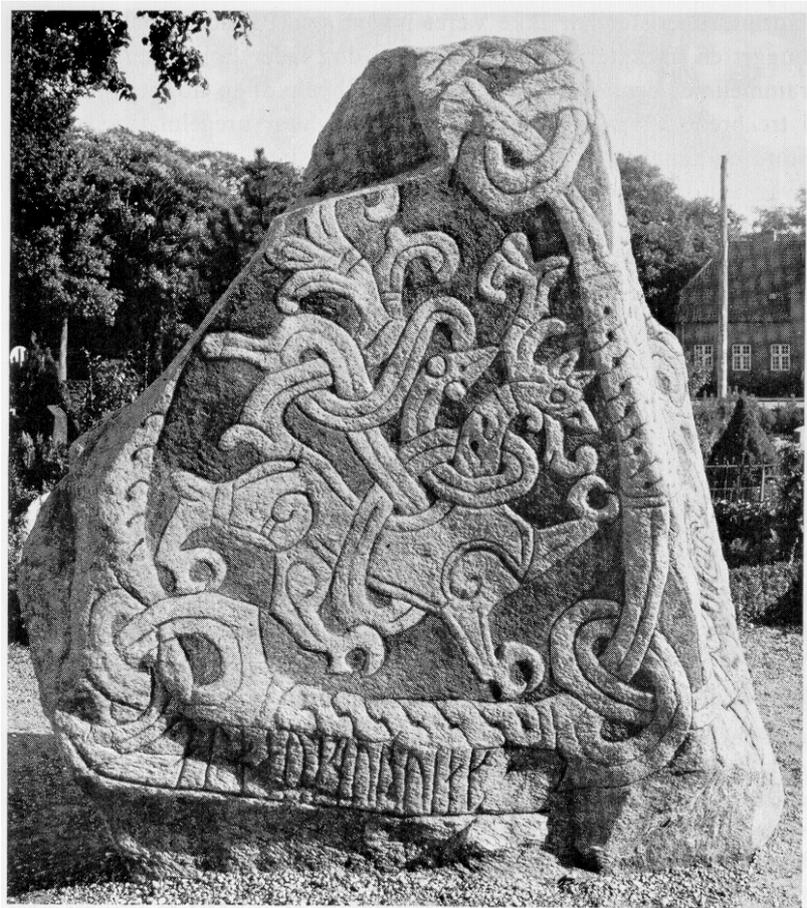


# Scandinavian History in the Viking Age

A Select Bibliography

Martin Syrett

3rd edition, revised by  
Haki Antonsson and Jonathan Grove



Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic  
University of Cambridge

2004

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### **Cover**

The 'Jelling beast' from the larger runestone at Jelling in Jutland, on which king Harald bluetooth proclaimed his sovereignty over Denmark and Norway as well as observing that he 'made the Danes Christian'. Variouslly interpreted as a symbol of either pagan mythology or royal authority, the art-work reflects the Mammen style and is possibly to be dated to the 960s.

ASNC GUIDES, TEXTS, AND STUDIES 2

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## PREFACE

This bibliography has been put together for the guidance of students studying the paper 'Scandinavian history in the Viking age' in the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, University of Cambridge. Its model and inspiration was the bibliography of the history of Anglo-Saxon England compiled by Professor Simon Keynes, and like its predecessor this bibliography also makes no claim to be anything other than an informal and ephemeral document, in this case providing a bibliographical guide to the sources of, and major themes in, Viking history.

Since the bibliography is intended primarily for the use of students, it includes translations as well as editions of primary written sources, and the emphasis is heavily upon secondary literature in English. When items in languages other than English are listed, the presence of any English summary is indicated by (E.s.). The bibliography accordingly makes no effort to be exhaustive in any respect, and overall concentrates extensively on more modern research; readers are nevertheless encouraged to delve more deeply through the use of bibliographies included in the items cited here.

One final word of warning centres on the terms employed in this bibliography. 'Scandinavia' is here defined as a cultural rather than geographical area, encompassing Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Faroe, and Iceland; moreover, even within those limits 'Scandinavian' refers to the culture of the Germanic-speaking elements rather than the indigenous Lappish or Sami populations. In chronological terms 'Viking age' is employed to refer roughly to a period from around 750 to around 1050; the period before 750 has been called 'Iron age', the period after 1050 'mediaeval'. These parameters are for pure convenience only, even though it is appreciated that they are an uneasy mixture of English and Scandinavian, or archaeological and conventional historical, conceptions that can rightly be criticised as too rigid, misleading, or simply wrong.

1 October 2001

Martin Syrett

*Scandinavian History in the Viking Age: a Select Bibliography* was first issued in October 2001. Notification of any errors and suggestions for possible improvements are most welcome, and should be directed to Mr Jonathan Grove, Department of ASNC, Faculty of English, 9 West Road, Cambridge CB3 9DP.

### **Note for the Cambridge reader**

The vast majority of references in this bibliography are (or soon will be) available for consultation in the libraries of the University of Cambridge, and to some extent preference has been given to the inclusion of such items at the expense of others which are not held in those libraries. The bulk of them are naturally only accessible in the University Library, but a fair range of material is also to be located in the libraries of various departments, such as the Anglo-Saxon Norse and Celtic section of the English Faculty Library, the Seeley Library of the Faculty of History, and the Haddon Library of the Faculty of Archaeology and Anthropology; references to holding libraries and classmarks will generally be found in square brackets following individual items, with preference given to the University Library. Students are encouraged to help build up the holdings of their college libraries and may well want to purchase some of the more general items in section (A) themselves.

### **THE DEPARTMENT OF ANGLO-SAXON, NORSE, AND CELTIC**

Information on the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic, University of Cambridge, including a guide to the ASNC Tripos, is available on the Department's website.

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# SCANDINAVIAN HISTORY IN THE VIKING AGE

## A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

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*Of the Germanic islands Scandinavia is the greatest,  
but there is nothing great in it beyond itself*

Dicuil, *Liber de mensura orbis terrae* VII:18 (anno 825)

TEXTBOOKS, REFERENCE WORKS, AND WRITTEN SOURCES

A. TEXTBOOKS AND REFERENCE WORKS

Most of the major serial works on Viking-age and mediaeval Scandinavia have been produced in an uneasy mixture of the vernacular Scandinavian languages and are now tending to look somewhat outdated. This applies, for example, to the volumes of the *Nordisk kultur* series, which nevertheless in some cases remain the most significant guides to various aspects of Scandinavian culture, e.g. (B900-01). A profoundly useful guide to virtually anything anyone could conceivably wish to know on the subject is provided by the *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder fra vikingetid til reformationstid* (A70), although with an inevitable drift towards the mediaeval period; for a more recent, although rather less copious, encyclopaedia see (A73).

General textbooks

Due to popular interest in the subject there is a vast array of general handbooks available on 'the Vikings', most of which say much the same thing and concentrate extensively on Viking activity abroad rather than Scandinavia. The rise to prominence of archaeology as the most significant discipline in the field means that many of the most useful and more recent contributions are well illustrated; (A14) and (A21) can be particularly recommended as accessible and informative guides. For a faster-paced rollercoaster of a ride through Viking history (A12) has a lot going for it.

The Vikings

- [A1] T.D. Kendrick, *A history of the Vikings* (1930; repr. 1968) [UL 592:12.c.95.10]  
[A2] H. Arbman, *The Vikings*, Ancient peoples and places 21 (1961) [UL 592:12.d.95.1]  
[A3] J. Brøndsted, *The Vikings* (1965; repr. 1976) [UL 9592.d.29, S592.d.97.4]  
[A4] E. Oxenstierna, *The Norsemen* (1966) [UL 592:12.b.95.2]  
[A5] P. Sawyer, *The age of the Vikings* (1962), 2nd edn (1971) [UL 1st edn 592:12.c.95.7, 2nd edn 592:12.c.95.17]; the classic and provocative re-assessment of Viking activity in the West  
[A6] P. Brent, *The Viking saga* (1975) [UL 592:12.b.95.4]  
[A7] D.M. Wilson, *The Vikings and their origins* (1970), 2nd edn (1980) [UL 1st edn 592:12.c.95.16, 2nd edn 592:12.b.95.5]  
[A8] D.M. Wilson, (ed.), *The northern world: the history and heritage of northern Europe, AD 400-1100* (1980) [UL 9530.b.203]  
[A9] J. Graham-Campbell and D. Kidd, *The Vikings* (1980) [UL 592:12.b.95.6], with accompanying catalogue guide: J. Graham-Campbell, *Viking artefacts: a select catalogue* (1980) [UL S592.b.98.1]  
[A10] P. Sawyer, *Kings and Vikings: Scandinavia and Europe AD 700-1100* (1982) [UL 592:12.c.95.32]  
[A11] F.D. Logan, *The Vikings in history* (1983) [UL 592:12.c.95.37]; heavy emphasis on the Viking expansion  
[A12] G. Jones, *A history of the Vikings* (1969), 2nd edn (1984) [UL 1st edn 592:12.c.95.12; 2nd edn 592:12.d.95.5, pbk 1994.7.205; 1997 repr. 9001.b.4736]; a rattling good yarn, which inspires interest and scepticism in equal measure  
[A13] J. Graham-Campbell et al., *The Viking world* (1980), 2nd edn (1989) [UL 1st edn 9530.b.204, 2nd edn 1993.11.3192]  
[A14] E. Roesdahl, *The Vikings* (1991) [UL 592:12.c.95.46]  
[A15] T. Deary, *The vicious Vikings*, Horrible histories (1994); only for students with serious application  
[A16] E. Christiansen, *The Norsemen in the Viking Age* (2002) [UL 592:12.c.200.2]  
As the subject has split up into separate components or disciplines, so it has become more and more difficult for individual scholars to master the whole of the wide and disparate range of material available. Accordingly, many recent contributions consist of contributions by specialists in particular fields; all of the following are highly recommended.  
[A20] E. Roesdahl and D.M. Wilson, (edd.), *From Viking to Crusader: the Scandinavians and Europe 800-1200* (1992) [UL S400:2.b.9.45]; an exhibition catalogue grown large  
[A21] C. Batey et al., *Cultural atlas of the Viking world* (1994) [UL 9000.a.2202]

[A22] P. Sawyer, (ed.), *The Oxford illustrated history of the Vikings* (1997) [UL 592:12.c.95.52]

[A23] K. Helle, (ed.), *The Cambridge history of Scandinavia*, vol. 1: *prehistory to 1520* (2003) [UL 592:1.c.200.2]

### Viking-age Scandinavia

Relatively less popular attention has been paid to the history of Scandinavia during the Viking age, and a further problem for the English-speaking student is that most of the detailed research has naturally been conducted in the Scandinavian languages. The deceptively named (A33) is still the most comprehensive attempt to address the social history of Viking-age Scandinavia in English, even though it is now outdated on many points; a better place to start would be with the sections devoted to Scandinavia in many of the volumes cited above, especially (A21). For more specific work on Viking-age Scandinavia, as well as references to material concerning the pre-Viking (Iron age) and post-Viking (mediaeval) periods, see section (C).

[A30] A. Olrik, *Viking civilization*, rev. by H. Ellekilde (1930) [UL 592:12.d.90.3]

[A31] L. Musset, *Les peuples scandinaves au moyen age* (1951) [UL 592:12.c.95.6]; a classic study for those willing to tackle a bit of French

[A32] G. Turville-Petre, *The heroic age of Scandinavia* (1951) [UL 9592.d.17]

[A33] P.G. Foote and D.M. Wilson, *The Viking achievement: the society and culture of early medieval Scandinavia* (1970), 2nd edn (1980) [UL 1st edn 592:12.c.95.15, 2nd edn 592:12.c.95.30]

[A34] J. Jesch, *Women in the Viking age* (1991) [UL 592:1.c.95.23]

[A35] B. and P. Sawyer, *Medieval Scandinavia from conversion to Reformation, circa 800-1500*, The Nordic series 17 (1993) [UL 592:1.c.95.34]

[A36] N. Lund, 'Scandinavia, c. 700-1066', (A101):202-27

### Major series

Most volumes of collected papers, including *Festschriften* and conference proceedings, are gathered together at the end in section (O). However, some series are too significant to be relegated as endnotes in this way.

### The Viking congresses

The most significant is the series of Viking congresses held every few years since 1950 in various locations of Scandinavian significance. These are of significance not only for showing the development of thinking in the field, but also for providing numerous presentations in condensed form that would otherwise be inaccessible in English.

[A40] *The Viking congress, Lerwick, July 1950*, ed. W.D. Simpson, Aberdeen University studies 132 (1954) [UL 592:12.c.95.2]; with a heavy concentration on the Scottish isles

[A41] *Annen Viking kongress, Bergen 1953*, ed. K. Falck, Universitetet i Bergen årbok: hist.-antiky. rekke 1955:1 [UL P500.b.171.8]

[A42] *Priðji vikingafundur: third Viking Congress, Reykjavík 1956*, ed. K. Eldjárn, Árbók hins íslenska fornleifafélags, fylgirit 1958 [UL P599.b.1.14]

[A43] *The fourth Viking Congress, York, August 1961*, ed. A. Small, Aberdeen University studies 149 (1965) [UL 592:12.c.95.8]

[A44] *The fifth Viking congress, Tórshavn, July 1965*, ed. B. Niclasen (1968) [UL 592:12.c.95.13]

[A45] *Proceedings of the sixth Viking congress, Uppsala 3-10 August, Bonäs, Dalarna, 10-12 August 1969*, edd. P. Foote and D. Strömbäck (1971) [UL 592:12.c.95.19]

[A46] *Proceedings of the seventh Viking congress, Dublin, 15-21 August 1973*, edd. B. Almqvist and D. Greene (1976) [UL 592:12.c.95.25]

[A47] *Proceedings of the eighth Viking Congress, Århus, 24-31 August 1977*, edd. H. Bekker-Nielsen et al., Mediaeval Scandinavia supplement 2 (1981) [UL P592.b.7.2]

[A48] *The Viking age in the Isle of Man: select papers from the ninth Viking congress, Isle of Man, 4-14 July 1981*, edd. C. Fell et al. (1983) [UL 480:1.c.95.23]

[A49] *Proceedings of the tenth Viking Congress, Larkollen, Norway, 1985*, ed. J.E. Knirk, Universitetets Oldsaksamlings skrifter ny rekke 9 (1987) [UL 592:12.c.95.44]

[A50] *The Viking age in Caithness, Orkney and the North Atlantic: select papers from the Proceedings of the eleventh Viking Congress, Thurso and Kirkwall, 22 August-1 September 1989*, edd. C.E. Batey et al. (1993) [UL 486:3.c.95.37]

[A51] *Developments around the Baltic and the North Sea in the Viking age: proceedings of the twelfth Viking Congress*, edd. B. Ambrosiani and H. Clarke, *Birka studies* 3 (1994) [UL 595:01.c.16.3]

[A52] *Vikings and the Danelaw: select papers from the proceedings of the thirteenth Viking congress, Nottingham and York, 21-30, August 1997*, edd. James Graham-Campbell (2001) [UL 541:16.c.200.1]

#### Other conference series

[A60] Also interesting are the series of symposiums on Viking-age studies held annually in a rotation system around the various Scandinavian countries, beginning with the *Beretning fra første tværfaglige vikingesymposium, Odense universitet 1982*, edd. H. Bekker-Nielsen and H.F. Nielsen (1982) [UL L592.c.25.1]. The contributions (typically three per volume) are naturally largely in the vernacular Scandinavian languages and often concentrate on particular themes; as a result individual articles have been cited separately throughout the bibliography

[A61] Every few years sees another 'International Saga Conference', most recently in Sydney in 2000, which include many papers of interest to Scandinavian history as well as Old Norse literature; the proceedings are not normally properly published, but some of the conferences have yielded pre-printed papers which make it into libraries. The papers are however often very compressed or incomplete, and they are frequently published properly elsewhere. Those available in Cambridge are: [a] P.G. Foote et al., (edd.), *Proceedings of the first International saga conference, University of Edinburgh, 1971* (1973) [UL 752:37.d.95.7]; [d] *Fourth International saga conference, München, July 30th-August 4th, 1979* [UL 752:37.c.95.32] (each article independently paginated); [f] *The sixth International saga conference, 28.7-2.8.1985: workshop papers* [UL 752:16.c.95.27]; [g] *The seventh International saga conference: poetry in the Scandinavian Middle ages*, *Atti del 12o congresso internazionale di studi sull'alto medioevo*, ed. Teresa Pàroli (1990) [UL P532.b.31.16]; [h] M. Clunies Ross and G. Barnes, (edd.), *Old Norse myths, literature and society. The eleventh international saga conference* (2000), online at [www.arts.usyd.edu/Arts/departs/medieval/saga](http://www.arts.usyd.edu/Arts/departs/medieval/saga)

### Reference works

#### Encyclopaedias

[A70] *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder fra vikingetid til reformationstid*, 22 vols (1956-78) [KLNLM, UL R538.201]; an indispensable companion with articles in a variety of Scandinavian languages

[A71] *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*, 2nd edn, 25 vols, edd. Herbert Jankuhn et al (1968- ) [UL R466.17]; a magnificent encyclopedia on all aspects of the cultural history of the Germanic-speaking peoples until the Carolingian period, and Scandinavia until the twelfth century, currently comprising entries from 'Aachen' to 'Rzucewo-Kultur'

[A72] R. Simek and H. Pálsson, *Lexikon der altnordischen Literatur*, Kröners Taschenausgabe 490 (1987) [UL R752.8]; a very useful guide to medieval Scandinavian literature

[A73] *Medieval Scandinavia: an encyclopedia*, Garland encyclopedias of the Middle ages 1, ed. P. Pulsiano (1993) [UL R532.50]; a fairly strong emphasis on literary material, but worth consulting for its many articles on aspects of medieval Scandinavian history and archaeology

#### Bibliographies

[A75] The *Bibliography of Old Norse-Icelandic studies* [BONIS] comprises a selective but extensive list of publications on Old Norse language and literature, runology, and medieval Scandinavian history and archaeology. The Royal Library in Copenhagen produced annual printed editions of BONIS for the years 1963-1983. An electronic database covers scholarship from 1984 onward, and is accessible online at <http://embla.bib.sdu.dk/bonis/>. For a useful introduction, see:

[A76] P. Buchholz, 'A bibliographical introduction to mediaeval Scandinavia', *BONIS* 1972, 9-87

Most of the journals listed under the abbreviations carry some reviews of major recent publications, but this naturally only extends to books. For fuller guidance to recent research, the journal *Nordic archaeological abstracts* [NAA] lists work in archaeology and has recently gone online at [www.naa.dk](http://www.naa.dk); of wider scope is the *International medieval bibliography* [UL R532.18, also available via the cam domain at [www.brepols.net/login/overview.cfm](http://www.brepols.net/login/overview.cfm)]. Bibliographies devoted to specific subject areas can be found within the relevant individual sections. Otherwise, the reading recommended in some of the more recent handbooks in (A) is a useful place to start; see also:

[A78] S. Gippert et al., *Studienbibliographie zur älteren Skandinavistik*, Berliner Beiträge zur Skandinavistik 1 (1991) [UL 752:01.c.14.1]; concentrates heavily on Old Norse language and literature

[A80] K. Wolf, *An annotated bibliography of North American doctoral dissertations on Old Norse-Icelandic*, *Islandica* 50 (1998) [UL 752:4.c.1.49]

### Dictionaries

[A90] For Old West Norse, ie. Old Icelandic-Norwegian, the standard dictionary remains J. Fritzner, *Ordbog over Det gamle norske Sprog*, 3 vols (1883-96) [UL R785.I15] along with the supplement, F. Hødnebo, *Rettelser og tillegg* (1972). This is in the process of being updated with the publication of fascicles of *Ordbog over det norrøne prosasprog/A dictionary of Old Norse prose* from the Arnamagnæan Institute in Copenhagen; so far only the *Registre/Indices* (1989), *1:a-bam* (1995), and *2:ban-da* (2001) have appeared in print [UL R785.I5]. For Old Icelandic specifically, a more useful tool for the English-speaking reader is R. Cleasby and G. Vigfússon, *An Icelandic-English dictionary*, 2nd edn and supplement by Sir W.A. Craigie (repr. 1957) [UL R785.I12]. Dictionaries and glossaries devoted to the peculiarities of poetry rather than prose are listed in the relevant sections elsewhere (B572); for skaldic poetry, however, see F. Jónsson, *Lexicon poeticum antiquæ linguæ septentrionalis: Ordbog over det norsk-islandske skjaldesprog, oprindelig forfattet af Sveinbjörn Egilsson*, 2nd edn (1931) [UL R785.I10]

[A91] For East Norse dialects, the two standard reference dictionaries are: for Danish, O. Kalkar, *Ordbog til det ældre danske sprog (1300-1700)*, 5 vols (1881-1918) [UL 794.b.88.1 ff.], and for Swedish, K.F. Söderwall et al., *Ordbok öfver Svenska Medeltids-språket*, 2 vols plus suppl., SSF 27, 54 (1884-1918, 1925-73) [UL R785.S275]

[A92] Dictionaries devoted to Scandinavian Latin are relatively thin on the ground, but any dictionary of mediaeval Latin will prove useful. For Denmark, consult the fascicles of the *Ordbog over dansk middelalderlatin/Lexicon mediae latinitatis Danicae*, ed. F. Blatt (1987 ff.) [UL R785.L17]. Nothing similar has yet begun to appear for Iceland or Norway. For Sweden, the *Glossarium til medeltidslatinet i Sverige*, ed. U. Westerberg (1968 ff.) has made more progress [UL R785.L44]; still useful also is M. Hammarström, *Glossarium till Finlands och Sveriges latinska medeltidsurkunder jämte språklig inledning*, *Handböcker utgivna av finska historiska samfundet* 1 (1925) [UL 782.c.92.2]

[A93] At the risk of bombarding the reader with detailed linguistic references, etymological dictionaries can also often prove useful, especially when dealing with issues such as loanwords. Two useful examples are J. de Vries, *Altnordisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 2nd edn (1962; repr. 1977) [UL R785.I16], and Á. Blöndal Magnússon, *Íslensk orðsifjabók* (1989) [UL R785.I13]

### Biography and prosopography

[A95] In the absence of many written sources for Viking-age Scandinavia, there is little prospect of any kind of prosopography. For individuals recorded in mediaeval Scandinavian sources of various kinds, or in the colonies abroad, see (B880 ff.); in many ways more useful are the indices to the diplomatic collections (B717 ff.).

[A96] Each of the Scandinavian countries has a separate biographical series, which contains the odd Viking-age or early mediaeval individual here and there: *Dansk biografisk leksikon*, 3rd edn, 16 vols (1979-84) [UL R457.D7]; *Íslenzkar æviskrár frá landnámstímum til ársloka 1940*, 5 vols (1948-52) [UL R457.I6]; *Norsk biografisk leksikon*, 19 vols (1923-83) [UL R457.N24]; *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, 1 ff. [up to R] (1918 ff.) [UL R457.S11]

### For purposes of comparison

The specific fate of the Vikings outside mainland Scandinavia is addressed in separate sections of the bibliography (G-J), although with the greatest concentration on areas where a Scandinavian culture took root at the expense of those regions where the Viking presence was more ephemeral and absorbed into the local populace. However, an understanding of the history of the neighbouring regions of Northern Europe in their own right is essential to an understanding of both Viking-age Scandinavia and Viking activity abroad, and this brief section is offered merely as a starting point in this direction.

### Europe

[A100] *The Oxford illustrated history of medieval Europe*, ed. G. Holmes (1988) [UL 532:2.b.95.17]; *The Cambridge illustrated history of the Middle ages*, 3 vols, ed. R. Fossier (1989) [UL 532:2.b.95.14-16]; R. Collins, *Early medieval Europe 300-1000*, 2nd edn (1999) [UL 532:3.c.95.62]; R. Bartlett, *The making of Europe: conquest, colonization and cultural change 950-1350* (1993) [UL 532:2.c.95.178]; C. Brooke, *Europe in the central Middle ages, 962-1154*, 3rd edn (2000) [UL 532:7.c.200.1]; *The early Middle ages*, ed. R. McKitterick. *The short Oxford history of Europe* (2001) [UL 531:1.c.200.3; C200.c.4300]

Recent articles devoted more specifically to individual areas can be found in:

[A101] R. McKitterick, (ed.), *The new Cambridge medieval history vol. II c. 700-c. 900* (1995) [UL R532.1]

[A102] T. Reuter, (ed.), *The new Cambridge medieval history vol. III c. 900-c. 1024* (1999) [UL R532.1]

For encyclopaedic guides:

[A105] *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*, 2nd edn (1973 ff.) [UL R466.17]

[A106] *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 9 vols plus register (1977-99) [UL R532.7]

[A107] *Dictionary of the Middle ages*, 12 vols (1982-89) [UL R532.12]

### England

[A110] F.M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn, *The Oxford history of England* 2 (1971) [UL 541:14.c.95.25]. Two recent encyclopaedias are extremely helpful: *Medieval England: an encyclopedia*, edd. P.E. Szarmach et al., *Garland encyclopedias of the Middle ages* 3 (1998) [UL R542.29]; *The Blackwell encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, edd. M. Lapidge et al. (1999) [UL R542.27]. For further guidance, see S. Keynes, *Anglo-Saxon England: a Bibliographical Handbook for Students of Anglo-Saxon History*, 5th ed. (2004), of which an earlier version (1998) is available online at [www.wmich.edu/medieval/research/rawl/keynesbib/index.html](http://www.wmich.edu/medieval/research/rawl/keynesbib/index.html)

[A111] M. Chibnall, *Anglo-Norman England, 1066-1166* (1986) [UL 541:3.c.95.50]; B. Golding, *Conquest and colonisation: the Normans in Britain, 1066-1100* (1994) [UL 541:3.c.95.57]

### Scotland, Ireland, and Wales

[A113] A.A.M. Duncan, *Scotland: the making of a kingdom*, *The Edinburgh history of Scotland* 1 (1975; pbk 1978) [UL 550:3.c.95.18, pbk Uc.7.6027]; A.P. Smyth, *Warlords and holy men: Scotland AD 80-1000*, *The new history of Scotland* 1 (1984) [UL 550:4.d.95.3]; G.W.S. Dutton, *Kingship and unity: Scotland 1000-1306*, *The new history of Scotland* 2 (1981) [UL 550:4.d.95.2]

[A114] D. Ó Corráin, *Ireland before the Normans* (1972) [UL 554:6.d.95.2]; D. Ó Cróinín, *Early medieval Ireland 400-1200* (1995) [UL 554:5.c.95.123]

[A115] W. Davies, *Wales in the early middle ages* (1982; pbk repr. 1989) [UL 485:2.c.95.53, repr. 1995.9.2807]; D. Walker, *Medieval Wales* (1990) [UL 485:2.c.95.78]

### The Frankish empire and its successors

[A117] R. McKitterick, *The Frankish kingdoms under the Carolingians 751-987* (1983) [UL 560:46.c.95.24]. See also the online bibliography compiled by T.F.X. Noble and J.M.H. Smith at [www.wmich.edu/medieval/rawl/carolingian/index.html](http://www.wmich.edu/medieval/rawl/carolingian/index.html)

[A118] E. James, *The origins of France: from Clovis to the Capetians, 500-1000* (1982) [UL 560:4.c.95.11]; J. Dunbabin, *France in the making 843-1180* (1985) [UL 560:4.c.95.16]; E.M. Hallam,

*Capetian France 987-1328* (1980) [UL 560:48.c.95.17]. For reference purposes, see *Medieval France: an encyclopedia*, Garland encyclopedias of the Middle ages 2, edd. W.K. Kibler and G.A. Zinn (1995) [UL R560.F38]

[A119] E. Searle, *Predatory kingship and the creation of Norman power, 840-1066* (1988) [UL 568:2.c.95.120]

[A120] T. Reuter, *Germany in the early middle ages c. 800-1056* (1991) [UL 570:83.c.95.20]; A. Haverkamp, *Medieval Germany 1056-1273*, 2nd edn, transl. H. Braun and R. Mortimer (1992) [UL 570:83.c.95.21]

### Russia and eastern Europe

[A125] In the first instance turn to (J60) and other works cited there; also, J. Martin, *Medieval Russia 980-1584* (1995) [UL 586:3.c.95.112]; M. Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine-Rus'. I: From prehistory to the eleventh century*, transl. M. Skorupsky (1997) [UL 588:4.b.95.108]

### Byzantium

[A127] J.J. Norwich, *A short history of Byzantium* (1997) [UL 523:3.c.95.129]; M. Whittow, *The making of Orthodox Byzantium, 600-1025* (1996) [UL 523:4.c.95.69, pbk 1997.8.1275]. For reference, *The Oxford dictionary of Byzantium*, edd. A.P. Kazhdan et al. (1991) [UL R532.40]

## B. WRITTEN SOURCES

As intimated in the preface, this guide to the primary sources is heavily oriented towards written records as opposed to other disciplines. This is partially a result of the fact that Old Norse literature in particular has always attracted the greatest attention from the English-speaking world, but also reflects the recent nature of the development of work in other disciplines such as archaeology, which means that convenient, single-volume summaries of the state of research are not easily to be found. Indeed, the easiest way for the beginner to approach the material culture is probably through the general handbooks listed in (A1 ff.), while studies on specific areas of archaeological research can be found scattered throughout the sections (M-N). This section (B) concentrates for the most part on written sources which have a bearing on Viking-age Scandinavia (including the North Atlantic colonies); materials which have a contribution to make primarily to the history of Vikings abroad else-where are included only very selectively, and for further guidance the reader is referred to the separate sections on the Viking expansion (G-J). Brief but useful overviews of the nature of the sources can be found in (A5):12-47 ('Written sources'), 48-65 ('Archaeology'); see more recently (A10):8-38

## I. ANTHOLOGIES AND SERIES

Given the disparate and uneven nature of the written sources for the history of Viking-age Scandinavia, there is unfortunately no single series or collection which could adequately be said to represent more than a small portion of the available material.

### Anthologies

Anthologies relating to a specific geographical area or literary genre can be found under the relevant headings.[B1] R.I. Page, *Chronicles of the Vikings: records, memorials and myths* (1995) [UL 592:12.c.95.51]; a useful introductory selection of translated sources of various kinds, mostly Scandinavian (including prose, verse, and inscriptions), but with a sprinkling of entries from further afield

### Series

#### Scandinavian sources

[B5] A useful series partially designed for the use of students is the *Viking Society for Northern Research text series* [VSNR TS], which provide (usually) both texts and translations of a range of relevant historical texts with introductions and notes. It is particularly welcome since the series frequently makes accessible sources that have otherwise either not been edited for many years or never been translated into English; for example Theodoric (B282), Sven Aggesen (B656), or *Guta saga* (B678)

[B6] The basic scholarly editions of the Icelandic family sagas, as well as some selected kings' saga material, is the *Íslenzk fornrit* series [ÍF]; these have introductions and notes in modern Icelandic and normalised texts with minimal critical apparatus

[B7] A further series of Scandinavian texts was produced by the *Samfund til udgivelse af gammel nordisk litteratur* [SUGNL]; these old editions have now to some extent been superseded, but cover a wider range than *Íslenzk fornrit*

### Non-Scandinavian sources

[B10] The most significant body of material relating to the Vikings can be found in the huge series *Monumenta Germaniae historica* [MGH] which was begun in Germany in the nineteenth century. The initial series of edited texts under the heading *Scriptores* [SS] [UL R560.G101] has now largely been superseded by the *Scriptores rerum germanicarum in usum scholarum* [SRG] [UL 570:01.c.8.1 ff.] and then the *Scriptores rerum germanicarum nova series* [SRG n.s.] [UL 570:01.c.10.1 ff.]. Large amounts of other relevant material can also be found under the auspices of MGH; in particular, diplomatic material in the series *Diplomata* [DD] [UL R560.G118] and correspondence in the series *Epistolae* [EPP] [R560.G111]

[B11] A further useful set of Frankish or German primary sources can also be found in the series *Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters* [AQDGM] [UL 570:01.c.57.1 ff.], which have the advantage of both Latin texts and German facing translations

## II. NON-SCANDINAVIAN SOURCES

As the Scandinavians were illiterate (in the strict sense of the word, at least) during the Viking age, sources from outside Scandinavia provide the bulk of our written material for this period. Unfortunately, they frequently (and naturally) show a clear tendency to be either mis- or ill-informed and prejudiced, and when combined with the relative paucity of historical evidence relating to Scandinavia itself these factors render such sources rather less informative than we might often wish. The sources gathered here consist largely of histories, chronicles, or hagiography, ie. texts that seem to have been written for the purpose of preserving historical information for posterity; for documentary evidence such as laws or correspondence, see section (B.VI). For guidance in the bewildering field of mediaeval source materials, see:

[B15] *Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental* (1972 ff.) [UL R532.6]; a series of fascicles examining various kinds of sources for mediaeval European history, mostly in French and naturally very general

[B16] R.C. van Caenegem et al., *Guide to the sources of medieval history*, Europe in the middle ages: selected studies 2 (1978) [UL R532.11]

Many sources, particularly Insular, are also well worth looking up in:

[B17] E.B. Graves, *A bibliography of English history to 1485* (1975) [UL R542.50]

### Classical sources

Written sources from before the eighth century are largely of peripheral interest, and tend to consist of little more than cursory descriptions of Scandinavia and observations on the characteristics and movements of the tribes resident in the region. Accordingly, only a small selection of the vast literature on the subject is given.

[B25] **The Classical geographers.** The earliest written reports of Scandinavia come from the geographers and philosophers of the Classical period. Particularly striking are the reports of the Greek explorer Pytheas of Marseilles, who is said to have reached a place called 'Thule' in the northern oceans in the fourth century BC (C10). Pytheas' accounts were only preserved, and largely disbelieved, in the works of later authors such as [a] **Strabo**. Text and transl.: H.L. Jones, *The geography of Strabo*, Loeb classical library, 8 vols (1917-32) [UL R707.5 STR.1-8]. Further details were also provided by the Roman scholar [b] **Pliny**. Text and transl.: H. Rackham et al., *Pliny, Natural history*, Loeb classical library, 10 vols (1938-62) [UL R712.5 PLI.3-12]. The fullest classical geography, which touches on 'Scandia', is that of [c] **Ptolemy**. Text: O. Cuntz, *Die Geographie des Ptolemaeus* (1923) [UL N.47.48].

Transl.: E.L. Stevenson, *Geography of Claudius Ptolemy* (1932) [UL Atlas.4.93.22]. For commentary, see (C13)

[B26] **Tacitus'** classic description of the Germanic peoples in his *Germania*, composed at the end of the first century AD, contains little on Scandinavia itself but a good deal on customs, laws, and religion which can, when used cautiously, prove of great comparative value. Text and transl.: M. Hutton et al., *Tacitus. I: Agricola, Germania, Dialogus*, rev. edn, Loeb classical library (1970) [UL R712.5 TAC.1]. Transl.: J.B. Rives, *Tacitus: Germania* (1999) [UL 9006.c.5277]; A.R. Birley, *Tacitus: Agricola and Germany* (1999) [UL 9003.d.207]

### Merovingian period sources

For general guidance:

[B30] W. Goffart, *The narrators of barbarian history (A.D. 550-800): Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon* (1988) [UL 532:3.c.95.36]

For specific texts:

[B31] **Jordanes** the Goth compiled his *Getica* around 550, which contains some observations on the political geography of the Scandinavian tribes. Text: T. Mommsen, *Iordanis, Romana et Getica*, MGH AA 5:1 (1882) [UL R560.G117]. Transl.: C.C. Mierow, *Jordanes: the origin and deeds of the Goths in English version* (1908) [UL 9500.c.195]. For text and German translation of the relevant passages, with full commentary, see (C13)

[B32] **Procopius** composed his *Wars* around the middle of the sixth century; the references to Scandinavia are rather oblique and dictated by the wanderings of the mysterious tribe known as the 'Eruli' (C12). Text and transl.: H.B. Dewing, *Procopius*, 7 vols, Loeb classical library (1914-54) [UL R707.5 PRO.1-7]

[B33] **Gregory of Tours'** 'History of the Franks' does not mention Scandinavia but does include (in III.3) the account of a Danish raid of the early sixth century into Frankish territory led by one 'Chlochilaich', long considered to be the same historical figure as the 'Hygelac' of the Old English poem *Beowulf* (B101). Text: B. Krusch and W. Levison, *Gregorii episcopi Turonensis, Libri historiarum X*, 2nd edn, MGH SRM 1:1 (1951) [UL R560.G113]. Transl.: O.M. Dalton, *The history of the Franks by Gregory of Tours*, 2 vols (1927) [UL 560:44.c.95.4-5]; L. Thorpe, *Gregory of Tours: the history of the Franks* (1974) [UL 9560.d.210, repr. Uc.7.7195]

### Frankish and other continental sources

This heading covers texts produced effectively anywhere in continental western Europe between the eighth and eleventh centuries which touch on Scandinavian affairs; sources which concentrate exclusively on Viking activity within (or near) the realms of the Frankish empire are only selectively included. The 'biggies' consist of the works emanating from the see of Hamburg-Bremen (B70 ff.), but a number of other minor sources are useful and, on occasion, extremely significant. Guidance in tackling this material can be found in (A117); the most comprehensive account remains:

[B35] W. Wattenbach et al., *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, the original version of which was revised in two distinct parts around the middle of this century. The earlier, dealing with the Classical period up until (and including) the Carolingians, is W. Levison et al. [hence known as Wattenbach-Levison], *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter* (1952-73) [UL 570:47.b.95.1-3]; for the later period of until the end of the eleventh century, see R. Holtzmann et al. [so known as Wattenbach-Holtzmann], *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter: deutsche Kaiserzeit* (1938-48) [UL 570:83.c.90.2-4]

The major sources can be found in MGH (B10), and many of the most interesting also in AQDGM (B11). For some collected translations, see:

[B36] P.E. Dutton, *Carolingian civilization: a reader* (1993) [UL 560:46.c.95.39]

For Viking raids in France, see the following (in Danish translation):

[B37] N. Skyum-Nielsen, *Vikingerne i Paris: beretninger fra 9. århundrede* (1967) [UL 592:12.c.95.41]

[B38] Erling Albrectsen, *Vikingerne i Franken: skriftlige kilder fra det 9. århundrede* (1976) [UL 592:12.c.95.27]

### Royal biographies

Of the biographies produced of the Frankish emperors, only those of the Carolingians of the ninth century have much direct information on Scandinavia; for Rimbert's life of Anskar, see (B72).

[B40] For an anthology with text and German transl.: R. Rau et al., *Quellen zur karolingischen Reichsgeschichte. I: Die Reichsannalen; Einhard, Leben Karls des Grossen; zwei 'Leben' Ludwigs; Nithard, Geschichten*, AQDGM 5 (1956) [UL 570:01.c.57.5]

[B41] Various accounts were composed on the life and deeds of Charlemagne. The standard is that of [a] **Einhard** (died 840), a court official who composed his *Vita Karoli* around the 820s. Text: O. Holder-Egger, *Einhardi Vita Karoli magni*, 6th edn, MGH SRG (1922) [UL 570:01.c.8.26]. Text and transl.: E.S. Firchow and E.H. Zeydel, *Einhard: the life of Charlemagne* (1972) [UL 560:46.d.95.6]. Text and German transl. in (B40):157-211. Transl.: (B36):24-43 or P.E. Dutton, *Charlemagne's courtier: the complete Einhard* (1998). A slightly later life, but containing some interesting observations, is that of [b] **Notker balbulus** 'the stammerer' (died 912), who composed his *Gesta Karoli* around 887. Text: H.F. Haefete, *Notker der Stammler, Taten Kaiser Karls des Grossen*, MGH SRG n.s. 12 (1962) [UL 570:01.c.10.11]. Text and German transl.: (B60a):321-427. Both lives are translated in L. Thorpe, *Einhard and Notker the stammerer: two lives of Charlemagne* (1969) [UL 9560.d.134]

[B42] For Louis the Pious two further biographies are also relevant, as well as the poetic account by Ermold (B47). [a] **Thegan(us)** or **Theganbert** composed his *Vita Hludowici imperatoris* 'life of emperor Louis' in the late 830s. Text: E. Tremp, *Theganus: Gesta Hludowici imperatoris, Astronomus: Vita Hludowici imperatoris*, MGH SRG 64 (1995) [UL 570:01.c.8.38]. Transl.: (B36):141-55. Text and German transl. in (B40):213-53. [b] There is also a further anonymous life by the 'Astronomer', which can be found in Tremp's edition and (B40):257-381. Transl.: A. Cabaniss, *Son of Charlemagne: a contemporary life of Louis the Pious* (1961) [UL 560:46.d.95.2]. For commentary, see: E. Tremp, *Studien zu den Gesta Hludowici imperatoris des Trierer Chorbischofs Thegan*, MGH Schriften 32 (1988) [UL 570:01.c.3.40]

### Verse

Only a small portion of the large amounts of Carolingian verse is cited here; for a general overview with reference to the Norse, see:

[B45] T.M. Andersson, 'The Viking image in Carolingian poetry', (O22):217-46

[B46] **Paul the Deacon** (died c. 799) is best known for his history of the Lombards, but he was also the author of some poetry in the late eighth century, most relevant for his comments on the Danish king Sigifrid he was asked to visit on a missionary basis. Text: E. Dümmler, *Poetae latini aevi Carolini I*, MGH (1881), 51-52 [UL R560.G116]; K. Neff, *Die Gedichte des Paulus Diaconus*, Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters 3,4 (1908) [UL 716:01.c.17.3], 101-05; see also (B45):218-19

[B47] **Ermold nigellus** or 'the black' composed his praise poem in honour of emperor Louis the Pious (the *Carmen in honorem Hludowici*) in 826; it is of particular interest for Scandinavian history in Book IV, which tells of Louis the Pious setting up the early missions under Ebo, provides some observations on the pagan customs of the Danes, and gives an interesting account of Harald klak's baptism at Ingelheim. Text: E. Dümmler, *Poetae latini aevi Carolini II*, MGH (1884), 5-79 [UL R560.G116]. Text and French transl.: E. Faral, *Ermold le noir: poème sur Louis le pieux et épîtres au roi Pépin*, Les classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen age 14 (1932) [UL 560:01.d.1.13]; cf. (B45) for background

[B48] **Abbo of saint-Germain** was an eyewitness to the Viking siege on Paris in 885 and composed a long poem on it soon after. Text: G.H. Pertz, *Abbonis De bello Parisiaco libri III*, MGH SRG (1871) [UL 570:01.c.8.9]; P. de Winterfeld, *Poetae latini aevi Carolini IV:1*, MGH (1899), 72-121 [UL R560.G116]. Text and French transl.: H. Waquet, *Abbon, Le siège de Paris par les Normands: poème du IXe siècle*, Les classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen age 20 (1942) [UL 560:01.d.1.19]. Excerpts transl. in (B36):483-85

### Annals

Numerous sets of annals were produced in the Carolingian empire, and they provide a fundamental source for ninth-century Denmark in particular. The earliest and in some ways most authoritative set, covering the late eighth and early ninth centuries, is the:

**[B50] Royal Frankish annals.** Text: F. Kurze, *Annales regni Francorum inde ab A. 741 usque ad A. 829*, MGH SRG (1895) [UL 570:01.c.8.16]. Transl.: B.W. Scholz, *Carolingian chronicles: Royal Frankish annals and Nithard's histories* (1970) [UL 560:46.c.95.12]

Further annals were compiled as continuations in various monastic houses, but only a couple are as yet readily available in English. For text and German translation of three of the most useful of these, see:

**[B51] R. Rau et al.,** *Quellen zur karolingischen Reichsgeschichte. II: Jahrbücher von St. Bertin; Jahrbücher von St. Vaast; Xantener Jahrbücher*, AQDGM 6 (1956) [UL 570:01.c.57.6]

**[B52] Fulda** (covering 828 to 902). Text: F. Kurze, *Annales Fuldenses sive Annales regni Francorum orientalis*, 2nd edn, MGH SRG (1891) [UL 570:01.c.8.18]. Transl.: T. Reuter, *The annals of Fulda: ninth-century histories vol. 2* (1992) [UL 570:85.c.95.3]. Text and German transl.: (B60a):19-177

**[B53] Saint-Bertin** (covering 830 to 882). Text: G. Waitz, *Annales Bertiniani*, MGH SRG (1883) [UL 570:01.c.8.10]. Transl.: J.L. Nelson, *The annals of St-Bertin: ninth-century histories vol. 1* (1991) [UL 560:46.c.95.31]. Text and German transl.: (B51):11-287

**[B54] Xanten** (covering 831 to 873). Text: B. de Simson, *Annales Xantenses*, MGH SRG (1909) [UL 570:01.c.8.24]. Transl. excerpts in (B36):391-94 (for years 844-62). Text and German transl.: (B51):339-71

**[B55] Saint-Vaast** (covering 874 to 900). Text: B. de Simson, *Annales Vedastini*, MGH SRG (1909) [UL 570:01.c.8.24]. Text and German transl.: (B51):289-337. Transl. excerpts in (B36):477-81 (for years 882-86)

### Histories and chronicles

The most important historical work for Viking-age Scandinavia is Adam of Bremen's *Gesta* (B73). Other chronicles tend not to contain much information on Scandinavia, but when they do it is often in the form of priceless historical nuggets.

**[B60] Regino of Prüm** (died 915) composed his *Chronica* covering events up to 906; his work was later continued by Adalbert of Magdeburg until 967. Text: F. Kurze, *Reginonis abbatis Prumiensis Chronicon cum continuatione Treverensi*, MGH SRG (1890) [UL 570:01.c.8.18]. [a] Text and German transl.: R. Rau et al., *Quellen zur karolingischen Reichsgeschichte. III: Jahrbücher von Fulda; Regino, Chronik; Notker, Taten Karls*, AQDGM 7 (1960), 179-319 [UL 570:01.c.57.7]; for Adalbert's continuation, see (B61a):185-231

**[B61] Widukind of Corvey** composed his history of the Saxons around 970; it is of great value for its depiction of Harald Bluetooth's acceptance of Christianity a few years previously. Text: P. Hirsch et al., *Widukindi monachi Corbeiensis Rerum gestarum saxoniarum libri tres*, MGH SRG, 5th edn (1935) [UL 570:01.c.8.31]. [a] Text and German transl.: A. Bauer et al., *Quellen zur Geschichte der sächsischen Kaiserzeit: Widukinds Sachsengeschichte, Adalberts Fortsetzung der Chronik Reginos, Liudprands Werke*, AQDGM 8 (1971) [UL 570:01.c.57.8], 1-183

**[B62] Liudprand of Cremona** was a tenth-century bishop and statesman, especially under emperor Otto I; two of his works, the *Antapodosis* and the *Relatio de legatione Constantinopolitana* were composed on the basis of his ambassadorial missions to Byzantium around 970, and contain interesting observations on the Rus' (J26 ff.). Text: G.H. Pertz, *Liudprandi episcopi Cremonensis opera omnia*, MGH SRG (1839) [UL 570:01.c.8.2]. Transl.: F.A. Wright, *Liudprand of Cremona: the Embassy to Constantinople and other writings* (1993) [UL 1994.7.1140]. Text and German transl. in (B61a):233-589

**[B63] Thietmar of Merseburg** (975-1018) composed his *Chronicon* in the early eleventh century; it is of particular interest for his accounts of the exploits of the Anglo-Danish kings. Text: F. Kurze, *Thietmari Merseburgensis episcopi Chronicon*, MGH SRG (1889) [UL 570:01.c.8.13]; R. Holtzmann, *Die Chronik des Bischofs Thietmar von Merseburg und ihre Korveier Überarbeitung*, MGH SRG n.s. 12 (1935) [UL 570:01.c.10.9]. Transl.: D.A. Warner, *Ottoman Germany: the Chronicon of Thietmar of Merseburg* (2001) [UL 570:86.c.200.2]. Text and German transl.: W. Trillmich, *Thietmar von*

*Merseburg: Chronik*, AQDGM 9 (1966) [UL 570:01.c.57.9]. Excerpts also transl. in (B81):347-50 (on the Anglo-Danish kings)

[B64] **Dudo of St Quentin** composed his history of the dukes of Normandy (or *Gesta Normannorum* 'Deeds of the Normans') in the opening decades of the eleventh century; it is naturally of more use for Norman than Scandinavian history, but has something to say about the Norse origins of the Normans and their later relations with Scandinavia. Text: M.J. Lair, *Dudonis sancti Quintini De moribus et actis primorum Normanniæ ducum*, Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie 3. série 3 (1865) [UL P567.b.36.23]. Transl.: E. Christiansen, *Dudo of St Quentin: History of the Normans* (1998) [UL 568:2.c.95.155]

### Hamburg-Bremen

Somewhat artificially, the historical works emanating from the archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen have been set aside in a separate section, not only because they far outstrip other contemporary sources in the depth of their coverage of Scandinavia but also because they are in many ways closely interlinked. A basic collection of material with Latin texts and German translations can be found in:

[B70] W. Trillmich and R. Buchner, *Quellen des 9. und 11. Jahrhunderts zur Geschichte der hamburgischen Kirche und des Reiches*, AQDGM 11 (1961) [UL 570:01.c.57.11]

From the early ninth century under Anskar to the early twelfth the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen carried the papal authority to organise the conversion of the Scandinavians; their tale is largely one of fighting against insuperable odds, whether due to the marginal position of Hamburg-Bremen in German politics or the greater influence of missionaries from elsewhere in the field. There is a fair amount of diplomatic material and correspondence from the period which illuminates their efforts (B741-742), alongside two major historical works, the first of which deals with Anskar, bishop of (successively) Hamburg, Bremen, and Hamburg-Bremen.

[B72] **Rimbert** wrote his *Vita Anskarii* soon after Anskar's death in 865; although an invaluable source for early missionary activity in Scandinavia, its value as a historical source is compromised by its adherence to the principles of hagiographical rather than historical composition. Text: G. Waitz, *Vita Anskarii auctore Rimberto, accedit Vita Rimberti*, MGH SRG (1884) [UL 570:01.c.8.17]. Transl.: C.H. Robinson, *Anskar the apostle of the north, 801-65* (1921) [UL 9100.d.3208]; further excerpts on Anskar in (B1):227-30. Robinson's translation can be accessed online at [www/fordham.edu/halsall/basis/anskar.html](http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/anskar.html). Text and German transl.: (B70):1-133. For commentary on the historicity of the text and Rimbert's attempts to portray Anskar as a frustrated martyr, see (L118) and H. Lutterbach, 'Keine Sühne ohne Blut? Das Martyrium des hl. Ansgar', *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige* 106 (1995), 79-99. [a] The anonymous **Vita Rimberti** 'life of Rimbert' is largely of incidental interest for Scandinavian history, although it does contain some further observations which carry on from Rimbert's own life of Anskar, since Rimbert also undertook missionary activity in the north. Text in Waitz's edition above, 80-100. German transl.: J.C.M. Laurent, *Leben der Erzbischöfe Anskar und Rimbert*, 2nd edn rev. W. Wattenbach, *Die Geschichtschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit: neuntes Jahrhundert* 7 (1889), 103-36 [UL 570:01.d.2.7]

[B73] **Adam of Bremen**'s *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum* 'Deeds of the archbishops of Hamburg[-Bremen]' is yet more significant, and provides the only contemporary attempt to produce anything like a history of Viking-age Scandinavia. It was first composed around 1075 and then added to, partly with notes from Adam's own hand, with a series of *scholia* in the early 1080s and later. While indispensable as the single most important written source for the (particularly late) Viking age, Adam's work has come under close scrutiny and heavy criticism for its biased and tendentious approach to many of its subject areas; it was clearly designed to chronicle and then justify the claims of the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen to authority over the Scandinavian Churches. In the early part of the work Adam is heavily reliant on Rimbert for his source material, and can sometimes be seen to select and adapt according to his purposes; a variety of witnesses are cited for the later Viking age, the most celebrated being the Danish king Svein Estrithsen. Text: B. Schmeidler, *Magistri Adami Bremensis Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, MGH SRG, 3rd edn (1917) [UL 570:01.c.8.29]. Text and German transl. in (B70):135-499. Transl.: F.J. Tschan, *History of the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, *Records of civilization: sources and studies* 53 (1959) [UL 60:8.c.95.3], reprinted with a new

introduction and selected bibliography by Timothy Reuter (2002) [UL 79.c.200.3]; further excerpts can be found in (B1):41-45 (the geographical description), 220-21 (Uppsala). A Swedish translation with useful notes and minor essays is E. Svenberg et al., *Adam av Bremen: historien om Hamburgstiftet och dess biskopar* (1984) [UL 62:1.c.95.24]. For the textual history, see A.K.G. Kristensen, *Studien zur Adam von Bremen Überlieferung*, Skrifter udgivet af Det historiske Institut ved Københavns Universitet 5 (1975) [UL 532:15.b.95.2]; for a study of Adam's historiographical approach, C.F. Hallencreutz, *Adam Bremensis and Sueonia: a fresh look at Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, Skrifter rörande Uppsala universitet, C: Organisation och historia 47 (1984) [UL L243.36:c.U1.5.4]

For much of this period the responsibilities of the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen extended more widely to include all the 'Transalbingians', ie. the peoples living beyond (to the north and east of) the river Elbe. Although the history and conversion of the Slavic tribes of eastern Europe falls outside the scope of this bibliography, events here are often interesting as comparative material for Scandinavia itself. An interesting text which gives the eastern European perspective, as well as providing the only evidence for Adam of Bremen's actual name, is:

**[B74] Helmold of Bosau.** Around 1170 Helmold wrote a history of the conversion of the Slavs, although largely from the perspective of German imperialism moving eastwards. Text: B. Schmeidler, *Helmoldi presbyteri Bozoviensis Cronica Slavorum*, 2nd edn, MGH SRG (1909) [UL 570:01.c.8.24]. Transl.: F.J. Tschann, *The chronicle of the Slavs by Helmold, priest of Bosau*, Records of civilization: sources and studies 21 (1935) [UL RE.159.537]. Text and German transl.: H. Stoob, *Helmold von Bosau: Slawenchronik*, AQDGM 19 (1963) [UL 570:01.c.57.19]

#### English and Anglo-Norman sources

English and Anglo-Norman sources for Scandinavian history are at once more numerous yet less informative than those from the continent. To some extent this is a matter of preservation and interest; while the German missionaries had Adam of Bremen to record their deeds, the large numbers of English missionaries in the North failed to gain such an audience, rather surprisingly given the large amount of evidence relating the activities of the Anglo-Saxons in Germany in the seventh and eighth centuries. In addition, the close cultural contacts between England and Scandinavia in the late Viking age, particularly during the period of the Anglo-Danish kings in the first half of the eleventh century, means that many texts from the time have much to say about the Norse, but are often irritatingly reticent about their neighbours across the North sea as opposed to their (unwanted) neighbours next door in England itself.

#### Source anthologies and guides

The following are all useful collections of material, including some Scandinavian verse, in translation:

**[B80]** M. Ashdown, *English and Norse documents relating to the reign of Ethelred the unready* (1930) [UL 717:1.c.90.3]

**[B81]** D. Whitelock, *English historical documents vol. 1, c. 500-1042*, 2nd edn (1979; repr. 1996) [EHD, UL 540:13.c.95.32, -.69]

**[B82]** D. Douglas and G. Greenaway, *English historical documents vol. 2, 1042-1189*, 2nd edn (1981) [UL 540:13.c.95.33, -.70]

#### Histories and chronicles

This group is again only a selection of the available sources, focussing firstly on those which have some contribution to make to the history of Scandinavia itself:

**[B85] Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*** 'ecclesiastical history', which extends to the year 731, is of minor interest for his comments on the origins of the Angles, Saxons, and particularly Jutes; the origins of the Jutes has long been a controversial issue, and can be tied in with the relations between other tribal groups such as the Danes and the 'Eruli' in the pre-Viking period (C12), cf. also (B30). Text and transl.: B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, *Bede's ecclesiastical history of the English people* (1969; corr. repr. 1991) [UL 716:01.c.2.37; repr. 716:01.c.2.78]. Transl.: L. Sherley-Price et al., *Bede, Ecclesiastical history of the English people*, rev. edn (1990) [UL 9000.d.6988]

**[B86] The Anglo-Saxon chronicle** is a vast, sprawling set of annals in several versions that cover English history up until the middle of the twelfth century (in its latest form, the Peterborough chronicle).

Aside from tales of Viking expeditions in England, it is significant for the (often all too brief) accounts of Scandinavian political history, especially relations with, and between, the Danes and Norwegians in the late tenth and eleventh centuries. Text: *The Anglo-Saxon chronicle: a collaborative edition*, gen. edd. D. Dumville et al. (1983 ff.) [UL 541:14.c.95.40 ff.] (all the major manuscripts now edited); for more general use: B. Thorpe, *The Anglo-Saxon chronicle, according to the several original authorities*, 2 vols, RS 23 (1861; repr. 1964) [UL R542.30.23] (second volume contains English translation); C. Plummer, *Two of the Saxon chronicles parallel*, 2 vols (1892-99; rev. repr. 1952) [UL 717:3.d.95.1-2]. Transl.: (B81):145-261, and (B82):103-215; M.J. Swanton, *The Anglo-Saxon chronicle* (1996) [UL 541:14.c.95.104]

[B87] **Æthelweard** was an Anglo-Saxon nobleman who compiled a history of the English, largely based on earlier chronicles, around the end of the tenth century; although adding relatively little to the accounts of the Vikings in England, his adaptation of Scandinavian names in particular seems to imply some contacts with, and interest in, the Danes. Text and transl.: A. Campbell, *The chronicle of Æthelweard* (1962) [UL 716:01.c.2.21]

### Royal biographies

The various royal biographies composed in Anglo-Saxon England, occasionally verging on the hagiographical for some kings, are of diffuse value; the earlier ones are naturally most useful in a Scandinavian context for their observations on the Viking invaders, while the later ones provide essential portraits of the activities of the Anglo-Danish kings in the early eleventh century.

[B90] **Asser's** biography of king of Alfred of Wessex from the end of the ninth century is of great interest for Viking activity in England. Text: W.H. Stevenson, *Asser's life of king Alfred* (1904), repr. with intro. by D. Whitelock (1959) [UL 9540.d.443]. Transl.: S. Keynes and M. Lapidge, *Alfred the great: Asser's Life of King Alfred and other contemporary sources* (1983) [UL 9540.d.1016]; excerpts also transl. (B81):289-303

[B91] **Abbo of Fleury** composed his *Passio sancti Eadmundi* 'life of saint Edmund' on the king of East Anglia who was killed in 869 by rampaging Danes; it is additionally significant as the major fixed chronological point employed by the earliest Icelandic historians such as Ari (B255) for dating the settlement of Iceland. Text: M. Winterbottom, *Three lives of English saints* (1972), 65-87 [UL 118:3.c.95.17]. Text and transl.: Lord F. Hervey, *Corolla sancti Eadmundi: the garland of saint Edmund king and martyr* (1907), 6-59 [UL RC.20.16] (with much other material, including later versions of Abbo transl. into Old English). Commentary: A. Gransden, 'Abbo of Fleury's *Passio sancti Eadmundi*', *Revue Bénédictine* 105 (1995), 20-78

[B92] **The Encomium Emmae** was composed by a cleric in St Omer during the reign of Harthacnut (1040-42) for queen Emma; it is of great value as a source for the Anglo-Danish kings, especially the position of the shadowy king of Denmark Harald Sveinsson, brother of Knut, but is a highly tendentious source in many ways. Text: (B635): II,375-426. Text and transl.: A. Campbell, *Encomium Emmae reginae*, Camden third series 72 (1949) [UL 540:01.c.1.239]; repr. with introduction by S. Keynes, Camden classic reprints 4 (1998) [UL 540:01.c.4.4]. For further commentary on the purposes of the author, see F. Lifshitz, 'The *Encomium Emmæ reginae*: a "political pamphlet" of the eleventh century?', *Haskins Society journal* 1 (1989), 39-50; A. Orchard, 'The literary background to the *Encomium Emmae reginae*', *Journal of Medieval Latin* 11 (2001), 156-83.

### Hagiography

It is at once both surprising and irritating that there are almost no English sources which talk of missionaries at work in Scandinavia in the late Viking age, even though on other grounds we suspect there must have been many and that their influence on the Scandinavian church was extensive (L132 ff.).

[B95] **Willibrord**, the renowned Apostle of the Frisians, also made a brief visit to Denmark in the early eighth century according to his life by Alcuin. Text: W. Levison, 'Vita Willibrordi archiepiscopi Traiectensis', *Passiones vitaeque sanctorum aevi Merovingici*, MGH SRM 7 (1920), 81-141 [UL R560.G113]. Text and German transl.: H.-J. Reischmann, *Willibrord, Apostel der Friesen: seine Vita nach Alkuin und Thiofrid, lateinisch-deutsch* (1989) [UL 62:1.c.95.30]. Transl.: C.H. Talbot, *The Anglo-Saxon missionaries in Germany, being the lives of St. Willibrord, Boniface, Sturm, Leoba and Lebuin*,

together with the Hodoeporicon of St. Willibald and a selection from the correspondence of St. Boniface (1954) [UL 44:1.c.8.2]

### Verse

Old English vernacular poetry has frequently been plundered by literary scholars hunting for analogues with Norse material, in particular in the light of the supposed 'heroic' code exemplified by the material of both cultures. Occasional compositions do also provide some kind of commentary on matters Scandinavian, largely in the form of compositions about Viking activities in England. An anthology of surviving verse in translation is provided by:

[B100] S.A.J. Bradley, *Anglo-Saxon poetry* (1982) [UL 9720.d.7557]

Of the individual poems, the two following have the most immediate relevance for Scandinavian history:

[B101] **Beowulf**, the major epic poem of the Old English corpus, purportedly provides information on the early history of Sweden and has often been invoked as a source for the tension between the two dominant tribal groups of the Svear and Götar (F1 ff., F44 ff.). However, any historical value in the poem is highly dubious. Text: F. Klaeber, *Beowulf and the fight at Finnsburg*, 3rd edn with suppl. (1950) [UL 717:3.d.95.4]; B. Mitchell and F.C. Robinson, *Beowulf: an edition with relevant shorter texts* (1998) [UL 9005.c.8854]. Transl.: M.J. Swanton, *Beowulf* (1978) [UL 717:3.c.95.20]; (B100):408-94

[B102] **The battle of Maldon** is an anonymous late Old English poem on the battle against Viking invaders at Maldon in 991. Text: D.G. Scragg, *The battle of Maldon* (1981) [UL 719:01.c.5.16]. Transl.: (B100):518-28. [a] Commentary: D. Scragg, (ed.), *The battle of Maldon AD 991* (1991) [UL 541:14.c.95.90]; J. Cooper, (ed.), *The battle of Maldon: fiction and fact* (1993) [UL 541:14.c.95.99]

### Other sources

[B105] Homiletic material, although not strictly speaking conforming to the definition of this section as 'historical sources', often contains observations on the Vikings in England and occasionally some remarks on their customs and habits. Most striking are the works of Ælfric abbot of Eynsham and Wulfstan archbishop of York, who were active at the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh centuries. Of the numerous homilies attributed to these two Anglo-Saxon authors, that on pagan gods, *De falsis diis*, stands out. Originally composed by Ælfric, it was later rewritten by Wulfstan, and contains many interesting observations on the pagan beliefs of the Danes. [a] **Ælfric**. Text: J.C. Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric: a supplementary collection*, Early English text society 259-60 (1967-68), 667-724 [UL 719:01.c.1.230-31]. [b] **Wulfstan**. Text: D. Bethurum, *The homilies of Wulfstan* (1957), 221-24 [UL 717:3.d.95.3]

[B106] The Old English translation of **Orosius'** world history (*Historia adversum paganos*) produced at the court of king Alfred in the late ninth century contains (typically) much new material added by the compilers. Of outstanding interest for Scandinavian history is the account included of the journeys and lifestyles of two merchants, one English (Wulfstan), the other Norwegian (Ohthere or Ottar). The Anglo-Saxon author also added some interesting comments of his own on the political geography of northern Europe, but the account of Ohthere in particular is useful not only for that but also for a snapshot of what a ninth-century Norwegian chieftain got up to; see (C16). Text: J. Bately, *The Old English Orosius*, EETS SS 6 (1980) [UL 719:01.c.6.6]. Transl. excerpts relating to Scandinavia can be found in (B1):45-48. The most useful edition for current purposes, with text, translation, and commentary, is [a] N. Lund and C. Fell, *Two voyagers at the court of king Alfred: the ventures of Ohthere and Wulfstan together with the description of northern Europe from the Old English Orosius* (1984) [UL 1984.9.957]

[B107] Legal material from England is also interesting, especially when referring to the Danelaw (170 ff.). [a] Text: F. Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, 3 vols (1913-16; repr. 1960) [UL S250.b.90.1]. [b] Text and transl.: A.J. Robertson, *The laws of the kings of England from Edmund to Henry I* (1925) [UL RC.84.105]

### Anglo-Norman historians

The early Norman historians of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries have naturally a deal to say in particular about the reigns of the Anglo-Danish kings and the events of 1066 leading to the Norman

conquest of England, but also occasionally contain stray remarks about Scandinavia itself. Only a few of the major sources are listed here.

[B110] **William of Jumièges** finished his *Gesta Normannorum ducum* 'Deeds of the dukes of Normandy' in the early 1070s; it provides the sole evidence for saint Olaf Haraldsson's baptism in Rouen. Text and transl.: E.M.C. van Houts, *The Gesta Normannorum ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni*, 2 vols (1992-95) [UL 716:01.c.2.79-80]

[B111] **William of Malmesbury** is definitely one of the most important Anglo-Norman historians, not only in terms of the breadth of his work but also because he seems to have had access to many source materials now lost; he was active in the first half of the twelfth century. [a] His *Gesta regum Anglorum* 'Deeds of the kings of the English' contains a full account of the reign of Æthelstan (924-39), where it mentions relations with a king Harald (presumably Harald fairhair (E30 ff.) of Norway). Text and transl.: R.A.B. Mynors et al., *William of Malmesbury, Gesta regum Anglorum: the history of the English kings*, 2 vols (1998-99) [UL 716:01.c.2.94-95]; the relevant excerpts can be found in (B81):303-10. [b] His history of the abbey of Glastonbury is also surprisingly interesting, in that it contains an obituary list of bishops from the reign of king Edgar (959-75) which mentions one Sigfrid 'bishop of Norway'. Text and transl.: J. Scott, *The early history of Glastonbury: an edition, translation and study of William of Malmesbury's De antiquitate Glastonie ecclesie* (1981) [UL 479:7.c.95.46]; cf. also (L40)

[B112] **John of Worcester** wrote his *Chronicon ex chronicis* (formerly attributed to **Florence of Worcester**) around 1140, and provides some extra material on the period of the Anglo-Danish kings in particular. Text and transl.: P. McGurk et al., *The chronicle of John of Worcester. II: The annals from 450 to 1066* (1995) [UL 716:01.c.2.86]; further excerpts transl. in (B81):310-19 (on the Anglo-Danish kings), (B82):215-28

[B113] **Orderic Vitalis** wrote his epic *Historia ecclesiastica* in the early twelfth century; it contains some useful observations on Scandinavian history, particularly during the eleventh century. Text and transl.: M. Chibnall, *The ecclesiastical history of Orderic Vitalis*, 6 vols (1969-80) [UL 716:01.c.2.28-33]

### Celtic sources

Sources from the Celtic-speaking areas of Scotland, Ireland, and Wales are naturally most informative on the Vikings abroad in the British isles, yet they also occasionally provide extra information on the Scandinavian background. The Irish sources are particularly striking in their rare ability (or simply willingness) to distinguish Danes from Norwegians through the contrast between *Dubgaill* 'Black foreigners' referring to the former and *Finnngaill* 'White foreigners' for the latter. On the other hand, they frequently tend to be disappointingly reticent on the fate of the Viking colonies in the northern and western isles of Scotland, where Scandinavian culture took root most firmly in Britain. Only a selection of sources from the Celtic-speaking areas has been included here; for further guidance, see (I240) and (B125).

### Anthologies

[B120] A.O. Anderson, *Early sources of Scottish history A.D. 500 to 1286*, 2 vols, rev. by M. Anderson, Paul Watkins medieval studies 1 (1990) [UL 550:4.c.95.37-38]; contains a wide collection of primary sources relating to Scotland, all in English translation

### Guides

[B122] K. Hughes, *Early Christian Ireland: introduction to the sources*, The sources of history: studies in the uses of historical evidence (1972) [UL 554:6.c.95.3]

[B123] R.I. Jack, *Medieval Wales*, The sources of history: studies in the uses of historical evidence (1972) [UL 485:2.c.95.27]

For a survey of Irish perceptions and presentations of the Vikings in a wide range of sources:

[B125] M. Ní Mhaonaigh, 'Friend and foe: Vikings in ninth- and tenth-century Irish literature', (O82):381-402

### Annals

The annals of Ireland, most of which are preserved in manuscripts no older than the late mediaeval period, are the most comprehensive source; for guidance within this tricky body of material, see:

[B130] G. Mac Niocaill, *The medieval Irish annals*, Medieval Irish history series 3 (1975) [UL Uc.7.6398]; K. Grabowski and D. Dumville, *Chronicles and annals of mediaeval Ireland and Wales: the Clonmacnoise-group texts*, Studies in Celtic history 4 (1984) [UL 541:12.c.95.57]; cf. also (B122), ch. 4: 'The annals'

### Ireland

For the early Viking age at least most of the various recensions of annals are closely interrelated, and seem to betray the existence of an earlier ur-chronicle, often called the 'Chronicle of Ireland'.

[B131] **Ulster**. Text and transl.: W.M. Hennessy and B. Mac Carthy, *Annala Uladh: annals of Ulster, otherwise, Annala Senait: annals of Senat; a chronicle of Irish affairs A.D. 431-1131, 1155-1541*, 4 vols (1887-1901) [UL OP.11.24-27]; S. Mac Airt and G. Mac Niocaill, *The annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)* (1983) [UL 488:3.c.95.35] (lacks discussion or index)

[B132] **Clonmacnoise**. These annals only survive in the form of an English translation made in the early seventeenth century. Text: D. Murphy, *The annals of Clonmacnoise, being annals of Ireland from the earliest period to A.D. 1408, translated into English A.D. 1627 by Conell Mageoghagan* (1896; repr. 1993) [UL S488:01.b.1.10; repr. 1994.8.1078]

[B133] **Tigernach**. Text and transl.: W. Stokes, 'The annals of Tigernach: the fourth fragment, A.D. 973-A.D. 1088', *Revue Celtique* 17 (1896), 337-420, repr. along with other fragments as *The annals of Tigernach* (1993), 229-312 [UL 9001.d.4768-69]

[B134] **Chronicon Scotorum**. Text and transl.: W.M. Hennessy, *Chronicon Scotorum: a chronicle of Irish affairs*, RS 46 (1866) [UL R542.30.46]

[B135] **Inisfallen**. Text and transl.: S. Mac Airt, *The annals of Inisfallen (MS. Rawlinson B.503)* (1951) [UL 733:3.c.95.2]

A large amount of material is preserved in various compilations from the early modern period that seem to have been based on older sources, some of which are now lost.

[B136] The work of the **Four masters** is among the most comprehensive, put together in the 1630s by four clerics from Donegal. Text and transl.: J. O'Donovan, *Annala rioghachta Eireann: annals of the kingdom of Ireland, by the Four Masters, from the earliest period to the year 1616*, 7 vols, 2nd edn (1856) [UL Acton.b.25.223-29]

[B137] The seventeenth-century scholar **Duald Mac Firbis** left a number of useful texts, including some fragments of annals copied from older documents which provide some interesting observations on early Norwegian and Orcadian history in particular. Text and transl.: J. O'Donovan, *Annals of Ireland: three fragments copied from ancient sources by Dubhaltach mac Firbisigh* (1860) [UL S488:01.c.1.19]; J.N. Radner, *Fragmentary annals of Ireland* (1978) [UL 554:6.c.95.5]. For background and commentary, see also: N. Ó Muraíle, *The celebrated antiquary Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh (c. 1600-1671): his lineage, life and learning*, Maynooth monographs 6 (1996) [UL 488:16.b.95.28]

### Scotland

Scottish annals and genealogies are far less copious than the Irish ones, and often interrelated textually; see (B120) for an anthology in translation. For a collection of early chronicles, regnal lists, and much else besides, see:

[B140] Text: W.F. Skene, *Chronicles of the Picts, Chronicles of the Scots, and other early memorials of Scottish history* (1867) [UL OP.6.24]. For more recent discussion and some newly edited versions of the texts, see M.O. Anderson, *Kings and kingship in early Scotland* (1973; rev. edn 1980) [UL 550:1.c.95.6; rev. edn 550:1.c.95.8]

### Wales

[B145] The title **Annales Cambriæ** reflects various mediaeval Welsh annals. Text: J. Williams ab Ithel, *Annales Cambriæ*, RS 20 (1860; repr. 1965) [UL R542.30.20]. For the oldest versions covering the years up to 954, see: E. Phillimore, 'The *Annales Cambriæ* and Old-Welsh genealogies from *Harleian MS.*

3859', *Y Cymmrodor* 9 (1888), 141-83 (for text); J. Morris, *Nennius: British history and the Welsh annals* (1980), 44-49 (transl.), 85-91 (text) [UL 541:12.c.95.50]; also transl. A.W. Wade-Evans, *Nennius' 'History of the Britons'* (1938), 84-101 [UL 179.c.27.36]

### Man

[B148] The **Man Chronicle** has little of independent value until the mid-eleventh century. Text and transl.: P.A. Munch and Rev. Goss, *Chronica regum Manniæ et insularum: the Chronicle of Man and the Sudreys*, 2 vols, Manx Society 22-23 (1874) [UL Kk.5.22-23]; G. Broderick, *Chronica regum Manniæ et insularum: Chronicles of the kings of Man and the isles* (1979) [UL Ub.7.2037]

### Sagas and narratives

#### Ireland

For guidance, see (B122), ch. 9: 'Eleventh- and twelfth-century histories and compilations'

[B150] The **Cogadh Gáedhel re Gallaibh** 'War of the Gaedhill [Gael or Irish] against the Gaill [Foreigners or Norse]' was written around the first half of the twelfth century in the form of a historical saga, which heavily exaggerates the Viking invasion of Ireland in order to enhance the reputation of high king Brian Boru in defeating them; aside from the material incorporated from earlier annals, its historical value is slight. Text and transl.: J.H. Todd, *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh: the war of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, or The invasions of Ireland by the Danes and other Norsemen*, RS 48 (1867) [UL R542.30.48]. Commentary: M. Ní Mhaonaigh, 'Coe Gáedel re Gallaib: some dating considerations', *Peritia* 9 (1995), 354-77, and 'Cogad Gáedel re Gallaib and the annals: a comparison', *Ériu* 47 (1996), 101-26

[B151] The saga of **Cellachán of Cashel** is a slightly later saga than the *Cogadh* (B150) with even less claim to any historical authenticity. Text and transl.: A. Bugge, *Caithreim Cellachain Caisil, or The victorious career of Cellachan of Cashel, or The wars between the Irishmen and the Norsemen in the middle of the 10th century* (1905) [UL 593:01.b.1.71]. Commentary: D. Ó Corráin, 'Caithreim Chellacháin Chaisil: history or propaganda?', *Ériu* 25 (1974), 1-69

#### Wales

[B155] Most mediaeval Welsh tales can safely be said to have little additional useful information on Scandinavian affairs; cf., for example, the bizarre accounts of the Norwegian kings in the genealogy of Gruffudd ap Cynan, transl. D.S. Evans, *A medieval prince of Wales: the life of Gruffudd ap Cynan* (1990) [UL 1992.8.2328], and cf. (E88)

[B156] The Welsh *Bruts* contain some information of value on the Viking age, most accessible through a series of texts and translations from T. Jones published in the history and law series by the Board of Celtic studies: *Brut y tywysogion or The chronicle of the princes: Peniarth MS. 20 version*, 6 (1941) and 11 (1952) [UL 485:01.b.1.6, -.11]; *Brut y tywysogion or The chronicle of the princes: Red Book of Hergest version*, 16 (1955) [UL 485:01.b.1.16]; *Brenhinedd y Saesson or The kings of the Saxons*, 25 (1971) [UL 485:01.b.1.25]

### Other sources

[B160] **Dicuil** was an Irish monk (although working in a Carolingian context), who in 825 completed a book on world geography; while heavily indebted to earlier, classical authorities, chapter 7 in particular contains independent observations on the North Atlantic. Text and transl.: J.J. Tierney and L. Bieler, *Diculi liber de mensura orbis terrae*, *Scriptores latini Hiberniae* 6 (1967) [UL 716:01.b.1.6]

### Russian sources

Russian written sources do not begin to appear until the eleventh century, and their value for the early history of the Vikings in the East is doubtful. It is nevertheless important to remember the close connections between Scandinavia and Russia in the eleventh century, as well as the fact that the Russian 'state' was developing at the same time as the kingdoms of Scandinavia and often in similar ways; the history of the princes of Kiev can therefore be of great comparative interest.

### Anthologies and guides

There are a number of useful anthologies with excerpts in English translation and introductory notes, although those of interest mostly come from the texts listed separately under (B180 ff.).

[B170] S.A. Zenkovsky, *Medieval Russia's epics, chronicles, and tales* (1963) [UL 9756.d.892]

[B171] G. Vernadsky et al., *A source book for Russian history from early times to 1917. I: Early times to the late seventeenth century* (1972) [UL 586:1.b.95.37]

[B172] D.H. Kaiser and G. Marker, *Reinterpreting Russian history: readings 860-1860s* (1994) [UL 586:1.c.95.374]

For further guidance in early Russian literature, see:

[B175] J. Fennell and A. Stokes, *Early Russian literature* (1974) [UL 756:14.c.95.121]

[B176] S. Franklin, 'Literacy and documentation in early medieval Russia', *Speculum* 60 (1985), 1-38

[B180] The **Russian Primary Chronicle**, or *Povest' vremennykh let* 'Tale of bygone years', often (though somewhat misleadingly) ascribed to the monk Nestor, is the prime annalistic source for early Russian (or Kievan) history before the advent of local chronicles in the middle ages. It exists in two major redactions, the Laurentian and the Hypatian, and in its current form was put together some time early in the twelfth century; heavily reliant on Byzantine sources for the early period and oral tradition for the later, the extent to which it was based on earlier Russian written chronicles is uncertain. Text and Russian transl.: D.S. Likhachev and V.P. Adrianova-Peretts, *Povest' vremennykh let*, 2 vols (1950) [UL 586:1.c.95.4-5 or -.96-97], also a further rev. edn (1996) [UL -.415]. Transl.: S.H. Cross, 'The Russian Primary Chronicle', *Harvard studies and notes in philology* 12 (1930), 75-320 [UL 779.c.5.11], or S.H. Cross and O.P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, *The Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian text*, The Medieval Academy of America publication 60 (1953) [UL 9586.c.274]; excerpts also in (B170-172). Commentary: S. Franklin, 'Borrowed time: perceptions of the past in twelfth-century Russia', (O68):157-71. [a] The **treaties with Byzantium** from the first half of the tenth century are also of great interest. Transl.: (B1):97-100. Commentary: I. Sorlin, 'Les traités de Byzance avec la Russie au Xe siècle', *Cahiers du monde Russe et Soviétique* 2 (1961), 313-60, 447-75; J. Lind, 'The Russo-Byzantine treaties and the early urban structure of Rus', *The Slavonic and east European review* 62 (1984), 362-70

[B181] **Hagiography** from mediaeval Russia has little to say about the Vikings, but the traditions surrounding the princes Boris and Gleb, killed by their brother Sviatopolk in 1015 in dynastic feuds, are possibly of great comparative interest; the cults which developed in the middle of the eleventh century may betray influence on (or perhaps from) those of other royal saints, and in this connection saint Olaf Haraldsson of Norway is the most striking candidate, given the close links between the royal houses of Kiev and Norway in this period, cf. (L235 ff.). The first treatment outside the *Primary chronicle* is Nestor's *Lesson on the life and murder of the blessed passion-sufferers Boris and Gleb* composed in the late eleventh century. This, along with much other interesting material, can be found transl. in: P. Hollingsworth, *The hagiography of Kievan Rus'*, Harvard library of early Ukrainian literature: English translations 2 (1992) [UL 67:7.c.95.164]. Commentary: J. Børtnes, *Visions of glory: studies in early Russian hagiography*, *Slavica Norvegica* 5 (1988) [UL 67:7.c.95.144]

[B182] Ilarion's **Sermon on law and grace** of around 1050 is of interest for its presentation of prince Vladimir as the saviour of the Russian people and its arguments for his sanctity; there are echoes here of Adam of Bremen's treatment of Harald bluetooth a generation later (B73). Transl.: S. Franklin, *Sermons and rhetoric of Kievan Rus'*, Harvard library of early Ukrainian literature: English translations 5 (1991), 3-29 [UL 67:7.c.95.155]

### Byzantine sources

The vast range of Byzantine sources relating to eastern Europe and hence to the Vikings in Russia and elsewhere cannot be encompassed here. Instead, only a few texts of particular interest have been cited; for further material, see (J52). A general survey of relevant sources can be found in:

[B190] D. Obolensky, 'The Byzantine sources on the Scandinavians in eastern Europe', (J28):149-64

[B192] Of the homilies of **Photios**, patriarch of Byzantium, two refer to the attacks on the city by the Rus' in 860 and are of some interest for Byzantine attitudes towards their northern neighbours, even if it

is clear that sober, factual documentation was not Photios' purpose. Text: C. Müller et al., *Fragmenta historicorum Græcorum*, vol. V (1883), 162-73 [UL Ff.12.37a]. Transl.: C. Mango, *The homilies of Photios patriarch of Constantinople*, *Dumbarton Oaks studies* 3 (1958), 74-110 [UL 911:01.b.14.4]

[B193] The Byzantine emperor **Constantine Porphyrogenitus** composed his *De administrando imperio* 'On imperial government' around 950 as a guide to statecraft for his son Romanus. It contains many valuable observations on the tenth-century Rus', including the celebrated list of rapids on the river Dniepr with both Slavonic and Norse names. Text and transl.: G. Moravcsik and R.J.H. Jenkins, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De administrando imperio I*, *Magyar-görög tanulmányok* 29 (1949) [UL 711:3.c.90.11], also rev. 2nd edn as *Dumbarton Oaks studies* 1 (1967) [UL 523:4.c.95.38]; excerpts also transl. (B1):93-97. Commentary: R.J.H. Jenkins et al., *Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De administrando imperio II: Commentary* (1962) [UL 711:3.c.90.12]; cf. also A. Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his world* (1973) [UL 523:4.c.95.20]

[B194] The eleventh-century Byzantine administrator **Kekaumenos** is best known for his *Strategicon*, but among other fragments associated with him is a text known as the *Logos nouthetetikos pros basilea* 'Word of advice for the emperor', which has a very interesting section on Harald hardrada (E85 ff.) among the Varangian guard in Byzantium. Text: B. Wassiliewsky and V. Jernstedt, *Cecaumeni Strategicon et incerti scriptoris de officiis regis libellus*, *Zapiski istoriko-filologičeskogo fakulteta Imp. Sankt-Peterburgskogo universiteta* 38 (1896), 91-104 [UL 759.b.6.38]. Excerpt on Harald hardrada transl. (J52):57-58; (B1):104

### Islamic sources

There is a vast wealth of material from the Moslem world touching on eastern Europe, particularly due to the keen interest of the Arabic geographers, but only a selection of the most important authors from the Viking age itself are listed here. Emphasis has been placed on texts referring to the Rus' (J26 ff.), especially when they hint at a Scandinavian background; for material on Viking activity in the western Arabic world, ie. Spain and the Mediterranean, see (I265-266). For background:

[B200] *The encyclopaedia of Islam: new edition*, edd. H.A.R. Gibb et al., 10 vols ff. (1954 ff.) [UL R620.256]; see in particular P.B. Golden, 'Rus', VIII:618-29

### Anthologies

Since a familiarity with classical Arabic is not a conventional skill of the average Viking historian, the best way to approach the Arabic material is through selected anthologies. The fundamental collection of excerpts edited for these purposes remains:

[B202] A. Seippel, *Rerum Normannicarum fontes Arabici* (1896-1928) [UL Moh.223.a.2 (sel)]

This group has been translated into English:

[B203] A.I. Samarrai, *Arabic sources on the Norse: English translation and notes based on the texts edited by Alexander Seippel in Rerum Normannicarum fontes Arabici*, thesis submitted for the degree of Master of Science (History) at the University of Wisconsin (1959) [UL Microfilm.1056]

And more usefully, with accompanying notes, into Norwegian:

[B204] H. Birkeland, *Nordens historie i middelalderen etter arabiske kilder*, *SDNVAO* 1954:2 (1954) [UL 500:01.b.4.72]

Further, more selective, collections in translation are:

[B205] S. Rapoport, 'Mohammedan writers on Slavs and Russians', *The Slavonic and East European review* 8 (1929-30), 80-98; S. Wikander, *Araber, vikingar, varingar*, *Svenska humanistiska förbundet* 90 (1978) [UL 9592.c.81]

### Individual authors

[B210] **Ibn Khurradadhbih** was director of 'posts and intelligence' in Baghdad and Samarra before his death around 911, a post which fitted him admirably for his geographical accounts, including mentions of the Rus trading in Baghdad. He composed his 'Book of routes and kingdoms' around the middle of the ninth century, the first Arabic author to deal significantly with the Rus'. Norwegian transl.: (B204):10-

11. Commentary: O. Pritsak, 'An Arabic text on the trade route of the corporation of ar-Rus in the second half of the ninth century', *Folia orientalia* 12 (1970), 241-59

[B211] **Ibn Rusta** compiled his 'Book of precious treasures', an encyclopaedia with geographical accounts, in the first half of the tenth century. Norwegian transl.: (B204):14-17

[B212] **Ibn Fadlan's** account (*Risala*) of his mission to the Bulgars in 922 provides the most celebrated Arabic source for the Rus' in the form of a ship-burial he personally witnessed; many of the later copies have distinct interpolations. Transl.: H.M. Smyser, 'Ibn Fadlan's account of the Rus with some commentary and some allusions to *Beowulf*', *Medieval and linguistic studies in honour of Francis Peabody Magoun, jr.*, edd. J.B. Bessinger and R.P. Creed (1965), 92-119 [UL 717:5.c.95.7]. Norwegian transl.: (B204):17-24. Commentary: R.P. Blake and R.N. Frye, 'Notes on the risala of Ibn Fadlan', *Byzantina-metabyzantina* 1:2 (1949), 7-37; M. Kowalska, 'Ibn Fadlan's account of his journey to the state of the Bulgars', *Folia orientalia* 14 (1972-73), 219-30; M. Lund Warmind, 'Ibn Fadlan in the context of his age', (M349):131-37

[B213] **Al-Istakhri** wrote a further 'Book on routes and kingdoms' around the middle of the tenth century. Heavily reliant on the works of **Al-Balkhri** from a few decades previously, Al-Istakhri's account of the Rus' contains the celebrated division into three groups. His work was then expanded around the 970s by **Ibn Hawkal**. Norwegian transl.: (B204):26-30, 47-51

[B214] **Al Masudi** (died 956) was a traveller of the early tenth century, who compiled a number of geographical works, the most significant for the Rus' being his 'Meadows of gold'. Norwegian transl.: (B204):30-42. Commentary: A.M.H. Shboul, *Al-Mas'udi and his world: a Muslim Humanist and his interest in non-Muslims* (1979) [UL Moh.200.c.230]

[B215] **Ibrahim ibn Yaqub al-Turtushi** composed an account of his travels throughout western Europe around 965, which included on the itinerary a stop at Schleswig (Hedeby) in Denmark; the text is only known through the reports of later writers such as *Al-Bakri* and *Al-Qazwini*. Norwegian transl.: (B204):103-04; excerpt also transl. (D7):28. For detailed commentary, see (I266):228-71

[B216] The Arabic poet **Al-Ghazal** is reputed to have been sent on an embassy to the islands of the *Majus* 'pagans' following the Viking raid on southern Spain of 844, of which a report first appears in the works of the Valencian *Ibn Dihyah* from around the late twelfth century. This remarkable tale would be of great interest, could it be trusted; however, although there has been much debate as to whether Al-Ghazal visited Ireland or Denmark (or somewhere else), the historicity of this account is highly suspect. For text and transl. see (I266):166-203, cf. also W.E.D. Allen, *The poet and the spae-wife: an attempt to reconstruct al-Ghazal's embassy to the Vikings*, SBVS 15:3 (1960), with translation and extensive discussion

### III. WEST NORSE PROSE HISTORIOGRAPHY

This section contains various historiographical works from the 'West Norse' area of Scandinavia, a linguistic term used here to define Iceland and Norway. The distinction between 'West' and 'East Norse' historiography is, however arbitrary it may seem, a useful one, since historical writing flourished far more in western Scandinavia than in Denmark or Sweden, and largely employed the vernacular rather than Latin to boot. Rather more dubious, yet still pragmatically reasonable, is the distinction drawn between prose works and Old Norse verse, which is registered elsewhere (B480 ff.).

#### Scandinavian historiography

For general introductions:

[B230] J. de Vries, *Altnordische Literaturgeschichte*, 2 vols, Grundriss der germanischen Philologie 15-16 (1941-42; 2nd edn 1964-67) [UL 775.c.91.301-02; 2nd edn 752:16.c.95.8-9]

[B231] E.O.G. Turville-Petre, *Origins of Icelandic literature* (1953) [UL 752:16.c.95.1]

[B232] E.V. Gordon, *An introduction to Old Norse*, 2nd edn rev. by A.R. Taylor (1957) [UL 752:14.d.95.1]

[B233] C.J. Clover and J. Lindow, (edd.), *Old Norse-Icelandic literature: a critical guide*, *Islandica* 45 (1985) [UL 752:4.c.1.44]

[B234] G. Karlsson, (ed.), *Kilderne til den tidlige middelalders historie: rapporter til den XX nordiske historikerkongres, Reykjavík 1987, I*, Ritsafn Sagnfræðistofnunar 18 (1987) [UL 592:1.d.95.3]

[B235] M. Clunies Ross, *Old Icelandic literature and society*, Cambridge studies in medieval literature 42 (2000) [UL 752:16.c.200.1]. See in particular D. Whaley, 'A useful past: historical writing in medieval Iceland', 161-202

[B236] H. 'Donoghue, *Old Norse-Icelandic literature: a short introduction*, Blackwell introductions to literature (2004).

And for weeding out all those puzzling ahistorical motifs and topoi:

[B237] I.M. Boberg, *Motif-index of early Icelandic literature*, Bibliotheca Arnarnagnæana 27 (1966) [UL S752:01.b.1.22]

For more detailed surveys of chronology and the earliest historians:

[B240] Ó. Einarsdóttir, *Studier i kronologisk metode i tidlig islandsk historieskrivning*, Bibliotheca historica Lundensis 13 (1964) [UL 531:01.c.14.13] (E.s.)

[B241] S. Ellehøj, *Studier over den ældste norrøne historieskrivning*, Bibliotheca Arnarnagnæana 26 (1965) [UL S752:01.b.1.21] (E.s.)

[B242] G. Lange, *Die Anfänge der isländisch-norwegischen Geschichts-schreibung*, StI 47 (1989) [UL 599:01.c.1.26]

See also:

[B245] K. Hastrup, 'Text and context: continuity and change in medieval Icelandic history as "said" and "laid down"', (O40):9-25

[B246] G.W. Weber, 'Intellegere historiam: typological perspectives of Nordic prehistory (in Snorri, Saxo, Widukind and others)', (O46):95-141

[B247] S. Tómasson, *Formálar íslenskra sagnaritara á miðöldum: rannsókn bókmenntahefðar*, SÁMÍ rit 33 (1988) [UL 752:1.c.5.37]; a classic study on authorial intentions as revealed through prologues

[B248] B. and P. Sawyer, 'Adam and the Eve of Scandinavian history', (O68):37-51

### The Icelandic historians

Many of the references above such as (B231) or (B240-42) are the most useful places to start for the origins and development of early Icelandic historiography. While the family sagas (B350 ff.) are largely anonymous, the authors of the kings' sagas (B290 ff.) produced in Iceland are often known to us.

#### Anthologies

[B250] G. Vigfusson and F. York Powell, *Origines Islandicae: a collection of the more important sagas and other native writings relating to the settlement and early history of Iceland*, 2 vols (1905) [UL 752:34.c.90.4-7]; almost anything relating to Iceland can be found here, in both Old Norse and (idiosyncratically) translated form

#### Sæmund Sigfússon

The first Icelandic historian known to us, Sæmund seems to have composed various works in Latin; although none of them survive, he is cited as an authority by some later sources, most notably the *Nóregs konungatal* (B560). He was also responsible for the foundation of the influential school at his ancestral seat of Oddi.

[B252] H. Hermannsson, *Sæmund Sigfússon and the Oddaverjar*, *Islandica* 22 (1932) [UL 752:4.c.1.22]

For works produced at the school at Oddi:

[B253] E.Ó. Sveinsson, *Sagnaritun Oddaverja: nokkrar athuganir*, StI 1 (1937) [UL 599:01.c.1.1] (E.s.)

#### Ari Þorgilsson the wise

Ari's only preserved work is the *Libellus Islandorum* or *Íslendingabók* 'Book of the Icelanders', a short but authoritative history of the Icelandic Commonwealth down to the early twelfth century, with a heavy emphasis on religious history. Like Sæmundr, Ari also composed material on the kings of Norway (as

well as Denmark and England), which according to the prologue was excised from the final version of *Íslendingabók*, so causing a spirited debate about the extent to which later sagas were based on his work; cf. (B241) and (B292-93). Ari is also claimed to have had a hand (along with Kolskegg the wise and presumably others) in the composition of the original version of *Landnámabók* 'Book of settlements'. However, while there is no reason not to believe this claim, it is clear that the versions of *Landnámabók* now preserved cannot be held to be indicative of this early work.

**[B255] *Íslendingabók* or *The book of the Icelanders*** was composed by Ari around the 1120s soon after the codification of the *Haflíðaskrá* (B695), although it is only preserved in seventeenth-century transcripts. Text: J. Benediktsson, *Íslendingabók, Landnámabók*, ÍF 1 (1968), 1-28 [UL 752:1.c.3.1]. Text and transl.: H. Hermannsson, *The book of the Icelanders (Íslendingabók)*, *Islandica* 20 (1930) [UL 752:4.c.1.20]. Commentary: A.G. van Hamel, 'On Ari's chronology', *ANF* 47 (1931), 197-215; E. Mundal, '*Íslendingabók* vurdert som bispestolskrønike', *Alvíssmál* 3 (1994), 63-72; J. Lindow, '*Íslendingabók* and myth', *SS* 69 (1997), 454-64, Sîan Duke. 'From Bede to Ari; estending the boundaries of Christendom', *Questio* 2 (2001), 27-42

**[B256] *Landnámabók* or *The book of settlements***. The two fullest early versions of *Landnámabók* now preserved are *Sturlubók*, composed by Sturla Þórðarson (B265) around the central or latter part of the thirteenth century, and *Hauksbók*, composed by Hauk Erlendsson at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Both of these redactions however contain a good deal of extra material, and Hauk noted that he had used the versions by Sturla and one by Styrmir Kárason. This latter \**Styrmisbók* from the early thirteenth century is now lost, but is widely considered to reflect the most original state of the text that can now be reconstructed; it is represented most faithfully in *Melabók* of around the early fourteenth century, although unfortunately only in fragmentary form. Text: F. Jónsson, *Landnámabók: Hauksbók, Sturlubók, Melabók* (1900) [UL 752:34.b.90.4]; J. Benediktsson, *Íslendingabók, Landnámabók*, ÍF 1 (1968), 29-397 [UL 752:1.c.3.1]. Transl.: H. Pálsson and P. Edwards, *The book of settlements: Landnámabók*, *University of Manitoba Icelandic studies* 1 (1972) [UL 599:01.c.5.1], based on the *Sturlubók* version; further excerpts transl. (B1):59-74. For the textual background, see: J. Jóhannesson, *Gerðir Landnámabókar* (1941) [UL 752:37.c.90.5]; J. Benediktsson, '*Landnámabók*: some remarks on its value as a historical source', *SBVS* 17 (1966-69), 275-92. Further commentary: S. Rafnsson, *Studier i Landnámabók: kritiska bidrag till den isländska fristatstidens historia*, *Bibliotheca historica Lundensis* 31 (1974) [UL 531:01.c.14.31] (E.s.); H. Pálsson, 'A foundation myth in *Landnámabók*', *MS* 12 (1988), 24-28

### Snorri Sturluson

The greatest figure in Old Norse literature is widely held to have been responsible for *Heimskringla* (B322), the prose *Edda* (B600), and perhaps *Egils saga* (B413). For more general overviews of Snorri's life and works:

**[B260]** A.Y. Gurevich, 'Saga and history: the "historical conception" of Snorri Sturluson', *MS* 4 (1971), 42-53; M. Ciklamini, *Snorri Sturluson* (1978) [UL 752:37.d.95.9]; M.A. Berman, '*Egils saga* and *Heimskringla*', *SS* 54 (1982), 21-50; T.N. Jackson, 'On Snorri Sturluson's creative activity: the problem of writer intrusion into the narrative', *ANF* 99 (1984), 107-25; T.M. Andersson, 'The politics of Snorri Sturluson', *JEGP* 93 (1994), 55-78

Note also the proceedings of the following two colloquiums on Snorri:

**[B261]** Ú. Bragason, (ed.), *Snorrastefna 25.-27. júlí 1990*, Rit Stofnunar Sigurðar Nordals 1 (1992) [UL 599:01.b.4.1]

**[B262]** A. Wolf, (ed.), *Snorri Sturluson: Kolloquium anlässlich der 750. Wiederkehr seines Todestages*, *ScriptOralia* 51 (1993) [UL 701:05.c.46.51]

### Sturla Þórðarson

One of the most prolific of the Icelandic historians, best known in terms of Viking history for his version of *Landnámabók* (B256), Sturla also composed contemporary biographies for thirteenth-century kings of Norway (B463) and the *Íslendinga saga* of the collection known as *Sturlunga saga* (B465). Sturla appears to be a classic example of how contemporary and retrospective historical writing informed each other in thirteenth-century Iceland.

[B265] G. Benediktsson, *Sagnameistarinn Sturla* (1961) [UL 599:2.c.95.10]

### The Norwegian synoptics

Among the earliest historical works preserved from Scandinavia are a small group of Norwegian histories resembling early kings' sagas (B290 ff.) known as the 'Norwegian synoptics'. For the development of Norwegian historiography, see (B290 ff.) and:

[B270] L. Holm-Olsen, 'Middelalderens litteratur i Norge', *Norges litteraturhistorie 1. Fra runene til norske selskab*, ed. E. Beyer (1975), 19-342 [UL 753:06.d.95.5]

[B271] S. Bagge, 'Nationalism in Norway in the middle ages', *SJH* 20 (1995), 1-18; K. Lunden, 'Was there a Norwegian national identity in the middle ages?', *SJH* 20 (1995), 19-33

Study of the synoptics has tended to concentrate heavily on the textual relationships between the major witnesses, an approach that also characterises much research into the kings' sagas.

[B273] T. Ulset, *Det genetiske forholdet mellom Ágrip, Historia Norvegiae og Historia de antiquitate regum Norwagiensium: en analyse med utgangspunkt i oversettelsesteknikk samt en diskusjon omkring begrepet 'latinisme' i samband med norrøne tekster* (1983) [UL 752:37.d.95.15]

### Collected sources

[B275] The two major Latin synoptics (B281-282) and a wealth of minor material, including genealogies and hagiographical material, are found in G. Storm, *Monumenta historica Norvegiae: latinske kildekrifter til Norges historie i middelalderen* (1880) [UL 593:01.b.1.19]

[B276] For a Norwegian translation, see: A. Salvesen, *Norges historia; Theodricus munk: Historien om de gamle norske kongene; Historien om Danenes ferd til Jerusalem* (1969) [UL 592:12.c.95.21]

### Individual synoptics

[B280] **Ágrip (af Nóregs konunga sögum)** 'Compendium (of the sagas of the kings of Norway)'. The earliest vernacular work preserved on the kings of Norway, this anonymous history is now lacking both beginning and end, but probably originally covered the period from Halfdan the black in the ninth century to the second half of the twelfth century. It seems to have been composed in Norway, quite probably around Trondheim, at the end of the twelfth century. For the place of *Ágrip* in the synoptic and kings' saga tradition see (B292). Text: B. Einarsson, *Ágrip af Nóregskonunga sögum, Fagrskinna—Nóregs konunga tal*, ÍF 29 (1984) [UL 752:1.c.3.29]. Text and transl.: M. Driscoll, *Ágrip af Nóregskonungasögum: a twelfth-century synoptic history of the kings of Norway*, VSNR TS 10 (1995) [UL 752:1.d.2.11]

[B281] **Historia Norvegiae** 'History of Norway'. This anonymous and incomplete history of Norway seems related to the other synoptics, although with a quite different style and emphasis in places; the date of composition is highly uncertain, with estimates ranging throughout the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Text: (B275):69-124. Text and transl.: I. Ekrem and L.B. Mortensen, *Historia Norvegiae*, with an English translation by P. Fisher (2003). Transl.: D. Kunin and C. Phepstead, *A History of Norway and the Passion and Miracles of the Blessed Óláfr*, VSNR TS 13 (2001) [ASNC]. Norwegian translation: (B276):15-43. Commentary and textual background: A. Steinnes, 'Ikring Historia Norvegiae', *NHT* 34 (1946-48), 1-61 (E.s.); M. Chesnutt, 'The Dalhousie manuscript of the *Historia Norvegiae*', *Opuscula* 8, *Bibliotheca Arnemagnæana* 38 (1985), 54-95 [UL S752:01.b.1.33]

[B282] **Theodoric monachus** composed a text known as the *Historia de antiquitate regum Norwagiensium* 'History of the ancient kings of Norway' around the late twelfth century. Text: (B275):2-68. Transl.: D. and I. McDougall, *Theodoricus monachus, Historia de antiquitate regum Norwagiensium: an account of the ancient history of the Norwegian kings*, VSNR TS 11 (1998) [ASNC]. Norwegian transl.: (B276):45-96. Commentary: A.O. Johnsen, *Om Theodoricus og hans Historia de antiquitate regum Norwagiensium*, *ADNVAO* 1939:3 (1939) [UL 500:01.c.13.6]; J.S.T. Hanssen, 'Observations on Theodoricus monachus and his history of the old Norwegian kings from the end of the XII. sec.', *Symbolae Osloenses* 24 (1945), 164-80, and 'Theodoricus monachus and European literature', *Symbolae Osloenses* 27 (1949), 70-127; E.F. Halvorsen, 'Theodoricus monachus and the Icelanders', (A42):142-55; S. Bagge, 'Theodoricus monachus: clerical historiography in twelfth-century Norway', *SJH* 14 (1989), 113-33

### **Kings' sagas (konungasögur)**

The composition of material concerning the kings of Norway and Denmark in particular took off in Iceland towards the end of the twelfth century and flourished particularly in the early thirteenth. For bibliographical guidance to older research see:

[B285] H. Hermansson, *Bibliography of the sagas of the kings of Norway and related sagas and tales*, *Islandica* 3 (1910), plus suppl. 26 (1937) [UL 752:4.c.1.3, suppl. 752:4.c.1.26]

### **Guides and general studies**

For the broader context, see general works on Icelandic literature (B230 ff.), the synoptics (B270 ff.) and the family sagas (B350 ff.), also Ari's early 'lives' of the kings of Norway, Denmark, and England (B255).

[B290] B. Aðalbjarnarson, *Om de norske kongers sagaer*, *SDNVAO* 1937:4 (1937) [UL 500:01.b.4.50]

[B291] J.E. Knirk, *Oratory in the Kings' sagas* (1981) [UL 752:37.c.95.21]

[B292] T.M. Andersson, 'Kings' sagas (*Konungasögur*)', in (B233):197-238

[B293] D. Whaley, 'The kings' sagas', (O72):43-64

[B294] S. Bagge, 'Icelandic uniqueness or a common European culture? The case of the Kings' sagas', *SS* 69 (1997), 418-42

[B295] Á. Jakobsson, *Í leit að konungi: konungsmynd íslenskra konungasagna* (1997) [UL 752:37.c.95.54] (E.s.)

### **Origins and development**

The question of how kings' sagas developed is an extremely vexed one. On the one hand, it is clearly likely that foreign historiographical models were adapted, and even used as sources; see (B382) and:

[B300] P. Foote, 'Aachen, Lund, Hólar', (O22):53-76

[B301] P.A. White, 'The Latin men: the Norman sources of Scandinavian kings' sagas', *JEGP* 98 (1999), 157-69

On the other hand, it can be seen that as the kings' saga tradition developed in the course of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, the amount of material these texts contained steadily grew. Skaldic verse (B483 ff.) has often been held responsible for at least some of this additional material, and this can probably be supplemented by indiscriminate conflation of separate traditions or plain invention. It has also often been supposed that much material was derived from older, independent kings' sagas that have since been lost. This can occasionally be demonstrated, as in the case of *\*Hryggjarstykki* (B460), but becomes a decidedly more dubious procedure when considering sagas relating to events from the eleventh century or earlier. Most editions or discussions of kings' sagas debate these topics, cf. (B292) and more recently:

[B305] T.M. Andersson, 'The continuation of *\*Hlaðajarla saga*', *JEGP* 97 (1998), 155-67

### **Individual kings' sagas**

The composition of royal biographies is most clearly represented by the two heroes of the conversion movement, Olaf Tryggvason and Olaf Haraldsson of Norway.

#### **Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar or The saga of Olaf Tryggvason**

Although it can be suspected that much of the impetus for recording the lives of the Norwegian kings in detail came from the development of the cult of saint Olaf Haraldsson (E70 ff.), it is now widely held that the first individual king's sagas which deserve the name were composed in Iceland for Olaf Tryggvason (E60 ff.).

[B310] The earliest independent lives of Olaf Tryggvason were put together in the monastery of Þingeyrar in Iceland around the end of the twelfth century. The life by **Odd Snorrason** is now only preserved in an Old Norse translation of the Latin original. Text: F. Jónsson, *Saga Ólafs Tryggvasonar af Oddr Snorrason munk* (1932) [UL 752:34.d.90.14]. T.M. Andersson, 'The first Icelandic King's saga: Oddr Snorrason's *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar* or the *Oldest saga of Saint Olaf?*', *JEGP* 130:2 (2004), 147-155. Odd's prologue presents Olaf Tryggvason as fulfilling the role of John the baptist to Olaf Haraldsson's Christ, which can perhaps be seen as an attempt to justify the attention paid to him by

Icelandic authors; cf.: J. Zernack, 'Vorläufer und Vollender: Olaf Tryggvason und Olaf der Heilige im Geschichtsdnken des Oddr Snorrason munkr', *ANF* 113 (1998), 77-95. A further Latin life was also composed by Odd's contemporary **Gunlaug Leifsson**; although now lost, this version had a striking influence upon later sagas.

[B311] Later compilations include Snorri Sturluson's version in *Heimskringla* (B322) as well as briefer accounts in the other compendia (B320 ff.); see (L42) on the use made by Snorri of earlier versions. The end result of the drive towards these compilations in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was the so-called 'Great saga of Olaf Tryggvason'. Text: Ó. Halldórsson, *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta*, 2 vols, Editiones Arnarnagnæanæ A:1-2 (1958-61) [UL 752:1.b.1.1-2]. Transl.: J. Sephton, *The saga of king Olaf Tryggvason*, Northern library 1 (1895) [UL 752:32.c.2.1]. For a survey of the traditions about Olaf Tryggvason, see: (E60-64); L. Lönnroth, 'Charlemagne, Hrolf kraki, Olaf Tryggvason: parallels in the heroic tradition', (O22):29-52

### **Ólafs saga helga or The saga of saint Olaf**

[B312] The earliest compilations of material about saint Olaf were probably the skaldic poems composed soon after his death in 1030, a tradition which lasted for quite a while. It is also clear from the spread of his cult that liturgical material must have been put together celebrating his miracles and virtues; some of this material is preserved in the Icelandic and Norwegian homily books (B442).

[B313] This liturgical material seems to have provided the foundation for the first *vitae* or 'lives', and Theodoric (B282) mentions a lost *translatio* as one of his sources; for the early *Acta sancti Olavi regis et martyris* see (B275):125-44. Of the preserved Latin accounts the most notable are those by Eysteinn Erlendsson, archbishop of Trondheim (Niðaróss), composed in the late twelfth century in Latin. Text: F. Metcalfe, *Passio et miracula beati Olavi* (1881) [UL 8.10.71]

[B314] The earliest vernacular lives were formerly held to have originated around the late twelfth century, a case which was put together on the basis of various early fragments; however, this argument is now largely discredited. Text: G. Storm, *Otte Brudstykker af den ældste Saga om Olav den Hellige* (1893) [UL 593:01.b.1.47] Of the separate traditions surrounding saint Olaf in the early thirteenth century, the Norwegian so-called 'legendary saga' may reflect clerical rather than secular concerns, although any clear-cut division is impossible to maintain. Text: O.A. Johnsen, *Olafs saga hins helga efter pergamenthaandskrift i Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek, Delagardieske samling nr. 8 II* (1922) [UL 593:01.b.1.100]; text and German transl.: A. Heinrichs et al., *Olafs saga hins helga: die 'Legendarische Saga' über Olaf den Heiligen (Hs. Delagard. saml. nr. 8,ii)* (1982) [UL 752:34.c.95.26]. A text similar in content if not style was used by Snorri for his separate life, which was then revised to produce the version in *Heimskringla* (B322). The fullest edition, containing all the various interpolations and fragments of other lives such as that by Styrmir Kárason, is O.A. Johnsen and J. Helgason, *Saga Óláfs konungs hins helga: den store saga om Olav den hellige efter pergamenthåndskrift i Kungliga Biblioteket i Stockholm nr. 2 4to med varianter fra andre håndskrifter* (1941) [UL 593:01.b.1.116-17].

[B315] Commentary. S. Nordal, *Om Olaf den helliges saga: en kritisk undersøgelse* (1914) [UL 752:37.c.90.2]; J. Kristjánsson, 'The legendary saga', (O26):281-93; S. Tómasson, 'The hagiography of Snorri Sturluson, especially in the Great saga of St Olaf', *Sagas and saints: a symposium*, edd. H. Bekker-Nielsen and B. Carlé (1994), 49-71 [UL 701:15.c.95.3106]; B. Fidjestøl, 'European and native tradition in *Ólafs saga helga*', (O10):184-200

### **Compendia**

Following on from the synoptics, the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries saw an escalation in the compilation of kings' sagas, which were grouped together into large compendia, mostly in Iceland. As in the earlier period, they seem largely to be heavily dependent upon one another.

[B320] **Morkinskinna** occupies a striking position in the kings' saga tradition. Covering the period from the death of saint Olaf in 1030 up until the mid-twelfth century, it can be seen as the oldest of the great compendia, and therefore the one whose sources are least clear; it is unfortunately only preserved in later, interpolated versions, and has awkward lacunae. Text: C.R. Unger, *Morkinskinna: Pergamentsbog fra første Halvdel af det trettende Aarhundrede indeholdende en af de ældste Optegnelser af norske Kongesagaer* (1867) [UL 752:34.c.85.12]; F. Jónsson, *Morkinskinna*, SUGNL 53 (1932) [UL 752:01.d.2.51]. Transl.: T.M. Andersson and K.E. Gade, *Morkinskinna: the earliest Icelandic chronicle*

of the Norwegian kings (1030-1157), *Islandica* 51 (2000) [UL 752:4.c.1.50]; contains excellent introduction, commentary, and indices of textual parallels. Commentary: E. Kválen, *Den eldste norske kongesoga: Morkinskinna og Hryggjarstykk* (1925) [UL 752:37.c.90.22]; Á. Jakobsson, 'King and subject in *Morkinskinna*', *Skandinavistik* 28 (1998), 101-17; Á. Jakobsson, *Staður í nýjum heimi: konungasagan Morkinskinna* (2002) [UL 752:37.c.200.1] (E.s.)

[B321] **Fagrskinna**, also known (confusingly, cf. (B560)) as **Nóregs konungatal**, covers the history of the Norwegian kings from Halfdan the black until the battle of Ré in 1177, and was probably originally composed in the early thirteenth century in Norway. It has striking parallels with *Heimskringla* in particular; see (B290 ff.) for discussion. Text: F. Jónsson, *Fagrskinna: Nóregs konunga tal*, SUGNL 30 (1902-03) [UL 752:01.d.2.28]; B. Einarsson, *Ágrip af Nóregskonunga sögum, Fagrskinna—Nóregs konunga tal*, ÍF 29 (1984) [UL 752:1.c.3.29]. Transl.: *Fagrskinna, a catalogue of the kings of Norway*, transl. with an introduction and notes by A. Finlay, *The Northern World* 7 (2004). Textual commentary: G. Indrebø, *Fagrskinna*, *Avhandlingar fra Universitetets historiske seminar* 4 (1917) [UL 752:37.c.90.23]; A. Jakobsen and J.R. Hagland, *Fagrskinna-studier*, Nordisk institutt, Universitetet i Trondheim, skrifter 3 (1980) [UL 752:01.c.9.3]

[B322] **Heimskringla** was compiled by Snorri Sturluson (B260), based upon earlier works; for an excellent overview, see D. Whaley, *Heimskringla: an introduction*, VSNR TS 8 (1991) [UL 752:1.d.2.9]. It is at once the greatest and most frustrating of the kings' saga compendia; Snorri went out of his way to turn amorphous and conflicting traditions into reasoned history, and succeeded so well that it has a timeless appeal. However, the text clearly drew heavily on earlier but often less historically convincing texts, and reflects a triumph of verisimilitude over verity. Text: F. Jónsson, *Snorri Sturluson, Heimskringla: Nóregs konunga sögur* (1911; repr. 1966) [UL 752:34.c.95.9]; B. Aðalbjarnarson, *Heimskringla* I-III, ÍF 26-28 (1941-51) [UL 752:1.c.3.26-28]. Transl.: E. Monsen, *Heimskringla, or the lives of the Norse kings by Snorri Sturluson* (1932) [UL S592.c.93.2]; S. Laing, *Heimskringla, part one: the Olaf sagas*, 2 vols (1964) [UL 752:34.d.95.3]; L.M. Hollander, *Heimskringla: history of the kings of Norway* (1964) [UL 752:34.c.95.10]. For commentary, textual background, and historical approach, see: L. Lönnroth, 'Ideology and structure in *Heimskringla*', *Parergon* 15 (1976), 16-29; S. Bagge, *Society and politics in Snorri Sturluson's Heimskringla* (1991) [UL 752:37.c.95.41]; R. Gaskins, 'Visions of sovereignty in Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla*', *SJH* 23 (1998), 173-88. One of the most valuable aspects of *Heimskringla* is that it traces the Norwegian kings' ancestry back to the Swedish Yngling dynasty. [a] Although quite probably historically incorrect, this means that it does preserve as the first section the text *Ynglinga saga* which contains the poem *Ynglinga tal*; see M. Ciklamini, 'Ynglinga saga: its function and its appeal', *MS* 8 (1975), 86-99, and cf. also *Ynglingatal* (B521a)

[B323] Various other compilations were made in the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, many of which have limited value for the Viking-age period, although occasionally they contain sagas or þættir not found elsewhere. Text: C.R. Unger and G. Vigfússon, *Flateyjarbók*, 3 vols (1860-68) [UL 752:34.c.85.46-48]; C.R. Unger, *Codex Frisianus: en samling af norske kongesagaer* (1871) [UL 593:01.b.1.14]; A. Kjær and L. Holm-Olsen, *Det Arnemagnæanske håndskrift 81a fol. (Skálholtsbók yngsta)* (1910-86) [UL 593:01.b.1.73a-b]; F. Jónsson, *Eirspennill, AM 47 fol.: Nóregs konunga sögur, Magnús góði—Hákon gamli* (1916) [UL 593:01.b.1.85]; S. Nordal et al., *Flateyjarbók*, 4 vols (1944-45) [UL 752:34.c.90.33-36]. Commentary: J. Louis-Jensen, *Kongesagastudier: kompilationen Hulda-Hrokkinskinna*, *Bibliotheca Arnemagnæana* 32 (1977) [UL S752:01.b.1.27]

[B324] **Modern compilations**. Text: S. Egilsson et al., *Fornmanna sögur eptir gömlum handritum útgefnar að tilhlutan Hins Konungliga Norræna Fornfræða Félags* (1825-37) [UL 8752.d.184 ff.]; A. Faulkes, *Stories from the sagas of the kings* (1980) [UL 1990.8.1415], containing various Icelandic þættir

### Colonial sagas

Although not strictly speaking kings' sagas, these texts have much in common with them in terms of tone and content; they generally chart the history of individual families or dynasties in the Atlantic colonies.

[B330] **Eiríks saga rauða** or **The saga of Erik the red** is conventionally classed as a family saga, but as a tale of exploration has much in common with colonial sagas along with its fellow version *Grænlendinga saga* (B332). Text: H. Hermannsson, *The Vinland sagas*, *Islandica* 30 (1944) [UL 752:4.c.1.30]; ÍF 4 (B420):193-237, plus repr. 1985 [UL 752:34.c.95.35] with *Viðauki*, ed. Ó. Halldórsson, 'Eiríks saga rauða: texti Skálholtsbókar AM 557 4to', 329-439. Transl.: M. Magnússon and

H. Pálsson, *The Vinland sagas: the Norse discovery of America; Grænlandinga saga and Eirik's saga* (1965), 73-105 [repr. UL 660:3.c.95.6]; (B397):126-57; (B401): I,1-18. Commentary: B. Þorsteinsson, 'Some observations on the discoveries and cultural history of the Norsemen', *SBVS* 16 (1962-65), 173-91; E. Wahlgren, 'Fact and fancy in the Vinland sagas', *Old Norse literature and mythology: a symposium*, ed. E.C. Polomé (1969), 19-80 [UL 752:16.c.95.13]; R. Perkins, 'The Furðustrandir of *Eiríks saga rauða*', *MS* 9 (1976), 51-98; M.G. Larsson, 'The Vinland sagas and Nova Scotia: a reappraisal of an old theory', *SS* 64 (1992), 305-35

[B331] **Føreyinga saga** or **The saga of the Faroe islanders** is the title given to a text reconstructed from the sagas of Olaf Tryggvason and saint Olaf Haraldsson, although it is generally accepted that a single original from around 1200 underlies these later compilations. Heavily dominated by the figure of Thrand of Gata, the historical element is subsumed by the love of narrative. Text: F. Jónsson, *Føreyinga saga: den islandske saga om Føringerne* (1927) [UL 752:34.b.90.1]; Ó. Halldórsson, *Føreyinga saga*, SAMÍ rit 30 (1987) [UL 752:1.c.5.34]. Transl.: F. York Powell, *The tale of Thrond of Gate, commonly called Føreyinga saga*, Northern library 2 (1896) [UL 752:32.c.2.2]; M.A.C. Press, *The saga of the Faroe Islanders* (1934) [UL 752:34.d.90.12]; G. Johnston, *The Faroe Islanders' saga* (1975) [UL 752:34.d.95.17], and *Thrand of Gotu: two Icelandic sagas from the Flat Island book* (1994) [UL 752:34.c.95.49]. Commentary: P.G. Foote, *On the saga of the Faroe islanders* (1965), repr. (O6):165-87; B. Almqvist, 'Some folklore motifs in Føreyinga saga', (O54):73-86

[B332] **Grænlandinga saga** or **The saga of the Greenlanders** is another reconstructed saga only preserved in compilations about Olaf Tryggvason in particular; it is nevertheless widely regarded as an earlier version of the similar material found in *Eiríks saga rauða* (B330). Text: ÍF 4 (B420):239-69; H. Hermannsson, *The Vinland sagas*, *Islandica* 30 (1944) [UL 752:4.c.1.30]. Transl.: M. Magnússon and H. Pálsson, *The Vinland sagas: the Norse discovery of America; Grænlandinga saga and Eirik's saga* (1965), 47-72 [repr. UL 660:3.c.95.6]; (B401): I,19-32. See J. Jóhannesson, 'The date of the composition of the saga of the Greenlanders', *SBVS* 16 (1962-65), 54-66, and for further commentary items under (B330). A further text of interest is *Grænlandinga þáttur* or *Einars þáttur Sokkasonar*, which is set in the early twelfth century and records the appointment of the first bishop to Greenland: text in ÍF 4 (B420):271-92, transl. (H5):236-48

[B333] **Orkneyinga saga** or **The saga of the Orcadians**, also known as **Jarla sögur 'Sagas of the earls'**, is devoted to the history of the earls of Orkney; originally composed around 1200, only later revised versions are now preserved. Text: F. Guðmundsson, *Orkneyinga saga*, ÍF 34 (1965) [UL 752:1.c.3.34]. Transl.: A.B. Taylor, *The Orkneyinga saga* (1938) [UL 752:34.c.90.19]; H. Pálsson and P. Edwards, *Orkneyinga saga: the history of the earls of Orkney* (1978) [UL 752:34.c.95.21]. Cf. also **Magnúss saga helga** on saint Magnus; transl.: H. Pálsson and P. Edwards, *Magnus' saga: the life of St Magnus earl of Orkney 1075-1116* (1987) [UL 1990.8.4835]. G. M. Brunsten, 'Earls and saints: early Christianity in Norse Orkney and the legend of Magnus Erlendsson', *History, literature and music in Scotland 700-1500*, ed. R. A. McDonald (2002), 60-92. Commentary: A.B. Taylor, 'Orkneyinga saga: patronage and authorship', (A61a):396-410; P.G. Foote, 'Observations on *Orkneyinga saga*', (I163):192-207; J. Jesch, 'Narrating *Orkneyinga saga*', *SS* 64 (1992), 336-55; F. Guðmundsson, 'On the writing of *Orkneyinga saga*', (A50):204-11

### Sagas of the kings of Denmark

[B335] A fair amount of material was composed in Iceland relating to the kings of Denmark, at roughly the same time as the Norwegian traditions were put together. The basis for the earlier part until the mid-tenth century seems to have been a now lost text called \**Skjöldungasaga*, which is partially preserved in an early modern Latin version; see B. Guðnason, *Um Skjöldungasögu* (1963) [UL 752:37.c.95.9]. It was widely used as a source by mediaeval historians, but the material derived from it is for the most part legendary and without historical value.

[B336] For a compilation of this material, see B. Guðnason, *Danakonunga sögur: Skjöldunga saga, Knýtlinga saga, Ágrip af sögu Danakonunga*, ÍF 35 (1982) [UL 752:1.c.3.35]; cf. J. Benediktsson, 'Icelandic traditions of the Scyldings', *SBVS* 15 (1957-61), 48-66

[B337] **Knýtlinga saga** 'the saga of the heirs of Knut' seems to have been modelled structurally on *Heimskringla* (B322). It begins in the tenth century and covers Danish events down into the late twelfth, with a heavy concentration on saint Knut Sveinsson, who was canonised soon after his death in 1086.

Text: (B336):91-321. Transl.: H. Pálsson and P. Edwards, *Knytlinga saga: the history of the kings of Denmark* (1986) [UL 752:34.d.95.22]. Commentary: A. Campbell, 'Knúts saga', *SBVS* 13 (1946-53), 238-48

[B338] **Jómsvíkinga saga**. Usually considered to date from around 1200, this saga purports to tell of late tenth-century Danish affairs, particularly the dealings of the Jomsvikings, a colony of Viking warriors in the town of Jumne or Wolin on the south Baltic coast, with Harald Bluetooth of Denmark and earl Hakon of Lade in Norway. Its historical value seems however dubious at best. Text and transl.: N.F. Blake, *Jómsvíkinga saga: the saga of the Jomsvikings*, Icelandic texts (1962) [UL 752:1.c.4.3]. Transl.: L.M. Hollander, *The saga of the Jómsvíkings* (1955) [UL 752:34.d.95.5]. See also: J. Megaard, 'Hvor sto "slaget i Hjørungavágr"? Jomsvikingeberetningens stedsnavn og Sæmundr fróði', *Alvíssmál* 9 (1999), 29-54 (E.s.)

### Material on the Swedish kings

Relatively little is preserved in Icelandic writings on the Swedish kings, and it is notable, for example, that they were not included among the kings' lives said to have been composed by Ari Þorgilsson (B255). On this apparent reticence see:

[B340] P.G. Foote, 'Icelandic historians and the Swedish image: comments on Snorri and his precursors', (F12):9-42

[B341] The only major contribution from Iceland to Swedish history in the Viking age is a list of Swedish kings down to the early twelfth century appended to the legendary **Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks**; for the textual background, see (B241):85-108. Text and transl.: C. Tolkien, *The saga of king Heidrek the wise* (1960) [UL 752:1.c.4.2]

### Family sagas (Íslendingasögur)

The Icelandic family sagas attract immense attention from a literary perspective, and the bibliographical material relating to them in English is too vast to cover here more than fitfully. A large amount of work has been done attempting to pinpoint the origins and development of the genre and the historical conception that underlies them, even before attempting the yet more intractable question of their historicity. It is important to note that although the family sagas look like historical texts, they probably aren't; and although they look more 'original' than many other genres of historical writing in Iceland, again they probably aren't.

### General guides

[B350] For bibliographical guidance: H. Hermannsson, *Bibliography of the Icelandic sagas and minor tales*, *Islandica* 1 (1908), with suppl. vol. 24 (1935) and by J.S. Hannesson vol. 38 (1957) [UL 752:4.c.1.1, suppl. -24, -37]; D.K. Fry, *Norse sagas translated into English: a bibliography*, *AMS studies in the Middle Ages* 3 (1980) [UL R752:5.14], plus suppl. by P. Acker, *SS* 65 (1993), 66-102

[B351] H. Koht, *The Old Norse sagas* (1931) [UL 752:37.d.90.2]

[B352] P. Hallberg, *The Icelandic saga*, transl. P. Schach (1962) [UL 9752.d.84]

[B353] T.M. Andersson, *The Icelandic family saga: an analytic reading* (1967) [UL 701:05.b.1.28]

[B354] M.I. Steblin-Kamenskij, *The saga mind*, transl. K.H. Ober (1973) [UL 752:37.d.95.8]

[B355] C.J. Clover, *The medieval saga* (1982) [UL 752:37.c.95.23]

[B356] C.J. Clover, 'Icelandic family sagas (Íslendingasögur)', (B233):239-315

[B357] V. Ólason, 'The sagas of Icelanders', (O72):26-42

[B358] P.M. Sørensen, *Fortælling og ære: studier i islændingesagaerne* (1993) [UL 752:37.c.95.42]

[B359] P.M. Sørensen, *Saga and society: an introduction to Old Norse literature*, transl. J. Tucker, *Studia borealia: Nordic studies monograph series* 1 (1993) [UL 599:2.d.95.6]

[B360] V. Ólason, *Dialogues with the Viking age: narration and representation in the sagas of Icelanders*, transl. A. Wawn (1998) [UL 752:37.c.95.50]

[B361] J. Glauser, 'Sagas of Icelanders (Íslendinga sögur) and þættir as the literary representation of a new social space', (B235):203-220

### Origins, composition, and transmission

The vexed questions of how sagas were transmitted as oral narratives (roughly ‘freeprose’) or freely composed in the thirteenth century (roughly ‘bookprose’) have largely fallen out of debate on the grounds that they are effectively insoluble.

- [B365] K. Liestøl, *The origin of the Icelandic family sagas*, transl. A.G. Jayne, Institutt for sammenlignende kulturforskning A:10 (1930) [UL 499.b.39.13]
- [B366] W. Baetke, ‘Über die Entstehung der Isländersagas’, *Berichten über die Verhandlungen der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, philos.-historische Klasse* 102:5 (1956), 1-108; a classic article
- [B367] E.Ó. Sveinsson, *Dating the Icelandic sagas: an essay in method*, transl. E.O.G. Turville-Petre, VSNR TS 3 (1958) [UL 752:1.d.2.3]
- [B368] T.M. Andersson, *The problem of Icelandic saga origins: a historical survey*, Yale Germanic studies 1 (1964) [UL 752:37.c.95.10]
- [B369] H.S. Joseph, ‘The þátr and the theory of saga origins’, *ANF* 87 (1972), 89-96
- [B370] H. Röhn, *Untersuchungen zur Zeitgestaltung und Komposition der Íslendingasögur*, Beiträge zur nordischen Philologie 5 (1976) [UL 752:01.c.7.5]
- [B371] J. Kristjánsson, ‘The roots of the sagas’, (O42):183-200
- [B372] T. Danielsson, *Om den isländska släktasagens uppbyggnad*, Skrifter utgivna av Litteraturvetenskapliga institutionen vid Uppsala universitet 22 (1986) (E.s) [UL 700:01.b.1.22]
- [B373] A. Kristinson, ‘Lords and literature: the Icelandic sagas as political and social instruments’, *SJH* 28:1 (2003), 1-17
- [B374] T. Túliníus, *The matter of the North: the rise of literary fiction in thirteenth-century Iceland*, tr. R. C. Eldevik. The Viking collection: studies in northern civilization 13 (2002)

### The historicity of the sagas

Questions of ‘historicity’ are similarly difficult to tackle, but a particularly striking recent approach treats them from a socio-anthropological perspective as expressions of ideals or mentality that can, to some degree at least, be considered timeless.

- [B375] G. Jones, ‘History and fiction in the sagas of the Icelanders’, *SBVS* 13 (1946-53), 285-306
- [B376] S. Nordal, ‘The historical element in the Icelandic family sagas’, *SI* 10 (1959), 9-24
- [B377] V.W. Turner, ‘An anthropological approach to the Icelandic saga’, *The translation of culture: essays to E.E. Evans-Pritchard*, ed. T.O. Beidelman (1971), 349-74 [UL 460:2.c.95.129]
- [B378] J. Harris, ‘Saga as historical novel’, (O44):187-219
- [B379] P.M. Sørensen, ‘Historical reality and literary form’, (O72):172-81

### Cultural influences

- [B382] L. Lönnroth, *European sources of Icelandic saga-writing: an essay based on previous studies* (1965) [UL 9752.b.3]
- [B383] M. Chesnutt, ‘Popular and learned elements in the Icelandic saga tradition’, (A61a):28-65

### Collections and anthologies

[B385] At least some versions of most family sagas are to be found in various large compilations in late mediaeval manuscripts. Striking examples are: V. Finsen et al., *Hauksbók udgiven efter de arnamagnæanske håndskrifter no. 371, 544 og 675, 4o, samt forskellige papirshåndskrifter* (1892-96) [UL 752:34.c.85.45]; A. van Arkel, *Möðruvallabók. AM 132 fol. I: Index and concordance. II: Text* (1987) [UL 752:34.b.95.7]

### Modern editions

Several of the Íslenzk fornrit series (B6) contain a number of sagas from particular parts of Iceland:

- [B390] S. Nordal and G. Jónsson, *Borgfirðinga sǫgur*, ÍF 3 (1938) [UL 752:1.c.3.3]
- [B391] B.K. Þórólfsson and G. Jónsson, *Vestfirðinga sǫgur*, ÍF 6 (1943) [UL 752:1.c.3.6]
- [B392] J. Jóhannesson, *Austfirðinga sǫgur*, ÍF 11 (1950) [UL 752:1.c.3.11]
- [B393] J. Kristjánsson, *Eyfirðinga sǫgur*, ÍF 9 (1956) [UL 752:1.c.3.9]

### Modern translations

- [B395] G. Jones, *Four Icelandic sagas* (1935) [UL 752:34.c.90.24]  
[B396] M.H. Scargill and M. Schlauch, *Three Icelandic sagas: Gunnlaugs saga ormstungu, Bandamanna saga, Droplaugarsona saga* (1950) [UL 752:34.c.95.1]  
[B397] G. Jones, *Eirik the red and other Icelandic sagas*, The world's classics (repr. 1969) [UL 9752.e.21]  
[B398] A. Boucher, *A tale of Icelanders* (1980) [UL 9752.c.320]  
[B399] A. Boucher, *Tales from the Eastfirths* (1981) [UL 9752.c.319]  
[B400] W.B. Bachman, *Four Old Icelandic sagas and other tales* (1985) [UL 9752.c.334]  
[B401] V. Hreinsson et al., (ed.), *The complete sagas of Icelanders*, 5 vols (1997) [UL 752:34.c.95.56-60]; a collection of all the family sagas in one handy series

### Individual family sagas

Since it is now largely recognised that the family sagas reflect an often flawed, or even invented, historical perception of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century authors, the amount of bibliographical material has been kept to a minimum to save space and energy, and only a selection of the large amount of vernacular material is included here; for the smaller sagas and *þættir*, see (B390 ff.) and the *Íslenzk fornrit* volumes (B6). Although a slightly artificial procedure, the sagas of the thirteenth century can be grouped into distinct categories, each of which in turn can be very tentatively ascribed to a particular 'phase' of saga-composition; it should be noted however that these divisions have effectively no bearing on the respective texts' authenticity or historicity.

### Epic sagas

This wholly arbitrary division has been taken to contain two of the greatest of the Icelandic sagas, both of which focus in part on the conversion period, the events of which play a central role in the plot.

[B410] **Laxdæla saga**. Text: E.Ó. Sveinsson, *Laxdæla saga*, ÍF 5 (1934) [UL 752:1.c.3.5]. Transl.: A.M. Arent, *The Laxdoela saga* (1964) [UL 752:34.c.95.7]; M. Magnússon and H. Pálsson, *Laxdæla saga* (1969) [UL 9752.d.137]; (B401): V,1-120. Commentary: R. Heller, *Laxdæla saga und Königssagas*, Saga 5 (1961) [UL 752:1.c.7.5]; M. Mundt, *Sturla Þórdarson und die Laxdæla saga*, Skrifter fra Instituttene for nordisk språk og litteratur ved Universitetene i Bergen, Oslo og Trondheim 4 (1969) [UL 752:01.c.6.4]; H. Beck, 'Laxdæla saga: a structural approach', *SBVS* 19 (1974-77), 383-402; P. Conroy and T.C.S. Langen, 'Laxdæla saga: theme and structure', *ANF* 103 (1988), 118-41

[B411] **Njáls saga**. Text: E.Ó. Sveinsson, *Brennu-Njáls saga*, ÍF 12 (1954) [UL 752:1.c.3.12]. Transl.: C.F. Bayerschmidt and L.M. Hollander, *Njal's saga* (1955) [UL 752:34.c.95.2] or (1956) [UL 752:34.c.95.3]; M. Magnússon and H. Pálsson, *Njal's saga* (1960) [UL 9752.d.315]; (B401): III,1-220. Commentary: W. Scheps, 'Historicity and oral narrative in *Njáls saga*', *SS* 46 (1974), 120-33; L. Lönnroth, *Njáls saga: a critical introduction* (1976) [UL 752:37.c.95.16]; J. Jesch, "'Good men" and peace in *Njáls saga*', (O66):64-82

### Poets' sagas (skáldasögur)

Sagas devoted to the lives of individual Icelandic poets are usually held to be among the earliest in the tradition, mostly dated to the first half of the thirteenth century; they also (naturally) tend to contain large amounts of skaldic verse, although in the form of *lausavísur* whose authenticity is often doubtful (B500). For articles on various aspects of the Poets' sagas, see (O85)

[B412] **Bjarnar saga hítðælakappa**. Text: (B390):109-211. Transl.: (B400):151-222; (B401): I,255-304. Commentary: A. Finlay, 'Níð, adultery and feud in *Bjarnar saga hítðælakappa*', *SBVS* 23 (1990-93), 158-78

[B413] **Egils saga**. The classic biography, possibly by Snorri Sturluson (B260), of the greatest early Icelandic poet; for Egil's verse specifically, see (B523). Text: S. Nordal, *Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar*, ÍF 2 (1933) [UL 752:1.c.3.2]. Transl.: C.E. Fell and John Lucas, *Egils saga* (1975) [UL 752:34.d.95.10]; (B401): I,33-177. Commentary: B. Einarsson, *Litterære forudsætninger for Egils saga*, SÁMÍ rit 8 (1975) [UL 752:1.c.5.11]; A. Finlay, 'Egils saga and other poets' sagas', (O66):33-48; A. Finlay 'Pouring Óðinn's mead: an antiquarian theme?' (A61h):85-99; on authorship in particular, P. Hallberg,

*Snorri Sturluson och Egils saga Skallagrímssonar: ett försök till språklig författar-bestämning*, StI 20 (1962) [UL 599:01.c.1.4] (E.s.)

**[B414] Fóstbræðra saga.** Text: (B391):119-276. Transl.: L.M. Hollander, *The sagas of Kormák and the Sworn Brothers* (1949), 73-176 [UL 752:34.c.90.26]; (B401): II,329-402. Commentary: H. Kratz, 'The *Fóstbræðrasaga* and the oral tradition', *SS* 27 (1955), 121-36; J. Kristjánsson, *Um Fóstbræðrasögu*, SÁMÍ rit 1 (1972) [UL 752:1.c.5.4] (E.s.); J. Kristjánsson, 'Elements of learning and chivalry in *Fóstbræðra saga*', (A61a):259-99

**[B415] Gunnlaugs saga ormstungu.** Text: (B390):49-107; P. Foote and R. Quirk, *Gunnlaugssaga ormstungu*, VSNR TS 1 (1953) [UL 752:1.d.2.1]; text with transl. P. Foote and R. Quirk, *Gunnlaugs saga ormstungu: the saga of Gunnlaug serpent-tongue*, Icelandic texts 1 (1957) [UL 752:1.c.4.1]. Transl.: (B396):1-46; (B397):171-217; A. Boucher, *The saga of Gunnlaug snake-tongue together with the tale of scald-Helgi* (1983) [UL 752:34.c.95.31]; E.P. and D. Durrenberger, *The saga of Gunnlaugur snake's tongue* (1992) [UL 752:34.c.95.47]; (B401): I,305-33. Commentary: P.M. Sørensen, 'The individual and social values in *Gunnlaugs saga ormstungu*', *SS* 60 (1988), 247-66

**[B416] Hallfreðar saga** is of particular significance for illuminating the personal response of an individual to the conversion to Christianity, although the authenticity of many of the verses attributed to Hallfred has come under strong suspicion (B533). Text: ÍF 8 (B428):133-200; B. Einarsson, *Hallfreðar saga*, SÁMÍ rit 15 (1977) [UL 752:1.c.5.19]. Transl.: A. Boucher, *The saga of Hallfred the troublesome scald* (1981) [UL 752:34.c.95.32]; (B401): I,225-53. Commentary: B. Einarsson, 'The last hours of Hallfreðr vandræðaskáld as described in *Hallfreðar saga*', (A47):217-21; R. Poole, 'The "conversion verses" of Hallfreðr vandræðaskáld', *MM* (2002), 15-37

**[B417] Kormáks saga.** Text: ÍF 8 (B428):201-302. Transl.: L.M. Hollander, *The sagas of Kormák and the Sworn Brothers* (1949), 1-72 [UL 752:34.c.90.26]; (B401): I,179-224. Commentary: P. Hallberg, 'Kormáks saga', *SI* 9 (1958), 34-52; H. O'Donoghue, *The genesis of a saga narrative: verse and prose in Kormaks saga* (1991) [UL 752:37.c.95.38]

### Feud sagas

Sagas about regional or dynastic feuds are the largest single group of *Íslendingasögur*; although they can be vaguely subdivided into groups on the basis of style, content, and (possibly therefore) age, they have all been lumped together here.

**[B418] Bandamanna saga.** Text: G. Jónsson, *Grettis saga Ásmundarsonar, Bandamanna saga, Odds þátr Ófeigssonar*, ÍF 8 (1936) [UL 752:1.c.3.8]; H. Magerøy, *Bandamanna saga* (1981) [UL 752:01.d.4.15]. Transl.: (B396):47-93; H. Pálsson, *The Confederates and Hen-Thorir* (1975), 39-90 [UL 752:34.c.95.17]; (B401): V,283-308. Commentary: H. Magerøy, *Studiar i Bandamanna saga: kring gjerd-problemet*, Bibliotheca Arnarnæana 21 (1957) [UL S752:01.b.1.15]; E.P. Durrenberger and J. Wilcox, 'Humor as a guide to social change: *Bandamanna saga* and heroic values', (G7):111-23

**[B419] Droplaugarsona saga.** Text: (B392):135-80; U. Ebel, *Droplaugar sona saga*, Texte des skandinavischen Mittelalters 2 (1990) [UL 752:34.d.95.29]. Transl.: (B396):95-135; J. Young and E. Haworth, *The Fljotsdale saga and the Droplaugarsons* (1990) [UL 752:34.d.95.28]; (B401): IV,355-78

**[B420] Eyrbyggja saga** is particularly interesting for Viking-age history in that its author shows a strong (if apparently often ill-informed) interest in matters antiquarian, particularly paganism. Text: E.Ó. Sveinsson and M. Þórðarson, *Eyrbyggja saga*, ÍF 4 (1935) [UL 752:1.c.3.4]. Transl.: P. Schach and L.M. Hollander, *Eyrbyggja saga* (1959) [UL 752:34.c.95.5]; H. Pálsson and P. Edwards, *Eyrbyggja saga*, rev. repr. (1989) [UL 9000.d.8471]; (B401): V,131-218

**[B421] Heiðarvíga saga.** Text: (B390):213-326. Transl.: W. Bryant Bachman and G. Erlingsson, *Heiðarvíga saga* (1995) [UL 752:34.c.95.55]; (B401): IV,67-129. Commentary: B. Guðnason, *Túlkun Heiðarvígasögu*, StI 50 (1993) [UL 599:01.c.1.29] (E.s.)

**[B422] Hrafnkels saga.** The tale of Hrafnkel, priest of Frey, contains much information of apparent value to our understanding of pagan cults, but its authenticity has long been called into question as a classic example of free thirteenth-century composition. Text: (B392):95-133; J. Helgason, *Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða*, 4th edn, Nordisk filologi A: Tekster 2 (1968) [UL 752:01.d.4.2]. Transl.: H. Pálsson, *Hrafnkel's saga and other Icelandic stories* (1971) [UL 752:34.d.95.7]; (B397):89-125; (B401): V,261-81. Commentary: S. Nordal, *Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða: a study* (1958) [UL 752:37.c.95.3]; H. Pálsson, *Art and ethics in Hrafnkels saga* (1971) [UL 9752.d.248]; H. Kratz, 'Hrafnkels saga: thirteenth century

fiction?', *SS* 53 (1981), 420-46; T.M. Andersson, 'Ethics and politics in *Hrafnkels saga*', *SS* 60 (1988), 293-309; K. Wolf, 'On the authorship of *Hrafnkels saga*', *ANF* 106 (1991), 104-24

[B423] **Hænsa-Þóris saga**. Text: (B390):1-47; U. Ebel, *Hænsa-Þóris saga*, Texte des skandinavischen Mittelalters 1 (1989) [UL 752:34.c.95.43]. Transl.: H. Pálsson, *The Confederates and Hen-Thorir* (1975), 91-133 [UL 752:34.c.95.17]; (B397):3-38; A. Boucher, *The saga of Havard the halt together with the saga of Hen-Thorir* (1986) [UL 752:34.c.95.44]; (B401): V,239-59. Commentary: A.J. Berger, 'Old law, new law, and *Hænsa-Þóris saga*', *SI* 27 (1976), 3-12; E.P. Durrenberger et al., 'Economic representation and narrative structure in *Hænsa-Þóris saga*', *SBVS* 22 (1986-89), 143-64

[B424] **Ljósvetninga saga**. Text: B. Sigfússon, *Ljósvetninga saga með þáttum*, *ÍF* 10 (1940), 1-106 [UL 752:1.c.3.10]. Transl.: T.M. Andersson and W.I. Miller, *Law and literature in medieval Iceland: Ljósvetninga saga and Valla-Ljóts saga* (1989) [UL 752:34.c.95.46]; (B401): IV,193-255

[B425] **Reykðæla saga**. Text: *ÍF* 10 (B424):149-243. Transl.: (B401): IV,257-302

[B426] **Valla-Ljóts saga**. Text: (B393):231-60. Text and transl.: P.A. Jorgensen, *Valla-Ljóts saga: the saga of Valla-Ljot*, Bibliotheca Germanica series nova 1 (1991) [UL 752:34.d.95.30]. Transl.: (B400):43-69; T.M. Andersson and W.I. Miller, *Law and literature in medieval Iceland: Ljósvetninga saga and Valla-Ljóts saga* (1989) [UL 752:34.c.95.46]; (B401): IV,130-47

[B427] **Vápnfirðinga saga**. Text: (B392):21-65. Transl.: (B397):39-77; (B399):31-59; (B401): IV,313-34

[B428] **Vatnsdæla saga**. Text: E.Ó. Sveinsson, *Vatnsdæla saga, Hallfreðar saga, Kormáks saga*, *ÍF* 8 (1939), 1-131 [UL 752:1.c.3.8]. Transl.: G. Jones, *The Vatnsdalers' saga* (1944) [UL 752:34.d.90.13]; (B401): IV,1-66

### Biographical sagas

The composition of sagas devoted to individual heroes, often outlaws, is frequently held to reflect a late development in the Icelandic saga tradition. Although this conception may well have little to recommend it, it is followed here for convenience and because many of these sagas are even more overtly unhistorical than the rest.

[B429] **Gísla saga Súrssonar**. Text: (B391):1-118. Transl.: G. Johnston, *The saga of Gisli* (1963) [UL 752:34.c.95.6]; (B401): II,1-48. Commentary: A. Holtsmark, *Studies in the Gísla saga*, *Studia Norvegica* 6 (1951) [UL 593:01.c.2.2]

[B430] **Víga-Glúms saga**. Text: (B393):1-98; E.O.G. Turville-Petre, *Víga-Glúms saga*, 2nd edn (1960) [UL 752:34.c.95.4]. Transl.: L.M. Hollander, *Víga-Glúm's saga and the story of Ögmund dytt* (1972) [UL 752:34.c.95.19]; A. Boucher, *The saga of Viga Glum* (1986) [UL 752:34.c.95.45]; J. McKinnell, *Viga-Glums saga with the tales of Ögmund bash and Thorvald chatterbox* (1987) [UL 752:34.c.95.36]; (B401): II,267-313. Commentary: E.O.G. Turville-Petre, 'The traditions of *Víga-Glúms saga*', *Transactions of the Philological Society* 1936, 54-75

[B431] Many other so-called 'post-classical family sagas' are clearly of little direct historical value, and often blur the boundary between *Íslendingasögur* and other genres such as the *fornaldarsögur* (B470). For those interested, a few examples in translation are: D. Fox and H. Pálsson, *Grettir's saga* (1974) [UL 752:34.c.95.20]; A. Boucher, *The saga of Hord and the Holm-dwellers* (1983) [UL 752:34.c.95.30]; J. Skaptason and P. Pulsiano, *Bárðar saga*, Garland library of medieval literature A:8 (1984) [UL 752:34.c.95.27]; J. Young and E. Haworth, *The Fljotsdale saga and the Droplaugarsons* (1990) [UL 752:34.d.95.28]

## Hagiography and bishops' sagas (biskupa sögur)

### Translated hagiography

Translated hagiography falls outside the scope of this bibliography, except in so far as it can provide extra light on the liturgy in early mediaeval Scandinavia (B780); for a concise guide to preserved texts, see:

[B440] O. Widding, H. Bekker-Nielsen and L.K. Shook, 'The lives of the saints in Old Norse prose: a handlist', *Mediaeval studies* 25 (1963), 294-337; cf. also M. Cormack, 'Saints' lives and Icelandic literature in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries', *Sagas and saints: a symposium*, edd. H. Bekker-

Nielsen and B. Carlé (1994), 27-47 [UL 701:15.c.95.3106]; M. Cormack 'Sagas of saints', (B235):302-325

[B441] The standard corpus edition remains C.R. Unger, *Heilagra manna sögur: Fortællinger og Legender om hellige Mænd og Kvinder*, 2 vols (1877) [UL 752:34.c.85.49-50]

### Indigenous hagiography

[B442] For West Norse material on the most famous saint of all, Olaf Haraldsson, see (B312 ff.); some further material can be found in the homily books of the late twelfth or early thirteenth centuries. Text: T. Wisén, *Homiliubók: isländska homilier efter en handskrift från tolfte århundradet* (1872) [UL 752:34.b.85.2]; G. Indrebø, *Gamal norsk homiliebook: cod. AM 619 4to* (1931) [UL 593:01.b.1.118]

[B443] There is little of direct historical relevance in the material on the two other major Norwegian saints with supposed Viking-age roots. Saint Hallvard is said to have been a kinsman of saint Olaf who was killed in 1043 while defending a pregnant woman, while saint Sunniva is portrayed as an Irish princess who came to Norway towards the end of the tenth century and took up residence at Selje, later the site of one of the earliest monasteries in Scandinavia. The antiquity of their cults is reflected in early texts such as Adam of Bremen (B73), while Odd Snorrason (B310) included an excerpt on Sunniva in his life of Olaf Tryggvason, the so-called *Seljumanna þáttur*; otherwise, the most significant surviving material is in the form of liturgical offices (B780).

### Bishops' sagas

The earliest account of the first Icelandic bishops is that contained in *Íslendingabók* (B255), but from the end of the twelfth century further material was composed, including independent biographies. This tradition seems to have begun with the life of Iceland's first saint Þorlák, bishop of Skálholt; see (B451). Most of the vernacular bishops' sagas composed in Iceland have not been included on the grounds that they deal with events from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. For collections of texts:

[B445] G. Vigfússon and J. Sigurðsson, *Biskupa sögur*, 2 vols (1856-78) [UL 752:34.c.85.18-19]

[B446] B. Kahle, *Kristnisaga, þáttur Þorvalds ens víðfjóra, þáttur Ísleifs biskups Gizurarsonar, Hungrvaka*, Altnordische Saga-Bibliothek 11 (1905) [UL 752:32.c.3.4]

[B447] J. Helgason, *Byskupa sögur*, Editiones Arnarnæanæ A:13 (-1938-78 ff.) [UL 752:1.b.1.11]

For translation:

[B448] D. Leith, *Stories of the bishops of Iceland* (1895) [UL 752:34.d.85.22]; beware, this translation is frequently inaccurate

For commentary on the genre:

[B450] P. Koppenberg, *Hagiographische Studien zu den Biskupa sögur, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Jóns saga helga*, Scandica: wissenschaftliche Reihe 1 (1980) [UL 752:37.c.95.29]

[B451] H. Kuhn, 'The emergence of a saint's cult as witnessed by the *jarteinabækr Þorláks biskups*', *SBVS* 24 (1994-97), 240-54

On Þorlákr's cult:

[B452] Á. Egilsdóttir, 'St Þorlákr of Iceland: the emergence of a cult', *Haskins Society Journal* 12 (2002), 121-131

[B455] **Hungrvaka** contains accounts of the first five bishops of Skálholt from 1056 to 1176, although largely derived from earlier sources for the first two, Ísleif and Gizur. Text: (B446):87-126; (B447):25-115. Transl.: (B448):33-71; (B250): I,420-58

[B456] **Ísleifs þáttur** is a late *þáttur* found embedded in *Ólafs saga helga* (B315) in Flateyjarbók. Text: (B446):83-86; (B447):13-23. Transl.: (B448):25-32

### Conversion narratives

It is convenient, if a bit cheeky, to include here a couple of conversion narratives, the first of which at least seems to have been written specifically to chart the development of Christianity in Iceland; for similar accounts, see in particular (B410-11).

[B458] **Kristni saga** is a thirteenth-century history of the conversion of Iceland sometimes attributed to Sturla Thordarson (B265). Text: (B446):1-57. Transl.: (B250): I,370-406

[B459] **Porvalds saga víðforla** is a small tale inserted into the greatest saga of Olaf Tryggvason (B311) relating early missionary activity in Iceland by Thorvald and the Saxon bishop Frederick. Text: (B446):59-81. Transl.: (B448):1-24; (B250): I,407-12; (B398):27-40

### Contemporary sagas

Sagas produced in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries covering contemporary events and issues may be of no huge significance for Viking-age history itself, but serve as a further introduction to the genre; they are useful both for assessing what the authors of the sagas thought made up history, and also for gauging the extent to which these historical genres reflect contemporary society and concerns. In addition, it can be noted that since much of Scandinavian Viking-age history is reliant upon working backwards from the better attested mediaeval period, these sources are often invaluable in showing the stage of development in political, social, and religious terms. The bibliography is however of necessity heavily selective.

### Contemporary kings' sagas

A range of contemporary kings' sagas were produced from the end of the twelfth century onwards, which is probably why most compendia (B280 ff., B320 ff.) stop around the time of Magnus Erlingsson.

[B460] **Hryggjarstykki** is a now lost saga, which seems to have been composed by the Icelander Eirík Oddsson covering the Norwegian dynastic disputes of the mid-twelfth century, with particular focus on the royal pretender Sigurd slëmbir. It is referred to, and plundered for material, in later sources, and is particularly interesting in being just about the earliest kings' saga in the vernacular known to us. See: B. Guðnason, *Fyrsta sagan*, StI 37 (1978) [UL 599:01.c.1.16] (E.s.)

[B461] **Sverris saga** is particularly interesting not only for its idiosyncratic style, with a heavy use of rhetoric and direct speech that may have well have influenced later kings' sagas, but also from the perspective of authorship; the prologue attributes the first part of the saga at least to abbot Karl Jónsson of Þingeyrar, but notes that he composed it while in Norway (from 1185-88) under the supervision of king Sverrir himself. Text: G. Indrebø, *Sverris saga etter Cod. AM 327 4to* (1920) [UL 593:01.b.1.100, 752:34.b.95.6]. Transl.: J. Sephton, *Sverrissaga: the saga of king Sverri of Norway*, Northern library 4 (1899) [UL 752:32.c.2.4]. Commentary: G.M. Gathorne-Hardy, *A royal impostor: king Sverre of Norway* (1956) [UL 593:2.c.95.1]; L.H. Blöndal, *Um uppruna Sverrissögu*, SÁMÍ rit 21 (1982) [UL 752:1.c.5.25] (E.s.); A. Gurevich, 'From saga to personality: *Sverris saga*', (G7):77-87; S. Bagge, 'Ideology and propaganda in *Sverris saga*', *ANF* 108 (1993), 1-18

[B462] **Bøglunga søgur** charts the end of the civil wars in Norway around 1200. Text: H. Magerøy, *Soga om Birkibeinar og Baglar: Bøglunga søgur I-II*, *Norrøne tekster* 5 (1988) [UL 593:01.b.1.165]

[B463] **Hákonar saga (gamla) Hákonarsonar** is the biography of Hakon the old composed by Sturla Þórðarson (B265); Hakon reigned from 1217 to 1263 before his death while campaigning in Scotland. Text: G. Vigfússon, *Hákonar saga and a fragment of Magnus saga*, *Icelandic sagas and other historical documents relating to the settlements and descents of the Northmen of the British isles* 2, RS 88 (1887) [UL R542.30.88]; M. Mundt, *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar etter Sth. 8 fol., AM 325 VIII,4 og AM 304,4*, *Norrøne tekster* 2 (1977) [UL 593:01.b.1.126] plus *Rettelser* by J.E. Knirk (1982) [UL 593:01.b.1.126a]

### Contemporary family sagas (samtiðarsögur)

The Icelandic sagas dealing with events from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are commonly (if misleadingly) known collectively as *Sturlunga saga*.

[B465] Text: G. Vigfússon, *Sturlunga saga including the Islendinga saga of lawman Sturla Thordsson and other works*, 2 vols (1878) [UL 752:34.c.85.35-36]; K. Kålund, *Sturlunga saga efter membranen Króksfjarðarbók, udfyldt efter Reykjarfjarðarbók*, 2 vols (1906-11) [UL 752:34.c.90.9-10]; J. Jóhannesson et al., *Sturlunga saga*, 2 vols (1946) [UL 752:34.c.90.29-30]. Transl.: J.H. McGrew and R.G. Thomas, *Sturlunga saga*, 2 vols, *Library of Scandinavian literature* 9-10 (1970-74) [UL 752:34.c.95.13-14]. Commentary: S.N. Tranter, *Sturlunga saga: the rôle of the creative compiler*, *European University Studies series 1: German language and literature* 941 (1987) [UL 752:37.c.95.35]; G. Nordal, 'Sturlunga saga and the context of saga-writing', (O66):1-14; G. Nordal 'The contemporary sagas and their social context', (B235):221-241

### Other genres

[B470] Although (sometimes) of great literary interest, the other genres that flourished in the West Norse area, particularly Iceland, are of little historical value for the study of Viking-age Scandinavia; these include the romances (*riððarasögur*) and the fantastic or legendary tales that (to judge from manuscript transmission) were so popular (such as *lygisögur* ‘lying sagas’ or *fornaldarsögur* ‘tales of the ancient past’). Among this body of material can be included some accounts of the legendary kings of Denmark in particular (B335) but also a couple of sagas about Viking expeditions into the East.

[B471] **Yngvars saga ins víðförla** ‘the saga of Yngvar the widely travelled’ is part *fornaldarsaga*, but its tale of a disastrous Swedish expedition into the mysterious east finds some confirmation, at least in the more prosaic essentials, in a large number of runestones from the eleventh century that refer to it, the ‘Ingvar’ stones (J70 ff.). Text: E. Olson, *Yngvars saga víðförla jámte ett bihang om Ingvarsinskrifterna*, SUGNL 39 (1912) [UL 752:01.d.2.38]. Transl.: H. Pálsson and P. Edwards, *Vikings in Russia: Yngvar’s saga and Eymund’s saga* (1989) [UL 752:34.d.95.23]

[B472] **Eymundar saga** is a further example of this genre, but one of even less historical value (if that is possible). Transl.: H. Pálsson and P. Edwards, *Vikings in Russia: Yngvar’s saga and Eymund’s saga* (1989) [UL 752:34.d.95.23]. Commentary: R. Cook, ‘Russian history, Icelandic story, and Byzantine strategy in *Eymundar þáttur Hringssonar*’, *Viator* 17 (1986), 65-89

### Annals

No annals are preserved from before the late thirteenth century, and although some scholars have argued that composition began in Iceland (as elsewhere in Scandinavia) in the twelfth century, they lack any independent value for the Viking age.

[B475] Text: G. Storm, *Islandske Annaler indtil 1578* (1888) [UL 593:01.b.1.26]. Commentary: (B240):293-326; J. Kristjánsson, ‘Annálar og íslendingasögur’, *Gripla* 4, SÁMÍ rit 19 (1980), 295-319 [UL 752:1.c.5.23]; E. Haug, ‘The Icelandic annals as historical sources’, *SJH* 22 (1997), 263-74

## IV. OLD NORSE VERSE

Old Norse verse is conventionally divided into two genres, although the boundaries are often blurred. On the one hand, skaldic verse refers to poetry composed (usually) by named poets in defined contexts; much of it, especially the most useful historical material, is panegyric in content and fiendishly complex in metre and style. On the other hand, Eddaic verse is (again usually) anonymous, timeless, and deals with mythological or ancient heroic material. Since large amounts of Old Norse poetry are found embedded in sagas of various kinds, many of the general works (B230 ff.) are most useful, but for verse particularly, see also:

[B480] P. Hallberg, *Old Icelandic poetry: Eddic lay and skaldic verse* (1975) [UL 752:21.d.95.2]

[B481] B. Fidjestøl, ‘Norse-Icelandic composition in the oral period’, (O10):303-32

[B482] K.E. Gade, ‘Poetry and its changing importance in medieval Icelandic culture’, (B235):61-95

### Skaldic verse

The poetry of the skalds can again be divided (however crudely) into two groups; the *lausavísur* ‘loose stanzas’ attributed to various characters in the sagas, and the longer praise poems of the court poets of various kings or other rulers. For bibliographical guidance to earlier research, see:

[B483] L.M. Hollander, *A bibliography of skaldic studies* (1958) [UL 857.c.752.2]

[B484] E.O.G. Turville-Petre, ‘Scaldic poetry: history and literature’, *BONIS* 1969, 7-20

### General guides

[B485] E.O.G. Turville-Petre, *Scaldic poetry* (1976) [UL 752:2.c.95.7]

[B486] G. Kreutzer, *Die Dichtungslehre der Skalden: Poetologische Terminologie und Autorenkommentare als Grundlage einer Gattungspoetik*, Hochschulschriften: Literaturwissenschaft 1, 2nd edn (1977) [UL 752:21.d.95.3]

[B487] R. Frank, *Old Norse court poetry: the dróttkvætt stanza*, *Islandica* 42 (1978) [UL 752:21.c.95.8, 752:4.c.1.41]

[B488] K. von See, *Skaldendichtung* (1980) [UL 9752.d.722]

- [B489] K. von See, *Edda, Saga, Skaldendichtung: Aufsätze zur skandinavischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, Skandinavistische Arbeiten 6 (1981) [UL 752:01.c.10.6]; a collection of articles on all types of Old Norse literature but with much of interest particularly on skaldic verse
- [B490] B. Fidjestøl, *Det norrøne fyrstediktet*, Universitetet i Bergen, Nordisk institutts skriftserie 11 (1982) [UL 752:01.c.11.11]; a classic definition of ‘court’ poetry
- [B491] H. Kuhn, *Das Dróttkvætt* (1983) [UL 752:21.c.95.9]; largely metrical in scope
- [B492] R. Frank, ‘Skaldic poetry’, (B233):157-96
- [B493] R.G. Poole, *Viking poems on war and peace: a study in skaldic narrative*, Toronto medieval texts and translations 8 (1991) [UL 752:21.c.95.14]
- [B494] K.E. Gade, *The structure of Old Norse dróttkvætt Poetry*, *Islandica* 49 (1995) [UL 752:4.c.1.48]

### Origins

The origins of the particularly skaldic *dróttkvætt* style are possibly significant for our understanding of cultural contacts and influences in the Viking age.

- [B495] E.O.G. Turville-Petre, ‘*Dróttkvætt* and Irish syllabic measures’, (O4):154-78
- [B496.] K. Árnason, ‘Did *dróttkvætt* borrow its rhythm from the Irish?’, *Íslenskt mál* 3 (1981), 101-11
- [B497] B.G. MacKenzie, ‘On the relation of Norse skaldic verse to Irish syllabic poetry’, (O32):337-56
- [B498] S.N. Tranter, *Clavis metrica: Háttatal, Háttalykill and the Irish metrical tracts*, *Beiträge zur nordischen Philologie* 25 (1997) [UL 752:01.c.7.25]

### Transmission and function

[B500] The authenticity of skaldic verse depends in large part upon our understanding of its transmission from the Viking age to mediaeval manuscripts. There is currently a broad consensus that court poetry, in the form of long stanzaic compositions such as *drápur*, has a greater claim to be considered ‘original’ than the loose verses, although like any sweeping statement this has to be assessed in any individual case. For an attempt to define this corpus of court poetry, see (B490). On the transmission of skaldic verse in the poets’ sagas, see (O85).

- [B501] B. Einarsson, ‘On the role of the verse in saga-literature’, *MS* 7 (1974), 118-25
- [B502] J. Lindow, ‘Riddles, kennings, and the complexity of skaldic poetry’, *SS* 47 (1975), 311-27
- [B503] K. von See, ‘Skaldenstrophe und Sagaprosa: ein Beitrag zum Problem der mündlichen Überlieferung in der altnordischen Literatur’, *MS* 10 (1977), 58-82
- [B504] J.T.R. Byrne, ‘On the function of the embedded verses in the *Íslendingasögur*’, *Parergon* 22 (1978), 39-40
- [B505] C. Clover, ‘Skaldic sensibility’, *ANF* 93 (1978), 63-81
- [B506] P. Peters, ‘Skaldic verses as a historical source’, *Parergon* 22 (1978), 29-37
- [B507] S. Davíðsdóttir, ‘Old Norse court poetry: some notes on its purpose, transmission and historical value’, *Gripla* 3, *SÁMÍ rit* 18 (1979), 186-203 [UL 752:1.c.5.22]
- [B508] A. Faulkes, *What was Viking poetry for?*, Inaugural lecture delivered on 27th April 1993 in the University of Birmingham (1993) [UL 1996.8.1585]
- [B509] K.E. Gade, ‘On the recitation of Old Norse skaldic poetry’, (O74):126-51

### Editions and anthologies

The collection by Finnur Jónsson (B510) remains the standard edition, which should be consulted in the absence of more recent work; Kock’s edition (B511) follows the same order of individual poets or poems. The bulk of the corpus is preserved in various kings’ sagas (B290 ff.) and Snorri’s *Edda* (B600), which are therefore also useful for texts and translations. A new comprehensive edition in English of the known corpus of Norse-Icelandic skaldic poetry, including runic inscriptions in metrical form and all other non-Eddaic poetry composed before 1400, is in preparation for publication in 2006-11 (B512-13).

### Texts

- [B510] F. Jónsson, *Den norsk-islandske skjaldedigtning, udgivet efter håndskrifterne af Kommissionen for det Arnamagnæanske Legat*, A-B:I-II (1912-15) [UL 752.b.90.1-4]; the defining corpus of skaldic verse, containing diplomatic texts (series A) and normalised texts with Danish translations (series B). All references are to volume A:I unless otherwise stated. For electronic texts, see (B513).

[B511] E.A. Kock, *Den norsk-isländska skaldediktningen*, 2 vols (1946-49) [UL 752:2.b.90.10-11]; a famous attack on (or antidote to) Finnur Jónsson's corpus; the edition lacks any notes or critical apparatus, and is founded on a huge series of scattered articles by Kock called the *Notationes Norrænae: anteckningar till Edda och skaldediktning*, Lunds universitets årsskrift n.f. avd. 1, 19:2-39:3 (1923-43) [UL P500.b.76.17 ff.]

[B512] K. E. Gade, 'Skaldic poetry of the Scandinavian middle ages – a new edition', *Skandinavistik* 32:1 (2002), 3-18.

[B513] The expanding database of the new corpus edition, *Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages*, is accessible online at [skaldic.arts.usyd.edu.au](http://skaldic.arts.usyd.edu.au). The site currently incorporates electronic texts of the skaldic corpus in Finnur Jónsson's edition (B510), together with a full concordance, and links to thousands of digital images of the manuscripts in which the verses are preserved.

### Translations

[B515] G. Vigfússon and F. York Powell, *Corpus poeticum boreale: the poetry of the old northern tongue from the earliest times to the thirteenth century. II: Court poetry* (1883) [UL 752:2.c.85.3]; contains both texts and translations, although often outdated

[B516] L.M. Hollander, *The skalds: a selection of their poems* (1945) [UL 752:2.d.90.2]

### Individual poets or poems

[B520] Aside from attributions in literary sources, the text *Skáldatal* purports to provide a list of known court poets and the historical contexts in which they worked; for text, see (B515): II,442-46. For the most part, only major court poets are listed, with loose stanzas taking a distant back seat. For the huge problems involved with compiling long poems out of scattered stanzas, which are often in a highly uncertain order or state of preservation, see (B490) and (B493).

### Tenth-century verse

[B521] **Þjóðólf of Hvinir** is said to have composed for kings Rognvald of Vestfold and Harald fairhair in the late ninth and early tenth centuries; see B. Fidjestøl, 'The king's skald from Kvinesdal and his poetry', (O10):68-92. Text: (B510):7-21. [a] **Ynglinga tal** traces the descent of the kings of Vestfold back to the Yngling dynasty of Sweden and so to a divine origin; it is preserved with the accompanying prose *Ynglinga saga* only in *Heimskringla* (B322). Text and Swedish transl.: A. Noreen, *Ynglingatal*, KVHAA handlingar 28 (1925) [UL Ub.8.382]. Commentary: J.E. Turville-Petre, 'On Ynglingatal', *MS* 11 (1978-79), 48-67; A. Faulkes, 'Descent from the Gods', *MS* 11 (1978-79), 92-125; J.E. Turville-Petre, 'The genealogist and history: Ari to Snorri', *SBVS* 20 (1978-81), 7-23; C. Krag, *Ynglingatal og Ynglingasaga: en studie i historiske kilder*, *Studia humaniora* 2 (1991) [UL 752:16.c.95.36] (E.s.); see also (E30 ff.) and (K75 ff., K81). [b] **Haustlǫng** on the other hand contains various mythological tales, and is more Eddaic in content. Text: V. Kiil, 'Tjodolvs *Haustlǫng*', *ANF* 74 (1959), 1-104. Text and transl.: R. North, *The Haustlǫng of Þjóðólfr of Hvinir* (1997) [UL 752:2.c.95.14], with commentary; also transl.: (B516):42-48.

[B522] **Þorbjörn hornklofi** is said to have been one of Harald fairhair's poets, and is widely held to have been responsible for **Hrafnsmál**, also known as **Haraldskvæði**, although some manuscripts attribute these verses to Þjóðólf (B521). Text: (B510):22-29. Transl. (B515): I,254-59; (B593):56-62; (B1):106-09. See K. von See, 'Studien zum Haraldskvæði', *ANF* 76 (1961), 96-111

[B523] **Egil Skallagrímsson** is often considered to be the greatest of the Viking-age Icelandic poets, although largely on the basis of his loose stanzas. Text: (B510):34-60; J. Kristjánsson, *Kvæðakver Egils Skallagrímssonar* (1964) [UL 9752.d.583]. Egil's work is naturally contained in his saga (B413). [a] **Höfuðlausn** is said to have been composed at the court of Erik bloodaxe, Egil's bitterest enemy, in York as a ransom for his life; see J. Hines, 'Egill's Höfuðlausn in time and place', *SBVS* 24 (1994-97), 83-104. Text and transl.: R. Poole 'Variants and variability in the text of Egill's *Höfuðlausn*', *The politics of editing medieval texts: papers given at the twenty-seventh annual conference on editorial problems, University of Toronto, 1-2 November 1991*, ed. R. Frank (1993), 65-105. Transl.: (B516):68-73. [b] **Sonatorrek** details the relationship of Egil with his patron god Odin; although now partially corrupted, it is (possibly) of immense interest as an insight into the pagan mentality. Text and transl.: E.O.G. Turville-Petre, 'The Sonatorrek', *Iceland and the mediaeval world: studies in honour of Ian Maxwell*, edd. E.O.G.

Turville-Petre and J.S. Martin (1974), 33-55 [UL 752:16.c.95.15]. Transl.: (B515): I,276-80; (B516):90-98; (B485):24-41; (B1):215-20. Commentary: R. North, 'The pagan inheritance of Egill's *Sonatorrek*', (A61g):147-67; C. Larrington, 'Egill's longer poems: *Arinbjarnarkviða* and *Sonatorrek*', (O66):49-63; J. Hnefill Aðalsteinsson, 'Religious ideas in *Sonatorrek*', *SBVS* 25 (1998-2001), 159-78. [c] **A Arinbjarnarkviða** was composed for Egil's great friend Arinbjörn; transl. (B516):76-85. [d] Egil's loose verses are often of great literary merit but perhaps more uncertain authenticity; for example, cf. J.E. Knirk, 'Runes from Trondheim and a stanza by Egill Skalla-Grímsson', (O74):411-20  
[B524] '**Eiríksmál**'. This anonymous elegy for king Erik bloodaxe of Norway (and subsequently York) is preserved only in *Fagrskinna* (B321), but seems to date from around the middle of the tenth century; it is rather Eddaic in style and tone. Text: (B510):174-75. Transl.: (B515): I,259-61; (B593):63-65; (B1):109-11. Commentary: A. Seeberg, 'Five kings', *SBVS* 20 (1978-81), 106-13

### The poets of kings in pre-Christian Norway

The praise poetry connected with the retinues of Harald Fairhair and his tenth-century successors reflects the developing political ambitions of these rulers, and the religious dimension of pagan kingship ideology in Norway. For a discussion, see:

[B525] E. Marold, 'Die norwegische Reicheinigung und die Preislieddichtung', *Arbeiten zur Skandinavistik 7. Arbeitstagung der Skandinavisten des deutschen Spreachgebietes: 4.8.-10.8.1985*, ed. U. Groenke (1987), 59-105 [UL 752:05.c.95]

### The poets of the earls of Lade

The body of verse emanating from the court of earl Hakon of Lade in the late tenth century is of particular interest, since it apparently reflects an attempt to emphasise, or perhaps even resurrect, the link between sacral and secular rulership and the importance of the pagan cults in terms of prosperity and legitimacy, in reaction to the ; cf. (K75 ff., K81). For an overview see:

[B526] F. Ström, 'Poetry as an instrument of propaganda: jarl Hákon and his poets', (O32):440-58

And on paganism in skaldic verse more widely:

[B527] E. Marold, 'Die Skaldendichtung als Quelle der Religionsgeschichte', (K12):685-719

[B530] **Eyvind skáldaspillir** was one of several skalds who composed for both the Norwegian kings and their enemies the earls of Lade. Text: (B510):64-74; text with commentary: A. Krause, *Die Dichtung des Eyvindr skáldaspillir: Edition, Kommentar, Untersuchungen*, Altnordische Bibliothek 10 (1990) [UL 752:2.d.95.3]. [a] **Hákonarmál** is an elegy for king Hakon the good that was heavily modelled on *Eiríksmál* (B524); transl. (B515): I,262-66; (B593):66-71; (B1):111-15, see also A. Heinrichs, 'Hákonarmál im literarischen Kontext', (A61g):427-45. [b] **Háleygjatal** is a genealogical poem composed to provide a divine ancestry for the earls of Lade; transl. (B515): I,251-54, cf. (K75 ff., K81)

[B531] **Einar Helgason skálaglamm** is known, aside from a few unattached stanzas, as the author of *Vellekla*. Text: (B510):122-32. Transl. (B515): II,44-49; (B516):104-13

[B532] **Eilíf Goðrúnarson** was responsible for the mythological *Þórsdrápa*. Text: (B510):148-52. Transl. (B515): II,17-22. Commentary: R. Frank, 'Hand tools and power tools in Eilífr's *Þórsdrápa*', (O44):94-109

[B533] **Hallfreð vandræðaskáld** is known from his saga (B416) as court poet to both earl Hakon and Olaf Tryggvason; his loose stanzas in particular are interesting for his responses to Christianity, but are now thought suspect by some scholars. Text: (B510):155-73. [a] **Hákonardrápa** was composed for earl Hakon; transl. (B515): II,95-96. The remainder of Hallfreð's praise poems are more or less Christian and composed for Olaf Tryggvason: [b] a first *Ólafsdrápa*; transl. (B515): II,94-95. [b] a eulogy *Erfídrápa* (or again *Ólafsdrápa*); transl. (B515): II,90-94; (B80):126-35. For his verse and life, see C. Wood, 'The reluctant Christian and the king of Norway', *SS* 31 (1959), 65-72; D. Whaley 'Myth and religion in the poetry of a reluctant convert', (A61h):556-71

[B534] **Gunnlaug ormstunga** 'wormtongue' is said to have been court poet to earl Erik of Lade, but only faint fragments of his court poetry are preserved, including some for Ethelred of England. Text: (B510):194-97. Much of his poetry as preserved in his saga (B415) seems of dubious authenticity, cf. R.

Poole, 'Verses and prose in *Gunnlaugs saga ormstungu*', *Sagas of the Icelanders: a book of essays*, Garland reference library of the humanities 758, ed. J. Tucker (1989), 160-84 [UL 752:37.c.95.34]  
[B535] Other minor poets for earl Hakon include **Gopþorm** (B510):61-63, **Glúm** (B510):75-78, **Kormák** (B510):79-91, and **Tind** (B510):144-47

Less verse is preserved from the court of Hakon's successor Erik:

[B536] **Eyjólf dáðaskáld** is best known as the author of *Bandadrápa* celebrating many of Erik's battles. Text: (B510):200-02. Transl. (B515): II,51-52

[B537] **Halldór ókristni** is known from his *Eiríksflokk*. Text: (B510):202-04

[B538] **Þórð Kolbeinsson** was responsible for *Eiríksdrápa*. Text: (B510):212-19. Transl. (B515): II,102-05, excerpts transl. (B81):334-35

### The poets of the Christian kings

Following on from the verse composed for the earls of Lade, the material from the reigns of the early Christian kings naturally reflects (albeit to varying degrees) a shift in religious emphasis; not only did some poets eschew the kennings or *heiti* derived from pagan mythology, but they also employed skaldic verse to highlight new aspects of kingship that entered Scandinavia, or were developed there, in the conversion period. A classic study remains:

[B540] W. Lange, *Studien zur christlichen Dichtung der Nordgermanen 1000-1200*, Palaestra 222 (1958) [UL 779.c.15.142]

For further studies on the Christianisation of skaldic verse:

[B541] E. Mundal, 'Kristninga av Noreg og Island reflektert gjennom samtidig skaldedikting', *CM* 3 (1990-92), 145-62 (E.s.)

[B542] B. Fidjestøl, 'Pagan beliefs and Christian impact: the contribution of skaldic studies', (O72):100-20

[B543] B. Fidjestøl, 'Skaldic poetry and the conversion, with some reflections on literary form as a source of historical information', (O10):133-50

[B544] D. Edwards, 'Christian and pagan references in eleventh-century Norse poetry: the case of Arnórr jarlaskáld', *SBVS* 21 (1982-85), 34-53

[B545] **Darraðarljóð** is an anonymous poem found only in *Njáls saga* (B411); ostensibly on the battle of Clontarf, many scholars think it fits better with a tenth-century date. Text: (B510):419-21. Transl.: (B593):72-75; (B493):116-56 with discussion

[B546] **Sigvat Þórðarson** is one of the most prolific skaldic poets whose work is left to us; he composed for a series of kings in the first half of the eleventh century. Text: Text: (B510):223-75; J. Halldórsson, *Kvæðakver Sighvats Þórðarsonar* (1965) [UL 752:2.d.95.1]. The bulk of his verse was devoted to saint Olaf Haraldsson: [a] The **Víkingavísur** chart Olaf's adventures as a young viking, particularly his participation in the raids on England in the opening decades of the eleventh century; for text and transl., see C. Fell, 'Víkingavísur', (O32):106-22, also transl. (B515): II,124-27. [b] **Nesjavísur** celebrates Olaf's consolidation of Norway after victory at the battle of Nesjar around 1016; transl. (B515): II,127-29. [c] The **Austrfararvísur** 'verses on an eastern journey' relate Sigvat's adventures on an embassy to southern Sweden. Transl.: (B515): II,129-33; (B516):151-59; (B1):48-54. Commentary: F. Jónsson, *Austrfararvísur*, ADNVAO 1931:1 (1932) [UL 500:01.c.13.2]. [d] The **Vestrfararvísur** follow Sigvat into the west and chart his diplomatic dealings with Knut of Denmark on Olaf's behalf; transl. (B515): II,133-35; (B81):338-39. [e] Ironically, Sigvat also composed a memorial lay about Knut himself, the **Tøgdrápa** or **Knútsdrápa**; excerpts transl. (B515): II,135-36; (B81):337-38. See the discussion of Knut's poets in M. Townend, 'Contextualizing the *Knútsdrápur*: skaldic praise-poetry at the court of Cnut', *ASE* 30 (2001), 145-79. Sigvat's last two significant compositions were both put together in the reign of Magnus the good, and are both partially retrospective: [f] Firstly, the **Erfidrápa** (or **Ólafsdrápa**) was an elegy for Olaf Haraldsson, that is of great interest in the perspective it gives on the spread of his cult; transl. (B515): II,138-42; excerpts transl. (B81):332-33. [g] Of even more interest are the **Bersöglisvísur** 'plain-speaking verses', which criticise Magnus's overbearing behaviour in the light of

the models of ideal kingship exemplified by Hakon the good and the two Olafs; transl. (B515): II,145-48; (B516):169-74; (B1):161-64. Various loose stanzas can also be found transl. (B81):339-40

[B547] **Óttar svartí** ‘the black’ also seems to have composed in a number of different courts, although nothing remains of the verse ascribed to him for Svein forkbeard of Denmark or Anund Jakob of Sweden. Text: (B510):289-99. [a] Only fragments of **Ólafsdrápa sænska** are preserved of his verse for Olaf skötkonung; transl. (B515): II,157. [b] **Höfuðlausn** was composed for Olaf Haraldsson; transl. (B515): II,152-55; excerpts transl. (B81):333-34. [c] **Knútsdrápa** was then put together for Knut of Denmark; transl. (B515): II,155-56; (B80):136-39, reproduced (B81):335-36; (B1):155-59. Cf. (B546e); (D112).

[B548] **Hallvarðr háreksblei** also composed a *Knútsdrápa*. Text: (B510):317-18. Text and transl.: (D112); (D111):119-22. Cf. (B546e).

[B549] ‘**Liðsmannaflokkur**’ is a poem that purports to date from Knut’s period and perhaps to have been composed by members of his household army, although any attribution is uncertain. Text: (B510):422-23. Text and transl.: (B493):86-115 with extensive discussion. Transl. (B515): II,106-08; (B80):140-43

[B550] **Pórarinn loftunga** ‘praise-tongue’ composed for the Danish king Knut and his son (and regent of Norway) Svein. Text: (B510):322-27. [a] His **Glælognskviða** is of great interest for its early promotion of the cult of saint Olaf. Text and Norwegian transl.: H. Magerøy, *Glælognskviða aav Toraren Lovtunge: sikta tekst med merknader, omsetjing og serutgreiingar*, Bidrag til nordisk filologi av studerende ved Universitetet i Oslo 12 (1948) [UL 752:2.c.90.9]; transl. (B515): II,160-61; see also S. Hellberg, ‘Kring tillkomsten av *Glælognskviða*’, *ANF* 99 (1984), 14-48. [b] **Tøgdrápa** transl. (B515): II,159-60; excerpts transl. (B81):340-41. Cf. (B546e).

[B551] **Pórrð Særeksson** composed the *Róðadrápa* on saint Olaf, of which only one stanza survives. Text: (B510):327-30

[B552] **Arnór Þórðarson jarlaskáld** served as court poet under both Norwegian kings and earls of Orkney in the mid-eleventh century, and was responsible for several large panegyrics. Text: (B510):332-54. Text and transl.: D. Whaley, *The poetry of Arnór jarlaskáld: an edition and study*, Westfield publications in medieval studies 8 (1998) [UL 752:2.c.95.11]. For Magnus Olafsson he composed [a] **Hrynhenda**, transl. (B515): II,186-88; (B516):183-88, and [b] **Magnússdrápa**, transl. (B515): II,189-91; for earl Thorfinn the mighty of Orkney [c] **Porfinnsdrápa**, transl. (B515): II,194-97; for Harald hardrada [d] **Haraldsdrápa** or **Erfídrápa**, transl. (B515): II,191-93. See also: (B544); B. Fidjestøl, ‘Arnór Þórðarson: skald of the Orkney jarls’, (I121):239-57

[B553] **Þjóðólf Arnórsson** composed for the Norwegian kings of the mid-eleventh century. Text: (B510):361-83. [a] **Magnússflokkur** transl. (B515): II,199-202. [b] **Sexstefja** on the battle of Nissa (Harald hardrada in Denmark), transl. (B515): II,204-08; (B493):59-72 with discussion

[B554] A large number of further poets are said to have composed for Harald hardrada of Norway, but only small and relatively dull (historically-speaking) snippets survive of their work; they include **Illugi Bryndælaskáld** (B510):384, **Bolverk Arnórsson** (B510):385-87, **Grani** (B510):387, and **Valgarð** (B510):390-93

[B555] Less survives on Harald’s arch-enemy Svein Estrithsen of Denmark, but there are preserved the remnants of a *flokkur* by **Porleik fagri**, text: (B510):396-99

[B556] Particularly interesting is the poem ‘**Friðgerðarflokkur**’, often attributed to Halli stirði, which relates a peace settlement between Harald hardrada of Norway and Svein Estrithsen of Denmark; cf. (D130, E85). Text: (B510):401-02. Text and transl.: (B493):73-85 with discussion. Transl.: (B1):164-66

[B557] **Stein Herdísarson** composed both the *Nizarvísur* for Harald hardrada and an *Ólafsdrápa* for Olaf kyrrí of Norway. Text: (B510):407-13

[B558] Several fragments remain on Magnus barelegs of Norway, by such poets as **Björn krepphendí** (B510):434-37, **Porkel hamarskáld** (B510):438-39, and an elegy *Erfíkvæði* by **Gísl Illugason** (B510):440-44

### Post-eleventh century verse

Skaldic verse was still composed for Scandinavian kings, at least Norwegian ones, after 1100, but is largely (naturally) concerned with contemporary events and therefore has mostly not been included here. Of the retrospective compositions, two stand out in importance:

[B560] The genealogical poem **Nóregs konunga tal** is a particularly significant composition. Although anonymous, it was put together in the late twelfth century for the Icelandic Jón Loftsson and consists of

an annotated list of Norwegian kings that refers for its authority to the work of Sæmundr (B252). Text: (B510):579-89

[B561] Of poems composed in honour of the cult of saint Olaf, Einar Skúlason's **Geisli** 'sunbeam' stands out, for text see (B510):459-73

On the maintenance of the skaldic tradition in learned and elite contexts in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Iceland, see:

[B562] G. Nordal, *Tools of literacy: The role of skaldic verse in Icelandic textual culture of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries* (2001) [ASNC]

### Eddaic verse

By contrast to skaldic verse, Eddaic poetry is largely anonymous, mythological, and timeless; it is extraordinarily difficult to pin down when or in what context the various poems that make up the corpus might have been composed or revised.

### Reference

For bibliographical guidance to older material, see:

[B570] H. Hermansson, *Bibliography of the Eddas*, *Islandica* 13 (1920), plus suppl. by J.S. Hannesson 37 (1955) [UL 752:4.c.1.13, suppl. 752:4.c.1.36]

### Glossaries

The major dictionaries of Old Norse (A90) are often helpful, but see also:

[B571] R. Kellogg, *A concordance to Eddic poetry*, *Medieval texts and studies* 2 (1988) [UL R752.50]

[B572] B. la Farge and J. Tucker, *Glossary to the Poetic Edda based on Hans Kuhn's Kurzes Wörterbuch*, *Skandinavistische Arbeiten* 15 (1992) [UL 752:01.c.10.15]; based on (B587)

### General guides

[B574] P. Acker and C. Larrington (edd.), *The Poetic Edda: essays on Old Norse mythology* (2002)

[B575] R.J. Glendinning and H. Bessason, (edd.), *Edda: a collection of essays*, *University of Manitoba Icelandic studies* 4 (1983) [UL 599:01.c.5.4]

[B576] J. Harris, 'Eddic poetry', (B233):68-156

[B577] J. Kristjánsson, *Eddas and sagas: Iceland's medieval literature*, transl. P. Foote (1988) [UL 752:16.c.95.32]

On transmission and function in particular, see:

[B578] T. Gunnell, *The origins of drama in Scandinavia* (1995) [UL 752:05.c.95.55]

[B579] B. Fidjestøl, *The dating of Eddic poetry: a historical survey and methodological investigation*, ed. O.E. Haugen, *Bibliotheca Arnamagnæana* 41 (1999) [ASNC]

### Eddaic verse and mythology

For more general surveys of Old Norse mythology, see (K1 ff., K20 ff.). A few of the contributions focussing more specifically (if that were possible) on Eddaic verse are:

[B580] J. Kristjánsson, 'Heiðin trú í fornkvæðum', (B261):99-112 (E.s.)

[B581] U. Dronke, 'Eddic poetry as a source for the history of Germanic religion', (K12):656-84

[B582] U. Dronke, 'Pagan beliefs and Christian impact: the contribution of eddic studies', (O72):121-27

### The poetic Edda (or Sæmundar Edda)

The basic body of Eddaic verse is known as the poetic *Edda*, and is mostly contained in one precious Icelandic manuscript from the second half of the thirteenth century, the Codex Regius. This manuscript contains twenty-nine poems; only the first ten are mythological, while the remainder are heroic. For other similar material, see (B593).

### Texts

[B585] S. Bugge, *Norræn fornkvæði: islandsk samling af folkelige oldtidsdigte om Nordens guder og heroer, almindelig kaldet Sæmundar Edda hins fróða* (1867) [UL 752:26.b.85.1]

[B586] R.C. Boer, *Die Edda mit historisch-kritischem Commentar. I: Einleitung und Text. II: Commentar* (1922) [UL 752:26.c.90.5-6]

[B587] G. Neckel and H. Kuhn, *Edda: die Lieder des Codex Regius nebst verwandten Denkmälern. I: Text. II: Kurzes Wörterbuch*, 4th edn (Text), 3rd edn (Wörterbuch) (1962-68) [UL 752:26.d.95.1-2]; see (B572) for an English version of the glossary

### Texts and translations

[B590] G. Vigfússon and F. York Powell, *Corpus poeticum boreale: the poetry of the old northern tongue from the earliest times to the thirteenth century. I: Eddic poetry* (1883) [UL 752:2.c.85.2]

[B591] U. Dronke, *The poetic Edda II. Mythological poems* (1997) [UL 752:26.c.95.10]

### Translations

[B593] L.M. Hollander, *Old Norse poems: the most important non-skaldic verse not included in the Poetic Edda* (1936) [UL 752:2.c.90.3]

[B594] L.M. Hollander, *The poetic Edda*, 2nd edn (1964) [UL 752:26.c.95.6]

[B595] P. Terry, *Poems of the Elder Edda*, rev. edn (1990) [some College libraries]

[B596] C. Larrington, *The poetic Edda* (1996) [UL 9002.d.4543]

### Commentary

A large number of contributions to various aspects of Eddaic verse can be found in the proceedings of the seventh International saga conference in Spoleto (A61g) as well as many of the editions listed above (R585 ff.); see also:

[B598] K. von See et al., *Kommentar zu den Liedern der Edda. 2: Götterlieder* (Skírnismál, Hárbarðsljóð, Hymiskviða, Lokasenna, Prymskviða) (1997) [ASNC]

### The prose Edda (or Snorra Edda)

Much Eddaic (although more skaldic) material is also included in Snorri Sturluson's treatise on poetics known (confusingly) as *Snorra Edda*; this text is also of great interest for Snorri's treatment of the myths and for the mythological prose narratives also included, some of which are based on preserved verse. It is naturally quite misleading to include a text here which consists largely of prose or skaldic verse, but as the name implies *Snorra Edda* has been linked to Eddaic studies for so long that it appears inevitable.

[B600] Text: F. Jónsson, *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar, udgivet efter håndskriverne af Kommissionen for det Arnemagnæanske Legat* (1931) [UL 752:26.c.90.10]. Transl.: J. Young, *The prose Edda of Snorri Sturluson: tales from Norse mythology* (1954; repr. 1964) [UL 9752.d.30; repr. 9752.c.31]; A. Faulkes, *Snorri Sturluson: Edda*, Everyman Classics 499 (1987; repr. 1992) [UL 9000.d.1237, repr. 1994.7.1113]. Commentary: M. Clunies Ross, "'Quellen zur germanischen Religionsgeschichte": Snorri's Edda as medieval Religionsgeschichte', (K12):633-55

[B601] **Prologue and Gylfaginning.** After a prologue dealing with the origins of Norse pagan beliefs, the first section *Gylfaginning* concentrates extensively on mythology. Text: A. Faulkes, *Snorri Sturluson, Edda: Prologue and Gylfaginning* (1982) [UL 752:26.c.95.16]. Text and German transl.: G. Lorenz, *Snorri Sturluson, Gylfaginning: Texte, Übersetzung, Kommentar*, Texte zur Forschung 48 (1984) [UL 752:26.c.95.19]. Commentary: U. and P. Dronke, 'The prologue of the prose *Edda*: explorations of a Latin background', (O28):153-76; A. Faulkes, 'The prologue to Snorra Edda: an attempt at reconstruction', *Gripla* 3, *SÁMÍ rit* 18 (1979), 204-13 [UL 752:1.c.5.22]; A. Faulkes, 'Pagan sympathy: attitudes to heathendom in the prologue to *Snorra Edda*', (B575):283-314

[B602] **Skáldskaparmál** deals more with the conventions and metres of poetry. Text: A. Faulkes, *Snorri Sturluson, Edda: Skáldskaparmál* (1998) [ASNC]. Commentary: M. Clunies Ross, *Skáldskaparmál: Snorri Sturluson's Ars Poetica and medieval theories of language*, The Viking collection 4 (1987) [UL 752:27.c.95.3]; A. Faulkes, 'The sources of *Skáldskaparmál*: Snorri's intellectual background', (B262):59-76; (K20)

[B603] **Háttatal** contains a large number of sample verses to illuminate the principles set out by Snorri elsewhere. Text: A. Faulkes, *Snorri Sturluson, Edda: Háttatal* (1991) [UL 752:26.c.95.20], see also (B498)

### Individual poems

Defining a corpus of 'Eddaic' verse is difficult enough, but the problem is compounded by the bewildering variety shown by its various constituents. The various individual poems seem likely to come from a wide range of places, dates, and contexts, and to have filled a wide range of functions. Accordingly, the following definition of sub-groups is necessarily vague; only a selection of collected texts and translations are referred to, but the reader is reminded of the other items in the sections above (B585 ff.).

### Eschatological poems

Many Norse poems touch on eschatological themes, but only one does it properly.

[B605] **Völuspá** is the indubitable epic of Eddaic verse, telling of the raising of a sibyl to answer questions about the fate of gods and the world. Its picture of eschatology (K50 ff.) is the most coherent to come through from the poetic sources, and has often been considered a pagan reaction to Christianity, whose influence can probably be identified at numerous points. Text: (B587), I:1-16; S. Nordal, *Völuspá*, transl. B. Benediktz and J. McKinnell, *Durham and St. Andrews medieval texts 1*, corr. repr. (1984) [UL L700.c.209.1a]. Text and transl.: (B591):1-153 with extensive commentary. Transl. (B594):1-13; (B595):1-10; (B1):204-12; (B596):3-13. See also: S. Nordal, 'Three essays on *Völuspá*', *SBVS* 18 (1970-73), 79-135; S. Nordal, 'The author of *Völuspá*', *SBVS* 20 (1978-81), 114-30; R. Boyer, 'On the composition of *Völuspá*', (B575):117-33; the contributions in (A61g), incl. J.E. Quinn, '*Völuspá* and the composition of Eddic verse', 303-20; (K13):107-28

### Wisdom poems

A particularly characteristic group are poems which seem encapsulate the ritual sharing of sacred lore in poetic form; these often take the form of contents between the protagonists (usually involving Odin some disguise or other), and can be compared with the 'flyting' (B611 ff.) poems.

[B606] **Alvíssmál** is now widely thought to date from the mediaeval period, and chronicles a contest of vocabulary between Thor and the dwarf Alvis. Text: (B587), I:124-29. Transl.: (B594):110-16; (B595):90-96; (B596):109-13

[B607] **Baldurs draumar** can perhaps be considered the sequel to *Völuspá* (B605); it is not preserved in the Codex Regius, and seems perhaps to be an early mediaeval account of Odin questioning of a sibyl about the fate of his son Baldr. Text: (B587), I:277-79. Transl.: (B594):117-19; (B596):243-45. See also the items cited under *Völuspá* and R.L. Dieterle, 'The song of Baldr', *SS* 58 (1986), 285-307

[B608] **Grímnismál**, leaving aside the prose surroundings, consists of a recitation of wisdom by Odin, of particular interest for its details of Valhalla (K55 ff.). Text: (B587), I:57-68. Transl.: (B594):53-64; (B595):46-49; (B596):50-60. See also: B. Ralph, 'The composition of *Grímnismál*', *ANF* 87 (1972), 97-118

[B609] **Hávamál** seems to be a composite text of various parts, such as home-spun or proverbial wisdom, reflections upon social interaction, and mythological material, particularly in the form of Odin's life story. Text: (B587), I:17-44; D.A.H. Evans, *Hávamál*, *VSNR TS* 7 (1986) [UL 752:1.d.2.7]. Text and transl.: D.E. Martin Clarke, *The Hávamál, with selections from other poems of the Edda, illustrating the wisdom of the north in heathen times* (1923) [UL 752:26.c.90.7]. Transl.: (B594):14-41; (B595):11-35; (B596): 14-38; further excerpts transl. (B1):139-44, 212-15. Cf. C. Larrington, '*Hávamál* and sources outside Scandinavia', *SBVS* 23 (1990-93), 141-57

[B610] **Vafþrúðnismál** sees Odin again indulging in a wisdom contest, this time with the rash giant Vafþrúðnir. Text: (B587), I:45-55; T.W. Machan, *Vafþrúðnismál*, *Durham medieval texts 6* (1988) [ASNC]. Transl.: (B594):42-52; (B595):36-45; (B1):183-91; (B596):39-49. See also (K13):87-106

### Flyting poems

[B611] *Hárbarðsljóð* chronicles a debate between Thor and Odin of their respective merits, and is often considered to be a distinctively late Viking-age composition. Text: (B587), I:78-87. Transl.: (B594):74-82; (B595):58-65; (B596):69-77

[B612] *Lokasenna* gives the celebrated tale of Loki insulting every god and goddess within sight at a feast, thereby picking out the flaws in the divine order that lead ultimately to Ragnarøk (K50 ff.). Text: (B587), I:96-110. Text and transl.: (B591):329-72. Transl.: (B594):90-103; (B595):72-84; (B1):195-204; (B596):84-96. Commentary: P.M. Sørensen, 'Loki's *senna* in Ægir's hall', (O52):239-59

### Narratives

[B613] *Hymiskviða* contains an account of various deeds of Thor, focussing on his attempt to fish for the world-serpent. Text: (B587), I:88-95. Transl.: (B594):83-89; (B595):66-71; (B596):78-83. Widespread knowledge of this aquatic tale is attested through art-work from the late Viking age, see P.M. Sørensen, 'Thor's fishing expedition', (K8):257-78

[B614] *Skírnismál*, more properly known as *För Skírnis*, is a rather misogynistic tale of the god Frey's infatuation with a giantess Gerðr and the brutal tactics employed by his henchman Skírnir to get her to agree to a match. Text: (B587), I:69-77. Text and transl.: (B591):373-414. Transl.: (B594):65-73; (B595):50-57; (B596):61-68. See also (K75 ff., K81); P. Bibire, 'Freyr and Gerðr: the story and its myths', (O42):19-40; G. Steinsland, 'Pagan myth in confrontation with Christianity: *Skírnismál* and *Genesis*', (O60):316-28

[B615] *Þrymskviða* is the comic(-ish) tale of Thor's recovery of his hammer by dressing up as the prospective bride of the giant thief Þrym in place of Freyja. Text: (B587), I:111-15. Transl.: (B594):104-09; (B595):85-89; (B596):97-101. See J. Lindow, '*Þrymskviða*, myth and mythology', *Germanic studies in honor of Anatoly Liberman*, edd. K.G. Goblirsch et al., NOWELE 31-32 (1997), 203-12

### Social or ideological poems

[B616] *Hyndluljóð* is preserved not in the Codex Regius but in Flateyjarbók, and has often been considered a late composition; the poem deals with ancestry and law, and has often been taken as illuminating social and legal concerns in early mediaeval Scandinavia, especially the importance of *óðal* (C112 ff.). Text: (B587), I:288-96. Transl.: (B594):129-36; (B596):253-59. See A. Gurevich, 'Edda and law: commentary upon Hyndluljóð', *ANF* 88 (1973), 72-84, and cf. (K75 ff., K81)

[B617] *Rígsþula* is again not preserved in the Codex Regius but through Snorri's *Edda* (B600); it provides a mythological sketch of the origins of three social classes in Scandinavia and the development of the notion of kingship. Text: (B587), I:280-87. Text and transl.: (B591):159-238. Transl.: (B594):120-28; (B1):150-55; (B596):246-52. Cf. J.J. Young, 'Does *Rígsþula* betray Irish influence?', *ANF* 49 (1933), 97-107; T.D. Hill, '*Rígsþula* some medieval Christian analogues', *Speculum* 61 (1986), 79-89; see also (C100)

### Heroic Eddaic verse

The heroic style of Eddaic verse evidenced by compositions such as *Atlakviða* has (aside from fleeting mythological references) no direct reference to Scandinavia and has accordingly not been included. See:

[B618] U. Dronke, *The poetic Edda. I: Heroic poems* (1969) [UL 752:26.c.95.9]; the last four poems in the Codex Regius

[B619] For the Helgi lays, transl.: (B594):168-202; (B595):104-34; (B596):114-41

[B620] For the Völsung cycle, transl.: (B594):203-321; (B595):135-240; (B596):142-242

## V. EAST NORSE HISTORIOGRAPHY

In general terms it can be said that the historiographical traditions of the 'East Norse' linguistic area, ie. Denmark and Sweden, were less developed in the mediaeval period than those in Iceland and Norway. However, while this assessment may hold water for the contrast between, for example, Iceland and Sweden, a fair amount of historical compositions pertaining to the Viking age were produced in Denmark; the idea that Norwegian histories are on the whole better informed or more 'historical' than Danish ones when applied to the period before the twelfth century seems to have some merit, but is also

likely to reflect the greater verisimilitude in, for the example, the kings' saga tradition (B290 ff.) when compared with Saxo (B657). For a general survey of East Norse historical writings:

[B630] S. Nordal, (ed.), *Litteraturhistorie. A: Danmark, Finland och Sverige*, Nordisk kultur 8:A (1943) [UL 592:01.b.1.8]

### Danish sources

The earliest historical writings emanating from Denmark are linked inextricably to the young Danish church. On the one hand, there are annals and documentary sources from the church of Lund, which was established as the Danish archbishopric in 1104; on the other, the earliest connected pieces of historical prose are characterised by hagiographical works (B645).

### Anthologies

For a full collection of the most useful Danish sources, see:

[B635] M.C. Gertz, *Scriptores minores historiae Danicae medii aevi*, I-II (1917-22) [UL 597:2.b.90.1-2]

[B636] For an earlier collection of excerpts, see: G. Waitz, 'Ex rerum danicarum scriptoribus saec. XII. et XIII.', MGH SS 29 (1892), 1-246 [UL R560.G101]

### Mediaeval Danish literature

[B640] H. Brix, 'Oldtidens og Middelalderens Litteratur i Danmark', (B630):3-63

[B641] S. Kaspersen et al., *Dansk litteraturhistorie 1. Fra runer til ridderdigtning o. 800-1480* (1984) [UL 754:06.c.95.22]

[B642] D.W. Colbert, 'The middle ages', *A history of Danish literature*, ed. S.H. Rosel, *A history of Scandinavian literatures 1* (1992), 1-70 [UL 746:05.c.95.37]

[B643] A. Leegaard Knudsen, 'Interessen for den danske fortid omkring 1300: en middelalderlig dansk nationalisme', *DHT* 100 (2000), 1-34 (E.s.)

### Hagiography

Aside from the odd minor late Viking-age saint of dubious authenticity, Danish hagiography before the middle of the twelfth century is dominated by accounts of saint Knut Sveinsson. The traditions about Knut were formed in Odense, the site of his cult, in a series of texts from the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Various pieces are to be found edited in:

[B645] M.C. Gertz, *Vitae sanctorum Danorum* (1908-12) [UL 111:1.b.90.1]

[B646] **Thøger** or **Theodgarus** is said to have been a German missionary who settled at Vestervig in Denmark during Svein Estrithsen's reign; although he may have been a genuine historical figure, the traditions surrounding his life and cult are perhaps of dubious authenticity, see (B645):1-26

[B647] **Knut Sveinsson** was king of Denmark from 1080-86, when he was murdered in Odense during a popular uprising (D135). Aside from an inscription and liturgical material, there are two main early sources that refer to his life and cult. [a] The anonymous *Passio sancti Kanuti regis et martyris* was composed around 1100; text: (B645):62-71. [b] More substantial is **Aelnoth's** *Gesta Svenomagni regis et filiorum eius et passio gloriosissimi Canuti regis et martyris*, composed around 1122, which also contains some interesting observations on the conversion process and the early Scandinavian church. Text: (B645):77-136; Danish transl. by E. Albrechtsen in (D136):25-52. See also T. Gad, *Legenden i dansk middelalder* (1961), 155-62 [UL 111:5.c.95.1]

### Annals

Annals began to be composed in Denmark from the third quarter of the twelfth century, with the earliest collections stemming mostly from the archiepiscopal centre at Lund. Many of them contain material relating to the Viking age in Denmark, but they are wholly dependent upon earlier, foreign materials and have no independent value; much the same even applies to the series from Lund beginning in 1074, although this time they are reliant on twelfth-century Danish compositions such as the Roskilde chronicle (B652).

[B650] Text: E. Jørgensen, *Annales Danici medii aevi* (1920) [UL 597:2.a.90.1]; a revised edition is provided by E. Kroman, *Danmarks middelalderlige annaler* (1980) [UL 597:2.c.95.12]. For the textual background, see A.K.G. Kristensen, *Danmarks ældste annalistik: studier over lundensisk annal-skrivning*

*i 12. og 13. århundrede*, Studier udgivet af Det historiske institut ved Københavns universitet 3 (1969) [UL 9592.b.10] (E.s.)

### Chronicles

The composition of brief Latin chronicles began at much the same time as that of annals, and they share many common characteristics. The earliest example is the 'Roskilde chronicle', which in its original form was composed around 1140; it owes much to Adam of Bremen (B73) for the period before the 1070s, but thereafter seems to reflect local traditions. The slightly later 'Lejre chronicle' is rather more tendentious, in that it constructs a legendary Danish kingdom centred around Lejre itself, which gave much impetus to the later history of Saxo Grammaticus (B657). Other Danish chronicles post-date Saxo and have no real value for the Viking age.

[B652] The chronicles can be found edited in (B635); see particularly I,1-33 for the Roskilde chronicle or *Chronicon Roskildense*, and 34-54 for the Lejre chronicle or *Chronicon Lethrense*

### Royal genealogies

[B654] For a number of mediaeval Danish kings' lists, none of which seem to have much independent value for the Viking age, see (B635): I,145-94. The oldest is from the *Necrologium Lundense* (B760) and originally only began at Svein Estrithsen

### Historical works

Major historical works expanding the chronicles began to be composed in the second half of the twelfth century, and are for the Viking age two names dominate.

### Sven Aggesen

The Danish nobleman Sven Aggesen is known for two major historical works: the first is a rendition of the mediaeval 'court-law', composed around 1180; the second is a brief history of Denmark until around 1185, the *Brevis historia regum Dacie*. Both texts have a tricky transmission history, and neither seem to be hugely reliable when it comes to events in the Viking age itself.

[B656] **Brevis historia regum Dacie** 'A brief history of the kings of Denmark'. Text: (B635): I,94-143. Text and transl.: E. Christiansen, *The works of Sven Aggesen, twelfth-century Danish historian*, VSNR TS 9 (1992) [UL 752:1.d.2.10]

### Saxo Grammaticus

Saxo composed his history of the Danish kings under the encouragement of arch-bishops Absalon and Anders Sunesen of Lund, completing his work early in the thirteenth century. The first half (up until book 8) is largely legendary in tone and content, containing snippets of translated verse and similar stories to those found in other such sources, like *Skjoldunga saga* (B335). The second half, beginning with the conversion to Christianity in book 9, is widely thought to have been composed first, in the latter part of the twelfth century. Saxo was heavily (if often unscrupulously) dependent upon earlier sources such as Adam of Bremen (B73), Aelnoth (B647b), and the Roskilde chronicle (B652) for the period until the early twelfth century, and is highly tendentious historical writing at best.

[B657] **Gesta Danorum**. Text: A. Holder, *Saxonis Grammatici Gesta Danorum* (1886) [UL 597:2.c.85.1]; J. Olrik and H. Raeder, *Saxonis Gesta Danorum. I: Textum continens* (1931) [UL S592.a.93.1] plus F. Blatt, *Saxonis Gesta Danorum. II: Indicem verborum* (1957) [UL S592.a.93.2]. Transl.: P. Fisher, *Saxo Grammaticus, The history of the Danes. I: English text* (1979) [UL 597:2.c.95.8] plus commentary by H.E. Davidson; E. Christiansen, *Saxo Grammaticus: Danorum regum heroumque historia X-XVI*, BAR International series 84, 118 (1980-81) [UL L474.b.87.61, -.97]

As befits Saxo's status, there is a wealth of literature about his work, of which only a brief snapshot can be included here; for example, a few symposiums:

[B658] I. Boserup, (ed.), *Saxostudier (Saxo-kollokvierne ved Københavns universitet)*, Opuscula Græcolatina 2 (1975) [UL P706.c.193.1]

[B659] K. Friis-Jensen, (ed.), *Saxo Grammaticus, a medieval author between Norse and Latin culture: Danish medieval history and Saxo Grammaticus; a symposium held in celebration of the 500th*

*anniversary of the University of Copenhagen II* (1981) [UL 597:2.c.95.20]; see particularly B. Guðnason, 'The Icelandic sources of Saxo Grammaticus', 79-93

[B660] C. Santini, (ed.), *Saxo Grammaticus tra storiografia e letteratura, Bevagna, 27-29 settembre 1990*, I convegni di classiconorroena 1 (1992) [UL 597:2.c.95.22]; see K. Friis-Jensen, 'Saxo Grammaticus's study of the Roman historiographers and his vision of history', 61-81

For further commentary, see:

[B661] A. Campbell, 'Saxo Grammaticus and Scandinavian historical tradition', *SBVS* 13 (1946-53), 1-22; I. Skovgaard-Petersen, 'Saxo, historian of the patria', *MS* 2 (1969), 54-77; K. Johannesson, *Saxo Grammaticus: komposition och världsbild i Gesta Danorum*, Lychnos-Bibliothek: studier och källskrifter utgivna av Lärdomshistoriska samfundet 31 (1978) [UL 597:2.c.95.7]; R. Power, 'Saxo in Iceland', *Gripla* 6, *SÁMÍ* rit 28 (1984), 241-58 [UL 752:1.c.5.32]; I. Skovgaard-Petersen, 'Saxo's History of the Danes: an interpretation', *SJH* 13 (1988), 87-93

### Swedish sources

Historical composition in Sweden developed late, and the majority of high mediaeval historical works have little merit for the Viking age; moreover, what little they do have is largely secondary and derived from Danish sources.

#### Anthologies

For a wide-ranging, if somewhat dated, collection of Swedish sources, see:

[B665] E.M. Fant and C. Annerstedt, *Scriptores rerum Svecicarum medii aevi*, 3 vols (1818-76) [UL 595:2.a.80.1-3]

#### Mediaeval Swedish literature

[B667] R. Pipping, 'Den fornsvenska litteraturen', (B630):64-128

[B668] C.I. Ståhle, 'Medeltidens profana litteratur', *Ny illustrerad svensk litteraturhistoria I*, ed. E.N. Tigerstedt (1965), 37-124 [UL S752.c.95.17]

[B669] S.A. Mitchell, 'The middle ages', *A history of Swedish literature*, ed. L.G. Warne, *A history of Scandinavian literatures* 3 (1996), 1-57 [UL 755:06.c.95.86]

#### Hagiography

[B671] There is a fairly large body of Swedish hagiography, both in Latin and the vernacular, but the vast majority of it is focussed on high mediaeval saints. Such material as there is dealing with the conversion period concentrates on a small number of late Viking-age missionaries, such as saints Sigfrid, Botvid, Eskil, and David; for the lives of these saints, see (B665): II. The earliest life seems to have been that of Botvid, but in general these texts are all so late and stereotypical that they lack any genuine historical credibility, cf. (L55 ff.).

[B672] Much of this hagiographical material was again cross-fertilised with liturgical offices (B780); on Sigfrid in particular, see A. Önerfors, *Die Hauptfassungen des Sigfridoffiziums*, *Skrifter utgivna av Vetenskaps-Societeten i Lund* 59 (1968) [UL 500:05.c.21.30]

#### Swedish annals and genealogies

[B674] The composition of annals took off most belatedly in Sweden of all the Scandinavian countries, and they lack any kind of primary historical value for the Viking age; the earliest examples are little more than copies of the dubious Danish material. Various mediaeval annals and chronicles from Sweden are to be found scattered through (B665), but for a more recent edition see G. Paulsson, *Annales suecici medii aevi: svensk medeltidsannalistik*, *Bibliotheca historica Lundensis* 32 (1974) [UL 531:01.c.14.32]. For references to Sweden in foreign annals, see (F10-11)

[B675] For Swedish royal genealogies, see (B665): I.i,1-22; again, they seem to be of no genuine historical value for the Viking age. For vernacular kings' lists, see (B679)

#### Historical works

It is curious that the few specimens of original historical writing preserved from mediaeval Sweden pertaining to the Viking age seem to be intimately connected to lawcodes; the suspicion that peoples felt

it necessary to explain their origins, and hence the origins of their legal system, can also be posited for the composition of Ari the wise's *Íslendingabók* (B255), which followed on soon after the first codification of Icelandic law.

**[B678] Guta saga.** This parallel is certainly striking for *Guta saga*, which (like *Íslendingabók*) is a history of an island colony (Gotland), charting such themes as the (legendary) origins of its people, the introduction of the Christian church, and the relationships with the political authorities on the mainland. It is widely, although not universally, thought to have been composed, perhaps in conjunction with the codification of the *Gutalagen* (B710a), in the early thirteenth century; for an alternative view, see the extensive study in (B692). Text in (B710a). Text and transl.: C. Peel, *Guta saga: the history of the Gotlanders*, VSNR TS 12 (1999) [ASNC]. S.A. Mitchell, 'On the composition and function of *Guta saga*', *ANF* 99 (1984), 151-74; T. Blomkvist and P. Jackson, 'Alt ir baugum bundit: skaldic poetry on Gotland in a pan-Scandinavian and Indo-European context', *ANF* 114 (1999), 17-29

**[B679] The appendices to the Äldre Västgötalagen.** Appended to the older recension of the lawcode of the West Götar, the Äldre Västgötalagen (B710b), are a series of small lists chronicling the kings, lawmen, and bishops of the region from the late Viking age onwards. They represent an almost unique Swedish contribution to historical writing in the vernacular, but their value as historical sources has often been heavily criticised. The basic edition is: I. Lindquist, *Västgötalagens litterära bilagor: medeltida svensk småberättelsekonst på poesi och prosa*, Skrifter utgivna av Vetenskaps-Societeten i Lund 26 (1941), 9-62 [UL 500:05.c.21.16]

## VI. DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

'Documentary sources' are taken to include materials written for a purpose other than the recording of history; for practical communication, for administration, for the recording events for functional or contemporary purposes. The distinction between these and 'literary sources' is naturally rather fleeting, especially for Scandinavia, where any such materials are lacking until after the Viking age and where (therefore) their relevance to Viking-age history is likely to be suspect, if not deliberately retrospective. The chief exception to this absence of material, in the form of runic inscriptions, is dealt with elsewhere (B800 ff.), but these inscriptions by themselves serve to illustrate the fact that even contemporary, utilitarian documents by their very nature impinge their own historical preconceptions and ideals onto themselves.

### Legal material

**[B680]** 'Among them there is no king, only law.' Adam of Bremen's assessment of the Icelanders in the eleventh century encapsulates much of what we suspect about the organisation of Viking-age Scandinavian society; individual groups basing their collective identity on a common body of law or custom, which was probably also intimately linked to their local cult(s) (C70 ff., K70 ff.). This finds expression above all in place-names, which confirm not only the significance of the local assembly or 'thing' (C80) but also the distinctive identification of 'tribes' or provinces by reference to their 'law' (cf. (I70 ff.)). However, establishing what such laws or customs may have been in the Viking age is tricky given the absence of contemporary written sources (aside again from runic inscriptions). Mediaeval Scandinavia is awash with codes of legal material from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but attempts to identify 'old' or 'authentic' customs in these documents have foundered against almost insuperable problems of method. How is antiquity to be determined? How similar (or asimilar) do different practices have to be before they can be assumed to have the same (or alternative) origins? For bibliographical guide to older research into 'West Norse' material see: H. Hermansson, *The ancient laws of Norway and Iceland: a bibliography*, *Islandica* 4 (1911) [UL 752:4.c.1.4]

### General surveys

Apart from the questions of origins and transmission, other (often equally intractable) issues raise their heads. To what extent were kings responsible for determining, maintaining, or enforcing law before the mediaeval period? A further chief issue of concern with some codes turns on the extent to which they are 'normative' texts. For general guidance, see:

**[B681]** R.M. Karras, *Slavery and society in medieval Scandinavia*, Yale historical publications 135 (1988), 167-78: 'Appendix. Note on the use of sources' [UL 500:01.c.4.137]

[B682] P. Norseng, 'Law codes as a source for Nordic history in the early middle ages', *SJH* 16 (1991), 137-66

### Language and transmission

Many scholars have tried to identify linguistic criteria which might reveal the age of the various components making up mediaeval law; however, they tend to rely on stylistic divisions that are awkward to justify or on notions of 'orality' against 'literacy' which now seem outdated.

[B685] C.I. Ståhle, *Syntaktiska och stilistiska studier i fornordiskt lagspråk*, Stockholm studies in Scandinavian philology n.s. 2 (1958) [UL 779.c.171.21] (E.s.)

[B686] P.G. Foote, 'Oral and literary tradition in early Scandinavian law: aspects of a problem', *Oral tradition, literary tradition: a symposium*, edd. H. Bekker-Nielsen et al. (1977), 47-55 [UL 701:15.c.95.901]

[B687] H. Ehrhardt, *Der Stabreim in altnordischen Rechtstexten*, Skandinavistische Arbeiten 2 (1977) [UL 752:01.c.10.2]

[B688] H.-P. Naumann, *Sprachstil und Textkonstitution: Untersuchungen zur altwestnordischen Rechtssprache*, Beiträge zur nordischen Philologie 7 (1979) [UL 752:01.c.7.7]

[B689] N. Jörgensen, *Studier över syntax och textstruktur i nordiska medeltidslagar*, SSF 256 (1987) [UL 755:1.c.1.126]

### Foreign influences

Other research has tended to focus more heavily on the possibility that Scandinavian mediaeval lawcodes were founded firmly on contemporary European material and cannot be held to be representative of earlier practices:

[B692] E. Sjöholm, *Gesetze als Quellen mittelalterlicher Geschichte des Nordens*, Acta universitatis Stockholmiensis: Stockholm studies in history 21 (1977) [UL 595:01.c.12.19]

### Provincial codes

The mainland Scandinavian countries had no national secular lawcodes until towards the end of the thirteenth century; instead, our earliest bodies of material reflect the codification of provincial practices, which may in turn well be understood as reflecting the generalisation of earlier divergent bodies of more local custom. Specifically Christian lawcodes can largely be found in the same editions as the secular ones.

### Iceland

The laws of Iceland during the Commonwealth period go (misleadingly) under the name *Grágás* 'grey goose', but do not reflect a single lawcode. Although some fragments survive from the late twelfth century, the major manuscripts date from the middle of the thirteenth or later, and seem to reflect private compilations of material, much of which is already likely to have been redundant by that date.

[B695] According to *Íslendingabók* (B255), the first (at least partial) codification of Icelandic law took place in 1118, the so-called *Haflíðaskrá*; from that point onwards, references are continually made to the employment of manuscripts rather than oral recitation. For the earlier pagan law of Ulfljot, who is said to have brought the Icelandic law from Norway around 930, see (K71)

[B696] For the basic edition: V. Finsen, *Grágás: Islændernes lovbog i fristatens tid*, I-III, Nordiske Oldskrifter udgivne af det nordiske Literatur-Samfund 11, 17 (1852-83) [UL 752:01.d.1.6-7]; V. Finsen, *Grágás efter det Arnamagnæanske Haandskrift Nr. 334 fol.*, *Staðarhólsbók* (1879) [UL 599:2.c.85.3]; V. Finsen, *Grágás: Stykker, som findes i det Arnamagnæanske Haandskrift Nr. 351 fol.*, *Skálholtsbók og en Række andre Haandskrifter* (1883) [UL 599:2.c.85.4]

[B697] A transl. with useful notes is: A. Dennis et al., *The laws of early Iceland: Grágás; the Codex Regius of Grágás with material from other manuscripts*, vol. I, University of Manitoba Icelandic studies 3 (1980) [UL 599:01.c.5.3]

[B698] Ó. Lárusson, 'On Grágás: the oldest Icelandic code of law', (A42):77-89; A. Dennis, *Grágás: an examination of the content and technique of the Old Icelandic law books, focused on Þingskapaþáttur (the 'Assembly section')*, Ph.D. dissertation, Cambridge University (1971); M. Stein-Wilkeshuis, 'Laws in medieval Iceland', *JMH* 12 (1986), 37-53

## Norway

As elsewhere in mainland Scandinavia, the first lawcodes from Norway are provincial rather than national in scope. The traditions recorded in the kings' sagas (B290 ff.) credit various kings with setting up some of these legal provinces, and the references to Hakon the good's lawmaking in the *Bersøglisvísur* (B546g) may confirm a royal interest in legislation by the tenth century. The first Christian law is said to have been introduced by Olaf Haraldsson around the 1020s (E70 ff., L172). However, the manuscripts remaining date from no earlier than the late twelfth century, and secular codes are only fully preserved for two of the Norwegian provinces.

[B700] The basic edition remains: R. Keyser et al., *Norges gamle Love indtil 1387 udgivne ifølge offentlig Foranstaltning*, 5 vols (1846-95) [UL 593:01.b.3.1-5]. Attempts to re-edit some of the codes have begun to bear fruit; see B. Eithun et al., *Den eldre Gulatingslova*, *Norrøne tekster* 6 (1994) [UL 280.c.95.88]

[B701] For the two major secular codes in translation, see L.M. Larson, *The earliest Norwegian laws, being the Gulathing law and the Frostathing law*, *Records of civilization: sources and studies* 20 (1935) [UL 280.c.90.14].

[B702] H. Refsum, 'The Gulating', (A41):68-72; E. Gunnes, 'Erkebiskop Øystein og Frostatingsloven', *NHT* 53 (1974), 109-21 (E.s.); I. Kleiva, *Gulatinget: tingstader og lovverk* (1980) [UL 280.c.95.68]; M. Rindal, 'Dei eldste fragmenta av dei norske landskapslovene', (O48):130-36

## Denmark

The three Danish provincial codes are similarly only preserved in thirteenth-century manuscripts, and show the slow growth of royal authority over legislation.

[B705] The series *Danmarks gamle landskabslove* [UL 597:2.b.90.1 ff.] consists of numerous volumes prepared by a variety of editors, broken down into provinces: first Skåne, I:1 *Skånske lov: text I-III* (1933) and I:2 *Skånske lov: Anders Sunesøns parafrase, Skånske kirkelov m.m.* (1933); then Jutland, II *Jyske lov: text I, NKS 295 8o* (1933), III *Jyske lov: text II-IV* (1951), IV *Jyske lov: text V-VI* (1945); and finally Zealand, V *Eriks sjællandske lov: text I-II* (1936), VI *Eriks sjællandske lov: text III-V* (1937), VII *Valdemars sjællandske lov: arvebog og orbodemål* (1942), VIII *Valdemars sjællandske lov: ældre og yngre redaktion samt sjællandske kirkelov* (1941)

[B706] P.J. Jørgensen, *Dansk retshistorie: retskildernes og forfatningsrettens historie indtil sidste halvdel af det 17. aarhundrede*, 5th edn (1971) [UL 280.c.95.10]; O. Fenger, *Gammeldansk ret: dansk rets historie i oldtid og middelalder* (1983) [UL 280.d.95.5]

[B707] Of some interest is the Danish 'court law' from the late twelfth century, which exists in both Latin and vernacular versions; it claims to reflect the code drawn up by Knut after his conquest of England (D100 ff.) for his household or *hirð*, although this is now thought a bit optimistic. The Latin text comes from the hand of Sven Aggesen (B656) and is known as the *Lex Castrensis*; text: (B635): I,64-93. For the vernacular *Vederloven*, see E. Kroman, *Den danske rigsgivning indtil 1400* (1971), 1-5 [UL 280.b.95.10]. A full text, translation, and commentary can be found in (B656)

## Sweden

The Swedish provincial codes have come under particular scrutiny in the past due to the assumption that their language betrays a distinctively ancient body of material; this view is now largely out of fashion, cf. (B692) (a key study, with heavy emphasis on the *Gutalagen*) and (B682).

[B710] The basic corpus can be found in C.J. Schlyter et al., *Samling af Sweriges gamla lagar*, 13 vols (1827-77) [UL 595:2.b.80.1 ff.]. This rather antiquated edition can be supplemented by more recent editions of individual codes, of which only a selection is given here: [a] H. Pipping, *Guta lag och Guta saga, jämte ordbok*, SUGNL 33 (1905-07) [UL 752:01.d.2.31]; [b] E. Wessén, *Äldre Västgötalagen*, *Nordisk filologi: texter och läroböcker för universitetsstudier* A:9 (1954) [UL 752:01.d.4.9]; [c] S. Henning, *Upplandslagen enligt codex Esplunda*, SSF 169-70 (1934) [UL 755:1.c.1.63] and *Upplandslagen enligt cod. Holm. B 199 och 1607 års utgåva*, SSF 240, 242 (1967-69) [UL 755:1.c.1.112]

[B711] A very useful Swedish transl. of all the provincial codes packed with useful introductions and notes is: Å. Holmbäck and E. Wessén, *Svenska landskapslagar*, 5 vols (1933-46) [UL 280.c.90.17-21]

[B712] P.-A. Wiktorsson, *Avskrifter och skrivare: studier i fornsvenska lagtexter*, *Studia philologiae scandinavicae Upsaliensia* 17 (1981) [UL 779.c.137.13]; C.I. Ståhle, *Studier över Östgötalagen*, ed. G. Holm, *SSF* 257 (1988) [UL 755:1.c.1.127]; E. Sjöholm, 'Sweden's medieval laws: European legal tradition, political change', *SJH* 15 (1990), 65-87

### Charters and correspondence

With the possible exception of runestone inscriptions (B800 ff.), pre-literate Viking Scandinavia naturally lacks either charters or correspondence; the major contribution in this field comes from foreign sources which are usually treated together in secondary discussions. The essential collections are the *Diplomataria* (B717 ff.) and associated works produced by each Scandinavian country, which catalogue surviving (and often non-surviving) material and are an indispensable research aid.

### Scandinavian material

[B715] For an introduction into the diplomatic material of Scandinavia, most of which postdates the Viking age quite considerably, see J. Öberg, *Das Urkundenmaterial Skandinaviens: Bestände, Editionsvoorhaben, Erforschung*, Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften Vorträge G.219 (1977) [UL 500:05.c.31.97]. On early English influence: F.E. Harmer, 'The English contribution to the epistolary usages of early Scandinavian kings', *SBVS* 13 (1946-53), 115-55

### Diplomataria and registers

These registers contain collections of assorted documentary sources, including letters, grants, foreign charters, and much else besides. Although daunting at first sight, those which are registered chronologically provide a superb tool charting almost any kind of written reference to Scandinavian history outside literary sources.

### Iceland

[B717] *Diplomatarium Islandicum: Íslenzkt fornbréfasafn, sem hefir inni að halda bréf og gjörninga, dóma og máldaga, og aðrar skrár, er snerta Ísland eða íslenzka menn*, edd. J. Sigurðsson et al., 1-16 (Kaupmannahöfn and Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka bókmenntafélag, 1857-1972) [UL 599:1.c.85.1-16]

[B718] B. Þorsteinsson, *Helztu sáttmálar, tilskipanir og samþykktir konunga og Íslendinga um réttindi þeirra og stöðu Íslands innan norska og dansk-norska ríkisins 1020-1551* (1972) [UL 599:2.c.95.16]

### Norway

[B720] *Diplomatarium Norvegicum: Oldbreve til kundskab om Norges indre og ydre forhold, sprog, slægter, sæder, lovgivning og rettergang i middelalderen*, edd. C.C.A. Lange et al., 1-22 (1849-1992) [UL 593:1.c.85.1-27]; contains the texts

[B721] *Regesta Norvegica. I: 822-1263*, ed. E. Gunnes (1989) [UL 593:01.b.1.63]; contains the chronological register

### Denmark

These two parallel series contain texts in Latin and Danish translation of the most important documents as well as copious secondary references.

[B723] *Danmarks riges breve, I. række*, udgivet af Det danske sprog- og litteraturselskab (1957-90), vol. I: 789-1052 and II: 1053-1169, edd. C.A. Christensen et al. (1975) [DRB, UL 597:2.b.90.91]

[B724] *Diplomatarium Danicum, I. række*, udgivet af Det danske sprog- og litteraturselskab (1957-90), vol. I: *Register 789-1052* and II: 1053-1169, edd. L. Weibull et al. (1975, 1963) [DD, UL 597:2.b.90.24-25]

### Sweden

The Swedish material has not been as recently edited as that from Norway and Denmark; the Danish registers in particular are often worth consulting first, as they contain most of the material relating to the Viking age.

[B726] J.G. Liljegren, *Diplomatarium Suecanum: Svenskt Diplomatarium*, I: 'Åren 817-1285' (1829) [UL 595:01.b.1.1], plus index by K.H. Karlsson (1910) [UL 595:01.b.1.3]

### Foreign diplomatic material

Charters and other such documents from western Europe can often be of great significance, particularly for ecclesiastical history in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The Scandinavian *diplomataria* (B717 ff.) are the most accessible guides to the material.

### German

Much of the Frankish and later German material, especially royal documents, can be found in MGH DD and subseries (B10). Most useful are documents relating to early episcopal organisation in Scandinavia, particularly Denmark.

[B730] T. Sickel, *Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae I: Conradi I., Heinrici I. et Ottonis I. diplomata*, MGH DD (1879-84), and vol. II: *Ottonis II., Ottonis III. diplomata*, MGH DD (1888-93) [UL R560.G104]

### English

[B732] On Anglo-Saxon charters, see J.M. Kemble, *Codex diplomaticus aevi Saxonici*, 6 vols (1839-48) [UL A650.52]; for further reference, see also P.H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon charters: an annotated list and bibliography*, Royal Historical Society guides and handbooks 8 (1968) [UL A100.4]. Later vernacular writs are gathered in F.E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon writs*, 2nd edn, Paul Watkins medieval studies 2 (1989) [UL 541:12.c.95.86]. Almost anything anyone could wish to know about Anglo-Saxon charters, and a great deal more besides, can be found on the website of the British Academy/ Royal Historical Society Joint Committee on Anglo-Saxon Charters, at [www.trin.cam.ac.uk/chartwww](http://www.trin.cam.ac.uk/chartwww).

### Papal and ecclesiastical correspondence

Equally useful is papal correspondence with various Scandinavian kings, particularly in the eleventh century (B745). Such letters are registered in the various national series noted above (B717 ff.); a fuller register is:

[B735] P. Jaffé et al., (edd.), *Regesta pontificum Romanorum a condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII*, 2 vols, 2nd edn rev. by F. Kaltenbrunner et al. (1881-88) [UL R169.1]

[B736] Selections of actual texts can be found in MGH EPP: [a] E. Dümmler, *Epistolae Karolini aevi III*, MGH EPP V (1899); [b] E. Perels, *Epistolae Karolini aevi IV*, MGH EPP VI (1925); [c] P. Kehrer et al., *Epistolae Karolini aevi V*, MGH EPP VII (1928) [UL R560.G111]

### Hamburg-Bremen

Of particular significance for the conversion of Scandinavia is the role of the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen, which is extensively illuminated by various forms of correspondence. Anskar's own letter of 865 to Louis on the progression of the missions is recorded by Adam of Bremen (B73) and is also to be found in (736b):163. Assessing the status of the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen is also useful, in that it helps to cast light on the development or stagnation of missionary activity sponsored from there (L110 ff.). For the papal charters in favour of Hamburg-Bremen, the classic studies are:

[B740] J.M. Lappenberg, (ed.), *Hamburgisches Urkundenbuch I* (1842; repr. 1907) [UL 574:7.b.90.2] (for the texts); F. Curschmann, *Die älteren Papsturkunden des Erzbistums Hamburg: eine diplomatische Untersuchung* (1909) [UL A325.33] (for further, more detailed editions of papal privileges and discussion of their respective authenticity)

A more updated version is:

[B741] W. Seegrün and T. Schieffer, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum: Germania pontificia. VI: Provincia Hammaburgo-Bremensis* (1981) [UL 70:1.b.90.68]; for a discussion of textual background and authenticity, cf. also W. Seegrün, *Das Erzbistum Hamburg in seinen älteren Papsturkunden*, Studien und Vorarbeiten zur Germania pontificia 5 (1976) [UL 79:01.c.1.5]

For a more wide-ranging survey of documents pertaining to the diocese, which in essence provides an excellent guide to virtually all events concerning the archbishops, arranged chronologically, see:

[B742] O.H. May, *Regesten der Erzbischöfe von Bremen. I: 787-1306*, Veröffentlichungen der historischen Kommission für Hannover [...] und Bremen 11 (1937) [UL 79.b.90.1]

[B745] For the letters of pope **Gregory VII**, whose period of office was of immense significance (L190): [a] E. Caspar, *Das Register Gregors VII*, MGH epistolae selectae 2 (1920-23) [UL 570:01.c.13.2-3]. Transl.: [b] E. Emerton, *The correspondence of pope Gregory VII: selected letters from the Registrum*, Records of civilization: sources and studies 14 (1932) [UL 70:5.c.90.4]; see also H. Holze, 'Från rikskyrka till påvekyrka: Gregorius VII:s "regimen universale" i hans brev till Skandinavien', *KÅ* 1990, 21-34

### Other documentary material

This section contains a disparate range of materials indiscriminately lumped together for convenience.

#### Treaties and political agreements

[B750] For the treaties between the Rus' and Byzantium in the first half of the tenth century, see (B180a)

[B751] For the treaty between Ethelred of England and Olaf Tryggvason in the early 990s, see (B107a): I,220-21; transl. (B81):437-39. On the earlier treaty of Alfred and Guthrum, see [I62]

[B752] For the agreement on mutual rights between saint Olaf Haraldsson and the Icelanders, and its subsequent ratifications under the early Icelandic bishops, see (B700):I,437; for text and Norw. transl., also S. Bagge et al., *Norske middelalder-dokumenter* (1973), 12-15 [UL 593:1.c.95.13]

[B753] A supposed border agreement between Denmark and Sweden from the early eleventh century is now widely considered a forgery. Text: (B679):63-95 (with other documents); see P.H. Sawyer, "'Landamæri I': the supposed eleventh-century boundary treaty between Denmark and Sweden', (O50):165-70

#### Land registers and cadastres

Scandinavian land-registers are only preserved from the high mediaeval period, by which time the pattern of landholding had evolved a long way from the late Viking age.

[B755] **King Valdemar's cadastre** is the most significant of these; it contains thirteenth-century lists of Danish royal land, which have been used to chart the growth of royal estates in the transitional period of the early middle ages. Text: S. Aakjær, *Kong Valdemars Jordebog. I: Text. II: Kommentar. III: Registre*, SUGNL 50 (1926-45) [UL 752:01.c.1.1-3]; for discussion, see (D238)

[B756] For other material of interest to the Viking age, such as the collection of Swedish royal lands known as the *Uppsala öd*, see the *diplomataria* listed above (B720 ff.); one of the earliest accounts of royal taxation can be found in the *Necrologium Lundense* (B760)

#### Ecclesiastical lists

The late development of the church, and the concomitantly late nature of most of the early manuscripts, means that little is available to illuminate the development of the church before the mid-twelfth century.

[B760] The **Necrologium Lundense** is a codex put together at the archiepiscopal centre of Lund in the course of the twelfth century. It is primarily an obituary list of clerics and patrons of Lund cathedral, but also contains other material, such as the text of saint Knut's donation of 1085, some details of royal taxation such as the 'midsummer tax', and much more. Text: L. Weibull, *Necrologium Lundense: Lunds domkyrkas nekrologium*, Monumenta Scaniae historica (1923) [UL 595:6.b.90.1]

[B761] **The Florence description** is a vague name for a brief list of Swedish bishoprics of the early twelfth century preserved in a manuscript from Florence; see: G. Bäärnhielm, 'Florensdokumentet ca 1120', (F72):449-51; (L192):35-58; T. Nyberg, 'Adam av Bremen och Florenslistan', *Scandia* 57 (1991), 153-89 (E.s. 347-48)

#### Liturgical material

The study of mediaeval liturgy is a subject more fitting to a bibliography of mediaeval Scandinavia, but can be illuminating for the Viking age in at least two respects. Firstly, the various offices and masses often contain details about the lives of various Scandinavian saints, in particular royal martyrs such as Olaf Haraldsson; however, these often consist of little more than collections of miracles. More tellingly, they reveal something of the avenues through which Christianity found its way to Scandinavia, in that both form and content (especially in the case of rare or local saints' cults) can reveal the direction of missionary influence (L175 ff.).

[B780] Liturgical texts in Scandinavia are characterised by wide diversity and frequently very fragmentary preservation, at least in manuscript form. Individual dioceses had distinct rites and liturgies right up until (and sometimes even after) the advent of the printed missals and breviaries just prior to the Reformation. For introductory guidance and editions of these printed texts, see H. Johansson, 'Liturgy and liturgical texts', (A73):392-93; for lists of saints, see also N.-K. Liebgott, 'Martyrologies', (A73):410-11. A number of small fragments of early English missals have been found in Scandinavia, see L. Gjerløw, *Adoratio crucis: the Regularis Concordia and the Decreta Lanfranci; manuscript studies in the early medieval church of Norway* (1961) [UL 85.c.95.4]; for liturgical influence in the form of saints' cults, see (L175)

## VII. OTHER DISCIPLINES

### Inscriptions

Inscriptions in the Scandinavian runic alphabet or 'futhark' provide the only contemporary Scandinavian written documents from the Viking age, and are therefore of essential interest. Although often denigrated as terse, stereotypical of no historical value, recent studies have shown that these texts can cast light on numerous aspects of Viking-age Scandinavia, such as religion, social standing, ideals and ethics, and laws and customs. This applies particularly to the large number of runestones from the late Viking age of the tenth and eleventh centuries. The later inscriptions in the Roman alphabet have less to tell us, although the legends on coins are of great significance (C250 ff.).

### Runic inscriptions and runology

The runic script seems to have been developed and first used throughout 'Germania' at the beginning of the Christian era, but many of the earliest texts in Scandinavia are brief and indecipherable. Only during the Viking age (particularly the latter part) are runic inscriptions to be found in large numbers, particularly on standing runestones. Studies of the broader relevance of inscriptions are to be found in (C90 ff.), while for literacy see (B836 ff.). The various appendices in (C95) contain much useful catalogue information.

[B800] L. Musset, *Introduction à la runologie, en partie d'après les notes de Fernand Mossé*, *Bibliothèque de philologie germanique* 20 (1965) [UL 763.d.96.4]

[B801] R.I. Page, *Runes* (1987) [UL 9760.c.1503]

[B802] R.I. Page, 'Scandinavian society, 800-1100: the contribution of runic studies', (O72):145-59

[B803] An annual review of work in runic studies can be found in the journal *Nytt om runer* [UL L763.c.1, or online at [www.hf.uio.no/iakn/runenews](http://www.hf.uio.no/iakn/runenews)].

Also useful are the various runic symposiums held periodically, for example:

[B805] J.E. Knirk, *Proceedings of the third international symposium on runes and runic inscriptions, Grindaheim, Norway, 8-12 August 1990*, *Runrön* 9 (1994) [UL 763:01.c.3.7]

On function and interpretation:

[B807] F. Herschend, *The recasting of a symbolic value: three case studies on rune-stones*, *OPIA* 3 (1994) [UL 595:01.b.9.3]

[B808] A. Andrén, 'Re-reading embodied texts: an interpretation of rune-stones', *CSA* 8 (2000), 7-32

[B809] L.K. Åhfeldt, *Work and Worship: laser scanner analysis of Viking Age rune stones. Thesis and papers in archaeology* B:9 (2002)

### Publications

The nature of runic inscriptions lends themselves to soundbites, and they can therefore be found scattered liberally throughout various textbooks and anthologies; a large number, for example, can be found transl. in (B1):55-57, 74-76, 80-91, 166-71.

[B810] I.S. Johnsen, *Stutruner i vikingtidens innskrifter* (1968) [UL 763.c.96.29]; for the inscriptions in the 'short-twig' runes typical of the early to mid-Viking age

[B811] The Uppsala database of Viking-age runic inscriptions in machine-readable form can be accessed at [www.nordiska.uu.se/forskn/samnord.htm](http://www.nordiska.uu.se/forskn/samnord.htm).

### Iceland and Greenland

The apparent absence of Viking-age runic inscriptions has always proved a bit of an enigma, especially given their presence in neighbouring Greenland.

- [B815] A. Bæksted, *Islands runeindskrifter*, Bibliotheca Arnarnagnaana 2 (1942) [UL S752:01.b.1.1]; cf. J.R. Hagland, 'Islands eldste runetradisjon i lys av nye funn frå Trondheim og Bergen', *ANF* 104 (1989), 89-102; J.R. Hagland, 'Ingimundr prestr Þorgeirsson and Icelandic runic literacy in the twelfth century', *Alvíssmál* 6 (1996), 99-108; M. Stoklund, 'Greenland runes: isolation or cultural contact?', (A50):528-43
- [B816] Þórgunnur Snædal. 'From Rök til Skagafjörður: Icelandic runes and their connection with Scandinavian runes of the Viking period', *SI* 53 (2002), 17-28

### Norway

Norway too has surprisingly few runic inscriptions from the Viking age, especially when compared with the colonies in the British isles (B830 ff.); this means that the Norwegian corpus tends to be somewhat left out of the statistical approaches taken by modern scholars (C90 ff.). The standard collection remains:

- [B817] *Norges innskifter med de yngre runer*, Norges indskrifter indtil reformationen: anden afdeling ved M. Olsen et al., 6 vols (1941-90) [UL 593:01.b.1.66-70b] [Niyf]; covers the various Norwegian provinces in turn throughout volumes 1 to 5, while volume 6 presents some of the mediaeval finds from Bergen

- [B818] T. Spurkland, *I begynnelsen var fupark: norske runer og runeinnskifter*, LNU, skriftserie 138 (2001)

### Denmark

The fairly large body of Danish inscriptions numbers in the hundreds from the Viking age, but are particularly interesting in that they seem to reflect the earliest adoption of widespread runic literacy on runestones, possibly stimulated by the royal monument at Jelling (D60 ff.).

- [B820] L. Jacobsen and E. Moltke, *Danmarks runeindskrifter*, 2 vols (1941-42) [UL S760.b.94.1-3] [DR]; the standard corpus

- [B821] E. Moltke, *Runes and their origin: Denmark and elsewhere*, transl. P. Foote (1985) [UL 763.c.98.14]

### Sweden

The runic tradition, at least in the Viking age, reached its culmination in Sweden, where runestones in particular number in the thousands; for the significance of this material for religious history, see (L165 ff.). As a body of material they naturally reflect the diversity of the various Swedish provinces, but have a further point of interest in the art-work (M170 ff.) carried by many of them.

- [B824] The huge series *Sveriges runinskrifter* (1900 ff.) [UL S760.b.90.1-33 (with gaps)] [SR] has been running now for a century, and many of the older volumes are outdated and in the process of being replaced. Cambridge University Library has most, but not all, of the volumes published so far; to facilitate referencing, the breakdown of classmarks is: 1. Öland [UL S760.b.90.1]; 2. Östergötland [UL -.2]; 3. Södermanland [-.3-4]; 4. Småland [-.5]; 5. Västergötland [-6-7]; 6-9. Uppland [-.8-14]; 11-12. Gotland [only 12, nos 138-222, -.19]; 13. Västmanland [-.21]; 14.i Närke [UL -.31]; 14.ii Värmland [-.32]; 15. Gästrikland [-.33]

- [B825] For more general, selective presentations, see: S.B.F. Jansson, *The runes of Sweden*, transl. P.G. Foote (1962) [UL 596:3.d.95.1]; C.W. Thompson, *Studies in Upplandic runography* (1975) [UL 763.c.97.28]; S.B.F. Jansson, *Runes in Sweden*, transl. P. Foote (1987) [UL 763.c.98.38]

- [B826] The Swedish inscriptions have been subjected to a series of detailed studies in the *Runrön* series published at Uppsala. Among those contributing most clearly to questions of history or literacy, see: J. Axelson, *Mellansvenska runristare: förteckning över signerade och attribuerade inskrifter*, *Runrön* 6 (1992) [UL 763:01.c.3.4]; R. Palm, *Runor och regionalitet: studier av variation i de nordiska minnesinskrifterna*, *Runrön* 7 (1992) [UL 763:01.c.3.5]; M. Åhlén, *Runristaren Öpir: en monografi*, *Runrön* 12 (1997) (E.s.) [ASNC], T. Snædal, *Medan världen vakar. Studier i de gotländska runinskrifternas språk och kronologi*, *Runrön* 16 (2002)

### The colonies

[B830] For the British isles in general, see: M. Olsen, 'Runic inscriptions in Great Britain, Ireland and the Isle of Man', *Viking antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland. VI: Civilisation of the Viking settlers in relation to their old and new countries*, ed. H. Shetelig (1954), 151-232 [UL S592.b.94.19]; M.P. Barnes, 'Towards an edition of the Scandinavian runic inscriptions of the British isles: some thoughts', *NS* 29 (1992), 32-42; see also (I47)

[B831] Runic inscriptions from the isle of Man have been edited more recently by R.I. Page, see 'Some thoughts on Manx runes', *SBVS* 20 (1978-81), 179-99 and 'More thoughts on Manx runes', *Michigan Germanic studies* 7 (1981), 129-37; cf. also (I230 ff.) and for the runic crosses more generally (M155 ff.)

[B832] For the Scottish isles, A. Liestøl, 'Runes', (I121):224-38

[B833] For Ireland, see: M.P. Barnes et al., *The runic inscriptions of Viking age Dublin*, National Museum of Ireland medieval Dublin excavations 1962-81 B:5 (1997) [ASNC]

[B834] The inscriptions discovered so far in mainland Russia tend to be fairly cryptic, or often plain garbled: A. Liestøl, 'Runic inscriptions', (J28):121-31; E.A. Melnikova, 'Scandinavian runic inscriptions as a source for the history of eastern Europe', (J55):169-73; J.K. Kusmenko, 'Zur Interpretation der Runeninschrift auf den Anhänger von Alt-Ladoga', *NOWELE* 30 (1997), 181-201

[B835] For England, see: M. Syrett, *The Vikings in England. The evidence of runic inscriptions*. ASNC Guides, Texts, and Studies (2002) [UL 2003.11.1929]

### Runic literacy

The guides above (B800 ff.) and studies of the late Viking-age runestone explosion (C90 ff.) provide orientation in the field of runic literacy in Viking-age Scandinavia, which may (or may not) have been quite extensive; our impressions seem to have been coloured by the more widespread casual use of runic script in mediaeval Scandinavian towns.

[B835] A. Liestøl, 'The literate Vikings', (A45):69-78

[B836] C.W. Thompson, 'Nonsense inscriptions in Swedish Uppland', *Studies for Einar Haugen presented by friends and colleagues*, *Janua linguarum: series maior* 59, edd. E. Scherabon Firchow et al. (1972), 522-34 [UL 779.b.32.59]

[B837] J. Meijer, 'Corrections in Viking age rune-stone inscriptions', *ANF* 110 (1995), 77-83

[B838] T. Spurkland, 'Literacy and 'runacy' in medieval Scandinavia', (O89):333-344

[B839] T. Spurkland, 'Scandinavian medieval runic inscriptions: an interface between literacy and orality?', *Roman, runes and Ogham: medieval inscriptions in the Insular world and on the Continent*, edd. J. Higgit, K. Forsyth, and D. Parsons (2001), 121-28 [ASNC]

### Non-runic inscriptions

[B840] M. Syrett, *The Roman-alphabet inscriptions of medieval Trondheim*. 2 vols. *Skrifter for middelalderstudier*; nr. 13 (2002) [ASNC]

### Place-names

The study of place-names has an immense contribution to make to the history of Viking-age Scandinavia; for some of the various applications of toponomastics, see the sections on social organisation (C60 ff.), cult-sites and paganism (K90 ff.), parishes and early churches (L220 ff.), and settlement patterns (M25 ff.). The discipline is however a highly specialised one, where little of the research is conducted outside the Scandinavian languages, which makes an initial approach to the topic seem rather forbidding. For bibliographical guidance, see:

[B841] G. Fellows-Jensen, 'Place-name research in Scandinavia 1960-1982, with a select bibliography', *Names* 32 (1984), 267-324; for the Atlantic colonies, see also E.J. Ellingsve, *Islandsk navnebibliografi; Færøysk navnebibliografi* (1984) [UL Uc.7.8301]

[B821] P. Larsson, 'Recent research on personal names and place-names in runic inscriptions', *Onoma* 37 (2002), 46-68

The most useful, if in many ways outdated, overall guide to Scandinavia remains:

[B843] M. Olsen, *Stedsnavn*, Nordisk kultur 5 (1939) [UL 592:01.b.1.2]; contains contributions on various topics and countries

### Iceland

[B845] S. Sigmundsson, 'Ortnamnsforskning på Island', *SI* 19 (1968), 19-38

[B846] O. Bandle, 'Islands äldsta ortnamnsskick', *SOS* 1977, 40-63

### Norway

[B850] O. Rygh and A. Kjær, *Norske Gaardnavne*, 19 vols (1897-1936) [UL 498.9.c.85.1]; the basic reference list of Norwegian farm-names

[B851] M. Olsen, *Farms and fanes of ancient Norway: the place-names of a country discussed in their bearings on social and religious history*, transl. T. Gleditsch, Institutt for sammenlignende kulturforskning A:9 (1928) [UL 499.b.39.11, 499:4.d.90.1]

### Denmark

The full collection, organised geographically, is:

[B855] *Danmarks stednavne*, 1-22 ff. (1922 ff.) [UL 498.c.92.18 ff.]

For a less unwieldy introduction to Danish place-names, see:

[B856] K. Hald, *Vore stednavne*, 2nd edn (1965) [UL 498:9.d.95.6] and *Stednavne og historie*, 2nd edn (1969) [UL 9494.c.210]

[B857] V. Christensen and J. Kousgård Sørensen, *Stednavneforskning*, 2 vols (1972-79) [UL 498:9.c.95.519]

### Sweden

[B860] The vast body of material on Swedish place-names is being slowly published in the series *Sveriges ortnamn*, which was begun at the beginning of the twentieth century and which is organised provincially. Those available in Cambridge include: *Älvsborg*, 20 vols (1906 ff.) [UL 498:9.b.90.13 ff.]; *Värmland*, 15 vols (1922 ff.) [UL 498:9.b.90.24 ff.]; *Skaraborg*, 18 vols (1950 ff.) [UL 498:9.b.95.327 ff.]; *Västernorrland*, 1 ff. (1955 ff.) [UL 498:9.b.95.372 ff.]; *Östergötland*, intermittent [UL 498:9.b.95.335 f.]. See also *Skånes ortnamn* (1958 ff.) [UL 498:9.c.95.203 ff.].

[B861] More accessible for the non-initiate are a series of smaller volumes presenting the place-names of individual regions; see G. Hallberg, *Ortnamn i Blekinge* (1990) [UL 498:9.c.95.362] with references to other volumes

For guides and topical studies:

[B862] E. Hellquist, *De svenska ortnamn på -by: en öfversikt*, Göteborgs Kungl. Vetenskaps och Vitterhets-Samhällets handlingar, 4. följdén 20:2 (1918) [Scientific Periodicals library]

[B863] T. Andersson, *Svenska häradsnamn*, *Nomina Germanica* 14 (1965) [UL 498:01.c.1.11]

[B864] H. Ståhl, *Ortnamn och ortnamnsforskning* (1970) [UL 498:9.c.95.54]

[B865] B. Pamp, *Ortnamnen i Sverige*, *Lundastudier i nordisk språkvetenskap* B:2, 5th edn (1988) [UL 498:9.c.95.353]

### The colonies

#### England

Nowhere has the use of place-names been put to more intensive historical use than in assessing the impact of the Viking raids and settlements in England.

[B870] This can be illustrated by a series of studies from the hand of K. Cameron, see: *Scandinavian settlement in the territory of the Five Boroughs: the place-name evidence*, Inaugural lecture, University of Nottingham, 1965; 'Scandinavian settlement in the territory of the Five Boroughs: the place-name evidence, part II, place-names in thorp', *MS* 3 (1970), 35-49; 'Scandinavian settlement in the territory of the Five Boroughs: the place-name evidence, part III, the Grimston-hybrids', *England before the conquest: studies in primary sources presented to Dorothy Whitelock* (1971), 147-63; all these are to be

found reprinted in: K. Cameron, (ed.), *Place-name evidence for the Anglo-Saxon invasion and Scandinavian settlements* (1977) [UL 498:8.b.95.1]

[B871] Also by a further large series of studies from the hand of G. Fellows-Jensen, see: *Scandinavian settlement names in Yorkshire*, *Navnestudier* 11 (1972) [UL 498:01.b.1.11]; *Scandinavian settlement names in the East Midlands*, *Navnestudier* 16 (1978) [UL 498:01.b.1.16]; 'Place-names and settlement in the north riding of Yorkshire', *Northern history* 14 (1978), 19-46; 'Scandinavian settlement in the Danelaw in the light of the place-names of Denmark', (A47):133-45; *Scandinavian settlement names in the north-west*, *Navnestudier* 25 (1985) [UL 498:01.b.1.25]; 'Place-name evidence for Scandinavian settlement in the Danelaw: a reassessment', (O30):89-98

[B872] V. Watts, 'Scandinavian settlement-names in county Durham', *Nomina* 12 (1988-89), 17-63

### Scotland

Place-names have also been extensively quarried for Viking activity in Scotland, especially in the isles, where onomastic material has always provided a strong prop for the argument of Scandinavian cultural dominance; cf. (I).

[B873] W.F.H. Nicolaisen, 'Early Scandinavian naming in the western and northern isles', *Northern Scotland* 3 (1980), 105-21

[B874] For the western isles: M. Oftedal, 'Norse place-names in the Hebrides', (A41):107-12; H. Pálsson, 'Aspects of Norse place names in the western isles', *NS* 31 (1996), 7-24

[B875] For the northern isles of Orkney and Shetland: H. Marwick, *Orkney farm-names* (1952) [UL 498:8.c.95.2]; J. Stewart, 'Shetland farm names', (A43):247-66; H. Marwick, *The place-names of Birsay* (1970) [UL 498:8.c.95.13]; L. MacGregor, 'Norse naming elements in Shetland and Faroe: a comparative study', *NS* 23 (1986), 84-101; W.F.H. Nicolaisen, 'Imitation and innovation in the Scandinavian place-names of the northern isles of Scotland', *Nomina* 11 (1987), 75-85; D.J. Waugh, 'Shetland place-names', *Nomina* 13 (1989-90), 61-72

### Personal names

Personal names have a similarly wide range of implications for historical work, although their evidence is somewhat compromised by the lack of evidence from Viking-age Scandinavia. For a general guide see (B841) and:

[B880] A. Janzén, *Personnamn*, *Nordisk kultur* 7 (1947) [UL 592:01.b.1.7]

### Iceland and Norway

Catalogues of personal names recorded in West Norse literary material can go some way towards providing some kind of prosopography for this part of Scandinavia, although not very far along that road:

[B882] E.H. Lind, *Norsk-isländska dopnamn ock fingerade namn från medeltiden* (1905-15) plus supplement (1931) [UL R498.67]

[B883] E.H. Lind, *Norsk-isländska personbinamn från medeltiden* (1920-21) [UL R498.70]

[B884] F. Jónsson, 'Översigt över det norsk(-islandske) navnenforråd för år 900, med tillæg: De norsk(-islandske) tilnavne fra samme tid', *ANOH* 16 (1926), 175-244

[B885] D. Whaley, 'Nicknames and narratives in the sagas', *ANF* 108 (1993), 122-46

### Denmark

[B887] G. Knudsen et al., *Danmarks gamle personnavne. I Fornavne. II Tilnavne* (1936-64) [UL 498:5.b.90.1 ff.]

[B888] K. Hald, *Personnavne i Danmark. I: Oldtiden. II: Middelalderen*, *Dansk historisk fællesforenings håndbøger* (1971-74) [UL 498:5.c.95.42-43]

### Sweden

[B890] M. Lundgren and E. Brate, *Svenska personnamn från medeltiden*, *Nyare bidrag till kännedom om de svenska landsmälen och svenskt folkliv* 6-7 (1892-1934) [UL 595:01.c.17.10 (6-7)]; contains also E.H. Lind, 'Svenska personnamn i den norsk-isländska medeltidslitteraturen', 323-58 on Swedes in West Norse sources

[B891] *Sveriges medeltida personnamn*, 1-12 ff. (1967 ff.) [UL R498.91]

### The colonies

[B893] In the British isles: G. Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian personal names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire*, *Navnestudier* 7 (1968) [UL 498:01.b.1.7]; J. Insley, *Scandinavian personal names in Norfolk: a survey based on medieval records and place-names*, *Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi* 62 (1994) [UL 498:1.c.95.45]

[B894] For Normandy, the reference work is: J. Adigard des Gautries, *Les noms de personnes Scandinaves en Normandie de 911 à 1066*, *Nomina germanica* 11 (1954) [UL 498:01.c.1.9]

[B895] For Russia, the treaties with Byzantium (B180a) provide the most useful collection of material

### Palaeography

Although palaeography largely falls outside the scope of the bibliography, an awareness of the general background is useful not only for gaining an ability to tackle the written sources directly but also for illuminating avenues of influence on the early Scandinavian church from abroad.

[B900] J. Brøndum-Nielsen, (ed.), *Palæografi. A: Danmark og Sverige*, *Nordisk kultur* 28:A (1943) [UL 592:01.b.1.22]

[B901] D.A. Seip, *Palæografi. B: Norge og Island*, *Nordisk kultur* 28:B (1954) [UL 592:01.b.1.22a]

[B902] H. Benediktsson, *Early Icelandic script as illustrated in vernacular texts from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries*, *Icelandic manuscripts series in folio* 2 (1965) [UL 899.a.1067]

## POLITICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY

### C. SCANDINAVIA

As much work on Viking-age Scandinavia tends naturally to be specific to individual countries, it is in a sense unfortunate that wider studies of the Scandinavian peninsula as a cultural ‘unity’ tend to be marginalized. However, the common perception of the region as something distinct from the rest of Europe has deep historical roots and is still reflected in the close affiliations between the modern Scandinavian states of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. In addition, since these countries are creations of the late Viking age at the earliest, it is to some extent artificial to draw a dividing line between them, or perhaps more accurately to suggest that these divisions are in any way more ‘real’ than others which have since been subsumed.

#### General surveys

The only significantly useful general surveys of Scandinavia during the Viking age (and before and after) are the textbooks listed in section (A1 ff.); for further studies relating specifically to settlement and archaeology see (M).

#### Political and cultural geography

For studies on settlement and landscape see (M25 ff.).

#### Cultural identity and diversity

The idea that Scandinavia can be seen as a cultural unity is in many ways misleading, since material culture in particular reveals a wide range of divergent practices and customs across the region. However, the widespread and usually indiscriminate use of terms such as *Nordmanni* ‘Northmen’ by Christian writers certainly seems to indicate that the Norse were perceived collectively; a common factor in this, at least when contrasted with Christian Europe, was clearly their religion, exemplified through names such as *pagani* ‘pagans’ or *hæðene menn* ‘heathen men’. For the Viking image in western Europe, see:

[C1] H. Zettel, *Das Bild der Normannen und der Normanneneinfälle in westfränkischen, ostfränkischen und angelsächsischen Quellen des 8. bis 11. Jahrhunderts* (1977) [UL 592:12.c.95.31]

[C2] R.I. Page, ‘A most vile people’: *early English historians on the vikings*, Dorothea Coke memorial lecture in northern studies 1986 (1987) [UL 9592.b.33]

From a Scandinavian viewpoint such common terminology is less easy to identify, but it is striking how many mediaeval authors across the region termed their own speech the *dǫnsk tunga* 'Danish language'. Even allowing for dialectal variation, language seems likely to have been the strongest single factor which might have allowed for a common Scandinavian identity; see:

[C5] E. Haugen, *The Scandinavian languages: an introduction to their history*, *The great languages* (1976) [UL 775.c.97.99]

[C6] M.P. Barnes, 'How "common" was common Scandinavian?', *Germanic studies in honor of Anatoly Liberman*, edd. K.G. Goblirsch et al., NOWELE 31-32 (1997), 29-42

### Perceptions of Scandinavia

#### Pre-Viking authors

The earliest written reports of Scandinavia come from the works of various Classical geographers (B25). Although invaluable in their own way, these authors have (mis-)informed many current ideas of early Scandinavian history, not least in terms of tribal groups.

[C10] **Thule**. Some of the earliest texts talk of a place called 'Thule' (in various spellings), and it is often not easy to work out what part of Scandinavia (if any) they refer to; see the accounts of Pytheas reported with details of the lifestyle of the inhabitants in Strabo's *Geography* (B25a):II.5.8, IV.5.5, and by Pliny in his *Natural history* (B25b):II.77, IV.16. The later identification with Iceland comes out from later accounts by scholars such as Dicuil (B160) and Adam of Bremen (B73)

[C11] '**Scandinavia**'. Rather more cogent is the very brief account in Ptolemy's *Geography* (B25c), which isolates 'Scandia' as a cluster of islands east of the 'Cimbric peninsula', ie. Jutland. It has long been recognised that this must refer to the province of Skåne in the south-western tip of modern Sweden

[C12] **Tribal geography**. Many of these authors make passing observations on the peoples of Scandinavia and (sometimes) their customs. For example, in his *History of the wars* VI:15 Procopius (B32) reports the wanderings of a tribe called the 'Eruli' through Scandinavia and gives a brief account of the peoples living in Thule

[C13] These pre-Viking authors have been subjected to a series of studies by J. Svennung: *Scadinavia und Scandia: lateinisch-nordische Namenstudien*, SKHVU 44:1 (1963) [UL 500:05.c.9.44] (E.s.); *Jordanes und Scandia: kritisch-exegetische Studien*, SKHVU 44:2a (1967) [UL 500:05.c.9.44] (E.s.); *Skandinavien bei Plinius und Ptolemaios: kritisch-exegetische Forschungen zu den ältesten nordischen Sprachdenkmälern*, SKHVU 45 (1974) [UL 500:05.c.9.45] (E.s.)

#### Viking-age authors

The heavy reliance on older authorities in mediaeval geographical work means that the value of many contemporary sources is often inhibited. Some excellent accounts of northern geography are provided by some of the Arabic authors (B202 ff.), but they naturally tend to concentrate on eastern Europe. For contemporary perceptions of the customs of the Vikings abroad, see (C1-2) and (B45).

[C15] **Dicuil** (B160) chapter 7 contains many interesting observations on the North Atlantic, most notable for the fact that Irish hermits had already discovered Faroe and 'Thule' by 825

[C16] The Old English **Orosius** (B106) is particularly useful, in that it records descriptions of northern European political geography by both Ohthere and the Old English author. See: A.S.C. Ross, *The 'Terfinnas' and 'Beormas' of Ohthere*, Leeds School of English Language and Literature texts and monographs 7 (1940; repr. 1981) [UL 759.c.82.6; repr. 1990.8.1417]; O. Crumlin-Pedersen, 'Ships, navigation and routes in the reports of Ohthere and Wulfstan', (B106a):30-42; M. Korhammer, 'The orientation system in the Old English Orosius: shifted or not?', *Learning and literature in Anglo-Saxon England: studies presented to Peter Clemons on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday*, edd. M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (1985), 251-69 [UL 541:14.c.95.79]

[C17] **Adam of Bremen**'s geographical description of Scandinavia in book IV of his *Gesta* (B73) remains however the most essential account of the political geography of Viking-age Scandinavia. On the routes described by Adam, see: O. Jørgensen and T. Nyberg, *Sejlruter i Adam af Bremens danske øverden*, Arkiv 74 (1992) [Haddon]

[C18] Much debate has also turned on the word 'viking' and its etymology and appearance in non-Scandinavian sources; see S. Hellberg, 'Vikingatidens *víkingar*', *ANF* 95 (1980), 25-88 and (C35 ff.)

[C19] J. Jesch, 'Old Norse *vikingr*: a question of context', *'Lastworda betst': essays in memory of Christine E. Fell, with her unpublished writings*, edd. C. Hough and K.A. Lowe (2002), 107-21 [UL C200.c.6360]

### **The world view in mediaeval Scandinavia**

Many of the historical works produced by authors such as Saxo (B657) or Snorri Sturluson (B260) in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries also contain geographical and ethnographical descriptions of Scandinavia, although necessarily reflecting mediaeval divisions; a wide ranging discussion can also be found in (G4).

[C20] R. Simek, *Altnordische Kosmographie: Studien und Quellen zu Weltbild und Weltbeschreibung in Norwegen und Island vom 12. bis zum 14. Jahrhundert*, Ergänzungsbande zum Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde 4 (1990) [UL 461:01.c.15.4]

[C21] A.-D. von den Brincken, *Fines terrae: die Enden der Erde und die vierte Kontinent auf mittelalterlichen Weltkarten*, MGH Schriften 36 (1992) [UL 570:01.c.3.48]; on mediaeval geography more generally

[C22] L.S. Chekin, 'Mappae mundi and Scandinavia', *SS* 65 (1993), 487-520

[C23] T.N. Jackson and A.V. Podossinov, 'Norway in Old Norse literature: some considerations on the specific character of Scandinavian spatial orientation', *Skandinavistik* 27 (1997), 85-97

[C24] T.N. Jackson, 'On the Old Norse system of spatial orientation', *SBVS* 25 (1998-2001), 72-82

### **The three ages of Scandinavia**

As the title of this bibliography indicates, the conventional periodization of Scandinavian history in the European 'middle ages' reflects three divisions; the pre-Viking or 'Iron' age, the Viking age, and the 'mediaeval' period. Although based heavily on a foreign rather than indigenous perception, this scheme still has many merits, even though many archaeologists prefer to operate with a stripped-down periodization of Iron age and mediaeval period, the transition coming around the turn of the millennium with the conversion to Christianity.

#### **The pre-Viking period**

A bewildering multiplicity of terms are employed in various countries and disciplines for the opening three-quarters of the first millennium AD; these range from 'Roman Iron age' for the earlier period to 'Germanic Iron age' for the latter, along with many others such as 'Vendel age' (roughly seventh to eighth centuries) that reflect certain art-styles defined by individual sites. These reflect the uncertain nature of the practice of periodising a region largely through specific aspects of its material culture. For a brief introductory survey, see (A21):22-35 and the individual country sections (D-F).

[C30] E.G. Oxenstierna, *The world of the Norsemen*, transl. J. Sondheimer (1967) [UL 592:12.c.95.11]

For recent archaeological approaches see (C70 ff.) and:

[C33] C. Fabech and J. Ringtved, (edd.), *Samfundsorganisation og regional variation: Norden i romersk jernalder og folkevandringstid*, JASS 27 (1991) (brief E.s. for all articles) [UL S460:01.b.23.41]

#### **The Viking age**

##### **Its beginnings**

It has been observed that the Viking age is defined by Vikings, and although this seems self-evident, it has not stopped various approaches seeking to identify a distinctive Viking-age culture in Scandinavia. Our understanding of the beginnings of the Viking age has been revolutionised by recent discoveries and interpretations, for example the excavations at Ribe (N185 ff.), the classification of brooches, and dating tools such as dendrochronology.

[C35] P. Sawyer, 'The causes of the Viking age', (O34):1-7

[C36] F. Hødnebo, 'Who were the first Vikings?', (A49):43-54

[C37] B. Myhre, 'The beginning of the Viking age: some current archaeological problems', (O72):182-204

[C38] E. Roesdahl, 'Dendrochronology and Viking studies in Denmark, with a note on the beginning of the Viking age', (A51):106-16

[C39] B. Ambrosiani, 'Ireland and Scandinavia in the early Viking age: an archaeological response', (O82):405-20

### **Its development**

The Viking age in the ninth century and early tenth centuries can be characterised by plundering, pillaging, and ploughing; a desire for moveable wealth and immoveable land. The late tenth and eleventh centuries, on the other hand, reveal a different aspect, that of political conquest and consolidation, and it is difficult to say whether both should be judged as part of the same historical phenomenon. For a classic article and discussion on these points, see:

[C45] P.H. Sawyer et al., 'The two Viking ages of Britain: a discussion', *MS* 2 (1969), 163-207

Other features of this period include the growth of towns (N170 ff.) and the concomitant spread of trade to everyday items rather than simply luxuries (N5 ff.). Cf. also:

[C47] P.H. Sawyer, 'The age and the Vikings, and before' and 'The Viking legacy', (A22):1-18, 250-61

For an attempt at a revision of the archaeological periodisation:

[C48] I. Skibsted Klæsøe, 'Vikingetidens kronologi: en nybearbejdning af det arkeologiske materiale', *ANOH* 1997 (1999), 89-142 (E.s.)

### **Its end**

The conventional Anglocentric view puts the end of the Viking age in 1066, when Harald hardrada's Norwegian army was defeated at Stamford Bridge. However, this national invasion had little in common with the Viking raids and settlements of the ninth century, nor was it the last time a Scandinavian king brought (or intended to bring) an army to the British isles. In this light, it then becomes reasonable to ask: was Knut the great (D100 ff.) a Viking? Or saint Knut (D135)? Or Magnus barelegs (E90)? Or even Hakon the old (B463)? Following on from the notion of the 'two Viking ages', it might even be argued that the Viking age was coming to an end around the first half of the tenth century, by which time recorded raids were dying away, new colonies such as Iceland (G) were 'fully settled', and (most significantly) Vikings abroad seem largely to have cast in their lots and chosen their futures in their new colonial environments, leading inevitably to a slow process of assimilation into the more numerous indigenous populations. From a Scandinavian perspective the key shifts which brought an end to the Viking age can be said to have been the conversion to Christianity, social re-organisation leading to the establishment of recognised kingdoms, and above all a shift away from 'external' to 'internal exploitation'.

[C50] E. Lönnroth, 'The genesis of the Scandinavian kingdoms', *Scandinavians: selected historical essays* (1977), 7-16 [UL 9592.c.108]

### **The mediaeval period**

The history of Scandinavia in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is of extreme importance for the study of the Viking age, since many of the trends and developments can only be identified by working backwards from later, and better attested, periods. Despite this, there is comparatively little in English on the subject; (A35) is the most accessible guide, for an even broader survey see:

[C55] T.K. Derry, *A history of Scandinavia* (1979) [UL 592:1.c.95.11], espec. chapter 3: 'Outpost of Christendom'

### **Scandinavian society**

The best place to start exploring social history in Viking-age Scandinavia is through the general textbooks, e.g. the survey in (A10), chap. 4: 'Scandinavian society'.

[C60] O.J. Benedictow, 'The demography of the Viking age and the high middle ages in the Nordic countries', *SJH* 21 (1996), 151-82

### **Social organisation**

It is widely theorised that forms of serious social organisation in Scandinavia (as so frequently elsewhere) are military in origin; the need for population groups to band together for mutual defence.

This applies not only to the first half of the first millennium AD, when votive deposits (D20 ff.) seem to reveal various groups fighting for dominance over available resources, but also for the Viking age itself, when military service seems to be among the earliest demands a king could make of his subjects. See:

[C65] A.N. Jørgensen and B.L. Clausen, (edd.), *Military aspects of Scandinavian society in a European perspective, AD 1-1300*, Publications from the National Museum: studies in archaeology and history 2 (1997) [Haddon]

[C66] J. Ringtved, 'Settlement organisation in a time of war and conflict', (M27):361-81

### The 'central place'

A model growing in popularity recently is that of the 'central place', which consists of focal points in the landscape reconstructed on the basis of various disciplines such as place-names, archaeological finds, and halls. For the further use of place-names to illuminate mediaeval administrative units, see (C230 ff.).

[C70] S. Brink, 'Political and social structures in early Scandinavia: a settlement-historical pre-study of the central place', *Tor* 28 (1996), 235-81

[C71] S. Brink, 'Political and social structures in early Scandinavia II: aspects of space and territoriality; the settlement district', *Tor* 29 (1997), 389-437

[C72] L. Lundqvist, 'Central places and central areas in the late Iron age: some examples from south-western Sweden', (O80):179-97

[C73] L. Larsson and B. Hårdh, (edd.), *Centrala platser—centrala frågor: samhällsstrukturen under järnåldern; en vänbok till Berta Stjernquist*, Acta archaeologica Lundensia series in 8vo 28 (1998)

[C74] S. Brink, 'Social order in the early Scandinavian landscape', (M27):423-39

[C75] C. Fabech, 'Centrality in sites and landscapes', (M27):455-73

[C76] C. Fabech, 'Organising the landscape: a matter of production, power, and religion', (D28):37-47

### The 'thing'

[C80] The assemblies known as things seem to have served in Viking-age Scandinavia as centres of districts (large or small) for judicial and probably also religious and commercial dealings of all kinds. Things are known most extensively through mediaeval literature and laws, although these tend to concentrate on the larger provincial assemblies which developed in the course of the period. However, from scattered historical references and particularly place-names, it seems clear that the thing was a prime factor in regional organisation and identity at much more local levels, cf. (C70 ff.). The thing's importance has seemed so self-evident that research tends to focus on aspects developing from it (cf. (G70 ff.)), and there are few general surveys, see the article 'Ting' in *KLNM* (A70) 18 (1974), 334-67 and associated articles 367-90

### Law

Piecing together Scandinavian law and custom is necessarily a tricky procedure once it is recognised that the mediaeval lawcodes (B680 ff.) do not necessarily preserved older material intact. Still useful is the survey in (A33), chap. 11: 'Justice'. In the Viking age itself, enforcement of law seems at least partly to have devolved down to the feud (G75 ff.); for other methods of punishment, cf.:

[C85] F. Ström, *On the sacral origin of the Germanic death penalties*, KVHAA handlingar 52 (1942) [UL 276.c.90.14]

[C86] K.E. Gade, 'Hanging in northern law and literature', *Maal og minne* 1985, 159-83

[C87] S. Brink, 'Law and legal customs in Viking age Scandinavia', (079):87-117

[C88] K. Helle, 'Fra muntlig rett til skreven lov', *FM* 5 (2002), 5-31

On the interesting Forsa ring inscription, often interpreted as Scandinavia's first legal document from the ninth century, see:

[C89] S. Brink, 'Forsaringen: Nordens äldsta lagbud', (A60) vol. 15 (1996), 27-55 [UL L592.c.25.15]

### Runestones and social change

Much recent work has focused on late Viking-age runic inscriptions as evidence of both Scandinavian society but also the great social changes which were taking place in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth

centuries. This is largely prompted by the explosion in the number of runestones erected in Scandinavia, particularly Sweden, during this period; cf. also (C210 ff.).

[C90] A. Ruprecht, *Die ausgehende Wikingerzeit im Lichte der Runeninschriften*, Palaestra 224 (1958) [UL 779.c.15.143]

[C91] B. Sawyer, *Property and inheritance in Viking Scandinavia: the runic evidence*, Occasional papers on medieval topics 2 (1988) [UL 1992.8.5571]

[C92] M.G. Larsson, *Runstenar och utlandsfärder: aspekter på det senvikingatida samhället med utgångspunkt i de fasta fornlämningarna*, Acta archaeologica Lundensia series in 8vo 21 (1990) [UL S460:01.b.13.17]

[C93] B. Sawyer, 'Viking-age rune-stones as a crisis symptom', *NAR* 24 (1991), 97-112

[C94] J. Jesch, 'Runic inscriptions and social history: some problems of method', (B805):149-62

[C95] B. Sawyer, *The Viking-age rune-stones: custom and commemoration in early medieval Scandinavia* (2000) [UL 592:12.c.200.1]; a full survey of many aspects of social history illuminated by runestones

### Social class

The reconstruction of social class in Viking-age Scandinavia has traditionally been undertaken through surveys of legal material (B680 ff.), but more recently the evidence of burials (M300 ff.) and runic inscriptions (C90 ff., C155 ff., C210 ff.) in particular have added an extra dimension; for a basic survey, see (A33), chap. 3: 'The free'.

#### The three classes of society

A division of society into three groups, consisting of priests, warriors, and farmers, has often been posited, and then heavily criticised, for Indo-European society; see (K32). Within Scandinavia, it is the Eddaic poem *Rígsþula* (B617) that has led the debate; this poem presents a mythological justification for a tripartite division, although on different grounds, with the god Rígr presented as the progenitor of *þrall* 'thrall', *Karl* 'farmer', and *Jarl* 'earl'. For a review see:

[C100] S. Bagge, 'Old Norse theories of society: from *Rígsþula* to *Konungs skuggsiá*', *Speculum regale: der altnorwegische Königsspiegel (Konungs skuggsjá) in der europäischen Tradition*, edd. J.E. Schnall and R. Simek (2000), 7-45

#### The free 'bœndr'

The role and independence of the *bóndi* (plural *bœndr*) or 'free farmer' has been much debated, especially in the light of the growth of tenancy in mediaeval Scandinavia.

[C105] B. Einarsson, 'On the status of free men in society and saga', *MS* 7 (1974), 45-55

[C106] T. Lindkvist, *Landborna i Norden under äldre medeltid*, Acta universitatis Upsaliensis: Studia historica Upsaliensia 110 (1979) [UL 595:01.c.10.110] (E.s.)

[C107] C.A. Christensen, 'Begrebet bol: et vidnesbyrd om vikingetidens storbondesamfund', *DHT* 83 (1983), 1-34 (E.s.)

[C108] A.K.G. Kristensen, 'Free peasants in the early Middle Ages: freeholders, freedmen or what?', *MS* 12 (1988), 76-106

[C109] A. Gurevitsj, 'Free Norwegian peasantry revisited', *NHT* 69 (1990), 275-84

For comparative semantic studies, see:

[C110] R. Wenskus et al., (edd.), *Wort und Begriff 'Bauer': zusammenfassender Bericht über die Kolloquien der Kommission für die Altertumskunde Mittel- und Nordeuropas*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse 3. Folge 89 (1975) [UL P500.b.5.130]

#### Land-tenure

[C112] Of particular significance was the mode of landholding known as *óðal*, which reflected land owned by a family group that conferred a higher status. Most of the research is conducted in the Scandinavian languages; for a handy introduction, see A. Gurevich, 'Land tenure and inheritance', (A73):372-73. The high rank of the *óðal* farmer or *hǫldr* is hinted at in Scandinavian sources, and can be to some extent confirmed for the Viking age by the loanword *hold* in legal material from the Danelaw in

England, especially the *Norðleoda laga*; text (B107a): I,458-61, transl. (B81):469-70. On the large 'magnate farms' see (M30 ff.) and (D6)

[C113] K. Robberstad, 'The odal rights according to the old Norwegian laws', (A41):34-40

[C114] A. Holmsen, 'Landowners and tenants in Norway', *Scandinavian economic history review* 6 (1958), 121-31

[C115] T. Zachrisson, 'The odal and its manifestation in the landscape', *CSA* 2 (1994), 219-38

[C116] D. Skre, 'Aristocratic dominion and landownership in Norway 200-1100 AD', (M27):415-22

### The unfree 'thralls'

For a survey, see (A33), chap. 2: 'Slaves'.

[C120] P.G. Foote, 'Þrælahald á Íslandi: heimildakönnun og athugasemdir', *Saga* 15 (1977), 41-74 (E.s.)

[C121] J. Dyste Lind, 'The ending of slavery in Sweden: social structure and decision making', *SS* 50 (1978), 57-71

[C122] M. Wilde-Stockmeyer, *Sklaverei auf Island: Untersuchungen zur rechtlich-sozialen Situation und literarischen Darstellung der Sklaven im skandinavischen Mittelalter*, *Skandinavistische Arbeiten* 5 (1978) [UL 752:01.c.10.5]

[C123] N. Skyum-Nielsen, 'Nordic slavery in an international setting', *MS* 11 (1978-79), 126-48

[C124] C. Krag, 'Treller og trellehold', *NHT* 61 (1982), 209-27 (E.s.)

[C125] T. Iversen, 'Den gammelnorske trelldommen og den avvikling', *NHT* 64 (1985), 158-79 (E.s.)

[C126] J. Hnefill Aðalsteinsson, 'The position of freed slaves in medieval Iceland', *SBVS* 22 (1986-89), 33-49

[C127] R. Mazo Karras, *Slavery and society in medieval Scandinavia*, Yale historical publications 135 (1988) [UL 500:01.c.4.137]

[C128] R. Mazo Karras, 'Concubinage and slavery in the Viking age', *SS* 62 (1990), 141-62

### Children

[C129] E. Mundal, 'Children, parents and society as reflected in Old Norse sources', *Nordica Bergensia* 27 (2002), 175-92

### Women

The recent flourishing of the previously neglected study of the historical position of women has led to a large amount of published material. For a full survey see (A34), also (A35), chap. 9: 'Women: ideal and reality'.

[C130] C.J. Clover, 'The politics of scarcity: notes on the sex ratio in early Scandinavia', *SS* 60 (1988), 147-88

[C131] B. Sawyer, 'Women as landholders and alienators of property in early medieval Scandinavia', *Female power in the Middle ages: proceedings from the 2. St. Gertrud symposium, Copenhagen, August 1986*, edd. K. Glente and L. Winther-Jensen (1989), 156-71 [UL 245.c.98.801]

[C132] J.M. Jochens, *Women in Old Norse society* (1995) [UL 245.c.99.990]; reprinted (1998) [UL 2000.8.780]

### In literary sources

See (A34):84-175 and:

[C135] H. Kress, 'Meget samstrevet må det tykkes deg: om kvinneopprør og genretvang i sagaen om Laksdölene', *SHT* 100 (1980), 266-80 (E.s.)

[C136] B. Strand, 'Women in Gesta Danorum', (B659):135-67

[C137] N. Damsholt, 'The role of Icelandic women in the sagas and in the production of homespun cloth', *SJH* 9 (1984), 75-90

[C138] J.M. Jochens, 'The medieval Icelandic heroine: fact or fiction?', *Viator* 17 (1986), 35-50

[C139] G. Karlsson, 'Kenningin um fornt kvenfrelsi á Íslandi', *Saga* 24 (1986), 45-77 (E.s.)

[C140] J.M. Jochens, 'The female inciter in the Kings' sagas', *ANF* 102 (1987), 100-19

[C141] H. O'Donoghue, 'Women in *Njáls saga*', (O66):83-92

[C142] J. Jesch, 'Women and ships in the Viking world', *NS* 36 (2001), 1-20.

### In law

[C145] J.M. Jochens, 'Consent in marriage: Old Norse law, life, and literature', *SS* 58 (1986), 142-76

[C146] J.M. Jochens, 'Gender symmetry in law?: the case of medieval Iceland', *ANF* 108 (1993), 46-67

### **In the archaeological record**

For burials and other archaeological evidence, see also (A34):9-41.

[C150] L.H. Dommasnes, 'Late Iron age in western Norway: female roles and ranks as deduced from an analysis of burial customs', *NAR* 15 (1982), 70-84

[C151] L.H. Dommasnes, 'Women, kinship, and the basis of power in the Norwegian Viking age', (O64):65-73; on burials and position of women in pagan cults

[C152] A. Stalsberg, 'Women as actors in north European Viking age trade', (O64):75-83

### **In runic inscriptions**

See also (A34):42-74 and the various references in (C95).

[C155] A.-S. Gräslund, "'Gud hjälpe nu väl hennes själ": om runstenskvinnorna, deras roll vid kristnandet och deras plats i familj och samhälle', *Tor* 22 (1988-89), 223-44 (E.s.)

[C156] B. Sawyer, 'Women as bridge-builders: the role of women in Viking-age Scandinavia', (O62):211-24

### **Social ideals and relationships**

One of the most fertile approaches recently to the family sagas in particular (B350 ff.) has been to analyse them from the perspective of the mechanisms of social interaction they reveal.

#### **Gift-giving and reciprocity**

The importance of gift-giving in Scandinavian society has been frequently emphasised in the context of the 'luxury-goods' economy of the early Viking age (N5 ff.), and appears also in some literary sources such as the missionary tactics in Rimbert's life of Anskar (B72). The Icelandic sagas in particular (B350 ff.) have been quarried for information in this regard.

[C160] A.Y. Gurevich, 'Wealth and gift-bestowal among the ancient Scandinavians', *Scandinavica* 7 (1968), 126-38

[C161] H. Þorláksson, 'Social ideals and the concept of profit in thirteenth-century Iceland', (G7):231-45

#### **Kinship and friendship**

Similar anthropological approaches have also been taken towards the relative significance of kinship and friendship.

[C165] R. Bjerke, *A contrastive study of Old German and Old Norwegian kinship terms*, Indiana University publications in anthropology and linguistics 22 (1969) [UL P847.b.2.5]

[C166] K. Hastrup, 'Kinship in medieval Iceland', *Folk* 23 (1981), 331-44

[C167] A.C. Murray, *Germanic kinship structure: studies in law and society in antiquity and the early Middle ages*, Studies and texts 65 (1983) [UL 532:01.c.11.66]

[C168] T.A. Vestergaard, 'The system of kinship in early Norwegian law', *MS* 12 (1988), 160-93

[C169] J.V. Sigurðsson, 'Forholdet mellom frender, hushold og venner på Island i fristatstiden', *NHT* 74 (1995), 311-30 (E.s.)

[C168] E. Vestergaard, 'Kinship and marriage: the family, its relationships and renewal', (079):59-74

[C169] M. Gelting, 'Predatory kinship revisited', *ANS* 25 (2002), 107-119

#### **Níð**

The importance of *níð* 'slander' comes out strongly from sagas (B350 ff.), mediaeval lawcodes (B680 ff.) and above all verse (C180 ff.). Often involving a sexual element, it can perhaps be seen as implying a transgression of moral self-perception.

[C175] F. Ström, *Níð, ergi, and Old Norse moral attitudes*, Dorothea Coke memorial lecture in northern studies 1973 (1974) [UL Ub.8.479]

[C176] P.M. Sørensen, *The unmanly man: concepts of sexual defamation in early Norse society*, transl. J. Turville-Petre, The Viking collection: studies in Northern civilization 1 (1983) [UL 752:37.c.95.30]

### ‘Níð’ verse

[C180] T.L. Markey, ‘Nordic *níðvísur*: an instance of ritual inversion?’, *MS* 5 (1972), 7-18

[C181] B. Almqvist, *Norrön niddiktning: traditionshistoriska studier i versmagi. II.1-2: Nid mot missionärer; senmedeltida nidtraditioner*, *Nordiska texter och undersökningar* 23 (1974) [UL 752:01.c.3.17] (E.s.)

[C182] J.M. Pizarro, ‘On *níð* against bishops’, *MS* 11 (1978-79), 149-53

### Kingship and government

The development of what can be termed ‘royal government’ is one of the most striking developments in the late Viking age, but the precise interpretation of how its various aspects developed is heavily debated. For sacral kingship see (K75 ff.); for the cults of royal saints (L235 ff.). For issues surrounding royal succession in the late Viking age, see (D41) and (D126):5-22 for Denmark in differing periods, (E100 ff.) for Norway, (F8) for Sweden. A broad survey can be found in (A33), chap. 4: ‘Authority and administration; chiefs and kings’.

[C190] J.S. Martin, ‘Some aspects of Snorri Sturluson’s view of kingship’, *Parergon* 15 (1976), 43-54

[C191] J. Hines, ‘Kingship in *Egils saga*’, (O66):15-32

[C192] S. Norr, *To rede and to rown: expressions of early Scandinavian kingship in written sources*, *OPIA* 17 (1998) [ASNC]

### The aristocracy and royal officers

The earliest form of aristocracy in Scandinavia can only really be identified through issues such as landholding (C112), control of trading centres (N140 ff.), and ostentatious displays of status through burials (M300 ff.) and the like. In the later Viking age, runestones (C90 ff.) come to play some role in this, but it is also posited that some aristocratic groups to identify themselves by allegiance to a new code of royal authority. For a ground-breaking study, see (D6) and below (C210).

[C200] C. Krag, ‘Årmanen [Ármaðr]’, *NHT* 61 (1982), 105-25 (E.s.)

[C201] F. Herschend, *Livet i hallen: tre fallstudier i den yngre järnålderns aristokrati*, *OPIA* 14 (1997) [ASNC]

[C202] F. Herschend, *The idea of the good in late Iron age society*, *OPIA* 15 (1998) [ASNC]

For studies of vocabulary and possible foreign influences:

[C205] D. Hofmann, *Nordische-Englische Lehnbeziehungen der Wikingerzeit*, *Bibliotheca Arnemagnæana* 14 (1955) [UL S752:01.b.1.10]

[C206] J. Lindow, *Comitatus, individual and honor: studies in North Germanic institutional vocabulary*, *University of California publications in linguistics* 83 (1976) [UL 779.b.35.70]

### Thegns and drengs

The role and status of the figures identified in runic inscriptions and place-names as thegns and drengs has come under particular focus recently, due to attempts to identify these figures as royal agents in Denmark and south-western Sweden in particular, and so as constituent members of the king’s *hirð* or court retinue. See (C202):54-72, 130-36; (C95), chap. 5: ‘Society and status’; and:

[C210] S. Aakjær, ‘Old Danish thegns and drengs’, *APS* 2 (1927-28), 1-30

[C211] A. Christophersen, ‘Drengs, thegns, landmen and kings: some aspects on the forms of social relations in Viking society during the transition to historic times’, *MLUHM* n.s. 4 (1981-82), 115-34

[C212] J.P. Strid, ‘Runic Swedish thegns and drengs’, *Runor och runinskrifter: föredrag vid Riksantikvarieämbetets och Vitterhetsakademiens symposium 8-11 september 1985*, *KVHAA konferenser* 15 (1987), 301-16 [UL 763.c.98.33]

[C213] J. Jesch, ‘Skaldic verse and Viking semantics’, (O72):160-71

[C214] J. Jesch, ‘Skaldic and runic vocabulary and the Viking age: a research project’, (A51):294-301

[C215] M. Syrett, ‘Drengs and thegns again’, *SBVS* 25 (1998-2001), 243-71

### Military service and the leidang

As noted above (C65), it is widely believed that the right to demand military service was among the earliest royal privileges in Scandinavia. This finds expression in the late Viking age in the form of the

*leidang* (modern Danish *leding*), which seems to have represented a military force that could be levied by kings and other local rulers. Although the term appears in court poetry from the late tenth century onwards, the *leidang* is however basically a mediaeval privilege, and there has been extensive debate about its functions in the Viking age.

[C220] R. Malmros, 'Leding og skjaldekvad: det elvte århundredes nordiske krigsflåder, deres teknologi og organisation og deres placering i samfundet belyst gennem den samtidige fyrstedigtning', *ANOH* 1985, 89-139 (E.s.)

[C221] N. Lund, 'The armies of Swein forkbeard and Cnut: *leding* or *lið*?', *ASE* 15 (1986), 105-18

[C222] M.G. Larsson, *Hamnor, husbyar och ledung*, Institute of archaeology, University of Lund, report series 29 (1987) [Haddon] (E.s.)

[C223] L.E. Fauerholdt-Jensen, *Vikingernes Danmark: den sømilitære Ledingsorganisations administrative Inddeling og de danske Bispedømmer o. 1140* (1993) [UL 9001.d.5848]

[C224] N. Lund, 'Danish military organisation', (B102a):109-26, and 'If the Vikings knew a *leding*—what was it like?', (A51):100-05

[C225] N. Rodger, 'Cnut's geld and the size of Danish ships', *EHR* 110 (1995), 392-403

[C226] N. Lund, *Lið, leding og landeværn: hær og samfund i Danmark i ældre middelalder* (1996) (E.s.)

[C227] D.G.E. Williams, 'The dating of the Norwegian *leiðangr* system: a philological approach', *NOWELE* 30 (1997), 21-25

[C228] B. Varenius, 'The retinue and the ship: an archaeo-sociological study of Scandinavia at the turn of the last millenium and the following centuries', *CSA* 7 (1999), 173-82

#### Land-divisions and administration

The earliest forms of administration in Scandinavia are similarly often thought to be military in origin (C220 ff.). From the pre-literate Viking period, place-names are an invaluable tool in identifying manors and other central places, see (C70 ff.). Particular attention has focussed on place-names in *Huseby* or ending in *-tuna*, which show a striking correlation with mediaeval royal sites. The wider use of place-names to address the question of how the various land-divisions such as *herreds* and *hundares* of mediaeval Scandinavia came into being is an extremely complicated issue; a classic study is:

[C230] S. Tunberg, *Studier rörande Skandinaviens äldsta politiska indelning* (1911) [UL Uc.7.244]

For further guidance, see the relevant articles in *KLNM* (A70) and on place-name studies more generally (B840 ff.). On central names:

[C231] K. Calissendorff, 'Place-name types denoting centres', *Early medieval studies* 3, AArkiv 40 (1971), 2-12

[C232] T. Andersson, 'The origin of the *tuna*-names reconsidered', (O62):197-204

#### Denmark

[C235] S. Aakjær, 'Land measurement and land valuation in medieval Denmark', *Scandinavian economic history review* 7 (1959), 115-49

[C236] J. Kousgård Sørensen, 'Toponymic evidence for administrative divisions in Denmark in the Viking age', (O30):133-41

[C237] B. Jørgensen, *Stednavne og administrationshistorie*, Navnestudier udgivet af Institut for Navneforskning 20 (1980) [UL 498:01.b.1.20] (E.s.)

[C238] A. Andrén, 'Städer och kungamakt: en studie i Danmarks politiska geografi före 1230', *Scandia* 49 (1983), 31-76 (E.s. 159-60)

#### Norway

[C240] Claus Krag, 'Landskapsnavn på -land og -rike', *NHT* 50 (1971), 341-56 (E.s.)

[C241] T. Andersson, 'Hringaríki, Ranríki, Raumaríki: till diskussionen om ordet *rike* i gamla nordiska ortnamn', *SOS* 1976, 56-83

#### Sweden

For central Sweden in particular, cf. (F55 ff.).

[C245] S. Göransson, 'Viking age traces in Swedish systems for territorial organization and land division', (O30):142-53

[C246] H. Gustavson and K.-G. Selinge, 'Jarlabanke och hundaret: ett arkeologiskt/ runologiskt bidrag till lösningen av ett historiskt tolkningsproblem', *NB* 76 (1988), 19-85 (E.s.)

[C247] T. Lindkvist, 'Social and political power in Sweden, 1000-1300: predatory incursions, royal taxation, and the formation of a feudal state', (O64):137-45

### Coinage

The issuing of coins by Viking-age kings seems largely to have been undertaken for ideological rather than economic reasons, since they made up an essential part of the regalia. In the earlier Viking age, the Danish issues from Ribe and Hedeby were modelled on Frankish originals, but by the eleventh century English coins, and often also English moneymen, provided the inspiration. For more general surveys of coin imports, see (N50 ff.).

[C250] C.J. Becker, (ed.), *Studies in northern coinages of the eleventh century*, Det kongelige Danske Videnskabernes selskab hist.-filos. skrifter 9.4 (1981) [UL 500:05.b.10.15]; see, for example, M. Blackburn, 'An imitative workshop active during Æthelræd II's *Long cross* issue', 29-88

[C251] M. Blackburn, 'English dies used in the Scandinavian imitative coinages', *Hikuin* 11 (1985), 101-24

[C252] B. Malmer, *The Anglo-Scandinavian coinage c. 995-1020*, Commentationes de nummis saeculorum IX-XI in Suecia repertis n.s. 9 (1997) [UL 492:01.b.8.9]

### Pre-Christian Scandinavia

Anonymous coins seem to have been struck intermittently in the pre-conversion period in the Danish towns of Ribe and Hedeby.

[C255] B. Malmer, *Nordiska mynt före år 1000*, Acta archaeologica Lundensia series in 8vo 4 (1966) [UL S460:01.b.13.4] (E.s.)

[C256] K. Bendixen, 'The currency in Denmark from the beginning of the Viking age until c. 1100', (N50):405-18

[C257] K. Bendixen, 'Sceattas and other coin finds', (N185): I,63-101; from Ribe

[C258] B. Varenius, 'The Hedeby coinage', *CSA* 2 (1994), 185-93

### Eleventh-century Denmark

The earliest Danish kings such as Harald Bluetooth and Svein Forkbeard minted coins with Christian designs on them. Anglo-Saxon models were heavily (and naturally) employed during the reign of Knut (D100 ff.) (see (C252)), and the Danish currency was the first to become something like a national monetary system in the latter half of the eleventh century.

[C260] P. Hauberg, *Myntforhold og Udmyntinger i Danmark indtil 1146* (1900)

[C261] B. Malmer, *King Canute's coinage in the northern countries*, Dorothea Coke memorial lecture in northern studies 1972 (1974) [UL Ub.7.1117]

[C262] C.J. Becker, 'The coinages of Harthacnut and Magnus the Good at Lund c. 1040-c. 1046', (C250):119-74

[C263] C.J. Becker, 'Studies in the Danish coinage at Lund during the period c. 1030-c. 1046', (N50):449-77

[C264] C.J. Becker, 'The Danish mint at Odense (Funen) during the eleventh century', (C278):25-34

[C265] M. Blackburn, 'Do Cnut the Great's first coins as king of Denmark date from before 1018?', (C278):55-68

[C266] B. Malmer, 'On the early coinage of Lund', (O62):187-96

[C267] K. Jonsson, 'The coinage of Cnut', (D103):193-230

### Norway

The Christian kings of eleventh-century Norway also made attempts to impose themselves upon the currency, although with little lasting success.

[C270] C.I. Schive, *Norges Mynter i Middelalderen* (1865) [Fitzwilliam Museum]; the standard reference work, although now very dated

[C271] B. Malmer, 'A contribution to the numismatic history of Norway during the eleventh century', *Commentationes de nummis saeculorum IX-XI in Suecia repertis I*, KVHAA handlingar, antikvariska serien 9 (1961), 223-376 [UL 595:01.c.11.9]

[C272] K. Skaare, *Coins and coinage in Viking age Norway: the establishment of a national coinage in Norway in the XI century, with a survey of the preceding currency history* (1976) [UL 492:54.b.95.3]

[C273] K. Skaare, *Mynt i Norge*, Norsk kulturarv 14 (1978) [UL S592:01.d.1.14]

### Sweden

In Sweden it is the celebrated coinage from Sigtuna in the early Christian period that attracts the limelight.

[C275] B. Malmer, *Olof skötkonungs mynt och andra Ethelred-imitationer*, AArkiv 27 (1965) [AIIT]

[C276] L.O. Lagerqvist, 'The coinage at Sigtuna in the names of Anund Jacob, Cnut the great and Harthacnut', *Commentationes de nummis saeculorum IX-XI in Suecia repertis II*, KVHAA handlingar, antikvariska serien 19 (1968), 383-413 [UL 595:01.c.11.9]

[C277] B. Malmer, *The Sigtuna coinage c. 995-1005*, *Commentationes de nummis saeculorum IX-XI in Suecia repertis n.s. 4* (1989) [UL 492:01.b.8.4]

[C278] K. Jonsson and B. Malmer, (edd.), *Sigtuna papers: proceedings of the Sigtuna symposium on Viking-age coinage 1-4 June 1989*, *Commentationes de nummis saeculorum IX-XI in Suecia repertis n.s. 6* (1990) [UL 492:01.b.8.6]

[C279] B. Malmer, 'Sigtunamyntningen som källa till Sveriges kristnande', (L63):85-113 (E.s.)

## D. DENMARK

The pre-eminent role seemingly played by Denmark in Viking-age Scandinavia can be attributed to a number of factors, not least its closer proximity to western Europe (particularly the Frankish empire), its geographical position at the centre of trade routes running across the North and Baltic seas, and the low-lying landscape, which allowed for more intensive cultivation or habitation as well as easier communications. Accordingly political and social developments in Denmark are often seen as providing a 'template' or pattern which was subsequently followed in the more northerly parts of Scandinavia.

### General surveys

[D1] T. Ramskou, *Danmarks historie 2. Normannertiden 600-1060* (1962) [UL 597:1.d.95.2]

[D2] A.E. Christensen, *Vikingetidens Danmark paa oldhistorisk baggrund* (1969) [UL 597:2.b.95.2]

[D3] E. Kroman, *Det danske rige i den ældre vikingetid* (1976) [UL 597:2.c.95.6] (E.s.)

[D4] I. Skovgaard-Petersen, 'Oldtid og vikingetid', *Danmarks historie. 1: Tiden indtil 1340*, edd. A.E. Christensen et al. (1977), 15-209 [UL 597:1.c.95.39]

[D5] K. Randsborg, *The Viking age in Denmark: the formation of a state* (1980) [UL 597:2.b.95.8, 9592.c.67]

[D6] E. Roesdahl, *Viking age Denmark* (1982) [UL 597:2.c.95.11]

[D7] P.H. Sawyer, *Da Danmark blev Danmark: fra ca. år 700 til ca. 1050*, Gyldendal og Politikens Danmarkshistorie 3 (1988) [UL S592.c.98.30]

For settlement patterns in Denmark see (M25 ff.); a useful survey of some significant excavations is provided by:

[D10] U. Näsman, 'The Germanic Iron age and Viking age in Danish archaeology: a survey of the literature 1976-1986', *JDA* 8 (1989), 159-87

See also the following useful collections of essays:

[D11] N. Skyum-Nielsen and N. Lund, (edd.), *Danish medieval history: new currents. Danish medieval history and Saxo Grammaticus: a symposium held in celebration of the 500th anniversary of the University of Copenhagen*, I (1981) [UL 597:2.c.95.19]

[D12] P. Mortensen and B.M. Rasmussen, (edd.), *Fra stamme til stat i Danmark. 2: Høvdingesamfund og kongemagt*, *JASS* 22:2 (1991) [UL S460:01.b.23.27a] (all articles have E.s.)

### Social history

There are naturally huge problems involved with reconstructing social history from a period undocumented by indigenous sources, but for Denmark in particular the analogies from the Danelaw in England (I70 ff.) can be used as comparative material; for Scandinavia in general, see (C60 ff.).

[D15] C. and E. Harding Sørensen, *Danmark i vikingetiden: problemer vedrørende den sociale struktur* (1979) [UL 597:2.b.95.9]

[D16] N. Lund and K. Hørby, *Samfundet i vikingetid og middelalder 800-1500*, Dansk social historie 2 (1980) [UL 598:4.c.95.11]

[D17] N. Lund, 'Viking age society in Denmark: evidence and theories', (D11):22-35

[D18] E. Roesdahl, 'Denmark – a thousand years ago', [O83]: 351-66.

### Iron-age Denmark

Scattered comments on the tribal geography of early Denmark can be found in the works of authors such as Bede (B85) and Procopius (B32), but the focus of early Danish history is naturally on archaeological evidence.

[D19] U. Näsman, 'The Germanic Iron Age and Viking Age in Danish Archaeology since 1976', JDA (1989), 158-187

[D20] O. Klindt-Jensen, *Denmark before the Vikings*, Ancient peoples and places 4 (1957) [UL 598:3.d.95.1]

[D21] J. Jensen, *The prehistory of Denmark* (1982) [UL 598:3.c.95.6]

[D22] B. Jansen Sellevold et al., *Iron age man in Denmark: prehistoric man in Denmark III*, Nordiske fortidsminder B:8 (1984) [UL T592.a.2.8]

[D23] L. Hedeager, *Danernes land: fra ca. år 200 f.Kr.-ca. 700 e.Kr.*, Gyldendahl og Politikens Danmarkshistorie 2 (1988) [UL S592.c.98.29]

[D24] L. Hedeager, *Iron-age societies: from tribe to state in northern Europe, 500 BC to AD 700*, transl. J. Hines (1992) [UL 592:6.c.95.9]; cf. the Danish version *Danmarks jernalder: mellem stamme og stat* (1990) [UL 598:3.c.95.8] (E.s.)

[D25] L. Hedeager, 'Kingdoms, ethnicity and material culture: Denmark in a European perspective', (M355):279-300

[D26] E. Fønnesbech-Sandberg, 'Contacts between Denmark and the continent during the Migration period', (J14):37-48

[D27] M. Axboe, 'Danish kings and dendrochronology: archaeological insights into the early history of the Danish state', *After empire: towards an ethnology of Europe's barbarians*, Studies in historical archaeoethnology 1, ed. G. Ausenda (1995), 217-38, with further discussion 239-51 [UL 532:32.c.95.47]

[D28] T. Dickinson and D. Griffiths, (edd.), *The making of kingdoms*, Anglo-Saxon studies in archaeology and history 10 (1999) [Haddon]; a fair number of articles here deal with the early history of the Danes and Denmark, see particularly: U. Näsman, 'The ethnogenesis of the Danes and the making of a Danish kingdom', 1-10; J. Ringtved, 'The geography of power: south Scandinavia before the Danish kingdom', 49-63; M. Axboe, 'Towards the kingdom of Denmark', 109-18

Alongside archaeology, linguistic evidence has also been employed to examine the ethnic and cultural diversity within Denmark in the Roman and Germanic Iron ages; for guidance, see:

[D30] E. Marold and C. Zimmermann, (edd.), *Nordwestgermanisch*, Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde 13 (1995) [UL 461:01.c.15.13], in particular G. Fellows-Jensen, 'The light thrown by the early place-names of southern Scandinavia and England on population movement in the Migration period', 57-75; E. Hoffmann, 'Historische Zeugnisse zur Däneneinwanderung im 6. Jahrhundert', 77-94; and E. Seebold, 'Völker und Sprachen in Dänemark zur Zeit der germanischen Wanderungen', 155-86

### The early Viking age

Many of the items cited immediately above survey the beginnings of the Viking age from a Danish perspective, and are the best introduction to the period; from a more global perspective, cf. also (C35 ff.). One of the most striking aspects of eighth-century Denmark turns on the excavations of the flourishing

market-town of Ribe (N185 ff.) and the coins produced there (C257). The first recorded Christian missions to Scandinavia were planned for Denmark in the eighth century, see (B46, B95). For early central places and manors (C70 ff., N144), and for the legendary (?) royal seat at Lejre:

[D31] T. Christensen, 'Lejre beyond legend: the archaeological evidence', *JDA* 10 (1991), 163-85

[D32] S.W. Andersen, 'Lejre: skibsætninger, vikingegrave, Grydehøj', *ANOH* 1993, 7-142

### The Danevirke

The earliest phases of the 'Danevirke', the fortified rampart extending across the southern part of the Jutland peninsula, date from the early eighth century. For surveys in English, see (D7):141-46 and (D27), and for more detail:

[D35] V. La Cour, *Danevirkestudier: en arkæologisk-historisk undersøgelse* (1951)

[D36] H.H. Andersen et al., *Danevirke: tekst, plancher*, *JASS* 13 (1976) [UL S460:01.b.23.14-15]

### The ninth century

Denmark emerges into the light of recorded history in the ninth century due to the (usually uneasy) relations with the Frankish empire; the essential sources are the various sets of Frankish annals (B50 ff.), which reveal a bewildering multiplicity of 'kings' engaged in various activities.

[D40] O. Olsen, 'Royal power in Viking age Denmark', (O55):27-32

[D41] K.L. Maund, "'A turmoil of warring princes": political leadership in ninth-century Denmark', *Haskins Society Journal* 6 (1994), 29-47

[D42] S. Coupland, 'From poachers to gamekeepers: Scandinavian warlords and Carolingian kings', *EME* 7 (1998), 85-114

### Godfred

Of particular importance is the role of king Godfred in the first decade of the century, not least in his establishment of the town of Hedeby (N195 ff.). For retrospective assessments of Godfred see (D40, D70 ff.); for recent archaeological excavations:

[D44] M. Ravn, 'Nybro: en trævej fra Kong Godfreds tid', *Kuml* 1999, 227-57 (E.s.)

### Horik I

N. Lund, 'Horik den Førstes udenrigspolitik', *DHT* (2001), 1-22.

### Anskar and Christianity

The other major development in the early ninth century was the beginning of organised Christian missions sponsored by the Frankish emperor Louis the Pious, as recorded by Ermold (B47) and above all Rimbert (B72); see (L115 ff.). For the important correspondence relating to the establishment of Hamburg-Bremen as responsible for these missions, see (B741 ff.); pope Nicholas I's letter to king Horik of 864 can be found in (B736b):293-94. Scattered remarks on Franco-Danish relations can be found in the general textbooks cited in (A), see also the following collection of essays:

[D47] P. Godman and R. Collins, (edd.), *Charlemagne's heir: new perspectives on the reign of Louis the Pious (814-840)* (1990) [UL 560:46.c.95.30]

### The early tenth century

According to Adam of Bremen (B73) a 'Swedish' dynasty established itself around Hedeby at the beginning of the tenth century, but the interpretation of this material is highly debatable. The names of some of these rulers seem to be attested on runestones from the town, while chroniclers such as Widukind (B61) and Thietmar (B63) report the forced baptism of a king Chnuba (Gnúpa) in 934 by Henry I.

[D50] N. Lund, 'Svenskevældet i Hedeby', *ANOH* 1980 (1982), 114-25

[D51] E. Hoffmann, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Beziehungen zwischen dem deutschen und dem dänischen Reich für die Zeit von 934 bis 1035', *850 Jahre St.-Petri-Dom zu Schleswig, 1134-1984*, edd. C. Radtke and W. Körber (1984), 105-32

[D52] E. Moltke, 'Det svenske Hedebyrige og Danmarks samling', *ANOH* 1985 (1986), 16-28

### The Jelling dynasty

The creation of a kingdom of 'Denmark' is usually attributed to the Jelling dynasty begun by Gorm (died c. 958) and continued by Harald bluetooth (died c. 987). Again according to Adam (B73) Gorm came from *Nortmannia*, but it is uncertain what this means.

#### Jelling

The larger runestone at Jelling informs us that it was raised by king Harald in honour of his parents, 'that Harald who won for himself all of Denmark, and Norway, and made the Danes Christian'. The whole complex of the royal seat at Jelling is of prime importance, particularly for its expression of Harald's new conception of Christian government over a unified Denmark. For discussion of the actual inscription on the Jelling runestone, and its historical context, see also the items under (D70 ff.).

[D60] E. Dyggve, 'Gorm's temple and Harald's stave-church at Jelling', *AA* 25 (1954), 221-39

[D61] K.M. Nielsen et al., 'Jelling problems: a discussion', *MS* 7 (1974), 156-234 and A.E. Christensen, 'The Jelling monuments', *MS* 8 (1975), 7-20

[D62] K.J. Krogh, 'The royal Viking-age monuments at Jelling in the light of recent archaeological excavations: a preliminary report', *AA* 53 (1982), 183-216

[D63] E. Roesdahl, 'Prestige, display and monuments in Viking age Scandinavia', (O55):17-25

[D64] S. Hvass, 'Jelling from Iron Age to Viking Age', (O62):149-60

[D65] H. Andersen, 'The graves of the Jelling dynasty', *AA* 66 (1995), 281-300

#### Royal power and state-formation

There seems some broad agreement that the foundations for a Danish 'nation' were laid in the tenth century, and the reign of Harald bluetooth is particularly critical. For various reflections of this process, cf. also (C90 ff.), (C210 ff.), (M30 ff.), and general surveys, particularly (D6). Of great interest also is the report of Ohthere (B106) and its implications for Danish political geography at the beginning of the tenth century.

[D70] S. Bolin, 'Danmark och Tyskland under Harald Gormsson: grundlinjer i dansk historia under 900-talet', *Scandia* 4 (1931), 184-209

[D71] K. Randsborg, 'Burial, succession and early state formation in Denmark', *The archaeology of death*, edd. R. Chapman et al. (1981), 105-21 [UL 468:01.b.8.2] and K. Randsborg, 'The Viking age state formation in Denmark', *Offa* 38 (1981), 259-76

[D72] O. Olsen, 'Royal power in Viking age Denmark', (A60) vol. 7 (1989), 7-20 [UL L592.c.25.7]

[D73] P.H. Sawyer, 'Konger og kongemakt', (D12):277-88 (E.s.)

Much controversy has turned on the phrase *Danmarkar bót* in the older Jelling inscription and its implications for Danish state-formation, cf. above (D60 ff.) and:

[D75] B. Stand, 'Thyre Danebod in Gesta Danorum', (B659):152-63

[D76] N. Lund, "'Denemearc", "tanmarkar but" and "tanmaurk ala"', (O62):161-69

See also (C95):158-66 for an imaginative reconstruction

#### The archaeological record

[D80] Tenth-century Denmark is extraordinarily well provided with well-dated, interesting archaeological finds, which can help cast much light on the political and social changes of the time. Prominent among these are the new burial traditions which entered Denmark in this period (M310 ff.). The Danevirke (D35) was also extended around 968 to include Hedeby (N195 ff.) in its defensive structures. The most remarkable are however a series of public works which have been dated by dendrochronology to Harald bluetooth's reign

#### Harald's circular forts

These include the bridge at Raving Enge but also a series of circular forts scattered across Denmark that seem to have been built according to a single, and therefore presumably royal, design. The interpretation of these forts has changed greatly since their first discovery, and older articles are for antiquarian interest only, in showing the development of the conception of the forts.

[D81] R. Knudsen, 'Viking military organisation and the Danish Trølleborgs', (A40):239-54

- [D82] S.L. Cohen, *Viking fortresses of the Trelleborg type* (1965) [UL 598:3.c.95.1]
- [D83] E. Roesdahl, 'The end of Viking-age fortifications in Denmark, and what followed', *Chateau Gaillard* 12 (1984), 39-47
- [D84] E. Roesdahl, 'The Danish geometrical Viking fortresses and their context', *ANS* 9 (1986), 208-26  
On specific forts:
- [D86] **Trelleborg (Sjælland)**. P. Nørlund, *Trelleborg*, Nordiske fortidsminder 4.1 (1948) [UL T592.a.1.4] (E.s.); cf. also O. Olsen, 'Trelleborg-problemer: de danske vikingeborge og deres historiske baggrund', *Scandia* 28 (1962), 92-112 (E.s.); H. Schmidt, 'The Trelleborg house reconsidered', *Medieval archaeology* 17 (1973), 52-77. On the crucial dendrochronological dating to around 980: T.E. Christiansen, 'Trelleborgs alder: arkæologisk datering', *ANOH* 1982, 84-110 (E.s.) and N. Bonde and K. Christensen, 'Trelleborgs alder: dendro-kronologisk datering', *ANOH* 1982, 111-52 (E.s.)
- [D87] **Aggersborg**. E. Roesdahl, 'Aggersborg in the Viking age', (A47):107-22
- [D88] **Fyrkat**. O. Olsen and H. Schmidt, *Fyrkat: en jysk vikingeborg. I: Borgen og bebyggelsen*, Nordiske fortidsminder B:3 (1977) [UL T592.a.2.3] (E.s.), and E. Roesdahl, *Fyrkat: en jysk vikingeborg. II: Oldsagerne og gravpladsen*, Nordiske fortidsminder B:4 (1977) [UL T592.a.2.4] (E.s.)
- [D89] **Trelleborg (Skåne)**. The *Beretning fra fjortende tværfaglige vikingesymposium* (A60) [UL L592.c.25.14] was devoted to a discussion of a further fort, again named Trelleborg, in Skåne; see particularly B. Jacobsson, 'Utgrävningen av borgen i Trelleborg, Skåne', 12-22

### The late tenth century

Harald bluetooth was driven out by a rebellion around 986 and succeeded by his son Svein forkbeard; various causes have been mooted for this, including an economic crisis (N70 ff.), a reaction against Harald's overbearing demands, and the loss of face engineered by the German invasion and occupation of southern Jutland from 974 to 983. See:

- [D90] H. Andersen, 'Die Haltung Dänemarks im Jahre 983', *Zeitschrift für Archäologie* 18 (1984), 101-06

On Adam of Bremen's account of Harald's reign, see:

- [D91] N. Lund. 'Harald Bluetooth – a saint very nearly made by Adam of Bremen', (O86):303-315

### Svein forkbeard

- [D93] A.E. Christensen and E. Moltke, 'Hvilken (kong) Svend belejrede Hedeby?', *DHT* 12. række 5. bind (1971), 297-326 (E.s.)

- [D94] L. Demidoff, 'The death of Sven Forkbeard: in reality and later tradition', *MS* 11 (1978-79), 30-47

- [D95] P.H. Sawyer, 'Svein forkbeard and the historians', *Church and chronicle in the middle ages: essays presented to John Taylor*, edd. I. Wood and G.A. Loud (1991), 27-40 [UL 541:22.c.95.31]

- [D96] I. Howard, *Sweyn Forkbeard's invasion and the Danish conquest of England, 991-1017* (2003)

### The Anglo-Danish empire

After a series of 'softening-up' raids in the late tenth and early eleventh century, Svein forkbeard achieved a political conquest of England in 1013, only to die almost immediately. His success was promptly followed by up his son Knut, who then ruled over England and Denmark from 1016 to 1035. For a general survey of this period, see the references in (I90 ff.) and:

- [D100] N. Lund, 'The Danish empire and the end of the Viking age', (A22):156-81

### Knut

- [D101] L.M. Larson, *Canute the great 995 (circ)-1035 and the rise of Danish imperialism during the Viking age* (1912) [UL 500:01.d.1.48]

- [D102] G.N. Garmonsway, *Canute and his empire*, Dorothea Coke memorial lecture in Northern studies 1963 (1964) [UL Ub.7.670]

- [D103] A.R. Rumble, (ed.), *The reign of Cnut: King of England, Denmark and Norway* (1994) [UL 541:16.c.95.2]

### Canute as English king

A vital source containing many valuable insights into Scandinavian history are Knut's letters to the English of 1020 and 1027; see (B107a): I,273-77 for text, transl. in (B107b):140-53 and (B81):452-54, 476-78; see also (I105 ff.) for the English side.

[D105] M.W. Campbell, 'Queen Emma and Ælfgifu of Northampton: Canute the great's women', *MS* 4 (1971), 66-79

[D106] M.K. Lawson, *Cnut: the Danes in England in the early eleventh century* (1993) [UL 541:16.c.95.1]

### Knut as Danish king

Much of what we know about Knut as king of Denmark relates to his ecclesiastical policies and can be found in Adam (B73), cf. also his coins (C260 ff.).

[D110] N. Lund, 'Cnut's Danish kingdom', (D103):27-42

[D111] R. Frank, 'King Knut in the verse of his skalds', (D103):106-24

[D112] J. Jesch, 'Knútr in poetry and history', *International Scandinavian and medieval studies in memory of Gerd Wolfgang Weber*, edd. M. Dallapiazza et al. (2000), 243-56 [ASNC]

### Knútr as Scandinavian emperor

As well as being king over Denmark and England, Knut also had aspirations over Norway (which were eventually realised with Olaf Haraldsson's expulsion in 1028 (E70 ff.)) and also apparently Sweden.

[D115] P.H. Sawyer, 'Cnut's Scandinavian empire', with appendix B. Sawyer, 'The evidence of Scandinavian runic inscriptions', (D103):10-26

Particularly interesting, if inconclusive, is the battle at Holy River around 1026:

[D118] O. Moberg, 'Knut den stores motståndare i slaget vid Helgeå', *Scandia* 51 (1985), 7-17 (E.s. p. 275)

[D119] B. Gräslund, 'Knut den store och sveariket: slaget vid Helgeå i ny belysning', *Scandia* 52 (1986), 211-38 (E.s. p. 351)

[D120] O. Moberg, 'The battle of Helgeå', *SJH* 14 (1989), 1-19

### Early mediaeval Denmark

Knut was succeeded in Denmark (and later also England) by his son Harthaknut, whose death in 1042 sparked a contest between the Norwegian pretender Magnus the good and Knut's nephew Svein Estrithsen for the throne. The remainder of the eleventh century saw the steady consolidation of the Danish state.

[D125] A.E. Christensen, 'Denmark between the Viking age and the time of the Valdemars', *MS* 1 (1968), 28-50

[D126] E. Hoffmann, *Königserhebung und Thronfolgeordnung in Dänemark bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters*, Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 5 (1976) [UL 532:01.c.23.5]; includes discussion of Svein Estrithsen (23-36) and successors

[D127] A.E. Christensen, 'Tiden 1042-1241', *Danmarks historie 1. Tiden indtil 1340*, edd. A.E. Christensen et al. (1977), 211-399 [UL 597:1.c.95.39]

[D128] C. Breengaard, *Muren om Israels hus: regnum og sacerdotium i Danmark, 1050-1170* (1982) [UL 65:53.c.95.25] (E.s.)

### Svein Estrithsen

[D130] The reign and role of this most crucial of Danish kings has been sadly neglected in most English-language scholarship, where Svein tends to be characterised by three tangential points: that he was the son of the disgraced earl Ulf who was defeated (possibly) at Holy River (D118 ff.), leading to the adoption of his mother's name Estrith (ON Ástríðr); that he was a chief informant of Adam of Bremen (B73); and that he was a fairly ineffectual warleader (in comparison to his rival Magnus), who spent most of his time bleating to the English for martial aid, as recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon chronicle* (B86). However, once stabilised his reign saw the serious beginnings of ecclesiastical organisation in Denmark (L200 ff.). The major source is Adam along with later twelfth-century chroniclers, but for the interesting

papal correspondence of the period see the register in (B723-24). On the use of numismatic evidence for the political history of the time see (C260 ff.) and:

[D131] C.J. Becker, 'Danske mønter som historisk kildemateriale i 1000-tallet', (O50):123-36 (E.s.)

### Saint Knut

[D135] Of Svein's various sons it is saint Knut, who reigned from 1080 until 1086, who attracts the most attention. His life and cult are illuminated through various written sources composed soon after, such as the work of Aelnoth (B647), but he was also responsible for a set of donations to Lund cathedral in 1085 which gave rise to the oldest Scandinavian charter whose text is still preserved (B273-74). His death seems to have been prompted by a rebellion against his overbearing royal demands, which has interesting implications for royal privileges even at this late date, particularly in the form of the *leidang* (C220 ff.). For a range of studies see:

[D136] T. Nyberg et al., (edd.), *Knuds-bogen 1986: studier over Knud den hellige*, Fynske studier 15 (1986) [UL 597:01.b.2.15]

### The twelfth century

As ever, an awareness of Danish history in the twelfth century is instructive when considering the late Viking age; see (A35) and:

[D140] H. Koch, *Danmarks historie 3. Kongemagt og kirke 1060-1241* (1963) [UL 597:1.d.95.3]

[D141] O. Fenger, 'Kirker rejses alle vegne': 1050-1250, *Gyldendahl og Politikens Danmarkshistorie 4* (1989) [UL S592.c.98.31]

## E. NORWAY

The particularly distinctive terrain of Norway has traditionally been held to be a factor in the country's 'old-fashioned' social make-up right into the mediaeval period; cf. (E6). For the Viking age itself, however, it is kings' sagas (B290 ff.) and skaldic verse (B483 ff.) that constitute the bulk of the direct written evidence, and these sources can only be asked very different historical questions.

### General surveys

[E1] A.O. Johnsen, *Fra ættesamfunn til statssamfunn* (1948) [UL 593:2.d.90.2]

[E2] P. Sveaas Andersen, *Vikings of the west: the expansion of Norway in the early middle ages* (1971) [UL 593:2.d.95.9]

[E3] E. Gunnes, *Norges historie 2. Rikssamling og kristning 800-1177* (1976) [UL 593:1.d.95.10]

[E4] P. Sveaas Andersen, *Samlingen av Norge og kristningen av landet 800-1130*, *Handbok i Norges historie 2* (1977) [UL 593:01.c.1.2]

[E5] K. Helle, 'Tiden fram til 1536', *Grunntrekk i norsk historie fra vikingtid til våre dager* (1991), 13-106 [UL 593:1.c.95.35]

[E6] K. Helle, 'Norway, 800-1200', (O72):1-14

[E7] C. Krag, *Vikingtid og rikssamling 800-1130*, *Aschehougs Norgeshistorie 2* (1995)

[E8] J.V. Sigurðsson, *Norsk historie 800-1300. Frå hövdingmakt til konge- og kyrkjemakt* (1999).

### Iron-age and early Viking-age Norway

Norway seems to have been the least densely settled region of Scandinavia, at least by Germanic-speaking cultures, at the beginning of the Christian era. However, there is evidence for cultural links with western Europe, particularly the British isles, from before the eighth century (N15 ff.), and although there are few individual sites to compare with the splendid Iron-age trading centres of Denmark and Sweden (N144, N150 ff.), the onset of the Viking age certainly brought with it an influx of luxury goods (N30 ff.). For the history of settlement patterns and the move into inland regions, cf. (M40 ff.).

[E10] B. Magnus and B. Myhre, *Norges historie 1. Forhistorien: fra jægergrupper til høvdingsamfunn* (1976) [UL 593:1.d.95.9]

[E11] B. Myhre, 'Agrarian development, settlement history, and social organization in southwest Norway in the Iron age', *New directions in Scandinavian archaeology*, *Studies in Scandinavian*

prehistory and early history 1, edd. K. Kristiansen and C. Paludan-Müller (1978), 224-71 [UL 592:01.b.3.1]

[E12] A. Lillehammer, *Fra jeger til bonde— inntil 800 e.Kr.*, Aschehougs Norgeshistorie 1 (1994)

[E13] B. Myhre, 'The archaeology of the early Viking age in Norway', (O82):3-36

[E14] K. Helle, 'The history of the early Viking age in Norway', (O82):239-58

[E15] D. Skre, 'The Social Context of Settlement in Norway in the First Millennium AD', *NAR* (2001), 1-13.

### The early chieftainships

On the basis of place-names, excavated 'court-sites', and the distribution of luxury items, it is theorised that at the beginning of the Viking age Norway was divided into fairly numerous regions under the leadership of individual chieftains or dynasties; cf. (N233), and for the distribution of luxury goods the studies by Wamers (N35-37). For an extremely interesting personal account by one of these chieftains, see (B106, C16).

[E20] J. Sandnes, 'Trøndelags eldste politiske historie', *NHT* 46 (1967), 1-20 (E.s.)

[E21] O.S. Johansen and T. Søbstad, 'De nordnorske tunanleggene fra jern-alderen', *Viking* 41 (1977), 9-56

[E22] B. Myhre, 'Boathouses as indicators of political organization', *NAR* 18 (1985), 36-60

[E23] B. Myhre, 'Chieftains' graves and chieftain territories in south Norway in the Migration period', *Studien zur Sachsenforschung* 6 (1987), 169-87

[E24] G. Stamsø Munch et al., 'Borg in Lofoten: a chieftain's farm in arctic Norway', (A49):149-70

[E25] A. Herteig, 'The coastal courtyard-sites in Norway from the 1st millennium AD', (O55):9-15

[E26] B. Myhre, 'Boathouses and naval organization', (C65):169-83

### Harald fairhair and the Ynglings

Traditionally credited variously as a member of the Yngling dynasty from the region of Vestfold, the first king of all Norway, and the hirsute owner of a fine line in hairstyles, Harald fairhair's pre-eminent position in Norwegian history has more recently come under some threat, with the authenticity of the accounts of his origins, his achievements, and even his nickname coming under the harsh spotlight of scrutiny. For the retrospective employment of Harald as a founding figure see (E100 ff.) and below on the genealogical links (E40 ff.); for diplomatic relations with England in the early tenth century, (B111a) (also transl. in (B81):308); for the rich burials of Vestfold (M320 ff.).

[E30] J. de Vries, 'Harald Schönhaar in Sage und Geschichte', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 66 (1942), 55-117

[E31] H. Koht, *Kriseår i norsk historie: Harald hårfagre og rikssamlinga* (1955) [UL 593:2.d.95.2]

[E32] P.H. Sawyer, 'Harald fairhair and the British Isles', (O24):105-09

[E33] A.J. Berger, 'The sagas of Harald fairhair', *SI* 31 (1980), 14-29

[E34] M.S. Veia, (ed.), *Rikssamlingen og Harald hårfagre: historisk seminar på Karmøy 10. og 11. juni 1993* (1993); contains useful contribution on all aspects of Harald fairhair and the state-formation process in Scandinavia generally

[E35] G. Kreutzer, 'Das Bild Harald Schönhaars in der altisländischen Literatur', (O74):443-61

[E36] S. Jakobsson, 'Erindringen om en mægtig personlighed: De norsk-islandske historiske tradisjoner om Harald hårfagre i et kildekritiske perspektive', *NHT* (2002), 213-230.

### The Yngling dynasty

The link between the Norwegian royal house and the Swedish 'Ynglings' is founded on *Ynglinga tal* (B521a, see also discussions by Turville-Petre, Faulkes, Krag) and the accompanying prose (B322a); for some of the implications, see also (K75 ff.).

[E40] J. Jóhannesson, 'King Ólaf Goðröðarson', (A42):123-33

[E41] W. Baetke, *Yngvi und die Ynglingar*, Sitzungsberichte der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, phil.-hist. Klasse B:109,3 (1964) [UL P500.c.110.57]

[E42] J. Steffensen, 'A fragment of Viking history', *SBVS* 18 (1970-73), 59-78

### Where was Harald king?

A large debate has recently raged over whether Harald fairhair really was a king of Vestfold, as portrayed in the sagas, or instead had his base in the western fjords, as indicated by skaldic verse such as *Haraldskvæði* (B522).

[E45] A. Campbell, 'The opponents of Haraldr hárfagri at Hafrsfjörðr', *SBVS* 12 (1937-45), 232-37

[E46] Ó. Einarsdóttir, 'Harald Dovrefostre af Sogn', *NHT* 50 (1971), 131-66

[E47] P. Sveaas Andersen, 'Hvorfor kom Vestfold til å danne utgangspunktet for Norges samling?', *Nye middelalderstudier: kongedømme, kirke, stat*, ed. C. Krag, Norske historikere i utvalg 6 (1983), 55-62 [UL 593:1.c.95.27]

[E48] C. Krag, 'Vestfold som utgangspunkt for den norske rikssamlingen', *CM* 3 (1990-92), 179-95

### The tenth century

In broad (if possibly misleading) terms the tenth and early eleventh century in Norway can be characterised politically by a tension between Christian, progressive kings and the pagan, conservative earls of Lade (Hlaðir); both factions were at various times the leading players in the country, with the latter frequently allying themselves with the kings of Denmark. According to tradition Harald was succeeded first by his son Erik bloodaxe, who was then ousted by another son Hakon.

### Hakon the good

[E50] Hakon was fostered at the court of king Æthelstan of England and is said to have attempted, somewhat unsuccessfully, to introduce Christianity into Norway, see (L40 ff.); his saga, although naturally dubious on points of detail, at least provides an idea of the sort of values that might be expected to yield his positive nickname, even though his elegy *Hákonarmál* presents him as a decidedly pagan leader (B530a). It is however striking when saga material about Hakon (B320 ff.) presents him as a great reformer in terms of both legislation and defence (in terms of the *leidang* (C220 ff.)), and the former at least seems to be confirmed in the poem *Bersöglisvísur* (B546g) from the early eleventh century. It is important to remember that Hakon is effectively the first known Christian king in Scandinavia, and that his upbringing in England may well have prompted him to undertake, or at least encourage, the development of mechanisms of royal government in Norway (however successfully)

[E51] P.M. Sørensen, 'Håkon den gode og guderne: nogle bemærkninger om religion og centralmagt i det tiende århundrede, og om religionshistorie og kildekritik', (D12):235-44 (E.s.)

[E52] J. Hnefill Aðalsteinsson, 'A piece of horse-liver and the ratification of law', (B261):81-98

[E53] G. Williams, 'Hákon Aðalsteins fóstri: aspects of Anglo-Saxon kingship in tenth-century Norway', *The North sea world in the middle ages. Studies in the cultural history of north-western Europe*, edd. T.M. Lszka and L.E.M. Walker (2001), 108-126 [ASNC]

### Earl Hakon of Lade

Hakon's successors, the sons of Erik bloodaxe, are also claimed to have been Christian, although their reign is portrayed quite negatively. The impact of the new religion in Norway seems to be confirmed by burial evidence (L150 ff.), and in any case seems to be a necessary prerequisite for the extraordinary outpouring of pagan ideological verse from the court of earl Hakon in the late tenth century (B526 ff.).

[E55] T.M. Andersson, 'Ari's konunga ævi and the earliest accounts of Hákon Jarl's death', *Bibliotheca Arnamagnæana* 33 (1979), 1-17

### The two Olafs

A vast amount of literary material is preserved about Olaf Tryggvason (ruled 995-999/1000) and Olaf Haraldsson (ruled 1014-28/30), both in the various versions of their sagas (B310-15) and also in skaldic verse (B540 ff.). Although much of this material is suspect, their roles in the conversion and the formation of the idea of 'Norway' as a kingdom should nevertheless not be underestimated.

### Olaf Tryggvason

Olaf Tryggvason seems to have been a Viking warleader who was baptised in England (probably) in 994 under the sponsorship of Ethelred the Unready before returning to stake his claim in Norway. A great deal

is reported in the kings' sagas about his five-year reign, but aside from his role in the conversion the greatest controversy has probably turned on the manner and location of his death at the battle of Svold.

[E60] G. Jones, *The legendary history of Olaf Tryggvason*, The twenty-second W.P. Ker Memorial Lecture delivered in the University of Glasgow 6th March, 1968 (1968) [UL Uc.8.1408]

[E61] S. Ellehøj, 'The location of the fall of Olaf Tryggvason', (A42):63-73

[E62] T.M. Andersson, 'The Viking policy of Ethelred the unready', *SS* 59 (1987), 284-95

[E63] N. Hallan, 'Tradisjonen om Svolder', (O48):66-72

[E64] B. Fidjestøl, 'Ólafr Tryggvason the missionary: a literary portrait from the middle ages', (O10):201-27

[E65] C. Krag, 'Norway at the threshold of Western Europe', [O83]:343-50

### Saint Olaf Haraldsson

After Olaf Tryggvason's death at the battle of Svold, the earls of Lade are again said to have governed Norway under Danish overlordship, and the strength of these ties can be illuminated by the presence of earl Erik in the armies of Svein and Knut that invaded England in the 1010s (D100 ff.). This allowed for the return of Olaf Haraldsson, among whose many contributions to Norwegian history stands out his codification of Christian laws; see (L172). His martyrdom at Stiklastaðir in 1030 was however an even more telling point; for the sagas see (B312-15), for verse celebrating his cult (B546f, 550a), and for his supposed baptism in Rouen (B110).

[E70] J. Bruce, (ed.), *Olav: konge og helgen, myte og symbol* (1981) [UL 593:2.c.95.10]; a series of articles devoted to various aspects of Olaf's life and reputation, although solely in Norwegian

[E71] G. Svahnström, (ed.), *St. Olav, seine Zeit und sein Kult*, Visbysymposiet för historiska vetenskaper 1979, Acta Visbyensia 6 (1981) [UL 531:01.c.28.6]; lots of useful articles

[E72] V. Henriksen, *Hellig Olav* (1986) [UL 593:2.b.95.1]

[E73] D. Whaley, 'The miracles of S. Olaf in Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla*', (A49):325-42

[E74] S. Bagge, 'Mellom kildekritikk og historisk antropologi. Olav den hellige, aristokratiet og rikssamlingen', *NHT* (2002), 173-212.

### The eleventh century

[E75] S. Bagge, 'Eleventh-century Norway: the formation of a kingdom', *The Neighbours of Poland in the eleventh century*, ed. P. Urbanczyk (2002), 29-47 [UL 532:3.c.200.2]

### The Danish interregnum

From around 1028 until his death in 1035 Knut of Denmark was overlord of Norway, expressing this rule through a series of overlordships. For a survey of his first choice, unfortunately drowned in 1030, see:

[E80] A.O. Johnsen, *Håkon jarl Eiriksson (998-1030): nytt kildemateriale og nye synspunkter*, ADNVAO n.s. 17 (1981) [UL 500:01.c.13.19]

For further references, see (D100 ff.).

### Magnus the good

[E82] The brief reign of Magnus the good, son of saint Olaf, is characterised by a futile war against Svein Estrithsen of Denmark (D130), but did also see the composition of some interesting verse, particularly the *Bersøglisvísur* of Sigvat Þórðarson (B546g), which purports to establish a model of 'good kingship' for Magnus to follow.

### Harald hardrada

A vast number of traditions pertain to Harald hardrada, largely to do with his semi-legendary career in the Varangian guard in Byzantium (J52). His policies of cultivating the cult of saint Olaf at Trondheim and hiring English or French bishops rather than submit to the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen led to some juicy comments passed by Adam of Bremen (B73).

[E85] E.O.G. Turville-Petre, *Harald the Hard-Ruler and his poets*, Dorothea Coke memorial lecture in northern studies 1966 (1968) [UL Ub.8.268]

[E86] C. Krag, 'Harald hardrådes ungdomsår og kongesagaene: forholdet mellom sagaprosa, skaldekvad og muntlig tradisjon', *CM* 11 (1998), 9-31 (E.s.)

On Norse traditions in the Irish sea area in the late eleventh century, and some interesting discussion of royal genealogies, see:

[E88] J. Jesch, 'Norse historical traditions and the *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan*: Magnús berfœttr and Haraldr hárfagri', *Gruffudd ap Cynan: a collaborative bibliography*, Studies in Celtic history 16, ed. K.L. Maund (1996), 117-47 [UL 485:2.c.95.97]

#### **The late eleventh century**

The late eleventh century seems to have been a period of fairly rapid development in Norway, with urbanisation and the Church beginning seriously to flourish (L200 ff., N230 ff.). For the continuing 'Viking' activity in the west, see:

[E90] R. Power, 'Magnus barelegs' expeditions to the west', *Scottish historical review* 65 (1986), 107-32

#### **The twelfth century**

For the twelfth century and the onset of the civil wars so deplored by some mediaeval authors, the general guides above (A35, E1 ff.) are the best starting point. For a review of the possible causes that led to the civil war, see:

[E91] B. Sawyer, 'The 'civil wars' revisited' *NHT* 82 (2003), 43-73

the standard textbook on early mediaeval Norway remains:

[E95] K. Helle, *Norge blir en staat 1130-1319*, 2nd edn, *Handbok i Norges historie* 3 (1974) [UL 593:01.c.1.103]

#### **Kingship and succession**

The prevalence of joint kingship in eleventh- and twelfth-century Norway is striking, as also are the attempts to historically 'legitimise' the Norwegian royal house back before saint Olaf Haraldsson with reference to Harald fairhair (E30 ff.). It has been argued that the role of Harald is so heavily emphasised in kings' sagas to provide a justification for royal landholding in the mediaeval era.

[E100] N. Bjørgo, 'Samkongedøme kontra einkongedøme', *NHT* 49 (1970), 1-33 (E.s.) and S. Bagge, 'Samkongedømme og enekongedømme', *NHT* 54 (1975), 239-74 (E.s.)

[E101] J. Jochens, 'The politics of reproduction: medieval Norwegian kingship', *American historical review* 92 (1987), 327-49

[E102] C. Krag, 'Norge som odel i Harald hárfagres ætt: et møte med en gjenganger', *NHT* 68 (1989), 288-302 (E.s.)

[E103] H. Bjørkvik, 'The Norwegian royal lands in the middle ages', *CM* 5 (1992), 7-26

### **F. SWEDEN**

The history of Sweden in the Viking age stands alone due to the almost complete absence of written sources. This combined with the unevenness of archaeological research into the various regions means that a general overview of Swedish history is as yet unwritten, and this is reflected in the items cited here; for a fairly complicated attempt, (F8).

#### **General surveys**

[F1] H. Hildebrand, *Sveriges medeltid: kulturhistorisk skildring*, 3 vols plus *Register*, ed. S. Tunberg (1884-1903, 1953) [UL 596:4.b.85.1-4]; still a full and classic study

[F2] B. Nerman, 'The foundation of the Swedish kingdom', *SBVS* 10 (1919-27), 113-31 and B. Nerman, *Sveriges rikets uppkomst* (1941) [UL 595:2.c.90.6]; Nerman's work is now heavily dated

[F3] T. Lindkvist, 'Swedish medieval society: previous research and recent developments', *SJH* 4 (1979), 253-68

[F4] E. and H. Patzelt, *Schiffe machen Geschichte: Beiträge zur Kulturentwicklung im vorchristlichen Schweden* (1981) [UL 596:3.c.95.6]

[F5] W. Holmqvist and E. Nylén, 'Schweden und die schwedischen Stämme', (J3):173-212

[F6] T. Andersson et al., *Svensk medeltidsforskning idag: en forskningsöversikt*, 2nd edn (1988) [UL 9006.c.3623]; a useful bibliographical guide to the development of research

[F7] L. Gahrn, *Sveariket i källor och historieskrivning*, Meddelanden från Historiska Institutionen vid Göteborgs Universitet 36 (1988) [UL P595.c.23.31] (E.s.)

[F8] P.H. Sawyer, *The making of Sweden*, Occasional papers on medieval topics 3 (1988) [UL 1992.8.5620]; see also the more recent Swedish version, *När Sverige blev Sverige*, transl. and revised by B. Sawyer, Occasional papers on medieval topics 5 (1991)

### Sources on Sweden

Written material on Sweden is for some reason extremely scarce, even within the rest of Scandinavia; (F7) is a useful introduction to the mediaeval sources that touch on Swedish history, and for annalistic material, see:

[F10] S. Axelson, *Sverige i utländsk annalistik 900-1400 med särskild hänsyn till de isländska annalerna* (1955) [UL 595:2.c.95.10]

[F11] S. Axelson, *Sverige i dansk annalistik 900-1400*, KVHAA handlingar, hist. serien 3 (1956) [UL 595:2.c.95.5]

For Icelandic material on Swedish history:

[F12] G. Dahlbäck, (ed.), *Snorre Sturlason och de isländska källorna till Sveriges historia: fyra föreläsningar från ett symposium i Stockholm hösten 1988*, Runica et Mediævalia, Opuscula 1 (1993) [UL 9001.d.8259]

For eleventh-century correspondence:

[F13] L. Gahrn, 'Sveariket och påvebrevene om ärkestiftet Hamburg-Bremen', *SHT* 114 (1994), 189-202 (E.s.)

### Iron-age and early Viking-age Sweden

The pre-Viking period in Sweden is generally thought of in terms of some spectacular archaeological finds that capture the imagination, such as the cemeteries at Vendel (M335 ff.) that gave their name to the period spanning roughly the seventh and eighth centuries. Extensive foreign contacts during this period are already attested through the links evident at trading centres such as Helgö (N150 ff.), and settlement patterns (M55 ff.) also seem to reveal a fairly stable and prosperous domestic economy.

[F15] M. Stenberger, *Sweden*, Ancient peoples and places 30, transl. A. Binns (1962) [UL 596:3.d.95.2]

[F16] M. Stenberger, *Vorgeschichte Schwedens*, Nordische Vorzeit 4 (1977) [UL 596:3.b.95.4]

[F17] H. Clarke, (ed.), *Iron and man in prehistoric Sweden* (1979) [UL 596:3.c.95.5]

[F18] A. Sandwall, (ed.), *Vendeltid*, Historia i fickformat (1980) [UL 596:3.d.95.3]

[F19] A. Lundström, 'Vendel and the Vendel period', (M338):105-08

[F20] E. Bergström, 'Early Iron Age', *CSA* 3 (1995), 55-66

### Legendary early history

Poetic sources such as *Ynglinga tal* (B521a) and the Old English *Beowulf* (B101), as well as later prose texts such as the works by Saxo (B657), purport to tell of the history of the early Swedish kings of Uppsala (K115 ff.) (and elsewhere), but these are largely legendary in content; on *Ynglinga tal*, see also (C192):55-110.

[F25] R.T. Farrell, 'Beowulf, Swedes and Geats', *SBVS* 18 (1970-73), 220-96

[F26] G. Rausing, 'Beowulf, Ynglingatal and the Ynglinga saga: fiction or history?', *FV* 80 (1985), 163-78

[F27] L. Gahrn, 'The Geatas of Beowulf: who were the Geatas? If the Geatas were Gautar', *SJH* 11 (1986), 95-113

[F28] R. North, 'Saxo and the Swedish wars in *Beowulf*', (B660):175-88

[F29] S. Norr, 'Ingjald *illráði*: nice chap or false, murderous Swede?', *Tor* 27 (1995), 487-505

### The central Viking age

The tale of Viking-age Sweden in the ninth and tenth centuries is largely one of archaeological and place-name research. In central Sweden among the Svear, the roles of the royal manors (F55 ff.) and the town of Birka (N280 ff.) are of chief importance; further south among the Götar and elsewhere, excavations have been less extensive or concentrated, cf. (F60 ff.). For the model of the 'central place' currently being used to illuminate Swedish social organisation, see (C70 ff.).

#### The ninth century

The most significant written source is Rimbert's life of Anskar (B72) prompted by the earliest missions to Birka in central Sweden around 830 (L115 ff.). The picture presented is of royal government very much by consensus, but the life does not go much beyond the urban environment.

[F35] J. Jóhannesson, 'Björn at Haugi', *Afmælisrit helgað Einari Arnórssyni sextugum 24. febrúar 1940* (1940), 135-40 [UL 599:1.b.90.15]

#### The tenth century

Sweden does not emerge into the light of any kind of written sources until the end of the tenth century. The reign of Erik the victorious is mentioned by Adam (B73); for another angle see the excavations of Sigtuna (N290 ff.). For the period around 1000 the most illumination is shed by the interaction of Swedish kings with those abroad, particularly the Danes; cf. (F91 ff.). For these kings and a range of other studies see:

[F40] L. Weibull, *Kritiska undersökningar i Nordens historia omkring år 1000* (1911) [UL 592:12.c.90.1], repr. in (O2):245-360

[F41] W. Duczko, 'A.D. 1000 – the point of no return for the kingdom of Sweden', (O83):367-78

On the renowned, if somewhat obscure, battle of Fyris, see:

[F42] O. Moberg, 'Slaget på Fyrisvallarna och de norsk-isländska skaldedikternas användning som historiska källor', *SHT* 83 (1963), 385-90 (E.s.)

[F43] J.P. Strid, 'Kring Fyrisvallarna', (F12):64-84

### Regional studies

[F44] In the absence of any chronological foundation from written sources, historical research in Sweden has been heavily orientated towards regional studies of material evidence; this is reflected particularly in landscape studies (C60 ff.), but much useful material can also be found in studies of settlement patterns (M55 ff.)

#### Central Sweden and the Svear

The region of 'Svealand' in central Sweden has always attracted the most significant attention, largely due to its visible concentration of prestigious sites including royal manors such as Uppsala (K115 ff.), reports in written sources such as Rimbert (B72), easy trade routes and major trading centres such as Birka (N280 ff.), and rich burials such as the cemeteries at Vendel and Valsgärde (M335 ff.).

[F45] B. Nerman, *Gamla Uppsala: svearikets hjärtpunkt* (1943) [UL 596:3.c.90.11]

[F46] B. Ambrosiani, *Fornlämningar och bebyggelse: studier i Attundalands och Södertörns förhistoria* (1964) [UL 596:3.b.95.1]

[F47] I. Serning, 'The Viking age in Dalarna', (A45):79-86

[F48] G. Arwidsson, 'Viking society in central Sweden: traditions, organization and economy', (O30):154-60

[F49] P.H. Sawyer, 'Settlement and power among the Svear in the Vendel period', (M338):117-22

[F50] K. Wijkander, *Kungshögar och sockenbildning: studier i Södermanlands administrativa indelning under vikingatid och tidig medeltid*, *Sörmländska handlingar* 39 (1983) [UL 9592.b.25]

[F51] B. Ambrosiani, 'Aristocratic graves and manors in early medieval Sweden', *In honorem Evert Baudou*, *Archaeology and environment* 4, edd. M. Backe et al. (1985), 109-18 [UL 592:6.b.95.8]

[F52] B. Arrhenius, 'Kinship and social relations in the early medieval period in Svealand elucidated by DNA', (079):45-49

### Royal manors

Much attention has been focussed on so-called 'royal manors', sites exhibiting characteristics of the 'central place' (C70 ff.) and certain distinctive place-names (C230 ff.); cf. also (M55 ff.).

[F55] B. Ambrosiani, 'Royal manors and towns in central Sweden', (A49):247-53

[F56] B. Ambrosiani, 'Helgö or Bona on Helgö', (N153):14-19

[F57] D. Damell, 'About royal manors from the late Iron age in middle Sweden', *CSA* 1 (1993), 39-47

### Southern Sweden and the Götar

The southern provinces including Väster- and Östergötland have been relatively less extensively studied, although many recent surveys (eg. (F8)) have argued for a more advanced development of royal authority in these regions than in the more obviously prestigious sites of central Sweden.

[F60] H. Wideen, *Västsvenska vikingatidsstudier: arkeologiske källor till Vänerområdets kulturhistoria under yngre järnålder och äldsta medeltid*, Skrifter utgivna av Göteborgs arkeologiska museum 2 (1955) [UL S592:01.b.8.2] (E.s.)

[F61] A. Kaliff, *Arkeologi i Östergötland: scener ur ett landskaps förhistoria*, OPIA 20 (1999) [ASNC]

Extensive Danish influence has often been posited for Västergötland in particular, based on the evidence of runic inscriptions and place-names. See (C210 ff.) and:

[F62] C. Löfving, 'Who ruled the region east of the Skagerrak in the eleventh century?', (O64):147-56

[F63] W. Duczko, 'Kungar, thegnar, Tegnebyar, juveler och silverskatter: om danskt inflytande i Sverige under senvikingatid', *Tor* 27 (1995), 625-62 (E.s.)

### Skåne

[F64] B. Helgesson, *Järnåldernes Skåne. Samhälle, centra och regioner*. Uppåkrastudier 5; Acta Archaeologica Lundensia (2002)

### The Baltic islands

For more general surveys of the Viking links across, and expansion into, the Baltic see (J10 ff.). This section deals only with islands where the culture of a Norse-speaking population can be identified back into the distant past.

### Gotland

The position of Gotland has long been recognised as anomalous, characterised by its highly distinctive material culture such as the picture stones (M180 ff.), Gothic-looking dialect, and the vast number of coin hoards discovered there (N60 ff., N110 ff.). It also has its own written history (B678), however dubious its reliability may be on many points. For bibliographical guidance, see:

[F70] L. Thunmark-Nylén, *Bibliography for the Viking age of Gotland*, RAGU arkeologiska skrifter 1983:1 (1983) [UL Ub.7.2952]

Further reading is difficult to come by in English beyond the numismatic material:

[F72] I. Jansson et al., *Gotar och vikingar*, Historia i fickformat (1983) [UL 596:6.d.95.26]; full of useful contributions on various aspects of Gotlandic history, including a survey of the written sources: 'Källskrifterna om Gotland under vikingatid och äldsta medeltid', 415-80

[F73] L. Thunmark-Nylén, 'Gotlandsparadoxen', *Tor* 20 (1983-85), 279-90 (E.s.)

[F74] D. Carlsson, 'Harbours and trading places on Gotland AD 600-1000', (M103):145-58

[F75] O. Kyhlberg, *Gotland mellan arkeologi och historia: om det tidiga Gotland*, Theses and papers in archaeology 4 (1991) [UL 596:6.b.95.29]

### Öland

The island of Öland similarly participated in the Baltic trade routes on which the Gotlanders grew so fat.

[F77] K. Borg et al., (edd.), *Eketorp: fortification and settlement on Öland/Sweden; the monument* (1976) and U. Näsman and E. Wegraeus, (edd.), *Eketorp: the setting* (1978) [UL 596:3.b.95.6-7]; see in

particular U.E. Hagberg, 'Öland during the Iron age and early middle ages: an archaeological survey' in the latter volume, 12-34

### **Bornholm**

The island of Bornholm can clearly not really be considered 'Swedish', but is at least in the Baltic and surrounded by water; the ninth-century merchant Wulfstan (B106) recorded that it then had its own king. The material culture is again rich, particularly from the early Viking age and before.

[F80] J.A. Jørgensen, *Bornholms historie*, I (repr. 1980) [UL 598:6.d.95.7]

[F81] M. Watt, 'A Viking age settlement at Runegård (Grødby), Bornholm', *JDA* 2 (1983), 137-48

[F82] M. Watt, 'Bornholm mellem vikingetid og middelalder', (O50):105-22 (E.s.)

### **The formation of Sweden**

[F90] A vast debate has raged over the course of the century as to when 'Sweden' can be held to have come into existence in any meaningful way. Among the various points of contention can be included the growing scepticism with which the various literary sources are interpreted (B341, B101, B679), the sheer diversity of the political geography of Sweden (F44 ff.), and the lack of any institutional definition of Sweden until the establishment of the Church. A major body of source material comes from runic inscriptions (B800 ff., C90 ff.). For surveys of the question see (F1 ff., particularly F7-F8). Earlier scholarship followed mediaeval historians in identifying the heartland of Sweden among the Svear and in dating the formation of a united Sweden to the very beginning of the Viking age, if not before. This view has more recently been replaced by the idea that Sweden cannot be considered any kind of single state until the late twelfth century at the earliest, and that the first moves in this process are to be located instead among the Götär. A compromise view might employ the following arguments. Although mediaeval authors mention the Svear and Götär as separate peoples, they are not recognised as having separate kings; the references to kings specifically of the Götär in papal correspondence imply nothing more than that the term *Gothi* was most familiar to European authors, whose interest was also largely ecclesiastical and confined to the bishopric of Skara in Västergötland; and that when Magnus Nielsen was elected king of the west Götär in the early twelfth century, this did not reflect traditional political divisions, rather the ensuing uproar suggests that it was relatively unprecedented. The question remains fairly intractable, but while there can certainly be no talk of an organised Swedish 'state' in the eleventh century, the activities of various kings seem to suggest that there was broad recognition of a single figurehead

### **Olaf skötkonung**

[F91] This is suggested by our reports of king Olaf skötkonung, who reigned (roughly) from 995 to 1022 and who is widely (although not necessarily correctly) credited with being the first Christian king of Sweden; this latter point can to some extent be borne out by his royal Christian town at Siguna (N290 ff.) and his Christian coins (C275 ff.). Olaf was clearly a king of, or at least among, the Svear, but also established some form of missionary bishopric at Skara in Västergötland. For his foreign connections, and the possible implications of his nickname as a king tributary to Danish overlordship, see (D100 ff.)

[F92] E. Gamby, 'Olof skötkonung, Sven tveskägg och Ethelred den rådville', *Scandia* 56 (1990), 19-29 (E.s. p. 113)

[F93] B. Malmer, 'Numismatiken, Olof skötkonung och slaget vid Svolder', *Scandia* 59 (1993), 5-14 (E.s. p. 137)

### **The eleventh-century kings**

[F95] Our basic narrative source for the eleventh century is Adam (B73), whose accounts can be supplemented by various regnal lists (B341, B679), but the information contained in these sources often seems ill-informed and confused. The picture presented is one of dynastic shifts and stubborn resistance to royal authority, manifested particularly through the pagan uprising at Uppsala (K115 ff.), but runestones and burials give the impression of a more Christian society than might otherwise be expected (L165 ff., M170 ff.); the runic material is particularly important for understanding Swedish society at this point. On numismatic evidence from Siguna beyond Olaf skötkonung under his successor Anund Jakob,

see (C276); for missionary activity from various directions (L130 ff.); for episcopal organisation (or the lack of it) (L210 ff.)

For studies on Emund, who reigned around the 1050s, in particular:

[F96] S. Lindqvist, 'Emund slema och Ingvar vittfaren', *SOS* 1968, 74-98

[F97] B. Olrik Frederiksen, 'Emund slemas navn og rygte', *SAS* 10 (1992), 5-24

### Early mediaeval Sweden

The development of Sweden in the early mediaeval period is of crucial significance, since many older trends can only then be identified; for surveys, see the textbooks in (A), particularly (A35), and (F1, F8).

[F100] J. Rosén, *Svensk historia 1. Tiden före 1718*, 2nd edn (1964) [UL 595:1.c.95.8]

On the incipient feudal tendencies and the development of a Swedish 'state', cf. (C247) and:

[F101] T. Lindkvist, *Plundring, skatter och den feodala statens framväxt: organisatoriska tendenser i Sverige under övergången från vikingatid till tidig medeltid*, 2nd edn (1990) [UL 9002.d.7944] (E.s.)

## THE VIKING EXPANSION

### G. ICELAND

The settlement of Iceland in the late ninth and tenth centuries has proved a treasure-trove for scholars attempting to chart the development of what may be called the first new recorded society in history. The island has further significance as the repository of the collective Scandinavian historical consciousness, leading to the composition of the much-famed sagas (B290 ff., B350 ff.) and the preservation of Viking-age poetry (B480 ff.). For more general surveys of the whole North Atlantic, see section (H); (H5) is a particularly useful introduction containing translations of many excerpts of source material.

#### General

[G1] J. Jóhannesson, *A history of the old Icelandic commonwealth: Íslendinga saga*, University of Manitoba Icelandic studies 2 (1974) [UL 599:01.c.5.2]

[G2] N.P. Njarðvík, *Birth of a nation: the story of the Icelandic commonwealth* (1978) [UL 599:2.c.95.21]

[G3] B.E. Gelsinger, *Icelandic enterprise: commerce and economy in the middle ages* (1981) [UL 599:2.c.95.22]

[G4] K. Hastrup, *Culture and history in medieval Iceland: an anthropological analysis of structure and change* (1985) [UL 599:2.c.95.26]

[G5] J.L. Byock, *Medieval Iceland: society, sagas and power* (1988; repr. 1993) [UL 599:2.c.95.28, repr. 599:2.c.95.35]

[G6] S. Nordal, *Icelandic culture*, transl. and rev. V.T. Bjarnar (1990) [UL 599:2.c.95.34]

[G7] G. Pálsson, (ed.), *From sagas to society: comparative approaches to early Iceland* (1992) [UL 752:37.c.95.40]

[G8] G. Karlsson, 'A century of research on early Icelandic society', (O72):15-25

[G9] H. Guðmundsson, *Um haf innan: vestrænir menn og íslensk menning á miðöldum* (1997) [UL 592:12.c.95.57]

[G10] O. Vésteinsson, *The Christianization of Iceland: priests, power, and social change, 1000-1300* (2000) [UL 62:56.c.200.1]

[G11] J. L. Byock, *Viking age Iceland* (2001) [ASNC]

[G12] P. Meulengracht Sørensen, 'Social institutions and belief systems of medieval Iceland (c. 870-1400) and their relations to literary production', (B235):8-29

[G13] J. Quinn, 'From orality to literacy in medieval Iceland', (B235):30-60

#### The archaeological record

The material culture of Iceland is heavily based on Scandinavian, particularly Norwegian, models.

- [G15] M. Stenberger, (ed.), *Forntida gårdar i Island: meddelanden från den nordiska arkeologiska undersökningen i Island sommaren 1939* (1943) [UL 599:7.b.90.2]; excavations of various farm-sites, including Skallakot, Stöng, and Ísleifsstaðir
- [G16] K. Eldjárn, *Kuml og haugfé: úr heiðnum sið á Íslandi*. 2nd edition, revised and edited by Adolf Friðriksson (2000), the standard reference work on burials in particular
- [G17] K. Eldjárn, 'Viking archaeology in Iceland', (A42):25-38 and 'Kuml úr heiðnum sið, fundin á síðustu árum', *ÁÍF* 1965, 5-68 (E.s.)
- [G18] Þ. Magnússon, 'Bátkumlið í Vatnsdal í Patreksfirði', *ÁÍF* 1966, 5-32 (E.s.)
- [G19] Þ. Magnússon, 'Sögualdarbyggð í Hvítárholti', *ÁÍF* 1972, 5-80 (E.s.)
- [G20] G. Sveinbjarnardóttir, 'Byggðaleifar á Þórsmörk', *ÁÍF* 1982, 20-61
- [G21] E. Nordahl, *Reykjavík from the archaeological point of view*, *Aun* 12 (1988) [UL 466:01.b.4.12]
- [G22] A. Friðriksson, *Sagas and popular antiquarianism in Icelandic archaeology*, *Worldwide archaeology series* 10 (1994) [UL 599:2.c.95.37]; debunks a lot of myths

### Dating and tephrochronology

Iceland has enjoyed (?) a series of volcanic eruptions in recorded history which provide useful dating criteria in the form of the layers of volcanic debris or 'tephras' produced. For further references, see (G35 ff.).

- [G25] K. Eldjárn, 'Two medieval farm sites in Iceland and some remarks on tephrochronology', (A43):10-19
- [G26] S. Þórarinnsson, 'Tephrochronology and medieval Iceland', *Scientific methods in medieval archaeology*, ed. R. Berger, *Contributions of the UCLA Center for mediaeval and Renaissance studies* 4 (1970), 295-328 [UL 466:2.b.95.15]
- [G27] V.Ö. Vilhjálmsson, 'Dating problems in Icelandic tephrochronology', *NAR* 23 (1990), 43-53, and 'The application of dating methods in Icelandic archaeology', (H7):97-107

### The climate

Studies of climactic changes are of great interest, not least in charting the settlement of Iceland; many early farms seem to have been sited in places which were simply not sustainable, due both to the gradual drop in temperature in the early part of the second millennium AD and to the soil erosion caused by intensive grazing of sheep.

- [G30] S. Þórarinnsson, 'Iceland in the saga period', (A42):13-24
- [G31] A.E.J. Ogilvie, 'Climatic changes in Iceland A.D. c. 865 to 1598', (H7):233-51

### The settlement

'Iceland was first settled from Norway in the days of Harald fairhair, son of Halfdan the black, at the time [...] when Ivar, son of Ragnar lodbrok, had saint Edmund, king of the English, slain; and that was 870 years after the birth of Christ'. Ari's dating of the settlement in *Íslendingabók* (B255) has been shown by recent research based on the traces of the 'settlement-tephra' in Greenlandic ice-caps to be extremely accurate. Much controversy has turned recently on the supposed dating of an early farm-site toe far earlier than this date; cf. above (G25) and:

- [G35] M. Hermanns-Auðardóttir, *Íslands tidiga bosättning: studier med utgångspunkt i merovingertida-vikingatida gårdslämningar i Herjólfsdalur, Vestmannaeyjar, Island*, *Studia Archaeologica Universitatis Umensis* 1 (1989) [UL 468:01.b.12.1], or in English summary M. Hermanns-Auðardóttir, 'The early settlement of Iceland: results based on excavations of a Merovingian and Viking farm site at Herjólfsdalur in the Westman islands, Iceland', *NAR* 24 (1991), 1-9, with comments by S. Kaland et al., 10-33
- [G36] V.Ö. Vilhjálmsson, 'The early settlement of Iceland: wishful thinking or an archaeological innovation?', *AA* 62 (1991), 167-81
- [G37] P. Theodórsson, 'Norse settlement of Iceland: close to AD 700?', *NAR* 31 (1998), 29-38

For ecological studies:

[G39] B.F. Einarsson, *The settlement of Iceland: a critical approach; Granastaðir and the ecological heritage* (1995) [UL 599:2.c.95.38]

### The origins of the settlers

Ari's other observation that Iceland was settled 'from Norway' has caused yet more controversy, in that numerous cultural and anthropological or genetic studies have suggested that Hiberno-Norse or Gaelic settlers from the British isles made up a large component of the settlers. This contrasts quite heavily with picture painted in the major source on the settlement, *Landnámabók* (B256).

[G40] B. Guðmundsson, *The origin of the Icelanders*, transl. L.M. Hollander (1967) [UL 599:2.d.95.4]; beware, quite idiosyncratic

[G41] J. Benediktsson, 'Some problems in the history of the settlement of Iceland', (O30):161-65

[G42] G. Sigurðsson, *Gaelic influence in Iceland: historical and literary contacts; a survey of research*, StI 46 (1988) [UL 599:01.c.1.25]

[G43] William Sayers, 'Management of the Celtic fact in *Landnámabók*', *SS* 66 (1994), 129-53

[G44] H. Pálsson, *Keltar á Íslandi* (1996) [UL 599:2.c.95.40]

[G45] G. Fellows-Jensen, 'Language contact in Iceland: the evidence of names', *Language contact across the North Atlantic*, *Linguistische Arbeiten* 359, edd. P. Sture Ureland and I. Clarkson (1996), 115-24 [UL 760.c.99.1319]

[G46] J. Jochens, 'Race and ethnicity in the Old Norse world', *Viator* 30 (1999), 79-103

[G47] P. Urbanczyk, 'Ethnic Aspects of the Settlement of Iceland', *CM* (2002), 156-165

On interaction between the Norse and Celts in general, see:

[G48] M. Chesnutt, 'Norse-Celtic bibliographical survey: first report', *MS* 3 (1970), 109-37 and M. Chesnutt and D. Erlingsson, 'Norse-Celtic bibliographical survey: second report', *MS* 4 (1971), 119-59

### Anthropological and genetic studies

Widespread use has been made of various scientific techniques to compare the genetic make-up of the Icelanders with other European population groups, in an attempt to help to identify their origins.

[G50] J.A. Donegani et al., 'The blood groups of the Icelanders', *Annals of eugenics* 15 (1950), 47-52

[G51] J. Steffensen, 'The physical anthropology of the Vikings', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 83 (1953), 86-97

[G52] O. Bjarnason et al., 'The blood groups of Icelanders', *Annals of human genetics* 36 (1973), 425-58

[G53] E.A. Thompson, 'The Icelandic admixture problem', *Annals of human genetics* 37 (1973), 69-80

[G54] A.C. Berry, 'The use of non-metrical variations of the cranium in the study of Scandinavian population movements', *American journal of physical anthropology* 40 (1974), 345-58

[G55] L. Fegersten Saugstad, 'The settlement of Iceland', *NAR* 10 (1977), 60-65, with comments by R.J. Berry et al., 66-83

[G56] J. Pálsson, 'Some anthropological characteristics of Icelanders analyzed with regard to the problem of ethnogenesis', *Journal of human evolution* 7 (1978), 695-702

[G57] E.M. Wijsman, 'Techniques for estimating genetic admixture and applications to the problem of the origin of the Icelanders and the Ashkenazi Jews', *Human genetics* 67 (1984), 441-48

[G58] S. Aðalsteinsson, 'Possible changes in the frequency of the human ABO blood groups in Iceland due to smallpox epidemics selection', *Annals of human genetics* 49 (1985), 275-81

### The nature of settlement

*Landnámabók* also provides genealogies of the settlers and often discusses the ways in which the settlement took place; for discussion see the secondary items cited under (B256). More recent work has tended to highlight the notion that social divisions and dependencies were already inherent at the time of settlement itself rather than developing gradually in the course of the Viking age.

[G65] F. Herschend, 'Models of petty rulership: two early settlements in Iceland', *Tor* 26 (1994), 163-91

[G66] O. Vésteinsson, 'Patterns of settlement in Iceland: a study in prehistory', *SBVS* 25 (1998-2001), 1-29

[G67] O. Vésteinsson and A. Friðriksson, 'Creating a past: historiography of the settlement of Iceland', (H11):139-61

### The Icelandic Commonwealth

The rather misleading term 'Commonwealth', often also called the 'Republic', attempts to encapsulate the fact that Iceland lacked a king or similar hierarchy, but instead appears to have been organised around principles of legal co-operation, cf. (B680, C80). Although neither the mediaeval laws nor sagas can be taken necessarily as accurately reflecting the historical conditions of the Viking age, they can be cautiously plundered (and have been) for insights into the social mechanisms of the Icelandic 'freestate' before the submission to the Norwegian crown in 1262.

[G70] Ó. Lárusson, *Lov og ting: Islands forfatning og lover i fristatstiden*, transl. K. Helle (1960) [UL 599:2.c.95.2]

[G71] M. Stein-Wilkeshuis, 'The right to social welfare in early medieval Iceland', *JMH* 8 (1982), 343-52; on *hreppar*

[G72] K. Hastrup, 'Defining a society: the Icelandic free state between two worlds', *SS* 56 (1984), 235-55

### Law and order, feud and arbitration

In the absence of an established authority to maintain law and order, disputes in Iceland seem to have been settled by a variety of mechanisms, such as arbitration through a third party or the blood-feud, often realised through the formal *hólmanga* or duel; cf. (G8) and (C160 ff.).

[G75] M. Ciklamini, 'The Old Icelandic duel', *SS* 35 (1963), 175-94

[G76] A. Berger, 'Lawyers in the old Icelandic family sagas: heroes, villains and authors', *SBVS* 20 (1978-81), 70-79

[G77] J.L. Byock, *Feud in the Icelandic saga* (1982) [UL 752:37.c.95.24]

[G78] W.I. Miller, 'Justifying Skarpheðinn: of pretext and politics in the Icelandic bloodfeud', *SS* 55 (1983), 316-44

[G79] J.L. Byock, 'Dispute resolution in the sagas', *Gripla* 6, *SÁMÍ* rit 28 (1984), 86-100 [UL 752:1.c.5.32]

[G80] W.I. Miller, 'Avoiding legal judgement: the submission of disputes to arbitration in medieval Iceland', *American journal of legal history* 28 (1984), 95-134

[G81] J.L. Byock, 'Governmental order in early medieval Iceland', *Viator* 17 (1986), 19-34

[G82] P.H. Sawyer, 'The bloodfeud in fact and fiction', (O46):27-38

[G83] W.I. Miller, 'Ordeal in Iceland', *SS* 60 (1988), 189-218

[G84] W.I. Miller, *Bloodtaking and peacemaking: feud, law and society in saga Iceland* (1990) [UL 599:2.c.95.32]

[G85] J.V. Sigurðsson, 'Friendship in the Icelandic commonwealth', (G7):205-15

### The chieftains

The role of the chieftains or *goðar*, both as quasi-priests and secular leading lights, is of particular interest, not least since they seem to have engineered a situation in which they were responsible for, and could profit from, both the composition and execution of law.

[G90] G. Karlsson, '*Goðar and höfðingjar in medieval Iceland*', *SBVS* 19 (1974-77), 358-70

[G91] H.-J. Seggewiß, *Goði und höfðingi: die literarische Darstellung und Funktion von Gode und Häuptling in den Isländersagas*, Europäische Hochschul-schriften 1. Reihe: Deutsche Literatur und Germanistik 259 (1978) [UL 752:37.c.95.20]

[G92] G. Ólafsson, 'Þingnes by Elliðavatn: the first local assembly in Iceland?', (A49):343-49

[G93] E.P. Durrenberger, 'Chiefly consumption in commonwealth Iceland', *NS* 25 (1988), 108-20

[G94] J.V. Sigurðsson, *Frá goðorðum til ríkja: þróun goðavalds á 12. og 13. öld*, Sagnafræðirannsóknir 10 (1989) [UL 599:01.c.10.10] (E.s.)

[G95] R. Samson, 'Goðar: democrats or despots?', (G7):167-88

[G96] J.V. Sigurðsson, *Chieftains and power in the Icelandic Commonwealth*, transl. J. Lundskaer-Nielsen, The Viking collection: studies in northern civilization 12 (1999) [UL 599:2.c.95.39]

### The age of the Sturlungs

Although the twelfth and thirteenth centuries do not really belong in this bibliography, an awareness of the social conditions of this period is essential not only for understanding the workings of the Commonwealth but also for interpreting the sources relevant to the period; see also (G10).

[G100] E.Ó. Sveinsson, *The age of the Sturlungs: Icelandic civilization in the thirteenth century*, transl. J.S. Hannesson, *Islandica* 36 (1953) [UL 752:4.c.1.35]

[G101] J.L. Byock, 'The age of the Sturlungs', (O40):27-42

[G102] E.P. Durrenberger, 'Stratification without a state: the collapse of the Icelandic commonwealth', *Ethnos* 3-4 (1988), 239-65

[G103] G. Nordal, *Ethics and action in thirteenth-century Iceland*, The Viking collection 11 (1998) [UL 752:37.c.95.51]

## H. FAROE, GREENLAND, AND NORTH AMERICA

Research into the various North Atlantic colonies aside from Iceland has been fairly unevenly distributed; while Faroe remains fairly marginalized, extensive work has been undertaken into mediaeval Greenland, and a disproportionate amount of ink has been spent on the Viking discovery of North America and the Vínland question. For a useful introductory survey, see (A21):164-81.

### The North Atlantic

[H1] For guidance to research, see: H. Hermansson, *The Northmen in America (982-c. 1500): a contribution to the bibliography of the subject*, *Islandica* 2 (1909) [UL 752:4.c.1.2]; R. Bergersen, *Vinland bibliography: writings relating to the Norse in Greenland and America*, Universitetsbiblioteket i Tromsøs skriftserie Ravnetrykk 10 (1997) [UL R538.225]

[H2] E.Ó. Sveinsson, 'Orkney—Shetland—Iceland', (A40):261-83; on cultural links between the Atlantic colonies

[H3] H. Ingstad, *Land under the Pole star: a voyage to the Norse settlements of Greenland and the saga of the people that vanished* (1966) [UL 689:4.c.95.20]

[H4] G.J. Marcus, *The conquest of the North Atlantic* (1980) [UL 694:3.c.95.10, 694:3.c.95.12]

[H5] G. Jones, *The Norse Atlantic saga, being the Norse voyages of discovery and settlement to Iceland, Greenland, and North America*, 2nd edn (1986) [UL 660:3.c.95.29]

[H6] E. Wahlgren, *The Vikings and America*, *Ancient peoples and places* 102 (1986) [UL 660:3.c.95.32]

[H7] G.F. Bigelow, (ed.), *The Norse of the north Atlantic*, AA 61 (1990) [UL T468.b.1.53]

[H8] C.D. Morris and D.J. Rackham, (edd.), *Norse and later settlement and subsistence in the north Atlantic*, Occasional paper series 1 (1992) [UL L468.b.147.1]

[H9] S. Rafnsson, 'The Atlantic islands', (A22):110-33

[H10] W.W. Fitzhugh and E. Ward, (edd.), *Vikings: the North Atlantic saga* (2000) [UL 660:3.b.200.1]

[H11] J.H. Barnett, (ed.), *Contact, continuity and collapse: the Norse colonization of the north Atlantic*, *Studies in the early middle ages* 5 (2003) [UL 592:12.c.200.5]

### Faroe

The basic written source for Viking-age Faroe is *Færeyinga saga* (B331), which is of great literary but minimal historical interest.

[H20] G.V.C. Young, *From the Vikings to the Reformation: a chronicle of the Faroe islands up to 1538* (1979) [UL 598:7.c.95.66]

[H21] R. Guttesen, 'On the oldest territorial division of the Faroe islands', *FSR* 47 (1999), 139-52

### The discovery and settlement

The traditional view of the Norse discovery and settlement of Faroe assumes that in the course of the ninth century Viking settlers, possibly moving on from colonies in the Scottish isles, found an archipelago which had previously been settled by Celtic peoples (as reported in Dicuil (B160)) and which was already full of sheep, hence the name *Færejar* 'sheep islands'. Many elements of this picture have now been further elucidated by botanical research (H28).

- [H25] Ó. Halldórsson, 'Um landnám Gríms kambans í Føroyum', *FSR* 10 (1961), 47-52 (E.s.)
- [H26] S. Dahl, 'The Norse settlement of the Faroe islands', *Medieval archaeology* 14 (1970), 60-73
- [H27] J. Jóhansen, 'A palaeobotanical study indicating a previking settlement in Tjørnuvík, Faroe islands', *FSR* 19 (1971), 147-57
- [H28] J. Jóhansen, *Studies in the vegetational history of the Faroe and Shetland islands*, *Annales societatis scientiarum Færoensis supplementum* 11 (1985) [UL P911:34.c.2.11]
- [H29] S. Stummann Hansen, 'The Norse landnam in the Faroe islands in the light of recent excavations at Toftanes, Leirvík', *NS* 25 (1988), 58-84
- [H30] S.V. Arge, 'The landnám in the Faroes', *Arctic anthropology* 28 (1991), 101-20
- [H31] H.J. Debes, 'Problems concerning the earliest settlement in the Faroe islands', (A50):454-64
- [H32] S.V. Arge, 'On the landnam of the Faroe islands', (A50):465-72

### The archaeological record

Archaeological attention in Faroe has been focused on excavations of a (fairly limited) number of discovered habitation sites and the role of shielings in the pastoral economy of the North Atlantic colonies. Many studies extend the attention quite broadly through the region, so cf. also (I190 ff.).

- [H35] S. Dahl, 'A survey of archaeological investigations in the Faroes', (A43):135-41
- [H36] S. Dahl, 'Recent excavations on Viking age sites in the Faroes', (A45):45-56
- [H37] A. Thorsteinsson, 'On the development of Faroese settlements', (A47):189-202
- [H38] S.V. Arge and N. Hartmann, 'The burial site of við Kirkjugarð in the village of Sandur, Sandøy', *FSR* 38-39 (1989-90), 5-21
- [H39] S. Stummann Hansen, 'Toftanes: a Faroese Viking age farmstead from the 9-10th centuries AD', (H7):44-53
- [H40] D. Mahler, 'Argisbrekka: new evidence of shielings in the Faroe islands', (H7):60-72
- [H41] S. Stummann Hansen, 'Cultural contacts in the Faroe islands in the Viking age', (O70): V,13-18
- [H42] S. Stummann Hansen, 'Viking age Faroe islands and their southern links in the light of recent finds at Toftanes, Leirvík', (A50):473-86
- [H43] D. Mahler, 'Shielings and their role in the Viking-age economy: new evidence from the Faroe islands', (A50):487-505
- [H44] S. Stumman Hansen, 'The early settlement of the Faroe islands: the creation of a cultural identity', (O11):33-71

### Greenland

Ari's basic account in *Íslendingabók* (B255) of the settlement of Greenland towards the end of the tenth century can be supplemented (if less reliably) by the Vinland sagas (B330, B332). A large number of excavations have revealed a thriving Norse community in Greenland in the mediaeval era, and although clear remains of Viking-age activity are less abundant, there seems no reason to doubt the essential accuracy (in broad terms) of these literary reports.

### The Greenland colony

- [H50] K.J. Krogh, *Viking Greenland* (1967) [UL 689:4.c.95.31]
- [H51] F. Gad, *The history of Greenland. I: Earliest times to 1700*, transl. E. Dupont (1970) [UL 689:4.c.95.27]
- [H52] H.M. Jansen, *A critical account of the written and archaeological sources' evidence concerning the Norse settlements in Greenland*, *Meddelelser om Grønland* 182:4 (1972) [UL S592.b.97.21]; contains discussions of many useful sources otherwise unavailable in English
- [H53] Ó. Halldórsson, *Grænland í miðaldaritum* (1978) [UL 689:4.c.95.45]
- [H54] T.H. McGovern, 'A comparison of the Greenlandic eastern and western settlements', *Hikuin* 15 (1989), 27-36
- [H55] J. Arneborg, 'Contact between Eskimos and Norsemen in Greenland: a review of the evidence', (A60) vol. 12 (1993), 23-35 [UL L592.c.25.12]
- [H56] J. Arneborg, 'Norse Greenland: reflections on settlement and depopulation', (H11):163-81

### The archaeological record

- [H60] A. Roussell, *Farms and churches in the mediaeval Norse settlements of Greenland*, Meddelelser om Grønland 89.1 (1941) [UL 402.b.94.22]
- [H61] C.L. Vebæk, 'Topographical and archaeological investigations in the Norse settlements of Greenland', (A42):107-22
- [H62] C.L. Vebæk, 'An eleventh-century farmhouse in the Norse colonies in Greenland', (A43):112-18; on Narssaq
- [H63] C. Keller, 'Vikings in the west Atlantic: a model of Norse Greenlandic medieval society', (H7):126-41
- [H64] S. Brink, 'Den norröna bosättningen på Grönland: en kortfattad forskningsöversikt jämte några nya forskningsbidrag', *SI* 42 (1991), 3-33

### North America

The Norse discovery of North America in the early eleventh century has naturally attracted all kinds of attention. Although the literary traditions enshrined above all in the Vinland sagas have often been called into question (cf. (B330, B332)), the fact that many of the essential points of these traditions are already found in the works of Adam of Bremen (B73) and Ari (B255) lend them some credibility.

- [H70] For bibliographical guidance to older research, see: H. Hermannsson, *The problem of Wineland*, *Islandica* 25 (1936) [UL 752:4.c.1.25]
- [H71] H. Ingstad, *Westward to Vinland: the discovery of pre-Columbian Norse house-sites in North America*, transl. E.J. Friis (1969) [UL 660:3.c.95.9]
- [H72] G. Jones, 'Historical evidence for Viking voyages to the New World', (O36):1-12 and 'The Vikings in North America', (O34):209-30
- [H73] R. McGhee, 'Contact between native North Americans and the medieval Norse: a review of the evidence', *American antiquity* 49 (1984), 4-26
- [H74] B. Linderoth Wallace, 'The Vikings in North America: myth and reality', (O64):207-20
- [H75] B. Linderoth Wallace, 'Vinland 1000 – a European outpost in North America' [O83]: 307-24
- [H76] B.L. Clausen, (ed.), *Viking voyages to North America* (1993) [UL 660:3.c.95.36]; articles by all the usual suspects

### L'Anse aux Meadows

Not until the excavation of an indisputably Norse farmstead complex at L'Anse aux Meadows on Newfoundland was definitive proof discovered of a Viking presence in North America; for further, often clearly fake, forms of material evidence, see any of the general items above.

- [H80] A. Stine Ingstad et al., *The Norse discovery of America. I: Excavations of a Norse settlement at L'Anse Aux Meadows, Newfoundland, 1961-68. II: The historical background and the evidence of the Norse settlement discovered in Newfoundland* (1985) [UL 660:3.b.95.3-4]
- [H81] B. Linderoth Wallace, 'The L'anse aux Meadows site', (H5):285-304
- [H82] B. Linderoth Wallace, 'L'Anse aux Meadows, gateway to Vinland', (H7):166-97
- [H83] B. Linderoth Wallace, 'The Viking Settlement at L'Anse aux Meadows', [H10]:208-16
- [H84] B. Linderoth Wallace, 'L'Anse aux Meadows and Vinland: and abandoned experiment', (H11):207-38

### The Vinland question

Much debate has raged over exactly where *Vínland* or 'Wine-land' was; no definitive answer is likely to be found, but for those who accept the tradition at all, somewhere further south of L'Anse aux Meadows looks most likely.

- [H85] E. Haugen, 'Was Vinland in Newfoundland?', (A47):3-8
- [H86] G. Barnes, 'Vínland the good: Paradise lost?', *Parergon* n.s. 12:2 (1995), 75-96
- [H87] E. Lönnroth, 'The Vinland problem', *SJH* 21 (1996), 39-47
- [H88] Magnús Stefánsson, 'Vínland or Vinland?', *SJH* 23 (1998), 139-52

## I. WESTERN EUROPE

Viking activity in western Europe seems to have begun towards the end of the eighth century, and consequently the 'Viking age' has always been considered to begin here, see (C35 ff.). The motives behind this activity are traditionally seen as a combination of factors, including the desire for moveable wealth, the recognition of how easy it was to obtain it, and the lust for more fertile land for settlement. It should be noted that following the spirit in which this bibliography has been compiled, the following sections are highly selective; for further guidance, see (A100 ff.).

### The Vikings in the west

At the risk of gross simplification, the overall drift of the Viking age in the west can conveniently be divided into various phases. After initial piratical raids of the late eighth and early ninth century, the trickle of Vikings in the west became a flood in the form of (comparatively) great, or at least highly disruptive, armies that swept across the British isles and large portions of the Frankish empire; for the debate on the size of these Viking armies, see (A5):120-76 and (I60). Many of these Norse then took up residence, leading in the tenth century to the creation of social or political structures such as the Danelaw (I70 ff.), the kingdoms of York and Dublin (I30 ff.), and the duchy of Normandy (A119, I260 ff.). The tale of the Viking colonies after the tenth century, much as in the east (J), is then largely one of cultural assimilation with the more numerous indigenous populations, though many regions maintained characteristic Norse features until much later, in particular the northern and western islands of Scotland (I150 ff.). For other overall guides to this activity, see any of the textbooks in (A).

[I1] H. Shetelig, 'The Viking movements', (A40):130-41

[I2] M. Magnusson, *Viking expansion westwards* (1973) [UL 592:12.b.95.3]

[I3] D.M. Wilson, *Economic aspects of the Vikings in the west: the archaeological basis*, Félix Neubergh lecture 1978 (1980) [UL 9220.d.2356]

[I4] P.H. Sawyer, 'Conquest and colonization: Scandinavians in the Danelaw and in Normandy', (A47):123-31

[I5] P. Wormald, 'Viking studies: whence and whither?', (O34):128-53; an important article

[I6] N. Lund, 'Allies of God or man? The Viking expansion in a European perspective', *Viator* 20 (1989), 45-59

[I7] D. Ó Corráin, 'Ireland, Scotland and Wales, c. 700 to the early eleventh century', (A101):43-63

[I8] S. Coupland, 'The Vikings in Francia and Anglo-Saxon England to 911', (A101):190-201

### Britain and Ireland

For the admixture of art-styles in the British isles and Ireland, see (M155 ff.).

[I10] D.P. Capper, *The Vikings of Britain* (1937) [UL 592:12.d.90.1]

[I11] D.M. Wilson, 'Scandinavian settlement in the north and west of the British isles: an archaeological point-of-view', *TRHS* 5th ser. 26 (1976), 95-113

[I12] H.R. Loyn, *The Vikings in Britain* (1977) [UL 541:12.c.95.40]

[I13] C.D. Morris, 'The Vikings in the British isles: some aspects of their settlement and economy', (O34):70-94

[I14] P. Robinson, 'Vikings and Celts', (O66):125-39

[I15] J. Marsden, *The fury of the Northmen: saints, shrines and sea-raiders in the Viking age, AD 793-878* (1993) [UL 592:12.c.95.48]

[I16] R.A. Hall, 'Vikings gone west? A summary', (A51):32-49

[I17] D. Ó Corráin, 'Ireland, Wales, Man, and the Hebrides', (A22):83-109

[I18] D. Ó Corráin, 'The Vikings in Scotland and Ireland in the ninth century', *Peritia* 12 (1998), 296-339

[I19] A.P. Smyth, 'The effect of Scandinavian raiders on the English and Irish churches: a preliminary reassessment', *Britain and Ireland 900-1300: insular responses to medieval European change*, ed. B. Smith (1999), 1-38 [UL 532:2.c.95.221]

[I120] D. Dumville, 'Vikings in the British Isles: a question of sources', (O86):209-230

### The Irish sea melting pot

As is reflected in the range of scholarship cited above, the Scandinavian settlements in the British isles were often closely tied by dynastic or other alliances, and in many ways the subject is best studied as a whole rather than by recourse to individual regions. This comes out particularly strongly in the tenth century, when 'kingdoms' were established whose spheres of activity spanned across the Irish sea from Dublin through Man to York. A whole range of studies can be found in:

[I25] B. Ó Cuív, (ed.), *The impact of the Scandinavian invasions on the Celtic-speaking peoples c. 800-1100 A.D.: proceedings of the International congress of Celtic studies held in Dublin, 6-10 July, 1959* (1962) [UL 502:45.c.95.2]

For further references, see (I17), for example, and:

[I26] P. Holm, 'The slave trade of Dublin, ninth to twelfth centuries', *Peritia* 5 (1986), 317-45

[I27] J. Graham-Campbell, 'The early Viking age in the Irish sea area', (O82):104-30

### The kingdoms of York and Dublin

Numerous figures who might be called Viking kings of Dublin are recorded in the later tenth century, and despite the odd blip, such as the major setback for the Norse settlers at the beginning of the tenth century, this persisted into the tenth. During this latter period there were close connections also with the kingdom established in York. For the Vikings' role in urbanisation specifically, see (N345 ff.).

[I30] A.P. Smyth, 'The *black* foreigners of York and the *white* foreigners of Dublin', *SBVS* 19 (1974-77), 101-17

[I31] A. Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin: the history and archaeology of two related Viking kingdoms*, 2 vols (1975-79) [UL S474.c.97.10-11]; see also the review article by R.I. Page, 'A tale of two cities', *Peritia* 1 (1982), 335-51

[I32] A. Smyth, *Scandinavian kings in the British isles 850-880* (1977) [UL 541:12.c.95.28]

[I33] C. Downham, 'The chronology of the last Scandinavian kings of York A.D. 937-954', *Northern History* 40:1 (2003), 25-51

On the bizarre and somewhat legendary career (?) of Ragnar lodbrok:

[I35] N. Lukman, 'Ragnarr loðbrók, Sigifrid, and the saints of Flanders', *MS* 9 (1976), 7-50

[I36] R.W. McTurk, 'Ragnarr loðbrók in the Irish annals?', (A46):93-123

[I37] R.W. McTurk, *Studies in Ragnars saga loðbrókar and its major Scandinavian analogues*, Medium aevum monographs n.s. 15 (1991) [UL 759.c.127.15]

On the numismatic evidence:

[I39] M. Dolley, *Viking coins of the Danelaw and of Dublin* (1965) [UL OP.3100.70.152]

### Linguistic evidence

It has often been noted how little clear burial evidence there is in England in particular for Viking settlers. Accordingly, various kinds of linguistic evidence have been extensively employed to assess the impact of the Scandinavians on the cultures of the British isles. For runic inscriptions, see (B830 ff.); for more detailed English place-name and personal name studies (B870 ff., B893).

[I40] J. Geipel, *The Viking legacy: the Scandinavian influence on the English and Celtic languages* (1971) [UL 768.c.97.16]

[I41] R.I. Page, 'How long did the Scandinavian language survive in England? The epigraphical evidence', *England before the conquest: studies in primary sources presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, edd. P. Clemoes and K. Hughes (1971), 165-81 [UL 541:12.c.95.19]

[I42] G. Fellows-Jensen, 'The Vikings in England: a review', *ASE* 4 (1975), 181-206

[I43] G. Fellows-Jensen, 'To divide the Danes from the Norwegians: on Scandinavian settlement in the British isles', *Nomina* 11 (1987), 35-60

[I44] G. Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavian settlement in England: the evidence of place-names and personal names', (O55):77-83

[I45] M. Barnes, 'Norse in the British isles', (O72):65-84

- [I46] G. Fellows-Jensen, *The Vikings and their victims: the verdict of the names*, Dorothea Coke memorial lecture in northern studies 1994 (1995) [UL 1998.10.217]  
[I47] K. Holman, *Scandinavian runic inscriptions in the British isles: their historical context*, Senter for middelalderstudier skrifter 4 (1996) [UL 763.b.99.9]  
[I48] M. Townend, *Language and history in Viking age England: linguistic relations between speakers of Old Norse and Old English* (2002) [UL 775.c.200.7]  
[I49] M. Barnes, 'The Scandinavian language in the British Isles: the runic evidence', (O89):121-36

### England

For broad guidance to the history of Anglo-Saxon England, see (A110). Many of the general handbooks cited in (A) have large sections on the topic, and this naturally holds true also for reference works dealing with the British isles as a whole (I1 ff., I10 ff.).

- [I50] F.T. Wainwright, *Scandinavian England: collected papers*, ed. H.P.R. Finberg (1975) [UL 541:14.c.95.31]  
[I51] E. Roesdahl et al., (edd.), *The Vikings in England and in their Danish homeland* (1981) [UL 541:12.c.95.48]  
[I52] P.H. Sawyer, *Scandinavians and the English in the Viking age*, H.M. Chadwick memorial lecture 5 (1995) [UL L718.c.775.5]  
[I53] S. Keynes, 'The Vikings in England, c. 790-1016', (A22):48-82  
[I54] J. Richards, *Viking Age England*. Revised edition (2000) [UL C200.c.4309]; (2004)

### The ninth century

After the shock of the initial raids of the late eighth century, particularly that on Lindisfarne in 793, Anglo-Saxon sources (B81) record hosts of Vikings sweeping across England in the course of the ninth century culminating in the formation of a cultural block known as the 'Danelaw' (I70 ff.).

- [I60] N. Brooks, 'England in the ninth century: the crucible of defeat', *TRHS* 5th ser. 29 (1979), 1-20  
[I61] S. Foot, 'Violence against Christians? The Vikings and the church in ninth-century England', *Medieval history* 1.3 (1991), 3-16  
[I62] D. Dumville, 'The treaty of Alfred and Guthrum', *Wessex and England from Alfred to Edgar: six essays on political, cultural, and ecclesiastical revival*, Studies in Anglo-Saxon history 4 (1992), 1-27 [UL 541:14.c.95.96]; for text of the treaty, see also (B107a): I,126-28

### Viking settlement

The question of Viking settlement is usually addressed through linguistic evidence, particularly place-names (I40 ff.).

- [I65] C.D. Morris, 'Northumbria and the Viking settlement: the evidence for land-holding', *Archaeologia aeliana* 5th ser. 5 (1977), 81-103  
[I66] N. Lund, 'The settlers: where do we get them from and do we need them?', (A47):147-71  
[I67] D.M. Hadley, "'And they proceeded to plough and support themselves": the Scandinavian settlement of England', *ANS* 19 (1996), 69-96

### The (Dane)law

The lawcodes of the late Anglo-Saxon kings contain specific sections relating to separate custom or law in the regions of England most heavily settled by Scandinavians, see (B81, B107). The Thirteenth Viking congress [A52] was devoted to the Danelaw.

- [I70] O. Fenger, 'The Danelaw and the Danish law', *Scandinavian studies in law* 16 (1972), 85-96  
[I71] A.K.G. Kristensen, 'Danelaw institutions and Danish society in the Viking age: *sochemanni, liberi homines* and *Königsfreie*', *MS* 8 (1975), 27-85  
[I72] N. Lund, 'King Edgar and the Danelaw', *MS* 9 (1976), 181-95  
[I73] C. Neff, 'Scandinavian elements in the Wantage code of Æthelred II', *Journal of legal history* 10 (1989), 285-316  
[I74] J. Graham-Campbell, 'The archaeology of the Danelaw: an introduction', (O55):69-76  
[I75] D. Pelteret, 'Slavery in the Danelaw', (O64):179-88  
[I76] C. Hart, *The Danelaw* (1992) [UL 541:12.c.95.73]

[I77] D.M. Hadley, *The northern Danelaw: its social structure, c. 800-1100*, Studies in the early history of Britain (2000) [UL 541:12.c.200.2]

[I78] D.M. Hadley, 'Viking and native: re-thinking identity in the Danelaw', *EME* 11 (2002), 45-70

### **The Five Boroughs**

The five boroughs of Derby, Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham, and Stamford bounded a hotbed of Scandinavian settlement in the east midlands that was gradually brought under the authority of the English kings in the mid-tenth century.

[I80] R.A. Hall, 'The Five Boroughs of the Danelaw: a review of present knowledge', *ASE* 18 (1989), 149-206

### **The kingdom of York**

For much of the tenth century the region around York was effectively governed by Scandinavian kings of various backgrounds. For the wider context, see (I30 ff.); for the urban history of York (N345 ff.).

[I83] W.S. Angus, 'Christianity as a political force in Northumbria in the Danish and Norse periods', (A43):142-65

[I84] A. Binns, 'The York Viking kingdom: relations between Old English and Old Norse culture', (A43):179-89

[I85] D.W. Rollason et al., *Sources for York history to AD 1100*, The archaeology of York 1 (1998) [UL 9474.c.1422a]

[I86] M. Townend, 'Whatever happened to York Viking poetry? Memory, tradition and the transmission of skaldic verse', *SBVS* 27 (2003), 48-90

### **Other regional studies**

For a variety of regional studies conducted with place-names see (B870 ff.).

[I88] J.R. Baldwin and I.D. Whyte, (edd.), *The Scandinavians in Cumbria* (1985) [UL L592.c.19.3]; see in particular N. Higham, 'The Scandinavians in north Cumbria: raids and settlement in the later ninth to mid tenth centuries', 37-51

### **The 'second Viking age'**

Towards the end of the tenth century serious Viking raids in England began again after a distinct gap; see (C45 ff.). It may be no coincidence that this was just when the vast supply of Arabic silver dirhams into Scandinavia was running out (N70 ff.), in which case it could be argued that Scandinavian leaders were seeking an alternative source of moveable wealth.

[I90] S. Jansson, *Swedish Vikings in England: the evidence of the runestones*, Dorothea Coke memorial lecture in northern studies 1965 [UL Ub.7.712]

[I91] N. Lund, 'Peace and non-peace in the Viking age: Ottar in Biarmaland, the Rus in Byzantium, and the Danes and Norwegians in England', (A49):255-70; on the treaty between Ethelred and Olaf Tryggvason

On the evidence of skaldic verse (B483 ff.) see:

[I93] A. Campbell, *Skaldic verse and Anglo-Saxon history*, Dorothea Coke memorial lecture in northern studies 1970 (1971) [UL 9752.c.102]

[I94] R. Poole, 'Skaldic verse and Anglo-Saxon history: some aspects of the period 1009-1016', *Speculum* 62 (1987), 265-98

### **The Danish conquest**

This movement drifted into the idea of what might be termed nationally sponsored invasions under the Danish kings Svein and Knut (D96; D100 ff.) which culminated in the expulsion of the English royal heirs and the foundation of an Anglo-Danish empire; on the levying of the Danish armies, see also (C220 ff.). For surveys of the large payments of 'Danegeld' levied from the English by marauding Danish armies, and the *heregeld* 'army-tax' collected by the Anglo-Danish kings, see:

[I100] M. Lawson, 'The collection of Danegeld and Heregeld in the reigns of Æthelred II and Cnut', *EHR* 99 (1984), 721-38; see also numerous further articles in volumes following, particularly 104-05 (1989-90)

[I101] D. Metcalf, 'Can we believe the very large figure of £72,000 for the geld levied by Cnut in 1018?', *Studies in late Anglo-Saxon coinage in memory of Bror Emil Hildebrand*, *Numismatiska meddelanden* 35, ed. K. Jonsson (1990), 165-76 [UL 492:01.c.13.16]

### The Anglo-Danish period

Again, most of the useful references are to be found in (D100 ff.). Knut's lawcodes as king of England can be found in (B107a), while there is a wealth of further Anglo-Saxon material of relatively little interest for Danish history, see the bibliographical guide by Keynes under (A110). The organisation of Knut's court has proved a topic of much interest, in that many have posited similarities and parallels with the development of Danish royal institutions in the period; see (C210 ff.), for the *hirð* also (B707), and:

[I105] L.M. Larson, 'The king's household in England before the Norman conquest', *Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin* (100), *History series* 1 (1904), 55-211

[I107] N. Hooper, 'The housecarls in England in the eleventh century', *ANS* 7 (1985), 161-76

[I108] S. Keynes, 'Cnut's earls', (D103):43-88

### Scotland

In accordance with the aims of the bibliography, this section is again selective, with the greatest emphasis placed on the northern Isles where Scandinavian identity and culture was at its strongest and most enduring. For an anthology of the scattered sources for the Vikings in Scotland, see (B120); for surveys of the Scottish background, also (A113).

[I120] W.F.H. Nicolaisen, 'The Viking settlement of Scotland: the evidence of place-names', (O34):95-115

[I121] A. Fenton and H. Pálsson, (edd.), *The northern and western isles in the Viking world: survival, continuity and change* (1984) [UL 592:12.c.95.38]; see G. Fellows-Jensen, 'Viking settlement in the northern and western isles: the place-name evidence as seen from Denmark and the Danelaw', 148-68

[I122] B.E. Crawford, *Scandinavian Scotland*, *Studies in the early history of Britain: Scotland in the early middle ages*, 2 (1987) [UL 550:4.c.95.34]

[I123] A. Ritchie, *Viking Scotland* (1993) [UL 9000.b.6616]

[I124] B.E. Crawford, (ed.), *Scandinavian settlement in northern Britain: thirteen studies of place-names in their historical context*, *Studies in the early history of Britain* (1995) [ASNAC]

[I125] J. Graham-Campbell, *The Viking-age gold and silver of Scotland (AD 850-1100)* (1995) [UL 410:3.b.95.50]

[I126] D.N. Dumville, *The churches of North Britain in the first Viking age*, Fifth Whithorn lecture, 14th September, 1996 (1997) [UL 1997.8.2441]

[I127] C.D. Morris, 'Raiders, traders and settlers: the early Viking age in Scotland', (O82):73-103

[I128] J. Graham-Campbell and C.E. Batey, *Vikings in Scotland: an archaeological survey* (1998) [UL 486:15.c.95.34]

### The Scottish mainland

Scandinavian involvement on the Scottish mainland was naturally heaviest on the coasts alongside the isles where they were most active; the evidence for Viking settlement further south is far less clear.

[I130] R. Loche Bremner, *The Norsemen in Alban* (1923) [UL 550:4.c.90.1]

[I132] C.E. Batey, 'Viking and late Norse Caithness: the archaeological evidence', (A49):131-48, and 'Archaeological aspects of Norse settlement in Caithness, north Scotland', (H7):29-35

[I133] C.E. Batey, *Freswick links, Caithness: a re-appraisal of the late Norse site in its context*, BAR British series 179 (1987) [UL L474.b.85.152]

[I134] G. Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavians in southern Scotland?', *Nomina* 13 (1989-90), 41-60

[I135] B.E. Crawford, *Earl & Mormaer: Norse-Pictish relationships in northern Scotland*, Groom House lecture series (1995) [UL L909:15.c.16.6]; on Ross

[I136] S. Taylor, 'The Scandinavians in Fife and Kinross: the onomastic evidence', (I124):141-67

[I137] Further on the significance of place-names and silver-hoards for the study of Scandinavians in Scotland, see (O90): S. Taylor, 'Scandinavians in central Scotland: *bý*-placenames and their context', 125-144.; B. E. Crawford, 'Earldom strategies in north Scotland the significance of place-names', 105-124; G. Williams, 'Land assessment and the silver economy of Norse Scotland', 65-104

[I138] J.H. Barrat, 'Cultural contact in Viking age Scotland', (H11):73-110

#### The western isles

For place-name surveys see (B874).

[I140] Sir L. Scott, 'The Norse in the Hebrides', (A40):189-215

[I141] A. Small, 'Norse settlement in Skye', (O24):29-37

[I142] P. Sveaas Andersen, 'Norse settlement in the Hebrides: what happened to the natives and what happened to the Norse immigrants?', (O62):131-47

[I143] I. Armit, *The archaeology of Skye and the western isles* (1996), chap. 10: 'The Vikings' [UL 9004.c.2330]

[I144] N. Sharples and M. Parker Pearson, 'Norse settlement in the Outer Hebrides', *NAR* 32 (1999), 41-62

[I145] D.H. Caldwell, 'The Scandinavian heritage of the lordships of the Isles', (O89):69-86

#### The northern isles: Orkney and Shetland

The Scandinavian settlements in the northern isles of Scotland were in many ways the most successful of the Norse colonies in the wider world, with the exception of unsettled territory such as Iceland. The First Viking congress (A40) was heavily dominated by material relating to the Norse settlements in the Scottish isles, while (B120) has a fine selection of sources on the settlement of the isles and the foundation of the earldom of Orkney; this includes interesting material from Duaid Mac Firbis (B137) and the *Historia Norvegiae* (B281). For general surveys of links across the North Atlantic, see (H1 ff.); for runic inscriptions (B830, B832). While place-name research (B875) tends to suggest a wholesale replacement of the indigenous Pictish culture with Norse nomenclature, archaeological excavations have suggested a more balanced (and more reasonable) picture involving a greater degree of continuity and co-operation.

[I150] A.W. Brøgger, *Ancient emigrants: a history of the Norse settlements of Scotland* (1929) [UL 470.c.92.9]; a classic if outdated survey

[I151] F.T. Wainwright, 'The Scandinavian settlement', *The northern isles* (1962), 117-62 [UL 486:7.c.95.15]

[I152] I. Crawford, 'War or peace: Viking colonisation in the northern and western isles of Scotland reviewed', (A47):259-69

[I153] K. Eldjárn, 'Graves and grave goods: survey and evaluation', (I121):2-11

[I154] G. Donaldson, *A northern commonwealth: Scotland and Norway* (1990) [UL 550:2.c.95.3]

[I155] J. Graham-Campbell, 'The northern hoards of Viking-age Scotland', (A50):173-86

[I156] C.D. Morris, 'The Norse impact in the northern isles of Scotland', (O76):69-83

#### Orkney

The *Orkneyinga saga* (B333) provides a narrative account of the establishment of the earldom on Orkney, but as a historical source is suspect for the Viking age. On the significance of place-names, see (B875) and:

[I160] W.P.L. Thomson, 'Orkney farm-names: a re-assessment of their chronology', (I124):42-63

For general surveys of Viking-age Orkney:

[I161] C.D. Morris, 'Viking Orkney: a survey', *The prehistory of Orkney*, ed. C. Renfrew (1985), 210-42 [UL 486:7.c.95.92]

[I162] W.P.L. Thomson, *History of Orkney* (1987), chapters 2-6 [UL 486:7.c.95.108]

[I163] B.E. Crawford, (ed.), *St Magnus cathedral and Orkney's twelfth century Renaissance* (1988) [UL 486:7.b.95.9]; contains numerous useful articles

[I164] C.D. Morris, 'From Birsay to Tintagel: a personal view', *Scotland in Dark age Britain: the proceedings of a day conference held on February 18 1995*, St John's House papers 6, ed. B.E. Crawford (1996), 37-78 [UL L911:15.c.20.6]

[I165] J. Barrett et al., 'What was the Viking age and when did it happen? A view from Orkney', *NAR* 33 (2000), 1-39

[I166] B. Smith. 'The Picts and the martyrs or did Vikings kill the native population of Orkney and Shetland' *NS* 36 (2002), 7-32

For aspects of the archaeological record see (I128) and:

[I170] A. Ritchie, 'Excavation of Pictish and Viking-age farmsteads at Buckquoy, Orkney', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 108 (1976-77), 174-227

[I171] S. Kaland, 'Some economic aspects of the Orkneys in the Viking period', *NAR* 15 (1982), 85-95

[I172] P.S. Gelling, 'The Norse buildings at Skaill, Deerness, Orkney, and their immediate predecessor', (I121):12-39

[I173] J. Hunter et al., 'Some aspects of early Viking settlement in Orkney', (A50):272-84

[I174] O. Owen and M. Dalland, 'Scar, Sanday: a Viking boat-burial from Orkney', (A51):159-72

[I275] O. Owen, 'The Scar boat burial and the missing decades of the early Viking age in Orkney and Shetland', (O89):3-34

### The earldom

The basic account of the history of the earldom of Orkney up until the twelfth century is again *Orkneyinga saga* (B333); for a general survey, see the relevant sections in (I122). The historicity of the accounts contained in this text is frequently open to doubt, and it is particularly irritating that major figures such as the eleventh-century earl Thorfinn are not attested as such in contemporary records from the neighbouring Gaelic-speaking regions.

[I180] S. Cruden, 'Earl Thorfinn the mighty and the brough of Birsay', (A42):156-62

[I181] P.M. Sørensen, 'The sea, the flame and the wind: the legendary ancestors of the earls of Orkney', (A50):212-21

### Birsay

A great deal of attention has been placed on the royal manor at Birsay.

[I185] S. Cruden, 'Excavations at Birsay, Orkney', (A43):22-31

[I186] J. Hunter and C.D. Morris, 'Recent excavations at the brough of Birsay, Orkney', (A47):245-58

[I187] W.P.L. Thomson, (ed.), *Birsay: a centre of political and ecclesiastical power*, Orkney heritage 2 (1983) [ASNC]; see B.E. Crawford, 'Birsay and the early earls and bishops of Orkney', 97-118

[I188] C.D. Morris et al., *The Birsay bay project*, 2 vols, University of Durham Department of Archaeology monograph series 1-2 (1989-96) [UL 466:01.b.6.1-2]

### Shetland

Shetland tends frequently to take second place to Orkney in discussions of the earldom of the northern isles. It has sometimes been suggested that Pictish or Christian culture survived the Norse settlement to a greater extent here, but most specific research has been archaeological in nature, looking at Shetland from a comparative perspective across the North Atlantic to Faroe, cf. (H20, H35 ff.). For general guides and studies of Shetland's wider role see:

[I190] B.E. Crawford, (ed.), *Essays in Shetland history: heiðursrit to T.M.Y. Manson* (1984) [UL 486:7.c.95.93]

[I191] B. Smith, 'Shetland in saga-time: rereading the *Orkneyinga saga*', *NS* 25 (1988), 21-41

[I192] N. Fojut, *A guide to prehistoric and Viking Shetland*, 3rd edn (1994) [UL 1995.8.3866]

[I193] D.J. Waugh, (ed.), *Shetland's northern links: language and history* (1996) [UL 1998.8.6370]; see particularly S.S. Hansen, 'Aspects of Viking society in Shetland and the Faroe islands', 117-35

For archaeological research see again (I128) and:

[I195] J.R.C. Hamilton, *Excavations at Jarlshof, Shetland*, Ministry of Works archaeological reports 1 (1956) [UL S474:01.b.6.1]

[I196] R.B.K. Stevenson, 'Christian sculpture in Norse Shetland', *FSR* 28-29 (1981), 283-92

[I197] B. Smith, (ed.), *Shetland archaeology: new work in Shetland in the 1970s* (1985) [UL 9001.c.7510]

[I198] G.F. Bigelow, 'Issues and prospects in Shetland Norse archaeology', (H8):9-32

[I199] B.E. Crawford et al., *The Biggings, Papa Stour, Shetland: the history and excavation of a royal Norwegian farm*, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland monograph 15 (1999) [UL T486.b.18.15]

For place-names and settlement cf. (B875) and:

[I205] L.J. Macgregor, 'Norse settlement in Shetland: a case study', (A60) vol. 6 (1987), 27-45 [UL L592.c.25.6]

### Ireland

The pattern of Norse activity in Ireland is similar in outline, at least at first, to many colonies elsewhere. The first raids are documented from the end of the eighth century and persisted throughout the early ninth; there appear to have been rival Norwegian and Danish fleets in operation during this period, and many Vikings seem to have hired themselves out to local rulers as mercenaries. The first period of Scandinavian involvement in Ireland can perhaps be said to have ended with the expulsion of many warlords around 902, seemingly helping to prompt a large-scale emigration to Iceland (G40 ff.). The tenth century is characterised by the shifting kingdoms of Dublin and York under supposed descendants of Ivar the boneless (I30 ff.), but the influence of their rulers faded after the middle of the tenth century, culminating in the battle of Clontarf in 1014. In the course of the eleventh century, most of the Viking towns or camps returned to Irish control, and the reign of the last major Viking ruler of Dublin, Sigtrygg silkbeard (from 989 to 1042) signalled the serious assimilation of the Norse settlers. The annals are the most important source for the Viking raids and activities, see (B122):148-59; for texts in translation, (B120): I,255-75 and (B130 ff.). For initial guidance, see (I10 ff.), and the items in (A114).

[I210] P.H. Sawyer, 'The Vikings and Ireland', *Ireland in early mediaeval Europe*, edd. D. Whitelock et al. (1982), 345-61 [UL 554:6.c.95.6]

[I211] B. Jaski, 'The Vikings and the kingship of Tara', *Peritia* 9 (1995), 310-51

[I212] A number of useful contributions can be found in (O82), see particularly: R. Ó Floinn, 'The archaeology of the early Viking age in Ireland', 131-65; J. Sheehan, 'Early Viking age silver hoards from Ireland and their Scandinavian elements', 166-202; C. Doherty, 'The Vikings in Ireland: a review', 288-330; S. Stumman Hansen and A-C. Larssen, 'Viking Ireland and the Scandinavian communities in the north Atlantic', 115-26; D. Ó Corráin, 'Viking Ireland: afterthoughts', 421-52

[I213] *The Vikings in Ireland*, ed. A. C. Larsen (2003): D. Ó Corráin, 'The Vikings in Ireland', 17-27; C. Doherty, 'The Viking impact upon Ireland', 29-35.

[I214] H. Myrthun, 'The Vikings in Ireland: ethnicity, identity and cultural change', (H11):113-137

### The Viking raids

The earliest Viking activity in Ireland in the ninth century involved smash and grab raids, the proceeds of which were maintained through a series of temporary, or not so temporary, forts. For surveys of this activity in the Irish sea area, see (I125 ff.) and the more general items in (I10 ff.); for the effects on Irish society, particularly in ecclesiastical terms, also:

[I215] C.D. Morris, 'The Vikings and Irish monasteries', *Durham University journal* 71 (1979), 175-85

[I216] C. Etchingam, *Viking raids on Irish church settlements in the ninth century: a reconsideration of the annals*, Maynooth monographs series minor 1 (1996) [UL 1998.8.6817]

### The Viking kings

These settlements gradually took on a more permanent nature, with the establishment of towns and the Viking kingdom at Dublin; see (I30 ff.), and for urbanisation more specifically (N350 ff.). The history of these various kings is a highly tangled one, as also is the question of whether figures from Scandinavian history can be reasonably identified with any of the Viking leaders or their dynasties.

[I220] P. Hunter Blair, 'Olaf the white and the Three Fragments of Irish annals', *Viking* 3 (1939), 1-35

[I221] J. Stewart, 'The death of Turgesius', *SBVS* 18 (1970-73), 47-58

[I222] D. Ó Corráin, 'High-kings, Vikings and other kings', *Irish historical studies* 21 (1978-79), 283-323

### The end of Viking Ireland

The battle of Clontarf in 1014 goes some way towards symbolising the gradual end of the Viking kingdoms of Britain. The best overall guides are in (A114).

[I225] E. Linklater, 'The battle of Clontarf', *Viking* 15 (1951), 1-14

[I226] J. Ryan, 'The Northmen in Ireland after the battle of Clontarf', (A41):123-29

[I227] W. Sayers, 'Clontarf, and the Irish destinies of Sigurðr digri, earl of Orkney, and Þorsteinn Síðu-Hallsson', *SS* 63 (1991), 164-86

[I228] B. Hudson, 'Knútr and Viking Dublin', *SS* 66 (1994), 319-35

### The Isle of Man

The fortunes of the Norse on the isle of Man are so inextricably linked to the whole Irish sea area that much of the most useful reading is to be found scattered throughout the various earlier sections (I1 ff., I25 ff.). After settlement during the Viking age, a Norse dynasty ruled in Man from the late eleventh century onwards; it is from this point that the island's history can be charted through (B148). For the splendid runic crosses see also (B831), (I47), and (M155 ff.).

[I230] G. Bersu and D.M. Wilson, *Three Viking graves in the Isle of Man*, Society for Mediaeval Archaeology monograph series 1 (1966) [UL 474:01.b.3.1]

[I231] D.M. Wilson, 'Manx memorial stones of the Viking period', *SBVS* 18 (1970-73), 1-18

[I232] D.M. Wilson, *The Viking age in the isle of Man: the archaeological evidence*, C.C. Rafn lecture 3 (1974) [UL 9474.c.1392]

[I233] M. Dolley, 'The palimpsest of Viking settlement on Man', (A47):173-81

[I234] The Ninth Viking congress (A48) was devoted to the Isle of Man in the Viking age, and is therefore full of interesting contributions, see: M. Cubbon, 'The archaeology of the Vikings in the Isle of Man', 13-26; G. Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavian settlement in the Isle of Man and northwest England: the place-name evidence', 37-52; J. Graham-Campbell, 'The Viking-age silver hoards of the Isle of Man', 53-80; R.I. Page, 'The Manx rune-stones', 133-46

[I235] K. Holman, 'The dating of Scandinavian runic inscriptions from the Isle of Man', *Innskrifter og datering: dating inscriptions*, Senter for middelalderstudier skrifter 8, edd. A. Dybdahl and J.R. Hagland (1998), 43-54 [ASNC]

### Wales

The Scandinavian involvement in Wales was on the whole more peripheral than in most other parts of the British isles, and its most visible legacy is the series of Norse place-names for the coastal islands. For a general survey of this activity, see (A115).

[I240] B.G. Charles, *Old Norse relations with Wales* (1934) [UL 9530.d.99]

[I241] H.R. Loyn, *The Vikings in Wales*, Dorothea Coke memorial lecture in northern studies 1976 (1976) [UL 9540.b.278]

[I242] M. Redknap, *Vikings in Wales: An Archaeological Quest* (2000) [UL 2003.9.3502]

### The Frankish empire

The literature on the Vikings in mainland Europe is extensive; for guidance, see (A117). Since Viking activity on the western European mainland falls outside the scope of the activities of the Department for which this bibliography is intended, only a few key or recent items are included here.

[I250] J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Vikings in Francia*, The Stenton lecture 8 (1975) [UL Uc.7.5033]

[I251] J.L. Nelson, 'The Frankish empire', (A22):19-47

### The raids of the ninth century

The Viking raids of the ninth century were aimed for the most part at targets that were either coastal or along navigable rivers. For general surveys, see (I1 ff.).

[I255] T. Reuter, 'Plunder and tribute in the Carolingian empire', *TRHS* 5th ser. 35 (1985), 75-94

[I256] C. Gillmor, 'War on the rivers: Viking numbers and mobility on the Seine and Loire, 841-886', *Viator* 19 (1988), 79-109 1988

[I257] J.L. Nelson, *Charles the bald* (1992) [UL 560:46.c.95.35]

[I258] S. Coupland, 'The fortified bridges of Charles the bald', *JMH* 17 (1991), 1-12

### Normandy and Brittany

Aside from the odd fief granted to Norse warleaders by Carolingian emperors in the ninth century (cf. (D42)), the Scandinavian impact on mainland Europe was not particularly lasting, particularly when compared to England, Ireland, or Russia. The major exception is the duchy of Normandy, for which see first (A119); a fundamental source is (B64), while (B894) is an indispensable reference guide for Scandinavian names.

[I259] L. Wood Breese, 'The persistence of Scandinavian connections in Normandy in the tenth and early eleventh centuries', *Viator* 8 (1977), 47-61

[I260] E.C.M. van Houts, 'Scandinavian influence in Norman literature of the eleventh century', *Anglo-Norman studies* 10 (1983), 107-21

[I261] N.S. Price, 'The Vikings in Brittany', *SBVS* 22 (1986-89), 319-440

[I262] G. Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavian place-names and Viking settlement in Normandy: a review', *NB* 76 (1988), 113-37

[I263] L. Abrams, 'England, Normandy and Scandinavia', *A Companion to the Anglo-Norman World*, edd. C. Harper-Bill and E. van Houts (2003), 43-62 see also (J45)

[I264] B.J. Levy, 'The Image of the Viking in Anglo-Norman Literature', (O89):269-288

### The Mediterranean world

For the Vikings in the Byzantine empire see (A127) and the references in section (J). Viking activity in the western Mediterranean and Spain is largely recorded in Arabic sources (B200 ff.) from the emirate of Cordoba and elsewhere.

[I265] A. Melvinger, *Les premières incursions des Vikings en Occident d'après les sources arabes* (1955) [UL 592:12.c.95.4]; an excellent guide to the Arabic sources

[I266] A. Ali El-Hajji, *Andalusian diplomatic relations with western Europe during the Umayyad period (A.H. 138-366/A.D. 755-976): an historical survey* (1970) [UL Moh.220.c.96]; see in particular 153-203: 'Relations with the Vikings'

For a bibliography on the Vikings in Spain and contact with Arabs see,

[I227] M.G. Campo, 'Bibliographia Normanno-Hispanica', *SBVS* (2002), 104-13.

### J. THE EAST

The eastern Viking age is distinctly less well-documented than the western, but is in many ways equally, if not more, significant, and certainly seems to have lasted longer. The southern Scandinavians were in close contact with the Slavic peoples of eastern Europe throughout the period, and the opening of trades route into the east through Russia led to a vast influx of foreign, mostly Islamic, coins (N60 ff.) that must have transformed the Scandinavian economy. For an introductory survey, see (A21):184-98.

#### General

[J1] For bibliographical guidance to older research, see S. Wikander, 'Bibliographia Normanno-Orientalis', *BONIS* 1974, 7-16

[J2] H.R. Ellis Davidson, *The Viking road to Byzantium* (1976) [UL 592:12.c.95.24]

[J3] J. Herrmann et al., *Wikinger und Slawen: zur Frühgeschichte der Ostseevölker* (1982) [UL 592:12.b.95.7]

[J4] E.A. Melnikova, *The eastern world of the Vikings: eight essays about Scandinavia and eastern Europe in the early middle ages*, Gothenburg Old Norse studies 1 (1996) [UL 592:12.c.95.55]

[J5] E. Albu, 'Scandinavians in Byzantium and Normandy', in *Peace and War in Byzantium: Essays in honor of George T. Dennis, S.J.*, edd. Timothy S. Miller et al. (1985), 114-22.

On Scandinavian perceptions of the East, see (B471-72) and:

[J6] F. Braun, 'Das historische Rußland im nordischen Schrifttum des 10. bis 14. Jahrhunderts', *Festschrift Eugen Mogk zum 70. Geburtstag 19. Juli 1924* (1924), 150-96 [UL 775.c.92.10]

[J7] G. Jarring, 'Serkland', *NB* 71 (1983), 125-32

[J8] T.N. Jackson, 'The north of eastern Europe in early Nordic texts: the study of place-names', *ANF* 108 (1993), 38-45

### The Baltic

Scandinavian contacts across the Baltic have a long pedigree, and were clearly close long before the Viking age, as attested by the trade links evident in early market centres; see (N20 ff., N150 ff.). Some of these contacts were clearly of a peaceful, commercial nature, and a remarkable, if semi-legendary, colony of Viking warriors in the tenth century is recorded at Jóm or Wolin in sagas (B338). Other sources such as Rimbert (B72) record military expeditions against the Balts and Slavs, and this comes out also in runestone inscriptions (B825).

[J10] B. Nerman, *Grobin-Seeburg: Ausgrabungen und Funde*, KVHAA monografi 41 (1958) [UL S592:01.a.4.56]

[J11] P.H. Sawyer, 'The Viking perspective', *JBS* 13 (1982), 177-84 and O. Pritsak, 'The perspective of the Slavs, Finns, and Balts', *JBS* 13 (1982), 185-201

[J12] J. Waller, 'Swedish contacts with the eastern Baltic in the pre-Viking and early Viking ages: the evidence from Helgö', *JBS* 13 (1982), 256-66

[J13] I. Jansson, 'Communications between Scandinavia and eastern Europe in the Viking age', *Untersuchungen zu Handel und Verkehr der vor- und früh-geschichtlichen Zeit in Mittel- und Nordeuropa. 3: Der Handel des frühen Mittelalters*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen 150, edd. K. Düwel et al. (1985), 773-807 [UL P500.B.5.179]

[J14] B. Hårdh and B. Wyszomirska-Werbart, (edd.), *Contacts across the Baltic sea during the late Iron age (5th-12th centuries): Baltic sea conference, Lund, October 25-27, 1991*, Institute of archaeology, University of Lund, report series 43 (1992) [Haddon], including J. Callmer, 'Interaction between ethnical groups in the Baltic region in the late Iron age', 99-107

### The eastern trade routes

'As regards the Rus [...] they have no landed property and no farms or fields. Their only activity is trade in sable and squirrel and other sorts of furs, which they sell to those who buy from them. In payment they take only coins, and these they fasten in their belts'. Ibn Rusta's assessment of the Rus' (B211) seems to encapsulate the aspirations of Scandinavians active in eastern Europe and beyond in the Viking age; the drive for commercial gain reflected above all in the vast Islamic coin hoards (N60 ff., N110 ff.), which begin to spread into Russia and Scandinavia from the late eighth century onwards. For theories on the origins and development of these trade routes see (N1 ff.).

[J20] I. Boba, *Nomads, Northmen and Slavs: eastern Europe in the ninth century*, *Slavo-Orientalia* 2 (1967) [UL 500:05.c.33.2]

[J21] J. Callmer, 'Numismatics and archaeology: some problems of the Viking period', *FV* 75 (1980), 203-12

[J22] T.S. Noonan, 'Khazaria as an intermediary between Islam and eastern Europe in the second half of the ninth century: the numismatic perspective', *Archivum Eurasiae medii aevi* 5 (1985), 179-204

[J23] T.S. Noonan, 'The Vikings in the east: coins and commerce', (A51):215-36

### The Vikings in Russia

By far the most visible and hotly debated aspect of Viking activity in the east is their involvement in European Russia, their possible element in the composition of the people(s) known as the Rus', and their influence on the establishment of firstly the trade routes and towns (N320 ff.) and then the principdom of Kiev; this is the so-called 'Normanist question'. For all aspects of Viking activity in Russia, (J60) is an excellent reference work; for runic inscriptions found in Russia see (B834). An opening survey is provided by:

[J24] T.S. Noonan, 'Scandinavians in European Russia', (A22):134-55

A more comprehensive study is:

[J25] W. Duczko, *Viking Rus': Studies on the presence of Scandinavians in eastern Europe*, *The Northern World* 12 (2004) [UL 586:3.c.200.18]

### The Rus'

The 'calling-in of the Varangians' recorded in the Russian Primary Chronicle (B180) claims a Scandinavian origin for the Kievan ruling house founded by Rurik and his brothers around 860, but this claim is politically a very hot potato indeed.

[J26] D.S. Lichacev, 'The legend of the calling-in of the Varangians, and political purposes in Russian chronicle-writing from the second half of the 11th to the beginning of the 13th century', (J28):170-85

Other evidence supporting a Scandinavian connection comes from a variety of sources of the ninth and tenth centuries, chief among them the Annals of St Bertin for 839 (B53), Liudprand (B62), and Constantine (B193). These sources are however scarcely conclusive in their own right, and burial evidence (J40 ff.) has often been employed to argue for a much stronger Slavic component.

[J27] A.V. Riasanovsky, 'The embassy of 838 revisited: some comments in connection with a "Normanist" source on early Russian history', *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* n.F. 10 (1962), 1-12

[J28] K. Hannestad et al., (edd.), *Varangian problems: report on the first international symposium on the theme 'The eastern connections of the Nordic peoples in the Viking period and early middle ages', Moesgaard—University of Aarhus, 7th-11th October 1968*, Scando-Slavica supplementum 1 (1970) [UL P777.c.22.1]; on this particular issue, see K. Rahbek Schmidt, 'The Varangian problem: a brief history of the controversy', 7-20; I.P. Saskol'skij, 'Recent developments in the Normanist controversy', 21-38

[J29] O. Pritsak, *The origin of Rus'. I: Old Scandinavian sources other than the sagas* (1981) [UL 586:1.c.95.205]; a very broad and challenging survey, either bold or eccentric depending on perspective

[J30] A. Thulin, 'The southern origin of the name Rus': some remarks', (J55):175-83

[J31] S. Söderlind, 'The realm of the Rus': a contribution to the problem of the rise of the East-Slavic kingdom', *Scandinavian language contacts*, edd. P. Sture Ureland and I. Clarkson (1984), 133-70 [UL 775.c.98.98]

[J32] E.A. Melnikova and V.J. Petrukhin, 'The origin and evolution of the name *Rus'*: the Scandinavians in eastern-European ethno-political processes before the 11th century', *Tor* 23 (1990-91), 203-34

[J33] J. Shepard, 'The Rhos guests of Louis the Pious: whence and wherefore?', *EME* 4 (1995), 41-60

[J34] G.D. Knysh, 'The mystery of Kyiv's original Rus', *Ukrainian Quarterly* 56:2 (2000), 151-185

### The archaeological record of Rus'

With the written sources ultimately insufficiently copious to answer the Normanist question, the archaeological evidence comes more strongly into focus. The chief problems concern the methods by which 'ethnicity' or cultural identity are to be extrapolated from material remains that may involve a combination of factors such as trading links, influences on art-styles and methods of production, or actual settlement. This section focuses mostly on burial evidence; for early Russian towns see (N320 ff.).

[J39] J. Callmer, 'The archaeology of early Rus' c. A.D. 500-900', *MS* 13 (2000), 7-63

[J40] A.N. Kirpicnikov, 'Connections between Russia and Scandinavia in the 9th and 10th centuries, as illustrated by weapon finds', (J28):50-76

[J41] L.S. Klejn, 'Soviet archaeology and the role of the Vikings in the early history of the Slavs', *NAR* 6 (1973), 1-4, and G.S. Lebedev and V.A. Nazarenko, 'The connections between Russians and Scandinavians in the 9th-11th centuries', *NAR* 6 (1973), 5-9; partially responses to Avdusin's analyses of Gnezdovo (J48)

[J42] N.J. Dejevsky, 'The Varangians in Soviet archaeology today', *MS* 10 (1977), 7-34

[J43] A. Stalsberg, 'Scandinavian relations with northwestern Russia during the Viking age: the archaeological evidence', *JBS* 13 (1982), 267-95

[J44] A. Stalsberg, 'The Scandinavian Viking age finds in Rus': overview and analysis', (N311):448-71

[J45] J. Callmer, 'The clay paw burial rite of the Åland islands and central Russia: a symbol in action', *CSA* 2 (1994), 13-46

The cemeteries at Gnezdovo have proved a particularly fruitful, or at least tempting, area to explore with regard to questions of ethnic origin.

[J48] D. Avdusin, 'Smolensk and the Varangians according to the archaeological data', *NAR* 2 (1969), 52-62, with comments in *NAR* 3 (1970), 113-17 and 4 (1971), 65-68; see also (J41), and V.A. Bulkin,

'On the classification and interpretation of archaeological material from the Gnezdovo cemetery', *NAR* 6 (1973), 10-13

[J49] D.A. Avdusin and T.A. Puskina, 'Three chamber graves at Gnezdovo', *FV* 83 (1988), 20-33

### **The Rus' and the Byzantine empire**

Relations between Scandinavians, or the Rus', and the Byzantine empire are of great interest, not least in terms of the treaties of the tenth century concluded between the two polities (B180a). For the Norse element in the Byzantine emperor's personal Varangian guard, see (J2) and (J52).

[J50] A.A. Vasiliev, *The Russian attack on Constantinople in 860*, The Medieval Academy of America publication 46 (1946) [UL 516:4.b.90.1]

[J51] G. Vernadsky, 'The Rus' in the Crimea and the Russo-Byzantine treaty of 945', *Byzantina-metabyzantina* 1:1 (1946), 249-60

[J52] S. Blöndal, *The Varangians of Byzantium: an aspect of Byzantine military history*, translated and revised by B.S. Benedikz (1978) [UL 523:3.c.95.54]

[J53] J. Shepard, 'Why did the Russians attack Byzantium in 1043?', *Byzantinisch-neugriechischen Jahrbücher* 22 (1978-79), 147-212

[J54] F.E. Wozniak, 'The Crimean question, the Black Bulgarians, and the Russo-Byzantine treaty of 944', *JMH* 5 (1979), 115-26

[J55] R. Zeitler, (ed.), *Les Pays du Nord et Byzance (Scandinavie et Byzance): actes du colloque nordique et international de Byzantinologie tenu à Upsal 20-22 avril 1979*, Acta universitatis Upsaliensis figura n.s. 19 (1981) [UL S400:01.b.52.16]

[J56] W. Treadgold, 'Three Byzantine provinces and the first Byzantine contacts with the Rus'', (L95):132-44

[J57] M. Stein-Wilkehuis, 'Legal prescriptions on manslaughter and injury in a Viking age treaty between Constantinople and northern merchants', *SJH* 19 (1994), 1-16

[J58] E. Piltz, 'Varangian companies for long distance trade. Aspects of interchange between Scandinavians, Rus' and Byzantium in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries', *Byzantium and Islam in Scandinavia: acts of a symposium at Uppsala university June 15-16, 1996*, ed. E. Pitz (1998), 85-106

### **The formation of Russia**

Many of the items cited above (J25 ff.) contribute to this question, see also (A125). The Russian Primary Chronicle (B180) records a series of Russian princes and princesses governing a region along the Dniepr in the tenth century, but a close analysis seems to suggest that the realm of the Rus' at this point was heavily focussed specifically on the urban sites along this river. By the late tenth century, the nomenclature of the ruling house, burial evidence, and the written sources all imply that a Rus' culture had been shaped with the Slavic element predominating. On the conversion to Christianity see (L90 ff.).

[J60] S. Franklin and J. Shepard, *The emergence of Rus 750-1200* (1996) [UL 586:3.c.95.101]

[J61] T.S. Noonan, 'European Russia, c. 500-c. 1050', (A102):487-513

On contacts between Russia and Scandinavia in the late Viking age:

[J64] S. Hazzard Cross, 'Yaroslav the wise in Norse tradition', *Speculum* 4 (1929), 177-97

[J66] H. Birnbaum, 'Yaroslav's Varangian connection', *Scandoslavica* 14 (1978), 5-25

Of particular interest is the 'Yngvar expedition', a calamitous Swedish military campaign into the distant east of the mid-eleventh century which has left a legacy in the form of both a mediaeval Icelandic saga (B471) and a large number of runestone inscriptions (B825, C90); see also:

[J70] J. Shepard, 'Yngvar's expedition to the east and a Russian inscribed stone cross', *SBVS* 21 (1982-85), 222-92

[J71] M.G. Larsson, 'Ingvarstågets arkeologisk bakgrund', *FV* 81 (1986), 98-113 (E.s.)

[J72] M.G. Larsson, 'Yngvar's expedition and the *Georgian chronicle*', *SBVS* 22 (1986-89), 98-108

On the strong dynastic contact between Rus' and Scandinavia throughout the medieval period, see:

[J73] F. Uspenskij, 'Dynastic names in medieval Scandinavia and Russia (Rus'): family traditions and international connections', *Studia anthophonymica scandinavica* 21 (2003), 15-50.

## RELIGION

### K. PAGANISM

The study of Scandinavian 'paganism' naturally encompasses a large area, not only the actual beliefs or principles which might be held to be current in pre-Christian Scandinavia but also the practice of religious worship and the social role it might have had.

#### General surveys

The literature on Old Norse mythology is so extensive, and in some ways so marginal to the current enterprise, that no attempt has been made to be exhaustive. For bibliographical guidance, see:

[K1] J. Lindow, (ed.), *Scandinavian mythology: an annotated bibliography* (1988) [UL R463.5.25]

The following encyclopaedias are also very useful:

[K2] R. Simek, *Dictionary of northern mythology*, transl. A. Hall (1993; pbk repr. 1996) [UL R463.51]

[K3] A. Orchard, *Dictionary of Norse myth and legend* (1997) [UL R463.53]

[K4] J. Lindow, *Handbook of Norse mythology*, *Handbooks of world mythology* (2001) [UL 592:7.b.200.2]

#### Handbooks, collections, and guides

For mythology in particular, see also (K20 ff.).

[K5] J. de Vries, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte*, 2 vols, *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie* 12, 2nd edn (1956-57) [UL 463:1.c.95.5-6]

[K6] E.O.G. Turville-Petre, *Myth and religion of the north: the religion of ancient Scandinavia* (1964) [UL 1.5.c.95.73]

[K7] H.R. Ellis Davidson, *Pagan Scandinavia*, *Ancient peoples and places* 58 (1967) [UL 592:6.d.95.1]

[K8] G. Steinsland, (ed.), *Words and objects: towards a dialogue between archaeology and history of religion*, *Instituttet for sammenlignende kulturforskning B:71* (1986) [UL 592:12.c.95.43]

[K9] H.R. Ellis Davidson, *Myths and symbols in pagan Europe: early Scandinavian and Celtic religions* (1988) [UL 463:1.c.95.94]

[K10] P.M. Sørensen and G. Steinsland, *Før kristendommen: digtning om livssyn i vikingetiden* (1990) [UL 592:12.b.95.8]

[K11] G. Steinsland et al., (edd.), *Nordisk hedendom: et symposium* (1991) [UL 463:1.c.95.118]

[K12] H. Beck et al., (edd.), *Germanische Religionsgeschichte: Quellen und Quellenprobleme*, *Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde* 5 (1992) [UL 461:01.c.15.5]

[K13] J. McKinnell, *Both one and many: essays on change and variety in late Norse heathenism*, *Philologia* 1 (1994) [UL 752:16.c.95.47]

[K14] R. North, *Heathen gods in Old English literature*, *Cambridge studies in Anglo-Saxon England* 22 (1997) [UL 717:5.c.95.131]; much broader in scope than the title implies

[K15] T.A. DuBois, *Nordic religions in the Viking Age* (1999) [ASNC]

#### Mythology

The basic source for our understanding (if it can be dignified by that term) of Old Norse mythology comes from verse (B480 ff.), although art-history (M130 ff., M180 ff.) and prose texts such as *Snorra Edda* (B600) and Saxo (B657) are also relevant. The best place to begin is with the general works just cited above (K1 ff.), but see also:

[K20] R. Frank, 'Snorri and the mead of poetry', (O32):155-70

[K21] J. Lindow, 'Mythology and mythography', (B233):21-67

[K22] K. von See, *Mythos und Theologie im skandinavischen Hochmittelalter*, *Skandinavistische Arbeiten* 8 (1988) [UL 752:01.c.10.8]

[K23] P. Bibire, 'Myth and belief in Norse paganism', *NS* 29 (1992), 1-23

[K24] M. Clunies Ross, 'Mythic narrative in Saxo Grammaticus and Snorri Sturluson', (B660):47-59

- [K25] M. Clunies Ross, *Prolonged echoes: Old Norse myths in medieval northern society*, 2 vols, The Viking collection 7, 10 (1994-98) [UL 463:1.c.95.115-16]  
[K26] H.R. Ellis Davidson, *Viking and Norse mythology* (1996) [UL 465:26.b.95.4]  
[K27] C. Larrington, 'Scandinavia', *The woman's guide to mythology* (1997), 137-61 [UL 1998.9.3417]  
[K28] J. Hines, 'Myth and reality: the contribution of archaeology', (A61h):165-74  
[K29] M. Clunies Ross, 'The conservation and reinterpretation of myth in medieval Icelandic writings', (B235):116-139

### The pantheon

As conventionally defined, the Norse pantheon was divided into two groups; the Æsir, whose functions seem to have been heavily martial, and the Vanir, who were by contrast worshipped for fertility. The validity of such a distinction for Viking-age Scandinavia is naturally slender, but has been seen as a mythic exploration of the tensions between 'old' and 'new' divinities; it is notable that in verse the Æsir seem to predominate in status, whereas place-names (K90 ff.) paint a much more ambiguous picture.

- [K30] Ó. Briem, *Vanir og Æsir*, SI 21 (1963) [UL 599:01.c.1.5] (E.s.)  
[K31] H.R. Ellis Davidson, *Gods and myths of northern Europe* (1964) [UL 9460.d.1156]  
[K32] G. Dumézil, *Gods of the ancient Northmen*, transl. E. Haugen, Publications of the UCLA Center for the Study of Comparative Folklore and Mythology 3 (1973) [UL 465:26.c.95.7]; a classic if contentious study, cf. R.I. Page, 'Dumézil revisited', *SBVS* 20 (1978-81), 49-69  
[K33] U. Dronke, 'The war of the Æsir and Vanir in *Völuspá*', (O52):223-38  
[K34] L. Motz, *The king, the champion and the sorcerer: a study in Germanic myth*, *Studia medievale septentrionalia* 1 (1996) [UL 9002.d.3366]; with chapters on Odin, Thor and Frey

### Odin

As the leading figure in the Norse pantheon, at least according to most literary sources, the role of Odin has come under particular scrutiny. Various factors suggest that Odin's role in mythological material has been exaggerated: his identification with the Roman Mercury pales when compared to that of Thor with Jove, while reports of cult-sites such as that of Uppsala (K115 ff.) by Adam of Bremen again place Thor in prime position. For Odin's role in the Valhalla myth see (K55 ff.); for a personal view by a devotee (B523b).

- [K36] E.O.G. Turville-Petre, 'The cult of Odin in Iceland', (O4):1-19  
[K37] K. Hald, 'The cult of Odin in Danish place-names', (O20):99-109  
[K38] S. Grundy, *Miscellaneous studies towards the cult of Odinn* (1994) [ASNC]

### Thor

- [K39] R. Perkins, *Thor the Wind-Raiser and the Eyrarland Image* (2001)

### Other mythological figures

It is possible, if bold, to suggest that the pantheon represented the more 'public' face of Norse pagan belief, but a wide scattering of (often frustratingly vague) sources confirm the worship of other mythological figures, perhaps the recipients of more localised or private cults.

- [K40] F. Ström, *Diser, normor, valkyrjor: fruktbarhetskult och sakralt kungadöme i Norden*, KVHAA handlingar, filologisk-filosofiska serien 1 (1954) [UL 500:05.c.64.1]

### The giants

The role of giants in Norse mythology is ambiguous; they are at once presented as the ancestors, adversaries, and prospective brides or husbands of the gods.

- [K43] G. Steinsland, 'Giants as recipients of cult in the Viking age?', (K8):212-22  
[K44] L. Motz, 'The families of giants', *ANF* 102 (1987), 216-36

### Elves, dwarves, and dísir

[K45] The origins and roles of the figures known as elves, dwarves, and *dísir* in pagan mythology are hotly disputed, but they may have been recipients of more local cults; in Sigvat's *Austrfararvísur*

(B546c) a reference is made to *álfablót* 'sacrifice to elves' in the context of eleventh-century Västergötland, while feasts to the *dísir* are also referred to a variety of sources

### Death and eschatology

It seems likely that a large number of competing or complementary beliefs were present in the Viking age.

### The origins of the world

[K47] J.S. Martin, '*Ár vas alda*: ancient Scandinavian creation myths reconsidered', (O32):357-69

### The end of the world and Ragnarøk

The most coherent, if not necessarily most authentic, presentation of Norse eschatology is to be found in the Eddaic poem *Völuspá* (B605), when the crimes of the gods come home to roost and they are for the most part killed by various mythic adversaries before the world is re-born anew.

[K50] J.S. Martin, *Ragnarøk: an investigation into Old Norse concepts of the fate of the Gods*, Melbourne monographs in Germanic studies 3 (1972) [UL 701:4.c.3.3]

[K51] A. Hultgård, 'Old Scandinavian and Christian eschatology', (O60):344-57

[K52] A. Hultgård, 'Ragnarøk and Valhalla: eschatological beliefs among the Scandinavians of the Viking period', (A51):288-93

### The afterlife

[K55] The various perspectives on the fate of the individual after death are particularly tricky, since the more varied amount of evidence for this aspect of pagan belief does not point in any single direction. The inclusion of grave-goods in burials (M300 ff.) is usually (and probably reasonably) interpreted as indicating the belief that they would be useful for the individual concerned after death; on the other hand, the single most cogent destination for deceased souls, the warriors' feasting-hall at Valhalla reflected above all in verse (B524, B530a, B608), does not seem to require much in the way of equipment. Scattered sources such as family sagas (B350 ff.) seem to imply folk-beliefs that the dead stayed resident in their grave-mounds or other features of the landscape, but there are also hints at a number of other divergent ideas, including even sun-worship (B256). Many other aspects of pagan mythology on this point, such as the references to Hel, are of obscure interpretation, and it is distinctly possible that such conceptions changed over time and place; for the clearest mythological statement, see *Völuspá* (B605), which implies a (possibly Christian-influenced) judgement of the dead according to various moral qualities

[K56] H.R. Ellis Davidson, *The road to Hel: a study of the conception of the dead in Old Norse literature* (1943) [UL 461:7.c.90.3]

[K57] E. Marold, 'Das Walhallbild in den *Eiríksmál* und den *Hákonarmál*', *MS* 5 (1972), 19-33

### Paganism in the Icelandic sagas

A large amount of antiquarian material relating to the pagan past can be found in the sagas of Icelanders (B350 ff.). Much of it is undoubtedly of great antiquity, much else is equally undoubtedly the work of (more or less) educated saga-writers.

[K60] J. Steffensen, 'Aspects of life in Iceland in the heathen period', *SBVS* 17 (1966-69), 177-205

[K61] L. Lönnroth, 'The noble heathen: a theme in the sagas', *SS* 41 (1969), 1-29

[K62] J.S. Martin, 'Some comments on the perception of heathen religious customs in the sagas', *Parergon* 6 (1973), 45-50

[K63] P. Schach, 'Antipagan sentiment in the sagas of Icelanders', *Gripla* 1, *SÁMÍ rit* 7 (1975), 105-34 [UL 752:1.c.5.10]

[K64] R. Boyer, 'Paganism and literature: the so-called "pagan survivals" in the *samtíðarsögur*', *Gripla* 1, *SÁMÍ rit* 7 (1975), 135-67 [UL 752:1.c.5.10]

[K65] B. McCreesh, 'How pagan are the Icelandic family sagas?', *JEGP* 79 (1980), 58-66

[K66] J. Hnefill Aðalsteinsson, 'Old Norse religion in the sagas of Icelanders', *Gripla* 7, *SÁMÍ rit* 37 (1990), 303-22 [UL 752:1.c.5.41]

[K67] C. Tolley, 'Sources for Snorri's depiction of Óðinn in *Ynglinga saga*: Lappish shamanism and the *Historia Norvegiae*', *MM* 1996, 67-79

### Cultic society

[K70] We are perhaps on more solidly historical ground when considering the nature of pre-Christian or 'cultic' society. Some foreign commentators such as Adam (B73), Thietmar (B63), and Al-Turtushi (B215) give scattered reports of cultic activity among the Viking-age Scandinavians; a wealth of further material is to be found also in the family sagas (B350 ff.) and kings' sagas (B290 ff.), but this is usually of dubious authenticity. Of particular significance is the role of the cult in the social make-up of Scandinavia, as exemplified above all by the use of place-names and various forms of material evidence to reconstruct concepts such as the 'central place' (C70 ff.), cf. also below (K100 ff.)

### Law and society

[K71] The symbiosis between law and religion is reflected in the multi-functional nature of the 'thing' (C80). A remnant of the pagan law ascribed to Ulfjot (B695) is supposedly preserved in *Landnámabók* (B256) and versions of *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar* (B311), but its authenticity is open to doubt. Probably more telling are the clauses in mediaeval lawcodes (B680 ff.) outlawing various practices such as 'doing things with sticks' or 'putting power into stones', even if their precise function and interpretation is a bit shaky.

[K72] B. Frense, *Religion och rätt: en studie till belysning av relationen religion-rätt i förkristen nordisk kultur*, Ph.D. dissertation at Lund University (1982) [UL 592:7.c.95.10]

[K 73] A. Sundqvist, 'Features of pre-Christian inauguration rituals in the medieval Swedish laws' (O84):620-50

### Hierogamy and sacral kingship

Many sources, particularly Eddaic verse such as *Rígsþula* (B617), try to provide a mythological background for kingship and class structures in general; other kinds of evidence, particularly skaldic poems such as *Ynglingatal* (B521a) or the verse of the court of earl Hakon of Lade (B526), imply a link between the ruler and the ruled (in terms of land and people) that has religious foundations. These points have often been linked to the notion of a 'sacred marriage' or symbiosis between king and land, and thence to the (often overstated) notion of 'sacral kingship'.

[K75] J. Fleck, 'Konr—Óttarr—Geirroðr: a knowledge criterion for succession to the Germanic sacred kingship', *SS* 42 (1970), 39-49

[K76] F. Fuglestad, 'Earth-priests, "priest-chiefs", and sacred kings in ancient Norway, Iceland and west Africa', *SJH* 4 (1979), 47-74

[K77] F. Ström, 'Hieros gamos-motivet i Hallfreðr Óttarssons *Hákonardrápa* och den nordnorska jarlavärdigheten', *ANF* 98 (1983), 67-79

[K78] R. Boyer, 'Pagan sacral kingship in the *konungasögur*', (A61f):71-87

[K79] J.A. Mazo, 'Sacred knowledge, kingship, and Christianity: myth and cultural change in medieval Scandinavia', (A61f):751-62

[K80] L. Lönnroth, 'Dómaldi's death and the myth of sacral kingship', (O44):73-93

[K81] G. Steinsland, *Det hellige bryllup og norrøn kongeideologi: en analyse av hierogami-myten i Skírnismál, Ynglingatal, Háleygjatal og Hyndluljóð* (1991) [UL 752:21.c.95.12] (E.s.)

[K82] E. Picard, *Germanisches Sakralkönigtum? Quellenkritische Studien zur Germania des Tacitus und zur altnordischen Überlieferung*, *Skandinavistische Arbeiten* 12 (1991) [UL 752:01.c.10.12]

[K83] R.W. McTurk, 'Sacral kingship in ancient Scandinavia: a review of some recent writings', *SBVS* 19 (1974-77), 139-69, and 'Scandinavian sacral kingship revisited', *SBVS* 24 (1994-97), 19-32

[K84] F. Herschend, 'A note on late Iron age kingship mythology', *Tor* 28 (1996), 283-303; for a comparative perspective

[K85] L. Motz, 'Kingship and the giants', *ANF* 111 (1996), 73-88

[K86] G. Steinsland, *Den hellige kongen. Om religion og herskermakt fra vikingtid til tidlig middelalder* (2000)

[K87] N.S. Price, *The Viking Way. Religion and War in Late Iron Age Scandinavia*. Aun 31 (2002) [ASNC]

### The evidence of place-names

Place-names supply much useful information on pagan cults and society, in terms of ‘theophoric’ names indicating devotion to particular divinities along with cultic elements such as *hof* or *vé* which can be used (with caution) to extrapolate practices of worship and beliefs. For broader surveys of place-name material see (B840 ff.).

[K90] M. Olsen, *Hedenske kultminder i norske stedsnavne*, SDNVAO 1914:4 [UL 500:01.b.4.18]

[K91] Ó. Lárusson, ‘Heathen and Christian traces in Icelandic place-names’, *Proceedings and transactions of the third International Congress of Toponymy and Anthroponymy, Brussels, July 15th-July 19th 1949*, edd. H. Draye and O. Jodogne (1951), 252-58 [UL P498.c.20.5]

[K92] B. Holmberg, ‘Views on cultic place-names in Denmark: a review of research’, (O60):381-93

[K93] S. Brink, ‘Cult sites in northern Sweden’, (O60):458-89

[K94] T. Andersson, ‘Orts- und Personennamen als Aussagequelle für die alt-germanische Religion’, (K12):508-40

[K95] S. Sigmundsson, ‘Átrúnaðr og örnefni’, (B261):241-54 (E.s.)

[K96] B. Holmberg, ‘Recent research into sacral names’, (A51):280-87

### Festivals and worship

Place-names give the impression of widely disparate cults across Scandinavia. Although it should be borne in mind that theophoric place-names can contain the names of different divinities who may have performed similar functions in different regions, it is widely held that pagan beliefs and customs are likely to have varied widely in time and place.

### Cult-sites and social gatherings

One of the most visible, or at least easily reconstructed, forms of pagan worship is the communal gathering at cult-sites, often going under the name *hof*. The frequent translation of this word as ‘temple’ seems to be misleading, in that separate sacral buildings are difficult to uncover in the material record; we seem instead to be dealing with ceremonial buildings or halls which had many functions, including ritual ceremonies, cf. (C60 ff.). For a fascinating recently excavated site, see:

[K100] A.-L. Nielsen, ‘Pagan cultic and votive acts at Borg: an expression of the central significance of the farmstead in the late Iron age’, (O80):373-92; on Borg in Östergötland

[K101] S. Brink, ‘Mythologizing landscape. Place and space of cult and myth’, (O84):76-112

[K102] C. Raudvere et al., (edd.), *Plats och Praxis: Studier av nordisk förkristen ritual* (2002)

### The hofs of Iceland

The ‘temples’ of Iceland were long held as prime examples of cultic buildings in Scandinavia, but the reliance of earlier scholars on accounts in sagas (K60 ff.) has now been tempered by more caution. For surveys of earlier scholarship see (K125) and (G22).

[K103] B.S. Phillpotts, ‘Temple-administration and chieftainship in pre-Christian Norway and Iceland’, *SBVS* 8 (1912-13), 264-84

[K103] A. Roussell, ‘Islands gudehove’, (G15):215-23 (E.s. 322-23)

[K104] A. Friðriksson and O. Vésteinsson, ‘Hofstaðir revisited’, *NAR* 30 (1997), 103-12

### Other famous cult-sites

[K110] On Jelling in Jutland see also (D60 ff.) and E. Dyggve, *Three sanctuaries of Jelling type*, *Scripta minora* 1959-60:1 [UL P911:36.c.16.16]; Dyggve’s interpretation is now dated, cf. (K125)

[K111] For Lejre see (D31) and the account by Thietmar (B63)

[K112] The seat of the earls of Lade or Hlaðir in the Trøndelag in central Norway may probably be considered a cultic centre; for saga-accounts, see K. Düwel, *Das Opferfest von Lade: quellenkritische Untersuchungen zur germanischen Religionsgeschichte*, *Wiener Arbeiten zur germanischen Altertumskunde und Philologie* 27 (1985) [UL 500:05.d.5.27]

[K113] The nearby site at Mære in the Trøndelag is also recorded as a cult-centre, which may be borne out by excavations under the mediaeval church, see H.-E. Lidén, ‘From pagan sanctuary to Christian church: the excavation of Mære church in Trøndelag’, *NAR* 2 (1969), 3-32, and cf. (K125 ff.)

### Uppsala

Uppsala is worthy of a section in its own right as the most celebrated cult-site in Scandinavia, most famously illuminated by the description of it from Adam of Bremen (B73); for the royal burial mounds, see (M335, M339).

[K115] K. Kumlien, *Biskop Karl av Västerås och Uppsala ärkesätets flyttning*, Historiskt arkiv 14 (1967) [UL 500:05.c.59.3]

[K116] D. Strömbäck, 'Uppsala in Old Norse literature', (A45):21-32

[K117] W. Duczko, (ed.), *Arkeologi och miljögeologi i Gamla Uppsala: studier och rapporter I-II*, OPIA 7, 11 (1993, 1996) [ASNC]

[K118] E. Nordahl, '... *templum quod Ubsola dicitur ... i arkeologisk belysning*', *Aun* 22 (1996) (E.s.) [ASNC]

[K119] M. Alkarp, 'Källan, lunden och templet: Adam av Bremens Uppsalaskildring i ny belysning', *FV* 92 (1997), 155-61 (E.s.)

[K120] W. Duczko, 'Gamla Uppsala', (A105): X,409-18

### Cult-continuity

A particularly interesting issue that has been vigorously debated recently is the notion of cult-continuity, or the extent to which pagan cult-sites were transformed into Christian centres at the conversion. One of the major problems has traditionally been the difficulty in identifying the physical remains of cult-sites through archaeology; these issues are addressed in many of the excavations noted above, most visibly with (K113). For the perspective looking backwards from the Christian period, see (L11) and (L220 ff.).

[K125] O. Olsen, *Hørg, hov og kirke: historiske og arkæologiske vikingetidsstudier*, ANOH 1965 (1966) [UL P592.c.26.101] (E.s.); a classic and significant survey, that played a dominant role in revising the views of earlier scholarship on cultic sites and continuity

[K126] O. Olsen, 'Is there a relationship between pagan and Christian places of worship in Scandinavia?', *The Anglo-Saxon church: papers on history, architecture, and archaeology in honour of Dr H.M. Taylor*, CBA Research Report 60, edd. L.A.S. Butler and R.K. Morris (1986), 126-30 [UL 9400.b.3811]

[K127] J. Sandnes, 'Hedensk kultus og kristen kirke: noen refleksjoner om kultkontinuitet ut fra plasseringen av enkelte kirker i Nord-Trøndelag', (O48):144-52

[K128] Several useful contributions are contained in (L11), including: S. Brink, 'Kultkontinuitet från bosättningshistorisk utgångspunkt', 105-27 (E.s.); A.-S. Gräslund, 'Kultkontinuitet: myt eller verklighet? Om arkeologins möjligheter att belysa problemet', 129-50 (E.s.)

### Ritual and sacrifice

The notion of sacrifice as part of pagan ritual is extremely widespread, and can be borne out from both literary reports and archaeological evidence, particularly burials.

[K130] H. Schetelig, 'Traces of the custom of suttee in Norway during the Viking age', *SBVS* 6 (1908-09), 180-208

[K131] T.M. Andersson, 'Heathen sacrifice in *Beowulf* and Rimbert's *Life of Ansgar*', *Medievalia et humanistica* 13 (1985), 65-74

[K132] J. Hnefill Aðalsteinsson, 'Opferbeschreibungen in christlichen Schriften', (O60):206-22

[K133] H. Ellis Davidson, 'Human sacrifice in the late pagan period in north western Europe', (M355):331-40

[K134] A. Hultgård, 'Altskandinavische Opferrituale und das Problem der Quellen', *The problem of ritual, based on papers read at the symposium on religious rites held at Åbo, Finland on the 13th-16th of August 1991*, Scripta instituti Donneriani Aboensis 15, ed. T. Ahlbäck (1993), 221-59 [UL 2:01.c.13.14]

[K135] T. Oestigaard, 'Sacrifices of raw, cooked and burnt humans', *NAR* 33 (2000), 41-58

[K135] A. Gräslund, 'Living with the dead. Reflections on food offerings at graves' (O84):222-235

### Votive deposits

The most notable examples of votive deposits from the Viking age are probably the small gold foils or *gullgubber* found at many excavations of rural and urban sites; see also (K145 ff.). For the widespread votive deposits in bogs of the early Iron age, see (D20 ff.) and:

[K140] P.V. Glob, *The bog-people: Iron age man preserved*, transl. R. Bruce-Mitford (1969; repr. 1998) [UL 598:3.b.95.2; repr. 1999.10.272]; the classic survey of Iron-age bog deposits

[K141] F. Ström, 'Bog corpses and *Germania*, ch. 12', (K8):223-39

On the theories surrounding the development of the tradition:

[K143] J. Thérus, *Ideologi och religion i järnålderns samhälle: teori och polemik i modern nordisk arkeologiskurs* (2000) [ASNC] (E.s.)

### Amulets

[K145] S. Horn Fuglesang, 'Viking and medieval amulets in Scandinavia', *FV* 84 (1989), 15-27

[K146] G.L. Novikova, 'Iron neck-rings with Thor's hammers found in eastern Europe', *FV* 87 (1992), 73-89

[K147] N.S. Price, 'Pagan amulets and cult objects from the black earth: interim report on finds from the 1990 excavations', (N283):70-78

[K148] M.K. Zeiten, 'Amulets and amulet use in Viking age Denmark', *AA* 68 (1997), 1-74

[K149] I.-M. Back Danielsson, 'Engendering performance in the late Iron age', *CSA* 7 (1999), 7-20

[K150] M. Watts, 'Kings or gods? Iconographic evidence from Scandinavian gold foil figures', (D28):173-83

### Magic and shamanism

The practice of magic and shamanism is a tricky one; for an interesting if speculative discussion of its possible role in a major historical event, see (L72). For a recent archaeological perspective on the subject, see (K87).

[K155] P. Buchholz, 'Shamanism: the testimony of Old Icelandic literary tradition', *MS* 4 (1971), 7-20

[K156] G.S. Poulsen, 'The complementarity of magic in Nordic mythology and in archaeological sources', (K8):168-79

[K157] J.M. Jochens, 'Old Norse magic and gender: Þátr Þorvalds ins víðförla', *SS* 63 (1991), 305-17; on *seiðr*

[K158] C. Tolley, '*Vǫrðr* and *gandr*: helping spirits in Norse magic', *ANF* 110 (1995), 57-75

[K159] B. Solli, *Seid: myter, sjamanisme og kjønn i vikingenes tid* (2002)

## L. CHRISTIANITY

The conversion of Scandinavia to Christianity seems to have been a long and convoluted process. Beginning with the earliest missions of the eighth and ninth centuries, what might be called 'Christian' cults and customs spread slowly across Scandinavia before being settled in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Both the conversion and the growth of the Church in mediaeval Scandinavia are included here together, largely because they are indistinguishable in the 'missionary phase' which lasted well into the twelfth century. An understanding of the background to these various missions, as well as comparative evidence of the fate of Christianity in other pagan regions, is essential for this topic, which although of prime importance is often irritatingly undersourced in terms of written documents. For the general background, see:

[L1] W. Ullmann, *A short history of the Papacy in the Middle ages*, corr. repr. (1974) [UL 70:3.c.95.14]

[L2] R. Fletcher, *The conversion of Europe: from paganism to Christianity, 371-1386 AD* (1997) [UL 62:1.c.95.54]

[L3] C.M. Cusack, *Conversion among the Germanic peoples* (1998) [UL 60:8.c.95.79]

### The conversion

The study of the conversion of Scandinavia has become a growth industry in recent years, and hence there is a vast amount of material to plough through. For initial guidance, see the handbooks in (A), also

(L2) chap. 11: 'Scandinavians abroad and at home', and (L3) chap. 6: 'Christianity in the North'. To save space, only more recent specific contributions to the debate(s) tend to be included here.

[L5] C. Fell, 'From Odin to Christ', (A13):172-93

[L6] P. Sawyer, 'The Christianisation of Scandinavia', (A60) vol. 5 (1986), 23-37 [UL L592.c.25.5]

[L7] A.-S. Gräslund, 'Pagan and Christian in the age of conversion', (A49):81-94

[L8] B. Sawyer et al., (edd.), *The Christianization of Scandinavia: report of a symposium held at Kungälv, Sweden, 4-9 August 1985* (1987) [UL 62:46.c.95.12], includes several articles plus lots of useful discussion

[L9] R.B. Finnestad, 'The study of the Christianisation of the Nordic countries: some reflections', (O60):256-72

[L10] G. Steinsland, 'The change of religion in the Nordic countries: a confrontation between two living religions', *CM* 3 (1990-92), 123-35

[L11] B. Nilsson, (ed.), *Kontinuitet i kult och tro från vikingatid till medeltid*, Projektet Sveriges kristnande 1 (1992) [UL 62:5.c.95.21], incl. B. Nilsson, 'Till frågan om kyrkans hållning till icke-kristna kultfenomen: attityder under tidig medeltid i Europa och Norden', 9-47 (E.s.); A. Hultgård, 'Religiös förändring, kontinuitet och ackulturation/synkretism i vikingatidens och medeltidens skandinaviska religion', 49-103 (E.s.)

[L12] P. Foote, 'Historical studies: conversion moment and conversion period', (O72):137-44

[L13] P. Beskow and R. Staats, *Nordens kristnande i europeiskt perspektiv: tre uppsatser*, Occasional papers on medieval topics 7 (1994) [UL 9004.c.1288]

[L14] J. Stevenson, 'Christianising the northern barbarians', (O76):162-84

[L15] P.M. Sørensen, 'Religions old and new', (A22):202-24

[L16] L. Abrams, 'History and archaeology: the conversion of Scandinavia', *Conversion and Christianity in the North sea world*, St John's house papers 8, ed. B.E. Crawford (1998), 109-28 [UL L911:15.c.20.8]

[L17] J.V. Sigurðsson, *Kristningen i norden* (2003)

[L18] A.-S. Gräslund, *Ideologi och mentalitet – om religionsskiftet I Skandinavien från en arkeologisk horisont*, OPIA 29 (2001) [UL 595:01.b.9.29]

[L19] J. Staecker, 'The mission of the triangle; the christianisation of the Saxons, west Slavs and Danes in a comparative analysis', *Archaeological review from Cambridge* 17:2 (2000). 99-116

For the response to Christianity and motivations of certain social groups:

[L20] B. Sawyer, 'Women and the conversion of Scandinavia', *Frauen in Spätantike und Frühmittelalter: Lebensbedingungen, Lebensnormen, Lebensformen*, ed. W. Affeldt (1990), 263-81 [UL 502:2.c.95.399]

[L21] L. Abrams, 'Kings and bishops and the conversion of the Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian kingdoms', (O78):15-28

On conversion narratives in general:

[L22] J.M. Pizarro, 'Conversion narratives: form and utility', (A61f):813-32

[L23] B. Sawyer, 'Scandinavian conversion histories', (L8):88-110

[L24] R. Mazo Karras, 'God and man in medieval Scandinavia: writing—and gendering—the conversion', *Varieties of religious conversion in the middle ages*, ed. James Muldoon (1997), 100-14 [UL 60:8.c.95.73]

[L25] H. Janson, 'Adam of Bremen and the conversion of Scandinavia', *Christianizing peoples and converting individuals*, ed. G. Armstrong and I. Wood. *International medieval research*, 7 (2000), 83-88 [UL 60:8.c.200.4]

### Regional studies

For each country these items should be complemented with those from the individual sections (D-I). The fundamental contemporary written sources include Rimbert (B72), Adam (B73), diplomatic material (B717 ff.), and runic inscriptions (B800 ff., C90 ff.).

### Denmark

For the earliest missions to Denmark under Anskar and successors, see (L115 ff.). According to Widukind (B61), the 'official' conversion was accepted by Harald Bluetooth around 965, who was convinced by a miracle performed by the missionary Poppo, cf. (D60 ff.); for the German charters of the tenth century referring to Danish bishops, see (L31) and (L210).

[L30] L. Demidoff, 'The Poppo legend', *MS* 6 (1973), 39-67

[L31] N.s Refskou, 'Det retslige indhold af de ottonske diplomater til de danske bispedømmer', *Scandia* 52 (1986), 167-210 (E.s. 349-50)

[L32] J. Kousgård Sørensen, 'The change of religion and the names', (O60):394-403

[L33] E. Roesdahl, 'Pagan beliefs, Christian impact and archaeology: a Danish view', (O72):128-36

### Norway

Missionary activity in Norway is less fully discussed by contemporary European authors, but can be tracked partially through the evidence of burials (L150 ff.). A particularly striking aspect is the use of skaldic verse (B540 ff.) as the battleground for religious debate in the tenth century. On the early Christian kings see (E50 ff., E60 ff.); on the widespread English influence also (L132 ff.).

[L40] F. Birkeli, 'The earliest missionary activities from England to Norway', *NMS* 15 (1971), 27-37

[L41] A.O. Johnsen, 'Om misjonsbiskopen Grimkellus', *NHT* 54 (1975), 22-34 (E.s.)

[L42] T.M. Andersson, 'The conversion of Norway according to Oddr Snorrason and Snorri Sturluson', *MS* 10 (1977), 83-95

[L43] F. Birkeli, *Hva vet vi om kristningen av Norge? Utforskningen av norske kristendoms- og kirkehistorie fra 900- til 1200-tallet* (1982) [UL 9100.c.6724]

[L44] P. Sawyer, 'Ethelred II, Olaf Tryggvason, and the conversion of Norway', *SS* 59 (1987), 299-307

[L45] A.J. Brendalsmo, 'The Christianization of Vestfold, Norway', (O70): VI,133-41

[L46] Ø. Walberg, (ed.), *Før og etter Stiklestad 1030: religionsskifte, kulturforhold, politisk makt; seminar på Stiklestad, 1994* (1994); lots of articles in Norwegian focussing on the conversion around the time of saint Olaf Haraldsson

[L47] B. Solli, 'Fra hedendom til kristendom: religionsskiftet i Norge i arkeologisk belysning', *Viking* 58 (1995), 23-48 (E.s.)

[L48] B. Solli, 'Narratives of encountering religions: on the Christianization of the Norse around AD 900-1000', *NAR* 29 (1996), 89-114; focuses on the important site of Veøy, see also (M51)

[L49] T. Jørgensen, 'From Wessex to Norway: some perspectives on one channel for the Christianisation process', (O78):29-44

[L50] D. Skre, 'Missionary activity in early medieval Norway: strategy, organization and the course of events', *SJH* 23 (1998), 1-19

### Sweden

The earliest known missions to Sweden are recorded by Rimbart (B72) in the ninth century. Thereafter the written record largely dries up until the eleventh century, but the numerous Christian runestones of this period (B825, C90 ff.) give the impression that Christianity had made a more dramatic impact than might otherwise have been expected. In the Middle Ages several missionary saints were venerated who were said to have been active in the field in the eleventh century; Sigfrid, Eskil, and David stand out. They were generally held to be of English origin and the first two are mentioned by Aelnoth (B647b); however, most of the information about them is derived from late mediaeval hagiographies or liturgical sources (B672, 780) that are of no genuine historical value. For Viking-age evidence of Christian worship in towns, see (N280 ff.).

[L55] T. Schmid, 'Eskil, Botvid och David: tre svenska helgon', *Scandia* 4 (1931), 102-14

[L56] C.J.A. Oppermann, *The English missionaries in Sweden and Finland* (1937) [UL 179.c.27.28]

[L57] W. Holmqvist, 'Was there a Christian mission to Sweden before Ansgar?', *Early medieval studies* 8, *Arkiv* 46 (1975), 33-55

[L58] S. Kjällerström, 'Sankt Sigfrid, Sigfridslegenden och Växjö stift', *KÅ* 1980, 27-33, and L.-O. Larsson, 'Den helige Sigfrid och Växjöstiftets äldsta historia: metod- och materialfrågor kring problem i tidigmedeltida kyrkohistoria', *KÅ* 1982, 68-94

- [L59] T. Lundén, *Sveriges missionärer, helgon och kyrkogrundare: en bok om Sveriges kristnande* (1983) [UL 62:5.c.95.19]
- [L60] A.-S. Gräslund, 'Some aspects of Christianisation in central Sweden', (O64):45-52
- [L61] A. Trotzig, 'St. Eskil and St. Botvid: a comparison between the medieval images of two Swedish missionary saints with English connections', (O70): VII,51-55
- [L62] S. Brink, (ed.), *Jämtlands kristnande*, Projektet Sveriges kristnande 4 (1996) [UL 62:5.c.95.20]; collected articles with short English summaries on the conversion of the border province of Jämtland, particularly significant for the runestone and cult-site at Frösö: see H. Williams, 'Runjämstkan på Frösöstenen och Östmans bro', 45-63; B.-M. Näsström, 'Offerlunden under Frösö kyrka', 65-85, and much more of great interest besides. Further on Jämtland, see:
- [L63] S. Welinder, 'Christianity, politics and ethnicity in early medieval Jämtland', (O87):509-530
- [L64] B. Nilsson, (ed.), *Kristnandet i Sverige: gamla källor och nya perspektiv*, Projektet Sveriges kristnandet 5 (1996) [ASNC]; a large collection of articles (in Swedish) of more general relevance than the title suggests, each with a brief English summary, see particularly: on written sources and the ecclesiastical background, C.F. Hallencreutz, 'De berättande källorna, påvebrev och tidiga prov på inhemsk historieskrivning', 115-40 and 'Riksidentitet, stiftsidentitet och den vidare Europagemenskapen', 243-68; on the interaction with state-formation, T. Lindkvist, 'Kungamakt, kristnande, statsbildning', 217-41; on women, A.-S. Gräslund, 'Kristnandet ur ett kvinnoperspektiv', 313-34; and the final conclusion, B. Nilsson, 'Kristnandet i Sverige: avslutande reflexioner', 419-41
- [L65] W. Duczko, 'Real and imaginary contributions of Poland and Rus' to the conversion of Sweden', *Early Christianity in central and eastern Europe*, ed. P. Urbanczyk (1996), 129-35
- [L65] A. Sanmark, 'The role of secular rulers in the conversion of Sweden', (O87):551-58.

### Iceland

The conversion of Iceland is typically traced through *Íslendingabók* (B255) and the various later saga narratives (B455, B458-59) that record a brief flurry of missionary activity in the late tenth century culminating in the public agreement to accept Christianity at the Althing in the year 1000 (or less dramatically, but perhaps more accurately, 999). See (L3) chap. 7: 'The conversion of Iceland', and:

- [L70] J. Langelyth, *A critical examination of the source materials to the history of the introduction of Christianity in Iceland* (1974); see the review by J. Gíslason, *Saga* 12 (1974), 201-22
- [L71] D. Strömbäck, *The conversion of Iceland: a survey*, transl. P. Foote, VSNR TS 6 (1975) [UL 752:1.d.2.6]
- [L72] J. Hnefill Aðalsteinsson, *Under the cloak: the acceptance of Christianity in Iceland with particular reference to the religious attitudes prevailing at the time*, Acta universitatis Upsaliensis: studia ethnologica Upsaliensia 4 (1978) [UL 461:01.c.12.4]
- [L73] P.G. Foote, 'conversion of the Icelanders', (O6):56-64; in the same vol. 'Observations on "syncretism" in early Icelandic Christianity', 84-100
- [L74] J. Gíslason, 'Acceptance of Christianity in Iceland in the year 1000 (999)', (O60):223-55
- [L75] H. Hugason, 'The acceptance of Christianity in Iceland: an attempt at a new interpretation', (O78):45-57
- [L76] O. Vésteinsson, 'The conversion of the Icelanders', [O83]: 325-42

On the question of Christianity among the early settlers cf. (G40 ff.) and:

- [L77] J. Hnefill Aðalsteinsson, 'Írsk kristni og norræn trú á Íslandi á tíundu öld', *Saga* 24 (1986), 205-21 (E.s.)
- [L78] J. Jesch, 'Early christians in Icelandic history: a case study', *NMS* 31 (1987), 17-36

### Greenland

For the little known about the conversion of Greenland see the Vinland sagas (B330, B332) and:

- [L80] Ó. Halldórsson, 'The conversion of Greenland in written sources', (A47):203-16

### The Viking colonies

The fate of the Vikings abroad is of great comparative interest, not least because of the apparent ease with which many communities accepted Christianity. In addition, it might well be assumed that converts in the British isles in particular played a role in spreading the new faith back across the North sea.

### The British isles and Ireland

- [L85] D. Whitelock, 'The conversion of the eastern Danelaw', *SBVS* 12 (1937-45), 159-76  
[L86] D. Wilson, 'The Vikings' relationship with Christianity in northern England', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 30 (1967), 37-46  
[L87] D.M. Hadley, 'The Vikings' relationship with Christianity reconsidered', (O78):59-76  
[L88] L.J. Abrams, 'The conversion of the Scandinavians of Dublin', *ANS* 20 (1997), 1-29  
[L89] J. Jesch, 'Scandinavians and 'cultural paganism' in later Anglo-Saxon England', *The Christian tradition in Anglo-Saxon England. Approaches to current scholarship and teaching* (2004), 55-68 [ASNC]

### Russia

Although the conversion of the Rus' cannot really be conceived of as reflecting a Viking response to Christianity, the declaration of public conversion by Vladimir in 988 is of particular comparative interest, in that in terms of chronology and probable motivation it is strikingly similar to royal policy in Scandinavia itself in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries.

- [L90] L. Müller, *Die Taufe Russlands: die Frühgeschichte des russischen Christentums bis zum Jahre 988*, Quellen und Studien zur russischen Geistesgeschichte 6 (1987) [UL 62:57.c.95.40]  
[L91] Y.N. Shchapov, *State and church in early Russia: 10th-13th centuries*, transl. V. Schneerson (1993) [UL 586:3.c.95.104]  
[L92] J. Fennell, *A history of the Russian church to 1448* (1995) [UL 67:7.c.95.173]

A further series of conferences held to celebrate the conventional date of 988 for Vladimir's introduction of Christianity into Kievan Russia contain a sprinkling of interesting articles:

- [L94] K.C. Felmy et al., (edd.), *Tausend Jahre Christentum in Rußland: zum Millenium der Taufe der Kiever Rus'* (1988) [UL 67:7.c.95.145]  
[L95] O. Pritsak and I. Sevcenko, (edd.), *Proceedings of the International Congress commemorating the millenium of Christianity in Rus'-Ukraine*, Harvard Ukrainian Studies 12-13 (1988-89) [UL P586.c.146.11], including: O. Pritsak, 'At the dawn of Christianity in Rus': East meets West', 87-113; A. Poppe, 'Two concepts of the conversion of Rus' in Kievan writings', 488-504; H. Birnbaum, 'When and how was Novgorod converted to Christianity?', 505-30  
[L96] H. Goltz et al., (edd.), *Tausend Jahre Taufe Rußlands, Rußland in Europa: Beiträge zum interdisziplinären und ökumenischen Symposium in Halle (Saale), 13.-16. April 1988* (1993) [UL 67:7.c.95.177]

### Missionary activity

One of the most frustrating aspects of studying the conversion of Scandinavia is the lack of sources detailing the activities and methods of missionaries; only Rimbert's life of Anskar (B72) really comes close, and this deals only with the very earliest missions that in many ways can be seen as unrepresentative of the later, more formal, phase of conversion. Comparative material from the Anglo-Saxon missionaries in Germany is often interesting, see (B81). On the practice of 'primesigning', see:

- [L100] Å. Sandholm, *Primsigningsriten under nordisk medeltid*, Acta Academiae Aboensis A: Humaniora 29:3 (1965) [UL P500.c.165.27]

And on missionary methods more generally:

- [L101] R. Sullivan, 'The Carolingian missionary and the pagan', *Speculum* 28 (1953), 705-40; for this and further studies, see also the collection of reprinted articles in R.E. Sullivan, *Christian missionary activity in the early Middle ages*, Variorum collected studies series 431 (1994) [UL 165:3.c.95.65]  
[L102] I. Wood, *The missionary life: saints and the evangelisation of Europe 400-1050* (2002) [UL 62:1.c.200.4]

### Hamburg-Bremen

[L110] From Anskar's time onwards, the responsibility for converting the Scandinavians and laying the foundations for the Scandinavian church rested by papal decree with the (arch)bishops of (Hamburg-)Bremen. Accordingly, many of our most useful sources such as Rimbart (B72) and Adam (B73) emanated from this see, but were clearly designed to enhance the role of Hamburg-Bremen above other authorities. For the correspondence between the archbishops and the Popes concerning their privileges as appointed papal legates, see (B740-742); among the most important documents are the authorisation of Paschal I for Ebo of 822 (B736a):68-70, Nicholas I's confirmation of the role of Hamburg-Bremen in 864 (736b):290-93, and Formosus' re-iteration on the behalf of Adalgar in 892 (736c):367-68

[L111] G. Glaeske, *Die Erzbischöfe von Hamburg-Bremen als Reichsfürsten (937-1258)*, Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Niedersachsens 60 (1962) [UL 535.c.56.44]

[L112] W. Seegrün, *Das Papsttum und Skandinavien bis zur Vollendung der nordischen Kirchenorganisation*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins 51 (1967) [UL 570:01.c.46.37]

[L113] S. Weinfurter and O. Engels, (edd.), *Series episcoporum ecclesiae catholicae occidentalis ab initio usque ad annum MCXCVIII, series V: Germania, II: Archiepiscopatus Hammaburgensis sive Bremensis* (1984), 1-52 [UL R100.18]; very useful survey of the various bishops by K. Reinecke although in Latin

### The Anskarian missions

The primary written source is naturally the biography of Anskar by Rimbart (B72), and most of the items cited above will contain some account and discussion of this period.

[L115] L. Weibull, 'Ansgarius', (O2):175-89

[L116] C.F. Hallencreutz, 'Missionary spirituality: the case of Ansgar', *Studia theologica* 36 (1982), 105-18

[L117] Wolfdieter Haas, 'Foris apostolus—intus monachus: Ansgar als Mönch und "Apostel des Nordens"', *JMH* 11 (1985), 1-30

[L118] I. Wood, 'Christians and pagans in ninth-century Scandinavia', (L8):36-67

[L119] R. Staats, 'Missionshistoria som "Geistesgeschichte": ledmotiv i den nordeuropeiska missionshistorien', (L13):3-15

[L120] J.T. Palmer, *The Vita Anskarii and the failure of the ninth-century missions to Scandinavia*, Dissertation for the M.Phil. in Medieval History, August 2000 [Seeley 9.2.58]

### The eleventh century

This period saw the beginnings of formal ecclesiastical structures in Scandinavia, cf. (L200 ff.). One striking point was the growing demand for local control over the Church and the responses of the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen, see:

[L125] E.N. Johnson, 'Adalbert of Hamburg-Bremen: a politician of the eleventh century', *Speculum* 9 (1934), 147-79

On the eleventh-century background:

[L127] G. Tellenbach, *The church in western Europe from the tenth to the early twelfth century*, transl. T. Reuter (1993) [UL 60:8.c.95.56]

### Other missionaries

Missionaries not accredited by Hamburg-Bremen tend to receive a fairly negative press in the written sources emanating from Germany, but their impact must have been extensive.

[L130] J. Staecker, 'Legends and mysteries: reflections on the evidence for the early mission in Scandinavia', (O80):419-54

### English missionaries

Missions from England in particular seem to have been of great significance across Scandinavia, although particularly in Norway, and it is immensely frustrating to run into a wall of silence from Anglo-Saxon sources at this point. They are mentioned frequently, and not always damningly, by Adam of

Bremen (B73), appear in various kings' sagas (B290 ff.), but above all can be traced in the heavy English influence on the vocabulary (L180 ff.), liturgy (L175), and general organisation (L200 ff.) of the mediaeval Scandinavian churches.

[L132] A. Taranger, *Den angelsaksiske kirkes indflydelse på den norske* (1890) [UL 62:46.d.85.1]; a classic study, always worth consulting despite its great age

[L133] H.G. Leach, 'The relations of the Norwegian with the English church, 1066-1399, and their importance to comparative literature', *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 44 (1909), 531-60

[L134] C. Hohler, 'The cathedral of St Swithun at Stavanger in the twelfth century', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 3rd ser. 27 (1964), 92-119

[L135] S. Edgington, 'Siward—Sigurd—Sigfrid? The career of an English missionary in Scandinavia', *NS* 26 (1989), 56-59

[L136] L. Abrams, 'The Anglo-Saxons and the Christianization of Scandinavia', *ASE* 24 (1995), 213-49

### Missionaries from the East

The best known example of eastern missionary work comes from the account of the 'acephalous' bishop Osmund in Adam of Bremen (B73), but further examples crop up from surprising places.

[L140] M.M. Lárusson, 'On the so-called "Armenian" bishops', *SI* 18 (1960), 23-38

[L141] C.W. Thompson, 'A Swedish runographer and a headless bishop', *MS* 3 (1970), 50-62

[L142] A. Sjöberg, 'Orthodoxe Mission in Schweden im 11. Jahrhundert?', (N20):69-78

[L143] J.R. Hagland, 'The Christianization of Norway and possible influences from the Eastern churches', *Palaeobulgarica* 20:3 (1996), 3-19

### Women and the conversion

[L143] A-S Gräslund, 'The role of Scandinavian women in christianisation: the neglected evidence', (O87):483-96, see also (L161)

### Various disciplines

In light of the paucity and unevenness of historical works, the value of archaeological materials is vital. For the early Christian coin issues, see (C250 ff.).

### Burials

[L150] Identifying 'Christian' (or simply foreign) influence on burial customs is often a lot easier than determining any religious viewpoint inherent in the rite. Conventional diagnostic features of Christian as opposed to pagan burial include an avoidance of cremation, east-west orientation, a restriction of grave goods, and a lack of overt markers such as mounds or ship-settings; for burials in general, see further (M300 ff.). However, none of these can prove Christian influence independently, and it is important to seek a combination of these factors along with the final definitive proof, the bunching together of burials in confined Christian cemeteries

[L151] P. Rolfsen, 'Den siste hedning på Agder', *Viking* 44 (1981), 112-28 (E.s.)

[L152] A.-S. Gräslund, 'Den tidiga missionen i arkeologisk belysning: problem och synpunkter', *Tor* 20 (1983-85), 291-313 (E.s.)

[L153] L.C. Nielsen, 'Hedenskab og kristendom: religionsskiftet afspejlet i vikingetidens grave', (D12):245-67 (E.s.)

[L154] A.-S. Gräslund, 'Scandinavian burial customs and Christianity', (O70): IV,105-09

[L155] E. Roesdahl, 'Princely burial in Scandinavia at the time of the conversion', *Voyage to the other world: the legacy of Sutton Hoo*, edd. C.B. Kendall and P.S. Wells, Medieval studies at Minnesota 5 (1992), 155-70 [UL 477:7.c.95.36]

[L156] L. Ersgård, 'The change of religion and its artefacts: an example from Upper Dalarna', *MLUHM* n.s. 10 (1993-94), 79-94

[L157] B. Nilsson, 'Från gravfält till kyrkogård: förändringar och variation i gravskicket', (L63):349-85 (E.s.)

[L158] J. Staecker, 'Searching for the unknown: Gotland's churchyards from a gender and missionary perspective', *LAR* 1996, 63-86; on possible Russian or Byzantine missions in Gotland

[L159] G. Andersson, 'A struggle for control: reflections on the change of religion in a rural context in the eastern Mälaren valley', (O80):353-72

[L160] J. Kieffer-Olsen, 'Christianity and Christian burial: the religious background, and the transition from paganism to Christianity, from the perspective of a churchyard archaeologist', (M300):185-89

### Art

[L161] J. Staecker, 'The cross goes north: Christian symbols and Scandinavian women', (O87):463-82

[L162] J. Staecker, *Rex regum et dominus dominorum. Die vikingezeitlichen Kreuz- und Kruzifixanhänger als Ausdruck der Mission in Altdänemark und Schweden*. Lund Studies in Archaeology 23 (1999).

### Runestones and inscriptions

The conversion period saw an explosion in the popularity of raised runestones bearing inscriptions, which seem to have had many functions (C90 ff.). One of their most striking characteristics is the great number which are clearly Christian, while even very few of the rest are not distinctively pagan; for further references to the art-work, see (M170 ff.). Alongside testifying to Christian influence otherwise little attested (such as in central Sweden (F95)), the contents of these inscriptions can also tell us about missionary activity (through things like loanwords) and give us a small but unique glimpse into the conception of Christianity among Scandinavians in the conversion period. For a recent overview of the material, see (C95), chap. 6: 'Conversion'.

[L165] E. Segelberg, 'Missionshistoriska aspekter på runinskrifterna', *KÅ* 1983, 45-57 (E.s.)

[L166] A.-S. Gräslund, 'Runstenar, bygd och gravar', *Tor* 21 (1986-87), 241-62 (E.s.)

[L167] L. Wilson, *Runstenar och kyrkor: en studie med utgångspunkt från runstenar som påträffats i kyrkomiljö i Uppland och Södermanland*, *OPIA* 8 (1994) [UL 596:3.c.95.13] (E.s.)

[L168] H. Christiansson, 'Den onda ormen: runstensornamentikens kristna budskap; ett tolkningsförsök', *Tor* 27 (1995), 449-57 (E.s.)

[L169] H. Williams, 'Vad säger runstenarna om Sveriges kristnande?', (L63):45-83 (E.s.), also in the same volume 'Runstentexternas teologi', 291-312 (E.s.)

[L170] P. Beskow, 'Runic inscriptions, liturgy and eschatology', (O78):77-89; also 'Runor och liturgi', (L13):16-36

[L171] J.R. Hagland, 'Note on two runic inscriptions relating to the Christianization of Norway and Sweden', *SI* 49 (1998), 34-44

[L172] J.R. Hagland, 'Innskrifta på Kulisteinen: ei nylesing med hjelp av Jan O.H. Swantessons mikrokarteringsteknologi', *Innskrifter og datering: dating inscriptions*, Senter for middelalderstudier skrifter 8, edd. A. Dybdahl and J.R. Hagland (1998), 129-39 [ASNC] (E.s.)

[L173] L. Lager, 'Den osynliga tron. Runstenskors som en spegling av kristnandet i Sverige', *OPIA* 31 (2002)

[L174] L. Lager, 'Runestones and the conversion of Sweden', (O87):497-508

### Liturgy

The liturgical manuscripts of mediaeval Scandinavia (B780) contain numerous forms of influence from foreign, particularly British, churches.

[L175] J. Toy, 'The commemorations of British saints in the medieval liturgical manuscripts of Scandinavia', *KÅ* 1983, 91-103

[L176] S. Helander, 'Liturgin som källa till Sveriges kristnande', (L63):159-80 (E.s.)

### Christian terminology

The earliest Christian loanwords in Scandinavia can similarly give us some idea of the directions and impact of missionary activities from various sources, as well as providing an insight into the state of

Christianity in Scandinavia during the missionary phase. A chief source for such studies is runic inscriptions, for which see (L165 ff.). For other equally interesting but secular loanwords cf. (C205 ff.).

[L180] B. Kahle, 'Die altnordische Sprache im Dienste des Christentums. 1. Teil: Die Prosa', *Acta germanica* 1 (1890), 305-441 [UL Q775.c.4.1]

[L181] C.-E. Thors, *Den kristna terminologien i fornsvenskan*, *Studier i nordisk filologi* 45 (1957) [UL 779.c.63.21]

[L182] E. Walter, *Lexikalisches Lehngut im Altwestnordischen: Untersuchungen zum Lehngut im ethisch-moralischen Wortschatz der frühen lateinisch-altwestnordischen Übersetzungslitteratur*, *Abhandlungen der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, phil.-hist. Klasse* 96:2 (1976) [UL P500.b.15.66]

[L183] S. Hellberg, 'Tysk eller engelsk mission? Om de tidiga kristna lånorden', *MM* 1986, 42-49

### The early Church

[L190] The Church was developing in Scandinavia at precisely the time of one of the periods of greatest change in mediaeval ecclesiastical history. A pivotal figure was pope Gregory VII (in office 1073 to 1085), who undertook reform in many areas, not only to combat abuses such as simony or clerical non-celibacy, but also to counter the practice of secular rulers appointing bishops and other prelates; the so-called 'investiture controversy'. The efforts of such popes to gain support from the Scandinavian kings has left a moderate amount of interesting correspondence between the papacy and Denmark in particular; for letters of Gregory VII in translation, see (B745b):67-68 for Sven Estrithsen (1075), 136-37 for Olaf kyrri (1078), 184-85 for the kings of the West Götar (c. 1081); the two papal letters to Norwegian kings from the late eleventh century can also be found with Norw. transl. in E. Vandvik, *Latinske dokument til norsk historie fram til år 1204* (1959) [UL 593:2.c.95.2]. The general handbooks for each country in (D-H) are always worth referring to for ecclesiastical history, especially those which cover the early mediaeval period

[L191] K. Ottosen, *A short history of the churches of Scandinavia* (1986) [UL 9100.d.11391]

[L192] T. Nyberg, *Die Kirche in Skandinavien: mitteleuropäischer und englischer Einfluss im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert; Anfänge der Domkapitel Børglum und Odense in Dänemark*, *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters* 10 (1986) [UL 532:01.c.23.10]; see in particular 11-78 on the early Church

[L193] H.E.J. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII 1073-1085* (1998) [Seeley]; see 454-59 in particular for Scandinavia

[L194] H.E.J. Cowdrey, 'The Gregorian reforms in the Anglo-Norman lands and in Scandinavia', *Studia Gregoriana* 13 (1989), 187-219

On the distinctive development of the Church in the Scandinavian colonies in the North Atlantic:

[L195] J.L. Byock, 'The power and wealth of the Icelandic church: some talking points', (A61f):89-101

[L196] C.D. Morris, 'Church and monastery in Orkney and Shetland: an archaeological perspective', (O76):185-206

[L197] C.D. Morris, 'From Birsay to Brattahlíð: recent perspective on Norse Christianity in Orkney, Shetland and the North Atlantic region', (O89):177-95

### Ecclesiastical organisation

The development of ecclesiastical organisation in Scandinavia is really a twelfth-century phenomenon that can only be seriously traced through reference to sources that fall outside the scope of this bibliography. It is nevertheless of crucial importance for understanding the transformation of society brought about by the conversion; a good initial guide can be found in (A35) chap. 5: 'Christianization and church organization'.

[L200] K. Helle, 'The organisation of the twelfth-century church in Norway', (I163):46-55

[L201] P. Sawyer, 'The organization of the church in Scandinavia after the missionary phase', (L95):480-87

[L202] L. Abrams, 'Eleventh-century missions and the early stages of ecclesiastical organisation in Scandinavia', *ANS* 17 (1994), 21-40

- [L203] M. Anglert, *Kyrkor och herravälde: från kristnande till sockenbildning i Skåne*, Lund studies in medieval archaeology 16 (1995) [UL 1999.9.4161] (E.s.); a wider study of Skåne than the title suggests
- [L204] A.C. Bonnier, 'Kyrkor, dopfuntar och gravmonument', (L63):181-214 (E.s.)
- [L205] S. Brink, 'New perspectives on the christianisation of Scandinavia and the organisation of the early Church', (O89):163-75

### Episcopal organisation

[L210] The earliest 'bishoprics' are recorded in tenth-century Denmark, see (B730): I,411 and II,440-41 for charters of Otto I (965) and Otto III (988) freeing the Danish bishoprics from duties; the first document lists three bishops, of Sleswig, Ribe, and Århus, and the second adds Odense. These bishoprics are however likely to have been little more (or perhaps not even as much as) missionary centres, and the same applies to most episcopal centres in eleventh-century Scandinavia

For useful catalogues of bishops with biographical notes see:

- [L211] O. Kolsrud, 'Den norske Kirkes Erkebiskoper og Biskoper indtil Reformationen', (B720) XVII:B *Tillæg* (1913), 177-360 [UL 593:1.c.85.18b]
- [L212] H. Kluger, (ed.), *Series episcoporum ecclesiae catholicae occidentalis ab initio usque ad annum MCXCVIII, series VI: Britannia, Scotia et Hibernia, Scandinavia, II: Archiepiscopatus Lundensis* (1992) [UL R100.18]; very useful survey of the history of Lund and its Danish bishoprics, with individual biographies and many references, but in Latin

For actual specific studies:

- [L213] P. King, 'The cathedral priory of Odense in the middle ages', *SBVS* 16 (1962-65), 192-214
- [L214] A.E. Christensen, 'Archbishop Asser, the Emperor and the Pope: the first archbishop of Lund and his struggle for the independence of the Nordic church', *SJH* 1 (1976), 25-42
- [L215] A.O. Johnsen, "'Siwardus episcopus ubsallensis": om den første biskop i Uppsala', *KÅ* 1981, 29-38 (E.s.)
- [L216] G. Smedberg, 'Uppsala stifts äldsta historia', *KÅ* 1983, 58-77 (E.s.)
- [L217] A. Bergqvist, 'The papal legate: Nicholas Breakspear's Scandinavian mission', *Adrian IV, the English pope (1154-1159)*, edd. B. Bolton and A. J. Duggan (2003), 41-48.
- [L218] K. Eliassen, 'Oversigt over det færøske bispesædes historie', *FSR* 43 (1995), 11-21

### Early churches and parishes

[L220] The earliest churches seem frequently to have been large central foundations, often on royal land, designed to serve as missionary bases. When churches begin to appear in the late eleventh century on a more local basis, they often seem to involve a deal of continuity with earlier cult-sites (cf. (K125 ff., L11)), which seems to reflect the practices of major landowners establishing new religious centres on their own land. Many of these foundations seem accordingly to have been private churches or chapels, and a full parish system could not develop until the development of the tithe, which was gradually introduced into the various parts of Scandinavia at the end of the eleventh but mostly during the twelfth century

- [L221] O. Ferm and S. Rahmqvist, 'Stormannakyrkor i Uppland under äldre medeltid', *Studier i äldre historia tillägnade Herman Schück 5/4 1985*, ed. R. Sandberg (1985), 67-83 [UL 592:1.c.95.25]
- [L222] P. Sawyer, 'Dioceses and parishes in twelfth-century Scandinavia', (I163): 36-45
- [L223] S. Brink, *Sockenbildning och sockennamn: studier i äldre territoriell indelning i Norden*, Studier till en svensk ortnamnsatlas 14, Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi 57 (1990) [UL 498:01.c.2.13] (E.s.)
- [L224] O. Ferm, (ed.), *Kyrka och socken i medeltidens Sverige*, Studier till det medeltida Sverige 5 (1991) [UL 595:01.c.13.1005]
- [L225] J. Sandnes, 'Middelalderens Trøndelag: den kirkelige organisasjon i landsdelen, fylkeskirker, sognekirker, klostre', *Hikuin* 20 (1993), 105-12
- [L226] S. Brink, 'Tidig kyrklig organisation i Norden: aktörerna i sockenbildningen', (L63):269-90 (E.s.)

[L227] S. Brink, 'The formation of the Scandinavian parish, with some remarks regarding the English impact on the process', *The community, the family and the saint: patterns of power in early medieval Europe; selected proceedings of the International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds, 4-7 July 1994, 10-13 July 1995*, *International medieval research* 4, edd. J. Hill and M. Swan (1998), 19-44 [UL 532:24.c.95.217]

### Monasticism

[L228] T. Nyberg, 'Early monasticism in Scandinavia', (O89):197-208

[L229] T. Nyberg, *Monasticism in north-western Europe, 800-1200* (2000) [UL 100:6.c.200.1]

### Saints and cults

Most of the items cited above will deal with various aspects of sainted missionaries in particular; for saints' lives in Scandinavia, see (B440 ff., B645, B671).

[L230] C. Fell, 'Anglo-Saxon saints in Old Norse sources and vice versa', (A47): 95-106

[L231] T. Jexlev, 'The cult of saints in early medieval Scandinavia', (I163):183-91

[L232] M. Cormack, *The saints in Iceland: their veneration from the conversion to 1400*, *Subsidia hagiographica* 78 (1994) [UL S100:01.c.1.87]

[L233] N.L. Wicker, 'St. Botolph: an English saint in Scandinavia' (O87):565-570

### Royal saints

The development of the cults of royal saints in Scandinavia seems to have begun with saint Olaf Haraldsson in Norway soon after his death in 1030 (E70 ff.); for comparative material and possible inspiration, see in particular (L236) but also (B181). For material relating specifically to the cult of saint Olaf see (B312-315), on saint Knut (B647).

[L235] B. Dickins, 'The cult of S. Olave in the British Isles', *SBVS* 12 (1937-45), 53-80

[L236] E. Hoffmann, *Die heiligen Könige bei den Angelsachsen und den skandinavischen Völkern: Königsheiliger und Königshaus*, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins* 69 (1975) [UL 570:01.c.46.54]

[L237] B.E. Crawford, 'The cult of St Magnus in Shetland', (I190):65-81

[L238] A. Fröjmark, 'Från Erik pilgrim till Erik konung: om helgonkulturn och Sveriges kristnande', (L63):387-418 (E.s.)

### Church dedications

There are several striking features of the conversion period of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries as regards the cults of saints in Scandinavia. Runic inscriptions (L165 ff.), mostly from Sweden, are very sparing with reference to them, for one thing. Early church dedications can often be revealing:

[L245] P. Beskow, 'Kyrkodedikationer i Lund', (L13):37-62

A particular peculiarity is the widespread celebration of the cult of saint Clement:

[L246] D. Hofmann, *Die Legende von Sankt Clemens in den skandinavischen Ländern im Mittelalter*, *Beiträge zur Skandinavistik* 13 (1997), in particular V: 'Das Zeugnis der Clemenskirchen' [UL 752:01.c.12.13]

## ARCHAEOLOGY

### M. MATERIAL CULTURE

The material culture of Scandinavia is naturally a wide-ranging subject, and many of the themes are covered elsewhere when appropriate. Archaeological research is a key factor in illuminating the culture of the Viking-age Scandinavians in terms of lifestyle and subsistence, burials, dwellings and settlements, and the like. Since so much of the historical research into the period is dependent on these approaches, most of the general textbooks in (A) are excellent starting points. For the development of the discipline of archaeology in Scandinavia, see:

- [M1] H. Shetelig and H. Falk, *Scandinavian archaeology*, transl. E.V. Gordon (1937) [UL 592:6.c.90.1]  
[M2] O. Klindt-Jensen, *A history of Scandinavian archaeology*, transl. R. Poole (1975) [UL 9592.c.56]  
[M3] B. Gräslund, *The birth of prehistoric chronology: dating methods and dating systems in nineteenth-century Scandinavian archaeology* (1987) [UL 592:6.b.95.7]  
[M4] D.M. Wilson, 'Fifty years of Viking archaeology: a personal view', (A60) vol. 15 (1996), 7-25 [UL L592.c.25.15]

### The domestic economy

The domestic economy of Viking-age Scandinavia was heavily characterised by animal husbandry, although crops such as barley and oats were sporadically cultivated. An interesting description of the lifestyle of a Viking-age Norwegian chieftain is provided by the account of Ohthere in the Old English *Orosius* (B106). For an overview, see (A14):94-107 ('Livelihood and settlement'); for a useful demographic survey of Scandinavia, see (C60).

### Agriculture

For a basic survey of agricultural techniques, although with a heavy emphasis on Denmark, see (D7). One of the most significant developments at the end of the Viking age was the growing use of the plough, and such greater sophistication may help to explain the long-term stability of farm and village sites from the mediaeval period onwards, cf. (M25 ff.).

[M10] J. Myrdal, *Medeltidens åkerbruk: agrarteknik i Sverige ca 1000 till 1520*, Nordiska museets handlingar 105 (1985) [UL 440.c.98.468] (E.s.)

[M11] G. Lerche, *Ploughing implements and tillage practices in Denmark from the Viking period to about 1800*, Det Kommissionen til udforskning af landbrugsredskabernes og agerstrukturernes historie publication 8 (1994) [UL S592.bb.99.2]

### Subsistence and diet

Again, the general reference works in (A) are the best place to start; with a focus towards the North Atlantic colonies, useful contributions can also be found in (H7-8). For more general orientation, see:

[M15] B. Skaarup, 'Diet and nutrition', (A73):134-36

### Fishing and hunting

Aside from animal husbandry, fishing was (naturally) a major part of the Viking-age Scandinavian economy, yielding cod and herring from the sea, and salmon from lakes and rivers. Whaling was also significant; mediaeval lawcodes provide ample evidence of the importance of beached whales, while Ohthere (B106) mentions whaling expeditions. The hunting of walrus and seals in the north was also useful, both for blubber and skins but also walrus ivory.

[M18] S. Erixon, (ed.), *Fångst, jakt och fiske*, Nordisk kultur 11-12:A (1955) [UL 592:01.b.1.10]

[M19] R. Bertelsen, 'Settlement on the divide between land and ocean: from Iron age to medieval period along the coast of northern Norway', (M27):261-67

[M20] L. Bender Jørgensen, 'Rural economy; ecology, hunting, pastoralism, agricultural and nutritional aspects', (O86):129-144.

### Environmental archaeology

The growing field of environmental archaeology, which examines such things as the physical remains of flora and fauna at occupied sites, is rapidly gaining ground in Scandinavian Viking-age studies, but the subject is not one for non-experts to tackle lightly. Since the vast amount of preliminary reports and statements of work in progress cannot realistically be included in a bibliography like this one, this recent collection is offered as an entry point into the topic.

[M22] U. Miller and H. Clarke, (edd.), *Environment and Vikings: scientific methods and techniques*, Birka studies 4 (1997) [UL 595:01.c.16.4]

### Settlement and sites

For basic guides to settlement patterns and excavations, see the handbooks (A) and the individual country sections; for the notion of social organisation around the 'central place' (C70 ff.). This section is devoted

to mainland Scandinavia; for the Viking settlements abroad, see the respective sections on each area. One of the most striking aspects of settlement in the Viking age is the mobility of sites, which shift around in search of fresh land until the advent of the mediaeval era; cf. (M30 ff.). Aside from archaeology, place-names are also an invaluable source; a basic approach to the principles of using onomastic research is provided by:

[M25] J. Kousgård Sørensen, 'Place-names and settlement history', *Names, words and graves: early medieval settlement*, ed. P.H. Sawyer (1979), 1-33 [UL 498:6.c.95.5]

And for a recent guide to landscape studies and settlement, with a heavy emphasis on the Iron age in general, see:

[M27] C. Fabech and J. Ringtved, (edd.), *Settlement and landscape: proceedings of a conference in Århus, Denmark, May 4-7 1998* (1999) [UL 466:1.b.95.95]

### Denmark

The greater concentration of arable land in Denmark has always made the region more conducive to the cultivation of crops than further north in Scandinavia; it also presumably played a role in the relatively early development of village-style settlements, at least by contrast with Norway.

[M30] A series of ground-breaking excavations of settlements were published in *AA* 50 (1979): I. Stoumann, 'Sædding: a Viking-age village near Esbjerg', 95-118; L.B. Jørgensen and T. Skov, 'Trabjerg: a Viking-age settlement in north-west Jutland', 119-36 (cf. now (M37)); S. Hvass, 'Vorbasse: the Viking-age settlement at Vorbasse, central Jutland', 137-72; L.C. Nielsen, 'Omgård: a settlement from the late Iron age and the Viking period in west Jutland', 173-208

[M31] C.J. Becker, 'Viking age villages and "manors" in Denmark: recent discoveries', (A47):25-36

[M32] Further results are summarised in *JDA* 2 (1983): S. Hvass, 'Vorbasse: the development of a settlement through the first millenium A.D.', 127-36; P. Birkedahl Christensen, 'Søby: a Viking age settlement on Samsø', 149-55

[M33] S. Hvass, 'Viking age villages in Denmark: new investigations', (N20):211-28

For a recent survey of the contrast between villages and single farmsteads, see:

[M35] D.K. Mikkelsen, 'Single farm or village? Reflections on the settlement structure of the Iron age and the Viking period', (M27):177-93

And for a sample full-length study:

[M37] L.B. Jørgensen, *Trabjerg: en vestjysk landsby fra vikingetiden*, *JASS* 31.1 (1995) [UL S460:01.b.23.45a] (E.s.)

### Norway

The terrain of Norway is particularly rugged, and settlement patterns tend therefore to concentrate more around single farm-complexes than village systems. Of particular interest also is the internal expansion into previously unsettled highland and forest areas; although really a phenomenon of the Middle ages, this drift can be identified in the Viking age and is frequently associated with the collection of raw resources such as iron.

[M40] A. Hagen, 'The Norwegian Iron age farm', (A41):49-58

[M41] T. Sjøvold, *The Iron age settlement of Arctic Norway: a study in the expansion of European Iron age culture within the Arctic circle. I: Early Iron age (Roman and Migration periods). II: Late Iron age (Merovingian and Viking periods)*, *Tromsø museums skrifter* 10 (1962-74) [UL 594:3.b.95.1-2]

[M42] E. Bakka, 'Ytre Moa: eit gardsanlegg frå vikingtida i Årdal i Sogn', *Viking* 29 (1965), 121-45

[M43] J. Sandnes, 'Stadnamn og busetnad i tida ca. 800-1300', *Norrøn kulturhistorie*, edd. O. Bø and O. Høyland (1974), 150-72 [UL 593:2.c.95.8]

[M44] K. Sognnes, 'The relationship between coastal and inland areas in the Viking period of west Norway', *AA* 50 (1979), 223-33

[M45] A. Holmsen, *Gård og gods i Norge i eldre tid* (1980) [UL 221.c.98.113]

[M46] I. Martens, 'Recent investigations of iron production in Viking age Norway', *NAR* 15 (1982), 29-44

- [M47] O.S. Johansen, 'Viking age farms: estimating the number and population size; a case study from Vestvågøy, north Norway', *NAR* 15 (1982), 45-69
- [M48] I. Martens, 'Some aspects of marginal settlement in Norway during the Viking age and middle ages', (H8):1-7
- [M49] P. Sveaas Andersen, 'The Norwegian background', (I124):16-25
- [M50] D. Skre, *Rural settlements in medieval Norway, AD 400-1400* (1996)
- [M51] B. Solli, *Narratives of Veøy: an investigation into the poetics and scientifics of archaeology*, Universitetets Oldsaksamlings skrifter ny rekke 19 (1996), 183-207 [UL 594:3.c.95.14]

### Sweden

Settlement patterns in Sweden are perhaps more diverse than in the rest of mainland Scandinavia, which is partially a reflection of the great regional disparities in this large area. Swedish surveys are also particularly significant for the interaction with aspects of administration and government (C230 ff.).

- [M55] U. Sporrang, *Kolonisation, bebyggelseutveckling och administration: studier i agrar kulturlandskapsutveckling under vikingatid och tidig medeltid med exempel från Uppland och Närke*, Meddelanden från Kulturgeografiska Institutionen vid Stockholms Universitet B:23 (1971) [UL 595:2.c.95.3]
- [M56] Å. Hyenstrand, *Production of iron in outlying districts and the problem of Järnbäraland*, Early medieval studies 4, AArkiv 46 (1972) [Haddon]
- [M57] Å. Hyenstrand, *Centralbygd—randbygd: strukturella, ekonomiska och administrativa huvudlinjer i mellansvensk yngre järnålder*, Acta universitatis Stockholmiensis: studies in North-European archaeology 5 (1974) [UL S592:01.b.3.6] (E.s.)
- [M58] Å. Hyenstrand, 'Iron and iron economy in Sweden', (F17):134-56
- [M59] U. Sporrang, 'Studies of rural society based on field evidence in central Sweden', (N20):201-10
- [M60] J. Callmer, 'To stay or to move: some aspects of the settlement dynamics in southern Scandinavia in the seventh to twelfth centuries A.D. with special reference to the province of Scania, southern Sweden', *MLUHM* new series 6 (1985-86), 167-208
- [M61] P. Hansson, *Samhälle och järn i Sverige under järnåldern och äldre medeltiden: exemplet Närke*, Aun 13 (1989) [UL 466:01.b.4.13]
- [M62] B. Stjernquist, 'Uppåkra, a central place in Skåne during the Iron age', *LAR* 1995, 89-120; L. Larsson and B. Hårdh, 'Uppåkra: ett hövdinga- eller kungasäte', *FV* 92 (1997), 139-54 (E.s.)

### Architecture

Relatively little is available in English on Scandinavian architecture in general. The textbooks in (A) contain good overall surveys, while for individual sites see (M25 ff.) and (N140 ff.).

- [M70] S. Erixon, (ed.), *Byggnadskultur*, Nordisk kultur 17 (1952) [UL 592:01.b.1.17]

### Halls and houses

For the significance of halls see (C70 ff.).

- [M72] A. Roussell, 'Det nordiske hus i vikingetid', (G15):193-200 (E.s. 321-22)
- [M73] B. Myhre et al., (edd.), *Vestnordisk byggeskikk gjennom to tusen år: tradisjon og forandring fra romertid til det 19. århundrede*, Arkeologisk museum i Stavanger skrifter 7 (1982) [UL 401:7.b.95.97] (E.s.)
- [M74] B. Stoklund, 'Building traditions in the northern world', (I121):96-115
- [M75] H. Schmidt, 'Viking age buildings', *JDA* 9 (1990), 194-202
- [M76] H. Schmidt, 'Reconstruction of the Lejre hall', *JDA* 10 (1991), 186-90
- [M77] F. Herschend, 'The origin of the hall in southern Scandinavia', *Tor* 25 (1993), 175-99
- [M78] H. Schmidt, *Building customs in Viking age Denmark* (1994) [UL 598:3.b.95.21]
- [M79] H. Skov, 'Hustyper i vikingetid og tidlig middelalder: udviklingen af hustyperne i det gammeldanske område fra ca. 800-1200 e.Kr.', *Hikuin* 21 (1994), 139-62
- [M80] S. Norr and A. Sundkvist, 'Valsgårde revisited: fieldwork resumed after 40 years', *Tor* 27 (1995), 395-417
- [M81] B. Magnus, 'Dwellings and settlements: structure and characteristics', (O86):5-33.

### Defences and fortifications

For some of the more splendid physical remains of Viking-age fortifications, see (D35, D80 ff.) and urban excavations (N160 ff.). On marine defence in particular, see:

[M85] F. Rieck, 'Aspects of coastal defence in Denmark', (M103):83-96

[M86] A.N. Jørgensen, 'Sea defence in Denmark AD 200-1300', (C65):200-09

### Ecclesiastical architecture

On pagan architecture, see (K100 ff.). The earliest Scandinavian churches were built of wood and have largely vanished; for examples, see (K125 ff., K113, N160 ff.). They were replaced in the late eleventh but more usually the twelfth century by stone foundations.

[M90] H. Cornell, *Sigtuna och Gamla Uppsala: ett bidrag till kännedomen om de engelsk-svenska förbindelserna under 1000-talet* (1920) [UL 596:3.b.90.4]

[M91] M. Weidhagen-Hallerdt, 'St Clemens kyrka i Helsingborg', *Medeltiden och arkeologin: festskrift till Erik Cinthio*, Lund studies in medieval archaeology 1, edd. A. Andrén et al. (1986), 131-43 [UL S592.c.98.73]; the same volume contains a number of other articles on early church architecture

On the development of the famous stave churches:

[M94] R. Hauglid, 'Features of the origin and development of the stave churches in Norway', *AA* 49 (1978), 37-60

[M95] R. Hauglid, 'Stavkirke—stenkirke', *Viking* 49 (1985-86), 209-34

[M96] H.-E. Lidén, 'Stave church', (A73):609-10

### Stone architecture

The development of stone architecture in the twelfth century largely falls outside the scope of this bibliography; for basic orientation, see the handbooks on art (M130 ff.) and:

[M98] H.-E. Lidén, 'The Romanesque cathedrals of Norway', (I163):72-77

### Ships

The ship has been called the 'enduring image' of the Viking-age, and an understanding of its evolution and application is vital, in particular the advent of the mast and sail in the eighth century; for the role of the ship in society more broadly, see also (M345 ff.) and (C220 ff.).

[M100] A.W. Brøgger and H. Shetelig, *The Viking ships: their ancestry and evolution* (1951) [UL 423.b.97.17]

[M101] T. Sjøvold, *The Viking ships in Oslo* (1979) [UL 9592.c.135]

[M102] R. Morcken, *Langskip, knorr og kogge: nye synspunkter på sagatidens skipsbygging i Norge og Nordeuropa* (1980) [UL 9420.c.4244] (E.s.)

[M103] O. Crumlin-Pedersen, (ed.), *Aspects of maritime Scandinavia AD 200-1200: proceedings of the Nordic seminar on maritime aspects of archaeology, Roskilde, 13th-15th March, 1989* (1991) [UL 423.b.99.37]

[M104] J. Bill, 'Ships and seamanship', (A22):182-201

On the important group of Skuldelev ships dredged from the Roskilde fjord in Denmark:

[M107] O. Olsen and O. Crumlin-Pedersen, *Five Viking ships from Roskilde fjord*, transl. B. Bluestone (1978) [UL 598:3.d.95.4]

[M108] O. Crumlin-Pedersen, 'Gensyn med Skuldelev 5: et ledingseskib?', (O50):137-56 (E.s.)

On ship-terminology in Norse sources:

[M110] R. Simek, *Die Schiffsnamen, Schiffsbezeichnungen und Schiffskennungen im Altnordischen*, Wiener Arbeiten zur germanischen Altertumskunde und Philologie 14 (1982) [UL 500:05.d.5.14]

[M111] J. Jesch, *Ships and men in the late Viking age: the vocabulary of runic inscriptions and skaldic verse* (2001) [UL 592:12.c.200.4]

And for wide-ranging comparative studies with full recent bibliographies:

[M112] S. McGrail, *Studies in maritime archaeology*, BAR British series 256 (1997) [UL L474.b.85.230], and *Ancient boats in north-west Europe: the archaeology of water transport to AD 1500*, 2nd edn (1998) [UL 423.b.99.53]

### Shipbuilding and ship design

The design of the various kinds of Viking ships naturally reflects their various functions; hence warships had a lower draught than merchant ships, enabling them to beach easily on undefended territory or sail quite a way up river routes.

[M115] A.E. Christensen, 'Viking age ships and shipbuilding', *NAR* 15 (1982), 19-28

[M116] O. Crumlin-Pedersen, 'The ships of the Vikings', (O30):32-41

[M117] O. Crumlin-Pedersen, 'Viking shipbuilding and seamanship', (A47):271-86

[M118] A. Binns, 'The ships of the vikings, were they "Viking ships"?', (A47):287-94

[M119] A.E. Christensen, 'Boats and boatbuilding in western Norway and the islands', (I121):85-95

[M120] S. McGrail, 'Ships, shipwrights and seamen', (A13):36-63

### Navigation

The question of the navigational techniques employed by the Vikings is a tricky and hotly disputed one, but probably reflects a combination of factors, including: a knowledge of tides and currents; observing cloud formations and bird-flight; a recognition of key landscape features; a vague estimation of the sun's passage enabling an approximation of a latitudinal (but not longitudinal) position; and good old-fashioned guesswork and luck.

[M125] A. Binns, 'The navigation of Viking ships round the British isles in Old English and Old Norse sources', (A44):103-17

[M126] M. Blindheim, 'Viking ship vanes: their use and techniques', (O34):116-27

### Art

A good survey for the beginner can be found in (A13):131-53.

[M130] H. Shetelig, (ed.), *Kunst*, Nordisk kultur 27 (1931) [UL 592:01.b.1.22]

[M131] D. Wilson and O. Klindt-Jensen, *Viking art* (1966) [UL 9400.b.678]

[M132] J. Callmer, 'Some points of view on the study of Viking age ornamentation', *MLUHM* 1969-70, 266-79

[M133] P. Anker, *The art of Scandinavia*, I (1970) [UL 400:4.c.95.78]

[M134] S. Horn Fuglesang, 'Early Viking art', *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* n.s. 2 (1982), 125-73

[M135] L. Karlsson, *Nordisk form: om djurornamentik*, The Museum of National Antiquities, Stockholm, studies 3 (1983) [UL OP.31140.971.01(3)]

### Art-styles

Scandinavian art is traditionally defined with reference to a series of distinctive 'styles', most of which developed gradually out of the common Germanic animal art. The criteria are both stylistic and iconographical. Although naturally interesting for its own sake, the trends in art-styles are of crucial importance for purposes of dating all kinds of archaeological remains; this also includes decorated runestones, for which see (M170 ff.).

[M140] K. Eldjárn, 'Ringerike style in Iceland', (A41):84-91

[M141] S. Marstrander, 'On the "gripping-beast" style and its origins', (A44):141-49

[M142] S. Horn Fuglesang, *Some aspects of the Ringerike style: a phase of 11th century Scandinavian art*, Mediaeval Scandinavia suppl. 1 (1980) [UL P592.b.7.1]

[M143] S. Horn Fuglesang, 'Stylistic groups in late Viking and early Romanesque art', *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* n.s. 1 (1981), 79-125

[M144] S. Horn Fuglesang, 'The axehead from Mammen and the Mammen style', (M311):83-107

[M145] L. Thunmark-Nylén, 'Gammalt och nytt i Broa', *FV* 87 (1992), 225-40 (E.s.)

[M146] L. Gjedssø Bertelsen, 'Yngri víkingaaldarstílar á Íslandi', *ÁÍF* 1993, 51-73

### Foreign impulses in Viking art

The question of influence from outside Scandinavia is a huge one, and becomes most pertinent at the end of the Viking age with the introduction of floral motifs into the 'Urnes' style; this comes out particularly from art-work in the Scandinavian colonies (M155 ff.).

[M150] H. Shetelig, *Classical impulses in Scandinavian art from the Migration Period to the Viking Age*, Institutt for sammenlignende kulturforskning A:19 (1949) [UL 499.b.39.23]

[M151] R. Cramp, 'The Viking image', (O34):8-19

### Viking art abroad

Naturally, a fusion of foreign and Scandinavian art-styles is nowhere attested most fully than in the Scandinavian colonies abroad, and the British isles and Ireland in particular seems to have been a fertile breeding-ground; for the runic crosses of Man, see (I230 ff.) and (I47).

[M155] D.M. Wilson, 'The Borre style in the British isles', (O26):502-09

[M156] J. Lang, (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon and Viking age sculpture and its context: papers from the Collingwood symposium on insular sculpture from 800 to 1066*, BAR British series 49 (1978) [UL L474.b.85.45], in particular D.M. Wilson, 'The dating of Viking art in England', 135-44

[M157] J. Graham-Campbell, 'The initial impact of the Vikings on Irish art', *SBVS* 20 (1978-81), 42-48

[M158] R.N. Bailey, *Viking age sculpture in northern England* (1980) [UL 403:4.c.95.10]

[M159] C. Morris, 'Viking and native in northern England: a case-study', (A47):223-44; on Teesside

[M160] D.M. Wilson, 'The art of the Manx crosses of the Viking Age', (A48):175-87

[M161] R.N. Bailey, 'Irish sea contacts in the Viking period: the sculptural evidence', (A60) vol. 3 (1984), 7-36 [UL L592.c.25.3]

[M162] J. Lang, 'The compilation of design in colonial Viking sculpture', (O38): 125-37

[M163] R.N. Bailey, 'Aspects of Viking-age sculpture in Cumbria', (I88):53-63

[M164] R.N. Bailey, 'Scandinavian myth and Viking-period stone sculpture in England', (A61h):15-23.

### Stone sculpture

Stone sculpture is not well attested from Viking-age Scandinavia, at least not in terms of the plastic arts. The only significant body of stone art-work from the early and middle Viking age is in the form of the Gotlandic picture stones (M180 ff.), although there are numerous decorated runestones from the late Viking age (M170 ff.). For the interesting stone crosses of western Norway, usually dated to the conversion period, see:

[M167] F. Birkeli, *Norske steinkors i tidlig middelalder: et bidrag til belysning av overgangen fra norrøn religion til kristendom*, SDNVAO ns 10 (1973) [UL 500:01.b.4.80]

### Runestones

For the spread of the runestone tradition in the late Viking age, see (B800 ff., C90 ff.). The numerous decorated stones are particularly interesting for the Christian ornamentation they show, often combined with apparently older motifs; the prevalence of the snake-band in Sweden is particularly striking, if puzzling.

[M170] H. Christiansson, *Sydskandinavisk stil: studier i ornamentiken på de senvikingatida runstenarna* (1959) [UL 592:6.c.95.1] (E.s.)

[M171] N.Å. Nielsen, 'Freyr, Ullr, and the Sparlösa stone', *MS* 2 (1969), 102-28

[M172] I. Marxen and E. Moltke, 'The Jelling Man and other paintings from the Viking Age', *MS* 12 (1988), 107-21

[M173] A.-S. Gräslund, 'Runstenar: om ornamentik och datering, I-II', *Tor* 23 (1990-91), 113-40 (E.s.) and 24 (1992), 177-201 (E.s.)

[M174] Å. Hyenstrand, 'Iconography and rune stones: the example of Sparlösa', (O62):205-10

[M175] A.-S. Gräslund, 'Rune stones: on ornamentation and chronology', (A51): 117-31

[M176] S. Horn Fuglesang, 'Swedish runestones of the eleventh century: ornament and dating', *Runeninschriften als Quellen interdisziplinärer Forschung: Abhandlungen des Vierten Internationalen Symposiums über Runen und Runeninschriften in Göttingen vom 4.-9. August 1995*, Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde 15, ed. K. Düwel (1998), 197-218 [UL 461:01.c.15.15]

### Gotlandic picture stones

[M180] S. Lindqvist, (ed.), *Gotlands Bildsteine*, KVHAA arkeologiska monografier 28, 2 vols (1941-42) [UL S592:01.a.4.35-36]

[M181] E. Nylén and J.P. Lamm, *Stones, ships and symbols: the picture stones of Gotland from the Viking age and before* (1988) [UL 596:3.c.95.9]

[M182] M. Srigley, 'The dream of Troy: an interpretation of the Gotland picture-stones of the late Vendel and Viking periods, I-II', *Tor* 22 (1988-89), 161-87 and 26 (1994), 93-105

[M183] A. Andrén, 'Doors to other worlds: Scandinavian death rituals in Gotlandic perspectives', *JEA* 1:1 (1993), 33-56

[M184] D. Ellmers, 'Valhalla and the Gotland stones', (M349):165-71

### Iconography

The question of the symbolism of much Scandinavian art, particularly during the early Viking age, is a difficult one; animal art in particular is tricky to pin down, and often seems like little more than arbitrary decoration to fill in the abhorred blank space. The Gotlandic picture stones (M180 ff.) are a treasure trove for the ambitious art-historian in this respect. For other pre-Christian iconographical features, see:

[M190] W. Holmqvist, 'The dancing gods', *AA* 31 (1960), 101-27

[M191] P. Gjørder, 'The beard as an iconographical feature in the Viking period and the early middle ages', *AA* 35 (1964), 95-114

On early Christian iconography, see (D60 ff.) for Jelling, for studies of runestones (M170 ff.), and:

[M195] E. Cinthio, "'Majestas Domini crucifixi'", *MLUHM* 1958, 193-218

[M196] S. Horn Fuglesang, 'Crucifixion iconography in Viking Scandinavia', (A47):73-94

[M197] M. Blindheim, 'Byzantine influence on Scandinavian pictorial art in the 11th and 12th centuries', (J55):299-313

### Crafts and technology

Archaeological research into tools, crafts, and manufacturing is so vast and specialised a field that only a limited selection is included here; for all aspects of the field, the introductory reader is referred to the handbooks in (A), while much useful material is also to be found scattered throughout items on excavations of rural (M25 ff.) and urban (N160 ff.) sites. For individual aspects the articles in *KLNM* (A70) remain invaluable guides, even if they have sometimes been superseded by more recent discoveries.

[M200] For older general surveys, see the 'Nordisk kultur' series [UL 592:01.b.1.1 ff.], in particular: [a] 14: *Från trä till stål*, ed. S. Erixon (1953); [b] 15: *Lergods, ädelmetaller och vävnader*, ed. S. Erixon (1953). Also useful are the items on weaponry and dress: [c] 12:B: *Vapen*, ed. B. Thordeman (1943); [d] 15:B: *Dragt*, ed. P. Nørlund (1941)

[M201] D.M. Wilson and M.L. Caygill, (edd.), *Economic aspects of the Viking age*, British Museum occasional paper 30 (1981) [UL OP.1100.70.07(30)]

### Tools

[M205] J. Petersen, *Vikingetidens redskaper*, SDNVAO 1951:4 [UL 500:01.b.4.67] (E.s.); the standard catalogue

[M206] G. Arwidsson and G. Berg, *The Mästermyr find: a Viking age tool chest from Gotland* (1983) [UL S592.b.98.22]

### Weaponry

For important surveys of swords found in the East, see (J40 ff.); for Scandinavia, also (M200c). Most excavation reports of rich burials in particular will include comments on weaponry found within; for more general surveys:

[M210] H. Falk, *Altnordische Waffenkunde*, SDNVAO 1914:6 [UL 500:01.b.4.18]

[M211] J. Petersen, *De norske vikingesverd: en typologisk-kronologisk studie over vikingetidens vaaben*, SDNVAO 1919:2 [UL 500:01.b.4.23]; remains the classic survey of swords and their chronology

[M212] B. Solberg, 'Weapons', (A73):718-20

[M213] A. Pedersen, 'Scandinavian weaponry in the tenth century: the example of Denmark', *A companion to medieval arms and armour*, ed. D. Nicolle (2002), 25-35.

### Dress

Urban excavations in particular have added greatly to our understanding of dress in the Viking age; see also (M200d), for textiles more generally (M250 ff.), for jewellery (M235 ff.).

[M215] H. Falk, *Altwestnordische Kleiderkunde mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Terminologie*, SDNVAO 1918:3 [UL 500:01.b.4.22]

[M216] C. Blindheim, 'Drakt og smykker', *Viking* 11 (1947), 1-140

[M217] I. Hägg, *Kvinnodräkten i Birka: livplaggens rekonstruktion på -grundval av det arkeologiska materialet*, Aun 2 (1974) [UL 466:01.b.4.2]

[M218] F. Bau, 'Seler og slæb i vikingetid: Birka's kvindedragt i nyt lys', *Kuml* 1981, 13-47 (E.s.)

[M219] L. Thunmark-Nylén, 'Dräkt och dräktsmycken på Gotland under vikingatiden', (F72):153-82

### Metalworking

The study of metalworking, whether in iron or imported precious metals such as gold and silver, naturally has ramifications for aspects such as weaponry (M210 ff.) and jewellery (M235 ff.). Aside from the interest of the techniques themselves, the production of iron is also of some significance for the expansion of internal settlement and the opening of trade routes in the early Viking age (M25 ff., N); connections between distant regions can also be illuminated by the spread of styles or artefact-types based on distinctive moulds or crucibles, especially from urban centres such as Helgö (N150 ff.).

[M225] W. Holmqvist, *Övergångstidens metallkonst*, KVHAA handlingar, antikvariska serien 11 (1963) [UL 595:01.c.11.5] (E.s.)

[M226] A. Oldeberg, *Metallteknik under vikingatid och medeltid* (1966) (E.s.) [UL S410:1.b.9.4]

[M227] T. Capelle, *Der Metallschmuck von Haithabu: Studien zur wikingischen Metallkunst*, Ausgrabungen in Haithabu 5 (1968) [UL S570:01.b.6.5]

[M228] I. Martens, 'Some reflections on the production and distribution of iron in Norway in the Viking age', (M201):39-46

[M229] H. Brinch Madsen, 'Metal-casting: techniques, production and workshops', (N185): II,15-189; on the Ribe workshops

[M230] J. Callmer, 'Aspects on production and style: an essay with reference to the Merovingian and early Viking period material of Scandinavia', (O38):57-85

[M231] W. Duczko, *The filigree and granulation work of the Viking period: an analysis of the material from Björkö*, Birka 5 (1985) [UL S592.b.93.22]

[M232] S. Horn Fuglesang, "'The personal touch": on the identification of workshops', (A49):219-30

[M233] J. Bayley, 'Viking age metalworking: the British isles and Scandinavia compared', (O70):III,91-96

### Brooches and other jewellery

For dress more generally, see (M215 ff.). The distribution of the typically Norse oval brooches in particular has been extensively employed to chart the Viking expansion in regions such as Russia (J40 ff.) or Ireland (M240 ff.).

[M235] J. Petersen, *Vikingetidens smykker* (1928) [Haddon]

[M236] I. Jansson, *Ovala spännbucklor: en studie av vikingatida standard-smycken med utgångspunkt från Björkö-fyndet*, Aun 7 (1985) [UL 466:01.b.4.7] (E.s.)

[M237] B. Lønborg, 'Fremstillingen af vikingetidens skålformede fibler', *Kuml* 1991-92, 151-64 (E.s.)

The Hiberno-Norse jewellery has attracted a lot of separate attention:

[M240] O.S. Johansen, 'Bossed penannular brooches: a systematization and study of their cultural affinities', *AA* 44 (1973), 63-124

[M241] J. Graham-Campbell, 'Bossed penannular brooches reconsidered', *NAR* 9 (1976), 45-52, with reply by O.S. Johansen, 52-55

[M242] J. Graham-Campbell, 'Western penannular brooches and their Viking age copies in Norway: a new classification', (A49):231-46

[M243] T. Fanning, 'The ringed pins of the Viking age', (O70):VII,125-30

### Weaving and textiles

For dress see (M215 ff.).

[M250] A. Geijer, 'The textile finds from Birka', *AA* 50 (1979), 209-22

[M251] L.B. Jørgensen, 'Textiles and textile equipment', (N185): III,59-78; from Ribe

[M252] L.B. Jørgensen, *Forhistoriske tekstiler i Skandinavien*, *Nordiske fortidsminder* B:9 (1986) [UL T592.a.2.9] (E.s.)

[M253] L.B. Jørgensen, 'A survey of North European textiles', *Studien zur Sachsenforschung* 6 (1987), 100-21

[M254] L.B. Jørgensen et al., (edd.), *Archaeological textiles: report from the 2nd NESAT symposium 1.-4. V. 1984*, *Arkæologiske skrifter* 2 (1988) [UL 468:01.b.11.2]; see A. Stine Ingstad, 'Textiles from Oseberg, Gokstad and Kaupang', 133-48

### Glass-working and bead-making

Since Scandinavia during the Viking age was not renowned as a producer of glass-ware, most of which was necessarily imported, these references also include surveys of glass imports, especially from mainland Europe and Russia.

[M260] J. Hunter, 'Glasses from Scandinavian burials in the first millenium A.D.', *World archaeology* 7.1 (1975), 79-86

[M261] J. Callmer, *Trade beads and bead trade in Scandinavia ca. 800-1000 A.D.*, *Acta archaeologica Lundensia series in 4o* 11 (1977) [UL S460:01.b.12.11]

[M262] L.G. Henricsson, *Glas i svensk forntid*, *Arkeographica* 4 (1990) [UL 9002.d.8301]

### Bone-working and comb-making

The study of the humble comb is of greater significance than might be suspected, since as a prime export of skilled craftsmen the development and spread of new styles is a useful way to chart long-distance contacts in the Viking world.

[M265] A. Christophersen, 'Raw material, resources and production capacity in early medieval comb manufacture in Lund', *MLUHM* n.s. 3 (1979-80), 150-65

[M266] K. Ambrosiani, *Viking age combs, comb making and comb makers in the light of finds from Birka and Ribe*, *Stockholm studies in archaeology* 2 (1981) [UL 468:01.c.7.2]

[M267] J. Ros, 'Antler and bone handicraft in late Viking age and early medieval Sigtuna', (O70):VII,157-62

### Pottery and ceramics

Pottery can not be said to have been the Vikings' strong point; for the vast importation of European, especially Slavic, pottery into late Viking-age Scandinavia see also (N40 ff.).

[M270] D. Selling, *Wikingertidlige og fruhmiddelalderlige Keramik i Schweden* (1955) [Haddon]

[M271] H.J. Madsen, 'Vikingetidens og middelalderens keramik i Århus', *Kuml* 1972, 123-38 (E.s.)

### Stoneworking

[M275] A. Skjølsvold, *Klebersteinindustrien i vikingetiden* (1961) [Haddon]

[M276] S. Myrvoll, 'The hones', (N185): III,115-41; from Ribe

### Woodcarving

Some particularly splendid examples of the art have been found in the major ship-burials, see for example [M320 ff.].

[M280] S. Horn Fuglesang, 'Woodcarvers—professionals and amateurs—in eleventh-century Trondheim', (M201):21-31

[M281] E. Fridstrøm, 'The Viking age wood-carvers: their tools and techniques', (O38):87-92

[M282] S. Horn Fuglesang, 'Woodcarving from Oslo and Trondheim and some reflections on period styles', (O38):93-108

### Burials

Burials play such a crucial role in so many aspects of Viking-age history that the references have necessarily been scattered throughout this bibliography; the sections on religion (L150) and urban cemeteries (N170 ff.) are particularly noteworthy. Overall surveys are uneven in scope and geographical distribution, and the reference works in (A) are again useful starting points. Burials in the colonies outside mainland Scandinavia are included in the relevant sections (G-J). For a recent collection of essays illuminating modern approaches to burial evidence, see:

[M300] C.K. Jensen and K.H. Nielsen, (edd.), *Burial and society: the chronological and social analysis of archaeological burial data* (1997) [UL 466:2.b.95.99]

### Denmark

For general surveys see (D6) and:

[M301] J. Brøndsted, 'Danish inhumation graves of the Viking age: a survey', *AA* 7 (1936), 81-228

[M302] T. Ramskou, 'Viking age cremation graves in Denmark', *AA* 21 (1950), 137-82

On individual cemeteries:

[M305] O. Marseen, 'Lindholm Høje', *Kuml* 1959, 53-68 (E.s.)

[M306] T. Ramskou, *Lindholm Høje: gravpladsen*, Nordiske fortidsminder B:2 (1976) [UL T592.a.2.2]

[M307] E. Roesdahl, 'Otte vikingetidigrave i Sdr. Onsild', *ANOH* 1976, 22-51 (E.s.)

[M308] O. Madsen, 'Søndervang ved Bjerre: en østjysk gravplads fra yngre germansk jernalder og vikingetid', *Kuml* 1991-92, 105-49

A particular feature of interest in the Danish evidence is the revival of overtly pagan burial practices in the tenth century, cf. (D80 ff.); the equestrian burials in particular have attracted much discussion (cf. (M316) for Norway):

[M310] H.H. Andersen, 'Hedenske danske kongegrave og deres historiske baggrund', *Kuml* 1985, 11-34 (E.s.) and 'Vorchristliche Königsgräber in Dänemark und ihre Hintergründe: Versuch einer Synthese', *Germania* 65 (1987), 159-73

[M311] M. Iversen et al., (edd.), *Mammen: grav, kunst og samfund i vikingetid*, *JASS* 28 (1991) [UL S460:01.b.23.42] (articles with E.s.), including U. Näsman, 'Grav og økse: Mammen og den danske vikingetids våbengrave', 163-80; O. Voss, 'Hørning-graven: en kammergrav fra o. 1000 med kvinde begravet i vognfading', 189-203

[M312] A. Pedersen, 'Weapons and riding gear in burials: evidence of military and social rank in tenth-century Denmark?', (C65):123-35, and 'Similar finds—different meanings? Some preliminary thoughts on the Viking-age burials with riding equipment in Scandinavia', (M300):171-83

### Norway

[M315] B. Solberg, 'Social status in the Merovingian and Viking periods in Norway from archaeological and historical sources', *NAR* 18 (1985), 61-76

[M316] H. Braathen, *Ryttargraver: politiske strukturer i eldre rikssamlingstid*, *Varia* 19 (1989) [UL 593:2.b.95.2] (E.s.)

On the major burials of the Vestfold region, see (M345 ff.) and:

[M320] N. Nicolaysen, *The Viking-ship discovered at Gokstad in Norway* (1882) [UL 594:3.b.95.3, 594:3.a.85.1]

[M321] A.W. Brøgger et al., *Osebergfundet*, 5 vols (1917-28) [UL S466.a.91.26-30]

[M322] *Centenary of a Norwegian Viking find: the Gokstad excavations*, Sandefjordmuseene årbok 1979-80 [UL P909:35.c.1.3]

[M323] A. Stine Ingstad, 'Osebergdronningen: hvem var hun?', *Viking* 45 (1981), 49-65 (E.s.)

[M324] B. Myhre, 'The royal cemetery at Borre, Vestfold: a Norwegian centre in a European periphery', (M355):301-13

- [M325] A.E. Christensen et al., *Oseberg-dronningens grav: vår arkeologiske nasjonalskatt i nytt lys* (1992) [UL 594:3.b.95.16]  
[M326] N. Bonde and A.E. Christensen, 'Dendrochronological dating of the Viking Age ship burials at Oseberg, Gokstad and Tune, Norway', *Antiquity* 67 (1993), 575-83  
[M327] A. Stine Ingstad, 'The interpretation of the Oseberg-find', (M349):138-48

### Sweden

- [M330] M. Lindquist, *Tre vikingatida gravfält på Gotland: Mölner, Tjängdarve, Uppgårde*, RAGU skrifter 1982:3 (1983) [UL 9592.b.30]  
[M331] B. Helgesson and C. Arcini, 'A major burial ground discovered at Fjälkinge: reflections of life in a Scanian Viking village', *LAR* 1996, 51-61  
[M332] M. Jakobsson, 'Burial layout, society and sacred geography: a Viking age example from Jämtland', *CSA* 5 (1997), 79-98

For the major cemeteries of central Sweden (cf. (F45 ff.)) see:

- [M335] S. Lindqvist, *Uppsala högar och Ottarshögen*, Arkeologiska monografier 23 (1936) [UL S592:01.a.4.29] (E.s.)  
[M336] O. Lundberg, (ed.), *Vendel i fynd och forskning* (1938) [UL 596:3.b.90.3]; see H. Arbman, 'Vendelfyndet', 1-28 (E.s. 78-82); S. Lindqvist, 'Vendelfyndens innebörd', 39-46 (E.s. 82-85)  
[M337] G. Arwidsson, *Valsgärde 7, Die Gräberfunde von Valsgärde 3* (1977) [UL S592:01.b.1.5]  
[M338] J.P. Lamm and H.-Å. Nordström, (edd.), *Vendel period studies: transactions of the boat-grave symposium in Stockholm, February 2-3, 1981*, The Museum of National Antiquities, Stockholm: studies 2 (1983) [UL OP.31140.971.01(2)]; see B. Ambrosiani, 'Background to the boat-graves of the Mälaren valley', 17-22; B. Arrhenius, 'The chronology of the Vendel graves', 39-70; G. Arwidsson, 'Valsgärde', 71-82  
[M339] B. Arrhenius, 'Regalia in Sweden in early medieval times', *Tor* 27 (1995), 311-35

### Ship-burials and ship-settings

Individual ship-burials are included in the regional survey above; this section focuses on studies devoted to the phenomenon more broadly, in terms of both their precise distribution and interpretation. For the eye-witness account of a Rus' burial on the Volga by Ibn Fadlan, see (B212).

- [M345] M. Müller-Wille, *Bestattung im Boot: Studien zu einer nordeuropäischen Grabsitte*, *Offa* 25-26 (1968-69) [UL P574.b.53.14]; a classic study  
[M346] B. Schönback, 'The custom of burial in boats', (M338):123-32  
[M347] L. Motz, 'The conquest of death: the myth of Baldr and its Middle Eastern counterparts', *CM* 4 (1991), 99-117; on the mythological background  
[M348] O. Crumlin-Pedersen, 'Boat-burials at Slusegaard and their interpretation', (O70):II,147-53  
[M349] O. Crumlin-Pedersen and B.M. Thye, (edd.), *The ship as symbol in prehistoric and medieval Scandinavia: papers from an international research seminar at the Danish National Museum, Copenhagen, 5th-7th May 1994*, Publications from the National Museum: studies in archaeology and history 1 (1995) [UL 592:6.b.95.14]; see M. Müller-Wille, 'Boat-graves, old and new views', 101-10, and E. Wamers, 'The symbolic significance of the ship-graves at Haiðaby and Ladby', 149-59  
[M350] C. Roslund, 'The geometry and orientation of Scandinavian ship-settings', *FV* 90 (1995), 139-45

On royal burials in general see:

- [M353] M. Müller-Wille, 'Königsgrab und Königsgrabkirche: Funde und Befunde im frühgeschichtlichen und mittelalterlichen Nordeuropa', *Bericht der römisch-germanischen Kommission* 63 (1982), 349-412

Much useful comparative material can be found in:

- [M355] M. Carver, (ed.), *The age of Sutton Hoo: the seventh century in north-western Europe* (1992) [UL 477:7.c.95.34]

## N. TRADE AND TOWNS

The significance of Viking-age trade for social, political, and religious developments is now well appreciated; it provided not only for extended and deep-rooted contacts with the outside (especially Christian) world, but also helped to fuel the growth of an aristocratic elite that came to dominate and thrive upon the traffic in luxury goods.

### Trade

For the Pirenne hypothesis, that the incursions of the Arabs into the Mediterranean in the seventh and eighth centuries forced Europe to look north for its trading contacts:

[N1] H. Pirenne, *Mohammed and Charlemagne* (1939) [UL 532:3.c.95.15]

[N2] R. Hodges and D. Whitehouse, *Mohammed, Charlemagne and the origins of Europe: archaeology and the Pirenne thesis* (1983) [UL 532:15.c.95.26]

### Viking-age commerce

Surveys of trade links in the pre-Viking age are best approached through the general handbooks in (A) and the detailed studies of Iron-age Denmark in particular (D20 ff.). Aside from a growing organisation of commercial activities, it is the extension in the range and quantity of goods carried that tends to mark off Viking-age trade from the traffic of the preceding period.

[N5] C. Blindheim, 'Commerce and trade in Viking age Norway: exchange of products or organized transactions?', *NAR* 15 (1982), 8-18

[N6] P. Sawyer, 'Ohthere and Viking age trade', (B106a):43-55

[N7] C. Blindheim, 'Internal trade in Viking age Norway', *Untersuchungen zu Handel und Verkehr der vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Zeit in Mittel- und Nord-europa. 4: Der Handel der Karolinger- und Wikingerzeit*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen 156, edd. K. Düwel et al. (1987), 758-72 [UL P500.b.5.183]

[N8] U. Näsman, 'Sea trade during the Scandinavian Iron age: its character, commodities, and routes', (M103):23-40

[N9] L. Hedeager, 'Warrior economy and trading economy in Viking-age Scandinavia', *JEA* 2:1 (1994), 130-48

[N10] M. Bäck, 'No island is a society: regional and interregional interaction in Central Sweden during the Viking age', (O80):129-61

For the notion of 'peace' as a prerequisite to trading, see (I91).

### Foreign contacts

Foreign contacts are illuminated by the studies above and above all by the artefacts found in Scandinavia itself. Burial finds (M300 ff.) and urban excavations (N170 ff.) in particular are a useful source for such material.

### The North sea

It is now widely recognised that Scandinavian links across the North sea have a far longer pedigree than the Viking age, and these connections seem to have been paramount not only in the beginning of the western Viking age (C35 ff.) but also in the establishment of early commercial centres such as Ribe (N185 ff.); for the artefacts, see (N30 ff.).

[N15] E. Bakka, 'Scandinavian trade relations with the continent and the British Isles in pre-Viking times', *Early medieval studies* 3, AArkiv 40 (1971), 37-51

[N16] J. Hines, *The Scandinavian character of Anglian England in the pre-Viking period*, BAR British series 124 (1984) [UL L474.b.85.115], plus 'The Scandinavian character of Anglian England: an update', (M355):315-29

[N17] B. Weber, 'Norwegian exports in Orkney and Shetland during the Viking and middle ages', (O70):V,159-67

### The Baltic (and beyond)

Scandinavian links across the Baltic were also extensive before, during, and after the Viking age; most of the relevant material is to be found in (J10 ff.).

[N20] S.-O. Lindquist, (ed.), *Society and trade in the Baltic during the Viking age: papers of the VIIIth Visby symposium held at Gotlands Fornsal, Gotland's Historical Museum, Visby, August 15th-19th, 1983*, Acta Visbyensia 7 (1985) [UL 531:01.c.28.7], incl. P.H. Sawyer, 'Birka, the Baltic and beyond', 165-70

[N21] U. Näsman, 'Trade and communication in the Baltic from the fourth to the eighth century A.D.', (O70):V,131-36

[N22] J. Callmer, 'Exchange and trade in the Baltic region and beyond ca. 600-1000', (O70): V,137-43

[N23] M. Mägi-Lôugas, 'On the relations between the countries around the Baltic as indicated by the background of Viking age spearhead ornament', *FV* 88 (1993), 211-21

[N24] I. Jansson, (ed.), *Archaeology east and west of the Baltic: papers from the second Estonian-Swedish archaeological symposium, Sigtuna, May 1991*, Theses and papers in archaeology n.s. A:7 (1995) [UL 592:6.b.95.16]

For the continuing contacts in the twelfth century:

[N27] E. Christiansen, *The Northern crusades: the Baltic and the Catholic frontier 1100-1525* (1980) [UL 589:4.c.95.31]

### Foreign artefacts

#### Insular

Insular artefacts from the British isles are found widely scattered across Norway, but are particularly significant for Norway (E10 ff., E20 ff.); for English coins, see (N95 ff.).

[N30] E. Bakka, *Some English decorated metal objects found in Norwegian Viking graves: contributions to the art history of the eighth century A.D.*, Årbok for Universitetet i Bergen, humanistisk serie 1963:1 [UL P500.b.171.15]

[N31] E. Bakka, 'Some decorated Anglo-Saxon and Irish metalwork found in Norwegian graves', (A43):32-40

[N32] C. Blindheim, 'A collection of Celtic (?) bronze objects found at Kaupang (Skiringssal), Vestfold, Norway', (A46):9-27

[N33] C. Blindheim, 'Trade problems in the Viking age: some reflections on insular metalwork found in Norwegian graves of the Viking age', (O30):166-76

[N34] D. Liversage, 'An unpublished Irish grave group from Norway', *AA* 54 (1983), 147-51

[N35] E. Wamers, 'Some ecclesiastical and secular insular metalwork found in Norwegian Viking graves', *Peritia* 2 (1983), 277-306

[N36] E. Wamers, *Insularer Metallschmuck in wikingerzeitlichen Gräbern Nordeuropas: Untersuchungen zur skandinavischen Westexpansion*, Offa-Bücher 56 (1985) [UL S570:01.b.12.55]

[N37] E. Wamers, 'Insular finds in Viking age Scandinavia and the state formation of Norway', (O82):37-72

#### Slavic

For more general surveys of imports from the Slavic regions of eastern Europe, see also (J10 ff., N20 ff.). These important contacts were significant for various aspects of the Viking economy, particularly pottery, but are relatively underrepresented in English-language scholarship.

[N40] M. Andersen, 'Westslawischer Import in Dänemark etwa 950 bis 1200: ein Übersicht', *Zeitschrift für Archäologie* 18 (1984), 145-61

[N41] J. Callmer, 'Slawisch-skandinavische Kontakte am Beispiel der slawischen Keramik in Skandinavien während des 8. und 9. Jahrhunderts', (N311):654-74

#### Imports from further east

Artefacts from the Byzantine empire and Islamic caliphates tend to be rather more restricted in number and distribution; the chief exception is the vast hoards of dirhams, see (N60 ff., N110 ff.). The largest concentrations are to be found in the major trading centres, particularly Birka (N280 ff.).

[N45] I. Hammarberg et al., *Byzantine coins found in Sweden*, Commentationes de nummis saeculorum IX-XI in Suecia repertis n.s. 2 (1989) [UL 492:01.b.8.2]

[N46] I. Jansson, 'Wikingerzeitlicher orientalischer Import in Skandinavien', (N311):564-647

[N47] M. Roslund, 'Crumbs from the rich man's table: Byzantine finds in Lund and Sigtuna, c. 980-1250', (O80):239-97

### Silver and coins

The vast hoards of silver, often in the form of coinage, provide one of the clearest indicators of Scandinavian trading and raiding activity.

[N50] M. Blackburn and D.M. Metcalf, (edd.), *Viking-age coinage in the northern lands*, BAR International Series 122 (1981) [UL L474.b.87.102-03]; see initially A.E. Lieber, 'International trade and coinage in the northern lands during the early Middle ages: an introduction', 1-34

[N51] B. Malmer, 'What does coinage tell us about Scandinavian society in the Viking age?', *From the Baltic to the Black sea: studies in medieval archaeology*, One world archaeology 18, edd. D. Austin et al. (1990), 157-67 [UL 532:24.c.95.109]

For general surveys and catalogues of coin finds, as well as coins issued in Scandinavia itself, see (C250 ff.).

[N53] Coins found in Sweden from the ninth to eleventh centuries, consisting therefore mostly of imported coins, are being slowly published in the series *Corpus nummorum saeculorum IX-XI qui in Suecia reperti sunt* (1975 ff.) [UL 492:01.b.4.1 ff.; it so far includes partial volumes for Gotland, Skåne, Östergötland, Dalarna]. For further (more general) catalogues of finds by province, see also B. Malmer et al., *Sveriges mynthistoria: landskapsinventeringen*, 1 ff. (1982 ff.) [UL 492:01.b.7.1 ff.].

### Islamic coins

Islamic coins, mostly in the form of silver dirhams, begin to appear in Russian and Scandinavian hoards in the late eighth century; after a steady drift during the ninth century, their numbers reach a climax in the first half of the tenth before fading away abruptly around 960/970. For a useful collection of articles by T.S. Noonan see (O14); on hoards and coin-circulation see (N75 ff., N110 ff.).

[N60] B.E. Hovén, 'On oriental coins in Scandinavia', (N50):119-28

[N61] A. Kromann, 'The latest kufic coin finds from Denmark', (C278):183-96

### The early period

[N65] B.E. Hovén, 'Ninth-century dirham hoards from Sweden', *JBS* 13 (1972), 202-19

[N66] U.S. Linder Welin, 'The first arrival of oriental coins in Scandinavia and the inception of the Viking age in Sweden', *FV* 69 (1974), 22-29, plus debate with J. Callmer, *FV* 71 (1976), 175-90

[N67] T.S. Noonan, 'When and how dirhams first reached Russia', *Cahiers du monde Russe et Soviétique* 21 (1980), 401-69

### The silver crisis

[N70] The cessation in the supply of dirhams just after the middle of the tenth century has been ascribed to various reasons, including the notion of a 'silver crisis' in the East, which combined with local political factors meant that the attention in Islamic regions turned to new directions. It is however important to note that the import of coins into Scandinavia had already begun to decline sharply before this crisis affected Russia itself, suggesting additional causes, possibly prompted by the foundation of the principdom of Rus' (cf. (J60 ff.)). It has also often been theorised that this abrupt termination of a silver supply precipitated some kind of economic crisis in Scandinavia, and that it may have played a major role in the beginning of the 'second Viking age' in the west; cf. (C45, 190 ff.)

[N71] T.S. Noonan, 'The first major silver crisis in Russia and the Baltic, c. 875-c. 900', *Hikuin* 11 (1985), 41-50

[N72] T.S. Noonan, 'When did dirhem imports into tenth-century Sweden decline?', *Festskrift till Lars O. Lagerqvist*, edd. U. Ehrensverd et al., *Numismatiska meddelanden* 37 (1989), 295-301 [UL 492:01.c.13.18]

[N73] A.E. Lieber, 'Did a "silver crisis" in central Asia affect the flow of Islamic coins into Scandinavia and eastern Europe?', (C278):207-12

### Circulation of silver and currency

The circulation of coins and silver in Scandinavia seems to reflect what can be termed a 'bullion economy', where coinage was simply regarded as a weight of precious metal rather than having a defined monetary value. When assessing the actual currency of coinage rather than simply its deposition into hoards (cf. (N110 ff.)), numismatists stress the significance of 'pecking', i.e. cutting small lumps out of a coin to determine its metallurgical content.

- [N75] B. Hårdh, 'Trade and money in Scandinavia in the Viking age', *MLUHM* n.s. 2 (1977-78), 157-71  
[N76] S. Brahme, 'On the coin circulation on Gotland in the late Viking age: some studies based on CNS 1:1-4', *Nordisk numismatisk årsskrift* 1983-84, 145-66  
[N77] B. Malmer, 'Circulation of monetary silver in the Baltic area during the Viking age', (N20):185-94  
[N78] M. Gaimster, 'Money and media in Viking age Scandinavia', (O64):113-22  
[N79] J.S. Jensen, 'Do the coin finds of recent years change our ideas about the character of monetary circulation in Denmark in the Viking age?', (A51):237-41  
[N80] B. Hårdh, *Silver in the Viking age: a regional-economic study*, Acta archaeologica Lundensia series in 8vo 25 (1996) [UL S460:01.b.13.24]

### Western European coins in Scandinavia

Coins from western Europe, particularly Germany and England, only begin to appear in large numbers in Scandinavia from the late tenth century onwards, and may reflect a need to fill the gap left by the drop in the supply of Arabic dirhams; cf. (N70 ff.).

### Frankish and German coins

- [N85] G. Hatz, *Handel und Verkehr zwischen dem deutschen Reich und Schweden in der späten Wikingerzeit: die deutschen Münzen des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts in Schweden* (1974) [UL S592:01.a.4.71]  
[N86] P. Ilisch, 'German Viking-age coinage and the North', (N50):129-46  
[N87] S. Coupland, 'Carolingian coins and Scandinavian silver', *Nordisk numismatisk årsskrift* 1985, 11-32  
[N88] K. Jonsson, 'The import of German coins to Denmark and Sweden c. 920-990', (C278):139-44  
[N89] G. Hatz et al., *Otto-Adelheid-Pfenninge: Untersuchungen zu Münzen des 10./11. Jahrhunderts*, *Commentationes de nummis saeculorum IX-XI in Suecia repertis* n.s. 7 (1991) [UL 492:01.b.8.7]

### Anglo-Saxon coins

- [N95] B.E. Hildebrand, *Anglosachsiska mynt i Svenska Kongliga Myntkabinettet funna i Sveriges jord*, 2nd edn (1881) [UL X.12.33]  
[N96] M. Blackburn and K. Jonsson, 'The Anglo-Saxon element of north European coin finds', (N50):147-256  
[N97] D.M. Metcalf, 'To what extent did Anglo-Saxon coins circulate within the northern lands?', *Hikuin* 11 (1985), 91-100  
[N98] P. Sawyer, 'Anglo-Scandinavian trade in the Viking age and after', *Anglo-Saxon monetary history: essays in memory of Michael Dolley*, ed. M. Blackburn (1986), 185-99 [UL 492:4.c.95.50]  
[N99] K. Jonsson, *Viking age hoards and late Anglo-Saxon coins: a study in honour of Bror Emil Hildebrand's Anglosachsiska mynt* (1987) [UL 492:4.b.95.23]  
[N100] D.M. Metcalf, 'The fall and rise of the Danelaw connection, the export of obsolete English coin to the northern lands, and the tributes of 991 and 994', (C278):213-24

### Silver hoards

For a useful overview with historical context, see (A5):86-119 ('Treasure'), also (N119); hoards discovered in Scandinavian contexts in the British isles are noted in the relevant geographical sections of (I).

- [N110] M. Stenberger, *Die Schatzfunde Gotlands der Wikingerzeit*, 2 vols, KVHAA monografier (1947-58) [UL S592:01.a.4.46-47]

- [N111] N.L. Rasmuson, 'An introduction to the Viking age hoards', *Commentationes de nummis saeculorum IX-XI in Suecia repertis I*, KVHAA handlingar, antikvariska serien 9 (1961), 1-16 [UL 595:01.c.11.3]
- [N112] J. Callmer, 'Topographical notes on some Scanian Viking period and early medieval hoards', *MLUHM* n.s. 3 (1979-80), 132-49
- [N113] D.M. Metcalf, 'Some twentieth-century runes: statistical analysis of the Viking-age hoards and the interpretation of wastage rates', (N50):329-82
- [N114] J. Graham-Campbell, 'Viking silver hoards: an introduction', (O34):32-41
- [N115] B. Hårdh, 'The function of silver in the Viking age: discussion of methods and results in literature', (O58):43-51
- [N116] K. Jonsson and M. Östergren, 'The Gotland hoard project and the Stumle hoard: an insight into the affairs of a Gotlandic "farman"', (C278):145-58
- [N117] B. Hårdh, 'Silver hoards as a mirror of economic systems: methodological problems in interpreting the hoards', (O70):V,51-57
- [N118] M. Burström, 'Silver as bridewealth: an interpretation of Viking age silver hoards on Gotland, Sweden', *CSA* 1 (1993), 33-37
- [N119] J. Staecker, 'Brutal Vikings and gentle traders', *LAR* 1997, 89-103
- [N120] T. Zachrisson, *Gård, gräns, gravfält: sammanhang kring ädelmetalldepåer och runstenar från vikingatid och tidigmedeltid i Uppland och Gästrikland*, Stockholm studies in archaeology 15 (1998) (E.s.)

### Weights and measures

- [N130] S. Aakjær, (ed.), *Maal og vægt*, Nordisk kultur 30 (1936) [UL 592:01.b.1.23]
- [N131] O. Kyhlberg, *Vikt och värde: arkeologiska studier i värdemätning, betalningsmedel och metrologi under yngre järnålder*, Stockholm studies in archaeology 1 (1980) [UL 468:01.c.7.1]
- [N132] E. Sperber, 'How accurate was Viking age weighing in Sweden?', *FV* 83 (1988), 157-66
- [N133] I. Gustin, 'Islam, merchants or kings? Who was behind the manufacture of Viking age weights?', (O80):163-77

### Trading places

The development of organised trade naturally required the growth of organised trading places. Excavations have revealed some quite spectacular centres of commerce and production from the Roman Iron age onwards, but although these were an essential precursor to the explosion of commercial contacts in the Viking age, they largely fall out of the scope of this bibliography. A phrase often employed for them is 'industrial farms', which captures both the commercial nature of the sites but also the fact that they seem clearly not to reflect genuine 'urbanisation'. For general guidance, see (C70 ff., D20 ff.) and:

- [N140] J. Callmer, 'Production site and market area: some notes on fieldwork in progress', *MLUHM* n.s. 4 (1981-82), 135-65
- [N141] H.M. Jansen, 'Early urbanization in Denmark', (N164):183-216

Some of the more spectacular examples from southern Scandinavia include:

- [N143] **Dankirke.** H.J. Hansen, 'Dankirke: affluence in late Iron age Denmark', *The birth of Europe: archaeology and social development in the first millenium A.D.*, Analecta Romana Instituti Danici supplementum 16, ed. K. Randsborg (1989), 123-28 [UL S520:01.b.12.26a]
- [N144] **Gudme and Lundeberg.** P.O. Thomsen, 'Lundeberg: a trading centre from the 3rd-7th century AD', (M103):133-44; P.O. Nielsen et al., (edd.), *The archaeology of Gudme and Lundeberg: papers presented at a conference at Svendborg, October 1991*, Arkæologiske studier 10 (1994) [UL 466:01.b.5.10]
- [N145] **Åhus.** J. Callmer, 'Recent work at Åhus: problems and observations', *Offa* 41 (1984), 63-75
- [N146] **Tissø.** L. Jørgensen, 'Manor and market at Lake Tissø in the sixth to eleventh centuries: the Danish 'productive' sites', (O88):175-207

### Helgö

The most significant of all remains however Helgö, which despite a limited population thrived to produce, and trade in, vast quantities of artefacts in the period leading up to the Viking age. For initial guidance see also (N280).

[N150] W. Holmqvist, *Excavations at Helgö*, 3 vols (1961-70) [UL S592:01.a.5.1-3]

[N151] W. Holmqvist, 'Sweden's first industrial society', (F17):22-49

[N152] B. Arrhenius, 'Helgö as a border post between Uppland and Södermanland', AA 58 (1987), 137-50

[N153] A. Lundström, (ed.), *Thirteen studies on Helgö*, Museum of National Antiquities, Stockholm: studies 7 (1988) [UL OP.31140.971.01(7)]; numerous useful articles on all aspects of Helgö

### Urbanisation

The study of urbanisation in Scandinavia has developed into a growth industry in recent years, sparked above all by a series of extensive excavations in many early mediaeval towns, and its history is of broader relevance to Viking studies than might at first be anticipated. An excellent overall survey is (N166).

### Comparative

[N160] H. Jankuhn et al., (edd.), *Vor- und Frühformen der europäischen Stadt im Mittelalter: Bericht über ein Symposium in Reinhausen bei Göttingen in der Zeit vom 18. bis 24. April 1972, vol. II*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse, 3. Folge 84 (1974) [UL P500.b.5.127]

[N161] I. Skovgaard-Petersen, 'The historical context of the first towns in northern and eastern Europe', (A47):9-18

[N162] R. Hodges, *Dark age economics: the origins of towns and trade A.D. 600-1000*, 2nd edn (1989; 1st edn 1982) [UL 220.c.98.3098, 1st edn 220.b.98.19]

[N163] A.E. Herteig, (ed.), *Conference on waterfront archaeology in north European towns 2, Bergen 1983* (1985) [UL 423.b.98.102]

[N164] H.B. Clarke and A. Simms, (edd.), *The comparative history of urban origins in non-Roman Europe: Ireland, Wales, Denmark, Germany, Poland and Russia from the ninth to the thirteenth century*, BAR International series 255 (1985) [UL L474.b.87.211]

[N165] R. Hodges and B. Hobley, (edd.), *The rebirth of towns in the west*, Council for British Archaeology research report 68 (1988) [UL 532:3.b.95.5]

[N166] H. Clarke and B. Ambrosiani, *Towns in the Viking age*, rev. repr. (1995) [UL 532:26.c.95.99]

[N167] S. Nielsen, 'Urban Economy in southern Scandinavia in the second half of the first millennium', (079):177-198

[N168] K. Ulmschneider and T. Pestell, 'Introduction: early medieval markets and 'productive' sites', (O88):1-10

[N169] P.H. Sawyer, 'Early fairs and markets in England and Scandinavia', *Anglo-Saxon history; basic readings*, ed. D.A.E. Pelteret (2000), 323-42.

### Scandinavia

The significance of urbanisation in Viking-age Scandinavia is huge, and recent excavations at numerous sites have revolutionised our understanding of the processes and motives involved. Definitions of a 'town' in this culture vary enormously, but the single most common denominator is a functional definition; an urban population is one that has removed itself from the spheres of agriculture or subsistence and concentrates instead on commerce. A very useful, albeit rather crude, distinction can be drawn between three phases: the early 'industrial farms' such as Helgö (N150 ff.) or Dankirke (N143); the Viking-age emporia geared towards trade and foreign contacts, such as Birka (N280 ff.), Kaupang (N240 ff.), and Hedeby (N195 ff.); and the early mediaeval (largely royal) foundations such as Lund (N215 ff.), Trondheim (N245 ff.), and Sigtuna (N290 ff.), whose functions are now widely interpreted as socio-political and religious.

[N170] I. Skovgaard-Petersen, 'The coming of urban culture to northern Europe: Vikings, merchants and kings', *SJH* 3 (1978), 1-19

- [N171] C. Blindheim, 'The emergence of urban communities in Viking age Scandinavia', (O34):42-69
- [N172] A. Andrén, 'State and towns in the middle ages: the Scandinavian experience', *Theory and society* 18 (1989), 585-609
- [N173] P. Sawyer, 'Markets and fairs in Norway and Sweden between the eight and sixteenth century', (O88):168-174
- [N173] K. Helle, 'Descriptions of Nordic towns and town-like settlements in early literature', (A51):20-31
- [N174] J. Callmer, 'Urbanization in Scandinavia and the Baltic region c. AD 700-1100: trading places, centres and early urban sites', (A51):50-90
- [N175] T. Saunders, 'Trade, towns and states: a reconsideration of early medieval economics', *NAR* 28 (1995), 31-53, with comments by A. Andrén and R. Bertelsen and a reply, 123-35

On urban organisation and layout:

- [N178] E. Schia, 'Reconstructing townyards on the periphery of the European urban culture', *NAR* 20 (1987), 81-96, with response from H. Clarke, 'Comments on reconstructing townyards on the periphery of the European urban culture', 97-99
- [N179] A.H. Jakobsson, 'Towns, plots, crafts and fertility: traces of a power ideology', *CSA* 7 (1999), 37-53; extremely unusual

### Denmark

- [N180] A. Andrén, *Den urbana scenen: städer och samhälle i det medeltida Danmark*, Acta archaeologica Lundensia series in 8o 13 (1985) [UL S460:01.b.13.12] (E.s.)
- [N181] H.M. Jansen, 'The archaeology of Danish commercial centres', *Voyage to the other world: the legacy of Sutton Hoo*, edd. C.B. Kendall and P.S. Wells, Medieval studies at Minnesota 5 (1992), 171-81 [UL 477:7.c.95.36]

### Ribe

Dated by dendrochronology to around the beginning of the eighth century, Ribe is effectively the earliest 'proto-town' in Scandinavia, and to judge from the excavations was deliberately founded in this period to take advantage of quite extensive trade connections across the North sea.

- [N185] M. Bencard et al., (edd.), *Ribe excavations 1970-76*, 4 vols (1981-91) [UL 598:3.b.95.6-9]; the full, and very detailed, presentation of the Ribe excavations with articles on all aspects of its urban life
- [N186] S. Jensen et al., 'Excavations in Ribe 1979-82', *JDA* 2 (1983), 156-70
- [N187] I. Nielsen, *Middelalderbyen Ribe*, Projekt Middelalderbyen 1 (1985) [UL 598:6.b.95.15] (E.s.)
- [N188] L.B. Frandsen and S. Jensen, 'Pre-Viking and early Viking age Ribe: excavations at Nicolajgade 8, 1985-86', *JDA* 6 (1987), 175-89
- [N189] L.B. Frandsen, 'Trade, coins and foreign influences during pre-Viking and Viking-age Ribe', (O58):37-42
- [N190] S. Jensen, *The Vikings of Ribe* (1991) [UL 9003.c.6216]
- [N191] C. Feveile, 'The latest news from Viking age Ribe: archaeological excavations 1993', (A51):91-99

### Hedeby

The Royal Frankish annals report that the town of Slesvig or Hedeby was founded at the beginning of the ninth century by king Godfred (B50), and it rapidly grew into the largest town in Viking-age Scandinavia until its decline as a commercial centre towards the end of the tenth century. For an initial survey see (D7):70-77, and then:

- [N195] The full presentation of the excavations at Hedeby is the series *Berichte über die Ausgrabungen in Haithabu*, 1 ff. (1969 ff.) [UL S570:01.b.16.1 ff.], but these are for reference only; for a summary volume, see K. Schietzel, *Stand der siedlungsarchäologischen Forschung in Haithabu: Ergebnisse und Probleme*, Berichte 16 (1981) and for the important ship-burial, M. Müller-Wille, *Das Bootkammergrab von Haithabu*, Berichte 8 (1976) (cf. (M345 ff.))
- [N196] H. Jankuhn, *Haithabu, ein Handelsplatz der Wikingerzeit*, 6th edn (1976) [UL S570.b.97.41]

[N197] H. Jankuhn et al., (edd.), *Archäologische und naturwissenschaftliche Untersuchungen an ländlichen und frühstädtischen Siedlungen im deutschen Küstengebiet vom 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis zum 11. Jahrhundert n. Chr. II: Handelsplätze des frühen und hohen Mittelalters* (1984) [UL 570:2.c.95.12]

[N198] K. Schietzel, 'Haithabu: a study on the development of early urban settlements in northern Europe', (N164):147-81

[N199] O. Crumlin-Pedersen, 'The rise and decline of Hedeby/Schleswig as a major port of trade', (A60) vol. 11 (1992), 27-37 [UL L592.c.25.11]

[N200] K. Brandt, 'Neue Ausgrabungen in Hollingstedt, dem Nordseehafen von Haithabu und Schleswig: ein Vorbericht', *Offa* 54-55 (1997-98), 289-307 (E.s.)

On the cemeteries at Hedeby:

[N201] E. Aner, 'Das Kammergräberfeld von Haithabu', *Offa* 10 (1952), 61-115

[N202] H. Steuer, 'Zur ethnischen Gliederung der Bevölkerung von Haithabu anhand der Gräberfelder', *Offa* 41 (1984), 189-212

[N203] E. Wamers, 'König im Grenzland: neue Analyse des Bootkammergrabes von Haiðaby', *AA* 65 (1994), 1-56

[N204] O. Crumlin-Pedersen, 'Skibsfundene fra Hedeby', *Kuml* 1997-98, 161-84 (E.s.)

### Århus

German sources of the tenth century mention Århus as a bishop's seat (L210), and excavations have uncovered traces of settlement going back to that time, although not on the same scale as Hedeby.

[N210] H.H. Andersen et al., *Århus Sønder vold: en byarkæologisk undersøgelse*, *JASS* 9 (1971) [UL S460:01.b.23.9]

[N211] H.J. Madsen, 'Introduction to Viking Århus', (A47):69-72

[N212] H. Paludan, 'Aros—Års—Århus ca. 900-1540', *Århus bys historie fra vikingetid til nutid* (1984), 11-78 [UL 598:6.c.95.73]

[N213] H. Skov, 'Udgravningerne i Århus midtby 1994-97', *Kuml* 1997-98, 227-94 (E.s.)

### Lund

Founded around the end of the tenth century, the town of Lund was one of the most dominant in Scandinavia by the end of the eleventh; some of the oldest churches and Christian cemeteries in Scandinavia have been uncovered here, and it was clearly a royal centre of some significance, as revealed also by the coins emanating from its mint (C260 ff.).

[N215] E. Cinthio, 'The oldest bishop churches in Lund', *MLUHM* 1960, 73-106

[N216] S. Kroon, 'Hästkarlar, biskopar, kungar, Laurentiuskyrkor: Lund 900-1145', *Scandia* 57 (1991), 37-63 (E.s. 139-41)

[N217] S. Kroon, *Det äldsta Lund: dess ursprung och annat väsentligt* (1994) [UL 596:6.c.95.64]

### Other early mediaeval towns

Most other mediaeval urban sites have revealed less sign of dense settlement during the Viking age, but they are nevertheless of great interest in revealing the spread and development of Danish royal government and ecclesiastical organisation.

[N220] **Odense.** H. Thrane et al., *Odense bys historie. I: Fra boplads til bispeby: Odense til 1559* (1982) [UL 598:6.c.95.47]; A.S. Christensen, *Middelalderbyen Odense*, Projekt Middelalderbyen 5 (1988) [UL 598:6.b.95.19] (E.s.)

[N221] **Roskilde.** I. Nielsen and O. Schiørring, 'Medieval Roskilde: an urban-archaeological survey', *JDA* 1 (1982), 133-44

[N222] **Viborg.** H. Krongaard Kristensen, *Middelalderbyen Viborg*, Projekt Middelalderbyen 4 (1987) [UL 598:6.b.95.18] (E.s.) and 'A Viking period and medieval settlement at Viborg Sønder sø, Jutland', *JDA* 7 (1988), 191-204

## Norway

- [N230] A.E. Herteig et al., *Archaeological contributions to the early history of urban communities in Norway*, Instituttet for sammenlignende kulturforskning A:27 (1975) [UL 499.b.39.31]
- [N231] H.-E. Lidén, 'Urban archaeology in Norway', *European towns: their archaeology and early history*, ed. M.W. Barley (1977), 83-101 [UL 532:26.b.95.4]
- [N232] Ø. Lunde, (ed.), *Tre norske middelalderbyer i 1970-årene: fornminnevern og utgravningsresultater HAMAR—OSLO—TØNSBERG*, Riksantikvarens rapporter 12 (1986) [UL 594:3.b.95.12]
- [N233] A. Christophersen, 'Ports and trade in Norway during the transition to historical time', (M103):159-70

## Kaupang

The market centre at Skiringssal, known most widely as Kaupang, in Vestfold is the only major commercial centre in Viking-age Norway that can reasonably be claimed to be some kind of 'town'. It flourished chiefly during the ninth century, and it may well be no coincidence that its founding seems to coincide with that of Hedeby (N195 ff.).

- [N240] C. Blindheim, 'Kaupang in Skiringssal: a Norwegian port of trade from the Viking age', (N160):40-57
- [N241] C. Blindheim, 'Kaupang by the Viks fjord in Vestfold', (N230):125-53, also 'Kaupang by the Viks fjord: harbour, market centre, or town?', 154-73
- [N242] C. Blindheim et al., *Kaupang-funnene I*, Norske oldfunn 11 (1981) [UL S592.b.98.23] (E.s. for each chapter); the later volumes cover more specific areas of the excavation
- [N243] D. Skre 'Kaupang – et handelssted?', *CM* 13 (2000), 165-75 (E.s)
- [N244] H.G. Resi, 'Kaupang, før nye utgravninger' *CM* 13 (2000), 141-64 (E.s.)

## Trondheim

According to the kings' sagas the town of Trondheim was founded at the end of the tenth century by Olaf Tryggvason (E60 ff.). Although dense urban activity at the site only seems to have developed in the course of the eleventh century, it was a major royal site with mint (C270 ff.) and early churches, and rapidly grew as the site of the cult of saint Olaf (E70 ff.).

- [N245] G. Authén Blom, *Trondheim bys historie. I: St. Olavs by ca. 1000-1537* (1956) [UL S592.b.95.54], now in rev. edn *Trondheims historie 997-1997. I: Hellig Olavs by: middelalder til 1537* (1997)
- [N246] A. Christophersen, 'Royal authority and early urbanization in Trondheim during the transition to the historical period', (O56):91-133
- [N247] A. Christophersen, 'Dwelling houses, workshops and storehouses: functional aspects of the development of wooden urban buildings in Trondheim from c. A.D. 1000 to A.D. 1400', *AA* 60 (1989), 101-129; in same volume, S. Walaker Nordeide, 'Activity in an urban community: functional aspects of artefact material in Trondheim from c. AD 1000 to AD 1600', *AA* 60 (1989), 130-50
- [N248] A. Petersén, 'The nature of deposits from a pre-urban settlement: an analysis of the material from the "Library site" in Trondheim, Norway', *MLUHM* n.s. 10 (1993-94), 135-44
- [N249] A. Christophersen, 'Power and impotence: political background of urbanisation in Trøndelag 900-1100 AD', *Archaeologia Polona* 32 (1994), 95-108
- [N250] A. Christophersen and S. Walaker Nordeide, *Kaupangen ved Nidelva: 1000 års byhistorie belyst gjennom de arkeologiske undersøkelsene på Folkebibliotekstomten i Trondheim 1973-1985*, Riksantikvarens skrifter 7 (1994) [UL S592:01.b.6.7] (E.s.)
- [N251] K. Sognnes, 'Trondheimen før Nidaros: Trøndelags vikingtid fra en arkeologisk synsvinkel', *NHT* 77 (1998), 316-35; on the pre-urban background

## Oslo

The city of Oslo seems to have developed around the beginning of the eleventh century.

- [N255] H.-E. Lidén, 'Oslo: development of the urban structure in the 12th and 13th centuries', (N230):90-106, also 'Oslo: the beginnings', 107-24
- [N256] E. Schia, 'Urban Oslo: evolution from a royal stronghold and administrative centre', (O56):51-72

[N257] E. Schia, *Oslo innerst i Viken: liv og virke i middelalderbyen* (1991) [UL 594:6.b.95.9]

[N258] E. Schia, 'The hinterland of Oslo and its relationship to the origins of urban centres in the region of Viken', (O70):I,107-12

### Other early mediaeval towns

Few other towns in Norway show much sign of urban settlement in the Viking age, although some (like Skien) had developed as market centres.

[N260] **Bergen.** A.E. Herteig, "'Bryggen'", the medieval wharves of Bergen: topography and history of construction', (N230):49-67, and "'Bryggen": economic and cultural aspects', 68-89; K. Helle, *Bergen bys historie. I: Kongssete og kjøpstad: fra opphavet til 1536* (1982) [UL 594:6.c.95.18]; K. Krzywinski and P.E. Kaland, 'Bergen: from farm to town', *The Bryggen papers, supplementary series 1* (1984), 1-39 [UL 593:01.b.14.1]

[N261] **Borgund.** A.E. Herteig, 'Borgund in Sunnmøre: topography, history of construction, state of research', (N230):23-48; H. Sørheim, 'Borgund: en gammel kaupang, et nytt museum', *Viking* 53 (1990), 117-40 (E.s.)

[N262] **Skien.** S. Myrvoll, 'Trade in Telemark and the earliest settlement in Skien', *Offa* 41 (1984), 41-55; S. Myrvoll, 'The early Skien: an economic factor in late Viking age Grenland?', (O56):73-90

[N263] **Tønsberg.** J. Eriksson, 'Early medieval Tønsberg: dating problems and the results', *NAR* 23 (1990), 9-20; J. Lindh, 'Tønsberg: sedimentation and sea-level change, a matter of access', (M103):215-22

### Sweden

Urbanisation in Sweden is currently best attested in the regions of the Svear around lake Mälaren; however, it is likely that further excavations will reveal more clearly market centres and early towns elsewhere in Sweden, cf. (N271).

[N270] B. Ambrosiani, 'Specialization and urbanization in the Mälaren valley: a question of maturity', (N20):103-12

[N271] U.E. Hagberg, 'Ports and trading places on Öland and in the Kalmarsund area', (N20):139-48

[N272] M. Hasselmo, 'From early-medieval central-places to high-medieval towns: urbanization in Sweden from the end of the 10th century to c. 1200', *Rescue and research: reflections of society in Sweden 700-1700 A.D.*, edd. L. Ersgård et al., *Arkeologiska undersökningar, skrifter 2* (1992), 32-55 [UL 595:2.c.95.13]

### Birka

During the ninth and tenth centuries Birka was the major commercial centre in Sweden, apparently replacing Helgö (N150 ff.); it is mentioned by Rimbert (B72), and excavations have revealed the intense activity conducted there.

[N280] W. Holmqvist, *Swedish Vikings on Helgö and Birka* (1979) [UL 596:3.c.95.4]

[N281] B. Ambrosiani and H. Clarke, (edd.), *Early investigations and future plans*, Birka studies: investigations in the Black Earth 1 (1992) [UL 595:01.c.16.1]; see initially B. Ambrosiani, 'What is Birka?', 10-22

[N282] L. Holmquist Olausson, *Aspects on Birka: investigations and surveys 1976-1989*, Theses and papers in archaeology B:3 (1993) [UL 596:3.b.95.40]

[N283] B. Ambrosiani and H. Clarke, (edd.), *Excavations in the black earth 1990*, Birka studies 2 (1995) [UL 595:01.c.16.2]

[N284] L. Holmquist Olausson, 'Patterns of settlement and defence at the proto-town of Birka, Lake Mälär, eastern Sweden', (O86):153-167

On the extremely interesting Birka cemeteries:

[N285] H. Arbman, *Birka 1. Die Gräber* (1940-43; repr. 1984) [UL Microfiche.1777]

[N286] G. Arwidsson, (ed.), *Birka 2. Systematische Analysen der Gräberfunde*, 3 vols (1984-89) [UL S592.b.93.18-19a]

[N287] A.-S. Gräslund, *Birka 4. The burial customs: a study of the graves on Björkö* (1980) [UL S592.b.93.21]

[N288] N. Ringstedt, 'The Birka chamber-graves: economic and social aspects; a quantitative analysis', *CSA* 5 (1997), 127-46

### Sigtuna

The role of Sigtuna as a classic example of the 'second phase' or urbanisation has been heavily emphasised; founded around 980 on a royal manor, it developed into the major Christian centre of central Sweden, yielding interesting cemeteries and early churches as well as the only Swedish mint of the time (C275 ff.). The general impression is that the town was planted as a physical manifestation of, and mechanism for, burgeoning royal government. Most of the general reports are in Swedish and are rather inaccessible for the Cambridge reader, although it is hoped that some will be arriving soon; in the interim period, much useful material can be gleaned from the Sigtuna museum web-site at [www.sigtuna.se/museer](http://www.sigtuna.se/museer).

[N290] S. Tesch, (ed.), *Avstamp—för en ny Sigtunaforskning: 18 forskare om Sigtuna, heldagsseminarium kring Sigtunaforskning den 26 november 1987, Gröna Ladan, Sigtuna* (1989)

[N291] S. Tesch, (ed.), *Makt och människor i kungens Sigtuna: Sigtuna-utgrävningen 1988-90* (1990)

[N292] B. Petterson, 'Houses and townyards in late Viking age and early medieval Sigtuna', (O70):I,155-60

[N293] S. Tesch, 'Sigtuna: the town plan; a key to urbanization and formation of state in Sweden', (O70):I,189-96

[N294] M. Roslund, 'The strife for power: interregional contacts and trade in Sigtuna ca. 970-1200 AD', (O70):V,145-51

[N295] M. Roslund, 'Tools of trade: spatial interpretation of trade activities in early medieval Sigtuna', *MLUHM* n.s. 10 (1993-94), 145-57

[N296] B. Sawyer, 'Sigtuna: a border town', (B805):163-77

[N297] B. Petterson, 'Stratigraphic analysis and settlement stratigraphy in early medieval Sigtuna: methods and preliminary results', *Laborativ arkeologi* 8 (1995), 65-77

[N298] S. Tesch, 'Sigtuna: royal stronghold and early town', *The emergence of towns: archaeology and early urbanisation in non-Roman, north-west Europe* (1996)

### Other early mediaeval towns

Of the large number of mediaeval Swedish towns only a sample is included here.

[N300] **Löddeköpinge**. T. Ohlsson, 'The Löddeköpinge investigations I: the settlement at Vikhögsvägen', *MLUHM* n.s. 1 (1975-76), 59-161 and 'II: the northern part of the village area', *MLUHM* n.s. 3 (1979-80), 68-111, also H. Cinthio, 'The Löddeköpinge investigations III: the early medieval cemetery', 112-23

[N301] **Paviken** on Gotland. P. Lundström, *De kommo vida ...: vikingars hamn vid Paviken på Gotland*, Sjöhistoriska museets rapportserie 15 (1981) [UL 9592.c.106]

[N302] **Visby** on Gotland. G. Westholm, 'The settlement at Vi, at the foot of the cliff', (N20):293-304; N.-G. Nydolf et al., 'Occupation layers as historical evidence for Visby: problems and interpretations', *Rescue and research: reflections of society in Sweden 700-1700 A.D.*, edd. L. Ersgård et al., Arkeologiska under-sökningar, skrifter 2 (1992), 98-123 [UL 595:2.c.95.13]

### The Baltic

The market towns of the Baltic coastline are of great comparative interest, as well as revealing traces of Scandinavian merchants resident there.

[N310] J. Herrmann, 'Hinterland, trade and craftworking of the early trading stations of the north-western Slavs', (N164):249-66

[N311] M. Müller-Wille, (ed.), *Oldenburg, Wolin, Staraja Ladoga, Novgorod, Kiev: Handel und Handelsverbindungen im südlichen und östlichen Ostseeraum während des frühen Mittelalters; internationale Fachkonferenz der deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft vom 5.-9. Oktober 1987 in Kiel*, Bericht der römisch-germanischen Kommission 69 (1988) [UL P520.b.7.48]

## Russia

The early towns of Russia seem essentially to have been what the regions of the Rus' consisted of (J60 ff.), and Scandinavian artefacts are for the most part clustered around them.

[N320] M. Tikhomirov, *The towns of ancient Rus*, transl. Y. Sdobnikov (1959) [UL 586:3.d.95.2]

[N321] E. Mühle, *Die städtischen Handelszentren der nordwestlichen Rus': Anfänge und frühe Entwicklung altrussischer Städte (bis gegen Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts)*, *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des östlichen Europa* 32 (1991) [UL 531:01.c.25.32]

## Staraja Ladoga

The oldest evidence of Scandinavian involvement in Russia comes from the market-centre at Ladoga, dating back to around the second half of the eighth century.

[N325] O.I. Davidan, 'Contacts between Staraja Ladoga and Scandinavia', (J28):79-91

[N326] A. N. Kirpicnikov, 'Staraja Ladoga/Alt-Ladoga und seine überregionalen Beziehungen im 8.-10. Jahrhundert', (N311):307-37

[N327] P. Uino, 'On the history of Staraja Ladoga', *AA* 59 (1988), 205-22

## Novgorod and Ryurikovo Gorodishche

It has widely been suspected that the major site of Gorodishche, later replaced (or complemented) by the nearby Novgorod, was the city of *Hólmgarðr* mentioned in mediaeval Norse sagas, and the archaeological record here certainly points towards a stronger Scandinavian component among the population than at most other sites.

[N330] M.W. Thompson, *Novgorod the great: excavations at the medieval city directed by A.V. Artsikhovskiy and B.A. Kolchin* (1967) [UL 588:35.b.95.8]

[N331] T.S. Noonan, 'The impact of the silver crisis in Islam upon Novgorod's trade with the Baltic', (N311):411-47

[N332] M. Brisbane, (ed.), *The archaeology of Novgorod, Russia: recent results from the town and its hinterland*, Society for Medieval Archaeology monograph series 13 (1992) [UL 474:01.b.3.13]; see in particular E.N. Nosov, 'Ryurik Gorodishche and the settlements to the north of lake Ilmen', 5-66 and V.L. Yanin, 'The archaeological study of Novgorod: an historical perspective', 67-106

## Kiev

It now seems likely that the foundation of the actual city of Kiev had relatively little to do with the Scandinavian merchants attested further north along the Dniepr.

[N335] J. Callmer, 'The archaeology of Kiev ca A.D. 500-1000: a survey', (J55):29-52

[N336] V.I. Mezentsev, 'The emergence of the Podil and the genesis of the city of Kiev: problems of dating', *Harvard Ukrainian studies* 10 (1986), 48-70

[N337] J. Callmer, 'The archaeology of Kiev to the end of the earliest urban phase', *Harvard Ukrainian studies* 11 (1987), 323-64

[N338] O.M. Ioannisiyan, 'Archaeological evidence for the development and urbanization of Kiev from the 8th to the 14th centuries', *From the Baltic to the Black sea: studies in medieval archaeology*, One world archaeology 18, edd. D. Austin and L. Alcock (1990), 285-312 [UL 532:24.c.95.109]

[N339] For an interesting tenth-century letter from a community of Jewish Khazars in Kiev, and much discussion on the role of the town in the period, see N. Golb and O. Pritsak, *Khazarian Hebrew documents of the tenth century* (1982) [UL 817:65.b.95.3]

## England

For the Viking role in English urbanisation, the best place to start is (N166). The most striking example is the city of York; for the kingdom of York more widely, see (I30 ff., I83 ff.).

## York

[N345] R. Hall, (ed.), *Viking age York and the North*, CBA Research Report 27 (1978) [UL 9474.b.868]

[N346] R. Hall, *The Viking dig: the excavations at York* (1984) [UL 475:8.b.95.22]

[N347] R. Hall, 'Viking-age York: an introductory survey', (O55):85-93

[N348] R. Hall, *English Heritage book of Viking age York* (1994) [UL 475:8.b.95.32; pbk 1994.9.1670]

### Ireland

The Norse settlers seem to have been a major catalyst for the development of urban centres in Ireland; see (N166) and then:

[N350] L. de Paor, 'The Viking towns of Ireland', (A46):29-37

[N351] H.B. Clarke, 'Proto-towns and towns in Ireland and Britain in the ninth and tenth centuries', (O82):331-80

### Dublin

For the kingdom of Dublin more widely, see (I30 ff.).

[N355] J. Bradley, *Viking Dublin exposed: the Wood Quay saga* (1984) [UL 488:6.b.95.6]

[N356] P. Wallace, 'The archaeology of Viking Dublin', (N164):103-45

[N357] P.F. Wallace, *The Viking age buildings of Dublin*, 2 vols, Medieval Dublin excavations, 1962-81, A:1 (1992) [UL OP.1122.40.05]

## O. COLLECTIONS OF PAPERS

### By a single author

[O2] L. Weibull, *Nordisk historia: forskningar och undersökningar I. Forntid och vikingatid* (1948) [UL 592:1.c.90.7]; a range of classic studies that helped to set the current direction of the subject

[O4] E.O.G. Turville-Petre, *Nine Norse studies*, VSNR TS 5 (1972) [UL 752:1.d.2.5]

[O6] P.G. Foote, *Aurvandilstá: Norse studies*, The Viking collection 2 (1984) [UL 752:16.c.95.20]

[O8] U. Dronke, *Myth and fiction in early Norse lands*, Variorum collected studies series 524 (1996) [UL 752:16.c.95.39]

[O10] B. Fidjestøl, *Selected papers*, The Viking collection 9 (1997) [UL 752:16.c.95.53]

[O12] L. Musset, *Nordica et Normannica: recueil d'études sur la Scandinavie ancienne et médiévale, les expéditions des Vikings et la fondation de la Normandie*, ed. F.-X. Dillmann, *Studia nordica* 1 (1997) [UL 592:12.c.95.56]

[O14] T.S. Noonan, *The Islamic world, Russia and the Vikings, 750-900: the numismatic evidence* (1998) [UL 492:52.c.95.44]

### By different authors (including Festschriften and conference proceedings)

[O20] *Early English and Norse studies presented to Hugh Smith in honour of his sixtieth birthday*, edd. A. Brown and P. Foote (1963) [UL 719.c.96.24]

[O22] *Les relations littéraires Franco-Scandinaves au moyen age*, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège 208 (1975) [UL 500:05.c.28.192]

[O24] *Les Vikings et leur civilisation: problèmes actuels*, ed. R. Boyer, Bibliothèque Arctique et Antarctique 5 (1976) [UL 688:01.c.2.5]

[O26] *Minjar og menntir: afmælisrit helgað Kristjáni Eldjárn* (1976) [UL S592.b.97.26]

[O28] *Sjöttú ritgerðir helgaðar Jakobi Benediktssyni*, edd. E.G. Pétursson and J. Kristjánsson, SÁMÍ rit 12 (1977) [UL 752:1.c.5.15-16]

[O30] *The Vikings: proceedings of the symposium of the Faculty of Arts of Uppsala University, June 6-9, 1977*, edd. T. Andersson and K.I. Sandred, *Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis: Symposia Universitatis Upsaliensis annum quingentesimum celebrantis* 8 (1978) [UL 911:01.c.44.8]

[O32] *Speculum Norroenum: Norse studies in memory of Gabriel Turville-Petre*, edd. U. Dronke et al. (1981) [UL 752:16.c.95.17]

[O34] *The Vikings*, ed. R.T. Farrell (1982) [UL 592:12.c.95.34]

[O36] *Vikings in the west: papers presented at a symposium sponsored by The Archaeological Institute of America, Chicago Society, and The Museum of Science and Industry of Chicago; held at the Museum of Science and Industry, April 3, 1982*, ed. E. Guralnick (1982) [UL 660:3.b.95.6]

[O38] *Festskrift til Thorleif Sjøvold på 70-årsdagen*, edd. M. Høgestøl et al., Universitetets Oldsaksamlings skrifter ny rekke 5 (1984) [UL 592:6.c.95.10]

[O83] *Europe around the year 1000*, Institute of archaeology and ethnology, Polish academy of sciences, ed. P. Urbanczyk (2001) [UL 532:2.c.200.8]

- [O40] *Continuity and change: political institutions and literary monuments in the middle ages; a symposium*, ed. E. Vestergaard (1986) [UL 532:26.c.95.79]
- [O42] *Sagnaskemmtun: studies in honour of Hermann Pálsson on his 65th birthday, 26th May 1986*, *Philologica germanica* 8, edd. R. Simek et al. (1986) [UL 752:16.c.95.24, -.26]
- [O44] *Structure and meaning in Old Norse literature: new approaches to textual analysis and literary criticism*, edd. J. Lindow et al. (1986) [UL 752:16.c.95.28]
- [O46] *Tradition og historieskrivning: kilderne til Nordens ældste historie*, edd. K. Hastrup and P.M. Sørensen, *Acta Jutlandica* 63:2 (1987) [UL 911:01.b.15.51]
- [O48] *Festskrift til Alfred Jakobsen*, edd. J.R. Hagland et al. (1987) [UL 775.c.98.415]
- [O50] *Festskrift til Olaf Olsen på 60-års dagen den 7. juni 1988*, edd. A. Andersen et al. (1988) [UL 592:6.b.95.9]
- [O52] G.W. Weber, (ed.), *Idee—Gestalt—Geschichte: Festschrift Klaus von See; Studien zur europäischen Kulturtradition* (1988) [UL 502:2.c.95.389]
- [O54] *Saga og kirkja: afmælisrit Magnúsar Más Lárussonar gefið út í tilefni af sjötugsafmæli hans 2. september 1987*, edd. G. Karlsson et al. (1988) [UL 599:1.c.95.201]
- [O55] H. Galinié, (ed.), *Les mondes normandes (VIIIe-XIIIe s.): actes du deuxième congrès d'archéologie médiévale (Caen 2-4 octobre 1987)* (1989) [UL 532:24.b.95.14]
- [O56] *Archaeology and the urban economy: festschrift to Asbjørn E. Herteig*, *Arkeologiske skrifter fra Historisk Museum, Universitetet i Bergen* 5 (1989) [Haddon]
- [O58] *Coins and archaeology: proceedings of the first MARG meeting at Isegran, Norway 1988*, edd. H. Clarke and E. Schia, *BAR International Series* 556 (1989) [UL L474.b.87.458]
- [O60] *Old Norse and Finnish religions and cultic place-names, based on papers read at the symposium on encounters between religions in Old Nordic times and on cultic place-names held at Åbo, Finland, on the 19th-21st of August 1987*, *Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis* 13, ed. T. Ahlbäck (1990) [UL 2:01.c.13.12]
- [O62] *People and places in northern Europe 500-1600: essays in honour of Peter Hayes Sawyer*, edd. I. Wood and N. Lund (1991) [UL 592:1.c.95.24]
- [O64] *Social approaches to Viking studies*, ed. R. Samson (1991) [UL 592:12.c.95.47]
- [O88] *Markets in early medieval Europe: trading and 'productive' sites, 650-850*, edd. T. Pestell and K. Ulmschneider (2003)
- [O66] *Introductory essays on Egils saga and Njáls saga*, edd. J. Hines and D. Slay (1992) [UL 1998.8.1533]
- [O68] *The perception of the past in twelfth-century Europe*, ed. P. Magdalino (1992) [UL 532:7.c.95.81]
- [O70] *Medieval Europe 1992: a conference on medieval archaeology in Europe, 21st-24th September 1992 at the University of York, pre-printed papers. I: Urbanism; II: Maritime studies, ports and ships; III: Technology and innovation; IV: Death and burial; V: Exchange and trade; VI: Religion and belief; VII: Art and symbolism* (1992) [UL 1993.11.1235-41]
- [O72] *Viking revaluations: Viking Society Centenary Symposium 14-15 May 1992*, edd. A. Faulkes and R. Perkins (1993) [UL 9002.d.1453]
- [O74] *Studien zum Altgermanischen: Festschrift für Heinrich Beck*, ed. H. Uecker, *Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde* 11 (1994) [UL 461:01.c.15.11]
- [O76] *Nordsjøen: handel, religion og politikk; Karmøyseminaret 1994-95*, edd. J.F. Krøger and H.-R. Naley (1996) [UL 592:6.b.95.13]
- [O78] *Church and people in Britain and Scandinavia*, ed. I. Brohed, *Bibliotheca historico-ecclesiastica Lundensis* 36 (1996) [UL 60:01.c.43.36]
- [O86] *The Scandinavians from the Vendel period to the tenth century. An ethnographic perspective*, ed. J. Jesch, *Studies in Historical Archaeoethnology* 5 (2002) [Haddon]
- [O80] *Visions of the past: trends and traditions in Swedish medieval archaeology*, edd. H. Andersson et al., *Lund studies in medieval archaeology* 19 (1997) [UL 596:3.b.95.15]
- [O82] *Ireland and Scandinavia in the early Viking age*, edd. H.B. Clarke et al. (1998) [UL 532:3.c.95.61]
- [O84] *Kontinuitäten und Brüche in der Religionsgeschichte. Festschrift für Anders Hultsgård zum 65. Geburtstag am 23. 12. 2001*, ed. O. Sundqvist and A. van Nahl (2001) [UL 461:01.c.15.31]
- [O85] *Skaldsagas. Text, vocation, and desire in the Icelandic sagas of poets*, ed. R. Poole, *Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* 27 (2001) [UL 461:01.c.15.27]

- [O87] *The cross goes north. Process of conversion in northern Europe AD 300-1300*, ed. M. Carver (2003) [ASNC]  
 [O89]. *Scandinavia and Europe 800-1300: Contact, conflict and coexistence*, edd. J. Adams and K. Holman. Medieval texts and culture of northern Europe; 4 (2004) [UL 592:12.c.200.3]  
 [O90] *Sagas, saints and settlements*, edd. P. Bibire and G. William. The Northern World 11 (2004)

## P. LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	<i>Acta archaeologica</i> [UL T468.b.1, R.168; Haddon]
AArkiv	Antikvariskt arkiv [Haddon]
ADNVAO	Avhandlingar utgitt av Det norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo, II: Hist.-filos. klasse
ÁÍF	<i>Árbók hins íslenska fornleifafélags</i> [UL P599.b.1]
Alvíssmál	<i>Alvíssmál</i> [UL P592.c.76, T.406]
ANF	<i>Arkiv för nordisk filologi</i> [UL P775.c.15]
ANOH	<i>Aarbøger for nordisk oldkyndighed og historie</i> [UL P592.c.26, R.65]
ANS	<i>Anglo-Norman studies</i> [UL P540.c.64]
APS	<i>Acta philologica Scandinavica</i> [UL P775.c.20]
AQDGM	Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters
ASE	<i>Anglo-Saxon England</i> [UL P474.c.34]
BONIS	<i>Bibliography of Old Norse-Icelandic studies</i> [1963-83, UL P752:1.c.11; 1984-present, <a href="http://embla.bib.sdu.dk/bonis/">http://embla.bib.sdu.dk/bonis/</a> ]
CM	<i>Collegium medievale</i> [UL P532.c.168, T.965]
CSA	<i>Current Swedish archaeology</i> (and predecessors) [UL P595.b.1]
DHT	<i>Dansk historisk tidsskrift</i> [UL P597.c.2, T.105]
EETS (SS)	Early English text society (second series)
EME	<i>Early medieval Europe</i> [UL T.971]
EHR	<i>English historical review</i> [UL P500.c.17, T.74]
FM	<i>Forum Medievale (Middelalderforum)</i>
FSR	<i>Fróðskaparrit</i> [UL P911:34.c.1]
FV	<i>Fornvännen: journal of Swedish antiquarian research</i> [Haddon]
FS	<i>Frühmittelalterliche Studien</i> [UL T532.b.1]
Hikuin	Hikuin [UL P597.c.24]
ÍF	Íslenzk fornrit
JASS	Jysk arkæologisk selskabs skrifter
JBS	<i>Journal of Baltic studies</i> [UL P589.b.1, T.289]
JDA	<i>Journal of Danish archaeology</i> [UL P597.b.6]
JEA	<i>Journal of European archaeology</i> [UL P468.c.131]
JEGP	<i>Journal of English and Germanic philology</i> [UL P701:4.c.1, W.283]
JMH	<i>Journal of medieval history</i> [UL P532.c.68, T.607]
KÅ	<i>Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift</i> [UL P62:5.c.1]
Kuml	<i>Kuml: årbog for jysk arkæologisk selskab</i> [Haddon]
KVHAA	Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien
LAR	<i>Lund archaeological review</i> [UL P592.b.16, R.168]
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae historica
MGH AA	MGH auctores antiquissimi
MGH DD	MGH diplomata
MGH EPP	MGH epistolae
MGH PL	MGH poetae latini aevi Carolini
MGH SS	MGH scriptores
MGH SRG	MGH scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum
MGH SRM	MGH scriptores rerum Merovingicarum
MLUHM	<i>Meddelanden från Lunds universitets historiska museum</i> [UL P592.c.41]
MM	<i>Maal og minne</i> [UL P593.c.1, R.78]

MS	<i>Mediaeval Scandinavia</i> [UL P592.b.6]
NAA	<i>Nordic archaeological abstracts</i> [UL P592.c.61]
NAR	<i>Norwegian archaeological review</i> [UL P592.b.11, T.595]
NB	<i>Namn och bygd</i> [UL P498.c.6]
NHT	<i>Norsk historisk tidsskrift</i> [UL P593.c.6, T.100]
NMS	<i>Nottingham mediaeval studies</i> [UL P532.c.43]
Nomina	<i>Nomina</i> [UL L498.b.9, T.627]
NS	<i>Northern studies</i> [UL P592.c.56, T.546]
Offa	<i>Offa</i> [UL P574.b.53]
OPIA	Occasional papers in archaeology
Parergon	<i>Parergon</i> [UL P532.b.51, T.554]
Peritia	<i>Peritia</i> [UL P554.c.41]
Questio	<i>Questio. Selected Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium in Anglo-Saxon Norse and Celtic</i>
RS	Rolls series: rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores
Saga	<i>Saga: tímarit sögufélags</i> [UL P599.c.11]
SÁMÍ	Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi
SAS	<i>Studia anthroponymica Scandinavica</i> [UL P498.c.55]
SBVS	<i>Saga-Book of the Viking Society</i> [UL P592.c.21, R.89]
Scandia	<i>Scandia: tidskrift för historisk forskning</i> [UL P592.c.16, T.149]
SDNVAO	Skrifter utgitt av Det norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo, II: Hist.-filos. klasse
SI	<i>Scripta Islandica</i> [UL P752:1.c.6, W.105]
SHT	<i>Svensk historisk tidskrift</i> [UL P595.c.6, T.121]
SJH	<i>Scandinavian journal of history</i> [UL P500.c.661, T.614]
SKHVU	Skrifter utgifna av K. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Uppsala
SOS	<i>Saga och sed</i> [UL P592.c.51, T.203]
SS	<i>Scandinavian studies</i> [UL P752.c.1, W.272]
SSF	Samlingar utgifna af Svenska Fornskriftsällskapet
StI	<i>Studia Islandica</i>
SUGNL	Samfund til udgivelse af gammel nordisk litteratur
Tor	<i>Tor: tidskrift för nordisk fornkunskap</i> [UL P592.c.66]
TRHS	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i> [UL P500.c.130]
Viking	<i>Viking: tidsskrift for norrøn arkeologi</i> [UL P468.b.45]
VSNR	Viking Society for Northern Research
VSNR TS	VSNR text series