PUBLICATIONS OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM
Archaeological-Historical Series I Vol. XIII

MARGRETHE HALD

PRIMITIVE SHOES

An Archaeological-Ethnological Study Based upon Shoe Finds from the Jutland Peninsula

THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF DENMARK

Copenhagen 1972

Fra Else & Peder

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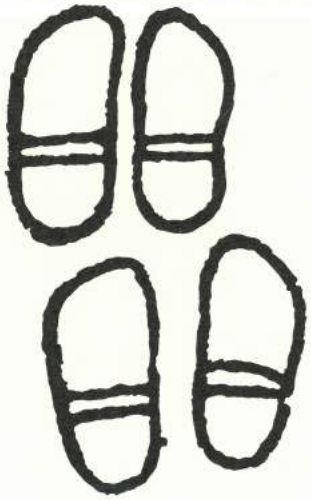

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Contents

"En skoe, naar den er halvt opslidt,
kun hædrer lidt."

After Johan Herman Wessel (1742–85).

Preface

My decision to write a work on primitive shoes is not due to any new, epoch-making finds, nor to any considerable increase in recent years in the National Museum's collection of ancient shoes. It is based solely on the consideration that Danish shoe finds, being relatively few in number, merit attention all the more if they are to contribute to the widening of our knowledge of dress in Denmark in prehistoric times.

But it must be admitted that worn and broken shoes are without charm. They have not the immediate appeal of many other impressive and well-preserved articles of clothing. Nor are they attractive as an object of study, being often casual finds made in circumstances that do not permit dating. There are for good reasons no literary sources concerning Danish shoes in ancient times. Thus the subject did not appear very tempting at first sight.

However, my investigations into ancient textiles had repeatedly taken me to the Landesmuseum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte at Gottorp Castle in Slesvig. Here a good collection of shoes also attracted my attention, and it occurred to me that it would be a great advantage in my study of footwear if material from the *whole* of the Jutland peninsula could be made available to me; this not only because of its extent in numbers and distribution, but also because of its extent in time. It would presumably help to throw light on footwear conditions at the close of the Dark Ages.

Professor Karl Kersten, Director of the Landesmuseum, was at once sympathetic towards the idea, and Dr Albert Bantelmann the archaeologist co-operated by handing over to me a newly excavated, datable collection of shoes from Elisenhof on Ejdersted. My warmest thanks are due to both for the interest and sympathy shown towards my investigation.

Thus the scope of my work was determined: the pursuit of my subject must be extended, as far as possible, into those areas where the Scandinavians had penetrated about the close of the Dark Ages, whether on viking forays or on peaceful business.

I had however realized from the start that the task could not be carried out solely by means of archaeology. I should have to seek support in popular tradition, the origin of which is often lost in antiquity. It frequently provides not merely technical information but also an impression of the life of which these things were a part – glimpses, indeed, of whole environments. From a practical point of view one might go so far as to say that ethnological material may occasionally serve as a key to many of the riddles posed by archaeological objects.

Traditions concerning primitive footwear are, unluckily, meagre in Denmark. Such traditions must therefore be sought at a distance, but naturally within the Scandinavian cultural area, and in regions where old customs and skills have survived longest.

Unfortunately I have not been able personally to visit very many of the places of origin of the material used, but luckily traditions as to the footwear of different countries have been collected, before it was too late, through the energy and care of a number of eminent scholars, and the knowledge recorded in valuable treatises. Excerpts from these form the main substance of Part III of this book, and it is both a duty and a pleasure to thank the authors for their contribution.

I am likewise greatly indebted to the following museums, which have given me facilities for studying their collections, or help in the form of photographs and information:

The National Museum of Ireland; the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland; Universitetets Oldsakssamling, Oslo, and Norsk Folkemuseum on Bygdöy; Nordiska Museet and Statens Etnografiska Museum, Stockholm; Ålands Museum, Marienhamn; Finland's National Museum; the Hermitage, Leningrad; the Novgorod Museum of Cultural History; the Guildhall Museum, London, and the London Museum; Musée de l'Homme, Paris; and the Museum at Ayacucho, Peru. In addition, Færøs Museum, Torshavn, and the Jutland museums at Aars, Skive, Haderslev and Aabenraa have lent material for this purpose.

My Scandinavian colleagues, Dr Marta Hoffmann, Oslo, Dr Toini Inkeri Koukonen, Helsinki, and Dr Anna-Maja Nylén, Stockholm, have given me valuable help of various kinds; my thanks are also due to fru Petra Djurhuus, Torshavn, for her contribution to my material.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to the zoologist, Magister P. Vallentin Jensen for his valuable contribution in carrying out the very lengthy and exacting examination of hair and hide specimens from ancient Danish shoes.

I am indebted to the staff of Department I of the National Museum, Copenhagen, for frequent help in my daily work; in particular I must express my gratitude to Magister K. Salewicz, Assistant Keeper, for information and for translating the description of the footwear from Novgorod and the Polish material, which I would not have ventured to use without his assistance.

Above all, I owe a debt of gratitude to Professor P. V. Glob, Director General of Museums and Antiquities, for without his interest in this research, and his provision of good working conditions, it would not have been possible for me to complete my work.

Finally, I offer my respectful thanks to the Carlsberg Foundation and the Rask-Ørsted Foundation, who have supplied the economic basis for writing and publishing this book.

Margrethe Hald.

Copenhagen
February 10th, 1971.

A Note on the Terminology

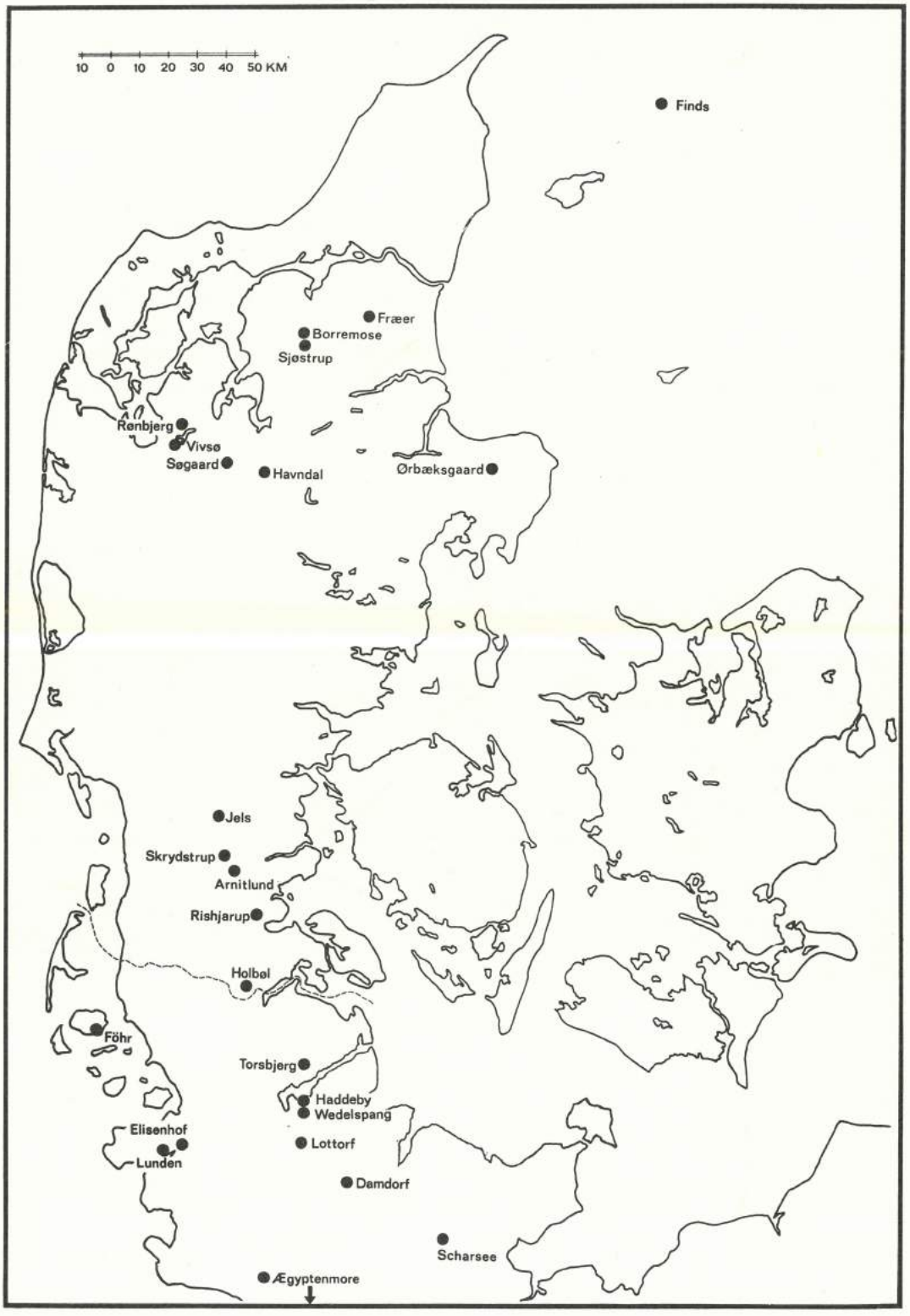
In this monograph the material has been classified in two main types, SAALSKO and HUDSKO. The former consists of two main components, an upper and a sole, which are joined along the lower edge of the foot. The type is assumed to be familiar to all. The hide shoe, on the other hand, has no separate sole. It consists simply of a single piece of hide or skin folded round the foot. The term is used in an extended sense, minor additions such as a tongue, instep gores, etc., being regarded as of no typological significance.

For the shoe made of a single piece the term moccasin seems to have gained a footing among ethnographers; the word appears to have been introduced into Danish scholarship by Gudmund Hatt in 1914, in his work "Arktiske Skinddragter" and in a treatise, "Mokkasiner", published in Geografisk Tidsskrift, 1914. The term is here stated to be derived from one of the Eastern Algonquin dialects, and it is believed to have appeared for the first time in print in John Smith's "Map of Virginia" (1612).

It seems to me a forced and unnecessary procedure to borrow an Indian term for something that has long possessed a descriptive name in the Scandinavian languages; indeed, many old, quaint terms for shoes have survived in the areas to be dealt with below. A number of them will be found in Section III of this book. However, it is not the intention here to assemble as many different terms as possible, but merely to indicate how many there are, and the interest attached to the vocabulary belonging to the subject. In any case, linguistic problems are not the province of the author of this monograph, but that of the etymologists.

But we are now faced with the task of discussing these two types of shoe in English. HUDSKO seems best translated literally, as "hide shoe", a term used by the Scottish scholar Gilbert Goudie in 1904. Another scholar writing in English, Dr A. T. Lucas, whose comprehensive work, published in 1956, deals with primitive Irish shoes, in addition to certain original, presumably Celtic, terms makes use of the expressions "one piece-shoe" and "single piece-shoe". I consider these relevant, and shall therefore also use them occasionally in what follows.

The term SAALSKO has no English parallel, and the rendering "soled shoe", or "shoe with a sole", must therefore be used.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Finds
Fræer
Borremose
Sjøstrup
Rønbjerg
Vivsø
Søgaard
Havndal
Ørbæksgaard
Jels
Skrydstrup
Arnitlund
Rishjarup
Holbøl
Föhr
Torsbjerg
Haddeby
Wedelspang
Elisenhof
Lunden
Lottorf
Damdorf
Scharsee
Ægyptenmore

Part I

Chapter I

Oak-Log Coffin Finds from the Early Bronze Age[1]

Descriptions

Jels, Jels S. Gram H.

In the winter of 1935 an early Bronze Age tumulus was excavated in a field at Jels in North Schleswig. It contained a man's coffin, one of the largest found;[2] unfortunately both the body and the burial deposit had practically vanished, but among the few surviving objects were the fragments of a shoe, here shown in Figs. 1 and 2. In its existing form the shoe measures 30–35 cm in length and up to 20 cm in width. A 7 cm long piece of edging from the heel area survives, on which can clearly be seen traces of stitching that must have formed the heel seam when the shoe was intact. An adjacent border has preserved the actual stitching for about 4 cm; it has been done with a narrow strip of hide along the upper edge of the shoe. Some more or less perished, pointed strips of the hide are bent back across the area that was once the front part of the shoe, and it is uncertain whether they are deliberately shaped thongs, or remains of a closely gathered or folded area which for this reason has not perished completely. The shoe was fastened with the aid of two laces or strings, $22^1/_2$ and $60^1/_2$ cm long and up to 7 mm wide, passed three times round the instep and arch.

Unfortunately the state of preservation of the Jels shoe was not good, but thanks to an examination made by the zoologist P. Vallentin Jensen the following information as to the material can be given:

1. *Specimen No. 5523, 24.* No hair visible. "Lacing" of the hide.

Specimen No. 5525, 26b. Two very small fragments of hair loose on leather (length 5.4 and 2.4 mm). Both much damaged, and so fragile that an attempt to cast them failed. It is not possible to see any curticiliary pattern, but an x-ray shows a clear network pattern, which is characteristic of deer-hair and is due to the medulla with the large intracellular spaces. The hair fragments closely resemble hair specimens from the metatarsus of the red deer, the hair from the

1. Johannes Brøndsted dates the great garment finds made in the Early Bronze Age oak-log coffins at between 1300 B.C. and 1000 B.C. – Danmarks Oldtid, II, 1939.
2. H. C. Broholm: Jelsfundet, 1938, p. 13f. and Skrydstrupfundet, 1939, p. 85ff.

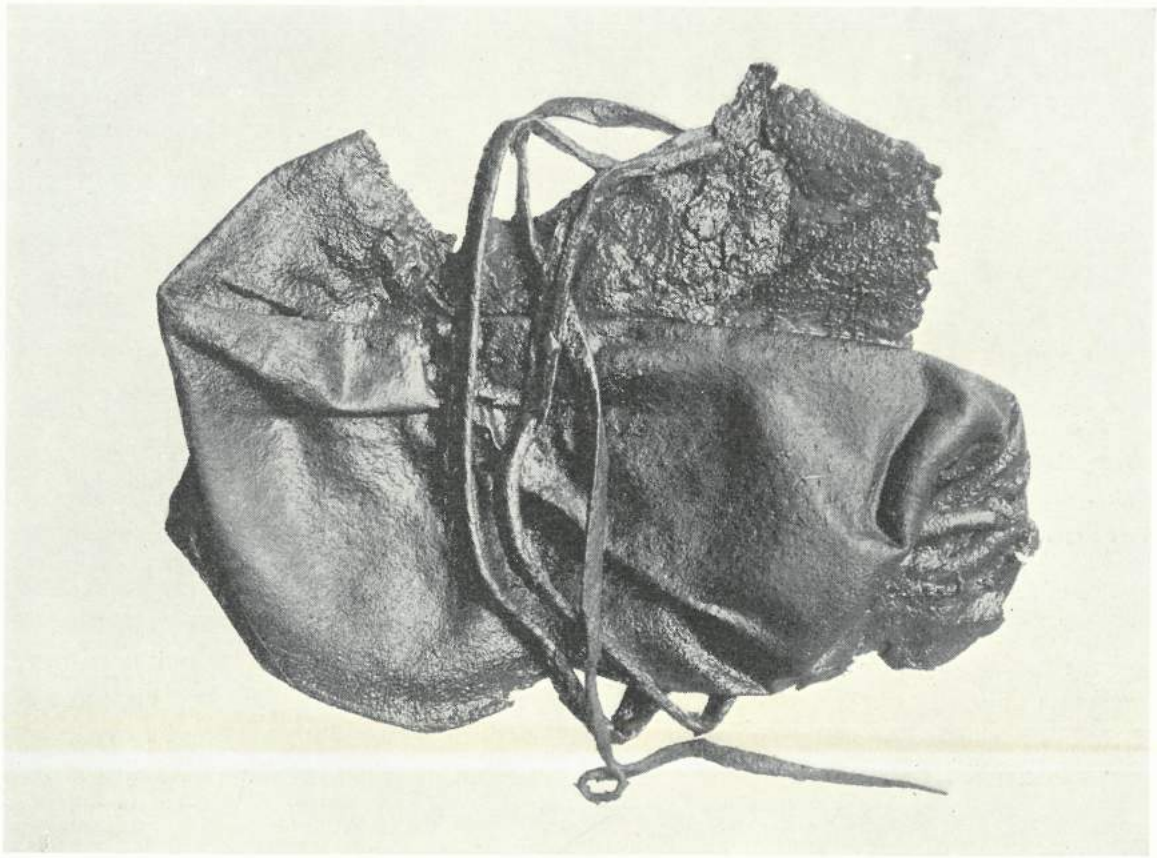


Fig. 1. Man's shoe from Bronze Age oak coffin find, Jels. N. M. Kbh. Photo S. Bengtson.

actual body being very much coarser. The picture of the medulla, however, also resembles Professor Steenberg's picture of the optical section of one of the coarse guard hairs (from a sheep) from the woollen frontlet, Fig. 3, p. 40 in "Skrydstrupfundet". I have not been able to see such a pattern, however, in the sheep (Dimon-sheep) guard-hairs examined by me.

2. *Specimen No. 5526a.* No determinable hairs.
3. *Specimen No. 5530.* Several loose, hairlike fibres on a leather surface.[1]

The find belongs to Haderslev Museum, No. 5523–30.

Skrydstrup, Skrydstrup S., Gram H.

The oak-log coffin from Skrydstrup contained a well-preserved female body, and several large and important pieces of clothing, together with the remains of a pair of deerhide shoes.[2] Of the right shoe, a piece 12–14 cm long and 10–12 cm wide remains. A small section of an original

1. Examination carried out by magister Poul Vallentin Jensen of the University of Copenhagen Zoological Museum, 20/5-1963.
2. H. C. Broholm: Skrydstrupfundet, 1939, p. 84 ff. Fig. 77–78.

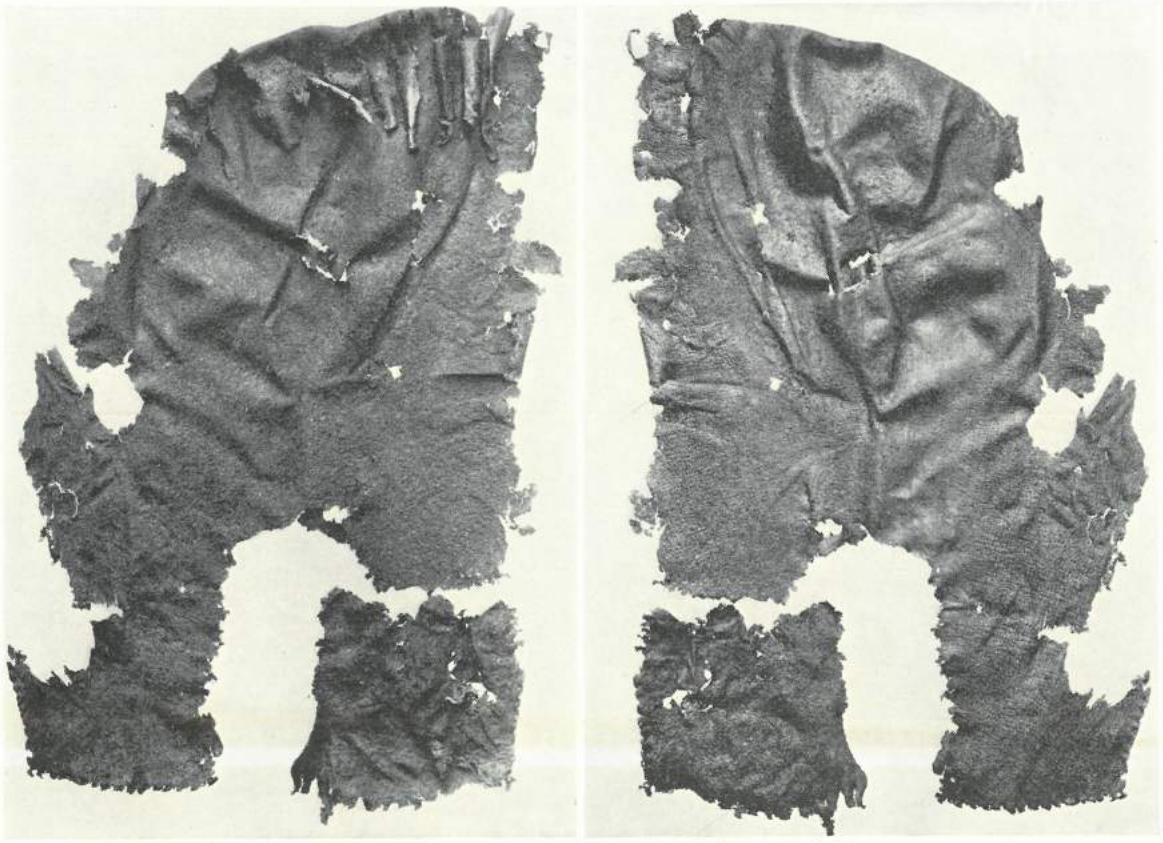


Fig. 2. Upper and under surface of shoe from Jels. Photo S. Bengtson.

edge was recognizable by the presence of a little stitching with a hide strip about 2 mm wide. In addition there was a small piece of a slightly gathered join, which must be assumed to have belonged to the toe or front part of the shoe, but unfortunately the shape is now too indefinite for any certainty.

Of the left shoe a larger piece remains, namely a piece about 21 cm by 14 cm from the bottom together with a little of one side. A length of about 5 cm bears traces of an edging oversewn with a narrow strip of hide, which must be from the upper edge of the shoe. Immediately within this are two holes, and traces of a seam can be seen.

Under the instep three strips of hide, 10–12 cm long and 6–8 cm wide, lay crosswise. It is evident from the impression they have left on the bottom of the shoe that they served to fasten the shoe round the instep and ankle: see Fig. 5.

The hide was worn grain side out.

The left shoe contained a certain amount of plant residue; an examination carried out by Dr Johannes Iversen in 1939 showed this to consist of grasses, but too perished to be determined more exactly.[1]

The presence of these grasses however suggests that the Skrydstrup woman wadded her shoes

1. H. C. Broholm: Skrydstrupfundet, 1939, p. 84.

Fig. 3. Fragment of woman's shoe with tie-string, and remnant of foot-wrapping attached. Oak coffin find, Skrydstrup. N. M. Kbh. Photo S. Bengtson.

for warmth or protection, as e.g. the Lapps at the present day wad their shoes with hay. See below, p. 29 ff.

The rest of the material in the shoes was examined in 1963 by P. Vallentin Jensen, who says as follows:

Right shoe: On some parts of the surface of the leather are a number of fine hairs stuck together, especially on the inner surface. Along the seam some wool. The hairs appear to be wool from sheep, with a few coarse guard hairs corresponding to the wool of primitive breeds of sheep. Here compared with wool from sheep of the present day, and from Dimon-sheep. The "lacing" is leather. "Thread" leather.[1]

Foot-wrappings. With the shoes in the Skrydstrup grave were found two oblong pieces of dark brown woollen cloth, somewhat perished. One piece, measuring about 33 cm by 12–19 cm, was still sticking to the right shoe when taken from the ground. The other was of much the same

1. Letter of 20. 5. 1963.

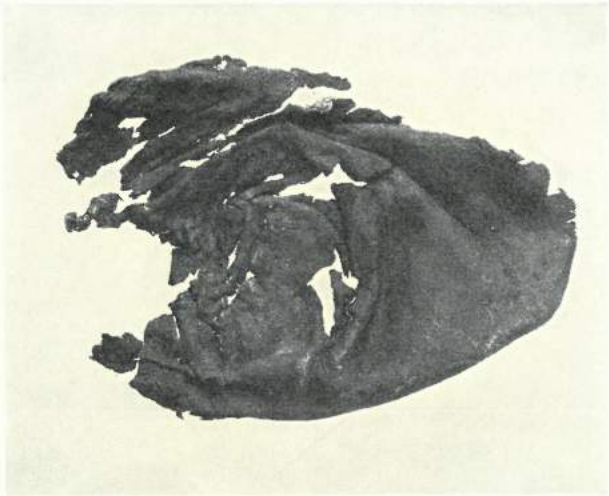


Fig. 4. Fragment of woman's shoe from Skrydstrup. Photo L. Larsen.

Fig. 5. Remains of woman's shoe, with traces of a tie-string under the arch. Photo L. Larsen.

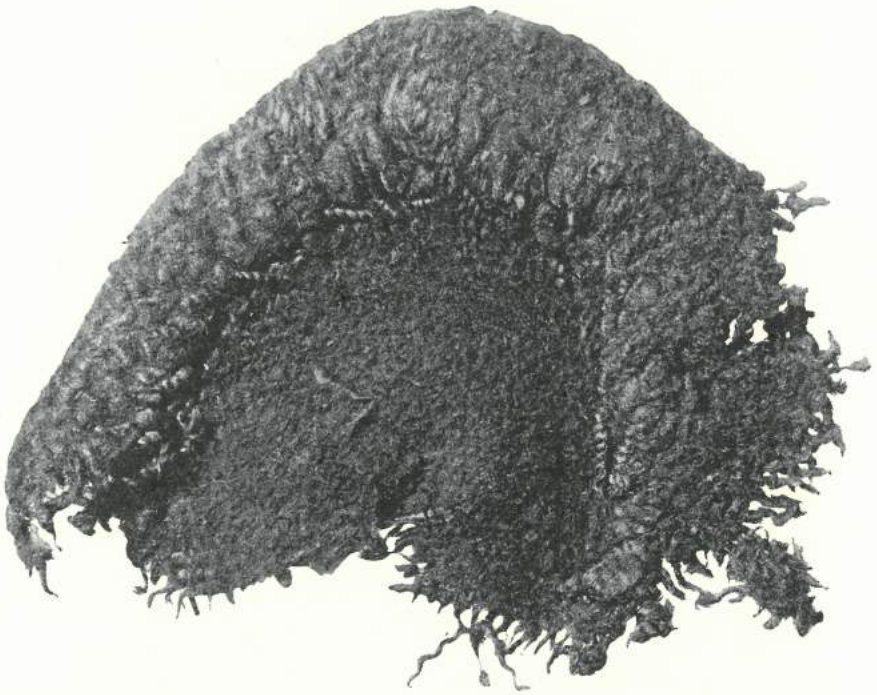


Fig. 6. Textile fragment (mitten). Oak coffin find, Guldhøj. Photo N. M. Kbh.

size, measuring about 30 cm by 12 cm. Similar foot-wrappings are familiar from earlier Bronze Age finds, viz. oak-log coffins from Muldbjerg, Trindhøj and Borum Eshøj.[1]

Guldhøj, Vester Vamdrup S., Andst H.

The large Bronze Age tumulus Guldhøj, excavated in 1891 by Vilhelm Boye, contained a rich burial deposit, including some pieces of clothing for a man.[2]

The only leather objects mentioned are some fragments of thongs up to 9 mm wide, and a slightly wider piece, described as having apparently formed the sole of the heel of a sandal. These objects lay about 13 cm from the foot of the coffin, and to the left of the body. No further information was given as to these articles.

A slightly more detailed account was however given of certain cloth articles. A cloak was folded together under the head, almost like a pillow. In the folds lay a woollen cap, which is described, and the account then proceeds: "In the folds of the cloak had furthermore been laid the toe of a shoe of fulled frieze; the upper is gathered to the sole with long overcast stitches of woollen thread (Pl. XV, Fig. A.5)."

We shall return to this piece (which is about 11 cm by 8 cm) below, in discussing the parallels between shoes and mittens.

1. H. C. Broholm and M. Hald: Costumes of the Bronze Age in Denmark, p. 22, 87 and 147.
2. Vilhelm Boye: Fund af Egekister fra Bronzealderen i Danmark, København 1896, p. 74 and 76.

Conclusion.

The earliest archaeological material from Denmark providing information as to the footwear of antiquity comes from the oak-coffin graves of the Early Bronze Age. Unfortunately no complete shoes have been found, but a few of the fragments preserved, two in the woman's grave at Skrydstrup and one in the man's grave at Jels, enlighten us so much that the type can be determined, which, together with the definite dating from the oak-log coffin finds, is something of great value.

The shoes all belong to the hide shoe type, a simple form consisting merely of a single oblong piece of hide folded up over the foot without the addition of a separate sole. As will be seen below, the hide shoe has been used throughout the ages right up to the present day. It is highly probable that it also existed long before the Bronze Age. Although the millenia over which the Stone Age

Fig. 7. Boot drinking-vessel from Stassfurt. After G. Girke. Reconstruction.

extends has left us no proof of this, we must assume that the palaeolithic hunters who pursued the animals of the Ice Age knew of some practical foot-covering, and what could be more obvious than to obtain the material from the animals themselves?

The above-mentioned Bronze Age shoe fragments, however, cannot be said to reveal the most primitive form. On the contrary, as one would expect from the well-made garments of the period as a whole, they show workmanship on a level with many shoes of later ages. The Jels shoe shows traces of a heel seam; the front part must have been folded or cut into thongs in order to make it fit. A gathered piece of the right shoe from Skrydstrup was probably also shaped to the foot. The grain is turned outward in all the shoes, and the sewing has been done with thongs. Yet another common feature is that the shoes were fastened on by means of thongs wound three times round the instep and arch, a method of lacing in ancient shoes which scholars had in fact been able to trace from other archaeological material before the Bronze Age shoes from Jels and Skrydstrup supplied the proof.[1] The basis for the interpretations consisted partly in a curious ceramic object, a so-called boot-vessel, from Stassfurt in Saxony,[2] and partly in drawings of soles among the Scandinavian rock engravings.

The foot-symbols in the rock-engravings differ a good deal.[3] There are entirely naturalistic

1. H. C. Broholm: Skrydstrupfundet, p. 88 ff., and the literature there cited.
2. Jahresschrift für die Vorgeschichte der sächsisch-thüringischen Länder, VI, 1907, p. 106, Pl. 16, Fig. 2–5.
3. S. Marstrander: Østfolds Jordbruksristninger, 1963, p. 223 ff., and Nyt om Helleristninger, 1966, p. 111. – For Danish sole symbols see H. C. Broholm: Danmarks Bronzealder, II, 1944, p. 193 ff. and 197 ff. – My thanks are due to Professor Glob for the information that no sole drawings with transverse lines have been found in Denmark.

drawings of a naked foot with the toes indicated, others show impressions of feet made by hollowing out the rock, and others again depict only a rough outline of the foot. In the latter, however, one or two transverse lines are sometimes added, approximately in the position of the arch. I am indebted to Sverre Marstrander for an excellent example of sole depictions of this kind; the photograph reproduced as Fig. 8 was taken by him at the large rockface Leirfall in Hegra, Stjördal, North Tröndelag.

The question of the significance of such lines has been discussed by G. Girke in 1922,[1] and by O. Almgren in 1927.[2] Both scholars found the explanation in the decoration on the abovementioned boot-vessel: the two lines, which are here carried round the instep and arch, are interpreted as representing bands or laces. The Stassfurt vessel, which is attributed to the Lausitz culture (Late Bronze Age or very early Iron Age) is reproduced here in G. Girke's clear reconstruction, Fig. 7.

The lace wound three times round the foot seems also to have attracted the attention of artists, for three lines across the instep are depicted on a boot amulet from Dercolo in the Tyrol.[3] That the lace need only be wound once round the foot is shown by a Danish shoe found in Rønbjerg bog, see below, Figs. 29–32.[4]

Sverre Marstrander's comprehensive work on rock engravings includes a discussion of the sole figures; as regards the dating of these, he concludes that it seems possible to trace them back to the Early Bronze Age. The conditions around Bunschstenen even make it possible that the motif in the southern fringe of the rock engravings may have come into use as early as the later part of the Late Stone Age, but there is as yet no proof of this. The great majority of foot symbols appear to belong to the Late Bronze Age. Their appearance on the Jutland earthenware vessels of the early Roman period indicates that they survived into the Iron Age, but that they gradually sank from the religio-magical level down to popular superstition as charms to bring luck or avert evil.[5]

As to their distribution, Sverre Marstrander says that footprints are among the rock engraving symbols generally distributed over the whole rock engraving area, from Denmark to the northernmost examples on Tjøtta in Helgeland.[6]

It was stated above that the earliest real shoes we know of, those of the Bronze Age, cannot be described as being in the strict sense primitive. If we wish for information as to simpler forms we must consult later sources. We start, however, in ancient times.

In his "Anabasis", Xenophon gives an account of the retreat of the ten thousand Greeks through Asia Minor after the battle of Cunaxa in 401 B.C., and describes the great hardships suffered by the soldiers in the cold and snow. Some lost their toes from frostbite, and had to be left behind.

1. G. Girke: Die Tracht der Germanen, Mannus Bibl., 1922, I, p. 34 and Pl. 29 and 30.
2. Oscar Almgren: Hällristningar och Kultbruk, Stockholm, 1926–27, p. 212 ff. – See also Eva and Per Vett: Sydvestnorske Helleristninger, 1941, p. 126. – C. A. Althin: Studien zu den Bronzezeitlichen Fels-Zeichnungen von Skåne, II, 1945, Pl. 47–56 and 60–66.
3. Joseph Dĕchelette: Manuel d'archeologie prehistorique, celtique et gallo-romaine, II, p. 1306, Fig. 567 No. 6. – Marstrander: Östfolds Jordbruksristning, 1963, p. 225.
4. M. Hald: Olddanske Tekstiler, 1950, p. 62 f., Fig. 387 and p. 333, where earlier literature is listed. By the same author Fodsko og Haandsko, N. M. Arb. 1953, Fig. 20 and 25a.
5. S. Marstrander, *op. cit.*, 1963, p. 227.
6. S. Marstrander, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

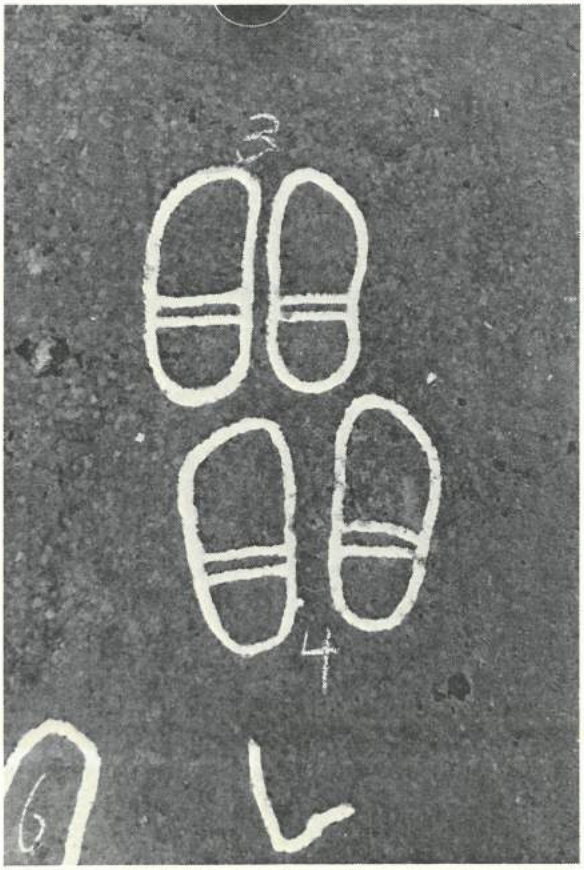


Fig. 8. Drawings of feet with twin furrows under the arch. From the rock-carvings at Hegra, Stördal, North Tröndelag. Photo Sverre Marstrander.

It helped to some extent to move the feet constantly and to take off one's shoes at night. All who fell asleep with their shoes on found that the thongs tightened and cut into the flesh, and the sandals froze to their feet; but after the old shoes were worn out they used a kind of shoe made of newly flayed oxhide.[1]

Carsten Niebuhr noted similar hastily-constructed shoes about two thousand years later, namely in the 1760s, during his journey in Persia between Bushire and Shiraz.[2] It appears that the caravans were travelling along a very bad road, in places through cliff gorges so narrow that a loaded donkey could barely pass, and that in addition they many times had to cross a little river. Many skeletons of foundered horses and donkeys lay along this difficult route. A loaded donkey of "our party" likewise fell, and broke its neck. The owner immediately skinned the animal, and sold the hide in small pieces to his companions, who the same day made shoes from it by cutting holes along the edges, drawing a lace through them, and fastening this under the foot. In other words, we have here the same method of fastening the shoe by lashing it round the instep and arch as we have seen above in our prehistoric shoes.

1. Xenophon: Anabasis, transl. into Danish by Odin Wolf, Kiøbenhavn, 1800, Chap. V, p. 159.
2. Carsten Niebuhrs Reisebeschreibung II, Kopenhagen, 1778, p. 106.

We have now seen Oriental examples of the use on the spot of fresh, raw hide, but this practice is hardly confined to a few instances or specific areas. At all events, two accounts from Scotland are of interest in this connection.[1] In a frequently quoted letter (see p. 166) sent by the monk John Eldar to Henry VIII in 1543 we are given a vivid description of how hunters made shoes for themselves on the spot to protect their feet when hunting in deep snow.

When the stag had been killed they skinned it, placed a foot on the inner surface of the hide, and cut round it at a suitable distance. The hide had to extend over the ankle, and be fastened on with thongs. The upper was pierced so that any water that penetrated could run out again. The shoe was worn hair side out, as one would expect, and those who wore such shoes were called "the rough-footed Scots".

According to another Scottish writer,[2] see p. 167, the still warm hide of the animal was actually preferred, because it is elastic and very easily takes the shape of the foot. The parts round the animal's heel were particularly valued because the skin round the flexible joint is baggy and leaves plenty of room for the human heel or front part of the foot (see p. 176 f, and Fig. 208).

The idea of using the advantages provided by the natural shape of the animal's skin must have been an obvious one, and we have seen how far requirements can be reduced in an emergency. Not only the leg skin of animals was popular; the scalp was also considered extremely desirable for hardwearing shoes, probably because it is both thick, and rounded at the back of the skull. In some cases the scrotum of the male animal is also used, and the bag-shaped skin of the seal's flippers, modified a little, made a well-fitting shoe.[3]

The most ingenious idea however is that of the Indian who made use of the fact that the bear, like man, is plantigrade. He simply pulled the hide off a bear's paws, leaving the five claws and the hair on, in order to provide his feet with good protection against hard going.[4]

In the interests of justice it may be added that man has sometimes done animals, whom we exploit so heavily, a service in return. Thus it is known that a Greenland sledge driver provides his dogs with a form of paw covering, like little bags, to protect them against sharp pieces of ice,[5] and in his "Anabasis", mentioned above, Xenophon describes something similar. In a village in Armenia he made friends with the village chief, from whom he acquired some young horses for himself and his officers. He says: "On this occasion the village chief taught them to tie bags round the feet of the horses and pack-animals when they were crossing snow; otherwise they would sink in to the belly".[6]

1. John Pinkerton: The History of Scotland, Vol. 2, London, 1797, p. 396.
2. Alexander Carmichael: Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1893–94, Vol. IV, 3rd ser., p. 146.
3. A. O. Heikel: Die Volkstrachten in den Ostseeprovinzen und in Setukesien, 1909. – Ivar Refsdal: Fotabunad til Vetrabruk i Vossebygdene, BB. 1956, p. 134 and 138.
4. I am indebted to Musée de l'Homme for permission to use the picture in Fig. 9. – As regards the use of bearhide for shoes, G. Hatt writes (Arktiske Skinddragter, p. 182), with E. K. Kane as his source, that the Polar Eskimos make boots of the skin from the legs of polar bears, the soles being the natural sole of the animal.
5. I am indebted to the writer Mads Lidegaard for this information.
6. Xenophon, *op. cit.*, Chap. V, p. 164.

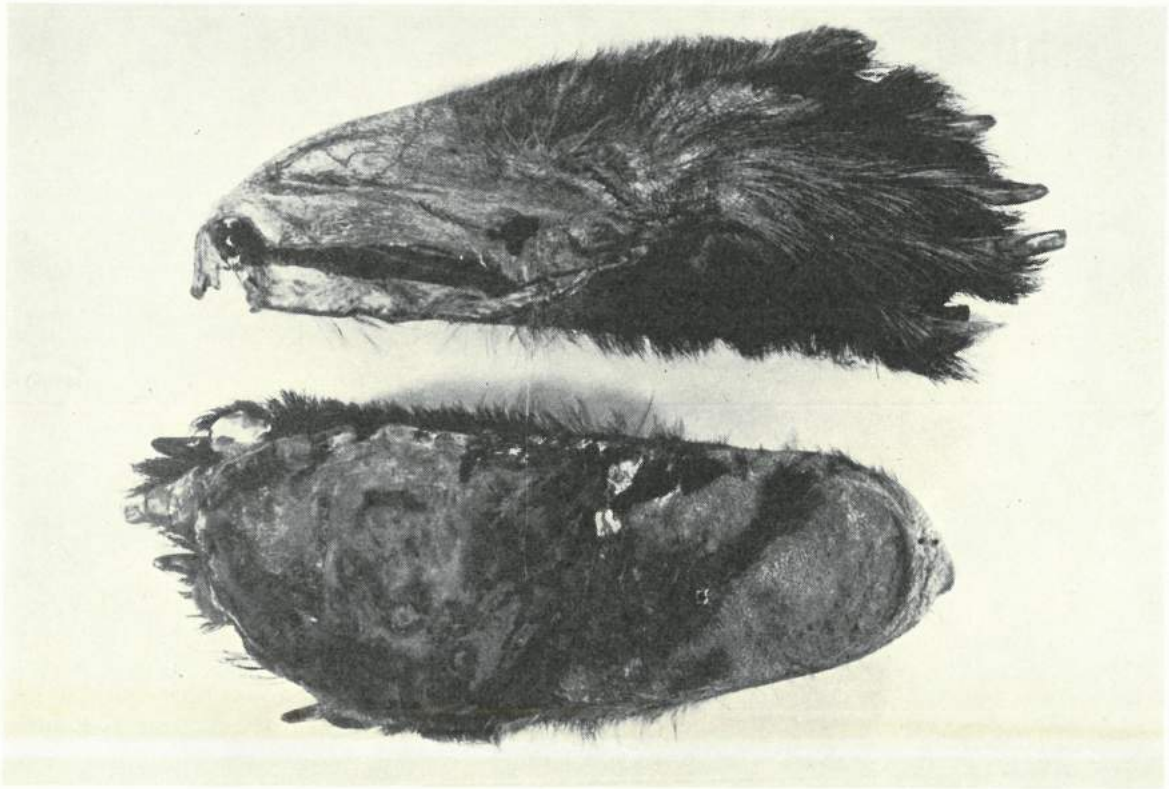


Fig. 9. Bear's paws used as shoes, Louisianne. Musée de l'Homme, Paris. (No. M. H. 37.33.13). Photo Musée de l'Homme.

Foot-wrappings

Two fragments of cloth found with the shoes in the Skrydstrup grave must likewise have served to protect the feet. They are humble articles, but not entirely without significance, for they prove that textiles were also used at an early date to cover the feet. The fact that similar cloths have been found at the foot of other oak-log coffins shows that they were not present in the coffin by mere chance.[1]

Literary evidence as to the use of foot-wrappings at a later period is given by Hans Wille, who in 1786 did posterity the service of describing the natural features of his Norwegian parish, its inhabitants and their customs. He says of their footwear: "Since their stockings are always footless, they have instead old woollen cloths called 'skoklutar' (shoe-cloths), which are wrapped round the foot".[2] Thus we have a Norwegian description of the way in which such pieces of cloth were used.

Information given by Åke Campbell in 1942 shows that in the north of Sweden foot-wrappings met a need almost up to – indeed right up to – our own day. He says that in Frostviken in the 1880s and 90s a number of people used wrappings in their shoes in summer instead of hay, which

1. H. C. Broholm: Skrydstrupfundet, p. 89, and Danske Bronzealders Dragter, p. 224 and 239. – M. Hald: Fra bar Fod til Strømpe, 1953, p. 14.
2. Hans Wille: Beskrivelse over Sillejords Præstegiæld, 1786, p. 223.

oddly enough was more expensive: "The cloth used was rectangular, and long enough to be wound a little way up the small of the leg and protect it from chafing by the shoe."

In the parish of Vilhelminna in Lapland this primitive form of footwear has even survived under present-day conditions, for we are told that both men, women and children made use of foot-wrappings inside rubber footwear.[1] The cloths were rectangular, and measured about 40×60 cm.

The use of foot-wrappings must obviously have been fairly widespread. It is mentioned in connection with people of Finnish extraction in eastern Russia,[2] and in 1909 A. O. Heikel stated that stockings were unknown among certain people in Hungary and Russia, who instead wound cloths round their feet.[3]

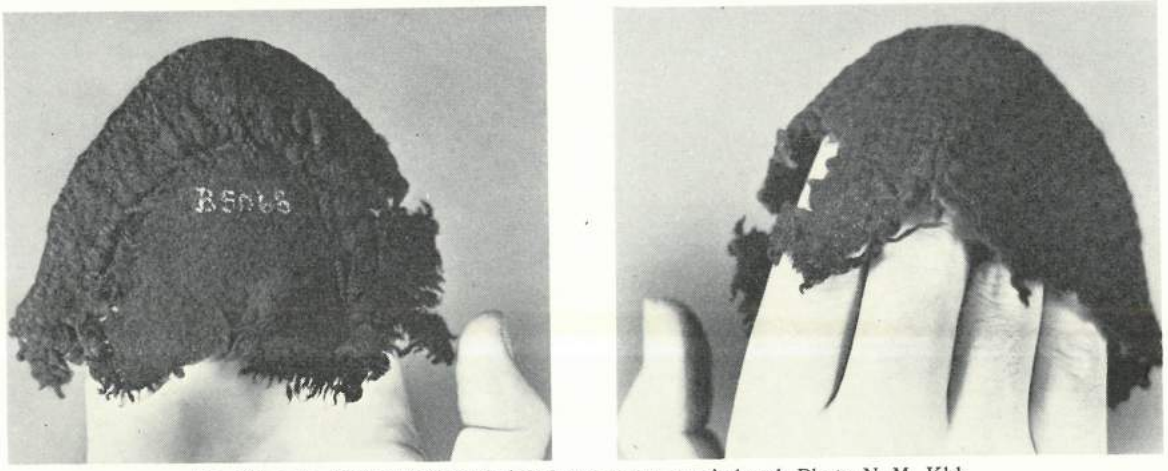


Fig. 10. a–b. "Mitten" from Guldhøj worn on a man's hand. Photo N. M. Kbh.

Mitten/Shoe

Yet another fragment of cloth has been mentioned in connection with Bronze Age footwear. It forms part of one of our most important oak-log coffin finds, namely the man's grave from Guldhøj, excavated in 1891. The fragment was published in 1896 by Vilhelm Boye,[4] who held it to be the toe of a cloth shoe with a sole, an interpretation that was accepted when Bronze Age clothing was taken up for renewed consideration in the 1930s.[5] On returning to the matter later, however, I have changed my opinion as to the fragment. The circumstances of the find provide no certain basis for determination, and the primitive shoe material with which I have become familiar in the course of time definitely tells against the theory of a soled shoe at such an early date in Scandinavia.[6]

1. Åke Campbell: Om fot- och benbeklädnad, p. 109ff.
2. Åke Campbell: *op. cit.*, p. 111. – U. T. Sirelius: Finlands folkliga kultur, II, p. 159. – K. Moszynski: Slavernas Folkkultur, II, p. 245.
3. A. O. Heikel: Volkstrachten, I, p. 63. – In Leo Tolstoi's "War and Peace" foot-wrappings are mentioned repeatedly as part of the clothing of the Russian soldiers. The book appeared 1864–69.
4. Vilhelm Boye: Fund af Egekister fra Bronzealderen i Danmark, p. 73 and Pl. XV.
5. H. C. Broholm and M. Hald: Danske Bronzealders Dragter, p. 244. – H. C. Broholm: Danmarks Bronzealder, II, p. 74.
6. M. Hald: N. M. Arb., 1953, p. 30ff.

According to Boye's description, a wider piece of leather was found at the foot of the coffin; this seems to have formed the sole of a sandal-heel. At the head of the coffin lay a cap, and the fragment of a cloth shoe, wrapped in a fragment of a cape. Now the body was also wearing a cap, and by analogy it seems possible that the Guldhøj man had likewise been given a double

Fig. 11. Naskapi Indian mitten. E. S. Kbh., No. H. 1458. Photo N. M. Kbh.

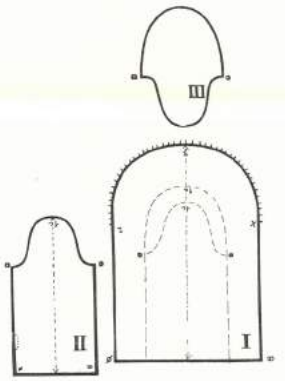


Fig. 12. Diagram of Naskapi Indian mitten.

supply of footwear for his journey. The question then is, whether the "cloth shoe fragment", which consists of two parts of differing quality, is of a kind that makes its definition as a shoe plausible. If this should be the case, it must at least be understood in the sense that the wider of the two pieces formed the bottom, and the narrower the instep piece (cf. what is to be seen on the Stassfurt vessel, and certain forms of hide shoes, e.g. the Norwegian "Bjoresko", discussed below, p. 177 ff.). However, this interpretation is not convincing, for it is contradicted by technical circumstances: it is the widest part of the fragment that consists of the finest and weakest material, and it seems meaningless that this should have formed the wearing surface. Of the quality of the material as a whole it may be stated that it is not of the hard-wearing kind suitable to the wear to which a shoe is normally exposed.

It might then be thought that the fragment might be part of an insole of some kind, similar

to the "Tåpjäksor" or "Tälingar" known from northern Sweden,[1] although up to the present I have no knowledge of any such from antiquity; but the shape of the piece does not indicate this. It is evenly curved, with the highest point of the curve in the centre. If it had been worn on a foot it would have taken the latter's shape, and the highest point of a foot is of course in the position of the big toe, on the inner side of the foot.

Fig. 13. Naskapi Indian shoe. E. S. Kbh., No. 2277. Photo N. M. Kbh.

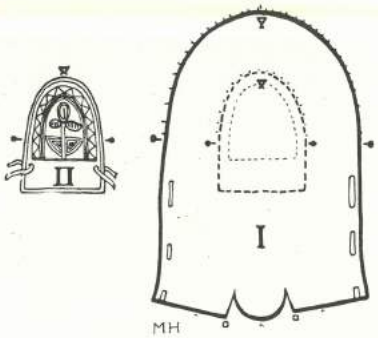


Fig. 14. Diagram of Naskapi Indian shoe.

The idea then occurs: Could it be a fragment of a mitten that was laid in the grave with the Guldhøj man? Here at least the shape is no obstacle, for, as Figs. 10a–b show, the piece fits a man's hand quite well. We know from one find that ancient man had a form of hand-covering, namely the mitten found in Åsle Bog in Västergötland, which has been dated within the first centuries A.D.,[2] but unfortunately the Åsle mitten cannot easily be compared with the present case because it has been made by a special needlework technique, which shapes the mitten in itself, and therefore makes it unnecessary to cut it to shape. In other words, the Åsle mitten has no seam, and the seam is the very feature that is important in the Guldhøj fragment. We must

1. Åke Campbell, *op. cit.* p. 114. Nord. Mus. No. 100.368 and No. 185.443.
2. H. Arbman and Elisabeth Strömberg: Åslevanten. Nord. Mus. and Skansens Årsbok 1934, p. 68f.

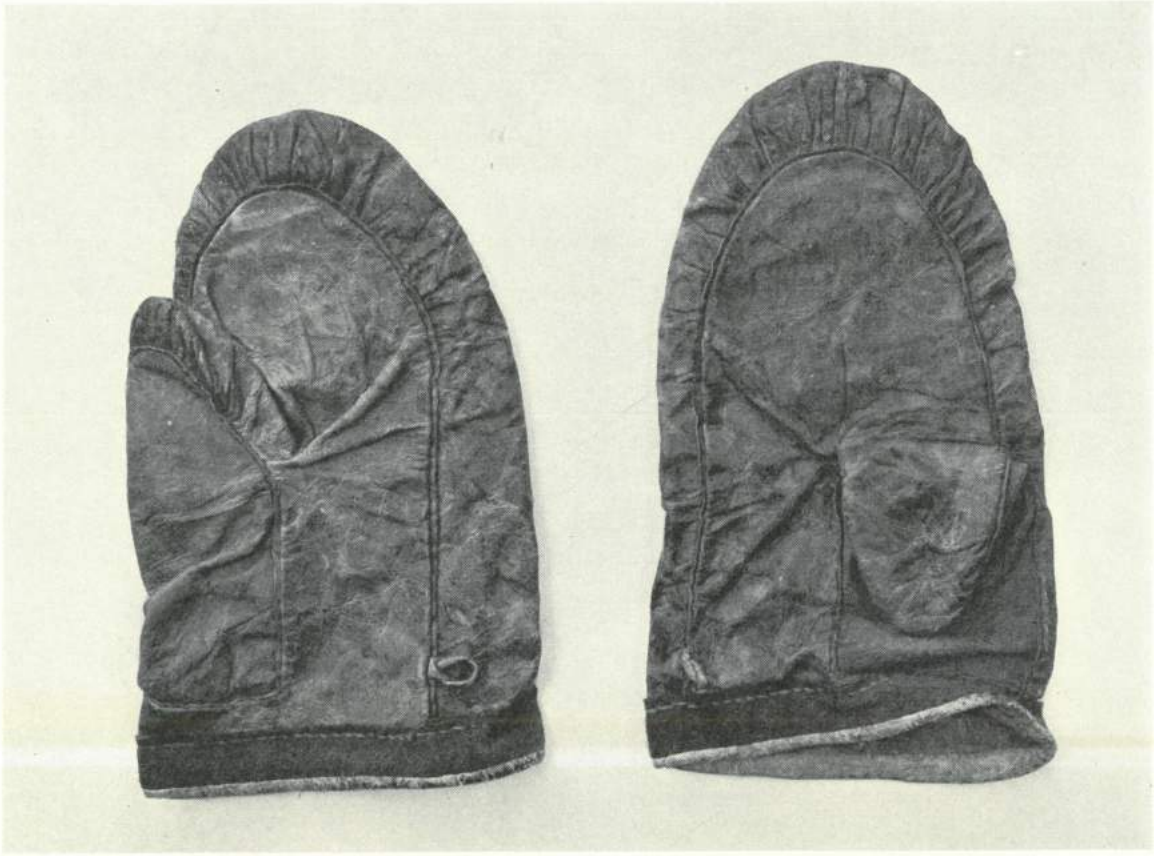


Fig. 15. Mitten from Lule, Lappmark. Nord. Mus. Sth. No. 4.144. Photo Nord. Mus. Sth.

therefore turn to ethnographic material, and investigate whether there are any hand-coverings among peoples living in cold zones that can throw light on our problem. And there are.

The mitten shown in Fig. 11 comes from the Naskapi Indians of Labrador,[1] and it is quite obvious that the curve of the seam over the fingers resembles the seam on the Guldhøj fragment. The Naskapi Indians are however not the only ones to use this form of mitten, for exactly the same forms are used by a number of other peoples living in northern districts of America and Asia, e.g. Iglulik Eskimos, Golds and Tunguses.[2] European instances are also to be found.

Excavations in Old Ladoga and in Novgorod have revealed mittens of a very similar shape in layers dating respectively from the 7–9th century A.D., and from the early Middle Ages.[3] Two specimens from Lapland, presented to Nordiska Museet and shown here in Figs. 15 and 17, indicate that the type has survived to a late date.[4]

It is reasonable to assume that an ancient tradition lies behind this type of mitten, which may

1. Naskapi Indians, E. S. Kbh. No. H. 1458.
2. E. S. Kbh. Iglulik Eskimos, No. P. 27.473. – Golds No. K. 517. – Tunguses, u. No.
3. E. N. Ojateva: Obuv' i drugiye kozhanye izdelia zemlyanogo gorodishcha Staroy Ladogi, p. 51, Fig. 3. – C. A. Izjumova: K istorii kozevennogo i sapoznogo remesel Novgorod Velikogo, p. 220, Fig. 12[3].
4. Nord. Mus. No. 79.916 and No. 4.144.

be termed "Bjorevante" because of its resemblance to the Norwegian "Bjoresko" (see Fig. 206 below), which is characterized by a let-in, curved instep gore.[1]

A comparison between the shoe and the mitten from the Naskapi Indians also shows an analogy in the shaping, and so clear a resemblance between foot- and hand-covering suggests a common development. This is also indicated by the Danish "handske", which is formed from "haand" (hand) and "sko" (shoe), (German Handschuh), and by "bælgvante", which is the term for an old use of the natural closed skin, the primary sense of bælg being the uncut, flayed hide of an animal.

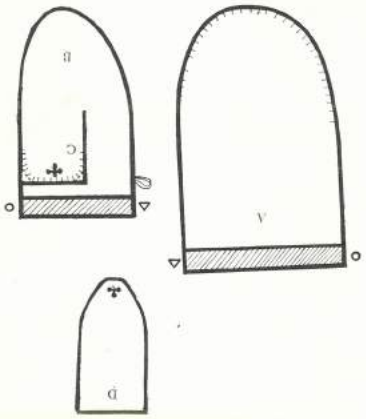


Fig. 16. Diagram of mitten from Lule.

Shoe Wadding and Shoe Hay Combs

It is fairly obvious that a shoe consisting of a single layer of hide or skin can give only limited protection, and it seems clear that the wearers of primitive shoes, at least in an exacting climate or terrain, must have tried to pad them with some material or other.

That this is more than supposition is shown by evidence as old as one of our earliest shoe finds, namely that from the Skrydstrup grave, mentioned above. The left shoe contained some vegetable matter, which on a botanical examination proved to derive from grasses.[2] There were also caked masses of hair, and wool from a primitive breed of sheep. Some of the shoes found in bogs, to be discussed immediately below, also give evidence of the use of shoe wadding. Thus a shoe from Søgaards bog contained pieces of skin, with part of the hair still attached, together with a little coarse wool, and a ball of horsehair, while one of the Rønbjerg shoes contained a skin sole. The best equipped, however, was the woman's shoe from Fræer. The foot was still in the shoe, and under its toes had been laid sheep's wool, and fur from a hare.[3]

All this is enough to show that our ancestors in ancient times knew how to provide themselves with practical and comfortable footwear. But they are not likely to have been the only ones to do so; for even within the present century parallel cases have been found among people living

1. Hjalmar Falk: Sagatidens skor, p. 60. – Refsdal: Fotabunad B.B., p. 135.
2. Determined by Dr J. Iversen.
3. Zoologically determined by P. Vallentin Jensen.

Fig. 17. Child's mitten from Frostviken, Jämtland Lappmark. Nord. Mus. Sth. No. 79.916. Photo Nord. Mus. Sth.

in primitive conditions and in widely separated areas, and it may further be added that the use of wadding for mittens has also been observed.[1]

It was not only against cold and rough terrain that attempts were made to protect the feet. Heat can also be uncomfortable, and it is said of the Norwegian Lapps from Røros that they put juniper sprigs in their shoes in the summer,[2] and popular tradition in Norrland speaks of the use of bark in the shoes during the warm season. It was the inner, white layer of sallow and

1. Åke Campbell: Om fot- och benbeklädnad, p. 104ff. – G. Hatt: Arktiske Skinddragter, 1914, p. 46ff. – A. T. Lucas: Footwear in Ireland, 1956, p. 387.
2. Knut Bergsland: Røros-Samiske Tekster, p. 247. – I am indebted to Dr Marta Hoffmann for this reference.

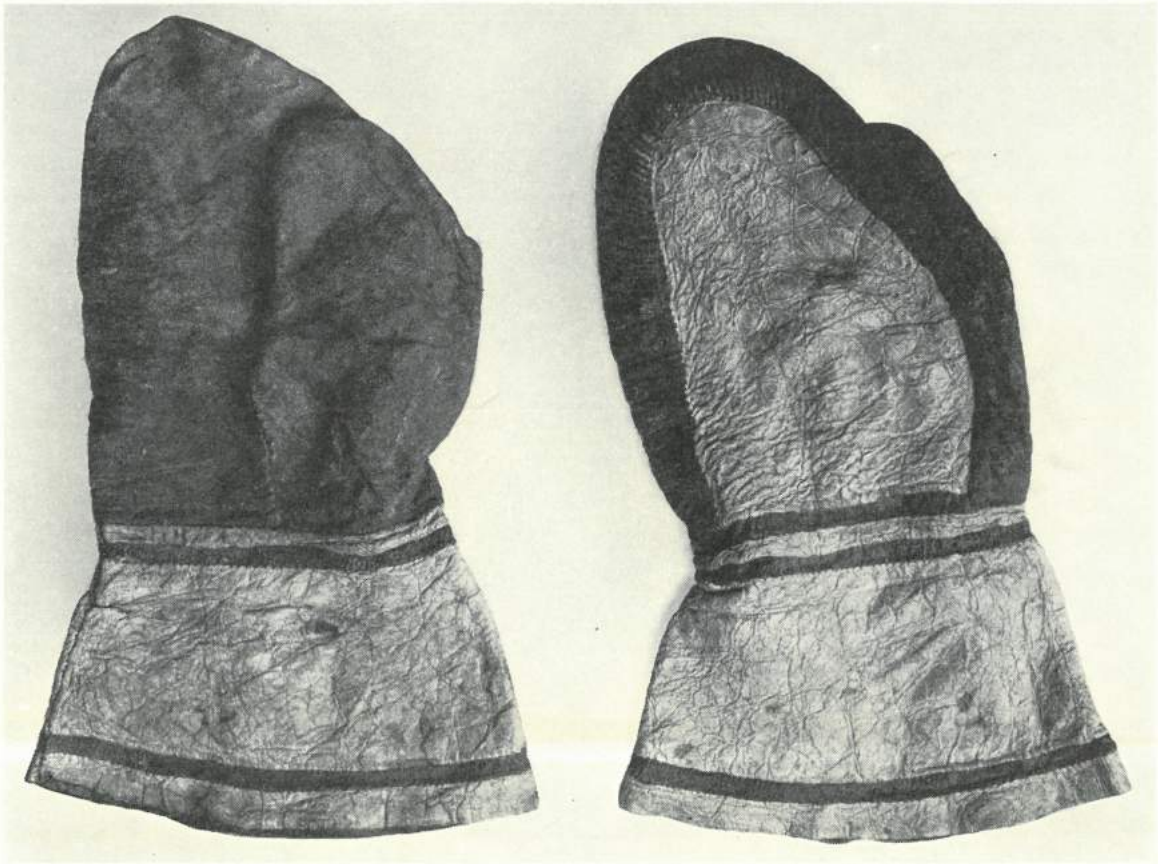


Fig. 18. Iglulik-Eskimo mitten. E. S. Kbh. No. P. 27473. Photo N. M. Kbh.

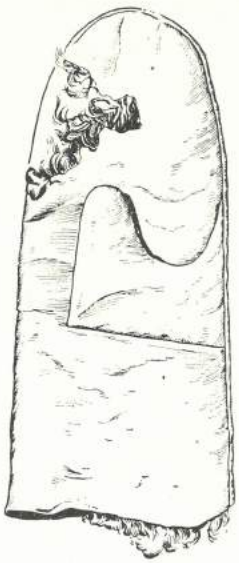


Fig. 19. Mitten from Staraja Ladoga. VII–IX century. After E. N. Ojateva.

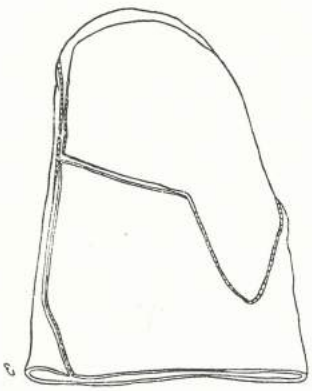


Fig. 20. Mitten from Novgorod. XI–XV century. After S. A. Izjumova.

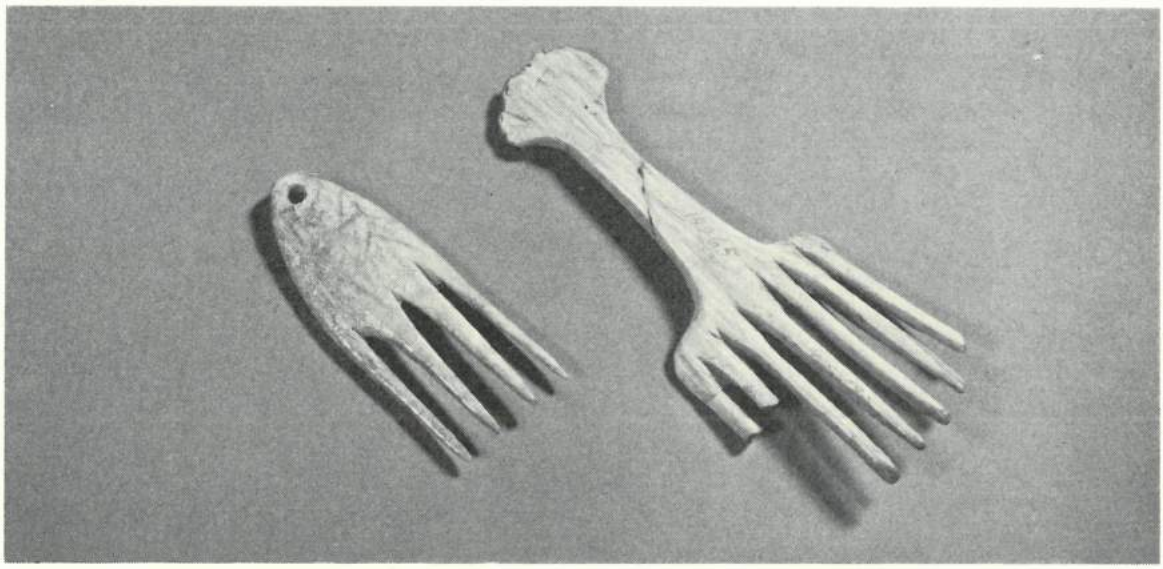


Fig. 21. Early Stone Age combs. N. M. Kbh. Photo N. M. Kbh.

willow that was used. It was prepared with the help of a knife and the teeth, and this was called "at gnaga skobark" (to gnaw shoe-bark).[1]

The use of shoe hay by the Lapps has probably attracted most attention. Thus in 1779 Pastor I. N. Wilse, in "Fra Spydeberg Præstegiæld", relates of Carex vesicaria, which is a kind of sedge, that it is a strange plant "both in appearance, and in the use made of it . . . for the Lapps stuff their shoes with it against the cold in winter and sweat in summer, and therefore it is also known as Lapp-shoe grass".[2] And in 1673 Joannis Schefferi writes in "Lapponia": "I sine skoor bruka the inaga strumper, utan allenast hoe. Ty the finna i Lapmarken ett laongt græs, huilket the kooka, och thet foervvara, att hafvva i sine skoor".[3] Knud Leem in 1767 speaks of the use of hay both in shoes and in mittens, but he uses the expression "long straws, the so-called sueinek (Norwegian sene, senne or senne-græs)" and adds that the straw in question grows in fresh-water lakes.[4]

The Swedish scholar Åke Campbell, who investigated the subject in the 1940s, says of the distribution: "The use of hay or straw in hide shoes and leather shoes and wooden shoes, which in different variations can be exemplified among Swedish farmers from Norrland down to Skåne, cannot be explained simply by citing the Lapp use of shoe hay. The question of hay or straw in shoes thus opens wider vistas than the purely Arctic", and he adds that the use of shoe hay has been noted as far south as the Ukraine.[5]

There are several descriptions of how the shoe hay was prepared, but we must here confine ourselves to one.

1. Åke Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 103 ff.
2. I. N. Wilse: Beskrivelse af Spydebergs Præstegiæld, 1779, p. 123.
3. Joannis Schefferi: Lapponia 1674, p. 207.
4. Knud Leem: Beskrivelse over Finmarkens Lapper, Kiøbenhavn 1767, p. 78 and 81.
5. Åke Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 104 and 103.

As related by E. Manker, the best shoe hay is collected among willows, in low-lying, moist places, where it grows tallest and most pliable. When it is cut it is wiry, so that one can cut oneself on it, but it is prepared, like flax, though the treatment it is given is even more primitive. First it is scutched by striking a bundle against a sharp-edged stone or tree-stump. Then it is combed with an iron-toothed comb, and rubbed, after which it is plaited together and hung up to dry. It is often left like this till wanted. When large amounts are to be stored, the plaits are unbraided and twisted together in a long rope, which is rolled up, so that it is easy to transport when travelling. When the shoe hay is to be used it is again rubbed hard, and in the end it becomes, if not as soft as wool, yet pliant and comfortable to the foot. If it is correctly arranged in the shoe, which is a special art, it is a sort of downy nest for the foot. Although shoe hay may become wet it never turns "dank" like a stocking. It continues to be porous, and when spread out before the fire it dries quickly. A reindeer herdsman does not care to exchange his hay for stockings.[1]

Ernst Manker says here that the preparation of shoe hay is reminiscent of the process to which fibre flax is subjected, and in the above-mentioned monograph Åke Campbell includes a picture of a hackle consisting of a flat board with a middle section bearing vertical teeth, in reality the same as the flax comb of cottage industry.[2] An older tool for preparing shoe hay is however a small comb with a handle narrowing toward the top and ending in a chamfer, which is said to have enabled the user to hold it between the teeth when it was necessary to have both hands free. Towards the bottom a round or oblong section is covered with teeth, with which the grass is combed, and its delicate stalks stripped.[3]

The combs seem alike in their main features, but variations do occur – or rather, the hay comb is related to various types of small comblike tools, known from other fields and intended for several different purposes.

Thus E. W. Nelson[4] in his work on the Eskimos of the Bering Strait includes a picture of a dozen or so tools forming part of the equipment for making thread of sinews and grass. At the top of the group, reproduced here as Fig. 23, are combs with only 2 to 4 teeth. They are intended for scraping sinews to be used as thread for clothing and small articles. The material used is the leg-tendons of reindeer, which are dried and beaten with a club till the fibres are loosened, after which they are split and cleaned. Very much the same method is used in preparing a coarse grass that grows in the Lower Yukon. This is likewise dried, beaten and split up with the help of a comb. The four combs in the bottom row, Fig. 23, No. 7–10 are such *grass combs*. They have from 9 to 11 sharp teeth, and finely carved handles.

G. W. Stellers,[5] writing in 1774, says of the Itelmes of Kamtschatka that by preparing galingale, a grass whose use was unknown in other areas, with a forked gull bone, they obtained a soft

1. Ernst Manker: De svenska Fjällapparna, Stockholm 1947, p. 168f. – See also Osian Elgström: Karesuando-Lapparna, 1919, p. 310; Knut Bergsland: Røros-Samiske Tekster, 1945, p. 247ff.; Gudmund Hatt: Arktiske Skinddragter, p. 46; and Lars Levander: Övre Dalarnas Bondkultur under 1800-Talets förste Hälft, p. 201.
2. Åke Campbell, *op. cit.*, Fig. 1.
3. Åke Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 106ff. and Fig. 2.
4. E. W. Nelson: The Eskimos About Bering Strait, 1896–97, Part I, p. 110f. and Pl. XLVIII. For shoe-hay combs see also F. R. Martin: Sibirica, 1897, Stockholm, Pl. 13. No. 9. The length of the comb is 15 cm, width 3 cm. (Ostjaken am Jugan).
5. Georg Wilhelm Stellers: Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamtschatka, 1774, p. 81.

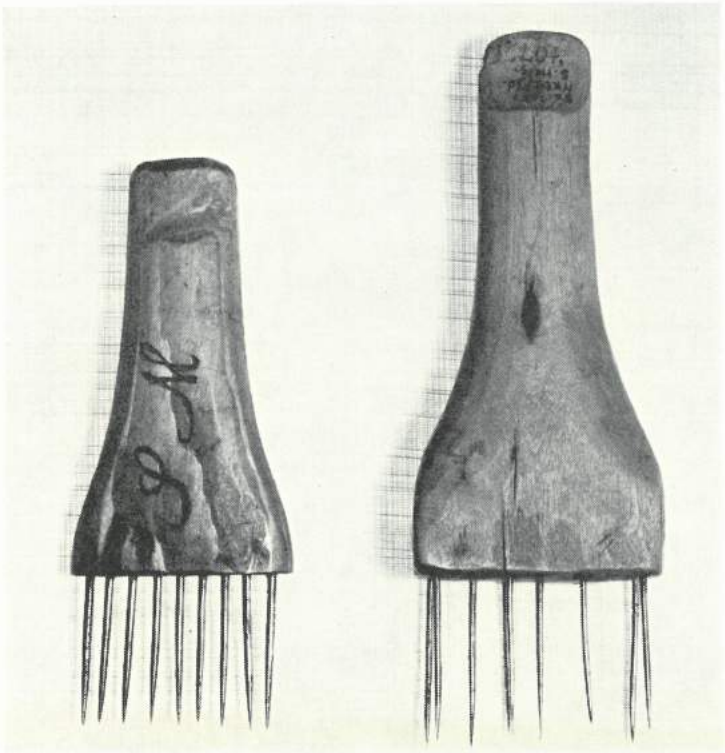


Fig. 22. a–b. Norwegian heckles for dressing grass. a. Wood and iron, No. Sa 2380. 13 × 5.3 cm. Vefsn, Nordland. b. Birch and iron. No. Sa 2651, Hattfjelldal, S. Helgeland. Length approx. 16½ cm. N. F. Oslo. Photo N. F. Oslo.

fibrous material very like freshly scutched flax in appearance. Every year at harvest a large supply was collected for later use as: 1. A kind of shirt or swaddling-band for a baby, which was wound round it and kept it clean. It also served to pad its trousers and act as a napkin. 2. A sort of leggings for older children. It could be wound so neatly round the feet that it looked like stockings. 3. For use by everyone when travelling, since it was warm, soft and comfortable.

This then is a case of a natural product which by simple preparation could be used for a wide range of purposes of the kind later met by textiles, and it seems almost meaningless to discuss the time problem in the face of a phenomenon that appears very ancient, and that represents a stage far earlier than the fabrication of actual textiles.

The question is, then, whether the tool, the bone comb, can be traced back in time. Examples of bone combs are known from archaeological finds in Denmark from the Palaeolithic period. Of these, Therkel Mathiassen wrote as follows in 1948: "Combs. Made of flat bones, at one end carved into a number (4–7) of teeth, often showing worn grooves transversely. The handle may have different forms. Length 6–11 cm. Known from several of the Ertebølle-culture settlements, Ertebølle, Mejlgaard, Brabrand. Similar combs with narrow teeth are known from Norway and Swiss pile dwellings . . ."[1]

Carl Neergaard has also written about these combs, which he describes as the most decorative,

1. Therkel Mathiassen: Danske Oldsager, Ældre Stenalder, 1948, p. 40, and Pl. No. 199–201, – H. Shetelig: Primitive Tider i Norge, 1922, p. 94.

but also the rarest, Palaeolithic relics, and he dwells on the fact that grooves have been worn transversely across the teeth. In one case up to four grooves are to be seen, "one close to the other, near the root of the tooth. They always extend across the back of the teeth, and thence some way up the inner sides, in a slanting direction towards the handle. It hardly seems likely that this odd attrition could derive from the use of the combs for arranging the hair; it rather suggests that they were used for dealing with some harder material, for plaiting animal sinews, or the like."[1]

This appears to agree with what was said above as to the preparation of thread from sinews among the Eskimos around Bering Strait.[2]

For us, however, the important question is whether the known Stone Age combs, with a few thick teeth, were suited to combing out the fibres of grass. Unfortunately the available material is very scanty, and we cannot know whether the people of the Stone Age were able to produce finer combs, i.e. combs with thin, sharp teeth.

The National Museum possesses no combs from the Neolithic period (so Magister Elisabeth Munksgaard kindly informs me), but they appear in the Bronze Age in better designs, and apparently with approximately the same frequency in male and female burials. That the important ladies of the Egtved and Skrydstrup finds[3] had a horn comb lying by their belts is a fact often mentioned, but one dare hardly suggest that the Skrydstrup woman would have combed grass for her hide shoes with the same instrument as she used for her thick fair hair. However that may be, the women seem to have clung to their combs even in death. In the same way, the Huldremose woman, who seems to have been quite wealthy and supplied with good clothing, when she was laid in her watery grave many centuries later, namely in the Celtic period, had a horn comb sewn into her skin cape.[4] The comb continues to appear in the early Roman period. Of the four women's graves at the celebrated, rich Juellinge site, three contained a bone comb. The comb from grave 3 can from a photograph be estimated to have measured 8×7 cm, the length of the teeth was approximately 3 cm, and their original number probably about 45.[5] The large store of bone combs of the Early Roman period yielded by the Vimose find on Funen is quite overwhelming. Here are mentioned no fewer than 57, which judging by C. Engelhardt's reproductions of them had both many and fine teeth.[6]

In all the cases mentioned here the combs have been identified as toilet articles, and there seems no reason to cast doubt on this, but it may nevertheless be worth mentioning that other uses exist. On the other hand, we cannot exclude the possibility that ancient man made use of other means in preparing grass, and a fragment of a presumed textile tool of the Stone Age excavated at Robenhausen in Switzerland is in this connection of considerable interest.[7] It consists of half of a round, or perhaps rather heart-shaped wooden board with a large number of holes bored in it, of which three still contained remnants of thorns that had once been set into

1. Carl Neergaard: A. P. Madsen, Sophus Müller etc.: Affaldsdynger fra Stenalderen i Danmark, 1900, p. 66f. and Pl. VII.
2. E. W. Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 110f.
3. Th. Thomsen: Egtvedfundet, p. 183, Fig. 11. – H. C. Broholm and M. Hald: Skrydstrupfundet, p. 22, 91, 93, Fig. 83.
4. M. Hald: Olddanske Tekstiler, p. 188.
5. Sophus Müller: Juellingefundet og den romerske Periode, p. 7, 15 and 18, Fig. 32.
6. C. Engelhardt: Vimose-Fundet, Fynske Mosefund, II, 1869, p. 9 and Pl. 2.
7. Emil Vogt: Geflechte und Gewebe der Steinzeit, 1937, p. 46, Pl. 6–7.

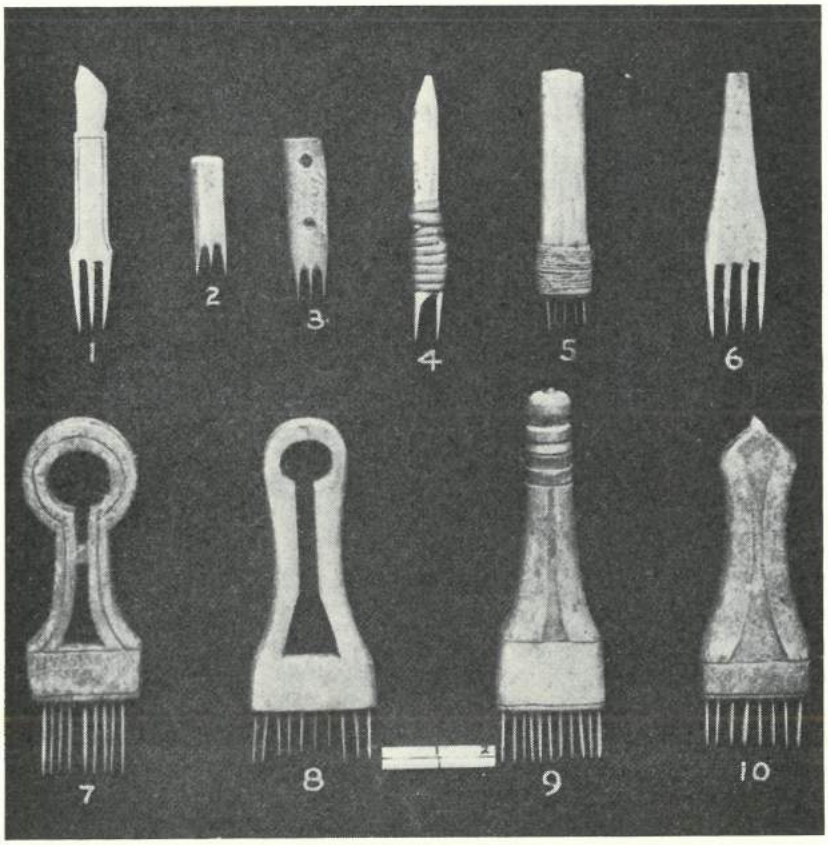


Fig. 23. Primitive heckles for dressing sinews or grass, Kamtschatka. After E. W. Nelson.

them. E. Vogt regards the board as part of a hackle for preparing flax, and illustrates this with a reconstruction which convincingly supports his theory. The board originally had room for about 270 thorns, and would thus give the fibre a thorough treatment. To this it may merely be added that such a tool would be equally suitable for obtaining fibre from many plants other than flax, viz. nettles, hemp, hops, etc., indeed for that matter for splitting up grass.

The tools for preparing shoe hay cited here, from the present or the immediate past, have very sharp, fine needles, I think always metal, but, as the Swiss hackle suggests, the matter could be managed with the aid of more readily available objects, e.g. sharp fishbones, thorns of blackthorn or hawthorn, – even the sharp barbs of the wild rose were perhaps not to be despised in solving certain problems. Perhaps the prototype of the shoe hay comb was a gift straight from nature.

Chapter II

Shoes from Bogs in North Jutland and North Schleswig

Descriptions.

Søgaards Mose, Daugbjerg S., Fjends H.

A pair of shoes of very simple construction, shown by the diagram of the left, best preserved shoe, Fig. 24. There is no trace of stitching; the shoe was closed and fastened on by means of skin thongs or laces drawn through holes along the outer edges. The thongs measure up to 12 mm in width; one was secured only by a knot at the end, while the other was first drawn through an eyelet, and then through a slit in the thong itself.

In one shoe lay a piece of woollen cloth, presumably part of a foot-wrapping; in the other were scraps of skin, with some hair on, and a crushed wisp of horsehair.

The zoologist P. Vallentin Jensen gives the following description of the material:

"Remains of hair on the inner surface of the shoes. Length of the longest hair fragments 8–10 mm, thickness 0.10 mm, the medulla approx. 3/5 of the thickness. Probably cow (calf). One shoe had a "stocking" of coarse wool. In the other, a small tuft of long, coarse hair (specimen 60 mm and 105 mm). Probably horsehair. "Lacing" hide."

The shoes were discovered in 1942 with the body of a man. One shoe lay at his left side, roughly at belt level, while the other was found under the body. The shoes were fastened together with laces, and thus not placed in the position in which the man would have worn them when alive. Skive Museum (No. C 63).

M. Hald: Olddanske Tekstiler, 1950, p. 28 and Fig. 386.

Holbøl Mose, Holbøl S., Lundtofte H.

A very crude shoe, the front part now opened out, but the heel-seam intact. Part of a lace, approx. 5 mm long, still remains, and the shoe was probably closed round the front part of the foot in the same way as the above-mentioned shoes from Daugbjerg. The material, which is described as untreated cowhide, is absolutely stiff. It measures 2–3 mm in cross-section, and some of the hair remains on the inner surface.

The shoe, which according to the records was found in June 1797 together with a body in a peat-bog in Holbøl parish, was presented by Her Grace the Duchess of Brunswig-Bewern, Glücksburg, and handed to the National Museum by Provst Jacobsen on January 25th 1810. (Mus. No. 372).

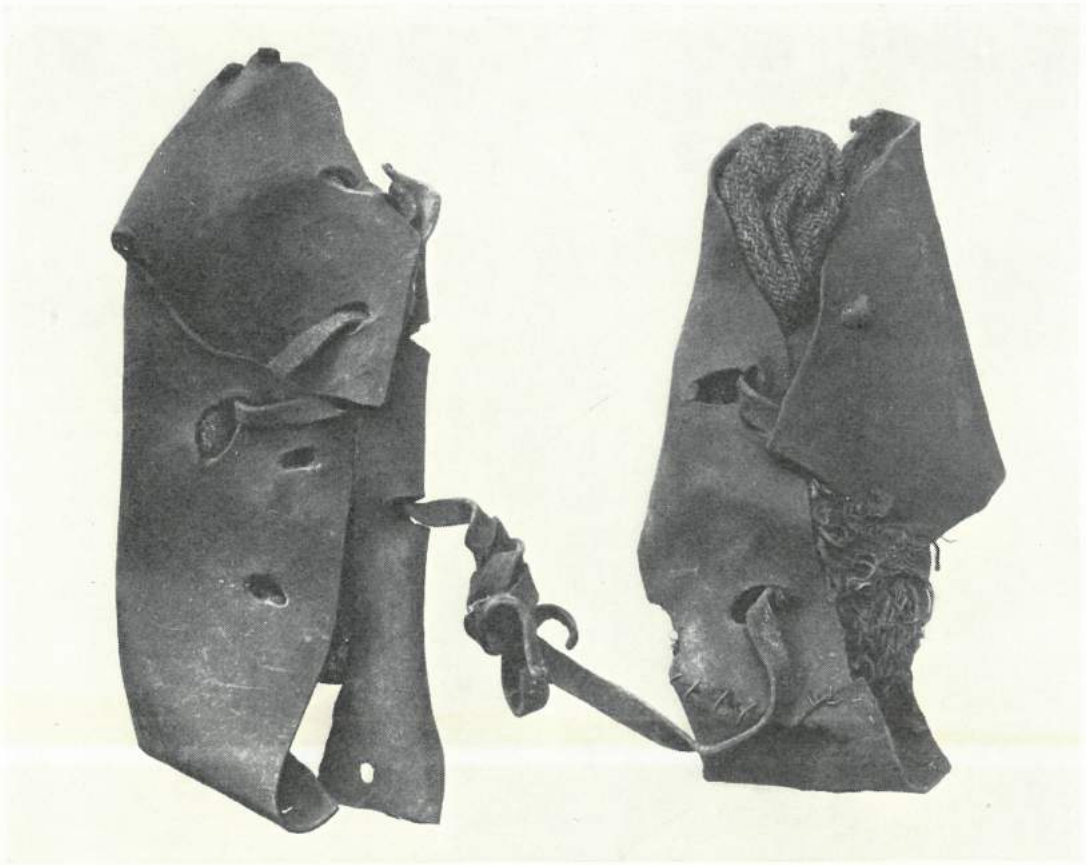


Fig. 24. Man's shoe from Søgaards Mose. Skive Mus. Photo L. Larsen.

Undelev Mose, Holbøl S., Lundtofte H.

The corpse of a man, wrapped in animal hides, and deposited with three hazel wands, was found in Undelev Mose in 1797. A shoe was also found, made of cowhide, with the hair preserved. The shoe was sewn together at the back with hide threads, and furnished with holes

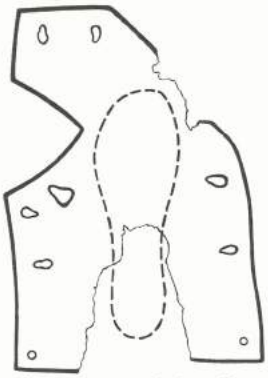


Fig. 25. Diagram of shoe from Søgaards Mose, Fig. 24.

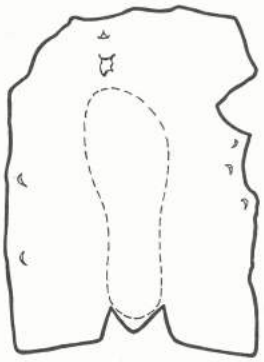


Fig. 26. Diagram of shoe from Holbøl Mose. N. M. Kbh.

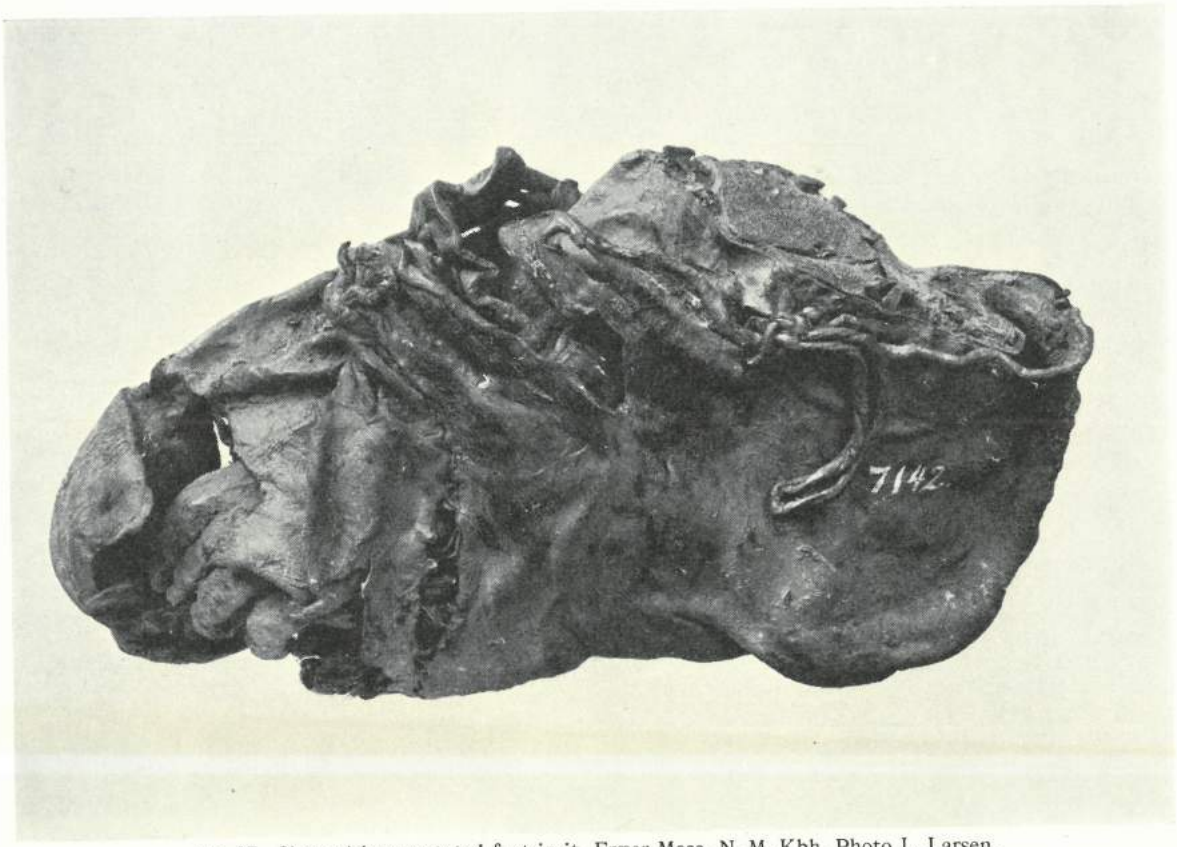


Fig. 27. Shoe with amputated foot in it. Fræer Mose. N. M. Kbh. Photo L. Larsen.

through which a thong could be passed to fasten the shoe. The corpse was buried in the local churchyard, and no further information is available.

Antiquariske Annaler, Vol. II, 1815, p. 406. Mestorf: 42 Bericht, 1900, p. 18.

Fræer Mose, Fræer S., Hellum H.

The shoe from Fræer occupies a special position among the material described here, in that it is in its primary situation, enclosing a human foot. It thus clearly demonstrates how it was

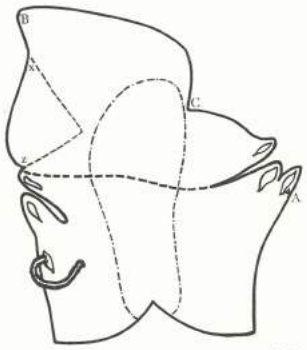


Fig. 28. Diagram of shoe from Fræer Mose, Fig. 27.

Fig. 29. Left shoe from Rønbjerg Mose. Photo L. Larsen.
Fig. 30. Right shoe from Rønbjerg Mose.

gathered over the instep, and a diagram, Fig. 28, shows the shape, of which however it must be added that it is difficult to reach complete accuracy because the skin, which retains its hair, is now completely stiff.

Of the material, P. Vallentin Jensen says: "Leather with the hair side out. Hair very much worn away. Longest fragments 12 mm. Probably cow (calf). "Lacing" hide, "thread" hide. Under the toes some wool, partly sheep wool, partly hare wool (guard hair)."

The shoe was found in July 1822 by a smallholder, Peder Krag, who was cutting peat in his bog near the village of Frær in North Jutland. At a depth of about four feet he came upon a body, lying face down in the peat. The skeleton, which was judged to be that of a fullgrown woman, was later taken up, but has not been preserved. (Mus. No. 7142).

Antiquarisk Tidsskrift 1843–45, p. 22. – Bericht 1900, p. 22. – M. Hald: Olddanske Tekstiler 1950, p. 14ff and 334. – M. Hald: Jernalderens Dragt, p. 63.

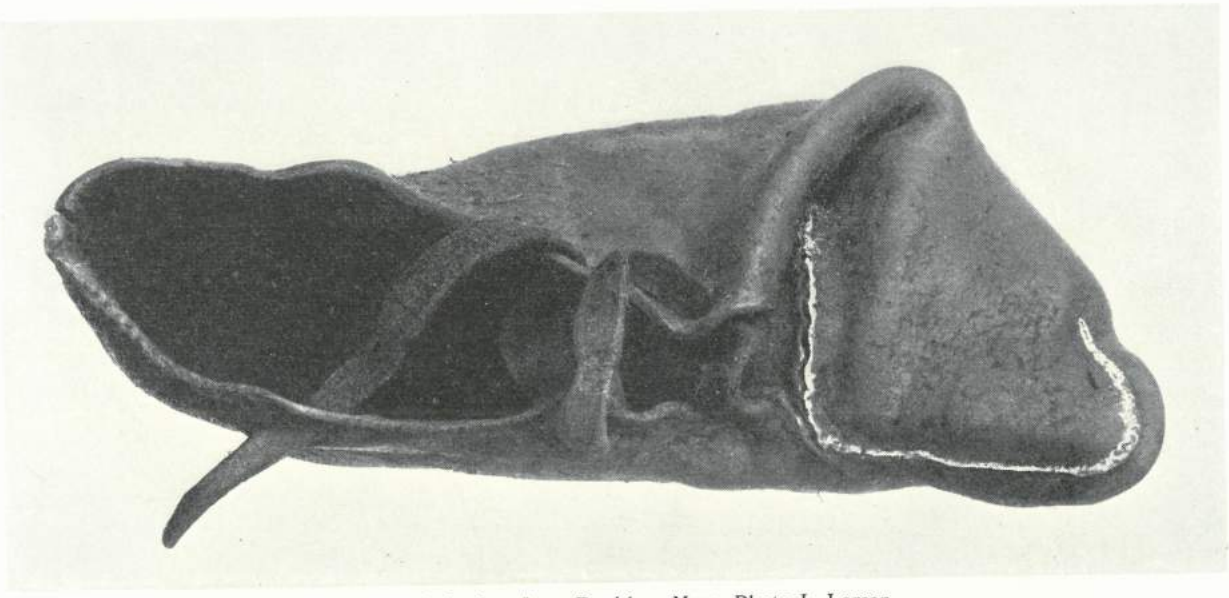


Fig. 31. Left shoe from Rønbjerg Mose. Photo L. Larsen.

Rønbjerg Mose, Rønbjerg S., Ginding H.

A pair of well-preserved man's shoes made of thick oxhide, still retaining some of the hair on the inner surface, Figs. 29–31. As is shown by the pattern of the left shoe, Fig. 32, the material consists of a single piece with the addition of a tongue. The dotted lines indicate the position of the foot, and the place where the hide is folded across the front of the foot. Compare the picture of the upper face of the shoe, Fig. 31. The section marked with a white line is that indicated on the diagram by hatching.

The right shoe has two patches on the bottom, and a small loop over the heel-seam. A thong approximately 1 cm wide and 50 cm long runs through cut-out eyelets and once round the instep and arch of the foot. The length, measured from the point at the position of the big toe to the bend at the heel, is approximately 30 cm, and the height measured at the heel-seam 9 cm. The right shoe contained a loose skin sole with the hair uppermost.

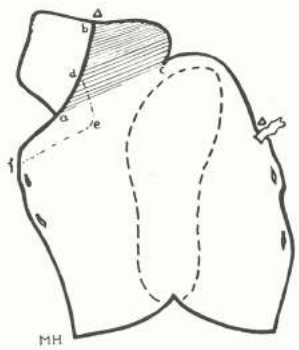


Fig. 32. Diagram of shoe from Rønbjerg Mose, Fig. 31.

Fig. 33. Shoe from Borremose. Vesthimmerlands Mus. Photo L. Larsen.

When found in 1921 the shoes were on the feet of the body of a man of about thirty, who lay about 8 feet under the surface of Rønbjerg Mose. The records say nothing further as to the clothing. (Mus. No. D. 10161).

P. Nørlund: Klædedragt, p. 58. – M. Hald: Olddanske Tekstiler, 1950, p. 62 and 325. – M. Hald: Jernalderens Dragt, p. 54. – M. Hald: Fodsko og Haandsko, 1953, p. 63.

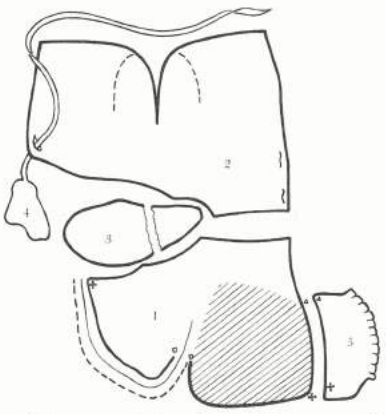


Fig. 34. Diagram of shoe from Borremose, Fig. 33.

Borremose, Aars S. and H.

A shoe consisting of 5 parts, whose relative positions are shown on the diagram Fig. 34. The pieces numbered 1 and 2 are the most important components, namely the front and back sections, while No. 3 is merely a patch, or perhaps an additional piece. The lace with its tag is No. 4 and the tongue No. 5. Although the shoe is thus composed of several parts it does not differ in type from the other hide shoes discussed here. Probably it is simply a case of chance cobbling, or perhaps of using scanty material. The shoe has a further peculiarity in that the bottom of the front part forms a bag or "pocket" that must have enclosed the toes from beneath. The shoe is made for the right foot, and the fastening is far over towards the outer side. The heavy line between the signs on the innermost part of No. 1 on the right indicates the gathering where the upper and the bottom meet. The thin line outside this marks the position of the edge of the foot, while the outer broken line marks the limit to which the bottom would extend if it were spread out flat.

The "pocket" may possibly have been taken from a natural bag in the animal's hide, from which, as far as can be seen, the hair had been removed. The hide is very thick, up to approximately 3 mm in section. The shoe measures approximately 30 cm in length, and its height at the heel-seam is 9 mm. The lace is approximately 50 cm long and up to 1 cm wide.

According to P. Vallentin Jensen's examination, the "lacing" and the "thread" are both hide.

The shoe was found in 1947 in Borremose, about 100 m from the north edge of the bog, lying in an old burial pit.

Some fragments of pottery were saved from the same site, and dated by S. Vestergaard Nielsen at Late Celtic or Early Roman Iron Age. (Letters 24/11-1947, 22/11-1951 and 16/5-1955). The bodies of two men were found near the same site in 1946 and 1947.

The shoe belongs to Vesthimmerlands Museum (No. 160).

M. Hald: Jernalderens Dragt, p. 63.

Vivsø Mose, Sevel S., Hjerm-Ginding H.

A shoe found in Vivsø Mose is much decayed, and the greater part of the bottom is missing, Figs. 35, 36. Two patches under the heel and toes give evidence of wear and tear also. The shoe is made for the left foot, and closed by means of a fold across the front part of the foot in such a way that the gathering is placed fairly far over towards the outer side. Judging by the eyelets there must have been thongs or laces, but these are no longer present. The shoe is made in one piece, of very thick material, about 3 mm in section.

A peculiarity of the shoe is the fact that it does not have a centrally placed heel-seam, but a "gore" or heel-piece closed by means of two seams, of which one does not extend right to the bottom, the flap being thus only partly free. The bottom is bent upwards a little at the toes, and the uncertainty as to this part is indicated on the diagram by a thin line with hatching on the outer side. The approximate position of the foot in the shoe is also marked.

Of the material P. Vallentin Jensen remarks: "On the inner surface hair, length 18 mm. Cuticula difficult to discern, medulla very narrow. The hide is probably that of a cow or a horse."

The shoe, which belongs to Skive Museum, was found in 1946 near the bottom of the bog,

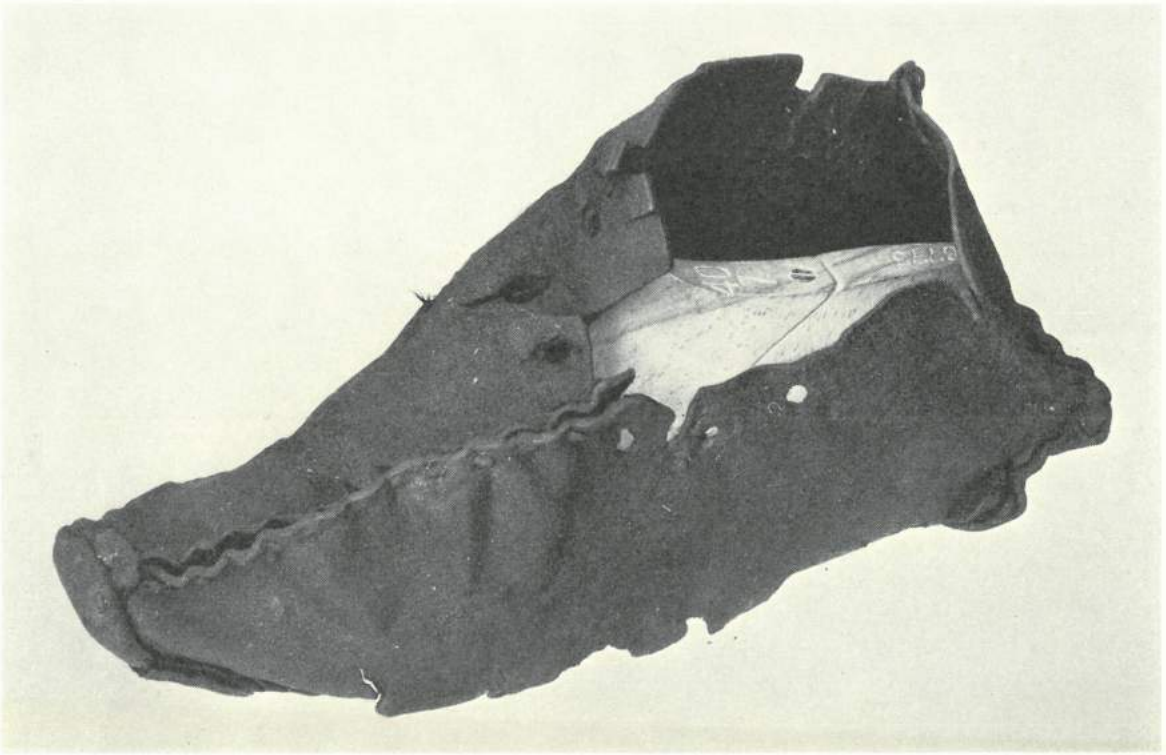


Fig. 35. Shoe from Vivsø Mose. Skive Mus. Photo L. Larsen.

under the black peat mass. Several oak sticks, round and oval, in section, with a small square hole in the thick end have been found in the same bog. (Letter of 25/3, 1963 from Skive Museum).

M. Hald: Jernalderens Dragt, p. 63.

Ørbækgaards Mose at Ramten, Ørum S., Nørre H.

A pair of shoes of a very strange pattern, each consisting of only one piece of rough hide with the addition of small gores, allowing more room for the instep and ankle. The right shoe is the better preserved, for which reason the illustrations and description are taken from this. Although the shoe as a whole appears very wide and roomy the front section of the part that suggests a shaped sole is disproportionately narrow and pointed. It cannot have covered the base of the

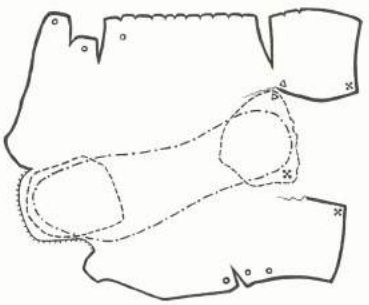
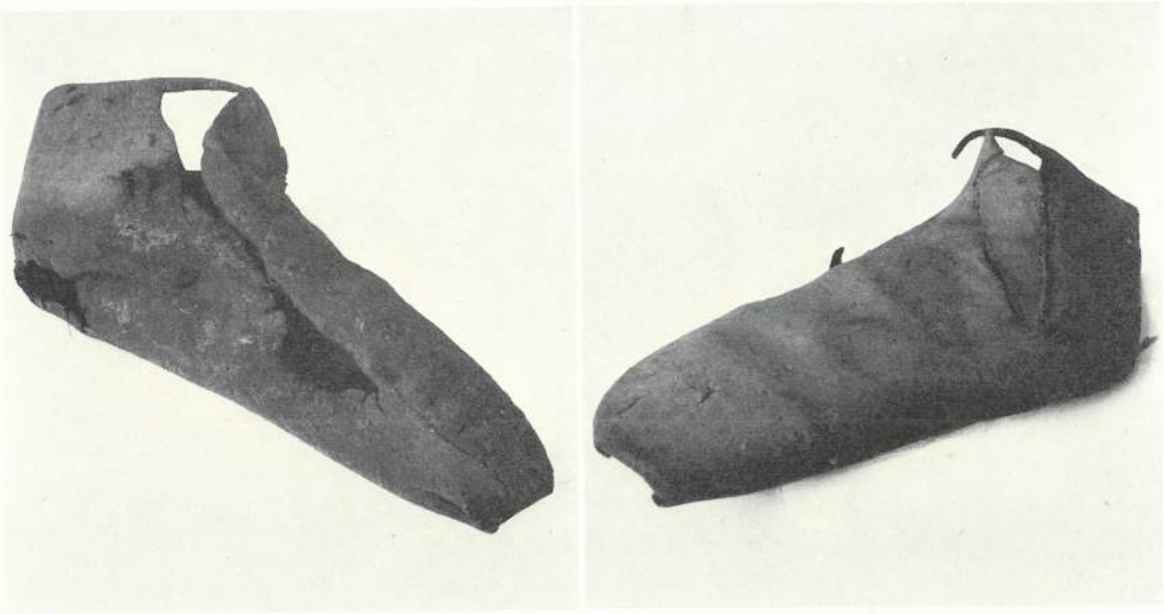


Fig. 36. Diagram of shoe from Vivsø Mose, Fig. 35.



a b

c

Fig. 37. a, b, c. Shoe from Ramten, Ørbækgaards Mose. N. M. Kbh. Photo M. Hald.

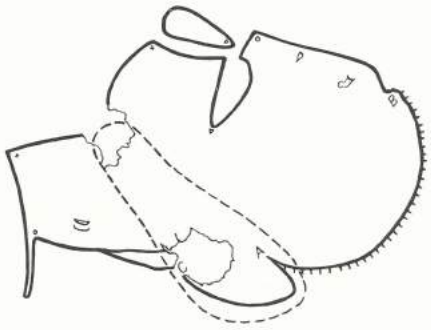


Fig. 38. Diagram of shoe from Ramten, Fig. 37.

front part of the foot, and the upper had therefore to extend over and far under the edge of the foot.

In reality it forms a "pocket", i.e. it seems to consist of a natural bagging of the hide. The material is not flat, and therefore cannot be correctly reproduced in a diagram. The line A–B is therefore dotted to indicate that it is too long in proportion to A–C, to which it is in reality joined, see Fig. 38.

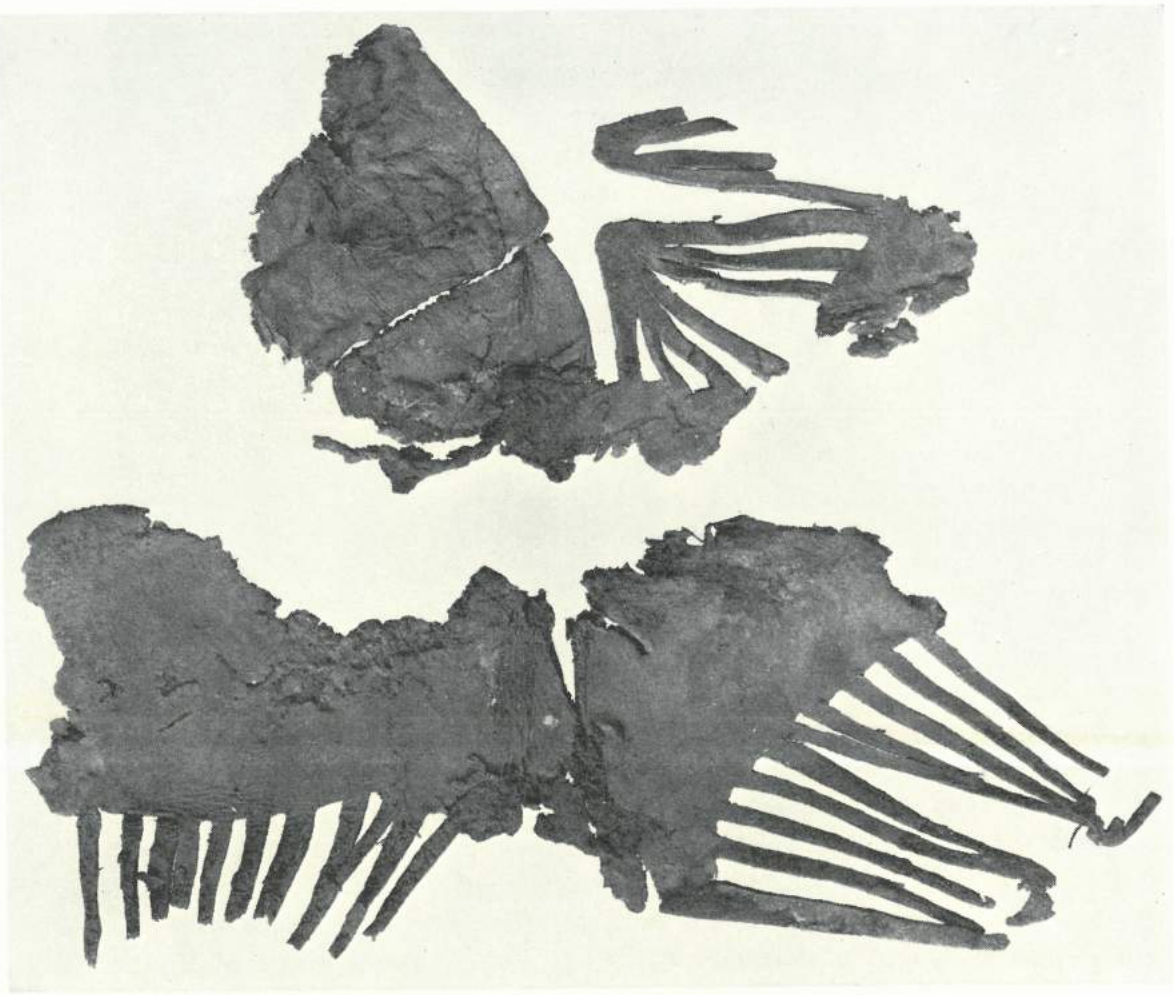


Fig. 39. Fragment of shoe from Store Borremose. N. M. Kbh. Photo L. Larsen.

The stitching has been done with narrow strips of hide, which however are in most cases lost or worn away. Apparently there was a patch under the heel, now likewise missing. On the other hand, the remains of a lace on the outer edge of the shoe have survived; this lace was intended to pass through the cut-out eyelets and meet the top of the flap at the back.

The material is hairless, about 2–3 mm in section, and now very stiff.

The shoes were received by the National Museum in 1892, but were found several years earlier in Ørbækgaards Moselod at Ramten. (Mus. No. D 2638).

Store Borremose, Sjøstrup By, Aars S., Aars H.

Fragments of leather, in a much damaged condition. The larger piece measures about 33 cm in length and 14 cm in breadth. The smaller piece measures about 15×22 cm.

Presumably they are fragments of a pair of shoes, and judging by the marked tonguing of the material they must have belonged to a type similar to the shoe known from the Torsbjerg find

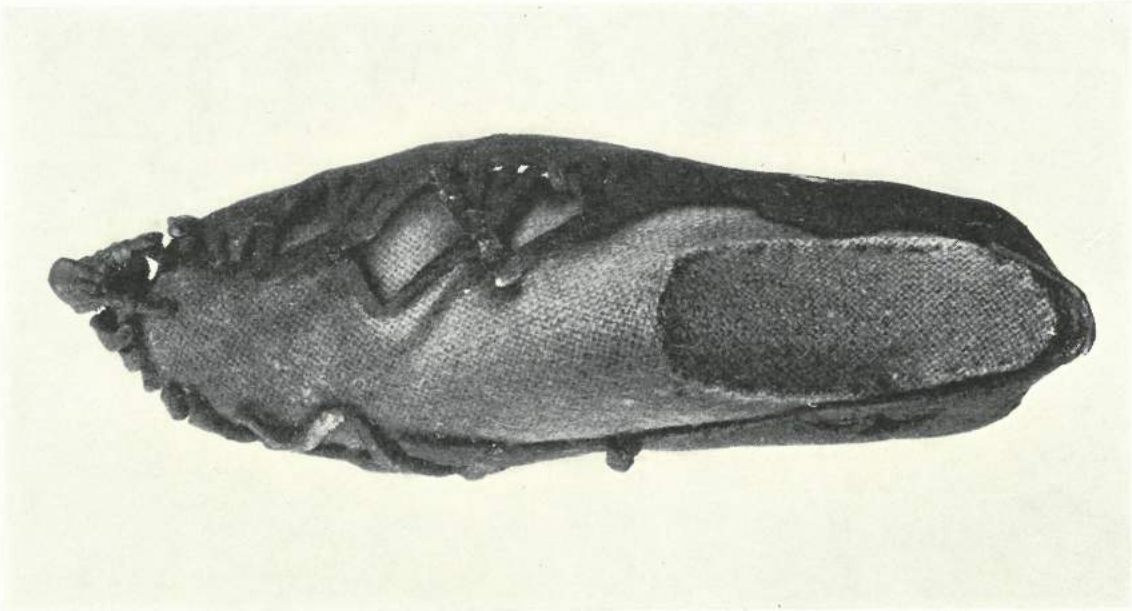


Fig. 40. Shoe from Arnitlund. Haderslev Mus. Photo L. Larsen.

and frequently referred to, Fig. 48. An original seam can be seen on both the largest pieces of the Borremose shoe; the stitching has been done with narrow strips of hide.

In the records of the National Museum the fragments are entered as "Leather sandals of the Early Iron Age". They were found in 1941 in an earthenware jar in the bog section belonging to the smallholder Peter Nielsen, and the jar, which was at a depth of $1^1/_2$–2 m was held down by a piece of limestone. The record says that the jar is in the possession of Aars Museum (Vesthimmerlands Museum), which is denied by S. Vestergaard Nielsen in a letter of 31/5-1955. (Mus. No. C 24486).

Havndals Mose, Finderup By, Nørlyng H.

Fragments of a shoe apparently consisting only of a piece of depilated hide. Two additions under the heel and toe must be regarded as patches or reinforcings. A small piece of heel-seam has survived, but otherwise the shape seems to have been achieved solely by tonguing. Five

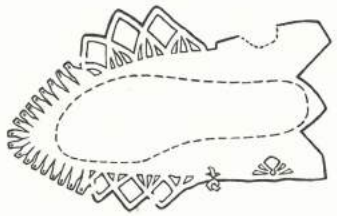


Fig. 41. Diagram of shoe from Arnitlund, Fig. 40.

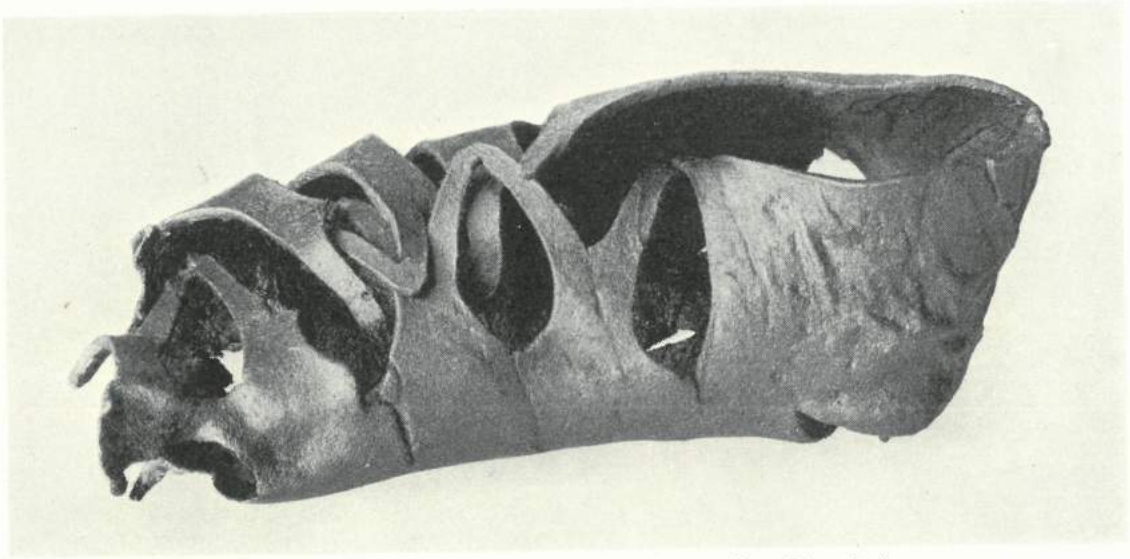


Fig. 42. Fragment of shoe from Rishjarup. Aabenraa Mus. Photo L. Larsen.

straps with eyelets remain, but there is no corresponding lace. The piece measures about 44 cm at its greatest length, and the width of the front section is about 13 cm.

The shoe was found in 1886 in a small woodland bog, in the north-eastern part of which a human skeleton and a fur had earlier been discovered. It is known that fragments of pottery have also been found at various spots in the same bog. In the middle of the bog excavation disclosed a cavity containing the pieces of three medium-sized, grey earthenware vessels that had been placed on planks. It is believed that one of these vessels contained the shoe, which belongs to the National Museum. (Mus. No. C 5742).

Arnitlund Mose, Vedsted S., Gram H.

A shoe of a very elegant shape, formed by cutting out or tonguing the material, a method that seems aimed as much at the decorative as the functional. See Figs. 40 and 41. At the toe are the remains of a lace that gathered all the small tongues, and presumably kept the shoe fastened by continuing up over the instep. The heel-seam is intact. The material, which is very thick, measures up to 3 mm in section. The shoe belongs to Haderslev Amts Museum. (Mus. No. 3800).

Fig. 43. Diagram of Rishjarup fragment, Fig. 42.

Bericht., 1907, p. 52. – P. Nørlund: Klædedragt, p. 56. – H. C. Broholm: Skrydstrupfundet, p. 86f. – M. Hald: Olddanske Tekstiler, Fig. 388. – M. Hald: Jernalderens Dragt, p. 65. – S. Marstrander: Östfolds Jordbruksristninger, p. 225.

Rishjarup Mose, Rise S., Rise H.

Fragment of a shoe, Fig. 42, consisting of thick hide, about 2 mm in section. Length up to 26 cm, width about 27 cm. The vertical heel-seam has survived, and below this are a few small holes, and traces of stitching in the bottommost part of the heel section. Rishjarup Mose is about 5 km west-northwest of Aabenraa. The shoe belongs to Aabenraa Museum. (Mus. No. 1800).

Bericht., 1907, p. 52.

Conclusion

It would be satisfying now to be in a position to list a number of clearly distinguished types, and to trace the lines of their development through the centuries, but the situation is unfortunately not so simple.

Most of the shoes from bogs are casual finds, information as to the circumstances of the find is scanty or missing altogether, and the stylistic features often occur in an extraordinary mixture. Even within the relatively limited number of shoes – eleven altogether – found in the bogs of North Jutland and North Schleswig not two are identical. I must nevertheless attempt to follow a certain, perhaps sometimes rather summary, grouping, and at the same time make comparisons with archaeological and ethnological material from far and near.

We will begin with the above-mentioned eleven shoes, all of them hide shoes, which derive from the following localities:

1) Daugbjerg–Holbøl
   Fræer–Rønbjerg
   Borremose (a)–Vivsø
2) Ramten (Ørbækgaards Mose)
3) Sjøstrup–Havndal
   Arnitlund–Rishjarup

That the shoes from Daugbjerg and Holbøl are closely related both as to shape and to fastening is immediately apparent from the diagrams, Figs. 25 and 26. In spite of their extreme simplicity they are shaped to the foot, i.e. the left and the right foot respectively, and the indentations that give freedom to the front part of the foot have been made on the outer sides.

If we compare these with the shoes from Fræer and Rønbjerg, Figs. 28 and 32, we find that the latter, while much more characteristic in shape than the former, nevertheless follow the same traditions, in that the hide is folded or turned inwards to form a "pleat" at one side of the front of the shoe. The pleat is shown in the diagrams by dotted lines; these triangular areas correspond roughly to the cut-away triangles in the shoes from Daugbjerg and Holbøl.

The instep areas of the shoes are only partly cut loose; in the case of the Rønbjerg shoes this is shown in the photograph, Fig. 31, by a chalk line along the line of incision.

Here we evidently have the origin of the so-called "bjore", a term borrowed from Norwegian shoe terminology, signifying a separate instep section, or a let-in instep gore, a detail known from a number of primitive shoes of later times.[1] See Fig. 206, which shows the pattern for a Norwegian bjore shoe. Comparison may be made with the diagram of an Irish shoe, Fig. 191 a–b, Chap. XI, where the "bjore" is really fully developed and just about to separate itself from the whole, but still retains a meagre organic connection. It may perhaps at first glance seem exaggerated to identify the simple shape of the Rønbjerg shoe and its "kindred" as the ancestor of the elegant Irish model, which possesses a number of sophisticated details, but even these modifications, and the fine workmanship of the shoe from the Emerald Isle cannot conceal the basic form. One must join A. T. Lucas[2] in wonder at the strength of the tradition which has led the maker to provide extra labour for himself by maintaining the one-piece principle instead of building the shoe from several smaller pieces, and one may venture to say that the shoe, believed to date from the early Christian period in Ireland, occupies a leading position in a line of development which we are prevented from tracing continuously. Yet another feature of the Irish shoe is worthy of note, namely that it apparently consists of a perfectly flat piece of hide, so that the edges of the "bjore", and the front edge of the base, which were to be joined by stitching, were of different lengths. The stitching had therefore to be adjusted to this, no easy task.

Ivar Refsdal has made some observations on a problem of this kind during his study of ancient Norwegian shoecraft.[3]

We now return to our Danish shoes, and pause at a feature common to the Rønbjerg-Borremose shoes, and possibly the Fræer shoe as well, the peculiarity that the base, where it is to enclose the front part of the foot, has the shape of a bag or "pocket" – a feature that cannot be correctly reproduced in a drawing because the material is not a plane surface. The shoe may perhaps simply have been worn into shapelessness, but it is more likely that the bagginess was naturally present in the hide because it came from the hock area of the animal.

A similar exploitation of the natural properties of the material has already been mentioned above, p. 20, and there are several reports of the kind from different countries. Both Ivar Refsdal's and Knut Hermundstad's drawings show how the hide of the animal's leg may be cut to the best advantage for use as footwear.[4] Figs. 204 and 208.

One would not on the face of it be inclined to think that so special and limited a material would allow any great inventiveness, but there are nevertheless a number of variations, which may be illustrated by examples. We will first compare two Finnish shoes, one from Loimaa, near Åbo, the other from south-east Botten. See p. 189.[5] Both shoes consist of hide with the hair on from the leg of a cow or calf, i.e. of cattle, which have cloven hoofs.

1. I. Refsdal: Fotabunad, BB, p. 135. – Hjalmar Falk: Litt om Sagatidens skor, MM., 1917, p. 62. – J. Bugge: Skjösko og Snaukopp, MM., 1918, p. 72, Fig. 1.
2. A. T. Lucas: Footwear in Ireland, 1956, p. 367, Fig. 3–4.
3. I. Refsdal: Fotabunad, BB, p. 136.
4. I. Refsdal, *op. cit.*, p. 132. – Knut Hermundstad: Ymse Handverk, 1964, p. 395.
5. N. M. Finl.: No. 6015 and No. 8285.

Fig. 44. Detail of the gallery of pictures on the Gundestrup cauldron. N. M. Kbh. Photo S. Bengtson.

In Fig. 220 – No. 8285 – the material is used in such a way that the "pocket" of the hock forms the receptacle for the front of the human foot. On the base the lie of the hair is towards the back, which means that the bottoms of the shoes are smooth, an advantage in snow.[1] The accessory digits are at the back under the heel.

In the other shoe, Fig. 219, the hide has been used the other way round, with the hollow of the hock forming a space in the heel of the shoe. Underneath the shoe the lie of the hair is towards the front, i.e. against the normal gait of the wearer, and the accessory digits have been retained on the top of the front. This displays complete utilization of the hide, which thus retains its full expanse down to the hoof, and is able also to form a little of the upper in front. From a present-day point of view the accessory digits might also be regarded as an amusing ornament.[2]

1. Cf. I. Refsdal, *op. cit.*, p. 133. There are likewise instances of Norwegian shoes with accessory digits under the heel.
2. Jacob Bugge tells an old story from Urnes in Norway about shoes with accessory digits on the front: the boys called after a man wearing such shoes in the street: "Look at him! He's wearing his toes outside." MM, 1918, p. 72.

These facts must not however lead one to conclude that the natural shape of the hide was always accepted and used without alteration. On the contrary, as is shown by Norwegian cases, and as mentioned both by Ivar Refsdal and by Jacob Bugge, the shape could be improved by using a wooden last, which was pressed into the hollow of the hide while this was still fresh.[1] See p. 177.

Of the shoe from Ramten, Ørbækgaards Mose, it may be said at once that it stands entirely alone among bog material from northern Jutland. Its curious pattern, Figs. 37, 38, shows a faint approach to a sole, a feature that indicates rather a relationship with certain shoes found in South Schleswig, and it will therefore be discussed below in connection with these.

The following group, to which the North Jutland bogs have unfortunately contributed only some much decayed fragments, may be termed *tongued* or *openwork* shoes. Of the two fragments from Store Borremose, Fig. 39, one, the smaller, can be determined by the heel-seam as being the back of a shoe. In the adjacent area can be seen a piece of openwork ornamentation, corresponding to decorations on other shoes to be discussed below. The larger of the fragments likewise retains part of a seam, but its greatest peculiarity consists in the long, cut-out tongues, reminiscent of the well-known shoe from Torsbjerg Mose in Angel, South Schleswig. See below, p. 54. The fragments from Store Borremose were found in 1941 in an earthenware pot at a depth of 1½–2 m, held down by a piece of limestone. The records date it in the Early Iron Age.[2]

Most of the base survives in the Havndal shoe found in 1886.[3] The edge of one of the sides, with tongues and eyelets, is still more or less intact, together with several elegantly curved cuts, and long loops. This shoe also comes from a bog, a small one in a wood, in which had earlier been found a human skeleton and a fur, probably of the Celtic period and early Roman Iron Age; obviously they belong to that group of bodies found in bogs which is still being investigated. Potsherds have apparently also been found in the same area, and it is assumed that the shoe lay in a bog pot, of which some fragments remained, now unfortunately lost. According to the dating of archaeologists, bog pot finds belong to the period roughly 4th century B.C. to 2nd century A.D.[4]

A better-preserved specimen than these is the shoe from Arnitlund near Haderslev.[5] Here the construction is clear: a flat piece of hide cut out into a number of small tongues around the front of the foot and six rather longer tongues at the metatarsus, all gathered by means of a thong running through the points of the tongues. The pattern is slightly asymmetrical, and the heel carefully shaped.

No articles that could supply a date were found with the shoe, but on the basis of a pollen analysis Dr J. Iversen regards it as belonging to the Iron Age.

1. I. Refsdal, *op. cit.*, p. 134. – Jacob Bugge, *op. cit.*, p. 71. – As a parallel may be mentioned that in 1894 James Teit described the method of making shoes used by the North American Indian tribe of the Shuswaps, as follows: "... I may here mention the lasts or boards used for shaping and stretching moccasins. The moccasins were dampened with water, and smooth stones, like large flakes of jasper with rounded surface, were used for pressing the skin into proper shape along the edges of the boards". (The Jesup North Pacific Expedition. Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. II, 1900–1908, p. 508, Fig. 229).
2. Mus. No. C 24486.
3. Mus. No. C 5742.
4. Elisabeth Munksgaard: Den hellige Mose, Nat. Mus. 1968, p. 26, with a chronological table.
5. Bericht 1907, p. 40. – H. C. Broholm: Skrydstrupfundet, p. 87. – M. Hald: Jernalderens Dragt, p. 65.

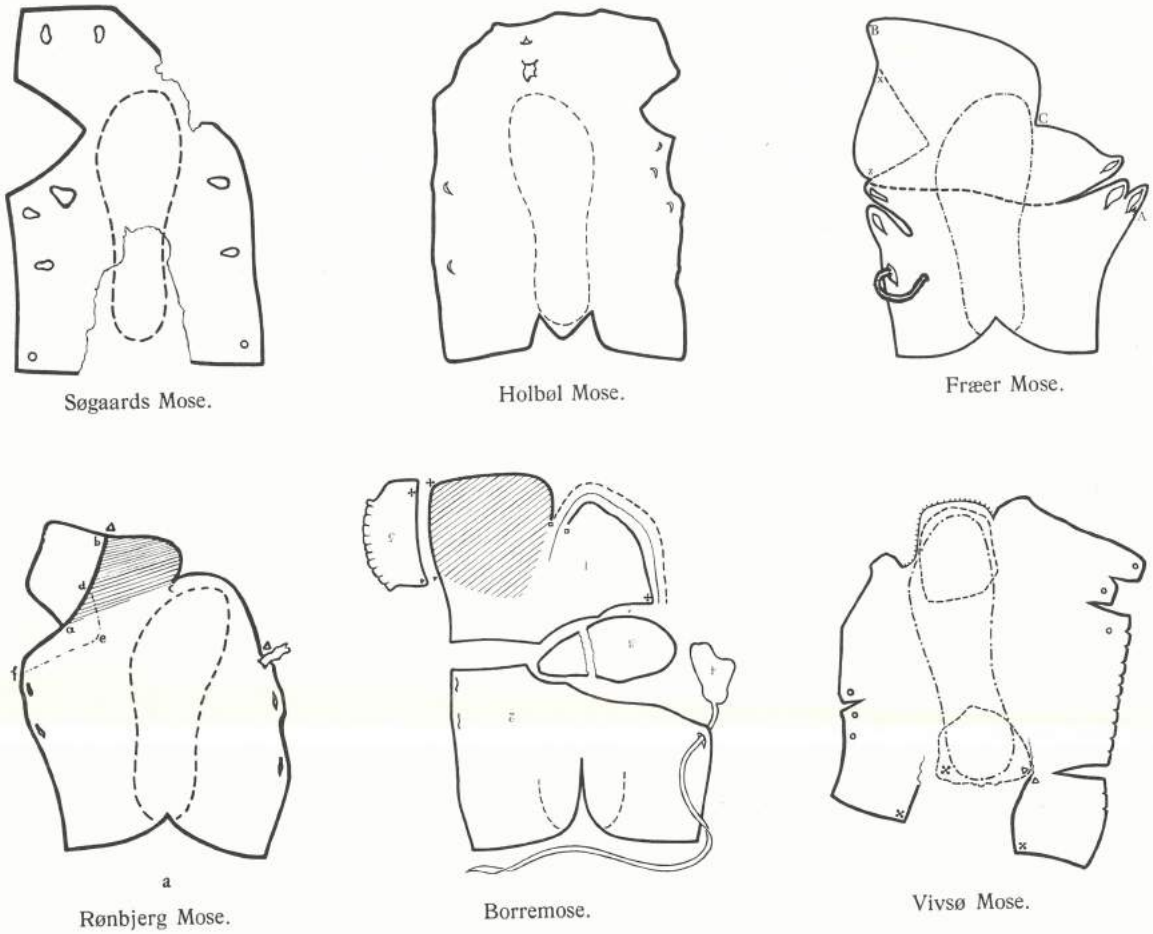


Fig. 45. Plate showing comparison of patterns. Figs. 25, 26, 28, 32, 34 and 36.

Another find from North Schleswig is the fragment of a shoe, Fig. 42, found in Rishjarup in 1804. In spite of its fragmentary state it can be seen to be akin to the Arnitlund[1] shoe. We possess no further information about it.

To conclude this section, let us look at Fig. 44, which shows a shoe worn by one of the leading personages in the picture-gallery displayed on the celebrated silver cauldron from Gundestrup Mose in Himmerland.[2] There seems no doubt that what this figure and several others are wearing are hide shoes, but it is difficult to determine whether they are shoes in which the front of the upper is folded, or whether they are tongued.

We now turn to material from the southern parts of the Jutland peninsula, but continue the discussion of the tongued hide shoes, which are there found in a better state of preservation.

1. Bericht 1907, p. 40.
2. See pictures: Ole Klindt-Jensen: Gundestrup Kedelen, Kbh. 1961.

Chapter III

Shoes from Bogs in South Schleswig and Holstein[1]

Description

Ægyptenmore, Utersen, Holstein

Hide shoe shaped by means of a deep dart for the heel and elegant tonguing of the front. In the heel-seam, which is the only seam, the edges of the dart face inwards, and the tongues were gathered over the instep by a lace running through them, of which a small remnant remains at the tip of the shoe. The shoe, which measures approximately 25 cm in length, is astonishingly well-preserved considering the vicissitudes it has experienced. It was found in 1789, and was to begin with in private possession, but was finally, in 1839, included in the collection of antiquities in Kiel, Figs. 46 and 47.

Utersen bog, at the bottom of which the shoe is stated to have been found in the black peat resting on sand, lies about 30 km north-west of Hamburg and hardly more than 10 km from the Elbe.

(L. M. No. K. S. 1689).

Litt.: Bericht. 1907, p. 39ff. – Lindenschmit: Altert. uns. Heiden. Vorzeit II H. 7 and Pl. 5, Fig. 2, Mainz 1870.

Torsbjerg Mose, Sønder Brarup, Angel

The beautiful Torsbjerg shoe is well-known in archaeological literature: it occupies a unique position, as regards both detail, and elegance of pattern, see Fig. 48.

It was found, together with another shoe and some small fragments, during excavations carried out in the period 1858–61, and was made public as early as 1863 by the excavator Conrad Engelhardt, who had had the opportunity to see the material just after it was excavated. We therefore prefer here to use his description, which runs as follows:

"Leather sandals. A beautifully decorated complete sandal for the left foot was found deep in the black peat; it is shown unfolded on Plate 3, Fig. 1. It is cut from one piece of leather,

1. All the shoes described in Chaps. IIIa, IVa and Va belong to the Schleswig-Holsteinisches Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Gottorp Castle, Schleswig. By kind permission of the Museum authorities the collection was with a few exceptions placed on loan for photography at the studio of the National Museum, Copenhagen, and where nothing else is indicated all the accompanying photographs are by the Museum photographer, Lennart Larsen. Schleswig-Holsteinisches Museum is indicated below by the letters L M S.

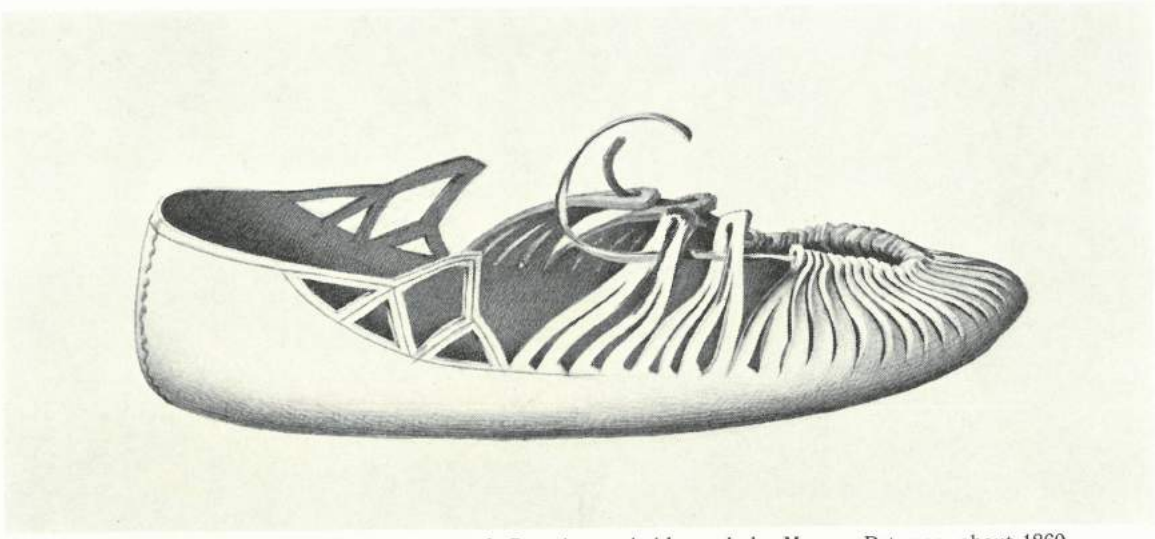


Fig. 46. Shoe from Ægyptenmore. L. M. S. Drawing probably made by Magnus Petersen, about 1860.

Fig. 47. Shoe from Ægyptenmore (cf. Fig. 46). Photographed in the 1960s.

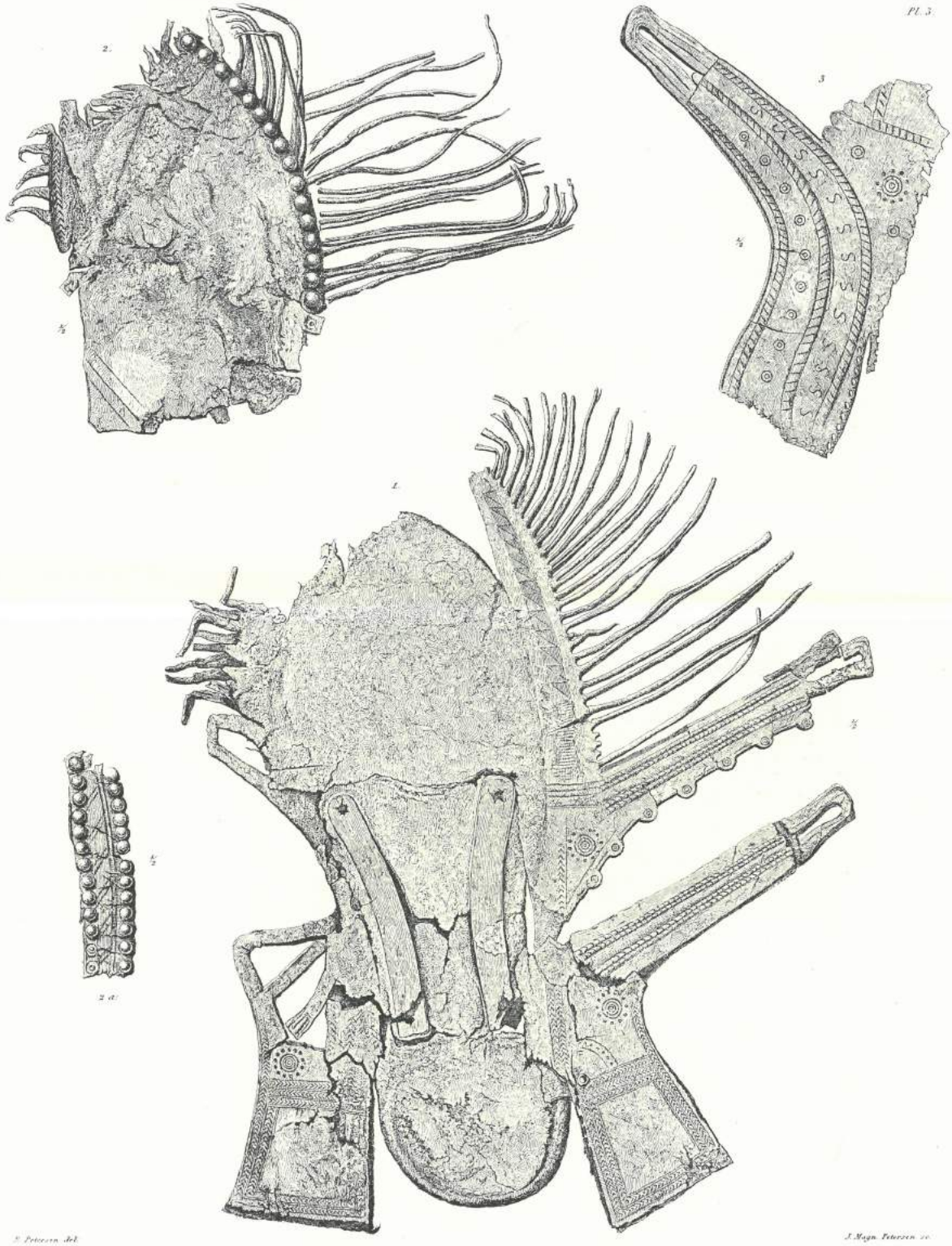


Fig. 48. Tongued shoe from Torsbjerg Mose. L. M. S. Drawn by Magnus Petersen, 1863.

then sewn together at the back of the heel, and fastened over the foot by means of narrow thongs and buttons. The length from heel to toe is 10½ inches. Under the sole are two longish quadrangular impressions in the leather, with nail-holes at either end. Here the real sole was fastened; but we do not now know of what material this was made. As stated, the heel was enclosed by a 1¾ inch high, fairly thick half-hoop, on the sides of which a small nail-hole is to be found, and in one of these is a small nail with a round silver-coated head, perhaps for fastening on the spur-strap. Those parts of the sandal that were visible when in use are decorated with impressed ornaments, partly broken lines between strokes, partly concentric circles surrounded by smaller circles; a form of decoration commonly used throughout a long period of antiquity.

Another complete sandal is made of thicker leather than this, and without decoration; some fragments of a third sandal have a row of rivets with large silver-coated heads along the edges of the sole. (Pl. 3, Fig. 2)."

The find also included many articles, some of them foreign, often damaged by fire or violence. It is believed that they were deposited as votive offerings, won in battle and given to a war-god as a thank-offering for a victory.

The Torsbjerg find belongs to an important group of finds which also includes Vimose, Nydam, and others, all widely different from the bog finds that have supplied the majority of the shoes discussed here.

C. Engelhardt: Torsbjerg Mosefund, 1863, p. 10f., p. 19 and Pl. 3. – J. Brøndsted: Danmarks Oldtid III, 1960, p. 208, 229ff.

Damdorf, South Schleswig

A pair of well-preserved hide shoes of a most peculiar, one might say ingenious, pattern.

They nevertheless embody the old type, in that they have been made according to the "one-piece principle". See the diagram of the left shoe, Fig. 58. Only the heel point is an addition. The rest forms an organic whole, and even the lace belongs to this, in that it forms a continuation of the toe of the shoe in an extension about ¾–1 m long. The shoe is closed from the toe up the instep, the lace being threaded through openings along the edges, as shown in the photograph, Figs. 57, 58. One set of eyelets is formed by five small triangular holes along the edge on the inner side of the foot, while the corresponding set on the opposite edge consists of a row of slits. These slits form the base of a triangular area which is part of a decoration formed by small, parallel slits forming sideways diagonal lines.

None of the material has here been cut away, but when the lace is pulled tight the slits open into rhombus-like shapes.

This construction must have made the shoe fairly elastic and comfortable. It is true that the material in its present state is stiff and unpliable, but when it has its natural pliability this special construction must have shaped it very closely to the instep and arch. The heel has also been shaped with care. The rounded area for the heel is so large that it can extend a little way up over the outer sides, and when the two side flaps are closed the fit is extremely good; compare "bird's-wing", Figs. 209–211. The added heel-point likewise strengthens the impression of the care expended on careful shaping and workmanship. In proportion to the length, which is approximately 27 cm,

Fig. 49. A pair of openwork shoes from Damdorf Mose. L. M. S.

the width seems unnaturally narrow, in addition to which the knot of the lace, which is intact on top of the right shoe, allows only a small opening for the foot. The shoes can hardly have been wearable in this condition. They were found in 1900 with a body, which had been deposited naked in the peat. A cloak had been spread over it, and at its feet lay the shoes, which were wrapped in a pair of breeches, together with a leather belt and two footwrappings.

(K. S. 10924 e L. M.).

Bericht. 1900, p. 10 and 13. – Bericht. 1907, p. 54. – M. Hald: Aarb. 1963, p. 16ff.

Conclusion

We will now continue the discussion of openwork shoes, and turn to a group consisting of three exceptionally fine specimens, to be found in the Landesmuseum at Gottorp Castle. They are all of the highest quality, but in spite of their relationship widely different.

First the beautiful little shoe from Ægyptenmore, Utersen, not far from the Elbe.[1] The shoe is very reminiscent of the Arnitlund shoe described above, Figs. 40 and 41, being likewise cut in

1. Bericht. 1907, p. 39. – L. Lindenschmit: Alterthümer Unserer Heidnischen Vorzeit, 1870, Pl. IV, No. 2.

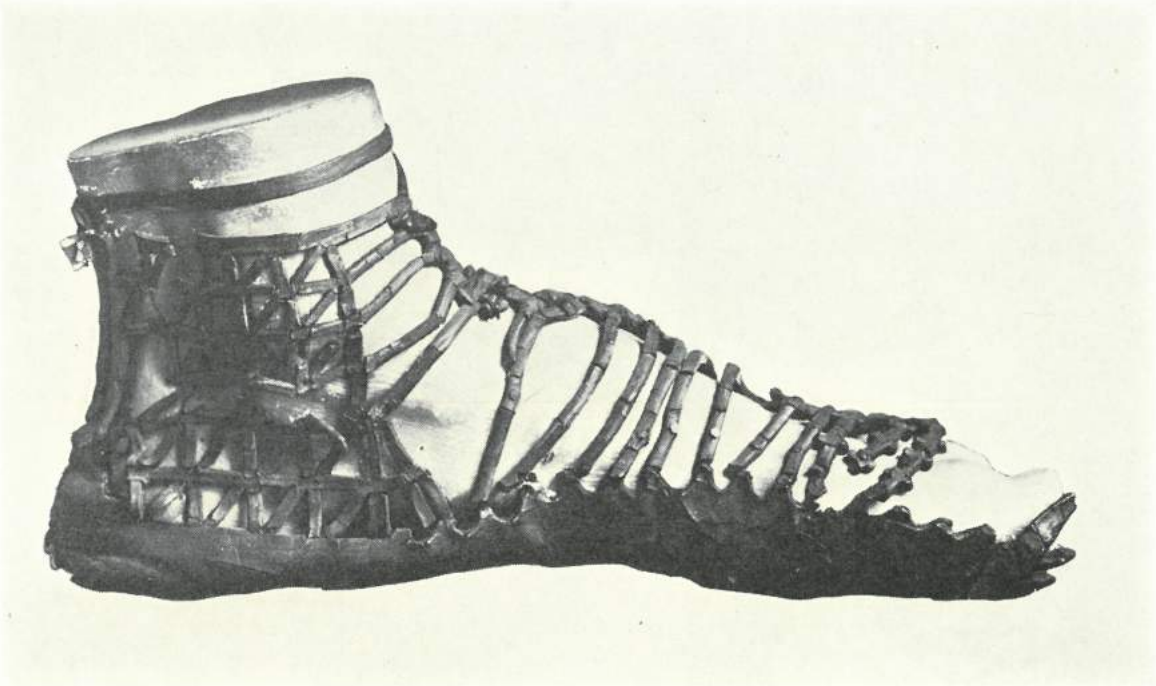


Fig. 50. Roman shoe. 2nd or 3rd century. No. 29.200/1. Photo London Mus.

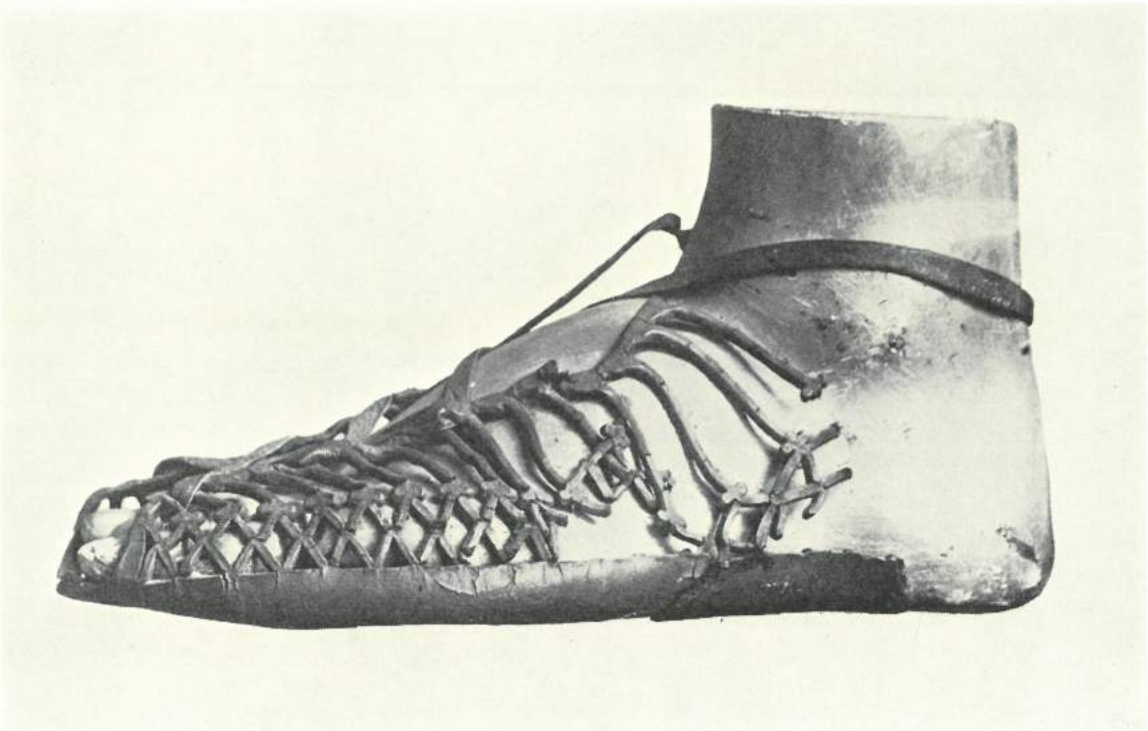


Fig. 51. Roman shoe. 1st or 2nd century A.D. Copthall Court. No. A. 241. Photo London Mus.

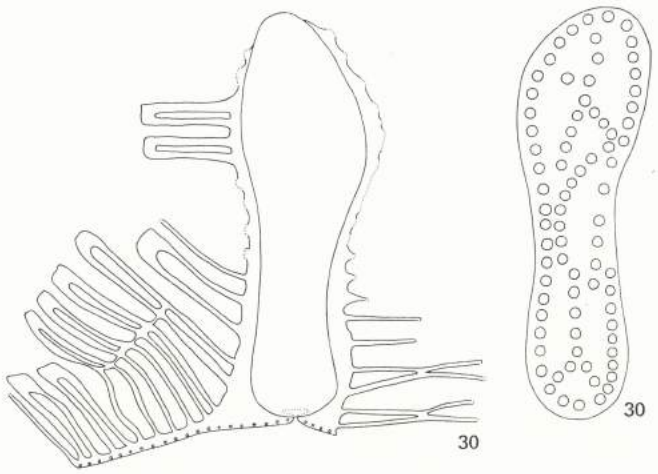


Fig. 52. a–b. Diagrams of Roman shoe and sole from Valkenburg. After W. Groemann-van Waateringe.

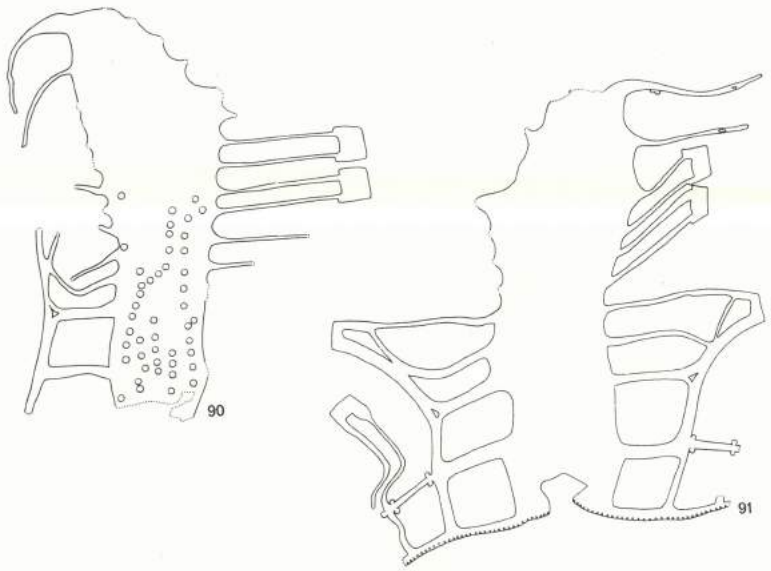


Fig. 53. Diagrams of Roman shoes from Valkenburg. After W. Groemann-van Waateringe.

one piece, and joined with a heel-seam. Its special elegance derives from the quality of the cut and the working, but unfortunately it cannot be dated, since it is a casual find made as early as 1789.

The handsome shoe from Torsbjerg bog[1] is rather more pretentious. Unfortunately conditions are not very good for dating, since the find is believed to comprise objects from several deposits distributed over a period of about 300 years, namely between the early part of the 2nd century and the early part of the 5th century A.D.[2] All we have to go on is therefore the special characteristics of the shoe, and first and foremost the noteworthy fact that, in spite of its elaborate pattern, it is cut from one piece of leather, i.e. it belongs to the hide shoe type. C. Engelhardt,

1. C. Engelhardt: Torsbjerg Mosefund, 1863, p. 19, Pl. 3.
2. J. Brøndsted: Danmarks Oldtid, Vol. III, 1960, p. 208 ff.

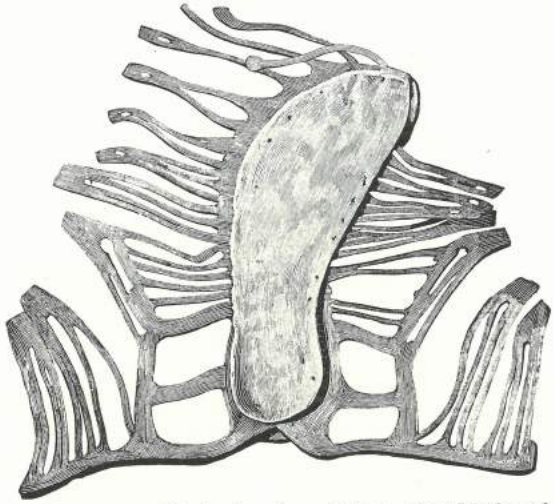


Fig. 54. Drawing of Roman soldier's shoe from Mainz. After Lindenschmit Sohn, 1900

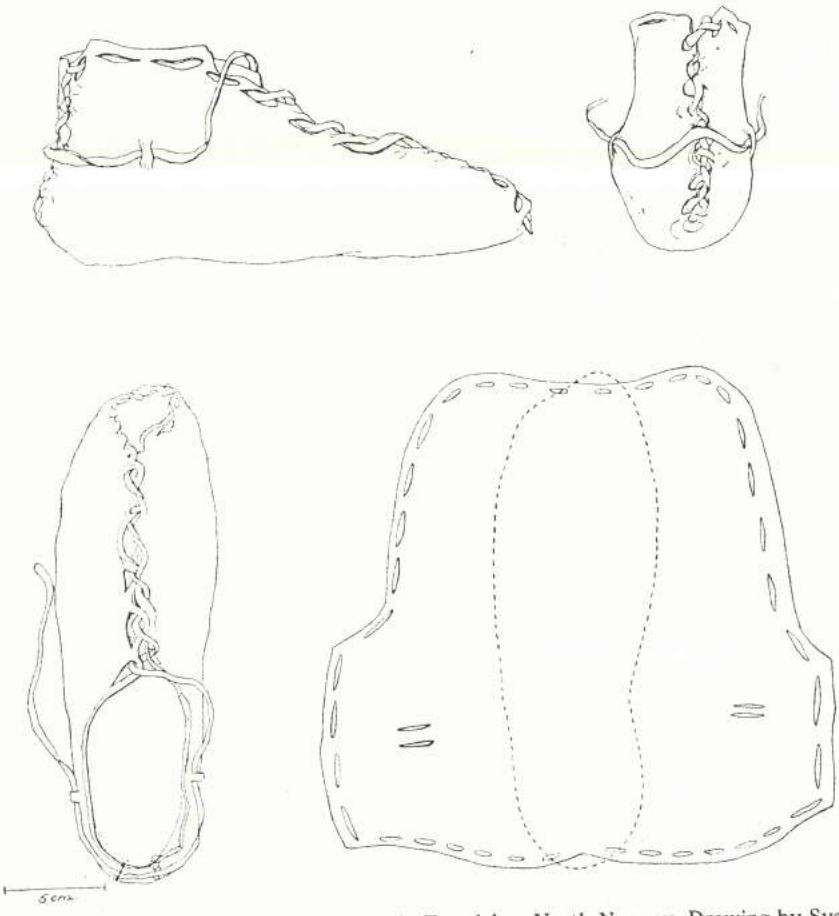


Fig. 55. Diagram of a hide shoe found in a bog at Leksvik, Trøndelag, North Norway. Drawing by Sverre Marstrander. Compare the illustration of the soldier's shoe from Mainz, Fig. 54.

Fig. 56. The Leksvik shoes. Trondheim Mus. Photo Sverre Marstrander.

who has published the shoe, thinks however that it originally had a base, a point to which we return below.

It will be seen from the drawing (Fig. 48) made by Magnus Petersen, that the front of the shoe is markedly tongued, and the curve of the heel deep. With its impressed motifs and metal studs this shoe, regarded as a piece of equipment, surpasses all the models hitherto considered, and in fact the circumstances indicate that it belonged to a foreign military personage; but before we begin to discuss this, we will glance back at the tongued shoes from the northern districts of Jutland described earlier (Store Borremose, Fig. 39, and Havndal, p. 44). It is immediately evident that these are far inferior. They were probably intended for "the man in the street", and the specimens together with bog pots are assigned to the early Iron Age.[1] They probably represent a cruder stage of a pattern which in more southern civilizations attained the sophistication that

1. According to the latest dating bog pots are assigned to about the 4th century B.C. to the 2nd century A.D. – Elisabeth Munksgaard: Den hellige Mose, chronological table. The bog pot from Borremose is dated by Vestergaard Nielsen in the Celtic Period.

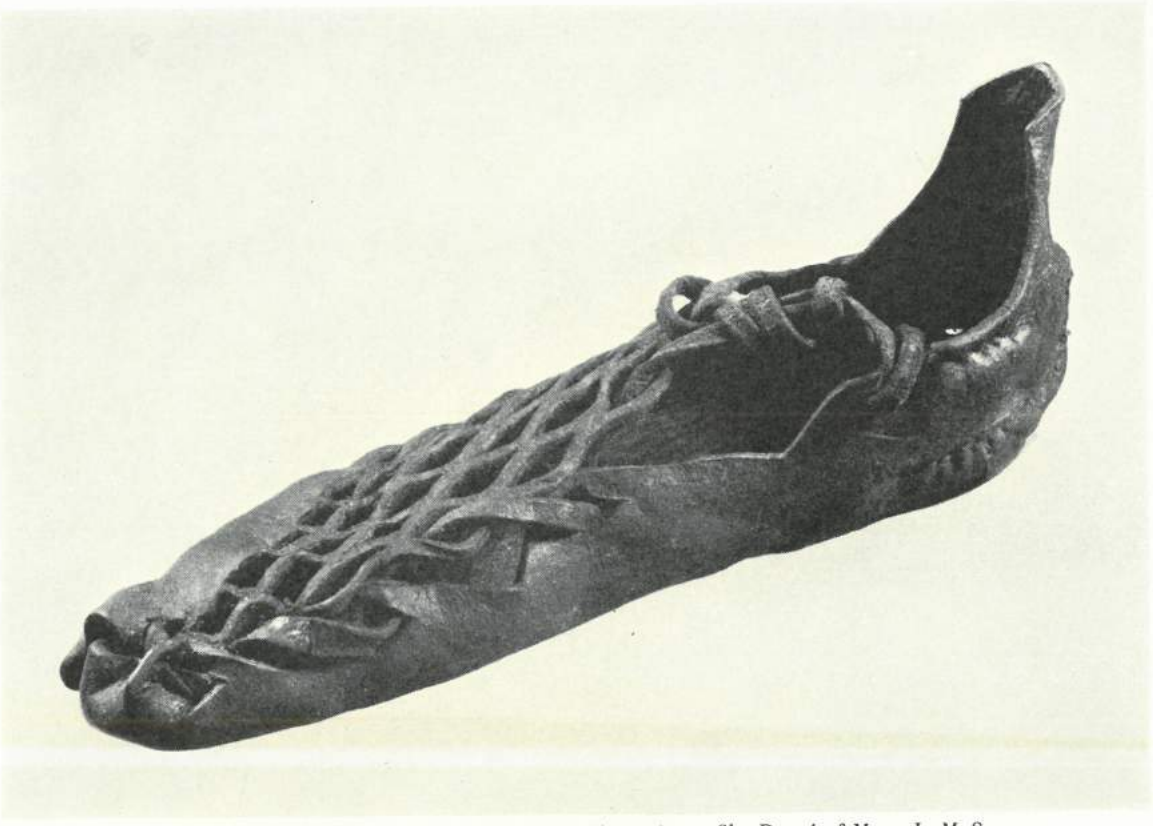


Fig. 57. Shoe with openwork pattern. Here shown in profile. Damdorf Mose. L. M. S.

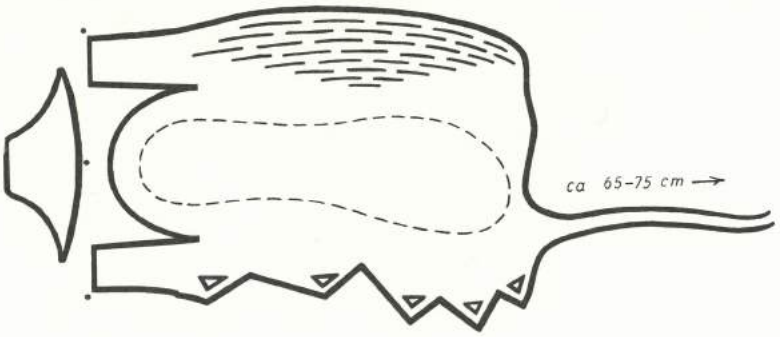


Fig. 58. Diagram of shoe from Damdorf, Fig. 57.

characterizes the Torsbjerg shoe. They cannot therefore be directly descended from this, and since the Torsbjerg objects seem to be war trophies, mainly of Roman origin, it is natural to seek material for comparison within a collection of shoes found during excavations in London, and held to be relics of the Roman legions' stay in the city during the early centuries A.D.[1]

1. Mus. No. A 241, found in Copthall Court, perhaps 2nd or 3rd century A.D., and Mus. No. 29.200/1, London, same period. – Of a group of shoes found in bogs, treated by H. Hahne in Vorzeitfund aus Niedersachsen, 1919, p. 40f., several resemble the Torsbjerg shoe, e.g. a shoe from Obenaltendorf, a find dated by a piece of jewellery at about 200 A.D. – but this material cannot be further considered here.

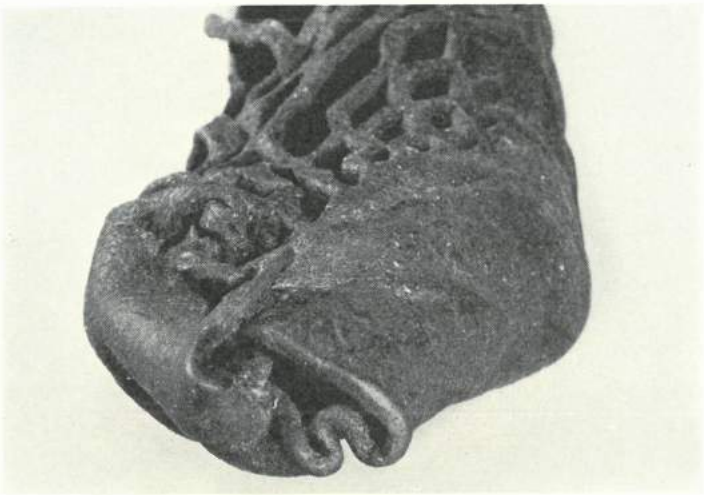


Fig. 59. Detail of Damdorf shoe: the toe.

Fig. 60. Heel area of the Damdorf shoe.

Two specimens shown here as Figs. 50 and 51 are estimated to belong to the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. Like the Torsbjerg shoe they are cut in one piece, and like it typologically to be termed hide shoes. By their decoration, which is not exactly simple, they must be classified with the openwork shoes with the wheel-motif, to be discussed below.

Shoes of this kind are not unique. One is tempted to say naturally not, for the Roman soldiers had business far and wide within their dominions.

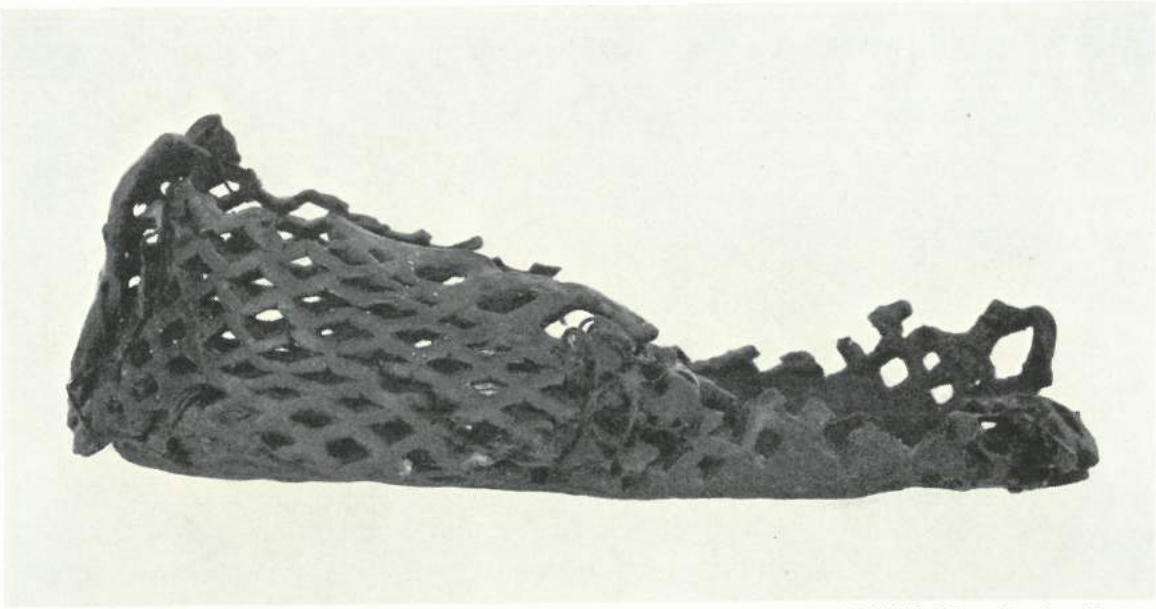


Fig. 61. Fragment of Roman child's shoe with openwork upper. London Mus. No. 29.200/2. Photo London Mus.

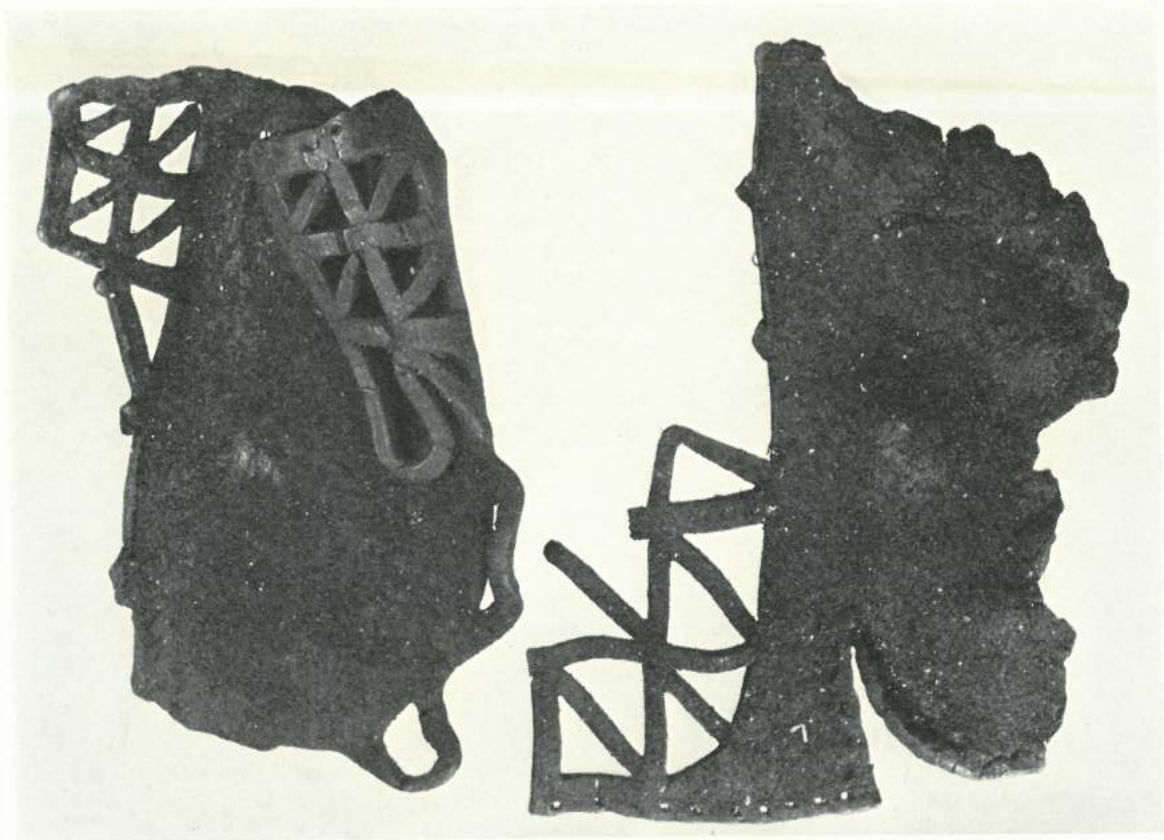


Fig. 62–63. Fragments of Roman hide shoes displaying openwork. Guildhall Mus. No. 14.143 and 14.136. Photo Guildhall Mus.

Shoes with openwork uppers have also been found in the Roman fortress of Valkenburg, in the south of Holland, published by W. Groenman-van Waateringe. Most of the shoes have a triple base: lowest a sole with metal studs, next a layer cut in one piece with the decorative upper, and lastly an insole. See the drawings Figs. 52 and 53 here, which give a clear picture of the construction of the shoes: we find that it is our old acquaintance the hide shoe, or "one-piece shoe", that here continues its existence in disguise, as the middle layer that holds the whole handsome Roman shoe together.[1] In addition it forms the upper and occasionally the leg. Since shoes in general, and soldiers' shoes in particular, are subjected to heavy wear, it seems an obvious precaution to provide a hide shoe with an underlayer as reinforcement. Nor is it surprising that a lighter insole should be added, for comfort and to protect the foot against chafing while on the march.

One might now start a long discussion about typology: *hide shoe versus soled shoe.* There is however no doubt that the hide shoe here occupies the primary position, and that the idea of adding two soles is due to the practical mind of the Romans. Compare also Fig. 54, Mainz.

Perhaps it may here be of interest to look a little closer at the hide shoe from Leksvik in northern Norway published by Sverre Marstrander, diagram Fig. 55,[2] for it strikingly resembles the inner part, and bearing component, of the Valkenburg shoe. If, for instance, in Fig. 56, we disregard the elegance supplied by the openwork, it is clear that in its basic form it is closely related to the Norwegian model, which a pollen analysis dates at the Celtic Iron Age, or possibly even the Late Bronze Age. So far as we know at present, the true soled shoe appears in Scandinavia at a much later date.

The leather articles in the Valkenburg fortress are dated at about 40–50 A.D.,[3] and this date acquires considerable interest in connection with the Torsbjerg shoe, for the fact that according to C. Engelhardt's description it had a separate sole added to the base, together with the resemblance in the decoration, is evidence of its kinship with the soldiers' shoes discussed above. As regards dating the Torsbjerg shoe, it seems permissible to classify it with the earliest objects in the Sønder Brarup find.

Another shoe find of high quality from the South Schleswig area is that of the two shoes from Damdorf bog, about 7½ km south-west of Eckernförde.[4] They are already of special value simply by being a pair, which is very rare. The material is very thick, and the shoes are of a very heavy type. Although both the cut and the fashioning must be described as exceptional they are of a primitive kind and quite clearly belong to the hide shoe type, each shoe consisting of a single piece of hide, with a pointed piece over the heel as the only addition – even the lace is part of the whole, for it forms a 65–75 cm long continuation of the shoe-tip, and is organically connected with it.

The heel is likewise curious, in that the two side flaps that meet in the vertical seam are quite narrow. Their lower edge was probably shorter than the edge of the heel curve to which

1. W. Groenman-van Waateringe: Romaeins lederwerk uit Valkenburg Z. H. 1967, p. 133, Fig. 47 (30) and p. 137, Fig. 49 (90–91), p. 207 ff.
2. Sverre Marstrander: Et par nyrfunne jernaldersko fra Leksvik i Trøndelag, 1954, p. 81 ff. – Kari Egede Larsen: Den pollen-analytiske Undersøgelse av Leksvikskoene. P. 107 ff.
3. W. Groenman-van Waateringe, *op. cit.*, p. 207.
4. Bericht. 1900, p. 6, and 1907, p. 42 ff.

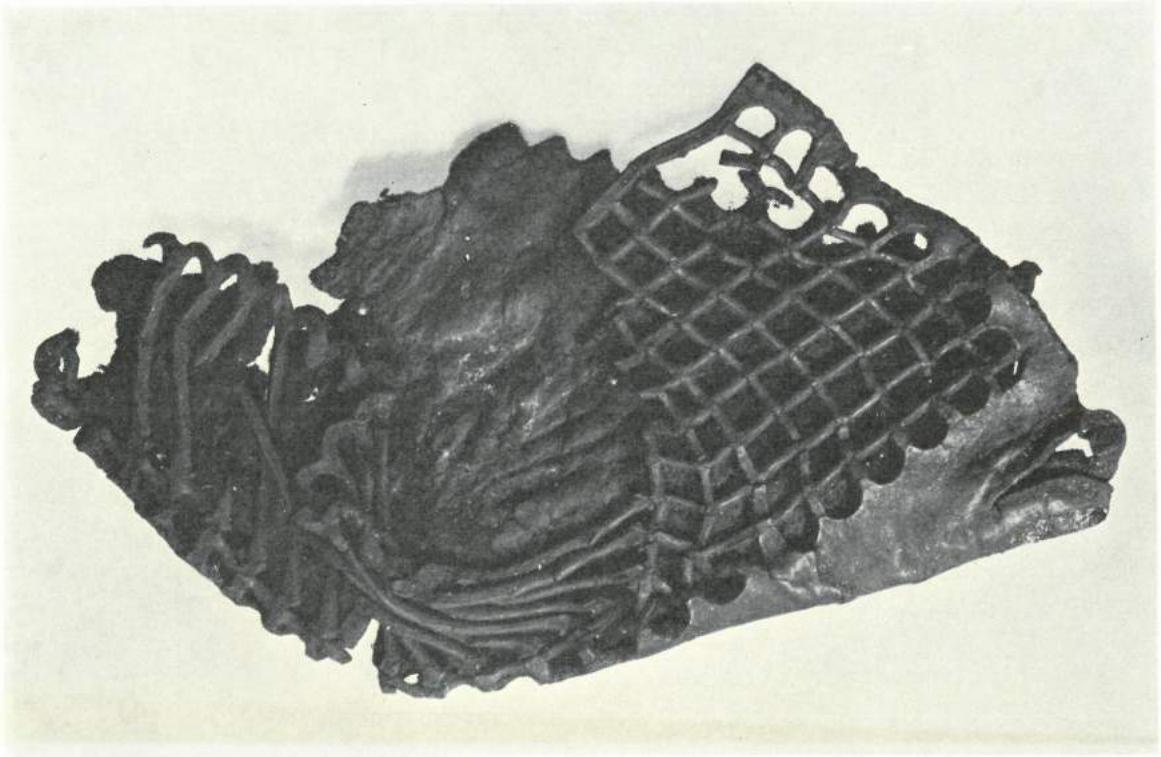


Fig. 64. Fragment of Roman shoe. Note the shape of the heel indentation, bottom right, and traces of thread along the straight edge, which was part of the vertical heel-seam. Guildhall Mus. No. 14.127. Photo Guildhall Mus.

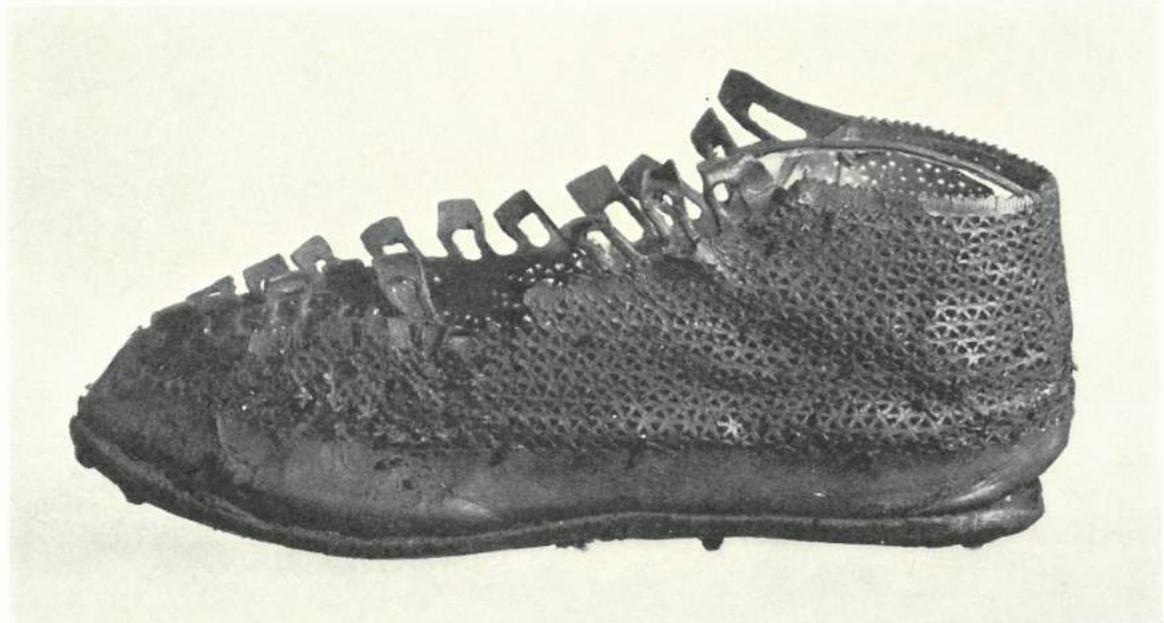


Fig. 65. Roman shoe with openwork pattern and detached sole. Possibly 1st or 2nd century A.D. Guildhall Mus. No. 20.004. Photo Guildhall Mus.

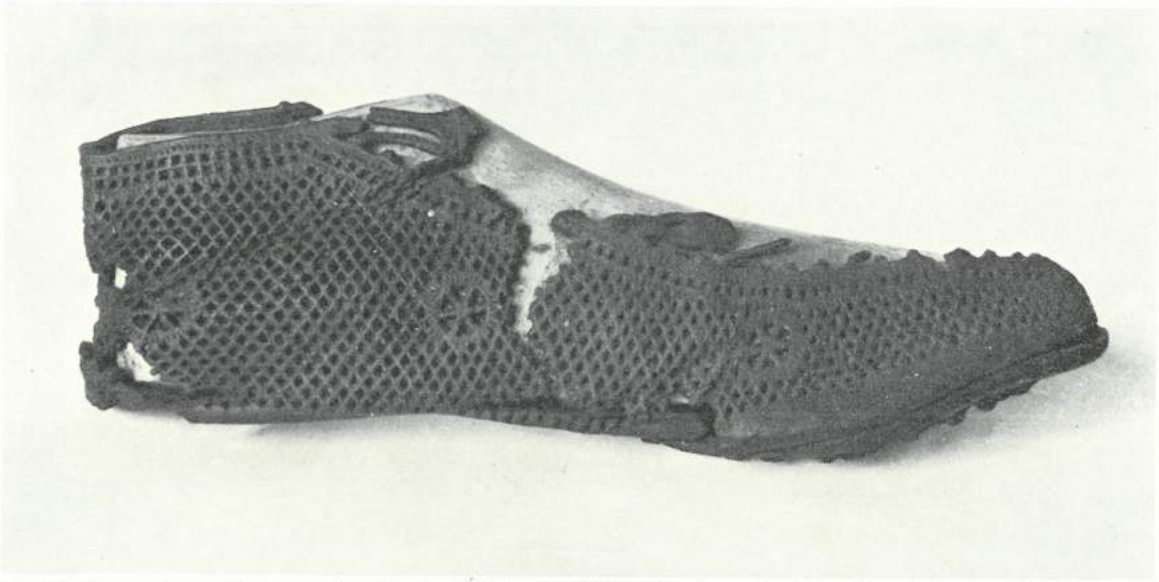


Fig. 66. Roman shoe with openwork pattern and "wheel motif" on the upper. Heel area slightly damaged, but the upper appears to be cut in one piece. Detached sole. Possibly 1st or 2nd century A.D. Guildhall Mus. No. 3494. Photo Guildhall Mus.

they were to be joined, and the latter appears therefore to have been if not actually gathered, then at least joined with particular care. As a result of this, the horizontal seam is placed rather high, and the construction provides plenty of room for the heel. Cf. the Lapp model, Fig. 209–211, where a heel-seam of this kind is called a "bird's wing".

The diagram, which is made from the left shoe, shows that the basic pattern is asymmetrical and the negative ornamentation likewise. Openwork triangles on one side and groups of slits on the other serve both a decorative and a functional purpose. The slits are placed in a sideways diagonal, and when the lace gathers the two sides, and a foot fills the shoe, the decoration will have the appearance of a pierced diagonal pattern.[1]

With these shoes may be compared a Roman child's shoe dug up in London. Here however it is not entirely clear whether the pattern is formed by cutting slits, or whether the rhombus-shaped holes have been punched. The shoe obviously belongs to the hide shoe type. The base is very worn, but the area at the rear is preserved well enough to enable us to detect a curved heel like that of the Damdorf shoes, and the affinity is thus evident as regards both type and ornamentation.

The child's shoe belongs to a collection of shoes and shoe fragments owned by the London Museum,[2] which has kindly sent me the following account: "Many of our Roman fragments were excavated at a period in the 19th century when the importance of exact data was not yet realized. It was sufficient that they were Roman, and that they had come from London, and no attempt was made to ascertain, by stratification or otherwise, to which period of the Roman occupation they belonged".

1. M. Hald: Udhugne Oldtidssko, Aarb. 1963, p. 16f.
2. My thanks are due to the London Museum for information in a letter of 11.6.1964 and photos.

The material in question is however so plentiful that the Guildhall Museum has also been supplied with a good deal, including two well-preserved shoes and three fragments, shown here in Figs. 62–66.[1] It is evident that the first three are fragments of hide shoes. They all retain the edge of a heel-seam, with holes from stitching. Fig. 63 further shows half of a round heel-opening, corresponding to that of the Damdorf shoes, and in the fold at the bottom right of Fig. 64 a similar phenomenon can be seen. The material is fairly thick.

The two almost completely preserved shoes, Figs. 65 and 66, can be seen at first glance to differ from the Damdorf shoes in having a separate sole, but they are nevertheless of considerable interest because of their decoration. The workmanship is perfect, and the perforations give the

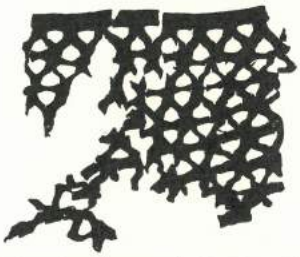


Fig. 67. Leather fragment showing openwork pattern, "wheel motif". From the Roman military camp at Vindonissa, Switzerland. After A. Gansser-Burckhardt.

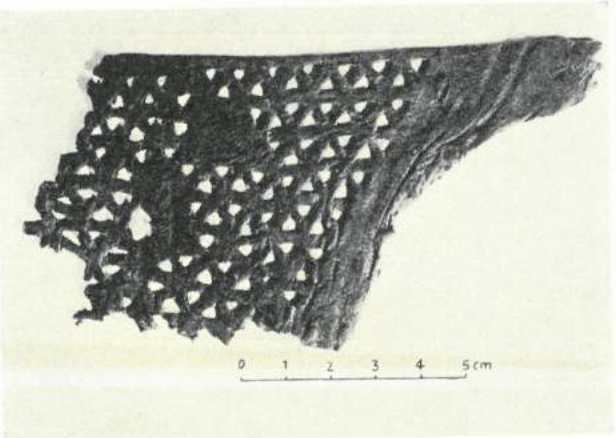


Fig. 68. Fragment of openwork leather showing "wheel motif" from Vindonissa. After A. Gansser-Burckhardt.

impression of having been made with a sharp instrument such as a punch. Here there is at least no doubt that the material has been removed from the holes.

Parallels to this ornamentation are to be found in some leather fragments, Figs. 67 and 68, from the Roman military camp in Vindonissa in Switzerland. A. Gansser-Burckhardt,[2] who has published the leather articles from this site, calls the motif "Rädchengitter", and if we compare this with the patterns on the specimens found in London we find once more the wheel-motif in all four cases, carefully or crudely executed.

In Fig. 65 it extends over practically the whole surface, and in Fig. 66 the "wheel" appears as an independent decoration on a background of small, vertical, rhomboid holes. It is also recognizable on the fragment in Fig. 67, and likewise in Fig. 68, though in a damaged condition.

Of the articles belonging to the Guildhall Museum it is stated that they are believed to date

1. My thanks are due to the Guildhall Museum for information, and for kindly placing photographs at my disposal.
2. August Gansser-Burckhardt: Das Leder und seine Verarbeitung im römischen Legionslager Vindomissa, p. 114, Fig. 89 and 90.

from the 1st or 2nd century A.D., but in the case of the Vindonissa fragments the dating is rather more precise, the camp as a whole being attributed to the period 15–100 A.D.[1]

W. Groenman-van Waateringe, who during her work on the Valkenburg shoes also studied the leather articles from Vindonissa, says of these that the uniform treatment of the material, and the punched patterns, give the impression that these are workshop products made for an army.[2] One gets the same impression with some of the Roman shoes found in London; and here one's thoughts return to the Torsbjerg shoe, for what has just been described is further evidence in favour of the theory that this shoe also, with its (originally) added sole, its elaborate decoration, and its almost too practised workmanship, derives from a military shoemaker's workshop attached to a Roman citadel somewhere to the south.

But now what of the Damdorf shoes with which we started? Well, their connection with the group can hardly be doubted. In particular they resemble the crude fragments excavated in London, and we have now had ample evidence that the old hide shoe pattern survived inside Roman shoes from Valkenburg, even in those apparently most sophisticated. Typologically there is therefore no reason why the Damdorf shoes should not be Roman. And yet – they do not show traces of mass production or routine workmanship. They are examples of high quality craftsmanship, cut according to a pattern that required due allowance made at one and the same time for shape, decoration, and method of fastening (the latter of a quite exceptional kind), which can hardly have needed less care and thought than the task of creating highly decorated models. It is tempting to assume that the Damdorf shoes are the local production of a particularly skilled shoemaker.

1. A. G. Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 5: "Der riesige Schutthügel birgt die Abfälle des römischen Legionslagers aus der Zeit von 15 bis 100 n. Chr." – Rudolf Laur-Belart: Vindonissa (1935), p. 99, considers it likely that Vindonissa was founden during the closing years of the emperor Augustus' rule (i.e. between the years 9 and 14 A.D.).
2. W. Groenman-van Waateringe: *op. cit.*, p. 207. – Cf. also L. Lindenschmit Sohn: Die Alterhümer unserer Heidnisched Vorzeit. Mainz 1900, vol. IV, Pl. 37ff.

Chapter IV

Shoes from Bogs and Fortified Sites in South Schleswig and Holstein[1], Special Forms and Soled Shoes

Descriptions

Wedelspang, Haddeby, South Schleswig

Hide shoe for the right foot, Fig. 69. Gathering seam on the heel and along the middle of the front. As shown in the diagram Fig. 70, the pattern forms a curve towards the front, and the stitching pulls the edges together in neat folds.

The original thread has vanished, but it can be seen that the stitching has been done from the inside and from the bottom (cf. the method used in the present-day Faroese shoe, Fig. 200, the Irish shoe, Fig. 186 and two shoes from Scotland, Fig. 184).

The heel was closed by means of the same method, but here also the original thread is missing, and the end of the seam is a little obscure at the bottom. A new lace now runs through slits, showing how the width of the opening for the foot was regulated, and the shoe fastened on. The length of the shoe is approximately 23 cm, and the width under the front approximately 8 cm.

(L. M. Cat. 1904, K. S. 11468 c).

Bericht. 1907, p. 52.

Wedelspang, Haddeby, South Schleswig

Hide shoe, Figs. 71, 72, imperfectly preserved, particularly on the bottom. Both the front seam and the heel seam are carried a little way under the foot. Along the opening for the foot is a row of slits for a lace for pulling the edge together and fastening on the shoe. The original lace is present to a length of about 40 cm. The original stitching is missing. The length of the shoe is approximately 22 cm.

(L. M. Cat. 1909, K. S. 12215).

Wedelspang, Haddeby, South Schleswig

Hide shoe for the right foot, Figs. 73, 74, symmetrically cut, and with a gathering seam along the middle of the vamp and the middle of the heel. The seams continue a little way under the

1. Quoted in the following as L. M. followed by the year of the catalogue, or the museum's number. K. S. signifies the Kieler collection. – Note that the following series of shoes in the L. M. is grouped according to pattern, and not source.

Fig. 69. Hide shoe from Wedelspang Mose, No. 11468 c. L. M. S.

toe and heel, along the axis of the foot. The edges of the vamp seam are turned inwards. A lace, which passed through ten cut slits, is partly preserved. The shoe is 24 cm long.

(L. M. Cat. 1904, K. S. 11468 d).

Bericht. 1907, p. 52.

Wedelspang, Haddeby, South Schleswig

Hide shoe for the right foot, Figs. 75, 76. The heel section is markedly shaped, and the vertical seam in the middle of the heel meets the gathering round the curve thus produced. The front is likewise cut in a special way so that the shoe has a slightly broad toe. The gathering seam along the vamp follows a steep line, and the opening for the foot, which is fairly wide, is drawn round the

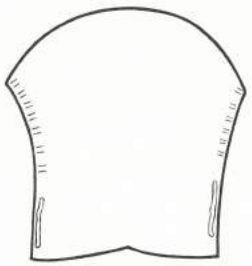


Fig. 70. Diagram of shoe No. 11468 c, Fig. 69.

Fig. 71. Hide shoe from Wedelspang Mose, marked K. S. 12215. L. M. S.

foot by means of a lace, which passes through a considerable number of cut slits in a row now broken off. The original lace is missing. Length approximately 24 cm, width under the toe 8–9 cm.

(L. M. Cat. 1904, K. S. 11468 a).

Bericht. 1907, p. 52.

Lunden Mose, Nord Ditmarsken

Front part of a hide shoe for the right foot, Figs. 77, 78. The deep indentation under the toe and the thick loops for a lace are characteristic. The original lace is missing, and the absence

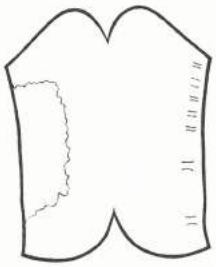


Fig. 72. Diagram of shoe K.S. 12215, Fig. 71.

Fig. 73. Hide shoe from Wedelspang Mose, marked K. S. 11468 d. L. M. S.

of the heel area prevents any certainty as to the pattern of this. The piece now measures 21 cm one way and up to 26 cm the other. The material is very thick.

(L. M. Cat. 1932 or later. K. S. 15774).

Lembecksburg, Föhr

Hide shoe for the left foot, Figs. 79, 80, well shaped with deep indentations for the heel and toe (cf. Fig. 76). The stitching has been lost in both seams, one vertical up the middle of the heel, the other along the vamp. The heel-seam was quite ordinary, with the edges turned in, but

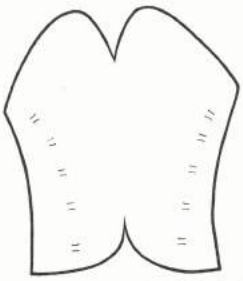


Fig. 74. Diagram of shoe, marked K. S. 11468 d, Fig. 73.

Fig. 75. Hide shoe from Wedelspang Mose, marked K. S. 11468 a. L. M. S.

the vamp gathering shows clear traces of fine workmanship. Along the cut edges are quite small cross-slits, which fitted together when the seam was closed, and made it really decorative. Along the upper edge of the shoe is a row of crudely shaped loops, still retaining the remnant of a lace, about 40 cm long and 4 cm wide. The shoe is about 25 cm long.

The find can be dated from Pingsdorfer pottery in the 9th century. The latest layer of the fortress extends up to the year 1000 A.D., perhaps to 1025 A.D., but begins about 800 A.D. The ticket reads: "Schuh aus frühgeschichtlicher Befestigung datiert durch Pingdorfer Keramik." (Excavated 1952 by P. La Baume).

(L. M. K. S. 22446).

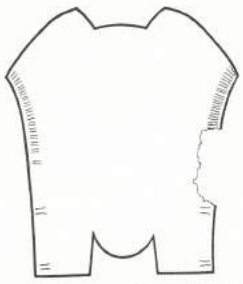


Fig. 76. Diagram of shoe marked K. S. 11468 a, Fig. 75.

Fig. 77. Fragment of shoe from Lunden Mose, marked K. S. 15774. L. M. S.

Karl Kersten & P. la Baume: "Vorgeschichte der nordfriesischen Inseln", Neumünster 1958, p. 91 and p. 231 f. – The shoe shown there on Pl. 150 is not at the L. M.

Scharsee near Preetz, Kr. Plön

Remnant of a child's shoe, unfolded. Holes from stitching are still visible along the edges. The shape is shown in the drawing, Fig. 81. Length 17 cm. Provenance a Slavic fort or fortified area. (L. M. 7118).

W. Splieth: Eine wendische Ansiedlung am Scharsee bei Preetz (Kreis Plön). – Mittheilungen des Anthropologischen Vereins in Schleswig-Holstein, 3. H., Kiel 1890, p. 3 f., p. 10. – Offa Bücher 17/18 1959–61, p. 57 ff. – Treatise by Carl Struwe: Die Schlawischen Burgen in Wagrien, p. 66.

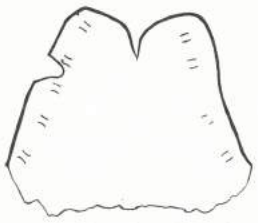


Fig. 78. Diagram of shoe from Lunden Mose, Fig. 77.

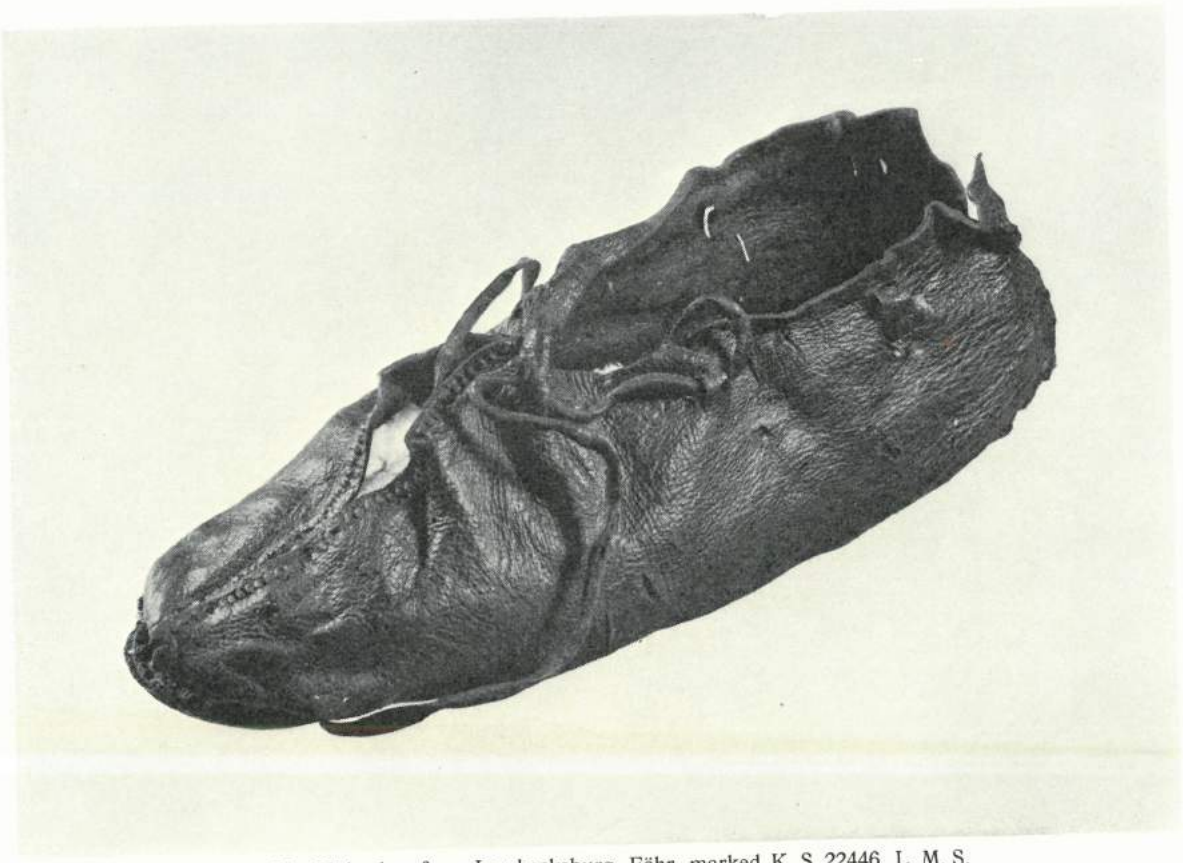


Fig. 79. Hide shoe from Lembecksburg, Föhr, marked K. S. 22446. L. M. S.

For the dating of the fort and its outworks, p. 80–81. I am indebted to Dr H. Geisslinger for these references.

Lottorf Mose, Haddeby S., Schleswig

Hide shoe for the left foot, Fig. 82. The part under the heel is missing, and the area under the toe is damaged. Here a pattern can be traced, however, reminiscent of that of the Lembecksburg shoe Fig. 79 (K. S. 22446). There are clear stitching holes, but the thread is missing. Along the vamp,

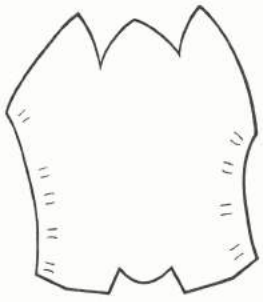


Fig. 80. Diagram of shoe from Lembecksburg, Fig. 79.

Fig. 81. Diagram of fragmentary shoe from Scharsee, No. 7118. L. M. S.

Fig. 82. Fragmentary hide shoe from Lottorf Mose, marked Dabelstein II, 1928. L. M. S.

Fig. 83. Fragmentary hide shoe from Lottorf Mose, marked Dabelstein III, 1928. L. M. S.

within the cut edges, is a row of quite small cross-loops, which have been held together by a thin thong, string, or the like, a form of fastening resembling that of the Lembecksburg shoe. From the instep to the heel a thick thong made of hide, up to ¾ cm wide, passes through 13 crudely cut loops, and the ends of the thong, 46 cm and 18 cm long respectively, are now loose. The shoe is approximately 24 cm long.

L. M., no number, but with the statement that the shoe came from Dr Dabelstein in 1928. (On the ticket is added the Roman numeral II).

Lottorf Mose, Haddeby S., Schleswig

Hide shoe for the right foot, Fig. 83. The piece is crushed, and has not been cleaned. Judging by the pattern, this shoe must undoubtedly be classified with the above-mentioned two specimens from Lembecksburg (Fig. 79) and "Dabelstein" (II), and in spite of wear and decay it can be seen by the holes left by the stitching – and in the case of the heel by a small attached flap of hide – that the pattern was like that shown in the diagram, Fig. 80 (K. S. 22446). Both the long seam up the centre of the vamp and the vertical heel seam show that the shoe was sewn on the wrong side, and then turned inside out. The remains of a lace are still left in the crudely fashioned loops, 15 in number. The length of the shoe is approximately 25 cm.

The two shoes from Lottorf Mose, Fig. 82 and Fig. 83, were never a pair, but they have many features in common. They enclosed the foot entirely and extended nearly to the ankle.

L. M., no number, but with the statement that the shoe was handed to the museum by Dr Dabelstein in 1928. The Roman figure III has been added on the label by the author.

Wedelspang Mose, Haddeby S., Schleswig

Hide shoe with partly detached base, a form retaining the "one-piece principle", even though clearly influenced by the type with separate sole and upper, Figs. 84–86.

The shoe, which is made for the right foot, has a decorative, fluted upper edge, produced by stitching, now lost, carried out with a very tightly pulled thread. The seams along the base are turned inwards, and the stitches were originally invisible on the right side. The shoe must thus have been turned inside out after the join had been made. The shoe is trodden very much down at the heel, and it looks as though the shoe was not large enough for the foot that wore it. In addition to the heel seam there is a side seam placed on the inner side of the foot, below the ankle. A piece of the original thong about 40 cm long remains. It passes behind and immediately above the heel, through cut slits. The material is very thick, possibly double. The base measures about 22 cm in length by 7½ in width; the distance between the notches for the heel and the toe is about 14 cm.

(L. M.'s archives 28/1903. No. K. S. 11308).

Bericht. 1907, p. 52.

Wedelspang Mose, Haddeby S., Schleswig

Hide shoe, Figs. 87–89, with partly detached base of a pattern similar to that described immediately above. The two shoes are however not entirely identical in detail. The present specimen has no heel seam, and the base is cut to a point both at the heel and at the toe, a feature familiar from certain soled shoes, e.g. Fig. 94. Furthermore, the proportions of this hide shoe are most peculiar in that while the length of the base is about 20 cm the width of the sole at its widest is only 5 cm, a feature counterbalanced by extending the upper a little way under the edge of the foot.

Unfortunately the shoe, which is for the left foot, is not in a complete state of preservation. A piece under the outer side of the ankle is missing, and the original lace, which passed through slits cut in the upper, is lost.

(L. M. Cat. 1904, K. S. 11468 b).

Bericht. 1907, p. 52.

Lottorf Mose, Haddeby S., Schleswig

Two shoes, once a pair, in a very fragmentary state, Figs. 90, 91. A, for the right foot, is the better preserved, and exhibits features of considerable interest for comparison with the two shoes discussed below (Figs. 84–89, 11308 and K. S. 11468 b). In spite of the damage it can be seen that the base and upper form a single whole, and that the asymmetrical pattern is ingeniously planned. The little flap under the heel is narrow and pointed, which indicates an influence on the type with a separate sole and pointed notch at the heel (cf. No. 13876, Fig. 97).

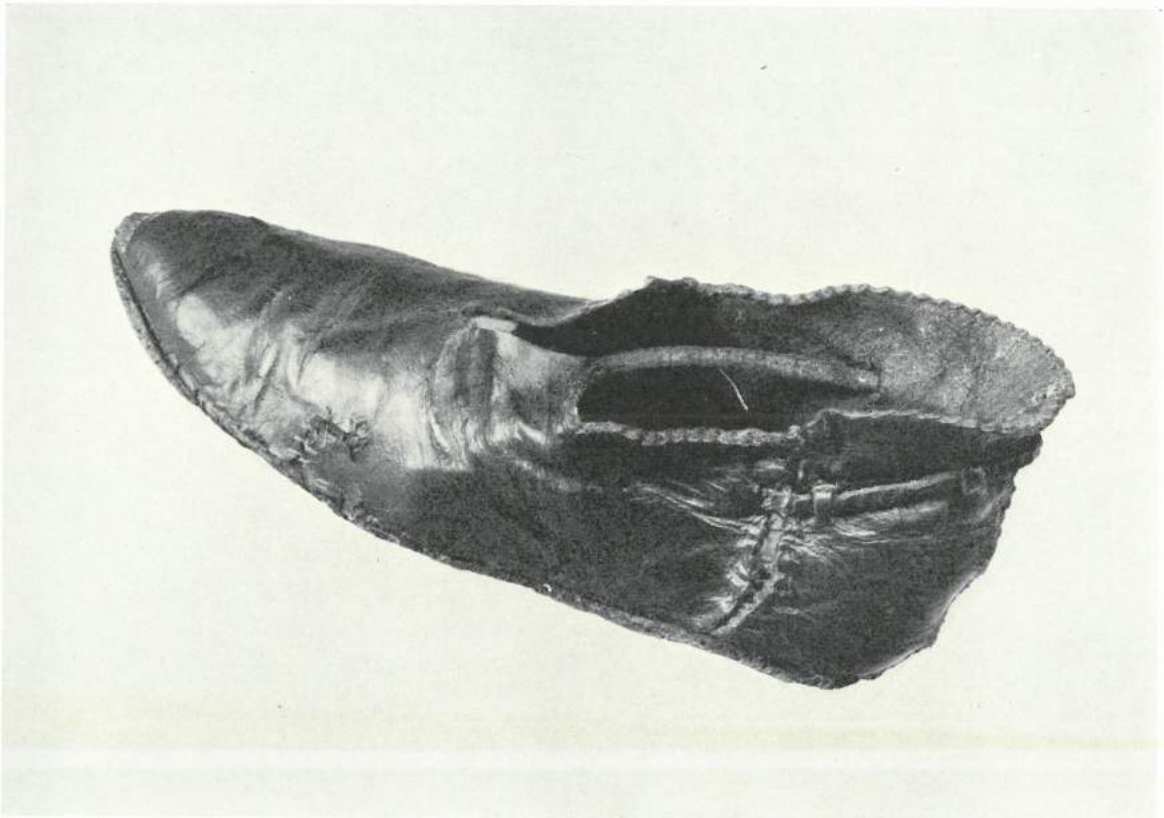


Fig. 84. Shoe with side seam and heel-seam. Special shape, with suggestion of an attached sole. Wedelspang, marked K. S. 11308. L. M. S.

Unfortunately, part of the vamp of the shoe in Fig. 90 has perished, but the part of the turned-under edge that has survived gives the impression that the shoe must have been fairly pointed at the toe likewise. The thin fluted line of the edge of the vamp has been produced by a tightly drawn thread now missing. The thread is likewise missing in the vertical seam which closes the shoe on the inner side nearly at the ankle, and the holes left by the stitches show that these were fairly long.

B. Remains of a left-foot shoe corresponding to A.A small piece of the point of the base at the heel has survived, but its connection with the upper is now very slender.

Both shoes have been left untreated and are quite stiff.

L. M., no number, but with the statement that the shoes were received from Dr Dabelstein in 1928 (marked I a–b by the author).

Wedelspang Mose, Haddeby S., Schleswig

Soled shoe, left foot, Figs. 92, 93. As shown on the diagram, Fig. 94, the upper displays indentations at the front and back corresponding to the tapering of the sole at the heel and toe. The edges of the seam along the edge of the foot are turned in. Remnants of a lace or thong that passed through six slits still remain; the ends appear to have been knotted above the

Fig. 85. Side view, showing the natural connection of the base with the upper, of shoe marked K. S. 11308, Fig. 84.

instep. The shoe is fairly high, up to 10 cm at the back, and must have enclosed the ankle. There are scratches on the upper, the most noticeable beginning at about the middle of the vamp, making a curve, and ending at the edge of the sole on the outer side. The upper is a whole, gathered by means of a seam on the inner side of the foot. The leg of the shoe has a delicate, slightly wavy contour line, produced by a tightly drawn thread, now missing. The stitching was presumably intended not merely to strengthen, but also to "neaten" the edge. The length of the sole is 27 cm, and its width up to 10½ cm.
(L. M. Cat. No. K. S. 12278 a).

Fig. 86. Diagram of shoe marked K. S. 11308, Figs. 84, 85.

Fig. 87. Shoe with the rudiments of a soled form, but not with detached base, marked K. S. 11468 b. L. M. S.

Lottorf Mose, Haddeby S., Schleswig

The imperfectly preserved upper of a soled shoe, Fig. 95, with a certain resemblance to the above, Fig. 94. The vertical side seam lay slightly behind the left ankle, but not right back at the heel. A thin wavy line along the edge of the upper marks where stitching was carried out with a tightly drawn thread now lost. Four loops to hold a lace now missing are intact, and show that the lace must have passed behind the heel at a fairly low point. The piece tapers slightly towards the toe, and at the heel is a wedge-shaped slit. The sole belonging to it must therefore have tapered both at the front and the back, cf. Fig. 93. The piece is about 24 cm long.

(L. M. Cat. 1907, K. S. 12003).

Bericht. 1907, p. 52.

Lottorf Mose, Haddeby S., Schleswig

Low-cut soled shoe for the right foot. The upper is very thick, about 3 mm in section. The edge of the upper was reinforced by stitching, which can be traced by faint curves after a thin, tightly drawn thread. The sole tapers at the front and back, and at the heel continues right up to the upper edge, thus forming a sort of "back breadth" (see Figs. 96, 97). The material of which

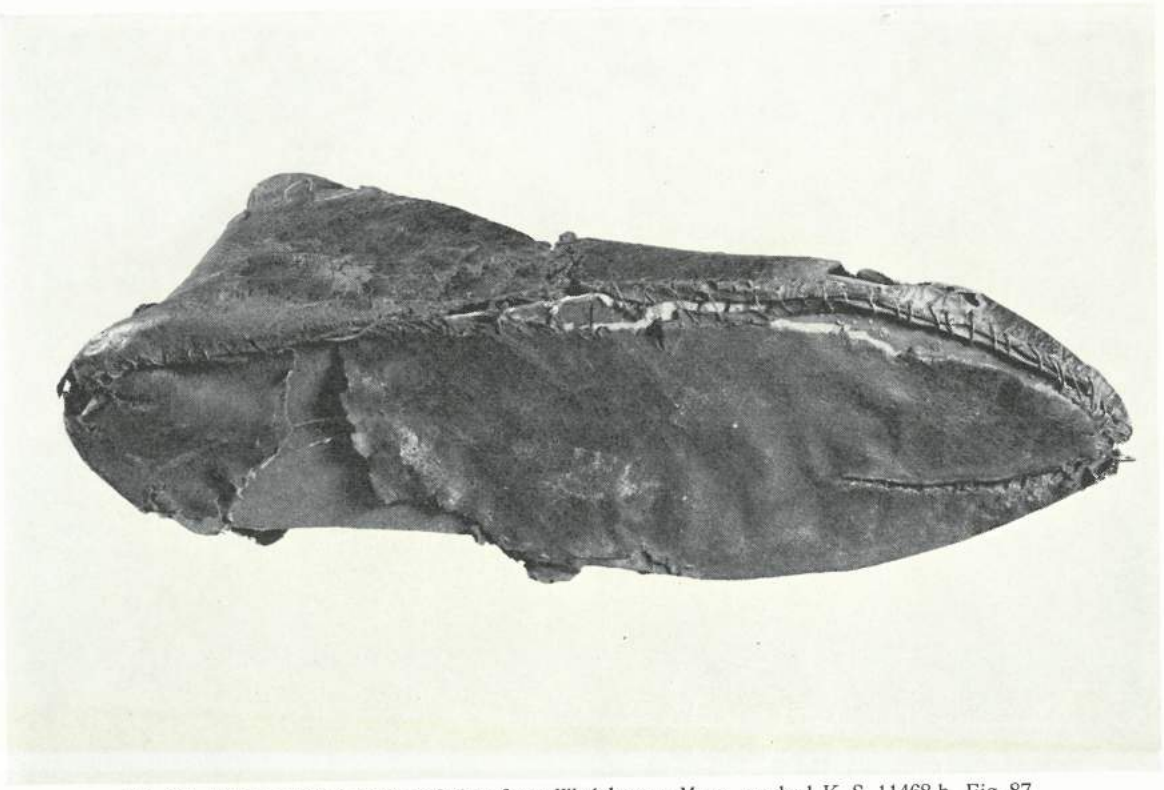


Fig. 88. Under-surface shown of shoe from Wedelspang Mose, marked K. S. 11468 b, Fig. 87.

the sole is made is likewise very thick, but it is not clear whether it consists of two layers of leather, or of one that has split because of moisture. The cut edge faces outwards, but the leather of the upper has been turned in, so that the sewing is hidden. Another sole, detached from a similar shoe, Fig. 98, shows however how the join was made. Here there was once a fairly wide line of stitching along the edge of the sole, still to be traced as largeish holes from a thick thread. The stitching did not penetrate right through the leather, but only about halfway through the layer.

The length of the shoe is 29 cm from toe to heel point, and the height of the upper on the inside of the side is 4–4½ cm. The sole is 9 cm wide.

(L. M. Cat. 1919 or later, K. S. 13876).

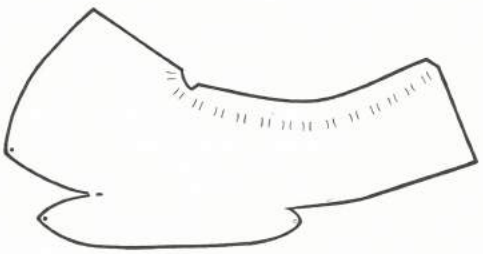


Fig. 89. Diagram of shoe marked K. S. 11468 b, Figs. 87, 88.

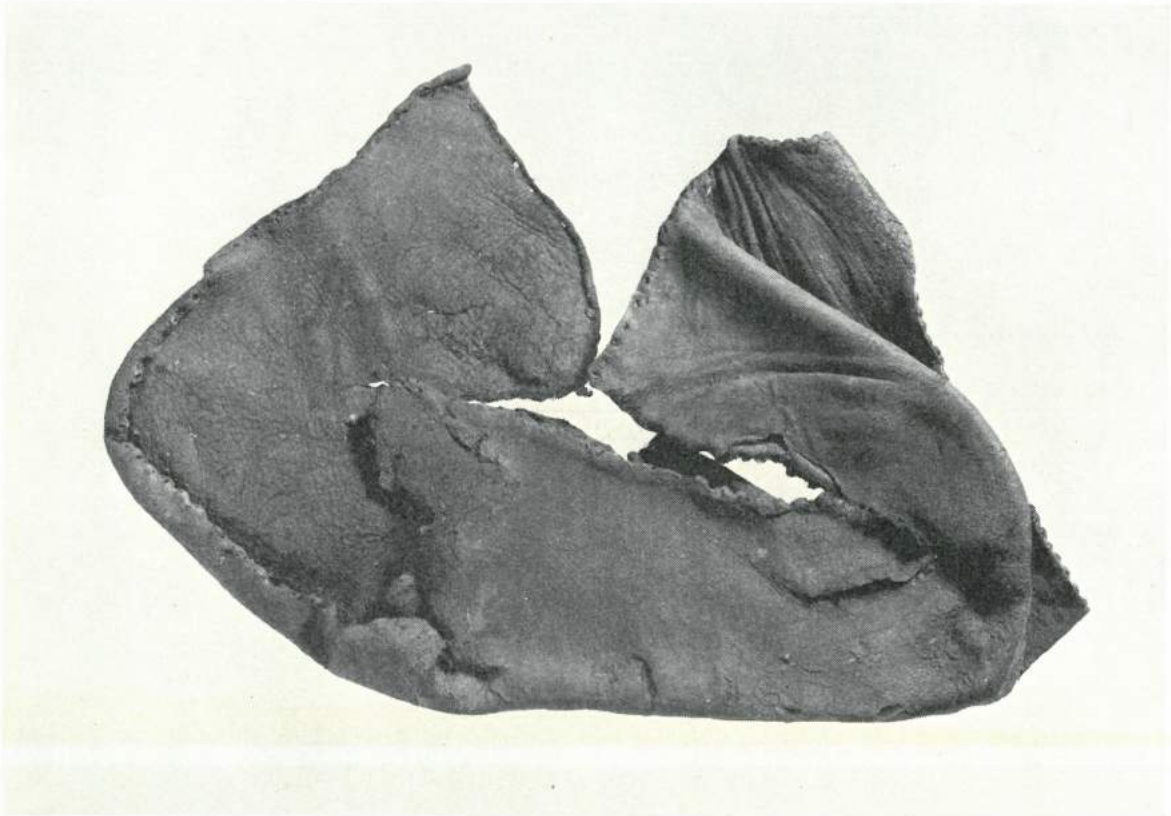


Fig. 90. Shoe in a very defective state, but recognizable as the same type as the two preceding shoes. Note the little tab under the position of the heel, a shaping of the base that suggests a soled form. There are clear traces of the closing side seam. Lottorf Mose. Marked Dabelstein I. L. M. S.

Lottorf Mose, Haddeby S., Schleswig

Two shoe fragments, a sole and an upper, found together, Figs. 98, 99. That they were not originally parts of the same shoe is clear from the fact that they are not of the same size. The possibility that the upper has shrunk more than the sole in the bog water cannot perhaps be entirely rejected, but it is hardly likely that it would result in so great a difference as is the case. The two pieces belong together typologically, however, since they bear a marked resemblance to the sole and upper respectively of the shoe discussed above (Figs. 96, 97). Since the sole is detached from its upper, and the inner surface bared, a fairly wide band of stitching with thread now lost can be seen along the edge at a distance of about 1 cm from this. The sole measures 28 cm by 9 cm.

(L. M. Cat. wohl 1914, K. S. 13829).

Fig. 91. Diagram of the original shape of the base of shoe shown in Fig. 90.

Wedelspang, Haddeby S., Schleswig

A soled shoe for the right foot, Fig. 100, resembling No. 12278 a, Figs. 92–94, in certain features; but differing from this in the rounded shape of the heel and toe. As shown in the photograph, the edge of the seam faces inwards, and the shoe must have been stitched on the wrong side and then turned inside out. Stitching across the vamp is due to the repairing of some damage, and the lace remaining in the loops is a substitute for the original, which is lost. Traces of fine stitching can be seen at the edge of the upper. The shoe measures 10 cm in height at the heel; the sole is 21 cm long, and up to 8 cm wide.

(L. M. Cat. No. 12278 b).

Hedeby, Schleswig

The upper of a soled shoe for the left foot, Figs. 102, 103, with a seam along the middle of the vamp, and a vertical seam on the inner side of the ankle. In the 12 cm high heel section loops have been cut for a lace, which however is missing. Along the edge of the upper are traces of stitching now lost, which has left small holes, and a slightly wavy line. The hide is here divided into two layers; it is uncertain whether this was an original feature, or a secondary splitting of the material. The original sole is lost, but a substitute sole placed in position during preservation seems suitable in size. It measures 25 cm in length.

(L. M., lead tag 44).

Conclusion

At first sight the seven diagrams (Fig. 105), corresponding to the photographs Figs. 69, 71, 73, 75, 77, 79, 81, may perhaps because of their simplicity give the impression of being a new pattern. Closer inspection and comparison with the group treated above will however reveal that the basic principle is the same, even though the elaborate motifs on the openwork shoes almost camouflage the elementary hide shoe features. One would perhaps also be justified in terming the tongued, openwork shoes "open shoes" in distinction to "closed" shoes such as the abovementioned, which all enclose the foot fairly closely. Common to the two groups are the facts that they include both symmetrical and asymmetrical patterns, and that the indentation of the heel varies.

Aesthetic considerations have however not been disregarded in making the seven closed shoes in question. Elegant simplicity is an admirable effect, and each shoe is in fact shaped with conscious intent. The pointed indentation under the toe to be seen in three specimens, Figs. 72, 74, 81, gave a close, smooth fitting to the vamp, while a shoe like Figs. 75 and 76 must have seemed a little broad-toed. Figs. 69 and 70 stands alone in the group. As shown by the diagram, the vamp is of considerable width, allowing room for the material to be arranged in folds crosswise, a form of decoration at which we will pause a moment. It appears to have been not entirely uncommon, since we find it again in the pretty women's shoes used up to the present day in the Faroes, and in two probably much older hide shoes found in bogs, owned by the National Museum in Edinburgh (cf. Figs. 200 and 184). Unfortunately the Scottish shoes cannot be dated, since the only information that accompanied them when received by the museum was that they looked old.[1]

1. I am indebted to Dr S. Maxwell for this information.

Fig. 92. Soled shoe with indentations over the instep and at toe and heel, allowing for a sole tapering both at back and front. Wedelspang Mose, marked K. S. 12278 a. L. M. S.

The Irish bogs, which have given up a very wide and varied body of material have likewise supplied several shoes with folds across the vamp, "pipes" or "puckers" as A. T. Lucas calls them, see Fig. 185. One specimen of four is believed to pre-date the 9th century, and some fragments excavated immediately above a Late Bronze Age deposit are dated by the excavator at between 200 and 500 A.D.[1]

Among the diagrams with which A. T. Lucas illustrates the Irish forms of footwear is one, here Fig. 188, which judging by the pattern is identical with the shoe just mentioned; but the two specimens nevertheless differ a good deal in appearance because Fig. 188 has no front seam, and is gathered solely by means of a lace along the edge.[2] This is quite an instructive case, for it shows how little is needed in order to alter a model, or create a new one, if one desires. It is not strange, therefore, that there should be many variants in a group which is in reality homogeneous as far as the basic shape is concerned. We will look, then, at a limited number of different specimens of this, and turn to the simple Irish and Shetland rawhide shoes, "pampooties" and "rivelins", which must be accorded the title of prototypes within the series, even though they

1. A. T. Lucas: Footwear, p. 375 and 381.
2. *op. cit.*, p. 377, Fig. 9.

Fig. 93. Soled shoe, marked K. S. 12278 a, looking towards the heel.

have survived to the present day. They are cut out into rectangular pieces, and gathered with rough stitches at the heel and toe.

A considerable advance had already been made when the Icelandic woman's shoe was made with small puckers on the front, radiating from a firmly attached edging which continues all the way round the foot, Fig. 197.

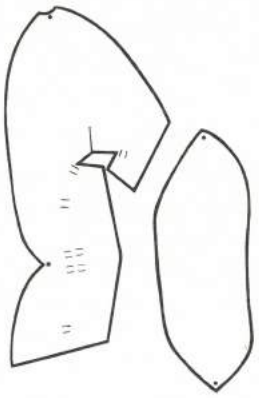


Fig. 94. Diagram of shoe shown in Figs. 92 and 93.

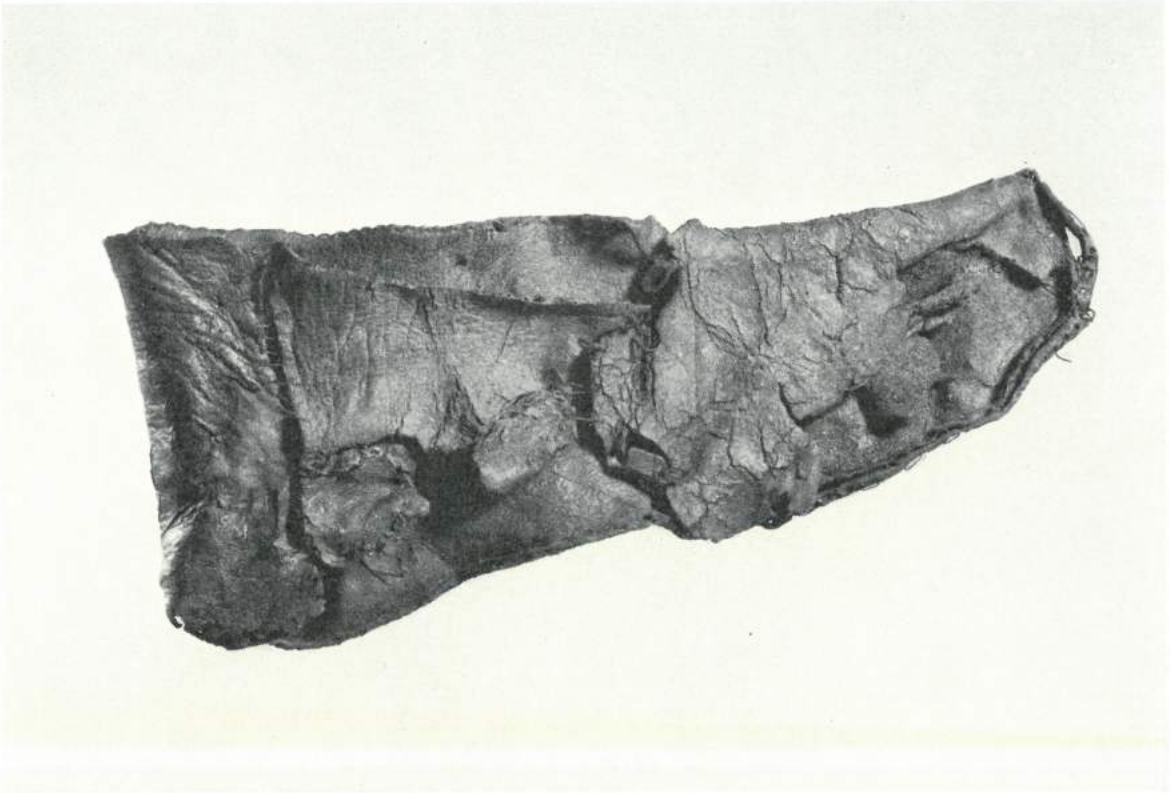


Fig. 95. Upper of shoe which has had a tapering sole. Lottorf Mose. Marked 12003. L. M. S.

In the north-eastern coastal area, where the hide shoe has likewise been used right up to the present day, they are found both as heavy and as more delicate shoes. The sealskin shoes worn by the sealers of the Åland islands fulfil all requirements as to simplicity, warmth, and hard-wearing qualities, while certain Estonian shoes show that the appearance has been of prime importance. Here the fold principle has been cultivated in a most sophisticated way, the folds running in different directions. An excellent example is the woman's shoe from Mohn, Fig. 231, where the effect is additionally heightened by the contrast between the soft fur below, and the white grain on the upper.

But when we return to the seven specimens from South Schleswig from which we departed, the problem of their dating still awaits an answer.

For four of the Wedelspang shoes discussed, and the fragment from Lunden, no information is available, except that they were found in bogs, while two other shoes of this group, Fig. 79 and 81, which come from fortified sites, can be dated to the Viking age. Shoe No. 22446 (Fig. 79) comes from Lembecksburg on Föhr,[1] and is attributed by Pingsdorfer pottery to the 9th cen-

1. P. La Baume & Karl Kersten: Vorgeschichte der nordfriesischen Inseln. Neumünster 1958, p. 91 and 231. – Yet another shoe of a similar kind was found at Lembechsburg, and this is reproduced as No. 3 on Pl. 150 in P. La Baume's and Karl Kersten's book, but unfortunately it is not at the Landesmuseum. Information kindly supplied by Dr H. Geisslinger.

Fig. 96. Very low-cut soled shoe with a tapering sole extending far up the heel. Lottorf Mose. Marked 13876. L. M. S.

tury A. D. The latest layer of the fortification extends to approximately 1000–1025 A.D., while the earliest are dated at about 800 A.D.

Almost contemporary with this is the child's shoe, Fig. 81, from Scharsee near Plön, K. W. Struwe having dated both the fortification and the outwork by mid-Slavic pottery, according to new and definite criteria, at 800–1000 A.D., possibly even a little earlier for both dates.[1]

The problem of the remaining five may be left open. It may be noted that the simple form of shoe under consideration here is very difficult to date unless special aids are present. The group in all its variations must as a whole be regarded as timeless.

1. Karl W. Struwe: Die slawischen Burgen in Wagrien. Offa-Bücher 17/18, 1959–61, p. 66 and 80–81. I am greatly indebted to Dr H. Geisslinger for referring me to the literature cited.

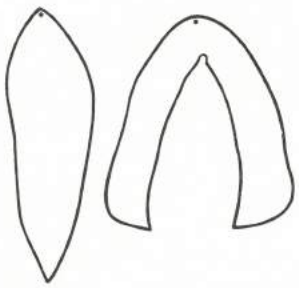


Fig. 97. Diagram of soled shoe marked 13876, Fig. 96.

Fig. 98. Two fragments, fastened together but not forming a pair, of shoes with soles tapering at the back, marked 13829. L. M. S.

And yet, two related specimens remain to be considered, namely two shoes from Lottorf Mose, Figs. 82 and 83. They are not a pair, although one is for the left and the other for the right foot. They are unfortunately in a poor state of preservation, and explanatory diagrams cannot therefore be given. However, the photographs show the gatherings along the vamp, and it is also evident that the left shoe has a particularly carefully made seam, passing through which a thin lace drew together narrow slits, a feature shared with the shoe from Föhr, Fig. 79.

Special Forms

Finally we have reached forms that may be described as innovations in comparison with those already discussed: the three shoes numbered 11308, 11468 b, and Dabelstein I (Figs. 84, 87, 90).

The feature that first catches the attention is the fact that the pattern is asymmetrical and with a suggestion of a sole, which however is not completely detached from the upper. The "sole" is comparatively small, while the upper preponderates, and can have extended well under the edge of the sole of the foot. All three shoes are fairly high, without coming into the category of boots. The side seam is on the inner side of the foot, almost below the ankle, and only No. 11308

Fig. 99. Diagram of sole in Fig. 98.

Fig. 100. Shoe with side seam on the upper, indentation over the instep and rounded sole. Wedelspang No. 12278 b. L. M. S.

has a heel seam as well. This shoe also differs from the other two in that the base has a curve at the heel, while the others taper at both heel and toe. Notches at the arch are on the other hand common to all three. As the diagrams show, the pattern is cut on the "single-piece principle", and this is therefore still the old hide shoe type traditionally continued.

In this connection it is tempting to draw a comparison with the attractive Irish shoe, Fig. 191 a–b, already mentioned, although the situation there is the exact opposite, the upper being reduced in size while the base is correspondingly increased, without severing the connection between them. The two shoes in question are interesting specimens because they show the freedom of work-

Fig. 101. Diagram of shoe No. 12278 b, Fig. 100.

Fig. 102. Upper of shoe with central seam and side seam. Reconstructed sole. Hedeby, marked 44. L. M. S.

manship within the given limits of utilizing a single piece of material and achieving the purpose in widely differing ways.

Before we leave the special form consisting of an upper combined with an only partly-formed sole, let us call to mind the shoe from Ørbækgaards Mose near Ramten in Djursland discussed on p. 49. It differs from all other forms as yet known from North Jutland bogs in having the suggestion of a sole, and this prompts a comparison with the three strange Schleswig shoes now under consideration. Unfortunately the resemblance does not extend beyond this one special feature, and the circumstances of the find are obscure in both cases. As far as the Ramten shoe is concerned, it may plausibly be regarded as Celtic, since it comes from Djursland, whose bogs have yielded up important burial finds containing clothing, but unfortunately no footwear.

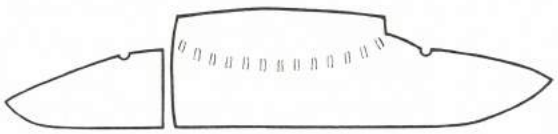


Fig. 103. Diagram of upper of shoe from Hedeby, No. 44. L. M. S., Fig. 102.

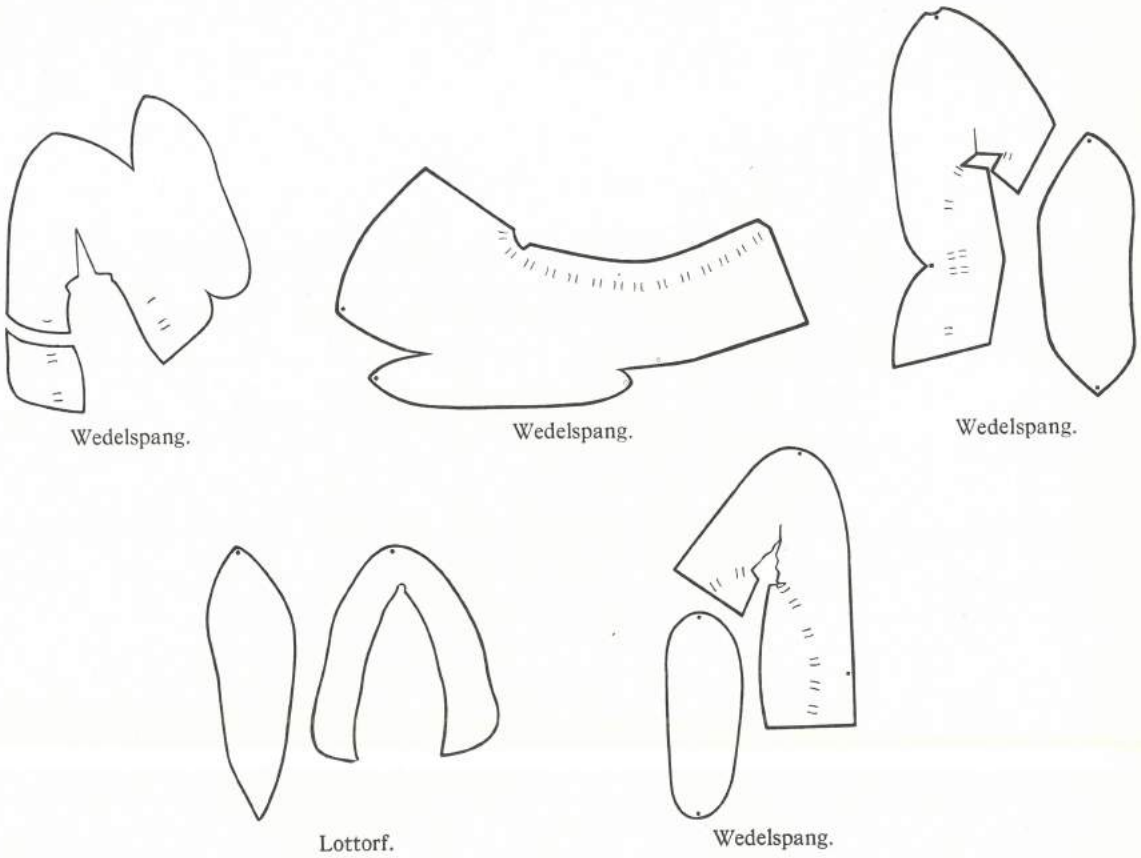


Fig. 104. Key plan of mixed forms discussed in Chap. IV.

The distance between Huldremose, which has provided most finds, and Ramten Mose, is however too great to allow any conclusion from this as to a connection on the basis of locality. For the time being we can go no further in the matter of dating the Ramten shoe, Figs. 37 and 38.

The peculiar form with the turned-under base discussed here does not seem widely known. As yet it has been represented only by the above-mentioned shoes from Schleswig bogs, but we encounter it once more in the settlement find from Elisenhof on Ejdersted, and Lund, and I therefore prefer to discuss it in more detail below, in connection with the material from these sources.

The Soled Shoe

With the soled shoes from Wedelspang and Lottorf the bog-finds have supplied valuable representatives of the other of the two main types into which I have divided the material dealt with in this work. The decisive criterion for the soled shoe is that it should consist of two main components: an upper and a base, cut out separately and joined at the bottom, along the edge of the foot.

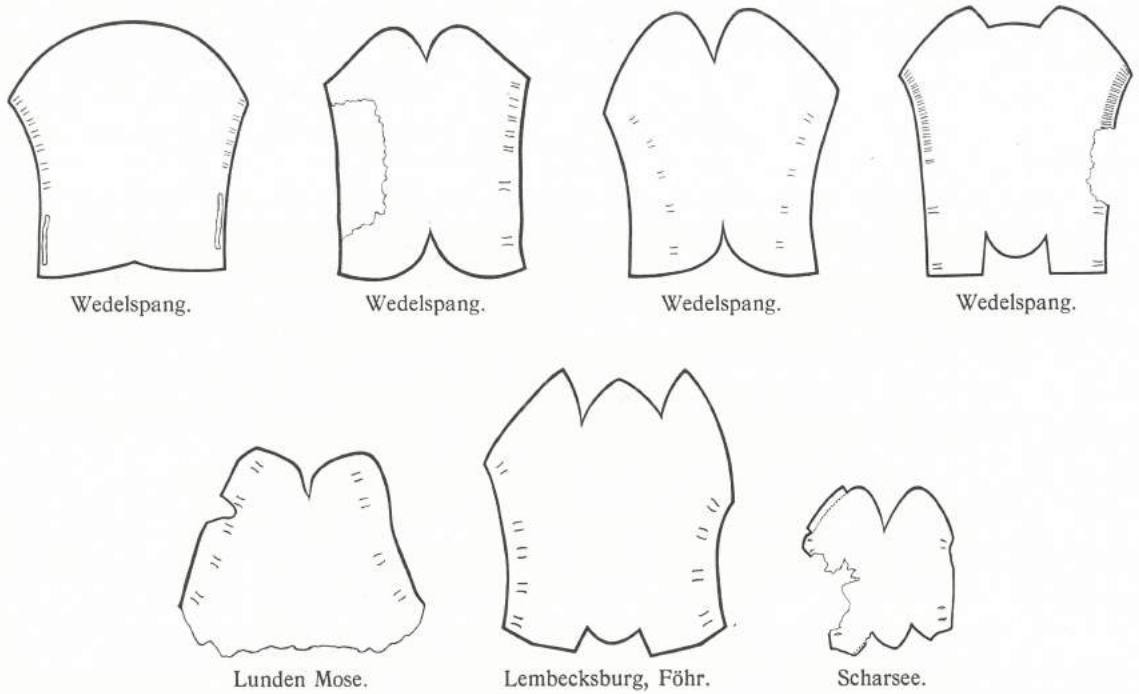


Fig. 105. Key plan of hide shoes discussed in Chap. IV.

Although the number of soled shoes hitherto encountered here is fairly small, comprising only three complete and two imperfect specimens, there are certain differences among them which in my view suggest that the type cannot have been altogether uncommon.

We will begin with the complete shoes, Figs. 92–94, 100–101, 96–97, all different, but the first two alike in their main features. They are fairly high shoes, but can hardly be termed boots. Slits for laces show that they were secured by thongs round the ankle, probably tied on the instep, where the function of a slit was evidently to allow expansion of the opening for the foot, and freedom of movement. In both cases the join was on the inner side of the foot, close to the ankle. But now we come to the differences: Fig. 100 has a sole with a rounded outline all the way round, and a correspondingly even edge at the base of the upper, while Figs. 92–94 has a more dramatic line. Here the sole tapers towards both the heel and the toe. The upper is shaped to agree with this, in such a way that a little piece is cut away at the toe, a feature to be noted. A somewhat deeper indentation has been made at the tip of the heel, and on the photograph, Fig. 93, it will be seen that the sole extends so far up that it almost forms a counter. In its original state Fig. 95 was probably very like this very much decayed shoe; this is suggested by the edge of the fragment, once joined to a sole now lost.

And now the low, very low-cut soled shoe, which is represented by one intact specimen and two parts, a sole and an upper, fastened together but not originally belonging together, Fig. 96 and 97. The loose parts are none the less of value, because the separation has revealed the seams.

As the diagram of the loose sole shows, the pointed piece at the back curves slightly outward, which together with a slight curve inwards under the position of the arch shows that it comes from a shoe for the right foot. The uppers are, as already stated, very low-cut, and I know of no parallels as yet to this, but a closely related form has been found at Novgorod and York, see below, Figs. 174, 182, 183.

For a long time shoes with soles tapering towards the back were considered rarities, but thanks to recent work at excavations, and publications, quite a sizeable amount of material is now known.

Interest has centred particularly on the four women's shoes with soles tapering at the heel from the Norwegian ship find at Oseberg. They are priceless documents, because they can be definitely dated, from the celebrated ship, in the middle of the 9th century A.D. For practical reasons further discussion will be postponed till a later chapter, where the relevant literature will also be cited.

Chapter V

Shoes from Settlement Finds: Elisenhof, Ejdersted[1]

Descriptions

I. Hide shoe for the right foot, Figs. 106, 107. Some of the material has been lost through destruction or wear in the areas under the heel and toe, and part of the edge is also missing at the instep, where the shoe was closed by means of a lace. The join did not lie exactly along the axis of the foot, but a little towards the outer side. The heel is also laced together, and the thong, which measures about ½ cm in width, has survived. It is not a factitious addition, but is a continuation of one corner of the heel, as indicated in the drawing, Fig. 107. The shoe is about 25 cm in length, and the width under the heel is about 9 cm.

(L. M. No. 746/49/63).

II. Hide shoe for the left foot, Figs. 108, 109. The shoe shows no traces of stitching. It is closed solely by means of narrow laces passed through slits both at the heel and along the vamp. The original length of the shoe is uncertain owing to the destruction of the toe, but it can be estimated at about 29–30 cm. Height at the heel about 9 cm.

(L. M. No. 747/49/63).

III. Hide shoe of a very curious shape, Figs. 110, 111. It is spread out, and the middle section is much damaged, apparently by wear, while the heel and toe areas are in a good state of preservation. Holes from stitching that closed the shoe are still clearly visible.

At the heel the edges were turned inwards, but the stitches do not seem to have pierced the entire thickness of the hide. No turning is to be seen in the case of the vamp seam, and the left edge was laid on top of the right. The instep piece was high, and the seam must have been placed fairly far over to one side, presumably the inner side of the foot. The deep indentation on the outer side of the shoe has a curious appearance, but there is nothing to suggest that it was once filled by a section later removed, for there are no traces either of lost stitching or of any violence done to the material. Measurements: 27 cm from the tip of the heel-piece to the tip of the toe.

IV. Hide shoe, Figs. 112, 113, with a partly shaped base (cf. Wedelspang, No. 11468 b, p. 79–80). The shoe, which is for the right foot, is in quite a good state of preservation, but part of

1. Dr A. Bantelmann's excavation.

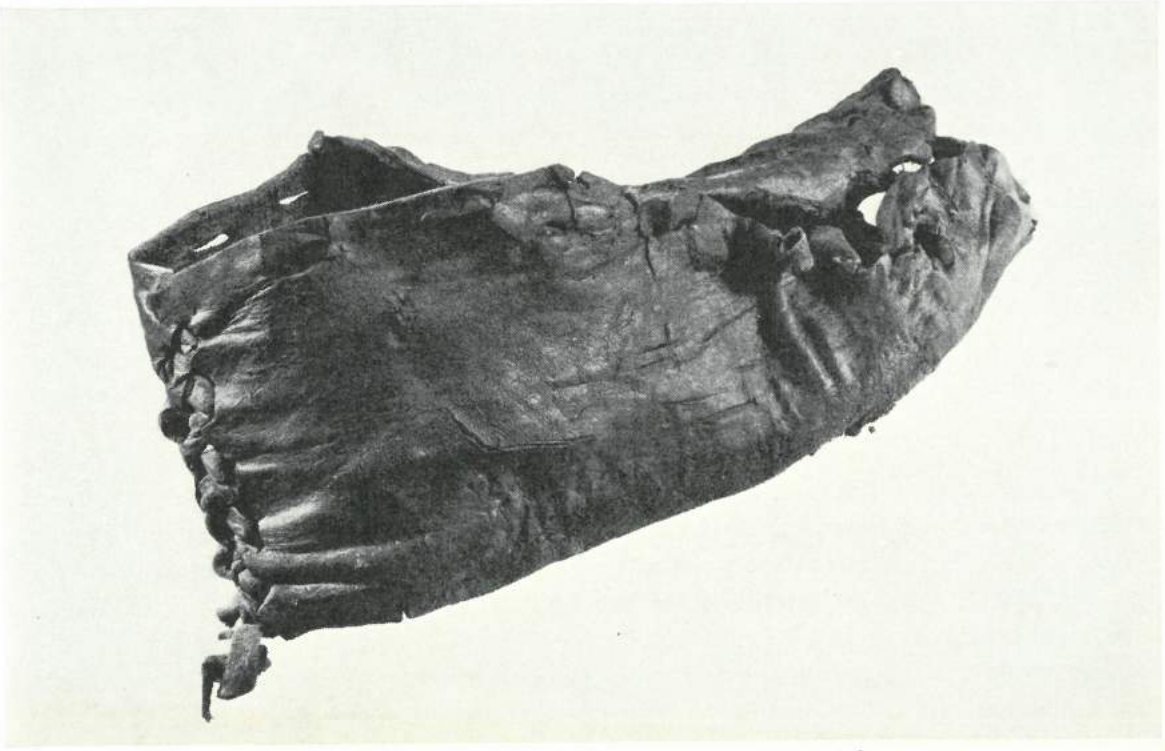


Fig. 106. Hide shoe from Elisenhof, No. 746/49/63. L. M. S.

the rear section of the upper is missing. The vamp is decorated with a false seam from toe to instep, ending at the top in a little flap. The edges were turned inwards in all gatherings, and holes from the stitching are still clearly visible. The deep indentation was on the outer side of the foot, and forms a curious feature hitherto seen only in the specimen described immediately above.

The almost detached base tapers both at the front and the back, and betrays the influence of soled shoe forms such as for instance Figs. 92–94 from Wedelspang represents. Note also the little segment cut in the toe of the upper. Length from heel to toe about 27 cm.

V. Fragment of a hide shoe for the left foot, Fig. 114. A round, cut hole, and a slit with the re-

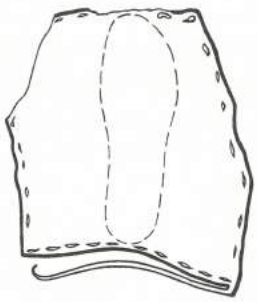


Fig. 107. Diagram of No. 746/49/63, Fig. 106.

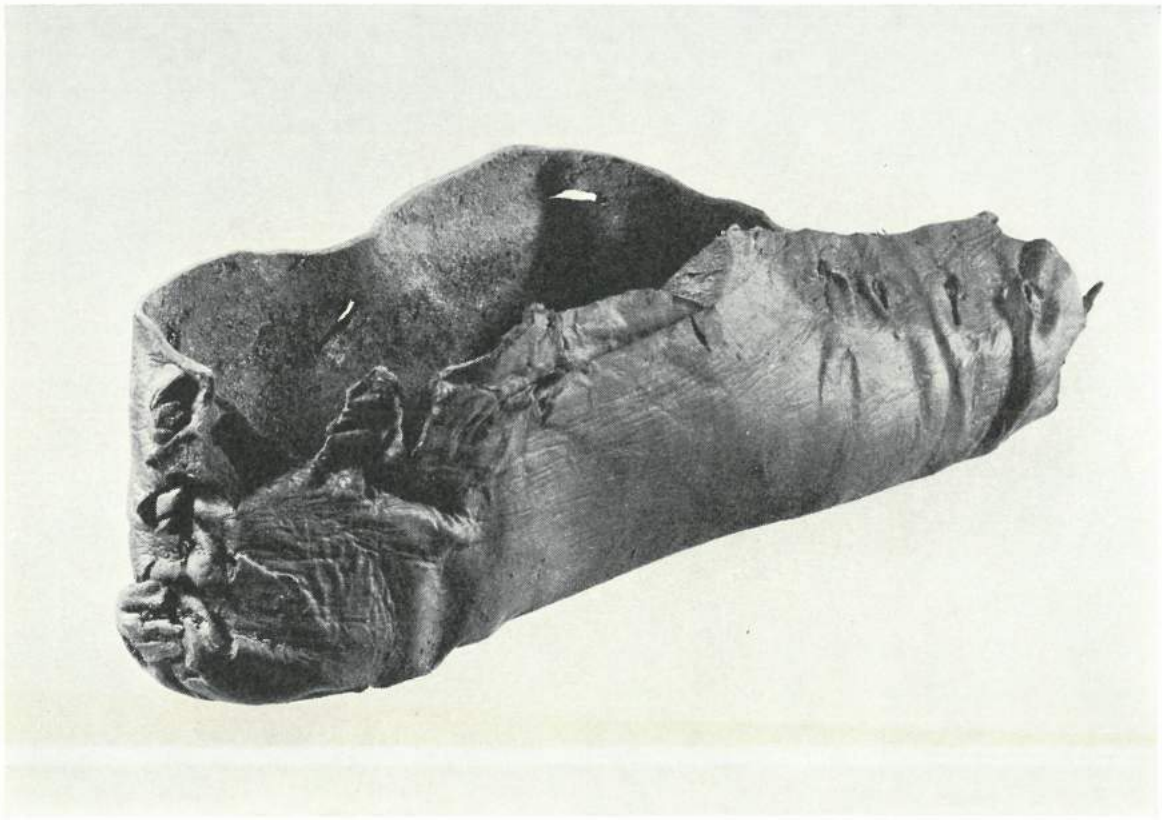


Fig. 108. Hide shoe from Elisenhof No. 747/49/63. L. M. S.

mains of a thong still in it near the opening for the foot, show how the shoe was secured. A false seam along the middle of the vamp is purely decorative. That the shoe belongs to the type with a partly shaped base appears from the fact that the cut edge of the flap, to the right on the drawing shows holes from a seam which must have joined at about the position of the arch on the inner side of the foot. Traces of stitching along the edge of the vamp likewise show where the base was joined on. The presumed form is indicated by the dotted outline. Cf. No. IV Elisenhof (Fig. 112) and Wedelspang No. 11308, (Figs. 84–86).

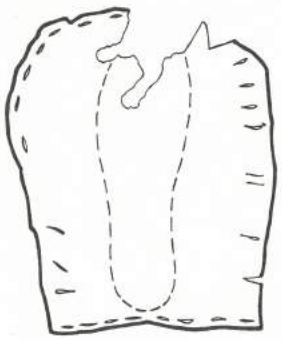


Fig. 109. Diagram of No. 747/49/63, Fig. 108.

Fig. 110. Hide shoe with side indentation and pointed heel tab. L. M. S.

VI. Fragment of the upper of a shoe, Fig. 115; sole missing. Recognizable features are holes from stitching along an edge once joined to the edge of the sole, a false seam along the middle of the vamp, and slits cut for a lace to be tied at the opening for the foot. Greatest length about 25 cm.

VII a–b. Two fragments, probably from the same shoe, Fig. 116.

a, a vamp, is decorated with a false seam along the middle. The upper edge, across the foot at the instep, is turned over. Holes from stitching along the sole edge are clearly visible. The largest dimensions are about 15 and 13 cm.

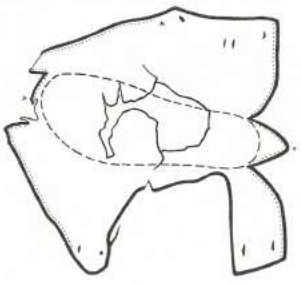


Fig. 111. Diagram of Fig. 110.

b is a piece about 19 cm long which once formed the back of the shoe. Holes from stitching along the sole edge indicate the edge that turned downwards, and a vertical slit in this edge suggests that a sole tapering at the heel was attached at this point (see Fig. 93). There were some further fragments, which cannot be identified.

VIII. A leather fragment, which formed the vamp and part of one side of a shoe and measures 19 cm at its widest point. The holes indicate the edges that were stitched. See drawing, Fig. 117. (Elisenhof, 1958, Fl. II + 2.15 m N.W.1, Brunnen 1).

IX. Fragments of leather, of which only one yields any information.

This, which is part of an upper, is reproduced in a drawing (Fig. 118). It measures about 36 cm in length, and 10 cm at its widest point.

Judging by the stitching on the slanting edge, this was part of a join along the length of the vamp, while the rest of the piece enclosed one side of the foot and the heel; the rest is missing. One side of its length has a cut edge, and the other the remains of a turning and traces of stitching, which must be that of the sole seam. A number of slits for a lace is another feature in common with the shoes described above.

X. Soled shoe, Fig. 119, tapering greatly at the toe but rounded at the heel. The upper has a seam along the middle of the vamp. There are four pairs of slits for a lace, which passed behind the heel. On the instep are four smaller holes, evidently intended for a lace, which however is missing. The sole is about 27 cm long.

(L. M., no number).

XI. Leather fragment, Fig. 120. On one side are three straps ending in rolled buttons, and on the opposite side corresponding flaps, with buttonholes cut at the points. Attributed to the 9th century. Use obscure, possibly part of the leg of a boot.

(L. M., no number).

XII. Hide shoe made of fairly coarse material, Figs. 121, 122. The base, which has turned edges, is somewhat damaged, but its connection with the upper is recognizable. The heel area is likewise damaged, but it seems certain that the base tapered at the back and extended some distance up into the upper. The heel seam has no turning, but is joined by letting one cut edge overlap the other. In its ornamental stitching along the vamp, and a small flap on top of the instep, this shoe closely resembles the shoe in Figs. 112, 113, mentioned above. The lace is missing, but slits at the opening for the foot show that there was one. Length about 25 cm, height at the heel about 9 cm.

XIII. Hide shoe of a curious cone-like shape, Figs. 123, 124. The shape is due largely to a deep indentation or wedge-shaped cut on the outer side of the foot. The instep seam has no turning, but is formed by letting the edge of the outer side overlap that of the inner side. At the toe the base is pulled up into a triangle that covered the big toe and allowed it plenty of room, and here the edges of the seam are turned under. The heel area is much damaged, but the height here seems to have been about 8 cm, the length about 24 cm.

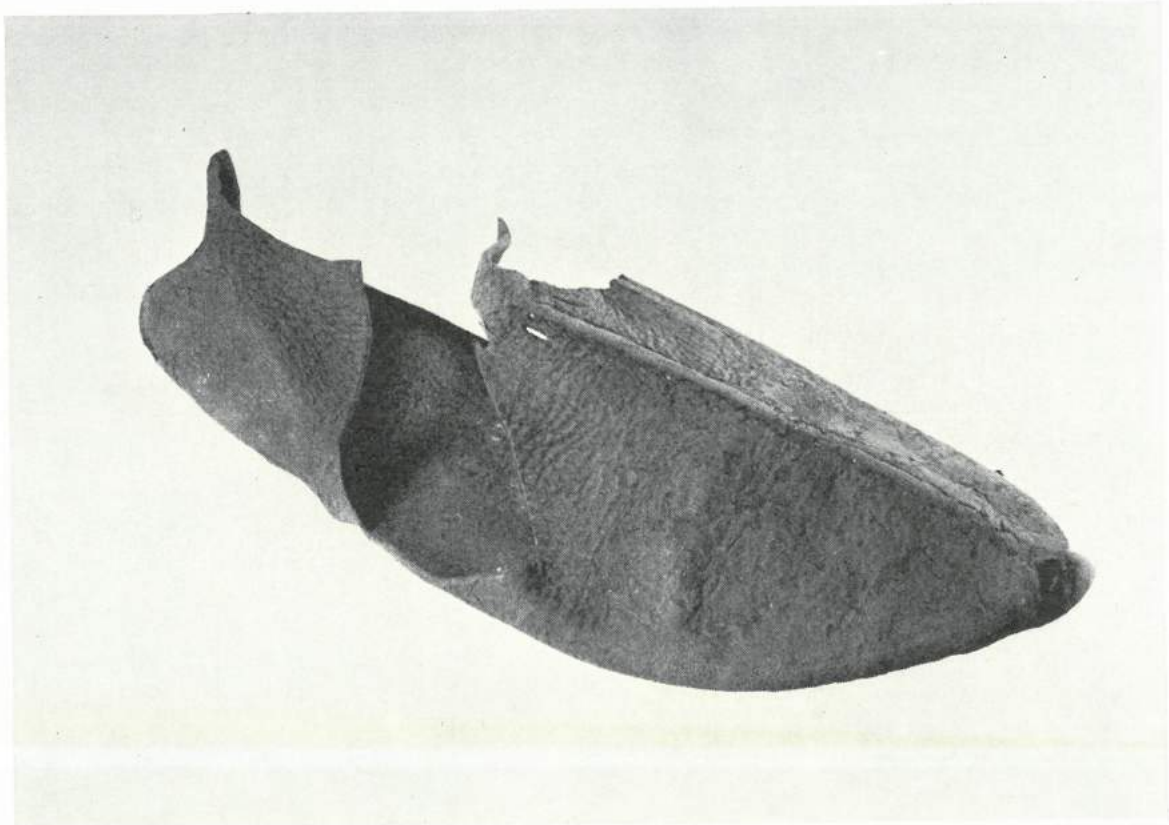


Fig. 112. Shoe with side indentation and turned-under base, not however forming a detached sole. Toe turned slightly upwards. L. M. S.

XIV–XVI. Three soles Fig. 125, identical in shape, tapering both at the heel and at the toe. All were found detached from any upper, and all are very old, dated by Dr Steuer as belonging to the middle or second half of the 8th century. They thus represent the earliest specimens of this kind hitherto encountered.

Conclusion

With the settlement of Elisenhof on Ejdersted we move out into a western North Schleswig region quite different from the areas from which we have hitherto collected our material. The settlement was a farming community lying on the north side of the Eider estuary, and the excava-

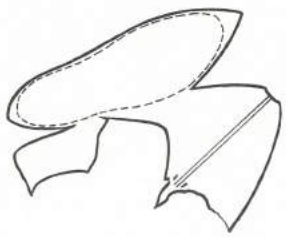


Fig. 113. Diagram of Fig. 112.

Fig. 114. Diagram of defective shoe with remains of a turned-under base. False stitching on the vamp. L. M. S.

Fig. 115. Diagram of upper belonging to soled shoe. L. M. S.

tion of it was carried out during the 1960s under the leadership of Dr A. Bantelmann, who has kindly supplied me with information as to local conditions and the datings made.

The datings are based upon the pottery found, which has been closely examined by Dr Steuer in Göttingen. The conclusion is as follows: the beginning of the settlement at Elisenhof goes back to the middle of the 8th century A.D. at least. It can now be stated that the main part of the organic material belongs to the 9th century, but the oldest articles, including some of the shoes, are as early as the second half of the 8th century. The organic matter from the end of the 9th century has deteriorated through poor conditions for preservation.[1]

From our point of view, it must be regarded as a particularly fortunate circumstance that so many shoes or parts of shoes should have survived, and especially that they should belong to a relatively limited period. This provides us with welcome assistance in determining the shoes from the Wedelspang and Lottorf bogs, which cannot be dated in themselves because they consist entirely of casual finds. We will therefore pause at the Elisenhof shoes, and point out the features that these have in common with the shoes from the two above-mentioned bogs.

We will start with the shoes numbered 746 and 747/49/63, Figs. 106 and 108, which are very crude and simple. They seem equally suited to farmers and seamen. Here we must assign them to the group of closed shoes considered in Chap. IV.

Shoe No. III, Figs. 110, 111, which is spread open, is on the other hand very curious. At first glance it seems somewhat baffling, but on closer examination it reveals features that seem to have appeared before in other shoes. First, attention may be drawn to the gathering along the vamp, where one cut edge has been laid over the other (cf. the shoe from Föhr, Fig. 79).

The toe is fairly low-cut, and curving slightly towards the front. At the heel the large flap is noticeable, so high and pointed that it must have extended a fair distance up the back of the foot, almost as in the taper-soled shoes from Wedelspang and Lottorf. One almost glimpses the taper-soled type through this hide-shoe form.

It is however the large opening in the outer side of the shoe that is most striking. The question is whether it is due to some accident, or to an odd whim of fashion. The latter appears to be the more probable explanation, and this is at once confirmed by another specimen from Elisenhof, No. IV, and by a shoe from Middelburg to be discussed below.

1. Dr Bantelmann adds that it is not yet possible to date a village of this kind more precisely. A C-14 examination unfortunately gave no result. Future excavations may provide the basis for a dendrochronological dating. This method has not yet been applied to the wood from Elisenhof. Letter of 6/10-1969.

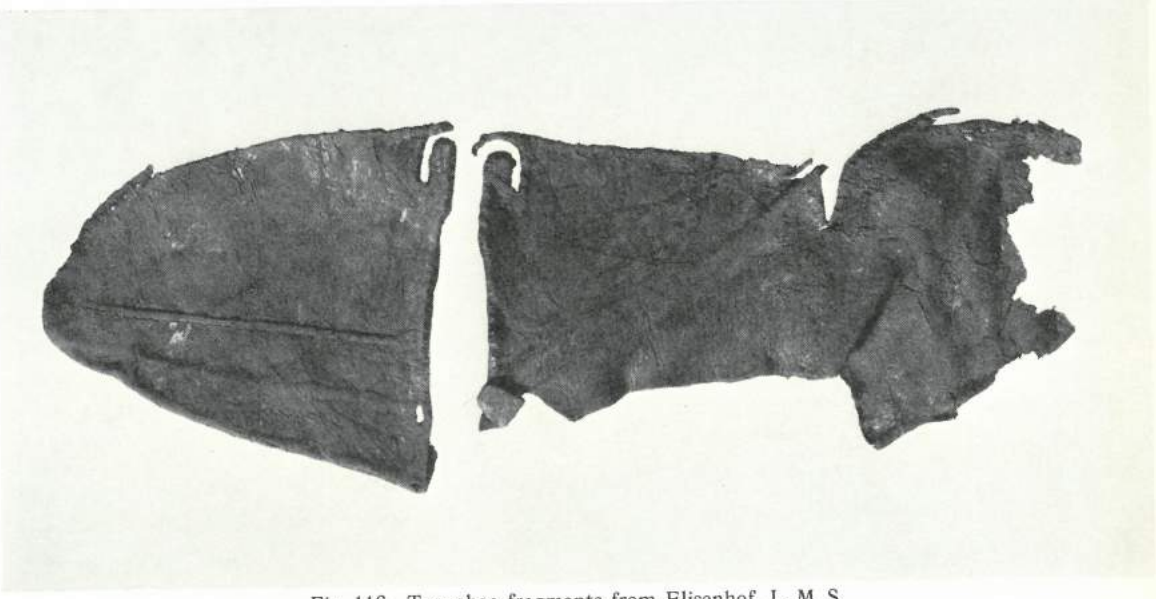


Fig. 116. Two shoe fragments from Elisenhof. L. M. S.

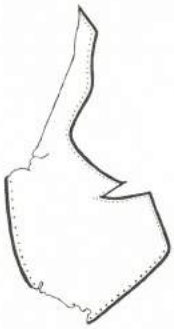


Fig. 117. Fragments of upper belonging to soled shoe. L. M. S.

Fig. 118. Part of upper. L. M. S.

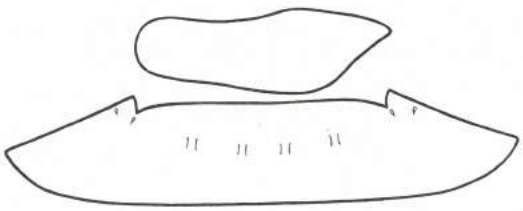


Fig. 119. Diagram of soled shoe in two parts. L. M. S.

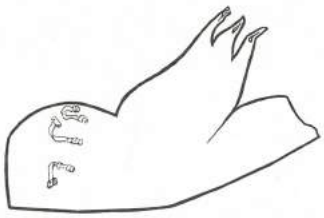


Fig. 120. Fragment of indeterminable piece of footwear (leg of a boot?). L. M. S.

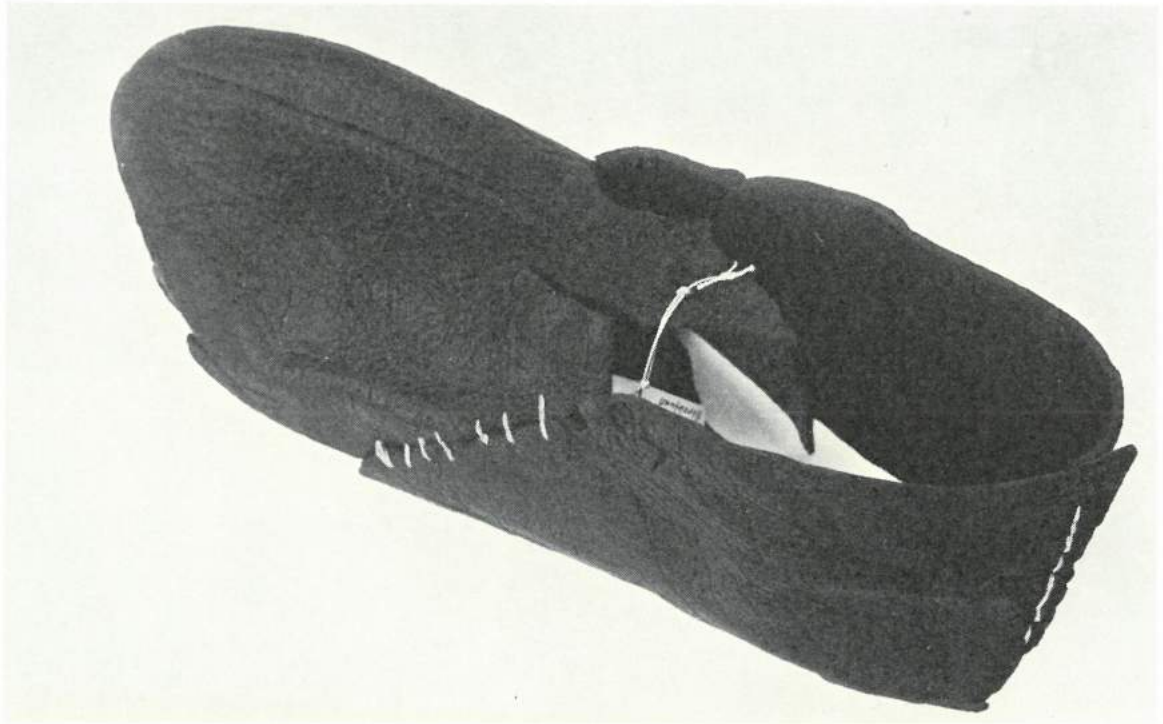


Fig. 121. Shoe with base turned in, but not forming a detached sole.

Of the following shoe, Fig. 112, it can be stated that it almost comprises a whole collection of features already known. In addition to the above-mentioned indentation in its side it has, although a "single-piece model", the rudiments of a separate sole like the three specimens, Figs. 86, 89 and 91, from Wedelspang and Lottorf. The little truncation of the toe, a trick that makes the tip turn slightly upwards, has likewise been seen before (cf. Fig. 92, No. 12278 a). Lastly, however, the little tab on top of the instep is new to us; but it will be found again, together with the upturned toe, in the shoes here Fig. 123, and from Novgorod, Fig. 171. The stitching along the length of the vamp is likewise something we have not hitherto come across in our material. It does not indicate a practical seam, however, but perhaps an imitation of one. At all events, it seems to be a decoration or ornament which was evidently common in the viking period. We now see it

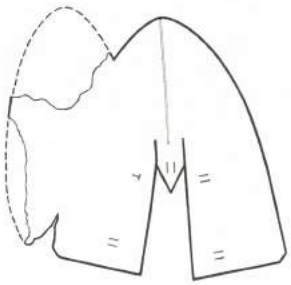


Fig. 122. Diagram of Fig. 121.

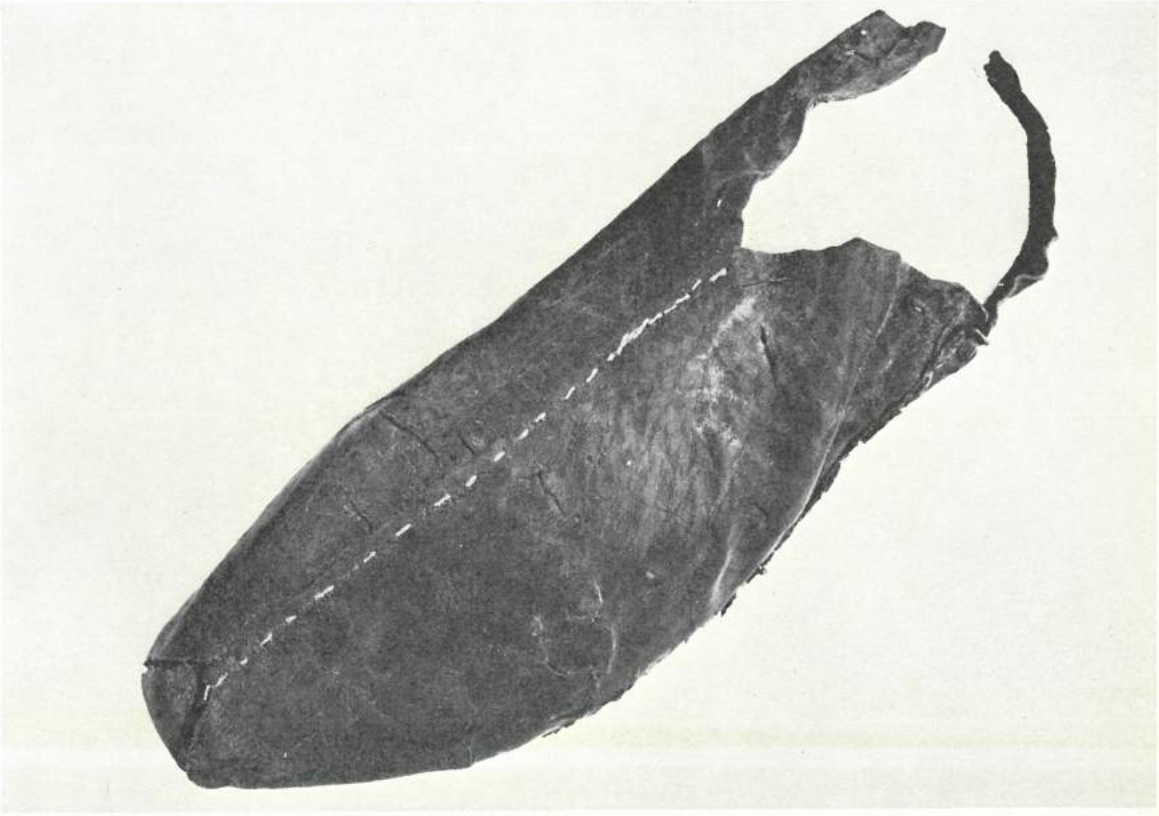


Fig. 123. "Cone-shaped" shoe with slightly upturned toe. L. M. S.

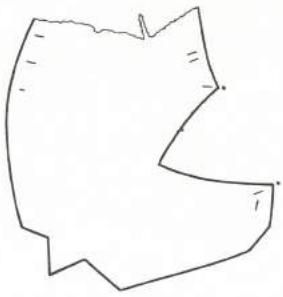


Fig. 124. Diagram of "cone-shaped" shoe.

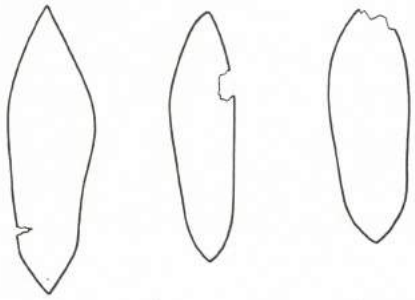
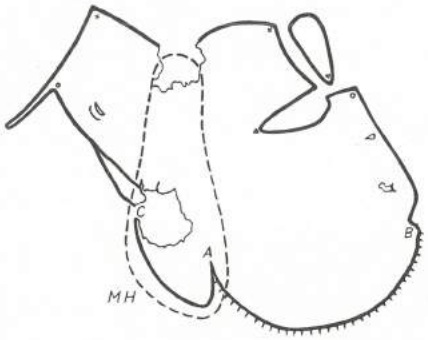


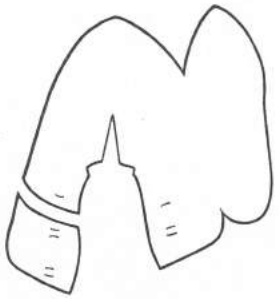
Fig. 125. Three soles, two tapering at front and back. Thanks to Dr Steuer, Göttingen, they have now been dated as belonging to the middle or second half of the 8th century. L. M. S.

on the Elisenhof shoes Nos. V, VI, VII, and XII, Figs. 114, 115, 116, 122, and below in two of the shoes from Middelburg, Figs. 129 and 134. Oddly enough, this ornamental seam is not found on the shoes from the South Schleswig bogs.

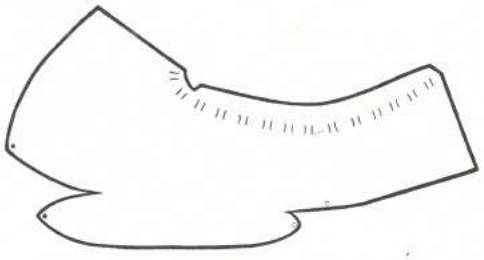
Although in a very defective state, it can be seen that No. V has had an attached, turned base, the presumable shape of which is indicated on the drawing, Fig. 114.



Ørbækgaards Mose, Ramten.



Wedelspang.



Wedelspang.

Fig. 126. Comparison of one-piece shoes discussed in Chap. IV.

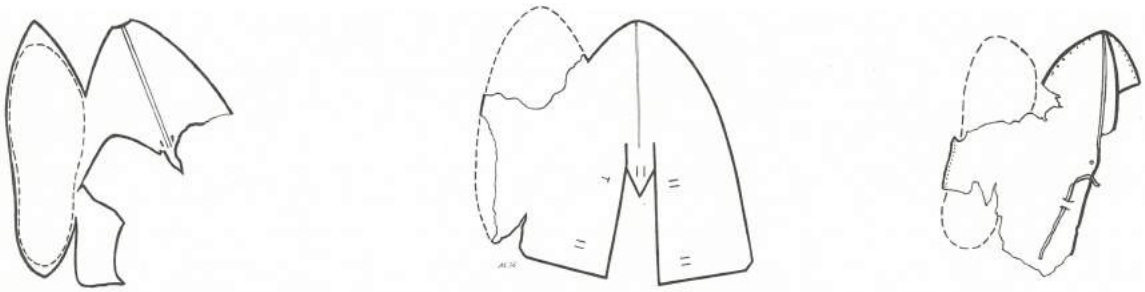


Fig. 127. Comparison of shoes from Elisenhof, Ejdersted, discussed in Chap. V.

No. VI comprises only the upper of a soled shoe; in the case of No. VII we note the curious, straight cut of the upper, and a notch in the heel which shows that the shoe once possessed a sole tapering at the back.

The fragmentary No. VII cannot be said to be very informative, but it is presumably part of the upper of a soled shoe, and perhaps the little indentation, which leaves a pointed tongue at the instep free, brings to mind the indentations in the vamps of the shoes from the celebrated Oseberg find (see below, Fig. 144 b).

That soled shoes with a practical central seam also existed in Elisenhof appears from Figs. 118 and 119. The sole of the latter is very elegantly shaped, tapering sharply towards the toe, and curving slightly inwards under the arch. It seems to be a preliminary sign of the approaching mediaeval fashion.

Mention must also be made of an oddly-shaped piece of leather, Fig. 120, which at one side is cut into three flaps with holes, and at the other provided with straps and rolled buttons. The piece is perhaps to be identified as part of a boot-leg.

Among the most recently excavated leather objects are two fairly well-preserved shoes, which differ widely, and three loose soles, and it is the soles which can be definitely dated as belonging to the second half of the 8th century at the least.

Shoe No. XII, Fig. 122, is a "single-piece model", a form already encountered many times. It is characteristic in that the base was cut partly free, turned under the sole of the foot, and sewn on at the outer edge of the foot. Among other features must be mentioned the decorative stitching along the vamp, and the little tab above the instep (cf. Fig. 112).

No. XIII Figs. 123, 124, stands alone as yet by virtue of its simple and yet ingenious cut, which gives the shoe an almost cone-like shape. The most noticeable feature is the deep, wedge-shaped incision in the outer side; but the shape of the toe is also peculiar, with its little turned-up tip. Furthermore the join on the vamp is made with an unturned seam and clearly visible stitching.

Nos. XIV–XVI can be given to the three loose soles tapering both at the front and at the back, Fig. 125. They are elegantly shaped, and thus according to the dating represent the earliest examples of their kind yet known; that is to say, they are between 50 and 100 years older than the shoes from Oseberg (see p. 112f). At the same time, they are the first genuine soled shoes we have encountered as yet from Scandinavia.

To sum up now, it may be said that the following features seen above in the Wedelspang-Lottorf shoes are encountered once more in the Elisenhof material, viz.: upper closed on the inner side; the single-piece pattern with the rudiments of a partly detached sole; soles tapering both at the front and the back.

Even though not all the shoes described can be assigned with certainty to the same early date, since a fashion lasts for some time, yet the circumstances indicate that the two groups of finds, on opposite sides of the South Schleswig area, are fairly close to each other in time, and mutually connected.

Part II
Comparisons of Archaeological Material

Chapter VI

Shoes from Middelburg (Walcheren), Elisenhof, and Oseberg

Middelburg

Here in reality we stand at the cross-roads: which way shall we go first, in attempting a comparison between the material from the Jutland peninsula described above, and archaeological material from foreign regions? The natural thing seems to be to continue south, from Elisenhof on Ejdersted to another Frisian site, namely the abbey in Middelburg on the island of Walcheren, off the coast of the Netherlands.

The abbey was destroyed during the Second World War, in 1940, but was later excavated and restored;[1] among the objects found was some footwear, including two shoes and two boots, published in 1964 by A. Hendriks, whose descriptions and drawings form the basis of the technical information and comments printed here.[2]

All four specimens are of the *soled* shoe type, and consist of the hide of young oxen. The soles are asymmetrical in shape (left and right), and the method is that of "turning", i.e. the grain, the hair side, faced inwards during the sewing, and was then turned inside out.

We will first look at the shoes, of which that termed No. 22 (Figs. 128–130) is a closed woman's shoe, fairly high round the foot. The upper consists of one piece, gathered by means of a seam on the inner side. Part of the heel area has perished, while a small piece of the lace has survived. It was evidently placed fairly low at the back, and thence carried diagonally up to the instep, and there tied in a bow. The shoe is decorated with fine stitching, one row following the axis of the foot along the upper, and two forming diagonals on the outer side. The thread is lost, but the ornamental lines can be traced by the holes left. The length of the sole is 26 cm.

No. 23 (Figs. 131–134) is a low shoe, distinguished by the deep indentations cut in the sides. As in the shoe described above, the upper is cut in one piece, and closed by means of a seam on the inner side of the foot. The back section rises steeply, and ends on a level with the ankle. The shoe was fastened by a lace passed through two holes in the heel section and two in the

1. J. A. Trimpe Burger: Een oudheidkundig onderzoek in de abdij te Middelburg in 1961. Berichten van de rijksdienst voor het oudheidkundig bodemonderzoek. Jaarrg. 14, 1964.
2. A. Hendriks (d. 1965): Karolingisch schoeisel uit Middelburg. *Op. cit.*, p. 112ff. Fig. 22–25. My warmest thanks are due to M. Trimpe Burger for obtaining for me original photographs of footwear from Middelburg. I am indebted also to Magister Lilje-Jensen for translation from Dutch to Danish.

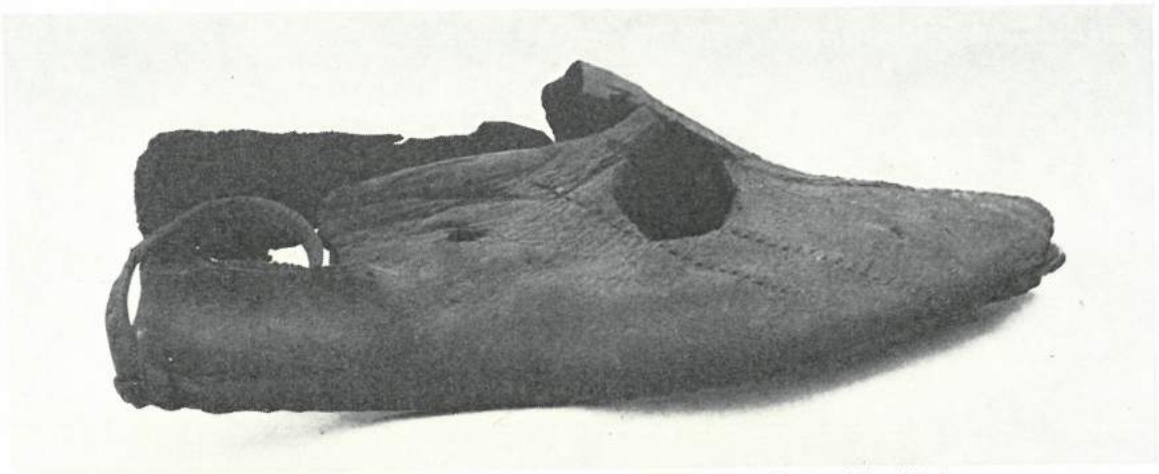


Fig. 128. Closed woman's shoe from Middelburg. Photo A. Hendriks (22 c).

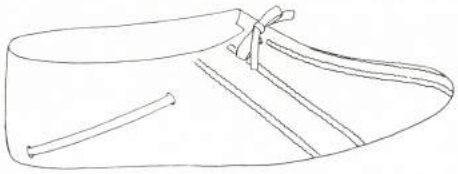


Fig. 129. Diagram of closed woman's shoe from Middelburg. Reconstruction, drawn by A. Hendriks (22 a).

Fig. 130. Closed woman's shoe from Middelburg. Photo A. Hendriks (22 b).

instep area. The shape of the 23 cm long sole indicates that it was made for the left foot. It is noteworthy that the thread has survived in the gathering of the upper and sole, which suggests the use of some material other than flax or hemp, materials that quickly decay when subjected to moisture.

In this shoe the decoration is limited to a single false seam along the vamp, a kind of ornamental stitching familiar from several examples among the Ejdersted material. The deep side-indenta-

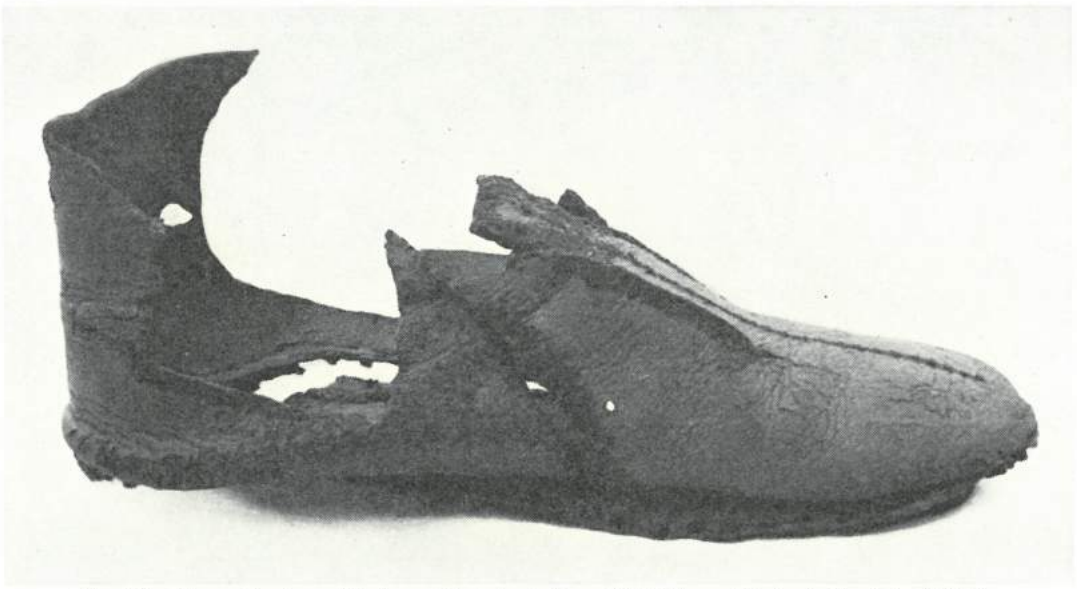


Fig. 131. Woman's shoe with deep side indentations. Middelburg. Photo A. Hendriks (23 b).

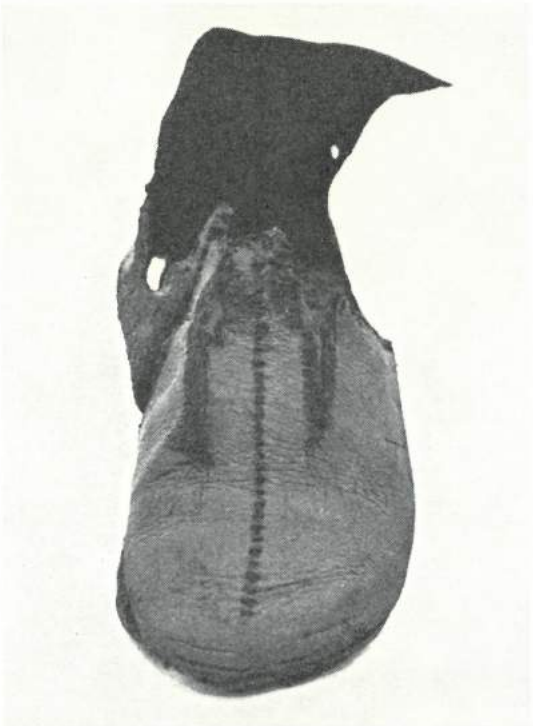


Fig. 132. Front view of woman's shoe with indentations. Middelburg. Photo A. Hendriks (23 d).

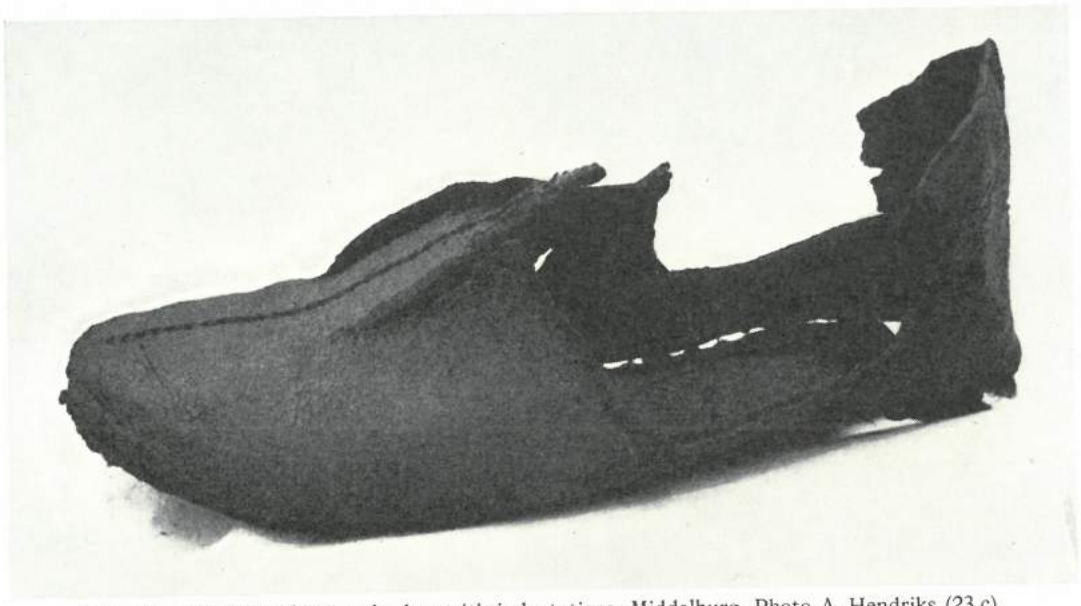


Fig. 133. Left side of woman's shoe with indentations. Middelburg. Photo A. Hendriks (23 c).

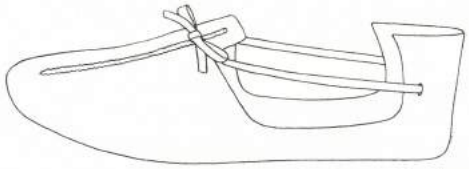


Fig. 134. Diagram of woman's shoe with deep side indentations. Drawing by A. Hendriks (23 a).

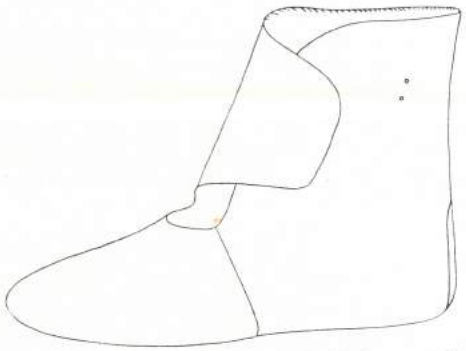


Fig. 135. Woman's boot from Middelburg. After a drawing by A. Hendriks (designated 24 a). The near side in the illustration is considered to be the outer side, which means that the boot must be designed for the left foot.

tions mentioned above are likewise to be found there in two cases, but with this difference, that the indentations were only on the outer sides, cf. Figs. 110 and 112.

And now the *boots*. That described as No. 24 (Figs. 135–138) is believed to be a woman's boot. As in the shoes described above, the upper consists of one piece with a gathering on the side. A flap on the top is intended to be laid across the front of the leg. Unfortunately part of one side of the boot is missing. The upper edge of the leg was attractively finished by making diagonal stitches (of which the thread is now lost) through half the thickness of the leather. Two small holes in the leg indicate that there was some form of fastening. A. Hendriks states that the holes are cut in the *outer* side of the leg. He likewise holds that the damaged side, where traces of the side seam can still be seen, faced outwards, see Fig. 135, which means that the boot is to be inter-

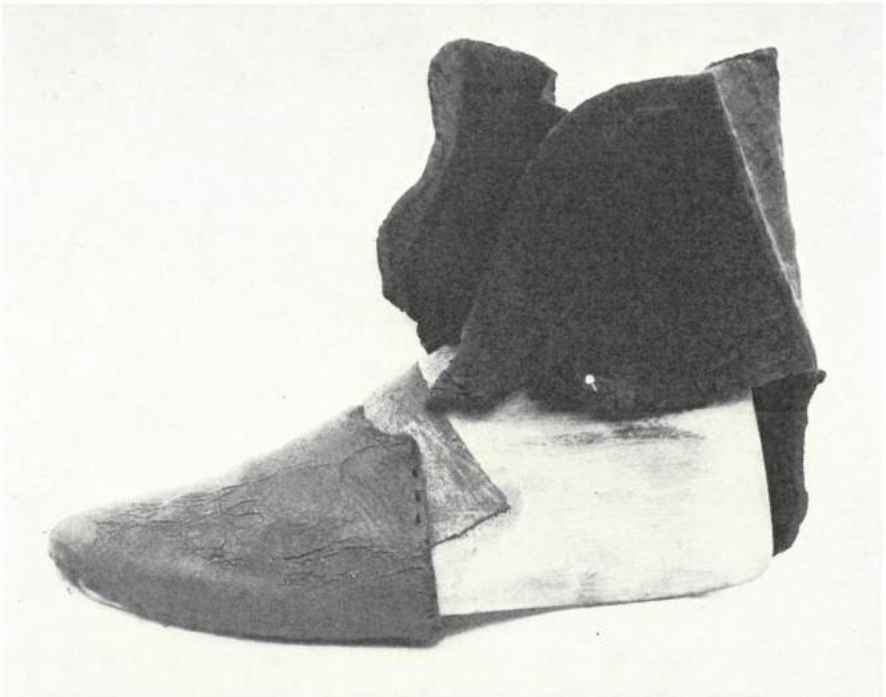


Fig. 136. Woman's boot from Middelburg shown in the position corresponding to the drawing Fig. 135. Photo A. Hendriks (24 b).

Fig. 137. Woman's boot from Middelburg, with that side in front termed by A. Hendriks "binnenkant". Photo A. Hendriks (24 c).

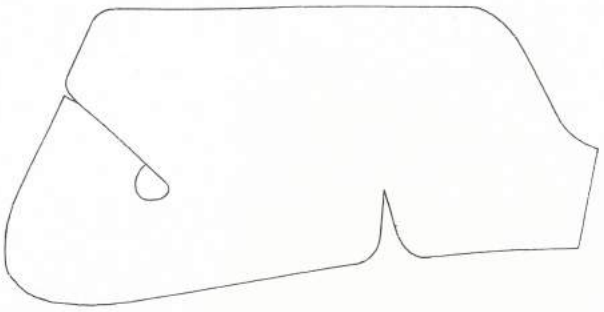


Fig. 138. Constructed pattern for the woman's boot Fig. 135, unfolded. Attempt by M. Hald on the basis of a drawing and photographs by A. Hendriks.

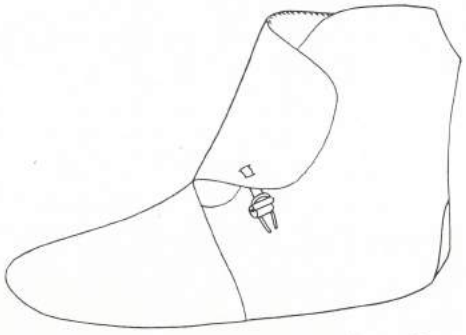


Fig. 139. Woman's boot from Middelburg. Drawing by A. Hendriks, who designates it 25 a. The side shown is regarded as the inner side, which means that the boot is designed for the right foot, that is, the opposite of 24 a, although the two drawings look alike.

preted as a left-foot specimen, a point to which we shall return below. The height of the leg is 18 cm, and the length of the sole 24.7 cm.

Boot No. 25 (Figs. 139–142), is slightly smaller than the above, the height of the leg being 16 cm, and the length of the sole 23 cm. Here also the upper consists of a single piece, which encloses the foot and is closed by means of a side seam. The photograph gives a clear impression of the sole, which is rounded in front and tapers sharply at the back. The heel tab is so long that it almost reaches ankle height. It is held to be a secondary phenomenon that a small triangular piece has been removed behind, at the top of the leg. A leather thong with a rolled button, which

Fig. 140. Woman's boot from Middelburg. Photo A. Hendriks (25 b). "Buitenkant".

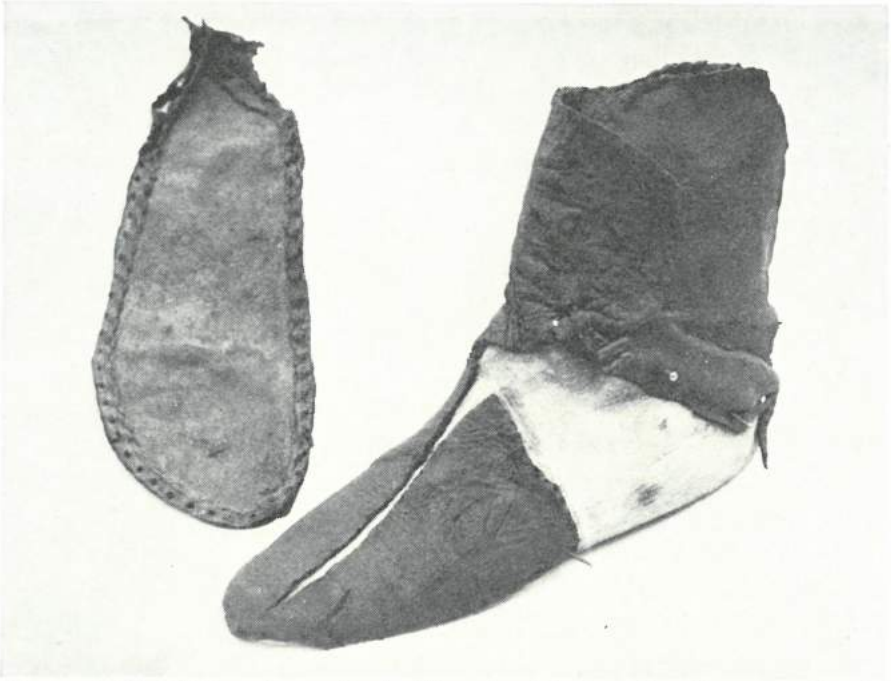


Fig. 141. Same boot as in Fig. 140, here shown with the "binnenkant" in front. The side seam and leg-flap are therefore on the inner side. Photo A. Hendriks (25 c).

acted as a fastening, has on the other hand survived. A. Hendriks states that the flap of the bootleg lay across the *inner* side of the leg, which means that we are confronted with a *right-foot* boot. This also appears from the photographs, Figs. 140 and 141, and forms a contrast to No. 24, which as stated is maintained to be a left-foot boot with the side seam and flap on the outer side. This discrepancy seems strange; for three of the pieces of footwear belonging to this find have the gathering on the inner side of the upper, and the same applies to a number of shoes of a similar kind, here described, from other sites. Now, it is the case, as will be known, that leather objects exposed for a long period to moisture and the pressure of soil tend to lose their shape and become difficult to determine. I am therefore inclined to believe that boot No. 24 is likewise intended for the right foot.

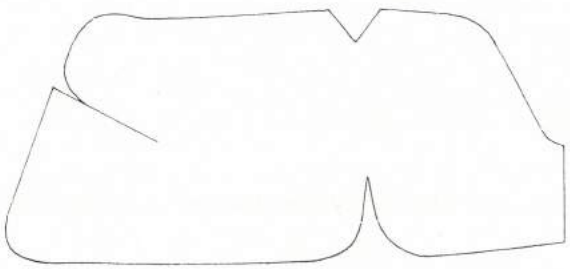


Fig. 142. Constructed pattern for boot 25 a, b, c, imagined as unfolded. Attempt by M. Hald on the basis of a drawing and photographs by A. Hendriks.

At all events, A. Hendriks has carried out an admirable investigation, and the Walcheren find has yielded material of great importance.[1] Not only does it substantiate the connection between the Elisenhof shoes and the South Frisian material, but it opens far wider perspectives, for in the abbey we encountered for the first time real boots, very like the footwear from the Oseberg find. This is so important that we will immediately turn to a comparison with the Norwegian material, and concentrate on the technical aspects.

Middelburg and Oseberg

As already mentioned above, p. 92, the objects discovered in the celebrated Oseberg ship find, dated at about 850 A.D., included footwear of very great interest. In 1959 it was re-examined by Charlotte Blindheim,[2] and with this work as a basis I shall here attempt to draw comparisons with the boots from the abbey on Walcheren. Charlotte Blindheim uses the term shoe for four fairly well-preserved specimens, a term I have followed here, although according to Danish terminology they ought rather to be described as boots.

A peculiar circumstance as to this footwear is that it not only represents two different "sets", described as No. 304 (Fig. 143) and No. 172 (Fig. 144), but that in addition these sets differ within themselves. We will look first at No. 304,[3] which has soles tapering both at heel and toe. The left sole is a little wider than the right, which is due to the fact that one foot of the owner was abnormal.[4] The height of the bootleg is 18 cm,[5] i.e. exactly the same as the Middelburg boot No. 24, Figs. 136, 137. Each upper consists of one piece of hide apart from additions that have no typological significance, and the vamp has a gathering lengthwise from toe to instep.

This set lay in the bow of the ship, and it is this that is shown in most pictures of footwear from the Oseberg ship.[6]

Here we shall be concentrating mainly on the other Oseberg set, that described as No. 172; "a" will be used to indicate the right shoe, and "b" for the left.[7]

The diagrams, Fig. 144, immediately make it clear that we are here dealing with that type of soled shoe which has the gathering seam on the inner side of the upper. We also note that the two patterns are not quite identical, but since similarities can also be found Charlotte Blindheim regards them as belonging together,[8] an opinion I considered reasonable enough to begin with,

1. The diagrams showing the boots unfolded (Figs. 138 and 146) have been made on the basis of the drawings and photographs with which A. Hendriks has illustrated the boots from the abbey on Walcheren. There is therefore no question of measurements made by the author of this book, but of attempts to explain the principle of the patterns by means of graphical representations. For descriptions with measurements the reader is referred to the text. The diagrams are placed here, close to Charlotte Blindheim's survey of the Oseberg shoes, No. 172, in order to make comparison easy.
2. C. Blindheim: Osebergskoene paa ny, Viking, Oslo, 1959, p. 71 ff. – S. Grieg: Osebergfundet, Vol. II, p. 208 ff. – A. W. Brøgger: Osebergfundet, Vol. I, Kria, 1917, p. 75.
3. C. Blindheim, *op. cit.*, Fig. 4.
4. C. Blindheim, *op. cit.*, p. 79 f.
5. E. Jäfvert: Entry on Fotbeklädnad, Kult. hist. Leksikon for nord. Middelalder, Vol. IV, 1959.
6. C. Blindheim, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
7. In order to avoid misunderstanding it should be mentioned that Sigurd Grieg, Osebergfundet II, p. 207, uses a for the left shoe.
8. C. Blindheim, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

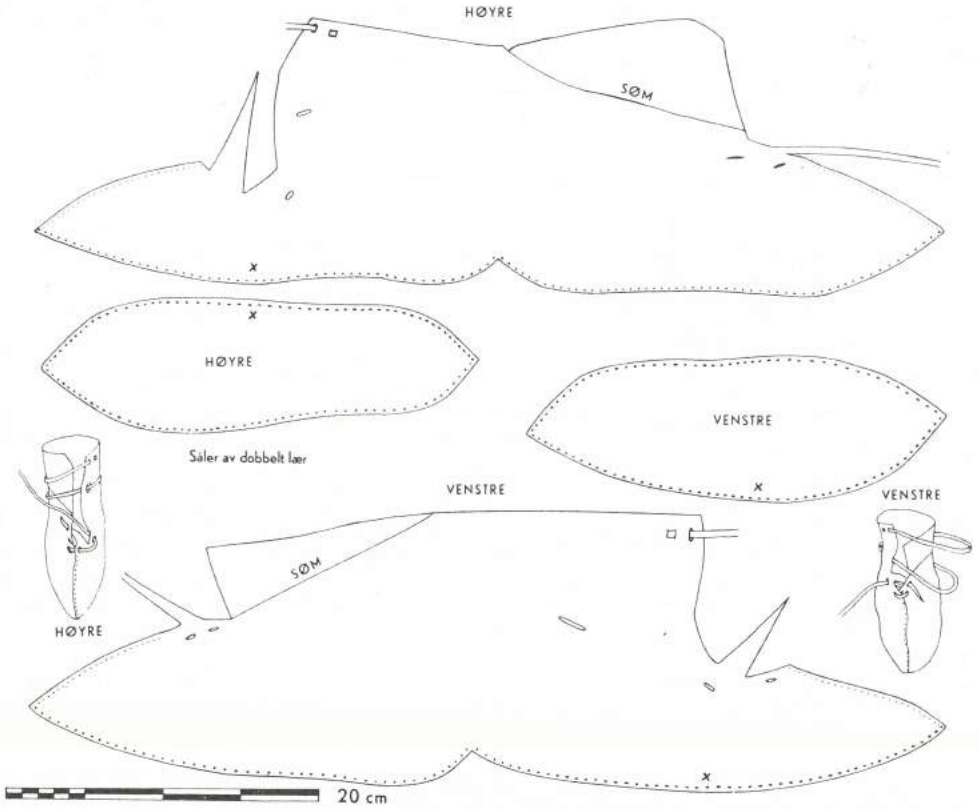


Fig. 143. Pair of shoes for a woman with one weak and one sound foot. From the Oseberg ship, No. 304 a–b. Drawing by Charlotte Blindheim.

since the differences present could be ascribed partly to the diseased condition of one foot of the owner,[1] partly to possible damage through decay or destruction.

The material recovered later, however, shows that there are variations of detail in the group of soled shoes to which the shoes 172 a–b belong, and the question is whether the differences existing between the two shoes do not indicate that they are separate specimens, each originally possessing another fellow which they matched exactly.

We will therefore draw attention to the discrepancies:

As is shown by the edge (marked Y) in the drawing, Fig. 145, shoe a has a marked downward curve, ending at the corner where the lace is knotted. In the case of b, the corresponding edge at Y is almost straight, with only a very slight curve towards the corner.

a has a tongue (marked Z) at the instep, intended to lie over the ankle. No such tongue is to be found on b.

The sole of a tapers both at the front and at the back, with a corresponding notch in the upper where the tip of the heel joins it. In contrast to this, the sole of b is rounded at the back, and the edge of the upper runs in an even line round the heel area.

1. C. Blindheim, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

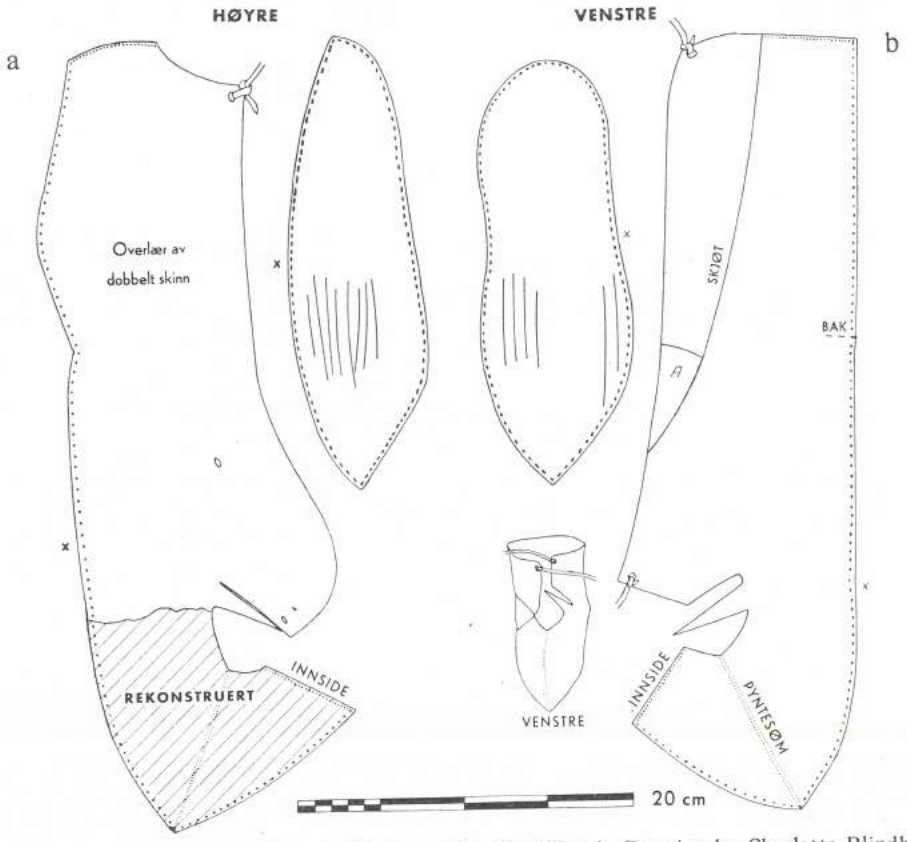


Fig. 144. Two women's shoes from the Oseberg ship, No. 172 a–b. Drawing by Charlotte Blindheim.

If we now compare the pattern of the two boots from Walcheren, Figs. 136–137 and 140–141, with Oseberg 172 a–b, we see that a resembles the Frisian boots, while b differs from them. In my opinion b bears a closer resemblance to the very simple, but fairly high shoe from Wedelspang, Fig. 147. This shoe is open in front, has a sole rounded at the back, and, agreeing with this, an even, continuous edge at the base of the upper. The small flaps at the instep openings of the Oseberg shoes may be disregarded, since they are found in all four specimens and have nothing to do with basic patterns.

According to the descriptions, the Oseberg ship also contained two loose soles, which may for convenience be termed No. 5 and No. 6. Of No. 5 Sigurd Grieg says: "Broken off at one end and very worn at the other, where there are several holes. Present length 23.6 cm. Found at the top of the bow, at the lower edge of the ornament". The present measurement plus a little for what is lost agrees fairly well with the 26 cm given as the length of the sole of 172 a,[1] and the correspondence with the sole of the left shoe b, which is a little shorter, is at least as good. It is possible that this sole, No. 5, belonged together with an upper now lost, but its damaged

1. S. Grieg: Oseberg Fundet II, p. 209. Of the sixth sole (61) it is stated that it consists of two leather pieces tapering at both ends. They are narrow, delicate, and stitched together at the edges. Length 16 cm, width up to about 8 cm. If this sole is really intact it cannot have belonged to the shoe of an adult.

condition allows of course no conclusions as to possible combinations. The loose soles indicate, however, the presence of more footwear in the find.

It is a well-known and natural phenomenon that variations should arise and features of degeneration gradually appear when a pattern or an idea travels, but here, where we are dealing with the possessions of a queen, or some other woman of high rank, it seems likely that her footwear was imported direct from the workshop of a fashionable foreign court. Yet this consideration can hardly apply in the present case, since what we have here are orthopaedic shoes, which must almost in the nature of the case have been made on the spot, even if following a foreign pattern. Charlotte Blindheim is probably correct in regarding the Oseberg shoes as Norwegian work.

Let us return to the find at the Walcheren abbey, and the question of dating there. J. A. Trimpe Burger stated in 1964 that on the basis of earlier experience, relics of the Carolingian period had been expected, and this expectation was not disappointed. The abbey itself dates from the 12th and 13th centuries A.D., and was later added to, but its foundation stones rest directly upon earlier layers of the 9th and 10th centuries. The site was inhabited before the building of the abbey, and the layers of the Carolingian period on which the abbey rests were dated by pottery at a time before the year 1000. During the Carolingian period Middelburg was a stronghold (about 875–900), and the abbey lies inside the fort, the uppermost turves of which were from about the year 1000. What lies underneath is consequently older. Unfortunately the remains of wooden buildings did not provide much information, but rubbish deposits of the Carolingian period contained bones, shells, well-preserved footwear and textiles, a bone comb, a mill-stone, and a fibula.[1] The shoes from the abbey, therefore, cannot be exactly dated by this, and they can hardly be older than the Oseberg shoes. On the other hand, the pointed-heel soles from the Ejdersted excavations provide a basis for a date in the second half of the 8th century at least, and it is reasonable to suppose that the three closely-related groups of finds from places remote from each other must have a common source of inspiration, a centrally situated, culturally important place. Where could this be imagined outside the mighty kingdom of the Franks? One cannot tell.

Charlemagne, king from the year 768, crowned emperor in Rome in 800, was till his death in 814 the ruler of a vast region, comprising what is now France, the western part of Germany, certain parts of Italy, and Central Europe. At the end of the 8th century he subdued the Saxons and extended his northern frontier to the Elbe. It is said that he assembled some of the most learned men of his day at his court, in order with their aid to revive in part the civilisation of antiquity.[2] There are many statements as to connections between France and the Orient at that time.[3] In 797 and 801 the emperor sent embassies to Caliph Härún al Rashid, but as early

1. J. A. Trimpe Burger, *op. cit.*, p. 97ff. – According to H. Jankuhn: "Haithabu", p. 32, a tanning pit containing remnants of leather was discovered among remains of houses elsewhere on Walcheren in 1863, which indicates that tanning was carried on on the island. He writes: "Fasst man alles, was archäologische Funde und Münzen über den Wik an der Nordwestküste von Walcheren beim späteren Orte Domburg aussagen, zusammen, dann ergibt sich das interessante und bisher kaum beachtete Bild eines sehr bedeutenden Handelsplatzes. Wenn man von der römischen Zeit absieht, beginnt die Bedeutung des Ortes im 7. Jahrhundert, fällt also mit der oben geschilderten Erschliessung des nord- und nordostfränkischen Gebietes zusammen."
2. G. Nørgaard: Hagerups Lexikon, Vol. VI, entry Karl den Store.
3. Holger Arbman: Schweden und das Karolingische Reich, Stockholm 1937, p. 11f.

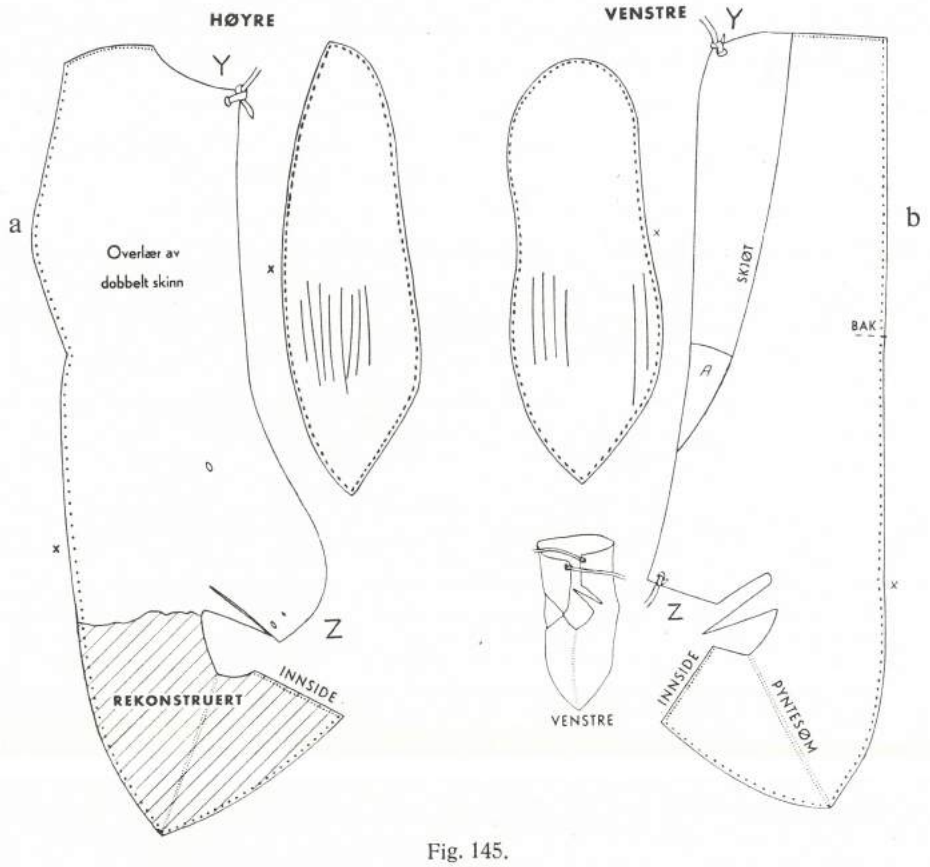


Fig. 145.

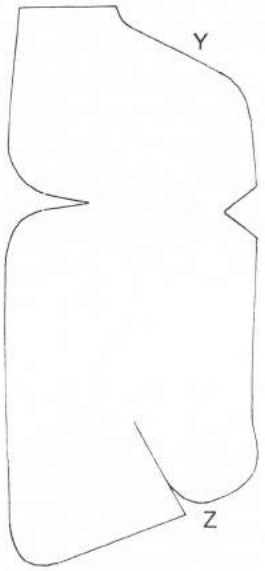


Fig. 146.

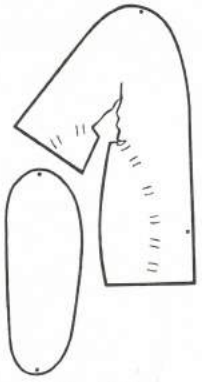


Fig. 147.

Fig. 145–147. For comparison: Fig. 145, shoes from Oseberg, and Fig. 146, reconstructed diagram for boot from Middelburg (see Fig. 140). Note the resemblances and differences at the points marked z and y, and elsewhere. Fig. 147 shows a pattern for the shoe from Wedelspang Mose (Fig. 101). Note the resemblance with Fig. 145 b.

as 765 his father, Pepin the Short, had made similar approaches to the Caliph Mansur. The aim of these approaches was the establishment of trade relations between the kingdoms, but perhaps the most important factor was a political alliance against the common enemy, Byzantium. At all events, with connections so far-flung influences of many kinds were possible, and it is likely that clothing too received inspiration from remote places. It is true that of the emperor himself it is said that he preferred Frankish fashions,[1] which presumably simply indicates that other choices were possible. In the meantime, the versatility already noted in the shoe patterns indicates in my opinion that while their ancestry extends beyond what we can trace, we are justified in assuming that they were known in Merovingian times. The knowledge now available from recent investigations, that several pointed-heel soles were found in the foundations of the humble peasant community of Elisenhof on Ejdersted, together with objects dating from the second half of the 8th century, enables us to conclude that the pointed-heel shoe at least must have been in use at an earlier date in cultural centres.

1. G. Nørgaard, *op. cit.*

Chapter VII

The Frisian Route and Hedeby

We will now direct our attention to the route to the north, i.e. the sea route along the Frisian coast used for many centuries by both merchants and sea-raiders.

In his account of the vikings in the west, Holger Arbman says that it was no new trail the Normans blazed when they sailed along the North Sea coast: it was a trading-route known of old. The Frisians themselves were enterprising traders, who took their wares north, and traded them to England and Scandinavia,[1] and so much is certain, that at the end of the 8th century the Scandinavians visited trading-centres in Friesland; contemporary Frankish chronicles record the fact. Missionary activity goes hand in hand with trade. Where the merchant leads the missionary will follow, as a bearer of civilization, and about the year 700 we hear of the first missionary journeys to Denmark;[2] this may have been the very route followed by Willibrord, the missionary to the Frisians, when about 700 he made an attempt to convert the Danes to his faith.[3]

Jankuhn says in his "Haithabu" that a comparatively intensive trade existed between the Rhine and the Baltic from the middle of the 7th century,[4] or at least the beginning of the 8th, and, as shown on the map in Fig. 5 in the same book, the route divides at Ejdersted. One branch continues northwards to other Frisian islands, and south and west Norway, while the other runs eastwards overland, to the east coast of North Schleswig, through the Baltic up to Gotland and central east Sweden.

The voyage away from the North Sea went first along the Eider, then along the river Trene to Hollingsted, where the goods were re-loaded to be carried overland to the Schlei. This long narrow inlet divided Angel from Svansen, and far inland forms a loop southwards, a sort of "pocket", a natural site for a fortified market and transit centre. Here arose the celebrated mer-

1. H. Arbman and M. Stenberger: Vikinger i Vesterled, p. 138.
2. H. Arbman and M. Stenberger, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
3. H. Arbman and M. Stenberger, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
4. H. Jankuhn: Haithabu, 1963, p. 102 and Map 5. – See also Dirk Jellema: "Frisian Trade in the dark Ages", Speculum, 1955, p. 18: "Archaeological evidence for trade between the Frisian and Merovingian kingdom is plentiful. Merovingian pottery is found near the Rhine mouths, in the terp area, and along the coast up to Denmark"; and further on p. 20: "there are scattered finds from the Frisian terps which give evidence of trading contact with Scandinavia." – Of the progress made by Frisian trade later, Jellema says (p. 35): "there was a Friso-Swedish guild in Sigtuna in the 1000's. There were Frisian trading settlements in Riga, Bremen and other northern ports. A Frisian expedition seems to have reached the Greenland ice pack around 1040." – I am indebted to Dr H. Geisslinger for various references to literature, and for information given in personal conversation.

Fig. 148. The Frankish-Frisian trade route in the North Sea and the Baltic in the 7th and 8th centuries. – Horizontal shading marks the Frisian-populated areas, diagonal shading important reception areas for merchandise. After H. Jankuhn, Haithabu, p. 29.

chant town of Hedeby, also known as Sliestorp. Today the site is a level area of about 24 hectares, surrounded by a fine, impressive semicircular earthwork.[1] As one would expect, the area is continually being investigated, both within and beyond the site of the town itself, and throughout the final years of the 1950s German archaeologists carried out valuable excavations immediately south of the rampart.[2] Here deep ploughing had revealed a burial-ground, whose various types of graves included urn-burials. These finds could be determined partly by grave-goods, partly by the form of the urns that had survived either whole, or in fragments large enough to permit reconstruction.

The urns were badly fired ware, crudely fashioned, of the type known as "egg-shaped vessels". The type is known from the coast of west Friesland over as long a stretch as from the north Frisian islands down to the Ems, and is dated in the 7th and 8th centuries, and the beginning

1. H. Jankuhn: Danevirke og Hedeby, p. 18.
2. H. Jankuhn: Ein neu entdecktes Gräberfeld bei Haitabu, Gandert Festschrift, 1959, p. 61. Referred to hereafter as Festschrift.

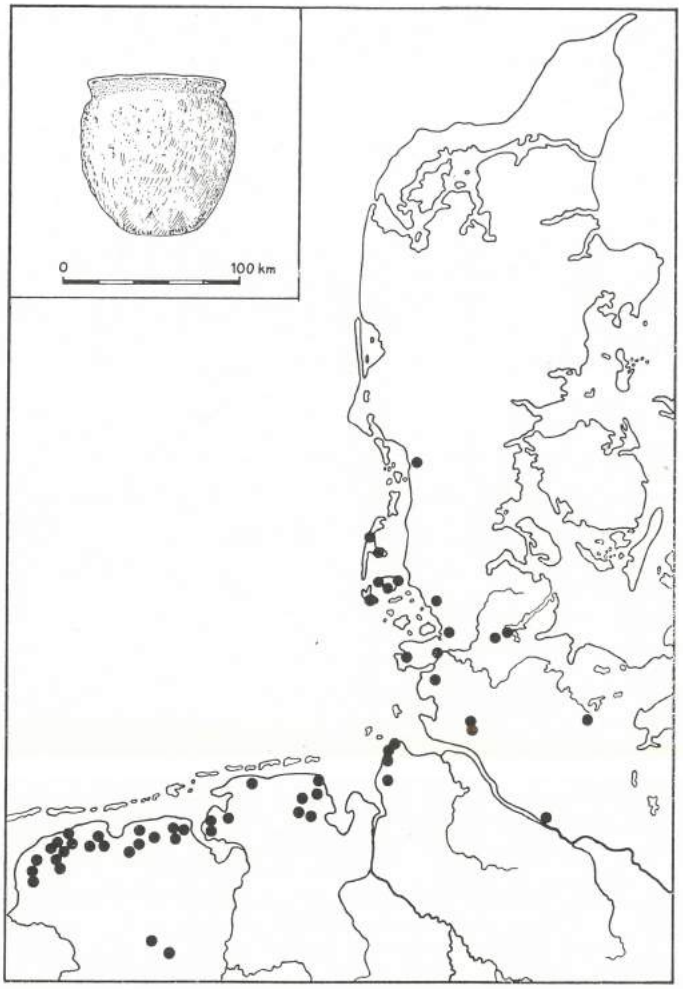


Fig. 149. Distribution of egg-shaped vessels in the North Sea coastal district. After P. la Baume and H. Jankuhn, p. 131.

of the 9th. A more exact attribution has not been possible hitherto (see the map, Fig. 149, made by P. la Baume).[1]

Among grave-goods, a clasp-knife is mentioned as significant because the type is known from the north Frisian islands in the 8th century; similarly, a fragment of a so-called Tatinger jug can be dated as belonging to the first half, or middle, of the 9th century.[2]

In 1959 H. Jankuhn said of the above-mentioned burial-ground that it differed from burials hitherto known in two respects: its character of an urn-burial site, and its early date,[3] and in the preface to his comprehensive book Haithabu it is stated that the burial-ground discovered in 1956 below the south gate of the semicircular earthwork, and largely excavated in the years 1959–60, for the first time provided evidence, for Hedeby also, of a much greater age than hitherto proved. The

1. H. Jankuhn: Festschrift, p. 61, 64, and the map 2 after P. la Baume.
2. H. Jankuhn: Festschrift, p. 61, 62.
3. H. Jankuhn: Festschrift,p. 63.

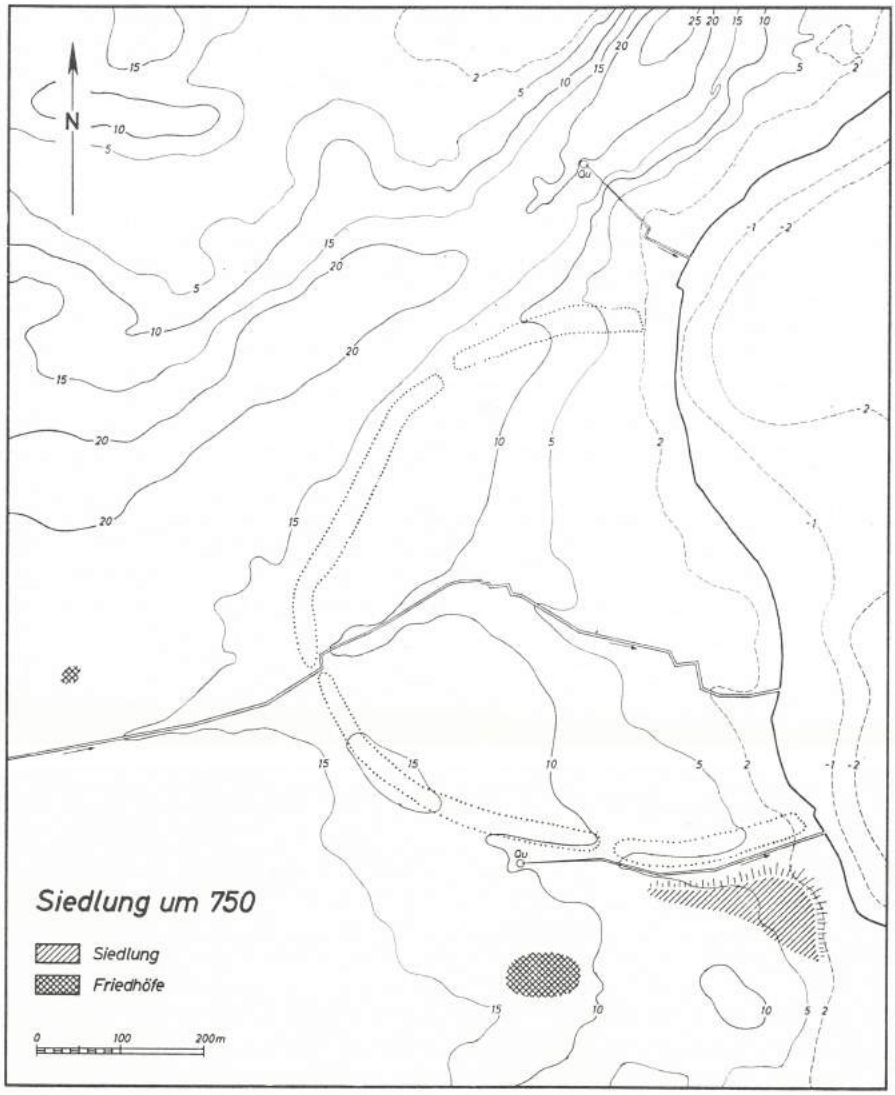


Fig. 150. The southern settlement and the nucleus of the southern burial place in the 8th century, together with a grave from the 8th century. After H. Jankuhn: Haithabu, p. 109.

discovery south of the earthwork of the settlement connected with the burial-ground, and small-scale trial excavations here, show clearly that as a trade-centre and artisan settlement the site goes back at least to the beginning of the 8th century, and is roughly contemporary with Dorestad and Domburg, sites long regarded as older.[1]

Later it is hinted that the above-mentioned settlement began as early as the end of the 7th century A.D., but during these years it was still an open question where the settlement belonging to the burial-ground had lain.[2] Not until excavations were made in the autumn of 1962 in order to determine the date and nature of the site was the answer obtained.

1. H. Jankuhn: Haithabu, p. 9.
2. H. Jankuhn: Haithabu, p. 107–108.

Up to the present, the house of an amber-polisher has been found, and it has also been established that casting bronze and extracting iron was carried on. That this was a group that traded over great distances is proved not only by the discovery of an Anglo-Saxon Frisian coin, a so-called sceatta, but also by the fact that the inhabitants of this small settlement were able to import millstones from Eifel. Through a number of parallel finds the above-mentioned coin – and with it the house in which it was found – can be definitely assigned to the first half of the 8th century.[1]

If now the results obtained in the years 1959–1962 are assembled, the most important piece of new knowledge is that south of the earthwork, by the shore of the cove and next to a freshwater stream, lay a small settlement, whose inhabitants appear to have been artisans and merchants.[2]

In a section called "Die Kaufleute und die Art ihres Handels", Jankuhn considers those who in time arrived to take part in Hedeby's trade, and says: "Seit dieser Zeit also haben sächsische und friesische Kaufleute anscheinend eine grosse Rolle im Handel Haithabus gespielt, es ist aber so gut wie sicher, dass friesische Händler schon wesentlich früher zur Schlei kamen, ja, dass sie es recht eigentlich waren, die die Voraussetzung für die Entstehung des Ortes schufen".[3]

This plays an important part in determining the provenance and date of the footwear, for fairly close to the south of the settlement indicated by shading on the plan in Fig. 150 lie the two bogs, Wedelspang and Lottorf, that have yielded most of the shoe material discussed in Chap. IV. Wedelspang is closest, and quite close to the point where Haddeby Nor narrows; Lottorf on the other hand lies a little below Selk Nor, Fig. 151. In Chap. V attention has already been drawn to a number of different characteristics which the shoes from these bogs have in common with shoes from the Frisian village Elisenhof, which in turn have certain resemblances to shoes from Walcheren. It does not seem to be mere chance that the dating of the earliest shoes from Ejdersted agrees so well with the period of the most recently excavated burial-ground and settlement at Hedeby. This may presumably be regarded as very importance evidence in support of the theory that the Frisians really were the first to arrive at the Schlei when it was a question of finding and utilizing a suitable base for trade across the Baltic.

However, Hedeby grew until people from practically every corner of the world met there, and goods of the most various kinds were exchanged, such as wine, ornaments, woven materials, furs, amber, millstones, ceramics, glass, rope of walrus- and seal-hide, and many other articles. Slaves also, both men and women, were offered for sale.[4]

That local crafts flourished is shown by the tools found during excavation. Thus, for instance, loom weights, i.e. warp stretchers for an upright loom, indicate that domestic weaving was carried on, and leather must at all events have been tanned.[5] The shoemakers had their own quarter.[6]

1. H. Jankuhn: Haithabu, p. 108–110, map. fig. 23 and 25. About sceattes on the continent: see p. 38, fig. 8.
2. H. Jankuhn: Haithabu, p. 110.
3. H. Jankuhn: Haithabu, p. 160f.
4. H. Jankuhn: Danevirke og Hedeby, 1956, p. 24ff. – J. Bjernum and T. Ramskou: Danmarks Sydgrænse, 1948, p. 78. – Knud Leems: "Beskrivelse over Finmarkens Lapper", 1767, p. 266. – "Of this hide, and of the hide of the narwhal, our forefathers made ropes and anchor-cables, which they called Svardr and Svardreip, and which were so strong that, as Arngrim Jonson relates, such a rope could not be snapped asunder by 60 men". See Jankuhn: Haithabu p. 170–171.
5. H. Jankuhn: Haithabu, p. 250.
6. T. Ramskou: Hedeby, p. 47.

Unfortunately, I know of only the upper of one shoe from the area within the earthwork, and it seems to date from a fairly late period, perhaps the beginning of the Middle Ages, Fig. 102. The possibility that footwear from the market-place settlement also in time ended in the bogs and waters of the surrounding district cannot presumably be excluded, and obviously one can only make a guess as to what has been lost. But it seems likely that at so great a market there must have been a very large consumption of footwear in particular. The fact is that the footwear known to us, both from Ejdersted and from the Wedelspang and Lottorf bogs, is mainly of a light kind, generally with a base consisting of a single layer, in other words, it is not very hard-wearing. Rich merchants or traders presumably not only wanted good shoes, but needed several pairs for their journeys. It is therefore likely that shoemaking occupied a not unimportant position among the crafts of Hedeby, and the local shoemaker might perhaps in addition to his normal production be called upon to repair foreign footwear, enabling him to acquire some technical subtlety. Indeed, for that matter we do not know that the Hedeby shoemakers themselves did not in time provide shoes for export.

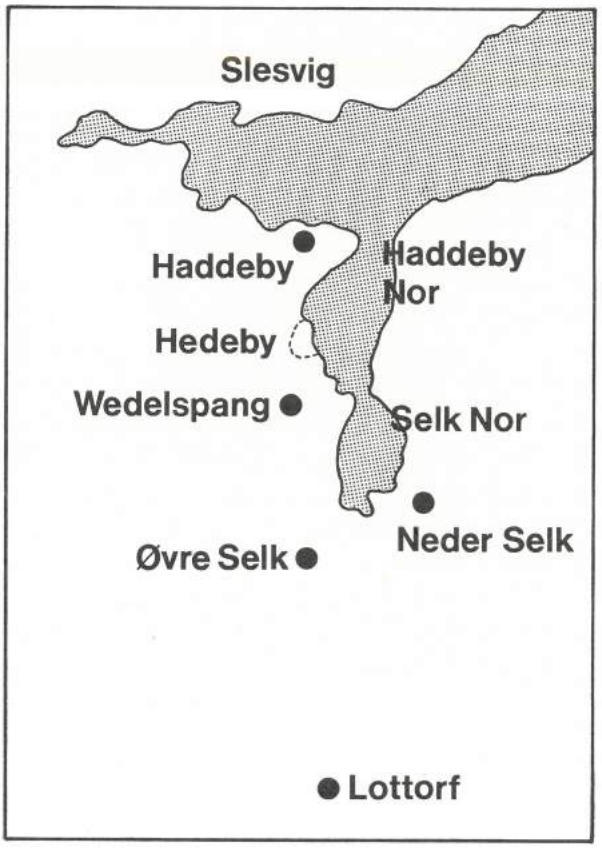


Fig. 151. Sketch showing Hedeby's position by the cove, together with Wedelspang and Lottorf.

Chapter VIII

Deserted Towns

If Hedeby could be described as "the very large city at the end of the ocean",[1] and is rated as having been the leading Scandinavian city in the viking period as a warehouse and transit place, one obviously looks for the corresponding places to which the stream of merchandise flowed, and where it was distributed or exchanged. Several towns then existing or growing have since vanished,[2] and at all events only a minority have up to the present yielded material of interest to our present study, but some are important, and must be discussed.

Skiringssal

First and foremost Skiringssal near Oslo Fjord must be mentioned, because of the proximity of Oseberg. It is reasonable to suppose that the princely personages laid to rest in the magnificent ships at Oseberg and Gogstad were surrounded by persons of some rank, who might likewise be ready purchasers of luxury wares from the south, such as for instance Carolingian shoes.

Furthermore, according to Charlotte Blindheim's treatise "Kaupangen – Markedsplassen i Skiringssal",[3] archaeological investigations made in the years following 1950 have shown that the place was of some importance from A.D. 800–950. The area appeared to have been populated by a farming community with a mercantile tendency,[4] and among the objects found many were valuable and of foreign origin.[5] Here, however, we are principally interested in one particular object, namely a medallionlike ornament, which was pressed into the bone substance of a female skeleton. It is believed that the ornament must have served to pin the garment, and Wencke Slomann, who was one of the leaders of the excavation, when on a study tour found parallels among Frisian ornaments of the Carolingian period.[6]

As regards contact with Hedeby, Charlotte Blindheim quotes a passage from the account of the trader Ottar, in which he states that the voyage from Skiringssal to Hedeby took five days;[7]

1. H. Arbman: Birka 1939, p. 56 (from the Arabian merchantat Tartûschi) and H. Jankuhn: Haithabu, p. 172.
2. J. Brøndsted: III, 1960, p. 362.
3. C. Blindheim: Kaupang, Markedsplassen i Skiringssal, 1953, p. 1f.
4. C. Blindheim, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
5. C. Blindheim: Kaupang, 1953, p. 14f.
6. C. Blindheim, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
7. C. Blindheim, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

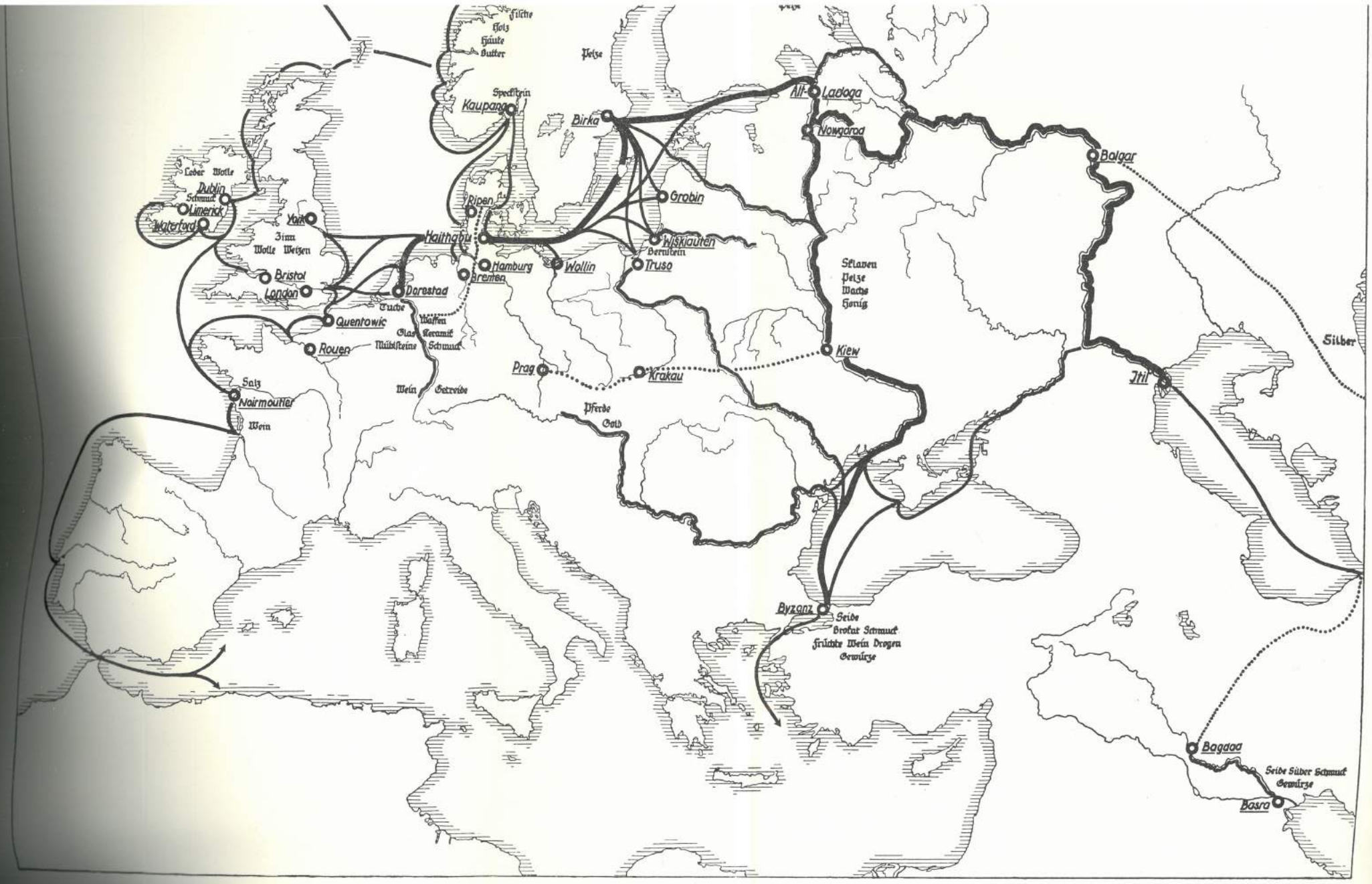


Fig. 152. Map showing the most important trade routes in North and East Europe. After H. Jankuhn: Haithabu.

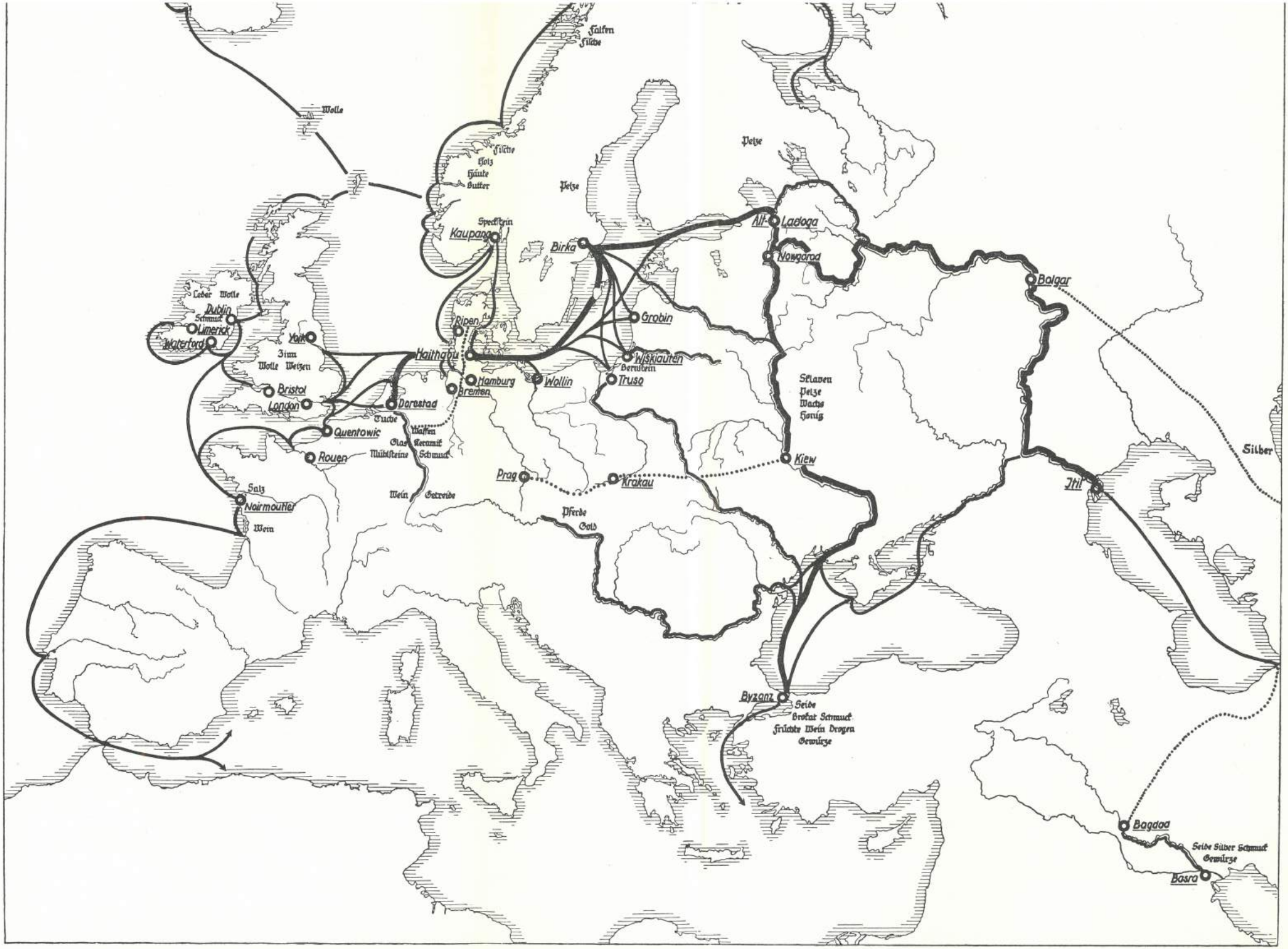


Fig. 152. Map showing the most important trade routes in North and East Europe. After H. Jankuhn: Haithabu.

and the same passage of the account, which is ascribed to the period 870–880, is quoted by H. Helmuth-Andersen in his treatise on the transport of Norwegian steatite pots to Hedeby.[1]

Unfortunately nothing is said of shoes, either by the seafarer Ottar, or in the account of grave-goods from Kaupangen, but that the fashion of shoe-soles pointed at the back had caught on in Norway is shown not only by the Oseberg shoes, but also by other already published material. Thus Sverre Marstrander[2] reproduces pictures of two shoes – which unfortunately cannot be dated – one from Sandöy in Romsdalen, the other from Tautra near Molde, and Asbjørn Herteig[3] has made preliminary mention of very extensive shoe material found during his excavations at Kaupangen in Borgund near Ålesund, where the houses at least are ascribed to the end of the viking period, about 1050, and down to 1200–1250. Of 99 specimens, 90 were soled shoes, with

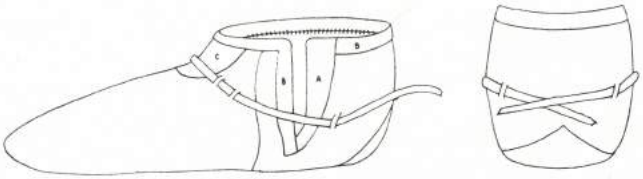


Fig. 153. Sketch of a shoe with a "bay" in the side of the upper, and a sole tapering at the back. From Borgund in Norway, which was a place of importance as early as the heathen period, and in the Middle Ages grew to be a "kaupang" or market. Drawing and text after Asbjørn Herteig.

the sole tapering at the back, and the handsome model shown by A. Herteig in a drawing, here Fig. 153, seems extremely well made, with an edging round the opening for the foot, and in the "bay" on the side. The basic pattern is in reality the one we have now encountered in a number of cases in the course of this study, though with certain variations or modifications.

Wolin – Truso/Gdańsk

Closest to Hedeby, on the coast of the Baltic in the mouth of the Oder, lay Wolin, and east of the estuary of the Vistula was Truso; but while Wolin has survived, at least to the extent of being marked on present-day maps, Truso seems to have disappeared entirely.

Of *Wolin* it is said that it was the town with the largest population "im Slawenlande", and that it served as a most important transshipping site in conveying North Germanic goods to the Slavs, as Hedeby did for the north and west. It is however stated modestly that the goods in question were largely necessary articles of everyday use, and that as far as trade in articles of artistic value was concerned Wolin fell short of the sister city by the Schlei.[4]

Archaeological investigations in Wolin have uncovered a considerable number of shoes, but far from all of them are in good condition, and only a small number can be considered here.

1. H. Helmuth-Andersen: Grydestenens Veje, Skalk 1968, No. 5, p. 4. A longer extract from Ottar's account is to be found in H. Jankuhn's Haithabu, p. 166ff. – Insertion by King Alfred into his translation into English of Orosius' "History".
2. S. Marstrander: Et Par myrfunne Jernaldersko, 1954, Fig. 6 and 7, reproduced after Anathon Bjørn: Nogen myrfund fra Trøndelagen, Det kngl. norske Videnskabers Skrifter, Trondhjem 1920, No. 4, p. 11. Fig. 4–5. Similar shoes, but with evident side seams, have been published by Sverre Dahl: Føroyskur Fótbúni, Torshavn 1951, Pl. V–VII.
3. Asbjørn Herteig: Kaupangen på Borgund, 1957, p. 425ff. and Fig. 11, p. 445 and p. 442.
4. Karl August Wilde: Die Bedeutung der Grabung Wolin (1934), publ. 1953. Hamburgisches Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte, p. 93.

The shoe shown in Fig. 154 is one of the oldest, dating from the 9th century.[1] It is a hide shoe (chodak), with a clearly shaped heel and an indentation at the toe. This shoe is closely related to the specimen Fig. 155, which is stated to have been found at Gniezno, and which belongs to the 10th century.[2] Related specimens have already been seen above, e.g. the little child's shoe from Scharsee near Plön, Fig. 81, and two shoes, from respectively Wedelspang (Fig. 75) and Föhr (Fig. 79).

Differing from these is the form of shoe in Poland termed ciżma. It has a sole, but is of a fairly early period, and the specimen Fig. 156 a–b is attributed to the 9th century. Admittedly only

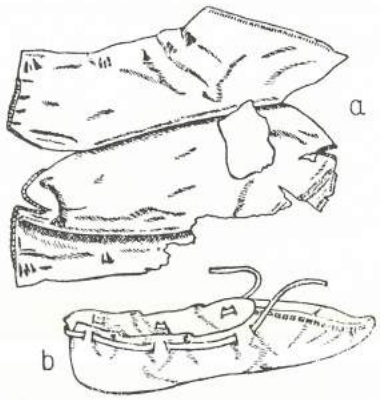


Fig. 154. Hide shoe (chodak) from Wolin, 9th century. – a. Original, after Wojtasik Pl. I/7. – b. Reconstruction, after Wiklak.

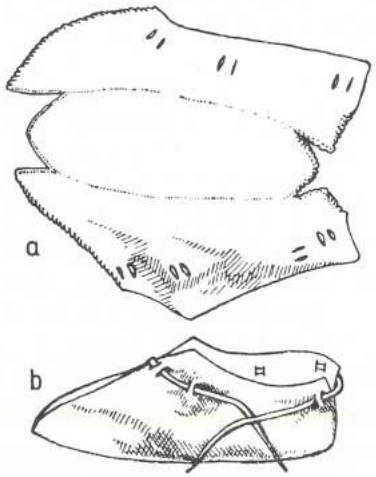


Fig. 155. Hide shoe (chodak) from Gniezno, 9th century. – a. Original, after Z. A. Rajewski. – b. Reconstruction, after Wiklak.

two original parts of this have been published, but H. Wiklak indicates by means of a reconstruction, b, what is believed to have been the original appearance.[3]

The more developed shoe with the side fastening in the upper also occurred in the Wolin find, but relatively late, see Fig. 157 and 159. It is attributed to the 11th–12th century.[4] Unfortunately it is not stated whether the sole with tapering heel has been observed in Wolin.

And now *Truso*, which as mentioned above is gone and forgotten. It was situated near Elbląg probably by Lake Drużno, and is believed to have been founded by Scandinavians in the 9th century.[5] It was a trade centre in the 9th and 10th centuries.[6] A search for it was begun by the

1. Henryk Wiklak: Polskie obuwie wczesnośredniowieczne, z VIII–XIII W. na podstawie wykopalisk. Materiały Wczesnośredniowieczne, Tom VI, Warszawa, 1969, p. 486, and Jerzy Wojtasik: Wczesnośredniowieczne wyroby ze skóry znalezione na stanowisku 4 w Wolinie. – Materiały Zachodnio-Pomorskie, Tom VI, Szczecin 1960, p. 159 ff., Pl. I. I am indebted to K. Salewicz, Assistant Curator of The Danish National Museum, for translations from Polish into Danish, and for help in the treatment of material.
2. H. Wiklak, *op. cit.*, p. 486, Fig. 12.
3. H. Wiklak, *op. cit.*, p. 489, Fig. 18, and J. Wojtasik: *op. cit.*, p. 196, Pl. II[1].
4. J. Wojtasik, *op. cit.*, Pl. IV[5] and VI[1].
5. Ewa Stattler, Slavia Antiqua, XIII, 1966, p. 214. – J. Kamińska: Sprawozdania Archeologiczne III, 1957, p. 116.
6. J. Kamińska, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

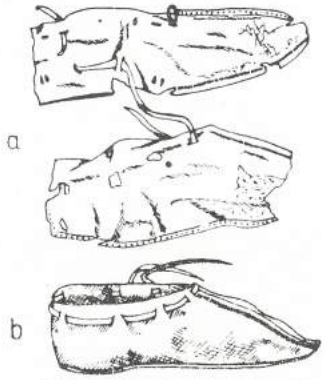


Fig. 156. Soled shoe (ciżma) from Wolin, 9th century. – a. After Wojtasik Pl. II. – b. Reconstruction, after Wiklak.

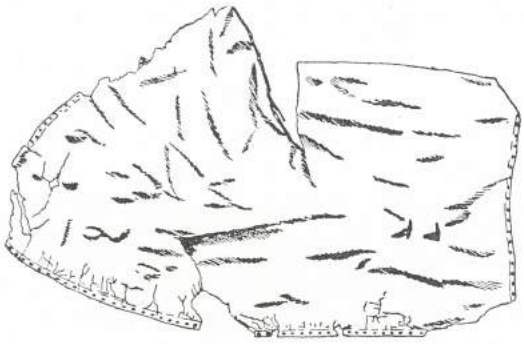


Fig. 157. Upper of soled shoe from Wolin, second half of 11th century. After Wojtasik Pl. IV/5. Dated by W. Filipowiak, Sprawozdania Archeologiczne, I, 1955, p. 184–185.

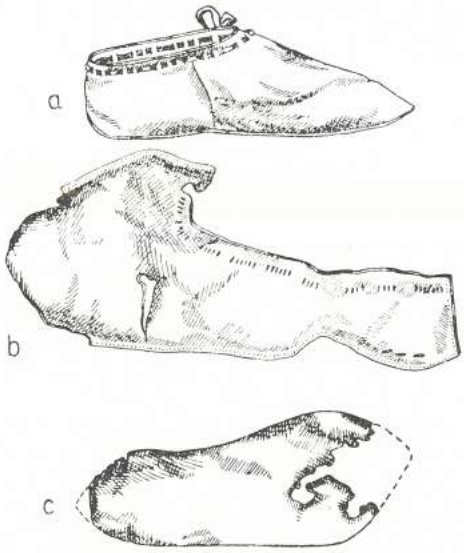


Fig. 158. Soled shoe with sole tapering at the back. From Gdańsk, 11th century. – a. Reconstruction. b–c. Original. After Wiklak, Ryc 19.

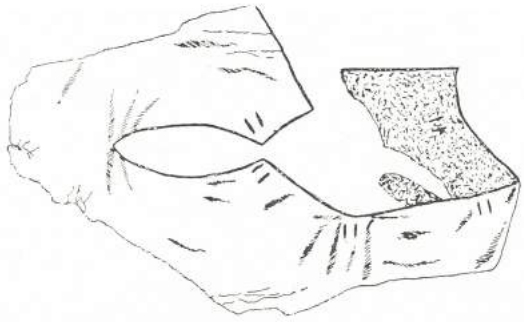


Fig. 159. Upper of soled shoe from Wolin, 12th century. After Wojtasik Pl. VI/5. Dated by W. Filipowiak, op. cit. p. 184–185.

archaeological station in Gdańsk in 1955, and an investigation of a large area near Elbląg and Lake Drużno was planned for 1956, but as far as is known no results have yet been published.[1]

From about 950 Gdańsk took over the role played by Truso.[2] Gdańsk, which of course stands on the west side of the left arm of the Vistula to this day, began to develop into a seaport from the year 980, a date indicated by the earliest culture layers on the site.[3]

A fairly extensive body of footwear has been uncovered in Gdańsk, and two drawings by

1. J. Kamińska, *op. cit.*, p. 116–117.
2. Ewa Stattler, *op. cit.*, p. 205.
3. J. Kamińska, *op. cit.*, p. 107–118.

H. Wiklak show that the soled shoe form in which we are especially interested here was known. One of these drawings, Fig. 158, shows the upper cut out in a single piece. When closed, the gathering seam would lie on the side of the foot. A notch in the heel area indicates that the sole tapered at the back, which in fact is suggested by c in the drawing. The shoe, which enclosed the foot up to the ankle, is attributed to the 10th–11th century. The second specimen corresponds exactly to the first in principle, but has a short leg, or one might call it a cuff (Wiklak, p. 490, No. 23, here Fig. 160). A peculiarity should be noted, however, namely that a small triangular piece seems to have been removed at the toe. This may be due to damage, but judging from some of

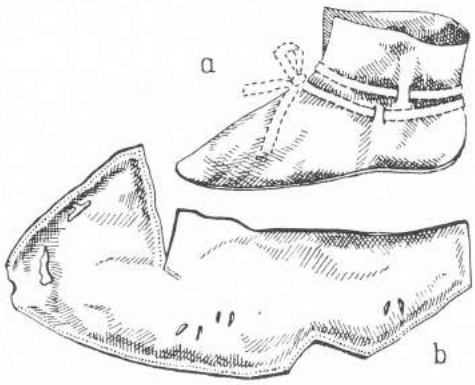


Fig. 160. Soled shoe with sole tapering at the back. From Gdańsk, middle of the 11th century. – a. Reconstruction. b. Upper with notch at the heel and toe. After Wiklak, Ryc 23.

the models encountered above, e.g. Figs. 94 and 113, it seems equally probable that it was a deliberate piece of ingenuity in the pattern. It is attributed to the middle of the 11th century.

Birka – Helgø

Sweden's famous trading-centre in the viking period was the town of *Birka*, on the island of Björkö in Mälaren, a little more than 20 km west of Stockholm. Its lifetime was comparatively short. It arose about the year 800, and by 975 its day was over, but costly grave-finds of both oriental and west European origin give us glimpses of the wealth of its citizens, and testify to communication with distant areas. As regards trade with western Europe, it is first and foremost the Birka-Hedeby route that is of interest to us. A large part of the goods imported from the Rhineland are believed to have come by this route, and Swedish merchants probably made use of the route to Friesland, and above all Dorestad.[1] One of the most important pieces of evidence of contact with the particular archaeological sites we are concerned with here is the so-called Frisian jug, known from Birka, Dorestad and Hedeby, but a specimen of which has, as already mentioned, also been found in Tating on Ejdersted.[2] A tale from the "Vita Anskarii" suggests that personal connections could exist between inhabitants of Birka and people in the Frisian area. It tells of a wealthy widow by the name of Friedburg, who lived in Birka with her daughter

1. H. Arbman: Birka I, 1943, p. XI and XVIf.
2. H. Arbman, *op. cit.*, p. 195, Frisian jug: Grave No. 597, together with cup-shaped buckles. – Pl. B, Pl. 220. – J. Bjernum and T. Ramskou: Danmarks Sydgrænse, 1948, p. 59f. – Dagmar Selling: Problem kring Vikingatida Keramikkannor, Fornvännen, 1951, p. 275ff.

Catla. The widow was a Christian, firm of faith, and furthermore charitable, and therefore, mindful of her death, she bade her daughter when the time came distribute her fortune to the poor, "and", she added, "since there are so few poor here, sell what you have not already distributed suitably, and travel to Dorestad with the money; for there are to be found many churches, many priests and many poor."[1] The special value to us of this story lies in the fact that the names are alien: Friedburg is believed to be German, and Catla Frisian; in addition, the widow's keen interest in Dorestad is probably due to her deceased husband's having been a Frisian merchant.[2] Unfortunately we are given no information as to the nature of Friedburg's worldly goods, and such an item as footwear would presumably in any case be too humble to be mentioned.

It is still more unfortunate that the archaeological finds made in Birka fail us as far as footwear is concerned. Among the clothing accessories found as grave-goods the so-called cup-shaped buckles are singled out. They occur in pairs – sometimes with a fragment of pleated linen on the back – and supply important information as to the construction of Scandinavian woman's dress in the viking period,[3] but it is all the more bitter that the finds should provide no information as to the footwear of the inhabitants of Birka. Only a fragment from the Swedish viking period has been found, in one of the graves at Vendel, but it was unfortunately in such poor condition that it could not be reconstructed.[4]

However, archaeological investigations started in 1954 have now given the small island of Helgø, which the traveller by sea must pass on his way to Birka, a prominent place among the ancient monuments of Sweden.[5]

Helgø prospered, and gained a central position in the Mälar area throughout the Late Iron Age, i.e. A.D. 400–800. After this Birka came to the fore and occupied the leading position; nevertheless, Helgø seems to have gone on side by side with Birka throughout the whole of the viking period, and judging by the latest finds of coins, Helgø appears to have survived Birka.[6]

As a centre for trades and crafts Helgø served a numerous and comparatively wealthy clientele, and it was possibly from here that the extensive trade was directed which brought to the Mälaren area many objects – glass, ceramics, and metal goods – of foreign origin.[7] With the map shown in Fig. 152 beside us, and mindful of the attribution of the taper-heeled Frisian shoes from Ejdersted to the second half of the 8th century at least, we might with a certain hope look for fashionable footwear on Helgø, but only to be disappointed. Probably soil conditions both here and on Björkö were unfavourable to the preservation of leather articles as a whole. At all events, it is hardly credible that the evidently quite wealthy inhabitants of Helgø should have needed to go barefoot.

If we wish to pursue our subject further we must, oddly enough, almost literally follow in the footsteps of the Swedes, eastwards to Staraja Ladoga (Old Ladoga) and Novgorod, a considerable distance, that is, into what is now Russia, and it is this that we shall now proceed to do.

1. Here after H. Jankuhn: Haithabu, p. 164 (Vita Anskarii, Chap. 20). Determination of the names after Barbra Rohwer. I am indebted to Dr H. Geisslinger for drawing my attention to this story.
2. For the Frisians in Birka see also Wilhelm Holmqvist et al.: Excavations at Helgø, I, p. 39.
3. H. Arbman: Birka I, e.g. p. 195, and Agnes Geijer: Birka III, p. 134ff.
4. H. Arbman: Birka, Sveriges äldsta Handelsstad, 1939, p. 102.
5. W. Holmqvist: Helgø, Vol. I, p. 23ff.
6. W. Holmqvist, *op. cit.*, p. 40, Note 4, and p. 22.
7. W. Holmqvist, *op. cit.*, pp. 28–29.

Chapter IX

The East

Staraja Ladoga

An antiquity department of the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad contains a collection of footwear and other leather articles (334 finds) which are the complete result of a series of excavations in Old Ladoga carried out by Russian archaeological expeditions. The material has been treated by E. N. Ojateva, and what follows here is an extract from this treatise.[1]

The collection is of unique historical value merely from the fact that its early group can be assigned to the 7th–10th century. Leather objects have not been preserved in other contemporary archaeological relics in the north-western part of European Russia. All the footwear and other leather articles were found in spots where the culture layer had in the course of time reached a height of 3–4 m. From its composition and structure the layer can be clearly divided into two parts, an upper and a lower. The upper layer, which extends to a depth of 1–1½ m, and which is attributed to the 11th–20th centuries, has in general been disturbed; only in a few places have the foundations of old wooden buildings been preserved, and in clearing these a number of leather objects were found which can be assigned to the 16th–17th centuries.

It is the lower layer, extending from 1–1½ m to 3–4 m in depth, and belonging to the 7th–10th centuries, that is full of remnants of wooden buildings, and permits a classification into the successive building levels. Here in clearing the foundations of buildings many objects were found consisting of organic, normally highly perishable matter; favourable conditions had however helped to preserve them: the exclusion of air, a constant temperature, a high degree of moisture, and the preservative effect of rotten manure. The objects from the lower layer are well dated on the basis of the clear stratigraphy of the building levels.

The collection of leather articles from Old Ladoga thus consists of two chronologically different groups. The earlier is assigned to the 7th–10th centuries, the later to the 16th–20th centuries. As regards objects from the 11th–15th centuries, these have not been preserved.

The earlier group of objects comprises in number about 1/3 of the whole Old Ladoga collection of leather objects. Otherwise the finds are evenly distributed on the building levels of the lower layer. The main part is concentrated in the 7th–10th centuries mass. The objects from the 10th,

1. E. N. Ojateva: Fodtøj og andre Lædervarer fra Gamle Ladoga. Arkæologisk Tidsskrift, 1965, No. 7, p. 42ff. Publ. by "Sovjet Kunstner". E. N. Ojateva: Obuv' i drugiye kozhanye izdeliya zemlyanogo gorodishcha Staroy Ladogi. – Arkheologichesky Sbornik, 7, p. 42ff. 1965. Moscow. – I am indebted to Anette Seidenfaden for a translation from Russian to Danish of this section.

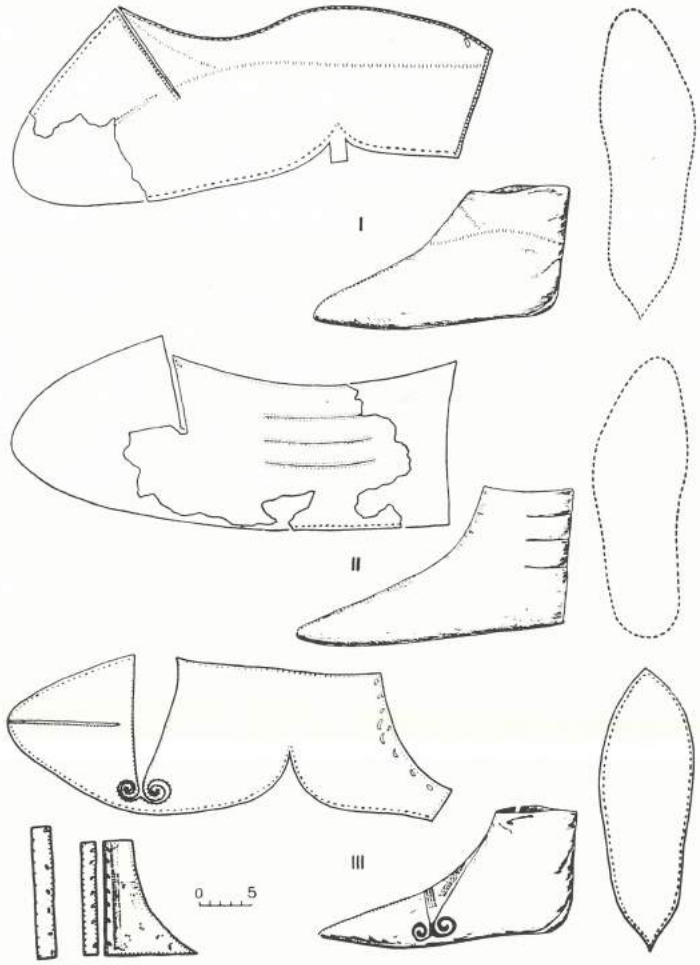


Fig. 161. Boots from the excavations at Staraja Ladoga, all with the upper cut in one piece and deep side indentations. Two have a heel tapering at the back. After E. N. Ojateva, p. 44, Nos. I, II, III.

and probably likewise the 9th, century have survived as a small number of fragments which at present cannot be determined.

The leather articles of the 7th–9th centuries supply particular types of footwear, e.g. eight kinds of "soft" boots, but also mittens, sheaths and thongs.

The specimens illustrated (Figs. 161, 162, 163) belong to the two basic types: the soled shoe (No. I–VI), and the hide shoe (No. VII–VIII).[1] In general the soled shoes have a fairly high upper, for which reason it may perhaps be more correct to term them boots. They exhibit a fair number of variations, but nevertheless clearly fall into two groups, of which one is closed at the side, No. I–III, and the other along the length of the vamp, No. IV–VI.

We will begin with the first group; we see at once that No. I is asymmetrical, and has a deep indentation at the side, which partially disconnects the front of the upper. No sole has been found for this boot, but it is clear from the course of the contour of the upper at the heel that

1. E. N. Ojateva, *op. cit.*, Pl. 44–45.

there must have been a sole with a point at the back, and the small pendent tab in the centre of the indentation is intended to reinforce the gathering at the spot where there is the greatest pressure in walking. On the broken vamp is to be seen a remnant of an imitation seam, formed by two rows of small stitches drawn together into a rib. The boot enclosed the leg closely. The lengthened end of the cuff is stated to have been folded over to the *outer* side, and fastened with a narrow thong passed through a slit. Together with the drawing, which indicates the presumed shape of the missing sole as a right-foot sole, this suggests that the author regards the boot as intended for the right foot, a conclusion I consider uncertain, and to which we shall recur below. The shoe measures 12 cm in height at the heel. The length of the sole is estimated to have been 23–24 cm.

Fig. II is symmetrically cut, but it should be noted that variations, in which the cuff is asymmetrical, may occur within the group. A peculiarity of this boot is the three horizontal cuts or folds above the heel. The space between them is about 2½ cm. Here also the sole is missing, but judging by the course of the edge along the base and round the toe, the sole must have been rounded at both the heel and the toe, as is indicated in the drawing. The form given to the upper edge on boots of this kind may vary somewhat. In some instances it is quite simply oversewn, in others given a piping, attached by means of a turned seam. An ornamental seam on the vamp, along the axis of the foot, is also mentioned here, but this is to be seen only lightly indicated in the drawing of the closed boot, clearly a reconstruction. The boot was firmly fastened, secured with a narrow leather thong passed through the slit at one of the points of the cuff. The height at the back is about 14 cm, and the length of the sole 26–27 cm.

Specimen III surpasses the others in oddity in that it has an indentation in the upper so deep that it almost completely severs the vamp from the rest. The ornamentation is also individual. The decoration takes the form of two symmetrical spirals facing in opposite directions. The opening has been filled with a specially shaped piece which has three straight edges meeting at right angles and a fourth, concave side. This piece is likewise decorated, with thin, evidently raised stripes or ribs. The place where the boot is laced has been reinforced with strips of hide on the reverse side. As in the preceding specimens, a raised line has been formed along the vamp by means of small, tightly pulled stitches. Because of its unusual decoration this boot is considered to have been made for a woman. In this case the sole tapers both at the front and at the back, and the shape of the upper clearly corresponds to this. The height at the heel is 11 cm, the length of the sole 22–23 cm. During a visit to the Hermitage Museum in the summer of 1968 I heard this specimen described as "the Swedish shoe", a point to which we shall return below.

There can be no doubt that the three shoes, Nos. I–III, in spite of certain variations, have the same basic pattern, and it seems quite correct that Nos. II and III should be displayed in such a way that the gathering seam of the upper is on the inner side of the foot, that is to say, they are left-foot shoes. That No. I, on the other hand, as remarked above, is given a right-foot sole in the drawing and has the side seam of the upper placed on the *outer* side of the foot, I presume to be due to a misunderstanding, basing this conclusion on the practice found in specimens of this type encountered earlier.

We now turn to the next group, Nos. IV–VI, which are characterized by having the gathering seam of the upper placed along the length of the vamp.

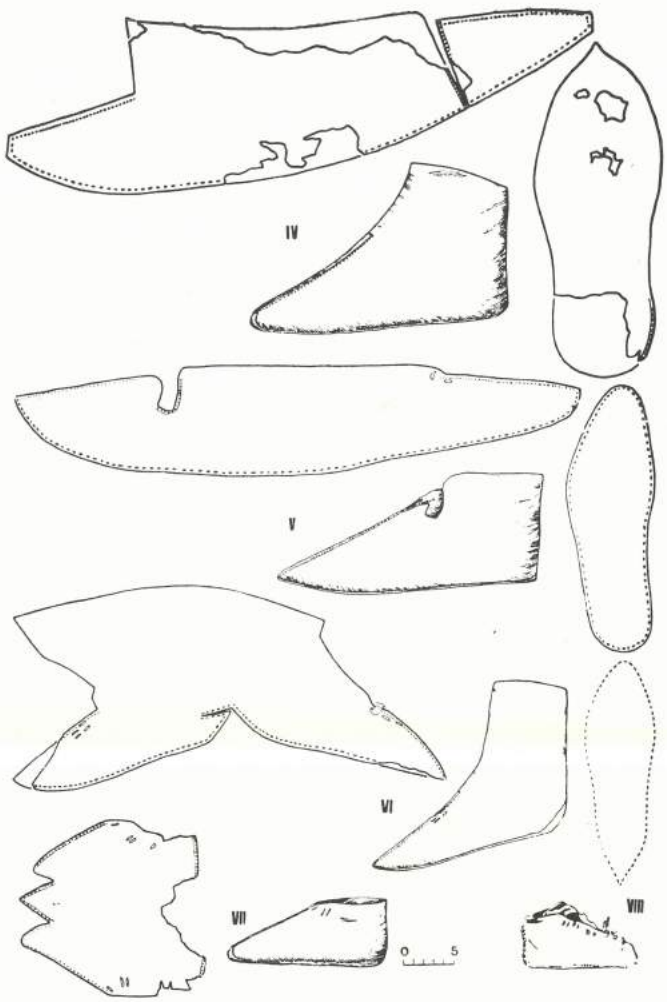


Fig. 162–163. Shoes or boots from Staraja Ladoga. Gathering seam on the vamp. One has a heel tapering at the back. After E. N. Ojateva, p. 45, Nos. IV–VI. Two simple hide shoes from Staraja Ladoga, one with a special notch in the toe. After E. N. Ojateva, p. 45, Nos. VII–VIII.

Ladoga boot No. IV, however, differs from V and VI in having an extra seam at the side, and we note that the added piece is slightly narrower than the part to which it is to be joined, i.e. the lengthwise seam lies a little towards the position of the big toe. This seam, incidentally, is not only practical, but ornamental, the holes for the thread being cut in the form of squares. One edge overlaps the other by about 5 mm, and the stitching is probably double. The toe is abruptly cut off straight across, which corresponds with the fact that the sole, which has a special tapering form at the toe, is turned upward at the gathering. It is rounded at the back. The flap of the asymmetrical cuff was wound round the ankle and fastened by a thong, and the boot was thus firmly secured. The height at the heel is 10½ cm, and the length of the sole about 30 cm.

Boot No. V is very reminiscent of the above; it is likewise asymmetrical, with the lengthwise seam placed a little towards the inner side of the vamp, along which a row of small neat holes

has been cut. The lower edge of the upper forms a curve, to which a rounded sole edge corresponds. A peculiarity is the small indentation on the instep. Two eyelets indicate the use of a lace to secure the boot. The height at the heel is 11 cm, the length of the sole 25–26 cm.

In Fig. VI, as in the above specimens, the gathering seam on the vamp is placed slightly to the side, in the direction of the big toe. Holes for laces are shown on both sides of the instep, and the remains of a lace are to be seen on the right of the drawing. The cuff is here markedly asymmetrical, and the long point is kept in position against the small of the leg by means of laces. The sole of this shoe has not been found, but it is shown as tapering at the back, in accordance with the shape of the upper. There is no explanation, however, of the little extra notch at the heel. The height at the heel is 16 cm, the length of the sole 19–20 cm.

No. VII is a typical hide shoe, whose cut-out toe section is reminiscent of the shoe from Föhr, Fig. 79. Other features also correspond to this, but it is impossible to reach any definite conclusion as to the lost heel area of No. VII.

No. VIII is very like the above specimen, and like this belongs to the hide shoe type. The gathering at the heel and up the instep is made by lacing. The height at the heel is about 5 cm, the length about 10½ cm.

We will now at once begin to point out the common features existing between the Ladoga boots with soles, and the most important shoes among those discussed above. The simplest method is to compare the illustrations, which display the facts better than words.

There are four important points:

1) Leg: Oseberg, Figs. 143, 145. – Walcheren, Figs. 135, 139.
2) Gathering seam along the length of the vamp: Oseberg, Figs. 143, 119. – Elisenhof, Fig. 113 and also the upper of Fig. 103 from Hedeby.
3) Gathering seam on the inner side of the upper: Oseberg, Fig. 144. – Walcheren, all shoes and boots. – Wedelspang, Figs. 86, 89. 94, 101. – Dabelstein, Fig. 90. – Gdańsk, Figs. 158, 160.
4) Sole tapering at the back, or pointed both at the front and at the back occur in the following groups: Oseberg, Walcheren, Elisenhof, Wedelspang, Lottorf, and Gdańsk.

The Ladoga material thus has many points in common with the larger groups of viking footwear dealt with above.

The opinion of the material arrived at by E. N. Ojateva is that the blend of various special features in the specimens cited, from the 7th to the 9th century, is to be regarded as a sign that the patterns are at a stage of creation in which definite standard patterns have not yet evolved.[1] I do not think, however, that there is sufficient basis for this conclusion. There is nothing to suggest that the boot types under discussion originated locally in Ladoga, and at the sites already dealt with in the present investigation we have constantly encountered variations, and changing combinations of more or less important features, *while the basic pattern remained perceptible.* On the other hand, I consider important to us E. N. Ojateva's statement that the "soft" footwear of Old Ladoga *differs in certain specific peculiarities from the types of soft footwear familiar from excavations in the ancient Russian towns.*[2]

1. E. N. Ojateva, *op. cit.*, p. 49.
2. E. N. Ojateva, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

Let us therefore turn our attention to the eastward journeys of the Swedes, and the date of their penetration into the Ladoga area, a problem that has produced widely differing opinions. It has led to long discussions, and the debate is still going on. For us it is obviously a question of the provenance and date of the footwear. Is it at all possible to find analogies? The thought springs to mind, for on a visit to the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad in 1968 I had the opportunity of seeing the boot here pictured as No. III, Fig. 161, exhibited in a case together with the much discussed Swedish runic inscription from Old Ladoga, Fig. 164. The young museum guide related that the boot was known as "the Swedish shoe", and she furthermore kindly directed my attention to the drawing in the above-quoted treatise by E. N. Ojateva.

But let us now hear what Scandinavian specialists have to say about the runic inscription.

In "Kuml" 1958 the Norwegian philologist Aslak Liestøl says: "Det nye runefunnet i Gamle Ladoga, sagaens Aldeigjuborg, er en liten sensasjon for både lingvister og historikere. De historiske perspektiver som åpnes skal ikke behandles her, men så mye skal sies, at endelig er det kommet fram i dagen et originaldokument som viser at det har vært skandinavisktalende folk i byen ved Volkov i begynnelsen av vikingtia."[1]

As regards the date of the inscription, A. Stender-Petersen, in the same periodical, quotes a statement by another Norwegian philologist, Gerd Høst,[2] as follows: "Ladoga-runerne lader os ane, at den nordiske strofedigtning er ældre end almindelig antaget, og at de berettiger os til at tale, ikke blot om en gammel vestnordisk, men om en fællesnordisk digtning, uden tvivl ældre end de første vikingetog. På denne måde træder Aldeigjuborg eller Ladoga pludselig frem som den østligste udpost af den fællesnordiske kultur mellem 700 og 900."[3] (The Ladoga runes suggest that Scandinavian verse composition is older than generally assumed, and they justify us in speaking not only of old West Scandinavian poetry, but of common Scandinavian poetry, undoubtedly earlier than the first viking expeditions. In this way Aldeigjuborg or Ladoga suddenly emerges as the easternmost outpost of the common Scandinavian culture between 700 and 900).

Speaking for himself, Stender-Petersen, who is a specialist in Slavic languages, says of the inscription that it is simply "the missing link", of great and dramatic significance, in that it is far older than any of the Russian inscriptions on birch-bark, of which the earliest is estimated to date from the 11th century.[4] The rest – several hundred in all – are distributed through the period from this date up to the 15th–16th centuries.[5]

But why does Stender-Petersen regard the inscription as so extremely important a document?

It is because he sees in it valuable support for his hypothesis as to the part in reality played by the Northmen in founding the earliest Russian state. I will try briefly to summarize his views[6]: he holds that the advance eastward of the Swedes was not marked by violence and aggression as was the advance of the vikings in western European countries with a higher civilization, but

1. Aslak Liestøl: Runene fra Gamle Ladoga, Kuml 1958, p. 133.
2. A. Stender-Petersen, Kuml 1958, p. 119, quotes Gerd Høst, writing in the Norwegian "Aftenposten", December 1957. – Carl Marstrander discusses Gerd Høsts reading of the runes in "Forskningsnyt", Oslo 1958, No. 4, p. 10f.
3. A. Stender-Petersen: Kuml 1958, p. 119.
4. A. Stender-Petersen: Kuml 1958, p. 124.
5. O. Klindt-Jensen: Skalk 1968, No. 2, p. 27.
6. A. Stender-Petersen: Kuml 1958, p. 117–124. – Kuml 1960, p. 137–144. See the same author: Varægerspørgsmaalet, "Viking", 1959, p. 51 ff.

took the form of a peaceful infiltration, throughout a long period, into thinly populated or empty regions, possibly from the same motives as drove dissatisfied Norwegians to emigrate to the Faroes and Iceland about the year 900. The migration eastward, it is maintained, merely took place earlier, motivated by the beginning development, in the 6th and 7th centuries, of a monarchy in the region of the Swedes.[1]

For the sake of clarity it should be noted that the term Swedes as used here is not identical in meaning with the present-day Swedish people, but refers to the inhabitants at that time of the east central area of Sweden.[2]

It was thus a movement not of conquest, but of colonization, that pushed its way through the Swedish and Finnish archipelagoes and Åland Islands, the south Finnish coasts, down the

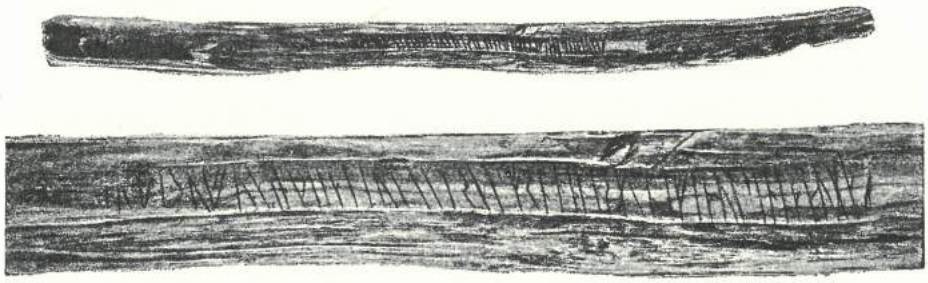


Fig. 164. Rune stick from Staraja Ladoga. After Aslak Liestøl.

river Neva, across Lake Ladoga to Ladoga, and later on southwards along the river Volkov to Novgorod. But Stender-Petersen is not suggesting that the Swedes were the first inhabitants of the Ladoga area. On the contrary, he agrees with the Swedish archaeologist Holger Arbman in believing that the first settlement was Finnish.[3] The Swedish advance was a peaceful occupation, leading in time to infiltration with existing Finnish tribes, closely related to the Karelians, and with the Slavs, who were slowly pressing forward from the south.[4] Their culture level was perhaps much the same, and their co-existence peaceful, but the state-building tradition brought with them by the Swedes was activated by the fact that both their own existence, and that of the Finns and Slavs, who had no such tradition, was threatened by powerful neighbouring Khaganates, who demanded tax of them. In resistance to this pressure the first Russian state arose, around Lake Ladoga and then around Lake Ilmen, both Finns and Slavs taking part in its creation under Swedish leadership.[5] Our runic inscription was thus found in the original capital of the earliest Russia, a capital which furthermore was the farthest outpost of Scandinavian civilization.[6]

In a treatise written in 1959 Holger Arbman picks up the thread, and says that Staraja Ladoga was evidently an important Scandinavian base as early as the 9th century. Pottery and combs of patterns typical of the 9th century are quite common here. A further example is the frag-

1. A. Stender-Petersen: Kuml 1960, p. 140–141.
2. A. Stender-Petersen: Kuml 1960, p. 140. – Cf. here "Helgø", p. 29 and p. 33.
3. H. Arbman: Svear i Østerviking, 1955, p. 36–43. – Stender-Petersen: Kuml 1960, p. 141–142. – Kuml 1958, p. 118.
4. A. Stender-Petersen: Kuml 1960, p. 141.
5. A. Stender-Petersen: Kuml 1960, p. 144.
6. A. Stender-Petersen: Kuml 1958, p. 120.

mentary bow with a runic inscription of the 9th century, found some years ago in excavations at Staraja Ladoga. It seems, however, as if the Swedish settlement in these areas was not consolidated until the 10th century. Scandinavian graves of this period are very common in the areas near Lake Ladoga. Only a few objects of the 9th century, on the other hand, have been found in graves excavated here.[1]

But how are we now to estimate the date given for the Ladoga footwear? As stated in the introduction, the date is given as 7th to 10th century, quite an extensive period, limited however to some degree by certain succeeding remarks. Thus it is stated (p. 42) that the objects from the 10th, and probably also from the 9th century have survived as a small number of fragments, which at present cannot be determined, but immediately afterwards it is stated that the leather objects from the 7th to the 9th century comprise particular types of footwear, soft boots of 8 kinds. This, then, seems somewhat obscure as regards the 9th century, and one gains the impression that the well-preserved specimens described and illustrated must be earlier.

Novgorod

From Ladoga the great ancient trade artery runs due south via Novgorod, Kiev and the Black Sea to Byzantium. It is Novgorod, known to the Scandinavians as Holmgaard, that is of special interest to us. Novgorod is the Russian name, signifying New Town, presumably in distinction to other, older towns, such as Ladoga. The town could not remain new (its great age was marked in 1959 by its 1100-year jubilee), but by the bitter irony of fate the name became appropriate once more, for it now stands largely rebuilt on its low flat plain, after two years of occupation and destruction during the Second World War. Today there are only the remains of monasteries, citadels, churches and castles to remind us of past glory, for much has been lost.

The work carried out by Soviet Russian architects and archaeologists has been invaluable. In some places excavations have revealed 28 successive strata. Within the town area itself no culture layer earlier than the 9th century has been ascertained.[2]

As regards the advance of the Scandinavians as far as Novgorod, A. Stender-Petersen considers that we must assume that the probably slow progress from Ladoga via Novgorod to Kiev was preceded by a period of indefinite length, in which the Scandinavian population from the west was still organically connected with its original country, Sweden.[3]

But let us now consider some of the footwear revealed by the efforts of the archaeologists. It has been examined and published by C. A. Izjumova,[4] whose observations form the basis of what follows here. The author says that large quantities of leather and remnants of shoes were found, particularly around workshops in the old areas of the town, and in layers as early as the 10th century. Altogether, shoemaking seems to have been very widespread, and originally the

1. H. Arbman: Skandinavisches Handwerk in Russland zur Wikingerzeit, 1959, p. 115.
2. K. Rahbek-Schmidt: Preface to "The First Novgorod Chronicle", earliest version, 1964 Danish translation, p. 7ff. – O. Klindt-Jensen: Novgorod, Skalk 1968, No. 2, p. 19f.
3. A. Stender-Petersen: Kuml 1958, p. 121.
4. C. A. Izjumova: K istorii kozevennogo i sapoznogo remesel Novgoroda Velikogo. Trudy novgorodskoj archeologitjeskoj ekspedicii. V. II. – Series No. 65, Moscow 1959, p. 196–215, Pl. 3, 4 and 5. List for dating of the layers, p. 5–6. – The material belongs to the Novgorod Archaeological Museum. I am indebted to K. Salewicz for a translation of this work from Russian into Danish.

shoemaker had to prepare the hides himself. Not until we come to the layers of the 12th and 13th centuries do animal hairs and ashes disappear, this being regarded as a sign that a professional division of labour had now taken place.

Excavation also revealed tools of various kinds, such as butt knives (straight and curved), and lasts. Distaffs, combs and beaters had been used to prepare the thread, which was of flax or hemp, and a hog bristle was plaited into the tip of the thread. The thread was waxed, and pieces of wax were likewise found. Wax was evidently an article of merchandise or barter at that time,[1] which is not surprising, considering its valuable technical qualities.[2]

The methods used by shoemakers of the 11th to the 16th century are believed to have been largely the same as still prevailed at the beginning of the present century.

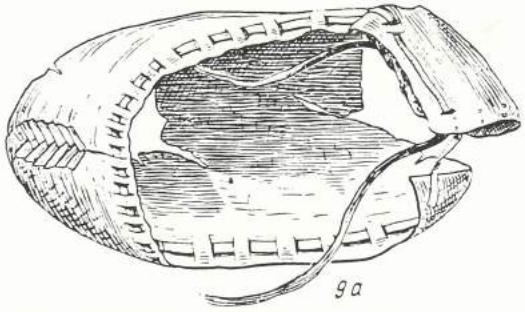


Fig. 165. Hide shoe (porszni) from Novgorod, 1368–1394. After S. A. Izjumova, Pl. 3.

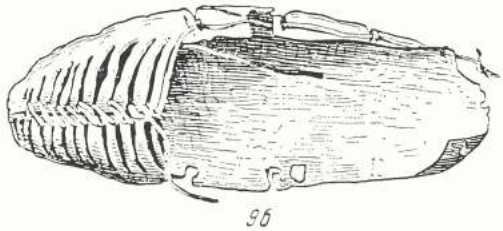


Fig. 166. Hide shoe (azurnyje porszni), Novgorod 1240–1267. After S. A. Izjumova, Pl. 3.

1. H. Arbman: Svear i Österviking, p. 47f. and 49. – K. Rahbek-Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 17 (wax, honey and furs for export).
2. Beeswax mixed with soot was used in the preparation of all sole leather of the best quality for military footwear in the citadel of Vindonissa, 1st century A.D. (A. Gansser-Burchardt, *op. cit.*, p. 63). That apiculture must be a very ancient branch of animal husbandry is suggested by Xenophon's account (*op. cit.*, p. 181), in which he says that the many villages near a mountain in Colchis had foodstuffs in abundance, but one thing caused wonder here: "there were a great many beehives, and all the soldiers who ate of the honeycombs went mad to a man".

   For the method of using wax in casting bronze, see H. C. Broholm, W. P. Larsen and G. Skjerne: "The Lurs of the Bronze Age", 1949, p. 37ff. – H. Jankuhn: "Haithabu", p. 244. – H. Arbman: Birka, 1939, p. 121 (gjutformer for women's spännbucklor).

   Wax in different forms has been found in many aristocratic graves of the viking period, e.g. at Jelling, in the grave-mound of Gorm and Thyra, where a wax candle was found lying on top of the burial-chamber, and in the chief's grave at Mammen, near Viborg, where a candle had been similarly placed. This candle was almost two feet tall, and weighed 7–8 lbs. (Worsaae: Aarb. 1869, p. 212ff.). From Norway, H. Shetelig (Vestlandske Graver fra Jernalderen, Bergens Mus., Skr. Ny. R. No. I, p. 112) tells of a viking-period boat-burial at Grønhaug which contained a cylindrical piece of wax and several smaller scraps. The large ship-burial at Gunnarshaug contained a flat cake of wax marked with the figure of a cross. A small piece of wax was likewise found in the viking-period woman's grave at Larvik.

   Excavations in the subsoil of Lund revealed a 13 kg cake of wax, according to R. Blomqvist (1945, p. 146).

   See further "Ordbog over det danske Sprog", under the heading *Vœxning*, vœkse, v. fsv. vœxa, oldn. vexa, ty. wächsen, afl. af Voks, at indgnide, overstryge med Voks. – *Vœkslœder:* det vœxede Koelæder er for nærværende Tid meget sieldent; tilforn gneed man visse Huder ind med smeltet Vox . . . men Voxet koster fem eller sex Gange saa meget som Tællen. – *Wœxtæn kiortœl:* Det hedder, at Klerken Poppo iført en saadan stod paa Baalet, da han udførte sit andet Jærtegn for at overbevise Harald Blaatand om, at Kristendommen var den rette Tro. (Gmld. Krøniker, v. M. Lorenzen 1887–1913, p. 40–41).

   See also Molbechs danske Ordbog, 1859, under *wœxed Traad*, *wœxed Lœrred*, and *Voxbleger* (en Person, som driver et Voxblegeri). One might suggest, as a very reasonable hypothesis, that the linen material among the women's clothes of the viking period, especially any that was to be pleated, was treated with wax with the aid of the so-called "Sømglatter" (seam-smoother) or "glattesten" (smoothing-stone). The wax made the material water-repellent, and

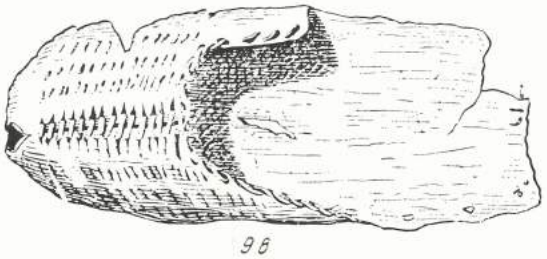


Fig. 167. Hide shoe (azurnyje porszni), 1120–1240. After S. A. Izjumova, Pl. 3.

Fig. 168. Child's boot with one-piece upper. Slit for a sole tapering at the back. About 1050. After S. A. Izjumova, Pl. 3.

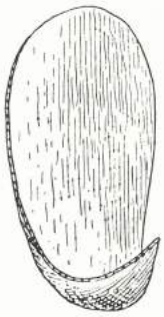


Fig. 169. Sole pointed at the back, 1025–1050. After S. A. Izjumova, Pl. 3.

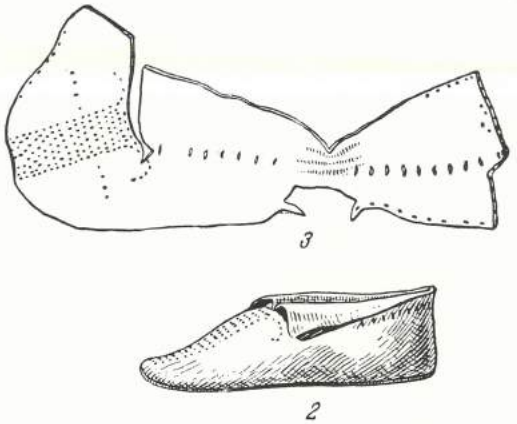


Fig. 170. Embroidered child's shoe, with a side seam in the upper and folds over the heel, 1200–1220. After S. A. Izjumova Pl. 4.

The commonest footwear was the simple hide shoe (porszni), which consisted of a piece of soft hide from the animal's belly. According to what is stated in old manuscripts, a porszni was not sewn, but made from wet hide. This primitive shoe existed both in a very simple form, and as

gave it the stiffness indicated by the fact that the gentle convexities or curves still to be seen inside certain bowl-shaped buckles have kept their original shape. See Agnes Geijer: Birka III, 1938, p. 16 and Pl. I. – For the smoothing-stone in the viking period, see Arbman, 1937, p. 81–82 and Pl. 13[2] (Grave 854). – For the seam-smoother in Norway, see Ellen Karine Hougen, in "Viking", 1968, p. 90, 96, 101 and 102. – Among grave-goods from Norwegian graves in Ireland H. Shetelig (Vikingeminner i Vest-Europa, p. 93) mentions both seam-smoothers and flax-hackles, and in the same work, p. 128, it is stated that among various small objects found in York (described as "a Scandinavian seaport") were many spindle-stones and seam-smoothers. (Incidentally, *wœxed Lærred* is very much the same as present-day chintz.)

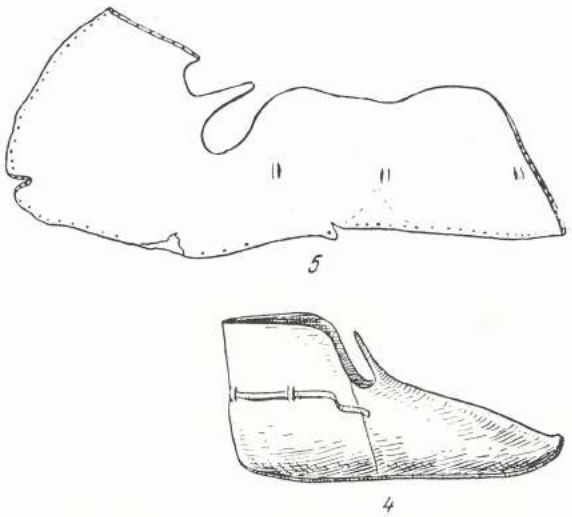


Fig. 171. Upper of child's shoe, with gathering seam on the side and a small notch at the tip of the toe, 1150–1160. After S. A. Izjumova, Pl. 4.

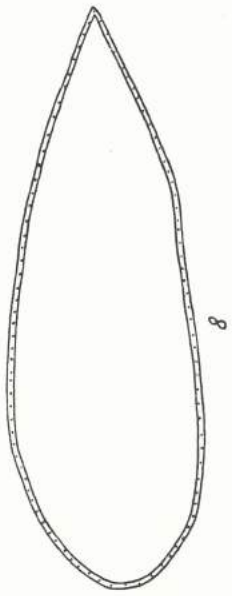


Fig. 172. Sole of a half-boot, tapering at the back, 1342–1368. After S. A. Izjumova, Pl. 5.

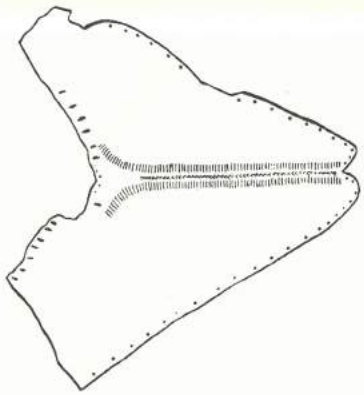


Fig. 173. Vamp of a shoe, with incised pattern. A small notch at the tip of the toe indicates a sole turning upward at this point. 1070–1080. After S. A. Izjumova, Pl. 4[10].

a more sophisticated model, e.g. with perforations or plaited ornamentation on the vamp, but irrespective of this it was the basic form, the timeless "one-piece shoe", that was dominant (Figs. 165–167). The porszni possessed laces up to 85–100 cm long, without which the shoe would be apt to fall off.

On Pl. 3[1–3], here Fig. 168, S. A. Izjumova shows a type that by our terminology must be described as a boot. It has two components, an upper and a sole, and in addition generally has a thong round the ankle.

The feature of most significance to us, however, is that the upper is gathered on the inner side of the foot, and has a slit up the heel, into which is fitted a sole tapering at the back. If we

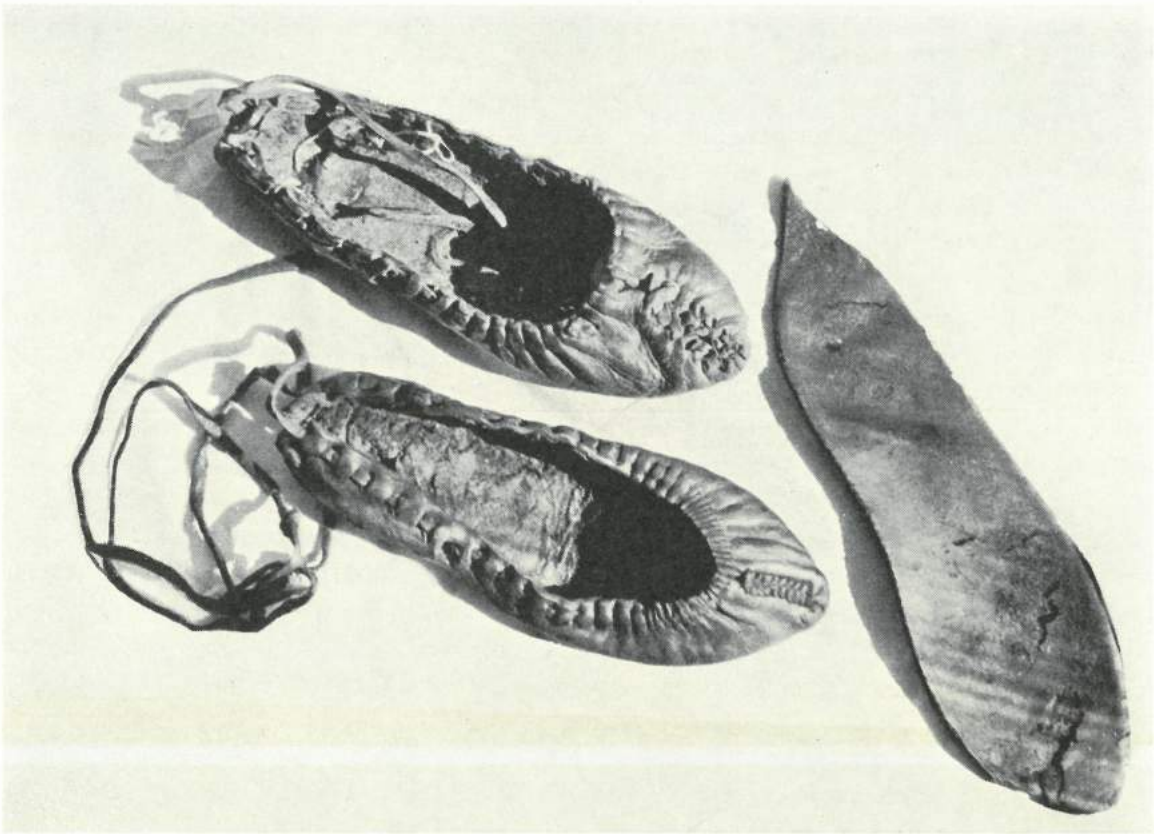


Fig. 174. Two well-made hide shoes, and a loose sole tapering at the back. Note the elegant shape of the sole. All from the viking period, and the property of the Museum of Cultural History at Novgorod. Photo M. Hald.

compare it with the boots from Walcheren, Figs. 135, 139, we find that the basic pattern is the same, with one exception: the Middelburg boot is closed in front with a flap, while the Novgorod specimen appears to have been open in front, Fig. 168.

Closely related to these are the two specimens shown by Izjumova as Nos. 2–3 and 4–5 on Pl. 4, here Figs. 170, 171. They are distinguished, however, by better workmanship and by certain small refinements. Thus No. 2–3, which is described as an embroidered child's shoe, has a fairly wide stripe running the length of the vamp, a decoration also used, incidentally, in the fragment Fig. 173, though in a slighter form. This would seem to be a development of the idea of decorating the upper by marking it with a line, a false or genuine seam, along the axis of the foot. Compare Oseberg Fig. 144, and Elisenhof Fig. 115. The three horizontal, parallel lines over the heel area on the Novgorod shoe under discussion are a feature shared by the Ladoga boot, Fig. 161, II.

The shoe shown on Pl. 4^{4-5}, Fig. 171, is like the above considered to be a child's shoe. A special feature of this model is the narrow tongue that extends far up the instep. The little notch in the tip of the upper is likewise a carefully thought out detail, the significance of which appears from the side view, which shows that what was aimed at was an upward curve of the toe.

Once again we find the same feature if we turn back to the Ejdersted material (Fig. 112). See also Wedelspang, Figs. 92–94.

Shoes Nos. 2–4, Figs. 170, 171, evidently did not have soles tapering at the back, but we have already seen that such shoes were used in Novgorod from illustration Fig. 172, though there shown in a rather crude form. From the diagram shown on Pl. 5[8] it can be seen that soles of a better shape existed, and a still more elegant and slender specimen is the sole shown in the photograph Fig. 174, which the Novgorod Museum kindly allowed me to take in 1968.

With regard to the decoration of their footwear the inhabitants of Novgorod were lavish. Various techniques were used to create an effect, e.g. embroidery, pinking and stamping. Certain hard stamps found with other archaeological objects are believed to have been used for this last-mentioned method.

As already stated, S. A. Izjumova's material is extensive, and covers footwear of widely differing kinds up to about 1500. There is, for instance, a boot sole with a leather-covered wooden heel; in the present instance, however, it is not the advanced fashions that are of interest, but the fact that the viking-period shoe patterns encountered on the sites discussed above also served the inhabitants of Novgorod, the town in the east with the far-flung trade links.

Chapter X

The Cathedral City of Lund, Scania

We have now travelled far, towards the north and east, and seen that the type of shoe we are interested in here extends well into the Middle Ages. The kind of shoe used by the vikings outlived their own period of greatness. We now turn to a collection of shoes from a nearby area, namely the old Danish cathedral city of Lund in Scania, only about 10 km from Øresund. The city is believed to have originated shortly before the year 1000 A.D., and was thus growing at a time when Hedeby's importance was declining.

Lund differs from the above-mentioned dead towns in being at the present day a flourishing and growing city, with a lively and active university and museum. Intensive excavation of the city's foundations has provided archaeologists with abundant mediaeval material, including shoes. These have already produced several treatises,[1] but we must here concentrate chiefly on the latest results, published by R. Blomqvist and A. W. Mårtensson in 1963, in a work describing the extensive excavations carried out in 1961, when the Thule Life Insurance Company wished to erect modern offices in the heart of Lund.[2]

The excavated material is extremely valuable, not only because of its amount but even more because it can be dated with certainty as belonging to the period 1020–1050.[3] The two archaeologists divide their material into two main groups, according to the shape of the sole. Group A is characterized by a sole tapering at the back, group B by a sole rounded under the heel. 58 pieces of upper or fragments could be assigned to type A. Only a few soles were found, but the type could be identified by the shape of the upper's heel section.

Type A, however, displays a number of special features, according to which the group is classified in three sub-sections, A^{1-3}.[4] The facts are explained by clear diagrams, Figs. 175–181.

On this basis we will now examine details in the soled shoes discussed above.

It is immediately clear that the Thule material as a whole largely corresponds to what we have already encountered at other sites; new to us, however, is a deep bay cut in the inner side of the upper, fairly close to the actual side seam, Fig. 175^{1-2}. This phenomenon is probably a late

1. R. Blomqvist: Medeltida Skor i Lund, Kulturen, 1938. R. Blomqvist: En medeltida Skotyp, Kulturen, 1945. A. W. Mårtensson: Wells and their Contents from the Early Middle Ages in Lund, 1963. R. Blomqvist and A. W. Mårtensson: Skor, Thule Grävningen 1961, Lund 1963 (hereafter referred to as Thule Grävningen).
2. Thule Grävningen, p. 180 ff.
3. Thule Grävningen, p. 14 and p. 25–34.
4. Thule Grävningen, p. 180.

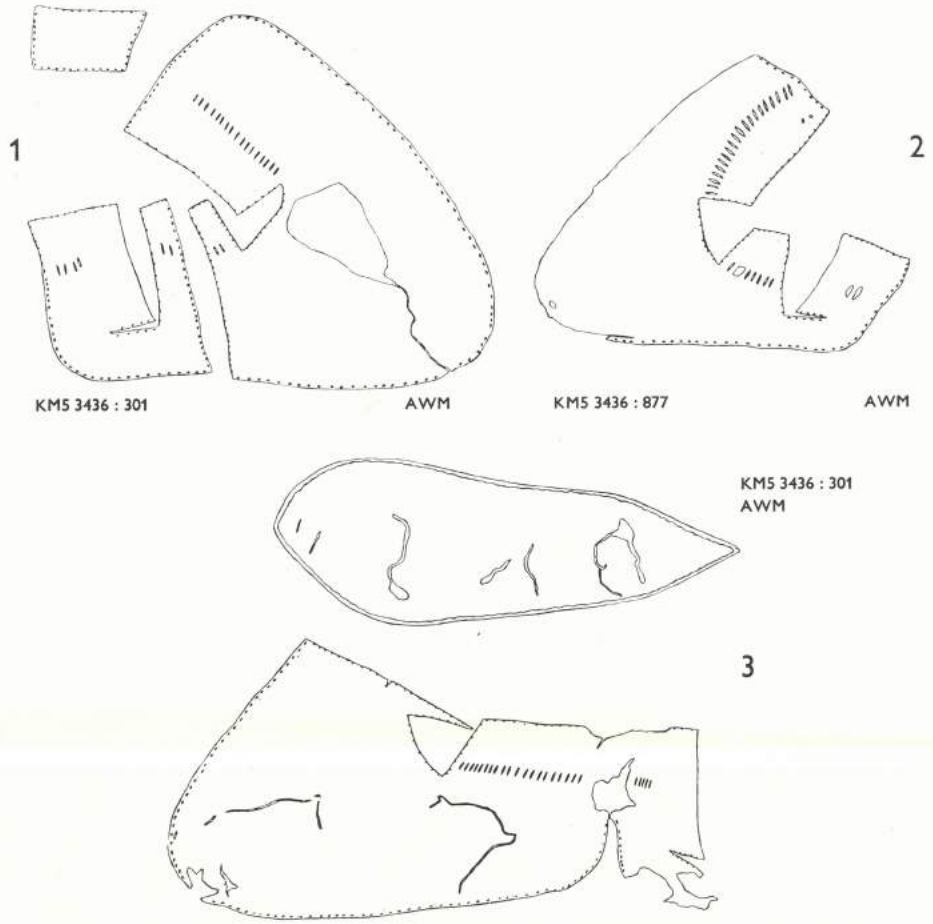


Fig. 175. Three uppers and a sole. All the uppers have an indentation on the instep, Nos. 1 and 2 a "bay" in the side, No. 3 a slit at the heel and a corresponding sole tapering at the back. After Blomqvist and Mårtensson.

addition to the pattern, since according to A. Herteig it also occurs in the large body of shoe material from Kaupangen, in Borgund near Ålesund, which belongs to the Middle Ages.[1] A "tongue" or "gore" shown in connection with the shoe in Fig. 175[1] is likewise unfamiliar to us, as is a perforated edging on the shoe in Fig. 180 – a decoration not encountered in the finds already discussed.

We now proceed to point out resemblances, and at once see from the illustrations that slits cut along the opening for the foot in low shoes, or at the ankle in high shoes, through which a thong or lace was intended to be threaded, form the ordinary device in the Thule shoes for fastening the shoe and pulling it closely round the foot. The method is familiar, though in varying forms: compare shoes from the South Schleswig bogs, from Ejdersted and Novgorod.

In the case of the Lund shoes, an indentation in front, on the instep, seems also to occur frequently, as appears from Figs. 175[1-2]. This corresponds to indentations in the front of the opening for the foot on three shoes from Wedelspang, Figs. 86, 89, 94.

1. A. Herteig: Kaupangen paa Borgund, 1957, p. 425, 445, and Fig. 11, here shown as Fig. 153.

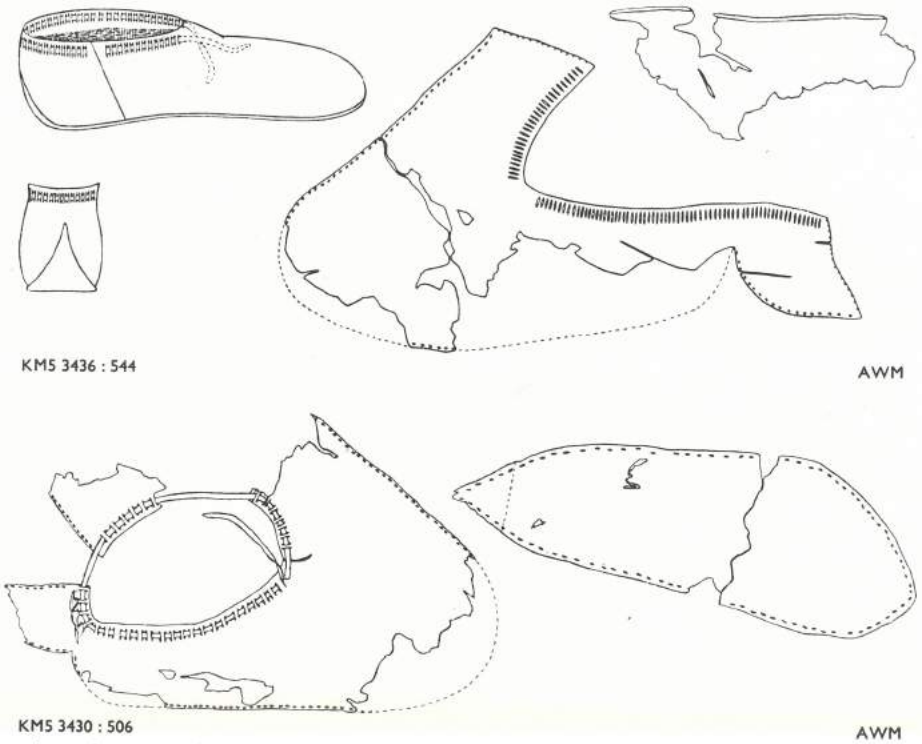


Fig. 176. Two shoes, both with laces along the opening for the foot, and soles tapering at the back. After Blomqvist and Mårtensson.

A feature often present in the Lund shoes is a pronounced line or ridge running in a straight line from the toe to the instep, along the axis of the foot.[1] It may be a "false seam", intended merely as decoration, in much the same way as the stitching on present-day gloves, or it may be an actual functional gathering of two edges. The text says[2] that "slit-like" stitching holes can be seen, which presumably means that we here have a construction with a thread or narrow lace passing through small parallel slits, cf. the seam on the hide shoe in Fig. 79, from Lembecksburg on Föhr, which is attributed to the 9th century. Cf. also the instep seam on shoe No. IV from Staraja Ladoga, Fig. 162–163.

The sole patterns of the Lund shoes also require a few comments; for it is immediately clear from the drawings that it is not a simple question of a pointed or round heel as the only significant criterion. The specimens here shown in Figs. 175[3] and 176 show that both a slight and a very marked tapering of the toe of the sole are to be found. How far this may be due to the whims of fashion or to the skill of the shoemaker it is impossible to say; variations in sole patterns occur in other find-groups also, including some very fine specimens, slender and tapering both at the front and at the back. It is an interesting fact that the three soles from Elisenhof on Ejdersted, Figs. 125, 126, 127, which are the earliest dated, being attributed to the middle or second half of the 8th century, are also of an extremely elegant pattern. Two soles with the opposite distinction,

1. See also R. Blomqvist, 1945, Figs. 12 and 13, p. 148, and Mårtensson *op. cit.* 1963, Fig. 5, p. 209.
2. Thule Grävningen, p. 184, Fig. 109–197.

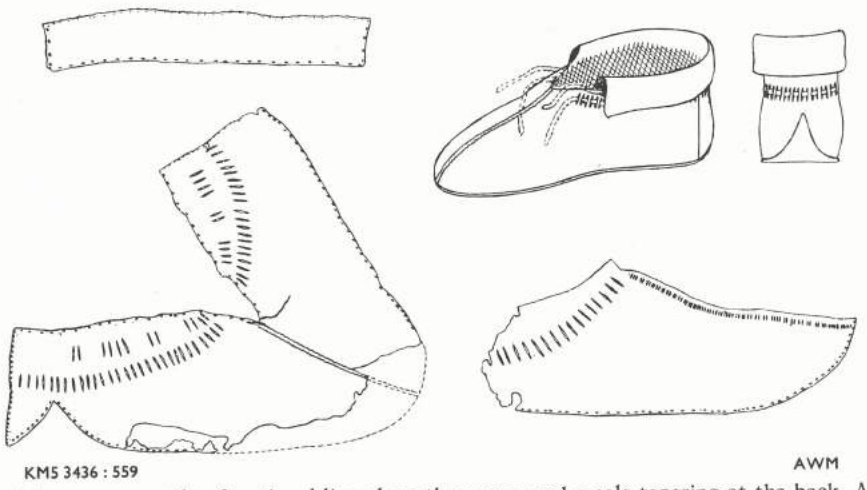


Fig. 177. Shoe with an ornamental or functional line along the vamp, and a sole tapering at the back. After Blomqvist and Mårtensson.

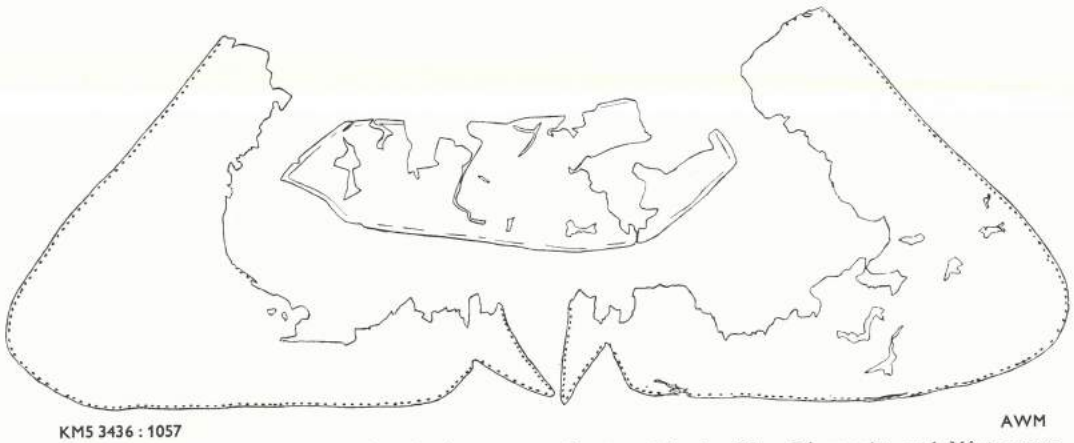


Fig. 178. Two upper pieces, with sole, which tapers at front and back. After Blomqvist and Mårtensson.

Fig. 179. Sole with wide front section, tapering at the back. After Blomqvist, 1945. See also Fig. 169.

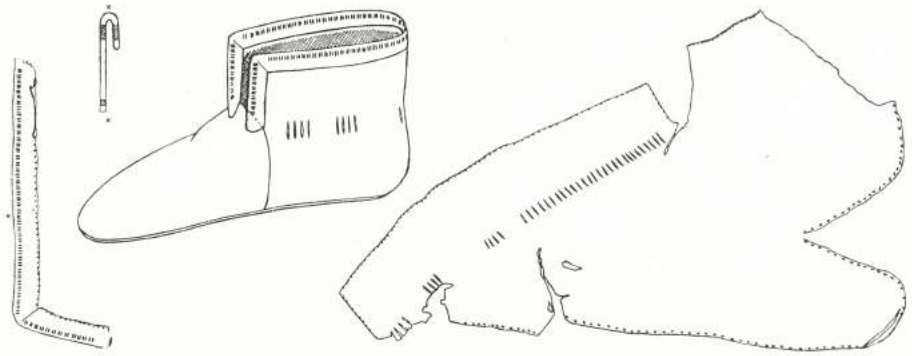


Fig. 180. Shoe fragment, "one-piece" pattern, i.e. with the suggestion of a sole, which is however not detached from the whole. After Blomqvist and Mårtensson.

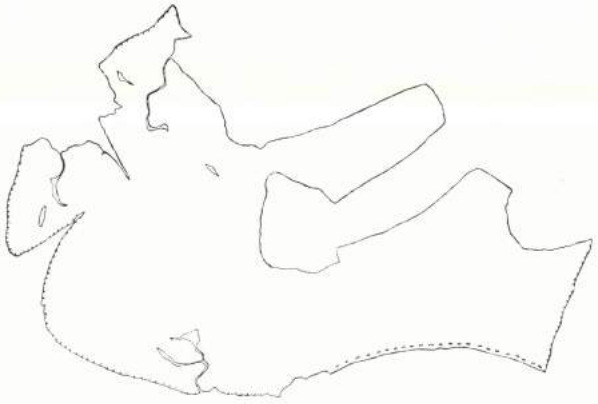


Fig. 181. Fragmentary shoe from Area 18 of the Svartbröder (Blackfriars) quarter, south-western section of the area. After Mårtensson, 1963.

that of a fairly clumsy shape, likewise deserve mention. One, Fig. 179, derives from an earlier find made in Lund, published by R. Blomqvist in 1945;[1] the other is that of a shoe from Novgorod, Fig. 169. Both are rounded in front and very wide, but taper markedly at the heel.

One of the most interesting pieces in the Thule find is however the shoe shown in Fig. 180, for it belongs to the "one-piece shoe" category, i.e. it has been cut from a single piece of hide. The shape of the base has indeed the suggestion of a sole, but without separation from the whole.

In his monograph "Wells from the Early Middle Ages" A. W. Mårtensson shows a diagram of a similar shoe found in the mud, in the bottom layer but one, of a well in the Blackfriars district

1. R. Blomqvist: En medeltida Skotyp, 1945, p. 153. (No. K. M. 39273:130). – On p. 146 of the same work the author mentions the finding of a cake of wax weighing 13 kilograms.

of Lund.[1] The type must thus have been not altogether uncommon in early Lund, and above we have already encountered three instances of it from the Schleswig bog finds, namely Wedelspang Figs. 84, 87, and Lottorf Fig. 90. There are likewise three specimens from Ejdersted, Figs. 112, 114, 121. As to the last-mentioned shoe it can furthermore be stated that it was found during the latest excavations in Elisenhof, and must thus be considerably older than the "onepiece shoes" yielded by the Thule site. It is quite an interesting fact that the type demonstrated its existence almost at once in the newly established city of Lund, close to the Øresund sea-route.

1. A. W. Mårtensson, *op. cit.*, p. 208 and Fig. 4.

Chapter XI

The West

England. York

On the map showing the trade routes of the viking period, Fig. 152, four routes are indicated connecting the Frisian area with Britain. The northernmost goes due west from Ejdersted, to encounter the coast of England at the Humber estuary, into which flows the river Ouse, after passing York, the capital city of the Romans during their occupation of England in the early centuries A.D. Relics of the Roman occupation are plentiful, and even such humble objects as hobnailed soles from military shoes testify to the presence of the legions.[1]

The shoes of interest here, however, derive from later finds, one from the South Corner Tower of the Roman fortress, the other from Hungate, published respectively by I. M. Stead and Katherine M. Richardson.[2]

We will begin with the former find material: in No. 3 of I. M. Stead's drawing Fig. 182 we at once recognize a shoe of a familiar pattern. The gathering seam on the side of the upper is thus a common feature. The sole is rounded at the heel.

The low-cut shoe No. 4, which has no side seam on the upper, is more distinctive. The sole tapers clearly at the rear, and the tab probably went up the middle of the heel in a wedge shape, and closed the shoe. A pattern of this kind is familiar from South Schleswig bog finds.

No. 5 is likewise a valuable specimen; it extends up the leg, and must thus be described as a boot. The shape of the sole is not actually shown, but the suggestion of a notch in the heel presumably indicates that it had a sole tapering at the rear. What is of interest to us, however, is that the leg has a tongue in front, intended to cover the front of the ankle. The fastening consisted of a short lace ending in a button, together with a loop now lost, whose position is indicated by two pairs of small holes low down on the front part of the heel section. We shall encounter related boots below.

I. M. Stead is aware that his material is akin to the Lund shoe finds, but otherwise concludes as follows: "In the absence of any positive evidence we suggest that the shoes could date from the 10th to the 13th centuries . . . The spread, however, may be very much narrower than this."[3]

1. The Roman shoes found in the subsoil of London have already been mentioned in Chap. III.
2. I. M. Stead: Excavations at the South Corner Tower of the Roman fortress at York, 1956. The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, Vol. 39, p. 515f. – Katherine M. Richardson: Excavations in Hungate, York. The Archaeological Journal, Vol. CXVI, 1959, p. 51f.
3. I. M. Stead, *op. cit.*, p. 527, (quoting R. Blomqvist, 1938 and 1945).

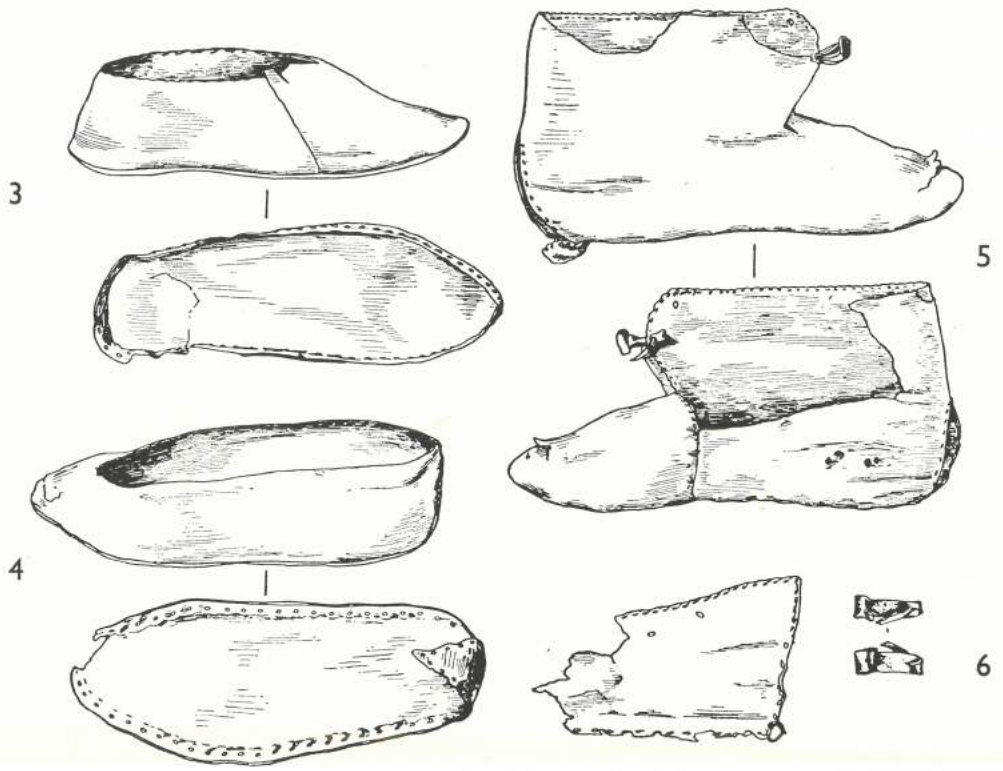


Fig. 182. Footwear found in excavations at the south corner tower of the Roman fortress at York, 1956. After I. M. Stead.

Katherine M. Richardson's monograph contains two plates showing shoes from Hungate (Fig. 21–22), here Fig. 183.[1] Shoes Nos. 1, 2 and 3 on the first-mentioned plate correspond in principle to No. 3 from the South Corner Tower. All three have uppers with seams at the side. Nos. 1 and 3 had soles rounded under the heel, while No. 2 possibly had a sole tapering at the rear. Slits cut at the ankle or instep indicate the use of laces or tie-strings.

No. 5 is a small, very low-cut shoe, which however is not quite intact. The missing piece of the heel section of the sole is in the diagram held to have been rounded, but as the upper is not closed at the side, and the rear seam is slightly rounded at the base, it seems likely that the point of a sole was joined on here. The shoe gives the impression of having been made from the same pattern as Fig. 4 from the South Corner Tower, and both are obviously typologically related to some shoes from a bog find at Lottorf in South Schleswig, Figs. 96, 97.

Sole No. 6, Fig. 183 b, is well preserved, but its upper is too fragmental for illustration.

The low boots shown as Nos. 7, 8 and 9, however, have an elegant appearance. With the exception of No. 7, they all have a sole tapering at the rear, which must have extended fairly high up the heel. All the uppers have a seam at the side, and a pointed flap in front, intended to cover the front of the ankle. Corresponding to the flaps are low-set loops, an arrangement basically the same as that of the boot from the South Corner Tower described above.[2] In their

1. K. M. Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 86ff.
2. K. M. Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 89, states: "A shoe with two flaps was illustrated by Benson (York from its origins to the end of the 11th century (1911), p. 53, Fig. 27a) and described as Danish . . .".

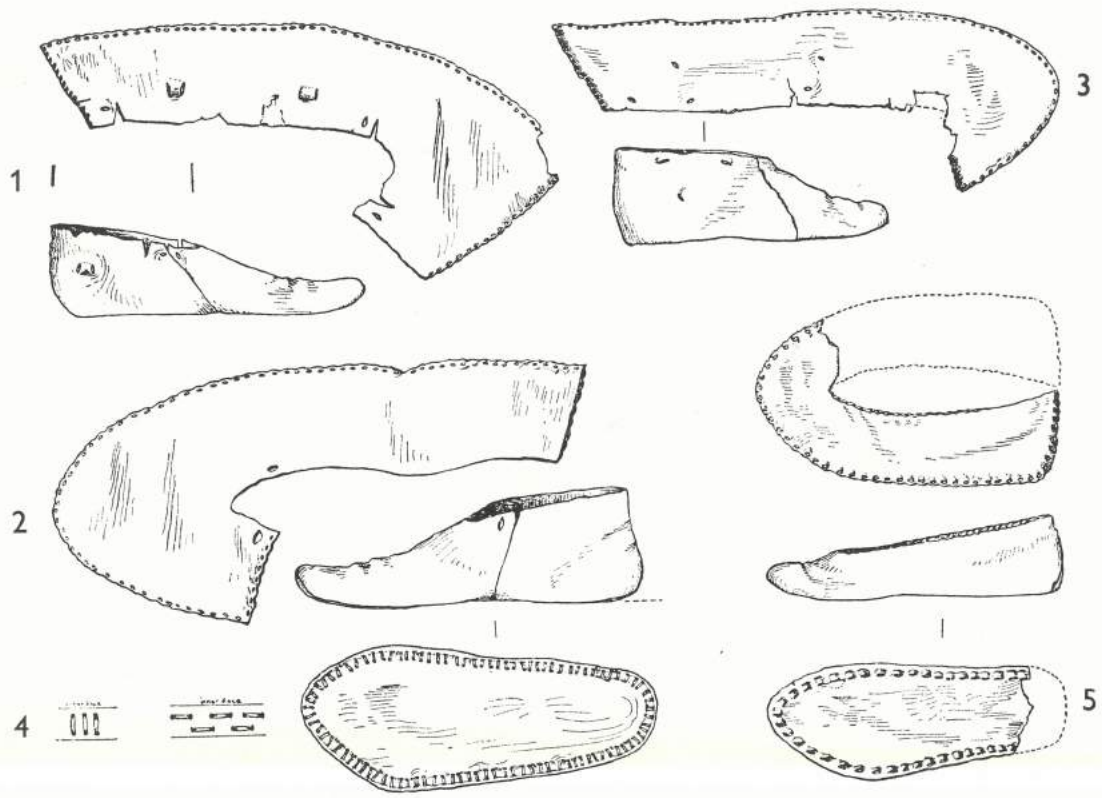


Fig. 183a. Footwear found in excavations in Hungate, York. Described as "Anglo-Danish shoes". After Katherine M. Richardson.

basic pattern the four specimens of the English groups considered here belong together with boots from places as far apart as Walcheren, Oseberg and Staraja Ladoga.

The close proximity of Walcheren to the coast of England makes it tempting to assume at once that the York boots were a fashion directly imported from southern Friesland, but with the general unrest in England during the viking period a certain margin must be allowed for influences from other sources, and K. M. Richardson points to various possibilities.

Of the presence of Scandinavians in York she says: "In 866 the Viking hordes having wintered in southern England marched northwards. York with its partially ruined defences can have offered little resistance, and with its fall the conquest of the Danelaw had begun; from now on till 1066 the city, save for one or two brief intervals, was subject to Danish or Norwegian rule".[1]

Later she states: "The remarkable revival of trade in Western Europe in the early Carolingian period, linking northern Europe with the Baltic countries, has been borne out by archaeological finds. In its first stages this trade was a monopoly of the Frisian marts such as Dorestad, and York, already apparently an important trading centre is known to have had a colony of Frisian

1. K. M. Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 56 (The Anglo-Danish Phase). – H. Shetelig: Vikingeminner i Vesteuropa, p. 128.

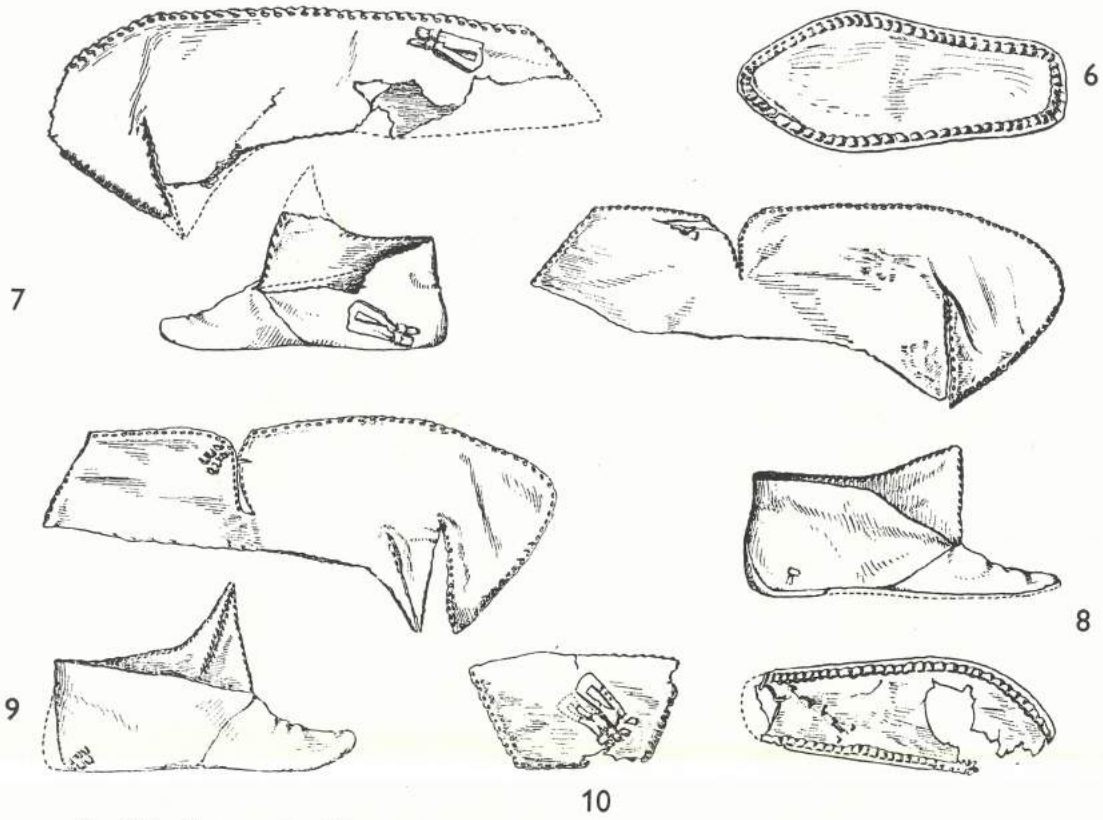


Fig. 183b. Footwear found in excavations in Hungate, York. Described as "Anglo-Danish shoes". After Katherine M. Richardson.

merchants in the 8th century, but even at this early date there is evidence that Scandinavia was trading directly with Britain".[1]

K. M. Richardson discusses the material found during excavations in York in a section entitled "The date of the Anglo-Danish Embankment". It is illustrated by two full-page plates, and the conclusion runs: "The small finds appear therefore to be types current mainly in the last half of the 9th and down to the end of the 10th century".[2]

Scotland

Very little has been obtained in the way of shoes from archaeological finds in Scotland; up to 1952, at least, according to information kindly supplied by Dr Stuart Maxwell, only the two shoes here shown in the photograph Fig. 184 were known.[3]

They were received by the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland before 1892, and were described simply as "old shoes". Thus nothing is known of the circumstances in which they were found. Nevertheless they are of considerable value: their very dark colour suggests that they

1. K. M. Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 58, with references to other works.
2. K. M. Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 64–65, p. 81 ff., and Pl. 18 and 19.
3. Letter of 26.9.1952.

Fig. 184. Two primitive shoes from Scotland, provenance unknown. Note the folds on the vamp. The National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland.

have lain some time in a bog, and judging by the workmanship and the folds across the vamp they are related to three other shoes discussed in the present work, namely Fig. 69 from Wedelspang bog in South Schleswig, Fig. 185 from Drumacoon bog in Ireland, and the modern woman's shoe from the Faroes, Fig. 200.

Ireland

Ireland is described by Olaus Magnus, the great 16th century ethnographer and folklorist, as "jordkretsens yttersta boplats" and "den mänskliga odlingens mest aflägsna hemvist"[1], but Ireland before his day was however by no means an empty waste, abandoned by God and man. Christianity was introduced into Ireland at an earlier date than in Scandinavia. St Patrick started his missionary activity in 432, and was so successful that a cathedral and a monastery were built as early as the 450's. St Patrick is believed to have died about 460, but Christianity had been established; monasteries became widespread and monastery schools were founded.

1. Olaus Magnus: Historie om De Nordiska Folk. Swedish translation, Stockholm 1909, Vol. 1, p. 214.

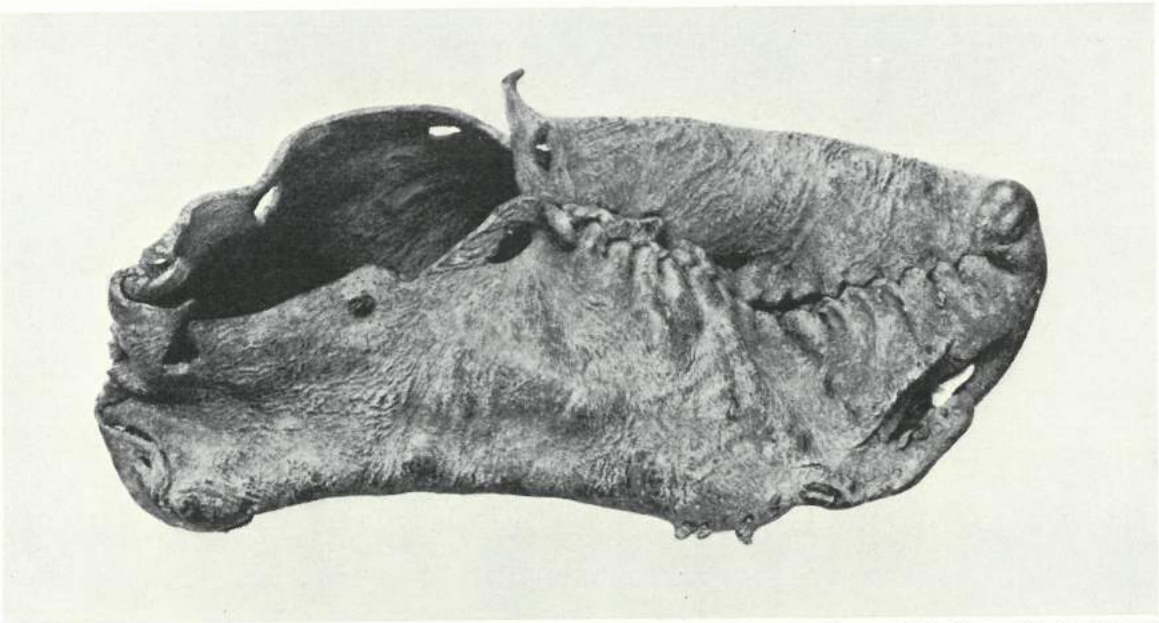


Fig. 185. Hide shoe with transverse wrinkles on the vamp. Drumacoon Bog, Co. Cavan. Nat. Mus. of Irel. (W. 15.) After A. T. Lucas, Type 3. Photo N. M. of Irel.

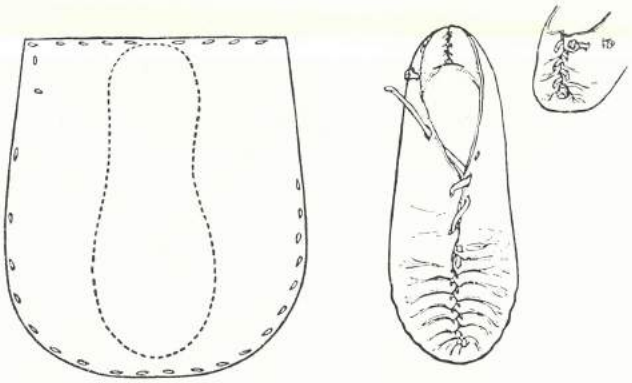


Fig. 186. Diagram of hide shoe from Drumacoon Bog. Drawing by A. T. Lucas.

The instruction is said to have included agriculture, fishing and animal husbandry. Students came to these educational centres from England, Scotland and the kingdom of the Franks, indeed from every part of western Europe.[1]

In other words, culturally speaking the Irish already occupied an important position before the invasion of the vikings – chiefly Norwegian – towards the end of the 8th century.[2]

As we know, the vikings were impelled not by a thirst for learning and spiritual edification, but by a desire for land and property, and a liking for the mild climate of the island. For our

1. H. Arbman and M. Stenberger: Vikingar i Västerled, Stockholm 1935, p. 106 ff.
2. H. Arbman and M. Stenberger, *op. cit.*, p. 112. H. Shetelig writes, in 1933, that the Irish exported footwear and clothes (Vikingeminner i Vesteuropa p. 8).

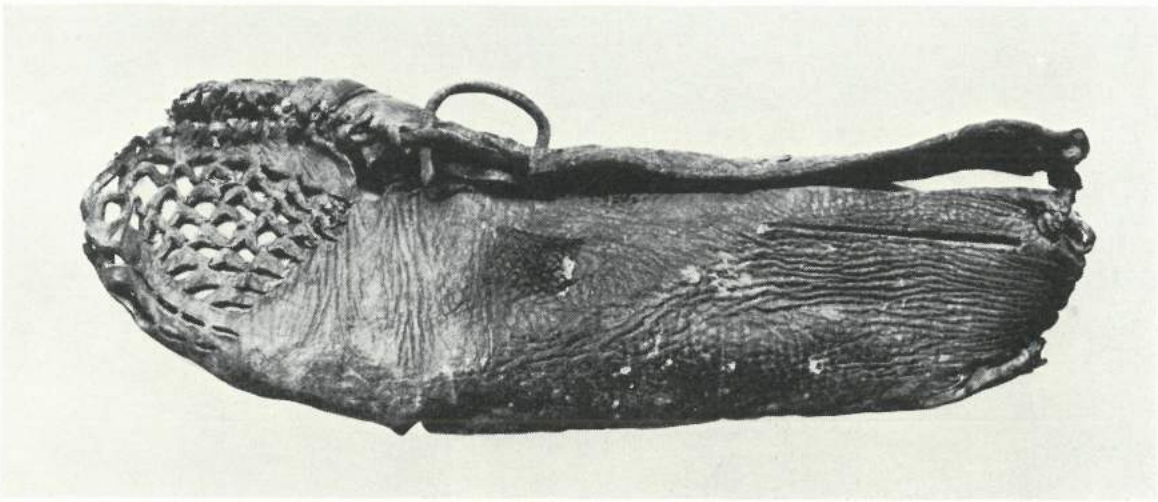


Fig. 187. Hide shoe with perforated ornamentation on the vamp. Buggaun Bog. (No. W. 13). Photo Nat. Mus. of Irel. A. T. Lucas, Type 3.

particular purpose, however, the motive of the "visitors" is not of primary importance. What matters is that they came, and that they came from different countries. The conditions necessary for an exchange of artifacts thus existed, and the possibility that this may be reflected in the fashion in shoes also.

In 1956 Dr A. T. Lucas, Director of the National Museum in Dublin, published a comprehensive work dealing with primitive footwear in Ireland, including an important section on shoes.[1]

The author classifies his material in five groups, of which three, deriving from bog finds, will be treated here. They all belong to the hide shoe type, termed by him "one piece shoes" or "single piece shoes".

The pattern to be considered first comes from Drumacoon Bog, and is reproduced in a photograph and as a diagram, Figs. 185 and 186.[2] It is a close-fitting shoe, covering the foot right up over the instep. The vamp seam is gathered by means of a lace consisting of a strip of hide 6–7 cm wide. When this was drawn tight it produced a number of folds across the foot, folds which allowed greater space for the foot, but which must also have been intended as decoration (cf. the shoe in Fig. 69 from Wedelspang bog in Schleswig, the woman's shoe from the Faroes, Fig. 200, and the two Scottish shoes, Fig. 184, all discussed above in a wider context).

As a rule the Irish shoe under consideration is made of thick material, which in at least some cases can be identified as rawhide.[3] 18 specimens altogether have been found at different archaeological sites,[4] of which however only four allowed dating with any probability. One fragment is attributed to a period before the 9th century, while the remaining three came from layers immediately above a Late Bronze Age stratum, estimated by the excavator at 200–500 A.D.[5]

1. A. T. Lucas: Footwear in Ireland, County Louth Archaeological Journal, Vol. XIII (1956), No. 4, p. 366–387.
2. A. T. Lucas, *op. cit.*, p. 375, Type 3, Fig. 7.
3. A. T. Lucas, *op. cit.*, p. 374.
4. A. T. Lucas, *op. cit.*, p. 374.
5. A. T. Lucas, *op. cit.*, p. 381.

The attractive shoe shown in Fig. 187 (W. 13) also belongs to this group. It is made of hide from which the hair has been removed, and is ornamented with cut slits, placed parallel, but displaced to alternate sides. The pressure of the foot from the inside opens the slits and reveals the pattern. This decoration is very reminiscent of that on a shoe found in Damdorf Bog (cf. Fig. 49), and of some Roman shoes found in the subsoil of London. These have already been discussed above, p. 55. According to information given by A. T. Lucas, the Irish shoe was found in 1858 in Buggaun, Ballymore, many feet below the surface of the bog. No other objects were found with it, and the circumstances provided no basis for dating, but by analogy with other

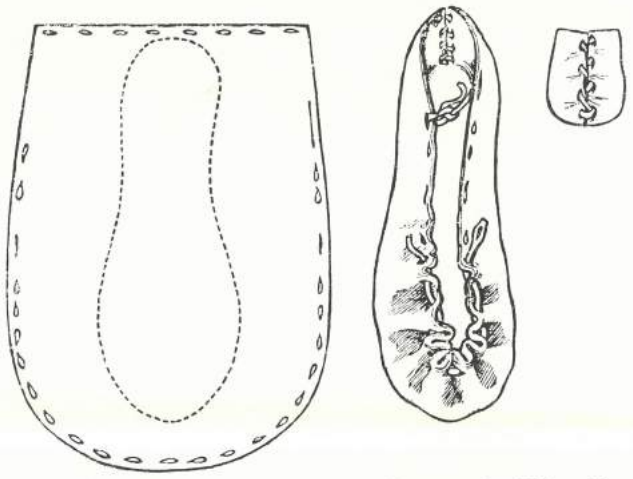


Fig. 188. Hide shoe with puckering along the opening for the foot. Ballyhagan, Co. Kildare. Nat. Mus. of Irel., No. 1945:360. After a drawing by A. T. Lucas, Type 4.

shoe finds whose date could more easily be estimated it is attributed to the early Christian period, perhaps between 700 and 900 A.D.[1]

Judging by its pattern, the low shoe from Ballyhagan (Lucas Type 4, here shown as Fig. 188) is to be grouped with the above-mentioned shoes; its rather different appearance is due to the fact that the lacing runs along the edge.[2]

Of ten examples belonging to the National Museum in Dublin six appear to consist of rawhide. In one case the hair is still present on the outer surface, in another the inner surface is covered with hair. There are variations in the technique, such as rectangular tags along the edges formed by making small notches at regular intervals. There are holes in the centre of the tags through which a lace could be threaded. When this was pulled the tags formed a sort of stiff fringe. Of one specimen it is stated that there is no heel seam, so that it resembles a bag for the foot rather than a shoe. It seems likely that the material was a piece of hide with a natural bagginess. No shoe of "Type 4" was found in circumstances that enabled dating.[3]

The shoe shown in Fig. 189 (discussed by A. T. Lucas as Type 2) is one of forty specimens. It is very elegantly cut, with a centre seam running from the toe up to the instep, and ending

1. I am grateful to Dr Lucas for information supplied in a letter of 11.6.1964.
2. A. T. Lucas, *op. cit.*, p. 377, 378 and Fig. 9.
3. A. T. Lucas, *op. cit.*, p. 381.

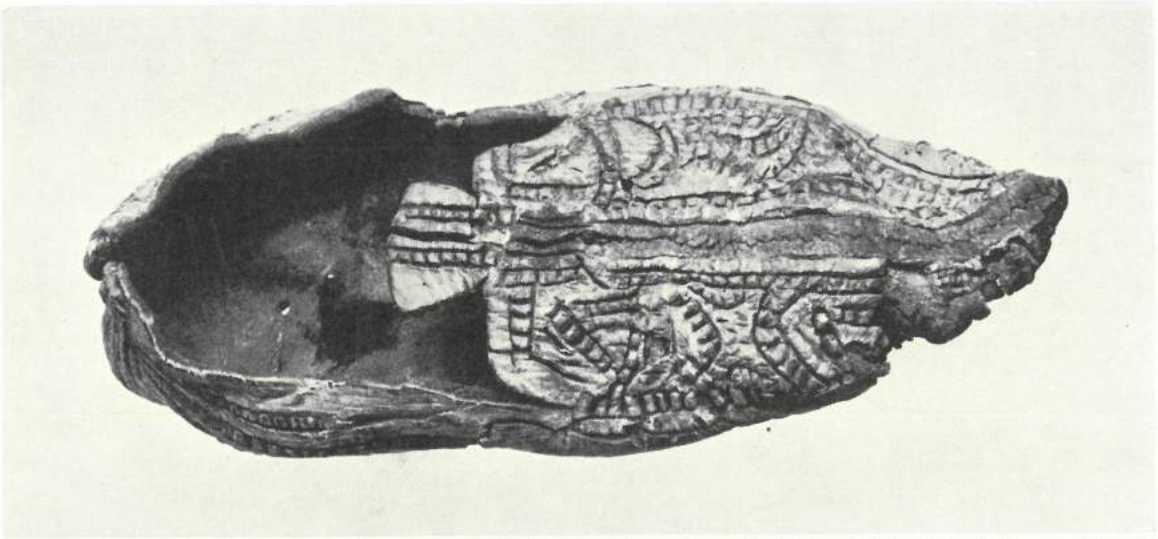


Fig. 189. One-piece shoe with a seam along the vamp. Ballymacomb, Co. Derry. Nat. Mus. of Irel. Photo A.T. Lucas, Type 2.

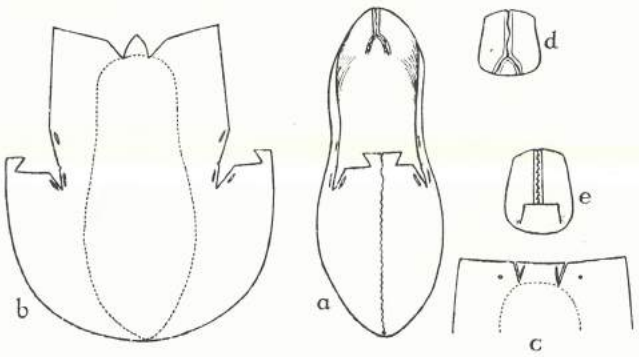


Fig. 190. Diagram of shoe from Ballymacomb. After a drawing by A. T. Lucas, Type 2.

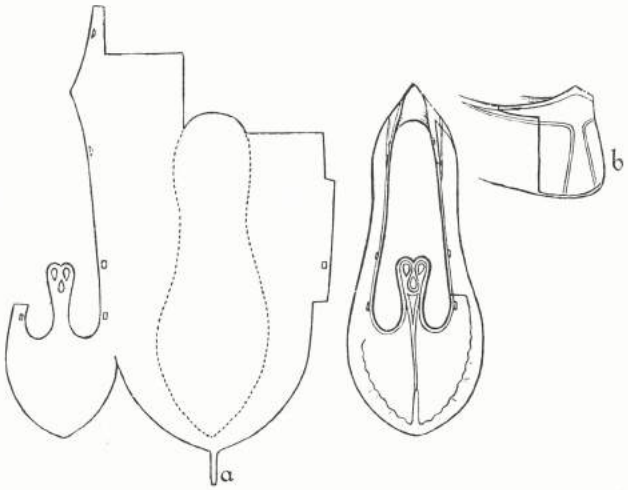


Fig. 191 a. One-piece shoe of extremely intricate pattern. Place where found unknown. Nat. Mus. of Irel. S. A. 4: 1926 No. W. Drawing by A. T. Lucas. Type I.

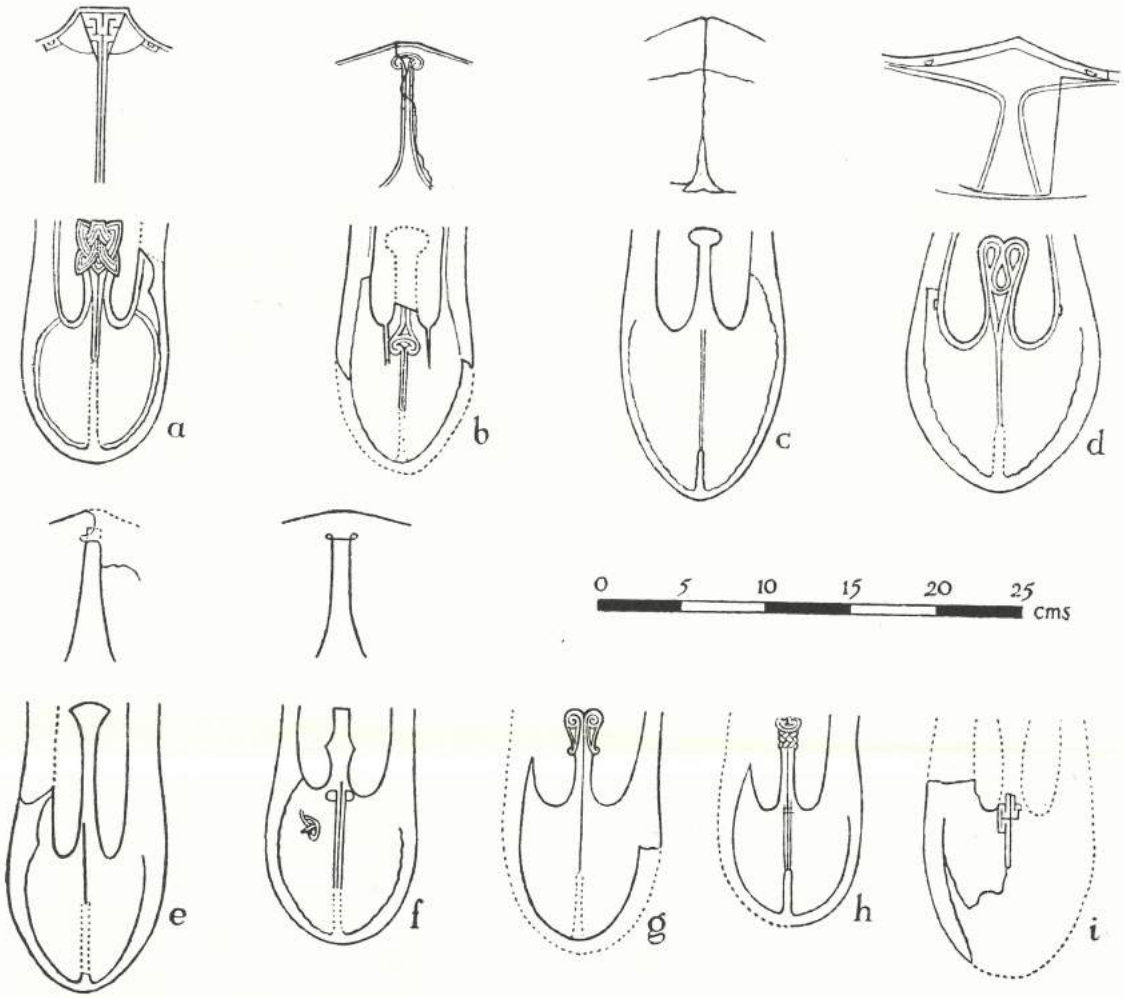


Fig. 191 b. Various shoe designs of the above-mentioned Lucas Type I. Drawing by A. T. Lucas.

in a little tag. The cut of the heel also shows very careful workmanship, and Nos. c, d and e on the diagram, Fig. 190, show variations of the pattern for the heel section in different specimens.

Gut is stated to have been used in sewing the toe and heel seams, but thongs were often used to sew the upturned flap on the heel.[1]

In general shoes of this kind are not decorated. Two shoes from a bog near Ballymacomb, which seem to have formed a pair, are however exceptions to this. One is shown here in Fig. 189, and it will be seen that the surface is ornamented with incised patterns in the form of triangles and curved lines.[2]

As regards the dating of this group, it is stated that a shoe from Ballinderry Crannog belongs to the 6th or 7th century A.D. An example from an unknown stratum is considered to be not later than the 10th century, and may be as early as the 7th century. Two shoes, of which one

1. A. T. Lucas, *op. cit.*, p. 371 ff., Fig. 6.
2. A. T. Lucas, *op. cit.*, p. 373 ff.

is from Co. Fermanagh, and the other from Co. Roscommon, are believed to date from the early Christian period.[1]

Far more elaborate than the patterns hitherto discussed, however, is a group described by A. T. Lucas as Type 1 (shown here as Fig. 191 a–b).[2] On the left of the diagram the shoe is shown spread out flat, and it will be seen that the pattern is, as A. T. Lucas puts it, "astonishingly sophisticated". He continues: "Despite their complex pattern they remain single-piece shoes although the writer, for one, is at a loss to understand why their makers should, apparently, have made things more difficult for themselves by keeping to the single-piece tradition by, as it were, a technical tour de force when they might have achieved the same result by building up the shoe from separate pieces."

The almost detached vamp, joined to the edge of the slightly gathered base by means of a seam, is remarkable (cf. here the Norwegian bjoresko, and Ivar Refsdal's account of the method of joining two edges of unequal length, p. 180).

In six of the fifteen examples of this group examined by A. T. Lucas the neck joining the vamp to the rest was on the right, in the rest on the left. A sophisticated detail is the small tag at the tip of the toe at a; this was intended to be bent up and sewn along the centre line of the upper.

The decoration consists of a kind of linear ornamentation, made by scoring the surface of the hide to a depth of as much as half its thickness.[3] In some specimens there is also decoration on the heel, Fig. 192.

The style of the decorations is one of the criteria on which Mr Lucas bases his dating, and he arrives at the following conclusion: "On the present evidence the writer ventures to think that all shoes of this type date to the Early Christian period".[4]

The seams of these shoes have been sewn with fine, close stitches, using thread which is neither vegetable fibre nor animal hair, but a material formerly considered to be gut. A. T. Lucas repeatedly speaks of the use of gut,[5] and summing up he says of the material used in sewing: "It is ironical that the thong-sewing which is always quoted as its chief technical peculiarity and which, on theoretical grounds, might well seem an indubitably primitive characteristic is not, in fact, to be found in early native shoes at all since shoes of Types 1 and 2 were sewn with *gut* and where thong is present, as in Type 3, it is used in a "lacing" rather than a "sewing" technique."[6]

And now a final remark: the shoe material yielded by the Irish bogs is most extensive, but we have heard nothing of the soled shoe with the sole tapering at the rear. Yet we have found it mentioned above in connection both with bogs and with settlements. Did neither Christian

1. A. T. Lucas, *op. cit.*, p. 380.
2. A. T. Lucas, *op. cit.*, p. 366ff., and Fig. 3, 4 and 5.
3. A. T. Lucas, *op. cit.*, p. 369.
4. A. T. Lucas, *op. cit.*, p. 380.
5. A. T. Lucas, *op. cit.*, p. 368–369, see also p. 370, 372, 373, 383 and 385. H. Shetelig and Hjalmar Falk: Scandinavian Archaeology, p. 329, say of cords: "... They may also have been animal sinews, or most likely of all, of gut. The old Norse and common Germanic name of twined thread, gorn, the same word as English yarn etymologically means "gut" (for which the old Norse word was gorn)."
6. A. T. Lucas, *op. cit.*, p. 382f.

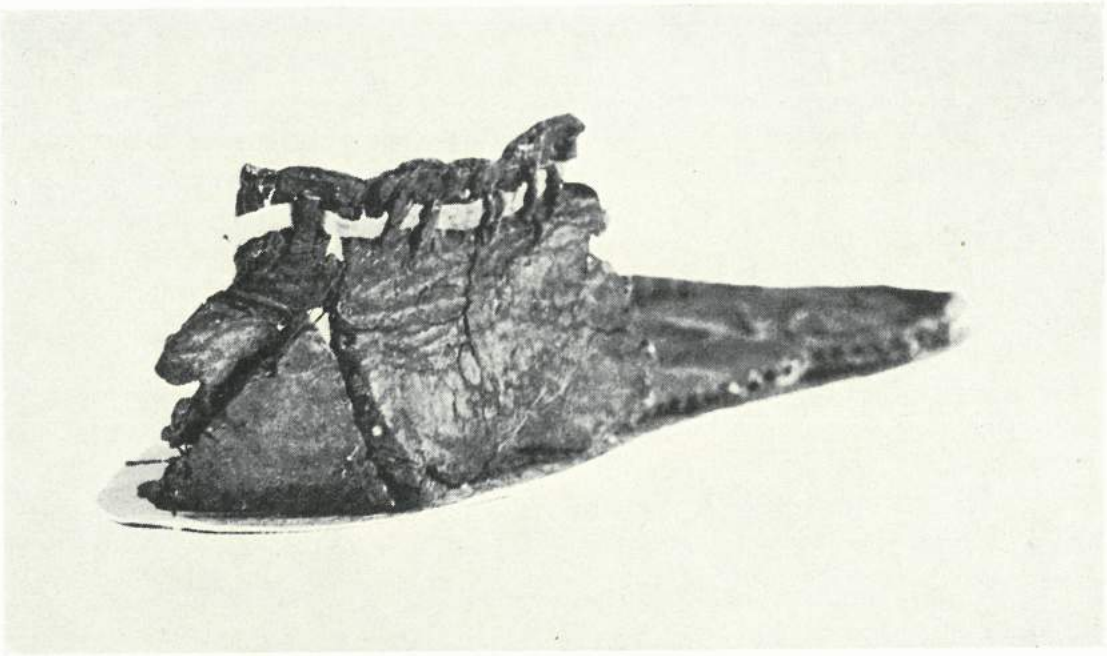


Fig. 192. Fragment of soled shoe from Kvivik, Faroe Islands.

nor pagan "visitors" bring this type of shoe to the island? We must leave the question unanswered, and hope that future research and archaeological activity will supply the answer.

The Faroes

We end our archaeological excursion on the Faroes, which have likewise supplied us with material for our investigation in the form of a shoe with a sole tapering at the back. This shoe was found at Kvivik, together with other objects dated by Sverri Dahl as belonging some to the Middle Ages and some to the viking age.[1]

I am indebted to Fru Petra Djurhuus, to whom the shoe was passed on for preservation, for kindly informing me of its existence.[2]

1. Sverri Dahl: Forna Toftir i Kvivik, Torshavn 1951, p. 96, and Varðin, Pl. V and VI.
2. Letter of 14.12.51.

Part III

Ethnology

Chapter XII

Ireland

In our discussion of the shoe finds of the Jutland peninsula we occasionally sought support in ethnological material. Where our knowledge derived from earth finds falls short light may now and then be thrown on problems by material preserved by popular tradition. We will now try to develop the comparisons already made by means of a rather wider selection of the source material collected by various investigators in the old Norse area.[1]

Let us begin in the west, with the three small islands situated in Galway Bay, off the west coast of Ireland. Here the writer John Synge spent some time at the beginning of the present century. His stay resulted in a book, "The Aran Islands", in which he gives an account of customs and ancient cultural features, including the footwear used by the inhabitants, which he was able to try for himself.[2]

His own shoes were soon cut to ribbons by tramping on the hard, sharp rock, and the family in whose house he was lodging therefore took steps to help him. Synge says: ". . . in the end it was decided to make me a pair of pampooties,[3] which I have been wearing today among the rocks. They consist simply of a piece of raw cowskin, with the hair outside, laced over the toe and round the heel with two ends of fishing-line that work round and are tied above the instep. In the evening, when they are taken off, they are placed in a basin of water, as the rough hide cuts the foot and stocking if it is allowed to harden. For the same reason the people often step into the surf during the day, so that their feet are continually moist". Grease is not mentioned as a possible way of keeping the hide supple, only water.

Of the kitchen in this house Synge says that the walls were of a soft brown shade from the turf smoke, and ". . . right overhead, under the thatch, there is a whole cowskin from which they make pampooties".[4]

This means that the cowskin must have been impregnated with smoke, which has a preservative effect and prevents putrefaction. This treatment, which seems to be widespread in the

1. As well as Iceland and the Faroes I include in this areas ruled by the Scandinavians or vikings, or with which they had connections, in the west and east: Great Britain, Ireland, Finland and Estonia.
2. John Synge: The Aran Islands, Dublin 1911, p. 31–32 (Inishmaan). First published in 1906. – I am indebted to Jens Jensen for drawing my attention to this book.
3. In Footwear in Ireland, p. 376, A. T. Lucas quotes the term "bróg úirleathair" for rawhide shoe and singlepiece shoe.
4. J. Synge, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

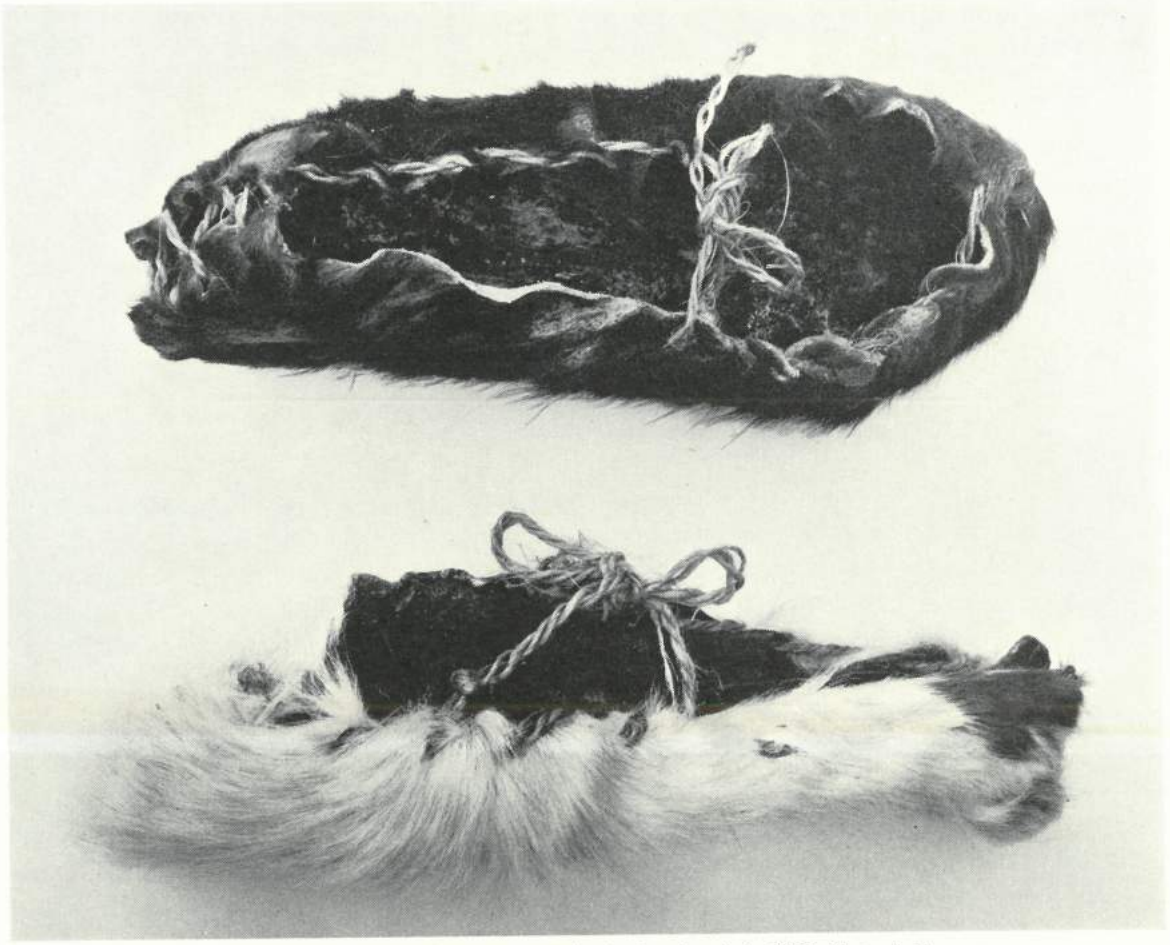


Fig. 193. Pampooties from the Aran Islands. Purchased in 1952. Photo L. Larsen.

primitive dressing of skins,[1] is probably very ancient, since its only prerequisite is the knowledge of how to make fire.

As to what it feels like to wear primitive shoes of this kind, Synge says:

"At first I threw my weight upon my heels, as one does naturally in a boot, and was a good deal bruised; but after a few hours I learned the natural walk of man, and could follow my guide in any portion of the island. In one district below the cliffs, towards the north, one goes for nearly a mile jumping from one rock to another without a single ordinary step; and here I realized that toes have a natural use, for I found myself jumping towards any tiny crevice in the rock before me, and clinging with an eager grip in which all muscles of my feet ached from their exertion.

1. See for instance Per Söderbäck: Rågöborna, p. 125: "Sälskinn "gärvas" på så sätt, att de först torkas på en skuggig plats, så rullas de samman och rökas t. ex. i sommar köket". – Vice-Lavmand Eggert Olafsen's og Land-Physici Biarne Povelsen's Rejse igiennem Island, Sorøe 1772, p. 337, mentions the use of "the soft brown tallow produced from smoked meat by boiling". – G. Hatt: Arktiske Skinddragter, København 1914, p. 33, 37, 38. – K. Moszynski: Slavernes Folkkultur, stencil ed., p. 182.

The absence of the heavy boot of Europe has preserved to these people the agile walk of the wild animal . . .".[1]

In 1952 I was able to make my own observations regarding the production of this Irish shoe. During a study tour I visited the island of Inishmore, and as soon as I had landed I noticed a group of men, of whom three were wearing "pampooties". Thanks to an introduction from the National Museum in Dublin I was able to visit the house of one of the islanders, Mr Pat Powel, who demonstrated how the shoes were made. In less than half an hour he made me a pair of pampooties (Fig. 193).

First he fetched from the loft, where the material was evidently stored, two rectangular pieces of cowhide, measuring about 15×28 cm. With his pocket-knife he cut the necessary eyelet-holes

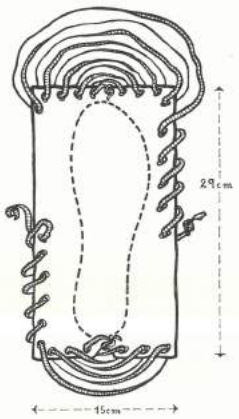


Fig. 194. Diagram of pampooties from the Aran Islands.

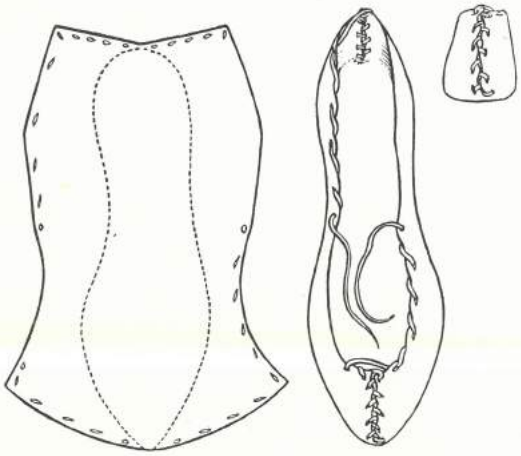


Fig. 195. "Brog uirleathair", rawhide shoe, or so-called "pampootie". Drawing by A. T. Lucas.

for laces, and a little notch at either heel. The two laces, which consisted simply of ordinary thick string, were fastened with a knot at the heel and toe respectively, and were pulled through the holes always from the inside outwards, as shown in Fig. 194. Mr Powel measured the length of string needed along his forearm, by holding one end of the string with his left forefinger and thumb, carrying it round his elbow, and back to the tip of his second finger, at which point the string was cut. This measured about one metre all together.

Mr Powel gave me the following account of how the material was prepared: the freshly removed cowhide was lightly scraped, possibly with a flat stone, and was rubbed with salt, after which the skin was rolled up to be left for a time with the salt in it, not less than a fortnight, and preferably some time longer.

If the shoes became stiff during the day while being worn they were simply put in cold water; they could even simply be washed and hung up to dry, but in fact they would always be slightly moist because of the salt content.

Mrs Powel said she was glad that her husband had stopped wearing pampooties because they ruined his socks; this would naturally be the case, since the flesh side of the hide, which faces

1. J. Synge, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

inwards in the shoes, tends to stick when it is rubbed by the movement of the foot, and under the influence of its warmth.

They had no information to give as to the use of hay in shoes, foot-wrappings, and the like, which would be natural with such footwear as pampooties. Perhaps the tradition of such accessories to hide shoes has now been lost on the Aran Islands.

A. T. Lucas, in his treatise "Footwear in Ireland", mentioned above, has however traced source material of various kinds relating to the use of shoe wadding, to which he refers in a special section, "Hay and Straw in Shoes".[1]

The drawing with which A. T. Lucas illustrates his account of pampooties shows that the pattern was not invariably of the crudest kind. A slight modification of the pattern here reveals a certain tendency towards a more elegant shape, Fig. 195.

Concerning the peculiarity of the lace, which starts at the heel on one side, and at the toe on the other, to be fastened over the instep, Lucas says: "When the cords are pulled tight they draw the edges of the shoe in over the sides of the foot for snugger fitting. The fact that the cord is passed over the edge between each of the side slits rucks the hide enough to keep the slits open and so obviates the cord binding in them. The writer has not observed this particular method of having a continuous lacing from seam to instep fastening in any ancient shoe . . ."[2]

1. A. T. Lucas, *op. cit.*, p. 387 f.
2. A. T. Lucas, *op. cit.*, p. 376 and Fig. 8.

Chapter XIII

Scotland

Important information regarding primitive footwear i Scotland was collected by Arthur Mitchell,[1] Æ. J. G. Mackay and Alexander Carmichael,[2] and Gilbert Goudie,[3] who in 1876–78, 1893 and 1904 respectively wrote about primitive shoes and their terminology; from their works it appears that rawhide shoes were still familiar at the time of writing. Consequently part of their information coincides, and some of the older sources mentioned are likewise common to them all.

Arthur Mitchell,[4] the earliest of the writers mentioned, relates in a lecture from the period 1876–78 that he has himself seen a bearer at a funeral wearing shoes of oxhide, untanned and with the hair worn outwards . . . "Such shoes are known as rivlins" . . . "Yet it happens that there are thousands of people in Scotland who wear this shoe at this hour. It is in most common use in Shetland, but it is also frequently to be seen in the Orkney and Hebridean islands . . . The rivlin is nothing but a piece *of untanned hide* folded, when fresh or moistened, up the sides of the foot and over the toes, stitched or closed at the heel and toes with a piece of twine or a thong of the hide." . . .

It is thus stated here that the material used for rivlins consists of untanned hide, either fresh or moistened.

Arthur Mitchell further remarks:

"Old people are content with any hide, whatever the colour of it be, but young women, and occasionally young men, choose a hide which is spotted – white and red or white and black. The gayest pairs, however, are as rude in idea and construction as the dullest."[5]

According to Gilbert Goudie the shoe of untanned hide known as the rivlin was formerly common in Shetland, and still in use in 1904, as in the Danish Faroe Islands. He observes, however, that a difference may be noted in the method of tying the shoe. The shoe was common in Iceland

1. Arthur Mitchell: The past in the present. Ten of the Rhind Lectures on Archaeology, delivered in 1876–1878. Edinburgh 1880, p. 93f., Fig. 66.
2. Æ. J. G. Mackay: Notes on a Pair of Pampooties, or Shoes of raw Hide from Aran More, Galway Bay, p. 136–141. – And on Cuaran and other Varieties of Shoes used in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. By Alexander Carmichael. Proceedings of the Society and Antiquaries of Scotland, Edinburgh 1893–94, Vol. IV, 3rd ser., pp. 136–150.
3. Gilbert Goudie: The Rivlin. The Celtic and Scandinavian Antiquities of Shetland, 1904, p. 290f.
4. Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p. 93.
5. Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p. 93f.

also, though slightly different in appearance and fashioning. Of the terminology, Goudie says: "Both in Faroe and in Iceland it is termed the "skin-sko" or hide-shoe, and the Shetland name of rivlin must be referred to a British and not a Scandinavian origin".[1] (Cf. here Hjalmar Falk's remarks on hrifling, quoted below, p. 176).

Æ. J. G. Mackay takes the Irish shoe from Aran as his basis, and says that similar shoes of untanned hide are still, or were recently, worn both in the Hebrides, in Orkney, Shetland, and on Man. . . . "The name Pampooties, evidently neither Celtic nor Teutonic, is used in Aran only and I have been unable to trace it to any language. The common Celtic name is *Cuaran*, and the Teutonic or Scottish name is *Rivelins*".[2]

Æ. J. G. Mackay gives several variants of the name, and writes: "Rewylynys, Rowlingis, Rillings, Rulyions, or Rullions were the Anglo-Saxon or broad Scotch variants for this untanned

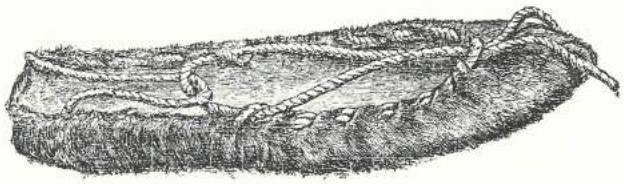


Fig. 196. Rivelin from Shetland. After Gilbert Goudie.

shoe of hide. The oldest form appears to have been *Riwelingas*". . . . "Blind Harry uses the form *Rewlingis* and *Rivilin* is still the common name in Shetland. The presence of the *f* or *v* in the early forms of the word render doubtful the etymology from roll, as if something rolled round the foot. I am disposed to connect it rather with the old English word *rivel*, to wrinkle." . . ."[3]

The term rivlin thus seems to be descriptive of the construction of the type of untanned hide shoe that gains its shape by contraction, which corresponds to the illustration of a rivlin given by Arthur Mitchell in his monograph[4]; but as we have already encountered various forms of wrinkled shoes from Ireland alone, the term cannot be said to narrow down the definition.

Even though the forms described here seem extremely simple, it is evident that still cruder shoes have at times been found sufficient. This appears from a description given in an often quoted letter to Henry VIII written in 1543 by a monk called John Eldar. John Pinkerton quotes the following passage:

"And again in winter, when the frost is most vehement (as I have said), which we cannot suffer bare-footed, so well as snow which can never hurt us, when it comes to our girdles, we go a hunting; and after that we have slain red-deer[5] we flay off the skin by and by, and setting of our bare foot on the inside thereof, for want of cunning shoemakers, by your grace's pardon, we play the coblers, compassing and measuring so much thereof, as shall reach up to our ancles: pricking the upper part thereof with holes, that the water may repass where it enters; and stretching

1. Gilbert Goudie, *op. cit.*, p. 291.
2. Æ. J. G. Mackay, *op. cit.*, p. 136.
3. Æ. J. G. Mackay, *op. cit.*, p. 138–139. See also J. Chambers: Scots Dialect Dictionary: Riv-v. to sew roughly or slightly.
4. A. Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p. 93. – G. Goudie, *op. cit.*, p. 291.
5. Red deer: *cervus elaphus*, the Scottish deer.

it up with a strong thong of the same above our ancles. So, and please your noble grace, we make our shoes. Therefore we using such manner of shoes, the rough hairy side outward, in your grace's dominion of England we be called Rough-footed Scots".[1]

The deerskin is thus here used in an absolutely raw condition, warm from the animal, and the shoe is worn at once, in snow and severe frost. A more scanty preparation can hardly be imagined; but the same applies to the shoe called cuaran, mentioned above: here likewise no unnecessary labour is expended. Alexander Carmichael says: "The cuaran covers the sole, toe, heel and sides, but not always the instep of the foot. It is laced, sometimes fancifully interlaced, over the instep.

The cuaran is generally made of rawhide, preferably warm from the animal, the hide being then soft and pliable, and easily adapted to the foot. The hide over the knee was much sought after for cuarans, especially that over the hough.

The heel of the foot fitted into the hollow of the knee, especially into the hollow of the hough, while the friction to which the knees were subjected in the lying down and rising up of the animal rendered the skin of the knees peculiarly tough and durable... The cuaran, like the mogais, is made of raw hide, the hair side out, the flesh side in".[2]

Here it is again stated that it is the raw, warm hide fresh from the animal that is used, and it is further stated that the natural shapes are utilized and preferred, the shoe as a result having a closed heel without resorting to sewing or gathering.

Of the term cuaran Carmichael gives the following explanation: "Sock, socket, busk, busket, buskin, an envelope, a cover: from cuar, a cover".[3]

A description of Scottish dress in 1754 by S. Bird includes the following: "... Brogues or Pumps without heels. By the way they cut Holes in their Brogues, though new made, to let out the Water when they have far to go and Rivers to pass: this they do to preserve their Feet from galling ... some I have seen shod with a kind of Pumps made of raw Cow-hide with the Hair turned outward, which being ill made, the Wearer's Feet looked something like those of a rough-footed Hen or Pigeon. These are called Quarrants, and are not only offensive to the Sight but intolerable to the Smell of those who are near them".[4]

1. John Pinkerton: The History of Scotland, Vol. II, London MDCCXCVII, p. 397.
2. Alexander Carmichael, *op. cit.*, p. 146.
3. Alexander Carmichael, *op. cit.*, p. 146.
4. S. Bird: Letters from a Gentleman in the North, 1754, Vol. II, p. 183, 184 and 185 ff.

Chapter XIV

Iceland

As the diagram in Fig. 198 shows, the Icelandic woman's shoe is cut in a shape best described as rectangular, namely with three absolutely straight edges meeting at right-angles, and a fourth edge with a small notch for the heel. On the unfolded specimen from which the pattern has been taken the length is 27 cm and the width 14 cm. The material is greenish hide with the hair removed. The shoe is closed by means of straight seams at the heel and along the foot. The width is gathered along the upper edge by a puckering carried out with very thick thread, over which a strip of hide has been superimposed, first sewn on the outside, and then folded over and sewn on the inside. Of the shoes available for examination, one pair had eyelets for laces near the heel seam, and these had in them hide laces approximately one metre long; a second pair had plaited woollen laces sewn on, while a third pair showed no trace of any laces at all.[1] Several of the Icelandic shoes had a crocheted or knitted insole decorated with a star pattern in colour.

This agrees with the description of Icelandic shoes given by Valtýr Gudmundsson in 1902. He, however, mentions untanned oxhide or sheepskin as the material used, but adds that better shoes, particularly women's shoes, were made of hide dyed black, and that the opening round the instep was then given an edging of white leather. In the latter case tanned hide must have been used.

In a later publication Valtýr Gudmundsson says that during the free state period shoes in Iceland generally consisted of a kind of sandal, a hide shoe made of a piece of untanned hide. The shoe was stitched together over the toe and behind the heel, and tied round the ankle. Occasionally, however, higher shoes were found, extending up over the ankle, and covering the instep.[2]

In his description of Icelandic women's dress Daniel Bruun states briefly that on their feet they wear Icelandic hide shoes.[3]

Niels Horrebow's account of his travels in Iceland, published in 1752, contains a description of Icelandic shoes, as follows: "The shoes of both the men and the women, all of which are sewn

1. The shoe shown in the photograph Fig. 197 is the property of Dansk Folkemuseum. – The unfolded shoe from which the diagram in Fig. 198 was drawn was made in the 1920s. In private possession.
2. Valtýr Gudmundsson: Islands Kultur ved Aarhundredskiftet, København 1902, p. 22. By the same author: Island i Fristatstiden, København 1924, p. 83.
3. Daniel Bruun: Den islandske Kvinde og hendes Dragt, Tidsskrift for Industri, 1903, p. 164, 177, and Fig. 77. See also Sigfus Blöndal and Siguður Sigtryggsson: Gammel islandsk Kultur i Billeder, København 1929, Fig. 105: Fisker i Søklæder med Sko med rynkede Kantninger, 1836.

Fig. 197. Woman's shoes from Iceland. Black with white edges and insoles with a star pattern. N. M. Kbh. Photo L. Larsen.

by the women, are for preference made of oxhide, or, if this cannot be had, of sheepskins, which they dress themselves, solely by scraping off the hair and drying them, after which they are soaked in water, when they are to be made into shoes. The shoes are so made that they fit the foot closely, without heels. Narrow thongs are cut from sheepskin, of which two extend from the back of the heel-piece, and are tied in front, over the instep, and two from either side, where the side-pieces are in our shoes, which are tied over the front of the foot. But this hide is never greased with train-oil, nor is sheep-gut used for tying the shoes, as the author has been informed."[1]

This does not throw much light on the shape of the shoes, however. Rather more informative in this respect is a passage in William Jackson Hooker's Journal of a Tour in Iceland (1809). Hooker writes:

1. Niels Horrebow: Tilforladelige Efterretninger om Island, København 1752, p. 308.

"The shoes (Shor) are made of the skin of seals or sheep: an oblong piece is slit down two or three inches before and behind, and sewed up somewhat in the form of the foot, which it soon takes the shape of by stretching, and is drawn tight by a leather thong running along the edge, and tied over the foot. . . . I paid six shillings for a dozen pair."[1]

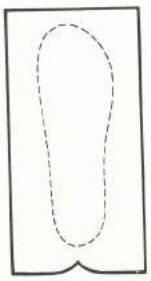


Fig. 198. Diagram of woman's shoe from Iceland, Fig. 197.

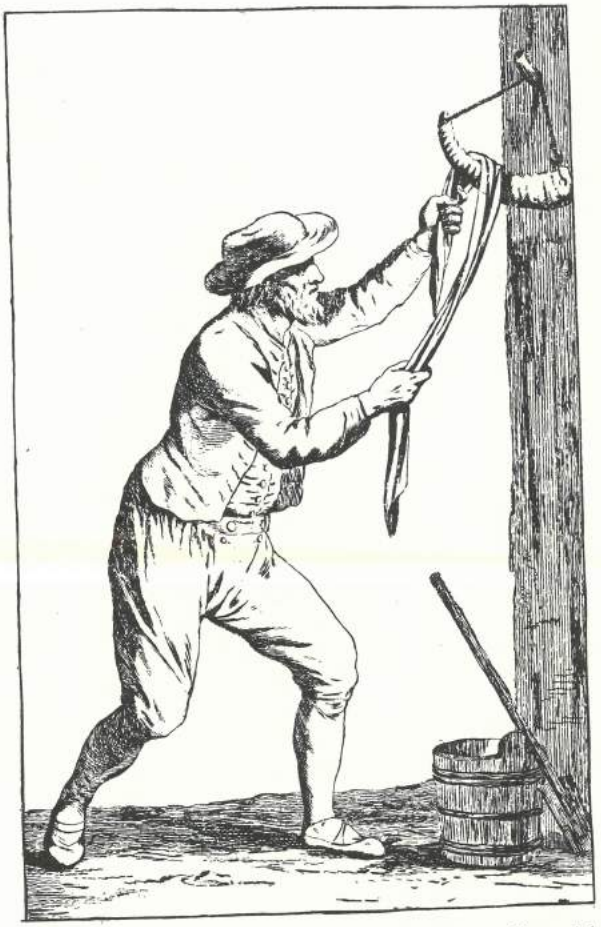


Fig. 199. Icelander wearing hide shoes dressing skins with the aid of a "braak", i.e. a curved tool made from a ram's horn with teeth cut in the curve. After Eggert Olafsen and Bjarne Povelsen, Copenhagen 1772.

A man's shoe is seen in use in the picture in Fig. 199, and the caption states that the shoes are of thin, undressed hide, of the kind formerly worn throughout Scandinavia.[2]

That the Icelandic and Faroese shoes are not identical in detail thus appears both from the descriptions, and from the illustrations available, Figs. 197 and 200.

1. William Jackson Hooker: Journal of a Tour in Iceland in the Summer of 1809, p. 63.
2. Eggert Olaffsen and Bjarne Povelsen: Uddrag af Rejse igennem Island, 2. del (Sønder Island), p. 970, Sorøe 1772.

Chapter XV

The Faroes

The two Faroese women's shoes shown in Fig. 200 are made of yellowish-brown sheepskin from which the hair has been removed. They have a puckered seam running the length of the vamp, and in the heel area there is likewise a puckered seam, and two cut holes for laces. The diagram shown in Fig. 201 has been drawn from a similar specimen opened out flat. It measures 24 cm by 19 cm, and has four eyelets.[1]

In 1669 Thomas Tarnovius gave the following account of the shoes worn by the Faroe islanders: "The common men of the islands wear shoes of oxhide, seal-hide, cowhide, and lambskin, which hides they dress with great care and tan with the admirable herb tormentil, which there grows in great abundance, and is by the islanders called 'Bark'. When these same hides have thus been tanned, each man cuts out his shoes, and they have but a single sole, the shoe being stitched together over the toes and up the heel. In these same shoes they wear 'tvinger', that is, woollen strings, plaited and very white, which they consider very handsome.

But those farmers who are men of some substance, while they do indeed wear these shoes, also make use of Danish shoes.

The women never wear shoes of oxhide, sealskin or calfskin, but always of lambskin."[2]

As to this last point, H. C. Lyngbye wrote in 1819, in his description of Faroe wedding customs: "On her feet she (i.e. the bride) wore the usual 'skægver', Faroese shoes of yellow tanned lambskin, which can quickly be made by gathering a single piece of hide at the front and back, and which are fastened on by means of white or red woollen cords, wound several times round the ankles."[3]

A very comprehensive survey of the material concerning Faroese shoes was made in 1951 by Sverri Dahl in "Foroyaferdin",[4] from which the following extracts have been drawn.

Hide shoes (huðarskógvar) were always made of the hide of horses or cattle, horsehide being however thin and porous, and therefore not so suitable. The hide was smoked and tanned. Each man commonly cut and stitched his shoes himself. Measurements were taken from the hand:

1. My thanks are due to Fru Petra Djurhuus, Torshavn, who placed the specimen shown unfolded at my disposal for examination.
2. Thomas Tarnovius: Færøers Beskrivelser, 1669, ed. with an introduction by J. Dahl, Torshavn 1908, p. 64 and 67.
3. H. C. Lyngbye: Noget om Færøerne, især om de der brugelige Bryllups-skikke, Magazin for Reiseiagttagelser, 1820, Vol. I, p. 210.
4. Sverri Dahl: Føroyskur Fótbúni, Varðanum, Vol. 29, No. 1, p. 1 ff., Torshavn 1951. – I am indebted to Sverri Dahl, Curator of Torshavn Museum, for assistance in translating the above passages into Danish.

Fig. 200. Woman's shoe from the Faroe Islands. Note particularly the puckering on the vamp and in the heel seam. Photo L. Larsen.

the width from its breadth, and the length from the length of the hand plus the length of the knuckle. The vamp was cut in a curve corresponding to the outline of the hand. The seams at both heel and toe were made by thrusting the needle from the inside up through the hide near the two contiguous edges, first to one side and then the other. The length of the stitches was adapted to the thickness of the hide and the depth desired of the wrinkles over the vamp, generally seven in number. Care must also be taken that the puckering was carried out in such a way that the shoe fitted the foot. Close to the back seam, near the edge of the shoe, two holes were cut (bagæse) to admit laces, which were wound round the ankles. If the hide was tanned with bark or with the roots of tormentil, it acquired a dark brown colour; if blue vitriol was

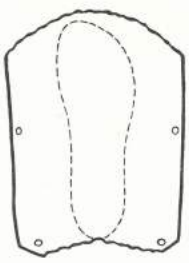


Fig. 201. Diagram of woman's shoe from the Faroe Islands, Fig. 200.

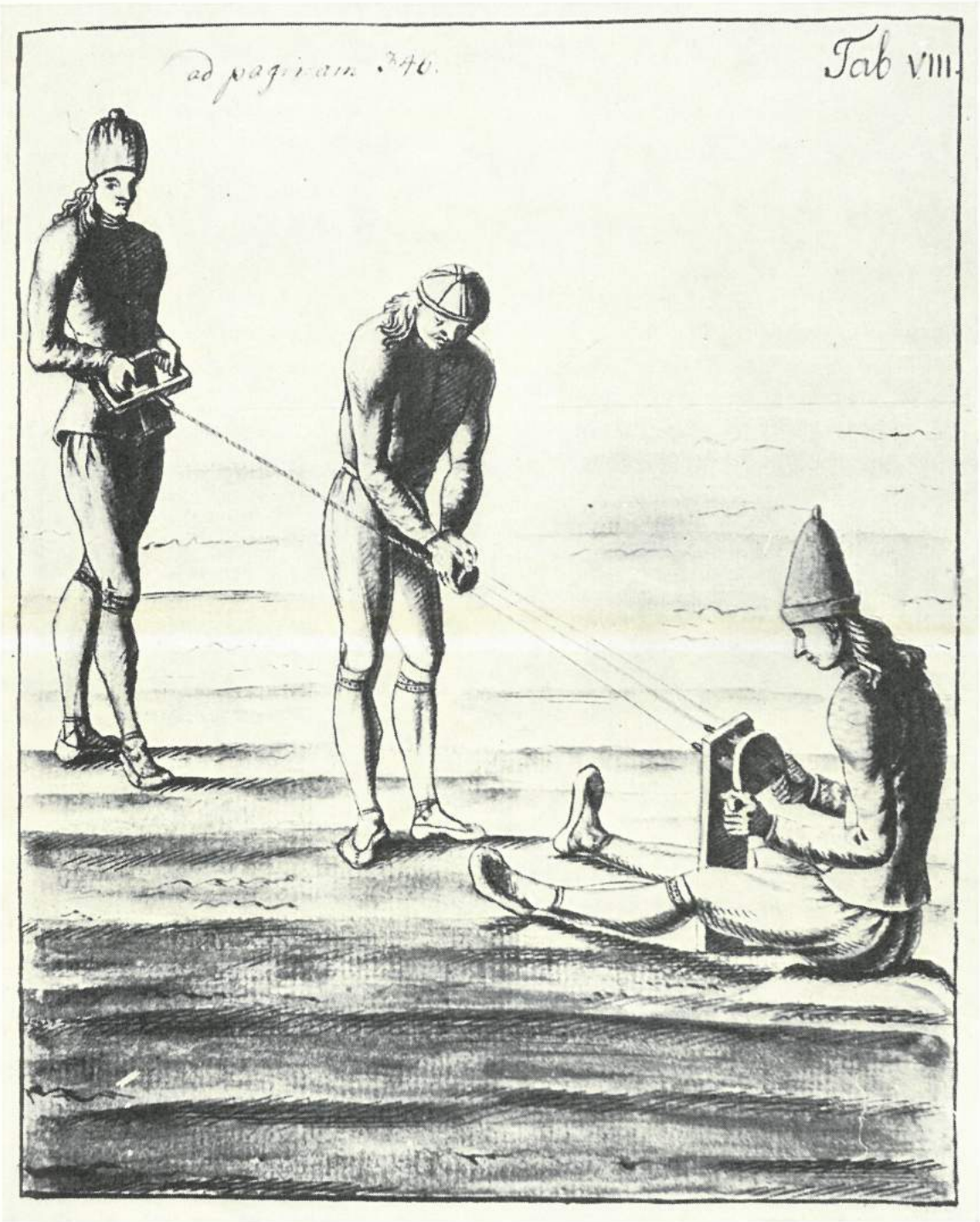


Fig. 202. Faroe Islanders twining, wearing hide shoes. After Svabo. Photo Rigsarkivet.

used it resulted in a greenish colour. Hide shoes had to be kept in salt, but Sverri Dahl adds that in Miðvagi about 1880–90 it was customary to put them in "spiklaka", i.e. brine in which blubber had been kept, and this was particularly effective.

On hot summer days hide shoes soon became stiff and uncomfortable, the edges in particular often rubbing the skin. If the shoes were to be used the following day they were put to soak in the stream.

Hide shoes were worn only by men and youths.[1]

Rakaróðskógvar are more especially shoes made of the skins of rams or male lambs. The wool is scraped off, and the skin tanned as for hide shoes.

Rótuskógvar are sheepskin shoes from which the wool has been removed by a kind of fermentation- or decomposition-process; they are sometimes stitched together on the outer side like hide shoes, sometimes on the inner side with whip stitching.

Kálvskinnsskógvar are made of scraped skins and sewn like hide shoes. Calfskin and dogskin are regarded as the only skins from which really waterproof shoes can be made.

Kópaskógvar are shoes of sealskin on which the hair has been left; sewn like hide shoes.

Vælindisskógvar are made of the gullet of the pilot whale; sewn like hide shoes.

Kikaskógvar are made of the stomach of the whale; sewn like hide shoes.

Skötuskógvar are made of the skin of the skate (raja batis), which has spines. Good for walking, when the spines face forwards; sewn like hide shoes.

1. Sverri Dahl, *op. cit.* Pl. IV, Nos. 1–3: hide shoes and diagram of these. – Pl. IV: Rótuskógvar vid tveingjum.

Chapter XVI

Norway

The classical investigation of primitive shoes in Norway was carried out by Marcus Schnabel,[1] who in 1784 wrote:

"*Fittiar*, the hock of the hind leg. This word undoubtedly recurs in our *fætar*, i.e. the lowest part of the hide of the hind legs of an ox or a reindeer. It applies to the area from the point where the stifle narrows downwards. Of these a kind of hide shoe is made which is accounted both economical and very good, known as fæta-shoes.

Instead of skinning the leg in the usual way by cutting the hide on the inner side of the stifle, it is cut along the front edge, down past the accessory digits (Linnæi tali succenturiati? Hardanger dialect: *natklöuér*).

The shoes are so made that the tip or toe is of one piece, in that the baggy hide of the animal's heel (hökl, Hardang.) forms the toe, is sewn up on both sides to the instep, and lastly at the back, as is usual, so that the natklöuér are placed one at either side of the heel.

Fæta-shoes of reindeer-hide are made with the hair on for winter use, and are highly esteemed for their warmth in black frost and snow."

In 1917 the subject was taken up by Hjalmar Falk,[2] who in his monograph Sagatidens Skor concentrates mainly on the terminology and linguistic aspects. Concerning the materials used for shoes, he states that the skins of cattle, calves, reindeer, goats, lambs, horses and pigs would seem to have been used then as later.[3] Summer shoes were hairless, while winter shoes were generally made with the hair on the outside. The old name for the latter was *húðskór*, and this was the term still commonly used for them in Norway at the time of writing (1917). Only in the case of calfskin shoes was a different term used in Old Norse, namely *loðnir kálfskinnsskúar*.

Calfskin from the head, *hedna*, was often used for children's shoes, and for small children likewise the skin from the legs. "The Old Norse term is fitskór, from fit, 'the foot of a hide', known in Norway as *fetasko* (*fitasko*), *fete*, *fetling* and *fetjung*, on the Faroe Islands as *fitingskógvur*"[4] (cf. M. Schnabel, above).

1. Marcus Schnabel: Prøve paa hvorvidt det gamle Norske Sprog endnu er til udi det Hardangerske Bonde-Maal. Nye Samling af Norske Videnskabers Selskabs Skrifter, Vol. I, København 1784, p. 317. For further information on Schnabel, see Marcus Djupedal, Aarbøger 1952, p. 5ff.
2. Hjalmar Falk: Litt om sagatidens skor, Maal og Minne, 1917, p. 51ff. – By the same author: Altwestnordische Kleiderkunde, 1919, p. 132ff.
3. H. Falk: Litt om sagatidens skor, p. 53. Sealskin shoes were much used by seamen and Lapps (Kleiderkunde, p. 136).
4. H. Falk, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

Hjalmar Falk considers certain terms used of footwear to be an origin of personal nicknames: "One such is *fitjung*, 'fetasko', which from its form must already have existed in the Old Norse period. As applied to the wearer of such shoes *fitjungr* must originally have been a kind of nickname. Here I will merely mention a masculine nickname recorded in 1346, namely *bellingr*, originally *beinlingr* and identical with Landsmaal *belling*, literally the hide of an animal's leg, and from this footwear made of it. In Hávamál *Fitjungs synir* are in my opinion the farmers, and

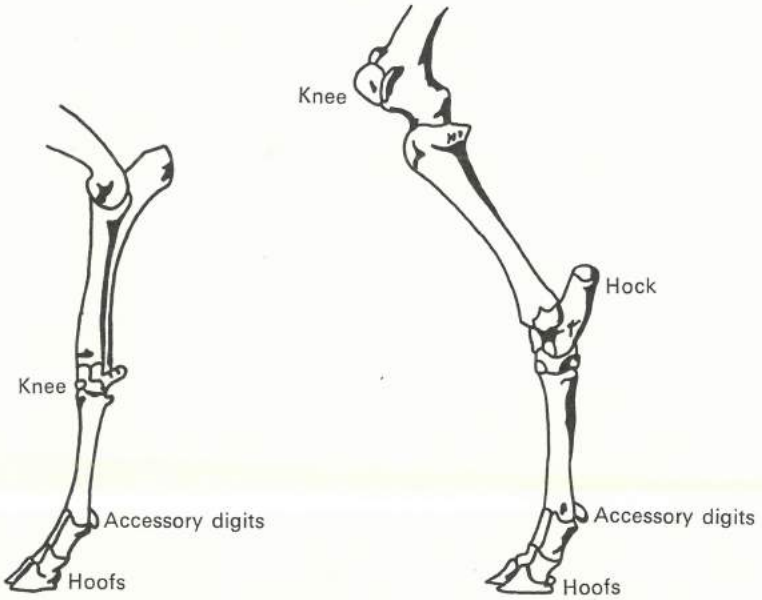


Fig. 203. Joints in the legs of hoofed animals.

Fitjungr is a kind of eponym of the peasantry, which is thus named from the footwear it commonly wears, which was worn neither by seafarers nor by men of rank."[1]

The same applies to the masculine name *Hemingr – hemingr* or *homungr*, synonymous with *fit*, being derived from *hom*, OE *hamm* "the back of the knee, hollow of the knee". The corresponding OE *hemming* is described as *ruh scoh* (shoe with the hair on).[2] Norwegian dialect of the Helgeland and Namdal region possesses yet another term for *fetasko*, namely *heklung*, which Falk considers to be very ancient, related to *hökjel* (ON *hókill*)," an animal's stifle".[3]

An ancient general term for a hide shoe is *hriflingr*.[4] This is undoubtedly the source of the fabricated masculine name *Hriflingr*. Since the hriflingr was a peasant shoe, the bearer of the name was likewise stamped as a common peasant. Hrifeling is analogous to *riveling*, used in our own day in Scotland and the Orkneys, where it signifies "a rough shoe made of undressed hides with the hair on them".[5] Cf. Mackay, above, p. 166.

1. H. Falk, *op. cit.*, p. 55.
2. H. Falk, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
3. H. Falk, *op. cit.*, p. 58–59. – Since it is not always clear what part of the animal's leg is meant, an illustration is given, Fig. 203.
4. H. Falk, *op. cit.*, p. 59.
5. H. Falk, *op. cit.*, p. 59–60.

Falk continues: "This survey is far from exhaustive. The period of the sagas had many other kinds of shoes, of which some are known from reference, while the existence of others can be concluded with more or less certainty. What strikes one most is that the *bjoresko* of later date cannot be proved to have existed in early times. These are now made of a hairless, bark-tanned piece of hide, in which is inserted a "bjor(e)", i.e. a gore, to form the upper. It is regarded as a highly skilled art to insert the gore into the raw edge of the upturned hide of the base in such a way that there are no folds. The technical term for this in Hardanger dialect is "stæla", which is the term used in Old Norse for inserting the edge of the steel into the groove cut in the iron

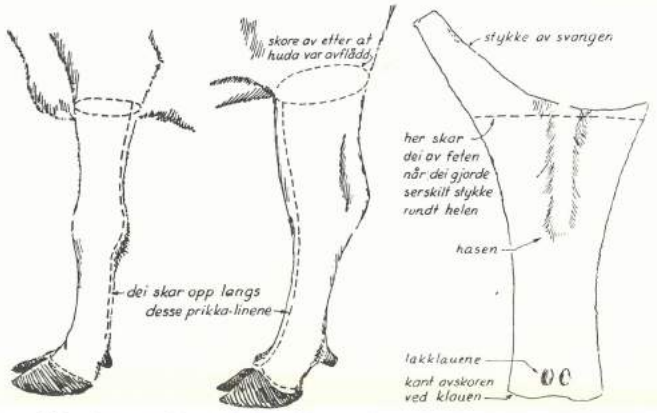


Fig. 204. Cutting leg-hide for "fetasko". Drawing by Ivar Refsdal.

in order to weld them together. It is highly probable that we here have a peculiar national shoe of considerable antiquity".[1] Falk's guess has been confirmed as far as the great age of the bjore shoe is concerned, but the theory that is was probably a peculiarly Norwegian phenomenon will not hold water. We know this because of certain curious ceramic objects, the so-called foot vessels, of which we have already encountered one, found at Stassfurt in East Germany, see p. 17. G. Girke's reconstruction in the drawing Fig. 7 shows quite clearly that the strange shape was inspired by an actual shoe. We recognize without difficulty the triangular piece (the bjore) placed over the instep, and the lines radiating from it that indicate the pleats or puckers necessary when a flat, rectangular piece of hide was to be shaped to the human foot. The vessel has been dated as belonging to the late Bronze Age or early Iron Age.[2]

We shall return to this below, but for the present let us continue with accounts given by other writers.

In 1918 Jacob Bugge added a short article to Hjalmar Falk's monograph. In this he said that at Urnes in Indre Sogn fetahudsko were made of the "fetadn" of cows or oxen. While raw these

1. H. Falk, *op. cit.*, p. 61–62. – Dictionary entries; e.g. Ivar Aasen: Norsk Ordbog 1873: Bjore = et kileformigt eller trekantet Stykke, især om Overlæder i Sko (Skobjore). – Hans Ross: Norsk Ordbok, 1895: Bjoresko = Sko i eet Stykke, kun med indsyet "Bjore". – Leiv Heggstad: Gamalnorsk Ordbog med nynorsk Tydning, 1930: Bjorr 1) bjore, trikanta stykke (t.d. i sko); 2) gavl på hus, serlig den øvre trikanta Gavlveggen, hjorlad, røyste; 3) bjoretjald; 4) trikanta jordsnipp.
2. Jahresschrift für die Vorgeschichte der sächsisch-thüringischen Länder, 1907, p. 112. – G. Girke: Die Tracht der Germanen, Manus Bibliothek No. 23, 1922, pl. 28–29.

were stretched on a piece of wood or a plank, the hind legs with half on either side of the plank, so that the hind knee (*sic*; probably the hock) was on the rounded corner, and would form the *heel*; the forelegs were stretched out flat. When they had been well dried and had acquired the right shape they were detached, soaked, and made into hide shoes.[1] We note here that the accessory digits of the animal lie on the front of the shoe, and the bag of the hide at the heel, i.e. the converse of what Marcus Schnabel saw in 1784.

This is however still far from being the final phase of the tradition, for in 1955 the Norwegian ethnologist Ivar Refsdal[2] was able to present copious notes on terms and relics in the Voss villages where on a cold winter's day one might still stumble upon an old man or woman wearing "lo'nesko", i.e. hairy shoes.

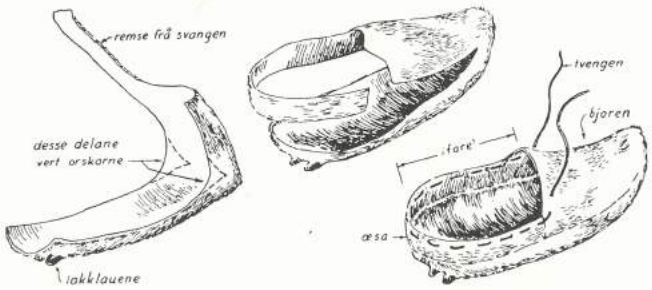


Fig. 205. A "bakfete" (hide from the hind leg) made into fetasko. After Ivar Refsdal.

Ivar Refsdal's account agrees in many respects with what has already been described, but his knowledge of tradition is so amazingly rich that it is worthy of close attention. He likewise states that many variations of these primitive shoes existed, all made of undressed hide, and with the hair facing outwards.[3]

Shoe material from the head and legs of the animal was generally salted while fresh, and if the opportunity offered was hung in the smokehouse when meat was being smoked. Sometimes the hide was left hanging there as long as a year or two, but often necessity did not allow this, and it was then removed when it was dry enough. The smoking helped to prevent the hair shedding. If tanning was going on, sheep- or calfskin that was to be used for lodnesko was often put in the tannin. Tannin could be made of e.g. orre-bork, i.e. the fruit of the alder, and many people kept a quantity of tannin on hand all winter to soften any shoes that might have dried too hard.[4]

Tannin, tjøre-log or meisk, as it was called, was also widely used to make the shoes waterproof (see below, p. 181). It was then always poured into the completed shoes and left for some days, until the tannin had soaked well into the hide . . . It was common practice to salt the shoes before

1. Jacob Bugge: Fetasko, skjøsko og snaukopp. Maal og Minne, 1918, p. 71. – This may be compared with the following account by James Teit of the method used by the North American Indian tribe of the Shuswaps in making shoes: ". . . I may here mention the lasts or boards used for shaping and stretching moccasins. The moccasins were dampened with water, and smooth stones, like large flakes of jasper with rounded surface, were used for pressing the skin into proper shape along the edges of the boards". James Teit: The Jesup North Pacific Expedition. Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. IV, Part VII, 1909, p. 508. Fig. 229.
2. I. Refsdal, Fotabunad til vetrabruk i Vossbygdene og derikring, B. B. 1956, p. 129ff.
3. I. Refsdal, *op. cit.*, p. 131f.
4. I. Refsdal, *op. cit.*, p. 132f.

they were put into the "meisk", which was then more effective. If the hair came off the shoes were no good any longer.

The hide was stripped from the leg in the way described by Marcus Schnabel,[1] namely in such a way that the natural bagginess of the skin round the heel could be preserved and used for the toe of the shoe. The shaping is excellently illustrated in Ivar Refsdal's drawings, Fig. 204 and 205.

Before the shoe could be sewn the hide was pulled onto a last with the flesh side out, in such a way that the toe of the last was pressed into the "bag". The hide under the last was stretched

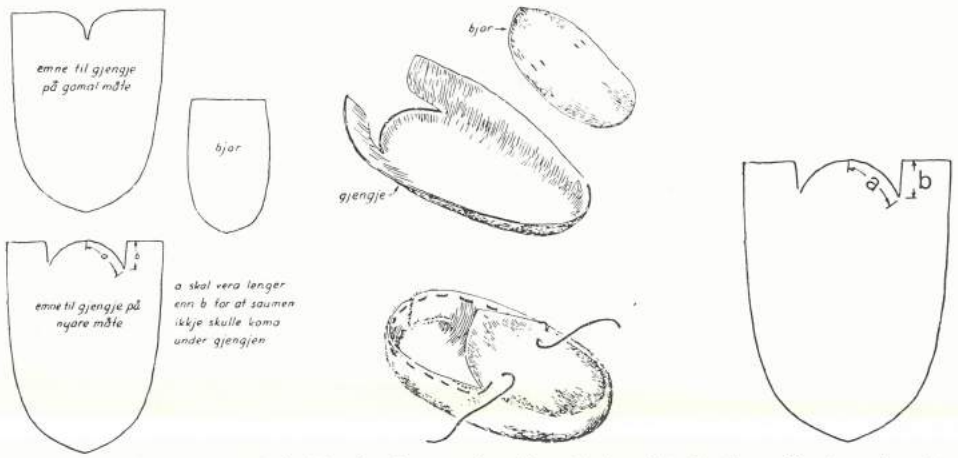


Fig. 206. Patterns for cutting out a whole hide. At the top, the old method, said to be the quickest, and used particularly for sheepskin and calfskin shoes. The pattern at the bottom is particularly suited to shoes of thicker material. On the right of the illustration is shown how a shoe is made of thick hide. After Ivar Refsdal.

towards the back, and fastened at the heel. The upper part of the hide was stretched towards the back, over the top of the last, as far as it could reach, and fastened. Sometimes there was enough of the hide above the heel to make a thong or edge round the back of the foot. The hide from the shank thus formed the base of the shoe; the hairtips faced backwards, and thus gave a grip going uphill.[2]

Sewing was started at the toe, and the seams so placed that the last shaped the material. Only after this had been done was the superfluous hide cut off, and the last drawn out of the completed shoe, which was turned inside out so that the hair was on the outside.

Sewing lodnesko was an evening task, and each man sewed the shoes needed for himself and his household. The workmanship would therefore often depend upon the degree of skill of the individual. Not everyone was good at making shoes, and it was generally said that one could see by the children's shoes whether or not their father was a skilful man[3]. The thread was mostly *tvibysting*,[4] tarred thread with a pig-bristle at either end. Both tips were passed through the same

1. I. Refsdal, *op. cit.*, p. 133f. – (Schnabel, p. 317).
2. I. Refsdal, *op. cit.*, p. 133–134.
3. I. Refsdal, *op. cit.*, p. 141.
4. I. Refsdal, *op. cit.*, p. 134ff.

hole in opposite directions, and pulled tight. Thongs and plain thread were also used for overcasting (lo'neskosaum) Fig. 207, but thongs, which resulted in a looser seam, are believed to be the earliest sewing-material used. They were cut from the length of a calfskin, and prepared so that the strip became tough and a little rough along the edges. For use in repairs *teger* are mentioned, that is, birch roots scraped clean, split into suitable thickness, and kept in brine till needed.[1]

Hedna-sko, which were made from the hide of the heads of full-grown cattle or calves, were very thick and hard-wearing, especially if the hide was "stutshednu", i.e. from the head of an ox or a bull. Shoes of this kind did not become slippery underneath, because on the forehead of cattle the hair radiates outwards from a central whorl.[2]

In hedna-sko and kallskinns-sko the material was shaped *before* sewing. The shape was cut according to wooden patterns, one for the base, *gjengen*, and one for the instep piece, *bjoren*,

Fig. 207. "Lo'neskosaum". After Ivar Refsdal.

Fig. 208. Hide shoe with leg added. Drawing by Knut Hermundstad.

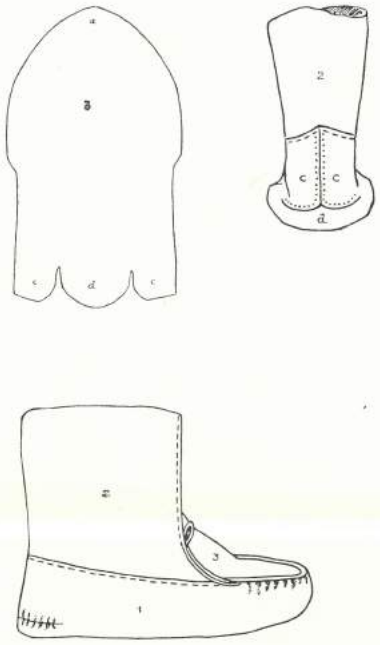
Fig. 206. The shoes were identical. The measuring of the distance from the heel-seam of the base to the point where the instep piece was to be added was carried out by rule of thumb, namely by using the length af the thumb plus the forefinger, which is 15–20 cm. The edge of the front part of the base was however longer than the contour of that part of the bjore that it was to be joined to, and the difficulty of joining the two unequal edges was solved during sewing, the stitches being made of unequal length. The stitches on the edge of the bjore were of the length of a barleycorn, and those along the edge of the gjenge the length of an oat grain. Thus the sum cancels out.[3]

It is to be noted in this connection that in his diagram (here p. 179) Refsdal shows that the edge of the flap where it is rounded under the heel is longer than the lines of the two side pieces to which it is to be joined.[4] The gathering seam must therefore here be stitched in the same way. This raises the heel-seam a little so that it chafes the foot less. We shall return to this point below.

1. I. Refsdal, *op. cit.*, p. 139.
2. I. Refsdal, *op. cit.*, p. 134.
3. I. Refsdal, *op. cit.*, p. 135f.
4. I. Refsdal, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

A still simpler shoe was the *bodlas-sko*, which was made from the scrotum of the male animal. This needed only to be stretched on a last of suitable size and dried. It was used mainly for children's shoes.[1]

The hide shoe tradition is however still living in Norway. At all events, in 1964 Knut Hermundstad was able to collect reports from Nordre Valdres which in important respects agree with



Figs. 209, 210, 211. Drawings of "komage", a summer shoe used among the Røros Lapps. After Knut Bergsland. Cf. Fig. 222.

the material recounted above. What is new to us, however, is the account of the trouble taken on the farms to obtain a store of *bust* with which to tip the thread. The bust (bristles) had to come from full-grown pigs, and must be pulled off the slaughtered animal before it was scalded. Once the bristles had been subjected to boiling water they turned soft and were useless for this purpose. Incidentally, Knut Hermundstad thinks that fetskor were formerly stitched together with sinews.

In connection with the preparation of the material described above it is also interesting to find the following recipe for dubbin for hides: 1/4 tar and 3/4 leaf fat mixed together in a tar bucket, in which was placed a red-hot stone. The consequent boiling of the mixture produced a good dubbin. Tallow was not suitable for use, since it would make the hide stiff.

About 1890 the leg-hide of reindeer began to be used for "Finnesko" (Finnish shoes), and about the year 1900 these had practically ousted shoes made of the leg-hide of cattle in the areas mentioned.[2]

1. I. Refsdal, *op. cit.*, p. 138.
2. Knut Hermundstad: Ymse Handverk. Valdres Bygdebok 5, Gjøvik 1964, p. 395 ff. – My thanks are due to Dr. Marta Hoffmann for this reference.

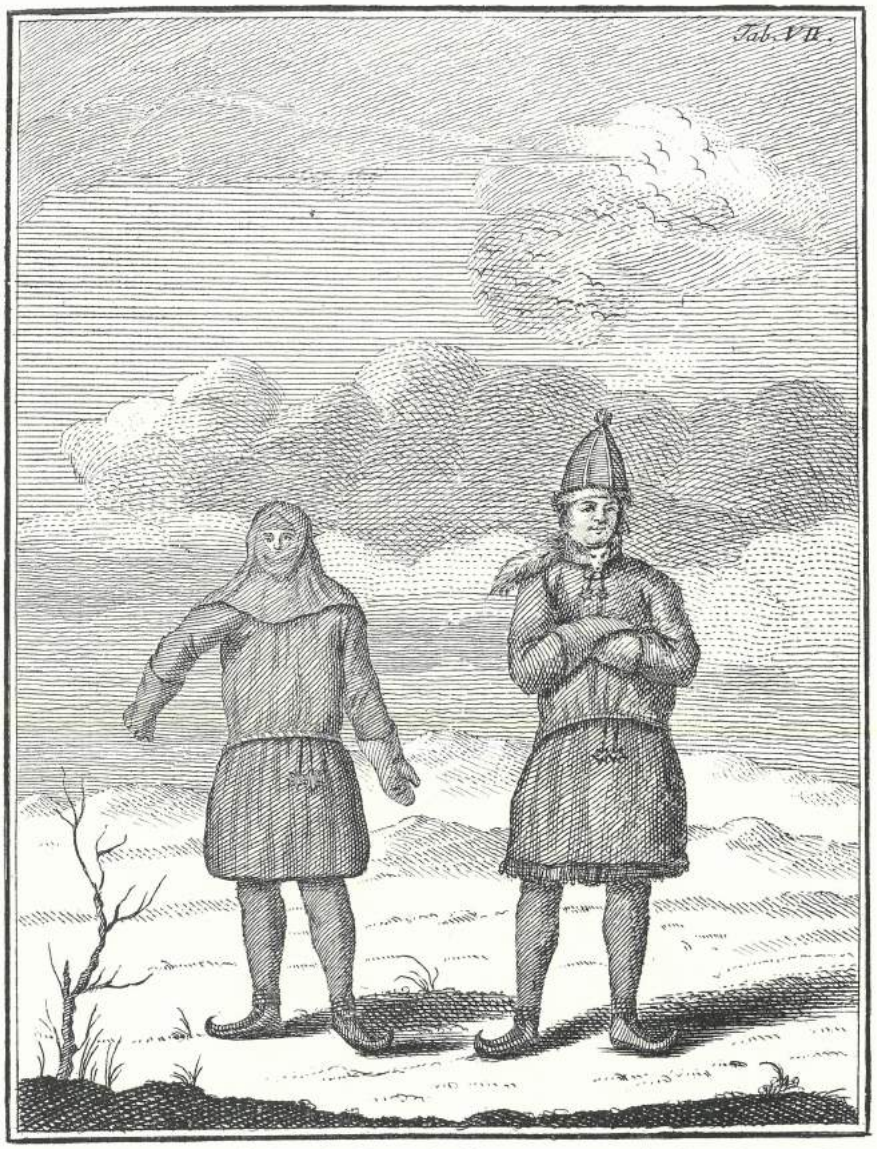


Fig. 212. A Lapp couple from the Finmark. After an engraving by Knud Leem, 1767.

Lapps

Knut Bergsland has investigated the use of footwear made of reindeer-hide among the Røros Lapps of Sör Tröndelag. Here also it is the use of the hide from the legs and the head that is mentioned.[1]

The form of shoe that interests us most here is a summer shoe, the so-called komage. See Figs. 209–211, which show a shoe with a wide but rounded central piece at the heel, and two fairly narrow side flaps. When the flaps are joined at the back in a vertical seam over those areas which

1. Knut Bergsland: Røros-Samiske Tekster, Oslo 1944, p. 241 ff., Fig. 7–9. My thanks are due to Dr Marta Hoffman for this reference.

are cut in straight lines the remaining rounded bits of edge will prove to be a little shorter than the rounding of the central piece's edge. An adjustment like that of the joining of edges of unequal length described above must therefore also occur here during sewing, and, regarding this, the Lapp woman says that while she sews she holds the heelpiece so that it is "roomy". It seems possible that, perhaps without knowing anything about the various kinds of grain, she in principle followed the rule recounted by Ivar Refsdal above, p. 180, for the use of barley and oat grains as units of measurement. However that may be, the heel is made roomy, and again we see that the horizontal heel-seam is raised a little above the tread, where it causes least inconvenience. Because of its shape, this seam has been given the name "bird's wing".[1]

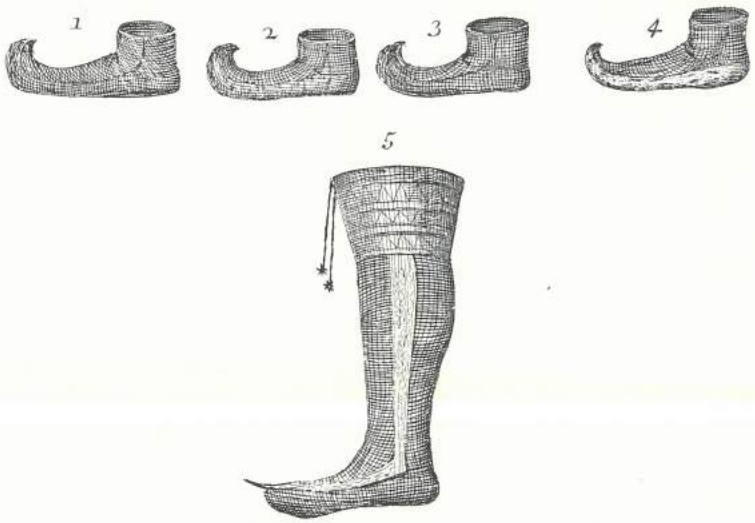


Fig. 213. Shoes from the Finmark. After an engraving by Knud Leem, 1767.

Let us glance back at the shoe from Damdorf Mose in South Schleswig, p. 61, and compare the heel areas of the two shoes: it looks as if the same idea had been put into practice in the Damdorf shoe.

Knut Bergsland gives a detailed account of the preparation of sinews and sinew-thread, which were used for many different purposes. We will limit ourselves here to mentioning the trick that consisted in first spinning the thread fine enough to pass through the eye of a needle, and then gradually making it thicker and thicker.[2]

And now for the northernmost region of Norway.

In 1767 Knud Leem, a professor of Lapp languages, published a description of the Finmark Lapps in a voluminous work dedicated to Christian the Seventh, Hereditary King of Denmark and Norway.[3] In the introductory Address to the monarch the author observes among other things that the life of the Lapp nation is humble; ". . . hitherto no one has compiled and made public an exact historical description of the crafts of the Lapp inhabitants of the region in question,

1. Knut Bergsland, *op. cit.*, p. 243.
2. Knut Bergsland, *op. cit.*, p. 181, 187, 233.
3. Knud Leems Beskrivelse over Finmarkens Lapper, deres Tungemaal, Levemaade og forrige Afgudsdyrkelse. Kiøbenhavn 1767.

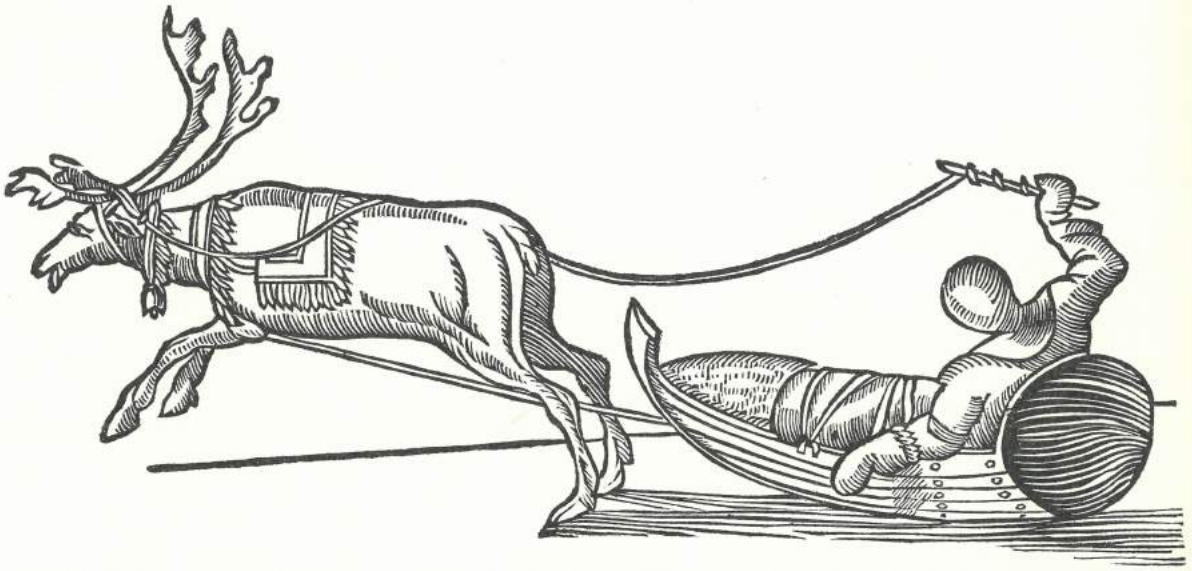


Fig. 214. The reindeer as draught animal. Note the sharply upward curving front of the sleigh, like the upturned toes of the shoes. Both designed for travel in heavy terrain, to offer least resistance. Drawing by J. Schefferus, 1673.

although the region is a part of the kingdom of Norway, and its aforementioned inhabitants therefore true children of the kingdom."

The comprehensive subject-matter of the book includes dress and footwear, and we cannot here resist the temptation to quote a passage, and reproduce a few of the engravings with which the work is embellished.[1] We quote:

"Y) Some of the shoes worn by the males are so fashioned that the sole is made of the forehead-hide of reindeer, and the upper and heel-pieces of the hide of reindeer feet. Such shoes, so-called *Gallokak*, are on the outside hairy both below and above, and are worn in the main by the hill Lapps. Since these shoes, being hairy, are slippery in the wearing, the shoes that are to be worn by young children are singed underneath at the tips of the hair, that the children may not so easily fall on slippery ice. (Pl. IV, No. 1).

Z) Some shoes are so fashioned that the sole is made of sealskin with the fur outwards, but the upper and heel-pieces of tanned hide or thin leather. (Pl. IV, No. 2).

a) Some are so fashioned that the sole is made of thick tanned leather, but the upper and heel-pieces of tanned hide or thin leather, which shoes were called *Zhiazekak*. (Pl. IV, No. 3).

b) Others on the other hand are given soles of untanned cowhide, with the hair outwards, but the uppers and heel-pieces of tanned hide or thin leather; the three last-mentioned sorts of shoe are worn in the main by the sea Lapps. (Pl. IV, No. 4)."

He also remarks:

"The females likewise wear the same kind of shoes as the men . . . Those women among the Lapps that are fond of fine clothes wear white fur shoes, made of hide from the feet of white reindeer".[2]

1. Knud Leem, *op. cit.*, p. 80f., Pl. IV and VII.
2. Knud Leem, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

Singeing the hair underneath children's shoes is a practical precaution we have not heard of before. The use of hardwearing seal-hide for the base of men's shoes is also practical, and in passing it may be noted that ship's ropes made of seal-hide were among the articles brought to the viking age markets in Hedeby from these very parts by the widely travelled Ottar (Ohthere) mentioned earlier.[1]

It may be objected that the strange footwear, Fig. 213, labelled No. 5 on Knud Leem's plate seems too advanced and irrelevant in this connection, but for this very reason it is interesting to see what Leem has to say about it. The accompanying commentary runs: "Lapp women also make boots for the gentry, and if desired this is so done that the sole, the heel-piece, the back, extending from the heel upwards towards the calf, and the front, extending from the toe upwards towards the knee, are made of the hide of reindeer feet, with the hair outwards. But down the sides, and around the calves and knees they are made of cloth embroidered with tin thread in various patterns. Above the knees they are gathered and tied with a narrow draw-band, at either end of which is a tassel of short, narrow strips of cloth. Boots of this kind, otherwise called *sæpolak*, have a point projecting from the toe."[2]

This at least directly indicates that the Lapps must have been in connection with a social class that wanted fashionable footwear adapted for use in a cold climate. The peculiar point or stay projecting from the toe of the boot is reminiscent of the peaked shoes of the Middle Ages, which certainly needed a support in order to keep their shape.[3] Could this be a relic of that bizarre fashion, preserved so long that it could be traced by Knud Leem in a remote area in the 18th century?

1. Cf. H. Jankuhn: Haithabu, p. 171 and the map, Fig. 46. – Knud Leem says (*op. cit.* p. 212): "The Finmark sea contains a great supply of seal, of which some are large and black, spotted with white . . .", after which he lists different breeds, their markings and colour. He also describes the more or less barbarous methods of catching and killing them (p. 217), and finally the stretching and drying of the hide. Note also W. Holmqvist's remark (Helgø p. 42) that sealskin and seal-oil must have been an important trade commodity for Helgø, which flourished before the viking period.
2. Knud Leem, *op. cit.*, p. 81 f., and Pl. IV[5].
3. Compare with this a portrait of Christopher of Bavaria on a parchment frieze of about 1440, reproduced by Erik Kjersgaard in Politikens Danmarks Historie, Vol. 4, 1963, p. 544.

Chapter XVII

Sweden

If we pursue our subject into Sweden, and further east, we shall find parallels to the feature discussed above, namely, the utilization of the natural shape of the animal's hide to achieve a good fit with as little cutting as possible, and few seams.

Thus Nordiska Museet possesses a pair of shoes from the parish of Luna in Dalarna[1] made of the hide of a horse's legs, in such a way that the bagginess of the hock is used to cover the

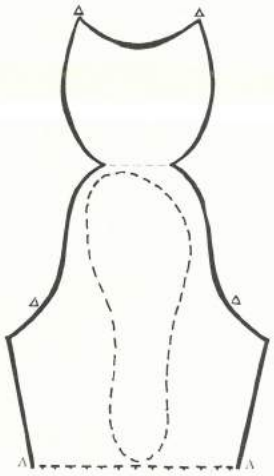


Fig. 215. Diagram of a shoe made of the leg-hide of a horse, Luna sogn, Dalarna. Nord. Mus. Sth., No. 158.315.

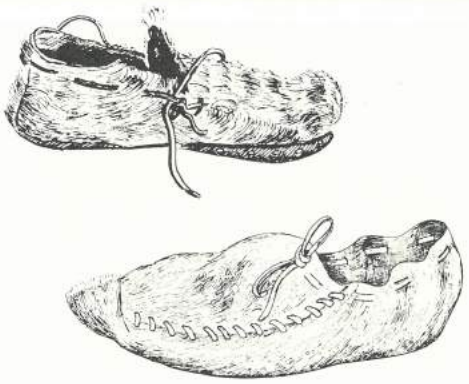


Fig. 216, 217. "Brindskinnsluddor" (elkhide) and "beningsskor", Dalarna. After Lars Levander.

heel of the human wearer. The lie of the hair is thus towards the toe of the shoe. The shoe has no heel seam, and cannot be spread out flat; in the diagram in Fig. 215 the letters A–A therefore mark the same point, and the dotted line between them marks a continuous whole.

It is evidently a shoe of the same kind, or perhaps even the same shoe, that is described by Lars Levander[2] in his book, published in 1944, on the peasant culture of Övre Dalarna; he says that in Lima in Vest Dalarna a hide shoe is known consisting of a single piece of horsehide, with

1. Nordiska Museet, Stockholm, Nos. 158, 315 a–b.
2. Lars Levander: Övre Dalarnas Bondkultur under 1800-Tallets förra Hälft, Stockholm 1944, p. 258 ff.

the hair on the outside. The same author further observes that reports of footwear of untanned hide with the hair on have come only from some of the upper villages, where they are known as hudskor, lappskor, skinnluddor, tafsar and ludenskor. In Älvdalen there is mention of ludenskor, and luddor av elgskinn (*brindskinnsluddor*), made of a single piece of elkhide. In Brunsberg so-called "*beningsskor*" of leg-hides of elk were made on quite a large scale. They had no lining; the hair faced inwards during sewing, but the shoe was turned inside out when completed. In Kumbelnäs shoes of bearskin (*bjørnskinnsluddor*) are still remembered.[1]

Lars Levander illustrates his material with photographs and drawings, but gives no actual pattern; however, it is clear from the illustrations (see Figs. 216–217 here) that in a Lima hide shoe the closing seam runs upward from the toe, slanting sharply outwards towards the outer side of the foot, a feature very reminiscent of the construction of some of the shoes found in the Jutland bogs. Compare Figs. 35 and 33, from Vivsø and Borremose.

1. Lars Levander, *op. cit.*, p. 259 and Fig. 317.

Chapter XVIII

Finland

The National Museum in Helsinki also owns a collection of rawhide shoes, which includes the pair shown here, Fig. 218, from the south-western region, Loimaa, near Åbo.[1]

The material is calf- or cowhide with the hair on, and as in the specimen just described, from Lima in Dalarna, the skin of the hock has been used for the back of the shoe enclosing the wearer's heel, while the lower part of the skin forms the front of the shoe. On the very lowest part, which has been folded over to form a section of the vamp, the accessory digits can be seen still in place. By preserving them the skin could be utilized right down to the hoofs. If they had been cut off they would have left holes. An added instep piece and a tongue complete the shoe, with a piece of thin rope acting as a lace.

The brown-and-white hide of the hind legs of a cow or calf has been used in the opposite way for the base of a low boot from south-east Botten, Valsa, Lupua parish.[2] Here the accessory digits are to be seen *under* the heel of the boot, while the "bag" of the hide enclosed the front of the foot, Fig. 220. The lie of the hair, indicated by arrows on the diagram, thus followed the direction of the wearer's forward movement; the natural continuity of the hide is shown in the drawing by a dotted line round the toe. The letters A–A, B–B, C–C indicate identical points. The upper edge is slightly puckered all the way round, and to this has been joined an upper of thin, bark-tanned hide.

The footwear described above was made public in 1915 by U. T. Sirelius, in "Den finske Folkedragts Historie",[3] where no less than two full-page plates show different forms of primitive shoes, including several consisting wholly or partly of hide with the hair outwards. Some have a fairly high upper to protect the ankle, a practical improvement in footwear to be used on snow-covered ground.

If some of the specimens shown in U. T. Sirelius' drawings on Pl. XXI, e.g. Nos. 3 and 8, are compared with the shoe from the Røros Lapps reproduced above after Knut Bergsland (Figs. 209–211) the resemblance will be noted. The latter is admittedly better made, as far as can be

1. NM F, Helsinki, No. 6015 a–b.
2. NM F, Helsinki, No. 8285.
3. U. T. Sirelius: Suomen Kansanpukujen historia, Helsinki 1915, Pl. XXI, Nos. 2 and 3, and by the same author: Suomen Kansanomaista Kultuuria, Helsinki 1919, Pl. XXI, and the Swedish stencil edition by K. K. Meinander, Part II, p. 160 ff.

Fig. 218. Hide shoe with accessory digit on top of the toe, Loimaa, Satkunta. N. M. Helsinki. No. 6015 a–b.

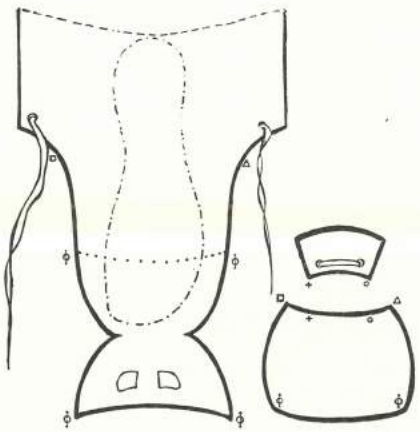


Fig. 219. Diagram of shoe No. 6015, Satkunta, Fig. 218.

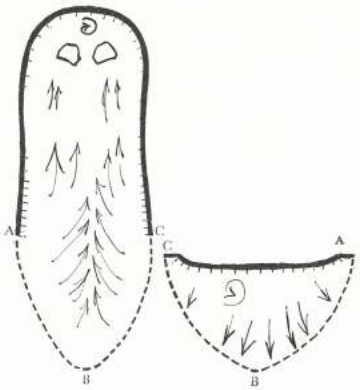


Fig. 220. Diagram of the base of a low boot from Valsa, South-East Bothnia. The material is brown and white hide from the hind leg of a cow or calf. The accessory digits are under the heel of the shoe, while the bag in the hide round the heel of the animal forms the vamp of the shoe. N. M. Helsinki. No. 8285.

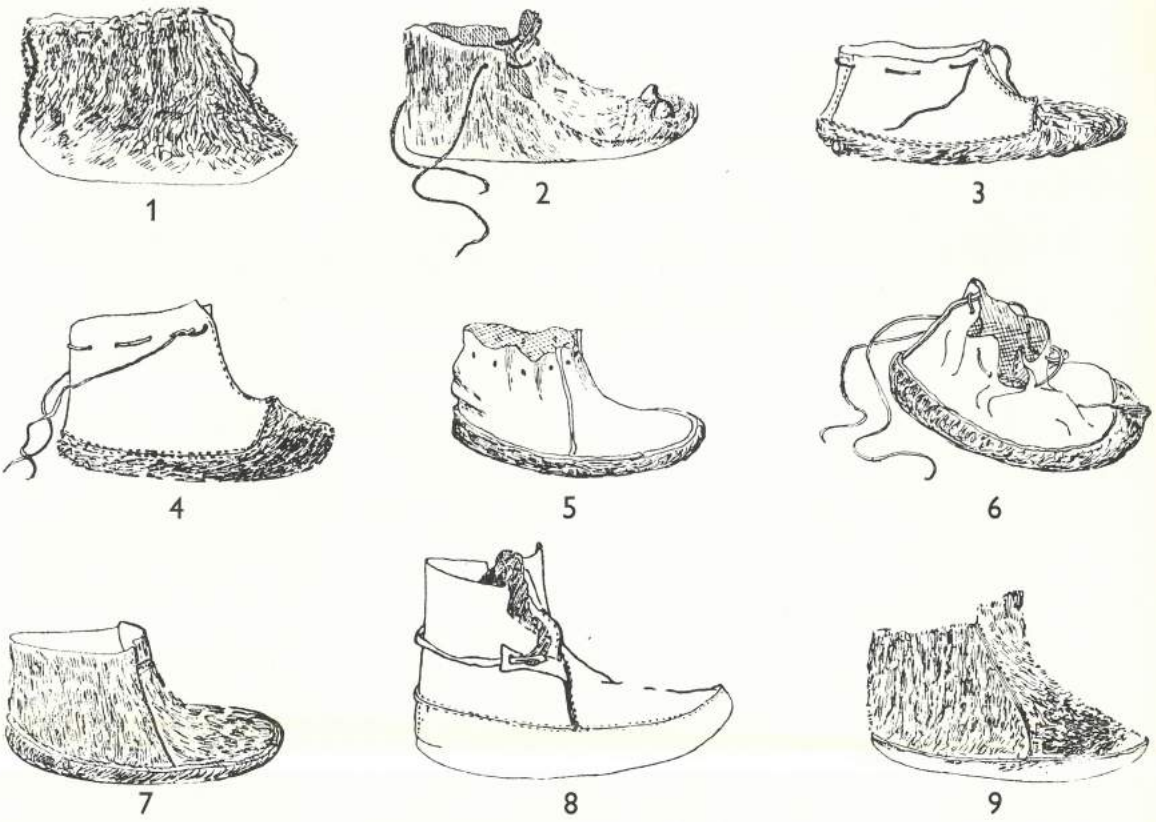


Fig. 221. Series of Finnish hide shoes, several with an added upper (leg). After drawings by U. T. Sirelius, op. cit. Pl. XXI.

judged from the illustrations, but the basic feature is the same, namely the combination of the familiar hide shoe base with the addition of a leg. If we look for further parallels we find the same construction, rather interestingly, in a pair of Greek boots made of terra-cotta, and said to have been found in a tomb of about 900 B.C.[1] To those who are familiar with Greece it will be no surprise to hear that until a few years ago crude rawhide shoes could be seen in the tourist shops, at least on Rhodes.

Of the low shoes shown by Sirelius several may be described as low-cut, and we recognize various patterns already encountered, and features such as puckering of the upper edge, the T-shaped heel-pattern, the seam along the vamp, and the inserted instep gore (bjore). This series of shoes, here Fig. 223, seems to be made of dehaired hides.

Åland

In the museum at Marienhamn is a figure representing a seal-hunter, equipped with all the requisites of his task. According to the information kindly supplied by the landscape archaeologist

1. The boots are described as being part of a generous provision made by her family for a woman for her long journey to the other world. They are described as heavy travelling boots modelled in clay. The grave, found at the northwest foot of the Areopagus, is ascribed to about 900 B.C. – The Athenian Agora, A Guide to the Excavation and Museum. 1962, p. 152, Pl. XII a. – I am indebted to Dr S. Giversen for finding the reference.

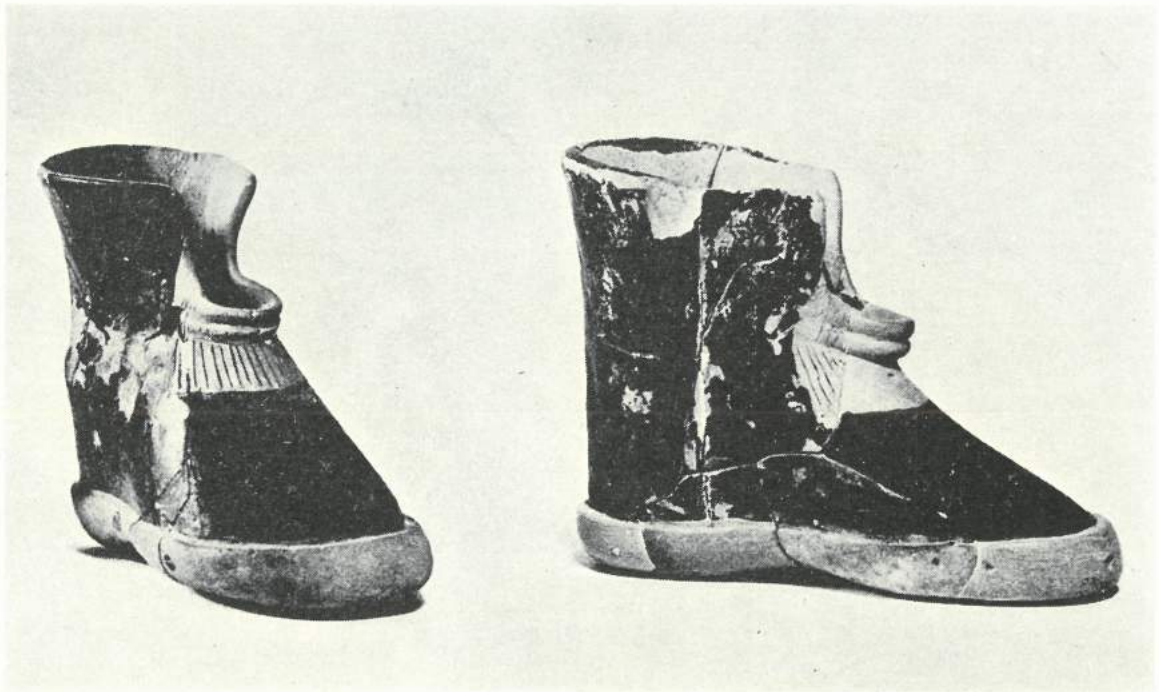


Fig. 222. Greek terracotta boot, from a woman's grave of about 900 B.C. (American School of Classical Studies at Athens). Here from a postcard bought in the Agora at Athens, 1953.

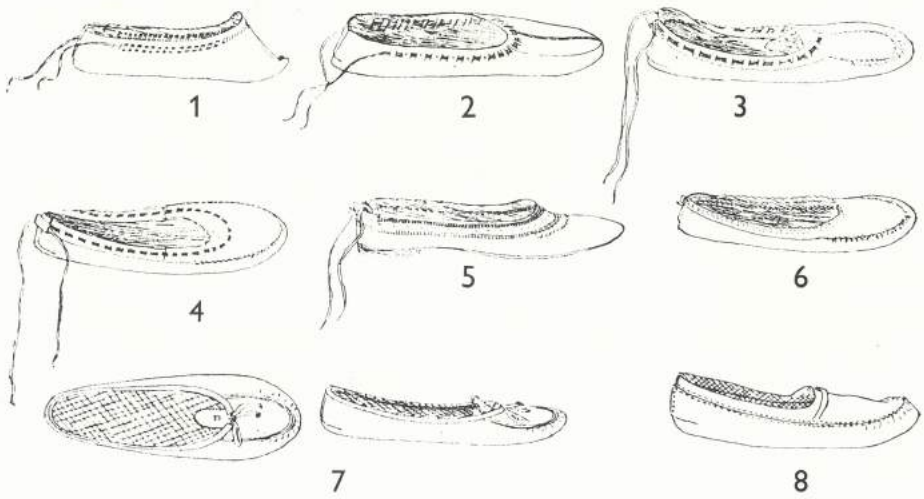


Fig. 223. Series of low, decorative shoes from Finland. After drawings by U. T. Sirelius, op. cit. Pl. XXII.

M. Dreijer, who is curator of the museum, the figure was arranged by an old seal-hunter, and both the costume and the other equipment correspond exactly to what he himself used to wear when seal-hunting on the sea ice, Fig. 224.[1]

1. Note the hunter's mitts. They have undoubtedly been made by an ancient method, using a large bone needle, and then fulled.

Fig. 224. Seal-hunter from Åland, equipped for hunting on the sea ice. Correctly dressed figure in the museum at Marienhamn. Photo Marienhamn Mus.

The shoes are described as consisting of a single piece of rectangular sealskin. The corners were raised and sewn together both at toe and heel with coarse thread or a thin sealhide thong. The upper edge of the shoe was folded, and a thong threaded through, so that the fold could be pulled together over the instep. The heel could likewise be closed without sewing by being pulled together.

Fig. 225. Detail of seal-hunter's foot- and leg-wear. Photo Marienhamn Mus.

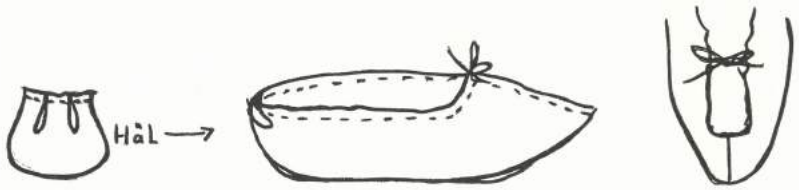


Fig. 226 a, b, c. In lighter shoes made of one piece of hide the heel area was generally folded. A gore might be inserted over the toe, and a sole put on the base. Drawing by M. Dreijer.

Fig. 225 shows clearly that the vamp seam has been pulled so tight that the toe of the shoe has been lifted a little.

It cannot be concluded from this, however, that the inhabitants of Åland had no more ornamental footwear. Of neat, rather lighter shoes made of a single piece of hide it is stated that they were generally pleated at the back. A gore might also be inserted in the toe, and a sole be sewn onto the base.[1]

As regards the shoes illustrated in Fig. 227, Bo Lönnqvist has kindly supplied the information that they were made by an old man in the 1940's, but the type is known to have been in use

1. I am indebted to the Curator of Marienhamn Museum, M. Dreijer, for photographs and information in a letter of 10.2.1970.

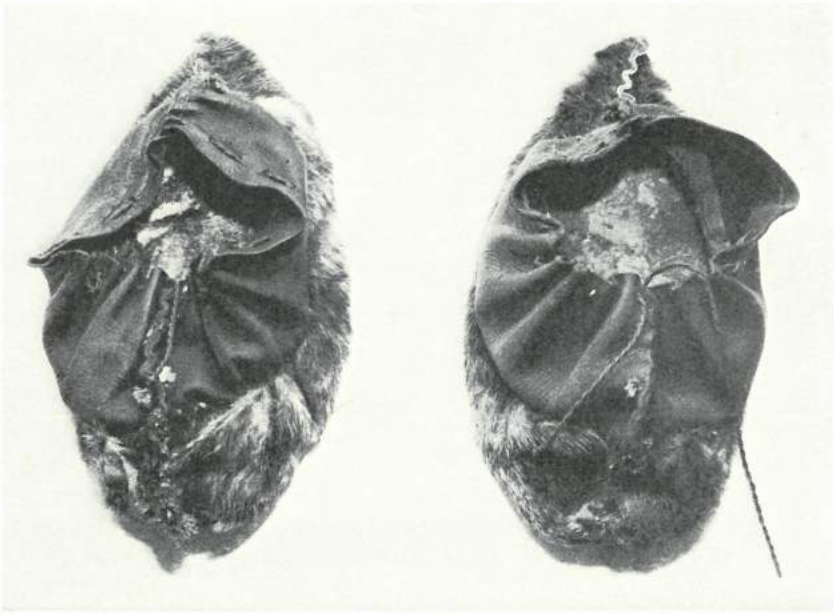


Fig. 227. A pair of seal-hide shoes from Husejans Farm, Kökar sogn, Finnö by. Åland's outer skerry in the Baltic. Folkkultursarkivet, Helsingfors, SLS 853 : 112. Photo Bo Lönnqvist.

Fig. 228. Seal-hide shoe from Kumlinge, Enklinge. Folkkultursarkivet, Helsingfors. SLS 853. Photo Bo Lönnqvist.

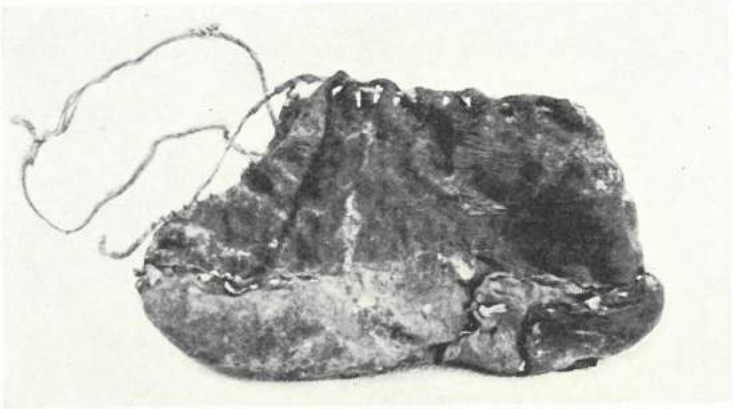


Fig. 229. Shoe from the Nyland Skerry, Varlax by, Borgå Sn. Folkkultursarkivet, Helsingfors. Photo Bo Lönnqvist.

as late as 1965. The shoes are made of sealskin, with the hair pointing forwards; the upper consists of two pieces, now generally calfskin, but formerly the shoe was made of sealskin throughout. The length is 34 cm, width 19 cm, and height 12 cm.

The shoe in Fig. 228 was made by an old man with only one leg, for his own use. He wore it as recently as 1965, with a wadding of hay or straw. Length 34 cm, width 19 cm, height 12 cm. From Kumlinge, Enklinge By.

The most primitive of all the shoes from Åland, the shoe here numbered 229 is notable as a "one-piece" model. It is described as "själatossa", and its provenance as the Nyland skerry.[1] A comparison with the drawing reproduced above, published by U. T. Sirelius as Fig. XXI, 1, will show a striking resemblance between the two shoes. Actually their design is as simple as that of an ordinary bag.

1. I am indented to Bo Lönnqvist for information and photographs in a letter of 12.2.1971. – Bo Lönnqvist: Kläder och plaggbruk på Åland under 1600-tallet. Budkavlen 1968, p. 9 ff.

Chapter XIX

Estonia

Nordiska Museet in Stockholm also possesses an interesting collection of footwear from Estonia. Part of it comes from the small islands off the coast, and it is four specimens from this area that are shown in the photographs that follow.

Using material that appears to be cow- or calfhide, the Estonians have created an exclusive model, of which the two pairs of shoes[1] from Wormsö and Mohn respectively are good examples. Here the vamps are wider than we have hitherto seen in these forms. Room has been gained for a particularly attractive arrangement of the puckering, which has now become regular folds or pleats; the shoe from Mohn, Fig. 231, especially reveals a sure feeling for the inherent beauty of the material on the part of the maker. The contrast between the soft fur on the base of the shoe and the matt grain of the upper is strikingly effective.

F. Isberg has supplied a pattern for the shoe from Nuckö, here Fig. 232, and has given an account[2] of how it was made, of which the following is an extract. He says that in earlier times women and children had only two pairs of shoe a year, one pair at Christmas and one at Easter, and that the reason for this frugality was sheer poverty. A household butchered only one cow a year, and the hide had to provide shoes for the whole family. Later, when the yoke laid on them by the landowners was eased, i.e. from about 1880–90, it became common to wear shoes every day, and these were the same type as was used by the inhabitants of the north-western part of Estonia and the islands off the coast. The treatment of the material varied, however, in different regions; on Ormsö the hide was tanned, while on Nuckö it was not.

Formerly, the cow that was to supply the hide for shoes had to be slaughtered when the wind was in the north, and the moon on the wane. If it was slaughtered when the wind was in the south and the moon new the hide would shrink. Later, however, this precaution is said to have been abandoned.

When the animal had been skinned, the hide was fastened under the ceiling, with the flesh side downwards. This was in order to smoke it: compare the Irish custom described on p. 161.[3] The hide must not be stretched too tightly, or it would shrink when the shoes dried. When a

1. Nord. Mus.: No. 145.296 and No. 141.503.
2. F. Isberg: Skor och skotillverkning paa Nuckö. Budkavlen, 1934, p. 13ff.
3. On tanning see also Per Söderbäck: Rågöborna, Nord. Mus. Handlingar 13, Stockholm 1940, p. 125ff.: "Sälskinn garvas på så sätt, att det först torkas på en skuggig plats, så rullas det samman och rökas t. ex. i sommarköket".

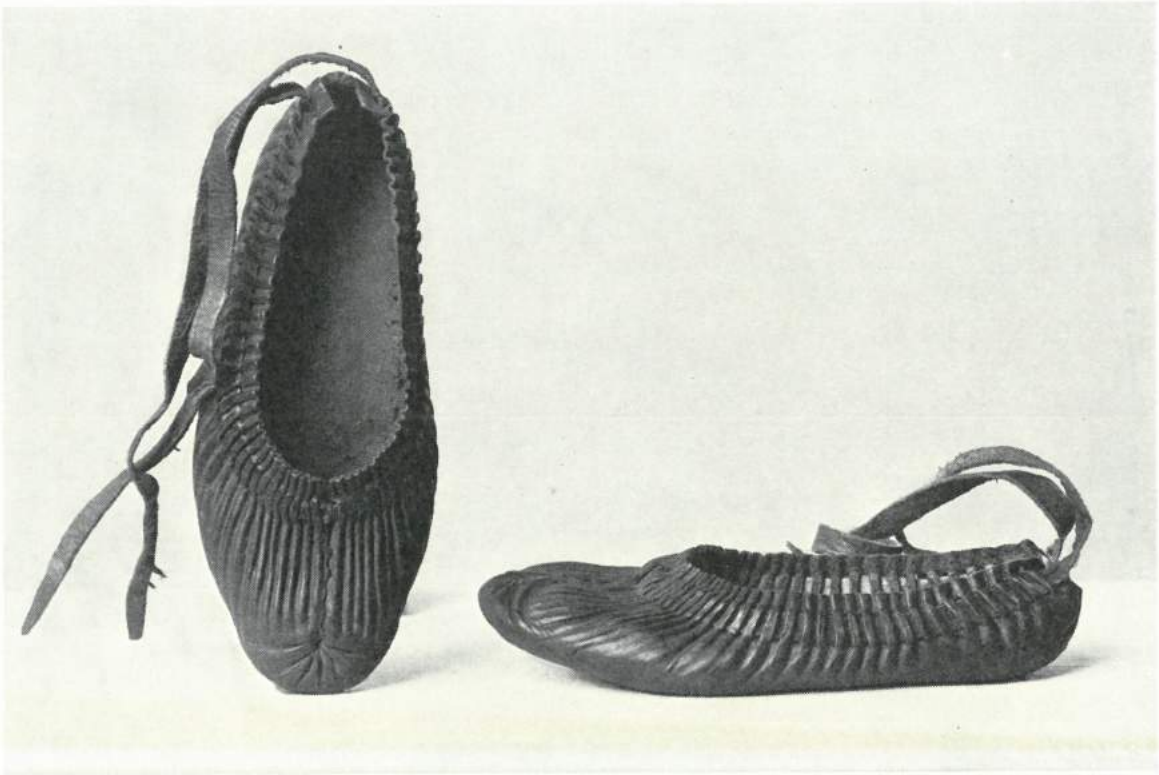


Fig. 230. Shoe of hide with the hair removed; formed by folding. Wormsö, Estonia. Nord. Mus. Sth., No. 145.296.

suitable time had passed the hide was taken down, rolled up, and put on the stove, or in some other dry spot.

Before the pattern was cut the hide was measured. Often the farmer first cut out a 3-inch wide strip through the middle, intended for straps for pulling or carrying. After this the side pieces were carefully measured so that nothing should be wasted, and there were two methods of procedure. Generally the hide was divided into strips 13 ins wide, shoe material often measuring 13 ins square. The other method was to use a pattern-board, according to which the shoe was cut out. Finally the hair was scraped off, and the master of the house marked each set with the name of the person who was to have the shoes. Eyelets were cut out with a sharp knife, or with a chisel. While this was being done, a child was sent to the nearest alder-thicket with a basket to fetch alder-bark. A basketful of bark was put in a tub together with boiling water, and when the infusion had cooled the pieces of hide were put in the liquid. The tanning lasted until the hide was a handsome red colour, which took two or three days.

Before sewing, small notches were cut at the toe end of the piece, which was to be gathered first. Lastly the heel could be closed with only five stitches, and the ends of the thread tied together in a knot.

The women spun the laces, of flax or hemp, but in some cases leather thongs were used; these were greased with fat so that they would slide more smoothly.

The final stage of the process consisted in giving the shoe a good fit, and it was up to the

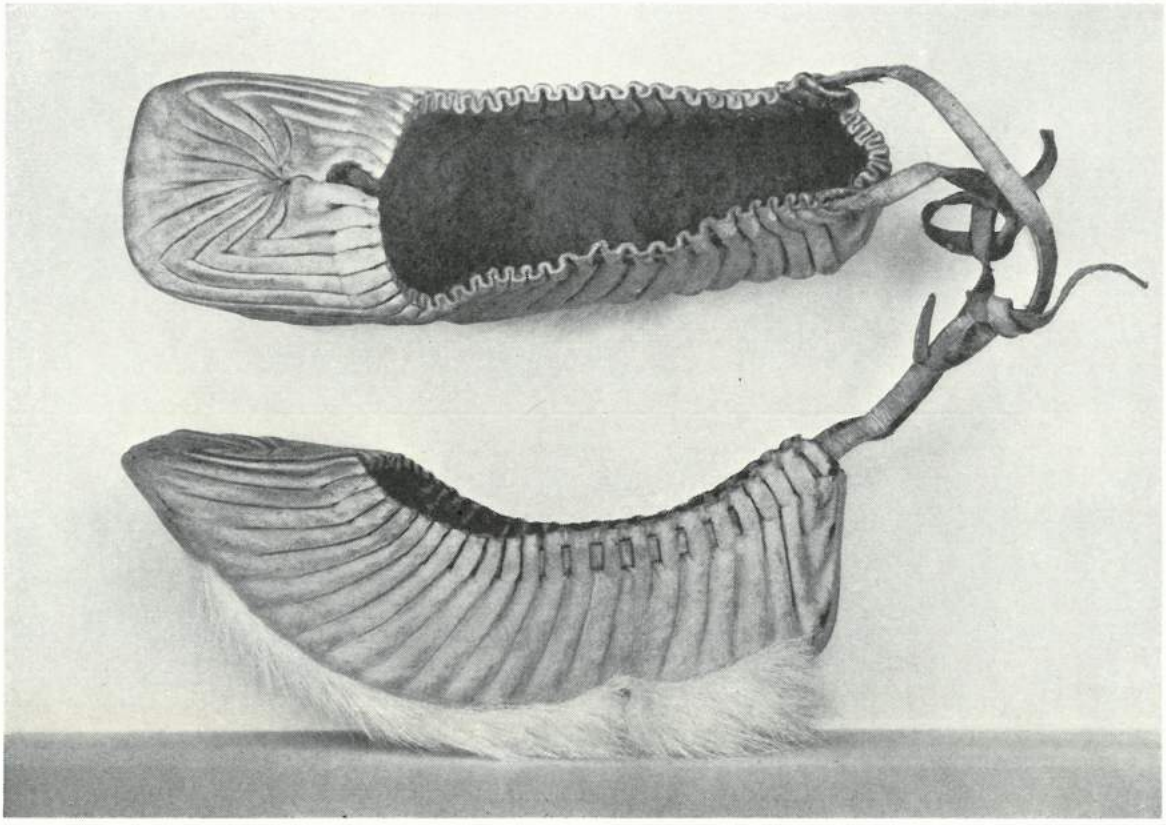


Fig. 231. Woman's shoe from Mohn, Estonia. Nord. Mus. Sth., No. 141.503.

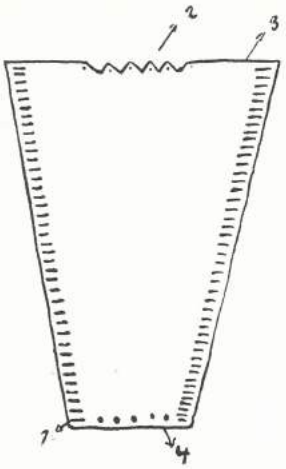


Fig. 232. Diagram of shoe from Nuckö. Wide toe, narrow heel. After a drawing by F. Isberg.

individual wearer to break in his shoes and ensure that the folds were placed correctly. Isberg relates of the inhabitants of Ormsö that they sometimes used their teeth to obtain clear-cut, regular pleats, and that they gave the toes of the shoes a few hearty blows in order to give them the right shape. The new shoes were generally worn only two or three hours at a time, and pre-

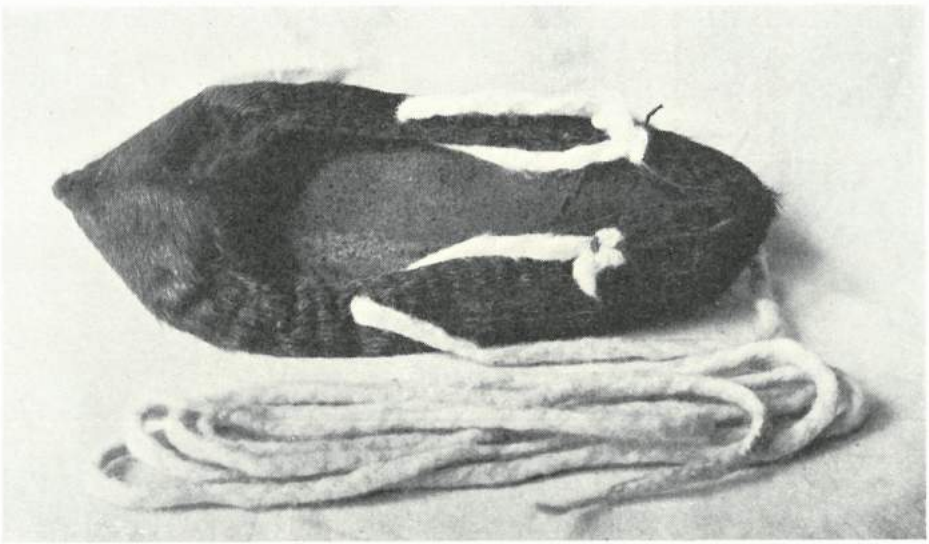


Fig. 233. Shoe of seal-hide with the hair preserved. Estonia. Nord. Mus. Sth., No. 13.737.

ferably in the evening, when it was not necessary to go outside the house while they were wet. Children wore their new shoes the first night, while they were asleep. This was supposed to give the best fit. Formerly, shoe trees were used, but this is now no longer the custom.

Well-made shoes of good material are said to last a couple of months when worn daily. The shoes can be patched, the patches being sewn on with twisted flax thread.

After having heard how the hides of domestic animals were dressed, and particularly the marked economy shown in utilizing them, it is understandable that the seal, which finds its own food, and furthermore has a magnificent skin and other qualities to offer, should be a favourite quarry for hunters on the islands and along the coast.

We have already seen above what a seal-hunter on the Åland Islands looked like in all his "war-paint". Here, however, it is the quarry that is of prime interest, a subject that has engaged the attention of several writers. We must concentrate on one, and choose Ernst Klein's description, written in 1924.[1] It is a description of Runø, until 1944 the home of about 300 Swedish-speaking inhabitants, who then emigrated to Sweden.[2]

Ernst Klein first describes the general conditions of life: "Hela levnadsättet bär prägeln av en med enkla medel och okuvlig energi genomförd kamp föratt avvinna naturen ett mått av nyttigheter, vilket från vår synpunkt sett, inskränker sig till det lästa existensminimum".[3]

It is not stated that it was possible to keep domestic animals, but it is remarked that hides of horses and cattle were very little used because they went to the mainland to be sold. Sheepskin was used to some extent, but mostly for coats, and seal-hide was far and away the hide most widely used for shoes.

In judging the economics of the Runø islanders' faithful persistence in their long-established seal-hunting it must be remembered that this procured them not only seal blubber, their most

1. Ernst Klein: Runö, Folklivet i ett gammalsvenskt Samhälle. Sth. 1924, p. 196ff.
2. Børge Fristrup: Ru'hnó, Hagerups Leksikon, 1952.
3. Ernst Klein, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

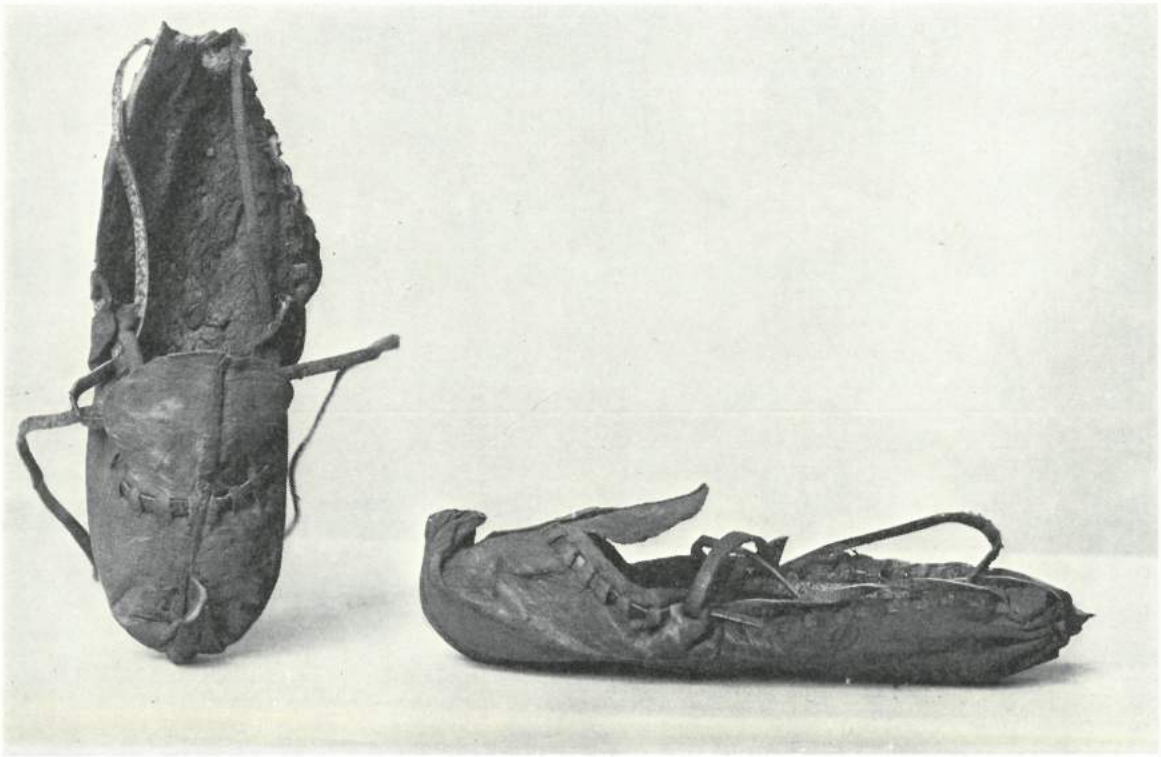


Fig. 234. Shoe made of hide from the flipper of a seal. Runø, Estonia. Nord. Mus. Sth., No. 145.081.

valuable object of barter, but also their most essential shoe material, which left the hides of the domestic animals available for sale beyond the island.[1]

As regards the dressing of sealskin, Ernst Klein says that this is a very simple process. When it has been flayed off any blubber is scraped away, and the fore-flippers ("*skramo*") and hind-flippers ("*skräwlinga*") are cut off. Along the edge inch-long incisions are made at short intervals, and stout fir-branches are inserted to stretch the skin. This is then kept in the front room, and the whole process of curing consists simply in hanging it near or over the hearth for a long period – up to five or six years. The smoke prevents decomposition; the hide shrinks a little, but becomes tough, and acquires a dark reddish-brown colour, so that it can be difficult to determine what kind of seal it is.

The skin of the hind-flipper, which must be removed undamaged, is smoked in the same way. It is pulled onto a board wound round with hay, and dried in such a way that the tip of the toe, from which the claws have been removed, curves upward like a beak on the shoe.[2] See Fig. 234.

"*Skräwlingarna*" are intended specially for cold or wet weather.[3]

1. Ernst Klein, *op. cit.*, p. 196.
2. Ernst Klein, *op. cit.*, p. 197f.
3. Ernst Klein, *op. cit.*, p. 205 and Fig. 88, p. 204. See also A. O. Heikel: Die Volkstrachten in den Ostseeprovinzen und in Setukesien, Helsingfors 1909, I, p. 68 and Pl. XXIX. – II, p. 108.

Final Remarks

We have now drawn a sketch of ethnological material concerning shoes from countries that describe a rough semicircle round the north of Denmark and time and again we have noted connections and significant resemblances. This of course does not mean that we have tried to define a cultural enclave: on the contrary, many of the features we have found to be the simplest are probably very ancient, and were more widely known than we can estimate today. They should perhaps rightly be termed "common cultural property". This is suggested by a very few specimens, taken from remote regions.

The two shoes shown in Fig. 236 come from the Andes area of the South American highland, and are now in the Ayacucho Museum. In the simple pattern, with its seam at the heel and vamp, it is easy to recognize a number of the hide shoes from our own culture group described above.

A report from North America tells us that the idea of utilizing the natural shapes of animals' leg hides in the most practical way in making shoes is not a monopoly of the Scandinavians. Thus O. T. Mason writes: "The eastern Canadian Indians cut the skin from the heel of a caribou or moose with extension above and below, for leg and foot of a rude moccasin, called botte sauvage".[1]

Finally, let us turn our attention towards a third continent, Africa, for this is the place of origin of the rawhide shoes shown in Fig. 237, now the property of Statens Etnografiska Museum in Stockholm. The catalogue describes them as follows: "A pair of shoes of untanned hide. Hottentot slippers without a seam, made of the hide of the hock. Without soles, Africa, Hottentot, Khoikhoin. The shoes were presented by Dr. Anders Sparrman, who obtained them in connection with Cook's second voyage, 1772–76".[2]

We have sought information about the soled shoe in the literature dealing with archaeological finds in the areas almost encircling the Baltic and the North Sea, and we have learnt that it is a comparatively late cultural feature in Scandinavia. The earliest evidence of its presence yet encountered consists of the three soles with tapering heels from Elisenhof on Ejdersted, which can now with certainty be assigned to the middle or second half of the 8th century; see Fig. 125. This of course does not exclude the possibility that there may have been instances of it at an earlier date, but, as matters stand at present, if we look back at the Late Iron Age we encounter an archaeological vacuum as far as shoe finds are concerned; and even if we go right back to

1. O. T. Mason: Primitive Travel and Transportation. Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, U.S. National Museum, Washington 1894, p. 345.
2. I am indebted to Docent Bertil Söderberg for information communicated by letter, 26.3.1970.

Fig. 235. Let us look at a pair of shoes of the "one-piece" type, belonging to Nord. Mus. Sth., and numbered 177.811. Podkarpatska, Rus., Tjeck. They thus come from a more southerly district than the areas we have hitherto been concerned with. The shoes are so perfectly made that they almost appear to be factory products. The material is thick, yellowish-brown leather with the grain outwards. The heel is open, but the folds below give it shape, and a tie-string above ensures a close fit. The join along the middle of the vamp is both decorative and functional. The embossed or stamped patterns are reminiscent of the ornamentation on some of the shoes or shoe fragments found in Novgorod, as are the upturned toes.

the Torsbjerg shoe, Fig. 48, and give it a double status as a combination of hide shoe and soled shoe, it is from our point of view a single specimen of foreign origin, probably a Roman soldier's shoe.

When the "genuine" soled shoe became common is difficult to determine. It is certain that it must have come from the south, probably as a fashion, an upper-class novelty, which ultimately prevailed. But the hide shoe was by no means entirely abolished. It lived on, as we have seen, in remote areas right up to the present day, and not only that: it can be recognized in certain kinds of slippers produced by the footwear industry today. Furthermore, in some matters it has contributed to the soled shoe. Thus such a feature as an inserted instep gore – in Norwegian known as a "bjore" – has inspired a similar construction or ornament on the vamp in various types of modern footwear, and plaited patterns and cut-work ornamentation such as are occasionally seen in primitive shoes are not creations of the 20th century.

The value of the old type should therefore not be underestimated. If one is asked for examples of handsome shoes of good workmanship, several may be mentioned, but we will confine ourselves to two widely differing shoes: one is the Estonian shoe, Fig. 231, which reveals a sure and delicate utilization of the natural beauty of the material; the other is the Irish shoe, Fig. 191, notable

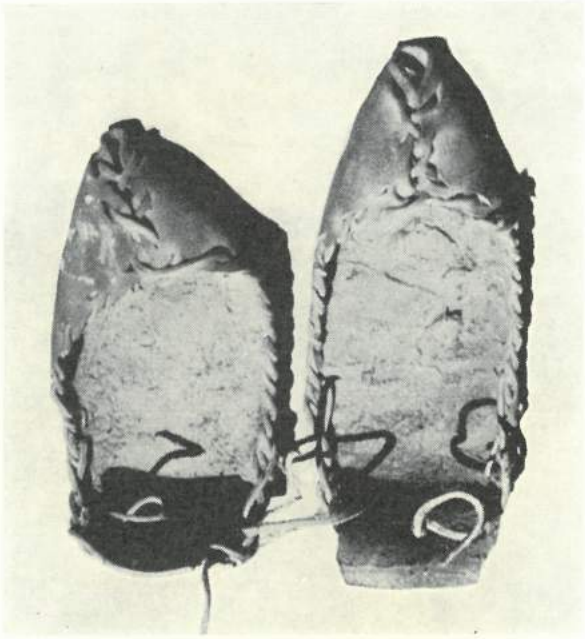


Fig. 236. Hide shoe of dehaired hide. The property of the museum in Ayacucho, Peru. Photo M. Hald.

for its carefully calculated pattern and elegant shape. The range, or one might say the gradation, in the qualities of primitive shoes is thus not inconsiderable; and if we turn to the very simplest, those made with little or no preparation, it must be assumed that they could be produced even by people at a very primitive level. And yet, footwear is not absolutely essential in all circumstances. It is common knowledge that people go barefoot to this day in many parts of the world, and it is really amazing what the human foot can be hardened into enduring; indeed, not even quite a cold climate has always been able to compel the use of shoes.

Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that it was a hard fate, and evidence of bitter poverty, to have no protection for one's feet when conditions were bleak. This can be gathered from the mediaeval vision poems. In these, to give shoes to the shoeless is accounted a good deed of high merit, in return for which the giver is promised relief on the hard road to the other world.

Olav Åstesen tells his dreams:

"Sæl er den i føðesheimen
fatike geve skó,
han tar no inki berrføtt gange
pá kvasse heklemó."

This is quoted by Knut Liestøl in Studia Norvegica, 1946, part 3, p. 139, v. 12, originally recorded from Maren Ramskei, Selfjord.

The following two verses are quoted after Knut Liestøl, *op. cit.*, p. 11 and 15, v. 23 and 46:

Fig. 236. Hide shoe with the hair preserved. The natural bagginess of the hide from the animal's hind leg has been utilized in the shape of the shoe. Hottentot, Khoikhoin, Africa. The property of Statens Etnografiska Museum, Stockholm. Photo by the Museum.

"Gone have I over Gjaller Bridge
with sharp hooks in a row.
Yet worse I thought the stinking marsh:
God help who there must go!"

"Blest is he who in this life
gave shoes to the needy poor:
He will not have to walk barefoot
on the sharp and thorny moor."

In "The Vision of Gottskalk", a poor, God-fearing peasant, who lived in Holstein in the second half of the 12th century, we are told: "First he came to a gigantic linden tree, the branches of which were completely covered with shoes. An angel, seated in the linden, was distributing them to all those who in this life had been merciful. The shoes were to help them across a vast moor or plain closely studded with the sharpest thorns, all like a hackle." (Knut Liestøl, *op. cit.*, p. 91 f.).

A parallel to this is to be found in England, in the North Country "Lyke Wake Dirge", first recorded by the 17th century antiquarian John Aubrey:[1]

"When thou from hence doest pass away,
Every night and all,
To Whinny Moor thou comest at last,
And Christ receive thy silly poor soul.

If ever thou gave either hosen or shoon,
Every night and all,
Sit thee down and put them on,
And Christ receive thy soul.

But if hosen nor shoon thou never gave nane,
Every night and all,
The whins shall prick thee to the bare bane,
And Christ receive thy soul."

1. John Aubrey: Remaines of Gentilisme and Judaisme (ed. James Britten), p. 31 f. – Cf. the account given in a 16th century letter (Cotton MS Julius, F. VI, 459): "When any dieth, certain women sing a song to the dead body, reciting the journey that the party deceased must go; and they are of belief (such is their fondness) that once in their lives it is good to give a pair of new shoes to a poor man, for as much as after this life they are to pass barefoot through a great land full of thorns and furze, except by the merit of the alms aforesaid they have redeemed the forfeit: for at the edge of the land an old man shall meet them with the same shoes that were given by the party when he was living; and, after he hath shod them, dismisseth them to go through thick and thin without scratch or scall." – I am indebted to Ingeborg Nixon for providing these parallels.

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Abbreviations

Aarb. = Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie, København.
B. B. = By og Bygd. Norsk Folkemuseums Årsbok, Oslo.
Bericht. = Bericht des Museums Vaterländischer Alterthümer, Kiel.
E. S. Kbh. = Nationalmuseets Etnografiske Samling, København.
Kbh. = København.
K. M. L. = Kulturhistoriska Museet, Lund.
Kria. = Kristiania (Oslo).
L. M. S. = Schleswig-Holsteinisches Landesmuseum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Gottorp Slot, Slesvig.
M. M. = Maal og Minne. Kristiania 1917.
N. F. Oslo = Norsk Folkemuseum. The Norwegian Folk Museum, Bygdøy.
Nord. Mus. Sth. = Nordiska Museet, Stockholm.
N. M. Arb. = Fra Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark, København.
N. M. Finl. = Finlands Nationalmuseum, Helsingfors. Kansallismuseo.
N. M. Irl. = National Museum of Ireland. Ard-Mhûsaem Na h-Eireann.
N. M. Kbh. = Nationalmuseet, København.
N. M. Scotl. = National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland.
Nord. Ftm. = Nordiske Fortidsminder, København.
S. E. M. = Statens Etnografiska Museum, Stockholm.
U. O. Oslo = Universitetets Oldsaksamling (The University Museum of Antiquities).

Where nothing else is indicated the diagrams have been drawn by the author.

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