Wm. Buckland.
with Anne R. Bosworth's
Affectionate Regards

Stanisław Kryński
Exeter College
Oxford
18 listopada 1944.

Orosius. Lauderdale MS. Page 8. 1–5.

Ne ieldran ealne þiſne ymb hreſnet. þiſſ
middangeard ſwæþonorniu ſwaſſa oceanu
utan ymb liggeþ þone garſecg hatad onþinn todæl
don ⁊ hie þa þriu dælas onþinn tonimdon asiam ⁊
europam ⁊ affricam.

Id. Page 14. 26–31.

Ac he nyſte hwæt þæs þoſſ þæs forþæm hehte ſelf
neze ſeah. þa ſin nas him þuhte ⁊ þa bron nas ſwæ
con neah an geþwode. ſwiþor he ſon ðidhi to eacan
þæs landes ſeſtapunge forþæm horſc hwælum for
ðam hie hubbad ſwiþe æþele bun on hiora tuum
þated hie bronhton ſume þæm ſwinge ⁊ hiora hæd

A few of the Contractions.

ꝗ. ꝓ. ꝓæ ꝗepel ꝯ con ꝯ cwæd ꝶma ꝶna ꝑper ꝑpro ꝝrum ꝯu ꝫus

ÞRE YLDRAN ÆALNE

ÐYSNE YMB HYRFT

ÐYSES MYTTAN GEARDES · GIF OROSIUS

spa spa oceanuſ ymbligeð utandone man gaſ
ſegl hatað. ondſneo todældon. ȝhuhý þaþþý dælaþ on
ðſneo tonemdon. asian. ȝ europam. ȝ affricam.

Contractions.

c̄ con

ꝑ per

ū, ꝰ us

Achenystæ hpæt þæſ soðes þæſ. ſoſ
ðæm hehit ſylf negeſeah. þaſinnas hī þuhte. ȝ þa
beoſnmaſ. ſpiræcon neah angeðeode. Spiðost heſoſ
ðydeſi to ſeacan þæſ landes ſceapunge. ſoſðæm hoſſ
hpælum. ſoſðæm hī habbað ſpyðe æþeleban on
hyſna toþū. þa teð hy bſohton ſume þæm cyninge
ȝ hyſna hyð bið ſpiðe ȝod toſcipſiapum.

Id: fol. 10 a. 20 – 25, &c.

A

DESCRIPTION OF EUROPE,

AND

THE VOYAGES OF OHTHERE AND WULFSTAN,

WRITTEN IN ANGLO-SAXON

BY

KING ALFRED THE GREAT.

A

DESCRIPTION OF EUROPE,

AND

THE VOYAGES OF OHTHERE AND WULFSTAN,

WRITTEN IN ANGLO-SAXON

BY

KING ALFRED THE GREAT;

CONTAINING,—

FACSIMILE SPECIMENS OF THE LAUDERDALE AND COTTON MSS.—
THE ANGLO-SAXON TEXT;
NOTES AND VARIOUS READINGS;
A LITERAL ENGLISH TRANSLATION WITH NOTES;
MR. HAMPSON'S ESSAY ON KING ALFRED'S GEOGRAPHY, AND
A MAP OF EUROPE IN THE TIME OF ALFRED.

BY

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LONDON:
LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS,
PATERNOSTER-ROW.
MDCCCLV.

TO A. M. BOSWORTH,

AS A MEMORIAL OF THE VALUABLE ASSISTANCE SHE HAS GIVEN IN COLLATING THE ANGLO-SAXON MANUSCRIPTS OF OROSIUS, THIS LITTLE WORK IS DEDICATED BY HER AFFECTIONATE HUSBAND,

JOSEPH BOSWORTH.

Islip, near Oxford,
July, 1855.

CONTENTS.

PREFACE.

When we speak of the works of King Alfred the Great, it is often asked, in a doubting tone, "what are the literary works of King Alfred?" In answering this question, it must be acknowledged, that, having the instruction and welfare of his people at heart, he made a selection from the most eminent writers, and employed all the time he could spare from public duties in translating, from Latin into Anglo-Saxon, their best and most popular works. The chief of these were,—The Compendious History of the World by Orosius;—The Ecclesiastical History of Bede;—The Consolations of Philosophy by Boethius; and Gregory's Pastoral Care. In these translations, the king did not confine himself to the letter of his author, but used the greatest freedom, exercised his own judgment, and added his own remarks and illustrations, not unfrequently expanding a sentiment, or illustrating a fact of the Latin text into an Essay, and thus, in effect, became the original author of the most instructive Essays. Many of these will be found in Alfred's Boethius; and, even in his Anglo-Saxon version of Gregory's Pastoral Care, which, from his religious feeling, and reverence for Gregory, he translated most literally, the King allowed himself a certain latitude, translating "sometimes word for word, sometimes meaning for meaning."[1]

1. Hwilum word be worde, hwilum andgit of andgite. *Alfred's Preface to Gregory's Pastoral Care.*

But the longest and most important additions, made by Alfred, are inserted in his translation of Orosius. They are the Description of Europe and the Voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan, contained in the following work. In the Geography or Description of Europe, or as Alfred calls it, Germania, which in his days comprised the whole of Europe, north of the Rhine and the Danube, the king gives all the particulars he could collect from the best authorities of his age, thus filling up the chasm between the time of Orosius and his own, that is, between the commencement of the fifth century and the end of the ninth. Alfred then inserts an account of the very interesting Voyages of Ohthere, a Norwegian, who sailed from Halgoland, on the coast of Norway, round the North Cape into the White Sea. Ohthere afterwards made a second voyage from Halgoland to the bay of Christiana, and thence to Schleswig.—Wulfstan's voyage was altogether in the Baltic, from Schleswig in Denmark to Truso in Prussia. These voyages were written by Alfred, from the relation of these intrepid navigators; for, in the narration, Wulfstan uses a pronoun of the first person plural [2]: Alfred also begins his narrative of the first voyage with these remarkable words,—"Ohthere told his lord King Alfred." [3]

These important additions and separate Essays of King Alfred, are very interesting, as his original composition; and valuable because they contain information relative to the geography of Europe, not otherwise to be obtained, and because they are authentic pictures of the manners and of the political state of the north of Europe, written by a contemporary so early as the ninth century. These narratives also prove the comprehensive nature of Alfred's active and powerful mind, since he not only invited the most learned to his court, but even seafaring men could not obtain celebrity for their discoveries, without being encouraged by Alfred to communicate the particulars, for the information and advantage of his people.

This description of Europe and the account of the Voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan, the undoubted compositions of King Alfred, are extracted from the King's Anglo-Saxon Version of Orosius. There are several other interesting additions made to

2. See § 10, note 66. 3. *See* § 3.

Orosius by Alfred, such as the King's description of a Roman triumph [4];—the appointment of a senate [5];—and the account of the temple of Janus,[6] but the preceding extract, as the longest uninterrupted episode, is only here given, as it is amply sufficient to shew the value of Alfred's additions, and the character of his prose style.

Like every truly great man, Alfred was conscious that wisdom did not rest with himself alone, he, therefore, diligently availed himself of the knowledge and experience of his predecessors, introducing them to his people in so attractive a form as to gain their attention and sanction. His rightly constituted and firm mind brought the powerful authority of Revelation to his aid; when, therefore, he published his Laws, he not only availed himself of the best Customs and Enactments of his predecessors, but established them upon the firmest basis, by placing the ten commandments of Moses at the head of his Laws. After other valuable extracts from the Book of Exodus, and from the New Testament, he cites our Saviour's summary of the moral Law, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them [7]:" He then uses this appropriate remark,—"By this one commandment a man may know whether he does justly; thus, he has no need of any other Law-book." [8] This is the perfection of Christian morality; indeed, it would be difficult to find, in any collection of Laws of the middle ages, so great an infusion of Christian principles, and such copious extracts from the Scriptures, as are to be found in the Laws of Alfred. He felt his own responsibility so much, that it gave a religious tone to most of his writings. So deep was this impression, that Alfric, the best and most copious Anglo-Saxon writer of the century after Alfred, strongly affirms "there were not, in the Saxon language, any other religious books in his days, than those translated by Alfred." [9] Though this assertion may require some limitation, yet it is a satisfactory proof, that the writings of Alfred were very numerous and popular. He wrote well upon other subjects besides religion,

4. *See Orosius Book II: ch* 4 § 2.—
5. *Bk. II: ch.* 4 § 3.—(6) *Bk. III: ch.* 5 § 4.
7 Matt VII, 12. Thorpe's *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, Vol. I. p.* 56.
8. *Id. p.* 56.
9. *Preface to Alfric's Homilies, by Thorpe.*

as may be seen in his additions to Boethius and Orosius [1]: his information was always the best and most accurate, while his opinions and views were ever in advance of his age. Wherever he touched he improved, and left the stamp of his powerful mind upon it. He was noble in heart and thought as well as in action: a king in word, in intellect, and in feeling,—great, in mind as well as in station,—he therefore, well deserves the title, universally assigned to him, of KING ALFRED THE GREAT.

1. See § 4 note 41 page 9.

Facsimiles of part of King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version of Orosius, taken from the Lauderdale Manuscript, the property of John Tollemache Esqre M.P. of Helmingham Hall, Suffolk, and Peckfarton Castle, Cheshire, beginning Page 12. Line 6, with The Geography of Europe.

nu pille pe rm be eu rope lond ȝemæro aþet
cean ſpamicel ſpæpehit ꝓrimæt pæron; ſ þæm þæro ie da
naiy þæt oþþun þa ea ꝓeopild oþþam beorge þemon alpiy
hæt, ⁊ iſind ſonne nonþ ꝓrhte on þæy ȝaþrecȝh eapum
þepæt lond uton rmbliðd þemon brittania hæt ⁊ þæt
ꝓuþoddonua þa ea þæro ie pielme iyneah ꝓinðy oþþe þæ
ne ie ⁊ iy ꝓiþþan eaſt iſinende þiðnoþþan cpecalond uc
onþone pendelſæ ⁊ nonþ oþþone ȝaþrecz þemon ſæln ꝓæ hæt
binnan þam ꝓindon monȝaþeoda achtmon hæt eall ȝeþ
mania · þon þiðnoþþan donua ie pielme ⁊ be eaſtan þine
ꝓindon eaſt ꝓrancna ⁊ beſuþan hi ꝓindon ſpæxay on oþþe
healfe þære ie donua ⁊ beſuþan hi ⁊ be eaſtan ꝓindon
bæȝpare ꝓedæl þemon ræȝnþ burȝ hæt ⁊ ꝓrhte be eaſtan
him ꝓindon bæme ⁊ eaſt nonþ ꝓindon þruȝa ⁊ be nor
þan him ꝓindon eald ꝓeaxan ⁊ beneoþþan þæran him ꝓin
don ꝓuſan be þæran eald ꝓeaxum iy ælfe muþa þæro
ie ⁊ ꝓuſland ⁊ þonun þæt nond iy þæt lond þemon onȝle
hæt ⁊ ꝓillende ⁊ ꝓum nedældene ⁊ beneoþþan him iy aſdne
de ⁊ eaſt nonþ ꝓitte þemon hæ ꝓeldan hæt ⁊ be eaſtan hi
iy ꝓineda lond þemon hæt ꝓrrle ⁊ eaſt ꝓuþ oþþ ꝓum
dæl maro aþa ⁊ hie maro aþa habbad beþæran him þr
ꝓinȝay ⁊ behemay ⁊ bæȝpare healfe ⁊ beſuþan him on oþþe
healfe donua þære ie iy þæt land ȝaþrendne ꝓuþ oþþa beorȝay
þemon alpiy hæt to þam ilcan beorȝan licȝad bæȝpaṅaland
ȝemæro ⁊ ſpæpa · ſonne be eaſtan ȝaþrendnan londe be
ȝeondam þæm þæræne iypulȝapa land ⁊ be eaſtan þæ iy

cristcaland ⁊ be eastan marcapalonde ⁊ pirle lond · ⁊ be
eastan þæm ryne dæla þæt lu þæt on ȝotan be norþan
eastan marcapa ryndon dalamære ȝan ⁊ be eastan dala
mære ȝan ryndon horiȝæ ⁊ be norþan dalamære ȝan ryn
don ruppe ⁊ bestan him ȝrȝrle be norþan horoȝ ⁊ mæȝ
paland ⁊ be norþan mæȝpalonde ȝrimende oppa beorȝas
ruppen · bestan rupdenū ⁊ þæt ȝapȝbeȝ eaxm þelibrmb
utan þæt land brittannia · ⁊ be norþan him ⁊ þæt ȝæt eaxm
þemon hæt oft ȝæ ⁊ be eastan him ⁊ be norþan ryndon norð
dene æȝþer ȝeon þæm marcanlandū ȝeon þæm iȝlandum ⁊
be eastan him ryndon axdriede ⁊ berupan hī ⁊ ælfe mupa
þæne ie ⁊ ealdseȝcna rumdæl · norðdene habbad be norþan
him þone ilcan ȝæt eaxm þemon hæt oft ȝæ ⁊ be eastan
him ryndon oft þaleode ⁊ axriede berupan oft habbad
be norþan him þone ilcan ȝæt eaxm ⁊ pinedar ⁊ burȝen
dan ⁊ be rupan him ryndon hæ feldan · burȝendan habbad
þone ȝæt eaxm bestan him ⁊ speon be norþan ⁊ be eastan
him ryne ȝrimende ⁊ berupan him ruppe · speon habbad
berupan him þone ȝæt eaxm oft ⁊ be eastan him ȝrimende
⁊ be norþan him ȝ ofrenpaestenne ȝrcenland · ⁊ bestan nor
þan him ryndon ȝcrude finne ⁊ be þestan norþmenn ·
oht here ræde hir hlaxonde ælfriede cyninȝe þæt he ealra
norð monna norþ mest bude · hetræð þæt he bude ·
on þæm lande norþ peandū ribba þest ȝæ · he ræde
þeah þæt land ȝie fribelanȝ norþ þonan · achit ⁊ eal
þestre buton on feapū stopum force mælū piciad fin
nar on huntoðe on pinttna ⁊ on rumbra on fiȝcape
be þæne ȝæ he ræde þæt he æt ȝumum cirne polde
fandian hulonȝe þæt land norþ ȝrhte laȝe oppe
hræðen cinȝ mon be norðan þæm þestenne bude
þæronne norþ ȝrhte be þæm lande læ him ealnepes

þæt þȳstre land ondæt stēorbord ⁊ þæpid ræ ondæt
bæcbord ○ þrie dazar þæþ he ſpræſton norþ ſpæþa
hpæl hunran ſiſiſlīc þæniþ þæron he bazieð norþ
ſurhte ſpræſton ſpæhe mearte onþæm oþrum þrum da
zum zeriſlan þæbeaz þæt land þæn eart ſurhte oþþe
ſeo ræ ln ondæt lond hīnçyre hpædhe burton heriſſe
dæt hedæn bād þȳſtan ſindȳ ⁊ hpon norþan ⁊ riſlde
da eart belande ſpæſpæhe mearte on ſlopen dazum ze
riſlan þæræbolde hedæn bidan ſurht norþan ſindȳ þon
dæm þæt land beaz þæn ſup ſurhte . oþþe ſeo ræ ln on
dæt land he nyſſe hpæþer - þa riſlde heponan riđ ſurh
te belande ſpæſpæhe mehte on ſiſ dazum zeriſlan .
dalæzþæn án micel ea up ln on þæt land . þæcindon hie
up ln onda ea ſonþæm hie nedonſton ſonþ biþæne
ea riſlan ſonun ſrupe ; ſonþæm dæt land þær eall
zebun onoþre healfe þæne eay . nīmette he æn mān
zebunland ſiþþan he ſrom hiȳ aznū hām ſon . dc
him þær ealne þeȝ þȳſteland on þæt ſteorbord butan
ſiſcnū ⁊ ſuzelnū ⁊ hunrū ⁊ þæt þæron eall ſinnay ⁊
him þær ā þid ræ ondæt bæcbord þabton nay hæfdon
ſpipe þel zebūd hiſa land . dchie nedonſton þæron
cuman . dcþara thȳſinna land þær eal ſȳſte bu
ton hunran zeþicodon oþþe ſiſcnay oþþe ſuzelay
þela ſpella him ræadon þabtonmay æzþer zeoſhiſia
aznum lande zeoſþæm landū þermbhie utan þæron .
dche nyſte hpæt þær ſoþȳ þær ſonþæm hehſt ſelf
neze ſeah . þa ſinnay him þuhte ⁊ þa bton nay ſpræ
con neah an zeþlōde . ſpiþoſt he ſon điđȳ to eacan
þær landȳ ſelſupunze ſonþæm honyc hpælum ſon
dæm hie habbad ſpipe æþele būn on hiora to þum
þæred hie bnoltton ſume þæm ſrninze ⁊ hiora hęd

A

DESCRIPTION OF EUROPE,

AND

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---

1. Nu wille we ymb Europe land-gemære reccan, swa mycel swa we hit fyrmest witon.—Fram þære eá Danais, west oð Rin ða eá, (seo wylð of þæm beorge þe man Alpis hæt, and yrnð þonne norð-ryhte on þæs garsecges earm, þe þæt land utan-ymb lið, þe man Bryttannia hæt;)—and eft suð oþ Donua þa ea (þære æwylme is neah þære ea Rines, and is siððan east yrnende wið [norþan] Creca land út on þone Wendel-sæ;)—and norð oþ þone garsecg, þe man Cwen-sæ hæt: binnan þæm syndon manega ðeoda; ac hit man hæt eall, Germania.

2. Þonne wyð norðan Dónua æwylme, and be eastan Rine syndon East-Francan; and be suðan him syndon Swæfas, on oþre healfe þære eá Donua; and be suðan him, and be eastan, syndon Bægð-wáre, se dæl þe man Regnes burh hæt; and rihte be eastan him syndon Beme; and east-norð sindon Þyringas; and be norðan him syndon Eald-Seaxan, and be norðan-westan him syndon Frýsan; and be westan Eald-Seaxum is Ælfe-muða þære eá and Frysland; and þanon, west-norð is þæt land, þe man Angle hæt, and Sillende, and sumne dæl Dena; and be norðan him is Apdrede, and

east-norð Wylte, ðe man [Hæfeldan] hæt; and be eastan him is Wineda land, þe man hæt Sysyle; and east-suð, ofer sumne dæl, Maroaro; and hi Maroaro habbað, be westan him, Ðyringas, and Behemas, and Bægware healfe; and be suðan him, on oðre healfe Donua þære eá, is þæt land Carendre, suð oð ða beorgas þe man hæt Alpis. To þæm ilcan beorgum licgað Bægð-wara land-gemære, and Swæfa; and þonne, be eastan Carendran lande, begeondan þæm westenne, is Pulgara land; and be eastan þæm is Creca land; and be eastan Maroaro-lande is Wisle-land; and be eastan þæm sind Datia, þa þe iú wæron Gotan. Be [norþan-eastan] Maroara syndon Dalamensan, and be eastan Dalamensam sindon Horithi, and be norðan Dalomensam sindon Surpe, and be westan him sindon Sysele. Be norðan Horiti is Mægða lond, and be norðan Mægða lande [sindon] Sermende, oð ða beorgas Riffin.—And be westan Suð-Denum is þæs garsecges earm þe liþ ymbutan þæt land Brittannia; and be norðan him is þæs sæs earm, þe man hæt Ost-sǽ; and be eastan him, and be norðan him, syndon Norð-Dene, ægþær ge on þæm maran landum, ge on þæm iglandum; and be eastan him syndon Afdrede; and be suðan him is Ælfe-muþa þære eá, and Eald-Seaxna sum dæl. Norð-Dene habbað him be norðan þone ilcan sæs earm, þe man Ost-sǽ hæt; and be eastan him sindon Osti ða leode; and Afdræde be suðan. Osti habbað be norðan him þone ilcan sæs earm, and Winedas and Burgendas; and be suðan him sindon Hæfeldan. Burgendan habbað þone ylcan sǽs earm be westan him, and Sweon be norðan; and be eastan him sint Sermende, and be suðan him Surfe. Sweon habbað be suðan him ðone sǽs earm Osti; and be eastan him Sermende; and be norðan [him] ofer ða wéstennu is Cwén-land; and be westan-norðan him sindon Scride-Finnas, and be westan Norðmenn.

3. "Ohthere sæde his hlaforde, Ælfrede [cyninge], þæt he ealra Norð-manna norðmest bude. He cwæð þæt he bude on þæm lande norðeweardum wið ða west sǽ. He sæde ðeah þæt þæt land sy swyðe lang norð þanon; ac hit is eall weste, buton on feawum stowum, sticcemælum wiciað Finnas,—on huntaðe on wintra, and on sumera on fiscoðe be ðære sǽ: He sæde þæt he, æt sumum cyrre, wolde fandian hú lange þæt land norðrihte læge; oðþe hwæþer ænig man be norðan þæm westene

bude. Þa fór he norð-rihte be þæm lande: let him ealne weg þæt weste land on þæt steor-bord, and þa wid sǽ on bæc-bord, þry dagas. Þa wæs he swa feor norð swa þa hwæl-huntan fyrrest farað. Þa fór he þa gyt norð-ryhte, swa [feor swa] he mihte, on þæm oþrum þrim dagum, geseglian. Ða beah þæt land þær east-ryhte, oððe sio sǽ in on þæt land, he nyste hwæþer; buton he wiste þæt he þær bad westan windes, oððe hwón norðan, and seglede þanon east be lande, swa swa he mihte on feower dagum geseglian. Þa sceolde he [ðær] bidan ryhte norðan windes; forðan þæt land þær beah suð-rihte, oððe seo sǽ in on þæt land, he nyste hwæþer. Ða seglede he þanon suð-rihte be lande, swa swa he mihte on fif dagum geseglian. Þa læg þær án mycel ea up in [on] þæt land: þa cyrdon hý up in on ða ea, forþæm hy ne dorston forð be þære eá seglian for unfriðe, forðæm þæt land wæs eall gebún, on oðre healfe þære eá. Ne mette he ǽr nán gebún land, syððan he fram hys agnum hame fór; ac him wæs ealne weg weste land on þæt steor-bord butan fisceran, and fugeleran, and huntan, and þæt [wæron] ealle Finnas; and him wæs á wid sǽ on þæt bæc-bord. Ða Beormas hæfdon swiðe well gebún hyra land, ac hi ne dorston þær on cuman; ac ðara Terfinna land wæs eall weste, butan þær huntan gewicodon, oððe fisceras, oððe fugeleras.

4. Fela spella him sædon ða Beormas, ægþer ge of hyra agenum lande, ge of þæm [landum], þe ymb hý utan wæran: ac he nyste hwæt þæs soðes wæs, forðæm he hit sylf ne geseah. Þa Finnas, him þuhte, and þa Beormas spræcon neah án geðeode. Swiðost he fór ðyder, to-eacan þæs landes sceawunge, forðæm hors-hwælum, forðæm hi habbað swyðe æþele bán on hyra toþum: þa teð hy brohton sume þæm [cyninge]; and hyra hýd bið swiðe gód to scip-rapum. Se hwæl bið micle læssa þonne oðre hwalas: ne bið he lengra ðonne syfan elna lang; ac, on his agnum lande, is se betsta hwæl-huntað: þa beoð eahta and feowertiges elna lange, and þa mæstan, fiftiges elna lange; þara, he sæde, þæt he syxa sum ofsloge syxtig on twam dagum.

5. He wæs swyðe spedig man, on þæm æhtum, þe heora speda on beoð, þæt is, on wildrum. He hæfde þa gyt, ða he

þone cyningc sohte, tamra deora unbebohtra syx hund. Þa deor hī hātað hrānas: þara wæron syx stæl-hranas, ða beoð swyðe dȳre mid Finnum, forðæm hy foð þa wildan hranas mid. He wæs mid þæm fyrstum mannum on þæm lande, næfde he þeah ma ðonne twentig hryðera, and twentig sceapa, and twentig swyna; and þæt lytle þæt he erede, he erede mid horsan: ac hyra ār is mæst on þæm gafole, þe ða Finnas him gyldað; þæt gafol bið on deora fellum, and on fugela feðerum, and hwales bane, and on þæm scip-rapum, þe beoð of hwæles hyde geworht, and of seoles. Æghwilc gylt be hys gebyrdum: se byrdesta sceall gyldan fiftyne mearðes fell, and fif hranes, and an beran fel, and tyn ambra feðra, and berenne kyrtel oðde yterenne, and twegen scip-rapas; ægþer sȳ syxtig elna lang, oþer sy of hwæles hȳde geworht, oþer of sioles.

6. He sæde ðæt norðmanna land wære swyþe lang and swyðe smæl. Eal þæt his man aþer oðde ettan oðde erian mæg, þæt lið wið ða sæ; and þæt is þeah, on sumum stowum, swyðe cludig; and licgað wilde moras wið eastan, and wið upp on emnlange þæm bynum lande. On þæm morum eardiað Finnas; and þæt byne land is easteweard bradost, and symle swa norðor swa smælre. Eastewerd hit mæg bion syxtig mila brad, oþþe hwene brædre; and middeweard þritig oðde bradre; and norðeweard, he cwæð, þær hit smalost wære, þæt hit mihte beon þreora mila brad to þæm more; and se mōr syðþan, on sumum stowum, swa brad swa man mæg on twam wucum oferferan; and, on sumum stowum, swa brad swa man mæg on syx dagum oferferan.

7. Ðonne is to-emnes þæm lande suðeweardum, on oðre healfe þæs mores, Sweoland, oþ þæt land norðeweard; and to-emnes þæm lande norðeweardum, Cwena land. Þa Cwenas hergiað hwilum on ða norð-men ofer ðone mor, hwilum þa norð-men on hy; and þær sint swiðe micle meras fersce geond þa moras; and berað þa Cwenas hyra scypu ofer land on ða meras, and þanon hergiað on ða norð-men. Hy habbað swyðe lytle scypa, and swyðe leohte.

8. Ohthere sæde þæt sio scīr hatte Halgoland, þe he on bude. He cwæð þæt nān man ne bude be norðan him. Þonne

is ân port on suðeweardum þæm lande, þone man hæt Sciringes heal. Þyder he cwæð, þæt man ne mihte geseglian on anum monðe, gyf man on niht wicode, and ælce dæge hæfde âmbyrne wind; and, ealle ða hwîle, he sceal seglian be lande:—and, on
5 þæt steor-bord him, bið ærest [Isaland], and þonne ða igland þe synd betux [Isalande] and þissum lande. Þonne is þis land oð he cymð to Scirincges heale; and ealne weg, on þæt bæc-bord Norðweg. Wið suðan þone Sciringes heal fylð swyðe mycel sǽ up in on ðæt land: seo is bradre þonne ænig man oferseon
10 mæge; and is Gótland on oðre healfe ongean, and siðða Sillende. Seo sǽ lið mænig hund mila up in on þæt land.

9. And of Sciringes heale, he cwæð þæt he séglode on fif dagan, to þæm porte þe mon hæt æt Hǽþum, se stent betuh Winedum, and Seaxum, and Angle, and hyrð in on Dene. Ða he
15 þiderweard séglode fram Sciringes heale, þa wæs him on þæt bæc-bord Dénamearc; and, on þæt steor-bord, wid sǽ þry dagas; and, þâ twegen dagas ær he to Hæþum come, him wæs on þæt steor-bord Gotland, and Sillende, and iglanda fela. On þæm landum eardodon Engle, ær hý hîder on land [comon].
20 And hym wæs ðâ twegen dagas, on ðæt bæc-bord, þa igland, þe in Denemearce hyrað.

10. Wulfstan sæde þæt he gefére of Hǽðum,—þæt he wære on Truso on syfan dagum and nihtum,—þæt þæt scip wæs ealne weg yrnende under segle. Weonoðland him wæs on steor-
25 bord; and on bæc-bord him wæs Langa land, and Lǽland, and Falster, and Scón eg; and þas land eall hyrað to Denemearcan. And þonne Burgenda land wæs us on bæc-bord, and þâ habbað him sylf cyning. Þonne æfter Burgenda lande, wæron us ðas land, þa synd hatene ærest Blecinga ég, and Meore, and Eow-
30 land, and Gotland, on bæc-bord; and þas land hyrað to Swéon. And Weonodland wæs us ealne weg, on steor-bord, oð Wislemúðan. Seo Wisle is swyðe mycel éa, and hio tolið Witland, and Weonodland; and ðæt Witland belimpeð to E'stum; and seo Wisle lið út of Weonodlande, and lið in E'stmere; and se Est-
35 mere is huru fiftene mila brád. Þonne cymeð Ilfing eastan in Estmere of ðæm mere, ðe Truso standeð in staðe; and cumað út samod in E'stmere, Ilfing eastan of Eastlande, and Wisle súðan of Winodlande; and þonne benimð Wisle Ilfing hire naman, and

ligeð of þæm mere west, and norð on sǽ; forðý hit man hæt Wisle-mûða. Þæt Eastland is swyðe mycel, and þær bið swyðe manig burh, and on ælcere byrig bið cyningc; and þær bið swyðe mycel hunig, and fiscað; and se cyning and þa ricostan men drincað myran meolc, and þa unspedigan and þa þéowan drincað medo. Þær bið swyðe mycel gewinn betweonan him; and ne bið ðær nænig ealo gebrowen mid E'stum, ac þær bið mêdo genôh.

11. And þær is mid E'stum ðeaw, þonne þær bið man dead, þæt he lið inne unforbærned mid his magum and freondum monað,—gehwilum twegen: and þa [cyningas] and þa oðre heah-ðungene men, swa micle lencg swa hî maran speda habbað, hwilum healf-gêar, þæt hi beoð unforbærned; and licgað bufan eorðan on hyra husum: and ealle þa hwîle, þe þæt lic bið inne, þær sceal beon gedrync, and plega, oð ðone dæg, þe hî hine forbærnað.

12. Þonne, þy ylcan dæge, hî hine to þæm âde beran wyllað, þonne todælað hî his feoh, þæt þær to lafe bið æfter þæm gedrynce, and þæm plegan, on fif oððe syx, hwylum on ma, swa swa þæs feos ândefn bið. Alecgað hit ðonne forhwaga on anre mile þone mæstan dǽl fram þæm tune, þonne oðerne, ðonne þæne þriddan, oþþe hyt eall aled bið on þære anre mile; and sceall beon se læsta dæl nyhst þæm tune, ðe se deada man on lîð. Ðonne sceolon beon gesamnode ealle ðâ menn, ðe swyftoste hors habbað on þæm lande, forhwæga on fif milum, oððe on syx milum, fram þæm feo. Þonne ærnað hý ealle toweard þæm feo: ðonne cymeð se man, se þæt swifte hors hafað, to þæm ærestan dæle, and to þæm mæstan, and swa ælc æfter oðrum, oþ hit bið eall genumen; and se nimð þone læstan dæl, se nyhst þæm tune, þæt feoh geǽrneð: and þonne rideð ælc hys weges mid ðan feo, and hyt motan habban eall; and forðý þær beoð þa swiftan hors ungefôge dyre. And þonne hys gestreon beoð þus eall aspended, þonne byrð man hine ût, and forbærneð mid his wæpnum and hrægle: and swiðost ealle hys speda hý forspendað, mid þan langan legere þæs deadan mannes inne, and þæs þe hý be þæm wegum alecgað, þe ða fremdan to ærnað, and nimað.

13. And þæt is mid E'stum þeaw, þæt þær sceal ælces geðeodes man beon forbærned; and gyf þar man ân ban findeð unforbærned, hi hit sceolan miclum gebetan.—And þær is mid E'astum ân mægð, þæt hi magon cyle gewyrcan; and þy þær licgað þa deadan men swa lange, and ne fuliað, þæt hy wyrcað þone cyle hine on: and, þeah man asette twegen fætels full ealað, oððe wæteres, hy gedoð þæt oþer bið oferfroren, sam hit sy sumor, sam winter.

14. Nu wille we secgan be suðan Dônua þære êa ymbe Creca land, [þe] liþ wyð eastan Constantinopolim, Creca byrig, is se sæ Propônditis: and be norðan Constantinopolim, Creca byrig, scŷt se sæ-earm up of þæm sæ west rihte, þe man hæt Euxínus; and, be westan norðan þære byrig, Donua muða þære êa scyt suð-east ut on ðone sæ Euxinus; and, on suð-healfe, and on west-healfe þæs muðan, sindon Moesi, Creca leode; and, be westan þære byrig, sindon Traci; and, be eastan þære byrig, Macedonie: and, be suþan þære byrig, on suð-healfe þæs sæs earmes, þe man hæt Egêum, sindon Athêna, and Corintus þa land: and, be westan-suðan Corinton, is A'chie þæt land, æt þæm Wendel-sæ. Þas land syndon Creca leode. And be westan Achie, andlang þæs Wendel-sæs, is Dalmatia þæt land, on norð-healfe þæs sæs; and be norðan Dalmatia sindon Pulgare, and Istria: and be suðan Istria is se Wendel-sæ, þe man hæt Atriaticum; and be westan þa beorgas, þe man hæt Alpis; and be norðan þæt westen, þæt is betux Carendan and Fulgarum.

15. Þonne is Italia land west-norð lang, and east-suð lang; —and hit belið Wendel-sæ ymb eall utan buton westan-norðan. Æt þæm ende, hit belicgað ða beorgas, þe man hæt Alpis: þa onginnað westane fram þæm Wendel-sæ, in Narbonense þære ðeode and endiað eft east in Dalmatia þæm lande, æt þæm sæ.

16. Þa land þe man hæt Gallia Bellica.—Be eastan þæm is sio êa, þe man hæt Rîn, and be suðan þa beorgas þe man hæt Alpis, and be westan-suðan se garsecg, þe man hæt Brittanisca; and be norðan, on oðre healfe þæs garsegges earme is Brittannia þæt land. Be westan Lîgore is Æquitania land; and be suþan Æquitania is þæs landes sum dæl Narbonense;

and, be westan-suðan, Ispania land; and be westan garsegc. Be suðan Narbonense is se Wendel-sǽ, þær þær Ródan seo ēa ut scȳt; and be eastan him [Profentse], and be westan him [Profentse] ofer ða westenu, seo us nearre Ispania; and be westan him and norðan Equitania, and Wǽscan be norðan. Profentsē hæfð be norðan hyre þa beorgas, þe man Alpis hǽt, and be suðan hyre is Wendel-sæ; and be norðan hyre and eastan synd Burgende, and Wascan be westan.

17. Ispania land is þry-scyte, and eall mid fleote utan ymbhæfd, ge eac binnan ymbhæfd ofer ða land, ægþer ge of þæm garsecge, ge of ðam Wendel-sæ: ǽn ðæra garena lið suð-west ongean þæt igland, þe Gadēs hatte; and oþer east ongean þæt land Narbonense; and se ðridda norð-west ongean Brigantia Gallia burh, and ongean Scotland, ofer ðone sæs earm, on geryhte ongean þæne muðan þe mon hæt Scēne. Seo us fyrre Ispania, hyre is be westan garsecg, and be norðan; Wendel-sǽ be suðan, and be eastan, seo us nearre Ispania; be norðan þære synt Equitania; and, be norðan-eastan, is se weald Pireni, and be eastan Narbonense, and be suðan Wendel-sǽ.

18. Brittannia þæt igland:—hit is norð-east lang, and hit is eahta hund mila lang, and twa hund mila brad. Þonne is be suðan him, on oðre healfe þæs sǽs earmes, Gallia Bellica; and ion west-healfe, on oþre healfe þæs sæs earmes, is Ibernia þæt gland; and, on norð-healfe, Orcadus þæt igland. Igbernia, þæt we Scotland hatað, hit is on ælce healfe ymbfangen mid garsecge; and forðōn þe sīð sunne þær gæð near on setl, þonne on oðrum lande, þær syndon lyðran wedera, þonne on Brittannia. Þonne be westan-norðan Ibernia is þæt ytemeste land, þæt man hæt Thīla; and hit is feawum mannum cuð, for ðære ofer-fyrre.—Nū hæbbe we gesæd ymbe ealle Europe land-gemæro, hu hī tolicgað.

THE END OF THE ANGLO-SAXON TEXT.

NOTES AND VARIOUS READINGS.

The Anglo-Saxon printed text follows the Cotton MS. and what is from the Lauderdale MS. is inserted in brackets [ ], the particulars being given in the notes. The exact reading of each MS. will thus be at once evident.

In the MSS. the punctuation is imperfect, and often confused. The scribe of the Cotton MS. generally used a period for our present comma, semicolon and colon ; and often for our period or full stop. For our period, a (;) or (:) and sometimes an inverted semicolon (⁏) and more frequently a colon with a dash after it, is used. To obviate this confusion, the Anglo-Saxon printed text follows the present English punctuation.

All the quotations from the Lauderdale and the Cotton MSS. are made to represent the MS. as nearly as possible in letters, accents and points. In these respects, as well as in the division of words, the scribes have made absurd mistakes. Even these are left unaltered in the quotations, that scholars, to whom the various readings will be chiefly useful, may see the exact state, as well as the readings of the MSS.

In referring to the printed Anglo-Saxon text, it must be observed, that, in the following various readings, the pages and lines are given in arabic numerals, and the words in each line are denoted by small *Roman* letters, the first word by *a*, the second by *b*, and so on in succession : thus, 1*a* denotes *line* 1, *word* 1 :—and 4*h* denotes *line* 4 *word* 8, as *h* is the 8th letter in the alphabet.

C. stands for the Cotton MS.
L. . . . . the Lauderdale MS.
w. . . . . wanting or omitted.

PAGE 1, *line* 1*a*. Nu wille we ymb europe lond gemæro areccean swa micel swawe hit fyrmest witon ; From þære ie danais, west oþrin þa ea seo wilð ofþæm beorge þe mon alpis hætt and irnð L.—4*h*. þætlond uton ymb lið þe mon bryttannia hætt L.—6*b*. æwielme is neah rines ofre þære ie (near the bank of the river Rhine) ond is siþþan east irnende wið norþan crecalond ut on þone wendelsæ L.—7*a*. C. has wið creca land—omitting norþan.—8*d*. þemon cwen sæ hæt L.—8*k*. sindon monega þeoda achit mon hæt eall germania. L.

line 10*a*. þonne wið norþan donua æ wielme L.—11*a*. sindon east francna L.—12*c*. þære ie donua L.—13*a*. sindon bæg ware se dæl þe mon regnes burg hætt ond ryhte be eastan him sindon bæme

ond east norþ sindon þyringa L.—16*e*. sindon frisan L.—17*d*. þære ie ond frisland ond þonan L.—18*c*. þæt lond þe mon ongle hæt L.— 19*d*. dene L.—19*h*. hím C.— 19 *k*. afdrede L.

Page 2, *line* 1*b*. wilte þe mon hæ feldan hætt L.—1*e*. æfeldan C. —2*b*. wineda lond þe mon hætt sysyle L.—2*k*. ofer sum dæl maroara L.—3*b*. maroara L.—4*e*. beg ware L.—6*b*. þe mon alpis hæt to þæm ilcan beorgan licgað beg waraland gemæro L.—8*b*. londe begeondam L.—9*l*. maroara londe is wisle lond L.—11*c*. be norþan eastan maroara sindon dala ment san L.—11*c*. be eastan norðan C.—11*g*. dala ment san sindon horigti L.—11*g*. dala ment san L.—13*i*. sindon w. L.—14*d*. horoti L.—14*i*. benorþan mægþa londe ser mende oþþa beorgas riffen L.—15*c*. sindon w. L. C.—15*i*. And w. L—16*d*. is þæs sǽs earm þemon hæt ost sǽ L.—18*m*. him w. L.—19*c*. ægþer L.—21*d*. þære íe L: 21*k*. norð dene habbað benorþan him L.—22*k*. þemon hæt ost sæ L.—23*l*. afrede L—24*f*. hím C.—24*f*. hím þone ilcan sæs earm ond winedas ond burgendan L.—26*d*. ylcan w. L. which has þone sæs earm—29*i*. him w. C—29*k*. oferþawestenne iscwenland L.—31*a*. scride finne L.—31*e*. norþ menn L; norðmenn C.

Line 32*a*. Oht here. the O a red capital in C: ohthere L. opposite this word on the right margin and in a recent hand, is written "Hic incipit Periplus Ohtheri.—32*f*. kynincge C.—32*g*. þæt he ealra norð monna norþ mest bude L.—34*g*. he sæde þeah þæt land sie swiþe lang norþ þonan. L.—36*c*. stycce mælum L.—36*g*. on huntoðe L.—37*f*. on fiscaþe L—37*k*. hé C.—38*d*. cirre L—38*g*. hu longe L.—38*k*. norþ ryhte L.—39*f*. mon L—39*k*. westenne L.

Page 3, *line* 1*d* hé C.—2*i*. lét hím C.—3*a*. þrie dagas L.—4*a*. firrest faraþ þafor he þagiet norþ ryhte swa feor swa he meahte L.—4*k*. feor swa *w*. C.—4*m* hé C.—5*g* gesiglan. þabeag þæt land geseglian ðabeah þæt land.—6*d* oþþe seo sǽ in on ðæt lond henysse hwæðer buton he wisse ðæt he ðær bád westan windes ond hwon norþan ond siglde ða east belande swaswahe meahte L.—8*l*. hé C.—9*d* gesiglan þasceolde he ðær bidan ryht norþan windes for ðæm þæt land beag þær suþ ryhte. Oþþe seo sǽ L.—11*f* he nysse L.—11*i* þasiglde he þonan suð ryhte belande swaswahe melite on fif dagum ge siglan—13*g* úp C.—13*h* in on þæt land L. on w. C.—13*m* þacirdon hie up in onða ea forþæm hie nedorston forþ biþære ea siglan forun friþe L—15*h* gebun onoþre healfe þære eas. L.—16*e* he ær nán gebunland siþþan he from his agnum hám fór L.—18*c* butan fiscerum ond fugelerum ond huntum ond þæt wæron eall finnas L.—19*b* wæran C.— 20*e* swiþe wel gebúd hird land L.—20*c*, 24*f*, 27*h* In the L. one stroke of the m has been scratched out, making the name Beornas, but the open space and the parts of the other stroke appear.—22d húntan C.

line 24*i* of hiera agnum ge oþþæm landum þe ymb hie

utan wæron L—25*f* lande C.—26*h* forþæm hehit self L: 26*i* hē hēt sylf C.—29*b* horsc hwælum L.—29*e* hie habbað swiþe L.—30*b*. on hiora toþum þateð hie brohton sume þæm cyninge ond hiora hyd L.—30*l*. cyninсge C.—31*d* hȳd is the last word of page 14 L.

The preceding quotations and references, from L. have been so ample and precise, as to give complete clauses which differed from C. in little more than the spelling of the words. This was done to shew the exact character of the L. In future the references to L. will be much shortened, and till chapter IX, § 1 omitted from the deficiency of L.—The next eight leaves have been torn out of the L. MS. and eight parchment leaves inserted. On six of these, there is a transcript written in a small and modern hand, from the Cotton MS. It is badly and incorrectly written. Then follow two blank leaves, completing the eight inserted leaves. The Lauderdale MS. begins again at Chapter IX § 1.—At the foot of *p.* 14 of L. is written "Hic desiderantur VIII folia, quæ suppeditari possunt e Cod. Cottoniano."—Dr Marshall gives the following note in the Junian transcript of Orosius *p.* 10. Hic incipit lacuna in Cod. MS. Lauderdal. qua laborat usque ad cap. IX lib. I. *p.* 20. Ingram's Lect. p. 61 note 9.

The transcript made from the Cotton MS. to fill up the chasm in the Lauderdale, is so imperfect, that I was anxious to have a facsimile of the Cotton MS. of those pages that were wanting in the Lauderdale. These facsimiles were made by those most eminent Lithographers, Messrs Nethercliff and son; and, to secure the greatest accuracy, every letter was most carefully compared and revised three times by myself, at the British Museum. A very few copies, intended chiefly for presents, were printed on tinted paper to resemble the colour of the MSS. with the following title, "A description of Europe and the Voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan, written in Anglo-Saxon by King Alfred the Great"; printed on thick paper in large 4to. A facsimile copy was printed on parchment to insert into the Lauderdale MS. partly at the expence of the owner of the L. John Tollemache Esq. The Lauderdale MS. is, therefore, now as complete as it is possible to be made. It consists of 171 pages very legibly written. It is in good preservation, every word of it being preserved, except what has been torn from the MS. that is 8 leaves or 16 pages from p. 14 to 30, which are accurately copied from the Cotton MS.

31*h* scīp rapum. se hwǣl C.—32*g* hē C—35*h* syxasum C. hence Rask's division into syx asum is not impossible, but he thinks asum stands for ascum. See the English translation p. 43, n. 46. Gough says—"If I were to propose a different reading, it should be that of fyxa for syxa, which might be easily mistaken by a copier, and then it would be some fishes." GOUGH'S *MS. notes in*

his copy of Orosius, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, p. 23—I have allowed the text to remain unaltered for the reasons given in the notes to my translation.

PAGE 3, *line* 38*g* In C. *eo* is placed between and a little above d and r, making wildeorum: some have therefore supposed the word to represent wild-deorum; but the *eo* is in a different hand and a lighter ink, and another d must be inserted.—Dr Ingram takes wildrum to be the d. pl. of wildra the comparative of wild which refers to æhtum above. LECTURE p. 62 note k.—38*n*. hē C.

PAGE 4, *line* 13*f*. scīp rapas C.

line 15*a*. Hē C.—16*d*. hīs C:—36*a*. Ohthere C.—36*i*. hē C.

PAGE 5, 1*h*. þonne C. but apparently an error for þone.—1*l* Sciringes heal C.—5*b* hīm C. 5*f*, 6*d* ira land C. The reason for inserting Isaland in the Text, see Eng. Trans. b. I: c. 2, § 18, note 54.—7*e* Scirincges heale C. 8*a* C. has, as in the text, norð weg wið suðan. An e is joined to the g, and bi written above in a different ink, and in a more modern form of letter, making this unnecessary repetition—norðwege bi wið.—11*l* þæt land and of sciringes heale. C.

Line 12*e*. hē C.—13*k*. sē C.—14*h*. īn C.—14*m*. hē C.—15*i*. on þæt bæcbord. dēna mearc C.—19*k*. coman and hywæs ðatwegen dagas C.—21*b*. in dene mearce C.

Line 22*a*. Wulfstan C. is in the middle of a line but begins with a Capital filled with red.—22*d*. hē C.—22*i*. hē C.—25*k* lǣ land and falster and scōn eg C.—28*i*. ūs C.—31*d*. ūs C.—35*b*. īs C.

PAGE 6, *line* 1*l*. hīt C.—4*d*. in C. fiscað has an n inserted above the line between c and a, but the n is in a recent hand and ink, and unnecessary.—5*f*. ūn spedigan C.—8*b*. Here Wulfstan's voyage ends in Hakluyt.—30*c*. hȳs C.

Line 10*b*. hē C.—10*g*. hīs C.—11*f*. kyningas C.

Line 17*d*. dæge, the *e* in a recent hand and a lighter ink, but dæge is right, for þy ilcan in d. or abl.—27*g*. sē C.—31*f*. ðan for þam.

PAGE 7, 9*a*. Here commences the 4th Paragraph in C.

10*b*. In the C. þe, in a recent hand and ink, is inserted above the line before lið. The sentence appears incomplete. The C. has Ymbe creca land liþ wyð eastan.—12*e* ūp C.

Line 30*f*. innrbonense, the second n altered to a, making inarbonense C.

PAGE 8, *line* 3*g*. profent sǣ C.—4*a*. profent sǣ C.—7*c*. hȳre C—7*i* hȳre C.

Line 15*i*. ūs C.

Line 27*k* brettannia, C.—30*c*. hǣbbe, C.

THE END OF VARIOUS READINGS.

A

LITERAL ENGLISH TRANSLATION

OF

THE DESCRIPTION OF EUROPE,

BY

KING ALFRED THE GREAT,

WITH HIS

RELATION OF OHTHERE'S VOYAGE ROUND THE NORTH CAPE INTO THE WHITE SEA, &c*.

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1. Now we will speak, as much as we know, about the boundaries of EUROPE.—*From the river Don, westward to the river Rhine,* (which springs from the Alps, and then runs right north into the arm of the ocean, that lies around the country called Britain ;)—*and again south to the river Danube,* (whose spring is

*The following description of Europe, and the voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan, with other particulars, are extracted from King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Version of the Historian Orosius.

PAULUS OROSIUS was a Spanish Presbyter, born in the latter part of the fourth century at Tarragona, on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea. He was induced by his friend S. Augustine, to write an historical work in defence of Christianity, and his book, written on Christian principles, became very popular.

In the time of king Alfred, Orosius was so well known as an historian, that his name was commonly used instead of the title of his work. This is evident, from Alfred's introductory sentence :—"Here beginneth the book, which men call Orosius." This compendious history of the world from the creation to the year 415, was held in the highest esteem, and it was chosen by the first man of his age, our GLORIOUS KING ALFRED, as a book worthy to be translated by him into Anglo-Saxon—the English of his day—to teach his people history.

It is not a mere translation,—for, as in his other works, so in his Orosius, besides adding new illustrative clauses, sentences, and paragraphs of his own, Alfred has here given a most interesting Essay on the position, and state of European nations, between his own age and that of Orosius. Alfred also wrote a minute account of three voyages, in the ninth century, from the reports of two Northern Navigators, Ohthere and Wulfstan. These important additions of King Alfred are very interesting, as his original composition. They naturally divide themselves into three parts. 1. The Description of Europe. 2. The two voyages of Ohthere. 3. The voyage of Wulfstan.

near the river Rhine, and which afterwards runs east, by the country north of Greece, into the Mediterranean[1] Sea ;)— *and*

1st. We have [§ 1, and 2] Alfred's description of Europe ; or, as he calls it, Germania, for at that time, Germania comprised almost the whole of Europe north of the Rhine and the Danube [See notes 3 and 4].

We have so little information concerning the Geography and the political state of northern Europe, in the middle ages, that a detail of what the king had collected from the best sources, in his own age, must be extremely valuable.

He first speaks of the East-Franks and soon hastens to the Old-Saxons, and Angles being most interesting to Alfred, as his progenitors, England having derived, not only its name but the greater part of its inhabitants from these tribes. [See note 60]. He then describes other parts of Europe, and passes over into the Danish islands ; — and, proceeding east and north, speaks of the Danes, the Esthonians, the Swedes, the Finns, and Northmen or Norwegians. He thus naturally introduces the personal adventures of a Norwegian Navigator, and gives the information Ohthere acquired in his exploring voyages. This brings us to the second part of Alfred's description of Europe.

2ly. The two voyages of Ohthere, § 3—9.

Ohthere was a man of great wealth and influence [§ 5], and he had made himself so celebrated by his voyages, as to attract the notice of King Alfred. Ohthere is induced to give a detail of his adventures, and such is the simplicity of the narrative, that it bears the impress of the truth. It commences:—"Ohthere told his lord, King Alfred, that he dwelt north most of all Northmen," in Halgoland on the coast of Norway.—"He said, that, at a certain time, he wished to find out how far the land lay due north, or whether any man dwelt north of him" [§ 3]. For this purpose, and for the sake of taking the Walrus, he sailed northward, on the coast of Norway, and round the North Cape into the White Sea, [§ 3—7 and note 39.]

He relates the particulars of his voyage, and his strict adherence to truth in his narrative, may be assured, from his refusing to vouch for any thing, of which he could not bear personal testimony. He says : "The Biarmians told him many stories both about their own land, and about the countries, which were around them ; but *he knew not what was true, because he did not see it himself.*"

Ohthere's second voyage [§ 8, 9] was to the south. He sailed from his home in Halgoland, along the west and south coast of Norway, to the Bay of Christiana, on the south of this land, where Sciringesheal stood. From thence, he sailed to Schleswig in South Jutland, Denmark.

3ly. Wulfstan's Voyage, § 10—13.

This voyage was confined to the Baltic, being from Schleswig to Truso in Prussia. Forster, in p. 53, of his Northern voyages, hesitates not to say : "There was a Jutlander of the name of Wulfstan, who gave an account of his travels to the king." Wulfstan relates many interesting particulars of the Esthonians as it regards their mode of living and their funeral rites.

These narratives have a precision and life, which could only be imparted by those who were eye witnesses of what they relate. They give a lively picture of the countries, and of the people they visited. Their simplicity and evident love of truth, deepen the impression made by their description of the manners, customs, and political condition, of the northern nations, in the ninth century. Such a faithful and graphic picture can be obtained from no other contemporary source.

1 Into what is now called the Black Sea, which Alfred considered a part of the Mediterranean. Snorre calls it a gulf of the Mediterranean, in the first chapter of his Heimskringla. In other places, Alfred mentions the Black Sea, under the name Euxinus. Rask's Afhandlinger, Köbenhavn, 1834. vol. I. p. 332, note c.

north[2] *to the ocean, which is called the White Sea*[3]: within these are many nations; but they call it all, Germania.[4]

2. Then to the north, from the spring of the Danube, and to the east of the Rhine are the East Franks[5]; and to the south of them are the Suabians, on the other side of the river Danube. To the south and to the east are the Bavarians,[6] that part which is called Ratisbon.[7] Right to the east of them are the Bohemians; and north-east are the Thuringians. To the north of them are the Old Saxons,[8] and to the north-west of them are the Friesians. To the west of the Old Saxons is the mouth of the river Elbe and Friesland. From thence, north-west is the country called Anglen,[9] and Zealand[10] and some part of Denmark. To the north are the

2 From this place to the end of § 13, Alfred leaves Orosius, and gives the best information that he could collect. It is the king's own account of Europe in his time. It is not only interesting, as the composition of Alfred, but invaluable, as an historical document, being the only authentic record of the Germanic nations, written by a contemporary, so early as the ninth century.

3 The Cwen-sæ' of Alfred. The plain detail, which Ohthere gave to king Alfred, [§ 3] can scarcely be read by any unprejudiced person, without coming to the conclusion, that Ohthere sailed from Halgoland, on the coast of Norway, into the White Sea. See § 3, and note 39. The Germania of Alfred, therefore, extended from the Don on the east, to the Rhine and the German ocean on the west; and from the Danube on the south, to the White Sea on the north.

4 Alfred's Germania embraced nearly the whole of Europe north of the Rhine and the Danube. Its great extent will be seen by the countries mentioned, in the notes from 5 to 39, and in the text. See also the end of note 3, and Cluverii Introductionis in universam Geographiam, Libri VI, Amstelædami 4to 1729. Lib. III, Cap. 1. De veteri Germania, p. 183—186, and the map of Europe, p. 72.—Also the very learned work—Cluverii Germania antiqua. Lugd. Batavorum. Elzevir. Fol. 1616: Lib. I: cap. XI. De magnitudine Germaniæ antiquæ, p. 94—98, and the map, p. 3.—Also Cellarii Geographia Antiqua. Cantab. 4to 1703. p. 309—313.—Warnefried's Hist. Longob. l. I: c. I.

5 The locality of the East-Franks is not given with great precision: it probably varied at different periods. Alfred speaks here indefinitely of their dwelling east of the Rhine, and north of the source of the Danube. They were called East-Franks to distinguish them from the Franks in the west, inhabiting Gaul.

6 A. S. Bægðware the Bavarians.

7 Regnesburh the district as well as the city of Ratisbon, on the Danube—Beme the Bohemians.

8 A. S. Eald-Seaxe, and Eald-Seaxan The Old Saxons, inhabiting the country between the Eyder and the Weser, the parent stock of the Anglo or English-Saxons, and therefore of great importance in the mind of Alfred; for he speaks of other countries, as they are located in regard to the Old Saxons. They were a very warlike and powerful people, who once occupied the whole north-west corner of Germany.

9 Anglen, the country between Flensburg and the Schley, whence the Angles came to Britain. Thorpe's An.

10 In A. S. Sillende Zealand, or Seeland, in Danish Sjalland, the largest island in the Danish monarchy, on the eastern shores of which Copenhagen is built.

Afdrede,[11] and north-east the Wylte,[12] who are called Hæfeldan To the east of them is the country of the Wends[13], who are called Sysyle ;[14] and south-east, at some distance, the Moravians.[15] These Moravians have, to the west of them, the Thuringians, and Bohemians, and part of the Bavarians. To the south of them, on the other side of the river Danube, is the country, Carinthia,[16] [lying] south to the mountains, called the Alps. To the same mountains extend the boundaries of the Bavarians, and of the Suabians; and then, to the east of the country Carinthia, beyond the desert, is the country of the Bulgarians;[17] and, to the east of them, the

11 The Laud MS. always has Afdrede [p. 12, l. 23 l: 13, 11e, 14g] Cotton has Afdrede in fol. 9a, l. 21g: Afdræde, fol. 9a, 25d; and Apdrede, in fol. 8b. 24g. Alfred's Afdrede, were the Obotriti or Obotritæ, a Slavonic tribe, who, in the 9th century, dwelt north of the Old-Saxons, and occupied the western, and the greater part of what is now the Duchy of Mecklenburg. Hampson, Notes and Qrs. No. 17, p. 257. Thorpe's An. Glos.

12 The Wylte, or Wilte, were a Slavonic race, that occupied the eastern part of Mecklenburg, and the Mark of Brandenburg. Eiginhard says, "They are Slavonians who, in our manner, are called Wilsi, but in their own language, Welatibi." [Vit. Kar. Magn. and Annal. Francor. ann. 822.] The name, as Eiginhard has noticed, is Slavonic, and is an adoption of welot or weolot a giant, to denote the strength and fierceness which made them formidable neighbours. Hampson.—Why the Wilti were sometimes called Heveldi [Alfred's Hæfeldan, Laud. p. 12, l. 24g: æ'feldan C. C. fol. 8b, 25c] will appear from their location, as pointed out by Ubbo Emmius: "Wilsos, Henetorum gentem, ad Havelam trans Albim sedes habentem." [Rer. Fris. Hist. l. IV, p. 67] Schaffarik remarks; "Die Stoderaner und Havolaner waren ein und deselbe, nur durch zwei namen unterscheidener zweig des Weleten stammes." Albinus says: "Es sein aber die richten Wilzen Wender sonderlich an der Havel wonhaft." They were frequently designated by the name of Lutici, as appears from Adam of Bremen, Helmold, and others. The Slavonic word liuti signified wild, fierce. etc. Being a wild and contentious people, they figure in some of the old Russian sagas, much as the Jutes do in those of Scandinavia. It is remarkable that the names of both should have signified giants or monsters. Notker, in his Teutonic paraphrase of Martianus Capella, speaking of other Anthropophagi, relates that the Wilti were not ashamed to say, that they had more right to eat their parents than the worms. S. W. Singer. Notes and Qrs. No 20, p. 313.

13 In. A. S. Wineda land, Weonod-land, Winod-land, c. Wineda lond, l. The country of the Venedi or Wends, which at one time comprehended the whole of the south coast of the Baltic, from the mouth of the Vistula to the Schley.—The Greeks called the Slavonians Ἐνετοί; the Romans, Venetæ, Veneti, Vineti, Venedi: and the Germans, Wenden, Winden. R. T. Hampson.

14 Sysyle, v. note 23.

15 A. S. Maroaro, the Slavi Maharenses or Moravians, from the river Marus or Maharus, which runs through their country, and into the Danube a little below Vienna.

16 A. S. þæt land Carendre. The present Duchy of Carinthia, perhaps formerly inhabited by Slavi Carenthani, or Carentani. Forster.

17 In A. S. Pulgara land, the country of the Bulgarians, comprehended the present Moldavia, and Bulgaria, on both sides the Danube. Bulgaria was south of Dacia. Eiginhard says an embassy came in A. D. 824 to Charlemagne from the Abotritæ, "qui vulgo Prædenecenti vocantur, et contermini Bulgaris Daciam Danubio adjacentem incolunt. In Bk III, ch. 7, § 2, Alfred adds Iliricos, þe we Pulgare hataȝ, Illyrians whom we call Bulgarians.

country of the Greeks.[18] To the east of the country Moravia, is the country of the[19] Wisle, and to the east of them are the Dacians, who were formerly Goths. To the north-east of the Moravians are the Dalamensan,[20] and to the east of the Dalamensan are the Horithi,[21] and to the east of the Dalamensan are the Surpe,[22] and to the west of them are the Sysele.[23] To the north of the Horiti is Mægtha-land,[24] and north of Mægtha-land are the Sermende[25] even to the Rhipæan mountains.—To[26] the west of the South-Danes

18 Creca land, the Byzantine empire and not ancient Greece, which is mentioned in a subsequent paragraph.

19 Wisle is the river Vistula. Wisleland is the country about the source of the Vistula, a part of Poland called Little Poland.

20 Dalamensan, Dalamensæ, a Slavonic race, who dwelt in Misnia, on both sides of the Elbe.

21 Horithi, Horiti, C.—Horigti, L. A Slavonic race, placed by Alfred to the east of the Slavi Dalamenti, who occupied the district north-east of Moravia with the Surpe, Serbi, or Servi, on their north, and the Sysele, Siculi, another Slavonic race, on the west. See note 23. R. T. Hampson, Notes and Qrs, No 17, p. 258.—S. W. Singer says,—The Horiti of Alfred are undoubtedly the Croati, or Crowati of Pomerania, who still pronounce their name Horuati, the h supplying the place of ch. Nor does it seem unreasonable to presume that the Harudes of Cæsar (De Bel. Gall. I, 31, 37, 51) were also Croats; for they must have been a numerous and widely spread race. They are also called Charudes, Ἀροῦδες. The following passage from the Annales Fuldenses, A. 852, will strengthen this supposition;—"Inde transiens per Angros, Harudos, Suabos, et Hosingos . . . Thuringiam ingreditur." Notes and Qrs, No 20, p. 314.

22 Surpe, Surfe, Sorabi, or Soravi, Sorbi, or Servi, Serbi, or Servi, a Slavonic race inhabiting Lusatia, Misnia, part of Brandenburg, and Silesia. Forster.

23 Are the Sysele, Sysyle, the Szeklers, or Siculi? A part of the Hungarians is called Szekler, pronounced Sekler. In the work, known as that of the Notary of king Bela, we have:—"Siculi, qui primo erant populi Attilæ regis," Not. c. 50. Also—"Tria millia virorum, eadem de natione (Hunnorum) . . . metuentes ad Erdewelwe confinia videlicet Pannonicæ regionis se transtulere, et non Hunos sive Hungaros, sed ne illorum agnoscerentur esse residui, Siculos, ipsorum autem vocabulo Zekel, se denominasse perhibentur. Hi Siculi Hunorum prima fronte in Pannoniam intrantium etiam hac nostra tempestate residui esse dubitantur per neminem, quum in ipsorum generatione, extraneo nondum permixta sanguine et in moribus severiores et in divisione agri cæteris Hungaris multum differre videantur." Thwrocz, ap. Schwandtn. p. 78. Dr Latham's Germ. of Tacitus, Epileg. ciii.—Porthan says, the Sysyle dwelt in the South-eastern part of Newmark. See Porthan's Swedish Trans. and notes. Also, Rask's Danish Trans. p. 344, note a.

24 Mægða-land is north of the Horithi, and perhaps a part of Great Poland, and East Prussia, or the Polish province of Mazovia. An.

25 Sermende a people to the north of Mægtha-land, and to the east of the Burgundians, inhabiting the modern Livonia, Esthonia and part of Lithuania.

26 Alfred, having described the continent north of the Danube, goes to the islands and countries of the East-Sea or Baltic, including the Cattegat, first coming to Denmark. Porthan remarks, that the king seems to turn the north a little to the east, and to speak of North and South Denmark, as separated by the East-Sea or Baltic, for Alfred expressly says, the North-Danes are "on the continent and on the islands," that is in the province of Halland, and of Skaney or Schonen, on the continent, the present South west of Sweden, and on the islands Zealand, Moen, Falster, and Laland. To the South-Danes he assigns

is the arm of the ocean, which lies around the country of Britain; and to the north of them is the arm of the sea called the Baltic[27]; and to the east and to the north of them are the North-Danes,[26] both on the continent and on the islands: to the east of them are the Afdrede[28]; and to the south of them is the mouth of the river Elbe, with some part of the Old Saxons.[29] The North-Danes have to the north of them the same arm of the sea called the Baltic[27]: to the east of them are the Esthonian population; and the Afdræde to the south. The Esthonians[30] have, to the north of them, the same arm of the sea, and also the Wends[31] and Burgundians[32]; and to the south are the Hæfeldan.[33] The Burgundians have the same arm of the sea to the west of them, and the Swedes[34] to the north: to the east of them are the Sermende,[24] and to the south the Surfe.[35] The Swedes have, to the south of them, the Esthonian arm of the sea; and to the east of them the Sermende[25]: to the north, over the wastes, is Cwén-land,[36] and to

the islands Langland, Funen, Arroe, Alsen, as well as the provinces of Jutland, Schleswig and part of Holstein. Rask, p. 348, note c.—Mr Thorpe thinks that the South-Danes inhabited the south of Jutland; and the North-Danes, North-Jutland, the Danish islands and probably Scania.

27 In A. S. Ost-sæ´ or East-Sea, included the Cattegat as well as the Baltic. It was called Ost-sæ´ in opposition to the sea, on the west of Denmark and Norway.

28 v. note 11. 29 A. S. Eald-Seaxan, v. note 8.

30 Esthonians, Æstii, Osti, Esti, a Finnish race—the Estas of Wulfstan [note 72] and Osterlings of the present day. They dwelt on the shores of the Baltic, to the east of the Vistula. An.—See also Dr Latham's Germ. of Tacitus, p. 166—171, and Prol. p. liii.

31 Note 13.

32 Burgendas, Burgendan, Burgundiones, the Burgundians, who occupied the north part of Germany, east of the Upper Vistula, or the district between the Vistula and the river Bug.—Pliny [H. N. IV, 14] writes, "Germanorum genera quinque: Vindili, quorum pars Burgundiones, etc." Dr Latham's Germ. of Tacitus, Epileg. p. lvi.

33. Hæfeldan, Æ´feldan, v. note 12.

34. Sweon, Sweoan, Suiones, Sueones, the Swedes.

35. Surfe, Surpe, &c. v. note 22.

36. Cwén-land. The country east and west of the Gulf of Bothnia, from Norway to the Cwén or White Sea, including Finmark on the north. Malte-Brun says that the inhabitants of Cwén-land were a Finnish race. They were called Quaines, and by Latin writers Cayani. Gerchau maintains, in his history of Finland, 1810, that the Laplanders only were called Finns, and that they were driven from the country by the Quaines. "They settled in Lapland, and on the shores of the White Sea, which derived from them the name of Quen Sea or Quen-vik." . . . Adamus Bremensis happened to be present at a conversation, in which king Sweon spoke of Quen-land or Quena-land, the country of the Quaines, but as the stranger's knowledge of Danish was very imperfect, he supposed the king had said Quinna-land, the country of women or Amazons; hence the absurd origin of his Terra Feminarum, mistaking the name of the country, for quinna a woman. Malte-Brun's Universal Geog. Edin. 1827, vol. VI, p. 495.—Dr Latham's Germania of Tacitus, 174, 179.

the north-west are the Scride-Finns,[37] and to the west the Northmen.[38]

3. Ohthere[39] told his lord, king Alfred, that he dwelt northmost

37 The Scride-Finnas of Alfred,—Crefennæ of Jornandes, for Screde-Fennæ,—Scritifinni of Procopius, seem to have inhabited the present Russian Lapland, and the country around; and to have extended into the modern Swedish Finland. In short, they appear to have occupied the country to the north and west of the White Sea. They were called Scríde, Skríðe Finnas, Striding Finns, from their swiftness in passing over frozen snow, on their skates.—Skríða kann eg á skíðum, I can stride on skates. Dahlmann's Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der Geschichte, Erster Band, p. 452. Altona, 12mo. 1822. Rask, note i, p. 352.—The Scride-Finns were a branch of the Ugrians or Finns, who were a distinct race occupying Lapland, Finland, Esthonia, and Hungary. In Hungary, the Finn population is of recent introduction, the present Ugrian indigenæ being the Lapps, Finlanders and Esthonians. Dr Latham's Germ. of Tacitus, Proleg. XXXVII, and 178, 179.

38 These Northmen were Norwegians. The Northmanna land generally comprehended the present Norway, the chief locality of Northmen. But by Northmen, as the name implies, may be understood, men that dwelt in the north. [See more in Note 40.] They spoke the Old Norse language [norræna] which was common to Denmark, Norway and Sweden. In A.D. 874 it was conveyed to Iceland by Ingolf, and his followers, the first Norwegian settlers in Iceland. Norse was also the language of the Faroe Isles, Greenland, &c. The nearest representative of this old Scandinavian or Norse language, once pervading the north-west of Europe, is the present Icelandic, which, from its northern locality, has undergone so little change, that the oldest documents are easily read by the present Icelanders. See Origin of the English, Germanic, and Scandinavian languages, p. 145.

39 This name has been written Octher, Othere, Ottar, and Ohthere. The last is the only correct mode of writing it; for the Laud. MS. has Ohthere, and the Cotton MS. has the same orthography, but the word is divided into Oht here, indicating its derivation from OHT fear, dread, and HERE an army. Rask observes, that the A. S. ht answers to the Icl. tt, and ere to the Icl. ari and ar, and thus is formed the well known old Norse name, O´ttar the dreadful, timendus, metuendus, from Icl. ótti timor, metus.—Ohthere was a Norwegian nobleman of great wealth and influence, anxious to state nothing, but that to which he could bear personal testimony. It appears impossible for any one to read this simple narrative, without being convinced, that this daring Northman is giving a detail of his voyage, on the west and on the north coast of Norway into the White sea. Iceland had already been discovered by Gardar, the Dane, in A.D. 860, and it was colonized by Ingolf, a Norwegian, in 874. Greenland was discovered in 877 and inhabited by Northmen soon after. Accustomed as these Northmen were, to the most daring enterprises, it was not likely that Ohthere one of the most powerful, adventurous, bold and inquiring of them, should come to the renowned king of England, to relate the events of a common voyage. Ohthere had made discoveries, which he communicated to the king, and Alfred thought them of such importance, that he wrote and inserted this detail of them in his Geographical and Historical view of Europe. It has always been considered an extraordinary voyage. On its first publication by Hakluyt, in 1598, it was acknowledged, as every unprejudiced reader must now allow, that Ohthere doubled the north cape, and entered the White Sea. "The voiage of Octher made to the north-east parts beyond Norway, reported by himselfe vnto Alfred, the famous king of England, about the yere 890." Hakluyt's Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques, and Discoueries of the English Nation, &c. page 5, Fol. 2nd Edn. London, 1598. Again, a little below, Hakluyt says:—"Wil it not, in all posteritie, be as great renowne vnto our English Nation to haue bene the first discouerers of a sea beyond the North cape [neuer certainly knowen before] and of a conuenient passage into

of all Northmen.[40] He said that he dwelt northward, on the land by the west sea.[41] He said, however, that the land is very long thence to the north; but it is all waste [desert], save that in a few places, here and there, Finns reside,—for hunting in winter, and in summer for fishing in the sea. He said, that, at a certain time, he wished to find out how far the land lay right north; or whether any man dwelt to the north of the waste. Then he went right north near the land: he left, all the way, the waste land on the right,[41] and the wide sea on the left, for three days. Then was he as far north as Whale-hunters ever go. He then went yet right north, as far as he could sail in the next three days. Then the land bent there right east, or the sea in on the land, he knew not whether; but he knew that he there waited for a western wind, or a little to the north, and sailed thence east near the land, as far as he could sail in four days. Then he must wait there for

the huge Empire of Russia by the bay S. Nicolas and the riuer of Duina? &c." Id. p. 5.—The subsequent editors and translators of Ohthere's voyage are of the same opinion as Hakluyt.—Sir John Spelman and Oxonienses Alumni, in 1678:—Bussæus, in 1733:—Langebek in 1773:—Daines Barrington, and J. R. Forster, in 1773: Forster again in 1786 in his Hist. of voyages and discoveries in the north.—Ingram, in 1807.—Rask, in his notes to his Danish translation, published in 1815, expressly says—"Ohthere was the first who undertook a voyage to Beormia [Permia] or sailed round the North-cape, and all Lapland," &c. note k. p. 352—355.—Dahlmann, in 1822, states that Ohthere sailed into the White Sea.—Mr Thorpe comes to the same conclusion, in 1846.—Malte-Brun, before Rask, Dahlmann, and Thorpe, speaks, in 1812, of Ohthere's northern voyage from Halgoland in Norway [see note 52 and text] to the White Sea; and south to Schleswig; and also of Wulfstan's voyage from Schleswig to Truso in Prussia. [Note 63.] Through the liberality and kindness of S. W. Singer Esq. the reader is presented with an extract from Précis de la Géographie Universelle, of the celebrated Malte-Brun:—"Othere retraçait ses voyages depuis le Halogaland en Norwége, jusqu' à la Biarmie à l'est de la mer Blanche; et, d'un autre côté, le long des côtes Norwégiennes et Danoises par le sund, jusqu' à la ville de Hæthum ou Schleswig. L'autre relation était celle d'un voyage du Danois Wulfstan, depuis Schleswig jusqu'à Truso, ville de commerce dans le pays d' Estum ou la Prusse. Tom. I, Liv. XVII, p. 382. Paris, 8vo, 1812.

40 Norðmen dwelt on Norðmanna land which extended, on the west coast of Norway, from the district [scír,] of Halgoland [Note 52] to the south of Sciringes heal, [Note 53] probably as far south as the river Gotha-Elf, both the branches of which enter the Cattegat not far from Gottenburg. The Norðmanna land is also called by Ohthere [Norðwege] Norway, which was on his left when sailing from Halgoland to Sciringes heal. These particulars are all drawn from Ohthere's simple narrative. Malte-Brun, in his Précis de la Géog. Univers., speaking of the country of Northmen, says, in p. 383, "La Norwége ou Northmannaland consistait dans la côte occidentale de la Scandinavie depuis la rivière Gotha jusqu'à Halogaland. Les côtes méridionales se nommaient Viken, c'est à dire le golfe; c'est là qu'il faut chercher la ville de Kiningsheal, le Koughille moderne, nommé Scyringes-heal par une faute de copiste." S. W. Singer.

41 A. S. West-sæ´, the sea to the West of Norway, in opposition to the Ost-sæ´, or the Baltic. See Note 27.—A. S. Steor-bord, star-board, the right hand. Bæc-bord, the left hand.

a right north wind, because the land bent there right south, or the sea in on the land, he knew not whether. Then sailed he thence right south, near the land, as far as he could sail in five days. There lay then a great river up into the land: they turned up into the river, because they durst not sail beyond it, on account of hostility, for the land was all inhabited, on the other side of the river. He had not before met with any inhabited land, since he came from his own home, but the land was uninhabited all the way on his right, save by fishermen, fowlers and hunters, and they were all Finns; and there was always a wide sea on his left. The Biarmians[42] had very well peopled their land, but they durst not come upon it: the land of the Terfinns[43] was all waste, save where hunters, fishers or fowlers encamped.

4. The Biarmians told him many stories both about their own country and about the countries which were around them; but, he knew not what was true, because he did not see it himself. The Finns and the Biarmians, as it seemed to him, spoke nearly the same language. He chiefly went thither, in addition to the seeing of the country, on account of the horse-whales, [walruses],[44]

42 The Biarmians inhabited the country on the shores of the White Sea, east of the river Dwina. Alfred calls them Beormas. They were called Biarmians by Icelandic Historians, and Permiaki by the Russians, and now Permians. In the middle ages, the Scandinavian pirates gave the name of Permia to the whole country between the White Sea, and the Ural. Malte-Brun's Univer. Geog. Vol. VI, p. 419. In an Icelandic MS. on Geography, written in the 14th century, Beormia and two Cwenlands are located together. Kvenlönd II, ok ero þau norðr frá Bjarmalandi. Duæ Quenlandiæ, quæ ulterius quam Bjarmia boream versus extenduntur. Antiquitates Americanæ, p. 290.—Haldorsen's Lexicon Islandico-Latino-Danicum, edited by Rask, has—"Biarmaland, Biarmia, quæ ob perpetuas nives albicatur, Bjarmeland, Permien. Biarmia ortum versus ad mare album vel gandvikam sita est."

43 Terfinna land, the country between the northern point of the Bothnian Gulf and the North Cape. An.

44 One particular reason for Ohthere's sailing northward was to capture the Walrus, which was, and still is to be found in abundance in the White Sea about Archangel, and the coast of the country of the Biarmians. This is additional evidence to what was advanced in Note 39, to prove that Ohthere doubled the north cape and entered the White Sea,—that his first voyage was not into the Baltic, where the Walrus is scarcely ever found, but into the White Sea. [Forster's notes in Barrington's Orosius, p. 243.] We have Forster's opinion confirmed by the best Zoologists of the present day. Mr Broderip assures me in a letter, "I do not think it likely that Ohthere, a Norwegian, would go into the Baltic to take the Walrus.—I do not believe that Walruses or Whales were ever so numerous in that sea, within the time of authentic history, as to attract the attention of fishers."

Ohthere seems to have been a plain practical man, and to have described every thing just as he saw it. Alfred exercised his usual talent and judgment, in implicitly following the simple detail of the narrator; for, he was as fully aware as the most scientific of the present day, that he who most closely observes and describes nature, cannot wander far

because they have very good bone in their teeth: of these teeth they brought some to the king; and their hides are very good for ship-ropes. This whale is much less than other whales: it is not

from scientific truth. They were, therefore, upon the whole, correct in associating the monstrous Whale, and the smaller Horse-Whale, Sea-horse or Walrus, in the same class of animals; for both the Whale and the Walrus suckle their young, have warm blood, and are viviparous, and aquatic. The great Linnæus was the first to place the Whale in the class of Mammalia, in allusion to which a gentleman, who has written much and well on Zoology, Mr Broderip, has properly remarked—"Here then we find the decisive step taken, with the unflinching firmness of a master mind, relying upon the philosophical principles that demanded the separation, and no longer yielding to popular prejudice by calling that a fish, which Linnæus knew to be a mammiferous animal." May not this remark be applied to our glorious Alfred, and to this intrepid and close observing Northman, Ohthere, who first placed the Whale and Walrus in the same class of animals? I have the authority of Linnæus, as well as of Mr Bell, one of the Secretaries of the Royal Society, whose zoological works are known over the whole of Europe, for saying, that the Walrus belongs to the same class as the Whale, that is to the Mammalia, but to a very different order. The Horse-whale or Walrus belongs to the Carnivora, and to the family Phocadæ or Seals, although the structure and arrangement of the teeth remove it far from the more typical forms of this order. The bulky proportions of the body, the aquatic habits, and the modification of the limbs into paddles give a general resemblance to the cetacea, which might well lead observers, unacquainted with the details of their structure, to consider them as more nearly allied than they really are.

Mr Broderip, in writing to me, says:—You are, in my opinion, right in giving Ohthere's "hors-hwæl" as the Walrus, Morse, or Sea-horse.—Bell (British Quadrupeds p. 288) writes—"The knowledge of this chase," (that of the Walrus) "says Pennant, is of great antiquity: Octher the Norwegian, about the year 890, made a report to King Alfred, having, as he says, made the voyage beyond Norway for the more commoditie of fishing of Horse Whales; which have in their teeth bones of great price and excellence, whereof he brought some on his return to the king." Hakluyt's Coll. Voy. I, 5.—Bell, then, thus continues.—"The above quotation leads to some observations upon the Etymology of the different names which have been given to this animal.—Horse-Whale is a literal translation of Whal-ros, in Norwegian Hwal-ros. Rosmar, another Norwegian name, appears to be a compound of the Teutonic Ros horse, and the Latin mare, the sea. Morse is from the Russian Morss; the Lapponic name being Morsk."—Charleton, physician to Charles 2nd, in his Onomasticon Zoicon, small 4to London, 1668, thus writes of the Walrus.—VII. Walrus, aliis Mors, Danis et Islandis Rosmarus (quod in Septentrionali oceano saltem reperiatur, ut credit Ol. Wormius, in Musæo) non nullis Vacca marina, nobis the Mors or Sea-cow, (quia monstrosum animal est et amphibium, bobus nostratibus, ubi adolevit, interdum majus.) Cute tegitur pilosa, nec a vitulo marino multum abhorrente. Dentes duos habet, e superiori maxilla propendentes, et ante recurvos; cubiti nonnunquam longitudine, quorum usus ac pretium ebori comparatur. Ex iis enim varia conficiunt, annulos contra Spasmum [Cramp-Rings], manubria gladiorum, framearum et cultorum; &c.

Mr Broderip has given the following precise information. The length of the Walrus is from 10 to 15 feet, girth 8 or 10 feet, and upwards. Length of the tusks, when cut out of the skull, generally from 15 to 20 inches, sometimes 30, and their weight from 5 to 10 lbs. Other facts have been communicated by the Rev. W. Scoresby D. D. The tusks of the Walrus, which are hard, white and compact ivory, are employed by dentists in the fabrication of teeth. The skin is used for defending the yards and rigging of ships from being chafed by friction against each other. When cut into shreds and plaited into cordage, it answers admirably for wheel ropes, being stronger and wearing much longer than hemp. In ancient times, most of the ropes of ships, in northern countries, appear to have been made

longer than seven ells;[45] but, in his own country, is the best whale-hunting: they are eight and forty ells long, and the largest fifty ells long; of these, he said, that he [was] one of six, [who] killed sixty in two days.[46]

of this substance. Arctic Regions and Whale Fishery, 2 vols 8vo: and a neat little vol. with the same title, published by the Tract Society at the moderate price of 10 pence, p. 164.

Dr Scoresby speaking of the common Greenland Whale, Mysticetus, observes that the size has been much overrated. Authors of the first respectability give a length of 80 to 100 feet to the Mysticetus, and that some specimens were found of 150 to 200 feet in length, or still longer. Even Linnæus has given 100 feet. Some ancient naturalists have gone so far, as to assert, that whales have been seen of above 900 feet in length. Dr Scoresby, like Ohthere, speaking from what he had known and seen, makes this statement—"Of three hundred and twenty two individuals, in the capture of which I have been personally concerned, no one, I believe, exceeded 60 feet in length, and the largest I ever measured was 58 feet, from one extremity to the other, being one of the largest in appearance, that I ever saw.—The greatest circumference of these Whales is from 30 to 40 feet." Id. p. 140, 141.

"The largest sort of Whale is, however, not the Mysticetus, but the Physalus. This is probably the most powerful and bulky of created beings. In comparison with the Mysticetus, the Physalus has a form less cylindrical, a body longer and more slender. . . . . Its length is about 100 feet, and its greatest circumference 30 or 35 feet. . . . A whale, probably of this kind, 101 feet in length, was stranded on the banks of the Humber about the middle of September 1750." Id. p. 152—154.

45 In giving the size of the Horse-whale, or Walrus, and of the Whale, Ohthere would most probably calculate by the measure of Scandinavia, the Ell of Norway, Sweden and Denmark. Molbeck, in his Dansk Ordbog, thus defines it: — "Alen, et vist længdemaal, som deles i 24 tommer . . . Tomme een 12te fod, og een 24de alen," . . That is, Ell, a certain measure of length, which is divided into 24 inches . . . An inch one 12th of a foot, and one 24th of an ell. Alfred followed the calculation of Ohthere, who says that the Horse-whale or Walrus is 7 ells long, that is 14 feet, and the Whales 48 ells, and the largest 50, that is, 96 feet, and the largest 100 feet long. These calculations approach very nearly to those given by Mr Broderip and Dr Scoresby, in Note 44.

46 Every translator has found a difficulty in this passage, as it appeared impossible for 6 men to kill 60 whales in two days. The earliest translators understood it in its plain and obvious meaning. —"Hakluyt gave it in 1598. He affirmed that he himself was one of the six, which, in the space of three days, killed threescore." The Oxford Alumni in 1678—"Dixit se sextum fuisse, qui sexaginta bidui spatio interfecerit."—Porthan adhered to the literal sense, in his Swedish translation, in 1800. Af dessa sade han, at han sjelf sjette dödat sextio paa tvaa dagar.—For six men to kill 60 whales, of the larger sort, in two days, appears most extraordinary, though in the time of Alfred, whales seem to have been more plentiful in the northern than they now are in the southern ocean; yet, in the latter, eleven have been killed one morning, as will appear by the following extract from "The Log-book containing the proceedings on board the Barque Gipsy, commanded by John Gibson, owners Almon and James Hill, Esqrs, 13 Austin Friars, London. "Cruising from Sooloo Archipelago towards Japan—Tuesday May 31st, 1836. All these 24 hours moderate breezes and fine weather. Ship's head N. E. at 6 a. m. saw whales at 7 a. m. Lowered the boats at 9 a. m; struck and killed ELEVEN. At noon the boats employed collecting the whales to the ship."

I have so great an objection to conjectural criticism, that I have retained the text of the Cotton MS. though it is the only MS. known to exist, that contains this clause. At the same time I ought not to omit the emendation of the A. S. text suggested by my friend, the

5. He [Ohthere] was a very wealthy man in those possessions in which their wealth consists, that is in the wilder [animals]. He had, moreover, when he came to the king, six hundred tame deer of his own breeding.[47] They call these rein-deer: of these, six were decoy-deer, which are very valuable among Finns, because with them they take the wild-deer. He was amongst the first men in the land, though he had not more than twenty horned cattle, twenty sheep and twenty swine; and the little that he ploughed, he ploughed with horses. But their revenue is chiefly in the tribute, that the Finns pay them, which tribute is in skins of animals, feathers of birds, in whale-bone, and ship-ropes, which are made from the whale's hide, and from the

late Professor Rask—Instead of the Cotton reading syxa sum, he proposes syx asum, or ascum; and translates it in Danish, 1815,—"At han med 6 harpuner (eller 6 skibe) dræbte 60 paa 2 dage," i. e. that he with 6 harpoons (or 6 ships) killed 60 in two days.—Asum d. pl. of æs, or as, Lat. æs; and ascum of æsc a ship.—Dahlmann, in 1822, supposes Ohthere to mean 6 large ships; and, therefore, gives it in his German translation, "Dass er mit sechs grossen schiffen ihrer sechzig in zwei tagen tödtete."

Feeling it difficult to come to a satisfactory conclusion; and being anxious to obtain the best information on the subject, I wrote to the Rev. W. Scoresby, D.D. F.R.S. &c. an old college friend,—a man of great scientific acquirements, who published a most interesting work, on the Arctic Regions, and the Whale-fishery in 1820, and in early life had been engaged in capturing no less than 322 whales. See note 44.—To the following queries; 1st, Is it possible that 6 men could kill 60 whales in 2 days? 2dly, Could 60 be killed in 2 days with 6 harpoons, as Rask suggests? 3dly, Could 6 ships be so employed, as to kill 60 in 2 days? He replied—1. I do not conceive it at all possible, that 6 men could kill 60 Whales of the large size [Balæna Mysticetus] in two days. I know of no instance of even one whale having ever been killed, of the largest size, by a single boat's crew of 6 or 7 men. Ordinarily 3 or 4 boats, with 18 to 25 men, are deemed necessary for the capture of a single whale—2. It might be possible, if the whales were sunning in vast numbers, in any of the bays of the Arctic regions, that 60 might be killed by 6 harpoons, and men in proportion, say 36 to 40 men. But, I may add, though whales have been met with occasionally, in great numbers together, no such feat as this, I am persuaded, had ever been performed by the crew of one ship containing 6 or 7 boats and 50 men. A single whale may, on an average, cost about 3 hours for its capture, with 4 to 6 boats. If two, therefore, or three, were constantly under attack, at the same time, and neither accident nor failure happening, it would be a wonderful feat for 50 men with half a dozen or eight harpoons, to capture half the number specified!—3. Six ships, with their ordinary complement of men and boats, might, no doubt, be so employed, if the Whales were very numerous and the circumstances, as to ice or position, favourable, as to kill 10 large Whales a piece in two days. In Whales of a small size, this proportion has often been reached; but never, that I am aware of, where the kind was of the largest. The pleasing process, indeed, so interferes with the enterprize of slaughter, that more than half a dozen, of any size, is seldom killed at once. I have known 10 or 12 within one period of unceasing exertion." Upon the whole, then, it appears that the proposed emendation of the text does not remove the difficulty, and it is, therefore, best to retain the Cotton reading, as represented in the present translation.

47 Tamra deora, unbebohtra, syx hund.—Literally, Of tame deer, unbought [non emptus, Ettmüller] untrafficked or traded in, six hundred.

seal's. Every one pays according to his means: the richest must pay fifteen skins of the marten, and five of the rein-deer, and one bear's skin, aud forty bushels of feathers, and a bear or otter-skin kirtle, and two ship-ropes, each sixty ells long, one made from the whale's hide, and the other from the seal's.

6. He said that the country of Northmen was very long and very narrow. All that can be either pastured or ploughed lies by the sea, and that, however, is in some places, very rocky; and, on the east, lie wild mountains[48] along the inhabited land. In these mountains [wastes] Finns dwell; and the inhabited land is broadest eastward, and always narrower more northerly. Eastward it may be sixty miles[49] broad, or a little broader, and midway thirty or broader; and northward, he said, where it was narrowest, that it might be three miles broad to the waste, and moreover, the waste, in some places, [is] so broad that a man may travel over it, in two weeks; and in other places, so broad that a man may travel over [it,] in six days.

7. Then, over against this land southward, on the other side of the waste, is Sweden,[50] extending to the north; and over against the land northward, is Cwena land.[51] The Cwenas sometimes make war on the Northmen over the waste; sometimes the Northmen on them. There are very large fresh water meers beyond the wastes; and the Cwenas carry their boats over land into the meers, and thence make war on the Northmen. They have very little boats, and very light.

8. Ohthere said that the district in which he dwelt was called

48 Rask translates it:—Der ligger vilde Fjælde östen for og oven for langs med det beboede Land. Afhandlinger, p. 313, 315.—Dahlmann:—Im Osten liegen wilde Gebirge, hoch über und längs dem angebauten Lande; p. 425.—Mór denotes waste land generally, a moor, heath: waste land from rocks, hence a hill, mountain: &c.

49 Rask observes, when Norway is reckoned 60 miles wide, in the broadest part and 3 miles in the narrowest, it is evident that the king used the exact phrase of Ohthere, and did not alter it, as on another occasion, to agree with the Anglo-Saxon measure. See note 74. One mile of the Northman, Ohthere, contained about 5 Anglo-Saxon miles,—hence the broadest part would be about 300 miles and the narrowest 15. Rask's Afhandlinger, 8vo, Köbenhavn, 1834: vol. I, p. 379, note r.—A Danish mile is 4.68 English, and a Swedish mile is 6.64 English miles.

50 A. S. Sweoland. The country of the Sweons, the Suiones of Tacitus. The names Suedia or Suecia, and Svidiodar, or Svithiodar, as applied to the Swedes, occur in their earliest annals. Wheaten, and Crichton's Scandinavia, vol. I, p. 24.

51 See note 36.

Halgoland.[52] He said that no man abode north of him. Then there is a port, on the south of the land [Norway], which is called Sciringesheal.[53] Thither he said, that a man could not sail in a month, if he anchored at night, and every day had a fair wind. All the while he must sail near the land.—On his right hand, is first[54] Iceland, and then the islands which are between

52 Halgoland, a division [scír] of the northern part of ancient Norway. Ohthere dwelt in the most northerly part of it: to the north of his residence, the country was uninhabited. Even at the present day, this district is called Helgeland. It is in Nordland, or Northland, in the province of Trondhiem, or Drontheim, pronounced Tronyem. Drontheim is now the most northerly province of Norway, extending from 62 deg. to 71 deg. 10 min. N. Lat. It is divided into Trondhiem Proper, Nordland, and Finmark. Nord or Northland was the most northerly part inhabited in Ohthere's days. Helgeland is now the southern district of Nordland, and lies on the coast between the island Leköe, N. Lat. 65 deg. 10 min., and Cape Kunnen near the arctic circle. The Kiölen range of mountains, separating Helgeland from Sweden, is about 60 miles from the sea; and, in some places, not so far. Helgeland has a rocky coast of considerable elevation. The interior is filled by mountains rising from 1000, to 1500 feet. A considerable portion of the land might be cultivated, but agriculture is often neglected, because fishing offers greater advantages. This is more particularly the case in the islands, on the coast of Helgeland, which rise to an elevation of 2000 and to 4260 feet. Such is Helgeland in the present day.—In this wild district, Ohthere first saw the light. He was brought up amid stupendous mountains, and exposed to the severity of the climate in the care of herds of deer, and in superintending the rude culture of the land. From a child he was not only accustomed to the exertions and perils of the chase in the Norwegian Alps, but to brave the dangers of the vast waves of the Northern Ocean, raging amongst the exposed and elevated islands, and the high, rocky shore of Norway. Thus educated amid the magnificent scenery of Halgoland, and inured to danger, Ohthere was well prepared for a daring enterprise, such as his exploring voyage to the most northerly regions. It was a voyage worthy of Ohthere, and deserving the permanent record which Alfred—the first man of that age—has here given of it.

53 This is a minute description of Ohthere's second voyage. His first was to the remote north: this voyage is to the south. The first place he mentions is a port "on the south of this land [Norway], called Sciringesheal." Judging from Ohthere's narrative, Sciringesheal seems to be in the Skager Rack, near the Fiord or Bay of Christiana. Snorre Sturleson, an Icelander, born in 1178, in his Ynglinga Saga, ch. 49, places Sciringesheal in Westfold, on the west side of the bay of Christiana. The note, appended to Professor Rask's Afhandlinger, published by his son, in 1834, concludes,—"Thus, it cannot be doubted, that Skiringssal really existed at that time, [the age of Snorre,] and that it is the same that Ohthere and king Alfred call Sciringesheal." vol. I, p. 384.—Ohthere says to the south of Sciringesheal is a very great sea, apparently the Cattegat, opposite to which was Jutland, and then Zealand. Sailing from Sciringesheal to Haddeby near Schleswig, Ohthere said he had Denmark on his left, that is Halland and Skaane [Scania], the early seat of the Danes. Then, two days before his arrival at Schleswig, taking a westerly course, he had Jutland on his right. As he mentions islands on his left, it appears that he sailed between Moen and Zealand. An.

54 The Cotton MS., the only one that contains this part of Ohthere's voyage, has Iraland. Though I have the greatest objection to conjecturale mendations of a text, in this case, after reading the context, and all that commentators have written upon it, I prefer substituting Isaland for Iraland. To what Dr Ingram and Rask have advanced to justify the insertion of Isaland in the text, it may be added that Ireland was generally called Scotland from the fifth to the eleventh century [v. note 89]. If any other name was used, it was

Iceland and this land [Britain]. Then this land continues till he comes to Sciringesheal; and all the way, on the left, [is] Norway.[55] To the south of Sciringesheal, a very great sea runs up into the land: it is broader than any man can see over; and Jutland[56] is opposite, on the other side, and then Zealand. This sea lies many hundred miles up into the land.

9. He said that he sailed in five days, from Sciringesheal to the port which they call[57] Haddeby [near Schleswig], which stands

Ibernia or Igbernia; thus, when Alfred is speaking of Britain, he adds, "Ibernia þæt igland,"—and, "Igbernia, þæt we Scotland hataȝ." In Alfred's translation of Bede, Hibernia is used, as Ybernia is, in the earliest part of the Saxon Chronicle. In the year 891, Dr Ingram inserts Hibernia in the text, and gives Yrlande in the notes, as the reading of the Cot. MS. But this is taken from a collation by Junius of one of the latest MSS. and which Dr Ingram says is of the least authority, because the writer has taken great liberties in using "his own Normanized dialect." Yrlande occurs again in the year 918, and in 1051, and 2, but these two instances do not invalidate the assertion of Alfred, just cited, that in his days Igbernia was called Scotland. Alfred confirms this, by adding to his translation of Orosius in § 3—"On the west end of the Mediterranean Sea is Scotland." Though wrong, as to geographical position, this is an additional proof that our Ireland was called Scotland in the time of Alfred.—Upon the whole then, I prefer inserting Isaland in the text.

Langebek and Porthan retained Iraland in the text and Forster sanctioned this reading, but they all thought erroneously, that Scotland was intended. Dr Ingram, in his Inaugural Lecture, published in 1807, preferred reading Isaland, and gives his reasons thus; "I suspect that the true reading in the original, instead of Ira-land, [i. e. Scotland] should be Isaland, Iseland, (or, as it is sometimes improperly written, Iceland.) How frequently the Saxon letters ꝑ and r have been confounded and interchanged, is well known to every person conversant in the language. As Ohthere sailed from Halgoland, Iseland was the first land to his right, and then the islands of Faroe, Shetland, and Orkney, between Iseland and this land [i. e. England]; then this land continued on his right hand, till he entered the Baltic, which he soon afterwards describes very accurately, as running up many hundred miles into the land, and so wide that no man could see over it." p. 79, note q.—Rask in 1815, reprinted in 1834, gives Isaland in his A. S. text, and a long note to the same effect, in p. 319, note 2, of his Afhandlinger.

Professor Dahlmann in his Forschungen 1822, thinks that Ireland was intended, and that Ohthere spoke of Ireland indefinitely, placing it more to the north, and on his right hand. He has a long and interesting article in No 4 of his Erläuterungen, "Iraland, oder Isaland?" He gives a very fair statement of the opinions of Langebek, Porthan, and Rask, p. 443—449.—After all, I prefer Isaland, notwithstanding what Dahlmann and others have written.

55. A. S. Norȝweg, in Saxon Chronicle 1028, Norȝweg and Norweg; in 1045 and 7 Norweg, so in 1058, &c. In 1066 Norweg and Norwéi; and in 1070 Norwæg. Literally, the north way or way to the north. Pliny, l. IV, c. 16, calls it, Nerigon, and Malte-Brun suggests Nor-Rige, kingdom of the north, or rather, assuming Nor to be a gulf, kingdom of gulfs. Geog. vol. VIII, 517.

56. A. S. Góȝland, the country of the Hreth Goths: Jótland, Jutland. An.—Zealand, A. S. Sillende—v. note 10. The old name of Zealand was in Danish Sia-Lund, a forest near the water, from sia sea, and lund a forest. Now sia, sea, or Zea-land, Sea land, land surrounded by the sea: like the Dutch Zee-land, Sea-land, from zee the sea.

57. A. S. þe mon hæt æt Hæ´ȝum, which Porthan translates, som kallas Hæthum, which

in the midst of the Winedi,[58] Saxons, and Angles, and belongs to the Danes. When he sailed thitherward from Sciringesheal, then Denmark [59] was on his left; and, on his right, a wide sea for three

is called Hæthum. Rask more properly translates it—"som man kalder Hedeby," p. 321 and 323, and Dahlmann,—"den man zu Hädum [at Hædum, Hedaby] nennt." p. 427. Rask observes, that it is customary, especially in Icelandic, to put a preposition before the name of a place, which is then to be in the dative case; as in Icl. í Rípum, and occasionally in A. S. as, æt Hæ´ðum. These dat. plur. may be read, as in the singular. The sing. Hæ´ð, is the Icl. heiðr, now heiði a heath; hence its Icl. and old Danish name Heiðaby´r, or Heiðabær, present Hedeby, from modern Danish, hede a heath, and by a town. Langebek has rightly explained, þe mon hæt æt Hæ´ðum, quem vocant Hæthe. Rask, p. 374, note n.

Hæ´ðe is mentioned, in connection with Schleswig, by Ethelweard about two centuries after Alfred; and, in the subsequent half century by William of Malmsbury as in the following extracts.—Ethelweard or Elward, is known only by his Chronicle or History of the Anglo-Saxons. He says he was descended from Ethelred, the brother of king Alfred. We are not informed when his book was compiled, but he was still alive in 1090 [Wright's Biographia Britannica Literaria, Vol. 1, p. 522]. This Ethelweard says that, "Anglia vetus sita est inter Saxones et Giotos, habens oppidum capitale, quod sermone Saxonico Sleswic nuncupatur, secundum vero Danos Haithaby." Chronicorum Ethelwerdi Libri Quatuor: v. Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores post Bedam præcipui [edited by Saville]. Fol. Francof. 1601, pp. 831—850. What Ethelweard has stated, is confirmed by that "great lover of truth," William of Malmsbury, who died about 1143. He says—"In oppido quod tunc Slaswick, nunc vero Eitheisi [al. Hurtheby] appellatur, est autem regio illa Anglia vetus dicta, unde Angli venerunt in Brittanniam, inter Saxones et Giothos constituta."

Alfred says "Se [Hæ´ðe] stent betuh Winedum, and Seaxum, and Angle, and hyrð in on Dene." This agrees with the locality of Schleswig. The A. S. Hæðe and the subsequent Eitheisi, Haithaby, and Hurtheby are in the preceding extracts associated with Schleswig. The termination -by is Danish, and signifies a town. There is a place on the south of the river Schley, opposite Schleswig, engraved in the map of Mercator in 1623, Haddebuy, and called by Rask Hedeby, by Dahlmann Hedaby and by others Haddeby. This is concluded to be the Hæ´ðe of Ohthere, Wulfstan and Alfred—Dr Ingram adds, "At Hæthum, a port by the heaths, afterwards changed into Haithaby, and called to this day Haddeby, is situated on the south side of the river Schley, opposite to Schleswig, which having since become of greater importance, has eclipsed the fame of its ancient rival. Hence Sir J. Spelman, Somner, Lye, and others, following the authority of Ethelweard, a Saxon writer, have considered At-Hæthum, or Haddeby, to be the same with Schleswig." Inaugural Lecture, p. 109, note k.

58 Winede, the Venedi or Wends, who, at one time, occupied the whole coast from the Schley in Schleswig, South Jutland, to the Vistula in Prussia. An. v. Note 13, and 64.

59 A. S. Denamearc, [see note 65] That is, the provinces of Halland, Scania or Schonen, the early seat of the Danes. Halland and Schonen are in South Gothland, in Sweden, having the Cattegat, the Sound, and the Baltic for its maritime boundaries. v. note 53.

60 A. S. Engle ær hí híder on land comon, the Engles before they came hither on land, i. e. into Britain. Alfred expressly states here, that the Engles before they came to Britain dwelt not only in Jutland, but in Zealand and many islands. Hence we conclude that the Engles or Angles came hither not only from Anglen, in South Jutland, between Schleswig and Flensburg, but from the Danish islands. The majority of settlers in Britain were the Engles, and from them we derive not only our being, but our name, for England is literally, Englaland, the land or country of the Engles. The Engles were the most powerful and energetic of the tribes, that constituted the great Saxon confederacy, which, in the third and two following centuries, had the greatest extent of territory in the north west of Germany. The Saxon confederacy increased, till it possessed the vast extent of country

days; and, the two days before he came to Haddeby, he had on his right, Jutland, Zealand, and many islands. The Angles dwelt in these lands, before they came into this country.[60] And, these

embraced by the Elbe, the Sala, and the Rhine, in addition to their ancient territory between the Elbe, and the Oder. Bosworth's Origin of the Eng. and Germ. lang. and nations, p. 14—17.—It will be evident, from the following authorities, as well as from the testimony of Alfred given in the text, that in the seventh century, and in the time of Alfred, Schleswig was considered the locality from which England received its chief population. It will be interesting to see what Bede says, on the population of England, confirmed by the A. S. version of Alfred, and by the A. S. Chronicle. "Advenerant autem de tribus Germaniæ populis fortioribus, id est, Saxonibus, Anglis, Jutis. De Jutarum origine sunt Cantuarii et Victuarii, hoc est, ea gens quæ Vectam tenet insulam, et ea quæ usque hodie in provincia Occidentalium Saxonum Jutarum natio nominatur, posita contra ipsam insulam Vectam. De Saxonibus, id est, ea regione quæ nunc antiquorum Saxonum cognominatur, venere Orientales Saxones, Meridiani Saxones, Occidui Saxones. Porro de Anglis, hoc est, de illa patria quæ Angulus dicitur et ab eo tempore usque hodie manere desertus inter provincias Jutarum et Saxonum perhibetur, Orientales Angli, Mediterranei Angli, Mercii, tota Nordanhymbrorum progenies, id est, illarum gentium quæ ad Boream Humbri fluminis inhabitant cæterique Anglorum populi sunt orti. Duces fuisse perhibentur eorum primi duo fratres Hengist et Horsa; e quibus Horsa postea occisus in bello a Brittonibus, hactenus in Orientalibus Cantiæ partibus monumentum habet suo nomine insigne." Smith's Bede, Fol. Cambridge 1722, lib. i, ch. 15, p. 52.—Alfred's Saxon translation of which is: "Comon hi of þrim folcum þam strangestan Germanie, þæt of Seaxum, and of Angle, and of Geatum. Of Geata fruman syndon Cantware, and Wihtsætan, þæt is seo þeod þe Wiht þæt Ealond onearda ð. Of Seaxum þæt is of þam lande þe mon hate ð Eald-Seaxan, coman East-Seaxan, and Su ð-Seaxan, and West-Seaxan. And of Engle coman East-Engle and Middel-Engle, and Myrce, and eall Nor ð hembra cynn, is þæt land þe Angulus is nemned betwyh Geatum and Seaxum. Is sæd of þære tide þe hi þanon gewiton o ð to dæge þæt hit weste wunige. Wæron þa ærest heora latteowas and heretogan twegen gebro ð ra, Hengest and Horsa." Id. p. 483.

The Saxon Chronicle gives the following account: "An. CCCCXLIX. Her Martianus and Valentinianus onfengon rice, and ricsodon VII winter. On heora dagum Hengest and Horsa, from Wyrtgeorne gela ð ode Brytta cyninge to fultume, gesohton Brytene on þam stæ ð e, þe is genemned Ypwines-fleot, ærest Bryttum to fultume, ac hy eft on hy fuhton. Se cing het hi feohtan agien Pihtas, and hi swa dydan, and sige hæfdon swa hwar swa hi comon. Hi þa sende to Angle, and heton heom sendan mare fultum, and heom seggan Brytwalana nahtnesse, and þæs landes cysta. Hi þa sendon heom mare fultum, þa comon þa menn of þrim mæg ð um Germanie, of Eald-Seaxum, of Anglum, of Iotum.

"Of Iotum comon Cantware and Wihtware [þæt is seo mæi ð þe nu earda ð on Wiht,] and þæs cynn on West-Sexum, þe man nu gyt het Iutna-cynn. Of Eald-Seaxum comon East-Seaxan, and Su ð-Seaxan, and West-Seaxan. Of Angle comon, se á si ð ð an stod westig betwix Iutum and Seaxum, East-Engle, and Middel-Angle, and Mearce and ealle Nor ð ymbra. Heora here-togan wæron twegen gebro ð ra, Hengest and Horsa."

Though the Friesians are not named by Bede, as forming part of this migration to Britain, it is probable, from their locality in the north west of Germany, that many of them may have accompanied the Angles, Saxons, and other tribes to this Island. But we are not left in doubt, on this subject, for Procopius, who lived two hundred years nearer the Saxon expedition to Britain than Bede, expressly states, in his fourth book on the Gothic war, that Britain was peopled by three nations, the Britons, the Angles, and the Friesians [Ἀγγίλοι καὶ Φρίσσονες]. This is the opinion still prevalent among the Friesians and Dutch. They even claim Hengist as their country-man; and the old Chroniclers are at a loss whether to make Hengist a Friesian or a Saxon. Maerlant, the father of Dutch,

two days, the islands,[61] which belong to Denmark, were on his left.

10. Wulfstan[62] said that he went from Haddeby,—that he was in Truso[63] in seven days and nights,—that the ship was running all the way under sail. He had Weonodland,[64] [Mecklenburg and Pomerania] on the right [star-board,] and Langland, Laaland, Falster and Sconey, on his left, and all these lands belong to Denmark.[65] And then we had,[66] on our left, the land of the Burgundians[67] [Bornholmians], who have their own king.[68] After

or rather Flemish Poets, for he was born in Flanders about 1235, speaks of him, thus:—

Een hiet Engistus een Vriese, een Sas,
Die uten lande verdreven was;
One, a Saxon or Friesian, Hengist by name.
From his country was banished in sorrow and shame.
SPIEGEL HISTORIAL, C. XV, p. 16.

Thus again:—

Engistus wart dus onteert,
Ende is in Vrieseland gekeert.
Hengist was thus so much disgraced,
That he, to Friesland, his steps retraced. Tom. III, p. 29.

The Chronicle of Maerlant is founded upon the Speculum Historiale of the Monk Vicentius, who wrote about the year 1245. Bosworth's Origin of the Eng. and Germ. Lang. and Nations, p. 15, § 4, note †: p. 52, § 50, note ‡: p. 53, § 52.—Latham's Germania of Tacitus, Epileg. p. CXXII, and 117.—Also, Latham's English Language, 3rd Edn, for Friesians and Jutes.

61 These are the islands Moen, Falster, Laaland, &c.: he, therefore, sailed between Zealand, Moen, &c.

62 Forster says—"Wulfstan appears to have been a Dane, who, perhaps, had become acquainted with Ohthere in the course of his expedition, and had gone with him to England." Northern Voyages, p. 69, note 73.

63 Truso, a town on the shore of the mere or lake Drausen, or Truso, from which the river Ilfing [Elbing] flows in its course towards the town of Elbing [v. note 75]. Forster says:—"There is at this time, a lake between Elbing and Prussian Holland, called Truso, or Drausen, from which, probably, the town Truso . . . took its name." Forster's Northern Voyages, 4to, 1786, p. 69, note 74.

64 Weonoðland the country of the Wends on the coast of Mecklenburg, Pomerania, &c. in Prussia [see notes 13 and 58.].—A. S. Langa-land, the long island.—A. S. Scóneg, the beautiful island.

65 Denmark from daim low, mark ground, land, country. Malte-Brun's Geog. Vol. VIII, p. 577.—A. S. Dene-mearc—Dene The Danes,—Dene from denu a plain, vale, valley; and mearc a boundary. The Saxon Chronicle in 1005, 1023, 1035, has Denemearc; Denmearc, in 1019, 1075; Dænmarc, in 1070; Denmarc, in 1070 and 1119. In Danish, mark signifies a country; hence Denmark the low country of the Danes.—Finmark the country of the Finns. Forster says;—"Wulfstan [Alfred] is the most early writer hitherto known, who mentions this name. Notes to Barrington's Orosius, p. 257, note 36.

66 Wæron us, literally erant nobis. The pronoun of the first person plural, we and us, proves that Wulfstan is relating to the king his own account of their voyage.

67 Burgenda land is the Icl. Burgundarhólmr of which the present Dan. and Swed. name Bornholm is a contraction. Rask's Afhandlinger, p. 374, note o.

68 And þá habbaþ himsylf cyning, literally, and who have to themselves a king.

the land of the Burgundians, we had,[66] on our left, those lands that were called first Blekingey,[69] and Meore, and Oeland and Gothland; and these lands belong to Sweden. And we had Weonodland, on the right, all the way to the mouth of the Vistula. The Vistula[70] is a very large river, and near it lie Witland[71] and Weonodland; and Witland belongs to the Esthonians.[72] The Vistula flows out of Weonodland and runs into the Frische Haff[73] [Est-

69 A. S. Blecingaæg, the province of Bleking, on the southwest of Sweden.—Meore, the Upper and Lower Moehre, in the province of Smoeland or Smaland, also in Sweden.—Eowland and Gotland, the two islands on the coast of Sweden, Oeland and Gothland.

70 A. S. Wisle, in Polish Wisla. German Weichsel: by other nations, and by Latin writers, it is called Vistula. Before reaching the Baltic, the Vistula first divides into two branches, the smaller and eastern branch of which, called the Neugat or Nogat, runs north easterly, and discharges itself into the Frische Haff [see note 73]. The larger or western branch, after flowing 35 or 40 miles farther, again divides, about 9 miles from Danzig, into two branches, the smaller of which runs easterly into the Frische Haff, the main stream of the Vistula taking an opposite direction, discharges itself into the Baltic at Weichselmünde, north of Danzig. So there are, at least, three great branches of the Vistula, the Nogat at the commencement of the great Werder; the second, above Danzig: this second branch and the Nogat run into the Frische Haff, and the third passes by Danzig into the Baltic. Jornandes, de reb. Get. c. 3, correctly describes this river. He speaks of Scancia thus:—" Hæc a fronte posita est Vistulæ fluvii; qui Sarmaticis montibus ortus, in conspectu Scanziæ septentrionali oceano trisulcus illabitur: for, besides the smaller streams of the Nogat, this river has three great branches. The most westerly is near Danzig; the easterly branches just described, enter the Frische Haff, with the Elbing. v. note 76.

71 Porthan says that Witland is a part of Samland in Prussia. In old times it extended to the eastern bank of the Vistula. The monk Alberik, who lived a century and a half after Alfred, is the first that mentions Witland.—" In Prutia [Prucia], quæ est ultra Pomeraniam, Episcopus Mutinensis, missus a Papa legatus, ingenio et sapientia sua, non fortitudine, multos paganos ad fidem attraxit. . . . Erant autem hoc anno, in illis partibus, quinque tantummodo provinciæ paganorum acquirendæ: ista videlicet, de qua agitur, Prutia [Prucia], Curlandia, Lethonia, Vithlandia, et Sambria. Rask's Afhandlinger, p. 375, note q.—Witland was celebrated for its amber at the time of the Crusades, it was still called Witland. Forster's North. Voyages, p. 70.—Professor Voigt, in his Geschichte Preussens von den ältesten Zeiten, Königsberg, 1827—39, advances many arguments to prove, that part of Witland has been absorbed by the Frische Haff,—that Witland, not only occupied the north-eastern part of the Frische Haff, from the old castle of Balga or Honeda, but extended far into the sea on the west and north of Samland. The space is marked in his map. See note 76.

72 A. S. Estum dat. pl. of Este, or Estas of Alfred, mentioned in note 30 and its text. These Esthonians or Osterlings dwelt on the shores of the Baltic to the east of the Vistula. An.

73 A. S. Estmere, [est east, mere a lake] the present Frische Haff or fresh water lake is on the north of east Prussia. Hav or Haff signifies a sea, in Danish and Swedish. It is written Haff in German and it is now used to denote all the lakes connected with the rivers, on the coast of Prussia and Pomerania. The Frische Haff is about 60 miles long, and from 6 to 15 broad. It is separated by a chain of sand banks from the Baltic sea, with which, at the present time, it communicates by one strait called the Gat. This strait is on the north east of the Haff, near the fortress of Pillau. Malte Brun's Univ. Geog. Vol. VII, p. 14. This Gat, as Dr Bell informs me, " seems to have been formed, and to be kept open by the superior force of the Pregel stream." This gentleman has a perfect

mere]. The Frische Haff is, at least, fifteen miles[74] broad. Then[75] the Elbing[76] comes from the east into the Frische Haff, out of the lake [Drausen] on the shore of which Truso stands; and [they] come out together into the Frische Haff, the Elbing from the east, out of Esthonia; and the Vistula from the south out of Weonodland. Then the Vistula takes away the name of the Elbing, and runs out of the lake into the sea, by a western [opening] on the north [of the Frische Haff]; therefore, they call it the mouth of the Vistula.—[77]Esthonia [Eastland] is very large, and

knowledge of the Frische Haff, and the neighbourhood, as he received his early education in the vicinity, and matriculated at the University of Königsberg, near the west end of the Haff. I am indebted to Dr Bell for the map of the celebrated German Historian, Professor Voigt, adapted to his "Geschichte Preussens von den ältesten Zeiten, 9 vols 8vo, Königsberg, 1827—39." In this map, there are four openings from the Frische Haff to the Baltic. "It is certain," says Malte-Brun, that in 1394 the mouth of one strait was situated at Lochsett, 6 or 8 miles north of the fortress of Pillau." Voigt's map gives the year, 1311. Id. vol. VII, p. 15. The next is the Gat of Pillau, at present the only opening to the Baltic, with the date 1510. The third Gat, marked in the map with the date 1456, is about 10 or 12 miles south west of Pillau; and the fourth, without any date, is much nearer the west end of the Frische Haff.

74 It is evident, that Alfred has here altered the measure of Ohthere, the Northman, and has made it to agree with the Anglo-Saxon miles. Hence, the dimensions of Estmere, given by Alfred, perfectly accord with those of the Frische Haff of the present day, as mentioned in the preceding note. See also note 49.

75 Literally, Then comes the Elbing from the east into Estmere [the Frische Haff] from [out of] the mere, on the bank of which Truso stands [or, which Truso stands upon the bank of [i. e. the lake of Drausen]. Truso, therefore, was on the border of the lake Drausen, and not of the Estmere or Frische Haff. The river Elbing [Ilfing] flows from the lake Drausen towards the town of Elbing. Rask's Afhandlinger, p. 379 and 380, note s.—V. note 63.—Hence Rask has translated this passage into Danish—Ilfing löber östen fra ind i det friske Hav, og kommer fra den Sö, paa hvis Bræd Truso staar." Id. p. 325.—Dahlmann translates it—"Der Ilfing [Elbing] läuft von Osten in das Esthenmeer von der See her, an dessen Gestade Truso steht." p. 428.

76 A. S. Ilfing, the river Elbing in Western Prussia, to the east of the Vistula. The Elbing flows from the small lake Drausen to the town of Elbing called also Elbinga, in Polish Elbiag or Elblag, and urbs Drusinia. Malte Brun says:—"The flourishing and commercial town of Elbing, is built on a low and fruitful valley: its name is derived from the small river Elbach, which issues from the lake of Drausen." Univer. Geog. Vol. VII, p. 23.—V. note 75.

77 Wisle múða, the mouth of the Vistula. The most westerly stream of the Vistula, which flows into the Baltic, a little to the north of Danzig, is still called in German, Weichselmünde [v. note 70]. Forster observes, every thing that Alfred here mentions, incontestably shews, that Wulfstan had an intimate and personal knowledge of what he was stating. The Elbing came out of Esthonia and from the east, so far as regards that arm of the Elbing, which ran from east to west, into the Nogat the eastern branch of the Vistula; but the Vistula comes [súðan of Winodlande] out of Weonodland from the south. The two rivers, the eastern branch of the Vistula, and the Elbing, flow together under the former name, and enter the Frische Haff. This Haff or lake extends from west to north, that is in a north-easterly direction and flows into the Baltic at Pillau. Forster then adds:—"It is

there are many towns, and in every town there is a king. There is also very much honey and fishing. The king and the richest

possible, that this, as well as the western arm, may have formerly borne the name of Weichselmünde or the mouth of the Vistula." Northern Voyages, p. 71 note 83.

Barrington translates it:—"The Ilfing, having joined the Wesel, takes its name, and runs to the west of Estmere, and northward, into the sea, when it is called the Wesel's mouth." p. 17.

Dr Ingram's translation is,—"Then the Weissel deprives the Ilfing of its name; and, flowing from the west part of the lake, at length empties itself northward into the sea; whence this point is called the Weissel-mouth." Lect. p. 81.

Rask gives the whole passage thus: Ilfing löber östen fra ind i det friske Hav, og kommer fra den Sö, paa hvis Bræd Truso staar, de löbe begge tilsammen ud i det friske Hav, Ilfing östen fra ud af Estland og Vejksel sönden fra ud af Venden, da betager Vejkselen Ilfing dens Navn, og löber fra bemældte friske Hav nordvest paa ud i Söen, derfor kalder man dette [Udlöb] Vejkselmundingen. Afhandlinger, p. 325.

Dalhmann translates the same passage:—"Der Ilfing [Elbing] läuft von Osten in das Esthenmeer von der See her, an dessen Gestade Truso steht; sie strömen beide gemeinsam ins Esthenmeer aus, Ilfing aus Osten von Esthland, und die Weichsel aus Süden von Wendenland; und hier benimmt die Weichsel dem Ilfing seinen Namen, und strömt aus dem [Esthen-] Meere nordwestlich in die See; davon nennt man das Weichselmünde." Forshungen, p. 428.

The literal translation of the last sentence of the A. S. text is,—Then the Vistula deprives the Elbing of its name, and flows out of [of þæm mere, from or out of the mere or lake: v. note 75] the Lake or Haff, west and north into the sea; therefore, they call it the mouth of the Vistula.

This would seem to imply, that there were then two openings from the Frische Haff, one on the west, and the other on the north. This supposition is not impossible; for, in different ages, there have been four openings from the Frische Haff to the Baltic, one of which was near the western extremity of the Haff. [v. note 73.] But these two openings do not accord with the conclusion, where the singular is used, "therefore, they call it, the mouth of the Vistula."

Rask and Dahlmann, seeing this difficulty, have given a different translation of "west and norð"; Rask gives "nordvest," and Dahlmann "nordwestlich."—They appear to admit of only one gat or opening, and that on the north-west, towards the present Weichselmünde, on the west of the Haff, but without authority from the A. S. text, and without a reference to history to prove there was such a gat on the west.

Though the translation I have given in the text, does not accord with the present locality of Weichselmünde, and it is not translated verbally; yet, I think, it gives the plain meaning. I allude to the latter part of the sentence: and flows out of the Lake [the Frische Haff] west and north into the sea; that is, flows out of the gat or opening at Pillau, on the west side of the most northerly part of the Frische Haff, which is west of Koningsberg.

The great difficulty here is to ascertain whether there is any truth, in what Forster suggests, that the gat of Pillau was called Weichselmünde, as well as the western branch of the Vistula, which flows into the Baltic to the north of Danzig. This uncertainty, with some other difficulties, has led to several suggestions, one of which is by W. Bell Esqr. Dr Phil. who thinks that the Truso of Wulfstan is the present Dirschau about 30 miles south of Danzig, and 4 west of the Vistula. He supposes, that the Baltic may have extended so far up the valley of the Vistula, that Dirschau may have been on the shore of the Baltic, in the

men drink mare's milk,[78] but the poor and the slaves drink mead.[79] There is very much war among them; and there is no ale brewed by the Esthonians, but there is mead enough.

11. There is also a custom with the Esthonians,[80] that when a man is dead, he lies, in his house, unburnt with his kindred and friends a month,—sometimes two; and the king and other men of high rank, so much longer according to their wealth, remain unburnt sometimes half a year; and lie above ground in their houses. All the while the body is within, there must be drinking and sports to the day, on which he is burned.

12. Then, the same day, when they wish to bear him to the pile, they divide his property, which is left after the drinking and sports, into five or six parts, sometimes into more, as the amount of his property may be. Then, they lay the largest part of it within one mile from the town, then another, then the third, till it is all laid, within the one mile; and the least part shall be nearest the town in which the dead man lies. All the men, who have the swiftest horses in the land, shall then be assembled, about five or six miles from the property. Then they all run towards the property; and the man, who has the swiftest[81] horse, comes to the first and the largest part, and so each after the other, till it is all taken: and he takes the least part, who runs to the property nearest the town. Then each rides away with

time of Alfred. See his Ein versuch, den Ort Schiringsheal, &c. p. 8. This supposition seems to be surrounded with very great difficulties.

78 Forster observes:—This mare's milk was not merely milk, but milk which had undergone a kind of fermentation, and was changed into a species of brandy, such as the inhabitants of the desert plains of Asia Media drink in great quantities, calling it kumyss. . . . Adam of Bremen [§ 138] says, that the ancient Prussians ate horse-flesh, and drank the milk of their mares to intoxication; and Peter of Duisburg [§ 80] relates of these people, that at their feasts, they drank water, mead, and mare's milk. Northern Voyages, p, 71, note 85.

79 Mead, even so early as in the ninth century, had the name of Medo, medu and meodo in Anglo-Saxon; in the Lithuanian tongue it is called Middus; in Polish, Miod; in Russian, Med; in German, Meth. Hence it appears probable that mead is a beverage of great antiquity, as the name, by which it is known, is exactly the same in languages of so different an origin. With these it is perhaps worth while to compare the Greek verb μεθύω I intoxicate, from μέθυ wine. Id. p. 72, note 86.

80 The following particulars, relating to the manners of the Esthonians n the ninth century, the preservation of which we owe to the diligent pen of King Alfred, form a valuable supplement to the short sketches of aboriginal manners delineated by Cæsar and Tacitus. Ingram's Lect. p. 82, note e.

81 In A. S. þæt swifte hors, for þæt swiftoste, the swiftest.

the property, and may keep it all; and, therefore, swift horses are there uncommonly dear. When his property is thus all spent, then they carry him out, and burn him with his weapons and clothes.[82] Most commonly they spend all his wealth, with the long lying of the dead within, and what they lay in the way, which the strangers run for and take away.

13. It is also a custom with the Esthonians, that there men of every tribe must be burned; and, if any one find a single bone unburnt, they shall make a great atonement.[83]—There is also among the Esthonians, a power of producing cold; and, therefore, the dead lie there so long, and decay not,[84] because they bring the cold upon them. And if a man set two vats full

82 That the ancient Prussians burnt their dead, and buried them together with their horses, weapons, clothes, and valuable possessions, appears from a treaty concluded through the mediation of the Archdeacon of Liege, in quality of the Pope's Legate, between the German Knights and the newly converted Prussians, wherein the Prussians expressly promise never in future to burn their dead, nor bury them with their horses, arms, clothes and valuables. Forster's Northern voyages, p. 72, note 88.

A similar custom is mentioned, in Cæsar's Commentaries, as prevailing in Gaul :—" Funera sunt pro cultu Gallorum magnifica, et sumptuosa; omniaque, quæ vivis cordi fuisse arbitrantur, in ignem inferunt, etiam animalia; ac, paulo supra hanc memoriam, servi, et clientes, quos ab iis dilectos esse constabat, justis funeribus confectis, una cremabantur." De Bello Gallico, l. VI, c. 19.—The custom of burning the dead, *νεκροκαυστία*, or cremation, was almost universal, among rude nations, from the age of Homer to that of Alfred. Ingram's Lect. p. 83, note h.

83 The A. S. gebétan to atone for, or to make atonement, is similar to the Icl. bœta, Swed. bode, to reconcile: miclum dat. pl. multo, used adverbially. The atonement, sacrifice or offering, did not apply merely to the individual, but to his whole race, as is evident by the pl. hi sceolan they shall. The meaning, as Rask says, is this :—" Saa skulle de udsone det med et stort offer." Thus shall they atone for, or expiate this, with a great offering, sacrifice, or atonement. Afhandlinger, p. 381, note œ.

Atonement is at-one-ment, an expressive English compound, from atone, to set at one, to reconcile, make peace. Thus the Greek of St. Paul, in the Acts—*καὶ συνήλασεν αὐτοὺς εἰς εἰρήνην*, Ch. VII, 26, is in our version, "and would have set them at one again": this follows Tyndale's translation of 1534—and wolde have set them at one agayne.—He made the Jewes and the Gentiles at one betwene themselues, euen so he made them both at one with God, that there should be nothing to breake the atonement. Udal. Ephesians, C. 2.

84 Phineas Fletcher, who was ambassador from Queen Elizabeth to Russia, gives an account of the same practice continuing in some parts of Moscovy. "In winter time, "when all is covered with snow, so many as die are piled up in a hovel in the suburbs like "billets on a wood stack; they are as hard with the frost as a very stone, till the spring-"tide come and resolve the frost, what time every man taketh his dead friend, and com-"mitteth him to the ground." See a note to one of Fletcher's Eclogues, p. 10, printed at Edinburgh, in 1771, 12mo. See also a poem written at Moscow, by G. Tuberville, in the first volume of Hakluyt, p. 386, where the same circumstance is dwelt upon, and the reason given, that the ground cannot be dug. Bodies, however, are now [1773] buried at

of ale or of water, they cause that either shall be frozen over, whether it be summer or winter.[85]

14. Now will we speak about GREECE, on the south of the river Danube.* The sea, Propontis, lies on the east of Constantinople, a city of the Greeks. On the north of Constantinople, the arm of the sea shoots up right west from the Euxine; and, on the north-west of the city, the mouth of the river Danube shoots out south-east into the Euxine sea; and, on the south and on the west side of the mouth, are the Moesians, a tribe of Greeks; and, on the west of the city, are the Thracians; and on the west[86] of these, the Macedonians. On the south of the city, and on the south side of the arm of the sea which is called Archipelago [Ægæum], is the country of the Athenians and of Corinth. To the south-west of Corinth is the country of Achaia, by the Mediterranean Sea. These countries are peopled by Greeks. On the west of Achaia, along the Mediterranean, is the country Dalmatia, on the north side of the sea; and on the north of Dalmatia are the Bulgarians, and Istria. On the south of Istria is that part of the Mediterranean Sea, which is called Adriatic; and on the west, the Alpine mountains; and on the north, that waste, which is between Carinthia and the Bulgarians.

15. Then the country of ITALY,† extends a long way north-west, and south-east;—and all around it lies the Mediterranean Sea, save on the north-west. At that end, it is bounded by the

Moscow during the winter. D. B. — As the poem of G. Tuberville, to which Mr Barrington refers, in Hakluyt, is addressed to so great a poet at Spenser, the reader may perhaps be amused with the following specimen, relating to the subject.

> Perhaps thou musest much, how this may stand with reason,
> That bodies dead can uncorrupt abide, so long a season!
> Take this for certain trothe; as soon as heate is gone,
> The force of colde the body binds as hard as any stone,
> Without offence at all, to any living thing;
> And so they lye in perfect state, till next returne of springe."
>
> INGRAM'S LECT. p. 84, note m.

85 This power, so much admired by King Alfred, of producing cold either in summer or in winter, by which the putrefaction of dead bodies was prevented, and ale and water were frozen, must have been effected by some sort of ice-house, and this, every Prussian of any consequence had in, or near his house. Forster's Northern Voyages, p. 73.

86 A. S. and be eastan þære byrig, and on the east of the city, note 89.

* Partly from Oros. l. I, c. 2, Haver. p. 23, 24: see note 88.

† Partly from Oros. l. I, c. 2, Haver. p. 24.

mountains called the Alps: these begin on the west, from the Mediterranean Sea, in the country Narbonensis, and end again on the east in the country of Dalmatia by the [Adriatic] Sea.

16. The countries called GALLIA BELGICA *:—on the east of these is the river Rhine, and on the south the mountains called the Alps, and on the south-west the ocean which is called Britannic; and on the north, on the other side of the arm of the ocean, is the country Britain. On the west of the Loire is the country Aquitania; and, on the south of Aquitania, is some part of the country Narbonensis; and on the south-west the country of Spain; and, on the west, the ocean. On the south of Narbonensis is the Mediterranean Sea, where the river Rhone empties itself; and, on the east of it, Provence; and on the west of it, over the wastes, the nearer Spain [Hispania Citerior], and on the west and north, Aquitania; and Gascony on the north. Provence has, on the north of it, the Alps; and on the south of it is the Mediterranean Sea; and, on the north and east of it, are the Burgundians, and on the west the Gasconians.

17. The country of SPAIN † is three-cornered, and all encompassed with water by the Atlantic [87] ocean without, and by the Mediterranean Sea within, more than the countries named before. One of the corners lies south-west, opposite to the island, called Cadiz, and another east, opposite the country Narbonensis, and the third north-west, towards Betanzos, a city of Galicia, and opposite Scotland [Ireland], over the arm of the sea, right against the mouth of the river called the Shannon. As to that part of Spain,[88] more distant from us, on the west of it, and on the north is the ocean, on the south the Mediterrannean Sea, and on the east the nearer Spain; on the north of which are the

* Oros. l. I, c. 2. Haver. p. 25. † Oros. l. I, c. 2. Haver. p. 25, 26.

87 Literally:—and all encompassed with water without, and also encompassed within, more than [ofer over, above, more than] those lands [þa land those lands, or countries Provence, Aquitania, and Gallia Belgica] both by the ocean and by the Mediterranean Sea.

88 It must be recollected, that Orosius is supposed to speak, and not Alfred.—The royal Geographer, indeed, appears to have deserted Orosius entirely, as an insufficient guide, till he came to those territories, which are situated to the south of the Danube. This, therefore, is the only part of his description which can be strictly considered as a translation. The division also of all Europe into the countries lying north and south of the Danube, so clear and simple, which is completely original, shews how much we owe to King Alfred. Ingram's Lect. p. 86, note q.

Aquitani, and on the north-east the forest of the Pyrenees,‡ and on the east Narbonensis, and on the south the Mediterranean Sea.

18. The island BRITAIN.—It extends || a long way north-east; it is eight hundred miles long, and two hundred miles broad. On the south of it, and on the other side of the arm of the sea, is Gallia Belgica; and on the west part, on the other side of the sea, is the island Hibernia[89]; and on the north part, the Orkney islands §. Ireland, which we call Scotland, is on every side surrounded by the ocean; and because it is nearer the setting of the sun than other lands, the weather is milder there, than in Britain. Then on the north-west of Ireland, is that outmost land called Thule; and it is known to few because of its great distance.—Thus, have we spoken about the boundaries of all Europe, as they lie.

‡ Pyrenæi saltus a parte septentrionis. Oros. l. I, c. II. Haver. p. 26, 8.—A. S. Be norðan eastan is se weald Pireni.

|| Britannia oceani insula, per longum in boream extenditur. Oros. l. I, c. II. Haver. p. 27, 4.

89 Ibernia, Hibernia, Igbernia, now Ireland, was denominated Scotland from about the fifth to the eleventh century. The Scoti were first heard of, as inhabiting Ireland. As they imposed their name on Hibernia, so in settling in North Britain they gave it the name of Scotland, which it still retains. [See note 54: Also Alfred's Orosius § 3 note 7] Bede says, "Hæc [Hibernia] proprie patria Scottorum est." l. I, c. 1; p. 42. So in Alfred's translation. This [Hibernia] is agendlice Scotta eþel. id. p. 474.—Diodorus Siculus calls Ibernia, Ἶρις, Strabo Ἰέρνη, Ἰερνὶς νῆσος, Ptolemy Ἰουερνία, Pomponius Mela Juverna, Claudian Ierna. In the names Iris, Ierna, Juverna, Hibernia, the native Irish, Eri or Ir is discoverable. The Irish, to indicate a country, prefix Hy, or Hua denoting "the [dwelling of the] sons, or family of." In prefixing Hy to a name beginning with a vowel, a consonant is often inserted, thus; Hy-v-Each, the country or descendants of Each or Æacus. This prefix requires a genitive, which in Eri is Erin: and thus, all the variations in the name seem to be accounted for,—as Eri, or Ire-land; Hy-b-ernia, Hibernia; —Hy-ernis, Iernis.

§ Orcadas insulas habet. Oros. l. I, c. II. Haver. p. 27, 10.—A. S. Orcadus þæt igland.

Additions and Corrections.

The slightest deviations from the Cotton MS. not included in the notes and various readings, are noticed in the following corrections, even to the different use of ȣ and þ.

	The printed Anglo-Saxon Text.		
P. 2	*line* 21*c* *for* muþa *read* muȣa		
3	11*a*	sæ'	sæ
5	19*f*	hy'	hí
—	28*k*	ȣas	þas
8	27*k*	Brittannia	Brettannia
	The Literal English Translation.		
5	5*e*	east	north
10	43*g*	cultorum	cultrorum
15	30*e*	England	Britain
19	39*d*	76	73
24	27*m*	at	as
—	39*m*	73	73 note 89
—	40*pq*	*Dele* note 89.	
	Notes and various readings.		
1	22*d*	*Roman*	*Italic*
—	28*h*	ymb	ymbe
—	29*i*	íe	íé
—	30*m*	and	ond
2	6*i*	*Insert* 5*e*. eæ' C: ie L.	
—	10*b*	*Insert* 11*f*. syndan C.	
—	14*i*	þære íe	þære ié

—	16*g*	hím	him
—	21*g*	margin	margin of L.
—	27*g*	2*i*	1 *ik*
—	28*c*	þafor	þafor
—	28*hi*	swa feor	swafeor
		swa he	swahe
—	29*l*	gesiglan.	ge siglan
		þa beag	þabeag
		þæt land	þæt land L.
—	30*d*	land.—	land C.—
—	35*i*	melite	mehte
—	36*c*	siglan.—	siglan L.—
—	41*l*	hird	hira
—	45*e*	agnum	agnum lande
3	2*e*	29*b*	29*c*
—	4*e*	31*d* hy'd	31*c* hy'd
—	40*k*	*Insert* 35*d*. hé C.	
4	4*d*	*Insert* 37 *a* hé C.	
—	12*i*	Ohthere	Oht here
—	14*d*	5*b*	5*c*
—	30*e*	*Dele* 30*c* hy's C.	
—	33*r*	*Insert* 33*b*. hy's C.	

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AN ESSAY

ON

The Geography of King Alfred the Great,

Taken from his A. S. Version of Orosius:

CONTAINING

ALFRED'S DESCRIPTION OF EUROPE IN THE 9TH CENTURY,

AND HIS ACCOUNT OF

THE VOYAGES OF OHTHERE AND WULFSTAN INTO THE WHITE AND BALTIC SEAS:

BY

R. T. HAMPSON ESQ.

AUTHOR OF "*Medii Ævi Kalend.*" "*Origines Patriciæ,*" &c.

ESSAY ON

KING ALFRED'S GEOGRAPHY,

AND THE NORTHERN VOYAGE OF

OHTHERE AND WULFSTAN.

1. It is justly remarked by the Rev. Dr Bosworth, among the notes to his translation of the Anglo-Saxon OROSIUS, that the geographical notices, relating to Europe, in Section X of the version, are invaluable, "as being the only account of the Germanic nations, written by a contemporary, so early as the ninth century." The same opinion has been formed of it by men of erudition on the continent, particularly in Germany, Denmark, and Sweden; and the names of Porthan, Raske, Dahlmann[1] and others, who have translated Alfred's "precious fragment of antiquity,[2]" and investigated the geographical problems which it presents, will ever be associated with that of the truly great monarch of England. I cannot but remember the disappointment, which I experienced, on examining with attention M. D'Anville's learned disquisition on the foundation of the states of Europe as geographically situated before the French revolution at the close of the last century, at finding that this distinguished geographer made no reference to a work, in which Europe in the 9th century, when we first behold the germs of future empires and kingdoms, was already sketched with the vivacity of an actual map.[3] He shews no sign of a knowledge, that there existed such a record of the physical appearance of the continent, and yet, although he might never have seen the Latin translation of the two northern voyages in Alfred's Orosius, in Sir John Spelman's *Vita Ælfredi*, he could scarcely have been ignorant of Hakluyt's Voyages, where

1 Professor Dahlmann, Forschungen auf den Gebiete der Gerschichte, Altona, 12mo, 1822.—Prof. Raske, Afhandlinger, Köbenhavn, 8vo, 1834.

2 Le Comte J. Gräber, La Scandinavie Vengée. p. 36.

3 D'Anville, Etats formés en Europe après la Chûte de l'Empire Romaine en l'Occident, Paris, 4to, 1774.

they are inserted. It is very true, that D'Anville chiefly occupied himself with Germania and Europe South of the Danube, but one of the Voyagers mentions places on the German shores of the Baltic, about which there was a difficulty, well deserving of elucidation, and he describes very curious customs in the present Pomerania of Prussia.

Owing to the neglect of Saxon literature, which seems to have been one consequence of the destruction of the monastic libraries, so pathetically bewailed by John Bale, about the reign of Edward VI, and also to the superior claims of the treasures of Greece and Rome, no attention appears to have been bestowed, for a long time, on the works of the illustrious Alfred, before the insertion in Hakluyt, in the 16th century, of the narrations, personally and colloquially communicated to the king by the voyagers, Ohthere and Wulfstan.[4] The English versions and notes in that collection of voyages are said to have been written by Lambarde, a learned antiquary and a successful cultivator of Anglo-Saxon literature, who is well known as the author of *Eirenarchia*. Nearly a century afterwards, Sir John Spelman obtained a Latin translation of the northern voyages from certain scholars of Oxford, "Oxonienses Alumni," and either he or they endeavoured to pursue the course and ascertain the places named by Ohthere and Wulfstan.[5] Another century elapsed before the value of these relics of antiquity interpolated by Alfred in the Spanish historian began to be appreciated by the learned. The publication of the whole of the Anglo-Saxon version of this work, with an English translation by the Hon. Daines Barrington, in 1773, seems to have conveyed the information to the public, that, besides these precious voyages, there was an original description, at a very interesting epoch, of that vast portion of Europe, which, from remote antiquity, had been comprised under the general name of Germania. Judge Barrington, a man of great erudition, and well versed in old English and Romance, or ancient French, literature, was not, however, perfectly competent to accomplish the task, which he undertook as a labour of love. Besides frequently mistaking the sense of his author, he has injudiciously adapted some conjectural emendations, and given others. That such a process, well execu-

4 Hakluyt, Principal Navigations, Voiages, &c. of the English Nation, Vol. I, p. 4, Ed. 1598, fol.

5 Spelman, Vita Ælfredi Magni, Append. VII. 1678.

ted by means of the two ancient MSS. Lauderdale and Cotton might not be advantageous to students, it would, perhaps, be bold to say, but the person who undertakes the emendations of ancient authors, though profoundly skilled in their languages, encounters the risk of making them say what they never intended. The judge enriched his translation with geographical notes of much research supplied to him by the celebrated Swedish circumnavigator and naturalist J. Reinhold Forster, the associate of Captain James Cook. A map of Europe also prepared by M. Forster accompanied the work. M. Forster's errors are chiefly attributable to the faulty translation by Barrington, but he is surely not to be blamed if his conjectures respecting the sites of places, of which the names had long been forgotten, or had become completely disguised in the vicissitudes of times and nations, are not always happy. Subsequently Forster revised his notes, and corrected the more considerable of his wanderings under the guidance of a flickering light.[6]

After Forster, Langebek, about 1773, inserted the Anglo-Saxon voyages in his collection of Danish historians and others, apparently from Barrington's publication. That he was not an inattentive editor appears from his suggestion, that the name *Cyningesheal* had been corrupted in the Anglo-Saxon MS. into *Sciringesheal*,[7] respecting which Dr Bosworth has removed all uncertainty.

In 1807, Dr Ingram the compiler and translator of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, on assuming the chair of Anglo-Saxon professor in the university of Oxford, published a new translation of Alfred's geography of Europe, with numerous explanatory notes,[8] for the most part valuable as well as curious, but, strange to say, he has preserved Barrington's original mistakes of proper names for ordinary words, when a little research among the Latin writers of this age would have shown him that Alfred's *æfeldan* were not "heath-fields" in Jutland, but the Heveldi, a warlike tribe of Slavons on or near the banks of the Havel; and that *wylte* were not "wilds, wealds, wolds," but the Wilti, Wilzi, Weleti, or Welatabi, appellations which in the Latin Chronicles of the times

6 History of Discoveries and Voyages in the North, Ed. 1786.
7 Langebek, Scriptorum Rerum Danicarum.
8 Inaugural Lecture, p. 72, 4to, 1807.

about the ninth century, denote another fierce and celebrated tribe of Slavons in the vicinity of the former.

On the continent, as before observed, Sprengel, Porthan, Raske, and Dahlmann have closely investigated the tracts of Ohthere, and Wulfstan, and the statements of Alfred. They have cleared away many of the difficulties, which remained, but in several instances, they ventured on the last resource of a faithful illustrator of the literary relics of antiquity. Where their researches have not rendered them successful in establishing the identity of names and places, they have substituted their own conjectures.

II. It will be the object of the present inquiry to endeavour to ascertain the position of the chief places, named in Alfred's geographical delineation, without violence to the text of the Saxon MS. in the Cotton library. That there are serious errors in the Greek and Latin names of places and persons, towards the middle of the codex, is incontestible, and it is equally clear, that they are attributable, not to the royal translator, but to the penman, who wrote the codex after him. Though this is true, it by no means follows, that he should be as faulty in names, with which, we may presume, if he were a Saxon,[9] he was more familiar, than with those which occur in the account of Alexander's Asiatic conquests, and in some other places. Indeed, it seems that great reliance may be placed upon this important portion of the manuscript, except in one solitary instance, where, by a slight slip of the pen, either in ignorance or inattention, an Anglo-Saxon *s* has become an *r*, as plainly appears from the sense of the context.[10]

9 It is by no means certain, that the Saxon remains in England are in the hand writing of Saxons. For the most part, the mechanical execution of the MSS. is very neat, and may be termed beautiful. It was stated some years ago in the *Athenæum*, as a proof of learning at an early period among the Irish, that the Saxon MSS. were the work of Irish monks. The fact, if true, proves nothing more than their skill in that kind of penmanship, which consists in carefully drawing the outlines of letters upon vellum, and then filling them up with ink colours, by the process which boys in writing schools contemptuously call painting letters. One thing is certain, that some of the MSS. have been written or painted by persons, who had no knowledge of the language, or at least, whose acquaintance with it was very imperfect. It is not unusual to find several words run together as if they were a single word, and often a word of significance is enclosed between the end of the preceding and the beginning of the following, as if the strange compound were one word. The same observation applies to the Latin MSS of the Saxons and to the Greek and Latin passages inserted in their vernacular compositions. Examples of this sort of blundering may be seen in the curious Greek Symbolum in Saxon letters, of which Suicer has given a corrected copy in the second volume of his Thesaur. Antiquit. Eccles.

10 Dr Bosworth, Translation, B. I, ch. 1, § 18.

With the intention of adhering to that which is my original, I am precluded from classifying the different peoples of Europe according to their races, Finns with Finns, Slavons with Slavons, and Teutons with Teutons, because that method will demand too many repetitions to follow Alfred in the course taken by himself; for it must be borne in mind, that for the purpose of his description of Europe, he stations himself on a particular spot, whence, as from a centre, he surveys the countries around him and indicates their situation relatively to each other and to his centre. In like manner, we are constrained to place ourselves on the deck with Ohthere or Wulfstan, and to observe the direction of his hand, as he names the places by which the vessel is sailing. Were we to do otherwise, we should soon be obscured in a mist of doubt, and wrecked in a sea of conjecture. By adopting this method we shall find, that Alfred is exact in his cardinal points, and that he does not miss the bearing of his places, as supposed first by Forster, and afterwards by Rask and Dahlman, who have led themselves into error by considering Alfred to have described the situation of all his places from one and the same spot, where he commenced. There are, however, plain indications that, having filled up a circle, he removed to another centre, until he completed his Germania.

III. What is Alfred's Germania? Professor Rask wishes to exclude from it all Scandinavia, or to consider the whole of a vast region as Gothic. We have to attend to Alfred's boundaries,[11] in order to understand what he considered to be Germania. He has supplied the demarcation of Germania on the north, which Strabo, Tacitus, and later of the ancient writers did not clearly define, left but in vague and imaginary traditions respecting the Hyperboreans. He has understood, and is probably right, that the term Germania comprehended all Europe between the Danube and the extreme north or Frozen ocean, and included a vast region of which very little was previously known beyond the Eastern or Baltic Sea. Alfred's description seems too clear to admit dispute. The words material to the question are these:

11 He calls them *land gemære*, which judge Barrington, with a laudable desire to render Saxon in English words of Saxon origin, translates *land marks*; but *mær*, though perhaps not elsewhere preserved in the same sense among the remains of Anglo-Saxon, appears to be allied to the Lithuanian *miera*, a measure, Polish, *miara*, and Latin *meare*, in the primary sense of measuring out a road. All these are related to the Sanskrit root *ma*, to measure.—See Dr Pott's Etymologische Forschungen, 1, 194, 5, Lemgo, 8vo, 1813.

"From the river Tanais westward to the Rhine, which springs from the Alps, and then runs right northwards on the sea's arm which lies around Britain—

— "And again south to the river Danube whose source is near the Rhine, and afterwards runs eastward against Greece, and out into the Wendel, or Vandal Sea,[12]" near the Mediterranean and Adriatic Gulf—

— "And northward to the ocean [13] which is called Cwen Sea, now the White Sea. Within this are many nations and it is all called Germania."

If the Cwen Sea can be identified with the Baltic, M. Rask's hypothesis, that Scandinavia is not comprised in Alfred's Germania, is an established truth; but it will be found from another part, that, in common with the Germans and Northmen, Alfred

12 He invariably names this sea the *Wendel Sea*. Vindelicus Sinus occurs in Orosius for the Adriatic, probably so called from the Illyrian Vindelici. Adam of Bremen speaks of the *Mare Wendile*, meaning the northern *Sinus Venedicus* of the ancients. "Hæc est strata Ottonis Cæsaris usque ad mare novissimum Wendile, quod usque in hodiernum diem ex victoria regis *Ottinsund* appellatur." Page 130.

The Baltic may have been called the Venedic Gulf from the Veneti or Wenden on the German coast; but some of these Slavonians occupied the northern portion of Jutland, and Adam takes their station to be an island, though only a small peninsula, formed between the Lüm Fiord on the south, and Leigestrup on the north. He names this peninsula now called Vendsyssel, and Funen, Wendila: "Finni insula est non modica post eam, quæ Wendila dicitur in ostio Barbari occurrens." p. 132. Before the 5th century, the "Wendla leod," (*Beowulf*, l. 193) or Vandals, had established themselves in Andalusia and Africa. Their seats in the north gave names to the Venedicus Sinus, which Ortelius understands to be that part of the Baltic which is between Prussia, Livonia and Sweden. "Hæc (Gothia) in Venedico sinu ante Chersini ostia jacet, mater Gepidarum, Rugiorum, Vandalorum, Longobardorum, Herulorum, Turcilingorum, Hunnorum, Vinnulorum, Visigothorum, Ostrogothorum, et Gothorum: Infesta et formidata terris nomina." Fortunately we shall have little to do with them. Morisot, Orbis Maritim. l. I, c. 36, p. 258, 9. All over the north, traces of the Vandals are found in the names of cities and districts.

13 The name of ocean in Alfred is *garsecg*, which I always thought to be *gars ecg*, quasi *geardes ecg*, the border or boundary of the land, until I saw in Mr Kemble's note to Beowulf, the derivation *gar secg*, a man armed with a spear, a term referring, he supposes, to some ancient myth. It is certainly possible, that the northmen had a myth similar to that of Neptune with his trident; but it does not seem likely that a poetical or mythological fiction should have furnished the name of the ocean. Undoubtedly our forefathers believed with others still older than themselves, that the earth was a vast plain encompassed by boundless waters: *καὶ τὰς Ἡρακλείους στήλας, ὧν ἔξω περιῤῥει τὴν γῆν ὁ ὠκεανός.* Aristot. de Mundo, 3. There seems to be little hazard in referring *gar* or *geard*, whence we have *earth*, which is still pronounced *yarth* in Lancashire, to the Gothic *gards*, a house, connected with *gairdan*, to gird, or encircle, in the same language. All these words have the latest signification of inclosure, whether we see them in the form of *gard*, a city, a *yard* or a *garden*, Fr. *jardin*, and I must still believe *garsecg* to be the water boundary of the earth, or, more literally, the edge of the earth defined by the ocean, and so at length, the ocean itself.

gives the name of East Sea to the Baltic in order to distinguish it from the German Ocean, which was the West Sea; and from Ohthere, that he sailed northward from Halogaland in Norway round the North Cape, and along the coast, until he came to a sea running southward into the continent, which he names the Cwen Sea. Consequently, Alfred's Germania extended from the Don on the East, to the German Ocean and the Rhine on the west; and from the Danube, on the south, to the frozen Ocean and the White or Cwen sea, on the north. This definition is so clear, ample, and comprehensive, that we cannot but wonder how so learned a man as Rask, believed that he excluded Scandinavia.

IV. It will now be necessary to place ourselves in each of Alfred's centres of observation, and to accompany him just as he removes himself. His first position is that part of Europe eastward of the Rhine, which in the middle ages was known as Francia Orientalis or eastern Frankland,—the Frankland of the Northmen. At an early period, the term *Franci*, A.-Sax. *Francan*, O. Germ. *Vranken*,[14] denominated a number of tribes, to whom the Romans gave distinct appellations. Schildius quotes an ancient Itinerary Table, containing the following gentile names: —"Chauci, Ampsivarii, Cherusci, Chamavi, qui et Franci"; and lower down he found FRANCIA, which he prints in large characters.[15] It is probable that the tribes thus designated were formed into a league or confederacy similar to that of the Alemanni; but the Franci Orientales, the East Franks of Alfred, comprised also

14 It is the name of the country rather than of the people:

Gab her ihme dugidi	*He gave to him nobles,*
fronisc githigni	*pleasing co-thanes,*
stuel hier in Vranken	*a throne here in Frankland.*

SONG ON HLUDWIG'S VICTORY OVER THE NORTHMEN IN 882.

Liess der heidena mann	*He allowed the heathen men*
ober sie lidan	*upon them to be led,*
thiot Vrancono	*the people of Franks*
mannon sin diono.	*to serve with his men (soldiers).*

SAME, ST. 4.

15 Joh. Schild. De Caucis, l. 1, c. 7, p. 48. Lugd. Batav. 1649. It scarcely deserves to be mentioned that there is a short decree of a king of the Franks, in the name of the Franks, commanding the Sicambri to be called Franks for the future. The marginal date, "Anno Mundi 3949," throws a doubt on the authenticity of this instrument, but there is a probability, that some anonymous king of the Franks may have issued such an order after the Christian era. Goldasti Constit. Imperial. t. I, p. i, p. 3.

the Bructeri, Sicambri, Attuarii, and Salii. The first mention of the Franks, according to M. D'Anville, occurs in Vopiscus, where that writer is speaking of their defeat near Maience by Aurelian, in the middle of the third century. In 272, Probus repressed the incursions of the Franks, and is said to have been the first emperor who adopted the surname of Francicus. In the 4th century, the name of Francia was given to the country extending from the Rhine to the Weser, and bounded beyond the latter river by Thuringia. Charlemagne farther enlarged this country, and extended Francia from the Saxe to the Danube, and from the Rhine on the west, to the Sala on the east where it enters Thuringen.[16] The Latin addition of Orientalis is probably a translation of the German, and with it had reference to the Frankish settlements in Gaul. Franconofurt is stated in the Annals of Fulda to be the metropolis of the eastern kingdom, "—principalis sedes orientalis regni." D'Anville judiciously observes, that we are not to be surprised at finding Francia Orientalis employed to denominate all Germany; for princes who have reigned there without descending from Charlemagne, have been styled "Reges Francorum Orientalium"; and that it is only since the 13th century, that the name of Francia, previously used in the title of the ancient Frank monarchy, was insensibly lost to it, and used only for the French kings of what had been Francia Orientalis.[17]

Alfred assigns to the east Franks the same situation as Eginhard the secretary of Charlemagne. On a loose computation, for there can be little expectation of certainty in such matters, they appear at this time to have occupied about three thousand square miles.

The etymology of the word Frank, at one time synonymous with freeman, and among us a title of minor nobility, franklin, and in France denominating a species of fief, has been much disputed. It certainly means free only inasmuch as a Frank was free. The Sanskrit *prangch*, does not distinguish them from the other immigrants from Asia. Eccard believes the name to be formed from Urac, as Warangus from Varegus, and he cites the Anglo-Saxon wræc, "latro, exul, ein avanturier, pyrata," to explain Wargus and Urac.[18] Warangus is very probable when

16 Eginhard, Vita Karoli Magni.
17 D'Anville, Etats formés en Europe, p. 18.
18 Barker's Germany of Tacitus, c. 39, n. 4. p. 75.

taken in the sense of a military freebooter, when piracy and rapine were deemed honourable occupations. He observes that Snorro uses Fracoland.[1] Both Frackland and Frankariki occur in Iceland Sagas[2]; and the anonymous author of a manuscript Icelandic and Latin dictionary in the British Museum, gives "*Frackland,* Franconia; item Gallia, vulgo Franka rike; incolæ hic olim Frackar.[3]

V. Standing on the territory of the East Franks, Alfred places Suabia on their south, across the Danube, and on their South East the Bavarians, to whom he assigns the part which is called Regensburh, still called in modern German, Regensburg, which is situated at the influx of the rivers Danube and Regen, whence the name. In English maps of Germany, it is named Ratisbon, from an older Ratispona, or Radisbona in the Latin Chronicles.

1. The names *Swæfas* in Anglo Saxon, *Schwæbe* in modern German, and *Suevi* in the Roman writers, are too obviously identical to call for remark; but the people so designated, anciently occupied several parts of the continent at the same time.[4] Their appellation was generic, like that of the body of distinct tribes, who composed the Allemannic confederacy, and the name Suevi was frequently interchanged with that of Allemanni.[5] Forster observes that the part of Europe indicated by Alfred, and forming a portion of the modern Schwæbe or Suabia was called Allemannia[6] from the time of Caracalla; but here were also the Cätti or Chatti, who, as Tacitus states, composed but one nation or tribe. If we are to dwell on this circumstance, we shall, perhaps, find reason to conclude, either that they were a part of the Suevi, or that they were forced northward, when the Hermanduri took possession of the seats evacuated by the Suevi

1 Catal. Theot. 2 Norna, Gests Saga, capp. 3, 4.

3 Ayscough's Collect. MSS. Cod. 4880.

4 Nunc de Suevis dicendum est, quarum non una, ut Chattorum Tencterorumve, gens: majorem enim Germaniæ partem obtinent, proprüs adhuc nationibus nominibusque discreti, quanquam in commune *Suevi* vocarentur.—De Mor. Germ. 38. Ed. E H. Barker, 1835. They were probably the Σκουηοι of Strabo, l. VII. whose territories stretched from the Rhine to the Elbe, and of whom a part lived on the other side of the latter river.

5 Suevia, hoc est, Alemannia—Suevorum, hoc est, Alemannorum.—Paul. Warnefrid. de Gest. Longobard. l. II, c. 15. l. III. c. 18. Lugd. Bat. 12mo 1595. Dio Cassius calls them Αλαμβαννοι which in a name almost universally considered to be Germanic, has a very Keltic sound and appearance; for *bann*, in Armoric, is a province, and *alban*, whence *Albani*, is the upper part, while *all mann* is a foreigner, as in the French law phrase *droit d'aubain*, in which aubain is a stranger, who has not been naturalised in the country, in which he resides.

in the Hercynian Forest. The composition of this great league gives probability to the usual derivation of Allemanni, from *all* and *man* in the Teutonic dialects, and if so, it is but a common word appropriated for a gentile appellation; nevertheless, by an extension of the idea common to all ancient and warlike people, the word *man* denotes a soldier, a hero, while *all* was a strengthening augment, so that Allemanni may equally have been an appellation prompted by military vanity. The name, however, is the direct progenitor of the French name of Allemagne applied to the whole of Germany, while the more ancient term designated what is now only a province. The French suggests another Teutonic derivation perfectly conformable to the usage of rude barbarians, and significant of their own opinion of their strength and prowess. Of this name, however, Dr Bosworth has given an account, which will, no doubt, be deemed satisfactory. At all events, it proves that as early as the 6th century, it was believed to relate to the union of many nations. He cites Agathias a Greek writer of that time, who relying on Asinius Quadratus, an Italian, but a careful historian of Germany, says that the Alamanni, *Αλαμαννοι*, are collected from various nations, and signify that fact in the term by which they denominate themselves.[6] It is more to our purpose to know, that this name is much more ancient, for we are told that a king of the Allemanni in 366 was taken and hanged by the Avari, under Valentinian and Valens.[7]

The Allemannic Confederacy sustained a severe defeat from Hludwig, (Chlodovæus of the Latins, and Clovis of the old French writers; now Louis) and his Franks, at a place called Tolbiac, now Zulpich, near the heights of Cologne, between the Meuse and the Rhine. We may, perhaps, regard this as their principal station. Afterwards they were subjects of Theodoric, king of Austrasia, a name which has direct reference to East Frankland. This monarch was the son of Hludwig. The complete subjugation of the Allemanni was effected by Theodebert, son of Theodoric, and thenceforth Allemannia was a province of the Frankish monarchy, forming a duchy in Suevia, part of Helvetia, and the country of the Grisons.[8]

6 Dr Bosworth, Origin of the German and English Languages, Sect. VIII, p. 120, note.—As usual, Professor Pott of Berlin exhausts this subject. Etymologische Forschungen II. 523,4.

7 Ammian. Marcellin. l. XXVII, c. 3, p. 270.

8 D'Anville, p. 14.

2. Bavaria, on the south east of the east Franks, was considered a part of Slaviana, and by Adam of Bremen is named Beguaria.[9] In much the same manner, Alfred calls the inhabitants Bægðware, and from some form of the word of this kind, we have the modern German Bayern, Bavaria; but the people themselves were a portion of the Boii, distinguished by mediæval writers with the termination *ar—er—wer—vir*, denoting man, an inhabitant, from another division of the Boii called Boiohemi, who occupied what is now Bohemia. The Boii succumbed to the Marcomanni, under their king Marobudus, in the time of Augustus, and thus their country, Boiohemum, was placed under the rule of the conquerors. From the name of these new occupants of the territory, anciently held by the Boii, Mark, or March-men, i. e. men of the marches or borders, it is probable, that the conquerors came from the mountains which form the boundaries of Boiohemum. However this may be, it is very probable, that the Boioarii or Bægðware, were those Boii, who then abandoned their seats. That they did so appears from Tacitus, in whose days the Marcomanni were on this spot.[1]

Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, is supposed to have taken possession of Rhætia, and a part of Boioaria, for after his death in 526, his son Theodoric king of Austrasia, who was living in 534, aggrandised himself in that country, the first of the laws of which is attested and authorised in his name. In 594 or 596 it was in the power of Childebert, king of the Franks, when he appointed Thessilo or Tassilo 1 to be king of the Bajoarii.[2] Charles Martel led an army into the country in 725, and also in 728, according to the testimony of the Annalists, but as its name does not occur in the partition of the provinces of the Franks between Pepin and Charlemagne, the sons of Martel, we cannot affirm, that Bavaria was entirely subjugated. It is styled a duchy of the Franks under Ogdilo, "dux Bajoariorum," in 743, when a papal legate, charged with an interdict of all war against Ogdilo,

9 Longitudo (Slavianæ) autem illa videtur, quæ initium habet ab nostra Hammaburgensi parochia, et porrigitur in orientem, infinitis aucta spaciis, usque in Beguariam, Ungriam, et Græciam.—Ad. Brem. Hist. Eccles. p. 46. Lugd. Batav. 8vo, 1595.

1 Juxta Hermunduros Narisci, ac deinde Marcomanni et Quadi agunt.—Tacit. de M. Germ. 42.

2 His diebus Tassilo, rex Bajoariorum, a Hildeberto constituitur, qui mox, Sclavis superatis, magnam exinde prædam deportavit.—Hermann. Contract. ad ann. 594, 5. Paul. Warnefried gives the date 596.

received for answer, that Bajoaria and her people belonged only to the empire of the Franks.[3] Had a similar spirit of manly independence been manifested by the immediate descendents of these warriors, the arrogance of overweening bishops of Rome would not so often have plunged Europe into war, and prolonged the night of ignorance and barbarism to the 16th century. The conclusion from the answer seems to be that the country was then subdued. Tassilo II, the son of Ogdilo, rendered homage to Pepin in 757, and to Charlemagne in 781. After this he appears to have rebelled against the latter monarch. A long decree of the year 788 issued by Charlemagne and his nobles assembled at Ingelheim is extant among the imperial constitutions, collected by Goldast. The "oratores Boiorum," who were introduced, accused him of inciting the Huns and Avares against Charlemagne, and Tassilo, who is here called Thessalonus, was convicted of high treason according to the Salic Law and adjudged to suffer death, and Boiaria was awarded to the king.[4] Theodo, his son, was made a priest or monk, and Lytopyrga, (a Greek translation of Friburga the wife of Thessalon) was commanded to reside in a convent of nuns; for the above mentioned orators accused her of instigating her husband to his disloyalty. Though some of his party were exiled, he himself seems to have evaded all punishment, for after his duchy had been committed to the administration of counts,[5] he was pardoned by Charlemagne in 794, and retired to a monastery. Ludovic or Hludwig, the stammerer, gave Bavaria as a kingdom to his son of the same name, who, having had Germany on succeeding his father, is surnamed the Germanic. In 920, Bavaria once more became a duchy, apparently in consequence of the rebellion of Arnulf against Henry III in 918, when it was "Boiariæ regnum locupletissimum" in an imperial diploma.[6] Regensburh appears to have been called "Reginum, urbs Bojoiariæ" in the Annales Rerum Francorum. Ratispona is found in Mediæval Chronicles,

3 Bajoariam Bajoariosque ad Francorum imperium pertinere.—Annal. Metens. ad ann. 143. Ogdilo is named again as "Dux Bajoariorum," in 748. Annal. Eiginhardi ad ann. eund.

4 Secundum legem itaque Salicam ex veteri instituto Thessalonus crimine læsæ majestatis reus peractus, capitali supplicio condemnatur, Boiaria Regi adjudicatur.—Goldasti Constitutiones Imperial. t. I, par. i. p. 18. Francofurt. fol. 1713.

5 Neque provincia quam tenebat Tassilo, ulterius duci, sed comitibus, ad regendum data est. —Eginhard.

6 Goldast, ut supra, p. 211.

and Cluver has "Ratisbona, vulgo Regensburg." According to him, this city was the seat of the counts, who governed Bavaria, and Munich was that of its dukes.[7]

The river Leck separated Boioaria from Suevia, and it is still the common boundary of Suabia and Bavaria. On the east, Boiaria was bounded by the Ems: on the north, it extended beyond the Danube, and included the district of Egra, which is united to Bavaria at the present day.

VI. Alfred, still pointing from the seat of the East Franks, places the Bohemians directly to the east of them; on the north east, were the Thuringians; on the north the Old Saxons, and on the north west, the Frieslanders.

1. The Bohemians of old have already been mentioned as the probable relations of the Bavarians, who were displaced by the Marcomanni. Tacitus notices that the name of Boiemi preserves the memory of its ancient occupants.[8] Our Alfred calls the inhabitants Beme, which is not very unlike the German Böhmen. The Marcomanni, who had expelled the Boii, were themselves displaced by the Czechi, a Slavonic tribe from the northern shores of the Black Sea. In the time of Charlemagne, the country was governed by Slavonic dukes, when that monarch, in 805, sent an army under his son Charles, who depopulated the whole territory, and slew Lechi, its sovereign. In 904 we find the emperor Ludwig IV enacting favourable customs in the *Leges Portoriæ* then passed, for the Venedi who came to Boiemia for the purpose of merchandise, and also the Venedi, dwelling in Boiaria.[1] The name of the country, it is scarcely necessary to say, denotes the *home* of the Boii.

In the beginning of the 10th century, territories, which in Alfred's age, were alternately governed by kings, dukes, and counts, appear to have been settled under dukes, for so the rulers are styled in their attestations of the "Statuta et Privilegia Ludorum Equestrium" of the emperor Henry I in 938.

2. The Thuringi, mentioned as the Thyringas by Alfred and

7 Introd. Geogr. l. III, c. II, p. 136.

8 Manet adhuc Boiemi nomen, significatque loci veterem memoriam, quamvis mutatis cultoribus.—De M. G. 28.

9 Eodem anno misit imperator exercitum suum cum filio suo Carolo, in terram Sclavorum, qui omnem eorum terram depopulatus, ducem eorum, nomine Lechonem, occidit.—Annal. Caroli Mag. ad ann. 805.

1 Goldast. Const. Imper. I. i. p. 210, n. 6.

the contemporary author of Widsith's geographical catalogue,[2] are said to have originally been a branch of the Dacian Goths settled on the banks of the Niester. They were conjoined in the 4th century with the Victophali and Thaiphali, nations from Scythia.[3] These people appear to have crossed the Danube, and constituted a single province. Ammianus Marcellinus represents the Gothic Thervingi as governed by Judges.[4] The mention of such names as Ermanrichus and Athanaricus among them is almost conclusive of their Gothic extraction.[5] It is very probable, that as the Latin writers constantly confounded the title, philologically equivalent to their rex—*reg-s*—*rek-s*, in Goth *reiks*, O. Germ. *richi*, A.S. *rice*, O. Norse *rick-r* with the personal name, these judges, who were celebrated for military talent and prowess, were kings and generals, like the kings and dukes under the Frank monarchs.

The presence of the Thervingi in the part of Germany, which Alfred indicates, and which still continues to be Thuringia, or the Thüringische Kreis, must be ascribed to some considerable emigration. Their Dacian neighbours appear to have accompanied them, for we find, nearly adjoining the Thuringians, both Ostphali and Westphali:

> —Westfalos vocitant in parte manentes
> Occidua, quorum non longe terminus amne
> A Rheno distat. — Saxo Poeta, de Vita Kar. Magni, ad an. 772.

The termination of these names, *phal, fal,* has given some trouble to those who have sought for a knowledge of the people designated with them. Forster supposes them to have been Saxons; "When the Franks," he says, "had conquered France, the Saxons took possession of their seats even to the Rhine; and those of them who lived on the west shores of the Weser were called Westphali from the old word *fahlen, wahlen, dwalen,* to dwell, because they really were to the west; those who were to the east of the Weser, bore the name of Ostphali, i. e. the east-

2 Incip. Wid siȝ maȝelode, &c. Addit. MSS. Brit. Mus. Cod. 9067. fol. 84b—85b.

3 Provincia trans Danubium facta in his agris, quos nunc Thaiphali tenent, et Victiphali, et Theruingi.—Eutropius, l. VII.

4 Athanaricus ea tempestate (A. D. 366) judicem potentissimum—coegit in fugam.—Judicesque etiam nunc eligunt, diuturno bellandi usu spectatos.—Amm. Marcell. l. XXVII, c. 5, p. 377. l. XXXI. c. 2. p. 478.

5 Ermenrichi nobilissimi regis.—Ib. l. XXI. c. 3. Doctus Athanaricus Thervingorum judex.—Ib. l. XXXI. c. 3. p. 479.

dwellers, and part of them extending to the north along the Weser, were the Angrivarii or Angrii." Yet M. Forster has just mentioned the Thaiphali and Victophali, who occur elsewhere in Europe before the Frank conquest of Gaul. Another derivation, from the old Swedish *fala*, a field or plain, is inapplicable to the latter names, which are Scythian. It seems to belong to a root which is common to Teutonic, Slavic, and Keltic, and which, besides giving rise to designations of peoples and countries, as Wales, Welsh, Gallia, Walloon, *Γαλαται*, appears in the low Latin *wallus*, a stranger. What was East Frankland, Francia Orientalis, was known as Valland to the Scandinavians, who also gave the same name to Italy.

Theodoric, king of Austrasia, the son of Ludwig or Chlodovæus, conquered the country of the Thuringians, when the Saxons were rewarded for their assistance on this occasion, with the possession of Nord Duringen, or the portion of Thuringia separated from the rest by the river Unstrut, which enters the Sala on its left. From this territory the Saxons preceeded, who accompanied the Longobards into Italy, when their evacuated seats were filled with the Suevi whom Lothaire and Sigebert expelled; and, according to D'Anville, a canton on the left of the Sala, below the Unstrut, was known in the middle ages as Suavia. In a donation of certain privileges in mines by Charlemagne, "Terræ Saxonum et Thuringorum Dominator," in 746, he confers on his sons, Charles and Ludoic, the hereditary right of seeking and digging for gold, silver, and all other metals in the tract, now called Thuringer Wald, or Thuringian Wood, which is defined to be 20 miles in length and 10 in breadth,[1] or about 66 by 33 English, which gives upwards of 2100 square miles. Charlemagne commemorates his subjugation of the Saxons in 777 in a confirmation of the privileges, apparently claimed on that occasion by his Frank and German nobles.[2] This expression seems to deny the Franks to be Germans. When he and Pepin[3] and others use the

1 Paul, Warnefied, l. l. c. 4.

2 Tractum regionis in *Saltu* nostro *Thuringiaco* ad 20 milliaria in longitudine et 10 in latitudine jure hereditario possidendum et facultatem damus in territorio districti illius dominatione's quærere et fodere aurum argentumque, atque omnia metalla uti debeatis et possitis. — Goldasti Constit. Imperial. I. i. 17. This diploma is better evidence of the antiquity of the name, Der Thuringer Wald, than the existence of gold and silver mines.

3 Goldast: III. i. p. 120.

style, "Rex Franeorum et Longobardorum," we understand the reason.

In the tenth century, among the dukes and princes of the empire who attested the Statutes of Henry 1, in 938, are John Palatine of Thuringia, and Reiner, provincial count of this province, which in the 11th century was governed by a count from whom descended Ludwig III, who was created Landgrave of Thuringia, in the 12th, the title applying more particularly to the Southern division.

The Angarii, who have been incidentally mentioned, occupied a canton, which separated the West and East Fali, having the Franks to the South, the ocean towards the north and Thuringia to the east. They are considered by the anonymous Saxon writer of the metrical life of Charlemagne, to have made the third branch of his countrymen. Having named the two Fali, he says:

> Inter prædictos media regione morantur
> Angarii populus Saxonum tertius, horum
> Patria Francorum terris sociatur ab austro,
> Oceanoque eadem conjungitur ex aquilone. Ad ann. 772.

Tacitus says that the Chamavi and Angrivarii, occupied the seats of the Bructeri, near the Tencteri, after they had been nearly extirpated by their neighbours, yet these Angrivarii, in the numerous transitions from place to place, which occurred in those ages, may have removed to this position and have become the Angarii. The celebrated Saxon duke Witekind or Witechind, who long opposed the arms of Charlemagne against the Saxons, governed Angria in 785, according to the inscription on his tomb in Engern, which seems to preserve the ancient name of the people, who probably were eventually absorbed into the tribes whom they separated.

3. The appellation of Old Saxons is obviously employed by Alfred, to distinguish the Germanic Saxons from his own countrymen,[4] and he unquestionably means all the branches of the Saxons occupying the territory between the Eyser and the Weser. Three of these branches have here been separated on account of the ancient conjunction of the two principal with the Thuringii on the banks of the Danube. These people seem to have been the

4 Paul. Warnefried, l. 1. 9. D' Anville is of opinion that it was the Saxons of Thuringia, who followed the Longobards.

van of the great immigration from Asia, which drove the Kelts to the West of Europe. By the addition of *Eald* old, he in all likelihood points more particularly to the Saxons, called Angli, who occupied Anglen to the south east part of the present duchy of Schleswig. It is the maritime part, or Lower Saxony, and includes all the coast from the Eyder to the Rhine, that is, from Schleswig to Holland, this district seems to have been denominated from a word in the language of the natives, allusive to the chief occupation of the people, who lived by fishing in the sea, when they were not engaged in piracy.[6] *Angel* an angle or hook, is an apparatus for fishing. But the Saxons are found on the Elbe in the time of Ptolemy, A. D. 90, and here it is that the country once called Anglen, whose people in conjunction with the Werini or Warini, established the code of laws, which bears the names of each,[7] was more generally understood by the designation Anglia in the Latin writers. As to their partners in legislation, it is probable that their appellation was early absorbed, like that of the Angarii into the denomination of a more considerable people. This early situation on the corner formed by the Elbe with the German Ocean, seems to denote, as just observed, that they formed the foremost of the columns in the Teutonic invasion, and renders probable Colonel Tod's opinion that the Saxons were originally the Asiatic people indifferently named Sakas and Sakasenas,[8] both in Sanskrit denoting powerful.

The Werini or Warini are unquestionably the Varini of Tacitus, who names the "Angli et Varini," after the Aviones and others, all of whom had rivers and forests. The Varini appear to have resided about the river Warna, the months of which give name to Warnemunde in Lower Saxony and Duchy of Mecklenburg, and not improbably Wern in the circle of Westphalia held

6 G. Waller of Gottenburg, Travels through the country of the Anglo-Saxons, during the years 1805-6-7. Dr Aikin's Athenæum. 111. 115. The diploma of Charlemagne for the creation of the bishopric of Bremen in 788, mentions particularly the northern part of Saxony as possessing abundance of fish, "Septentrionalem Saxoniæ partem, quæ est piscium ubertate ditissima, et pecorum alendis habetur aptissima." Schildius, de Caucis, l. 1. c. 4. p. 25.

7 Leges Anglorum et Werinorum, in the large collection of German and Latin Chronicles of Brunswick—Scriptores Rerum Brunsw. 4 tom. fol.

8 Travels in Rajasthan. He does not seem to have been aware that Sakasena is a compound; *sak*, power, and *sena*, an army, in Sanskrit. This derivation seems much more probable than those from *sassen*, to sit or dwell, *saks* and *seax*, a knife, a short sword, &c. The latter belong to Witechind the Annalist.

some of the Varini.[1] Whether Brunswick denote the wic or vyk of the Varini I cannot determine. In 593, Theodoric, king of the Romans, required the assistance of the kings of the Burgundii, Herculi (Heruli), Varini, and Turugi, against his rival the king of the Franks. The missive commences with a sentiment worthy of a good monarch in a more enlightened age,—" Princeps absque justicia nil aliud profecto est, quam gentium latro publicus.[2] A law of Charlemagne concerning travelling merchants, speaks of the parts of Saxony up to Bardenwich, and Laurialum—Werinheri.[3] The Anglo-Saxon author of the Traveller's Song found Billing chief of the Wernas (" Billing Wernum," l. 50) and Eccard, in a note on the Reudigni of Tacitus, speaks of Weigria and the neighbourhood, as a large space towards the Baltic, between the Angles and the Varini.[4] It is nevertheless more than probable from their joint code of laws, that they were intimately connected.

Ptolemy's position of the Saxons is on the right hand of the Elbe at its mouth, and he attributes to them some islands adjoining the continent. From this quarter the hordes of Saxon pirates issued, who infested the shores of Gaul and Britain. To these Saxons Pliny's description of the vessels used by the German sea-robbers relates.[5] They were trunks of single trees excavated, and some were large enough to hold thirty men. Instead of these canoes Apollinaris Sidonius in the 5th century attributes to them coracles or leathern canoes :

> —cui pelle salum sulcare Britannum
> Ludus, et assuto glaucum mare findere limbo."

That they occupied a long line of sea coast in the 4th or 5th century, appears from the *Notitiæ Romanæ*, where the shores of Belgium and Armorica, as also that of Britain, which is opposite Gaul, are designated *Littus Saxonicum*; but when Boniface, bishop of Maience, in the middle of the 8th century, calls Britain

1 See infra and Procopius in the note.

2 Goldast. I. i, 13.

3 Capitul. Caroli M. c. 7.

4 In Barker's Germania of Tacitus, cap. 39, n. 4.

5 Germaniæ prædones singulis singulis arboribus cavatis, quarum quædam et triginta homines ferunt,—Plin. l. xvi. c. 40. In three long ships, says Paul Warnefried, the Saxons invaded England, about the year 430.—De Gestis Longobard. l. xiv., and in two such ships, Ragnar Loðbrog invaded Northumbria : Enn betra er ad hallda langskipum til hafna enn knorum.—Saga of Ragnar L. c. 14.

Saxoniam Transmarinam, he unquestionably alludes to it as Saxon England.[6]

It is not certain whether the Saxon territory were enclosed within its first limits, when the Britons summoned the Saxons and Angles to defend them against the Picts or Scots, about 428, or whether it had then been extended beyond the Elbe. Adam of Bremen, indeed, speaks of the Saxons as having originally their seat about the Rhine, and being called Angli, of whom a part expelled the Romans from Britain.[7] As he wrote six hundred years after the event, he has, perhaps, mistaken the occupants of that part of Littus Saxonicum for Angli, or the Angli really had become possessed of the country near the Rhine; but the testimony of Ptolemy to their occupancy near the Elbe so early as 90 is sufficient. We have it from a subsequent passage in Adam, and from Witechind, that a part of the Saxons obtained North Thuringia for assisting the king of Austrasia in his conquest of the whole of that country, as before mentioned. In 553, Hlothaire, king of the Franks, subdued the rebellious Saxons with a great slaughter near the Weser;[8] which not improbably prepared the survivers for their great migration, in 560, when twenty thousand of them, with their wives and children, accompanied Alboin, king of the Longobards, in his expedition to Italy.[9] It may be inferred, that they were a populous nation from the anonymous Saxon, who wrote the life of Charlemagne in the reign of Charles the Fat, and who assigns them a territory, at that time extending towards the ocean on the north, to the Rhine on the South, where they were named the Westfali. Their eastern limit, occupied by the Ostfali, otherwise called Osterliudi, reached the confines of the Slavic tribes in the angle of the Weissel or Vistula and the Baltic :

——regionem solis ad ortum
Inhabitant Osterliudi, quos nomine quidam
Ostvalos alio vocitant, confinia quorum
Infestant conjuncta suis gens perfida Sclavi.

POETA SAXO ad ann. 772.

6. Bonifac. ep. Moguntini Epist. ad Zachariam papam.

7 Saxones primo circa Rhenum sedes habebant, et vocati sunt Angli, &c. Altera pars Thuringiam oppugnans tenuit eam regionem.—Hist. Eccles. Bremens. p. 6.

8 Hlotarius Francorum rex Saxones rebellatis juxta Wiseram fluvium magna cæde domuit.—Marcellin. Comes in Chron. a dann. 553.

9 Supra vi. 2.

Frequent hostilities arose between the Saxons and the Franks, but Charlemagne finally subdued the former and blended them with the empire.[1] With this arrangement, however, they were not satisfied, for under the emperor Ludovic, whom the French term Louis le Debonnaire, they obtained permission to return to their former abodes, part of which on the East they found occupied by the North Albingi, whose capital was Hammaburg, now Hamburg, and whom some have considered to be a tribe of Saxons. It was necessary to notice these changes, for Mr Forster states that the position, which Alfred assigns the Old Saxons, is their ancient seat on the East of Elbe; but without confining them to this narrow space, Alfred is perfectly consistent and correct in stating them to be north of the East Franks. He gives no other indication of their geographical position.

4. The Frieslanders are placed by Alfred to the north west of the East Franks, where they had been found by Ptolemy, who states that the Frisii held the parts above the Bructeri, adjacent to the ocean, up to the river Amisia[2] which is now the Eems. Here they are also found in the Annals and Chronicles of the middle ages, and here they continue almost a solitary instance of immobility amidst the numerous and frequent vicissitudes of situation, experienced by the other people of Europe. It is not improbable, that they partook of the noble character, which Tacitus gives to their next neighbours, the Chauci, north of the space now denominated Holland, though a part of the latter, the Chauci Majores, lay between the Elbe and the Weser. Without being powerless, they were contented and peaceable, never provoking wars by rapine.[3] Of such a people we may not expect to find many notices in monkish chronicles. A record, which though unquestionably of high antiquity, is rendered doubtful by its marginal date, "Ann. Christi 11," states that Clogis I king of the Franks, in the 10th year of his reign, created his second son

1 According to the Frank Annals, for 804, all the Saxons, with their wives and children, living across the Elbe and in Wihmuodi, were sent by Charlemagne into Frankland, and their vacated seats given to the Slavic people named Abotriti.—Æstate in Saxonicum ducato exercitu, omnes qui trans Albiam et in Wihmuodi habitabant Saxones cum mulieribus et infantibus transtulit in Franciam, et pagos transalbinos Abotrides dedit,—Annal. Rerum Francorum, ad ann. 804. So also Eiginhard at this year.

2 *Την δε παρωκεανιτην κατεχουσιν ὑπερ μεν τους Βρουκτερους οἱ Φρεισιοι, μεχρι του Αμισιου ποταμου.* Ptol. l. II.

3 De Mor. Germ. 35.

Phrisus duke of Phrisia, to repel the incursions of the Ambrians and Orchadians; and that afterwards he permitted the Phrisians to raise Phrisus to the rank of king, so that all future kings should be subject to the Franks, paying to them an annual tribute of 240 oxen, 20 talents of pure butter, and 3000 royal cheeses.[4] Some such agreement may have been made during the progress of Charlemagne or his sons, but unfortunately Melchio Goldast, who has copied it, scarcely ever indicates his authorities Under Claudius, Drusus the first Roman who reached the northern ocean, having crossed the Rhine, subdued the Frisians, erected immense works, which were still called *Drusinæ* in the second century,[5] and advancing thence across a lake which is not named, but which may have been the mouth of the Weser, against the Chauci (Majores?) he was imperilled by the ebb of the tide which left his ships on dry land.[6]

In 728 Charles Martel subdued the Frisians and reduced their country to a duchy of the Frank monarchy, their leader Ratbod taking refuge among the Danes. Mention is made of the duchy of Frisia in 839 when it extended to the Meuse.[7] The Danes and Normans in the same century were masters of the country, and so continued until the 10th century, when the Frisians expelled them, and Charles the Simple, as prince of Austrasia, in 913, extended the dominion of Diedrick, count of Friesland, beyond the Rhine. In 938 we find on the same diploma, "Arnoldus II comes Flandriæ," "Arnoldus comes Hollandiæ," and "Theodoricus II comes Hollandiæ.[8]" Probably the second Arnold was count, earl, or graaf of Frisia; for a Diederik was the first "Graaf van Holland," and in this century too, which, in 38 years, gives a Diederik II.[9] A canal called Kinnen, which gives name to the district of Kinnenser Land, separated what is properly Holland from West Friesland. The oldest Dutch writers in their own language give the name of Ollant to the former; but Hol-

4 Caseorum Regalium tria millia.—Constit. Imper. I. i. 3.

5 Sueton. Claud. I.

6 *Ες την Χαυκιδα δια της λιμνης εμβαλων, εκινδυνευσε, των πλοιων επι της του ωκεανου παλιρροιας επιξηρου γενομενων.* Dio Cass. l. 54.

7 Ducatus Fresiæ usque ad Mosam. Annal. Sci Bertini ad ann. 839.

8 Goldast. 1. i. 215.

9 Jan Wagenaar, Vaderlandsche Historie de Vereenijde Nederlanden, 11 Afd. s. 51. Amsterdam 8vo. 1792.

land is probably the true denomination, for *hol land* signifies low, or rather hollow, that is, concave land.

VII. After the mention of Friesland, we have from Alfred the following: "From thence north west is the country called Angle and Zealand, and some part of Denmark."

Mr Forster, probably not observing that Alfred refers the position of the Angles to that of the East Franks, thinks that "it is very probable that this point of the compass must be wrong in the original, or that the good king must be mistaken," and he observes that "Angle is to the north East of Old Saxony, together with Sillende or Zealand and part of Denmark." When the Old Saxons occupied both sides of the Elbe, the Angels and Denmark lay directly to the north of them between the degrees of longitude 9 and 10 from Greenwich, and 26½ and 27½ from Ferro, while the East Franks lay from 7 to 11½ or thereabouts; but certainly far enough in this direction to reconcile Alfred's geography with the true position of Angle and Denmark, without having to advert to the occupation of the sea coast by the Angli south of that which is deemed their proper country. If Sillende be Zealand, which appears probable from similarity of sound, the compass is still right as regards the north from the East of the East Franks, and we cannot expect the nicety of the 19th century from an island monarch statesman and warrior of the ninth. The marvel is that he did so much and so well in matters which are not often usual to persons in his station and difficulties.

1. According to Professor Dahlmann, two tribes of Angles are mentioned: the Angles of the old times, who embraced the middle station, and the Angles who before their migration to Britain were seated at Schleswig, in Jutland, Funen and the smaller islands on the left of the great gulf in Cattegat and the East Sea. This is shown at the conclusion of Ohthere's voyage, where the remark, that "The Angles dwelt on the land before they came hither" is evidently inserted by the Anglo-Saxon translator.[1] By this Saxo Grammaticus is justified in placing Dan and Angle at the head of Danish history. Danes and Angles were the old inhabitants of the land now called Denmark. Those in the east as far as Schonen and Halland; these in the

1 There appears to be no just reason to suppose that Ohthere, a man of importance and manifestly a traveller, did not speak Anglo Saxon to "his hlaforde," king Alfred. The difference between old Norrsk and the Saxon is not such as to present any difficulty.

west, the boundaries of the Great Belt. But in Alfred's time, the western lands were no longer named from the Angles; for after the great migration to Britain, the Danes had entered, and were there called south Danes with the common appellation, which they had received from the English. We would rather set the west Danes in opposition to the east Danes, and this opposition certainly appears in the Anglo-Saxon,[2] but at one time, the ancient Danes were confounded with the idea of the powerful people of the Scandinavian continent, which goes far up into the north, of whom Ptolemy knew the Danes, and, therefore, saw in those Danes, who had occupied the seats of the recently emigrated Angles, the offspring of the north, who had become Southlanders. At that time, the situation and name of Angles were limited to a small south Danish country, probably not larger than that which extends from Schlei northwards as far as Flendsburg. It still bears the name. That the land was pre-eminently called Denmark, and formed a kingdom, which lay partly on the Scandinavian continent (Halland and Schonen) and partly on the islands of Zealand, Fiona, Falster, Seland, and Langaland, is granted at the end of the voyage of Ohthere and beginning of that of Wulfstan.[3]

It is a remark of Dr Ingram, that Alfred is the earliest writer who uses the name, Dena-mark, the country of the Danes; but *mark*, as before observed in speaking of the Marcomanni, who took possession of the lands belonging to the Boii, is a boundary, the march of our own language, when we speak of the lords of the Welsh marchers, or lords marchers. In the ancient Sagas, Jutland is Reidgotaland[4] as well as Jötaland, which was sometimes used to designate Finnland.[5] As to the distinction between the east and west Danes in Beowulf, remarked by M. Dahlmann, it does not seem to be of much moment, since we have equally the south and west Danes, besides the Hring and Gar Danes in the same composition.[6] The Geata leod, people of the Geats,

2 See that highly imaginative fiction, called Beowulf, edited by Thorkelin, ll. 31 and 32. Dahlmann.

3 Dahlmann, Forschungen, &c. pp. 431, 432.

4 Hervarar Saga, XI Kap.

5 Jotland, hodie Jylland; interdum Finnland.—Icelandic and Lat. Dict. MS. Ayscough's Collect. Cod. 4880, Brit. Mus. The latter is the Totunheimur of Hervarar Saga,

6 In Mr Kemble's excellent edition of this poem, the several epithets will be found in the lines numbered as follows,

East Dene 779, 1225, 1650.

Jutes, or Goths, also perhaps in the peninsula, may subsequently have given rise to the name of Jutland, Julland and Jytland, as well as to the more ancient appellation of Reid-Gota-Land. With this variety, we may conclude, that the Danes were anciently distinguished by their situation according to the cardinal points of the compass, just as we might distinguish them by merely signifying their situation, and not regarding them as politically separated in that manner, while Ring and Gar Danes may really denote clans. As to the rest, Geat, Got, Jot or Jut, which are found in Pliny's Cod-anus Sinus, they are the Generic denomination of both the Danes and a part of the Swedes of ancient times.

An observation by Prof. Dahlmann respecting the old name of Reidgotaland, deserves notice. He says that Ohthere mentions Jutland, and Sellende, and that, as he was wanting a common name, probably Funen, Fiona, might be included in that of Jutland, and that perhaps hence came the old distinction of the Island of Jutland, and Reit Jutland, i. e. continental Jutland. And perhaps, it may be explained, for the Jutish law of king Waldemar II was valid not only in the whole of Jutland at first, but also in Funen.[7] The Icelandic *reid* denotes riding, and used with the name of a place may be equivalent to our riding of a county, as the ridings of Yorkshire for instance, signifying a division, probably such as might be traversed on horseback in a day. This observation is made, not to controvert Dahlmann, but to endeavour to show that Olaus Verelius had some ground for conjecturing *reid,* in Reidgotaland, was intended to mean *equitatio.*[8]

West	763, 3456.
North	1650.
South	921, 3988, &c.
Hring	232, 2559, 3555.
Gar	1195.

There may be other places which have been overlooked.

7 Dahlmann, Forschung. p. 436.

8 See Dr Bosworth's note 56 sect. 8, p, 15. where we have Hreth Goths—the fierce i. e. warlike Goths.

"Ryding in Yorkshire is a third part of the county, being of vast extent, and called rydings, shires, hundreds, and wapentakes, which were formerly set out *per ambulationem,* as bounding them by processions made on foote. This being of so vast extent, was performed by processions made on horseback, including divers hundreds and shires, and so thereupon take upon them the name of ryding, scil. West Ryding, East Ryding, South Ryding."—Dr Kuerden (i. e. Jackson of Cuerden) 4to MS. fol. 358. Chetham Library, Manchester; a MS. of the 17th century, part of an intended History of Lancashire of which one vol. is in the Brit. Museum, and four or five in the Herald's College, all in MS.

2. Hitherto there has been no difficulty in determining the places named in the Anglo-Saxon, but now we have Sillende, which, as Dahlmann observes, we naturally suppose at first to be the island of Zealand. This island, however, lies to the north east of Angle and old Saxony, and to the direct north of the utmost eastern limit attained by the eastern Franks in the 9th century.

Alfred names Sillende thrice; and in this place, according to its connection with Angle and part of Denmark ("sumne dæl Dena"), it seems to be also a part of Jutland; but at the end of Ohthere's voyage, it twice occurs in such a manner, that it can denote only the island of Zealand. We do not find errors in the description of Europe, in regard to countries, about which no doubt can possibly be entertained, and, therefore, we have a probable reason for placing confidence in the royal geographer where we are unable to confirm his statements from ancient writings. It is possible that a portion of Jutland, whose Danish and Jutish inhabitants were variously denominated in one and the same Anglo Saxon work, may have been designated by a name resembling Sillende.

Since Professor Dahlmann has taken pains with this difficulty, it may be well to accept his assistance. The following translated extract is the purport of what he says respecting Sillende, under the title "Sillende—Hetvare."

"What the word Sillende signifies occasions uncommon difficulty. One naturally thinks of the island of Zealand at first, but it is also clear, when it is first named by Alfred, it is not suitable. He gives it as the lands which are on the borders of the Saxons: how could the island called Zeeland, be named with them, when, also, it nowhere lies seaward opposite to the Saxons? and, at all events, how could it be placed towards the north west? Truly, king Alfred deviates somewhat from the true situation of the countries of the world in his account of the nations in the east sea, seeing that he places the north somewhat too far towards the north east (Porthan), by which the Cimbrian peninsula seems to be on the north west of the Saxons, for it lies on the north of the Shem, and the land of the Obotriti in the north; but never can Zeeland appear in a north western direction. Besides, when Ohthere, at the end of his account, mentions Sillende, he by no means names it as an island, and it does not suit

that of Zealand. There is no question that he chose the broad sea course of the great Belt. It was the nearest for his object Hadeby, and hence probably it was the common one to the Norwegians,[9] and only when he took the course could it be said, that in the last two days of his voyage, he had the islands belonging to Denmark on his larboard side. Porthan first clearly acknowledged that Zealand could not be intended, and that Sillende should be in the southern part of the Cimbrian Peninsula; and that the present men of Sleswick should have filled up the middle spaces which the Friesians here, and the Angles there, left vacant. Still, however, a number of the Danes (sum dæl Dena) found a place here, provided that Jutland be not understood in this case. Ptolemy also adduces the Sigulonians among many nations of the Cimbrian Chersonesus, which can be placed here,[1] and a Frankish annalist of the century of Alfred describes the warriors, who, after the passage of the Eider, came into the Danish land, and into a district called Sinlende.[2] Who will say whether this signifies Südland, the first germ of the appellation of South Jutland or Schleiland? If the latter be adopted, then probably the Hetvarians of the Anglo Saxon poem of Beowulf, for the greater part imaginary, can be appealed to and serve as an explanation.[3]

We are not here called upon to discuss the question of the Hetvare. But with respect to the objection, that Ohthere does not mean Zealand by Sillende, it may be answered that if he sailed through the Skiöldungahaff, coasting the southwest of Scandinavia, then Gotland or Jutland, and next Sillende or the island of Zealand, did lie, as he says, on his starboard, or right, before he came to Hæthe. There will thus appear to have been an island and a part of Jutland, to which the same name of Sillende has been negligently applied in the Anglo Saxon."[4]

9 Rask maintains as an undisputed thing, that in the olden time the traffic of the Norwegians was through the Great Belt. I admit that we swerve from the demonstrating passages, and besides I have not been able to find any proof in the History of Commerce by Suhn, G. L. Baslen, and the valuable Dissertations on the Sound Toll. (Dissertations, Vol. 11). *Dahlmann.*

1 Ptolem. Geogr. Ed. 1805. p. 53.

2 Vita Hlud. p. 563.

3 Dahlmann, Forsch. pp 437—439.

4 Its name in the preface of Saxo Grammaticus is Sialandia: in the prose Edda, Sælun *Fab.* 2. As to its signification, there are two old explanations: by some it is called Sæd

This reasoning is very ingenious, but it fails to convince me; and I hold with Forster and Dr Bosworth (p. 3 n. 16, p. 15 n. 56) that Sillende can be only Zeeland; but it is impossible to deny that there is a clerical error in the MS. If we take the eastern limit of Francia Orientalis, Zealand lies directly to the north, and if, which seems to be the meaning, we take Friesland ("From thence, &c." p. 3) it lies to the north east, and it is also north east of the Saxons. So far it is evident we have west for east. But accompanying Ohthere, we shall be satisfied of the identity of Sillende and Zealand. Omitting, at present, what is said of Sciringesheal, where the voyager first mentions Sillende, we find him stating, that two days before he came to Haddeby on the coast of Schleswig, he had Julland, Zealand, and many islands on his right. If, then, he sailed from some part called Sciringesheal, which is supposed to be about the southern extremity, he would necessarily throughout the voyage to Haddeby have Julland and Zealand on his right, for they would lie to his north. All the difficulty, and it is by no means inconsiderable, if reliance be placed upon the Saxon scribe, who has blundered most egregiously in a vast number of places, arises from the substitution of *west* for *east* in the compound with *north*.

VIII. In the Anglo Saxon, it is said after "some part of Denmark," that "to the north are the Afdrede, and north east are the Wylte, who are called Hæfeldan."

1. If Forster, Porthan, and Dahlmann are right in computing Alfred's indications of the geographical site of a country from the place last named, he must be in error with respect to the Afruede, or Apdrede, as he elsewhere calls the same people, who are the Obotriti and Abotritæ of the Latin writers, and whose territory was the northern part of the present duchy of Mecklenburg in the west of Swedish Pomerania, extending from about $11\frac{1}{2}$ to $12\frac{1}{2}$ longitude from Greenwich, being there bounded by the wide mouths of a river on each side.[1] They were, therefore

land, the land of seed; by others, Seeland, from the surrounding sea.—Ælnoth de Vita Cnuti, p. 17.

1 Apud Michlinburg, civitatem Obitritorum —Ad. Brem. p. 110. Helmold also speaks of their "civitas Mikilinburg," and D'Anville and others suppose that the Abotriti had a city so called. But civitas may mean a state, and Michelinburg may have been a large castle which left its name to the duchy. Certainly there is no other trace of a city which was so called in the territory of these people. Besides they were Slavons, while Michilenburg is German, and both Adam and Helmold wrote when the country was possessed by Germans.

on the south east of Angle and some part of Denmark; but at this time, a portion of the Obotriti occupied the seats of the Saxons across the Elbe and in a place named Wihmuodi[2] in the district of Bremen, on the Wirra.[3] This, however, cannot be his meaning, for they would be eastward. The situation given to the Obotriti and Wilti is true only in regard to the East Franks, whose eastern extremity, or what is thought to be probably so, is south of the Obotriti. Very great nicety cannot be expected, when nations were in continual motion, and writers neither were exact, nor, if they wished to be, were possessed of the means. We shall soon find that Alfred abandons this post of observation.

The Abotriti were a Slavic people, who appear to have divided themselves at an unknown period; for besides these on the shores of the Baltic, there was a nation also called both Abotriti and Obotritæ, on the banks of the Danube. The latter, in 824, sent a deputation to the emperor Hludwig, better known as Louis le Debonnaire. According to Eiginhard, who records this mission, they were commonly called Prædecenti, and inhabited Dacia, adjacent to the Danube; and on the confines of the Bulgarians. It would appear from the different situations, some very remote from each other, in which we find people of the same name, the loss of gentile appellations, once familiarly mentioned in ancient compositions, such as the Sagas, Beowulf, the Scop's Tale or Traveller's song, and others, and also in medieval chronicles, that at one time, commencing before the Christian era and not ending exactly with the establishment of the Frank monarchy, the vast plains and forests of Germania were continually traversed by restless hordes of wanderers, some of whom must have separated from the parent stock, and either they or their kindred have been immerged and lost to knowledge in other tribes. The 9th century appears to be that in which the principal or strongest of the nomadic tribes and portions of tribes began to find stations, or attempted to establish themselves in permanent resting places. It is on this account, and the success which attended many of their efforts, that the Geography of our

2 Supra VI, 2, n.2.

3 In a præcept of Charlemagne respecting provincial tributes issued in 788, we have the words—"in Vuigmodia in loco Bremon vocato super fluvium Viraam—" and again "Huic parochiæ decem pagos subjecimus, quos etiam adjectis eorum antiquis vocabulis et divisionibus, in duas redigimus provincias, his nominibus appellantes, Vigmodiam et Lorgoe."—Goldast. Constit. Imperial. t. III. p. iii. p. 137.

great Alfred is particularly valuable to Europeans. Oriental antiquaries might also find it interesting. The descendants of those who were once the Heneti, a people of Paphlagonia, have now their chief seats in Magdeburg and Venice, are found in the neighbourhood of the Bothnic Gulf and north Jutland, in the central parts of Europe, are known to have penetrated into Africa, and have left traces of their presence in Spain.

With respect to the southern branch of the Obotriti, D'Anville observes: "I shall not conjecture that Bodrog, the name of a district in Lower Hungary between the Danube and the Teisse, may have come from these Abotrites; but then, I find the denomination of Præden in that of Pardan, which is preserved in a canton of the Banat of Temeswar." The northern Abotriti, as has been mentioned, surrendered to Charlemagne, and assisted him in his expedition against the Saxons on the north of the Elbe, whose lands were abandoned to them, and who, in the 10th century, obtained permission to return to their ancient abodes, were probably the two races intermingled and the Abotritic name became lost as that of an existing people. According to D'Anville, that name once extended up the Elbe to the south, and to the little river Pene towards the east. As the Peene, which empties itself into the Frische or Stelliner Haff, rises in Mecklinburg, the tract described is of considerable extent.

2. The Wylte, who are called Hæfeldan, were another of the numerous tribes of Slavons, settled in this part of the Baltic coast. Their country in Alfred's time was what now is Swedish Pomerania, on the east of the Abotrites. The anonymous Saxon poet, who wrote towards the end of the 9th century, describes their situation with more particularity than Alfred:

> Gens est Slavorum Wilti cognomine dicta,
> Proxima litoribus quæ possidet arva supremis,
> Jungit ubi oceano proprios Germania fines.

They were a very warlike people, and strenuously opposed the arms of Charlemagne by whom they were finally subjugated in 789. A chronicle of that age states that king Charles marched again through Saxony until he came to the Slavi, who are called Wilti; that kings of that land, with their king Tragwit, came to meet him, and that, having solicited peace, they surrendered all their lands into his power. These kings were probably

chiefs, who had elected one of their number to be a war king like the guð cyningas of the Saxons, and other Teutonic peoples. Tragevit appears to be the Teutonic translation of a Slavic name. At all events, it admits of a natural explanation in the dialects of the former. How long they had occupied the territory, which Charlemagne then annexed to the empire, we do not learn, but there they were found by Ptolemy, who names them Βελτοι, and we know from another source, that their name, at an early period, was communicated in regular form to their country, Wilcia,[3] from *wille*, a wolf, the singular of *wilzi*, whence, or from Weleti come the Wilti and Wiltzi.[4] Eiginhard, at the year 822, claims the name Wilsi as German, and says that in their own language they called themselves Welatabi.

A reviewer of Paul Joseph Schafarjk's Slavonian Antiquities has the following remarks on this people and their name :—

"Of all the Polabian Slavonians the Weleti were the most celebrated, both for their numbers and for the persevering courage with which they defended their nationality against the Germans. Their primitive site appears to have been in the vicinity of Wilno, though Ptolemy assigns them a district (Veltæ) in Prussian Pomerania, between the Vistula and the Niemen. They were early conspicuous for their warlike habits, which were such as to draw upon them from the other Slavonians the appellation of Wolves, which gave rise to the fable related by Herodotus, which that historian treats as absurd, as a matter of fact, of a northern tribe annually transformed into these predatory beasts. Similar epithets were frequent among the Slavonians, who even now call the Turks Viper; and the Kerrods, from their predatory habits, still bear that of Wolves. The appellation may have been originally an honourable one, as it must be borne in mind, that in the primitive simple state of society, physical force was considered in the light of a prime virtue. From the Slavonian word for wolf, *wilk*, sing. *Wilzi*, plu., Greek *lykos*, Latin, *lupus*,

1 Saxo Poeta, Vita Karoli Magni, ad ann. 789.

2 Tunc Carlus rex iterum per Saxoniam pervenit usque ad Sclavos, qui dicuntur Wilti, et venerunt reges terræ illius, cum rege eorum Tragivite ei obviam, etc. Annal. Laurisham. ad ann. 789.

3 Eo anno fuit dominus rex Karolus in Winnetes, pervenitque in Wilciam,—Annal. Petav. ad ann. 789.

4 Karolus rex pergit in Sclavos qui dicuntur Wiltezi Annal. Sangall. Breves ad ann. 789. This date is corrected to 792 by some one, who did not agree with the commencement of the Christian era, then universally adopted.

Lithuanian *lut, liat,* ferocious, are derived the words, Wilzi, Wilzen, Lutici, and Weleti, Woloti, Welatabi, &c. from *welot wolot,* signifying a giant; all which are indicative of the reckless courage for which the Weleti were distinguished. When their fame spread over Europe during the middle ages, the Germans and Scandinavians, invented marvellous tales concerning them, and finally declared them to be a nation of sorcerers. A sword that worked wonders was called from their name walsung, welsung, welsi.[1] Their sway extended from the shores of the O'st Sea, which was called after them Wildamor (the sea of the Weleti) and their capital city was the famed Vinetha, in Slavonian Wolin (Julinum ?) situated at the mouth of the Oder. According to Venantius Fortunatus, and to Beda, the Weleti penetrated, between 560 and 600, into Batavia, and settled near the city of Utrecht, which from them was called Wiltaburg, and the surrounding country, Wiltenia. Being separated from the other Slavonians by the German nations, the Weleti were unable long to preserve their independence, and in the course of time, either lost their nationality altogether, or ultimately rejoined their countryman. Unquestionable proofs, however, of their having settled in the Netherlands exist in the names of the cities evidently, as Wiltsween in Holland, Wiltenburgh near Utrecht &c, and in such purely Slavonian names as Kamens Sweta, Widenitz Hudnin, Zevola, Wispe or Wespe, Slota, &c. It is the opinion of German historians and of M. Safarik himself, that a body of Weleti or Wilti settled in our country of Wiltshire, where they arrived after the Anglo-Saxons. And some English authors derive the inhabitants of Wiltshire from a colony of Belgæ, who migrated from Wiltorica." *For. Quar. vol.* 26, *p.* 27.

Some corroboration of the settlement of Wilti in England is obtained from the Anglo Saxon name of the people of Wiltshire. They are invariably called Wilsætan, that is the Wilt-settlers. In all other cases the termination was *ware,* as Cantware, the Kent-men or people.

2. Adam of Brem. (pp. 47. 48) names the Hæfeldan as the Heveldi, among the Slavonic tribes between the Elbe and the Oder,

1 To what the reviewer says it may be added that the *Votsunga Saga*, in which we have the fable of some men who transformed themselves into wolves, derives its title from the same source. The story occupies the 17th chapter headed Sigmundur og Sinfiotle verda ad Ulfum. It deserves no farther notice here.

but he does not seem like Alfred to have been aware that they were a detachment from the Wilti, or rather, were Wilti so named from their seat on the banks of the Havel.

IX. In the next geographical notice, Alfred seems to change his station, and no longer to refer to the East Franks, or he becomes less careful of preserving the relation of countries to the cardinal points of the compass. He directs attention in the first place to what is now called Pomerania, which lies to the north east of the probable limits of Francia Orientalis towards the east. His words are rendered thus:

"To the east of them is the country of the Wends, who are called Sysyle; and extending south east over some part of the Moravians, have, to the west of them, the Thuringians and Bohemians, and some part of the Bavarians."

1. Such are precisely the sites of Thuringia, Bohemia and Moravia in respect to Pomerania, and Silesia, but he seems by the name of Sysyle, the Suisli of the Latin writers, to mean all the Slavonic tribes, who occupied the present Ober and Nieder Lausitz, and part of the Middle Mark. The Slavoni appear to have had two generic appellations, Slavi and Venedi with its numerous variations in orthography, according to the language, in which the latter name occurs. Alfred's words give the impression that he considered all the tribes in this part of the continent to be indifferently named Neuds, and Suisli. The people who were commonly distinguished as Slavi Suisli, were very widely spread. Professor Dahlmann says in a note on the name, "The Sjusli belonged to the Servian Slavi, and were found among the Meissnischians, as well as in other places." We seem to find them in conjunction with the Vends in the peninsular tract on the north of Jutland, between the Shagensian promontory on the north and Lincil gulf on the South. This detachment from the main of Jutland, was called Vendsussel, and in Icelandic, Vendilsyssla. Mr R. Forster has the following remarks. "The name of Sysele or Sysyle is very little known in history, unless the name be preserved in the lately published Obotritic monuments, where on the sacred caduceus, fig. 23 a. the following Runic characters are engraved, namely *Shesil.* The *Annales Fuldenses* mentions, in the year 874, the revolt of the Sorbi and Suisle; perhaps the latter may be our Sysele. In the ode of Harald the Valiant, among the Five pieces of Runic Poetry;

Harald says 'My ships have made the tour of Sicily;' which I suspect to be our Sysele.

The Syslo kynd of an ancient Saga, preserved by Snorre, and relating to Yngvar a questionable king of Sweden as early as 545, are most likely a portion of the Sjusli, who had penetrated into Eistland or Esthonia, the northern part of Liefland or Livonia. Here it is said that Yngvar was slain by the Syslo kind, and buried:

that stoc upp	*It is reported*
at Yngvari	*that the race of the Syslo*
Sysla kynd	*had deprived*
um so at hefthi	*Yngvar of his light.*
oc lios—[5]	[ynglinga saga, c. 16.]

It is surprising that Forster, a Swede and a man of learning, should entertain this strange supposition. The conquest of Sicily by the Northmen is a well known event, and he might have found it in the Norman history by our Salopian countryman, Orderic Vital. Had he consulted the Runic itself, instead of the *Five Pieces* which are English translations apparently of Latin versions that are not always correct, he would have found that Harald wrote Sikeley—Sicilia.[2]

The word *Slowa* or *Slava,* conveying an idea of glory or nobility, gave rise to the generic appellation of the people who were known to the Greeks as the *Ενετοι* of which the Romans made Venedi, Veneti, and the like. Western writers in the middle ages took the national name, and added a *c* to the *s,* as if they pronounced *Shlavi,* and the Italians actually wrote *Schiavi—Schlavi.* The French wrote *Sclavons,* whence they made *esclave,* the original of our *Slave,* and thus a word chosen from their own language by a brave and gallant people to claim the respect due to them, is now a term of reproach and misfortune.

Among the Greeks, it was believed from ancient tradition that the *'Ενετοι,* who probably had the digamma, *Fενετοι,* or aspirated the E. iniital letter, *'Ενετον,*—Heneti,—Veneti, came from Paphlagonia into Illyria[3]; whence, after they had spread themselves over Panonia and the coasts of the Adriatic, these were distinguished as *Ιλλυριων Ενετοι,* just as we find Slavi Sorabi, Slavi Behemani, according to the country which they occupied. From Illyria a part of them passed on northward, some settling on the route, and others advancing to the Baltic. "What is most ac-

3 See Homer. Il· 2, 851.

knowledged," says Strabo, "is that the Heneti were the most celebrated tribe of the Paphlagonians, of whom was Pylæmenes; and that most of them followed him on warlike expeditions; but on losing their leader at the capture of Troy, passed over into Thrace, and after wandering about, arrived in what is now Henetica," or Venetia. This tradition was known to Quintus Curtius, who observes that some believe the Venetians to have taken their origin from the Paphlagonian Heneti. That they were an Asiatic people, there can be no reasonable doubt. The affinity of the Slavi dialects with the Sanskrit is not less marked than that of the Teutonic, and as to the Greek name of the alleged Paphlaginian tribe, which rambled into Europe, it seems to be nothing more than a very slight variation of the name Hindü.

It is certain that the Salvons arrived in Europe at a very early period, and that they settled at an unknown time in various parts from the South to the Baltic, that part from which the Greeks obtained amber in the days of Herodotus; and it is no improbable presumption that they were Salvons by whom it was furnished to his countrymen.[1] On the Adriatic, they engaged in war with Philip, and afterwards with Alexander the Great, who reduced them; but soon after his death, they recovered their liberty. The Romans next invaded their territory, and called it the province of Illyria comprehending Thrace and Dacia. According to Jornandes the Slavi were called Venedi, and Pliny says that they lived about the banks of the Vistula. Ptolemy places them on the Eastern shore of the Baltic, which he calls the Venedan Gulf, and Procopius says that "formerly the Slavons and Antæ had the same name; both were called Spori because they lived in a scattered manner (σποραδα) in insolated huts, and they occupy for the same reason a large extent of territory.

In this scattered manner the Servians build their villages at the present day. The villages of Servia stretch far up into the gorges of the mountains, into the valleys formed by the rivers and streams or into the depths of the forests. Sometimes, where consisting of forty or fifty houses, they spread over a space as extensive as that occupied by Vienna and its suburbs. The dwellings are isolated at a distance from one another, and each contains within itself a separate community. The real house is a room enclosed by loam

4 Qu. Curt. lib. III.

walls and covered with the dry bark of the lime, having the hearth in the centre.

Jornandes says that Dacia is on the left side of the Alps (Carpathian) in which from the source of the Vistula to the north, through an immense extent of country, exist the nations of the Winidi. Although their names vary in various tribes and places, they call themselves Slavi and Antæ. This Antæ is no doubt intended for *Ενετοι*. He also states that they have the three names Venedi, Antæ, and Slavi.

I have ventured an opinion that *Ενετοι* is slightly varied from Hindû, and certainly there is no improbability in a belief that Hindûs migrated to Paphlagonia. The mythology of the Slavons is that of Hindustan ; Brahma, Vishnu, and Seva are represented by the Slavonian Perun, Volos, and Kolida. They hold the doctrine of the immortality and transmigration of the soul, and a more decided proof of conformity with India exists in the rule which forced the widow on the burning pile with her husband. Perun, the god of thunder, Nolos, god of flocks, Kolida, god of festivals, were worshipped by the eastern Slavonians. And the common people now in many parts of Poland and Russia call Christmas Kolida, as the festival of that god was celebrated on the 24th of December. The Slavonians of the Baltic acknowledged two principles, good and bad ; the former Biel Bog or white god, and the second Cherni Bog, the black god. Other deities were Porenut, who had four faces, and a fifth on his breast, supposed to be the god of the seasons. Poreoit represented with five hands, Rughevi, supposed to be god of war with seven faces, seven swords at his side, and an eighth in his hand. These three gods were in the isle Ryen, the last asylum of Slavonian idolatry. It is worthy of observation that many of them have the figure of a beetle on them, which will appear to denote an Egyptian origin—the Scarabæus.

The god Poreit is strongly suggestive of Prithivi the earth, a form or power of Vishnu ; their goddess of pleasure and love is supposed to be Leljo. The gul, goul, ghoul, of Asia is revived in the Vampyre, which is common in Slavic nations.

2. Alfred's Wineda Land, or country of the Wends, since he says that they are also called Siusli, extended from the Baltic coast constituting the northern boundary of Pomerania which has its other boundaries formed by the Oder and one of its branches, to the Carpathian Mountains, which are the southern limit of Silesia.

It is not improbable that he also included the Lusitzis on the west or the north west of Silesia in the same term. If so, Wineda Land contained the modern Pomerania, Nieder Lausitz, and Silesia.

3. The Slavi Behemani, who appear as the Behemas in the Anglo Saxon, and the Bægðware or Bavarians, are most probably two branches of the ancient Boii, who in the time of Augustus, submitted with their leader Marobudus to the Marcomanni. These Boii are said to have been Gauls, and therefore, Kelts, yet Mr Forster adduces a people whom he calls Slavi Behemani. On this point Adam of Bremen speaks doubtingly. He would consider Slaviana ten times larger than his Saxony, particularly if he may add Bohemia, and the Poles across the Oder, because they differ in neither habit nor language. Subsequently he seems to include the Bohemians among the Slavi, and this may possibly have been the author who has furnished Mr Forster with the term.

The meaning of the Teutonic termination of Bohemia, the house of the Boii, suggests a belief that this country was their chief or first settlement in Germany proper, In like manner Bægð-ware, Ba-varians, of one of which the modern German Bayern is a corruption, that is men of the Boii, wonld appear to point to an emigration from Bohemia to the South. We have no historical proof of such an occurrence, which, however, was usual enough with other nations, and we know that the Boii retreated from the Marcomanni. We shall presently find that D' Anville, who states that the name of Boioaria extended under the Frank empire to the Alps, is confirmed by king Alfred. According to D' Anville the Leck bounded this country on the side of Suevia, as it still separates Bavaria from Suabia. On the other side, what was Boioaria extended to the river Ems, *Anisus,* a little beyond the present limits of Bavaria, encroaching on what was Austria. It was the frontier of the Avares or Abares. That the tract at the north of the Danube between Franconia and Bohemia, still comprised in Bavaria, was part of the ancient Boivaria seems probable. It contained the part in the district of Egra, which is now annexed to Bohemia. This part was denominated "Nortgowe" in the will of Charlemagne, 806. Nord Gau, or the northern Canton, agrees with the situation of this part.

D' Anville has collected some particulars of the mediæval history of Bavaria. There is reason to believe that Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, in Italy, having acquired Rhetia, occupied

a part of Boioaria. It was probably after his death in 526, that Theodoric, king of Austrasia who lived in 534, made acquisitions in the same country, where the first of the laws is authorised in his name. Charles Martel invaded it in 725 and 728. As, however, we do not find Boioaria in the partition of the provinces between Pepin and Carloman, sons of Charles Martel, we cannot infer that this country was entirely subjugated. That was effected by the defect of king Odilon; and we read in the Annals of Metz, at the year 743, that a papal legate, charged with an interdict of all war against Odilon, received for answer that Boioaria and the Boioarians belonged to the emperor of the French (Franks; there were no French until long afterwards). Tassilo, son of Odilo rendered homage to Pepin in 757, and to Charlemagne in 781. Despoiled of his duchy in 788, the government of the country was entrusted to his counts. Louis le Debonnaire gave Boioaria under the title of a kingdom to his son Louis the Germanic. Bavaria subsequently again became a dukedom, and finally, for the second time a kingdom.

The Moravians, whom Alfred designates Maroaro, occur in the next division of the present arbitrary sections of his geography:

"To the south of them, on the other side of the river Danube is the country Carinthia, (lying) south to the mountains called the Alps. To the same mountains extend the boundaries of the Bavarians, and of the Suabians; and then to the East of the country, Carenthia, beyond to the desert, is the country of the Bulgarians; and East to them the land of the Greeks; and on the East of Maroaro, is Wisle land; and to the east of them are the Dacians." [1]

1. The situation of Carinthia is still south of the Alps. Mr Forster's note on the Anglo Saxon name, Carendre, deserves transcription: "Carendre is the name, by which king Alfred probably calls the Sclavi Carenthani or Carentani; at present their country is the duchy of Carinthia, or Cærenthen. Formerly, in Strabo's time, the Carni lived there, *l.* VIII. Whether they were of Teutonic offspring, or one of those Gallic tribes, who settled here with the Scordisi and Boii, cannot be easily ascertained. From the neighbourhood of the Sarmatæ in Pannonia, and from the affinity of the name of Carni with Crain, which in the Sclavonic language signifies a limit, I suspect the Carni were Sarmatians, and continued to live in these parts, till by length of

time they were called Carni and Carinthi, and at last their name was changed into Carentani. This opinion may be further proved from the name of the duchy of Crain, which lies next to Carinthia, and which preserves the Sclavonic name of Crain, though it is called by the Latin writers Carniola (Paul Warnefrid, *Hist. Longob. l.* VI. *c.* 12.) This country was always considered as the boundary of Pannonia, Germany and Italy. Even in the later ages, there was established a marquisate of the Winedi, or, as it is commonly called, the Windische Marck, *i. e.* Limes Venedicus, or March Sclavonic. The Sclavonic nations frequently employed the word *crain* for a limit. Thus the Ukraine in Russia served as a barrier against the Tartars. In Great Poland is a tract situated along the New Marck of Brandenburg and Lilesia, called Krania, because it marks the limits of the above countries. It is, therefore, highly probable, that the Carendre or Sclavi Carentani, are derived from the ancient Carni, and had formerly the name of Crain, an account of their limitary situation. The Alps were no doubt the strongest barriers for all nations; these begin in this part called Crain, and were called by Strabo and other writers Alpes Carnicæ."

Carinthia, Carniola, and Stiria had been detached from the marquisate of Fricili in Italy by Louis le Debonnaire, in order to comprise it to his kingdom of Germany. Arnulf, natural son of Carloman, the eldest son of Louis the Germanic, was created duke of Carinthia as having commanded those provinces before he succeeded the emperor Charles the Fat in Germany. Otho the Great, in 951, invested his brother Henry, duke of Bavaria, with Carenthia united to the marquisate of Verenavin Lombardy. On the erection of Austria into a duchy, that of Carinthia was detached from Bavaria, and by default of dukes on this part, Carenthia and Upper Carniola were united to Austria, when the emperor Rodolf of Hapsburg with the consent of the imperial states conferred it on his son Albert.

Professor Dahlmann seems to have mistaken Alfred's westen, wastes or deserts, to the East of Corinthia, for the name of a people, since he observes that they have nothing to do with the Wustians, descendants from the Avarian kings, annihilated by Charlemagne. Alfred, however means the desolate tract, on the north of the Drave, and eastward of Clagenfurt, the capitol of Carinthia.

2. Since Alfred places Bulgaria to the east of the wastes above mentioned, it is probable, that anciently there were two divisions of the people, one of which was seated on the Danube next to Dacia, which is the present Moldavia; the other appears to have been these who are sometimes called Belo-Chroati. We certainly find Bulgarians named as conterminous with the inhabitants of Dacia. They are believed to have taken the name from their original seats on the Volga. Sixty miles south west of the Russian city of Kazan, between the rivers Volga, Kazna, and Saniara, occurs Bulgursk, where, says Mr Forster, Peter the Great, when in 1722, as he was going on his Persian expedition, found a great many old buildings and sepulchral monuments in ruins with ancient inscriptions in various characters and languages, chiefly Pannonian. Abulfedah, who died in 1345, mentions in his great geographical work, the town of Bolar or Bolgar as not far from the Atol or Etol i. e. the Volga. The Persian geographer, Nasir Eltusi, who wrote between 1258 and 1266, and Ulughrbegh, the grandson of Tinerling, who wrote in 1437, both mention Bolgar. The name of the nation is certainly derived from Volga, beyond which the Bolgari or Wolgari lived; for so it ought to be spelled because the later Greek pronounced the *B* like a *W*. The Herns, who became powerful towards the end of the 4th century, expelled them from their seats in Bulgaria beyond the Volga. One body of them settled between the Cuphis or Cuban, the Tanais, and the Atal or Volga, and another on the Weissel or Vistula, near the Congobardi, who were then in the neighbourhood of Dacia.

There is nothing to be added to Mr Forster's account of the Sarmatic Bulgari. After their expulsion, their country was occupied by the Hunnic tribes, who obtained the name of Bulgari, though they were of a different race; the Onoguri and Cuturguri were chiefly those tribes who were called Bulgari, because they had taken possession of ancient Bulgaria. One of their chiefs Culratus is mentioned by Theophanes; he came into Bulgaria or Masia on the Dane, and shook off the yoke of the Avari. Two of his sons returned to Bulgaria in 667. Probably in the 9th century the Bulgari occupied many of the seats of the Avari; for Charlemagne had so much weakened them that their country was then considered a waste, till in the year the Madgiari, or present Hungarians, united with the remains of the Avari, and erected a

new kingdom. This, at the same time, is a proof of the date, when Alfred wrote his geographical accounts as he mentions the desert between Carenthia and Bulgaria, which must have been before 899 when the Hungarians made the first invasion of Bulgaria and Pannoriea. About fifty years after this, the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus wrote his book De Administratione Emperii, which was in 939.

3. Moldavia appears to have retained the ancient name of Dacia in Alfred's time. He does not seem to have been aware, that a portion of his Afdrede or Obotrites near the Elbe, occupied seats in Dacia adjacent to the Danube, and near the Bulgarians.

Dacia, east of Wisleland, appears to denote Moldavia and New Servia, for on the shore of the Lake Meotis, now the sea of Azof, the Getæ were seated, and Alfred tells us that the Dacians were formerly Goths. The error, if it be one, which confounds the Getæ of Dacia with the Goths is more ancient than Alfred, and was embraced by his own Orosius. We find on their side Jornandes, Procopius, Jerome, Spartian, Claudian, John the Goth (Joannes Gothus), and Jos. Scaliger, who are in opposition to Herodotus, Strabo, and Stephanus. The latter demonstrate, that the Getæ were Thracians, and, therefore, a different people from either the Germans or Kelts.

4. By Wisleland, Alfred beyond all doubt means Weissel or Vistula land, but there he places it to the cast of Moravia, which he has already occupied with Bohemia. The river itself takes its rise in Silesia and no part of it is found on the east of Moravia. Had he described Vistula to be to the north east of Moravia, we should have understood, with Mr Forster, that the country intended was Poland, of which Silesia formed a part in early ages. It is very embarrassing, but professor Dahlmann affords us no assistance. If at this time, the South Eastern boundary of Silesia were formed by the small branch of the Oder which flows from the mountains on the confines of Silesia and Moravia, then a portion of the south of Poland with a part of the Carpathian mountains which are a source of streams tributary to the Vistula, may be admitted, though really north east, to be east of Moravia in an ancient and rude state of geographical knowledge. We cannot expect minute accuracy respecting countries, which were comparatively unknown in the extreme west.

5 It may be remarked that Alfred in relating from Orosius

that Philip on his return from his conquest in Scythia, was wounded in an engagement with the Triballi, says that a Cwene shot him through the thigh. Cwenas of the geography occupied a country not far from the frozen Ocean, and cannot be supposed to have descended to the confines of Scythia and Mysia; but on the hypothesis that Mægdha Land was the Land of Maids or Women, and almost a synonyme with the Northern Cwena Land, or country of women, there is no difficulty in believing that the Mazovians joined the Triballi as allies against Philip, and that Alfred called one of them a Cwene in consequence of the name of his country. It is to be observed also, that he has just before spoken of the Triballi as "other Scythians" On the whole, the opinion, that Mægdha Land Mazovia are the same tract of country seems to be confirmed by these incidents, which are unconnected with the geographical account.

That the Greeks made any mistakes about the Amazons may be doubted, for having derived the foreign name from their own language, they invented a fable in support of their theory. A true mistake, however, appears respecting another northern people, who inhabited Kuennaland, the present Cajania, between the Gulf of Bothnia and the White Sea. By an equivoque common to the Norrsk and Anglo-Saxon, Kuena cwena, probably Chuna or Hun, in the first instances signifies a woman, and this equivoque occasions the informants of Adam of Bremen to tell him of a nation of Amazons on the Baltic, whose country was called the land of women, and who conceived by tasting water.

5. The Srupe or Servians have already been mentioned in noticing another branch of Slavons, whose appellation seems to have had as much claim to designate the whole race as Slavi, Slavons, and Slavonians. This branch of a widely extended and even scattered people, was known in the middle ages as the Sorbi and Scravi, and as the Scravi and Soravi. They occupied Lusatias, or Lausitz Misnia, part of Brandenburg and Silesia below Glogau; their capital was Soraw, and it still exists in the circle of Upper Saxony and in Lusatia, near the river Bober, about 30 miles to the north east of Gorlitz. In 640, the Servians, having obtained license from the emperor Heraclius, built the city of Servica on the banks of the Danube. About 806 Charlemagne conquered the Sorabi in the vicinity of the Elbe on the north, where they were separated from Thuringia by the Sala. The

government was given to a count, who ruled in Thuringia, and mention occurs of a Dux Sorabici Limitis in 848 and 872; and when Otho, eldest son of the emperor Henry I. was Duke of Thuringia in 938, one of his nobles was Artuvinus, Dux Surbenus. In the 11th century Vladimir assumed the title of king of Servia. Afterwards, under Tzedomil, the Servians submitted to the authority of Rome, and leagued themselves with its emperors against Comnenus, the Greek emperor, in consequence of which he marched upon Servia in 1151, subdued its inhabitants and led their king Tzedomil into captivity. These were the Danubian Servians. Those of the north retired into Bohemia about the middle of the 12th century, being then assailed by Henry the Lion, duke of Saxe, and Albert the Bear, count of Anania, on whom Conrad II conferred the marquisate of Brandenburg.

Dr Bowring has the following interesting remarks on the ancient Servians, and their peculiar name:

"In the middle of the 7th century, a number of Servian tribes stretched themselves along the Sava and the Danube down to the Black Sea, and founded at different times no less than six separate kingdoms,—that of Bulgaria and Croatia, Servia, Srb. Bomia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia. Under the name of *Srb*, the four last of these nations must be considered as comprised. Their irregular history it is not easy to trace. Slavonian writers are disposed to represent the Mæstidæ, who made an incursion into Italy during the age of Claudius, A.D. 276, as synomymous with the Sarmatæ; and Kopitar (a high authority) has gathered much evidence to prove that the dialect spoken to the east of Sparta is of Slavonian origin. Leake has remarked that many of the names of places in the Morea are Slavonic—Kastunika, Σηλαβοχωρὶ, and it is notorious that the language of several of the islands of the Grecian Archipelago, Hydra, for example, is Slavonic.—The original meaning of the word *Srb* it is not easy to fix. Some derive it from *srp*, a sicke; others from *sibir*, *sever*, the north; some from the Latin *servus*, but Dobrowsky says, Significatum radicis *srb*, consultis etiam dialectis omnibus, nondum licuit errare (Instit. Ling. Slav. p. 154)."

From Slavonic of the south-east spring the Russian, Bulgarian, Servian Dalmatian and Windenic forms of language. The Lorabic is found in Lusatia, Posen and Wenden, and in old Slavonic a translation of the Sacred Scriptures was made at an early period.

Sir Isaac Newton attributes it to Cyrillus, who accompanied Methodius among the Slavons in their different settlements in Europe, and converted them to Christianity in Alfred's century, when the germs of the Russian empire first appeared.

XI. On the north east of Moravia we are introduced to the Dalmatians, on whose east are the Horithi; and, says Alfred, "on the north of the Dalmatians are the Servians, and on the west, the Suisli: on the north of the Horiti is Mægdha land, and north of Mægdha land are the Sarmatians."

1. As Dalmatia proper lies far to the south of Moravia, too far, by four or five degrees, to admit the possibility of a mistake, we are to conclude, that a band of the Slavi Dalamense were found in the ninth century in the situation indicated. Mr Forster finds that they formerly inhabited Silesia, from Moravia as far as Glogau, along the river Oder. Professor Dahlmann speaks of them as lying south west of the Sjusli, also among the Meisnisehias and a part of Lausitia.

A mis ive of king Theodoric, king of the Goths, about 497 is extant in Goldast. It directs Simeon V. or one count, perhaps a graff, or fiscal judge, with this name, to make enquiries through the Dalmatic province respecting the *siliquaticum*, which was a species of tribute or duty imposed upon all saleable goods, and also respecting the truth of iron mines in the warren of Dalmatia (in Dalmatiæ cuniculo), where, it is observed, the softness of the earth produces the hardness of the iron, and is heated in the fire that it may be passed into hardness: such appears to be the meaning of his words.

2. The branch of the Dalmatians of the north east of Moravia, had the Horithi on the east, and Mægdhaland was between them and the Sarmatians on the north. The name Horithi or Horiti has been very perplexing to most of the learned who have investigated the geography of Alfred; but the necessity of repeating their ingenious conjectures is happily obviated by Mr S. W. Singer, who adduces a passage, which shows that a branch of the Chroats may very well have been in the part, where Alfred places his Horiti. There is nothing remarkable in either the migration or dispersion of a nation in this century, which witnessed Saxons on the Elbe, and Saxons on the north eastern confines of Moravia; Obotrites on the coast of the Baltic, and Obitrites on the northern banks of the Danube.

3. Mægthaland, or more correctly according to the Anglo Saxon orthography, in which the *d* is an aspirate, Mægdha land, is still more enbarrassing than were the Horiti. The term signifies the country of the Mægdhs; we may, therefore, reject the supposition of the learned Professor Rask, that the word is mægth, a province, tribe, nation, and that it stood for Gardariki, or Russia. But if the question be, what are the Mægdhs, the only answer is that mægdh is a maid, or virgin, and Mægdha Land, the country of maids, or unmarried women, denoting, as professor Dahlmann believes, Amazon's Laud. Of this last, this Greek name, the memory seems to have been preserved in that of Mazow, Latinised Mazovia, in Poland, precisely where, with Alfred's words, we should place his Land of Maidens.

It would be an easy, though pedantic task to collect what ancient authors have said of the Amazons, yet so much as may tend to show that among the places assigned for their station, Mazovia is not unlikely to have been one, may be permitted.

According to Herodotus (IV. 110), the Amazons from the river Thermodon, invaded Scythia, where they resided, he says, in his own time. Though Diodorus Siculus (II. 45.) says that th y carried their arms beyond the Tanais, and subdued Thrace, and there leaves them, Justin (II. 4.) traces them as Herodotus had done already, into Scythia, Pliny (VI. 7.) and Pomponius Mela (I. 19) are both agreed in placing a Sauromatic nation of Gynæcocratumeni, whose first seats were in the neighbourhood of Lake Meotis, on the banks of the Tanais. The description of them that they were one nation of several peoples, and several names, taken in connection with their residence in these parts, appears to indicate the Slavonic tribes, of whom some ancient term denoting the whole has been tortured by the Greeks after their usual fashion, into Amazons; and having thus formed a new word, they also found its derivation in their own language to denote a people without breast, which would almost naturally suggest the wild fables, which they relate of a nation of female warriors, who lived in celibacy. Bopp produces the Russian word, my' zj, man, the husband, and Dr. Aug. Friedr. Pott, of Berlin thinks *Αμαζονες*, the pretended breastless, is probably formed from the Zend, *a* priv. *masya*=man=husband, and *amasya*, a woman without husband. It may account for the Greek name of the people about whom so many fables are re-

lated, and who occupy parts which were wholly unknown to the ancients, who liberally peopled those in the north with Hippodes, or men with the feet of horses, and others whose ears covered the nakedness of their bodies. The old Sagas stock trackless marshes mountains and forests with giants, dwarfs, elves, trolls and ovættir, a sort of spectres, and the household, or rather tent-hold tales of the Tartars place the very same creations of wild fancy in the boundless steppes which the foot of man has not crossed.

XII. In placing Sarmatia to the north of Mazovia, for no other part answers so well to Alfred's Mægdha Land, he must have considered a portion of the Prussians, or the inhabitants of the present Prussia, to be Sermende or Sarmatians, whom he continues up to the Riphæan mountains.

1. To the East of the East Sea, he places the Osti and Obotrites. By the former, he means those inhabitants of Pomerania, who were known to the Romans as the Æstyi, or Æsti, a name which appears to be philologically the same, and to denote a people to the East. On the north, the Osti or Easterns, have the same arm of the sea, the Winedas and the Burgundians, and on their South the Heveldi.

The Winidas are so called by Jornandes, and the name of Wenden is familiar in Brandenburg, Pomerania, and Lusatia, at the present time.

2. Mr Forster is strongly of opinion, that the Burgundians are the inhabitants of Bornholm, which Wulfstan calls Burgenda Land. He says that they were formerly a nation in the north of Germany, mentioned by Pliny, III. 28. belonging to the Wandali or Vandali.

I find nowhere else these names Borgenda holm and Borgenda Land; but Borgund was the name of a Norwegian island, while the name of Bornholm variously occurs as Boreholm Bureholm, Boringholm, and Borgholm. The reasoning above, however, is satisfactory.

XIII. Ohthere's personal exploration of the north western and northern coasts to see how the land looked (*sceawode*) due north, and whether any man abode to the north of his habitation, is the earliest recorded voyage undertaken in the pure spirit of philosophical inquiry. The object was noble, and the result, considering the paucity of means at his command, is satisfactory. We have, very fairly described, the situation of what is now known as the

North Cape, and the declension of the land towards the south-east as far as the White Sea, apparently until this time unknown to all Europeans but Finnish hunters and fishermen.

A few observations may be conveniently made on the people with whom the two travellers met, without constraining ourselves to accompany them from sea to sea, and port to port.

1. He dwelt northmost of all the Northmen, that is, of all the Norwegians of that time; for he himself finds Finns and others more northward. Halgoland, little known in the south, was one of those places which popular superstition taking "omne ignotum pro magnifico," invested with a sacred character.

2. "For three days."—Distances were computed by time as among southern mariners. Mr Forster endeavours to turn the circumstance to useful account, and if the method could be depended upon, we certainly might employ it in determining the voyage to Sciringsheal, and from that to Haddeby, and perhaps also ascertain the position of Wulfstan's Truso. Forster shows that a day's sail with the ancient Greeks was 10,000 stadia, which, he says, are above 100 Seamiles. But there can be no certainty in this method, and we must depend upon other aids. Ohthere after sailing six days, found himself at a bend of the land directly east. He had manifestly arrived at the termination of the sea-coast, and in fact, become the first discoverer of the North Cape. On a rough calculation, he had sailed 417 statute miles and proceeded at a rate of less than 70 miles a day. A Saga, of which I forget the name, records an expedition to Valland, or Frankland, in order to plunder a tomb. The pirates occupied five days in sailing from the south of Norway to the nearest point, by which they could advance directly to their destination by land. From the Naze to the mouth of the Weser is about 277 miles, so that these people made way about 55 miles a day. Everything is quite clear from his arrival at this bend. He waits for a right north wind, which, though the coast does not bend to the direct south, would serve his purpose, and he states that he does not know whether it were the land or the sea which bent. He was yet a stranger to the place. In five days he comes to a great river, which is clearly the entrance of the White Sea. The distance pretty well agrees with the probable rate of 60 miles a day. But what places it beyond question is, that the land was all inhabited, and the people were Biarmians.

3. Than the Biarmians and their countryBiarmaland no places or people in the north are more frequently mentioned in the Sagas. They had the reputation of possessing much gold; but whether "gull" is to be understood of the metal or wealth in general, is doubtful. At all events, the pirates often found their way to Biarmaland. On this country Dr Bosworth's note (42. p. 9) is abundantly explanatory of its situation. The notice of it in the old MS. Icelandic and Latin Dictionary, so often cited, is to the same effect, but with the additional information that Biarmaland was also called Dvina, from the river of that name.

4. Besides Finns who visited the North Sea for the purposes of hunting and fishing, Ohthere speaks of Terfinns and Scride Finns; and he makes an observation of no little value to those who contend that the Biarmians are also Finns. The country occupied by the several bodies of people, who all take the general name of Finn, with a distinctive addition to each, is stated in round numbers to be more than 100 miles in length and ninety in breadth. These are Swedish miles, and represent a square of 157.114 of our miles. What is more certain is that they occupy Lapmark, as well as Finnmark, and that the Swedes distribute the former into dioceses or governments, which they name Uma Lapmark, Pitha Lapmark, Ula Lapmark, Torne Lapmark, and Kimi Lapmark. There are of the people the Siofinns, or Sea Finns who live solely on fish, and Laplanders, subjects of Russia, from Finnmark and the castle of Wardhuys near North Cape, to the White Sea. Belonging to Sweden is the tract inhabited by Laplanders called Trennes and Pihinieni, called by the Russians Trachana Voloch, or according to Pontanus, Terschana Voloch. In the Trennes we seem to have the Terfinns of Alfred while Pihinieni is probably the vernacular name of the Finn.

The name of the Scride-finns, which presents no difficulty to a modern ear and pen, was very troublesome to writers at one time. Both the meaning and orthography are given in Dr Bosworth's note (37 p. 7) Warnefried believes that they received their name from their manner of leaping with a piece of wood bent like a bow, when they were in pursuit of wild beasts Adam of Bremen says that on the confines of the Swedes or Northmen to the north dwell the Scritefinns who are said to surpass wild beasts in running. Their largest city is Halsingaland, and Halsin-

galand is a region. To make a brief description of Sueonia or Sweden, it has the Goths and their city Scaranen on the west; on the north the Wermilians with the Scritefinns: from the South it has the length of the Baltic sea: there is the great city Sictena; and to the east it touches on the Riphæan mountains, where are Amazons, Cynocephali and Cyclopes.

5. Three kinds of deer are mentioned by Ohthere among his own property, wild, tame, and decoy deer, which were valuable to the Finns for taking the wild deer. These he calls "stæl hranas." The translation, decoy deer, has the advantage of being more intelligible than the mere Saxon word *Stale*, which, however, is not entirely obsolete as a noun, signifying anything offered to allure, and so, a decoy. In this sense it is used by Shakspeare—

"*Katherine.*—I pray you, sir, is it your will
To make a stale of me among these mates?"
Taming of the Shrew I. 1.

At Stœla, in Icelandic, has the meaning to conceal the intention.

6. In the seventh section (p. 13) we have a fuller account of the situation of Cwena Land and its inhabitants; and if again noticed it is chiefly to say that the range given to Cwena Land from Norway to the White sea, including Finnmark on the north, in note 36 p. 6, is certainly correct, and reconciles the apparent differences among old writers of the north, who sometimes, in speaking of Kuenna Land, assigned situations to it according to that part of the extensive region, bearing the name, which they had particularly in view. Malte Brun's story of Adam of Bremen, of whom we know little more than his book, and the Quaines, mentioned to him by a king of Sweden (Dr Bosworth, p 6. n. 36), does not make him so guilty of absurdity as the French geographer imagines. He had the belief of most of the people in the north to keep him in countenance. Quaine is nothing more than a variety *Kuen, cwen*, both of which not only denominate a country, but signify a woman. Adam's Terra Feminarum is a translation of a current name, and when universal credit was given to tales of trolls, ovættir, eotenas,

"And Cannibals that each other eat,
The Authropaphagi, and men whose heads
Do grow beneath their shoulders,"

was more than matched by the Greek belief in Amazons.

Besides this Terra Feminarum, which is seen in a passage just cited, not to be intended for the country of the Amazons, we have the Smameyland, of the old Sagas in reference to a very large tract in the same regions, and often appearing to denote Biarmaland, Cwenaland, and a part of the eastern coast at the entrance of the Cwen or White Sea, if not extending even as far as the Ural mountains in the South East.

Of Smameialand the Icelandic MS. dictionary says, after the name so written, " Smaojeda, ortum versus a Birmia ad Mare Glaciale contra Nova Zembla."

The position assigned to Smameialand nearly corresponds with that of the Samoiedes at the present time on and to the west of the Ural Mountains, and north of the modern government of Perm, which is believed to receive its name from the ancient Biarmia. Ohthere found the Biarmians in close proximity to the Cwen Sae. Samoiedes have been found to the north of Archangel, and in a Saga much more ancient than the dictionary, the nation called the Smameyar are said to inhabit the parts about a promontory which lies out at, and which appears to be the peninsula now called Candenos at the entrance of the White Sea. It does not appear very improbable that Biarmians Lappons, and the northern Finns are all Samoiedes, differently denominated according to localities. Ohthere found a remarkable resemblance between the languages of the Finns and the Biarmians. The Finns, as before said, not Finns but Sooma-laimen, the dwellers on marshes, and the first word of this name is manifestly mistaken and corrupted into the Icelandic Smameiar.

7 Ohthere says, after stating that none abode to his north : " There is a port on the South of the land which is called Sciringsheal that no man could sail in a month, if he anchored at night, and every day had a fair wind. All the while he must sail near the land. On his right is first Iceland, and then the islands which are between Iceland and this land. Then this land continues till it comes to Sciringesheal ; and all the way on the left is Norway."

There are few passages of antiquity more embrassing than the present, and no doubt much of the difficulty arises from our own ignorance; but it is possible that mistakes have been made by transcribers. Ohthere leaves Halogaland in Latitude 65, and the first object on his right is Iceland, written Iraland in the MS.

This in fact would be Iceland and no other island nor where he was in the north sea could he well think of Ireland, hidden from him by England, and far to his south west. Then occurs on the right the Islands between Iceland and this land. What land? He manifestly means the Faroe, and Shetland islands and the Orkneys, which are actually between Iceland and Scotland, or Britain but not between Ireland and Norway. Here "this land" is that in which he then was relating his voyage.

From Halogaland to the South of "this land," his own Norway, we may roughly reckon 12 degrees, which at 69.5 miles to the degree will give 834 miles sailed in the days of a month keeping in-shore with a fair wind. Then in 14 days at the probable rate of 60 miles a day, he would arrive at some port west of the Naze. This he calls Sciringesheal, and there was actually a place in Westfold, called Skiringssaal, (*saal=heal*) in the *Ymlinga Saga.* This evidence of identity seems to outweigh Professor Dahlmann's objection, that the latter was not a port. But do we know that our ancient mariners, gliding along coasts, and in a manner making their course parallel with all its indentations, in small vessels, attached the same idea to a port that we do? That, as far as I have been able to discover, was a port, which received them at the end of their voyage, or which sheltered them from tempest, provided it were inhabited. Admitting that Skiringssaal was not exactly on the shore still it would afford the mariner the means of signifying his landing place. But in opposition to conjecture, Ohthere calls his Sciringes heal a port, and for such it must be received.

8. He then proceeds to state that a broad sea, too broad to be seen over, runs up into the land and that Jutland is opposite, and then Zealand.

These indications perfectly agree with a Sciringesheal on the South of Norway-Julland and then Zealand opposite and this Sciringesheal may be the Skiringesheal on the west of the bay of Christiana. It seems unnecessary to quote Professor Dahlmann's objection on this occasion, since the weightiest is, that the place so named was not a port. To the present purpose it is quite sufficient that Ohthere believed it to be a port.

9. In five days he sailed to the port called Haddeby, of which the identity with the Saxon Hæth, or Hæthe is very satisfactorily established by Dr Bosworth (note 57, p 15.) Does he now speak

of five days and nights, or of two or of three day's actual sailing? At 83 miles a day he would attain it in two days and a half, and at 60 in a little more than three days; either allowing him to discontinue sailing as in proceeding from Halogaland.

XIV. Wulfstan's voyage to another quarter necessarily brings us to an acquaintance with other peoples and places, and particularly islands which might not otherwise have entered into Alfred's account of the continent, his principal object. His port of departure was that Hæthe, which puzzled translators and annotators before Dr Bosworth. The Icelanders call Haddeby in Schleswig Heidabær, and Heidabyr, names by which they also designate Schleswig: "hodie Slesvik, villa ad fines Holsatiæ et sinum amnemque Eliam."

Truso, which has been another difficulty, seems more probably to be Drausen than the present Dirchsau, because, according to the only person who names it, Truso stood on the shore of a lake, which we knew to be the Frische Haff, while Dirchsau was out of Wulfstan's course and 30 miles inland. In the seven days' voyage to this place which did not include sailing at night, Wulfstan's rate was nearly 90 miles. Herodotus [l. iv.] quoted by Dr Arbuthnot assigns 700 stadia or 84. 5 English miles for a day's sailing, and for the night 500 stadia, or 70. 5 miles, which, the latter remarks, making in 24 hours, 155 English miles seems too long. In computing the probable rate of Ohthere's voyage at 60 miles a day of 12 hours, though it would hardly be so long, allowance was made for his following the line of a coast totally unknown to him.

The Land of the Burgundians, in this voyage, certainly belonged to those Burgundians of whom a part passed at a very early period to the continent of Germania, and again into Gaul (Supra xii, 2.) Gothland another of Wulfstan's island, has one town, Visby, Wisbuy, in Latin Visburgum, which was anciently celebrated for its power, splendor and magnitude. It was also a famous mart, raising its head above the Pomeranian Wineta and Julinum of which so much is said in the medieval writings of the north. Wisby has the reputation in Sweden of having given the first laws to navigation. Very near this city are numerous rocks carved in Gothic (Runic?) characters some particulars of the history of Gothland or rather of Wisby, after the beginning of the 13th century, have been collected by zealous antiquaries. The islanders themselves

call the name not Gothland, or Gutland, but Guland, nevertheless these gentlemen, arguing from Gothlandia in the Latin writers, maintain that it was peopled by Goths.

Wulfstan's Esian or Estas, for the declension is not very clear, were in all probability a Vandalic people, and we have already seen that at least a part of the inhabitants were Slavonian Sjusli. Tacitus, who assigns his Æstii the same situation as Wulfstan gives to Eastland, remarks that they have the rites and habits of the Suevi, but that their language is nearer to the British. We may well believe him to have been little versed in Slavonic and Keltic, but he has made a distinction from Teutonic, which no doubt he had observed, and which shows that they were a different people, though without strong affinities to the Kelts. Zeiller, without citing his authority pronounces them to be of uncertain origin, but nevertheless Germans, who having abandoned their ancient seat on the Rhine, long before Cæsar, removed into Sarmatia.

It is remarked by Wulfstan that in Eastland there are many towns and in every town a king. The European title of king was not anciently one denoting great power or magnificence, since it was freely attributed to any chief person,—the head of a village, the holder of a ness or promontory, the captain of a piratical boat, such as that of king Half or Alf with his crew of twelve men. In Curland, another division of Liefland, those of the husbandmen who are rich and freemen, and who have one hundred serfs, are still called kings. Wulfstan's kings may have been the most considerable man in each wick, or boroughas he calls it, and performing functions in the manner of a magistrate.

The Esthorsians did not brew ale, he says, but they had mead enough. Respecting these very ancient names of fermented liquors it may be remarked that ale, which has been ignorantly derived from A. Saxon *a lan* to inflame, is in that language ealoth, where the *ea*=*o* long of the Gothic. With *l* it is found in Ἅλωας an epithet of Ceres, as goddess of αλωαι cornfields, and in ἄλφιτον, barley. It is not improbably related to the Old Norsh *ala*, and the Latin, *al*-ere, to nourish, whence *ali*-ment.

Mead, the wine of honey, is not only a very ancient word, but one widely diffused. *Medo,-u*, etymologically is identical with *mel* honey; O. H. Germ. metu; Lithuanian medus; Lettic, the language probably spoken by the Esthonians meddus; Slavonic

med; all denoting *mel,* honey. In Lassen's glossary to his *Anthologia Sanserita*, the root of the word is stated to have become absolete. Unquestionably the root is still as vigorous as ever; r. l., *mud* drunken, English *mad,* and Anacreon has a verse in which the word may be translated in either sense without offence to the truth,

μεθυων ὁπως χορευσω·

Drunken (or mad) how I will dance 48, 5.

In Beowulf we find mead to be the drink of kings and heroes. The monarchs' palace is a stately Mead-hall; but in Wulfstans Eastland, mead is the drink of slaves and the poor, while the higher classes drink mare's milk, which was, no doubt, fermented.

With the remainder of the geography I am not much acquainted. The preceding inquiries were undertaken chiefly to clear up, if possible, the obscurity which seemed to cover æt Hæthum, Scirnges heal, Truso, and the seats of several nations, who are named in a manner somewhat different from the Latin and Icelandic. They have produced no conclusions at variance with those which have been drawn with much better effect by Dr Bosworth. The bulk of the materials was collected many years ago, and many have been lost, but all were insufficient to be the basis of a perfect history of the settlement of the numerous tribes, of whom several appear to have occupied different stations at the same time, while others still retained the nomadic habits, which they or their ancestors had brought from Asia.

To the Binder.

There is an error in the paging and signature of this Essay, though the matter is right. The signatures must be stitched 1, 3, 4 &c. and the paging 7, 8, 16, 17 &c.

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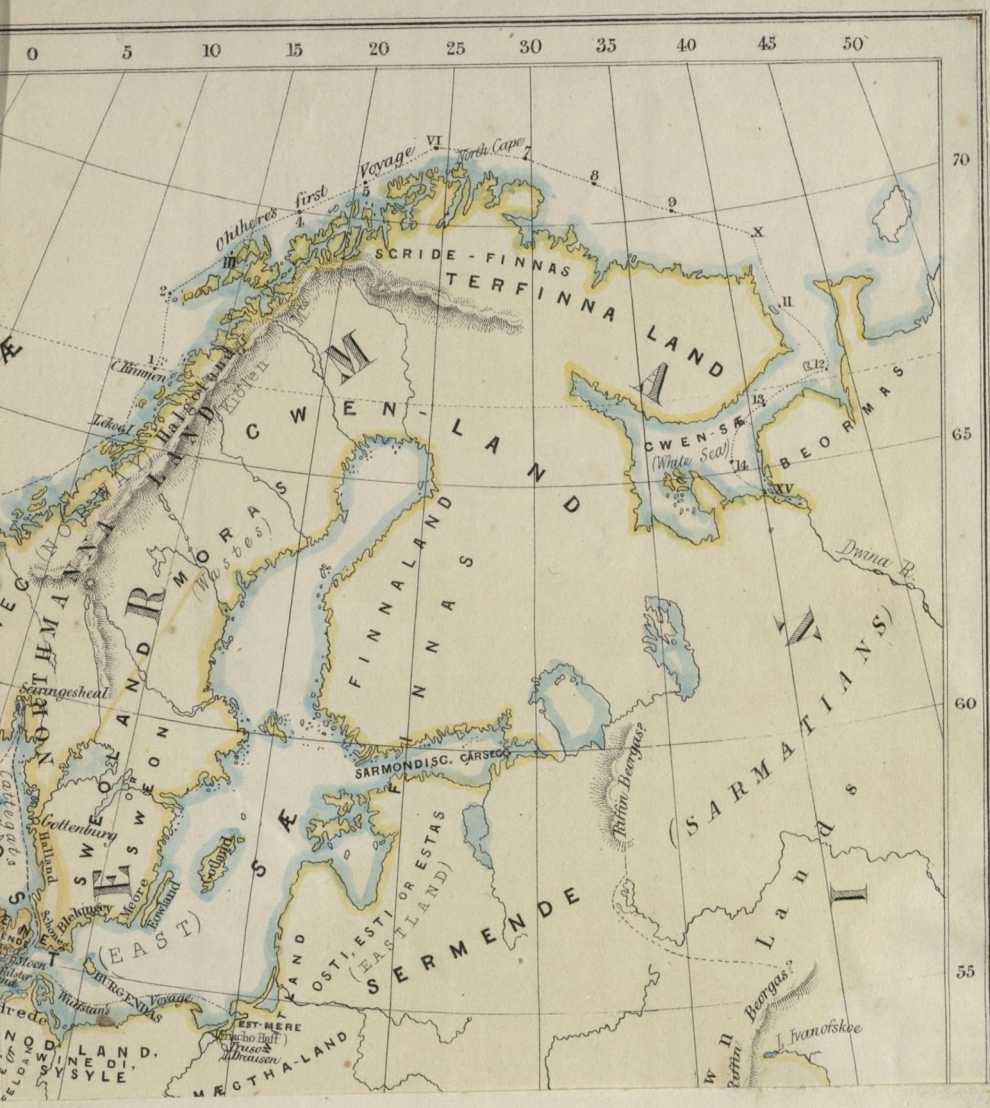

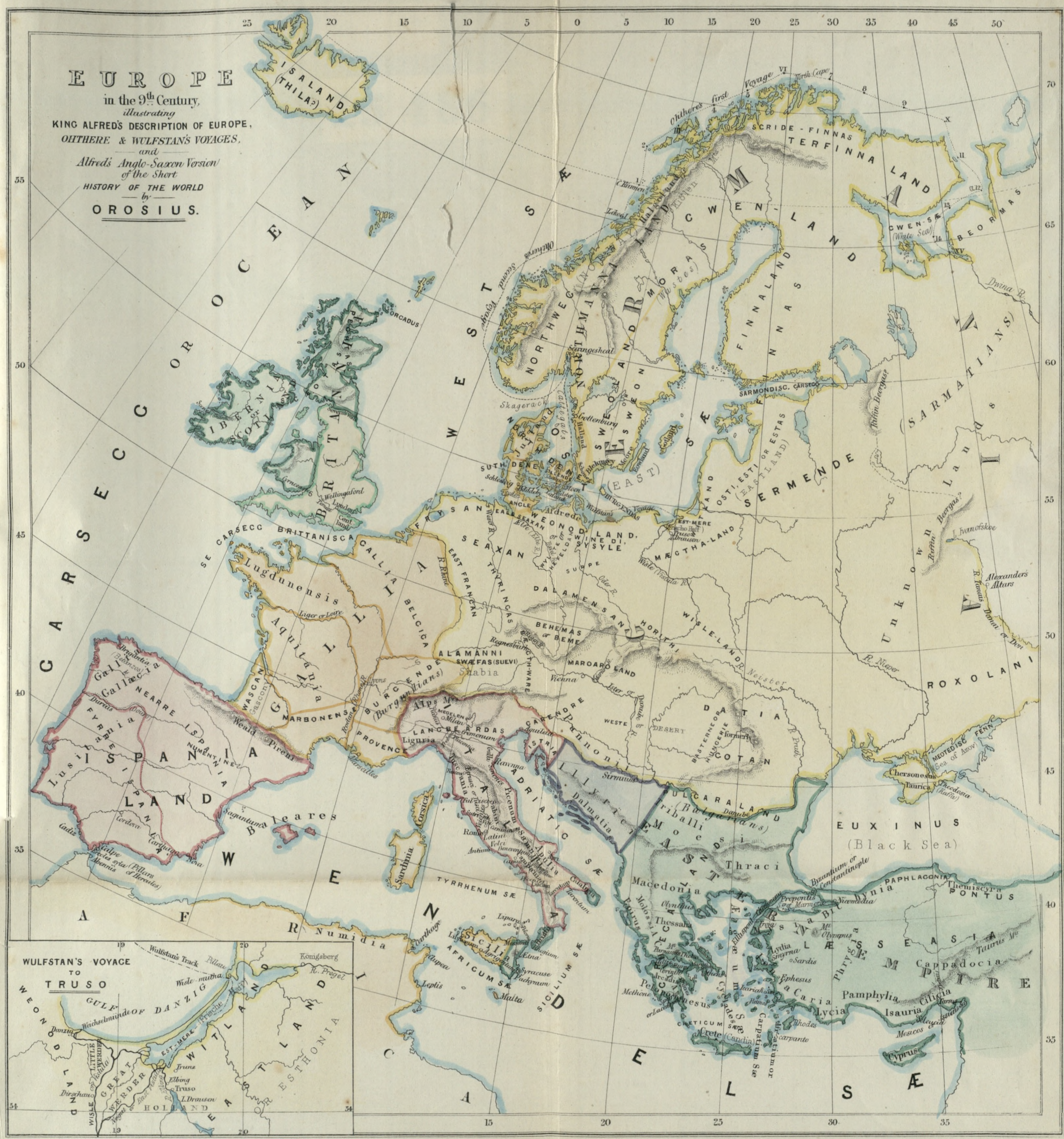

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