s Slaughter' is included in the list of *prím-scéla* ('primary stories') even before the period of our earliest manuscript text in the Book of Leinster. The list probably dates from the 10th century, but the tale is also mentioned in a poem by Flannacán Mac Cellaich who is said to have been slain by the Norsemen in 896 (Chadwick 1968: 90). *Scéla Muicce Meic Da Thó* is also an early story, probably composed in its present form in about 800 AD. The setting of the story, and its link to Kildare suggest that the author was from Leinster and inherited its fine heroic tradition.

Scéla Muicce Meic Da Thó is a highly sophisticated story which belongs to the early period of the Viking regime, and this may have done something to substitute laconic humour and a spirit of ripe burlesque for dignity and poetical

[18] One of them was Maelmuire, murdered in 1106 by a marauder, probably a Viking.

beauty. The story is preserved in at least six manuscripts. *The Book of Leinster*, written in ca. 1160, is the earliest. The text of the story is also found in *Harley 5280*, a manuscript written in the first half of the 16th century and now kept at the British Library. These texts of the story are independent. They seem to be derived from a common source, which was a transcript of a previous version, believed from its language to date from about 800.

Chadwick identified certain parallels between *Scéla Muicce Meic Da Thó* and the Icelandic *Bandamanna saga* 'The story of the Banded Men' (Chadwick 1957: 172), but these parallels are considered dubious by other scholars (Gísli Sigurðsson 1988: 93). Another episode from the same Irish story is paralleled in *Brennu-Njáls saga* 'The Story of Burnt Njal'. *Brennu-Njáls saga* has a description (Chapter 70) of an Irish dog Sámr, brought from Ireland by Ólafr Pá to Gunnar Hámundarson (Einar Ólafur Sveinsson 1954: 173). The implications of the Celtic motifs and their signification have been explored by William Sayers, who traced recurrent Celtic strands throughout *Brennu-Njáls saga* (Sayers 1997: 48). Descriptions of legendary dogs are common in Irish stories; cf. the description of a dog brought from Spain in the opening lines of *Scéla Muicce Meic Da Thó*. If these two episodes in different family sagas are really connected to *Scéla Muicce Meic Da Thó*, then it seems that material of this Irish saga in one or as other form was well-known not just in Shetland, but also in Iceland. If Chadwick's suggestion about these motifs is correct, it follows that the material of the Irish saga was well-known in the area.

Scéla Muicce Meic Da Thó also refers to the so called *curadmír*, 'Heroe's Portion'. Diodorus Siculus, who already wrote about the Celts c. 60–30 BC, describing the behavior of the Celts during feasts, mentions 'the choicest portion': "They honour the brave warriors with the choicest portion, just as Homer says that the chieftains honoured Ajax when he returned having defeated Hector in single combat. They also invite strangers to their feasts, inquiring of their identity and business only after the meal. During feasts it is their custom to be provoked by idle comments into heated disputes, followed

by challenges and single combat to death" (Koch 1997: 11). There is another Irish word *dantmír* 'the heroes' morsel' identified with *curadmír*. But *dantmír* seems to signify a piece of food which, according to the old custom, was put between the teeth of the dead (DIL 1990: 184).[19]

The story *Scéla Muicce Meic Da Thó* tells of the rivalry between two heroes, Cet Mac Mágach of Connacht and Conall Cernach of Ulster. Conall and Cet argue about the champion's portion at the feast. At the end of the dialogue Cet reluctantly acknowledges Conall to be the greater hero, regretfully adding that if a certain Anlúan had been present, he would have challenged Conall.

'He is present though,' cries Conall, who at this point takes the head of Anlúan which is hanging at his belt, and flings it at the opponent.

'It is true,' Cet said, 'you are even a better warrior than I. If Anlúan mac Mágach were in the house', said Cet, 'he would match you contest, and it is a shame that he is not in the house tonight.' 'But he is,' said Conall, taking Anlúan's head out of his belt and throwing it at Cet's chest, so that a gush of blood broke over his lips' (Koch 1997: 62).

Chadwick claims that "terse and humorous, with laconic brevity, it [the story] reminds us of the Icelandic sagas at their best. The dialogue in particular is masterly in its understatement and crisp repartee" (Chadwick 1968: 87).

The element with the head in the story was certainly captivating and probably used to make an indelible impression on the tale's audience. The narrative aims at arousing and riveting attention and exciting interest, not at stimulating thought. The story-teller makes use of the element of surprise, of quick developments and dramatic moments. "He seeks to impress by rapid crescendo to a startling climax, and a shock, when Cet reluctantly gives precedence to Conall Cernach in the absence of Anlúan. There is more than a touch of humorous hyperbole in Conall's throwing the head of Anlúan at Cet (Chadwick 1968: 87-88).

[19] One episode is found in the tale of Find's death (Meyer 1897: 456) where the fish is cooked in an abandoned house, the head is placed near the fire and the portion is called *dantmír*.

In Irish tradition Conall Cernach is associated in several stories with bodiless heads. Druids prophesied that Conall would kill more than half of the men of Connacht, and that he would always have a Connachtman's head on his belt. In the tale '*Siege of Howth'*, apparently from the 9th century (Stokes 1887), this Ulster hero severs the head of his defeated enemy Mes-Gegra and heals his blemish – crossed eyes – by placing Mes-Gegra's head upon his own:

"Conall severs his [Mes-Gegra's] head from him in the Path of Clane, and Conall takes the head and puts it on the flagstone on the ford's brink. A drop came from the neck of the head and went into the top of the stone and passed through it to the ground. Then he put Mes-Gegra's head on the stone, and it went from the top of the stone to the ground, and it fared before him to the river. Conall the Cross-eyed was his name thitherto.

Howbeit Conall put his head on his (own) head, and the head went over his shoulder, and he was straight-eyed from that hour " (Stokes 1887).

The story was evidently much liked in later times also, for they form the subject of a number of independent poems. None of these seem to be based directly on the text of our sagas. Chadwick suspected that the poems were inspired by the different versions of the story (Chadwick 1968: 90). The motif is reused in *Hildinavisen*, but it is transformed and employed in a different context.

The head of the dead husband is thrown at his wife. The motif occurs in a dramatic moment of the story and serves its functions of surprise and the arousal of interest and horror. This element is so important that it is used twice, the second time at the end of the ballad when Hiluge asks Hildina for mercy but she reminds him of having thrown the earl's head at her and how much it vexed her:

Hildinavisen 34

Du tuchtada lide undocht yach
Swo et sa ans bugin bleo
Dogh casta ans huge
I mit fung u vexmir mire mo (Hægstad 1900: 9).

‘You thought I suffered not yet enough to see his body bleed, still you threw his head to my lap and I was vexed’ (Translation from Norn is my own).

There is no way of knowing, how this motif penetrated into *Hildinavisen*, but it might have come through Viking contacts with the indigenous population in Shetland and Orkney to whom the contents of the Irish sagas were known, because the story *Scéla Muicce Meic Da Thó* was coming into shape at the period of the Viking invasions. This motif in *Hildinavisen* is clearly of Celtic origin, because in Scandinavian balladry, apart from Hildinavisen, it is used only in one other instance, again transformed and used in yet another context.

The severed head at the feast has a strong emotional effect, and the position of the episode within the respective tales confirms that medieval authors felt the power of the device (much as we do now). Its currency may, therefore, be purely literary. Storytellers and writers knew an effective episode when they encountered one and would simply reuse the device (Koch 2000: 35).

As Hægstad was the first to notice, we find essentially the same incident in the Faroese ballad *Frúgvin Margareta* ‘Lady Margareta’ (Hægstad 1900: 11). However, in this ballad it is not a full-grown man’s head but a little child’s. The combination of decapitation *and* throwing of the head is present only in the Shetlandic *Hildinavisen* and the Faroese *Frúgvin Margareta* (Hammershaimb 1891: 93-120). During the Viking Age Shetland and the Faroe Islands were conduits for a substantial degree of cultural unity and the Celtic motif of hurling of the head might have reached the Faroe Islands (Gísli Sigurðsson 1988: 11). This Celtic element in the Faroese ballad, dominated by Christian elements, might have been influenced by the Shetlandic ballad and reused in *Frúgvin Margareta* since the Faroese ballad is likely to be much later. In *Frúgvin Margareta* the passage of killing a child is expanded and supplemented with macabre details. The body is first cut into two pieces and the head is thrown in the lap of the bereaved mother:

Frúgvin Margareta 141, 142, 143

Tað var Eyðun Hestkorn,
sínum svörði brá,
hann kleyv hennara lítlu kind
sundur í lutir tvá.

Hann kleyv hennara lítlu kind
sundur í lutir tvá,
síðan báðar partarnar
han kastar út á bál.

Svaraði frúgvin Margareta,
henni komst höfur í fang:
"Onkun tíð hevði móðir tín
Haft betri kirkjugang!" (Hammershaimb 1891: 93-120).

'Eidun Hestkorn unsheathed his sword,
he cut her little child into two parts.

He cut her little child into two parts
and then threw both parts on the pyre.

Lady Margareta said,
the head fell in her lap:
"[I hope] that some time your mother
will hold a better burial." (Translation from Faroese is my own)

An intrinsic affinity between Faroese and Shetlandic ballads bears witness to rich cultural ties that were always strong. There is a tradition in Norse archaeology of dealing with Faroe and Shetland as a more or less defined unity. Besides, Viking Age rural society in Shetland and the Faroe Islands had close trade and communication links (Hansen 1996: 117).

Concerning the preservation of the ballads, the situation in the Faroe Islands is opposite to the Shetlandic. The Faroese nation, which around the year 1800 was not more than 5000 people, has preserved about 200 ballads (Matras 1935: 15). The oldest ones are from the 13th century. Despite the scantiness of Shetlandic material, Faroese and Shetlandic balladry reflects cross-cultural kinship. A few instances of phrasing and a wide range of lexical items in various Faroese ballads can also be found in *Hildinavisen*, but are rare

in other Scandinavian ballads (Norwegian or Danish). Many of these instances are formulae, but even the choice of formulae indicates inter-relationships with the Faroese ballads. However, the content of Faroese ballads also matches the content of Icelandic and Norwegian ballads since sometimes they describe characters outside the Faroe Islands (Isaksen 1993: 28-29).

The motif of beheading and hurling of the head was certainly very impressive, but as we have seen it does not appear in other Scandinavian ballads apart from the Faroese *Frúgvin Margareta*. As a result, an interesting amalgam of two Scandinavian and Celtic cultures is achieved. The Irish Sea Zone is hardly a culturally sterile environment (Koch 2000: 27).

The motif of the Severed Heads is well known in Iceland. When Gísli Sigurðsson deals with the nature of contacts in the Orkneys between Iceland and the Gaelic world after the age of settlement, he claims that this motif comes into Icelandic from the Celtic world (Gísli Sigurðsson 1988: 12). There are numerous references in Icelandic sources to a head-cult of some sort and related folk beliefs. Many of these are believed to be due to the Gaelic influence and some are so well-established that they are most likely to have developed within Iceland. The Old Norse *Ynglinga saga* written around 1225 by Snorri Sturluson (chapter 4), and *Snorra Edda* 'Prose Edda', include episodes where a giant called Mímir is decapitated, his head is smeared with herbs to protect it from rotting and it serves Óðinn as an instructor:

"Þá tóku þeir Mími ok hálshjoggu ok sendu hǫfuðit Ásum. Óðinn tók hǫfuðit ok smurði urtum þeim, er eigi mátti fúna, ok kvað þar yfir galdra, ok magnaði svá, at þat mælti við hann ok sagði honum marga leynda hluti" (Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson 1979: 13).

"They took Mime, therefore, and beheaded him, and sent his head to the Asaland people. Odin took the head, smeared it with herbs so that it should not rot, and sang incantations over it. Thereby he gave it the power that it spoke to him, and revealed to him many secrets" (http://omacl.org/Heimskringla/ynglinga.html).

Later on, Mímir's head is kept in the well. Anne Ross, who looked at the nature of severed heads in Celtic tradition, highlighted the Celtic association of

heads with wells. She pointed out that the treatment og Óðinn's head "in the manner of the Celts, who preserved the heads of their enemies with oil and herbs" (Ross 1962: 41). As early as 60–30 B.C. Diodorus Siculus writes that "they [the Celts] preserve the heads of their most distinguished enemies in cedar oil and store them carefully in chests" (Coch and Carey 1997: 12). *Aided Chonchobuir* 'The Death of Conchobhar' (to be discussed later) contains a passage on the similar practice of preserving brains: "It was the custom among the Ulstermen in those days to take out the brains of any warrior whom they killed in single combat, out of his head, and to mix them with lime, so that they became hard balls. And when they used to be disputing or contending, these would be brought to them so that they had them in their hands" (Jackson 1971: 54).

Thus, in the Norse context there is a group of motifs, atypical of the Norse tradition and familiar from the Celtic sources. Decapitation, the preservation of the severed head, its association with a well, its powers of prophecy, as well as otherworldly knowledge are all features which recur in Celtic tradition and belief. All the evidence suggests that this episode in Norse mythology, if not a direct borrowing from a Celtic source, at least owes its presence in the Norse tradition to detailed knowledge of such beliefs amongst the Celts on the part of the story-teller (Ross 1962: 41). Severed, talking heads at feasts appear in many Irish stories, particularly in the Finn Cycle. *Bruiden Átha Í* 'The Quarrel at the Ford of the Yew Tree' (Meyer 1893: 24), *Aided Find* 'The Death of Finn mac Cumaill' (Meyer 1897: 464-5) and *Sanas Cormaic* 'Cormac's glossary' (the glossary of Bishop Cormac mac Cuillenáin, year 908) (Meyer 1912: xix-xx) contain episodes where a severed head demands its share of food. *Bruiden Átha Í* is the 8th or the 9th century text in which Finn mac Cumhaill decapitates a man named Currech and thus avenges the beheading of his wife Badamir.

Severed, talking heads in Old Icelandic material are to be found in *Eyrbyggja saga* 'The Saga of the Ere-Dwellers', ch. 43 and *Þorsteins þáttr bæjarmagns* 'The Story of Thorsteinn House-Power', ch. 9. Severed heads of

enemies appear in *Grettis saga* 'Grettis saga', ch. 82., *Bjarnar saga Hítdælakappa* 'The Saga of Bjorn, Champion of the Hitardal People', ch. 32, *Fóstbræðra saga* 'The Saga of the Sworn Brothers', ch. 18, and *Ljósvetninga saga* 'The Saga of the People of Ljosavatn', (*Þórarins þáttr*). Supernatural qualities are also attached to heads in *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar* 'The Saga of King Olaf Tryggwason', ch. 28/19, *Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 27, and *Njáls saga*, ch. 157 (the head of King Brjánn) (Gísli Sigurðsson 1988: 81).

A similar similar tradition of severed heads is also found in Orkney, but here it is slightly different, though there are certain parallels even with *Scéla Muicce Meic Da Thó.* In *Orkneyinga saga* 'The History of the Earls of Orkney' (chapter 5), Sigurðr, the first Earl of Orkney, defeats the Scottish Earl Melbrikta (nicknamed *tönn* 'tooth') in a battle, cuts his and his followers' heads off, attaches them to his saddle and gallops triumphantly away. Unfortunately for Sigurðr, Melbrikta's tooth, sticking out of the severed head's mouth, wounds Sigurðr's calf and causes a deadly infection. Both the Shetlandic ballad and *Orkneyinga saga* involve the Earl of Orkney. The Celtic origins of the episode in the saga is vindicated by the Irish name Merbrikta, meaning 'devotee of St. Brigit'.

The custom of using heads as a token of triumph and even hanging them on horses was common among the Celts, examples of which can be found in numerous sources (Chadwick 1970: 49-50; Coch and Carey 1997: 12; McCone 1990: 29). One of the most famous Irish sagas *Táin Bó Cúailnge* 'The Cattle-Raid of Cooley' contains numerous episodes about Cú Chulainn galloping away with a bunch of heads tied to his horse.

The distinctive element in *Orkneyinga saga*, however, is that the head-episode is connected with revenge. An Old Irish parallel to this combination of motifs can be found in *Aided Chonchobuir* (Jackson 1971: 53-56), dated to the 9th century. *Aided Chonchobuir* also describes a feast with disputes and contentions among the Ulstermen. In this story, a ball made out of the Leinster King Mesgegra's brain and used by the Ulstermen to boast about the victory, is stolen by a Connachtman, Cet: "He snatched the brain from the hand of one of

them [buffoons] and carried it off with him, for Cet knew that it was foretold that Meis-Geghra would avenge himself after his death" (Jackson 1971: 54). Eventually, this brain is thrown at the Ulster king, Conchobhar Mac Nessa: "Cet fitted Meis-Geghra's brain into the sling, and slung it so that it struck Conchobhar on the top of his skull, so that two-thirds of it were in his head, and he fell headlong on the ground" (Jackson 1971: 54). The ball enters his head but does not cause his death until several years later, when Conchobhar receives the news of Christ's crucifixion. Then the ball falls out of his head, leaving a hole for the blood to gush forth, whereupon Conchobhar dies, is baptized in his own blood and becomes the first Irishman to go straight to Heaven.

The pattern of revenge is complicated in the Irish story and not as straightforward as in *Orkneyinga saga*, where the full-sized head kills the actual killer soon after being separated from the body (Gísli Sigurðsson 1988: 45-46). The similarities nevertheless lead Almqvist to conclude: "One need not assume that the tale about Mesgegra's brain is the direct source of the Melbrikta episode in *Orkneyinga saga,* but some such Celtic story, perhaps in a more primitive form and without hagiographic ingredients, seems likely to lie behind it" (Almqvist 1981: 99).

In the Irish saga *Aided Chonchobuir* we also have a hurling episode, but it is not a whole head that is thrown, but a ball made out of the brain. However, the similarity of the motifs and the motivation for this action, i.e. revenge, are obvious. The very same Cet plays a crucial role in causing King Conchobhar's death: he is the thrower. In *Scéla Muicce Meic Da Thó* the head is thrown at him. Cet's rival, Conall, mentioned in *Scéla Muicce Meic Da Thó* acts as one of Cet's rivals also in *Aided Chonchobuir*. It might be that some Old Irish stories about the rivalry between Ulstermen and Connachtmen and Cet's destiny, where severed heads (alternatively, balls made of brain) appear and are hurled forth in order to cause the rival's death or in revenge, were well-known in Orkney and Shetland and thus were paralleled in various Scandinavian texts.

4.9.2 Resemblances between Hildinavisen and Branwen Uerch Lyr

Some elements in the Shetlandic *Hildinavisen* can be identified as related to the Welsh story *Branwen Uerch Lyr* 'Branwen Daughter of Llŷr', though the relationships are not straightforward and immediately recognizable. The parallels are sketchy and sometimes one-dimensional. However, a close reading of the ballad has uncovered some similarities between the ballad and the story of Branwen.

The text of the *Four Branches of Mabinogi* (*Branwen Uerch Lyr* is one of the stories) is contained in two closely related manuscripts, the earlier being the *White book of Rhydderch* (Peniarth MSS. 4 and 5), the later the *Red book of Hergest* (Jesus Coll. MS. CXI). The *White Book* recension of the *Four Branches* was dated by Gwenogvryn Evans, on palaeographical evidence, to c. 1300-25, and the *Red Book* recension to c. 1375-1425. Two short extracts from these stories occur in an earlier manuscript, Peniarth 6, which Evans dated to c. 1235 (Thomson 1986: x). External influences on the *Four Branches of Mabinogi* were discussed by Timothy Lewis, in his *Mabinogi Cymru* (Lewis 1931). He made an attempt to show that these tales were basically of Norse origin. His distortion of the evidence and his special pleading make it impossible to accept his thesis (Thomson 1986: xxxiii).

Several aspects in *Hildinavisen* could be related to *Branwen Uerch Lyr*:

A) The first aspect to be discussed is the main protagonist in *Hildinavisen*, Hiluge, and his actions relating to the protagonist in *Branwen Uerch Lyr*, Efnisien. In *Branwen Uerch Lyr* two characters are of interest to this discussion: Nisien and Efnisien. Their antithetical natures are deftly sketched in the story, and a sharp contrast between the two characters is stated (the contrast is implied in the very names Nisien and Efnisien, the prefix to the latter making it the negative or opposite of the former (Thomson 1986: xliv):

"Y deu uroder [Nissyen ac Efnyssien] un uam ac ef, meibon oedynt y Eurosswyd o'e uam ynteu Penardun, uerch Ueli uab Mynogan. A'r neill o'r gueisson hynny, gwas da oed: ef a barei tangneued y rwg y deu lu, ban uydynt

lidyawcaf: sef oed hwnnw Nissyen. Y llall a barei ymlad y rwng y deu uroder, ban uei uwyaf yd ymgerynt" (Thomson 1986: 1).

"[Bendigeidfran's] two maternal brothers, Nissyen and Efnyssien, were sons of Eurosswydd by Bendigeidfran's mother Penardunn, daughter of Beli, son of Mynogan. The first of these lads was a good lad: he used to make peace between two armies when they were most furious. That one was Nissyen. The other could make two brothers fight when they loved each other most" (Jones and Jones 1949: 21).

It has been argued that unlike the rest of the *Four Branches of the Mabinogi*, much of the story of *Branwen Uerch Lyr* is set in Ireland. Many characters are Irish. The medieval author (or his immediate source) was clearly familiar with the Ireland of his day (Koch 2000: 27). Proincias Mac Cana suggests that the Irish saga characters Bricriu and Sencha could be seen to have explicit functional analogues in the brothers Efnisien and Nisien in *Branwen Uerch Lyr* (Mac Cana 1958: 81). Mac Cana suggests that the character of Efnisien was modeled closely on that of Bricriu Nemthenga 'Bricriu of the poison tongue', who appears as a minor character in many of the tales of the *Ulster cycle* and as the central character in *Fled Bricrenn* (Mac Cana 1958: 78-84). This may be readily accepted, especially as Mac Cana finds other similarities between *Branwen* and *Fled Bricrenn* (Thomson 1986: xlii). Given the abundant Irish affinities of the Welsh tale, there is a prima facie likelihood that the trouble-making and peace-making antitheses were borrowed from the Irish narrative by the Welsh in the Middle Ages. That would make the theme Celtic only in the loose sense that the literatures were in cognate languages and in contact across the Irish Sea (Koch 2000: 29).

The differences from the Shetlandic ballad are immediately noticeable. First of all in *Hildinavisen* there is no counterpart for the good character in *Branwen Uerch Lyr*, Nisien. Secondly, Hiluge's trouble-making function is exercised through his capacity as the king's counselor, whereas Efnisien is not in service as a counselor to Bendigeidfran.

That said, in both stories Efnisien's and Hiluge's troublemaking and outrageous actions are consistently motivated. Hiluge, as it appears later, is

driven by his wish to marry Hildina, and Efnisien is motivated by his sense of honour, owing to his maternal link to the royal lineage (Koch 2000: 29). While Hiluge's misdeeds in the ballad are convincingly motivated, the same formulaic phrase mentioned twice in *Hildinavisen* in connection with him ("*Hera geve honon scam*" 'God give him shame' (Hægstad 1900: 4) and "*Crego gevan a scam*" (Hægstad 1900: 6)) seems to be an expression of an inherent evil in Hiluge. Both Efnisien and Hiluge act in character throughout, maliciously showing their perfidious attitude to reconciliation. Hægstad offers the explanation that "*crego*" here is a lapse for "*erego*", meaning 'Herregud' (Hægstad 1900: 26).

B) In the thirteenth and fourteenth stanzas, where the king and the earl seem to have solved their problem and reached a reconciliation, *Hiluge* intervenes and makes the flame of the conflict burn anew:

Hildinavisen 13, 14

Nu swara Hiluge
Hera geve honon scam
Taga di gild firre Hidina
Sin yach skall lega dor fram.

Estin whaar u feur-fetign
Agonga kadn i sluge
Feur fetign sin gonga
Kadn i pluge (Hægstad 1900: 4-5).

'Now answers Hiluge – God give him shame – take that payment for Hildina which I am going to lay forward.
The horse still and an ox, which can go under the harrow, an ox that can go under the plough' (Translation from Norn is my own).

This passage is reminiscent of *Branwen Uerch Lyr*, where Efnisien causes the conflict after both sides have reached perfect agreement. Like the Earl of Orkney in *Hildinavisen*, Matholwch in *Branwen Uerch Lyr* is a stranger and outsider who comes to another country in order to obtain a bride. Both succeed

in obtaining a bride (under different circumstances) and then afterwards a conflict is provoked.

Both in this saga and in the ballad the conflict develops around animals. In *Branwen Uerch Lyr*, Efnisien maims horses belonging to Matholwch, and in *Hildinavisen* Hiluge puts forward his own reconciliation conditions and asks additionally for the horse and an ox. The Earl of Orkney assures him this will never happen as long as he is alive:

Hildinavisen 15

Nu stienderin Iarlin
U linge wo an swo
Dese mo eki Orknear
So linge san yach lava mo (Hægstad 1900: 5).

'Now the earl was standing, and he was like that for a long time. That Orkney may not allow as long as I [Orkney] live' (Translation from Norn is my own).

The Earl explains to Hildina and stresses once again that Hiluge strives for a different outcome of the matter, one that is not peaceful:

Hildinavisen 16

Nu eke tegaran san
Sot Koningn fyrin din
U alt yach an Hilhugin
Widn ugare din arar (Hægstad 1900: 5).

'Now the King, your father, does not take this settlement, and I think that Hiluge wants another outcome' (Translation from Norn is my own).

C) The child is born both to Hildina and Branwen.

In *Hildinavisen* Hiluge wants to marry Hildina immediately, but her father asks him to wait and delay marriage until the child can wear his own clothes:

Hildinavisen 24

Nu bill on heve da yalt

Guadnè bore u da kadn
Sina kloyn a bera do skall
Fon fruna Hildina verka wo sino chelsina villya (Hægstad 1900: 7).

'Now have patience until the child is born and can wear his own clothes. Then shall she, lady Hildina, do as her heart commands' (Translation from Norn is my own).

In *Branwen Uerch Lyr* the son Gwern is born, who is later thrown into a fire by Efnisien:

"And meantime it came to pass that she grew pregnant, and when the due time was past a son was born to her. This was the name given to the boy: Gwern son of Matholwch" (Jones and Jones 1949: 26).

"The boy went to him [Efnisien] gladly. 'By my confession to God', said Efnisien in his heart, 'an enormity the household would not think might be committed is the enormity I shall now commit.' And he arose and took up the boy by the feet and made no delay, nor did a man in the house lay hold on him before he thrust the boy headlong into the blazing fire. And when Branwen saw her son burning in the fire, she made as if to leap into the fire from the place where she was sitting between her two brothers" (Jones and Jones 1949: 30-31).

As mentioned above, the motif of burning young child in the fire is found in the Faroese ballad *Frúgvin Margareta* (141, 142) along with the motif of beheading.

In this respect *Frúgvin Margareta* is closer to *Branwen Uerch Lyr* than to *Hildinavisen*. There is a possibility that the motifs in the Shetlandic and Faroese ballads and also *Branwen Uerch Lyr* belong together and may originally come from another common earlier source or sources.

D) Passages about house-burnings are found both in the story *Branwen Uerch Lyr* and in *Hildinavisen*, where Hildina burns Hiluge alive in the house. On the one hand burnings of houses are frequently mentioned in the Norse sagas, so that the motif might be genuinely Scandinavian. Alfred W. Johnston investigated house-burnings by the Vikings of Orkney (Johnson 1912: 160) in the area closely related to Shetland. *Orkneyinga saga* relates of how Ölvir and

his followers attacked Óláfr in his own house. They set fire to the house and burned Óláfr to death within. Such house-burnings in which individuals are burnt to death or slain as they flee the fire are found throughout the sagas as a part of blood feuds. On the other hand Celtic tradition also contains stories of house-burnings.

In *Branwen Uerch Lyr* the passage about the burning of the house is set like a story within the story. Bendigeidfran tells Matholwch the story of how the magic cauldron was obtained. It is claimed that the incident of the iron house set on fire with the intention of destroying Llassar Llaes Gyfnewyd and his wife and child is one of the remarkable examples in Branwen of borrowing from Irish sources (Thomson 1986: xxxvi). This is because there are various accounts of similar episodes in Irish literature (O'Rahilly 1924: 101), as in the story of *Orgain denna Ríg* 'The Destruction of Dinn Ríg', the 9th or the 10th century text and the above-mentioned *Mesca Ulad* 'The Intoxication of the Ulstermen'. An entry in the Annals of Ulster, s.a. 1046, records the burning of Muiredach son of Flaithbertach Hua Néill in a house set on fire by Cú Ulad son of Congalach. Cecile O'Rahilly suggested that this incident may have been fresh news in Wales at the time when *Branwen Uerch Lyr* assumed its present form (O'Rahilly 1924: 107).

In *Branwen Uerch Lyr* we are at first given to understand that only Llassar, his wife and his child were in the house. However the phrase "and none escaped thence, save him and his wife" (Jones and Jones 1949: 26) suggests a larger number than three for the trapped company and also that the child perished in the fire. Before that "they had the woman and her husband and her offspring served with ample meat and drink. And when it was known that they were drunk, they began to set fire to the charcoal against the chamber" (Jones and Jones 1949: 26).

In *Hildinavisen*, according to Low "Hildina infuses a drug which soon throws the company into a dead sleep, and after ordering her father to be removed, sets the house on fire. The flame soon rouses Hiluge […] and he is left to perish in the flames" (Hægstad 1900: 32):

Hildinavisen 30, 31

Da gerde un fruna Hildina
On bard im ur
Hadlin burt sien on laghde
Gloug i otsta jatha port.

Nu iki visti an Hiluge
Ike ov till do
Eldin var commin i lut
U stor u sìlkì sark ans smo (Hægstad 1900: 8).

'Then lady Hildina did this, she carried them out of the house (halli) and put a fire in the highest point of the doorway' (Translation from Norn is my own).

Though the motif of burning people alive in the house is well-known in Icelandic sagas and this motif in *Hildinavisen* might be genuinely Scandinavian, there is a possibility that the above-mentioned set of elements, though heavily transformed, came from the story of *Branwen Uerch Lyr* or a similar story (or stories) known in Orkney and Shetland at the time when the Vikings appeared in the area.

4.9.3 "King and Goddess" theme in Hildinavisen

The narrative of *Hildinavisen* is much unlike other heroic Scandinavian ballads. The story revolves around a woman who takes revenge for her husband in a special way.

This Shetlandic ballad, or rather its framework, is reminiscent of an adaptation of the Celtic "King and goddess" theme. The Celtic world shared with many other ancient cultures the mythic model of the royal rule, *hieros gamos*, or sacred marriage. According to this model, successful and prosperous government of society was the outcome of a union between female and male elements, between the goddess of the land and its sovereign (Herbert 1992: 264). In the universe of early Irish mythology, the female deity was the embodiment both of the physical land and of its dominion (Herbert 1992: 56).

The feminization of the land is amply in evidence in the sovereignty myth (Herbert 1992: 57).

In its Celtic setting, the myth is represented primarily in sources from both Gaul and Ireland. The abundance of stories containing the "King and goddess" theme in both Irish and Welsh medieval literature is well-nown, and sacred marriage imagery has been a recurring theme in Irish literature through the ages (Breatnach 1953: 321-36). The durability of the theme as a literary *topos* is surprising. Every time the motif appears the story is different, but we still can discern a basic continuity, which implies the transformation of each and every story.

The Gaulish epigraphic and iconographic evidence belongs to the period between ca. 500 BC and 400 AD. Written sources referring to Gaulish society were produced by Greek and Roman observers (Mac Cana 1970: 16-17). In Ireland literary evidence belongs to the period from about the 7th century AD onward. In early Irish narrative, the hypothesis is that we are dealing with mythology refracted through literature (Ó Cathasaigh 1993: 128). What is remarkable, however, is the persistence and vigour of these concepts in the tradition of the only Celtic society which remained relatively untouched by Roman civilization (Mac Cana 1970: 121).

The iconographic imagery of a foreign consort of the goddess of the land finds a literary reflex in the story of the foundation of Massilia (Marseilles). It relates that the Gaulish king's daughter, in the act of proffering a symbolic marriage libation to her intended spouse, bestows the drink on the newly-arrived foreigner (Herbert 1971: 265).

We find similar stories in early Ireland where a goddess validates the ruler through the act of marriage. In medieval Irish literature, we have narratives relating to two Medbs – Medb of Cruachu and Medb Lethderg of Leinster – both of whom select and validate their royal spouses through marriage. The theme persisted in the Celtic territories almost unchanged in its lineament and in its influence. The concept of a female bestowing the right to rule on male sovereigns remained as a rather stable and yet shifting phenomenon, so the

preservation of the myth in the literary sources of the early Christian period seems to be the surviving traces of its narrative realization.

The most famous text *Baile in Scáil*, 'Phantoms's frenzy', dated to the early 11th century AD (Gerard Murphy holds that there is an earlier stratum in the text, possibly of the 9th century [Murphy 1937: 143]) portrays a vision of the pan-Celtic god-king Lug enthroned in iconic fashion beside his female consort. She is instructed to bestow the drink of sovereignty on a succession of rulers destined to be kings. The imagery is strongly reminiscent of the Gaulish representations (Herbert 1971: 267). Here the significance of the drink is very prominent. There are many other Irish equivalents where the goddess destroys the unrighteous and confirms the right one as a king. The underlying pattern of the stories is the same.

There are special elements constitutive of the account, i.e. brothers claiming kingship, a hunt in the wilderness, a disguised queen and an apparently repugnant sexual union, which have been noted by Jan de Vries. According to John Carey, there are some recurring elements like a hunt and / or wandering, a woman dispensing a drink, a woman who appears in different forms. These elements (not necessarily all of them) recur in the famous legends told of Niall Noígiallach and Lugaid Laígde (De Vriez 1961: 120). Another similar story is the legend of Macha Mongruad, in which the true claimant is united with the goddess and in the case of Mongruad she subjugates the unworthy (Carey 1983: 69). Macha Mongruad is an example of the terrible aspect of the Sovereignty goddess (Carey 1983: 263-75).

Not all encounters with the Sovereignty goddess are equally benevolent. A notable feature of the system was the dual aspect of the goddess. The figure of sovereignty could appear repulsive or beautiful. "Death and slaughter were the reverse sides of the personifications of growth and fertility" (Carey 1983: 268). There is a wide range of Gaulish and Irish narratives where instead of being confirmed as a king by the female divinity, the unsuitable ruler is destroyed. On some occasions the Sovereignty goddess displays her two-fold character:

sinister and aggressive on the one hand, beautiful and prosperous on the other (Carey 1983: 268).

The tale of greatest importance to the investigation is one of the earliest Celtic tales containing the "King and goddess" theme with a negative outcome, where the goddess acts as terrifying and malevolent. The setting of the story is similar to that of the foundation story of Masillia. But almost the same scenario can lead to different consequences. One version of the story comes from Asia Minor (around modern Ankara, Turkey). The story was recorded by Mestrius Plutarchus (Plutarch c. 46 – 127) in section XX of his *Moralia* in the chapter *De Mulierum Virtutibus,* 'On the Bravery of Women', 257-8, called "The Poisoned Libation: the Love Triangle of Sinatus, Sinorīx, and the High Priestess Camma". This work of Plutarch appears in pp.471-581 of Vol. III of the Loeb Classical Library's edition of the Moralia, first published in 1931. Polyaenus (in the middle of the 2nd century AD) drew freely from Plutarch's *Moralia* to embellish his *Strategemata*. For the translation of his version see Appendix II. Sinorīx means 'old king', Camma probably means 'evil woman' and Sinātus means 'the one with good ancestry'. Galatia here is the Celtic domain founded in Hellenistic times in central Asia Minor. Several features of the narrative, a queen closely connected with a goddess; a honey drink that proves poisonous; an unnatural death instead of a wedding feast; a chieftain set in a chariot as his relatives prepare his tomb; a love triangle terminating in a fateful chariot ride and kin slaying as the prelude to the downfall of the king; a woman who brings great evil to those close to her through no fault of her own resonate widely through Celtic literary traditions and may be viewed as elements in its inherited preliterary substance (Koch 1997: 34).

In order to compare the stories of Camma and Hildina I give here Plutarch's story in full. Translation is by Carey in *The Celtic Heroic Age*.

XX. Camma

SINĀTUS AND SINORĪX, distant kinsmen, were the most powerful of the tetrarchs of Galatia. Sinātus had a young wife named Cammā, much admired

for her youth and beauty, but still more remarkable for her virtues. For she was not only modest and affectionate, but also shrewd and courageous, and fervently beloved by her servants on account of her compassion and her kindness. She was further distinguished by her office as priestess of Artemis, the goddess whom the Galatae most revere, and was always to be seen at the solemn processions and sacrifices, magnificently attired.

Sinorīx fell in love with her. Unable to possess her either by persuasion or by force while her husband lived, he did a dreadful deed: he killed Sinātus treacherously. Not long thereafter he proposed to Cammā, who was now living in the temple. She was biding her time, and bore Sinorīx's crime not with pathetic weakness but with a keen and foreseeing spirit.

He was importunate in his entreaties, and proffered arguments not entirely implausible: he claimed that he was a better man than Sinātus and had killed him for no reason except his love for Cammā. Even at first, her refusals were not too harsh, and in a little while she seemed to soften. (Her relatives and friends were also pressuring and seeking to force her to accept him, hoping themselves for the favour of the mighty Sinorīx.)

At last she yielded, and sent for him so that the compact and the vows might be made in the presence of the goddess. When he arrived she received him affectionately. She led him to the altar, poured a libation from a drinking-bowl, drank some herself, and told him to drink the rest. It was a drink of milk and honey [melikraton], with poison in it. When she saw that he had drunk, she cried aloud and fell down before the goddess. 'I bear witness to you, most glorious spirit,' she said, 'that it is for the sake of this day that I have lived since Sinātus's murder, in all that time taking pleasure in none of the good things of life, but only in the hope of justice. Having attained this, I go down to my husband. As for you, most impious of men, your relatives can prepare your tomb, instead of your wedding and bridal chamber.'

When the Galatians heard this, and felt the poison at work in him and penetrating his body, he mounted his chariot as if the tossing and shaking might do him good; but forthwith he desisted, got into a litter, and died in the evening. Cammā survived through the night: learning of his death, she passed away cheerfully and gladly.

The scenario is almost the same as in the Shetlandic ballad. However, it is clear that Celtic motifs reused in the ballad have nothing to do with their mythological aspect, it is not rationalization of the myth. In *Hildinavisen,* it is just a borrowing of the narrative. Cammā is depicted as a mortal female,

though she is connected with Artemis, goddess of hunting, ('whom the Galatae most revere') being her priestess.

In *Hildinavisen* and in the story of Cammā we have a typical Celtic love triangle, where the heroine's husband is killed by a jealous rival who discloses his intentions to marry the widow straightaway. Compare *Hildinavisen*:

Hildinavisen 23

Di lava mir gugna
Yift bal yagh fur o landi
Gipt mir nu fruan Hildina
Vath godle u fasta bande (Hægstad 1900: 6).

'You let me get married if she will follow me from the country, give me now lady Hildina with gold and betrothal' (Translation from Norn is my own).

With regard to marriage, the women in both stories seem to act of their own free will. In *Hildinavisen*, Hildina's father asks Hilugi to wait until the child is a bit older and then leaves to Hildina the right to decide. In the story of Cammā, though Cammā seems to be urged to marry Sinorīx by her relatives, she can ultimately decide herself.

Hiluge as Sinorīx is clearly a wrongful king, not destined to kingship. The scenario of the story is the same as in the stories with the "King and goddess" theme that have a positive outcome, only the drink turns out to be poisoned. The symbolism of the sacred drink is transparent in the story of Cammā. An emphasis on the drink is also clear in the Shetlandic ballad.

Hildina concedes to be married to Hiluge but asks to be allowed to serve the wine. Her father allows her to do so on condition that she will not think about the Earl. Hildina answers that even if she thought about the Earl, she would not serve any harmful drink to her father:

Hildinavisen 26, 27, 28

Nu Hildina on askar feyrin
Sien di gava mier live

Ou skinka vin
Ou guida vin.

Duska skinka vin, u guida vin
Tinka dogh eke wo
Iarlin an gougha here din.

Watha skilde tinka
Wo Iarlin gouga herè min
Hien mindi yagh inga forlskona
Bera fare kera fyrin min (Hægstad 1900: 7).

'Now Hildina asks her father – Give me permission to dispense the wine, to pour the wine.
You shall dispense the wine and pour the wine, though do not think about the earl, your good lord.
Though I will think about the earl, my good lord, for that I would not serve any harmful drink to my dear father' (Translation from Norn is my own).

Hægstad takes the word *forlskona* as a compound in genitive case: **fárskonnu*, composed of the word *fár*, meaning 'harm' and *kanna*, 'vessel'. Later, Hildina serves a drink to her father and everybody else. In this case, the drink is called *mien.* It corresponds to the Old Norse word *mjóðr* 'a drink made out of milk and honey'. In the Celtic story, the drink is called *melicatron* and is made of milk and honey. It is clear from the text that Hildina 'infuses a drug', but it is not clear what kind of drug it is:

Hildinavisen 25

Hildina liger wo chaldona
U o dukrar u grothè
Min du buga till bridleusin
Bonlothir u duka dogha (Hægstad 1900: 7).

'Hildina lies in the tent, her eyes are dark of crying, and before she is called to the wedding ceremony, she infuses poison into the drink' (Translation from Norn is my own).

Here the ending of the story is different: in the Celtic tradition the man dies, but in this story the hero is burned alive as in so many Icelandic sagas. In general, the serving of ale and mead in Scandinavian ballads is traditional, but here the tradition is modified with poisoned libation and combined with a typical Celtic love triangle. Conversely, the burning seems to be in itself a Scandinavian motif, which often appears in various Icelandic sagas. In the end, when Hiluge asks Hildina to pity him, she again reminds him of the throwing of the earl's head at her. Again, this seemingly Celtic motif is exploited here with a new strength.

In Scandinavian literature the motif of a king receiving a drink from a beautiful woman is not unique to *Hildinavisen*. Generally, stories with this motif are held to be closely connected with Irish tradition like for example stories about the Norwegian king Haraldr hárfagri, found in *Hálfdanar saga svarta* 'Halfdan the Black Saga' (chapter 8) (Bjarni Aðalbjarnason 1941: 84-93). The king as a young man follows Finn or Dofri into a supernatural fosterage where he receives a cup of mead from his fosterer's beautiful daughter and is promised a sovereignty on his departure. Chadwick also maintains that the appearance of Finn, a famous Irish hero, in the Icelandic version is significant (Chadwick 1957: 192) and demonstrates Celtic and Scandinavian contacts. The similarity of Harald's supernatural experiences to those of the Irish High-King Conn Cétchathach, and still more to those of Conn's descendant, Niall Noígiallach, as well as their relations with the maiden calling herself the *flaithiusa h-Erenn* 'the Sovereigny of Ireland' are already well-established (Chadwick 1957: 192).

4.10 Summing upp and conclusions of this chapter

The presence of Celtic elements in the only surviving ballad in Norn, *Hildinavisen*, which was created in continually changing linguistic, social and cultural conditions, indicates a certain degree of contact with the Celtic population. The seafaring societies of Shetland and the Orkney Islands generated various stories, where motifs and elements traveled in various

directions. *Hildinavisen* is of West Scandinavian origin, but it contains or rather is adorned with Celtic motifs. The meeting of these two traditions – Celtic and Scandinavian – resulted in a productive treatment of certain narratives. Analysis of the text indicates that on the level of the story *Hildinavisen* borrows substantially from the Celtic narrative tradition. Various motifs were externally imposed and later adapted in Scandinavian material. Especially prominent is the appeal to the "King and goddess" theme. But if it is a borrowing, it is by no means direct, because Celtic motifs and elements are adapted, transformed and remoulded in the text of the Scandinavian ballad. The presence of some Celtic elements, such as throwing of the head, which is one of the favourite motifs in the Irish sagas, or the "King and goddess" theme, have wide ramifications in Celtic literature and were especially prominent in oral tradition.

One can also discern various incidental similarities of the ballad with to the Middle Welsh text *Branwen Uerch Lyr*. It is impossible to claim that *Hildinavisen* borrowed directly from this or any other extant Welsh text, but it might have been influenced by some oral version of the story known in the Shetland Islands.

There may have been some kind of Orkney version of the story later transmitted to Shetland, since the main hero is the Earl of Orkney. This story might have served as an intermediary between *Hildinavisen* and the Celtic tradition, since Orkney was an important channel for the transmission of Celtic elements and Shetland must have been on the route of these contacts.

Bearing in mind the historical modes of habitation, the favourite pastimes and working activities were connected with sailing and rowing, usually accompanied by ballads. Thus the ballad was preserved in the bound language for a long time. This singing catalysed the appearance of new motifs, which were designated to adress issues specific to the unique conditions of this region.

APPENDIX I

HILDINAVISEN

1.
Da vara Iarlin d'Orkneyar
For frinda sin spir de ro
Whirdi han skilde meun
Our glas buryon burtaga.

2.
Or vanna ro eidnar fuo
Tega du meun our glas buryon
Kere frinde min yamna meun
Eso vrildan stiende gede min vara to din.

3.
Yom keimir eullingin
Fro liene burt
Asta vaar hon fruen Hildina
Hemi stu mer stien.

4.
Whar an yaar elonden
Ita kan sadnast wo
An scal vara keinde
Wo osta tre sin reithin ridna dar fro.

5.
Kemi to Orkneyar Iarlin
Vilda mien sante Maunis
I Orknian u bian sian
I lian far diar.

6.
An geve Drotnign kedn puster
On de kin firsane furu
Tworore wo eder
Whitrane kidn.

7.
In kimerin Iarlin
U klapasse Hildina
On de kiln quirto
Vult doch fiegan vara moch or fly din.

8.
Elde vilda fiegan vara
Fy min u alt sin
Ans namnu wo
So minyach u ere min heve Orkneyar linge ro.

9.
Nu di skall taga dor yochwo
And u ria dor to strandane nir
U yilsa fy minu avon
Blit an ear ni cumi i dora band.

10.
Nu Swar an Konign
So mege gak honon i muthi
Whath ear di ho gane mier
I daute buthe

11.
Tretti merke vath ru godle
Da skal yach ger yo
U all de vara sonna less
So linge sin yach liva mo.

12.
Nu linge stug an Konign
U linge wo an swo
Wordig vaar dogh muge sone
Yacha skier fare moga so minde yach angan u
frien rost wath comman mier to landa.

13.
Nu swara Hiluge
Hera geve honon scam
Taga di gild firre Hidina
Sin yach skall lega dor fram.

14.
Estin whaar u feur fetign
Agonga kadn i sluge
Feur fetign sin gonga
Kadn i pluge.

15.
Nu stienderin Iarlin

U linge wo an swo
Dese mo eki Orknear
So linge san yach lava mo.

16.
Nu eke tegaran san
Sot Koningn fyrin din
U alt yach an Hilhugin
Widn ugare din arar.

17.
Nu swarar an frauna Hildina
U dem san idne i fro
Di slo dor a bardagana
Dar comme ov sin mo.

18.
Nu Iarlin an genger
I vadlin fram
U kadnar sina mien
Geven skeger i Orkneyan.

19.
Han u cummin
In u vod lerdin
Frinde fans lever
Vel burne mien.

20.
Nu fruna Hildina
On genger i vadlin fram
Fy di yera da ov man dum
Dora di spidlaiki mire man.

21.
Nu sware an Hiluge
Crego gevan a scam
Gayer an Iarlin frinde
Din an u fadlin in.

22.
Nu fac an Iarlin dahuge
Dar min de an engin gro
An cast ans huge ei
Fong ednar u vaxhedne mere mo.

23.
Di lava mir gugna
Yift bal yagh fur o landi
Gipt mir nu fruan Hildina
Vath godle u fasta bande.

24.
Nu bill on heve da yalt
Guadne bore u da kadn
Sina kloyn a bera do skall
Fon fruna Hildina verka wo sino chelsina villya.

25.
Hildina liger wo chaldona
U o dukrar u grothe
Min du buga till bridleusin
Bonlothir u duka dogha.

26.
Nu Hildina on askar feyrin
Sien di gava mier live
Ou skinka vin
Ou guida vin.

27.
Duska skinka vin, u guida vin
Tinka dogh eke wo
Iarlin an gougha here din.

28.
Watha skilde tinka
Wo Iarlin gouga here min
Hien mindi yagh inga forlskona
Bera fare kera fyrin min.

29.
Da gerde on fruna Hildina
On bar se mien ot
On soverin fest
Fysin u quarsin sat.

30.
Da gerde un fruna Hildina
On bard im ur
Hadlin burt sien on laghde
Gloug i otsta jatha port.

31.
Nu iki visti an Hiluge
Ike ov till do
Eldin var commin i lut
U stor u silki sark ans smo.

32.
Nu leveren fram
Hiluge du kereda
Fraun Hildina du
Gevemir live u gre.

33.
So mege u gouga gre
Skall dogh swo
Skall lathi min heran
I bardagana fwo.

34.
Du tuchtada lide undocht yach
Swo et sa ans bugin bleo
Dogh casta ans huge
I mit fung u vexmir mire mo

35.
Nu tachte on heve fwelsko
Ans bo vad mild u stien
Dogh skall alde mire Koningnsens
Vadne vilda mien.

APPENDIX II

Polyaenus: Stratagems (History) 8.39 Translated by Philip Freeman (The Celtic Heroic Age: 35-36).

SINORĪX AND SINĀTUS WERE RULERS OF THE GALATIANS. The wife of Sinātus was called Cammā, and she was a woman famous for both her beauty and fine character. She was a priestess of the goddess Artemis, whom the Galatians worship above all other gods. Whenever there was a religious procession or sacrifice to Artemis, Cammā was always present, attired in magnificent and grand robes. But Sinorīx also loved Cammā. However, no matter how hard he tried to persuade Cammā to leave Sinātus and marry him, and even when he began to make threats, she refused to betray her husband when he was alive. Sinorīx took care of that difficulty very quickly. Even after her husband's death, Cammā still resisted Sinorīx's advances, even though her family was urging her strongly to give in and marry him. And so finally she agreed. 'Have Sinorīx come to the temple of Artemis,' she said, 'and there we will be married.' So Sinorīx came and all the leading men and women of the Galatians came also as wedding quests. Cammā kindly received Sinorīx into the temple, and led him to the sacrificial altar, where she poured out a drink from a golden cup. When she had drunk from it, she handed it to him so that he might drink, too. He took the cup from her, sweetly smiling at his bride, and drank. But unknown to him, the drink was a poisoned mixture of milk and honey. When Cammā saw that he had drunk from the cup, she let out a cry of victory and praised the goddess: 'O greatly-honoured Artemis, I know that you are indeed kind, because today in your own temple you gave me justice over this man, who thought he could unjustly become my husband!' When she had finished speaking, she immediately collapsed and died. And Sinorīx, who was rather surprised at this turn of events, also immediately died at the altar of the goddess.

5. Conclusions

1. In the Viking Age the Norse sphere of interest expanded rapidly and incorporated communities in Ireland, parts of England, major parts of the Scottish mainland, the Hebrides, Orkney, Shetland, the Faroe Islands, Iceland and Greenland. Smaller island groups like Shetland Islands and the Isle of Man have suffered a higher degree of Scandinavian-Celtic contact and became crucial points for an exchange of ideas between the two cultures. The confrontation transformed both cultures and left its imprint on the North Atlantic region. The spreading of various types of influences from the Scandinavian communities in the North Atlantic may represent the transmission of ideas which in turn generated a whole new cultural layer as reflected in both historical and literary texts.

2. The study of Manx rune-stones reveals a complex correlation between Celtic and Scandinavian cultures. The phenomenon appeared due to susceptive mechanisms of contact between two different nations that could afford to give and take from each other, since they both had to coexist in a limited area. On the one hand, the Norse runic tradition in the Isle of Man is clearly linked with Scandinavia, western Norway. On the other hand, it is adapted to the imperatives of Norse settlers in the different, culturally challenging environment.

The formula, language and writing system employed in the Isle of Man are predominantly Scandinavian, though grammatical forms appear to point to a bilingual situation with language interference.

The Norse language may for a century or two after the settlement have been the majority language. However, the evidence of historical sources and Scandinavian runic memorial inscriptions found in Man, where Celtic and Scandinavian names appear side by side, is supplied by intermarriage with the native population and the fairly rapid development of a local variant of Norse,

perhaps under the influence of Gaelic. The peculiarities of runic inscriptions are coherent with the presence of local tradition.

The rune-stones are a symptom of crisis and a reflection of the political and religious transition that took place during the 10th and 11th centuries in the Isle of Man**.** As the evidence of Manx rune-stones suggests, the contacts started early and ca. 930 we observe some bilingual population recording their rights to property and land in Old Norse.

Pagan Scandinavian culture confronted and merged with a Christian Celtic culture, which resulted in the change of formula in the runic inscriptions and commemoration of the local Celtic saints by Norse invaders.

The influence of both cultures has several dimensions. The influences are observed in the artistic shape of rune-stones, their lay-out and design, which in a way follow the Norwegian pattern, but has its own peculiarities that were with all probability strengthened by the Celtic tradition of stone-carving, i.e. Ogam stones. The most convincing argument for contact is the presence of bilingual Ogam-rune stones as their inscriptions seem to be carved at the same time. During the Viking Age, the Ogam carving tradition on stone, which started to decline in the 7th century, underwent a revival both in the Isle of Man and in Ireland. This revival was caused by the Vikings who brought rune-carving tradition to the area. Celtic and Scandinavian stone-carving traditions went hand in hand resulting in the appearance of bilingual Ogam and Rune stones, which are unique to the Isle of Man and Ireland.

The bilingual Ogam and Rune inscriptions are usually followed by alphabets for the purposes of learning and for the demonstration of the similar tradition of stone carving.

3. The presence of Celtic elements in the only surviving ballad in Norn, *Hildinavisen*, which seems to have been created in a continually changing linguistic, social and cultural milieu indicates a certain degree of contact with the Celtic population. The marine Scandinavian societies of Shetland and Orkney Islands generated stories, in which motifs and elements traveled from

various directions. *Hildinavisen* is certainly of West Scandinavian origin, but it contains or rather is adorned with Celtic motifs. The combination of the two traditions – Celtic and Scandinavian – has given a peculiar and productive treatment of certain narratives. An analysis of the text of *Hildinavisen* seems to indicate that on the level of the narrative *Hildinavisen* borrows substantially from the Celtic tradition. Variuos motifs are externally imposed and later adapted on the Scandinavian material. Especially prominent is the appeal of the 'King and goddess theme'. But the borrowing is by no means direct, because Celtic motifs and elements are adapted, transformed and melted in the text of the Scandinavian ballad. The presence of some Celtic motifs, such as 'Hurling of the head', which is one of the favourite devices in the Irish sagas and the 'King and goddess theme' have wide ramifications in Celtic literature and were probably particularly prominent in oral tradition. Moreover, there are numerous similarities between the ballad and the Welsh text. It is impossible to claim that *Hildinavisen* borrowed directly from this text or any other extant Welsh text, but might have been influenced by some oral version of the story known in the Shetland Islands. There may have been some kind of Orkney version of the story later transmitted to Shetland, since the main hero of the Shetlandic ballad is the Jarl of Orkney. This Orcadian story might have served as an intermediary between *Hildinavisen* and Celtic tradition, since Orkney has been one of the important chanels for transmitting the Celtic elements and Shetland must have been on the route of these contacts. Historical modes of habitation, the past time and working activities were connected with the sea, sailing and rowing, often followed by the ballad, which was preserved in verse. The singing catalyzed the appearance of new motifs, which were designated to address issues specific to the conditions of the region.

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Abbreviations

DIL	*Dictionary of the Irish Language*, 1990. Compact Edition. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy.
FA	*The Fragmentary Annals of Ireland*
INIA	Index of Names in the Irish Annals *http://medievalscotland.org/kmo/AnnalsIndex*
ISD	Icelandic Saga Database http://sagadb.org
NR	Nordiskt runnamnslexikon http://www.ivysdomain.com/webdocs/NordisktRunnamnslexicon.
OI	Old Irish
ON	Old Norse
SR	Samnordisk Runtextdatabas.
SRR	Svenskt runordsregister http://www.rattsatt.com/rundata/Runordsregister.pdf

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