Daldøs: An almost forgotten dice board game / Peter Michaelsen

The Danish *daldøs* traditions

The board game *daldøs* made its first appearance in Danish literature, in J. P. Jacobsen's (1847-1885) first novel, *Fru Marie Grubbe* in 1876. Mrs. Marie Grubbe is a historical person who lived from 1642 to 1718. She grew up in the manor house "Tjele" some 15 km north-east of Viborg in Central Jutland, as the daughter of the lord of the manor, Erik Grubbe. Her first husband, Ulrik Frederik Gyldenløve (Golden Lion), was an illegitimate son of King Frederik III and viceregent of Norway. The game is mentioned in an incident which is supposed to have taken place in 1661.

"On a rainy day in September", J. P. Jacobsen writes, "He (Ulrik) had played indoors with his dogs, had tried to read, and had played *daldøs* with Marie." And that is it – except for a small footnote: "*daldøs* – a board game played with pieces and dice." (Jacobsen 1876 [1888]: 133). (1)

Several readers must have wondered what kind of game was mentioned here. Most of them had probably just continued their reading, but energetic persons might have consulted the largest Danish dictionary *Ordbog over det danske Sprog* (*ODS:* 453; *ODS Suppl.:* 1047) just to discover that it tells very little about the game: only that *spilla daldôs* was a saying used in the dialect of Bornholm, meaning: "to lose one's possession by speculation" (Espersen 1908: 46), and that the word is also testified on the island of Fanø, off the coast of South West Jutland, where, according to H. F. Feilberg's dictionary of the dialects of Jutland, *daldøs* [dal|dø's] is played on a *daldøs* board with dice, between two parties who have differently marked small pegs in holes on the board (Feilberg 1886: 174).

In the mid-1920s the barrister Hans Billeskov Jansen (1861-1943), a member of the board of Thisted Museum in Thy, in North West Jutland, made an attempt to find further information about J. P. Jacobsen's *daldøs*. He succeeded in finding what was probably exactly the game that Jacobsen had seen and perhaps even played and, furthermore, he found what was perhaps the last person who still knew how to play the game: Mrs. Marie Katrine Bille. The results of H. Billeskov Jansen's research were published in the Danish literary historical magazine *Danske Studier* (Billeskov Jansen 1927: 96-100).

J. P. Jacobsen, who was born in Thisted, had an uncle, Thomas Overgaard, who lived in the small village of Tvorup, some 10 km west of Thisted, not far from the west coast of Thy. During his visits there with his parents as a young boy, the whole family often met together with Overgaard's neighbour, Carl Christian Madsen at *Færgegaard* (Ferry Farm). His daughter, Mrs. Bille, who as an old lady donated the *daldøs* game, which can now be seen at Thisted Museum, was then a young girl (born in 1855). She remembered spending time with the boy and, although she did not remember him actually playing *daldøs*, she is sure that he saw the game played or standing in the room occupied by farm workers. There is no doubt J. P. Jacobsen found that the word *daldøs* had a ring of the past, and that he for that reason let Ulrik and Marie play the game in his novel, *Fru Marie Grubbe.*

In 1927 H. Billeskov Jansen was unable to find anyone in Thy who had actually seen the game (except the children from Færgegaard). The closest he came was his own neighbour, an old blacksmith. He told Billeskov Jansen that his grandmother had told his mother, that after his grandfather had eaten his supper, he often said to his wife: "Well mother, I suppose we should have a game of *dallepind* (*pind*= peg) before bedtime." Billeskov Jansen does not mention the name of the blacksmith, but in cooperation with museum pedagogue Svend Sørensen at Thisted Museum I have been able to establish that his name was Anthon Larsen, born in Thisted 1848, and that his *daldøs*-playing grandparents were Peder Tæbring and Ane Nielsdatter, married in Thisted in 1814.

It seems then that the game was played not only on Færgegaard in the last half of the 19th century, but also in the town of Thisted back in the early 19th century.

The *daldøs* game in J. P. Jacobsen's memory room at Thisted Museum (fig.1) was cut by the shepherd and cattleman Lars Kaldahl (1812-1888), from driftwood he found on the North Sea beaches. He started working at Færgegaard between 1845 and 1850 and remained there to his death. The board and pegs were probably cut in the 1850s or early 1860s. The board is made of mahogany and the pegs and dice are probably made from

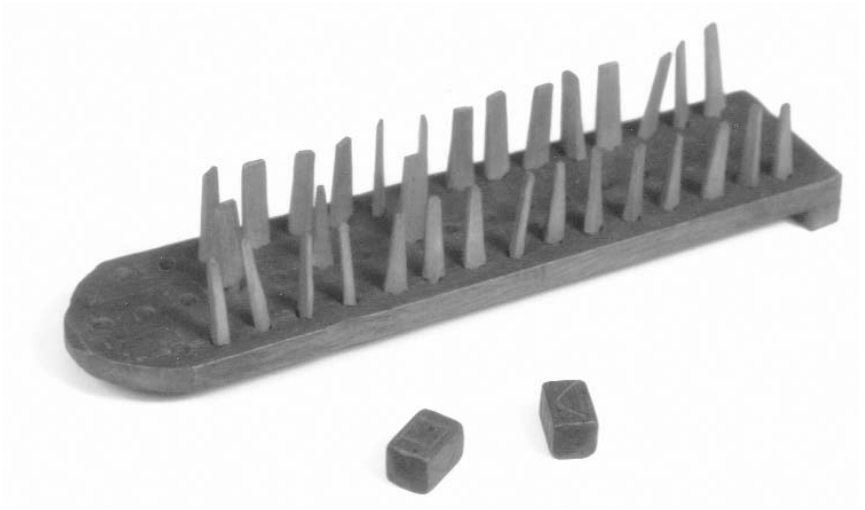

Fig. 1. *Daldøs* set exhibited at the Thisted Museum. This set was probably the one which J. P. Jacobsen had in mind, when he wrote *Fru Marie Grubbe*. It was donated to Thisted Museum by Mrs. Marie Katrine Bille c. 1927, and made c. 1850-1860 by the shepherd Lars Kaldahl (1812-1888), who lived on Færgegaard (Ferry Farm) c. 10 km west of Thisted in Thy, in North West Jutland. (Photo: Thisted Museum).

teak wood. This *daldøs* game from Thy is described by Erik Østergaard and Anne Gaston (Østergaard & Gaston, this volume). I can add here that the game pieces measure 54 mm in length, being 40 mm high when placed on the board. The spatula-shaped game pieces measure 12/13 mm in width at the bottom and 10 mm at the top; the corresponding

measures of the game pieces, which are shaped like flat obelisks, are 9 and 4 mm. The only two preserved *daldøs* dice differ from the Norwegian *daldøsa* dice in being marked with an 'A' on the side named the dal, in stead of an 'X'. The two dice measure 32 mm in length (end pyramids 2x3 mm included) and 17 mm in width.

According to H. Billeskov Jansen the game is full of excitement, surprises, victories and disappointments. The old lady, who was still a master at playing the game in 1927, demonstrated how the game is played on a visit to his home. After several victories against family members, one of the boys succeeded in keeping his losses level with that of the old lady, so that by the end of the game both had only one man left. The game ended up as a post haste chase, the men chasing each other mercilessly, the dice hitting the table with loud noises. Finally the old lady was forced to pass the boy's man bringing her own man into peril in the middle row, and he succeeded in getting the right throw of the dice to kill her man.

One more Danish *daldøs* game has been preserved. This game was owned by Mads Christian Søndergaard (1831-1900) who worked as a school teacher from 1859 to 1899 in Flade, a village on the north coast of Mors, a large island near Thisted (Søndergaard 1930: 84-85). Mads Søndergaard had a copy of the game made, kept the copy himself and gave the original to a colleague, R. J. Rose in Thisted, who again gave it to Landbrugsmuseet (The Agricultural Museum). This original game is now kept at the Danish National Museum (the department in Brede – cat. no. (7703 Landbrugsmuseet) 3806/1955) (fig. 2).

Fig. 2. *Daldøs* set kept at Nationalmuseet, The Danish National Museum, in Brede. This set was owned by the school teacher Mads Christian Søndergaard (1831-1900) who lived in Flade on the island of Mors from 1859, but was born in Thisted. The board is larger, and the shape of pieces much different from those, used in the game at the Thisted Museum. (Photo: Erik Østergaard 2001).

The copy was donated to Morslands Historiske Museum, Dueholm Kloster, Nykøbing Mors, in 1939 (cat.no. MHM 828f) (fig. 3). (2)

This game has the same number of holes and game pieces as the game at the Thisted Museum. The board is somewhat larger, however, measuring 43,8 by 11,5 cm – the longest *daldøs/daldøsa* board we know. The 32 game pieces are much different from those of the Thy game and also from those used in the Norwegian *daldøsa* game. They are conical, 9 cm tall, and half of them end in a peak, while the other half are provided with a ball on the top. As they are all completely symmetrical, it has not been possible to

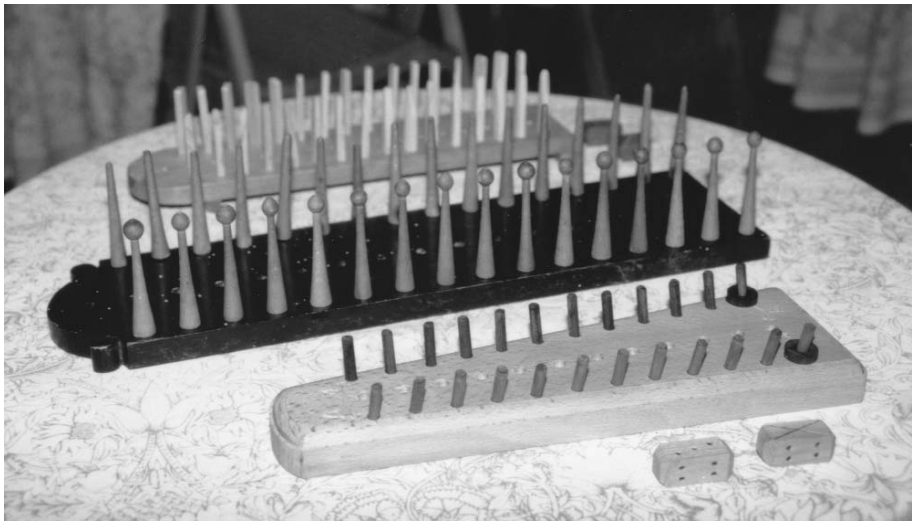

Fig. 3. Three copies of *daldøs(a)* sets. In the middle the copy of Mads Søndergaard's *daldøs* game, which the owner himself had made. This is kept at the Morslands Historiske Museum, Dueholm Kloster, Nykøbing Mors. In the foreground a modern copy of *daldøsa*, sold by Jærmuseet, Kvia (design: Ola Barkved). In the background Thisted Museum's copy of their *daldøs* set. (Photo: Jørgen Michaelsen 2000).

show which pieces are active, by turning them lengthwise on the board.

Nothing is known about the dice used in this game from Mors. It seems a bit strange that the very special dice used in *daldøs* did not follow the game to the museums. Even if the owner, Mads Søndergaard, had only used quite ordinary dice, these dice would have been an important part of the game. The original and the copy are a little different, the latter having a more elaborated board provided with small "ears" in the rounded end. It is painted black, while the original game is brown.

Daldøs was probably as rare a game on Mors at it was in Thy. If it had been a well-known game, still played by many people, the colleague of Mads Søndergaard would probably not have donated the game to a museum in 1898. On the other hand, another school teacher, the dialect researcher A. C. Skyum, mentions *dal|dø's* in his dictionary *Morsingmålets Ordforråd* (The vocabulary of the dialect of Mors), Århus, 1951 (p. 285). Skyum may have known the *daldøs* game at the Mors Museum, but he might also have known about other *daldøs* traditions from Mors. If so, these are unfortunately not known to us.

As mentioned above, there was probably a *daldøs* tradition in Thisted in the early 19th century. Mads Søndergaard was born in Thisted in 1831, and it is therefore possible that he knew this tradition from his home town and brought it with him to Mors. We cannot know if *daldøs* was already known on Mors then, but the *daldøs*-player in Thisted, Peder Tæbring, was actually born in Tæbring on the west coast of Mors (while his wife came from the parish of Hundborg, not far from Færgegaard). All of the above

mentioned persons, connected with *daldøs* traditions, lived in the harbour town Thisted or in villages near the coast within a limited radius (10-15 km) from that town.

The two other Danish areas where we have evidence about daldøs were also areas close to the sea. On the island of Fanø *daldøs* was known in the late 19th century (Feilberg 1886: 174). From the island of Bornholm we only know *daldos* as a word in the saying *spilla daldôs* mentioned above. It seems that the game itself was not known any more when J. S. C. Espersen wrote his dictionary *Bornholmsk Ordbog* in 1856. It was probably forgotten before his time (1812-1859) (Espersen 1908: 46).

The relationship of *daldøs* to other games

The closest relative of the Danish *daldøs* is certainly the Norwegian *daldøsa*. It is more correct to say, however, that these two games are one and the same game, played on boards with two different numbers of holes and pegs: 49/32, and 37/24, respectively.

The design of boards, pegs and dice of the *daldøs(a)* game varies somewhat. There seems to be two different main traditions, the Danish board having a lesser and the Norwegian board a more evident boat shape. The Norwegian pegs are much more uniform, since they all have "flags" in the top, in contrast to the very different pegs in the two Danish game sets. Finally, the Norwegian dice have an X instead of an 'A' on the side, called the *dal*. (3)

The closest relative of *daldøs(a)* is certainly the Sámi game *sáhkku* (for further details, see Borvo, this volume). Both *daldøs(a)* and *sáhkku* share some characteristic features with members of the game category which is often named the "running-fight" or *tâb* games (see Thierry Depaulis, "Jeux de parcours du monde arabo-musulman", this volume). Games of this type are found in large parts of Africa and Asia: from Islamic influenced areas in India to Senegal and Benin in West Africa and from Anatolia to Somalia and the Comoros Islands.

Like many other *tâb* games *daldøs(a)* and *sáhkku* are played on boards with three rows of holes/cells/lines. What distinguishes the Scandinavian games from the African and Asiatic members of this game family is the very special dice. These are almost identical in *daldøs(a)* and the *sáhkku* variants, being normally rectangular and marked with an X and Roman digits on the four sides, and with the ends being shaped like pyramids, except in *daldøsa*, in which they are normally rounded. (One further feature, common to all known *daldøs(a)* dice, is that the sum of two opposite sides is 4 or 6, not 5; this distinguishes these from the *sáhkku* dice).

There are also great differences between *daldøs(a)* and *sáhkku:* in the former game men are pegged and placed in holes, whereas the game pieces in the latter are placed on cells or lines. There is no similarity between the pieces of the two games. Besides, the Sámi game is provided with a special, powerful piece, the "king", and sometimes also two "king's sons", while in *daldøs(a)* all pieces have the same rank.

In most *sáhkku* variants, the pieces move against each other, while in *daldøs(a)* they all follow each other. In one *sáhkku* variant, however, the *pirccu* game from Utsjoki, the pieces apparently followed the same circuit as the pieces of *daldøs(a)*.(4) Another *sáhkku* variant, the one from Nord-Troms, share the feature with *pirccu* and *daldøs(a)* in that pieces never return to their own home row.

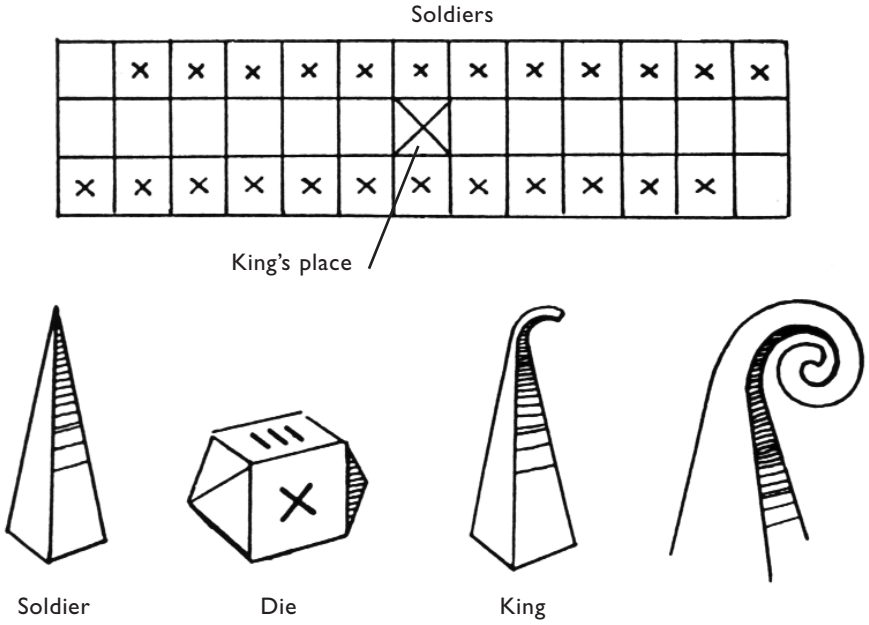

Fig. 4. Diagram showing the game board of the *sáhkku* variant of Nord-Troms, the placement of the soldiers, the place of the king, a soldier, a die, the king, and the top of the king (ill. from Mejland 1953).

This western *sáhkku* variant (fig. 4) deviates from other known variants, by having several further similarities with *daldøs(a),* especially the *daldøsa* game from Jæren.

Both games are played with 2x12 pieces and two dice (in other *sáhkku* variants three dice are used). In addition, the game piece symbolism is the same in *daldøs(a)* and the Nord-Troms game: instead of the more peaceful symbols "men" and "women", used in the eastern part of the Sámi area, the game pieces symbolize "warriors" or "soldiers". (5) It is difficult to say whether these similarities indicate a common ancestor of the two games or are due to one game influencing the other.

Several features are shared by particular games in Scandinavia and North Africa/West Asia. The structural similarities between *daldøs(a)* and the "*tâb* games" are obvious. (6)

One common feature, connecting *daldøs(a)* and *sáhkku* with other games belonging to this group, is that the game pieces are immobile when play begins, and that a certain throw is necessary in order to activate them. The name of this throw is normally a part of the name of the game or identical with it.

At least two games of the tâb type have some remarkable features in common with *daldøs(a)*. The game of *sîg* is played in large parts of Sahara. The variant, played in Tidikelt, Central Algeria, is played on a "board", which has exactly the same number of holes as the Norwegian *daldøsa* game from Jæren: two home rows with 12 holes, and one central row with 13. The number of game pieces is also the same: 2x12. They all move

in the same direction, and start in that end of the "board" which is opposite to the end with the extra hole in the central row (Pâques 1964: 90-92). This is exactly like in *daldøsa*, but there are also obvious differences. Just to mention a few: the holes are not cut in a wooden board, but dug in the desert sand, and the extra hole in the central row has a special function: when a game piece reaches this, it is necessary to throw a *siga* in order to reach the adjacent hole in the opponent's home row. This hole is somewhat larger than the others (fig. 5).

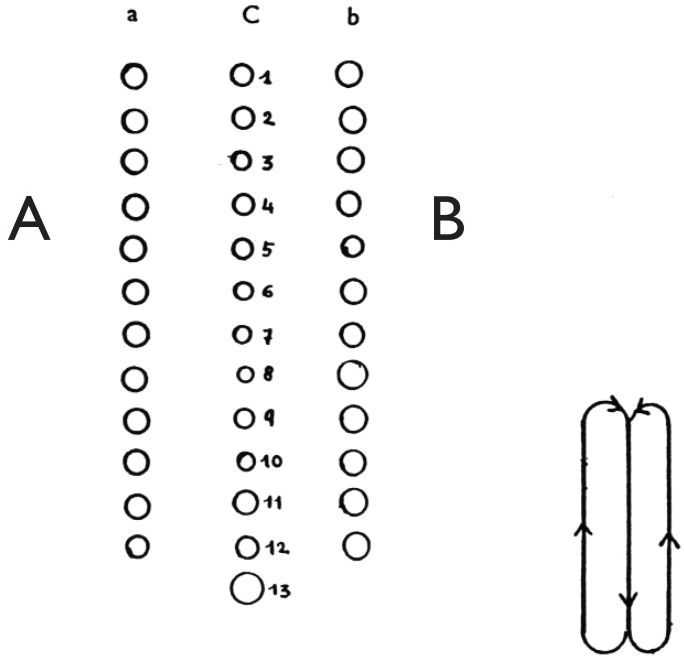

Fig. 5. Diagram showing the *sîg* game of Tidikelt, Central Algeria. The number of holes and the direction of play correspond to that used in the Norwegian *daldøsa* game from Jæren (ill. from Pâques 1964).

Another "running-fight" game, sharing some features with the Scandinavian games, is the game named *kiôz*, described by Thomas Hyde (Hyde 1694, "De ludo Kiôz"). This was played by Palestinian Arabs on a board of 4 x 22 holes. Four "kings" are mentioned, but these had apparently the same moves or power as the ordinary "soldiers". As in *daldøs(a)* all game pieces were pegged for insertion in the holes, the kings being distinguished by having three small nodules on top of a small ball, while the soldiers had only one (see fig. 6). The "kings" of this game can probably not be compared to the "king" of the *sáhkku* game. In other *tâb* games, the name *malik* ("king") designates a pile of men, which can be moved, un-piled or captured, as if it were a single man (Murray 1952: 95).

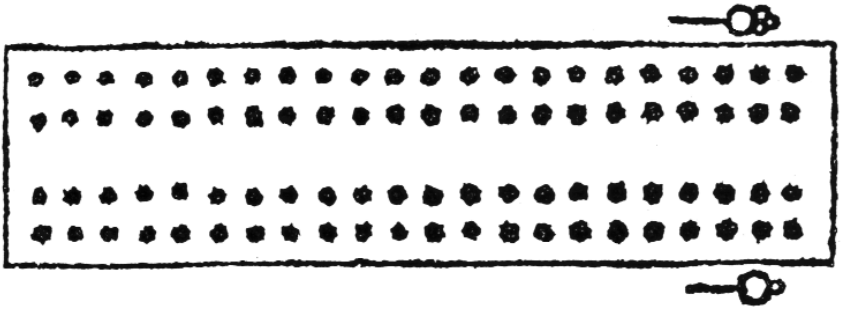

Fig. 6. Diagram showing the game board of the *kiôz* game, played by Arabs of Palestine. Over the board the shape of a "king" is shown, under the board the shape of a "soldier" (ill. from Hyde 1694).

It seems that no games belonging to this family of games are known from European countries outside Scandinavia. There might be an exception to this rule, however: in a medieval English manuscript from c.1250-1300 A.D. a diagram has been preserved that might possibly show a board game belonging to the *tâb* group. The manuscript is named MS O.2.45 and is now found in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. It derives from the Benedictine monastery Cerne Abbey in Dorset, South England. (7)

The content of the MS (a part of which has survived as MS. Egerton 843, ff.48) is very mixed: arithmetical puzzles, tracts on arithmetic, calendars, prayers, proverbs, prose stories and satires, two drawings of chess boards with text (*folio* 3r), and without text, three drawings of boards for games resembling draughts and nine-men's morris (*folio* 2v – see fig. 7).

The two game boards depicted in the right side of the page are easily identified. Both games are described and depicted in the contemporary Alfonso X Codex. (8) Above is shown the nine men's morris game (Spanish: *alquerque de nueve*). Nine light and six dark pieces can be seen. These are placed in a parallel way, perhaps in order to show that it is important to get three pieces in a row.

Below is shown the game, which in the Alfonso X Codex is named *alquerque de doze*. Twelve dark and twelve light pieces can be seen, the central point of the board being empty. The diagram shows the initial position before the beginning of the game.

To the left an unidentified game board is shown. The 24 game pieces are placed on the lines of a board consisting of 2 x 11 squares. Thus, the board has 3 x 12 crossing points. Eleven dark and eleven light pieces are placed in the two outer rows, the crossing points at the upper end of both rows being empty. On the crossing point in the central row above, between the two empty crossing points, a light piece is placed. Two lines below this a dark piece is shown.

It seems that the game has just begun, and that both players have made at least one move. The player to the left has moved his first piece one line to the right, into the central row, and two lines down along this row. The player to the right has moved his first piece one line to the left, into the central row. I presume that these pieces were moved

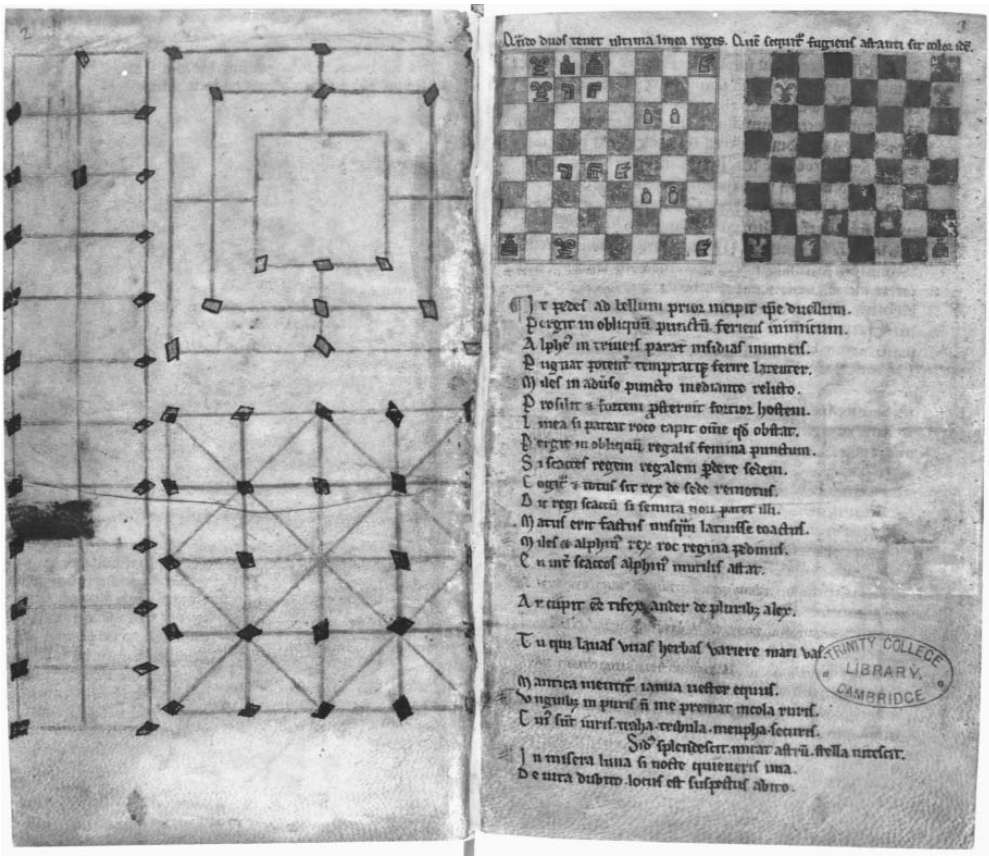

Fig. 7. Board game diagrams in the MS 0.2.45 (1250-1300 A.D.) from Cerne Abbey, Dorset, kept at the Trinity College Library, Cambridge. *Folio* 3r, to the right, shows two drawings of chess boards with text, folio 2v three drawings of other game boards without text. The two quadratical boards are easily identified as boards for nine men's morris *(alquerque de nueve)* and *alquerque de doze* (proto-draughts). The oblong board could very well belong to a game of the *tâb* or "running-fight" type. (With kind permission from the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge. Photo: Trinity College Library, Cambridge).

according to dice throws. At the bottom of the page, one can – with some difficulty – see a spot, resembling a die with two sharpened ends. Perhaps this is just an accidental spot.

Like in *daldøs(a)* and in most *sáhkku* variants, the number of pieces is the same as the holes/lines of the outer rows. Besides, it seems that both sets of pieces move in the same direction along the central row, a feature found in *daldøs(a)* and in the *pirccu* game from Utsjoki, North Finland. These features can also be found in a number of African and Asiatic "running-fight" games.

I consider it very likely that the game, depicted in the medieval English manuscript, is an early member of this family of games. We know that this type of game did exist in the Near East around 1300 A.D. The poet Ibn Dâniyâl who died in 1310 A.D. in his poem *Dîwân* (9) mentions gambling with *ad-dukk* and *at-tâb* (Rosenthal 1975: 44-45).

The question of etymology

The last part of the name *daldøs(a)* – *døs* [dø's] in the dialects of Fanø, Mors and Thy in Jutland, *dos* [do:s] in the dialect of Bornholm, *døsa* in the Norwegian dialect of Jæren – is probably related to *dus* – the two on a die. Danish *dus* is borrowed from Middle Low German *dus*, which again is derived from Old French *deus* (= Modern French *deux*). (10)

It appears that many dice games were played with two dice, and that the two was often the best throw in the game. The combination 2-1 is in Older Danish (Moth, c. 1700) named *dus es,* and the combination 2-2 *duser alle*. Other valuable combinations such as 3-2 and 5-2 were named *trøjedus* and *sinkadus*, both being also used in transferred expressions. The stress on the last syllable of the word and the derivation from the French numbers *trois* and *cinq* testify to a French origin, but the words have been adopted into Danish via Middle Low German (*daldøs(a)* may very well have followed another route).

The name of the dice throw, *dal*, is pronounced with a glottal stop [dal'] in the dialect of Thy, North West Jutland. In Jæren, South West Norway, the dice throw is also named *dal;* most people there say *daldøsa* when referring to the game, while some say *dalldøsa* (Billeskov Jansen 1927, and information provided by Alf Næsheim).

The etymology of *dal* – the first part of the name *daldøs(a)* – is uncertain. Alf Næsheim suggests a derivation from English. He refers to *'dalies'*: "A child's game, played with small bones or pieces of hard wood. The dalies were proprely sheep's trotters." (Gomme 1964). This statement seems to be confirmed by *The Oxford English Dictionary,* which knows a reference to *'daly'* or *'dayly'* from c.1440, and another one, Horman's *Vulgaria* from 1519, giving the plural form *dalies*, also spelled *dalys* and *daleys*. *Daly* refer to a die, or a knuckle-bone used as a die; also a cubical piece of anything, a cube (*OED*, 2nd ed., 1989, vol. IV).

The word also occurs in English dialects. In Joseph Wright, ed., *The English Dialect Dictionary,* there are entries on *'dally'* and *'dallybones'*. The former word was used in Cumberland, meaning "a teetotum", and the latter in Devon, in the sense of "trotter-bones" *i.e.*, the knees (Wright 1905). (11)

In English, *daly* seems to point to a small, hard object, made of bone, whence "knuckle-bone", "die", or even "knee" *(dally-bones)*. The *OED* indicates that its derivation is unknown. It is therefore uncertain, if it is derived from Lat. *talus*, as proposed by Næsheim (already H. Billeskov Jansen suggested a derivation of *dal* from *talus*).

The semantic connection between the two parts of the word *daldøs* is uncertain, too. Backgammon variants as *acey-deucey* and *sies dos e as* – the latter being played not only in Spain in the 13th century, but also in England in the 17th century as *sixe-ace* – got their names from certain important dice throw combinations. (12) Unlike sixe-ace and

many other dice board games, the dice throw 2 or 2-2 does not play any role in *daldøs*. The only important combination here is the double *dal*, named *dal dal*. *Daldøs* could perhaps be another name of *dal dal*, transferred so that it became the name of the game itself. The connection between *daly* as a name of the oblong, artificial knuckle-bone and *dal* as a name of one side of this die deserves to be explored further. More research is needed.

The question of origin

I shall not discuss this question in detail here (see Depaulis, "An Arab Game in the North Pole?", this volume).

The distribution of *daldøs(a)* and related games indicates that this game was imported to Denmark-Norway via the sea. Related games, except for *sáhkku*, are only known from regions of North Africa or West Asia influenced by Islamic culture and religion.

It is quite plausible that this game was brought to Scandinavia already in the Viking Age,(13) but we should not forget that there were important connections between Scandinavia and the Islamic world during the entire Middle Ages (e.g. crusaders and pilgrims) and even in the 16th to 18th centuries. In the latter period the "Barbaries" – Muslim states of North West Africa – made a mixture of religious war and pirate business against Christian, European shipping in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic Ocean out of Western Europe, and took many inhabitants of Denmark, Norway, Iceland, the Faroe Islands and Ireland as slaves. (14)

Daldøs(a) could have reached Denmark-Norway as late as around 1800. If *sáhkku* developed from *daldøs(a),* or at least a game similar to that, by combining it with the king from the *hnefatafl* game – which seems reasonable – I think we will have to go at least a hundred years further back in time.

Carl von Linné described a Sámi *hnefatafl* game under the heading *tablut* in his *Iter Lapponicum* of 1732 (Linné 1913 (1732): 155). This is the only post-medieval evidence of this old Viking game, except for some 16th-century Welsh sources (Helmfrid 2000).

Daldøs in our days

Daldøs is an almost forgotten game, but it is not quite extinct in Denmark. The game was possibly not played at all between 1927 and c.1973, but in the mid-1970s several articles appeared (Kjær 1975: 16-17; Novrup 1976; Jensen 1977: 160-162), and copies of the *daldøs* game at the Thisted Museum were made and sold by the Danish popular archeology periodical *Skalk* and by Thisted Museum. After a few years this production stopped. *Daldøs* is still played by some of the persons who bought such copies, but probably not by many other people.

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Notes

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4. According to a hand-written illustrated note from Eliel Lagercrantz joined to the *pirccu* game (SU 5126:14) at the National Museum of Finland in Helsinki. I am thankful to curator Nina Puurunen, Helsinki, for sending this note as well as other catalogue information and photos of Sámi games.
5. Mejland 1953: 175-178 describes the *sáhkku* variant played in Nord-Troms.
6. These similarities were first noticed by Palle Waage Jensen, see Jensen 1977: 160-162.
7. I want to thank sub-librarian Alison Sproston, Trinity College Library, Cambridge, for sending photos and catalogue information.
8. The game book of Alfonso X has been edited several times, see Steiger 1941, García Morencos 1987, Canettieri 1996.
9. Ibn Dâniyâl, *Dîwân*, Ms. Istanbul Aya Sofia 4880, fol.159a (see Rosenthal 1975: 44-45).
10. Cf. *ODS* III: 1136, XXIV: 952, *ODS Suppl.* III, 1997: 116; *SAOB* VII: 2392, and *JO*.
11. Thanks to Thierry Depaulis for finding these references to *dal(l)y*.
12. Sixe-ace is described in Bell 1979: 39-41, and acey-deucey in Glonnegger 1999: 35.
13. The Viking theory was proposed already in Barkved 1968: 108-110 and Haugen 1983: 5. This theory was not developed in detail until recently, however – see Østergaard, Gaston and Geleff 2001 and Depaulis in this volume.
14. See Århus 1996, especially: 9-30 ("Vikingerne og de islamiske lande" by Else Roesdahl and Anne Kromann) and 76-87 ("Danmark og Barbaresk-Staterne 1745-1845" by Hans Chr. Bjerg).