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MODERN ENGLISH VIKING

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To those of us who spend the best years of our lives working with Anglo-Saxon manuscripts it is clear that the Vikings have a good deal in common with King Henry VIII, God rest his soul. King Alfred laments in his Preface to the *Cura Pastoralis* that he saw, before all was utterly destroyed by raiding and burning, churches throughout England stood filled with treasures and books and multitudes of God's servants. Or, as he might have said had he happened to know the phrase, "bare ruined choirs where late the sweet birds sang".

Good King Henry's Dissolution of the Monasteries did however, as did the Viking raids, lead not only to laments over what was lost, but to a surge of interest in what could be preserved or revived. In the ninth century King Alfred with royal wisdom and a fine sense of the duties of kingship instituted a policy of comprehensive education and the re-stocking of the country's libraries. In the sixteenth century private scholars and collectors did their best to rescue major works and early manuscripts from the royal policy of destruction. Much was inevitably lost as we see from John Bale's "Dedicatory Epistle" of 1594:

I dolorously lamente so greate an ouersyghte in the moste lawfull ouerthrow of the sodomitrouse Abbeyes and Fryeryes, when the most worthy monumentes of this realme, so miserably peryshed in the spoyle. Oh, that men of learnyng and of perfyght loue to their nacyon, were not then appoynted to the serche of theyr lybraryes, for the conseruacyon of those most noble Antiquitees.¹

Enough however passed into private libraries for scholars and antiquaries to develop a significant interest in the history and culture of pre-Conquest England, though the nature of their interest was inevitably restricted by the nature of their material. Their knowledge of the Scandinavian presence in England was based upon their study of Latin and Old English texts, including the post-Conquest Norman chronicles. The simple sequence of historical events was presented by, for example, Verstegan in *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* . . . with a fair degree of accuracy, and we may note with interest that he anticipates the Cameron theory of secondary migration:

The Danes as aforesaid hauing . . . martyred king Edmund ranged from one prouince to another, but not without many encounters; wherein according to the fortune of warre, they had somtymes the better and somtymes the woors, and had often bin vtterly extinguished had they not bin relieued with new supplyes from tyme to tyme from *Denmark*; by which meanes they came now and then to get the possession of one prouince, and now and then of another.²

There was however a good deal of confusion at popular level between Saxons and Danes, not to mention between Northmen and Normans, and little knowledge at any level of the distinctions between Old English and Old Norse. Henry Spelman, whose precise and scholarly work on the Anglo-Saxons involves careful linguistic analysis of legal terminology, is more than a little uncertain in his use of the word Danish and its implications:

The Saxons and the Danes (whose Language and Laws differ'd little in those Days) wrote their Laws only in their own Tongue, and the translating of them hath begotten much variety and many controversies . . .³

One of Spelman's problems is that, knowing King Cnut was Danish, he assumes that Cnut's laws represent Danish tongue and Danish law, rather than English. He continues with some obscurity:

I deny not but this might be one of the *Danish* Laws which *Edward* the Confessor took out of *Canutus's* Laws when he composed the *Common Law* out of the *West Saxon Law*, *Mercian Law* and *Dane Law*, if the copies of them were extant . . .⁴

Casual use of the words "Dane" and "Danish" as part of folk etymology are found fairly regularly throughout the seventeenth century. Spenser discusses the etymology of the word *Danerathe*, Weeuer that of *Danewort*:

for Dane-wort, which with bloud-red berries commeth up here plenteously, they still call by no other name then Danes bloud, of the number of Danes that there were slaine, verily beleeuing that it bloometh from their bloud.⁵

What emerges clearly from a reading of seventeenth-century scholarship in this field is that whenever the Scandinavian invasions or presence are under discussion the word used is "Danish". Old English *wicing* or Old Norse *vikingr* survived into early Middle English and Medieval Latin, but there is no trace of the word in any form or spelling in early Modern English. In the meantime, while English scholars were probing their own records, scholars of contemporary Scandinavia were equally engaged in searching manuscripts of Icelandic saga and Eddic poem for new light on early

Norse history and culture.

The work of Robert Sheringham was well known to his contemporaries in Scandinavia, and he himself was the first to introduce Norse scholarship to England. In *De Anglorum Gentis Origine* (1670) he is full of information on Icelandic literature, both prose and poetry. He provides text and discussion of skaldic verse, refers with authority to Saxo and Snorri Sturluson, and can demonstrate the nature of kennings in elegant Latin. It is Sheringham who is responsible for the first introduction of certain Old Norse terms to the English scholarly world, though since he wrote in Latin, he can scarcely be said to have Anglicised the words. Since he, and some of his successors, use Latinised forms of Old Norse *skald*, calling the god *Wodenus* by the title *pater scaldrorum*,⁶ for example, it is evidently from this usage that English writers subsequently adopt the word, which accounts for the variant spellings in Modern English of *skald/skaldic* and *scald/scaldic*. He does not, however, borrow from his sources any example of the word *víkingr*.

The first person to write at length in the English language on the subject of Old Norse language and literature was the genial character Aylett Sammes whose *Britannia Antiqua Illustrata: or the Antiquities of Ancient Britain, Derived from the Phoenicians*, published in 1676, is a curious and learned work. Much of what Sammes says is based on Sheringham (with acknowledgement) but he evidently had independent access to the work of such Scandinavian scholars as Wormius and Verelius. He is perfectly prepared to quote and to translate Old Norse texts (e.g. *hialpi mier suo Fryer og Niordur og hin hal matke Aas* as "So help me Fryer, Niordur and that omnipotent Asian"),⁷ and he cites a good many individual words, incorporating technical vocabulary into his text. Some of the words such as *berserker* we have retained or re-introduced, others, such as *dyser* we have rejected. But *víkingr* is not one that he ever handles in any form, though he spends a good deal of his time discussing berserks, fighting men and pirates.

Instructive here is a look at the work of our first serious Germanic philologist, George Hickes. He, like Sammes and Sheringham, was not averse to taking lexical items from Old Norse into his Latin text, and refers to the author of the poem on the waking of Angantýr in *Hervarar saga* as *scaldus ille*.⁸ In the course of the poem Hervör addresses her father as *vikings nidur*, descendant of a *víkingr*. Hickes translates "offspring of heroes". His source here is the edition of *Hervarar saga* published by Olaus Verelius in 1671.⁹ Verelius offered for *vikings nidur* the translation *slags kempa foster* though in an earlier verse (one not quoted or translated by Hickes) he translates *vinur vikinga* as *rofvara hofding*. In the prose text surrounding the poem (also not translated by Hickes) the word *víkingr* is common enough, and is always translated *siorofware* by Verelius. We may also note his use of the abstract noun *víking*:

Nu er þar til ad taka ad Andgrimr berserkr var i viking . . .

Andgrím slagskempe var þá síorofwerij . . .

These translations suggest that he was not preserving too carefully a distinction between berserks and Vikings, but when Verelius is translating Old Norse into Latin rather than Swedish he is consistent in his equation of *víkingr* with *pirata*, e.g.:

Þa bardist han við Vikiŋga oc er sa Soti nefndur er fyrir þeim var . . .

conseruit pugnam Olaus cum piratis Vocabatur autem Sote qui piratis praeerat.

Hickes, however, does not bother including *víkingr* in his *Dictionariolum Islandicum* and there is no occurrence of it that I have found in precise or general English usage in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that whereas scholars thought *berserkr* and *skald* sufficiently technical to merit their adoption into the language in the absence of any exact English equivalents, they were not aware of any pressing need to naturalise *víkingr* or indeed *víking*.

A question that obviously should be asked at this point is how the early Anglo-Saxonists treated the Old English cognate or loan-word *wicing*.¹⁰ Somner, who was well-acquainted with Old English gloss material, follows the Corpus glossary in equating *wicingsceaða* with *pirata* and defining as "sea-rover". On *wicinga* itself he ranges more widely. Having directed the reader to see under *wicenga* he demonstrates as follows:

Wicenga. Incolae, habitatores. dwellers, inhabitants, especially in townes and villages: Pagani. *item* Piratae. pirats, sea-rovers. Latino-barbaris, *Wicingi & Wiccingi*: sic autem appellati quod loca maritima, & praesertim sinus maris (ut olim Saxones V. Orosium, lib. 7. c. 32) incolerent & ibi praedam agerent, unde alias flotmen dicti. Upon this ground partly (their inhabiting the parts all about and near the Severns mouth abounding with hollow banks and creeks) Mr Camden judiciously conceives those of Worcestershire etc. to have been anciently called *Wiccii*.¹¹

Somner's entry is less confused than it may appear. His three alternate translations *incolae*, *pagani* and *piratae* all have some justification. The form *wicenga* which he uses as the head-word is a spelling variant for *wicinga* occurring only in the A text of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. The A text is however the one on which the earliest editions are based and the translation *pagani* is given by Wheloc¹² whose edition preceded Somner's dictionary. *Piratae* is justified not only by the gloss equivalents but from other Old English translations such as the Orosius reference which he alludes to. *Incolae* suggests that he assumes an etymological link with Old English *wic* in the sense of "a place", but his subsequent statements

imply awareness of another possible sense of *wic*. Sure enough if we turn to his entries on *wic* itself we find three discrete meanings offered:

- (a) *wic. vicus. a street, a village, a dwelling place . . .*
- (b) *wic, wice. Sinus, ripa, vel litus incurvum sive sinuosum, fluminis sinus. the turning, winding or hollownesse of waterbanks, the curving reach of a river . . .*
- (c) *wic. castellum, propugnaculum. a castell or fortresse . . .*

Modern place-name scholars and lexicographers tend to give only the meanings (a) and (c) to Old English *wic*, reserving (b) for Old Norse *vík*. They may be right.

Somner's references to Camden are distinctly worth exploring further. Camden preceded Somner in his presentation of alternative etymologies for *wic*.¹³ Under his discussion of Norwich, *ista urbs celeberrima*, he notes the possibility of three interpretations of the place-name according to which authority on place-name elements is to be preferred. Should we believe that

*Wic Saxonice fluminis sinus significet ut docet
Rhenanus . . .*

or prefer to think that

*Wic ut contendit Hadrianus Iunius, stationem securam
ubi coniunctioribus ædificijs habitatur, denotet . . .*

or follow Ælfric

*Wic castellum sonet, ut Alfricus noster Saxo
affirmauit . . .*

then we will translate the place-name Norwich accordingly.

It appears, then, that Somner is following Camden in his entries on *wic*, but when Camden himself discusses Vikings under the head-word *Wicinga* he makes no links with *wic* in any of its senses and simply accepts what Ælfric has to say on the subject:

*Nec ante Iustiniani tempora, circa annum salutis 570.
eorum nomen orbi innotuit, tunc enim Galliam vastare
coeperant, & ab indoctis rerum Anglicarum historicis
Wicingi dicti sunt quod piraticam exercuerint:
Wicinga enim, Saxonica lingua, teste Alfrico, Piratam
denotat, nec aliq a Danis fuerunt Wicingi, ut quidam
contendunt.*

I think Camden may be the first of our modern authors to link the terms *wicing* (in whatever form) *Dani* and *piratae*.

However, though Camden in the passage just quoted does not make the link between *wic* and *wicing*, one of his translators did so. In the 1610 edition of Holland's translation - which may have been as well-known to Somner as Camden's original - the above passage reads as follows:

For then, begun they to rove upon the coasts of France and England, and were by the writers, that penned in Latine the histories of England, named *Winccingi* [sic] for that they practised Piracie: for *Wiccinga*, in the Saxon tongue, as Alfricus witnesseth, doth signifie a *Pirat* that runneth from creek to creeke: also *Pagani*, that is *Painims*, because as yet they were not become Christians: but the Angles themselves in their language, termed them *Deniscan* and often times *Heathon-mon*, as one would say, *Ethnicks*.¹⁴

The phrase "that runneth from creek to creeke" is not derived from anything in Camden's Latin, certainly not at this point in the text, and equally there is of course nothing in Ælfric to justify it. I have not found it, nor any equivalent phrase, in other translations of Camden. It links well enough with Somner's extrapolation of what Camden has to say about the *Wiccii*, though whether the assumption of an etymological link between *Wiccii* and *Wicingi* is Somner's or Camden's I am not entirely sure. I do not find it stated explicitly in Camden, but it was not unreasonable to assume the first element in both words to be the same.

The one etymology which seventeenth-century scholars do not offer for *wicing* is of course that one beloved of later Norwegian philologists which links the word in its Old Norse form with the district *Vík* in Norway. The comments they made were perfectly consistent with the information available to them. As we have seen, English scholars of Old Norse in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries took no particular note of the word *vikingr*, and poets tended to call Scandinavian invaders of the early period "Norseman" or "Dane" indifferently. Therefore when we come to the next major dictionary of Old English in 1772, the *Dictionary Saxonico et Gothico-Latinum*¹⁵ of Edward Lye, we find that he has no more comparative philological evidence to draw on than his predecessors. He does, however, have a new, interesting and plausible etymology for *wicing*. He posits two separate words *wiceng* and *wicyng* which have subsequently fallen together. His entry under the head-word *wiceng* assumes, as in Somner's dictionary, that there is a connection with Old English *wic*:

Wiceng. Wicing. Vici incola. Vicanus, paganus.
Plur. Wicenga. Vicani, pagani.

Lye translates the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* entry *Micel here ægþer ge þæs land-heres ge þara wicinga* as *Magna copia tam terrestris*

exercitus quam vicanorum, but in three other entries prefers the translation *pagani* and the gloss *Dani*: the phrase *on hloð wicenga* becomes *in cohortem Pagani* (i.e. *Dani*), *Scipu wicenga* are *Naves paganorum* (i.e. *Danorum*) and *Sciphere wicenga* is *Navalis exercitus Danorum*. After this Lye goes on to give the gloss citations and the Orosius reference under the separate definition *pirata*, saying *De hoc autem V. Wig-cyng*, and concludes his entry with the translation of *Sæ-wicingas* as *Maritimi incolae*.

I have summarised above, but I think it appropriate now to quote Lye's entry under *wigcyng* in full.

Wig-cyng. Belli rex, i.e. in quovis conflictu bellico dominatum veluti exercens. Quum vero prisca *Danorum* reges eorumque posterii *piraticam* semper exercuissent, inde fuit ut ad istam praesertim referretur. Pirata; *Elfr. gr. c. 7.* Et inde forsitan vox ista *Wicing*, idem prorsus significans, et in aliis monumentis *Anglosaxonicis* plerumque occurrens.

I suppose this is not quite what Peter Sawyer had in mind when he gave his recent book the title *Kings and Vikings*¹⁶ some 210 years after Lye's well-thought-out and eminently plausible etymology, but it is a rationale that would have recommended itself to nineteenth-century writers. It is to be assumed that Scott's hyphenated form *vi-king* in *The Pirate* was based on exactly such an assumption and his fondness in the same work for the word "sea-king" would bear this out.¹⁷

Scott was in fact one of the earliest modern users of the word "viking" in any form. The seventeenth century had seen the re-introduction of the word into modern Scandinavian tongues,¹⁸ and it is in fact somewhat surprising that during the eighteenth century it did not find its way into English usage, considering the interest in "northern" or "Gothic" material, and the numbers of loan-words from Scandinavian that do begin to make their way into English at this date. The reason is perhaps that the English in the eighteenth century were more interested in Norse mythology and legend than in history, and *vikingr* is not a word found very widely in this range of material. It may be also that it did not seem difficult to find an appropriate translation. What we should also note particularly is that the re-introduction of the word in the early nineteenth century is entirely from Modern Scandinavian, and that there is no obvious attempt whatsoever to re-introduce the Old English form. Even the appearance of the spelling *Wiking*¹⁹ which is preferred by Freeman is shown by its medial *k* to derive from his reading of German rather than of Old English.

The OED offers 1807 as the first date for the re-emergence of the word in English, and neither I nor the editorial team of the OED supplement²⁰ have been able to find an earlier usage. The 1807 reference is to George Chalmers who uses the word fairly frequently. I have difficulty in deciding whether his use is precise or romantic. He uses the form *vikingr* which is a perfectly good Old Norse singular, but Chalmers uses it both for singular and plural.

He talks about "fleets of the vikingr", commencing one's career "as a vikingr", motives which were "most seductive among vikingr" in all of which usages the word might perhaps have been understood as a synonym for "pirate". When however he writes of Sigurd that he was "of the blood of the vikingr" and that he "did not disparage the race by his adventures", romantic rhetoric seems to have taken over.

I am also not quite sure what the source is of William Motherwell's form *vikingir* but his usage is distinctly more romantic and infinitely more anachronistic than that of Chalmers. His poem called *The Wooing Song of Jarl Egill Skallagrím* first appeared in the Paisley Magazine, and subsequently in an edition of his collected poems where the editor speaks highly of his "fine heroic ballads" and "metrical imitations of the Sagas . . . distinguished by an exact fidelity of tone and sentiment".²¹ In stanza two of *The Wooing Song* the word *vikingir* occurs twice:

Ay, Daughter of Einar,
Right tall may'st thou stand,
It is a Vikingir
Who kisses thy hand:
It is a Vikingir
That bends his proud knee
And swears by Great Freya,
His bride thou must be!

We should not, I think, attach too much importance to the use of the capital letter, since Motherwell's use of capitals seems in any case somewhat idiosyncratic. The *ir* ending is one he also uses in a proper name "Sigurdir", but in general he is not distinguishing forms of proper names or borrowed common nouns with any particular care and has within one poem the forms "Sigurdir", "Harald", "Woden" and "Brynhilda" as well as the plural "Jarls" and the singular "churle". Like Sir Walter Scott he seems to associate Vikings with sea-kings since he calls the girl a "land-maiden" but speaks of her future as "Queen of the sea" when she becomes Egill's bride:

The bark of a sea-king
For palace, gives he,
While mad waves and winds shall
Thy true subjects be.

At least Chalmers, Scott and Motherwell use the word "Viking", in whatever form, of people. However, one author of the mid-nineteenth century believed the word to be properly applied to the ship in which Vikings travelled:

. . . when the "Viking" or pirate vessel spread her
sails to the wind, and bore the "Vikinger" or dreaded
sea pirate to the opposite shores of Britain . . .²²

Since the author describes himself on the title-page of his work as "an old Bushman" instead of giving his name, we should perhaps not

challenge too unkindly his lack of precision.

As the word becomes more commonly used there are four areas to which scholars address themselves; orthography, semantics, pronunciation and dating. Of these questions the first and third have been finally established by usage, but not without opposition. William Archer translated Ibsen's play *Hærmændene* as *The Vikings at Helgeland* and justified his translation as follows:

The word *Vikings* in the title is a very free rendering of *Hærmændene* which simply means "warriors". As "warriors", however, is a colourless word, and as Örnulf, Sigurd and Gunnar all are, or have been, actually vikings, the substitution seemed justifiable. I would beg, however hopelessly, that "viking" should be pronounced so as to rhyme not with "liking" but with "seeking", or at worst with "kicking".²³

If Archer thought at the turn of the century that he was begging "hopelessly" for a pronunciation close to Scandinavian we may assume that the modern English pronunciation was already well-established. But traditionalists, among whom some of us recall Douglas Simpson, were still arguing against it in the 1950s.

As far as orthography goes I think that the modern English spelling was fairly clearly established by the turn of the century also. The most curious of the various idiosyncratic spellings recorded in the OED is the *wicking* adopted by Vigfusson and Powell in the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, a form for which I fail to see any philological justification, and which I have not found elsewhere. It may perhaps be intended to reflect the authors' views on the etymology since they also offer the spelling *Wick* for *Vík*.²⁴

Views on what constituted "the Viking Age" have also varied widely. Du Chaillu gave the title *The Viking Age* to a book which had the sub-title *The early History, Manners, and Customs of the Ancestors of the English-Speaking Nations* and justified it in his text as follows:

From the Roman, Greek, Frankish, Russian, English, and Arabic records, we must come to the conclusion that the "Viking Age" lasted from about the second century of our era to about the middle of the twelfth without interruption, hence the title given to the work which deals with the history and customs of our English forefathers during that period.²⁵

Few if any historians would now accept that time-span. Most English ones would consider "Viking" activity to be from the end of the eighth to the middle of the eleventh century, and this of course results from a different definition of what a "Viking" is. Which brings us back to the question of semantics. I hope in another place to examine the semantic problems associated with the Old English *wicing*, and this will obviously involve me in looking at usage in related languages of the period. But the semantics of

the Old English, Old Norse or Frisian forms have little to do with the way in which the revived word is used in modern English, and an analysis of all its uses and connotations and ambiguities would be material for one or several PhD theses. Auden seems to be echoing Motherwell's cultural incongruity when he refers to "public statues [which] are mostly romanticised Galahad-Vikings",²⁶ though we may perhaps assume Auden to be less naive and more ironic in his ambiguities. Somerville and Ross invented a noun *Vikingism* to denote a particular aspect of masculine behaviour, a noun which seems regrettably not to have passed into common usage. They observe:

. . . that singular indifference to their marine surroundings that I have often observed in ladies who are not sea-sick I prefer their tranquil and total lack of interest in seafaring matters to the blatant *Vikingism* of the average male who is similarly placed.²⁷

- a view of *Vikingism* which seems to owe something to Kipling's *Harp Song of the Dane Women*.

In recent decades the word "Viking" has taken over almost all books, exhibitions, or television programmes that have any connection whatsoever with medieval Scandinavia. As one reviewer recently observed: "Something really must be done to stop publishers putting the word 'Viking' in the titles of all books that have vaguely medieval and faintly Germanic subjects". In the volume under review several writers attempt to assess what the word "Viking" may have meant, or what it could now be thought to mean. Kristján Eldjárn in a chapter on "The Viking Myth" reminds us that "commercialism has found [the Viking myth] profitable enough to enlist it. There are Viking Airlines, Viking Hotels, and Viking God-knows-what in unlikely as well as likely places . . ." ²⁸ What the Viking myth has to do with the existence of Viking Tyre and Exhaust Centres I am not entirely sure. The word is now clearly used in so many places with not even vague semantic propriety. A dialogue in a recent cartoon strip went as follows:

First speaker: [Grandpa] wasn't a Viking. He would just rob people up and down the coast.
Second speaker: How is that different from what you do?
First speaker: Well . . . we have these GREAT HATS.

In other words the one artefact that, as the archaeologists assure us, was never connected with any Viking, i.e. the horned helmet, is in the eyes of the majority the one factor that distinguishes a Viking from anyone else in history. It is as good an irony as any in the chronicles of wasted time or, as we would say, scholarship.²⁹

NOTES

- ¹ John Bale, "Dedicatory Epistle" to *The Laboryouse Journey and Serche of John Leland* (London, 1548) p.2.
- ² Richard Verstegan, *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* . . . (Antwerp, 1605) pp.161-2.
- ³ Henry Spelman, *The English Works* . . . (London, 1723) Part II, p.31.
- ⁴ *Ibid*, p.32.
- ⁵ John Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments* . . . (London, 1631) p.707.
- ⁶ Robert Sheringham, *De Anglorum Gentis Origine Disceptatio* . . . (Cambridge, 1670) p.284.
- ⁷ Aylett Sammes, *Britannia Antiqua* . . . (London, 1676) p.434.
- ⁸ George Hickes, *Linguarum Vett. Septentrionalium Thesaurus* . . . (Oxford, 1703-5) pt i [*Grammatica Anglo-Saxonica* . . .] p.193.
- ⁹ Olaus Verelius, *Hervarar Saga på Gammal Gotska* (Upsala, 1671) p.94; cf. pp.89, 46 and 79.
- ¹⁰ I hope to deal with Old English *wicing* in the Israel Gollancz Memorial Lecture which will appear in the *Proceedings of the British Academy*.
- ¹¹ William Somner, *Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum* (Oxford, 1659).
- ¹² Abraham Wheloc, *Historiae Ecclesiasticae Gentis Anglorum Libri V* . . . (Cambridge, 1643) p.537 for the 885 entry in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. On the preceding page Wheloc treats the *hloð wicenga* of 879 as a proper name.
- ¹³ William Camden, *Britannia* (London, 1600) p.108. There are a number of variations in the early editions. Some of the material on *wicingi* does not occur in the 1586, 1587 or 1590 editions.
- ¹⁴ *Britain* . . . by William Camden, trans. by Philemon Holland (London, 1610). Again there is a good deal of variation in the early translations, on which see David C. Douglas, *English Scholars* (London, 1939) pp.334-5.
- ¹⁵ Edward Lye, *Dictionarium* . . . (London, 1772). One might assume that Lye's head-word *wigcyng* should be a starred form since it is not cited in the Toronto microfiche concordance. It is however a variant spelling for *wicing* in both Ælfric's *Grammar* and his *Glossary*: see J. Zupitza, *Ælfrics Grammatik und Glossar* (Berlin, 1880) p.24 line 9 (MS variants in footnotes) and p.302 line 11 likewise.
- ¹⁶ Peter Sawyer, *Kings and Vikings* (London, 1982).
- ¹⁷ Sir Walter Scott, *The Pirate* 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1882) II, pp.166-7. "Is it more wise, think you, to mistake a wind-mill for a giant, or the commander of a paltry corsair for a Kiempe, or a Vi-king?" I have not

observed Scott using the word *Vi-king* elsewhere, not even in this novel where he readily uses other loan-words from Norse such as *jarl* and *scald* and *berserkar*. He does not use it - for example - in his poem on *Harold the Dauntless*.

- ⁸ I am particularly grateful to Allan Karker of the Nordisk Institut, Aarhus University for helping me to check material here. In modern Swedish and Danish the word *viking* has been re-introduced from Old Norse. I do not know whether there is continuity in Norwegian or not: Finn Hødnebo claimed in his paper to the Tenth Viking Congress (September 1985) that the word "survived continuously only in Icelandic and probably in Norwegian".
- ¹⁹ Edward Freeman, *The History of the Norman Conquest . . .*, 1st ed., 6 vols., (Oxford, 1867-79) esp. vol. ii, pp.94ff.. But *Wiking* is not Freeman's preferred term for Scandinavian invaders, and he uses "Dane" or "Northman" much more freely. Whether he had reservations about the precise meaning of *Wiking* I am not sure, but I think it probable.
- ²⁰ Lesley Burnett kindly looked into the early uses of *viking* and reported that there was nothing of substance to add to the OED entry. The first entries the OED records are from George Chalmers's *Caledonia . . .* 4 vols. (London, 1807-26) I, pp.340-1.
- ²¹ William Motherwell, *The Poetical Works*, with memoir by J. McConechy, 2nd ed. (Glasgow, 1847) pp.lxiv, 13 and 14-15.
- ²² [H.W. Wheelwright], *A spring and summer in Lapland . . .* by An Old Bushman (London, 1844) p.8.
- ²³ William Archer, trans. *The Collected Works of Henrik Ibsen*, 11 vols. (London, 1906) II, p.xix.
- ²⁴ Gudbrand Vigfusson and F. York Powell, *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* 2 vols. (Oxford, 1883) II, 139 cf. 268 "Wick-dwellers" for *Vikverjar*.
- ²⁵ Paul B. Du Chaillu, *The Viking Age . . .* 2 vols. (London, 1889) I, p.26.
- ²⁶ W.H. Auden and Louis MacNeice, *Letters from Iceland* (London, 1937) p.109.
- ²⁷ E. O. Somerville and Martin Ross, *Some Experiences of an Irish R.M.* (London, 1899) pp.238-9.
- ²⁸ R.I. Page reviewed *The Vikings* ed. R.T. Farrell (London and Chichester, 1982) in *Saga-Book of the Viking Society* 21 (1984-5) pp.308-11. The quotation from Kristján Eldjárn is on p.273 of *The Vikings*.
- ²⁹ The subject for this paper was one I first touched on in my inaugural lecture. It seems entirely fitting that it should find its way into print for Professor Cameron's festschrift, since his interest in Viking place-names has been a stimulus to so many students and colleagues. The illustration was kindly provided by Dr James Graham-Campbell, from the Medieval Archaeology archive in University College, London.

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