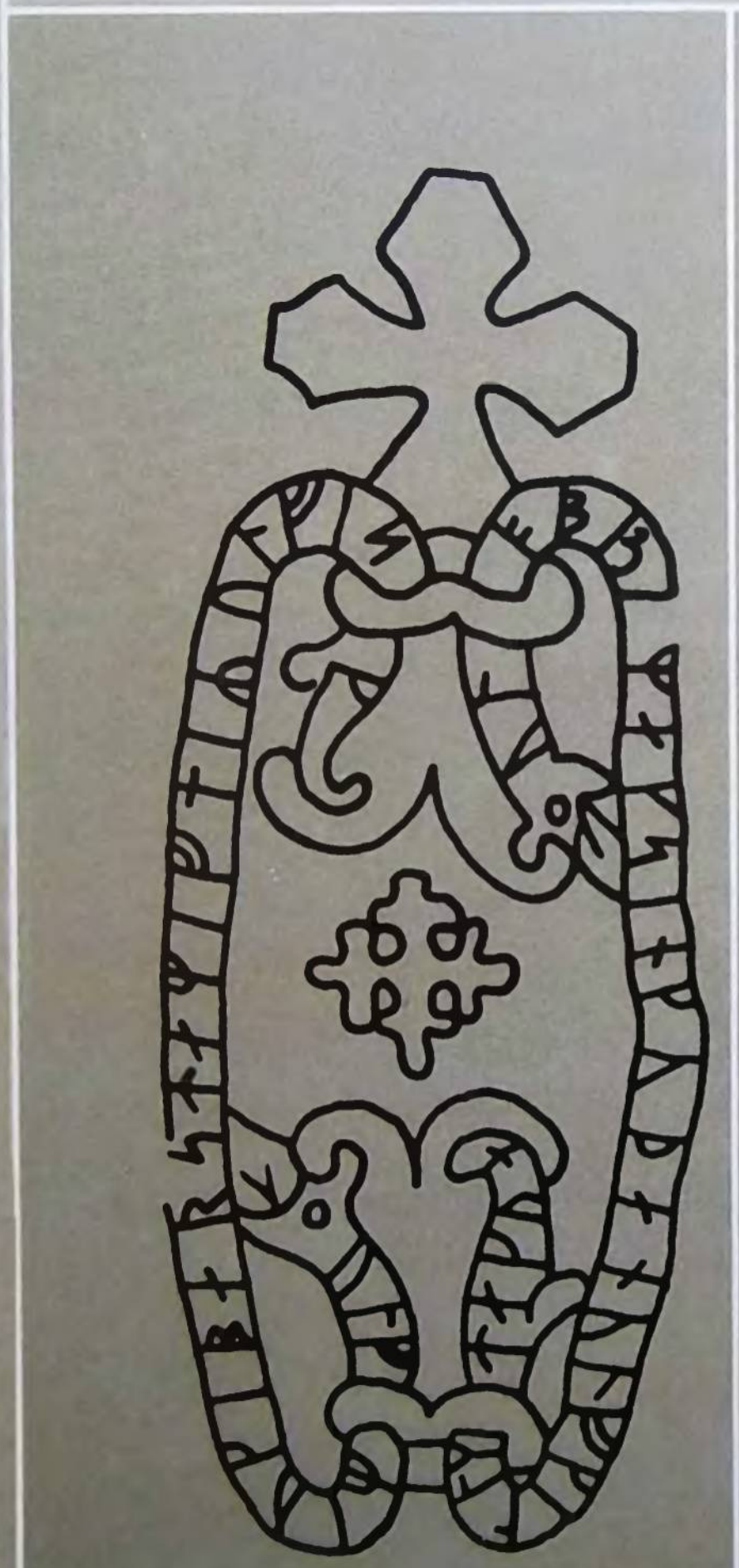
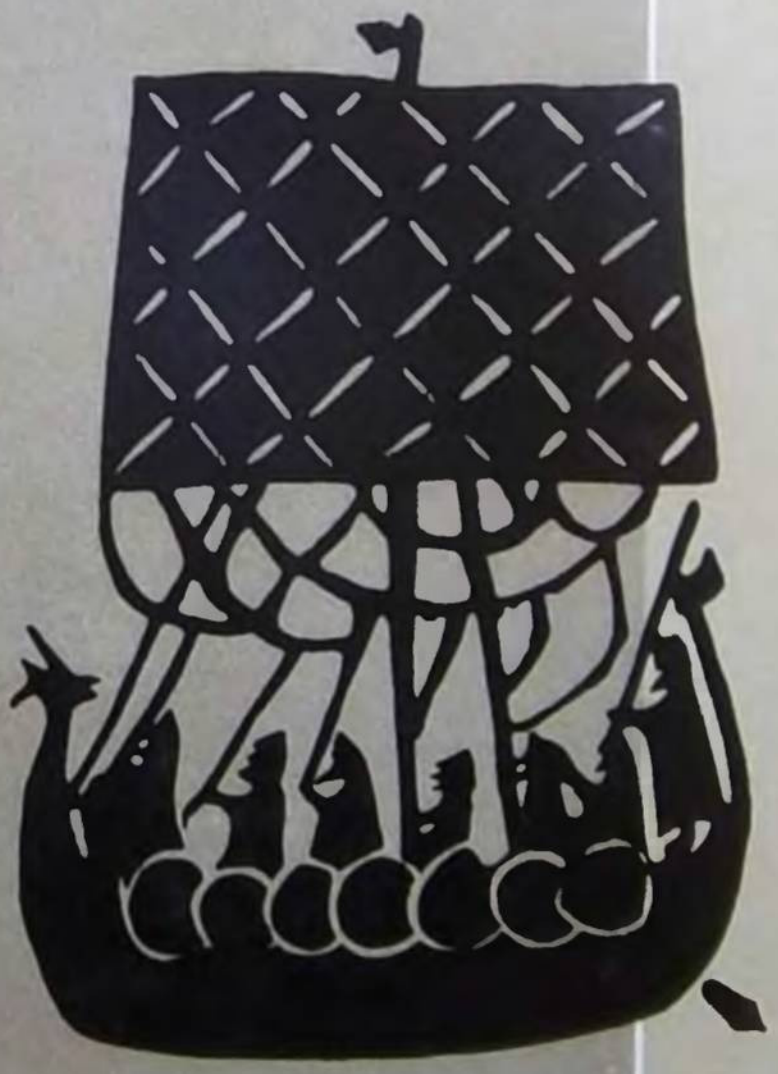
Omeljan Pritsak

THE ORIGIN OF RUS'

VOLUME ONE

Old Scandinavian Sources other than the Sagas





THE ORIGIN OF RUS'

VOLUME I

Omeljan Pritsak

Who were the Rus', where did they come from, how was the Kievan state founded? To answer these centuries-old questions, the author analyzes Old Icelandic, Anglo-Saxon, Arabic, Persian, Hebrew, Syriac, Greek, Latin, Slavic, Turkic, and Chinese sources and presents a brilliant synthesis that will revolutionize our understanding of the problem.

In this first of six volumes, Professor Pritsak offers an exposition of the entire work and a description of the cultural setting in the early medieval East and West. This is followed by a detailed analysis of the Scandinavian phase of the problem, including six aspects of Old Scandinavian intellectual creativity — Eddaic poetry, the poetry of the Skalds, Runic inscriptions, legal literature, geographic literature, and chronicles. Special attention is devoted to the methodological problem of using poetry and myth as a historical source. Four appendices and a comprehensive bibliography of all the relevant primary and secondary literature as well as an exhaustive general index are included.

Omeljan Pritsak is Mykhailo S. Hrushevs'kyi Professor of Ukrainian History and Director of the Ukrainian Research Institute, Harvard University.

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VOLUME ONE

Old Scandinavian Sources other than the Sagas

Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute
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VOLUME ONE
Old Scandinavian Sources other than the Sagas

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Preface

> "All theories fall. Mine will also fall. I believe, however, that I have at least taken one step forward in the direction of truth."
>
> Henri Pirenne (1913)

To write yet another work on the origin of Rus' requires not only boldness on the part of the author, but also a measure of justification.

During the last two hundred and fifty years a huge multilingual library of specialized monographs has been produced on this topic. Is it really necessary to add still another item to this vast collection? After forty years of working and thinking about the subject, I believe that the answer is yes, because the problem has not yet been resolved. Instead, over the years two contradictory and dogmatic schools of thought have evolved, as I point out in the exposition that follows.

The situation was bleak, and it seemed to me that the only course available to me was to investigate the entire topic *completely anew*, leaving aside the special scholarly literature with its long ago unproductive discussion. I decided to apply a new approach and another methodology and to turn directly to the primary sources.

This new work is based on five principles. First it was necessary to free the legitimate scholarly problem of the origin of Rus' from all emotional "patriotic" issues and parochial obligations of the type "ad maiorem nationis gloriam" or "ad usum Delphini," in this case, the proof of the "ability of the Slavic peoples to create a state." Thus, it was imperative to take the problem of the origin of Rus' out of a parochial East European setting (since the times of the "Slavophiles" the concept of "separate Russian historical development") and to put it where it belongs — within the context and perspective of universal history.

Secondly it was necessary to realize that the origin of a body politic (in this case that of the Rus') could not possibly have emerged totally unexpectedly, as if out of the head of Zeus. Therefore, it could not be explained by a single datum or action. For the editor of the *Pověst' vremennyx lět,* the body politic began in the year A.M. 6370/A.D. 862, with the arrival in Rus' of the three Varangian brothers. But this "solution," reasonable for a twelfth-century author, cannot be accepted by a modern historian.

The process of creating an advanced civilization in Eastern Europe was long and very complicated, as it was in other territories. It cannot be encompassed by the activity of just one set of heroes. Instead, the process lasted at least from ca. A.D. 770 to 1072, as expounded in the exposition, and the process was full of imponderabilia and accidentalia, for example, the choice of the Slavic idiom as the instrument of cultural activity.

This last point requires detached illustration. As king* of Novgorod (until 980), Volodimer (the Great) was interested primarily in maintaining good trade relations with the Muslim commercial realm of the Volga Bulgars, who, in turn, were economically a province of the Iranian Islamic Khorasan, but culturally a colony of the Central Asian Turkic Islam. Their cultural affiliation resulted in the linguistic assimilation (Turkization) of the Volga Bulgars, the Kazan Tatars of today.

A highly reliable Arabic source (al-Marvazī, ca. 1120) informs us that Volodimer himself had accepted Islam, apparently while ruling in Novgorod. Had he remained in Novgorod, he would probably have implanted the Turkic version of Islam there, and consequently the northern portion of Eastern "Slavs" would have become Turkophone, as happened with the Volga Bulgars.

Instead, Volodimer went to Kiev, "moon" to the "sun" of Constantinople, where he had to exchange Islam for Greek Christianity. His son and successor Jaroslav (the Wise) replaced the Greek rite with the Slavonic in 1036, thus paving the way for the Slavization of Eastern Europe.

If the rulers of Rus' had not accepted one of the universal religions and, by

* The word *knjaz'* (< *kuning-* > *king*) is often falsely translated as "prince." But see p. 886.

so doing, established a sedentary culture with the seeds of a historical consciousness, the Rus' would have remained as enigmatic and non-historic as the *Antes* of the sources of the sixth and seventh centuries. The crucial date for the establishment of Rus' as a historical entity in Eastern Europe, then, was not 862 or another specific date, but a long period beginning with ca. A.D. 770 and ending with their Christianization in 988–1036 (1072).

The third principle of my methodology is an awareness of the syncretic character of the Rus' polity. That fact is most evident in the concurrent triple title the Rus' gave their ruler, calling him by the Germanic *kъnjazь* (< *kuning-*), the Turkic *kagan* (< *qaγan*), and the Byzantine (in Gothic garb) *cěsarь* ~ *carь* (< *káisar*).

In parts of this work I deal with events that occurred as late as the last quarter of the thirteenth century. I did this deliberately, since there is much less information available about the eighth to tenth centuries in Eastern Europe and Scandinavia than on the next three centuries. Studying the subsequent time is useful in checking or tracing the outcomes of earlier developments. This "reading history backwards," using the phrase of Frederic William Maitland, or, the "prudently retrogressive method," as Marc Bloch called it, is the fourth principle upon which this work is based.

The *state* is one of the greatest ideas and highest achievements of advanced urban civilization. It does not spring up spontaneously. The idea for it must be imported from nations where it already exists. Prerequisites for its acceptance by territories that have not formulated it on their own are that they understand its significance and application and that they submit willingly to the guidance of experienced foreign instructors.

My fifth principle holds that just as it is impossible for most people to earn the Nobel Prize in physics, so was it impossible for the co-territorial, loosely organized, pagan, and illiterate peasant *communitates* of Eastern Europe in the eighth to tenth centuries to create a body politic. Even a thousand years later, in 1917–1920, the largely unstructured peasant *communitas* living on the basic territory of Kievan Rus', the *rural* Ukrainians, comprehend neither the necessity nor the feasibility of establishing their own state (see also pp. 581–584).

Scholars dealing with the early periods of East European history more often than not limit their inquiry to excerpts from sources relevant to the immediate topic at hand. Thus, a chrestomathic knowledge of passages — very often derived only from translations (especially true in regard to the Scandinavian and Muslim sources) — gradually came to dominate the scholarly field. A knowledge of the provenance of the sources, as well as their semantics and *zeitgeist*, comes to be replaced by constructs reflecting the tastes and political creeds of the researchers themselves, who often garner support from "mute" disciplines — such as archeology — and adjust their data to conform to a

given theory. However, since history as a scholarly discipline depends primarily on written sources, my research began with all the primary sources, regardless of language. The motto *Ad fontes* versus chrestomathy required, in my view, the study of all pertinent material in its original language, while considering the historiographic background and provenance of each individual information. This I did because I believe that to get the true answers to valid questions, one individual must find and compute in his own mind all relevant information.

In this work four out of six volumes are devoted almost exclusively to the study of sources. Two of the four deal with the Old Scandinavian tradition (vol. 1: Old Scandinavian Sources other than the Sagas; vol. 2: The Old Scandinavian Sagas), one with the oriental sources (vol. 3), and one with the Byzantine, Latin and Old Rus' sources (vol. 4). Of the two analytical volumes, volume five deals with the societal structures of Northern and Eastern Europe and Western and Central Asia between ca. A.D. 750 and 1280, and volume six presents the synthesis, considering the question of the origin of Rus'. It is impossible, however, to make a strict demarcation between the essays dealing with the sources or historiography and the analytical presentations. The best general explanation is that although in the first four volumes source studies prevail, the last two are essentially analytic in nature.

The Old Scandinavian sources, although thoroughly studied by specialists of Scandinavian philology, have hitherto been largely bypassed as sources for East European history. Incorporating them fully into the corpus of information pertaining to Eastern Europe has necessitated the lengthy discussion which, in turn, has resulted in a two-volume presentation.

Of course, one volume of a six-volume work — especially one of the four dealing with sources of so different provenance — cannot present all the supporting evidence for my theory. Therefore I must ask my readers' patience* as my argumentation continues in the subsequent volumes.

* * *

I first confronted the problem of the origin of Rus' in 1934, as a fifteen-year-old student of the Polish First Gymnasium in Ternopil' (the Ukraine). My special forte was already history. I had just read the excursus on the "Norman theory" in a newly obtained copy of volume I of Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj's *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy* (3rd ed., Kiev, 1913).** With the realization that the discussion

* The non-awareness of the sources I am introducing for the first time to the study of the origin of Rus' prompted such a knowledgeable scholar as David M. Wilson (who had read only my "Exposition") to "destroy" my theory prematurely (*Slavonic and East European Review* 56 [London, 1978], pp. 155–156).

** It so happened that the great Ukrainian historian passed away the same year I read his work, on November 24, 1934.

on the origins of Rus' had reached a *cul-de-sac*, it occurred to me that a new analysis of the Oriental sources by someone trained as both a historian and an orientalist might shed new light on the issue. Electrified by that prospect, I began to study oriental languages (Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Hebrew) and to delve into Near Eastern and Central Asian history. I continued to study and to work in these fields professionally, at the universities of L'viv, Kiev, Berlin and Göttingen (1936–48). What was to be an "oriental source-and-spirit journey" for historical purposes became, due to external circumstances (above all, the outbreak of World War II) and personal discoveries (in the course of my work I fell in love with Turkology and Altaic and Central Asian studies, my calling and beloved profession). It remained so for several decades. Yet I always kept in touch with the problem that had sparked my scholarly work, and tried to remain faithful (as much as a busy schedule allowed) to the study of universal history and historical theory.

Only in 1965 was I able to set aside my pressing duties as organizer of Central Asian and Altaic studies on an international plane and to return to my own beginnings as a scholar, i.e., to the study of Ukrainian and East European history. From that time on, I have given the orientalist fields my professional expertise, but they no longer have my full heart. Three years later, supported by the congenial atmosphere at Harvard, I began — originally as a private project, in addition to a full teaching load in Turkology and Ukrainian studies, and to my extracurricular obligations as a fundraiser for the Ukrainian Studies Program at Harvard — a work which was the realization of my old dreams and plans: the collection and evaluation of the data in the original sources (primarily Muslim and Hebrew) concerning the problems of the origin of Rus'.

Unfortunately, I did not have use of my old notes and extensive private library, since these had vanished during the tragic events of war in my homeland. Nonetheless, it was an unforgettably exhilarating experience to return to my original plan of study after a lapse of nearly three decades.

I know now that this long separation was beneficial for the problems to be studied. What was initially conceived as a project at the beginning of *Wander- und Lehr-jahre* materialized in the sobriety of maturity. The time lapse provided me with perspective and experience in the Asiatic fields of research and freed me from the usual and all-too-difficult-to-overcome biases of the historian studying his native land.*

* Any student of a national history is in a very difficult position. For as an impressionable child, he is exposed to and initiated in the popular (normally, biased and uncritical) version of his nation's history; these biased concepts are then repeatedly reinforced during his study in the primary and secondary schools, and finally at colleges and universities. I believe, therefore, that before studying his national history, the young scholar should spend several years, at least, in applying methodological scrutiny to a country in a different cultural sphere from his own.

Having concluded preparatory bio-bibliographical research in the Islamic historical and geographical literature, and receiving financial support from the Simon Guggenheim Foundation, the Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard University, and the American Research Institute in Turkey, I spent the summers of 1963, 1965, 1967, 1968 and 1969 researching in the primary repositories of oriental manuscripts (Istanbul, Paris, London, Oxford, Cambridge). There I studied and checked all relevant texts in their originals, with a view toward the planned monograph.

In 1967 I realized that the Old Scandinavian sources must be incorporated into my research. I began learning the Old Icelandic language in which the sources were written, as well as all five modern Scandinavian languages, in order to use the scholarly literature. Months of tension and hard work followed, but encouragement from my Harvard colleagues, the specialists of Scandinavian studies Einar Haugen and Theodore M. Andersson, helped me to persevere.

In the summers of 1968, 1970, 1971, and 1972 I was privileged to work in several centers of Old Norse studies and with their manuscript collections. My gratitude now goes to their Directors and staff for the understanding and assistance which they then gave to me, an outsider. Especially valuable was the time I spent at the Arnamagnæan Institute and the Royal Library in Copenhagen, the Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi and the University Library in Reykjavík, the Royal Library in Stockholm, the University Library in Uppsala, the University Library in Göttingen, as well as the Seminars for Norse Studies at the Universities of Hamburg and Munich, and, of course, the Harvard College Library in particular, with its Schofield's Icelandic Collection.

Several leading specialists in Old Scandinavian studies assisted my work. The Riksantikvarie Professor Sven B. F. Jansson of Stockholm read the section dealing with the Runic inscriptions and made several corrections and additions. The chapter on skaldic poetry was read by Professors Einar Haugen of Harvard (first version), Peter N. Richardson of Yale (second version) and Roberta Frank of the University of Toronto (final version). Professor Morton W. Bloomfield of Harvard read the proofs of the Finnsburg chapter. Senior Scientific Officer Koen Zondag of Leeuwarden (Friesland) read the proofs of the chapter on Frisian law. My dear friend Dr. Agnete Loth of the Arnamagnæan Institute in Copenhagen undertook the burden of proofreading the entire volume. I must also mention the inspiring and momentous conversations I had with Professor Einar Ól. Sveinsson in Reykjavík in the summer of 1971, the encouragement I received from Professor Aleksander Gieysztor of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences (Warsaw) and, the constructive criticism from Håkon Stang of the Historisk Institutt, University of Oslo.

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* * *

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This work would probably still await publication were it not for the generosity of my dear friends Yaroslav and Olha Duzey of Detroit, who assumed its printing costs. Their names will, I am sure, be thankfully remembered by everyone interested in this basic question of early Ukrainian and East European history.

* * *

N. B. In this work the term *Rus,* or *Rūs* (without palatalization of the end consonant /s/), designates the as yet non-Slavic international trading company active both in the west and the east, whereas *Rus'* (with palatalization) refers to the Slavicized or already Slavic people of eastern Europe.

O. P.

Abbreviations

General

ABAW = Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften. Hist.-phil. Kl. Berlin.

Acta Orient Hung = *Acta Orientalia* [of the] Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Budapest.

ADMÆ = Annales Danici Medii Ævi, ed. Jørgensen, E. (Kbh, 1920).

AfdA = *Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur.* Berlin.

AFR = Altfriesische Rechtsquellen, ed. Buma, J. W. — Ebel, W. (see p. 792).

A Gott = The [Icelandic] Annals of Gottskálkr.

A Hen = Annals of Henrik Høyer.

A Lǫg = Lögmanns-Annáll.

AM = Arnamagnæanske Håndskriftsamling. Copenhagen.

ANEW = de Vries, J. *Altnordisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Leiden, 1962).

ANF = *Arkiv för nordisk filologi.* Lund.

Annals Ukr Acad = *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.* New York.

ÅNO = *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie.* Copenhagen.

AN SSSR = Akademija Nauk Sojuza sovetskix socialističeskix respublik. M.-L.

ANVAO = Avhandlinger utg. av Det norske Videnskaps- Akademi i Oslo. Hist.-filos. klasse. Oslo.
A Odd = Oddaverja Annals.
APS = *Acta Philologica Scandinavica.* Copenhagen.
AR = *Antiquités Russes*, ed. Rafn, C. C. 2 vols. (Kbh, 1850–1852).
Archiv fSNSL = *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen.* Elberfeld / Braunschweig-Berlin.
A Reg = Annales Regii.
ASB = Altnordische Saga-Bibliothek. 18 vols. Halle a.S. 1892–1929.
B = Göransson, J. *Bautil* (Sthlm, 1750).
BAS-H = *Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences de l'URSS. Classe des Humanités.* L.
BAS-S = Id. *Classe des sciences sociales.* L.
Benedikz, *Varangians* = Benedikz, B. S. *The Varangians of Byzantium* (Cambridge, 1978).
Bib AM = Bibliotheca Arnamagnæana. Kbh. 1941– (in progress).
BGA = Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, ed. de Goeje, M. J. 8 vols. Leiden. 1870–1894; partly in new editions.
Braun, "Kto byl" = Braun, F. A. "Kto byl Ingvar-putešestvennik?" (see p. 779).
BSOAS = *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.* London.
CCDMA = *Corpus Codicum Danicorum Medii Aevi*, ed. Brøndum-Nielsen, J., 10 vols. Kbh, 1960–1973.
CCI = *Corpus Codicum Islandicorum Medii Aevi*, ed. Munksgaard, E., 20 vols. Kbh, 1930–1956.
CCSMA = *Corpus Codicum Suecicorum Medii Aevi*, ed. Wessén, E., 18 vols. Kbh, 1943–1965.
Chria = Christiania, see also: Kria.
Cleasby-Vigfússon, *Dictionary* = Cleasby, R. — Vigfússon, G. *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*, 2d ed. (Oxford, 1957; repr. 1969; see p. 730).
CPS = Vigfússon, G. — Powell, F. Y. *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1883).
CSHB = Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae. 50 vols. Bonn, 1828–1897.
D = Dybeck, R. *Sverikes Runurkunder*, 2 vols. (Sthlm, 1860–1870).
D 8° = Dybeck, R. *Svenska Runurkunder* (Sthlm, 1855–1857).
DGLND = *Danmarks Gamle Love paa Nutidsdansk*, ed. Kroman, E. — Iuul, S. 3 vols. (Kbh, 1945–1948).
DHT = (Dansk) *Historisk Tidsskrift.* Kbh.
DI = *Diplomatarium Islandicum.* I, ed. Sigurðsson, J. (Kbh, 1857–1876).
DR = *Danmarks Runeindskrifter*, ed. Jacobsen, L. — Moltke, E. (see p. 775).
DR Summary = *The Runic Inscriptions of Denmark.* Summary (see p. 776).

D Vjsch = *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*. Stuttgart.
Ed AM = Editiones Arnamagnæanae. Kbh. 1958- (in progress).
Edda/Hollander = *The Poetic Edda*, trans. Hollander, Lee M., 2d ed. (Austin, Texas, 1977).
Egilssaga/Jones = *Egil's Saga*, trans. Jones, G. (Cambridge-New York, 1960).
EIM = Early Icelandic manuscripts in facsimile, ed. Helgason, J. Kbh 1958- (in progress).
ELH = [*Journal of*] *English Literary History*. Baltimore, Maryland.
ELN = *English Language Notes*. Boulder, Colorado.
Fgr = *Fagrskinna*.
Fil Ark = *Filologiskt Arkiv*. Stockholm.
Flat = *Flateyjarbók*.
Foote-Wilson, *Achievement* = Foote, P. G. — Wilson, D. M. *The Viking Achievement* (London, 1970).
Frank, *Court Poetry* = Frank, R. *Old Norse Court Poetry* (Ithaca, 1978).
FSN = Fornaldar sögur Norðurlanda.
Fv = *Fornvännen*. Sthlm.
G = *SRI. Gotland*, ed. Jansson, Sven B.F. — Wessén, E. (see p. 777).
GAL = de Vries, J. *Altnordische Literaturgeschichte*, 2d ed., 2 vols. (Berlin, 1964-1967).
GdGPh = *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*. Strasbourg/Berlin.
GDK = *Gammeldanske Krøniker*, ed. Lorenzen, M. (Kbh, 1887-1913).
Gesta/Tschan = Adam of Bremen, *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, trans. Tschan, F. J. (New York, 1969).
GGA = *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*. Göttingen.
GkS = Den gamle kongelige Samling i det store kongelige Bibliotek. Kbh.
GMS = "E.J.W. Gibb Memorial" Series. London.
Got Ark = *Gotländskt Arkiv*. Visby.
GRM = *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift*. Heidelberg.
Herrmann, *Heldensagen* = Herrmann, Paul. *Die Heldensagen des Saxo Grammaticus* (see p. 748).
Heusler, *Gelehrte Urgeschichte* = Heusler, A. *Die gelehrte Urgeschichte im altisländischen Schriftum* (Berlin, 1908).
Hkr = Snorri Sturluson. *Heimskringla*.
Hkr/Hollander = *Heimskringla*, trans. Hollander, L. M. (Austin, Texas, 1964).
HUS = *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*. Cambridge, Mass.
IF = Íslenzk Fornrit. Reykjavík. 1933- (in progress).
IEW = Jóhannesson, A. *Isländisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Bern, 1956).

Izv ORJaS = *Izvestija Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti Imp. Akademii Nauk*. St. Petersburg.
JEGPh = *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*. Urbana, Ill.
J = Johnsen, I. S. *Stuttruner i vikingtidens innskrifter* (Oslo, 1968).
Jørgensen, *Historieforskning* = Jørgensen, E. *Historieforskning og Historieskrivning i Danmark* (Kbh, 1931).
JRAS = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. London.
JSFOu = *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*. Helsinki.
K = Kiev.
Kbh = Copenhagen.
KHL = *Kulturhistoriskt Lexikon för nordisk Medeltid*. 22 vols. Kbh-Oslo-Sthlm, 1956-1978.
Kock = Kock, A. *Den norsk-isländska skaldediktningen*, 2 vols. (Lund, 1946–1949).
Kria = Kristiania, see also: Chria.
KS IIMK = *Kratkie soobščenija o dokladax i polevyx issledovanijax Instituta istorii material'noj kul'tury*. AN SSSR. M.-L.
L = Liljegren, J. G. *Run-Urkunder* (Sthlm, 1834).
L. = Leningrad.
Labuda, *Fragmenty* = Labuda, G. *Fragmenty dziejów słowiańszczyzny zachodniej*, 2 vols. (W, 1960, 1964).
Labuda, *Sagi* = Labuda, G. *Źródła, sagi i legendy* (W, 1960).
Labuda, *Źródła* = Labuda, G. *Żródła skandynawskie i anglosaskie* (W, 1961).
Langebek, *Scriptores* = *Scriptores rerum danicarum medii ævi*, ed. Langebeck, J. et al., 9 vols. (Kbh, 1772–1878).
Lexicon Poeticum = *Lexicon Poeticum Antiquae Linguae Septentrionalis*, rev. Jónsson, F. (Kbh, 1931).
LUÅ = Lunds Universitets Årsskrift. Lund.
M = Musset, L. *Introduction à la runologie* (Paris, 1965; repr. 1976).
M. = Moscow.
Malone, *Studies* = Malone, K. *Studies in Heroic Legend and in Current Speech* (Kbh, 1959).
Meissner, *Stadtrecht* = Meissner, R. *Stadtrecht des Königs Magnus Hakonarson für Bergen* (Weimar, 1950).
Mel = Mel'nikova, E. A. *Skandinavskie runičeskie nadpisi* (M., 1977).
Metzenthin, E. = Metzenthin, E. *Die Länder- und Völkernamen im altisländischen Schrifttum* (Bryn Mawr, Pa., 1941).
MGH = *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. Hannover-Berlin. 1819- .
MGH AA = *MGH. Auctores antiquissimi.*
MGH SS = *MGH. Scriptores.*

MHL = *Middelalderlig historisk Litteratur paa Modersmaalet*, ed. Jørgensen, E. (Kbh, 1930).
MHN = *Monumenta Historiae Norwegiae*. I, ed. Storm, G. (Chria, 1880).
MI = Manuscripta Islandica, ed. Helgason, J., 20 vols. (1954- ; in progress).
MLR = *The Modern Language Review*. Cambridge.
MLN = *Modern Language Notes*. Baltimore.
MM = *Maal og Minne*. Oslo.
MPG = Migne, J. P. *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeco-latina*, 161 vols. in 166 (Paris, 1857 1866).
MPL = Migne, J. P. *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina*, 221 vols. (Paris, 1862-1864).
MSFOu = Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne. Helsinki.
NAWG = *Nachrichten der Akademie* [or: *Gesellschaft*] *der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*. Philol.-hist. Klasse. Göttingen.
NGL = *Norges gamle love indtil 1386*. 5 vols. (Chria, 1846-1895; see p. 470).
NHT = (Norsk) *Historisk Tidsskrift*. Oslo.
NK = *Nordisk Kultur*. Samlingsværk, 30 vols., ed. Brøndum-Nielsen, J. et al. (Kbh-Oslo-Sthlm, 1931-1956).
NkS = Den nye kongelige Samling i det store kongelige Bibliotek. Kbh.
Nov I Chron = Novgorodian First Chronicle (see p. 818).
NTF = *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi*. Kbh..
NTL = *Nordisk Tidskrift* för vetenskap, konst och industri utgiven av *Letterstedtska föreningen*. Sthlm.
NTS = (*Norsk*) *Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*. Oslo.
NYR = *Norges Innskrifter med de yngre runer*, ed. Bugge, S. et al. (see p. 776).
Orkneyinga saga/Dasent = *The Orkneyingers' Saga*, trans. Dasent, G. W. London (see p. 813).
Origines Isl = Vigfússon, G. — Powell, F. Y. *Origines Islandicæ*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1905).
Osh = *Óláfs saga helga*.
OsT = *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar*.
OsTm = *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta*.
OsTm/Sephton = *OsTm*, trans. Sephton, J. (London, 1895).
OTR = Oudfriese Taal- en Rechtsbronnen, ed. Sipma, P. The Hague (see p. 777).
Ög = *SRI. Östergötland*, ed. Brate, E. (see p. 777).
Öl = *SRI. Öland*, ed. Söderberg, S. — Brate, E. (see p. 777).
PBB = [Paul's and Braune's] *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*. Halle a.S.
PMLA = *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*.
PSRL = *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej* (see p. 819).

PVL = *Povest' vremennyx let* (see p. 818).
R = Ruprecht, A. *Die ausgehende Wikingerzeit im Lichte der Runeninschriften* (Göttingen, 1958).
REW = Vasmer, M. *Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 3 vols. (Heidelberg, 1953–1958).
Richthofen, *Untersuchungen* = von Richthofen, K. *Untersuchungen über friesische Rechtsgeschichte*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1880–1882).
Ross, *Terfinnas.* = Ross, A.S.C. *The Terfinnas and Beormas of Ohthere* (Leeds, 1940).
RPC = *The Russian Primary Chronicle* (see p. 818).
Rvík = Reykjavík.
SBAW = *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.* Phil.-hist. Klasse. Berlin.
Sbornik ORJaS = *Sbornik Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti Imp. Akademii Nauk.* S.-Pb.
SBVS = *Saga-Book of the Viking Society.* London.
SGL = *Samling of Sweriges Gamla Lagar*, ed. Collin, H. S. — Schlyter, C. J., 13 vols. (Sthlm-Lund, 1827–1877).
Sjölin, *Einführung* = Sjölin, Bo. *Einführung in das Friesische* (Stuttgart, 1969).
Skan Sb = *Skandinavskij Sbornik.* Tallinn.
SKB = Kungliga biblioteket. Stockholm.
Skj = Jónsson, F. *Den norsk-islandske Skjaldedigtning*, 4 vols. (A, 1–2; B, 1–2) (Kbh, 1912–1915). Quoted is the series A.
SLL = *Svenska landskapslager*, ed. Wessén, E. — Holmbäck, A., 5 vols. (Sthlm, 1933–1946).
Sm = *SRI. Småland*, ed. Kinander, R. (see p. 777).
SMAW = *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.* Philosoph.-hist. Abt. München.
SMHD = *Scriptores Minores Historiae Danicae Medii Aevi*, ed. Gertz, M. Cl., 2 vols. (Kbh, 1917–1920).
SnE = Snorra Edda.
SnE/Brodeur = *The Prose Edda by Snorri Sturluson*, trans. Brodeur, A. G. (New York, 1916).
SnE/Young = *The Prose Edda*, trans. Young, J. I. (Berkeley, 1965).
SNF = *Studier i Nordisk Filologi.* Helsingfors.
Sö = *SRI. Södermanland*, ed. Brate, E. — Wessén, E. (see p. 777).
S-Pb. = St. Petersburg.
Sreznevskij, *Materialy* = Sreznevskij, I. I. *Materialy dlja slovarja drevnerusskogo jazyka*, 3 vols. (S-Pb, 1893–1903; repr. M., 1958).

SRG = *MGH. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi.* Hanover-Berlin.
SRI = *Sveriges Runinskrifter*, ed. Brate, E. et al. (see p. 777).
SSS = *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich*, ed. Kowalenko, W. et al. (Warsaw, 1961- ; in progress).
Sthlm = Stockholm.
St Isl = *Studia Islandica. Íslenzk fræði.* Reykjavík.
SUGNL = Samfund til Udgivelse af gammel nordisk Litteratur. Kbh.
SWAW = *Sitzungsberichte der kaiser. Akademie der Wissenschaften.* Phil.-hist. Klasse. Vienna.
Sweet, *Alfred's Orosius* = Sweet, H. *King Alfred's Orosius.* I (London, 1883).
Tatiščev = Tatiščev, V. N. *Istorija rossijskaja* IV, ed. Tixomirov, M. N. (M.-L., 1964).
Thule = *Thule. Altnordische Dichtung und Prosa* [in German trans.], ed. Niedner, F., 25 vols. (Jena, 1912-1930; re-ed. Düsseldorf-Cologne, 1963-1967).
TODRL = *Trudy Otdela drevne-russkoj literatury.* M.-L.
Turville-Petre, *Myth* = Turville-Petre, G. *Myth and Religion of the North* (London, 1964).
Turville-Petre, *Origins* = Turville-Petre, G. *Origins of Icelandic Literature* (Oxford, 1967).
Turville-Petre, *Scaldic Poetry* = Turville-Petre, G. *Scaldic Poetry* (Oxford, 1976).
U = *SRI. Uppland*, ed. Wessén, E. — Jansson, S.B.F. (see p. 777).
UAJb = *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher.* Wiesbaden.
UJb = *Ungarische Jahrbücher.* Berlin.
UUÅ = Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift. Uppsala.
Vg = *SRI. Västergötland*, ed. Jungner, H. — Svärdstrom, E. (see p. 777).
VHAAH = Kunglige Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar. Stockholm.
Viert SuWG = *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte.* Wiesbaden.
Vs = *SRI. Västmanland*, ed. Jansson, S.B.F. (see p. 777).
VSD = *Vitae Sanctorum Danorum*, ed. Gertz, M. Cl. (Kbh, 1908-1912).
VSL = Vetenskaps-societeten i Lund.
W = Warsaw.
WAWN = Holthausen, F. *Vergleichendes und etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altwestnordischen* (Göttingen, 1948).
Ys = *Ynglinga saga.*
Zapiski SPb U = Zapiski Istoriko-filologičeskogo fakul'teta Imp. S.-Peterburgskogo Universiteta. S-Pb.

ZfdA = Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur. Berlin.
ZfdPh = Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie. Halle a.d. Saale.
ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Leipzig/ Wiesbaden.
Zoëga, *Dictionary* = Zoëga, G. T. *A Concise Dictionary of Old Icelandic* (Oxford, 1910; repr. 1975).
ZRG-GA = Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Germanische Abteilung. Berlin.

Languages

CC = Codex Cumanicus
EON = East Old Norse
Finn = Finnish
IE = Indo-European
MHG = Middle High German
Mong = Mongolian
MT = Middle Turkic
NP = New Persian
OD = Old Danish
OE = Old English
OHG = Old High German
OL Frank = Old Low Frankish
ON = Old Norse
OR = Old Rus'ian
OS = Old Swedish
OSax = Old Saxon
OT = Old Turkic
Ukr = Ukrainian

THE ORIGIN OF RUS'

VOLUME ONE

Old Scandinavian Sources other than the Sagas

PART ONE

General Introduction

CHAPTER ONE

Exposition to the Entire Work: The Origin of Rus'

The Acrimonious Debate between the Normanists and the Anti-Normanists

On September 6, 1749, Gerhard Friedrich Müller (b. 1705, d. 1783), the official Russian imperial historiographer and a member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, rose to deliver an anniversary speech on the origins of Russia entitled "Origines gentis et nominis Russorum." The text he was about to present was based on research published in 1736 by his older compatriot, Gottlieb Siegfried Bayer (b. 1694, d. 1738), who had introduced such sources as the *Annales Bertiniani* and works by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus into East European scholarship. From these, Academician Müller had developed the theory that the ancient state of Kievan Rus' was

An abbreviated version of this exposition was originally presented as an inaugural lecture at Harvard University on October 24, 1975, and published as an occasional paper of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute.

founded by Norsemen, and it was this theory that he intended to propound in his address.

Müller never finished his lecture. As he spoke tumult arose among the Russian members and "adjuncts" of the Imperial Academy in protest against the "infamous" words they were hearing. One of them, the astronomer Nikita Ivanovič Popov (b. 1720, d. 1782), exclaimed, "Tu, clarissime auctor, nostrum gentem infamia afficis!" (You, famous author, dishonor our nation!). The affair was brought before the president of the Academy, the future Hetman of the Ukraine (1750–1764) Kyrylo Rozumovs'kyj (d. 1803), and the Empress Elizaveta Petrovna (1741–1762), who appointed a special committee to investigate whether Müller's writings were harmful to the interests and glory of the Russian Empire. One of the referees was the famous author, Mixail Vasil'evič Lomonosov (b. 1711, d. 1762), whose testimony was devastating. Müller was forbidden to continue his research in Old Rus' history, and his publications were confiscated and destroyed. The intimidated scholar eventually redirected his scholarly work to a less incendiary subject — the history of Siberia.[1]

Nevertheless, September 6, 1749, remains an important date in East European historiography. It marks the beginning of the acrimonious debate between the Normanists and the anti-Normanists that has continued to this day.

The Normanists are convinced that the term Rus' is of Norse origin. They consider the Norsemen — or, more exactly, the Swedes — to have been the chief organizers of political life, first on the banks of Lake Il'men' and later on the shores of the Dnieper River. The anti-Normanists, in contrast, claim that the Rus' were Slavs who had lived to the south of Kiev from prehistoric times, long before the Norsemen appeared in Europe. The names of several rivers are cited as evidence to support this thesis — for example, the Ros', a right-bank tributary of the Dnieper. The anti-Normanists attribute to this "native" Slavic element a decisive role in the state building of that period, particularly of Kievan Rus'. Official Soviet historiography was to adopt the anti-Normanist position on the grounds that "the Normanist theory is politically harmful, because it denies the ability of the Slavic nations to form an independent state by their own efforts."[2]

[1] A survey and evaluation of the literature on the controversy is given in my "The Invitation to the Varangians," *HUS* 1: 1 (1977), pp. 7, 11. Müller's adventure is described in Stefan Tomašivs'kyj, "Nowa teorja o początkach Rusi," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 43 (Lviv, 1929), pp. 289–290; see also *Materialy dlja istorii Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk* X (S.-Pb., 1900), esp. pp. 83–86 and 553–555. On N. I. Popov see Davidovič Iv., in *Russkij biografičeskij slovar'* [XIV] (S.-Pb., 1905), pp. 553–556.

[2] See, e.g., N. Jakovlev, "O prepodavanii otečestvennoj istorii," *Bol'ševik* (Moscow, 1947), no. 22, p. 27.

The arguments of the Normanists, the most prominent of whom are August Ludwig Schlötzer, Ernst Kunik, Vilhelm Thomsen, Aleksej A. Šaxmatov, Ture J. Arne, Stepan Tomašivs'kyj, and Adolf Stender-Petersen, are essentially the following:

1) The Rus' received their name from *Ruotsi*, which was in the mid-ninth century what the Finns called the Swedes. The name was derived from the Swedish maritime district in Uppland, *Roslagen* (Róðslagen), whose inhabitants were called *Róðskarlar* (< *róðr* "a rowing or pulling"). In a modified variant of this etymology, suggested by R. Ekblom and Ad. Stender-Petersen among others, *Rus'* originated from *róð(er)s-byggjar* "the inhabitants of straits between islands" (< *róðer*).[3]

2) The Primary Chronicle includes the Rus' among the Varangian peoples from beyond the sea, the *Svie* (Swedes), *Urmane* (Norwegians), *Anъgljane* (English), and *Gote* (Gauts or Goths).

3) Most of the names of Rus' envoys listed in the treaties with Byzantium (911, 944) are obviously of Scandinavian origin, Karly, Inegeldъ, Farlof, Veremud, etc. (911).

4) The *Annales Bertiniani*, a contemporary source, says that ca. 839 the *Rhos* envoys (*Rhos vocari dicebant*) who came from the Byzantine Emperor Theophilos to the Emperor Loúis I in Ingelheim and whose leader had the title *chacanus* (kagan, < Turkic *qayan*; the title also appears in contemporary Islamic and later Kievan Rus' sources) proved to be Swedes (*eos gentis esse Sveonum*).

5) The Byzantine Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in his book *De administrando imperio* (written ca. 950), gives both the Slavic (Σκλαβηνιστὶ) and Rus'ian ('Ρωσιστὶ) names for the Dnieper cataracts. Most of the Rus'ian names appear to be derived from Old Norse. For example, Οὐλβορσί (<ON *(h)ulmforsi* (dat.-loc.) equals Slavic *ostrovni prax* ('Οστροβουνιπράχ = Greek τὸ νησίον τοῦ φραγμοῦ "the island of the cataract").

6) Islamic geographers and travelers of the ninth and tenth centuries always made a clear distinction between the *Rūs* and the *aṣ-Ṣaqāliba* (Slavs).

The anti-Normanists, including Stepan Gedeonov, Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj, Boris D. Grekov, Serafim Juškov, Boris Rybakov, Mixail N. Tixomirov, Vladimir T. Pašuto, Nicholas V. Riasanovsky, and Alexander V. Riasanovsky, reply:

1) The name, Rus', was not originally connected with Great Novgorod or with Ladoga in the north, but with Kiev in the south, an area in which the Rus' had dwelled since time immemorial. They support this thesis with two arguments. First, a toponymic one, based on the names of several rivers in that

[3] Adolf Stender-Petersen, "Zur Rus'-Frage," *Varangica* (Aarhus, 1953), p. 82.

area, such as the *Ros'*; second, on the "Church History" of Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor, a Syrian source compiled in A.D. 555 (long before the appearance of the Norsemen), which mentions the *Hrōs*, or Rus', in connection with some North Caucasian peoples found south of Kiev.

2) No tribe or nation called *Rus-* was known in Scandinavia, and it is never mentioned in any of the Old Norse sources, including the sagas.

3) The Scandinavian names of the Rus' envoys who visited Ingelheim in 839 and signed the treaties with the Byzantine Empire in the tenth century do not prove that the Rus' were Swedes. The Norsemen were only representatives of the Slavic Rus' princes, specialists who carried out commercial and diplomatic functions. For that reason, they were looked upon as men "of Rus' descent" (*ot roda ruskago*).

4) One of the oldest Islamic writers, Ibn Khurdāḏbeh, who wrote ca. 840–880, clearly calls the *Rūs* a tribe of Slavs.

5) Archaeological material from the towns and trade routes of Eastern Europe indicates that few Scandinavians were present in that area.

A critical examination of these arguments reveals weaknesses on both sides, which may well be why the debate has continued unresolved to this day. The connection of the Rus' with the Finnish *Ruotsi* and *Róðslagen* is doubtful. *Ruotsi* goes back to **Rūzzi*, not Rus'. The anti-Normanists are correct in doubting the existence of a Scandinavian (Swedish) tribe called Rus', even if they were peasants and not empire builders as Stender-Petersen claimed. In the words of Vladimir Mošin (1931), "one finds oneself in a quagmire when one begins to operate with terms derived from *rus* or *ros*"[4] [especially since Ros' goes back to *Rŏs*, not *Rōs*].

The Syriac *Hrōs* (A.D. 555) found in the work of Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor, and introduced into East European history by Josef Markwart in 1903, proved to have no relation whatever to Rus'. In an addendum to Rhetor's "Church History" is a very interesting report about the Christian mission of a certain Kardost among the Huns in the Northern Caucasus, including a list of Hunnic tribes. This report stimulated the learned copyist to quote an episode about the Amazons from a Middle Persian version of the Alexander saga, in which the Greek term *heros* ("hero") is used for the gigantic mates of the Amazons. In the Syriac adaptation, this Greek term assumed the form *hrōs*.

The anti-Normanist explanation, which maintains that the possible existence of Scandinavian specialists at the court of some Rus' princes does not necessarily prove that the Rus' were Scandinavians, cannot easily be dismissed. However, Ibn Khurdāḏbeh does not identify *Rūs* with the *Ṣaqāliba*

[4] Vladimir Mošin, *Byzantinoslavica* 3 (Praha, 1931), p. 285; cf. Max Vasmer, *REW* II, p. 539.

("Slavs"). The Arabic term *ǧins* (= Greek *γένος*, Lat. *genus*) has the primary meaning of "kind" or "sort." It may be assumed that in introducing the name *Rūs* into Arabic scholarship, Ibn Khurdāḏbeh was generalizing ("and they are a kind of *Ṣaqāliba*") about who these new trading partners on the horizon of the Abbasside Empire were. Within the Arab cultural sphere (which was Mediterranean culture), the term *Ṣaqlab* (*Sclav-*), meaning "fair-headed slave," was known earlier (sometime in the sixth century) than the name *Rūs*. Because the *Rūs* came from the north and corresponded to the anthropological criteria of the term *Ṣaqlab* (meaning "red-haired and ruddy-faced" in comparison with the peoples of the Near East), the author added this phrase by way of explanation.

The historian might rightly ask the question posed by British archaeologist David M. Wilson (1970): "Why is there so little archaeological material of the Scandinavian period in the Russian towns?" One can answer, says Wilson, only by analogy:

> In England, the only town to produce really convincing Viking antiquities in any number is York, and this number has been rather exaggerated. Structures of the Anglo-Danish period in York are rarely found and even when they are, they are not specifically Viking in character. The other Viking towns in England [known from historical sources — O.P.] have produced hardly any Viking antiquities. We know that the Vikings were there, just as we know that there were Vikings in Novgorod and Kiev.[5]

In summarizing the controversy, one must be critical of scholars who have considered the issue from a narrow perspective and an almost exclusive concentration on the term "Rus'." Such an approach is about as useful as studying the etymology of the name "America" to explain the emergence of the Constitution of the United States.

The debate continues, in my view, for the following reasons: historians have too often substituted political (or patriotic) issues for improved techniques of historical methodology in their discussions; they have had a limited knowledge of world history; and they have been biased in their use of source materials. The work of the historians in question can be compared to mosaicists who try to piece together a picture by using tesserae from several different places. They also often disregard the semantics of the original, relying as they often do on translations, instead of acquiring knowledge of the sources and the cultures from which they come.

[5] David M. Wilson, "East and West: A Comparison of Viking Settlement," *Varangian Problems* (Scando-Slavica Supplementum 1) (Kbh, 1970), p. 113.

Proposed Concept and Methodology

The origin of Rus' is first of all a historical question. In analyzing this problem, archaeology and linguistics are of secondary importance; while they are certainly revered scholarly disciplines, they have their own methods and goals and their own spheres of responsibility. History begins — and I stress the word *begins* — with written evidence. It is impossible to extend history back to a period for which there are no written sources, although archaeological and linguistic data can be very useful in elucidating certain facts and situations. Contrary to the conviction of East European scholars, however, archaeology cannot be regarded as *pre*-history. There is no causal connection between archaeology and history. History, which reflects the highest stage of human experience, cannot appear *deus ex machina* from archaeology. Only people with history can bring it to territories without historical consciousness.

As an example of the frontier between history and archaeology, let us take the year 1620. It marked the beginning of history for New England, and at the same time the end of an archaeological era in North America. Here, we can clearly see that the subsequent historical period neither emerged nor developed from the archaeological one (as East European archaeologists claim it did for Kievan Rus'), but was brought from the outside by those with a previously developed historical consciousness. In this sense, history and archaeology are not on speaking terms.

History, like any other *exact science,* is an abstract, intellectual discipline. It is concerned first with establishing and systematizing historical facts by analytic "experiments," that is, research into specific issues, and then with the construction of relevant hypotheses. However, since the historian can neither reconstruct the past "wie es eigentlich gewesen" (contrary to Ranke), nor "re-experience" or "re-enact the past" in his own mind (contrary to Dilthey and Croce), he must place his analytic experiment in a broader theoretical context. As Marc Bloch has said, the basis for a proper understanding of any "historical experiment" is the study, at the universal level of the *function* of selected "historical facts" that are part of a larger system, and *not* the study of the historical facts themselves (contrary to Toynbee, however, there is only one universal historical development, not many developments of separate cultures). This system or pattern contains various points of intersection along lines demarcated by economic, cultural, and political developments that occur at both synchronic, that is, static, and diachronic, that is, dynamic, levels. The

real task of the historian is to recognize the system and to discover its common denominators.

Now a few words about source study. One should never approach a source without prior philological and historical analysis. Conversely, reflecting the perspectivism of Ortega y Gasset, it is necessary to embrace all the sources of a given epoch in order to reconstruct the multiperspectivity inherent in them. History is an exact science that can produce accurate answers only when the full perspective of a given problem is discerned.

Before dealing with the problem of the origin of Rus', it is necessary to settle some methodological questions. From what has already been said, it is clear that there is only one possible way to discuss the emergence of the Rus' state, and that is as a historical experiment within a larger system.

History begins at Sumer in Mesopotamia in the third millennium B.C. The ancient Greeks, who discovered the concept both of the human being and of scientific history, together with the Romans, those pragmatic empire builders, transferred the focal point of Western historical development to the basin of the *Mare Nostrum*, or Mediterranean Sea. Until the ninth and tenth centuries of the Christian era, history was essentially concentrated in the *Mare Nostrum*. Because China was almost isolated from Europe at that time, it is temporarily excluded from discussion here.

Within the time span from the establishment of the Roman Empire to the ninth century, four significant historical events, each producing chain reactions, took place that are relevant to the emergence of Rus':

1) The desertion of the Roman *limes* (Rhine-Danube line) by the Roman legions (ca. A.D. 400) and the appearance in history of the Franks, Frisians, and Anglo-Saxons;

2) The organization of a new type of steppe empire — the Avar Pax centered in present-day Hungary (ca. 568–799); the activization of the Slavs and the "restraint" of the Scandinavians;

3) The intrusion of the Arabs into the basin of *Mare Nostrum* and of the Khazars into Eastern Europe (ca. A.D. 650) and the Abbaside economic revolution (750);

4) The destruction of the Avar Pax, the *Renovatio imperii* by Charlemagne (800), the "burst" of the Scandinavians (The "Viking Age," 793–), and the Slavic Christian mission (863).

The Franks

The first historical event, the desertion of the Roman *limes*, provoked the

migration of peoples and the organization of Germanic semicivilized realms and nomadic *paces* within imperial territory and/or regions closest to the Roman frontiers. The most important of these was the Germanic Frankish realm established first in what is now the Netherlands and then in Gaul, since the Franks were the only barbarians who adopted (A.D. 496) the "correct," Catholic variant of Christianity rather than Arianism. The Franks defeated the Visigoths at Vouillé (507), with the result that Aquitaine became a part of Frankish Gaul. About three decades later they also conquered Burgundy, including Provence (534–536).

In this way the Roman unity of the lands from the shores of the English Channel and North Sea to the Mediterranean was reestablished. The Frankish and Frisian Rhine was again connected with the basin of the Rhône, which resumed its role as the major trade artery linking the Merovingian lands (whose economic center lay in central Gaul and Aquitaine) with the Mediterranean. Lyons (Lugdunum), located at the confluence of the Rhône (Rhodanus) and Saône, was the capital of Roman Gaul in the second century after Christ and retained that position during Burgundian rule (470–536). The ensuing Frankish institutional development based on close cooperation with papal Rome was to become the cornerstone for the development of Western Europe.

But the Franks in question were now Carolingians, centered in the lower Rhine basin. They did not go to Lyons, or, for that matter, to Rome, but shifted European political power northward: after Charlemagne's *Renovatio* of A.D. 800, the imperial capital remained Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen) situated between the Maas and the Rhine rivers.

This action heralded the final shifting of international trade routes, from the Mediterranean to Northern Europe, which happened between the fifteenth and the seventeenth century.

The Nomads, Sedentary Empires and the Merchants

Before discussing the significance of the desertion of the Roman limes, the emergence of the Avar realm and the Arab intrusion, three sets of terms must be introduced: (1) "officina gentium . . . velut vagina nationum"; (2) "nomadic empire" and "nomadism"; and (3) "the nomads of the sea," specifically the Vikings and Værings (*Varjagi*).

The first concept was introduced by the Gothic historian Jordanes (A.D. 551). In describing the fate of the Goths he remarked: "From the same Scandza Island [Scandinavia], which acts like a manufactory of peoples

(*officina gentium*), or to be more exact, like a *vagina* of nations, went out, according to tradition, the Goths with their king, Berig."[6] There were two places in Eurasia where the great migrations of peoples originated: the Arabian Desert in the west — the "home" of all Semitic peoples; and the Gobi Desert in Mongolia — the true *vagina nationum* of all Altaic peoples, the Huns, Turks, Mongols, and Manchu-Tunguzes. For centuries scholars advanced various theories to explain this unusual state of affairs. Some medieval scholars even suggested that the nomads, like locusts, were born at regular intervals from the sand and therefore reappeared in periodic population explosions. We certainly cannot accept this ingenious explanation and must also dismiss some recent theories, including the one that climatic changes desiccated the steppe and caused movements that turned into a chain migration. Climatological studies have proved that no significant changes in climate occurred during the historical millennia. Careful study of primary sources, such as the Chinese annals, has also made it clear that the nomads could migrate only if their horses were well fed, healthy, and strong. Therefore, population movement never took place during times of famine or restraint. Arabia and Mongolia became the centers of population migrations not because both were deserts, but because both were located on the crossroads of important commercial highways that connected agricultural and political centers. Having moved there, the nomads assured themselves control of these commercial routes and, at the same time, gained the opportunity to blackmail the established sedentary power with options for retreat or escape.

1.

The terms "nomadic empire" and "nomads" require some elaboration.[7]

A nomadic empire is, *mutatis mutandis*, the mirror image of a sedentary empire. Like the latter, it lays claim both to universal rule (in the case of the nomads, control over the territory along an important transcontinental trade route) and to representing universal law and order (OT *törü*) within its orbit.

But there are important structural differences between the medieval nomadic and sedentary empires. Let us delineate them in a condensed form.

The first difference between the two types of empire was conditioned by the economic base. During the period before premodern history there were four types of human economies: hunting, fishing, pastoralism, and agriculture. While the fourth, agriculture, required sedentariness, the other three economies were based on mobility (nomadism). The sedentary agriculturalists

[6] *Jordan o proisxoždenii i dejanijax Getov. "Getica,"* ed. E. Č. Skržinskaja (Moscow, 1960), p. 134 (text).

[7] This presentation is based on the relevant chapters of the fifth volume of this work, where all scholarly apparatus has been provided.

(peasants) have always been the backbone of sedentary empires. On the other hand, a nomadic empire comprised not only the pastoralist tribes (e.g., Old Mongolian *ke'er-ün irgen*), as is usually assumed; the no less mobile forest hunting tribes (e.g., Old Mongolian *hoi-yin irgen*) and fisherman tribes (e.g., the ancestors of the Hungarians within the Khazar Empire) were always indiscriminately recognized as legitimate, full-fledged societal components of the nomadic (steppe) empire.

As a result, whereas the sedentary empire (e.g., those of China and Iran) was stationary, that is bound to a specific territory, the nomadic empire was not. Its territory was variable, and new territory would readily be acquired, provided it had significance and offered benefits to economic strategy (i.e., contained the crucial trade routes).

As the second difference, the literary continuity, present in the sedentary empire (owing to the great "universal" religions, such as Buddhism), was lacking in the nomadic empire. The universal religions originated in urban cultures, but they usually attracted not only the merchants but the general population of sedentary societies. Typically, these religions produced holy scriptures containing the divine message and introduced the concept of linear time (chronology), with the starting point called era, usually being the year that their prophets received revelation. The language of the scriptures acquired the status of a sacred language, and literary products in that language became the repository of the "national," meaning sedentary (territorial) culture. Dynastic changes did not interrupt this cultural process.

In contrast, the doctrine of the "Männerbünde" warrior ideal of the nomadic empires was not tied to a specific language. The main task of the nomadic empire was not to secure the continuity of a "national culture," but rather to perpetuate the limitless power of the "disciplined" strong young men community who personified the political order created for economic profit and to keep itself free from the seductive vices of the "corrupt" sedentary civilization. The nomads preferred to depose a charismatic clan after it had lost its charisma and to discard the "official" language of that clan.

A nomadic political body could, in the course of its history, change not only its ruling clan (dynasty) and its name, but also its official language (the idiom of the clan of the empire builder). A clear example is provided by the ancestors of the Hungarians, who between about A.D. 460 and 900 changed both their ruling clan and their "national" names four times — from Säbir to Majγar, Türk/Lebed, and Onoγur/Arpad — and their official language three times — from Proto-Mongolian to Hunno-Bulgarian and then Turkic.

Thus of the three basic elements of a nomadic empire, two, that is, territory and language of the charismatic clan, were exchangeable. Only the third element, the idea of the pax as tied to the entire Eurasian steppe, was fixed.

This idea was strong enough to keep the steppe empires vital for two millennia, even through times when some one charismatic clan failed to maintain it.[8] The changes in a steppe charismatic clan's fortunes were cyclical, in congruence with their mythical thinking, which was cyclical in nature. This cyclical thinking of the nomads, versus, the linear thinking of the sedentary civilization, makes the third difference between the two types of empire.

There is still a fourth difference. Whereas the union between a universal religion and the polity of a sedentary civilization usually results in the emergence of a patrimonial kingship, the nomadic charismatic leader in the steppe maintains dual functions: *primus inter pares,* as well as the exclusive negotiator of trade agreements with sedentary empires during peacetime, and military dictator during times of war.

To maintain the distinction between the two types of empire, here "pax" is used to refer to the nomadic empire, and "empire" to designate its sedentary counterpart. Aside from developing the new military techniques (e.g., mounted archers) that allowed their rise to power, the nomadic paces were never originators. One can even say that a nomadic pax always developed in response to the challenge of a sedentary society. For instance, the moment a given agricultural empire (Iran, China, Rome) developed economic stability and achieved a measure of prosperity (by establishing international commercial ties), the "nomadic" charismatic clans were tempted to try their luck in obtaining a portion of the El Dorado.

To exemplify the parallelism and synchronism that existed between the steppe nomadic paces and sedentary empires, let us recall that the third century before Christ was a time of development not only for three sedentary empires (Rome, Arsacide Iran, and the Han dynasty in China) but also for the nomadic pax of the Huns (Hsiung-nu) centered in Mongolia. In about A.D. 220 the power of all four of these states had collapsed almost simultaneously.

Hence, economic achievements, not natural calamities, were responsible for the activity of the *vagina nationum* of the Eurasian desert steppe in the period 200 B.C.–A.D. 220, just as later the economic decline of the sedentary empires effected the disintegration of the Hunnic pax.

2.

Both agricultural and pastoral (as well as that of the hunter/fisherman) scheduling was manageable and self-sufficient at the village and tribal level. Pastoralists (stockherders) followed an annual cycle in their ambulant tent settlements (OT *ayəl*) not unlike that of their sedentary counterparts, the

[8] In a sense similar to the imperial ideas of the sedentary societies, e.g., the idea of the *Imperium Romanum,* which was attractive not only for a Latin-speaking Illyrian of peasant stock (Justinian I, 527–565), but revived by new arrivals like the Frank Charlemagne, in 800 and the Saxon Otto I, in 962.

peasantry cultivating soil near their stationary villages. Neither group needed an empire. The empire was not a necessity or a product of their internal structural development: it was brought to both the village and the tribe from the outside. The work of the peasants and the nomads alike was exploited by the empire builders for their political designs.

Who were these empire builders?

They were the first professionalists, that is, professional warriors and international merchants. The professional disciplined warrior class emerged during the second millennium B.C., due to the complexity of the newly-invented techniques of chariot warfare. The ensuing "warrior communism" (probably an Indo-European invention) took the form of bachelor houses[9] where the cult of the "Männerbünde" (so aptly reconstructed by Georges Dumézil) dominated. That cult of strong young men survived in several variants, two of which are of special importance to our problem: the Old Norse cult of Óðinn and the Old Turkic *Täŋri* religion. Under the auspices of these cults, the charismatic clans (warrior-tribes-in-making) emerged, claiming divine origin and specializing in leadership and warfare. They, in turn, provided charismatic leaders, that is, the king (*king* < Germanic *kuning* — "man of divine origin") and his retinue (*comitatus*; OT *buyruq*).

Leaving aside the role of the charismatic clans in the sedentary societies (starting with the two-wheeled chariot warriors of Kassite, Mitanni, Hyksos, and Proto-Greek origin) we can mention that around 900 B.C. chariot warfare was replaced by that of the mounted warrior. The initiators of this new military technique were the enigmatic Cimmerians, who were also the first to exploit the military capability of the mounted pastoralist (nomadic) society and thus initiated the cyclical cohesion of such societies in Eurasia for political purposes. Herodotus (4.20) called the professional mounted warriors of his time "Royal Scythians"; modern scholarship often refers to them as "Royal Hordes"; here we call them simply charismatic clans.

3.

Long-distance commerce apparently first developed in the third millennium B.C. between two of the oldest sedentary civilizations in the river valleys of Egypt and Mesopotamia. It went along desert routes in caravans using oases as ports of call and depots. Later this system of caravan trade spread to the steppes and sand-steppes of Eurasia, where the Indo-European Tocharians and Sogdians acquired their skills. The first people to carry goods by sea were the Phoenicians, who converted the Mediterranean Sea into their internal

[9] See Gerth, H. H. and Mills, C. W. (eds.), *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (Oxford, 1946), esp. pp. 253–264 ("The Meaning of Discipline").

lake. In the east maritime trade was carried on by the Chinese. These traders were products of the culture of the walled marketplaces, i.e., towns of the oriental and *polis* types.

In cooperation with the charismatic clans, the merchants usually promoted the creation of empires. For its steppe variant, the pax pattern was as follows.

Within a nomadic tribe in Arabia/Mongolia, a daring leader would appear who was successful in robbing a wealthy caravan. His fame would immediately spread, and people from the surrounding areas would flock to his territory in order to take part in the promising enterprise. If he was not satisfied to remain a brigand, he would become obsessed with the idea of reviving the steppe pax. To do so he would accept the imperial title of *kagan* (OT *qayan* = Old Mong. *qa'an*; cf. p. 79), and promulgate laws (OT *törü*, Old Mongolian *ǰasaq*) on the basis of the traditional steppe code of ethics and the religion of the "Männerbünde." Then would begin the period of training of the steppe's future *comitatus*, like the one so vividly described in all primary sources dealing with the emergence of the Mongolian power led by Temuǰin/Činggis Qa'an (Genghis Khan). Raids become more frequent and grow constantly in size until the time is ripe for the leader to unite all Eurasian steppe and forest tribes — kindred and alien, inclusive the sedentary oases along the international trade routes. The initial capital was provided by professional international merchants, who were, of course, interested in maintaining peace along international trade routes. Until the sixteenth century only nomadic realms were in a position to maintain the peace, and from this service arose the close cooperation that existed between the international merchants of Eurasia and the nomadic charismatic clans living among the nomads.

From the eighth to the tenth century, the long-distance merchants were either Chinese (in the Far East) or Eastern Iranians (in Central Asia and Eastern Europe), or Jewish and Franko-Frisian inhabitants of the lands which in the past belonged to the Western Roman Empire (the latter would later be replaced by Saxon-Germans of the Hanse).

This symbiotic relationship was recognized by Kāšġarī, a philologist of the eleventh century, who noted a Turkic proverb: *Tatsiz Türk bolmas, bašsiz börk bolmas*[10] ("There is no Tat [Iranian merchant] except in the company of a Turk, [just as] there is no cap unless there is a head to put it on").

For instance, the future Činggis Qa'an was certainly a military genius, but without the capital provided to him by the Muslim Khwārizmian merchants (who at that time controlled the tradeways from Iran to China), he would

[10] Maḥmud b. al-Ḥusain al-Kāšġarī, *Kitāb Dīwān Luġāt at-Turk*, facsimile ed. Besim Atalay (Ankara, 1941), p. 176, l. 10.

have been unable to maintain his enormous army and to supply his soldiers with arms and provisions. The moment a promising unifier of the steppe emerged, the international merchants of the region did everything possible to secure his cooperation. We learn from the sources, for example, that after China and Eastern Europe were conquered by the Mongols, Iranian merchants from Central Asia ruled there as governors, tax farmers, and the like. In their imperial designs these professionals (warriors and ambulant merchants, who could be called "half-sedentary") often preferred the nomads to the peasantry, since the former were better suited for soldiery owing to the mobility inherent in their profession.

For example, the Second Turkic Empire centered in Mongolia (681–744) was the joint enterprise of the charismatic clan A-shih-na, based in the oasis of Turfan, and of the Sogdians settled in the Ordos area (called *Sir* by the Turks); the ratio between the two partners was 2:1. For "steam-power," the empire-builders used the pastoralist tribes of Central Asia, called T'ieh-le in the Chinese sources. In addition, about 100,000 Chinese, both refugees and captives, participated in that empire's state-building process, as bureaucrats in both command and advisory posts.

In conclusion, the nomadic empires did not arise spontaneously from the mystical activities of steppe pastoralists. Rather, they were the products of meticulous design by professional empire-builders rooted in urban civilizations.

4.

The nomads of the steppe and the nomads of the sea were found even in ancient Egypt, and cooperation already existed between the two. In studying the so-called Viking Age in European history, one is struck by the similarity in the emergence and structure of the realms established by the nomads of the sea. In their emergence, the role of *vagina nationum* was located either along some rocky island coast or peninsula (Jutland, Scandinavia, Estonia), or in a marshy interior, whose great lakes were tied by waterways to a sea (Ladoga, later Novgorod) that connected important trade routes. The mobility that the nomads of the steppe attained by using horses or camels was assured to the nomads of the sea by their ships.

5.

As noted above, the nomadic paces were never originators, but rather implementers and amplifiers of the achievements of sedentary civilizations. For this purpose intermediaries had to be found: hence the emerging importance of long-distance merchants, mentioned above, whose base was in the sedentary empires (Iran, both Romes in the Occident, and China in the Orient). The long-distance merchant established trade routes; he penetrated

both the nomadic steppe and the half-sedentary "Barbaric" organizations, founding marketplaces and walled cities (of the oriental or *polis* types) wherever he went. The activity of the merchant inspired the nomadic charismatic clans to organize a steppe pax which would ensure the functioning of intercontinental trade; they also, being a component part of the half-sedentary society (as were the "disciplined" warriors) helped to create a patrimonial state.

Two patterns can be distinguished for the half-sedentary societies. First, merchants who mingled with the local ruling groups, ruled the colony for some period of time — e.g., the Frankish merchant Samo established ca. 625–659 his realm among the Carantanian and other Slavs in Central Europe.

Second, merchants cooperated with successful local tribal leaders, helping them establish "progressive" rule — e.g., German merchants from Riga supplied money and advice to the Lithuanian ruler Gedimin (1316–1341). The last type of merchant penetrated the Near East and northern Europe during this time, as well. The Japanese scholar Hidehiro Okada recently showed the role of Chinese international merchants as originators of the state in both Korea and Japan.[11]

In these two ways, the merchants helped unify different strata of local organizations in preparation for their own patrimonial statehood. Throughout the Middle Ages, towns and states in the Eurasian steppe, as well as those within the sphere of Mare Balticum, were founded not by the native population, but by foreign international traders. The present study is to a great degree devoted to the state-building role in Eastern Europe of merchants who had a Western Roman cultural background.

6.

The nomadic *Paces* had comparatively developed and stratified political, social, economic, military and governmental systems. A detailed description, with documentation, will be given in volume five; here I present only some findings which shed light on matters discussed in this volume.

A nomadic pax (OT *il*) — the example taken here is the second Turkic (T'u-chüe) realm, A.D. 680–744 — was a confederation of several autonomous political bodies: politically and militarily organized nomadic (see below) and merchant tribal groups (*bodən*), towns and cities (*baləq*), and sedentary vassal states. Its population had four classes: the three subdivisions of free men and retainers — the tribal nobility (*buyruq* = *comitatus*), the upperclass freemen, and the common people (*qara bodən*) — and the slaves. No real serfdom, however, was known. The leading role was in the hands of the clan, tribe and *comitatus* of its founder (in our case: *Türk*), the brother-in-law-tribes (relation by marriage), the cooperating Iranian (in our case Sogdian)

[11] Hidehiro Okada, *Wa koku no jidai* (Tokyo, 1976); Okada, *Wa koku* (Tokyo, 1977).

merchant elites (*Sir*), and the high-ranking Chinese defectors who served as advisors.

The pax consisting of two wings (left and right) was divided into the center and the province. The center usually made up of four ambulant residences (*ordu*) of the college of the ruling dynasty (two in each wing), each with one subdivision of retainers. In the residences were centralized the bureaucracy of the pax, its ministers of different ranks (*tarqat*), chief revenue officers, chief military commanders, and the like; all these offices occurred in pairs (left and right).

The province comprised, on the one hand, the confederate tribal units and, on the other, cities and vassal states. Rule over the province was exercized on two levels: the lower level consisted of the local nobility (hereditary or, in the case of some cities, elective) now bearing the corresponding Turkic titles (especially *il-täbär* and *irkin*), and the upper level consisted of dignitaries of the Türk dynasty or tribe (e.g., *tudən*). The latter's areas of responsibility were three: (1) general control, (2) taxation, (3) military affairs. All offices and titles were arranged in an elaborate, stratified system of ranks.

In order to fulfill its primary religious and political goal — i.e., *Täŋri*'s mandate for universal rule (meaning, of course, the steppe half of Eurasia) the government of the pax had two major objectives: (1) to collect taxes (in kind or in cash) for the upkeep of the state and its elite, especially the dynasty and the retinue; (2) to obtain recruits for the army. To facilitate tax collection, the pax was divided into four economic units, each contributing its share to the treasury. Three units or groups — nomads (pasturalists, hunters, and fishermen), agriculturalists, and urbanites — lived within the pax; the fourth were the sedentary vassal states. Apparently the income from these sources was insufficient to cover all the expenditures of the pax, for it had to be supplemented by other means (see the following paragraph).

To guarantee a constant flow of recruits to the army (contrary to the popular view, the nomadic army did not comprise the entire population), the territory of the pax was divided into military districts called arrows (OT *oq* or *oγəz*); the basis for the subdivision was the capacity of the given tribal or territorial unit to supply 10,000 enlisted men (*tümän*), usually two adult males per household. In practice, this meant that either a large ethnic tribe was subdivided, or several smaller ethnic units (tribes) formed one such military-political district.

7.

Why did the nomadic paces attack the sedentary empires? The answer to this long debated question is actually very simple. The motivating factor was not the alleged innate thirst for blood and booty, but rather a dispassionately

calculated economic policy. In the pre-imperial period the pasturalist societies were more or less economically self-sufficient. Once a pax had been established, its military establishment and bureaucratic apparatus required a steady and expandable source of income, especially a great amount of cash. Only the highly developed and stratified economy of a sedentary state could provide the needed supplementary income. Therefore, the nomadic government had to find a way to tap the sedentary economy.

Two patterns developed: one was the exacting of a yearly tribute through blackmail or/and raid (e.g., the Hsiung-nu *shan-yü* [ruler] Hu-lu-ku in 89 B.C.); the second was commerce. Very often the two were combined, since in a patrimonial centralized empire (the only type which existed in the period under discussion) trade was the monopoly of the emperor (as was the case with the rulers of the nomadic paces). Therefore, terrifying nomadic raids on carefully selected targets were undertaken with the sole aim of forcing the sedentary ruler to establish frontier marketplaces: in this way, e.g., the T'u-chüe (Türküt) kagan Hie-li (nomads of the steppe) extorted the right to trade in Pei-lou-kuan (in 624), and the Rus' konungar (nomads of the sea) Oleg (Helgi) and Igor' (Ingvarr) forced trade treaties on the Byzantine emperors (in 907, 911, 944).

The nomads were not interested in occupying the sedentary realms permanently (for instance the Polovcians, who so often raided the Rus' lands, did not choose to rule them). To the contrary, they preferred to support even weak (e.g., Chinese, in this case) emperors whom they could exploit and control, as the Uighurs did with the late T'ang emperors in the second half of the eighth century. Since these emperors headed a functioning government, they were in a better position to obtain cash than a foreign occupant. The Mongols destroyed Kiev in 1240 since it lost its importance as an international market, but they did not threaten Novgorod because it was a prospering center of trade with ties to the important Baltic markets. Only when a sedentary state actually collapsed (as happened with some dynasties in China that were of foreign origin and lacked ties to the local population) was the nomadic ruler forced to fill the vacuum and occupy the given empire permanently; thus the Mongols in 1230–1234 took over the state of the North Chinese Chin dynasty (of Altaic Jürǰen origin).

8.

A distinctive feature of the Ottoman empire that fascinated both European contemporaries and modern historians was its creation and maintenance for some time as a joint undertaking of three groups: the Qayi charismatic clan, the frontier warriors battling against infidels (*ġāzī*; the *comitatus* in-the-making), and the merchant and artisan guilds, all of whom were united in the

Islamic version of the *Täŋri* religion (*futuwwa*). But soon after the frontier princedom of the House of 'Oṯmān was transformed into an empire, the need for a military elite and a functioning bureaucracy arose: the funds for them were to be extorted from the subjected sedentary Christian realms. This delicate task required elites without group allegiances. So certain slaves were specially trained for the highest posts in the empire, thus creating the *qulluq* system. The concept probably originated from the Iranian long-distance merchants of Central Asia, who were often absent from their homes for long periods of time.

But the Ottomans were not the first in history to introduce the system of training slaves to be a state's ruling elite. This had already happened in the middle of the sixth century, when a small band of young but enterprising adventurers from Inner Asia — of both Altaic and Iranian origin and numbering a few thousand — appeared in Europe. They called themselves Avars, a name that had belonged to a formerly strong steppe power. Using this name assured the new group the obedience of distant tribes which the former Avars had once dominated.

Having arrived in Central Europe, the pseudo-Avars chose the Slavs, a hitherto unknown people, to serve two purposes. First, they selected from them recruits for command posts, and, after thorough training, these recruits became the so-called *fšu-pāna* (> Slavic *župan*), literally "the shepherds of the (human) cattle, comparable to the later *comitatus.*" Second, they used the Slavic masses as cannon fodder, called *befulci* by the contemporary Frankish chronicler Pseudo-Fredegar, "because they advanced twice to the attack in their war bands, and so covered the Chuni [meaning Avars]."[12] The selection by the Pseudo-Avars of the Slavs for these purposes served to introduce them into history.

The Anglo-Saxons

Sir Frank Stenton, an authority on Anglo-Saxon England, made a very significant discovery when he established a distinction between the Germanic peoples who invaded Gaul, Spain and Italy (after A.D. 375), and the Anglo-Saxons (after ca. A.D. 450). While the first group was made up of tribes functioning under tribal kings, the second were bands of adventurers drawn from at least three distinct Germanic peoples — the Angles, the Saxons, the Jutes — by leaders claiming divine ancestry. The kingship of the latter, writes Stenton, "was less a matter of political authority than of descent from ancient gods."[13]

[12] *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar with Its Continuations*, text and trans. J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (London, 1960), p. 40 (text) = p. 40 (trans.).

[13] Frank Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3d ed. (Oxford, 1971), p. 37.

This shift in attitude toward the ruler occurred under the influence of the steppe ideology. Between A.D. 375 and 453 the Germanic (especially Gothic) peoples were part of the Hunnic realm and system. The Hunnic ruler Attila (d. 453) acquired fame in the Germanic heroic epos. According to the *Heimskringla,* Óðinn (Woden), the god of both the Germanic warrior elites and merchants (cf. his Latin designation: Mercurius, and Old Rus'ian: *skotij bogъ*) and also the ancestor of the Anglo-Saxon and Norse dynasties, came to Scandinavia from the shores of the Hunnic Tanais (Don). The ancestor of the most illustrious Scandinavian clan, the Ynglingar, to whom the Icelandic historian Ari inn fróði (d. 1148) belonged, bore the imperial title *Tyrkja-konungr,* i.e. kagan (cf. ON *Grikkja-konungr* "basileus").

The Frisians

The Frisians, who lived in a long strip of islands and swamps between the Rhine and the Jutland peninsula, were from the seventh to the twelfth centuries the main middlemen and distributors of merchandise between the Anglo-Saxons, Flemish, and the Midi, the Rhine valley, and Scandinavia, or Bohemia, as the Dutch were to become from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries along the Atlantic. To facilitate their business the Frisians between A.D. 689 and 720 became part of the Frankish realm, accepted the Frankish version of Christianity, and, following the Anglo-Saxon example (*sceattas*), struck their own coins. They were also one of the first peoples in European history to make extensive use of the network of rivers as highways for international trade. They, like the eastern Iranians and the later Baltic and east European Finns, can be regarded as classic examples of a type of socioeconomic society that we might call "fluvial nomads." The term "fluvial routes"—like any other — is not an entirely accurate one. In cases where a river had too steep a pitch over long distances the river valley, but not the river itself was used for transport, as was, for example, the case with the Rhône. Great obstacles, such as the Dnieper cataracts, had to be overcome, and the various river basins were often connected by an elaborate system of portages and primitive land routes. There were alternate possibilities depending on weather and other conditions, including military conflict.

The most important fluvial trade routes in the period under consideration (ca. 650–1100) are those presented in the following scheme:

Date	*In the West*	*In the East*
Up to the 7th/ 8th century	The Rhône (= Rhodanus) Valley with connections to the Saône,	The Volga route to Central Asia and the Sassanian Empire.

	Seine, Moselle, Rhine in the north, and with three terminals in the southeast — Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch.	
8th to 9th centuries	The Rhine route, connected by the Alpine passes (*clusae*, especially Mt. Cenis) with the river Po, with the terminal Constantinople (later Venice).	The Volga route, connected with either the river Neva, or (later) the Northern Dvina (and White Sea), having as their main terminals Khazarian Itil and Muslim Baghdad, or Bulghār and Khwārizm.
9th to 10th centuries	The Danube route, with the terminals Itil and Constantinople.	The Dvina-Oka route, connected with the Volga route, and/or the rivers Donec'/Don.
10th to 11th centuries	The Elbe-Danube route (Magdeburg, Erfurt, Nürnberg, Regensburg), interconnected with the Rhine route and having as the main terminal Constantinople (with a branching to Prague).	The Dnieper route ("from the Varangians to the Greeks"), having as their terminals, Aldeigjuborg (Ladoga), Novgorod, Kiev and Constantinople.

The Vikings and the Værings

From the eighth to the tenth century there were only two types of trading settlements in Eurasia: in the east was the Persian *var*, a version of an Oriental city (owned by an individual), or a mixture of the *var* with the classical *polis*; in the west a permanent or semipermanent trading place for traveling merchants, called in Germanic *vík* (in Romance, *portus*), located in the vicinity of a burgh or bishop's see. The frontier between the *var* and *vík* settlements was the river Elbe.

In both types local or foreign workers served the merchants as guards, mercenaries, and shippers, much as the later *qazaq*s (Cossacks) did in Eastern Europe. To the west of the Elbe these people were called Vikings; to the east of the Elbe, they were known as Værings (> *Varjag*). From time to time these workers wrested their independence from their employers. Since they had learned all the details of a given trade, their coups were usually successful, though they were apt to be described by the medieval chroniclers as "miraculous tragedies." It is futile to attempt to establish the nationality of the Vikings and Værings. They had none. They were simply professionals ready to serve anyone who needed their skills and could pay for their services.

The sources confirm the cooperation through trade between the nomads of

the sea and rivers and the nomads of the steppe, as well as between the nomads of the steppe and their local helpers in towns — Viking, Væring/Varjag, and others. One clear example is the case of the ancestors of the Hungarians, originally Ugrian nomads of the rivers, who became partners of the Turkic nomads of the steppe.

The Rise of Intercontinental Trade

Eastern Europe entered the historical scene, that is, the era of written records, in the ninth century as a result of its discovery by the civilization of the Mare Nostrum, which created there its colonial "duplication," the economic-cultural sphere of the Mare Balticum. One can legitimately ask why this occurred in the ninth century, and not in the fifth or twelfth. What incentive had stimulated the culture of the Mare Nostrum to discover eastern Europe when it did?

The emergence of the Arab Muslim empire ca. 650 had split the Mare Nostrum into two independent parts, the Muslim southern and eastern littoral, and the Christian northern shore. But by 740 the Arabs had conquered all the territory they could control. To the west, they had reached the Atlantic Ocean by A.D. 711; the classical name for the land's end, the *Fretum Herculeum*, was then changed to the Arabic "Mount of [General] Ṭāriq," or Gibraltar, the name it is still known by. In the north, they had gone as far as Frankish Gaul, but Tours and Poitiers convinced them that the Pyrenees were a reasonable frontier. In the south, they had reached the Sahara, but their camels could not cross it, and so the Sahara became the frontier. To the east, they touched the Syr Darya and the Taraz rivers, where their encounter with the waiting Chinese persuaded both sides that this, too, should be accepted as a frontier.

In this heyday of conquest, the Arabs had no economic problems, for immense booty supported the kind of welfare-state system that was emerging. But by 740 booty was no longer plentiful, and it became imperative to exchange their war-booty economy for a more productive system. This meant that both the old Roman (western and eastern) and the Persian factories had to be restored to productivity. The Abbasside government then confronted a problem that is familiar to all of us today — that of an energy supply. Until the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century, the only profitable source of energy was slave labor. But where was one to get slaves? Neither Muslims nor Christians were permitted by their religion to enslave their own believers. Wars waged between the Christians and Muslims produced prisoners of war whom both sides sought to exchange. But the vast territory that lay beyond the cultural world of that time, east of the Elbe River and west and north of the Syr Darya River, was soon recognized as a reservoir of potential slaves; these

were now included into the Mediterranean term *Ṣaqlab* = *Sclav*. The idea of slave trade may be repugnant to us today, but in the Middle Ages, as in the Roman Empire, slaves were simply regarded as a commodity, and an important one. The importation of slaves was a highly respected profession, requiring experience, expediency, and efficiency. In this endeavor these newcomers cooperated with the local slave traders, the Crimea-Kuban-Don (Black) Bulgars and Khazars, the successors to the Bosporus Kingdom, one of the Hellenistic patrimonial states and a center of the slave trade.

The Jewish Rāḏaniya and the Non-Jewish Traders from Rutenicis (> Rodez)

The territory called Ṣaqlabiya now became (as Africa was to be from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries) a hunting ground for *ṣaqāliba*, or slaves. Arabic geographers during the classic period of Islamic science (tenth century) give a detailed description of how hunters from the Christian West (Franks, Spaniards) and from the Islamic East (Khwārizmians) pursued their trade. Special factories whose purpose was the production of eunuchs were established in Verdun in the West and in Khwārizm in the East.

The ninth-century Arabic author, Ibn Khurdāḏbeh, who, as chief of the Abbasside intelligence system, had expert knowledge of trade routes and trading companies visiting the caliphate, informs us that only two international trading companies engaged in the Eurasian slave trade: the Jewish Rāḏāniya and the non-Jewish Rūs. A detailed analysis of this source reveals that the two trading companies were not active at the same time — the former operated earlier, and the corporation of the Rūs replaced the corporation of the Rāḏāniya in Eastern Europe. Along with the *Annales Bertiniani*, which mention the existence of a ruler of the Rūs (Rhos) in 839, Ibn Khurdāḏbeh's information, written sometime between 840 and 880, is the earliest mention of the Rūs in the extant sources.

Now we are faced with an unexpected phenomenon. The Rūs, who had just emerged from obscurity, were already skilled international merchants. Who were these Rūs? They were certainly not a primitive tribal group with no knowledge of geography, foreign languages, or economics. They must have possessed an idea of the law of the merchant and — a very important point — they must have attained creditability in the world of commerce.

History shows us that international trade is successfully carried on only by those empires that can protect the merchant, give him status, and assure him creditability. Only an imperial political tradition could provide these advantages for groups of international traders. In the eighth and ninth centuries

only two such traditions existed: the Roman (western and eastern) and Arab (Sasanian) imperial heritages. The Rāḏāniya and the Rūs were both based in Roman Gaul, the Rāḏāniya around Arles and Marseilles, the Rūs in a region of present-day south-central France near Rodez (the old *Rutenicis*, from Celto-Latin *Ruteni* or *Ruti*, which had changed into *Rusi* in Middle French, and into *Rūzzi* in Middle German).[14]

The Rāḏāniya discovered eastern Europe as a commercial base shortly after 750 and, as numismatic data have confirmed, their activity continued until the 830s: they traded slaves for silver coins, called *dirhems*, struck in Qayruwān in North Africa, and the hoards of that particular type of dirhems found in eastern Europe are limited to those minted between the 760s and 830s.

It is clear why the Rāḏāniya were the first traders to enter eastern Europe. With the division of the Mare Nostrum between them about 660, neither Muslims nor Christians could travel and trade freely on the sea, since they were in a continuous state of war. Only former Roman subjects of Jewish faith could travel without danger from Marseilles to Qayruwān (North Africa) and from there to Constantinople. Their destination was the capital of the Turkic Khazars, where it was easy to obtain slaves. The Volga and Don rivers soon developed into a highway of slave trade, known in Arabic sources as *Nahr aṣ-Ṣaqāliba*, which means the "Highway of the Slaves" (and not the "Slavic River," as patriotic historians of Eastern Europe often render it).

As a result of the cooperation between the Rāḏāniya and the Khazars, the military and economic leaders of the Khazar state converted to Judaism. This act caused internal conflict, since the theoretical ruler of Khazaria, the kagan, felt duty-bound to maintain the old Turkic religion.

In the meantime, the non-Jewish fellow merchants from Rodez/ *Rutenicis* had also determined to seek access to this eastern El Dorado. Since they could not use the Mare Nostrum, they (like Christopher Columbus at a later date) decided to sail around it.

Old Scandinavian tradition gives as a paramount event, whose date modern scholars have established as ca. 770, the Battle of Brávellir between the Old Danish (*Skjǫldungar*) and Frisian (Rutenian) dynasties, which ended with the victory of the latter. Since among the battle's participants the name *Rus* and its correspondences are attested, we may assume that by that time the Rodez company had already entered into competition with the Rāḏāniya.

The Frisians began their maritime ventures with the Anglo-Saxon colonization of Britain (ca. A.D. 440), and maintained a monopoly on navigation in the

[14] It is clear, therefore, that Suomi-Finnish *ruotsi* could not have been the source of the form *rus* (= *rūs*). Indeed, the direction of adaptation was quite the reverse: the Middle High German *rūzzi* (< *rūs*) was borrowed by the Suomi-Finns, in accordance with their phonology, as *ruotsi*. Data from Arabic sources on the equation Rodez = Rus are discussed in volume three.

north for a considerable time. But as their trading activity developed, they passed on more and more navigational experience to the Scandinavians, who during the eighth century made astonishing progress in shipbuilding. Dorestad, a Frisian emporium or market town, located between a Carolingian fort and the fork of the Rhine delta, specialized in eastern European ventures. Having established their main *berik* (judicial district) and chief market at Reric (< Beric) in the western Baltic Obotriti territory (probably in the vicinity of the later Lübeck), the Frisians gradually took control of the Mare Balticum in cooperation with Scandinavian chiefs who were eager to acquire new sources of income. Soon Birch (*birka*) settlements sprang up at every prospective harbor along the Mare Balticum. These were the precursors of cities in the later Hanseatic League, and among them was Birka, in the Swedish Uppland, which acquired a leading role because of its commercially strategic position. It seems that at one time the names Rus and Birka were almost trademarks for the companies from Rodez.

The Emerging Economic Area of Mare Balticum

Helped by Frisian intermediaries, the Rodez/Rus trading company had at its disposal skilled navigators, disciplined by fierce Scandinavian kings, the *konungar*. They soon developed a "Danish" society of nomads of the sea, and by the end of the eighth century started their activity as Vikings.

The Scandinavian peninsula was soon circumnavigated and the area called Biarmia (Zavoločskaja Čud') was discovered. A route was also discovered from Birka in the Swedish Uppland via Birka on the Aaland Archipelago and the Gulf of Finland to the Neva River. Both routes continued to the Volga basin. New routes to El Dorado followed, and along these the trading-company Rus established settlements. The most important was located on the peninsula near Jaroslavl' and the later Rostov (Sarskoe gorodišče of the Old Chronicle), originally populated by the Finnish Merjans. It was managed by the charismatic Viking clan of Ynglingar. Another Frisian-Rus trans-Baltic route went from the Wendish Berik (> Reric, after A.D. 804 the Danish Haithabu) to the mouth of the Western Dvina River (Düna), continuing along its course until it reached the river Oka, the main western tributary of the Volga, through a system of portages.

In Gnezdovo, near the later town of Smolensk, 3,826 grave mounds (tumuli) bear witness to Varangian activity during the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries. Under the leadership of the Gothic Ylfingar clan, two important trade

towns, Polock and Smolensk, were established. They were colonized by Baltic Wends, whose neighbors called them *Krivičі.* When those settlements had acquired town status, they organized themselves into city-states or into confederations of city-states, and invited experienced members of the west Baltic charismatic clans to rule over them. One of these was a confederation of three towns, Aldeigjuborg (Ladoga), Beloozero, and Izborsk, each representing a different group: Ladoga, the Ests; Beloozero, the Vepsians; and Izborsk, the Slavonic Wends. It invited the mighty Frisian Danish King Rørik (Rjurik) to be their ruler. Later Novgorod (which had emerged ca. A.D. 900) chose Gostomysl from a Wendic charismatic clan.

In short, sometime between 800 and 860 eastern Europe had already been apportioned into two spheres of interest. While the south remained divided between three formerly nomadic paces (Avars, Bulgars, and Khazars), northeastern Europe ("Great Sweden," i.e., Magna Scythia) became the dominion of a newly activated society of the Mare Balticum, led by charismatic clans and agents of the Rus company.

Unhappily, no accounts of peoples who followed the routes established by the Frisian-Rus-Viking cooperation have survived. But there is no reason to doubt that enterprising individuals and groups of seafaring peoples tried their luck in East European trade, regardless of the origins of their ties to the trading companies. Some agents of the Rus-Frisian business emporia sought their fortunes even outside that vast land.

The developing society of the Mare Balticum region was certainly not a national culture in the modern sense. The Danes, the Frisians, and the Rus operating there were a multiethnic, multilingual, and nonterritorial community composed of nomads of the sea and of urban dwellers in partly eastern, and partly *polis* towns and trading settlements. Confirming the theory that the market as an economic organization is the creation of traders and not of farmers or artisans, the Rus and Frisians appear as international merchants. In this kind of professional society of a "lower" culture, there is as yet no place for a literary or sacred language, the basis of a "higher" culture. In urban trading settlements, different languages served different functions. The vernacular was the medium of communication within the family and clan, while at least two or more *linguae francae* were reserved to referential usage. In short, a professional society developed a low-level, professional culture that was bound neither to a specific territory nor to a religion that might be expressed through a sacred, written language.

When Constantine Porphyrogenitus mentioned the two names of the Dnieper cataracts, he was simply recording the two *linguae francae* used by the representatives of the Mare Balticum culture along the tenth-century

Dnieper trade route. Along the Volga route, Khwārizmian and Hunno-Bulgarian were used, while in the Northern Dvina basin, Čudian (Old-Estonian) and Middle Persian (Pahlavi) continued to serve as a means of international communication.

Clearly, then, it is impossible to speak of a national Swedish culture in the eighth to the tenth centuries. In the society of the Mare Balticum, all peoples, whether Norsemen, Wends (Slavs), Balts, or Finns, were equally members. Since the revised highly developed religious cult of the Männerbünde was at that time centered in Swedish Uppsala, a base suited by nature for seafaring adventure, the proper names of Scandinavian origin held great attraction for the region's peoples, regardless of where they came from. It was also a custom (known from its usage by the Rurikids) to have two or three names, reflecting professional or marital connections.

The Rūs Kaganate

The Kābar revolution in Khazaria, described by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, was the struggle of the kagan and his supporters to free the realm from the supremacy of the majordomo (*beg*) and the Judaism he imposed. After his defeat, the Khazar kagan was forced to leave the country and to find refuge in the Rus company's settlement near Rostov. The Old Scandinavian (see p. 173) and oriental sources hint that his sons married girls from the originally "Uppsala-based" clan of Ynglingar, the most illustrious dynasty within the sphere of the Mare Balticum. Since the kagan had political charisma, his stay in the commercial settlement of the Rus company elevated it to the status of an imperial political center different from the colonies headed by other Rus representatives, such as the Dvina Ylfingar. The result was the emergence of the Rūs Kaganate, whose existence is first attested about 839.

It was probably not accidental that the Byzantine emperor was concerned with the security of the *Rhos* envoys, because since the time of Heraclius (d. 641) a traditional friendship had existed between the Byzantine and Khazar dynasties. The famous sermon by Metropolitan Hilarion, *Slovo o zakoně i blagodati,* had styled Volodimer the Great as kagan, a title that allowed him to marry Anna, who was *porphyrogenita,* that is, she was conceived in the royal bedchamber. Anna had previously been refused to the Western emperor Otto II, who was considered a parvenu.

(Already during the 830s the Volga Rūs were to eliminate the Rāḏāniya from competition in Eastern Europe.)

The Pacification of the Avars and the Moravian Mission

Up to this point, we have observed the East European scene primarily from the northern perspective of the Mare Balticum. Yet we have also noticed the interaction on the steppe that developed into a typical cooperation between the nomads of the sea (the so-called Vikings/Værings) and the nomads of the steppe (the Khazar dynasty). This synthesis resulted in the Volga-Rūs kaganate of the ninth and tenth century. By the end of the ninth century, however, two sets of developments had occurred in the sphere of the Mare Nostrum that affected this synthesis, namely, Charlemagne's conquest of the Avars and the Cyrillo-Methodian mission.

Charlemagne's conquest of the mighty east-central European Avar realm resulted in the *Renovatio Imperii* of A.D. 800 and the "pacification" of the Slavs, the slaves of the former Avar pax (863-885). There can be no doubt that Charlemagne's action had an economic goal — to establish a land route to the Khazarian Itil, the famous highway from Regensburg (Ratisbona) to Itil along which Kiev and, later, Vienna were to develop.

The pacification of the Avars was not a simple undertaking. By the 860s, both Romes (even though they were not on speaking terms because of the enmity between Patriarch Photius and Pope Nicholas I) decided to fill the vacuum left by the dissolution of the Avar realm by elevating the former slaves of the Avars, the Slavs. Their barbaric tongue was now to become a sacred language, alongside Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. Since at that time only Constantinople had scholars who could create a new literary language and eventually translate Christian religious writings, the brothers Constantine/Cyril and Methodius, friends of Photius, journeyed from the eastern capital of Christendom to Moravia, located on territory claimed by the Roman pope.

The paradox of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission was that the Moravian princes, those *homines novi* who inherited the charisma of the Avar pax, failed to take advantage of the extremely important cultural weapon they were offered. Having adopted Christianity in the Slavonic rite in the hope that their Bavarian neighbors would treat them as equals, they were angered to realize that they had chosen the wrong rite to serve this vital purpose. The Moravians banished the Slavic missionaries and exchanged their "inferior" rite for the Latin one.

But by that time the Bulgarian rulers, who for almost two centuries had

been decimating their strength in a struggle for supremacy with the Byzantine emperors, decided to merge with their Slavic slaves into one state. They, too, were obliged to embrace Christianity in order to be recognized as a European power. After long consideration, Khan Bogoris personally accepted the Greek rite. His son, Symeon, however, seized upon the opportunity to appropriate the abandoned Slavonic rite. He invited the banished Byzantine missionaries to his domain and began to lay the foundation for an independent Slavic Bulgarian high culture. In contrast to the Moravian princes, Symeon, a scion of the Attila dynasty, had no inferiority complex: in his view the Byzantine emperors were the parvenus.

The Danube Bulgars were probably helped by the Black Bulgars of the Taman peninsula who, as the descendants of Kobrat's *Magna Bulgaria* (sixth and seventh centuries), remained on territory where the Hellenistic culture of the Bosporus Kingdom survived. In the ninth and tenth centuries this was the only place in Europe where the idea of the transfer and fusion of cultures was alive. It was here that Constantine/Cyril learned Hebrew and was initiated into the art of translation. As long as the Bulgars were pagans, the danger they posed was considerable, but not critical. The emergence of a proud Bulgarian version of Eastern Christianity, however, was a direct threat to Constantinople's cultural and religious hegemony, and this led Emperor Basil to undertake the swift and repressive action that earned him the title "Slayer of the Bulgars." After 1018 Bulgaria ceased to exist as a political power, and after 1036 as a cultural power as well.

The Rise of the Christian Kievan Rus' State and of Rus' Historical Consciousness

The second half of the ninth century was also to be of basic importance for eastern Europe, for during that time Kiev and the area of the present-day Ukraine entered the realm of history. The impetus for this development was the emergence of Constantinople as the economic capital of Eurasia under the capable rule of the so-called Macedonian dynasty of Byzantine emperors, a succession of able rulers who decisively defeated the Arab fleets and restored Byzantine supremacy over the Mare Nostrum (especially at the battle of Mayyāfāriqīn in 863). Naturally, Constantinople then won the attention of the Vikings, the only society in Eurasia in the ninth and tenth centuries, apart from Byzantium and the Arabs, which maintained a naval fleet (the Carolingians, for instance, remained to the end complete strangers to the sea).

Soon after the military encounter of the Rus in Constantinople in 860, the

famous route from the Varangians to the Greeks was established. The Dnieper River replaced the Volga, and Kiev, the former Khazarian garrison on the Dnieper ford, emerged in the second half of the tenth century as a promising satellite of the new economic capital of the world — Istanbul (εἰς τὴν πόλιν), or Constantinople. Around 930, Igor' of the Volga Rus' kagans conquered Kiev.

The history of the kagans of Rus' can be divided into three distinct phases, which we shall call the Volga period (ca. 839-930), the Dnieper period (ca. 930-1036), and the Kievan period (1036-1169). During the first two, the Rus' ruled over trade routes and peoples rather than territories. They eliminated competitors (like the Polock Ylfingar) when necessary, extracted tributes, and controlled the marketplaces along the two main international routes: the Volga and Dvina trade routes, important during the ninth and the first half of the tenth century, with their two branches of Islamic-centered commerce — the Bulghār and the Itil; and the Dnieper trade route of the tenth century from the Varangians through Kiev to Greek Constantinople, then the center of the international economy. The third, or Kievan, period marked the beginning of the cultural consolidation of the Rus' and an attempt at their "nationalization."

In that final period Novgorod/Hólmgarðr (ruled by the Rus' kaganate) surpassed in importance Aldeigjuborg (Old Ladoga), the oldest civic center in Eastern Europe. Aldeigjuborg retained its essentially exclusive Scandinavian linguistic and cultural character until its decline in the mid-eleventh century; Novgorod was bilingual from its origin. Descendants of the Baltic Slavs (Wends), ruled by the Danes, and transplanted by one Danish charismatic clan to the East, Novgorod's inhabitants fulfilled a unique function: they adapted Viking legal concepts to Slavic political culture. The first legal code in Eastern Europe, the *Pravda Rus'skaja*, originated in Novgorod, the only place in Rus' where, until the tragic demise of the republic of "Lord Novgorod the Great" in 1478, the concept of law was generally accepted, understood, and cherished.

In 1036 Jarizleifr/Jaroslav, the Novgorodian ruler who had just established himself in Kiev, routed the Pečenegs (the nomad successors of the Khazars) and imposed his own version of the Roman *imperium*, ideologically centered at the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev and based on the Novgorodian legal system. This circumstance certainly prompted Jaroslav to adopt Church Slavonic — which, following the fall of the Danube Bulgars, was again without an owner — as his realm's sacred and legal language.

Jaroslav also began the transformation of Rus' into a territorial community by joining together the lands of Kiev, Černihiv, and Perejaslav. The names *Rus'* and *rus'skaja zemlja* (Rus' land) then appeared in the second half of the

eleventh century and beginning of the twelfth century with the new, specific meaning of southern Rus' (the Ukraine of today). Only then did a cultural revolution take place. Transformed from a multiethnic, multilingual, and nonterritorial community with a low culture, Kievan Rus' acquired a new high culture with the possession of a written and sanctified Slavic language. It, too, could now appear on the stage of history.

The process whereby Kievan Rus' emerged as a political and religious center appears all the more logical because, as stated above, the fall of the independent Danube Bulgarian state had left its church and Slavonic rite, with its relatively solid corpus of ecclesiastical and state political texts, without an owner; it was therefore possible for Kievan Rus' to acquire a cultural province without any danger of losing its identity. Thus, the Rus' rite (*rus'kyj jazyk*) was established with a Slavonic sacred language and the Cyrillic script. This Slavonic Rus' rite became the basis for the fusion of Slavic Polanian and non-Slavic Rus'ian elements into one Rus'ian land. The territories of the Kiev, Černihiv, and Perejaslav principalities, which later comprised the central Ukraine, were chosen to be the permanent settlement for the Rus'.

Up to that time, the Rus' constituted a foreign ruling class, with a primitive organization comprised of nomads of the sea and fluvial nomads who periodically collected taxes (*poljud'e*) for their prince but were not connected with any particular territory. In order to invest Jaroslav's dynasty with Christian legitimacy, it was necessary to revive the cult of his half-brothers, Boris and Glěb. Although slain in an ordinary power struggle, these sons of a Bulgarian princess were canonized by the Kievan Metropolitan Ioann, himself a Bulgarian, almost immediately after their deaths (ca. 1020). Jaroslav, the proper founder of the Rus' dynasty, succeeded in establishing his new image as a good brother who avenged the death of the saintly innocents (although he himself was probably involved in their slaying) and in taking over for himself and his dynasty the charisma of the saints Boris and Glěb.

He decreed that "the new feast of the Rus' land" (*prazdnik novyj Rus'kyja zemlja*) in commemoration of Boris and Glěb be celebrated with extraordinary solemnity (later six times annually), with July 24 as the principal feast-day. It was on that date in 1072 and later 1115, on the occasion of the transfer of the relics of the saints, that massive "all-national" manifestations took place. They were used as occasions to publish especially compiled redactions of original collections of annals made at the first intellectual center in eastern Europe — the Monastery of the Caves in Kiev. Now in their Kievan period, with the realization of their own historical consciousness, the Rus' began to emerge as a legitimate historical entity.

The two-hundred-year-old Normanist–anti-Normanist controversy has been

unable to solve the problem of the origin of Rus'. What has been presented here is another theory based solely on historical criteria and placed in the broader context of universal development.

In the eighth and ninth centuries a multiethnic, multilingual, unified social and economic entity (of low culture) emerged, represented by the maritime and trading society of the Mare Balticum and transplanted by the bearers of the culture of the Mare Nostrum. In little more than two centuries the multiethnic and multilingual commercial ventures of the trading companies and nomads of the sea had adapted the political structure and charisma associated with empires of the steppe and transformed it into a Christian and linguistically Slavic high culture that became Kievan Rus'.

CHAPTER TWO

Introduction to Volumes One and Two: The Cultural Setting: The West

Two Periods of Old Norse Literature
The First Period

Old Norse literary activity is traceable to about A.D. 800. It started several decades after the Old Norsemen had begun their Viking raid and colonizing movements in both the West and the East.

The western Viking phenomenon centered in the areas around the east Atlantic Ocean, first in its northern part along the eastern shores of the shallow lake known as the Northern Sea. It grew up in part as a response to renewed economic prosperity in the eighth century in the lands to the south along the same east Atlantic Ocean, lands that spiritually belonged to the traditions developed within the cultural sphere of the *Mare Nostrum*: the British Islands, Francia, Spain, North Africa, and Italy. The driving force of the Viking movement were the Norsemen, the inhabitants of what later became Denmark, Norway and southwestern Sweden. Their documented raiding activity (mainly of Norwegians and Danes) lasted for almost exactly a

hundred years. It started ca. 790 with raids on England and ended in 891, when Arnulf, the Carolingian bastard and king of the East Franks, crushed the great Danish army on the Dyle (Louvain). The objectives of the west Vikings were the economically most advanced parts of Europe: in England, Northumbria (793, Lindisfarne; 794, Jarrow) and Wessex (Dorset, ca. 790; Winchester, 860); in Francia, the Frisian mercantile center of Dorestad (833–864); Aquitaine (799 and 844); the valley of the Seine (841, 845, 856–862, 885–886); the mouth of the Loire (856, 864); the valley of the Garonne (844); Narbonne, Arles and the valley of the Rhône (860); in Spain, La Coruña (844) and Seville (844, 859); in Italy, Luna and Pisa (860). They also ventured as far as Morocco, Nekor (859).[1]

The focal point of the Viking activity was then transferred to the Baltic between 891 and 954. By that time pre-Christian Norse culture had already been formed, and its Christian phase had begun. The Baltic Swedes entered the Viking age at that point. Until then they had remained outside the mainstream of the Eddaic (and later the saga) and the scaldic tradition. Runic epitaphs had become popular in the north by the end of the Viking age, and the Swedes adopted the form with enthusiasm; the amount of Swedish runic literature is impressive.

The colonization process lasted approximately 150 years, and embraced five areas. It started from western Norway, spread to the sparsely populated islands of Shetland, Faroes, and Orkney (A.D. 780); was extended to the settlements of Ireland (from about A.D. 830) by the Danes and Norwegians, and then to the eastern part of England, the later Denelag, or Danelaw (Northumbria and East Anglia, from ca. 875). It ended with the settlement of previously unpopulated Iceland (874–930), mainly by the Norwegians, and the colonization of rich and populated Normandy (ca. 896–911), mainly by the Danes who had been defeated by the eastern Carolingian Arnulf in 891.

Three different peoples played a decisive role in the cultural advancement of the Norsemen: the Celts (Irish and Cymbric),[2] Anglo-Saxons,[3] and Franks.[4]

[1] See Johannes C.H.R. Steenstrup, *Normannerne*, 4 vols. (Kbh., 1876–1882); Gustav Storm, *Kritiske Bidrag til Vikingetidens Historie* I (Kria, 1878), 218 pp.; Walter Vogel, *Die Normannen und das Fränkische Reich bis zur Gründung der Normandie (799–911)* (Heidelberg, 1906); Jan de Vries, *De Wikingen in de lage landen bij den zee* (Haarlem, 1923); T. D. Kendrick, *A History of the Vikings* (London, 1930); Johannes Brøndsted, *The Vikings*, trans. Kalle Skov (Baltimore, Md., 1960); Gwyn Jones, *A History of the Vikings* (London, 1968); David M. Wilson, *The Vikings and Their Origins: Scandinavia in the First Millennium* (London, 1970).

[2] See E. MacNeill, *Phases of Irish History* (Dublin, 1919); E. MacNeill, *Celtic Ireland* (Dublin, 1921); Louis Gougaud, *Christianity in Celtic Lands*, trans. Maud Joynt (London, 1932); George Thomas Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, ed. Hugh Jackson Lawlor, 7th ed. (London, 1928); John Ryan, *Irish Monasticism* (London, 1931); Robin Flower,

Ireland was a politically primitive and divided country, but culturally advanced; its influence spread over Scotland and the Shetland, Faroes, and Orkney islands; England's heptarchy, in spite of the system of changing political primates (*bretwalda*, "Britain ruler"), was, between 757 and 796, under the impressive rule of Offa, king of Mercia. But this was also the eve of the emergence of the new order — the replacement of petty states by the English monarchy headed by Wessex.

First the Celts (sixth century) and then the Anglo-Saxons (at the end of the sixth and beginning of the seventh century) accepted Christianity. But in time the Celtic monastic church became more and more isolated from the continent, while in England the Whitby Synod (663) marked the victory of the internationally oriented Roman party over Celtic isolation.

By the time they came into contact with the Old Norsemen, the Celts and Anglo-Saxons had already developed a written literature, using a variant of the Latin alphabet, but unlike the Franks they introduced a new practice into the history of European culture; their experience with Latin was regarded only as a foundation for their respective vernaculars for developing their literatures. This was of tremendous importance for the Norsemen, as well, because their language was very close to that spoken by the Anglo-Saxons, they were able to communicate without difficulty. By the second and third generations, Norsemen on Celtic soil (Ireland, the Scottish islands) were often bilingual and could contribute to the achievements of Celtic culture.

The bellicose Old Norse warriors were particularly interested in the heroic and mythical lays of the Germanic age of migration, most of which were preserved in the Frankish realm. A contemporary of Offa was Charlemagne, king of the Franks from 768 to 814 and western emperor from 800 to 814. Charlemagne conquered the two remaining continental Germanic realms, the pagan Saxons (777–785) and the Christian state of the Langobards in Italy (773–774), where the Arian Christian Ostrogothic state had previously boasted a very highly developed heroic poetry.

The Irish Tradition (Oxford, 1947); Myles Dillon, *Early Irish Literature* (Chicago, 1948); H. M. Chadwick, *Early Scotland* (Cambridge, 1949).

[3] Sir Frank Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3d ed. (Oxford, 1971); Peter Hunter Blair, *An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, Eng., 1956).

[4] J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Barbarian West A.D. 400–1000* (New York, 1962); F. L. Ganshof, *Les Destinées de l'empire en occident, de 395 à 888*, 2 vols., 2d ed. (Paris, 1940); *Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, ed. Helmut Beumann, 5 vols. (Düsseldorf, 1965–1968); Karl Bertau, *Deutsche Literatur im europäischen Mittelalter*, 2 vols. (Munich, 1972–1973).

Contrary to the development on the British Isles, the Old Norse settlements in France (the duchy of Normandy, ca. 911–1135–1468) very soon assimilated with the local population, and did not play any significant role in Old Scandinavian cultural life after 911.

Charlemagne took great interest in maintaining the old Germanic traditions. He ordered the equestrial monument of Theodoric the Great, whom he revered as his predecessor, to be moved from Verona (Bern) in Italy to his capital at Aachen. Einhard, Charlemagne's biographer, states in chapter 29 of the *Vita Caroli Magni* (written between 817 and 830): "He [Charlemagne] also had the old rude songs (barbara et antiquissima carmina) that celebrate the deeds and wars of the ancient kings (veterum regum actus et bella) written out for transmission to posterity. He began a grammar of his native language."[5]

His great campaigns against the Avars in 791–796[6] revived the old memories and sentiments — they were the Huns of the time. The Avars were defeated, and their immense treasures became the war booty of the victorious Franks. As one might assume, the old lays dealing with Goth and Hunnish, and Burgundian and Hunnish, topics now became very popular. This is no doubt the reason why the first texts of the old Germanic lays, which are still extant, all deal either with the Ostrogoths or the Burgunds and date to around 800.

Old Norse literature is divided into two very distinctive periods, each lasting for approximately two hundred years, with an interlude of a hundred and fifty years between them. The first extends from 800 to 1000; the interlude from 1000 to 1150; and the second period from 1150 to 1350.

The literature of the first period was basically oral "hall" poetry, produced in the temporary halls of the nomadic or ambulant war and sea kings, who ruled over a sworn band of young warriors of the Männerbund[7] type (*comitatus*) recruited from kindred, and at times also subjected, peoples. It was performed both to keep up morale in war and for enjoyment at the drinking bouts of the warrior aristocratic society. Both knowledge and the use of the runes were limited with some exceptions to magic and religious purposes.

The literature of the first period was mainly the creation of the pre-Christian Norwegians. They were probably preceded by the Göts (Gautar) from Jutland and West and East Götland and the Danes, but to what extent is not yet possible to determine.

5 "Introavit et grammaticam patrii sermonis," Einhardi *Vita Karoli Magni*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, *SRG* [XXV] (Hannover, 1911), p. 33 = Eng. trans. Samuel Epes Turner (Ann Arbor, 1960), p. 57. See Friedrich von der Leyen, *Das Heldenliederbuch Karls des Grossen: Bestand, Gehalt, Wirkung* (Munich, 1954), 131 pp.; cf. also Klaus von See, *Germanische Heldensage* (Frankfurt am Main, 1971), pp. 148–149.

6 See H. Koller, "Die Awarenkriege Karls des Grossen," *Mitteilungen der österreichischen Arbeitsgemeinschaft für die Ur- und Frühgeschichte* 15 (Vienna, 1964), pp. 1–12. I cannot concur in Koller's scepticism.

7 On "Männerbund," see Sten Wikander, *Der arische Männerbund* (Lund, 1938).

The interlude was a transition period, marking the change from a pagan and warrior society to a Christian, sedentary, spiritual world. It occurred both in Norway itself and in the Norwegian colonies, notably Iceland.

The prose saga was the distinctive form of the second period. Sagas were eventually written on vellum by the Christian Icelanders for the sedentary peasant yeomen and the oligarchic society of the *goðar*, who were liege-lords and priests at the same time. Only on this distant island, with its unusual concentration of aristocratic talents, did the necessary preconditions exist for maintaining the literary activity of the previous period and for use of the vernacular. The Icelanders were essentially descendants of western Norwegian colonists, most of whom — and this is very important — had spent some time in the British Isles before settling down in Iceland.

The first and second periods each exhibit a characteristic spiritual world, a set of problems, and specific vistas. In order properly to assess the possible use of their literary products as historical sources, it is necessary first to develop an appropriate methodology. (We shall limit our remarks here to the first and intermediate periods; the second period will be dealt with in a later volume.)

The First Period

The first period of Old Norse literary activity took three forms, two major and one minor. The major ones were the Eddaic and skaldic poetry; the minor, the runic inscriptions, which usually had some historical data. One very important difference between the skaldic poetry, on one side, and the Eddaic poetry and runic inscriptions, on the other, is that while the first can be ascribed to particular authors, the second (along with the saga literature of the second period) remain anonymous. It seems reasonable to agree with Klaus von See that the reason for this was that the object of the skalds was to demonstrate skill (*"Können"*), or more precisely individual ability, while the sagas simply recounted a story (*"Erzählen"*) from a common tradition. The skaldic poetry, writes von See, "seeks to make an immediate impression on the audience, be it lampoon, encomium, or even love song; an art in which 'skill' plays the decisive role. . . . Heroic poetry, however, is an epic genre, and as such does not have any immediately acting function; it does not praise or scold, it only tells. . . . It is therefore much less formal, and although it may preserve a very honorable tradition, it was not regarded as an 'art' by the standards of that time. As a result its authors remained anonymous."[8]

[8] Klaus von See, *Germanische Heldensage*, p. 109.

Eddaic poetry belongs to the genre of epic (heroic) lays. Together with riga-marol or catalog strophes (ON *þulur*; sg. *þula*), the Eddaic lay is regarded by scholars as the oldest traceable form of Old Norse, as well as Old Germanic, poetry. In style it falls into two distinct periods: the heroic lays, which are older (starting ca. 800) by some fifty years, and the more recent mythological lays, appearing, it is generally assumed, around 850. Both epic and mythic lays reveal the same attitude. To borrow a phrase introduced by Mixail I. Steblin-Kamenskij,[9] they display an indivisible syncretic truth, in other words, they had not yet discovered the need to distinguish history from fiction.

The principal function of a myth is to retell an event in which the gods were somehow involved and which took place either in primeval times or during the taking of a land, either as settler or ruler. The event is illustrated by a ritual, into which the main character has to be initiated. Both ritual ("the rites of passage") and myth are inseparable re-creations of the primeval event. They form the roots of a cult either of the god himself or of a hero who personifies him. In the latter case the hero is perceived as the bearer, *hinc et nunc*, of a particular ideal divine virtue — victoriousness, sagacity, or the like.[10]

Although myth and epic both deal with the past, myth focuses attention on the explanation of the single cyclically recurring ritual that otherwise would remain unintelligible to the sacrificing believer, while epic secularizes the myth, transposing the ritual to one single solitary past event (*"Einmal der Sage"*), with a particular hero (heroicizing the myth, *"Heroisierung des Myths"*).[11] From there it is only one step to the historicizing (*"Historisierung"*) of the epic — that is, explaining a historical fact by using the heroic

[9] Mixail Ivanovič Steblin-Kamenskij, *Mir sagi* (Leningrad, 1971), pp. 14-36; translated as *The Saga Mind* by Kenneth H. Ober (Odense, 1973), pp. 21–48.

[10] See *Myth: A Symposium*, ed. Thomas A. Sebeok (Philadelphia, 1955), esp. pp. 50-66; Claude Lévi-Strauss, "The Structural Study of Myth," and pp. 84-94: Stanley Edgar Hyman, "The Ritual View of Myth and the Mythic"; Jan de Vries, *Forschungsgeschichte der Mythologie* (Freiburg-Munich, 1961), esp. pp. 295 368; Lucien Lévy-Brühl, *La Mentalité primitive* (Paris, 1935); *Myths, Rites, Symbols: A Mircea Eliade Reader*, ed. Wendell C. Beane and William G. Doty, 2 vols. (New York, 1976); M. Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (New York, 1958); M. Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*, tr. W. R. Trask (New York, 1957); A. van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (Chicago, 1960); V. Turner, *Dramas, Fields and Metaphors* (Ithaca, 1974).

[11] The state of recent scholarship concerning the Old Germanic heroic lays is represented in the collection edited by Karl Hauck, *Zur germanisch-deutschen Heldensage. Sechzehn Aufsätze zum neuen Forschungsstand* (Bad Homburg, 1961), xv + 449 pp., and in the account by Klaus von See, "Germanische Heldensage: Ein Forschungsbericht," *GGA* 218 (1966), pp. 52–98. Concerning the "einmal der Sage," see Franz Rolf Schröder, *GRM* 27 (1939), 344; 362–364: F. R. Schröder, *Germanische Heldendichtung* (1935), pp. 30–42; F. R. Schröder, *DVjschr* 32 (1958), pp. 38, 48; cf. also Jan de Vries, *Heroic Songs and Heroic Legend* (London, 1963), pp. 227-241; von See, *Germanische Heldensage*, pp. 31–60.

pattern or by equating a historical figure with a famous legendary hero, as in the medieval syncretic process defined above.[12]

In contrast to the evolutionists, Georges Dumézil believes that a myth comes into being in its complete form of compact and sophisticated structures for which Carl Kerényi and Mircea Eliade use the concept of *archetype* (taken from Carl Gustav Jung);[13] a myth subsequently undergoes only small changes, since the individual elements of a myth always remain in a reciprocal relationship.[14] An epic can be adapted to an archetype of a mythical structure or to a single motif (*mythologem*) and then transposed to a myth. This is called archetypicizing (*"Archetypisierung"*), demythization (*"Entmythisierung"*), or the heroicizing of a myth.[15] A historic event can be transposed into a myth in a similar way, once it has been adapted to the specific mythic pattern.

The scholarly literature uses national terminology, "Germanic" mythology/epic, "Turkic" mythology/epic, and the like, to identify this tradition, a practice which I must agree with Jan de Vries is dangerous to adopt, because, as he remarks, the subjects are "more international than national";[16] legends have always traveled from nation to nation regardless of their linguistic affiliation. Nevertheless the selection and arrangement of the borrowed constituent elements and plots varied among societies, and the forms that resulted from these different treatments can be designated by such terms as national culture, national mythology, and national epic.

Mythology and Epics of the Germanic Peoples

One cannot deal either with myth in general or with the Germanic myth in particular without discussing the new comparative mythology of Georges

[12] Andreas Heusler, "Geschichtliches und Mythisches in der germanischen Heldensage," *SBAW* (Berlin, 1909), pp. 920–945; von See, *Germanische Heldensage*, pp. 61–95; Helmut de Boor, *Zur germanisch-deutschen Heldensage* (1961), pp. 31–51; Wolfgang Mohr, *Zur germanisch-deutschen Heldensage* (1961), pp. 82–101.

[13] C. G. Jung–K. Kerényi, *Einführung in das Wesen der Mythologie* (Amsterdam, 1941); Mircea Eliade, *Images et symboles* (Paris, 1952); cf. Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology*, tr. Claire Jacobson and Brook G. Schoepf (New York, 1963).

[14] C. Scott Littleton, *The New Comparative Mythology*, rev. ed. (Berkeley, 1973); Georges Dumézil, *Gods of Ancient Northmen*, ed. Einar Haugen (Berkeley, 1973), pp. ix–xviii (the introduction to part 1 by Littleton); pp. xix–xliii (the introduction to part 2 by Udo Strutynski).

[15] Von See, *Germanische Heldensage*, p. 47.

[16] De Vries, *Heroic Songs*, p. 268.

Dumézil.[17] Dumézil began from the theory of myth and ritual developed by another French scholar, Émile Durkheim (b. 1858, d. 1917), who first proposed the idea of a collective consciousness (*conscience collective*), claimed that no religions are false, that all religions are "essentially social," and that "sacred things" always reflect social and cultural realities.[18]

In studying the interrelations between social structure, ideology, and language, Dumézil discovered a tripartite system that he claimed was uniquely Indo-European. According to Dumézil, this tripartite system with its accompanying tripartite ideology already existed in a highly sophisticated form in proto-Indo-European society, but it was developed in several distinct ways by the successors to that society when they split off into separate branches after they had migrated from the homeland.

The dominant role of language in Dumézil's theory should be emphasized. As formulated by his student C. Scott Littleton, there is "a fundamental relation between the language spoken by, and the ideology characteristic of, a given people,"[19] implying that Dumézil considered it axiomatic that one can transfer terminology from one field to another — for example, the linguistic concept "Indo-European" can also be applied to sociology, religion, and the like, producing terms such as "Indo-European society," "Indo-European ideology," and "Indo-European mythology." Littleton also summarized Dumézil's model of the common Indo-European ideology as being

> derived ultimately from one characteristic of the Proto-Indo-European community, [which] was composed of three fundamental principles: (1) maintenance of cosmic and juridical order, (2) the exercise of physical prowess, and (3) the promotion of physical well-being.
>
> Each of these principles forms the basis for what Dumézil terms a *fonction*, or "function"; that is, a complex whole that includes both the ideological principle itself *and* its numerous manifestations in the several ancient Indo-European social and supernatural systems.
>
> The first function was thus expressed in the presence of distinct priest classes (e.g., the Indic Brahmans) which inevitably stood at the apex of their respective social systems and which were collectively represented . . . by a pair of sovereign gods, such as Mithra and

[17] See above, fn. 14.

[18] Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, trans. Joseph W. Swain (New York, 1961); Durkheim, *Les règles de la méthode sociologique*, 17th ed. (Paris, 1968) = *The Rules of Sociological Method*, trans. George E. G. Catlin et al., 8th ed. (New York, 1965); Durkheim and Marcel Mauss, *L'Année Sociologique* 6 (1903), pp. 1–72. Cf. Georges Davy, *Revue Philosophique* 142 (1952), pp. 321–350, and Steven Lukes, *Émile Durkheim, His Life and Work: A Historical and Critical Study* (London, 1973).

[19] Littleton, *New Comparative Mythology*, pp. 227–228.

Varuṇa in Vedic India . . . and Odin and Týr in ancient Scandinavia. Moreover, there was a clear division of labor between these two co-sovereigns: one, let us call him the "Varuṇa figure," had charge of cosmic matters, the other, who may be termed the "Mithra figure," was principally concerned with the maintenance of the proper juridical relationship among men. Together they stood at the apex of the supernatural system, just as the priests were at the top of the social hierarchy.

The second function was reflected in the presence of a warrior-ruler class, such as the Indic Kṣatriyas, whose basic role was to exercise force in defense of the society (or to further its imperialistic ambitions), as well as in the collective representations of this class, such as the great Vedic warrior divinity Indra . . . and the Norse war god Thor.

The third function was reflected by the mass of society, the herders and cultivators upon whom the priests and warriors depended for their sustenance. . . . this principle was collectively represented by yet another stratum of divinities. In the majority of cases the principal occupants of this third divine stratum were conceived as a pair of closely related kinsmen. . . .

> These interrelated triads of social classes and divine beings served as the framework through which the ancient Indo-European speakers viewed the world. The three functions just noted were endlessly replicated — from triads of diseases to a three-fold conception of space. What is more, their collective representations were not limited to purely mythic figures, but extended to many epic heroes . . .[20]

The Dumézilian school established a set of specific mythological themes that have proved to be very productive. Among them is the theme of a war between the representatives of two first functions and those of the third that ends in a draw — a kind of neutralization. Another is an initiation, which is an integral part of all mythological systems. Important is also the theme of the three sins of the warrior: defying the sovereign, cowardice in battle, and sexual or venal assault.[21]

The distinctive feature that scholars use to distinguish the Germanic epic from the other national epics is, first of all, its brevity. The Germanic lays are short,

[20] Littleton, Introduction to Part 1 of Georges Dumézil, *Gods of the Ancient Northmen* (1973), pp. xi-xii.

[21] See above, fn. 12, and Dumézil, *From Myth to Fiction: The Saga of Hadingus*, trans. Derek Coltman (Chicago, 1973).

and do not present the full life story of the hero, but concentrate on one or two critical incidents.[22] The critical incident is usually tragic and the result of the hero's moral conflict with his loyalties to the king and to his own kin, for example, with a strong emotional appeal. Then the heroic ideals of the time are expressed with great clarity, as subjects of admiration (young brave hero), fear (reckless avenger), or hatred (cruel oppressor). This incarnation — the representation of an ideal being and not a historical, earthly personality — is the hero of a lay.

Another characteristic feature is that no national feeling is expressed: two peoples have to be presented in conflict, but they share a code of values; neither of them is inferior or shadowed by national prejudice.[23] The epic Hunnish Buðlungar ruling clan was treated with the same courtesy as the Germanic Burgundian clan of the Niflungar, or the Danish clan of the Skjǫldungar. All political events and conflicts are presented as family quarrels (hence the tendency to generalize and cyclize the heroic dynasties); all heroes of the age of migrations (375–526) are contained in only three generations (a process called "telescoping" by Gudmund Schütte).[24]

All heroes, Germanic and foreign, bear Germanic names (or are perceived as Germanic, e.g., Attila > Atli), which except for the limited number of the canonized heroic figures from the period of migrations, are usually not personal but topical (*"sprechende Namen"*).[25] The epic geographical names are also either topical or belong to mythic geography. Only in those cases where history was transformed into epic are the names of actual places used.[26]

Only two fragments of the two Old Germanic lays have come down to us: the Danish *Fight at Finnsburg* in Anglo-Saxon and the Gothic *Hildebrandslied* in Old High German. Some scholars add to these the Gothic *Battle of the Goths and the Huns*, inserted into the later Icelandic *Hervarar saga*.

It is a fact, though not always realized, that no society or nation ever begins its epic stage with its own heroes: the emergence of national consciousness marks the end of a long apprenticeship. One can learn the idea of national identity only from, and in direct contact with, people who already possess one. Societal groups without their own hero first adopt a foreign hero who for

[22] Heusler, *Lied und Epos in germanischer Sagendichtung* (Dortmund, 1905), 52 pp. (see below, note 33); Hermann Schneider, *Das germanische Epos* (Tübingen, 1936), 25 pp.; Schneider, *Zur germanisch-deutschen Heldensage*, pp. 316–329; Schneider and Wolfgang Mohr, *Zur germanisch-deutschen Heldensage*, pp. 1–30; de Vries, *Heroic Songs*, pp. 44–71; cf. also pp. 196–203, 250–255, and 258–265; von See, *Germanische Heldensage*. Cf. also Gudmund Schütte, *Gotthiod und Utgard*, 2 vols. (Kbh., 1935–1936).

[23] Von See, *Germanische Heldensage*, pp. 65–83; cf. also the rule of "Verschiebung der Nationalität," in Schütte, *Gotthiod und Utgard* II, pp. 338–349.

[24] Schütte, *Gotthiod und Utgard* I, pp. 59–61.

[25] Von See, *Germanische Heldensage*, p. 92.

[26] See Schütte, *Gotthiod und Utgard*, passim.

some reason attracts them or who is already popular; the process is similar for historical consciousness. Since it is impossible for a human society not to have roots in primeval times, the society perforce accepts, together with the world religion of its choice, all the past traditions that go with it. Thus, along with Christianity, the Germanic peoples inherited Jewish, Greek, and Roman mythology and history. Similarly, the Mongolian conversion to Buddhism enlarged their historical memory to include the past of India and Tibet.

The Old Norse mythic lays are more recent than the heroic ones, apparently because none of the major Old German heroes (with the exception of Hermanarich, d. ca. 375, and Attila, d. 453) were pagans. Most of them were Arians: Gunnar, or Gundahari, of the Burgunds (d. 436), ÞiōðrīkR / Dietrich of Bern, or Theoderic the Great of the Ostrogoths (d. 526), Ælfwine, or Alboin of the Langobards (d. 572), and so on. Hans Kuhn identified Sigurðr / Siegfried, the paragon of the Germanic lays, with the Burgundian Christian king and saint, Sigismund (516–523), remarking: "It was indeed possible for one and the same person to be venerated in his own country as Christian saint, to be remembered in England as a valiant warrior refugee, and to be admired in the north as Óðinn's hero."[27]

Both the Celtic (esp. Irish) and Anglo-Saxon (esp. Anglian) peoples developed their first vernacular literatures within the framework of the Christian culture. In order better to appreciate this unique occurrence, let us look at Anglian (A.D. 700–900) literature. During the seventh century the school of Cædmon adapted the heroic style of the Old Germanic lays to Christian thought patterns and biblical topics. This coexistence of two themes, the Old Germanic and the Christian, is also reflected in their art, as witnessed by the famous Franks Casket, considered to be a Northumbrian work from ca. 700, which represents the Adoration of the Magi in the Christian tradition. Its dexter scene, however, shows the Germanic hero Wayland the Blacksmith, known also from the Poetic Edda. Wayland (Vǫlundr) has just taken revenge on King Niðhad by killing the king's sons.[28]

[In contrast to the early continental Germanic laws (beginning with the *Leges Visigothorum*, produced ca. A.D. 456–466), which were written in Latin, the Anglo-Saxon laws, starting with those by Æthelberht of Kent (560–616), were given in the vernacular, as was the Old Saxon Chronicle, first compiled during the reign of Alfred the Great (871–899).]

[27] Hans Kuhn, *Zur germanisch-deutschen Heldensage* (1961), p. 419.

[28] That stage was preceded by the Sutton Hoo ship burial (before the mid-seventh century), about which J. M. Wallace Hadrill writes: "But it belongs to a time when the king in question was as likely to be a Christian as a pagan," *Early Germanic Kingship in England and on the Continent* (Oxford, 1971), p. 71. Cf. also von See, *Germanische Heldensage*, pp. 111–129.

Since the Anglo-Saxon version of the Old Germanic lays — now at the disposal of the Old Norsemen — had already drawn a Christian veil across its heathen subjects (e.g., *Beowulf*), it was necessary for the pagan Scandinavians to assimilate the heroes, gradually transforming Christian kings into good pagans, admirers of Óðinn.

The prerequisite for performing such a task was the acquisition of some theoretical knowledge about the essence of paganism, which hitherto had never been codified in a literary form. The ritual formulas were not sufficient for this endeavor. The challenge was to embed the mythic themes into the framework of the new literary thinking and express them in the newly developed poetic language. That, however, implied a certain distance. Although the authors of many mythical lays certainly still cherished the pagan religious traditions of their ancestors, they apparently had ceased to believe in the gods and were not reluctant to tell humorous stories about them. One cannot help but admit that the Poetic Edda is permeated to some degree with Christian thinking.[29]

This skepticism vis-à-vis the pagan pantheon seems also to be the reason why the mythological lays remained the specialty of the Old Norse. Gabriel Turville-Petre writes: "While the heroic lays represent a branch of literature which was, at one time, common to all Germanic peoples, there is nothing to show that mythological lays comparable with those of the *Edda* were known among Germanic tribes other than those of Scandinavia, and nothing to suggest that those which we now possess originated among peoples other than the Norwegians and Icelanders."[30]

Beginning in the eighth century, epic poetry in the Germanic Christian lands entered a new state of development, first in England (Northumbria, Wessex), then in the Carolingian realm. The reason was that the old tribal *scop*, a member of the warrior king's retinue, was now being replaced by the learned monk, who sedulously studied the Latin authors, both classical (especially Vergil, the master of the epic style) and Christian (e.g. Statius). From them he had learned how to construct a great epic story ("the complete epos"), using the so-called harking back method of Vergil's *Aeneid* as a model. He had also developed a system for combining heathen themes with biblical plots.

The results can be seen in *Beowulf*, written in the Anglian vernacular probably in the last decades of the eighth century, and in *Waltharius*, composed in Latin about 930 in East Francia (probably in the Monastery of St. Gall).[31]

[29] Von See, *Germanische Heldensage*, p. 54.

[30] Gabriel Turville-Petre, *Origins of Icelandic Literature* (Oxford, 1953), p. 15.

[31] Cf. Felix Genzmer, *GRM* 35 (1954), pp. 161–178; see also von See, *Germanische Heldensage*, pp. 152–164.

While the Christian complete epos in Vergilian style came to predominate in the now sedentary high society, developing into the genre of court epic literature, the old heroic and mythic lays were relegated to the lower classes, the peasants (*rustics*), all over Western Europe.[32] Some of these lays were even known to the Christian chroniclers.

In colonial Iceland, however, the place of the peasants was taken by the highly educated class of the *goðar*. In their halls the old heroic lays found refuge. The goðar became dedicated antiquarians, collecting and committing the old heroic lays to parchment. Native talents also found these lays sufficiently stimulating to create a new genre, this time in prose, the *fornaldar sögur*, or sagas of the olden times.

How the epic and mythic lays were transmitted from the migration period to the Viking age is a question that has been reopened in recent decades. In the meantime the prevailing theory was that of the Swiss-German scholar Andreas Heusler. Heusler thought that the Germanic heroic lay came into being about A.D. 800 in songs, but had existed for a long time before that as poetry.[33] Hans Kuhn first challenged that view in a provocative paper entitled "Heldensage vor und ausserhalb der Dichtung."[34] It is true, says he, that knowledge of the subject matter must be assumed in the mind of the audience of all old heroic lays, but even though they were "tight units" (*"straffe Einheiten"*), they were still episodic as compared with the epic as a whole. On the other side, Franz Rolf Schröder,[35] Otto Höfler,[36] and Karl Hauck[37] promoted the thesis that poetically unformed plots with mythic-cultic elements, and not songs, had been the repository for the old Germanic epic traditions.

In the intellectual development of the Old Germanic warrior societies a

[32] Von See, *Germanische Heldensage*, pp. 130–139.

[33] Heusler, *Lied und Epos in germanischer Sagendichtung* (Dortmund, 1905); Heusler, *Die Germanische Dichtung* (Potsdam, 1931), 200 pp.; Heusler, *SBAW* 37 (Berlin, 1909), pp. 920–945; Schneider, *DVjschr* 12 (1934), pp. 1–21; also published in *Kleinere Schriften* (Berlin, 1962), pp. 1–17.

[34] Kuhn, *Edda Skalden, Saga. Festschrift Felix Genzmer* (Heidelberg, 1952), pp. 262–277; also published in *Zur germanisch-deutschen Heldensage* (1961), pp. 173–194; cf. Felix Genzmer, *Zur germanisch-deutschen Heldensage*, pp. 102–137.

[35] Franz Rolf Schröder, *Germanische Heldendichtung: Ein Vortrag nebst einer Studie zur Heroisierung des Mythos* (Tübingen, 1935), 48 pp.; Schröder, *GRM* 27 (1939), pp. 325–367; Schröder, *GRM* 35 (1954), pp. 179–185; Schröder, *Zur germanisch-deutschen Heldensage*, pp. 285–315.

[36] Otto Höfler, *Kultische Geheimbunde der Germanen* (Frankfurt am M., 1934); Höfler, *Zur germanisch-deutschen Heldensage*, pp. 52–81; Höfler, *Festschrift Felix Genzmer* (Heidelberg, 1952), pp. 1–69; Höfler, *Zur germanisch-deutschen Heldensage*, pp. 330–392; Höfler, *Siegfried, Arminius und die Symbolik, mit einem historischen Anhang über die Varusschlacht* (Heidelberg, 1961), 130 pp.

[37] Karl Hauck, *Festschrift für Otto Brunner* (Göttingen, 1963), pp. 118–169.

decisive role was played by their frontier contacts with the Romans in the West and with the Alans and Huns in the East. Their respective meeting places were the land along the Roman limes (Danube and Rhine) and the river Don/Tanais (Alans and Huns). The historical sources credit some of these Germanic warrior societies, notably the Goths[38] and Langobards, and later the Burgundians and Franks, with possessing poetic gifts.

Until the thirteenth century (e.g., the *Nibelungenlied*), a particularly important repository for the old songs and lays was the territory that now makes up Bavaria and Austria.[39] For several centuries it not only was united with Germanic Italy, with its center in Verona (Bern) or Pavia, but it played the role of a transit area used by the Goths and other tribes in their wanderings from eastern or central Europe to Italy, Gaul, Africa, and the Iberian peninsula.

That area also played a major role in contacts between Scandinavia and Italy. There were two channels of communication: the direct southern route started either at the Upper Vistula and went to Silesia, or at the Upper Elbe, which it followed until it reached Bavaria (Augusta Vindelicum, Augsburg). Both forks merged on the Danube at Vindobona (Vienna)–Carnuntum.[40] The other route was the western one, which followed along the Rhine. It was not very frequented until the end of the seventh century, because direct communication between Scandinavia and Italy had been blocked for some 240 years after the Avars had carved out their empire, centered in Pannonia, around 560.

The Franco-Avarian wars of Charlemagne (791–796) provided an impetus for the revival of the heroic songs; the Avars were the new incarnation of the historic Huns and the Franks took the role of the Goths — explaining why Charlemagne transferred the equestrian statue believed to be that of the great Gothic king, Theodoric, from Verona to his residence in Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle).

The story about the reemigration of the Heruli here gains importance.[41] In

[38] The Hermanarich story was created before A.D. 453, and the Theodoric/Dietrich cycles developed probably soon after the death of Theodoric (526) and in any case before the collapse of the Ostrogothic Empire in Italy in 554. See Caroline Brady, *The Legends of Ermanaric* (Berkeley, 1943), pp. 271–272; de Vries, *GRM* 42 (1961), 319–330; also published in *Kleine Schriften* (Berlin, 1965), pp. 77–88.

[39] Jacob Bleyer, *PBB* 31 (1906), pp. 429–599; Bálint Hóman, *UJb* 3 (1923), pp. 135–156; 195–219; Kurt Wais, *Frühe Epik Westeuropas und die Vorgeschichte des Nibelungenliedes*, vol. 1 (Tübingen, 1953).

[40] Władysław Kowalenko, "Carnuntum," *SSS* 1: 2 (1962), pp. 218–219; E. Swoboda, *Carnuntum: Seine Geschichte und seine Denkmäler*, 2d ed. (Vienna, 1953); J. Szilagyi, *Carnuntina: Römische Forschungen in Nieder-Österreich* 3 (Graz–Cologne, 1956), pp. 187–194.

[41] On the role of the reemigration of the Heruli in the transmission of the old lays, see Eugen Mogk, *Festgabe für Rudolf Hildebrand* (Leipzig, 1894), pp. 1–10; Niels Clausen

the *Bellum Gothicum*. Procopius, the Byzantine historian who died sometime after 562, presents the story of the Herulian King Hrodulf. In or about 512 he was defeated and killed by the Langobards, whom he had previously subjugated, and this brought to an end the powerful Herulian kingdom on the middle Danube (ca. 453–512). One group of Herules were settled in Illyricum by the Romans; the rest reemigrated about the same time to Scandinavia (Θούλη) and settled in the vicinity of the Gauts (οἱ Γαυτοί).[42] For some time after, they continued to maintain contact with their compatriots in Illyricum. In 545 the Herules in Götland were asked to send a young prince of royal blood to rule over the Danube Herules, a request that Procopius ascertains was honored.

Scholars attach great significance to this reemigration story. They connect it with the frequent appearance of runic inscriptions with the name ErilaR "the Herule" on them. In the sixth century in Värend (the territory of the Gauts) — from where they spread all over Scandinavia, they organized the Óðinn cult, until then unknown in Scandinavia, established metal industries of the south German type (e.g., enamel), initiated a land reform (the Herulian acre), instituted earl (< *erilaR*), and transmitted the Gothic sagas to the north.[43] Niels Clausen Lukman developed a theory that the Skjǫldungar-Skilfingar cycle, known from *Beowulf* (ca. 800), Saxo (ca. 1200), and from some later Icelandic sagas, was originally brought to Götland by the Herules.[44] There are also good reasons for assuming that the "Battle of the Goths and the Huns" was created on the basis of Gautish material that was probably transmitted by the Heruli.

Two further instances of the transmission of heroic lays to the north have been established. They are both Carolingian — one Frankish, the other German. The Frankish lays came to Scandinavia during the eighth century, probably through Frisian mediation, along the Rhine route. They included the Burgundian story (originating in Savoy between 443 and 534) about the fall of the Niflungar/Gjúkungar, which had already merged with the Gothic *Hermanarich* lay; the Eddaic *Hamðismál* of the eighth or ninth century is based on this joint story.

Sometime later, but still in the eighth century, in the Low German tradition,

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Lukman, *Skjoldunge und Skilfinge. Hunnen- und Herulerkönige in ostnordischer Überlieferung* (Kbh., 1943), esp. pp. 149–160.

[42] *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia: De bellis libri V–VIII*, ed. J. Haury, II (Leipzig, 1905), bk. 6, chap. 14; cf. Schütte, *Our Forefathers: The Gothonic Nations* II (Cambridge, Eng., 1933), pp. 347–353; Siegfried Gutenbrunner, *Völker und Stämme Südostschleswigs im frühen Mittelalter* (Schleswig, 1952), pp. 107–109, 127–128, 181, 182.

[43] On the discussion, see the literature given in the fn. to p. 157 in N. C. Lukman's *Skjoldunge und Skilfinge*, pp. 186–187.

[44] Lukman, *Skjoldunge und Skilfinge*, pp. 34–169.

the story of Attila (Atli)'s death got attached to the lay about Sîfrit (Sigurðr) and the treasure. The story about the smith, Wieland (Vǫlundr), was by then also associated with Sîfrit. The Eddaic lays of *Atlakviða* and *Vǫlundarkviða* were both composed in the ninth century on the basis of that new German material.

When analyzing Eddaic poetry several possibilities emerge. One can find epicized myth, that is myth in epic guise, but an epic can also serve as a repository for disguised historical memory. The extant material shows the following five transformations: a) *myth* was converted into epic and history (chapter 6); b) both *myth* and *history* were converted into epic (chapter 7); c) *myth* became epic and was blended with history, which then too became myth (chapter 8); d) *history* became myth to be transformed into both lay and court epic (chapter 9); e) *history* was converted into epic (chapter 10).

Skaldic Poetry and Runic Inscriptions

Only a (small?) portion of Skaldic poetry survives. Although many questions remain concerning the transmission of the surviving strophes (mainly in the great sagas of the kings), the texts themselves are nevertheless generally accepted by scholars as genuine.

This poetry had specific authors, usually high-born members of the retinue, but they did not themselves write it down. As an enchomiastic and lampooning poetry it was born under the inspiration of the moment. The poet recited his strophes in the hall of his patron and, in doing so, tried to influence the actions of the king. It flourished during the last decades of the ninth century and all during the tenth at the courts of the Norse warrior kings and kinglets of western Norway, in Trondheim, and in the British Isles. Its models had come from contacts between the Norse poets and their Celtic and Anglo-Saxon counterparts.

In the second half of the eleventh century the halls of the warrior konungar were replaced by the courts of the Christian kings and knights. For a time the skalds experimented with Christian topics, but the genre degenerated in the thirteenth century and was replaced by the ballad, a fashionable newcomer from western Europe. It had proved impossible to divorce the colorful skaldic diction (before all the system of *kennings*) from the myth and the heroic age.

From the literary point of view the runic inscriptions are marginal, but the historian regards them as a primary source, for they are original documents. The Old Germanic runes — an alphabet used for the oldest form of Germanic

writing - were probably created in the Marcomanni realm of Maroboduus centered in Bohemia (first century after Christ), or in the Gothic realm on the northwestern coast of the Black Sea (second century after Christ).[45] The script system consisted originally of twenty-four signs (runes) called the older futhark, and was based on the Greek and Roman cursive handwriting used in everyday life. The runic script was known to the migrating Anglo-Saxons, who brought it to England (ca. 450–550).

There are two distinct periods in the runology: that of the older futhark (until ca. 800) and the inscriptions carved in the younger futhark (ca. 800–1100, and the late medieval Bergen inscriptions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries). There are 223 runic texts in the older futhark, but only some 120 of them are decipherable; these have been recently republished by Elmer H. Antonsen.[46] They were found in eastern and central Europe, Schlesvig, Germany, Scandinavia, Frisia, and England, very often on small objects (clasps, combs, knifeshafts, horns, spears, bracteates, and the like), and also on stones. I cannot deal with the problems of dating them here, except to say that the dates Antonsen derived from linguistic criteria seem to be too early. But he himself states, "It cannot be overemphasized that the dating of every inscription is, in the last analysis, hardly more than an educated guess."[47] Otto von Friesen's theory that the Herules brought the knowledge of the runes from the Black Sea to Schlesvig, Fyn, and Götland is still in force.[48]

For a long time the inscriptions were used exclusively for purposes of magic and cult. But three stones from Blekinge (Sweden), dated ca. 600–650, are predecessors of the later memorial inscriptions; they contain information about the deceased (name and the name of father), as well as about the sponsor.[49]

The majority of the runic inscriptions (about five thousand pieces) are from the younger futhark period. It is appropriate at this time to emphasize that the Rök inscription from East Götland (from about 800), one of the first monuments in the second period, testifies to the presence of geneological thinking among the Gauts; it is said there that Theodoric the Great of the Hreið Goths lived "nine generations ago" (*for nīu aldum*; *aldr* "age").[50] We know that

[45] Otto von Friesen and Joshua Whatmough, "Rune," *Encyclopaedia Britannica* XIX (Chicago, 1966), p. 755; Wolfgang Krause, *Runen* (Berlin, 1970), pp. 35, 44–45.

[46] Elmer H. Antonsen, *A Concise Grammar of the Older Runic Inscriptions* (Tübingen, 1975).

[47] Antonsen, *Concise Grammar*, p. 11.

[48] Von Friesen, *Rö-stenen i Bohuslän och runorna i Norden under folkvandringstiden* (Uppsala, 1924), 165 pp.; von Friesen, *NK* VI (1933), pp. 3–79.

[49] Antonsen, *Concise Grammar*, no. 116, pp. 83–84; no. 117, pp. 84–85; no. 119, pp. 85–87.

[50] E. V. Gordon, *An Introduction to Old Norse*, ed. A. R. Taylor, 2d ed. (Oxford, 1957), no. 12, pp. 188–191; Lucien Musset, *Introduction à la runologie* (Paris, 1965), no. 47, pp. 377–380.

Theodoric died in 526; a generation is usually considered to span thirty years. Thirty multiplied by 9 is 270. By adding 270 to 526 one gets the year 796, which is the approximate date of the erection of the Rök monument.

The runic inscriptions with historical contexts first appear in Jutland around 940 and continue there until around 1000.[51] About 1000 they were also found in Norway, where they lasted until around 1050, in West Götland, Småland, and Gotland. In Sweden proper (Södermanland, Uppland), as well as in East Götland and Bornholm, these inscriptions were in use after 1020, and they continued in use until the end of the century.[52] At that point the final Christianization of Scandinavia spelled their end.

The Intermediate Period

The two chief elements of the new epoch, the settlement of Iceland and the Christianization of the Norsemen, were already nascent in the first period; they continued to mature during the next. The settlement of Iceland was completed within approximately sixty years; the usual date given being A.D. 874–930. But the more complicated process of the Christianization of the Norsemen, apart from the individual conversions of a few Norse kings (e.g., Haraldr Klak of Jutland and Dorestad in 826), took much longer. It began first in the Danish colonies, then encompassed Denmark and Norway, then Iceland. Sweden was the last to be converted: not before 1100. The following is a chronology of the conversions:

912	The dukedom of Normandy (Rouen), France
943	The Danelaw (Denelag) in Ireland and England
[988–1036	Rus' and Eastern Europe]
ca. 965–986	Denmark
995–1000	Norway
1000	Iceland
1008	West Götland
ca. 1050–1100	Sweden

Two particular events helped to strengthen Christianity in the north: the canonization of the first Norse martyr, the saintly King Óláfr Haraldsson of

[51] Lis Jacobsen, *Scandia* 5 (1932), pp. 103–147; Jacobsen, *Scandia* 4 (1931), pp. 234–269; Jacobsen, *Scandia* 8 (1935), pp. 64–79.

[52] The late medieval (thirteenth- and fourteenth-century) runic correspondence from the Hanseatic commercial center, Bergen (Norway), holds a place similar to that of the contemporary Old Rus' birch-leaf inscriptions from Great Novgorod.

Norway, about 1035, and the creation of a separate northern archbishopric with its see in Lund in 1103.

As for everyone else, so for the Scandinavians, Christianization meant an introduction into a different spiritual world, with abstract thought, special institutions of learning, a body of religious prose (homilies, hagiography, theology, philosophical sciences) written on parchment or vellum both in Latin and in the vernacular. It also meant international contacts (Rome, Paris, Hamburg, Herford in Westphalia).

The continental Scandinavians were eager to achieve the status of international citizens of the universal church and to use Latin as their medium of communication. The aristocratic population of the northern-most colonial island of Iceland, however, preferred to stay as a national church, not only because of the conservatism typical of every colony, but even more because of the congeniality of character between the Icelanders and the Germanic peoples of the migration age. Wrote E. V. Gordon:

> The organization of society and the temper of the people were then much the same as in the Germanic heroic age of the fourth to seventh centuries, and there is little difference in the spirit and the view of life shown in the literature of the two periods. We find, for example, the tragic situation of the Lombard story of Alboin and the Gepid king recurring independently in the Icelandic *Vatnsdæla saga*. The sagas of this later age are indeed nearer to the Germanic heroic tradition than such a poem as *Beowulf*, composed centuries earlier.[53]

But everywhere, even in Iceland, new literary genres came into existence, some of them of particular importance for the historian. First of all were the annals and the vitae (translated and original), traces of which are perceivable from about the middle of the eleventh century. Then the codification of laws, followed by the historical synopses, genealogical and topographical studies. Finally the encyclopedic and geographic literature. In Iceland all these were written in the vernacular; in Norway, some were in the vernacular; in Denmark, almost all were in Latin. Sweden, which did not enter its Viking age until the eleventh century, did not participate in these intellectual activities until the 1220s.

[53] Gordon, *Introduction to Old Norse*, pp. xxix–xxx; cf. also Schröder, *GRM* 27 (1939), pp. 365–367.

CHAPTER THREE

Introduction to Volumes One and Two: The Cultural Setting in the East

The Contacts between the Germanic and the Steppe Peoples

From the beginning of recorded history, the Germanic peoples had contacts with the nomadic peoples of the steppe, both on the Roman limes, especially in present-day Hungary and Transylvania (along the left bank of the middle Danube and the basins of its tributary, the Tisza, and along the latter's tributaries, the Kőrös and Mareşul)[1] and, which is often overlooked, on the limes of the Bosporus Kingdom,[2] between the rivers Don/Tanais and the Dniester north of the Crimea.

[1] See Joseph Hampel, *Altertümer des frühen Mittelalters in Ungarn*, 3 vols. (Braunschweig, 1905); A. Alföldi, *Funde aus der Hunnenzeit und ihre ethnische Sonderung* (Archaeologia Hungarica, vol. 9) (Budapest, 1932); Joachim Werner, *Beiträge zur Archäologie des Attila-Reiches* (Munich, 1956); Arnulf Kollautz and Hisayuki Miyakawa, *Geschichte und Kultur eines völkerwanderungszeitlichen Nomadenvolkes: Die Jou-Jan der Mongolei und die Awaren in Mitteleuropa*, 2 vols. (Klagenfurt, 1970); Otto Maenchen-Helfen, *The World of the Huns* (Berkeley, 1973); Luc Kwanten, *A History of Central Asia, 500-1500: Imperial Nomads* (Philadelphia, 1979).

[2] Mixail I. Rostovcev (Rostovtzeff), *Skythien und der Bosporus* (Berlin, 1931).

Until ca. A.D. 370 the term "nomads" was applicable in Europe mainly to peoples of Iranian linguistic stock, such as the Sarmatians, the Jazyges, and, especially, the Alans. After ca. 370, they were replaced as nomads by peoples of the Altaic linguistic group — the Huns, the Avars, the Bulgars, and the Turks.[3]

On the Germanic side, the main partners of the steppe peoples were the Bastarnae, (H)Eruls, Goths, Gepids, Vandals (both groups — the Siling and the (H)Asding), and Langobards (Lombards).[4] All these groups can be regarded not only as the predecessors but also as the models of the Vikings.

The contacts between the Germanic and steppe peoples took many forms: including military clashes and joint campaigns, combined piratical expeditions into the territories of the sedentary states, Germanic trade expeditions to the east (e.g., the visit of the Gothic and Erulic traders to India in the second century),[5] joint settlement and founding of barbarian kingdoms on the ruins of the Western Roman Empire (especially those of the Goths and the Alans, and the Vandals and the Alans).[6]

Unfortunately, the data from the extant sources are not sufficient to provide details about Germanic-nomadic interrelations. From what we do have, however, it is clear that joint settlements and even intermarriages between, say, the Goths and the Alans were not uncommon. For instance, Maximinus (235–238), the first fully barbarian Roman emperor, was born of a Gothic father and an Alanic mother.[7] The kings of the Hasdingi Vandals in North Africa used the title (e.g., Hunneric, 477–484) *Rex* (*Hunerix*) *Wandalorum et Alanorum* in their official edicts.[8]

[3] William Montgomery McGovern, *The Early Empires of Central Asia: A Study of the Scythians and the Huns and the Part They Played in World History* (Chapel Hill, 1939); Rene Grousset, *The Empire of the Steppes. A History of Central Asia*, trans. Naomi Walford (New Brunswick, N.J., 1970).

[4] Ernst Schwarz, *Germanische Stammeskunde* (Heidelberg, 1956); K. F. Stroheker, *Germanentum und Spätantike* (Zürich, 1965); Ludwig Schmidt, *Geschichte der deutschen Stämme bis zur Ausgang der Völkerwanderung:* [I] *Die Ostgermanen*, 2d ed. (Munich, 1934); [II] *Die Westgermanen*, part 1, 2d ed. (Munich, 1938); part 2, 1st ed. (Munich, 1940).

[5] Sten Konow, "Goths in Ancient India," *JRAS* (1912), pp. 379–385.

[6] Franz Altheim, *Literatur und Gesellschaft im ausgehenden Altertum*, 2 vols. (Halle/a.d.S., 1948–1950); George Vernadsky, "Goten und Anten in Südrussland," *Süddeutsche Forschungen* 3 (1938), pp. 265–279; Robert Reynolds and Robert Lopez, "Odoacer: German or Hun?" *American Historical Review* 52 (1946), pp. 36–53; A. A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in Crimea* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936); Bernard S. Bachrach, *A History of the Alans in the West* (Minneapolis, 1973); E. A. Thompson, *The Visigoths in the Time of Ulfila* (Oxford, 1966); Thompson, *The Goths in Spain* (Oxford, 1969); Ludwig Schmidt, *Geschichte der Wandalen*, 2d ed. (Munich, 1942).

[7] Bachrach, *History of the Alans*, pp. 13–15.

[8] See M. Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen* (Heidelberg, 1911), pp. 143–144.

It is very difficult to appraise the extent of the cultural exchange that went on between the two groups, since, with some exceptions, neither group was literate. One can hardly doubt, however, that living under similar social conditions they evolved similar ideologies. So we should not be surprised to find in the Roman sources many testimonies to the worship of the Iranian war god Mithra (Dumézil's first function) by the Gothic mercenaries serving in the Roman army.[9] One can also expect that many an original Indoeuropean (= steppe) myth, which fell into oblivion in the spiritual climate of the agricultural way of life of Scandinavia, was reintroduced into the Germanic people's mythic thinking through their intimate contacts with the practicing Nomads. The *Poetic Edda* and the *Nibelungenlied* bear witness to the fact that the Hunnic king, Attila (434–453; > ON *Atli*, MHG *Etzel*), became the main hero of the greatest Germanic epic as the embodiment of an ideal ruler.

In the Norse tradition the region between the Tanais / Don River and the Azov Sea plays an exceptionally important role as the arena of great happenings and the residence of the gods. In my view, this attribution was not just an extravagance of the Icelandic "gelehrte Urgeschichte" (to use the term coined by Andreas Heusler), but an epical-mythic recollection of the great role the Bosporus Kingdom had played in the culture of eastern Europe.

The Turks achieved a unique position among the Eurasian steppe nomads. The Old Turks maintained empires between 550 and 970 (the last being the West Turkic Khazar Empire, ca. 650–970). The Mongol Empire flourished from 1206 (or 1218) to 1368, and that of the Tunguz Manchu from 1616 (or 1644) to 1912. Yet, today there are only some sixty thousand speakers of the Tunguz dialects, and slightly over three million Mongols and a hundred million Turks.

The exceptional vitality of the Turks derived primarily from their having created their own provinces of each of the great religious cultures, and having coined vernaculars to serve as vehicles for these doctrines: Buddhism — shortly after 550, Manichaeism and Christian Nestorianism during the eighth century, Judaism during the eighth and ninth centuries, and Islam from 840.

After the migration age in the first half of the seventh century, a new order in Europe and the Western Eurasian steppe was established. The rule of the Byzantine emperor Heraclius (610–641) was the turning point in the history of the Eastern Empire. Greek then became the official language of administration, culture, and everyday life, a step that is used to mark the formation of the Byzantine Empire.[10] Heraclius acknowledged two partners: in the west, the

[9] Franz Cumont, *Les mystères de Mithra*, 3d ed. (Brussels, 1913) = *The Mysteries of Mithra*, trans. Thomas J. McCormack (New York, 1956).

[10] Georg Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des Byzantischen Staates* (Munich, 1940), pp. 51–69;

Frankish King Dagobert I (629–639), whose reign in many respects foreshadowed the policies of the Carolingians (his treaty with Heraclius was signed in 629);[11] and in the East the Turkic Kagan T'ong Yabγu (Ziebēl; 618–630).[12] Heraclius's treaty of friendship of 626 with the kagan was sealed with the marriage of the Byzantine princess to the Turkic ruler, who was the immediate predecessor of the Khazar kagans.

While Dagobert was treated as the Byzantine emperor's junior partner, the mighty Turkic emperor was considered his equal. Within the Byzantine system of ranks, the Turkic/Khazar ruler enjoyed the highest position, a situation that was certainly not overlooked by the Germanic peoples active within the sphere of the Byzantine culture. In similar fashion, the most honorable place of the mighty Hunnic ruler of the migration age was, during the pre- and early Viking age, assumed by the Khazar/Turkic emperor, the *Tyrkja konungr.*

In northeastern Europe the Norsemen met the Fennic peoples, whose activities included trade, forest-burning agriculture, hunting, trapping, fishing, skiing, and sorcery. These peoples were basically Ests, Finns, and Vepsians, who remained illiterate during the early Middle Ages. But their descendants, like those of the Iranian Alans, preserved mythic-epic accounts of the past: the Estonian-Karelian *Kalevala* epic, and the Ossetian (progeny of the Alans) *Nartes* epic. Whether specialists will be able to decipher these reminiscences of the two groups' adventures in eastern Europe remains to be seen.

Turkic cultural activity and especially the renowned religious tolerance of the Khazar Empire created the proper climate for a marriage of cultures, the idea of translation, and cooperation, in practical application, on script systems.

The Bosporus Kingdom and Late Hellenism*

1.

The word *bosporus* (ὁ Βόσ-πορος) is of ancient Greek origin and has the

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Peter Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity A.D. 150–750* (London, 1971), pp. 157–184.

[11] *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar with Its Continuations*, ed. and trans. J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (London, 1960), p. 51.

[12] Sources and literature are given by Gyula Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* II² (Berlin, 1958), pp. 130–131.

* A shorter version of this chapter was published in *The Mutual Effects of the Islamic and Judeo-Christian Worlds*, ed. Béla K. Király (New York, 1979), pp. 3–21.

literal meaning "oxford"; it was used to refer to the straits between any two seas. Two such bosporuses became known in history: the first was the Cimmerian Bosporus (ὁ Κιμμέριος B.), located at the point where, according to the classic geographers, Europe and Asia met. It corresponded to the modern straits of Kerč, which connect the Black Sea with the Sea of Azov.

According to the *Odyssey* 11.13–19, the enigmatic Cimmerians, first mentioned by Homer, lived in a country of fog and darkness on the confines of the inhabited world (meaning Europe). Many archaeological cultures (for example, the Catacomb, Koban, Thraco-Cimmerian) have been attributed to them, but without valid documentation.[13]

The other Bosporus, the Thracian (ὁ Θρᾴκιος B.), is the strait that unites the Black Sea with the Sea of Marmara, which flows into the Mediterranean. The Thracian Bosporus is well known from the Greek myth in which Io, a maiden loved by Zeus, and given the form of a heifer by the jealous Hera, crosses the straits during her wanderings.

Greek colonies of the *polis* type were established in the Cimmerian region in the eighth to sixth centuries B.C. The most important of these was the Milesian colony of Panticapaeum (present-day Kerč) located on the western side of the straits, at the extreme eastern tip of the Crimea. Ten miles to the south lay Nymphaeum. On the eastern side of the straits were the colonies of Phanagoria (near modern Taman'), founded from Teos, and Hermonassa, founded from Mytilene.[14] The early history of the colonies is for the most part unknown, except that Panticapaeum is said to have been founded with the permission of the Scythians, the successors of the Cimmerians in eastern Europe. But by 480 B.C. the first ruling dynasty of tyrants had been established in Panticapaeum, and, to judge by their names, the Archeanactids were probably purely Greek in origin. In 438 B.C. they were replaced by the half-Thracian Spartocids, whose history is fairly well known because of their close relations with the Athenians. According to Rostovtzeff:

> The semi-Thracian aspect of the new dynasty speaks rather for a native reaction against Greek domination, and this theory is corroborated by the title which the new rulers assumed: archons of Panticapaeum and kings of the Sindians and the Maeotians. The fact

[13] On the Cimmerian problem, see J. Harmatta, "Le problème Cimmerien," *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 7–9 (1948), 79–132; and T. Sulimirski, "The Cimmerian Problem," *Bulletin of the Institute of Archeology* [London University] 2 (1958–60), pp. 45–64.

[14] See, e.g., J. P. Kallistov, *Severnoe Pričernomor'e v antičnuju èpoxu* (M., 1952); V. F. Gajdukevič, *Bosporskoe carstvo* (M.–L., 1949); I. T. Kruglikova, *Bospor v pozdneantičnoe vremja* (M., 1966).

> that among the Sindian princes who ruled at the same period as the tyrants of Panticapaeum, we find Thracian names like Gorgippos and Komosarye, and that the two dynasties probably united shortly after the revolution of Spartocos, seems to show that the principal cause of the political change was the necessity of reconciling the interests of the natives, and especially of the native aristocracy, with those of the Greek population [of the polises].[15] . . . this phenomenon was not peculiar to Panticapaeum. Similar conditions led to a similar form of government, almost at the same time, at Heracleia on the Pontus, at Halicarnassus in Asia Minor, at Syracuse in Sicily. The same movement gave rise to the Greco-Macedonian monarchy in Macedonia, and later to the combination of city-state and monarchy at Pergamon.[16]

But it was only in the Cimmerian Bosporus that the form of government thus produced proved stable. There it lasted from 438 B.C. until at least the fourth century after Christ (production of the coinage of the Bosporus kings ceased in 337).[17]

The earlier Spartocids governed as archons; the royal title was not used by them until the Hellenistic age. The Sindian kingdom in the Taman' peninsula was then incorporated, so that Spartocid power extended further northeast, beyond the mouth of the Tanais/Don River (later the city of Azov). The able dynasty of the Spartocids suppressed piracy on the Black Sea and under their wise management the kingdom prospered.

Until its defeat in the Peloponnesian War (431–404 B.C.), Athens maintained a monopoly over the Bosporus trade: the tyrant of Panticapaeum was forced to accept the status of the Athenian commercial agent and agree to export all grain to Athens alone. The Panticapaeum had received the right to trade freely, the single condition being the guarantee of ample custom duties to Athens. The reigns of the kings, Satyros (433–389), Leucon (389–349), and Pairisades I (349–310), were periods of great prosperity for the Bosporus. In Athens, Leucon was spoken of as the model of a virtuous tyrant; Attic historians wrote about him as well as Panticapean itself. The statues of the three kings adorned public places in the Greek capital. The Scythians respected the

[15] M. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (Oxford, 1922), p. 68.

[16] Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks*, p. 68.

[17] Gajdukevič, *Bosporskoe carstvo*, p. 463. Production of the coinage did not end with the collapse of the Bosporus realm. An inscription from the Taman peninsula dated A.D. 341 exists, and in A.D. 362 the Roman historian Ammianus Marcellinus named the new capital, Constantinople, as the seat of the Bosporan embassy (*Bosporanis . . . legationes*). See Gajdukevič, *Bosporskoe carstvo*, pp. 464–465.

independence of the Bosporus state, which had organized a powerful army of mercenaries, a commercial fleet, and a regular traffic system.[18]

The prosperity of the Bosporus, attested by its fine coinage, highly artistic vases, and jewelry, was based on the wise management of trade by its rulers. In addition to grain, its main exports were fish and especially slaves. In eastern Europe trade in slaves as a commercial state venture seems to have appeared first in the Bosporus realm. During the Spartocid epoch, the main trade partners of the Bosporus, besides Athens and Delos (which in 478–404 B.C. and 377–338 B.C. was the headquarters of the Delian League, a confederacy of Greek states under the leadership of Athens) were the islands of Rhodes and Chios, as well as the cities of Pergamon, Sinop, and Alexandria.[19] Although the Bosporus maintained close commercial ties with the Aegean and Mediterranean worlds, it never interfered in the political affairs of the Greek states and was never attacked by them.

Beginning with Alexander the Great (d. 323 B.C.), or more precisely with his successors, the ancient world entered a new epoch of so-called Hellenistic civilization. Politically, the most characteristic feature of the Hellenistic period was the creation of a bureaucratic patrimonial monarchy in which sovereignty and proprietorship were united in the person of the autocratic king. The Hellenistic regime was imposed from above upon a specific political province.[20] It was ruled by bureaucrats who had a personal relationship with the king and were wholly dependent on his grace, and on his standing army. The king was the state's principal industrialist and merchant.

In order not to lose his commercial ties with the Aegean world, the Bosporus ruler Eumelos (310–304) adopted the title of king and reformed his realm according to the new Hellenistic model,[21] a move that proved to be of epochal importance because it introduced the Hellenistic patrimonial kingdom as a political system into eastern Europe.

In the second half of the third century B.C. economic and political decay began to appear in this prosperous society. The Spartocid dynasty survived until about 110 B.C.; the kingdom then came under the control of the kings of Pontus (Mithradates VI Eupator, 121–63 B.C.). At the beginning of our era a new dynasty of the Iulios was established, which ruled until at least the middle

18 Gajdukevič, *Bosporskoe carstvo*, pp. 54–93.

19 Rostovzeff, *Gesellschafts- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der hellenistischen Welt* I (Darmstadt, 1962), pp. 468–471; Gajdukevič, *Bosporskoe carstvo*, pp. 82–93.

20 "Es ist eine persönlich-dynastische Herrschaft, die nicht aus einem bestimmten Lande oder Volke hervorgewachsen, sondern von oben her über einen bestimmten Herrschaftsbezirk ausgebreitet ist" (Julius Kaerst, *Geschichte des Hellenismus* II² [Leipzig, 1926], p. 335).

21 Rostovzeff, *Gesellschafts- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* I, p. 468.

of the fourth century, the time of the short-lived east European empire of the Ostrogoth Hermanarich.[22]

One might mention that the Herulian-Gothic naval raids on the Black Sea (beginning in A.D. 256) originated in the Cimmerian Bosporus; the Goths became sea-borne only after they were able to capture the Bosporian fleet.[23]

According to the Byzantine sources, the Rus' of the Grand Prince Igor' used the Cimmerian Bosporus as an operational base in his campaigns against the Byzantine fleet.[24] The famous Rus' trade and cultural center T"mutorakan'/ τὸ Ταμάταρχα was the successor town of the Bosporian Hermonassa.[25]

2.

In his famous bibliographical work, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, the Arab scholar, Abu'l-Faraǧ Muḥammad b. Isḥāq al-Warrāq, called an-Nadīm, who finished his study before the year 377 of the Hegira (A.D. 988), presented some very surprising data which until now have gone unexplained. An entry devoted to the literary activity of the Abbasid Caliph al-Ma'mūn, the son of Harūn ar-Rašīd (813–833), reads as follows: "Among his [al-Ma'mūn's] books were: «Answers to the Questions of the King of the Burġar» (*Kitāb ǧawāb malik al-Burġar*) addressed to him [al-Ma'mūn] about Islām and at-Tawḥīd (Unity) . . . (*min umūr al-Islām wa't-tawḥīd*)."[26]

In another passage of the same work, some further details are given about the work in question: "He [al-Ma'mūn] wrote to the king of the Burġar a letter of over one hundred pages in length, but although he did not seek anyone's aid or quote any verse from the Book of Allāh, may this name be exalted, or any word from any wise man preceding him, al-Ǧāḥiẓ cajoled his tongue into saying, 'This letter we have regarded as being taken in a favorable way from a discourse of al-Ǧāḥiẓ.'"[27]

Referred to here is, of course, the great Arab writer Abū 'Oṯmān 'Amr ibn Bakr al-Ǧāḥiẓ (b. ca. 776; d. 869),[28] who, like the caliph himself, was a follower of the intellectual movement called Mu'tazila (lit. "secessionists"), or "the people of unity (*at-tawḥīd*) and justice (*al-'adl*)," a movement of liberal theologians studying the nature of the divinity.[29]

[22] See, e.g., C. Brady, *The Legends of Ermanarich* (Berkeley, 1943).

[23] Gajdukevič, *Bosporskoe carstvo*, pp. 444–461.

[24] Leo the Deacon, *Historiae libri decem*, ed. C. B. Hase (Bonn, 1828), p. 105.

[25] Gajdukevič, *Bosporskoe carstvo*, p. 209.

[26] *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel and J. Roediger I (Leipzig, 1871), p. 111; Eng. trans. B. Dodge, *The Fihrist of al-Nadim* I (New York–London, 1970), p. 254.

[27] Eng. trans. Dodge I, p. 400.

[28] Concerning the literature on Ǧāḥiẓ, see Ch. Pellat, "al-Djāḥiẓ," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* II, 2d ed. (Leiden, 1965), pp. 385–387.

[29] G. E. von Grunebaum, *Medieval Islam* (Chicago, 1946), pp. 54–55; R. Walzer, *Greek*

Certainly, we cannot dwell here on the question of whether or not the royal author plagiarized al-Ǧāḥiẓ. Our concern is to understand why the learned caliph found it necessary to correspond with a Burġar king, of all people, on subtle philosophical matters, especially strange because the Mu'tazila were among the first Muslim scholars to use the categories and methods of Greek philosophy in expounding their theological system.

It is well known that al-Ma'mūn founded a school of savants at Baghdad called *Bayt al-ḥikma* ("house of wisdom") in which the study and translation of Greek works, especially those in science and philosophy, were pursued with the utmost vigor. Translators engaged there were Syriac Nestorian scholars who knew both Arabic and Greek.

But who were the Burġar/Bulgars who figure in our question? The Bulgars first appeared in eastern Europe after the fall of the Hunnic ruler Attila (453), as a new regrouping of the defeated Huns. Subsequently, in the sixth and seventh centuries, there existed a Magna Bulgaria/Βουλγαρία ἡ μεγάλη, or new edition of the Bosporus Kingdom.[30]

Of the basis of the Bosporus' prosperity during ancient times only fishing remained. The importance of the fish is reflected, as the late V. Minorsky noted, in that during the Khazar rule over the Bosporus, the non-elected primates of the cities, Bosporus and Tamatarcha (Jewish Samkarč), bore the official title of *baliγči*, a Turkish word meaning "fishermen."[31]

The official title of the king of the Bosporus Bulgars prior to 641 (the end of the Sasanian dynasty) was, according to Ibn Khurdāḏbeh (the well-informed Arabic geographer of Persian origin, *fl.* 840–880), "king of the *Ṣaqāliba*," i.e., ruler over a territory recognized as a reservoir of potential slaves. It is probable that the very term *Sklav-/Sclav-* (*Ṣaqlab-*) (later Slav-) was introduced to the sphere of Mare Nostrum from the Bosporus sometime in the sixth century.[32]

One might add that Ibn Faḍlān, the Arabic missionary traveler to the Volga Bulgars in 922, used the same title, "king of the Ṣaqāliba" (*malik aṣ-Ṣaqāliba*)

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into Arabic (Oxford, 1962); F. Rosenthal, *Das Fortleben der Antike im Islam* (Zurich-Stuttgart, 1965).

30 Gy. Moravcsik, *UJb* 10 (1930), pp. 53–90; K. Lambrev, "Legendata za kan Kubrat i negovite sinove," *Istoričeski pregled* 3 (1946–1947), pp. 350–359.

31 V. Minorsky, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 56 (1960), pp. 130–137.

32 Ibn Khurdāḏbeh, *Kitāb al-masālik wa'l-mamālik*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1889), p. 18. The editor introduces the "reconstructed" form *qn'z* to fit the later Slavic title *knjaz'* (<< **kuning-*). A new analysis of the passage in question is presented in vol. three of this work (in preparation).

with reference to Almuč, king of the Volga Bulgars.[33] The latter were not Slavs, however, but of Turkic and Hunnic origin; their dynasty descended from Kobrat of Bosporus Bulgaria whom Ibn Khurdāḏbeh (mentioned above) addressed in the same way: *malik aṣ-Ṣaqāliba.*[34]

When the Turkic Khazars' drive for hegemony put an end to Magna Bulgaria as an independent political power ca. 660, many Bulgars migrated to either the Danubian Moesia, or Italian Ravenna, but apparently the essential components of Bulgar society remained on their old territory, and their ruler may have accepted Islām as early as the eighth century. This realm was known in the tenth century sources as the "Black Bulgaria": ἡ μαύρη Βουλγαρία = Черниии Болгаре. Later (ca. 880), under circumstances which still need further investigation, a considerable number of Black Bulgars had migrated to the Kama-Volga basin. During the ninth century the Bosporus Bulgar realm was the only cultural center to which a caliph interested in Greek philosophy could turn for help and discussion.

3.

The pacification of the Avars after their military defeat was not a simple undertaking. In the 860s, both Romes were still trying to fill the vacuum left by the dissolution of the Avar realm. Their plan for accomplishing this was to elevate the Slavs, the former slaves of the Avars, and to give their barbaric tongue the status of a sacred language alongside Hebrew, Greek, and Latin (see pp. 29–30).

But in order to proceed with their project, it was first necessary for the prospective missionaries to learn the art of translating and to obtain a working knowledge of Hebrew, the sacred language of the Bible, but no one in ninth-century Constantinople knew how to write any language other than Greek. For several centuries Greek had been the only medium of communication among cultivated people. Therefore, everyone who held any position in the world of literati knew and used Greek. Hebrew was unknown in Constantinople for several centuries.[35]

Christianity had spread to the shores of the Black Sea in early times and had taken hold — several bishoprics (including Gothia on the Crimea)[36], many

[33] Ibn Faḍlān, *Risāla,* ed. A. P. Kovalivs'kyj, *Kniga Axmeda ibn Fadlana o ego putešestvii na Volgu v 921–922 gg.* (Xarkiv, 1952), p. 344, l. 2 (Arab. text).

[34] More on this in volume three of this work.

[35] See Karl Krumbacher, *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Litteratur* (Munich, 1897), p. 122: "Die Kenntnis der *hebräischen* Sprache ging den Byzantinern ganz verloren; nicht einmal Photios war des Hebräischen mächtig." Concerning the Byzantines' loss of interest in Latin language and scholarship, see Krumbacher, *Geschichte,* p. 543.

[36] See Ernst Schwarz, "Die Krimgothen," in *Germanische Stammeskunde* (Heidelberg, 1956), p. 97; cf. A. A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936).

older than Constantinople, were established there before the First Ecumenical Council of Nicea (325). They were probably originally under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Antioch (the *cathedra Petri*),[37] and used Syriac as their sacred language. The position of the new Armenian state church (founded 301), which adopted both Greek and Syriac as sacred languages, was typical. When the *Vita* of Constantine (Cyril) relates that he found in Cherson on the Crimea (which then belonged to Khazaria) a gospel and psalter written in Syriac (*sourskymi pis'meny*),[38] this can be regarded as a confirmation that the patriarchate of Antioch once had jurisdiction over eastern Europe. Cyril, however, went to Cherson with a specific goal in mind: the Crimea, including the former Bosporus Kingdom, was then the only place in Europe where one could find both training in the art of translating and the opportunity for non-Jews of learning Hebrew.[39]

3a.

According to chapter 16 of the *Vita Constantini*, an unusual confrontation took place in Venice in 867. The Slavonic missionary brothers Cyril and Methodius faced an assembly of Latin-rite bishops, priests, and monks who attacked them for their unprecedented use of the Slavonic tongue in the liturgy. These Venetian "trilinguists" claimed that only Hebrew, Greek, and Latin had acquired the status of a sacred language in Christianity, and only they could be used for that purpose.

To this Constantine is said to have replied that Christian religious truth cannot reach the hearts and minds of heathens when presented in an unknown tongue. Therefore in the east many scripts and vernaculars had to be used along with the three acknowledged sacred languages. Constantine then presented a remarkable list of twelve eastern peoples who had their own sacred languages: the Armenians (Christian since 301), Persians (Christian since the 250s), Abchazians (Avaz"gi northwest Georgia; Christian since the 530s), Iberians (Georgia proper; Christian since 337), Sogdians (on the Crimea; Christians before 325), Goths (on the Crimea, see pp. 71-72), Avars (Obri in

[37] Hans-Georg Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), p. 95; cf. the considerations of Stepan Tomašivs'kyj, in his *Vstup do istoriji cerkvy na Ukrajini* (Žovkva, 1932).

[38] *Vita Constantini*, chap. 8, ed. P. A. Lavrov, in *Materialy po istorii vozniknovenija drevnejšej slavjanskoj pis'mennosti* (L., 1930), p. 12 = Fran Grivec and Fran Tomšić, *Constantinus et Methodius Thessalonicenses: Fontes* (Zagreb, 1960), p. 109. Cf. Horace G. Lunt, *Cercetări de Lingvistică* (Festschrift Emil Petrovici) (Cluj, 1958), pp. 323-326.

[39] On the Slavonic mission, see F. Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions among the Slavs: SS. Constantine-Cyril and Methodius* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1970); Ihor Ševčenko, *Slavic Review* 23: 2 (1964), pp. 220-234; A. P. Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom* (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 20-85.

the Northern Caucasus), Tursii, Khazars, Arabs, Egyptians (= patriarchate of Alexandria), and Syrians (= patriarchate of Antioch).[40]

It is obvious that all the peoples Constantine listed lived in territories where pre-imperial Hellenism had had a great impact after spreading from such centers as Alexandria, Antioch, and, later, from the Bosporus. In those territories, the use of the vernacular as the sacred language was the norm, whereas in the Western Christian territories (save for its Celtic fringe), which inherited the uniform imperial Latin culture, the use of the vernacular was regarded as heretical until the Reformation.

4.

Between 1890 and 1910, Germans, Hungarians, Russians, Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Japanese undertook expeditions to the oasis states of the Tarim basin in Chinese Turkestan, as well as to North India (Gandhara), Mongolia, and northwest China, there to uncover finds of written texts, art, and other artifacts. The explorers involved in those expeditions, among them Albert von Le Coq (b. 1890, d. 1930), Sir Aurel Stein (b. 1862, d. 1943), and Paul Pelliot (b. 1878, d. 1945),[41] discovered texts written in many unknown scripts and languages. But the ingenious F. W. K. Müller (b. 1863, d. 1930) working in Berlin and others quickly deciphered them, with the result that several new languages, including two Indo-European, the Tocharian, and Khotan Saka, were added to the list.[42]

The artifacts displayed a variety of styles, the most significant of which bore the unmistakable imprint of Hellenistic art (for example, the Gandhara monuments in present-day northern Pakistan).[43] With these it became apparent that the diligent peoples of the oasis states, located on the crossroads of civilizations, were able to combine international trading activity with cultural and religious affairs. For instance, all great world religions found their ardent followers in Turkistan: thousands of manuscripts and manuscript fragments

[40] *Vita Constantini*, ed. P. A. Lavrov, p. 30 = ed. Fran Grivec and Fran Tomšić, p. 134.

[41] V. Thomsen, *Aus Ost-Turkestans Vergangenheit* (Copenhagen, 1918); Albert von Le Coq, *Auf Hellas Spuren in Ostturkestan* (Leipzig, 1926); von Le Coq, *Von Land und Leuten in Ostturkestan* (Leipzig, 1928); von Le Coq, *Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien*, vols. 1–6 (Berlin, 1922–1928); A. Stein, *On Ancient Central-Asian Tracks* (New York, 1964); Stein, *Serindia*, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1921); Stein, *Innermost Asia*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1928); *Paul Pelliot* (Paris, 1946); E. Waldschmidt, *Gandhara, Kutscha, Turfan* (Leipzig, 1925); cf. also D. Schlumberger, *Proceedings of the British Academy* 47 (1961), pp. 77–95, pl. I–XXIV.

[42] See F. Weller and B. Schindler, "Professor F. W. K. Müller: Leben und Werk," *Asia Major* 2 (Leipzig, 1925), pp. i–xvi.

[43] For general orientation, see T. T. Rice, *Ancient Arts of Central Asia* (New York, 1965); A. Belenitsky, *Central Asia* (Cleveland–New York, 1968).

with texts of Buddhist, Manichaean, and Nestorian Christian provenance, written in many languages, bear testimony to that fact.

As the texts underwent philological scrutiny the astonished scholars discovered an unusual religious tolerance in Turkestan. For the texts revealed the existence of professional translators who specialized in several sacred languages and were able to translate religious texts into or out of any one of them. The same translator (say, for Chinese and Sogdian) could on one day translate a Buddhist text, and on the next work on a Manichaean or Nestorian one. These translators seem to have been primarily Iranian Sogdians.[44]

5.

"What, now, does Hellenism mean?," writes W. W. Tarn. "To one, it means a new culture compounded of Greek and Oriental elements; to another, the continuation of the pure line of the older Greek civilizations; to yet another, that same civilization modified by new conditions. All these theories contain a truth, but none represents the whole truth."[45]

It was the German historian J. G. Droysen who, in the late nineteenth century, first realized the cultural unity behind the history of a number of European and west Asian states in the period from 323 to 30 B.C., that is, from the death of Alexander the Great to the incorporation of Egypt into the Roman Empire.[46]

The word "Hellenism" derives from the Greek word *hellenizein* "to speak [or to act] Hellenic," i.e., "like a Greek." It was used especially in reference to non-Greeks who had accepted the Greek way of life. But the term is inaccurate in that during the same period many Greeks also accepted non-Greek, Oriental ways of life, whether Persian or Judaic.

There is no doubt that the Hellenistic world was created by the Macedonian Alexander, like the Bosporus Spartocos half-barbarian in origin. His unique discovery lay in his realization that a worldwide "marriage of cultures" was possible. "[Alexander] proclaimed for the first time," writes W. W. Tarn, "the unity and brotherhood of mankind. . . . Above all, Alexander inspired Zeno's vision of a world in which all men should be members one of another, citizens of one State without distinction of race or institutions, subject only to and in harmony with the Common Law immanent in the Universe, and united in one

[44] See, e.g., W. B. Henning, "Mitteliranisch" in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, div. 1, vol. 4, pt. 1 (Leiden Cologne, 1958), pp. 20-129, esp. 55-56; A. von Gabain, "Alttürkische Schreibkultur und Druckerei," *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* 2 (Wiesbaden, 1964), pp. 171-191. A. von Gabain, "Die alttürkische Literatur," *Philologiae Turciae Fundamenta* 2, pp. 211-243; Harold W. Bailey, *Khotanese [Buddhist] Texts*, 8 vols. (London, 1945-1968).

[45] W. W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilization* (Cleveland, Ohio, 1961), pp. 1–2.

[46] J. G. Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, 2d ed. (Gotha, 1877–1878).

Social life not by compulsion but only by their own willing consent, as (as he put it) by Love."[47]

If this world view is accepted, then those things that encourage understanding between human beings must be emphasized: for example, that two religions can be true,[48] and two different languages equally sacred, having the same *dignitas* in two different cultures. By extension, the idea of translating from one literary language having *dignitas,* to another literary language, with equivalent *dignitas,* was introduced — and was to become a seminal concept in human history.

Translations from one language into another began early in history; they are attested to in old Mesopotamia for the second millennium B.C. At that time translations from the enigmatic Sumer texts were made into Semitic Akkadian. From that time originates the international term *talami* (*tilmač*) "translator," which lives even today in the German *Dolmetsch*(*er*).[49]

But in those early times until the Hellenistic period, the subjects of translations were primarily state documents and other official texts where the verbatim translation of words rather than ideas or sentences was the object.

A translation in which all creative possibilities of one language were marshaled to render the ideas of another was first accomplished in Hellenistic times. This fact alone assures that period a special place in the cultural history of mankind. Two of these documents have been preserved: the *Milindapañha* and the letter of Pseudo-Aristeas, both dating from ca. 100 B.C.[50]

The *Milindapañha,* or "Questions of Milinda" (referring to the Indian king of Greek origin, Menander, who lived during the second century B.C.), is preserved in a Pali version and, in part, in a Chinese translation of the fourth century of our era. Written in the form of a dialogue, it is a good example of that typical intellectual invention of the Greeks. In it, King Menander and the Buddhist sage, Nāgasena, discuss the basic aspects of the Buddhist doctrine.

A letter of Pseudo-Aristeas tells the story of an invitation extended to seventy-two Jewish elders by the Greek Egyptian King Ptolomy II (d. 246 B.C.) to journey to his capital, Alexandria. Ptolomy supposedly asked the elders to translate their scriptures into Greek — this being the legendary account of the

[47] Tarn, *Alexander the Great* (Boston, 1959), pp. 147–148.

[48] Cf. Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilization,* p. 339: "but another movement, very typically Hellenistic, was a great expansion of syncretism, the equation or fusion of one god with another as being alike forms of the one divinity behind them." Cf. also the relevant chapters in Moses Hadas, *Hellenistic Culture: Fusion and Diffusion* (New York, 1959).

[49] P. Jyrkänkallio, *Zur Etymologie von russ. tolmač "Dolmetscher" und seiner türkischen Quelle* (Helsinki, 1952); for an opposing view cf. J. Németh, "Zur Geschichte des Wortes *tolmács* 'Dolmetscher,'" *Acta Orient Hung* 8: 1 (1958), pp. 1–8.

[50] See the excursus "The Milindapañha and Pseudo-Aristeas" in Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India,* 2d ed. (Cambridge, 1951), pp. 414–436.

origin of the Septuagint. It is not our concern to discredit the testimony of this letter, although it has been universally recognized as a propagandist's work designed to commend the Jewish religion to the Greeks. The product of the Alexandrian effort — the Septuagint — has, however, survived, and its existence is what is important to us here, for it represents the first successful translation of a highly literary text from one literary language into another.[51]

5.1

After the territory of the former Bosporus Kingdom was incorporated into the Russian Empire (1783) and archaeology emerged as a scholarly discipline, many archaeological expeditions were sent there. They unearthed many Greek and Hellenistic cities (Panticapaeum, Phanagoria, Tanais, Hermonassa, Gorgippia, etc.) with sites of social and cult activities that yielded epigraphical and other monuments.[52] Although the epigraphic material discovered to date is only fragmentary (there were no deserts in the Bosporus, as there were in Egypt and Turkestan where so many sand-buried documents were preserved), it is still possible to form a general picture, especially since the publication of Academician Vasilij Struve's *Corpus inscriptionum regni Bosporani* (1965).[53]

Most of the inscriptions are written in Greek, but many of them, beginning with the first century B.C., are not Greek but Judaeo-Greek in content. One of the most important of these, originating from Panticapaeum and dated A.D. 81, reads: ". . . I, Chreste (Χρήστη), the former wife of Drusos (Δροῦσος), have manumitted my home-born slave, Heraklas . . . who may turn whithersoever he desires . . . he is not, however, to forsake the fear of heaven and attachment to the synagogue (προσευχή) under the supervision of the community (συναγωγή) of the Jews."[54]

V. F. Gajdukevič assumes that Jews came to the Bosporus from Pontus, after it was incorporated into the Kingdom of Pontus.[55] But the possibility

[51] For the most important literature on the Septuagint, see H. B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge, 1914); R. L. Ottley, *A Handbook of the Septuagint* (London, 1920); J. Ziegler, *Die Septuaginta: Erbe und Auftrag* (Würzburg, 1962), 29 pp.; S. Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Oxford, 1968); Jellicoe, *Studies in the Septuagint: Origins, Recensions, and Interpretations* (New York, 1974).

[52] See, e.g., *Drevnosti Bosfora Kimmerijskogo*, 3 vols. (S-Pb, 1854); M. Ebert, *Südrussland im Altertum* (Bonn-Leipzig, 1921); E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks* (Cambridge, Eng., 1913); M. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (Oxford, 1922); Gajdukevič, *Bosporskoe carstvo*; T. N. Knipovič, *Tanais* (M.-L., 1949); *Fanagorija*, ed. A. P. Smirnov (M., 1956).

[53] *Korpus bosporskix nadpisej*, ed. V. V. Struve et al. (M.-L., 1965), 951 pp.

[54] *Korpus bosporskix nadpisej* (no. 70), pp. 77-79.

[55] Gajdukevič, *Bosporskoe carstvo*, p. 347.

remains that some Jews migrated to the Bosporus from Egypt, since Bosporus grain merchants maintained close relations with their Egyptian colleagues and even undertook some joint ventures in search of new markets.[56]

The Jews settled in the Bosporus Kingdom,[57] especially in its capital Panticapaeum (now Kerč) and the towns of Phanagoria, Hermonassa (later, during Khazar times, called Samkarč al-Yahūd or the Jewish Samkarč)[58] and Tanais. It appears that they lived in congenial conditions, developing well-organized communities and building synagogues, which served as communal centers.

The typical feature of Jewish life in the Bosporus was its connection with Greek cultural and social organizations. The Jews entered the Greek polis as the *metoikoi,* but were soon recognized as comprising the typical Hellenistic, quasi-autonomous organization called *politeuma* ("corporation"), having its own courts. Many Jews were granted "potential citizenship," or *isopolity,* by the Bosporus kings.[59]

The Greek language and customs penetrated into the Jewish synagogues: the Jews accepted the *manumisia* rite, or release from slavery; several of the preserved Bosporus documents (including that cited above) are such *manumisia* charters.[60] Among the organizations of the Bosporus Jews one finds the typical exclusively Hellenistic clubs, *thiasoi,*[61] having a set hierarchy — that is the ἱερεύς for rites, the πατήρ συνόδου to preside at meetings, and the γραμματεύς, or secretary. Typical of this type of club was the harmonious coexistence of religious, commercial, and scholarly interests.

In Asia Minor, Yahweh had already received the Greek designation, ὁ Θεὸς ὕψιστος, which appears very often in the Bosporus inscriptions.[62] Later, in Khazar times, one can detect the penetration of some Altaic elements into the syncretic Judaism. In a Khazar Hebrew document from Kiev dated about A.D. 930 (discovered among the Geniza texts by Professor Norman Golb), Hebrew names appear alongside the Hunno-Bulgarian members of the local Jewish community. Particularly interesting is the case of a man by the name of

[56] Cf. Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilization,* pp. 217–222; 254–255.

[57] Gajdukevič, *Bosporskoe carstvo,* p. 377.

[58] See Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamaḏānī, *Kitāb al-buldān,* ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1885), p. 271, ll. 1–2.

[59] Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilization,* pp. 21–238, esp. 219–223.

[60] *Korpus bosporskix nadpisej,* nos. 69–74 (Panticapaeum); nos. 985–986 (Phanagoria); no. 1021 (Zaporožskaja); nos. 1123–1128 (Gorgippia).

[61] Gajdukevič, *Bosporskoe carstvo,* pp. 431–438. The Thiasoi inscriptions are included in *Korpus bosporskix nadpisej,* nos. 75–108 (Panticapaeum), no. 870 (Mirmekij), no. 898 (Zenonov Xersones); no. 946 (Kimmerik), no. 967 (Ilurat), nos. 987–988 (Phanagoria), no. 1016 (Axtanizovskaja), no. 1054–1055 (Hermonassa), nos. 1129–1136 (Gorgippia), nos. 1230–1231 (Kuban region), nos. 1259–1292 (Tanais).

[62] Gajdukevič, *Bosporskoe carstvo,* pp. 434–435; Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilization,* pp. 224–225.

Gwstṭ' bar Kiabar Kōhen. *Gosṭaṭā* referred to a member of the political Bulgar clan, Gostan; *Kiabar* was the name of the ruling Khazar tribe. Their connection with the Jewish institution of Kōhēn, reserved for the Levites, is strange indeed.

Professor Golb and I propose the following hypothesis by way of explanation. Among the Old Turks the hereditary institution of *qāms*, or priests of the *Täŋri* ("God") religion played very important roles, including those of medicine man and rainmaker. Even after he became a Jew, the Gosṭaṭā from the charismatic clan Kiabar retained his important position, now within the new religion. One may add that the Menorah, the candelabrum that symbolizes the Jewish faith, had its origin in the Bosporus. The well-known Russian Hebraist, Daniel Chwolson, discovered and published the oldest Jewish documents from the gravestones of Phanagoria.[63]

6.

In the history of Kievan Rus', the city of T"mutorokan' (Hermonassa/Tamatarcha) plays an unusual role. The first Kievan historical writer and the editor of the first version of the Primary Chronicle of 1072 was Abbot Nikon of T"mutorokan' (= Tmutorokan').[64]

The history of Rus' up to the time of Jaroslav is known primarily through its connections with Byzantine and Bulgarian events: only after the death of Volodimer in 1015 did the other aspects of its history gradually become known.

Jaroslav's main rival for power was his brother Mstislav, who ruled in Tmutorokan'. During the rule of the Jaroslaviči, the sons of Jaroslav, the province they most desired was Tmutorokan', and each tried his luck in conquering that city.[65]

Around 1150 the Byzantine Emperor Manuel Comnenus occupied Tamatarcha; his treaty with Genoa (1169) freeing that commercial and maritime center from all duties stated clearly that the Genoese could enter any Byzantine port for commercial activities except Tmutorokan'.[66] Therefore, it is not

[63] Details are presented in N. Golb and O. Pritsak, *Khazarian Hebrew Documents of the Tenth Century* (Cornell University Press; in press).

[64] M. D. Priselkov, *Očerki po cerkovno-političeskoj istorii Kievskoj Rusi X-XII vv.* (S-Pb, 1913); Priselkov, *Istorija russkogo letopisanija XI-XV vv.* (L., 1940), pp. 31-33; D. S. Lixačev, *Russkie letopisi i ix kul'turno-istoričeskoe značenie* (M.-L., 1947), pp. 82-93; A. N. Nasonov, *Istorija russkogo letopisanija XI-načala XVIII veka* (M., 1969), pp. 34-52.

[65] See *Povest' vremennyx let*, ed. D. S. Lixačev, I (M.-L., 1950), pp. 110-111; cf. A. N. Nasonov, "Tmutorokan' v istorii Vostočnoj Evropy X v.," *Istoričeskie Zapiski* 6 (1940), pp. 76-99; V. A. Mošin, "Nikolaj, episkop Tmutorokanskij," *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 5 (1932), pp. 47-62.

[66] A. P. Každan, *Problemy obščestvenno-političeskoj istorii Rossii* (M., 1963), pp. 93-101. G. G. Litavrin and A. P. Každan, *Thirteenth International Congress of Byzantine*

surprising to find how important Tmutorokan' was to the author of the *Igor' Tale*.

An inexplicable, almost inborn hatred existed between the citizens of Kiev, whose rulers belonged to the dynasty of Volodimer Monomach, and those of Oleg Svjatoslavič. In 1113, according to the line of succession established by Jaroslav (the ancestor of the Rurikid provincial dynasties) after Svjatopolk died in Kiev, Oleg was to ascend the Kievan throne. A revolution erupted in Kiev, which assumed an unprecedented form: because the Kievans disliked Oleg, then ruling in Černihiv, they began to attack the Kievan Jews![67]

The first mention of Jews in the chronicle has elicited a significant scholarly literature, but the action of the revolutionaries of 1113 nonetheless remains without a plausible explanation.[68] The following is, however, a possible hypothesis.

As every student of eastern Europe knows, among the oldest monuments of the Slavic Rus' literature are the two collections (*Izborniki*) of Svjatoslav dating from 1073 and 1076. Svjatoslav was prince of both Černihiv and Tmutorokan', since from the time of Mstislav Volodimerovič, the brother of Jaroslav, these two regions were united under the same ruler. Tmutorokan' was the port of Černihiv, as Novgorod was for Kiev. But, while there are two *Izborniki* for Svjatoslav, there is none for the Kievan prince. Why is this so?

The answer is that the first center of Slavic literary activity in eastern Europe was not likely to have been the newly (about 800) founded capital city of Kiev, whose inhabitants were just becoming literate in 1036 and were still on what might be described as a primary-school level. The old Hellenistic center of Hermonassa/Tamatarcha/Tmutorokan', on the other hand, had a long tradition — over 1,500 years, — of uninterrupted cultural activity. The hatred between Kiev and Černihiv/Tmutorokan' (ruled by two branches of the same dynasty) can then be explained in terms of a kind of Kievan cultural inferiority complex. After the acceptance of Christianity, literacy had become a very important weapon that Kiev did not yet possess. Fearing the domination of Černihiv/Tmutorokan', the Kievans refused to accept the Rurikids of that branch of the dynasty who had at their disposal Jews, experienced in the (now so important!) art of writing and translating, as their rulers. The revolution of 1113 represented their effort to prevent Oleg Svjatoslavič, who was the ranking Rurikid of the Černihiv/Tmutorokan' branch, from becoming prince of Kiev. The Jews of Rus' (Kiev) were identified with those of Tmutorokan',

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Studies, Main Papers 3 (Oxford, 1966), pp. 85, 69–81.

[67] *Povest' vremennyx let*, ed. Lixačev, I, p. 196; cf. the more complete version in V. N. Tatiščev's *Istorija Rossijskaja*, IV (M.–L., 1964), pp. 179–180.

[68] I intend to propose a new analysis of the sources in another publication.

who were its literati, the bearers of the old tradition in letters. Consequently the local demagogues in Kiev directed the revolt against the Kievan Jews as local symbols of the threat of "foreign" subjugation.

In confirmation of this theory is the point made some years ago by the Russian scholar N. A. Meščerskij, who deduced on the basis of glosses and other textual criteria that some of the oldest Kievan Rus' literary works, such as the *Jewish War* of Josephus Flavius, must have been translated in the Bosporus-Crimean region.[69] He proved that the author of the Primary Chronicle had at his disposal a Slavic translation of Josippon, directly from a Hebrew version made in the same region.[70]

7.

The history of the Christianization of the Goths during the fourth century still holds unsolved problems, but one can agree with Ludwig Schmidt that the Crimean Goths owe their conversion sometime prior to 325 to the proselytizing activities of Christians from the Bosporus.[71]

The appearance of Ulfilas (ca. 311–383), the apostle of Christianity among the Goths and translator of the Bible into their vernacular, can be understood only within the larger context of the Pontus Euxinus Hellenistic cultural milieu. Ulfilas was born to a nationalized Gothic family originating in Sadagolthina, located near Parnassus on the borderland between Cappadocia and Galatia in Anatolia. In the Gothic raid of 264 the family had been carried off beyond the Danube, but Ulfilas had maintained ties with Constantinople and the country of his ancestors. It was certainly not accidental that in 341 Ulfilas was ordained a missionary bishop to his own people (Visigoths) by the famous Eusebius of Nicomedia (d. ca. 342).[72] The ordination took place in Antioch, an old Hellenistic center and the see of the eastern patriarchate.

The spirit of Hellenism continued to exist in the lands to the east of the old Roman Empire, and one by one, national script systems had been invented for the indigenous peoples based on either the Greek uncial or the Aramaic (e.g., Georgian) alphabet. The Christian Holy Scriptures were translated into these vernaculars. The Gothic alphabet Ulfilas devised consisted of twenty-seven

[69] N. A. Meščerskij, *Istorija iudejskoj vojny Josifa Flavija v drevnerrusskom perevode* (M.–L., 1958), pp. 1–164, esp. 97–121.

[70] Meščerskij, *Palestinskij sbornik* 2 (1956), pp. 58–63; Meščerskij, *Istorija iudejskoj vojny*, pp. 132–153.

[71] Ludwig Schmidt, *Geschichte der deutschen Stämme* [1] *Die Ostgermanen*, 2d ed. (1934), p. 234.

[72] Charles Archibald Scott, *Ulfilas, Apostle of the Goths* (Cambridge, Eng., 1885); Kurt Dietrich Schmidt, *Die Bekehrung der Ostgermanen zum Christentum: Der ostgermanische Arianismus* (Göttingen, 1939).

letters, nineteen of which were taken from the uncial Greek, six from the uncial Latin, and two from the Old Germanic runic script.[73]

8.

Nomadic empires (paces) such as the Khazar Empire are rightly credited with having practiced an exemplary religious tolerance, although the assertion needs some qualification. Historians of medieval Eurasia usually focus on the political aspects of the steppe empire, in which the nomads were most in evidence and therefore most apt to have had their actions recorded in the sources. But aside from their role as empire builders the nomads were also active as mercenaries, policemen, and as blackmailers. The intellects behind the nomadic empires were the aristocratic long-distance traders who resided in the oases or towns, knew several languages, and had a keen interest in philosophical and religious matters. They (e.g. Eastern Iranians, Hellenistic Jews) formed a society similar to the later Western bourgeoisie of the early modern, postsecularized period. It is this town-based commercial elite, rather than the nomadic generals and brigands, that should be credited with having given the nomads their reputation for religious tolerance.

Here I propose as a conclusion the following set of hypotheses:

The distinctive feature of Hellenism was a marriage of cultures that found its realization in the idea and practice of the art of translating.

Classical Mediterranean Hellenism may have ended in the West with the battle of Actium in 31 B.C., but in the Eurasian steppe, Hellenism — at least as defined here — continued to flourish until the tenth and eleventh centuries.[74]

[73] Hans Jensen, *Die Schrift*, 2d ed. (1958), pp. 455–456.

[74] The differences in assessments of Hellenism's duration are attributable to the perspectives of the individual viewers. For example, note the following statement by S. D. Goitein: "We normally apply the term *Hellenism* to the period between Alexander and Augustus, between the establishment of the Macedonian empire and the final replacement of its heirs by Rome. This is Hellenism as seen from Greece and from the point of view of political history. However, from the standpoint of cultural history and the peoples affected by the Greek heritage, we have to extend this period far longer, well down to the seventh century A.D. when the study of Greek finally had come to an end in Latin Europe and when the countries of the eastern and southern shores of the Mediterranean were conquered by a new language and a new civilization, Arabic and Islam" (*Studies in Islamic History and Institutions* [Leiden, 1966], p. 56). But significantly enough, "Hellenism found a refuge precisely in the civilization and the language which had replaced Greek [i.e., Arabic] and Greek culture [i.e., Islam] in most countries which it had dominated for centuries" (Goitein, *Studies*, p. 56). One should here recall that the eminent scholar C. H. Becker even declared that Islam *is* Hellenism, although, to be sure, an Islamized Hellenism (*Islamstudien* I [Leipzig, 1924], pp. 24–53). Concerning the ensuing controversy (especially between these views and those of E. Troeltsch and H. H. Schaeder), see Goitein, *Studies*, pp. 65–66.

In the East, it ended with the triumph of Turkic popular Islam (the empire of the Karakhanids); in the West its decline was marked by the conquest of Tmutorokan' by the Rus'. The last service that former Bosporus city rendered to culture was to help to elevate the Slavic idiom to the status of a sacred and literary language, with its obligatory *dignitas.*

In the history of the Eurasian steppe one must distinguish two elements; the commercial, intellectual, and religious pax of the citizens of oases settlements (among the barbarians/ *in partibus infidelium*), which has been forgotten or ignored by historians; the military and political pax under the control of the royal hordes, who, beginning with the Cimmerians in the ninth century B.C., have wrongly been credited with being the only historical force in Eurasia.

In the eastern part of the Eurasian steppe, the true bearer of intellectual activity and of the idea of the marriages of cultures were the Iranian Sogdians, while in the West, they were in all probability the Bosporus Hellenistic Jews.

The Tripartite System of Old Turkic Mythology

1.

The *locus classicus* for the study of Old Turkic ideology, as well as its social and supernatural system, is the following passage from the Prince Kül Tigin memorial inscription, carved in Turkic runes in Mongolia in A.D. 732:[75]

(E 1) üzä kök täŋri,	When the blue heaven (*kök täŋri*) above
asra yaγəz yär	and the dark brown earth (*yaγəz yär*)
qilənduqda,	below were created, between the two
äkin ara kisi oγli	were created sons of men (human
qilənməs.	beings).
kisi oγlənda üzä äčüm	Over the human beings, my [two]

[75] The text is given on the basis of the photographic edition: *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon, recueillies par l'expédition Finnoise 1890 et publiées par la Société Finno-Ougrienne* (Helsingsfors, 1892). See Vilhelm Thomsen, *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon déchiffrées* (Helsingsfors, 1894), pp. 97-101. The last translation authorized by Thomsen was "Alttürkische Inschriften aus der Mongolei," trans. Hans Heinrich Schaeder in *ZDMG* 78 (1924-1925), pp. 144-147; the most recent English translation in Talât Tekin, *Grammar of Orkhon Turkic* (Bloomington, 1968), pp. 263-265. The system of transliteration for the Turkic runes used here differs from that introduced by V. Thomsen. It is elaborated in O. Pritsak, *Proceedings of the VIth International Symposium Sept. 5-9, 1978.* National Academy of Sciences, Republic of Korea (Seoul, 1979), pp. 27-50.

apām bumən qaγan istämi
qaγan olərməš. olərəpan
türk⁴ bodənəŋ
ilin törüsin tuta birməs,
iti birməs.

ancestors Bumən Qaγan and Istämi Qaγan mounted [the throne]. Having mounted [the throne], they established and organized the pax (*il*) and the law (*törü*) of the Turkic polity (*bodən*).

(E 2) tört buləŋ qop
yaγi ärməs. sü süləpän
tört bulənŋdaqi bodənəγ qop
almәs, qop baz qilməs.
bašləγəγ yükəndərməs,
tizləgəg sökürməs.

The four quarters [of the world] all were enemies. Having marched with armies, they took all the peoples of the four quarters, they subjugated all of them. They made those who had heads bow and those who had knees kneel.

ilgärü qadərqan y²išqa-tägi,
kirü tämər
qapəγqa-tägi
q³ondərməs.
äkin ara (E 3) idi oqsəz
k⁴ök türk⁴ äńčä
olərur ärməs.

They settled [the Turkic people] eastward up to the Qadərqan Yiš (Khingan) Mountains] and westward as far as Tamər Qapəγ (the Iron Gate in Sogdiana). The Kök (Blue > East) Turks [at that time] without any political structure (*oqsəz*) were in this way settled between the two [boundaries].

bilgä qaγan ärməs,
alp qaγan ärməs; buyruqi
yämä bilgä ärməs ärəńč, alp ärməs
ärəńč.
bäglär i yämä bodəni
yämä tüz ärməs.

Wise emperors (*qaγan*) were they; brave emperors were they. Their retinue (*buyruq* "comitatus"), too, were wise and brave, indeed, their [subordinated lords (*bäglär*) and their peoples were in accord (*tüz*).

ani üčün iləγ äńčä tutməs
ärəńč, iləγ tutəp törüg
itməs.

Thus in this way they indeed established the pax. Having established the pax they organized the law.

özińčä (E 4) kärgäk bolməs,
yoγči s²iγətči öŋrä k⁴ün
toγsəqda

They passed away, a natural death. As mourners and lamenters there came [starting with those] from the east, from where the sun rises: the pax of Bükli Čöl (to the north of Korea), the Chinese, the Tibetans, the Avars, the Byzantines (*Purəm*), the Qirqiz, the Üč Quriqan, the Otuz Tatar, the Qitan, the Tatabi. All these people, having come, lamented and mourned.

bükli čöləg äl, tabγač,
tüpüt, apar, purəm, q⁵irqəz,
üč q³uriqan,
otəz tatar, q⁵itañ, tatabi,
bunča bodən käləpän,
siγtāməs, yoγlāməs.

anday küləg qaγan ärməs.

Such famous emperors were they.

anda kisrä inəsi

Afterwards the younger brothers be-

qaγan (E 5) bolməs ärənč, oγliti
qaγan bolməs ärənč.

came emperors, indeed, [and then] the [generation of the] sons became emperors.

anda kisrä inisi
äčisintäg qilənmaduq ärənč,
oγli qaŋin-täg qilənmaduq ärənč,

But apparently the younger brothers did not resemble their older brothers, and the sons did not resemble their fathers.

biləgsiz qaγan olərməs ärənč,
yablaq qaγan olərməs ärənč,

They sat [as] unwise emperors, indeed.
They sat [as] cowardly emperors, indeed.

buyruqi yämä biləgsəz ärənč,
yablaq ärməs ärənč.
(E 6) bägläri bodəni tüzsiz üčən,

Their retinue were unwise, indeed.
They were cowards, indeed.
[On the one side,] because their lords and peoples were not in accord, because of the deceitful cunning of the Chinese polity [and] their trickery, [on the other] because of a rift created between both the younger and older brothers, [and finally] because both the lords and people were led to slander one another, the Turkic people ruined

tabγač bodən täbləgin kürləg
üčün,
armaqčis²in² üčün,
inə-li äči-li kiŋsürtükin üčün,
bäg-li bodən-li-γ
yoŋšurtuqin² üčün,
türk⁴ bodən illädük ilin
ičγənu id¹məs, (E 7) qaγanladuq
qaγanin yitərü id¹məs.

the pax they had established, they lost the emperor they had made emperor.

tabγač bodənqa bäglək
uri oγlin² qul boldi,

Their sons worthy of becoming lords became slaves to the Chinese polity.

äsiləк q⁵iz oγlən² küŋ boldi.

Their daughters worthy of becoming ladies became bondswomen.

türk⁴ bäglär
türk⁴ ātin² it¹i,

The Turkic lords abandoned the Turkic titles (= ideology).

tabγačγi bäglär tabγač
ātin² tutəpan,
tabγač qaγanqa (E 8) körməs.

Those chieftains who were in China adopted Chinese titles (= ideology), and obeyed the Chinese emperor.

äləg y²il¹ isəg küčəg
birməs.

They gave [their] services and [their] strength [to him] for fifty years.

ilgärü k⁴ün toγsəqda,
bükli qaγanqa-tägi
süläyü birməs.

Eastward, where the sun rises, up to the [realm of the] Bükli Qaγan, they went on campaigns [in the service of the Chinese].

q³urəγaru tämər qapəγqa-tägi

süläyü birməs.

Westward, as far as the Tämər Qapəγ (Iron Gate in Sogdiana) they went on campaigns [in the service of the Chinese].

tabγač qaγanqa ilin
törüsin ali birməs.

They surrendered to the Chinese emperor their pax and their [own] law.

türk⁴ qara qaməγ (E 9) bodən äṅčä
timəs: illəg bodən ärtəm,
iləm amti qani?
kämkä iləg qazγanur män,
tir ärməs.
qaγanləγ bodən ärtəm, qaγanəm qani?
nä qaγanqa isəg küčəg birür män,
tir ärməs.
äṅčä tip, tabγač qaγanqa yaγi bolməs.

Then Turks and all the common people said as follows: I used to be of a people who had a pax. Where is my pax now? For whose benefit am I conquering realms? They said:
I used to be of a polity who had an emperor. Where is my emperor now? To which emperor I give services and strength?, they said. By saying so they became foes of the Chinese emperor.

(E 10) yaγi boləp, itənü
yaratunu umaduq,
yana ičəkməs.

After they became foes, they could not organize themselves [and] again submitted [to the Chinese].

buṅča isəg küčəg birtükgärü
saqənmati,
türk⁴ bodən ölüräyin,
uruγsəratayin²
tir ärməs.

Not having considered that [the Turks] gave so much service and strength [to the Chinese emperor], they [the Chinese] said: Let us kill the Turkic people and deprive them of progeny.

yoqadu barir ärməs.

[The Turkic people = their polity] were about to be annihilated.

üzä türk⁴ täŋrisi, türk⁴
iduq yiri (E 11) subi äṅčä
tämәs: türk⁴ bodən yoq bolmazun,
tiyən, bodən bolčun,
tiyən.

Above the Türk Täŋri, the Türk Divine [Twins] Yir and Sub said as follows: The Turkic people shall not perish; it shall be an [organized] people (body politic) [again].

qaŋəm il-tärəs qaγanəγ, ögəm

il-bilgä qatunəγ
täŋri töpəsindä tutəp,
yügärü kötürməs ärəṅč.

Täŋri seizing from the height [of the sky], raised my father Il-tärəs to [the position of] emperor and my mother Il-bilgä to [the position of] empress.

qaŋəm qaγan yiti yägrmi ärən
tašəqməs. tašra (E 12) yorəyur
tiyən,
kü äsədəp, baliqdaqi taγiqməs,
taqdaqi inməs,
tirələp yätməs är
bolməs.

My father the emperor went off with seventeen men.

Having heard the news that [he] was marching off, the townspeople went up [to him] and those who were in the mountains came down [to him]. Having gathered [together] they numbered seventy men.

täŋri k⁴üč birtük üčən qaŋəm
qaγan süsi böri-täg ärməs,
yaγis²i q³oñ-täg
ärməs.

Since Täŋri bestowed strength, the warriors of my father the emperor became like wolves, and his foes were like sheep.

Let us examine this passage from the point of view of Dumézilian structure, supplementing the text, when necessary, with data from other passages of the same or related Old Turkic inscriptions, all dating from the eighth century. In this way the analysis can be based exclusively on original material and texts free from the influence of any "higher" world religion.

The passage in question provides us with a threefold conception of space and its threefold collective representation: the space above (*üzä*), represented by the blue heaven (*kök täŋri*); the space below (*asra*), represented by the dark-brown earth (*yaγəz yär*); and the space "between" (cf. the Old Norse *mið-garðr* "Midgarth"), represented by the sons of men, i.e., human beings.

It also shows a threefold conception of time: the history of the Old Turks from the foundation of their realm in A.D. 550 to the uprising of 681, a period of 130 years, is divided into three periods: the reign of the two co-founders; the generation of their younger brothers, and the generation of their sons.

In this Old Turkic creation myth the creator remains unknown, and hence the passive voice is used throughout. The creator is also not identified in Old Norse mythology.[76]

Like the Goths, the Franks, and the Saxons, the Turks were at the beginning not a tribal confederation, but a new creation of the Männerbund type, a sworn band of young warriors led by a warrior king (*qaγan*/kagan). Moreover, it seems that the very national name *Türk* is an epithet meaning "in the prime of life, vigorous." It also appears in conjunction with the word *yigit*, "young man" as *türk yigit* meaning "a young man in his prime."[77]

In battle these Türk warriors exhibited a remarkable daring and a strong esprit de corps. Their highest protector was a deity called Türk Täŋrisi or simply Täŋri. One is immediately reminded of a Germanic parallel: the highest god of the Saxons (the tribal name *sax-* is an epithet meaning "dagger or short sword") was called *Saxnôt* (OE *Seaxnēat*), which meant "companion of the sword" or "friend of the Saxons" (< * *sahs-ginôt*).[78] The word *täŋri* is an old Turkic appellative meaning "heaven; sky," and "god"; the suffix /si/ is a definite article.

[76] De Vries, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* II, 2d ed. (1957), pp. 359–372.

[77] Cf. Kāšġarī, *Divanü Lûgat-it-Türk tıpkıbasımı "Faksimile,"* ed. Besim Atalay (Ankara, 1941), p. 178; cf. Clauson, *EDT*, pp. 542–543.

[78] De Vries, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* II² (1957), p. 18; Turville-Petre, *Myth*, p. 100; de Vries, "Völkerwanderung und Wikingerzeit," *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 209–222.

The figure of Türk Täŋrisi belongs to Dumézil's first function. His sphere is the maintenance of proper juridical relations among men (especially the Turks); he may therefore be classified as a Mitra figure. Our main sources of information are the royal inscriptions, in which Türk Täŋrisi, or Täŋri, usually represents the supernatural hierarchy, as the personification of the sovereignty. The Turkic emperor (*Türk qayan*) is his creation. The official title of the emperor is [*Türk*] *taŋridä bolməs*,[79] or [*Türk*] *täŋri yaratməs*[80] which simply means "created by [Türk] Täŋri." The Turkic emperor (*qayan*) is also called *täŋri-täg*,[81] or *Täŋri-kän*;[82] both words express the idea: "like [Türk] Täŋri." [Türk] Täŋri's actions were looked upon as the acts of a sovereign; whenever he did something, it was said that he deigned to do so (*yarliqa-* "to deign").[83]

Like Óðinn, Türk Täŋrisi makes his warriors recklessly furious. These strong young men, filled with frenzy, are called in the inscription *böri-täg* "like wolves." This designation may be compared with the Germanic ON *Ylfingar* / OE *Wulfingas*. In the Turkic epic *Dedem Qorqud*, recorded in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, such warriors are called *delü*. Regarding this term, the English translator Geoffrey Lewis writes: "*Delü*, in later Turkish *deli*, which I have rendered sometimes by 'wild,' sometimes by 'crazy,' meant something very much like berserker; indeed, were it not for the incongruity [sic!] of the Icelandic word in a Turkish setting I should have used it."[84]

The protoplast of the Turkic dynasty was a Romulus-Remus figure, the son of a she-wolf and raised among wolves. The Chinese name for the Old Turkic dynasty was accordingly A-shih-na, which comes from the Proto-Turkic word for "gray wolf" (< **aq-činγa*).

Türk Täŋrisi was the figure who bestowed the office of the Turkic emperor (*qan bir-*, "to give a king"); he also granted him wisdom (*bilig bir-*, "to give wisdom") and strength (*küč bir-*, "to give strength"). Those who transgressed Türk Täŋrisi's commandments were killed by him (*ölt-*, "to let kill").

According to Dumézil, the essential part of the conception of sovereignty was the birfurcation of the first function. The Mithra figure had to have in such a system a co-sovereign, the Varuṇa figure. This co-sovereign was specified in Old Turkic as *Öd Täŋri*, or the Time God (*Öd* = Old Turkic "time"), a deity, apparently the highest sovereign, who was responsible for the maintenance of

79 I S 1.
80 II E 1.
81 I S 1; II E 1 etc.
82 E.g., Gerard Clauson, *JARS* (1957), pl. 5, p. 6.
83 E.g., I E 15; I E 23; II E 13; II E 34.
84 *Book of Dede Korkut*, trans. Geoffrey Lewis (Harmondsworth, Eng.: Penguin, 1974), p. 23. The word *delü* goes back to **tälbä*; see Kāšġarī *tälwä* (Facsimile, p. 214).

the cosmic order and therefore did not deal directly with the Turkic ruler. Öd Täŋri appears in the royal inscriptions only once, in the Kül Tigin inscription from A.D. 732 (IN 10–11):

inəm kül tigən kärgäk
boldi . . . özəm saqəndəm:
öd täŋri yasar (< yasasar),
kisi oγli q'op öləgli
törüməs.

My younger brother Kül Tigin passed away . . . I myself thought: If Öd Täŋri determines [someone's death, there is no recourse,] [since] all sons of men were born mortal.

The term *täŋri* "god" is limited exclusively to the divinition of the first function. Only Öd and Türk have the right to be called *täŋri*. The deities of the second and third function are never so termed. The royal title *qaγan* corresponds to the usage of the term *täŋri*.

The bifurcation of the first function was the essential principle of the Old Turkic political structure. The double *Täŋri*-dom on the supernatural level had its analogue on earth. The true double kingdom ("*Doppel-Königtum*"), different from the institution of majordomo, was one of the characteristic features of Old Turkic constitutional history, at least until the year 1212. The passage quoted above, for example, named two male ancestors of the royal dynasty, and it even used two words: *äčüm-apām* for the term "ancestor."

The two founders of the Old Turkic Empire who jointly exercised sovereign power over the Turks are well attested in the Chinese, Byzantine, and Islamic sources. They are Bumən Qaγan (545–552) and Istämi Qaγan (545–575). Each of the two *qaγan*s had a pair of heirs-apparent, bearing the titles *γabγu* and *šad*. There were, consequently, two *γabγu*s (the "left" *γabγu* and the "right" *γabγu*) and two *šad*s, the left and the right, in the Turkic college of rulers. All together they were six — here one can see the tripartite system and the bifurcation working together.

This interesting phenomenon of the double kingdom can also be studied in the realm of the Karakhanids in Turkestan (840–1212), who regarded themselves as the successors to the dynasty of the Old Turks. The names of two animals, *arslan* "lion," and *buγra* "camel," both with the epithet *qara* "great," were used to symbolize the two halves of the bifurcated sovereignty. The first pair of heirs-apparent bore the title *ilig* "king," the second that of *tigin* "prince."

The full college of Karakhanid rulers had then the following membership:[85]

Arslan Qara Qaγan	Buγra Qara Qaγan
Arslan Ilig	Buγra Ilig
Arslan Tigin	Buγra Tigin.

[85] Pritsak, *Der Islam* 31: 1 (1954), pp. 23–24.

The bifurcated and tripartite system extended to the conception of the proper functioning of the realm, which prospered only so long as *il* ("imperial organization") and *törü* ("law") were maintained. The representatives of the social and political structure had to be *bilgä* ("wise") and *alp* ("brave"). Wherever the rulers and their officers became *biləgsiz* "unwise," and *yablaq* "cowardly," the harmony was destroyed. The realm thus became *tüzsəz* "not in harmony," and had to be destroyed.

Dumézil's second function, the physical protection of society, is represented by a divinity whose name was *Ärkləg*. The Turkic word *ärk* means "strength," "power," "prowess in the field," "authority," the suffix /lig/ means "possessor of."

In the royal inscriptions, the figure of *Ärkləg* is overshadowed by that of Täŋri; on two occasions, he is mentioned together with and just after Täŋri. Unfortunately, in both cases the particular passage is damaged, so that we do not know just what *üzä täŋri ärkləg*, "the above Täŋri [and] Ärkləg," did together.[86]

As was the case in Scandinavia the royal bastards were a main source for adventurous military leaders, the warrior-kings. In Old Turkic the term for such a royal bastard was *inäl/änäl* > *yinäl* (> *niyäl*); the collective designation of the institution was *inäl-gü*. The first Altin Köl inscription (near the Abakan River in Siberia) contains the following passage:[87]

(5) tört änälgü ärtəm,	We were four royal bastards;
bəzni ärkləg adərti yəta.	Ärkləg, alas, separated us.

In his capacity as the divine representative of the class of warriors, Ärkləg, the Turkic "Indra/Þórr-figure," had the royal bastards under his special supervision.

At the beginning of this century, Sir Aurel Stein acquired from the manuscript archives in the Halls of the Thousand Buddhas near Tun-huang a beautiful booklet written in Old Turkic runes, probably in the eighth century. The title, *Irq bitig* (Book of Divinations), and the content show that it was a kind of manual for interpreting the various combinations of three throws of a die, a kind of fortune telling used by Turkic warriors in the Chinese frontier service to pass the time. Significantly, the chief god for these mercenaries was Ärklig, as Divination 12 proves:[88]

[86] II N 12; Ixe Asxete II, 1.1, see S. E. Malov, *Pamjatniki drevnetjurkskoj pis'mennosti Mongolii i Kirgizii* (M.-L., 1959), p. 46. On *ärk* see Clauson, *EDT*, p. 220.

[87] Malov, *Enisejskaja pis'mennost' Tjurkov* (M.-L., 1951), p. 54.

[88] Used here is the photograph of the manuscript held by the British Museum, London, Ch. 00331. Cf. Vilhelm Thomsen, *Samlede Afhandlinger* III (Kbh., 1922), pp. 236-237.

är abqa barmis. taγda
qamәlmis. täŋridä
ärklәg tir.

A man went hunting; he fell down from the mountain. "There is Ärklig in the heaven" says he.

änčä biliŋlär: yabәz ol.

Know this, it is [a] bad [omen].

A particular feature of Dumézil's third function is the presence of Divine Twins. In Old Turkic these twins are represented by *Yir/Yär*, "Earth" and *Sub*, "Water," and are referred to collectively as *iduq* or "divine," sometimes with the word *Türk*. They are often accompanied, here again in agreement with Dumézil's system, by a female divinity; her name is *Umay*, which literally means "placenta."[89]

The Divine Twins act together with Türk Täŋrisi, and the designation *Türk* is also used in reference to them: when the Chinese decided to exterminate the Turks, "above the Türk Täŋrisi [the Powerful Täŋri] and the Türk Divine [Twins] Yär and Sub said as follows: The Turkic people shall not perish, it shall be an [organized] people (body politic) [again]."[90]

The Divine Twins and Türk Täŋrisi, as well as the good fortune (*qut* "charisma") of deceased relatives, would interfere in the affairs of the realm; they disapproved of the treason of the Toqәz Oγәz tribes who went to submit to the Chinese:

(II E 35) üzä täŋri iduq yär sub
äčәm qaγan q^{3}uti taplamadi
ärәnč.

Above Täŋri, the Divine Yär and Sub, as well as the good fortune of my uncle, the emperor, did not like it, indeed.

The female divinity Umay joins the company in the inscription of the former Turkic prime minister, Toñuquq (d. after 725); the moment is just before the decisive battle of the Turks with the mighty Qirqiz army near the Irtish River (Siberia):[91]

(T 38) täŋri umay iduq yär s^{2}ub
basa bärti ärәnč, näkä
täzär biz.

The Täŋri, the Umay, and the Divine [Twins] Yär and Sub always had overpowered [the foes of the Turks], indeed. Why should we flee?

In some cases Yir/Yär alone appears as the representative of the third function, as is the case in the Sine Usu inscription from 758. Succeeding to the

89 Cf. Kāšġarī, *Divanü Lûgat-it-Türk tıpkıbasımı* (1941), p. 74.
90 I E 10.
91 The inscription of Toñuquq, ed. Pentti Aalto, *JSFOu* 60: 7 (Helsinki, 1958), p. 42.

throne after the death of his father, the Uighur King Il-Itmiš (747–759) was faced with a rebellion of a group of his subjects (the third function). In such a complex situation:[92]

(SU, E 1–2; cf. S 9) quləm küŋəm bodənəγ täŋri yär ayu birti.	[Both] the Täŋri and Yär deigned to command the people [and bring them into obedience], my bondmen and my bondwomen.

One passage in the Kül Tigin inscription (732) attests to the presence of the conflict (*bulγaq*) between the first (*Täŋri*) and the third (*Yär*) functions:

(IN 4) täŋri yir bulγaqin[2] üčün yaγi bolti.	Since the Täŋri and the Yär were in disharmony, they [the Toqəz Oγəz] became our foes.

The use of the verb *bulγa-* "to disturb order" is significant. It contains the idea of the forcible mixing of different levels. The Turkic linguist Maḥmūd al-Kāšġarī (ca. 1070) describes the meaning of *bulγa-* as: "when one stirs something so that both the top and bottom are cooked — like porridge or the like."[93]

In conclusion the Old Turkic pantheon had essentially the same structure as those reconstructed by Dumézil for Vedic Indian, Iranian, ancient Roman, and Old German cultures:[94]

Function	Vedic Indian	Old German	Old Turkic
First function	Varuṇa	Týr	Öd Täŋri
co-sovereigns	Mitra	Óðinn	Türk Täŋrisi
Second function	Indra	Þórr	Ärkläg
Third function			
divine twins	The Two Aśvins	Freyr & Njǫrdr	The Two Iduqs: Yär & Sub
female deity	Sarasvatī	Freyja	Umay

[92] Gustav John Ramstedt, *JSFOu* 30: 3 (Helsinki, 1913), pp. 16, 18 (E 1–2); 28 (59).

[93] Kāšġarī, *Divanü Lûgat-it-Türk tıpkıbasımı* (1941), p. 571.

[94] I agree with Littleton's statement that "ancient Slavic myth and [sedentary agricultural] society have furnished little if any evidence one way or the other so far as Dumézil's thesis is concerned" (*New Comparative Mythology*, p. 183). This can also be said about the newest attempt made by Aleksander Gieysztor, "The Slavic Pantheon and New Comparative Mythology," *Quaestiones Medii Aevi* 1 (1977), pp. 7–32.

2.

A thorough study would require the examination of the very rich Turkic epic tradition, both old and new, which, of course, cannot be done within the framework of this particular work. But the results already obtained show that the correspondence between the Turkic tripartite ideology and that of the Indo-Europeans, elaborated by Dumézil and his school, cannot be ascribed to chance.

The cornerstone of Dumézil's theory is the existence of an intrinsic relationship between ideology and language. For him, the tripartite system he discovered is uniquely and exclusively an Indo-European common heritage. Since Turkic does not belong to the Indo-European linguistic family, but represents the Altaic language group, our results contradict this view. There is no doubt in my mind that the tripartite ideology elaborated by Dumézil did indeed exist, but that, like any ideology, it was not tied to language, but rather to social structure.

Here I agree with Stig Wikander that Dumézil's tripartite ideology came into being in a community characterized by the presence of a warlike nonagricultural Männerbund, a sworn war-band of young warriors "led by a chief or king who was distinct from the other strata of society (i.e., the priests and the cultivators) and which exhibited in battle a remarkable recklessness and esprit de corps."[95] In Dumézil's view, the Indo-European concept of "warrior band," or Männerbund, organized around the person of a fearless leader (cf. Finn and the *Fianna*, Indra and the Maruts), seems to have been the "secret weapon that facilitated the I[ndo]-E[uropean] expansion."[96]

The steppe empires ("paces"; sg. "pax") known to history from ca. 900 B.C., were all creations of charismatic leaders who used such Männerbünde, which always had the function of tribes in the making, for the realization of their imperial concepts. There is basically no difference between the realms of the steppes and those of the nomads of the sea. The realms of the Viking kings were different from the states of the Scandinavian land kings; the two coexisted, but in only a few cases did they coincide.

Social structure and ideology belong together; they condition each other. Language is only an instrument for expressing a given ideology. It is certainly affected by the ideology as far as vocabulary is concerned, whether terminology or even levels of abstraction. But ideology is independent of the structure of the language: language cannot cause a change in an ideology's structure

[95] Stig Wikander, *Der arische Männerbund* (Lund, 1938). See also Littleton, *New Comparative Mythology*, p. 156.

[96] Littleton, *New Comparative Mythology*, p. 127.

or character. If we imagine a social structure *A*, we must necessarily admit the existence of an interconnected ideology *A*; but language offers no constraint. Ideology *A* reflecting social structure *A* can be expressed in language 1, 2, 3, or *N*. Conversely, language 1 is capable of meeting not only the requirements of ideology *A*, resulting from social structure *A*, but also those of ideology *B*, resulting from social structure *B*, those of ideology *C*, resulting from social structure *C*, and so on.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth century, it was generally believed that the nomadic empires of Inner-Asia and Eurasia were the creation and typical expression of Turko-Tatar genius. We now know that the Scythians and Tocharians, both Indo-European speakers, were masters of the steppe long before the Turks or even the Huns. Only in the fourth century before Christ did the power in the steppe pass from the Indo-Europeans to the Altaic speakers. Proof of this important universal event is provided *inter alia* by the political terminology. All the highest imperial titles used by the Old Turks are of Indo-European origin, such as *qayan* "emperor," *qatun* "empress," *yabγu* and *šad*, titles for sub-kings. To these borrowings also belong the very important idea and word *qut*, "imperial charisma."

In pre-Zarathustrian Iran the priests and the warriors drank the fermented juice of the *haoma* plant as part of their religious rites, purveying a foretaste of immortality through the intoxication induced by this sacred liquor. The Scythians not only practiced these libations, but they immortalized that custom in their burial practice of setting stone memorials, statues of the dead relatives holding a vessel for *haoma*. These gravestones are typical of the Eurasian steppe. Later called *kamjannye baby*, or "stone old women," by the Slavic population, they appeared for the first time in the eighth century before Christ and lasted until the fourth century of our era (the Scythian, Sarmatian, and Alan periods). The custom was then abandoned for two centuries, but in the sixth century it was restored by the Old Turks, who — according to the Chinese sources — regarded themselves as the progeny of the Scythians. The ethnonym *sak-* (< *saka* = Scythian) does in fact appear in the names of several Turkic tribal subdivisions even today.

Having adapted the Indo-European Männerbund ideology and the conception and structure of the steppe empire with the necessary terminology, the Altaic speakers, for example, the Old Turks, could not help but absorb the religious beliefs, since they were inseparably connected with that ideology. Their language could be adapted to express this new ideology, just as it was later capable of adjusting when various branches of the Old Turkic speakers exchanged the steppe for the city. They switched from the nomadic ideology of the warlike Männerbünde to the urban mercantile ideology and society, with the result that sooner or later they had to accept a sedentary religion. This

can be seen in the Uighurs in Chinese Turkestan — Manichaeism (767), the Karakhanids in both Turkestans — Islam (840), and the Khazars in eastern Europe — Judaism (about 830).

There are two weak points in Dumézil's system, but these can easily be corrected. One is the almost totalitarian view that the society of olden times conformed to *one* king, *one* ideology, and *one* religion. The situation was quite the contrary. Christianity was the first religion that tried to achieve a kind of total conformity, but it was rarely effective in penetrating into the villages before a system of roads was created and communication became possible on a broad scale; in many Christian states this did not happen before the nineteenth century.

Another weak point in Dumézil's system is his Indo-European exclusivity. Dumézil places his ultraexclusive Indo-European society outside time and space. Not only does he deny the possibility of foreign influence (only non-Europeans may borrow from the Indo-Europeans; the Indo-Europeans are too exalted to degrade themselves by borrowing from outside) on the Indo-Europeans, but he does not even consider the possibility of internal borrowing among their various branches. Such total isolation is completely unknown in human history. Even in our times, when totalitarian ideologies and totalitarian political structures exist both within and outside Europe, they have found it impossible to achieve total isolation.

Instead of assuming that a very complex ideology can survive the social structure upon which it was patterned and then exist almost intact within a structurally different society for more than one thousand years, it seems more likely to take into consideration the chain of borrowing of the ideology, provided the prospective borrower made the decision to adapt the social structure that was paired with that particular ideology.

The Goths lived for almost one hundred years within the Hunnic state. Just as the Hunnic political figure, Attila, was adopted by the Germanic epics, so one may expect that the Hunnic ideology could not remain without its impact on the Goths. They lived for centuries together with the Alans; the latter even accompanied them in their western adventures. The name Catalonia (< Gotho-Alania) in northeastern Spain remains living proof of the cooperation of the two people. If in both the Icelandic and Ossetian traditions, there are structurally the same "Angra Mainyu" figures, the great tricksters, Loki and Syrdon,[97] one can suspect that the Icelandic Loki figure that eventually reached Iceland had been borrowed long before by the Goths from the Alans, who as eastern Iranians never loosened their ties with their western Iranian brothers.

[97] Dumézil, *Gods of the Ancient Northmen*, pp. 64–65.

Snorri Sturluson repeatedly stresses that Óðinn arrived first in central Europe and later in Scandinavia, coming from the East, from the Tanais region, i.e., from the regions called Dúnheiðr in the *Battle of the Goths and the Huns*. Snorri uses the name *Tyrkland* for that territory. Between 650 and the tenth century Tyrkland did in fact exist there: it was the West Turkic Khazar Empire, responsible for the tens of thousands of cufic coins unearthed in Scandinavia. This numismatic testimony is strong enough to make Old Norse-Khazarian relations a historical fact that both historians and archaeologists agree to. Even Ari inn fróði (d. 1148) had good reason to start his lineage with a *Tyrkja konungr*, that is, with a Khazar emperor. If Snorri's data on Old Norse mythology are otherwise trusted, why is his insistence on the migration of the Æsir under the leadership of Óðinn from the east (Tyrkland) dismissed as nonsense? In the seventh and eighth centuries, the future Vikings needed a suitable ideology, and the Khazarian Turks that they met on their mercantile expeditions were able — as the heirs to a steppe empire — to provide them with that necessary spiritual merchandise.

Óðinn's Reform of the Futhark

Specialists in Old Germanic runology are faced with having to explain an anomaly of the runic system: around 800 the number of signs was reduced from twenty-four to sixteen in Scandinavia.[98] The all-Germanic stave (the older futhark) had consisted of twenty-four signs, but in Frisia and England that number increased, first to twenty-eight and later to thirty-three,[99] while in Scandinavia it went down[100] despite the fact that at the time Old Norse had developed thirty or forty phonemes.[101]

To explain the reduction one has first to figure out how the decreased system could take care of the new load — clearly some signs had to represent several phonemes. Four types of reloading can be established:[102] One vocalic rune now rendered two phonemes: the *a* rune represented the phonemes /a/ and /æ/; front-back opposition was disregarded. One consonantic rune rendered two phonemes, voiced and unvoiced, i.e., the distinctive feature of voicing was abolished: the rune *b* represented the phonemes /p/ and /b/; the rune

98 Klaus Düwel, *Runenkunde* (Stuttgart, 1968), p. 50.
99 Lucien Musset, *Introduction à la runologie* (Paris, 1965), pp. 189–195.
100 Musset, *Introduction à la runologie*, pp. 213–218.
101 Von Friesen and Whatmough, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 19 (1966), p. 757; Musset, *Introduction à la runologie*, pp. 226–228.
102 See above, fn. 98, and Wolfgang Krause, *Runen* (Berlin, 1970), pp. 20–21.

t represented the phonemes /t/ and /d/; the rune *þ* represented the phonemes /þ/ and /ð/. One consonant rune rendered three phonemes — voiced, unvoiced, and nasalized: the rune *k* represented the phonemes /k/, /g/, and /ŋ/. One vocalic rune rendered one consonant (glide) and two other vocalic phonemes: the rune *i* represented glide /j/ and the vocalic phonemes /i/, /e/, and (partly) /æ/; the rune *u* represented /w/ and four labial vocalic phonemes, both front and back: /o/, /u/, /ö/, and /ü/.

The data show that this kind of reloading is unusual for a Germanic language and therefore cannot be regarded as accidental. It must have been patterned on some other system where it was common. The most obvious possibility is Turkic, for the same four types of sign reloading can also be found in Turkic, when literary Old Turkic took on a Semitic alphabet sometime in the sixth or seventh century.

In the Semitic languages, consonant phonemes play a preeminent role, and consequently only consonants receive script signs of their own. They have only three vocalic phonemes: one low /a/, one high unrounded /i/, and one rounded /u/. Four consonantic phonemes, particularly the signs for the glides /j/ and /w/, also rendered the *i* and *u*/*o* types of vowels, respectively, as a secondary function (i.e. *matres lectionis*).

Old Turkic had at least two front unrounded phonemes, one high /i/ and one mid /e/, as well as four labial vocalic phonemes: high front /ü/, high back /u/, low front /ö/, and low back /o/. They took the Semitic (Aramean) consonantic sign *yod* to render both the consonantic glide /j/ and all front unrounded vocalic phonemes /i/, /e/, and partly /æ/. In doing so they were following a well-established Semitic scribal tradition of two millennia. They took the Semitic (Aramean) consonantic sign *waw* to render both the consonantic glide /w/ and all four rounded vocalic phonemes /u/, /ü/, /o/, and /ö/.

The vocalism and the set of glides of the Old Turkic and Old Norse were very similar at the beginning of the Viking age. It was therefore an easy matter for the Old Norse scholars to adapt the Turkic solution. The first solution is also easily explicable as an adaption from the Semitic script system. Since the consonantic sign *aleph* rendered the single low unrounded vowel in Semitic, Old Turkic in all alphabets (Aramean > Sogdian > Uighur) used that sign to represent both its unrounded low vowels, the back /a/ and the front /æ/.

Typical of Old Turkic was the restriction of some consonantic phonemes that occurred in the stem, especially in the initial position. Only three stops were permitted: voiced /b/, unvoiced /k/, and unvoiced /t/. It can hardly be coincidental that the younger futhark chose the exact same set of signs (*b*, *k*, *t*) to render its stops: *b* but not *p*, and the voiceless *k* and *t*, but not *g* or *d*.

The Semitic signs *b*, *k*, and *t* of the Aramean (>Sogdian>Uighur) alphabet were required to render two Turkic consonantic phonemes: /p/ and /b/, /k/ and /g/, /t/ and /d/.

The Turkic medieval script systems using Semitic alphabets developed two ways of rendering the guttural-nasal /ŋ/, which is nonexistent in the Semitic languages. In the east (Central Asia, Mongolia) the cluster *n-k* was used; in the west (Iran, Near East, parts of eastern Europe) the nasal element was ignored — usually the sign /k/ from the Arabic alphabet received the additional load and stood for /ŋ/. This usage provides the explanation for the Scandinavian runic reloading of the rune *k* to render the phoneme /ŋ/.[103]

These data indicate that the reformer of the Scandinavian version of the younger futhark was familiar with the Old Turkic of the eighth and ninth century written in the Aramean > Sogdian Uighur alphabet. He must also

[103] The Iranian usage was conditioned by the existence of alternative forms, one with nasalization and one without. Concerning this phenomenon, my friend and colleague at Harvard, Professor Richard N. Frye, wrote for me (on 18 June 1980) the following note:

"Note on the phoneme *-ng-* as represented in writing by *-g-* in the Iranian languages:

The problem of nasalisation is widespread and varied in the Indo-European languages. For example, in reconstructed Indo-European roots one finds many examples such as the base **rag* or **rang* in Iranian for IE **reg* — 'to color', which is attested not only in the Middle Iranian languages in both forms, but also in the modern Iranian languages, e.g., Yidgha *rok* for New Persian *rang* 'color', or IE **kek/keng* or *kek/kenk* 'hook', for which we find NP *čang* 'claw', IE **vak/vank*, NP *bāng* 'sound', and many others. Thus, throughout the Iranian area from ancient times to the present one finds forms with or without a nasal.

In early New Persian writing this phenomenon also appears, but more important is the Middle Iranian phase, where we find, for example, Kroraina (Saka) *palagá* 'speckled' almost certainly written for a nasal, as in NP *palang* 'speckled, leopard'. (Cf. H. W. Bailey, *Dictionary of Khotan Saka* [Cambridge, 1979], p. 220.) In Sogdian we find the dropping of *-n-* in past participles, such as *tr'nyc* 'to press, submit', and *'trty* 'pressed'. In Middle Persian (Pahlavi), as in NP, we find, e.g., *sag* for *sang* 'stone', as in the Denkard. (Cf. S. Shaked, *The Wisdom of the Sasanian Sages* [Boulder, Colorado, 1979], p. 52.) In none of these languages, however, is the sound *-ng-* exclusively written by only *-g-* or *-gg-*, as in Greek (except in Kushan-Bactrian, which follows Greek usage, e.g. βαγολαγγο for *baglan(g)*, etc., as among the Hephthalites, in what is Greek practice). In Khwārizmian an interesting feature occurs, viz. the writing of *-y-* for *-n-*, especially before *-g*, *-d* and other consonants, e.g., *bydk* for *bndg* 'slave', and *hyc* for *hnc*, and vice versa 'from him'. (Cf. W. B. Henning in *Handbuch der Orientalistik, Iranistik* [Leiden, 1958], pp. 116-17.) In both cases *-nc* is intended.

There are too few extant texts and not enough is known to determine about the dialectology of Khwārizmian, Sogdian, Khotanese-Saka, or other Iranian languages whether at any time the writing of simple *-g-* for a nasalized *-ng-* was standard. Enough evidence exists in the extant texts, however, to show that both forms were in use in writing."

I take this opportunity to thank my friend for his kindness. Cf. also A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die Persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch* (Göttingen, 1919), esp. pp. 69-74.

have known how the Arabic alphabet rendered the Turkic guttural nasal /ŋ/, information that was readily obtainable in the major cities of the Khazar Empire, especially in Šarkel on the Don (Tanais) and in the capital twin cities of Khamliγ-Šāriγčin in the Volga delta. A considerable portion of the city population was Muslim by religion and used the Arabic script; so also were the empire's war minister and many of the mercenaries who comprised its standing army. Mercenary service in a foreign army was also a common profession of the Old Norsemen.

Another avenue for linguistic exchange was the very intensive trade between Scandinavia and the Khazar Empire that was carried on from the last decades of the eighth century and throughout the ninth. Both its vitality and its extent are well documented by archaeological finds and artifacts and especially by the thousands of Muslim silver dirhems on Scandinavian soil.

Some questions about Óðinn's relation to the runes remain unanswered.[104] The literature of the Viking age credits Óðinn with inventing the runes, but the name of the god Týr (< *tīwaz*), not that of Óðinn,[105] was attached to a rune,[106] and not Óðinn, but Þórr was invoked to protect and bless the runes.[107]

Óðinn became associated with the runes sometime after the sixth century, just when the reform of the younger futhark took place. In telling about Óðinn's sacrifice to himself, the famous *Hávamál* story credits him with the following words:[108]

(139) Við hleifi mik sældo	They brought me not bread
né við hornigi;	and not the beaker,
nýsta ek niðr,	downward I glared,
nam ek upp rúnar,	grasped the rune staves
æpandi nam,	shrieking I grasped them
fell ek aptr þaðan.	and sank back thence.
(142) Rúnar munt þú finna	Runes wilt thou find
ok ráðna stafi,	and rightly [that is, according to the reform] read;
mjǫk stóra stafi,	of wondrous weight,
mjǫk stinna stafi,	of mighty magic,
er fáði fimbulþulr	which that dyed [with blood] the dread god,

104 Karl Helm, *Wodan* (1946), pp. 39–40.
105 De Vries, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* II² (1957), p. 74; Krause, *Runen*, p. 31.
106 De Vries, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* II², p. 21, §356; Krause, *Runen*, p. 29.
107 De Vries, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* I², pp. 343–344; II (1957), pp. 145–146.
108 *Edda*, ed. Neckel-Kuhn, I (1962), pp. 40–41 = Edda/Hollander, pp. 36–37.

ok gørðo ginnregin	which that made the holy hosts,
ok reist hroptr rǫgna.	and were etched by Óðinn.
(144) Veiztu, hvé rísta skal?	Know'st how to write?
veiztu, hvé ráða skal?	know'st how to read?
veiztu, hvé fá skal?	know'st how to stain?
veiztu, hvé freista skal?	know'st how to understand?
veiztu, hvé biðja skal?	know'st how to ask?
veiztu, hvé blóta skal?	know'st how to offer?
veiztu, hvé senda skal?	know'st how to supplicate?
veiztu, hvé sóa skal?	know'st how to sacrifice?

As we have seen, only a Norseman of the eighth or ninth century who had spent some time in Khazaria could have reformed the Germanic runic system in the way it was done, producing a system that followed Turkic scriptural patterns. Here we might recall that Snorri Sturluson stresses again and again (in the *Snorra Edda,* the *Ynglingasaga*) how Óðinn came to the north from the lands of the Turks near Tanais/Don, and that the only Turks in that region during the Viking age (eighth and ninth centuries) were the Khazars. If we accept Snorri's other data, we ought also seriously to consider his information about Óðinn's arrival from the lands of the Turks, i.e., Khazaria.

The mortal god Óðinn preserved in the epic tradition is not the creator of the Germanic runes, which had existed from at least A.D. 150 (see, e.g., the Øvre Stabu spearhead in Oppland, Norway),[109] but the reformer of the Scandinavian younger futhark from the second half of the eighth century.

Elias Wessén, the leading Swedish runologist, has presented his views on the origin of the younger futhark in two publications.[110]

Runes, which are known to have been in use throughout Old (pre-seventh century) Scandinavia, were inscribed not only on stone, but — according to Wessén — also on wood. Stone inscriptions served only as memorials and were therefore rare. Wood ones, continues Wessén, carried everyday messages and were more common, but because wood was perishable only the stone inscriptions survived. Thus we have only partial testimony about the extent and spread of writing in Old Scandinavia. Because of the common and frequent writing on wood, says Wessén, it became necessary to reduce the number of signs, as in the younger futhark, and to simplify their form, as in the so-called Swedish-Norwegian runes, — a process not unlike the one that produced shorthand.

[109] Antonsen, *Concise Grammar,* p. 29, no. 1.

[110] Elias Wessén, *Om Vikingatidens runor* (Sthlm, 1957), 23 pp.; Wessén, *Från Rök till Forsa* (Sthlm, 1969), 38 pp., 9 pl.

Unfortunately, Wessén's theory is no more than philological speculation. Archeology does not confirm the existence of any secular wood inscriptions in pre-thirteenth-century Scandinavia (as in Bergen). There is indeed no evidence for assuming any high degree of literacy in the north during that early period. Cultural and religious history also fail to support Wessén's theory. The runic script was used primarily (and, initially, exclusively) for magical and cult purposes. No secular text bearing an everyday message could be carved in runes as long as the Old Norsemen were adherents of the religion of Wodan (Óðinn). "The runes were thought by the Germanic peoples, and the Northerners too," writes Johannes Brøndsted, "to possess occult powers, powers which could be turned to advantage. These powers were not invented by the runemasters who carved the letters in stone or wood: they existed already in the runes themselves, and could be released only by the initiated."[111]

The use of runes for secular purposes was possible only in the interim period, which varied chronologically from land to land, between the time when a Scandinavian land lost its pagan zeal and cyclical thinking and the time when it became intellectually a part of Christian, linear civilization having the Latin alphabet. One must, therefore, look elsewhere to find a reason for the emergence of the "simplified" set of sixteen runes defining younger futhark.

Some years ago, Sergej Andreevič Kozin (b. 1879, d. 1956), a Russian Mongolist, whose special interest was the Mongolian epic tradition, made an ingenious observation about the choice of script systems by the intellectual leaders of emerging Eurasian steppe empires. These leaders had two options: either a phonetically exact writing system (Mong. *todo bičig*), as characterized by alphabets going back to Sanskrit, or a phonetically vague system such as the Semitic or the Chinese.[112]

In 1269 a phonetically exact script was instituted by the Mongolian emperor Kublai Khan (Qubilai) for all languages of his empire, including Chinese. Its alphabet was designed by the Tibetan monk ḥP'ags-pa on the basis of the Tibetan version of the Sanskrit script. It is thanks to Kublai Khan, then, that phonetically transcribed texts in many Oriental languages dating from this time were composed. Many of them have survived and are now available to linguists for study.

But to the imperial bureaucracy of the time, this development spelled dis-

[111] Johannes Brøndsted, *The Vikings* (Penguin Books) (London, 1965), p. 195.

[112] S. A. Kozin, *Sokrovennoe skazanie* (M.-L., 1941), pp. 14-17; Kozin, *Vestnik Leningradskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta* (1946: 3), pp. 32-43.

aster, for the Mongols speaking dialects different from that of the imperial clan could not fully comprehend official decrees. Therefore, after the death of the phonetically minded emperor in 1294, the exact system was abandoned.

In contrast, the Semitic script systems, both Arabic and Aramean, long survived in Asia. This was especially true of Aramean. First adopted by the Iranian Sogdians (therefore often called the Sogdian script),[113] it was then used by the Turkic Uighurs (hence the designation Uighur script) who passed it along to the Mongols (the Mongolian script), and the latter, in turn, gave it to the Manchus (the Manchu script).[114] They owed their popularity to the fact that they generally indicate only the type of vocalic phoneme involved and in rendering consonants often do not give specific features (e.g., voiced/unvoiced). Thus, the script could show just the outline of a word, and the speaker could pronounce it according to the phonemic rules of his own dialect. Because steppe empires included speakers of many dialects and related languages, they found the Semitic script system to be an ideal communication medium.

As soon as the old Germans began to create vast realms modeled after those of the Altaic Huns and Khazars (e.g., the Goths), they were obliged to write official documents. Concurrently then, as one might expect, they followed the steppe empires' example in adopting a phonetically vague writing system as suitable to their needs. It was in this way that reduced younger futhark came into being. To symbolize this whole process I call the reform of the Germanic script system "Óðinn's reform." But here I stress that the Óðinn in question was no longer the obscure god of some Germanic peasants: here the etymology of that name is irrelevant, as is the "tribal" affiliation (Gaut, Goth, Saxon, etc.) of that "pre-reformed" Óðinn. He was now Ása-Óðinn, Snorri's *second-stage* Óðinn (see p. 236), the leader of mercantile and military elites, who had just adapted during their sojourn in Khazarian trading towns the last edition of the steppe Männerbünde ideology/religion for their own use. That process was not unlike the experiences of the intelligentsia of some of today's developing countries, who, after studying in Moscow, spread militant Marxism-Leninism at home. The journeys of Óðinn that Snorri related should not be understood as *physical* migrations of Germanic peoples (as many scholars have assumed; see p. 227), but rather as the *spreading of new "revolutionary" ideas* (among them, the reform of script) by the stratum which corresponded to the modern intelligentsia.

[113] This adaptation took place not later than at the beginning of the fourth century A.D., see Walter Bruno Henning, *BSOAS* 12 (London, 1948), pp. 601–615.

[114] See Kaare Grønbech, *Indian Art and Letters* 22, no. 2 (London, 1948), pp. 1–7, 8 pl.

CHAPTER FOUR

Introduction to Volumes One and Two: Historiography of Old Scandinavian Sources Pertaining to Eastern Europe

Scholars of East European history have not made adequate use of Old Scandinavian sources in their studies, partly because doubts persist about their reliability. August Ludwig von Schlözer (b. 1735, d. 1809), the first prominent scholar of Old Rus'ian chronicles (his *Nestor* appeared in 1802–1809), was a great supporter of the sagas early in his scholarly career,[1] but he later became more skeptical: "Weg also mit isländischen Sagen aus der ganzen ältesten russischen Geschichte."[2] Schlözer — who numbered Nikolaj Mixajlovič Karamzin (b. 1766, d. 1826),[3] the founder of scholarly Russian historiography, among his followers — was, and remains, very influential in Russian and Ukrainian historiography. As a result, the Old Scandinavian sagas have been denied the status of historical sources, and the Old Swedish runic inscriptions and skaldic poetry have been almost completely ignored as well.

[1] Von Schlözer's 1764 proposal to the Imperial Academy of Arts and Sciences for writing a Russian history paid particular attention to the Scandinavian sources; in it, its author remarks, "Icelandic and Swedish historians are invaluable for Russian history." See *Sbornik ORJaS* 13 (1875), p. 296.

[2] *Nestor: Russische Annalen in ihrer Slawonischen Grundsprache verglichen, übersetzt und erklärt*, part 1 (Göttingen, 1802), p. 35.

[3] *Istorija gosudarstva rossijskogo* 1 (S.-Pb., 1816), p. 305, note 78.

The Scandinavian Sources

At the same time, however, another view was growing beginning in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. To improve its finances, the Royal Nordic Antiquarian Society in Copenhagen (founded in 1825) undertook to prepare collections of Scandinavian sources dealing with the history of other lands, particularly America and the Russian Empire. In 1837 in Copenhagen, Carl Christian Rafn, the society's secretary, edited a volume entitled *Antiquitates Americanae sive scriptores septentrionales rerum ante-Columbianarum in America*; a *Supplement* was published in Copenhagen in 1841. In 1833 while preparing for publication the Latin translation of the *þættir* related to the *Saga of St. Óláfr* (volume five of the *King's Sagas* series), Rafn directed the attention of scholars of Russian history to the *Eymundar þáttr*, suspecting, and rightly so, that it contained valuable information pertaining to the history of Kievan Rus'. The *Eymundar þáttr* was published as a separate booklet in the original and in Latin translation under the title, *Eymundi et Ragnaris, Norvegicorum principum, tandem Polteskae vel Polociae in Russia Dynastarum; Vitae et gesta, in originali islandico e membrana Bibliothecae Daniae regis unacum latina versione et brevi introductione edidit Societas Regia Antiqvariorum Septentrionalium* ([Kbh, 1833] viii + 60 pp.).[4] Only seventy copies were printed, all of which were sent to scholarly institutions in Russia; not a single copy was retained in Denmark.[5]

The leading Russian Orientalist of the day, himself of Polish background, Osip Ivanovič Senkovskij (Józef Julian S. Sękowski, b. 1800, d. 1858) devoted particular attention to this publication. He was then in the process of changing his occupation from scholarly researcher to journalist, publishing under the penname of Baron Brambeus in the influential literary and scholarly journal, *Biblioteka dlja čtenija*, a bimonthly (1834–1865). Senkovskij immediately began to study Old Icelandic, and the first volume of the 1834 yearbook of the *Biblioteka* already contained an enthusiastic essay by him on the value of the

[4] In fact a joint reprint from *Fornmannasögur* 5 (Kbh, 1830), pp. 252–266 (text), and from *Scripta Historiae Islandorum* 5 (Kbh, 1833), pp. 257–282 (Latin translation).

[5] In September 1972, the librarians of the Royal Library at Copenhagen assured me that a separate edition of the *Eymundar þáttr* could not possibly have been published in Copenhagen in 1833. Rafn's publication was also unknown to the library of the Arne Magnæanian Institute in Copenhagen. But I found this "nonexistent" publication among the numerous rare books of the Widener Library at Harvard under the call number Scan 4767.5.

sagas as sources for Russian history.[6] With characteristic persuasiveness he juxtaposed two types of sources: the laconic *Nestor* and the colorful *Eymundar þáttr*, rich in detail and description. Naturally, the latter outweighed the former. The second volume of the first yearbook included Senkovskij's Russian translation of the saga, with an appended original text and an exhaustive commentary.[7]

Senkovskij's essay in the first volume urged the Russian reading public to establish a national endowment for the preparation and publication of Old Scandinavian sources relating to the early history of Russia:

> There is probably no better nor more respectful a way for us Russians to respond to the enlightened attempts of Danish scholars, and enrich our history besides, than by starting a national endowment. From donations we should collect a sum of about thirty-five to forty thousand rubles with the object of offering it to the Copenhagen society as our patriotic contribution to the publishing of such an important and positive work. Thus, we would incontestably show that we know how to value their significant work and the monuments of our own past life.[8]

This proposal aroused the interest of Count Sergej Semenovič Uvarov (b. 1789, d. 1855), the imperial minister of public education. In the following year (1835), correspondence was exchanged between him and the society,[9] and the necessary sum was collected and deposited in Copenhagen. In 1843 the society officially opened a Section Russe which appointed a commission for research into early Rus'ian history.

The members of the commission were[10] Rafn and the Society's vice-president, the Icelandic textologist, Finnur Magnússon (Finn Magnusen; b. 1781,

[6] *Biblioteka dlja čtenija* 1: 3 (S-Pb, 1834), pp. 1–77. Senkovskij's article was translated into Danish by Colonel Leopold Keyper under the title, "De islandske sagaer i deres forhold til den russiske Historie," *Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* (Kbh, 1847), pp. 3–77.

[7] "Eymundar Saga: Ėjmundova Saga," *Biblioteka dlja čtenija* 2: 3 (S.-Pb, 1834), pp. 1–77. Pages 1–43 contain the Icelandic text with a Russian translation; pp. 47–71 include the notes. Senkovskij's introductory article (see n. 6), together with the Russian translation of the saga (but without the Icelandic text), was reprinted in volume 5 of *Sobranie sočinenij Senkovskogo* (Barona Brambeusa) (S.-Pb, 1858), pp. 420–573. Senkovskij's work on the *Eymundar þáttr* received support from the head of the Normanist school, Mixail P. Pogodin: *Biblioteka dlja čtenija* 6: 3 (S-Pb, 1836), pp. 77–104.

[8] *Biblioteka dlja čtenija* 1: 3 (1834), p. 47.

[9] Concerning this correspondence, which continued until 1859, see V. K. Ščipanov, *Istoričeskie svjazi Skandinavii i Rossii IX–XX vv., Sbornik statej*, ed. N. E. Nosov and I. P. Šaskol'skij, *AN SSSR, Institut istorii SSSR, Leningradskoe otdelenie, Trudy* 11 (1970), p. 377.

[10] See V. S. Ikonnikov, *Opyt russkoj istoriografii* I: 1 (S-Pb, 1891), pp. 319–320.

d. 1847). Russian scholarship was represented by Finno-Ugrist Anders Johan Sjögren (b. 1794, d. 1855), the archpriest Stefan Karpovič Sabinin (b. 1789, d. 1863; the first Russian expert on Old Icelandic), Mixail Petrovič Pogodin (b. 1800, d. 1875), and Friedrich Carl Hermann Kruse (b. 1790, d. 1866), both historians and partisans of the Normanist theory.

The main responsibility for the preparation of the work was assumed by Rafn and his Icelandic associates, Finnur Magnússon (a very poor East European historian) and Sveinbjörn Egilsson (b. 1791, d. 1852), a translator from Icelandic into Latin. In the midst of the preparations Magnússon died and his place was taken by the Norwegian historian and saga expert, Peter Andreas Munch (b. 1810, d. 1863). Munch's advisers in textological problems were the Icelanders Jón Sigurdsson (b. 1811, d. 1879) and Brynjólfur Snorrason (b. 1820, d. 1850).[11]

This combined effort led to the publication of *Antiquités Russes d'après les monuments historiques des Islandais et des Anciens Scandinaves éditées par la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord.*[12] The original plan had called for three volumes, but only two were published. These were large folio editions, which contained excerpts from the *Poetic Edda,*[13] *Snorra Edda,*[14] heroic and mythical sagas,[15] king's sagas,[16] and family sagas.[17] Also included were pas-

[11] See *Antiquités Russes* I (Kbh, 1850; henceforth cited as *AR*), p. x.

[12] Vol. I (Kbh, 1850), xxxii + 491 pp., 9 facsimiles; vol. II (Kbh, 1852), xvi + 496 pp., 14 facsimiles. The collection has no index.

[13] "I. L'Ancienne Edda," *AR* I, pp. 1-41; A. "Extrait de Hyndluljóð" (pp. 5-15); B. "Grípisspá" (p. 16); C. "Sigurðarkviða III" (pp. 17-21); D. "Brot af Brynhildarkviðu" (pp. 21-25); E. "Helreið Brynhildar" (pp. 25-29); F. "Guðrúnarkviða I" (pp. 29-30); G. "Guðrúnarkviða II et III" (pp. 30-33); H. "Oddrúnargrátr" (pp. 33-35); I. "Atlakviða et Atlamál" (pp. 35-38); K. "Guðrúnarhvöt" (pp. 38-40); L. "Hamðismál" (pp. 40-41).

[14] "II. La Jeune Edda," *AR* I, pp. 42-64; [1] "Formáli" (pp. 43-49); [2] "Skáldskaparmál" (pp. 49-64). See also "LXXII. Supplément aux extraits des sagas": "Snorra Edda, Skáldskaparmál, c. 64" (*AR* II, p. 453). Cf. also a quotation from the *Háttatal, AR* II, p. 496, C.

[15] "Extraits des sagas mythico-historiques," *AR* I, pp. 65-234; III. "Sögubrot" (pp. 66-86); IV. "Saga af Hálfi ok Hálfsrekkum" (p. 86); V. "Saga af Ragnari loðbrók" (pp. 87-89); VI-VII. "Saga af Grími loðinkinna (pp. 89-93) et Saga af Örvaroddi" (pp. 93-109); VIII. "Hervararsaga" (pp. 115-137: "Saga Heiðreks konúngs ens vitra"; pp. 137-211: "Hervararsaga ok Heiðreks konúngs"); IX. "Saga af Norna-Gesti" (pp. 211-212); X. "Saga af Eigli ok Ásmundi" (p. 212); XI. "Hversu Noregr bygðist et Fundinn Noregr" (pp. 213-220: Hversu; pp. 220-223: Fundinn); XII. "Saga af Hrólfi konúngi Gautrekssyni" (pp. 223-225); XIII. "Saga af Herrauði ok Bósa" (pp. 225-229); XIV. "Gaungu-Hrólfs Saga" (pp. 230-233); XV. "Sörla þáttr" (p. 234). See also in "LXXII. Supplément aux extraits des sagas": B. "Extrait de la Saga de Théodoric de Bern" (*AR* II, pp. 453-455).

[16] "Extraits des sagas historiques: Sagas des rois de Norvège," *AR* I, pp. 235-480; *AR* II, pp. 1-116:

"(I.) XVI. Heimskringla de Snorre Sturlason" (*AR* I, pp. 235-392): A. "Ynglingasaga" (pp. 241-269); F. "Haralds saga ens hárfagra" (pp. 269-271); C. "Saga af Haraldi gráfeld" (pp. 271-272); D. "Saga af Ólafi konúngi Tryggvasyni" (pp. 272-290); E. "Saga af Ólafi konúngi hinum helga" (pp. 290-357); F. "Saga Magnús konúngs ins góða" (pp. 357-359); G. "Saga Haralds konúngs harðráða" (pp. 360-380); H. "Saga Sigurðar Jórsalafara" (pp.

sages from some geographical works,[18] accounts of voyages (Ohthere, Wulf-

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380–390); I. "Saga af Sigurði, Inga ok Eysteini" (pp. 390–392); K. "Saga Magnús konúngs Erlingssonar" (p. 392).

"(II.) Les autres sagas des rois de Norvège": XVII. "Saga Ólafs konúngs Tryggvasonar af Gunnlaugi múnk" (*AR* I, pp. 392–414; = OsTm); XVIII. "Saga Ólafs konúngs Tryggvasonar af Oddi múnk" (pp. 414–426). [See also LXXII. Supplément aux extraits de sagas. A. Extrait de poèmes historiques: "Ólafs drápa Tryggvasonar af Hallfreði vandræðaskáld" (*AR* II, p. 452)]; "Extrait de la saga du Saint-Olaf d'après la rédaction la plus étendue": XIX. "Saga Ólafs konúngs hins helga" (pp. 427–471; = The Encylopaedic Saga of S. Óláfr); "Extrait de la saga du Saint-Olaf d'après la rédaction la plus courte": XX. "Ólafs saga hins helga, Styttri frásögn" (pp. 472–477; = leg Osh); XXI. "Geisli Einars prests Skúlasonar" (pp. 477–480). (Appendices: "Passages parallèles généalogiques" [p. 481: "Fagrskinna," ch. 213 = "Morkinskinna"; without a translation]; "Tableaux généalogiques" [pp. 482–491]).

"(III.) Les sagas des rois de Norvège depuis Magnus le Débonnaire jusqu'à Magnús Erlingson (= Morkinskinna/Hrokkinskinna)": XXII. "Saga Magnúss konúngs ens góða" (*AR* II, pp. 2–18); XXIII. "Saga Haralds konúngs harðráða" (*AR* II, pp. 19–62); XXIV. "Saga Sigurðar konungs Jórsalafara" (*AR* II, pp. 62–73); XXV. "Saga Haralds konúngs gilla ok Magnúss blinda" (*AR* II, p. 73); XXVI. "Saga Inga konúngs Haraldssonar ok bræðra hans" (*AR* II, pp. 74–75); XXVII. "Saga Hákonar konúngs herðibreiðs" (*AR* II, p. 75); XXVIII. "Saga Magnúss konúngs Erlingssonar" (*AR* II, pp. 75–76).

"(IV.) XXIX. Saga Sverris konúngs" (*AR* II, pp. 76–79); XXX. "Saga Hákonar Sverrissonar, Guttorms Sigurðarsonar ok Inga Bárðarsonar" (*AR* II, p. 79; = Bǫglunga sǫgur).

"(V.) XXXI. "Saga Hákonar konúngs Hákonarsonar" (*AR* II, pp. 80–84).

"(VI.) XXXII. "Ágrip" (*AR* II, pp. 85–91; beginning with the bottom part of p. 87 there is a reprint of "Theodorici Monachi Historia de antiquitate regum Norvagensium").

"(VII.) XXXIII. "Ættartal Noregs konúnga" (*AR* II, pp. 91–110; = Fagrskinna); (Appendix: "Extrait des différentes sagas des rois de Norvège" [*AR* II, pp. 111–115]).

"(VIII.) XXXIV. "Fragmentum Orcadense Historiae Norvegiae" (*AR* II, pp. 115–117; = Historia Norwegiae).

Besides the King's Sagas proper, the collection (*AR* II) also includes some *þættir* (XXXV. "Þáttr Hauks hábrókar, pp. 118–125; XXXVI. "Þáttr Styrbjarnar Svíakappa," pp. 125–126; XL. "Eymundar saga," pp. 170–211), the saga of the Danish kings (XXXVIII. "Knytlinga saga," pp. 127–141), the colonial sagas (XXXVII. "Jómsvíkinga saga," p. 126 [cf. also vol. 2, p. 496, A.]; XLI. "Orkneyingasaga," pp. 211–221; XLII. "Færeyinga saga," pp. 221–226), as well as the pseudo-historical saga: XXXIX. "Íngvars saga víðförla" (pp. 141–169).

[17] "Íslendínga sögur" (*AR* II, pp. 226–367):

I) XLIII. "Íslendíngabók Ara fróða" (pp. 228–231); XLIV. "Landnámabók" (pp. 231–236); XLV. "Kristnisaga" (pp. 236–237).

II) XLVI. "Njálssaga" (pp. 237–247); XLVII. "Egils saga Skallagrímssonar" (pp. 248–260); XLVIII. "Saga af Hrafnkeli Freysgoða" (pp. 260–263); XLIX. "Saga af Víga-Styr ok Heiðarvígum" (pp. 263–268); L. "Ljósvetníngasaga" (pp. 269–272); LI. "Kórmaks saga" (pp. 272–278); LII. "Laxdœla saga" (pp. 278–289); LIII. "Grettis saga" (pp. 290–315); LIV. "Saga af Þórði hreðu" (pp. 315–316); LV. "Harðar saga Grímkelssonar" (pp. 317–320); LVI. "Finnboga saga ramma" (pp. 320–327); LVII. "Bjarnar saga Hítdœlakappa" (pp. 327–343; with a genealogical table on p. 339); LVIII. "Fóstbrœðra saga" (pp. 343–350).

III) LIX. "Sturlúnga saga" (pp. 350–355); LX. "Arons saga Hjörleifssonar" (pp. 356–361); LXI. "Saga Árna biskups Þorlákssonar" (pp. 361–367).

[18] "Extrait des monuments géographiques des anciens islandais" (*AR* II, pp. 388–452):

stan),[19] Icelandic annals,[20] Old Scandinavian legal codes,[21] and texts of two treaties between the Scandinavian kings and their Novgorodian counterparts (1323, 1326).[22] The texts were given in their original Old Scandinavian as well as in Latin translation.[23] But as the Russian Scandinavian scholar, K. Tiander, pointed out in 1906, this enterprise did not achieve its goal, for "it did not stimulate even one new study;[24] the volumes in the libraries remained untouched as if they were decorations on the shelves."[25]

Perhaps the main reason for the failure of the *Antiquités Russes* was its inability to combine the two totally different disciplines of Old Scandinavian philology and east European history. Although Russian historians theoretically participated in the work of the Section Russe of the society, they were not asked to collaborate on the *Antiquités Russes*. The work done by Rafn and his colleagues did not really satisfy the needs of east European historians, since it was basically only a reproduction of excerpts from their previously published texts with Latin translations. True, some philological commentaries were included, but these were more meaningful to Scandinavian scholars than they

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LXIII. (A). "Planisphère représentant les zones habitables et inhabitables, d'après un manuscrit islandais du XIVe siècle" (pp. 390–391); LXIV. (B). "Deux planisphères représentant les trois parties du monde habité tirés des manuscrits islandais du XIIIe siècle" (pp. 391–392); LXV. (C). "Mappemonde contenue dans un manuscrit islandais du XIIe siècle" (pp. 392–394); LXVI. (D). "Annotations géographiques dues à l'abbé Nicolas de Thingeyrar" (pp. 391–415); LXVII. (E). "Descriptions et ichnographies islandaises de Jérusalem." [1. Description de Jérusalem d'après les nos 194 et 736 (pp. 415–420); 2. Description de Jérusalem tirée des nos 489 et 589 (pp. 420–423); 3. Ichonographies de Jérusalem (pp. 423–425)]; LXVIII. (F). "Annotations géographiques tirées du livre de Hauk Erlendson" (pp. 426–441); LXIX. (G). "Compilations géographiques tirées du livre de Skalholt" (pp. 442–448); LXX. (H). "Extrait géographiques de la Rímbegla" (pp. 448–449); LXXI. (I). "Notice sur les Finnois aux environs de Gandvik" (pp. 449–452; = AM 194; end of the 14th century).

[19] LXXIV. "Relations de Voyage d'Ottar (= Ohthere, *AR* II, pp. 459–467) et d'Ulfstein" (= Wulfstan, *AR* II, pp. 468–470); with an appendix: "Extrait des annotations géographiques dues au roi Alfred" (*AR* II, p. 471).

[20] LXII. "Extraits des Annales de l'Islande" (*AR* II, pp. 367–387).

[21] LXXIII. "Extraits des anciennes lois Norvégienne et Suédoises" (*AR* II, pp. 455–457): "Gulaþíngslög" (p. 456); "Farmannalög" (pp. 456–457); "Vestgötalag" (p. 457).

[22] LXXV. "Traités de paix sur les limites des pays limithrophes de la Suède et de la Norvège de l'un côté et de la Russie de l'autre" (*AR* II, pp. 471–496): A. "Du traité d'Orekhovetz, conclu en 1323" (pp. 473–477; 490–492); B. "Du traité de Novgorod en 1326" (pp. 277–490; 492–494). LXXVI. "Extrait des diplomes concernant les querelles entre le Finmark et la Russie" (pp. 494–496).

[23] With only one exception. Because of its importance, the *Eymundar þátr* was also translated into French (by Major-General Christian Jules de Méza, at that time chief of the Danish artillery).

[24] About the monograph by Pavlo Smirnov, written almost eighty years later, see n. 29.

[25] *Poezdki skandinavov v Beloe more* (S-Pb, 1906), p. 102.

were to historians of eastern Europe. For example, parallel or similar texts were often cited in Old Icelandic only, precluding their use by any non-Scandinavianist historian. But even the philological methods used by Rafn and his colleagues were not always of the highest standard, and manuscripts were often reprinted without much regard for their reliability. Nor was it a fortunate decision to translate Scandinavian texts — so far removed as they were from the classical tradition — into a classical language. Latin was a language belonging to one particular era; it could not possibly lend itself well to conveying the nuances of another.

A leading Russian Normanist, Ernst (Arist Aristovič) Kunik (b. 1814, d. 1899), indicated in 1851[26] that Russian historians would not be able to use the works of Danish antiquarians until a historiographical introduction (*Einleitung*) had been provided. According to Kunik, this introduction would have to include up-to-date "general conclusions on the origin and nature of those Old Nordic literary works of interest to the Russian [historian]." In his opinion, this was the only way that east European historians could evaluate "the excerpts referring to Russian history. . . . Furthermore, when describing Norman religious beliefs, their methods of conducting wars and so forth, which of these beliefs might serve as parallels to Russian and other sources of Old Russian history should be indicated."[27] All this criticism discouraged both the publishers and the financial backers, and as a result the planned third volume of *Antiquités Russes* was never published.

During the 1920s, two non-Scandinavianists, Arkadij I. Ljaščenko (b. 1871, d. 1931) and Pavel Petrovič Smirnov (b. 1882, d. 1947), rediscovered Rafn's collection and began using it as the basis for work on Scandinavian-Old Rus'ian relations. Ljaščenko, aided by the specialist Elena Rydzevskaja, analyzed the *Eymundar þáttr*, the *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar*, and *Haralds saga harðráða*.[28] On the basis of the sagas and the date of Muslim authors Smirnov attempted to recreate the history of the Rus' Kaganate on the Volga in the ninth century.[29]

[26] *Bulletin hist.-phil.* 7 (S-Pb, 1849), nos. 9–14 (first part), and nos. 18–23 (second part), also published as *Mélanges Russes* 1 (S-Pb, 1851), pp. 246–350 (first part), pp. 351–450 (second part). See also N. P. Daškevyč in *Kievskie Universitetskie Izvestija* 26, no. 11 (1886), pp. 220–241; I. Sreznevskij, *Biblioteka dlja čtenija* 98, pt. 5 (1849), pp. 39–44. For some reason all the reviewers barely touched on the *Antiquités Russes*, promising to write about it later in greater detail, but never managing to fulfill their promise.

[27] *Mélanges Russes* 1, pp. 247–250.

[28] "'Eymundar saga' i russkie letopisi," *BAS-H* (L., 1926), no. 12, pp. 1061–1086; "Saha pro Olafa Trihvasona j litopysne opovidannja pro Ol'hu," *Ukrajina* 18:4 (Kiev, 1926), pp. 3–22; "Bylina o Solov'e Budimiroviče i saga o Garol'de," *Sbornik v čest' A. I. Maleina* (Petrograd, 1922), pp. 94–136.

[29] *Volz'kyj šljax i starodavni Rusy*. Ukrajins'ka Akademija Nauk: Zbirnyk Istoryčno-filolohičnoho viddilu, no. 75 (Kiev, 1928), 229 pp.

After the failure of the Danish antiquarians' project, the use of Scandinavian sources in east European history was not considered again until the end of the nineteenth century, when the eminent Slavic scholar, Aleksej Aleksandrovič Šaxmatov (b. 1864, d. 1920), proposed that the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg publish Old Scandinavian sources dealing with Russian and east European history to the thirteenth century.[30] The project was assigned to the Germanist, Friedrich (Fjodor) A. Braun (b. 1862, d. 1942). By 1917, Braun had managed to publish only a few articles on specialized topics concerned mainly with identifying Friand and Šimon (the sons of the Varangian Prince Afrikan, known from the Kievan Monastery of the Caves' *Patericon*),[31] and Ingvarr, of the Old Swedish runic inscriptions of 1041.[32]

Later, while an emigré in Leipzig (1924–1925), Braun published a valuable synthesis, "Das historische Russland im Nordischen Schriftum der X–XIV Jahrhunderts,"[33] still the only general analytic work on the subject. Even though its forty-seven pages make it unusually long for a Festschrift article, it is nonetheless too brief to include all of the most essential details of the researched material. Braun also published — in the Berlin Russian-emigré journal *Beseda*[34] — the first part of an extensive introduction to his studies, but the rest of the work never appeared, probably because the journal itself ceased publication.

Braun's work was carried on in Russia by two of his students. In a sizable monograph, Karl F. Tiander analyzed data from the sagas dealing with the Norse expeditions to the White Sea and Biarmia, written mainly from the viewpoint of a folklorist and literary scholar.[35] The author also applied this method in his study of the migration of peoples as found in Germanic tradition.[36]

Another of Braun's students, Elena Aleksandrovna Rydzevskaja (b. 1890, d. 1941), produced some exemplary short philological articles based on Old Norse sources of particular interest to east European historians, including Old

[30] See F. Braun in *Festschrift Eugen Mogk* (Leipzig, 1924), p. 158; M. B. Sverdlov, "F. A. Braun — issledovatel' skandinavskix istočnikov po istorii drevnej Rusi," *Skan Sb* 21 (Tallinn, 1976), pp. 221–225.

[31] "Friad i Šimon synov'ja varjažskogo knjazja Afrikana," *IORJaS* 7: 1 (1902), pp. 359–365.

[32] "Kto byl Ingvar-putešestvennik?," *Zapiski Neofilologičeskogo Obščestva* 7 (1910), pp. 131–153.

[33] *Festschrift Eugen Mogk zum 70. Geburtstag 19. Juli 1924* (Halle a. S., 1924), pp. 150–196.

[34] "Varjagi na Rusi," *Beseda* 6/7 (1925), pp. 300–338.

[35] *Poezdki skandinavov v Běloe more, Zapiski SPbU* 89 (S-Pb, 1906), vi + 450 pp.

[36] *Datsko-russkie izslědovanija* III: *Skandinavskoe pereselenčeskoe skazanie* (*Zapiski SPbU* 123) (Petrograd, 1915), (3) + 204 pp.

Ladoga in Scandinavian sources;[37] the problem of the name *Hólmgarðr* used for Novgorod;[38] Volodimer the Great[39] and Jaroslav the Wise[40] as they appear in particular Scandinavian sagas; and others.[41] Unfortunately her untimely death during the German siege of Leningrad cut short her work.

In its 1971 *Plan-Prospekt*, the institute of history of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. announced plans to publish Scandinavian sources[42] as the fourth part of a collection of the oldest sources dealing with the history of the peoples of the Soviet Union. It proposed to include runic epigraphics, sagas, Eddaic poetry, skaldic poetry, historical chronicles, and hagiographic monuments. Of this undertaking a book by E. A. Mel'nikova on the runic inscriptions (published in 1977), a posthumous collection of unpublished articles by E. A. Rydzevskaja, and several articles by Mel'nikova, T. N. Džakson, M. B. Sverdlov et al., on these and other sources, have so far appeared. I refer to them at the appropriate places.

An interesting monograph entitled, *Die Varägersage als Quelle der altrussischen Chronik*,[43] was published by Adolf Stender-Petersen (b. 1893, d. 1963), a Danish Slavicist who also wrote a series of articles reprinted in the *Varangica*[44] collection. Unfortunately, his knowledge of Old Scandinavian

[37] "Svedenija o Staroj Ladoge v drevnesevernoj literature," *KS IIMK* 11 (M.-L., 1945), pp. 51-65.

[38] "Xolm v Novgorode i drevnesevernoe Holmgarðr," *Izvestija Rossijskoj Akademii Istorii Material'noj Kul'tury* 2 (Petrograd, 1922), pp. 105-112.

[39] "Legenda o knjaze Vladimire v sage ob Olafe Trjuggvasone," *TODRL* 2 (L., 1935), pp. 5-20.

[40] "Jaroslav Mudryj v drevne-severnoj literature," [written in 1941] *KS IIMK*, no. 11 (M.-L., 1945), pp. 51-65.

[41] E. A. Rydzevskaja, "Svedenija po istorii Rusi XIIIv. v sage o korole Xakone" [written in 1940], *Istoričeskie svjazi Skandinavii i Rossii IX-XX vv.* (L., 1970), pp. 323-330; Rydzevskaja, *Drevnjaja Rus' i Skandinavija v IX-XIV vv. (Materialy i issledovanija)*, ed. M. B. Sverdlov (M., 1978), 240 pp.

[42] *Plan-Prospekt "Korpusa drevnejšix istočnikov po istorii narodov SSSR" (Materialy dlja obsuždenija)* (M., 1971), pp. 15-18. The project relating to the Old Norse sources was prepared by E. A. Mel'nikova.

[43] (Aarhus, 1934), 256 pp.

[44] (Aarhus, 1953), 262 pp. The first international symposium on "The Eastern Connections of the Nordic Peoples in the Viking Period and Early Middle Ages," held at the Moesgaard-University of Aarhus, October 7-11, 1968, was dedicated to his memory. A report on the proceedings of the symposium was published under the title: *Varangian Problems* (*Scando-Slavica*, Supplement 1), ed. Knud Hannestad, Knud Jordal, Ole Klindt-Jensen, Knud Rahbek Schmidt, Carl Stief (Kbh, 1970), 216 pp. The publication is disappointing because none of the participants (the majority of whom were leading authorities in their field) advanced any new suggestions for solutions to specific problems, but simply presented a series of reports made by specialists who knew their field, but lacked familiarity with the specific problems of the themes under discussion.

sources was not always on the highest level as it often appeared to have been acquired second hand, and not directly from the originals. As a result, not all his results can be accepted.

Among Polish scholars, two historians, Leon Koczy[45] and Gerard Labuda,[46] have specialized in working directly with data found in Scandinavian sources. Their scope of interest was limited, however; they used these sources only in connection with the history of the Baltic Slavs and Poland. Nonetheless, their works — especially those of Gerard Labuda, who also drew upon Anglo-Saxon sources[47] — are significant for our subject as well.

I have approached the Scandinavian sources not as a Scandinavianist, but as a historian of eastern Europe and Asia who learned the Scandinavian languages specifically to help the east European historians by making available to them all the Old Scandinavian source material dealing with east European history between the eighth and the thirteenth century, by presenting the material in English translation or paraphrasing less important passages. During my research, I sought to use only those textual editions acknowledged by scholars as most accurate and reliable. In addition, I have tried to employ all the relevant specialized literature. Excerpts from sources found in this work were included only after an analysis of their place in the structure of the given source. Information was analyzed, on the basis of its authenticity and source value, against the background of the Old Scandinavian perspective and way of life.

In this work, I have used whatever good English translations were available, making emendations where certain terms were not translated exactly or where certain passages did not meet the historian's standard of accuracy. I have systematized the transcription of Old Scandinavian names. All passages of

[45] Leon Koczy, "Rozwój nauk historycznych w Danji po roku 1863," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 46/II: 1-2 (L'viv, 1932), pp. 1-24; Koczy, "Źródła staronordyjskie do dziejów słowian," *Slavia Occidentalis* 11 (Poznań, 1932), pp. 42-71; Koczy, "Jomsborg," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 46 (Lviv, 1932), pp. 277-320; Koczy, "Zwjazki małżeńskie Piastów ze Skandynawami," *Slavia Occidentalis* 11 (Poznań, 1932), pp. 22-41; Koczy, *Polska i Skandynawia za pierwszych Piastów* (Poznań, 1934), 250 pp.

[46] G. Labuda, *Fragmenty dziejów Słowiańszczyzny zachodniej* I (Poznań, 1960), 312 pp.; II (Poznań, 1964), 279 pp.; Labuda, "Slavs in Early Mediaeval Pomerania and their relations with the Scandinavians, in the 9th and 10th centuries," *Poland at the Eleventh International Congress of Historical Sciences in Stockholm* (Warsaw, 1960), pp. 61-80; Labuda, "Polska a Skandynawia w IX-X wieku," *Początki państwa polskiego* I (Poznań, 1962), pp. 299-317.

[47] Labuda, *Źródła skandynawskie i anglosaskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny* (Warsaw, 1961), 262 pp. (King Alfred's North, pp. 1-118; *Widsith*, pp. 119-174; *Hervararsaga*, pp. 175-230); Labuda, *Źródła, sagi i legendy do najdawniejszych dziejów Polski* (Warsaw, 1960), 346 pp. (commentaries on King Alfred's North, pp. 11-90; *Widsith*, pp. 153-198, *Hervararsaga*, pp. 91-151).

importance to the historian of eastern Europe also appear in their Old Scandinavian form either in parentheses or in parallel columns.

The reader is asked to remember that I am analyzing and annotating the excerpts from Old Scandinavian sources with one particular goal in mind — to cast light on the origin of Rus'. The criterion for the inclusion of a source is whether it will help the reader understand the structure, the nature, the origin, and the type of the sources to be found in the Old Scandinavian tradition that are pertinent to that problem. The present volume covers Eddaic poetry, skaldic poetry, runic inscriptions, the geographic literature, the legal literature, and annals and chronicles; future volumes will deal with the sagas and present a general evaluation of Old Scandinavian source material for eastern European history.

PART TWO

Poetry and Myth as Historical Sources

A structural model may be conscious or unconscious without this difference affecting its nature. It can only be said that when the structure of a certain type of phenomena does not lie at a great depth, it is more likely that some kind of model, standing as a screen to hide it, will exist in the collective consciousness. For conscious models, which are usually known as "norms", are by definition very poor ones, since they are not intended to explain the phenomena but to perpetuate them. Therefore, structural analysis is confronted with a strange paradox well known to the linguist, that is: the more obvious structural organization is, the more difficult it becomes to reach it because of the inaccurate conscious models lying across the path which leads to it.

Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology*
(New York, 1963), p. 281.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Eddaic Poems and Their Manuscript Tradition

The Poetic Edda

The oldest type of Old Norse poetry is called Eddaic, after two manuscripts written in Iceland in the thirteenth century. The term *Edda,* the meaning of which is disputed, in fact survives only in the colophon of the *Snorra Edda* (Codex Upsaliensis, ca. 1300): "This book is called *Edda,* and was put together by Snorri Sturluson."

In 1643, Brynjólfr Sveinsson (b. 1605, d. 1675), bishop of Skálaholt (from 1639 to 1675), acquired a collection of old lays consisting of forty-five leaves in quarto, excerpts of which he knew from the *Snorra Edda.* He named this vellum manuscript (ca. 1270) the *Edda Sæmundi multiscii,* believing that it was the work of Snorri's predecessor, Sæmundr Sigfússon inn fróði ("*multiscius,*" b. 1056, d. 1133). In 1662 Bishop Brynjólfr presented the *Edda* manuscript to King Frederik III of Denmark (1648–1670). Known to scholarship as the *Codex Regius* (GkS 2365, 4°), it remained in Copenhagen until April 1971, when it was returned to Iceland to be kept in the newly established Stofnun Árna Magnússonar at the University of Iceland, Reykjavík.

For dating of particular lays I generally follow the findings of Jan de Vries, Einar Ól. Sveinsson, Gabriel Turville-Petre and Ursula (Brown) Dronke.

All Eddaic poetry is anonymous. Its characteristic features are soberness and realism in the mythological songs and the delectation in ideal superhumans in the heroic lays. The Eddaic lays were composed in free variable measures that originally had accentual, not syllabic, meter and the alliteration essential to their metrical structure. As a result, Eddaic poetry, in contrast to the syllabic skaldic poetry, was rhythmical: the number of syllables varied from line to line, and only the stresses (beats) were counted. These features are typical of the early poetry of all Germanic peoples. The choice of expression in Eddaic poetry was simple, but the word order was less free than in skaldic poetry.

The metrical unit of Eddaic poetry is a half-strophe of four lines, divided by a deep caesura, rather than a full strophe of eight lines. The strophic form is regarded by the scholars as a Norse innovation in Germanic verse, possibly a result of external influences.

Three meters were used in the Eddaic poetry: fornyrðislag, málaháttr, and ljóðaháttr. *Fornyrðislag,* or "old story meter" used in the narrative lays differs very little from the meter of the Old English *Fight at Finnsburg* or the Old German *Lay of Hildebrand.* The line normally consists of four syllables, of which two are stressed and two unstressed; the stressed syllables, or beats, are bound in pairs by alliteration. *Málaháttr,* or "speech meter" is used in the lays to form dialogues. It differs from fornyrðislag only in that its lines generally have a greater number of weakly stressed syllables. The lines normally consist of five syllables, sometimes of six, and less commonly of seven.

The third meter, *ljóðaháttr,* or "magic-song meter," is the most irregular of Eddaic forms and is of obscure origin. It consists of strophes of six lines, divided into half-strophes of three lines, the first two lines of which contain two beats and alliterate with each other, while the third line, containing two or three beats, alliterates only within itself. This meter is specifically used in the mythological didactic lays.

Eddaic poetry can be roughly divided into two classes: the mythological lays and the heroic lays. The mythological lays are somewhat more recent than the heroic lays, and have no parallels in the literature of Germanic peoples other than the Norwegians and Icelanders. The majority of the heroic lays originated on the continent of Europe; the remainder are of Scandinavian origin. "There can be no doubt," writes Jan de Vries, "that the heroic epic bears some relation to the historical events. They have evidently made such an impression

that they have been, as it were, lifted out of the course of history and given a lasting glory."[1]

The Germanic heroic age was that of the great migrations, that is, the approximately two centuries between about 375 and 572. Five rulers of that period are their main heroes: Ermanaric (d. 375), the king of the Ostrogoths in eastern Europe; Gundahari (d. 437), the king of the Rhine Burgunds; Attila (d. 453), the king of European Huns; Theodoric the Great (d. 526), the king of the Ostrogoths in Italy, and Alboin (d. 572), the king of the Italian Langobards (Lombards). In accordance with the general law of the epic tradition (cyclization) all these princes, if mentioned in the same lay, become contemporaries. But the year 572 did not remain an unpassable barrier: when a new version appeared, a local hero could be included into that set of heroes regardless of chronology. The Merovingian Queen Brünhild (d. 613), for example, became the prototype of the epic heroine in the Frankish version of the lay about the fall of the Burgundians.[2]

The four cycles of continental origin are, first, the ninth-century lay about the revenge of the brothers Hamðir and Sǫrli on King Jǫrmunrekkr (Ermanaric) for the dishonorable death of their sister, comprising twenty-one strophes, written in *málaháttr*, with later additions in *fornyrðislag*. Second there is the lay of the Huns and the Burgundian-Nibelungen (the Nibelungen cycle) and the tragic death of Gunnar/Gundahari, which reflects the Burgundian tradition in (older) Frankish redactions and is known in two versions (the older and shorter version in *Atlakviða* with forty-four strophes in *málaháttr* and additions in *fornyrðislag* from the ninth century, and the later and longer version in *Atlamál* with 103 strophes in *málaháttr*, and in *Guðrúnarhvǫt*, a kind of heroic elegy, written in *fornyrðislag*). Both lays belong to the twelfth century. Third is the Frankish Sigurðr/Sîvrit (Siegfried > Sigi-) cycle,[3] later connected with the Nibelungen cycle. It reflects the Frankish tradition, but comes down to us in a later German version. It can be divided into three parts: the "young Siegfried" lays, all written in *ljóðaháttr*, with later additions in

[1] Jan de Vries, *Heroic Song and Heroic Legend* (1963), p. 194. Cf. also his words in *GAL*: "The heroic song thus reflects the history of a specific period which we call heroic in order to stress that the particular period had produced such great heroic figures. Therefore, the matter of the lays is not, strictly speaking, historical" (*GAL* I, p. 66).

[2] If one accepts the identification by G. Schütte, *Siegfrid und Brünhild* (Kbh, 1935), and other scholars. Cf. Turville-Petre, *Heroic Age of Scandinavia* (London, 1951), p. 33.

[3] Sigurðr/Siegfried has often been identified with the historical Sigebert I, king of Austrasia-Metz (561–575) of the Frankish Merovingian dynasty and the husband of Brünhild; cf. Turville-Petre, *The Heroic Age*, p. 33. But there are also some other identifications, see Helmut de Boor, *Zur germanisch-deutschen Heldensage*, pp. 31–51.

fornyrðislag; their present form is not earlier than the eleventh or twelfth centuries (*Reginsmál, Fáfnismál, Sigrdrífumál*); the lays about the tragic triangle Sigurðr-Brynhildr-Guðrún (Kriemhilt) all in fornyrðislag, not earlier than the twelfth century (*Brot af Sigurðarkviðu, Guðrúnarkviða II, Guðrúnarkviða III, Sigurðarkviða in skamma, Guðrúnarkviða I, Helreið Brynhildar* and *Oddrúnargrátr*); the last three lays are reminiscent of the Icelandic heroic elegy; the synopsis of Siegfried's life, given in *Grípisspá*, a late lay from about 1200, written in fornyrðislag.

Finally there is the lay of Wayland, the crafty smith: *Vǫlundarkviða* is perhaps one of the oldest heroic lays (in fornyrðislag).

The lays of Scandinavian origin can be divided into those that ultimately reflect the Gothic tradition and those that reflect Danish traditions. To the first belongs one of the oldest lays, the *Battle of Goths and Huns*, written in fornyrðislag, which it is generally agreed represents a ninth-century redaction. The Gothic tradition (in its west Norwegian version) is also reflected in *Hyndluljóð*, a genealogical lay from the eleventh or twelfth century (written in fornyrðislag). See also the Theodoric strophe (in fornyrðislag) in the Rök inscription (p. 315).

The Danish tradition[4] is represented by several cycles, some of which are:

Gróttasǫngr, the lay about the Danish *aurea aetas* of Fróði (with Gothic connections); (preserved in a redaction of the eleventh century, in fornyrðislag).

The genealogical lay with a sociological context (and with Gothic connections) *Rígsþula*, from about the tenth century (in fornyrðislag, with an addition in ljóðaháttr).

The *Helgi* cycle (in fornyrðislag): the older lay from the end of the eleventh century (*Helgakviða Hundingsbana I*), and two younger lays from the twelfth century (*Helgakviða Hjǫrvarðssonar* and *Helgakviða Hundingsbana II*. According to G. Turville-Petre, the lays of the *Helgi* cycle "probably descend from originals composed in Denmark in the ninth or tenth century."[5]

The *Hrólfr kraki* cycle, of which the so-called *Bjarkamál* should be mentioned, preserved in the Latin translation (about 1185–1216) by Saxo Grammaticus.

The *Ingjaldr* and *Starkaðr* lays, preserved either in the Latin translation of Saxo (the *Lay of Ingjaldr*), or in the vernacular, but interwoven with the fabric of a "fornaldar saga," e.g., *Víkarsbálkr* in the *Gautreks saga* (written in fornyrðislag, but preserved in a version that is dated after 1200).

[4] See Axel Olrik, *Danmarks Heltedigtning* I (Kbh, 1903), 8, 352 pp. = *The Heroic Legends of Denmark*, trans. Lee M. Hollander (New York, 1919), xviii + 530 pp; II (Kbh, 1910), 322 pp; cf. also Olrik, *Kilderne til Sakses Oldhistorie: En literaturhistorisk Undersøgelse* (Kbh, 1894), xii + 316 pp.

[5] Turville-Petre, *Origins* (1967), p. 13.

The lays of the two last groups must have been known to the anonymous Anglo-Saxon author of *Beowulf*, as many heroes of the Norse heroic lays appear in *Widsith*.

Several kinds of mythological lays can also be distinguished. The first groups are the didactic treatises on pagan religion, with the god Óðinn in the central position (*Hávamál*, *Vafþrúðnismál*, *Grímnismál* and *Alvíssmál*). All of these were written in the ljóðaháttr meter. Two of them may be as old as the ninth/tenth century (*Vafþrúðnismál*, *Grímnismál*), and the other two (*Hávamál* and *Alvíssmál*) were edited about the middle of the twelfth century or later. *Hávamál*, containing 164 strophes, is the longest of the Eddaic lays.

Sybil's prophecy, *Vǫluspá*, the greatest of all mythological lays, was written in fornyrðislag, and is the work of an Icelandic poet living sometime toward the end of the pagan epoch (tenth century).

The lyrical lay *Baldrs draumar* is the story (written in fornyrðislag) about the dreams of the young god Baldr. It is generally regarded as the most beautiful of the Eddaic lays, and was composed in Iceland in Christian times, probably in the eleventh century.

The god Freyr's love story *Skírnismál* was written with a skill that makes it stand out in the Old Norse literature. Its meter is ljóðaháttr. Scholars date it into the twelfth century, and it is possibly of Norwegian origin. A competition in defamation and derision between the gods is the subject of two lays (*Hárbarðsljóð* and *Lokasenna*). The first of them, originating in the second half of the tenth century, describes a reviling between the gods Óðinn and Þórr. It is composed partly in málaháttr and partly in ljóðaháttr, with later additions in fornyrðislag. Its metrics are very carelessly written. The second lay (written in ljóðaháttr about 1200, in Iceland) is rather a satire; it describes the wrangles of the fallacious god Loki with a number of other gods and goddesses.

Two humorous tales (*Þrymskviða* and *Hymiskviða*) were written in fornyrðislag sometime around the twelfth or thirteenth century and both deal with the god Þórr. The first lay is outstanding in its brilliance and dexterity; the second is not so elaborate.

The Snorra Edda

Snorri Sturluson (b. 1179, d. 1241), best known as the author of *Heimskringla*, probably wrote his *Edda*, known in scholarly literature as *Snorra Edda* (Snorri's Edda), or the *Younger Edda*, or the *Prose Edda*, between the years

1222 and 1225. The work was intended as a handbook for his contemporary Norwegian and Icelandic poets, who were no longer able to appreciate the high style of the tenth and eleventh century skalds. Snorri set out to instruct them on how to ferret out the hidden meaning of skaldic poetry and to teach the prospective young poet how to compose in the skaldic diction of the olden days.

Snorri's *Edda* is written in four parts: the Prologue, *Gylfaginning* (the deluding of Gylfi), *Skáldskaparmál* (poetic speech), and *Háttatal* (list of verse forms). The Prologue has been considered a masterpiece of Icelandic "gelehrte Urgeschichte," in which the old traditions (the exodus of Óðinn and his Æsir from eastern Europe) and medieval scholarship (the Trojan legend) are blended into a fascinating picture of Nordic prehistory based on euhemeristic theory. The Prologue's data, especially on eastern European geography, can only be appreciated when it is compared with that in Snorri's Prologue to the *Heimskringla*. *Gylfaginning* is a highly artistic presentation in the form of a dialogue of the mythological lays of the *Poetic Edda*. *Skáldskaparmál* means "speech of (skaldic) poetry." It was designed to introduce the reader to the secrets of the complicated art of *kenning*, that is, of paraphrases and other technical devices. Snorri illustrates his explanations using strophes from over seventy skalds of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. *Háttatal* is a list of verse forms disguised in a poem composed by Snorri in honor of his Norwegian patrons. It consists of 102 strophes, each composed in a different verse form, and it contains a valuable detailed commentary on the problems of literary techniques.

Anglo-Saxon Heroic Poetry

The heroic lay *The Fight at Finnsburg* and two court epic poems, *Beowulf* and *Widsith*, contain data that are important for several problems discussed in this work.

The Fight at Finnsburg

The only known fragmentary manuscript of *The Fight at Finnsburg*, the oldest Anglo-Saxon heroic lay, was first discovered by George Hickes (b. 1642, d. 1715), but was then lost again. It was written on a single leaf of a manuscript of "semi-Saxon" homilies belonging to the Lambeth Palace library. George Hickes published it in his *Linguarum veterum septentrionalium thesaurus grammatico-criticus et archaeologicus* I (Oxford, 1705), p. 192. Scholars assign the original of the fragment to the eighth century.

Beowulf

Beowulf is an epic poem, 3,182 lines in length, which was probably written at the court of the Mercian King Offa (757–796), the rival of Charlemagne, in the late eighth century.[6] "Nearly all the censure," remarked J.R.R. Tolkien in his Sir Israel Gollancz Memorial Lecture of 1936,

> and most of the praise, that has been bestowed on *The Beowulf* has been due either to the belief that it was something that it was *not* — for example, primitive, pagan, Teutonic, an allegory (political or mythical), or most often, an epic; or to disappointment at the discovery that it was itself and not something that the scholar would have liked better — for example, a heathen heroic lay, a history of Sweden, a manual of Germanic antiquities, or a Nordic *Summa Theologica*.[7]

Tolkien established the true character of *Beowulf* as a work of art that depicts the tragedy of the human condition between the extremes of youth and old age. The action centers on battles with two monsters, which embody, respectively, the forces of evil and of chaos. Most of the action, however, takes place in the royal domicile — in the splendid Heorot of the Danish King Hrothgar and in the halls of the kings of the Geatas. Whether the Danish Scyldingas (ON = Skǫldungar) ever existed or ruled in the sixth century was certainly not the concern of *Beowulf*'s author. It seems, however, that at least one Beowulfian character, the king of Geotas, Hygelac, was modeled after a historical king, Chlochilaico, whose disastrous raid (ca. 520–530) was noted by the Frankish historian, Gregory of Tours (d. 594). Some reflection of a historical event may also be detected in the Finnsburg episode.

Widsith

The anonymous court poem *Widsith* (Farway), 143 lines in length, "purports," writes Margaret Schlauch, "to be the chronicle of a poet's (Scop's) visit among the fabled princes of the epic age, together with catalogues of the names of other princes, offered without comment. . . .[8] The poem may be taken as a dramatic statement by the poet of the materials he has at his disposal for epic declamation if he should be invited to entertain at a king's

[6] See Dorothy Whitelock, *Audience of Beowulf* (1958), p. 64.

[7] J.R.R. Tolkien, "The Monsters and the Critics," in *An Anthology of Beowulf Criticism*, ed. L. E. Nicholson (1963), p. 54.

[8] Margaret Schlauch, *English Medieval Literature and Its Social Foundations* (Warsaw, 1956), p. 35.

court."[9] *Widsith* provides a priceless catalogue of some seventy tribal names and sixty-nine heroes, mainly of Germanic origin, from the third to the sixth century (the last of the heroes celebrated in the poem died in 573).

Scholars do not agree on the date of the compilation of *Widsith*; Kemp Malone's analysis of the language of the poem and its meter led him to conclude that it was composed and written down in the late seventh century.[10] The historical ethnologist Gudmund Schütte independently reached the same conclusion. He viewed *Widsith* as the main source of inspiration for all northern epic poetry and regarded it (especially its first fit) as an Old Germanic *Almanach de Gotha* for the period between A.D. 370 and 700.[11] Today scholars are skeptical that this Christian-minded court epic poem is that early; they prefer to connect the author of *Widsith* with the court of Alfred the Great (871–899) at the end of the ninth century.[12]

Eastern European Names in the Eddaic Poetry

The Poetic Edda

Considering the manner in which the Old Germanic peoples perceived themselves and the world around them, one cannot expect their lays to mention many foreign peoples. They not only do not express any particularly national feeling, but they treat all international conflicts merely as family quarrels and telescope time and distances. The heroes were given Germanic and/or Germanized names and were treated as Germans, whether they were or not. The transposition of nationalities was the rule. Similarly the geographic names contribute very little to historical geography, because they were for the most part either topical names or names taken from mythic geography.

[9] Schlauch, *English Medieval Literature* (1956), p. 35.

[10] Kemp Malone, *Widsith* (1962), p. 116.

[11] Schütte, *Gotthiod und Utgard*, 2 vols. (Kbh, 1935–1936).

[12] On the discussion, see G. Labuda, *Źródła* (1961), pp. 125–126. *Widsith* found an (unconscious?) imitator in the anonymous Spanish Franciscan friar who around 1340 wrote his imaginary travelogue through the kingdoms of Europe, Asia and Africa, ancient and contemporary to him, always adding the drawings of coats of arms (true and imaginary) of each kingdom; this was a tribute to his heraldically minded audience. Among the realms "visited" was the kingdom of Galicia and Volodymeria, which he called the kingdom of *Leon* (= L'viv); see *Libro des conosçimiento de todos los reynos & tierras & señorios que son por el mundo*, ed. Márcos Jiménez de la Espada (Madrid, 1877; on *Reyno de Leon* see p. 14) = Eng. trans. Sir Clements Markham, *Book of the Knowledge of all the Kingdoms, Lands and Lordships, etc.* (The Haklyut Society, 2d ser. no. XXIX) (London, 1912; on the kingdom *Leon* see p. 9).

In the heroic lays of the *Poetic Edda* the names for Goths and Huns appear in several different forms:[13]

Goths: (a) *Gotþjóð* "Gothia" (Vsp 30.4; Ghv 8.6; 16.2; Hlr 8.2; Hunn 13.7; 17.3; 18.5); (b) *Gotar* "Goths" (Grm 2.6; Grp 35.6; Br 9.4; Akv 20.3; Hunn 2.4; 17.3; 26.5; Ghv 2.12; Hm 3.8; 18.3; 22.8; 23.4; 30.2); (c) *gotnesc* "Gothish" (Gðr II 17.2).

Huns: (a) *Húnaland* (Gðr I 6.2; Od 4.2; Hunn 1.2); see also *Mornaland* for "Hunaland" (Oddr 1.4); (b) *Húnar* "Huns" (Gðr II 15.6; Akv 2.4; 4.4; 7.12; 12.14; 15.7; 27.12; 34.4; 38.4; Ghv 12.1; Hunn 15.5; 16.7; 19.5; 23.7; 25.1; 31.1); (c) *Húnmǫrc* (Akv 13.5); (d) *húnsc* "Hunnish" (Gðr I 26.1); (e) *húnlenzc* "Hunnish" (Hm 11.5).

The two Hunno-Gothic lays, Hunn (9.2; 18.3) and Akv (3.4; 5.8; 13.4), as well as Ls (42.5) and HH I (51.6), mention the forest *Myrkviðr*, located between the Dnieper River and the Jassi Mountains (*Jassarfjǫll*; Hunn 28.4); this forest formed the frontier between the Goths and the Huns. The name of *Danpr/Dampr* "Dnieper" is also mentioned in this connection (Hunn 9.6; Akv 13.4).

The refuge and residence of the Goths, *Árheimar*, was located on the Dnieper (Hunn 2.4; 29.3); this center probably corresponds to the Scythian capital unearthed near Kamens'ke horodyšče on the lower Dnieper.[14]

The heath on the River Donec', *Dúnheiðr*, is mentioned twice in the Hunn (26.2; 28.2). The name for the Goths in the Ukraine, *Reiðgotar*, does not appear in the Hunn itself, but only in the *Heiðreks saga*. The form *Hreiðgotar*, however, occurs in Vm 12.5. The probable designation for the Visigoths, *Tervingr*, appears either as a personal name (Hdl 23.5) or as the name of the cursed sword (Hunn, prose text, pp. 303, 311).

Some reflexes of the earlier connections between the Goths of Denmark (Jutland) and the Ukraine can be detected in Rþ (48.1), the connection between the two names *Danr* and *Danpr* (*Danpr*, "Dnieper"), and in Gðr II (19.1–4), where the Danish hero stands together with an east European one: "The Danish Valdarr with *Jarizleifr* / Eymóðr the third with *Jarizcárr*."

Among the imaginary rivers, the Grm names two real ones: *Rín*, "Rhine" (27.5), and *Vína*, "Northern Dvina" (28.1); Rín also occurs in Vkv (14.4), Rm

[13] One should always remember that the "epic Goth" may correspond in reality to the "historic" Hun, and vice versa; cf. the remarks of Schütte, on the "Verschiebung der Nationalität," *Gotthiod und Utgard* II, pp. 338–349.

[14] Since the Scythian capital was the center of the steppe's metal industry, one could propose that *ár* in the name *Ár-heimar* goes back to a word meaning "metal"; such usage is attested in *ár-hjalms*, "golden helmet"; "metal helmet"; see Jan de Vries, *ANEW*, p. 12; but see Šarovol's'kyj's etymology on p. 209.

(prose text, p. 177), Br (5.2), Sg (16.4), Akv (17.5; 27.5), and Hild (prose text, p. 313).

The name *Finnar,* "Lapps," so popular in the sagas, occurs only once in the prose introduction to Vlk, in the form *Finnakonungr* "the king of the Lapps" (p. 116).

The legendary east European land, *Jǫtunheimar,* often occurring in the sagas, is mentioned only in the prose text of Skm (pp. 69, 71); *Ásgarðr* occurs in Hym (7.3), *Vanaheimr* in Vm (39.1, along with the name *Hreiðgotar,* 12.5), and *Nóatún* in Grm (16.1) and in Þrk (22.8); all four names are widely used in the *Snorra Edda.*

The Helgi cycle contains several names from Old Denmark and the Slavic past of the Baltic, such as the Danish capitals *Hringsstaðir* (HH I 8.2; 56.8) and *Hringstǫð* (HH I 8.5), *Sigarshólmr* (HHv 8.2) and *Sigarsvellir* (HH I 8.4; HHv 34.8); the Obotriti capital *Svarinshaugr* (Zwierzyn; HH I 31.6; HH II, prose text, p. 153), and the frontier island of *Heðinsey* (HH I 22.8); in Grt the name of the old Danish capital *Hleiðr* (Lejre) is attested (20.2).

It should be stressed that in HHv the only Germans mentioned were the Old Suevi:[15] *Svávaland* (prose text, p. 141), *Svávakonungr* (prose text, p. 142); *Sváva* as a female personal name occurs twice: in HHv (prose text, p. 143, 147, 149; 37.3; 40.1; 41.1; 43.1; daughter of Eylimi) and in Hdl (17.3 mother of Hildigunr).

The Snorra Edda

The geographic names, the mythological names that relate to eastern Europe and the names of the charismatic clans that occur in the *Snorra Edda* have been compiled, using as a basis Finnur Jónsson's edition, *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar* (Copenhagen, 1931). The numbers in the table refer to the pages of that edition. The frequency of their occurrence varies considerably among its four component parts. The rather short Prologue has twenty-two names, while the much longer *Gylfaginning* has twelve, and *Háttatal* only four; most of the names (fifty-one) occur in the *Skáldskaparmál.*

Since the Prologue contains the story of the Trojan-Turkic origin of Óðinn, the geographic names used there are connected with that event. The mytho-

[15] Suevi is a collective name for the Germanic tribes along the Elbe (Semnones) and later also along the upper Danube (the Alemanni, Marcomanni, Quadi n.a.). The latter tribes appear in A.D. 406 in a coalition with the Vandals and Iranian Alans in France; they established a kingdom in the northwestern part of Spain (414) which was annexed by the Visigoths in 584. See Ernst Schwarz, *Germanische Stammeskunde* (1956), pp. 156-202.

logical treatise *Gylfaginning* had no need for many geographical names; aside from a few akin to those in the Prologue, there are only some remnants of the geography of the heroic age, e.g., *Svarins-haugr* (= Zwierzyn). The *Skáldskaparmál* quotes the stanzas of the skalds who were active sometime between the ninth and the twelfth century, including many geographic, tribal, and even personal names from eastern Europe (e.g., Jarisleifr), a rich material that will be studied in the context of the skaldic poetry.

Snorri adorned his "Account of Meters" (*Háttatal*), a poem about King Hákon Hákonarson and Earl Skuli Barðarson (written ca. 1221-1223) with a great deal of very elaborate kenningar. But he did not regard it as necessary to make use of many geographic names. Only *Gandvík* (White Sea) of the Viking times is mentioned there, probably inspired by the contemporary (1222) expedition to Biarmaland by Andrés Skjaldarband and Ívarr útvík.

Names	Prologue (pp. 1-7)	*Gylfaginning* (pp. 8-77)	*Skáldskaparmál* (pp. 78-212)	*Háttatal* (pp. 213-252)
Affríka	3			
Ásíá	3			
Ásíamenn	6, 7			
Ásgarðr enn forni = Trójá		10, 17		
Austr-Saxland	5			
Austrvegr		46	100, 121, 181, 184	
Bragningar			183	
Buðlungar			183	
Dana-veldi			186	
Danmǫrk	7	8	135, 139	
Danir			180	
Dǫglingar			183	
Enéá = Evrópá	3			
England	7		160, 161	
Evrópá	3			
Finnar			174	
Frakland	6		184	
Frigíaland			88	
Gandvík				213
Gautar			186	
Gautland			142	
Geirrøðargarðr			97, 105, 106	
Giúkungar			130	
Gotland = Danmork			135, 186	
Gríkland			158	
Grikkjakonungr			166	
Hálogaland			142	
Hildingar			183	

Hlaðir			249
Hleiðr			138, 139
Hólmgarðr			181
Jarizleifr			164
Jóm			180
Jórdán			158
Jórsalaland			160
Jórsalir			158
Jótland	6		
Jǫtunheimr		8, 17, 20, 34, 46, 50, 65, 73	80, 100, 101, 102, 104
Lofðungar			183, 185
Mikligarðr			160
Niflungar			130, 183
Nóatún		30, 31	81
Norðmenn			135
Nóregr	7		140, 154, 162, 185, 224
Qðlingar			183
Reiðgotaland	6		186
Saxar			140
Saxland	5, 7		161
Selund		8	
Sigtún	7		
Sikiley			157, 185
Siklingar			183
Skilfingar			184
Skiǫldungar	6		135, 183
Svarinshaugr		21	
Svíar			140, 142
Svíaveldi			186
Svíþjóð	6, 7	8	135, 137, 140, 162, 186
Trakíá	4		
Trójá = Tyrkland	3, 7	77	86, 87, 88
Tyrkir	7	77	86, 87
Tyrkland	3, 5		
Uppsalir			140
Vanaheimr		30	
Vína		44	
Vǫlsungar	6		184
Ylfingar			183
Ynglingar	7		183

CHAPTER SIX

From Myth to Epic and History: The Helgi Cycle

The Helgi Cycle

When, some ten years ago, I set about the task of analyzing the Eddaic lays as historical sources, I first followed the methods used by traditional Germanic philologists but soon came to the conclusion that they were inapplicable. Then I became acquainted with the works of Georges Dumézil and other representatives of the "New Comparative Mythology," and returned to the Eddaic lays with a new perspective, for it had become clear to me that the *Edda* was a product of cyclical mythic thinking and that any application of a methodology based on linear thinking, such as the philological one I had attempted earlier*, was for the most part invalid. The following pages represent an effort to decipher some Eddaic myths and several transformations from myth to epic (history), and from epic to myth.

* The essay "Helgi and the Yilfingar" was written in 1969/1970.

Three heroic songs of the *Poetic Edda* (HH I, HH II, and HHv)[1], all from the eleventh and twelfth centuries and written under the influence of skaldic poetry, feature a hero named Helgi. In two of them (HH I, HH II) he is Helgi Hundingsbani ("the slayer of Hunding"), son of Sigmundr/Sigemund; in the third (HHv) he is Helgi, son of Hjǫrvarðr. The compiler of the cycle did not consider the two Helgis — and their beloved wives — to be identical. They were rather two incarnations of the same hero; Helgi Hundingsbani (and his wife Sigrún) were the incarnation of Helgi Hjǫrvarðson (and his wife Sváva). There was yet a third incarnation, Helgi Haddingjaskaði (and his wife Kára, daughter of Hálfdan), but that part of the cycle has not survived.

Many scholars have tried to decipher the structure and meaning of the very unusual cycle of lays known as the Helgi cycle. The most provocative and, in many ways, convincing of these theories was that proposed in 1952 by Otto Höfler.[2] His starting point was that passage from Tacitus's *Germania* (chap. 39), which deals with the sacrificial rite of the Semnones, "the oldest and noblest [tribe] of the Suebi," which united all the *membra disiecta* of the Helgi cycle. According to his theory, a cultic grove in northern Suebia, somewhere in what was later known as the March of Brandenburg, was sometime before A.D. 600 presided over by a high-born woman, who in her capacity as a priestess, periodically had to choose the most noble hero to serve as the *helgi*. Höfler explains the word *helgi* as a *tígnar-nafn*, "a designation of high rank" and not a proper name. It was in fact the highest and most prestigious office for a hero, but the price paid for the honor was equally high: after a time the helgi would be brought to the grove bound with a cord (the HH II 30 contains the name *Fjǫturlundi* "fetter grove") and sacrificed to a deity, most probably to Óðinn. After his death, another helgi was selected in the same way, as was also the priestess. In this way the eternity of the nation was reassured.

Jan de Vries, without dealing with the mythologem itself, stated that Höfler's theory deserved careful consideration. While accepting in principle the thesis of the Suebian myth, he pointed out that at least in the extant Helgi songs some other elements may be involved as well. In his view, the old Suebian cultic legend was used as the theme for a Danish heroic song, probably at the court of Sveinn Úlfsson (1047–1076). Later, in the twelfth century, the theme reached the court of the Norwegian kings, where, in order to accommodate the sophisticated taste of the audience, the author had to insert Viking elements and skaldic forms into the lay. Finally, having undergone — again via Denmark — some influence of the German *Spielmannsdich-*

[1] The abbreviations: HH I = *Helgakviða Hundingsbana* I; HH II = *Helgakviða Hundingsbana* II; HHv = *Helgakviða Hjǫrvarðssonar*.

[2] Otto Höfler, *Festschrift F. Genzmer* (1952), pp. 1–67.

tung, the Helgi cycle reached Iceland, where it was committed to parchment.[3]

I accept the findings of Jan de Vries concerning the complex character of the Helgi cycle, and will therefore restrict my remarks to one aspect of the Danish stage of our cycle. Also I fully agree with Jan de Vries that the Helgi of the *Edda*, just as Gunnar and Atli, has no one concrete historical model. What we therefore must assume is the epicization of the myth, adopting some suitable historical happenings.

Among the Old Norse rulers, the name Helgi is rather unusual as a *konungsnafn* "king's title." Apart from the Beowulfian (and saga) hero, the Skjǫldungr Hālga/Helgi, who is a typical epicized mythic warrior figure that committed the third "sin of the warrior" (incest, the sin against the third function),[4] the sources know only one Danish king bearing that "name." He started his career as king under unique circumstances.

The third great Norse (mainly Danish) fleet called *micel here* had been operating since 870 between the Rhine and Loire, and it represented a real menace to the Carolingian Empire. Toward the end of October 891 it was defeated and destroyed by Arnulf, the king of East Francia on the Dyle near Louvain. Many thousands of Norsemen were killed (the historian Adam of Bremen gives the number of fallen Norsemen as 100,000, doubtlessly a typical medieval exaggeration). The dead included both Danish kings, Sigafrid and Gotafrid.[5] Some one hundred seventy years later, the Danish king, Sveinn Úlfsson (1047–1076), when asked by Adam of Bremen to provide him with information concerning the past Danish kings, presented the following account of the events after 891: "After the overthrow of the Northmen," he said, "I have learned that [Denmark] was ruled by Heiligo (Helgi), a man beloved by the people for his justice and sanctity (Post-cladem, inquit, Nortmannicam Heiligonem regnasse comperi, virum populis amabilem propter insticiam et sanctitatem suam). He was succeeded by Olaph (Óláfr), who, coming from 'Sweden', obtained the Danish kingdom by force of arms, and had many sons, of whom Chnob (Gnupa) and Gurd (Gyrd) possessed the realm after their father's death."[6]

Interestingly enough, King Sveinn (or the oral tradition he represented) did not connect the king named Helgi with any actual deeds performed by him, but only with the characteristic behavior of justice and sanctity (*iustitia*,

[3] Jan de Vries, *ANF* 72 (1957), pp. 123–154.

[4] Littleton in his introduction to Dumézil, *Gods of the Ancient Northmen* (1973), pp. xiii–xiv.

[5] See Walther Vogel, *Die Normannen und das Frankische Reich* (Heidelberg, 1906), pp. 364–369.

[6] Adam of Bremen, *Gesta*, ed. Trillmich (1961), p. 218 = *Gesta*/Tschan, p. 44.

sanctitas). It seems that in the tragic climate of the unprecedented defeat the Danes had suffered at the hands of the Christian army, it was necessary to mobilize the best of the pagan rites to save the land and kingdom. The last living member of the royal dynasty was therefore chosen to serve as a *helgi.*

The Danish tradition preserved several lists of the ancient Danish kings. As one might expect from lists transmitted orally, some artificial arrangements are included in it, especially in the successive order of some clusters. But, generally the data of that tradition, so far as the ninth century is concerned, are often corroborated by other sources. There is no king in the lists by the name of Helgi. The appropriate section starts with Erik Ungi/Barn ("puer"; = Horik II, 854–873); he is followed by Syward filius Regneri lothbroki, and/or by two clusters. The first consists of Olaff of Swerig(h)e and his sister's son Geræt/Gyrth/Giorth, and the second of Frothi *victor Angliae*/hinn friske and his son Gormr hinn enski. Between them the son of Erik Ungi appears, named Lothaknut, the progenitor of the tenth-century Danish kings (Gormr, Haraldr, Sveinn, Canute the Great.)[7] Olaff af Swerighe is identical with the Swedish Olaph mentioned by Sveinn Úlfsson.

Elsewhere in this work, Frothi *victor Angliae* was identified with the historical conqueror of Northumbria and East Anglia (in 865–869) Hálfdan, the son of the Viking Ragnarr loðbrók (d. 873). Gustav Storm determined that Gorm hinn enski appears in the Anglo-Saxon sources as Godrum I/Athelstan (d. 894).[8] Thus, Lothaknut, the son of Erik Ungi, remained as the only member of the dynasty who could be selected as the *helgi.*

Erik Ungi was the only son of King Erik I (Horik I; 813–854). His epithet ungi/barn/*puer* indicates that he ascended the throne in 854 (after the violent death of his father) as a minor, that is, before he was twelve years of age. He was therefore born between 844 and 854. For his son Lothaknut, one may assume a date of birth between 864 and 874, most likely 870. By 891, the year of the Danish catastrophe, he was about twenty years of age. During the Swedish aggression, ca. 900, he would have been at the best age for a man, that is, in his thirties.

Neither King Sveinn nor any other source mentions the fact that Erik Ungi's son was killed by the Swede, Óláfr. It is reasonable to assume that Lothaknut, who served in Denmark for ten years as a *helgi,* was now forced to leave the

[7] See "Series ac brevior historia regum Danie a Dan ad Waldemarum II," ed. M. Cl. Gertz, *SMHD* I, pp. 162–163; "Reges Danorum," ed. Gertz, *SMHD* I, pp. 169–170; Ryd I "Annales Ryenses," ed. E. Jørgensen, *ADMAE* (1920), p. 68; Ryd I, ed. M. Lorenzen, *GDK*, pp. 91–92; Ryd II, ed. Lorenzen, *GDK*, p. 157.

[8] G. Storm, *Kritiske Bidrag til Vikingetidens Historie* (Kria, 1878), pp. 193–196.

country and seek his fortune elsewhere. The possibility of making a career as a western Viking had been ended by battle at Dyle (891). But at the beginning of the tenth century, the chance to open up eastern Viking operations presented a great opportunity. Who else but a scion of those Vikings who, from the middle of the ninth century until 891, had dominated all the western seas including the Mediterranean would be able to provide the essential drive for the initiation of the route from the Varangians to the Greeks?

In fact, under the year 907, the Rus' Primary Chronicle already contained a tract between the Byzantine emperors and a Rus' Viking king named Oleg, which is the Slavicized form of the Old Norse *helgi*. If he was the same man as the Danish Lothaknut, he was at that time no more than thirty-seven years old.

I.

Helgi and the Ylfingar

The Ylfingar, or "werewolfs," were one of the continental Germanic Männerbünde, i.e., clans and/or tribes in the making, who already had their own myth and cult. Probably beginning shortly after A.D. 600 they occasionally served as *helgi* for the old Semnonian cult, which was apparently then falling into decay.

As a result of an important military victory the cultic designation of *helgi* became the personal name of the victor, thereby making him the embodiment of a hero. That custom was very useful for the Ylfingar, who did not hesitate to capitalize on it.

It is not my intention to reopen the controversy over the historicity of the figures named in this tradition. Only three facts are relevant here: (1) the approximate date of the victory involved; (2) the identity of Helgi's adversary; (3) the involvement of Ylfingar and their historical claims. Although admittedly speculative, it does appear that all three of these can be established with a reasonable degree of probability through philological analysis[9].

An extensive scholarly literature concerning the Helgi lays has grown up, particularly with regard to their place of composition (Sophus Bugge[10] and, more recently, Hans Kuhn[11] connected the cycle with the British Isles), their

[9] This is the reason why I decided to include this essay here.

[10] Sophus Bugge, *The Home of the Eddic Poems*, trans. W. H. Schofield (London, 1899).

[11] Hans Kuhn, *Miscellanea Academica Berolinensia* 2:1 (1950), pp. 30–46.

chronology, and, especially, their literary and mythic connections. The most important publications on the subject are listed in the bibliography. In general, I accept the transmission theory of the Helgi cycle as elaborated by Jan de Vries in 1957. The summary of his position follows, supplemented by some considerations of my own.

In its beginnings, the cycle dealt, not with a historical figure (as was the case with the Hermanarich or Attila epics), but with a Suebian *helgi* myth (the one successfully deciphered by Otto Höfler).

The series of incarnations of the *helgi* figure became the theme for one or more Danish lays in the tenth century; the preference of Denmark over the British Isles is confirmed by the oldest layer of geographic names occurring in the lays.

The theme soon attracted skalds at the courts of the Norwegian and Danish kings, hence the influence of the skaldic style in the lays ("an *Eddasong* suitable for presentation at court") and the presence of historicizing Viking elements. Before the Helgi lays — in a eleventh- or twelfth-century Danish reworking — were written down (apparently in the order HH I, HHv, HH II) in Iceland, they had undergone some change through the influence of the German wandering minstrels (*Spielmannsdichtung*). Consequently, the Helgi cycle presents a very instructive — one might say almost paradigmatic — case of a manifold interrelation of traditions. In it we can see very clearly how the original myth was epicized, and how a cultic sphere then influenced the epic and, through it, historical traditions as well.

A typical motif in the Helgi cycle is the successful avenging by Helgi, loved by the maiden Valkyrie, of the death of a close relative (father or grandfather) and Helgi's subsequent death in the struggle for his own beloved Sigrún, daughter of Hǫgni (HH I) or Sváva, daughter of Eylimi (HHv).[12]

In the first lay about Helgi Hundingsbani (HH I) it is thrice stressed that his clan was the Ylfingar,[13] but only once is his army referred to as Vǫlsungar.[14] In the second lay (HH II) we have what appears at first glance to be a kind of contamination of the two clans, Ylfingar and Vǫlsungar. This, however, applies only to the prose portion in which we read: "King Sigmundr, the son of Vǫlsungr, had to wife Borghildr from Brálundr [in Denmark, cf. *Frá dauða Sinfiǫtla*]. They named their son Helgi, after Helgi Hjǫrvarðsson. . . . King

[12] De Vries, *ANF* 72, pp. 123–154.

[13] HH I 5.2 [= strophe 5, line 2]; 34. 5; 49. 8. Cf. Sophus Bugge, *Home of the Eddic Poems*, pp. 83–87, pp. 173–175. The lays (HH I, HH II, HHv) and other Eddaic songs are quoted here after the edition of Gustav Neckel - Hans Kuhn, *Edda: Die Lieder des Codex Regius*, 3d ed. (Heidelberg, 1962). The English translations are from Lee M. Hollander's *Poetic Edda* (Austin, 1962).

[14] HH I 52.7.

Sigmundr and his kin were called Vǫlsungar and Ylfingar (Sigmundr konungr oc hans ættmenn héto Vǫlsungar oc Ylfingar)."[15] But in the poetic portion, although it contains excerpts from the poetical "old" song of the Vǫlsungar (*í Volsungaqviðo inni forno* "in the old lay of the Vǫlsungar"),[16] Helgi's clan is referred to only as Ylfingar,[17] and never Vǫlsungar.

In the prose *Frá dauða Sinfiǫtla* we find the culmination of the Vǫlsungar association with Helgi: there he is called the half-brother of the hero Sigurðr (Siegfried of the *Nibelungenlied*).[18]

In the HHv no information is given about the clan of Hjǫrvarðr, father of Helgi. However, the *Heimskringla* contains some information about a hero called Ylfingr Hjǫrvarðr:[19] "That same summer Hjǫrvarðr konungr, who was called Ylfingr (*er Ylfingr var kallaðr*), came with his fleet to Sweden and anchored in the firth called Myrkvafjǫrðr."[20] This is not mere coincidence; the hero of all three versions (HH I, HH II, HHv) was unquestionably linked with the Ylfingar clan.

A Helgo Hundingi *interemptor* (= Helgi Hundingsbani) also figures in the work of Saxo Grammaticus, but there he is a member of the Danish dynasty, son of Halfdanus (= Hálfdan) and father of Rolvo Krage (= Hrólfr kraki).[21]

We have a puzzling phenomenon: for some reason the guardians of the heroic tradition of *Skjǫldungar* and those who introduced the continental German heroes from the *Nibelungenlied* into Scandinavia considered it important to link their heroes specifically with Helgi Hundingsbani.

Although Helgi bore the epithet *Hundingsbani*, his feud against Hundingr to avenge his father does not occupy a central position in the heroic lays about him (HH I, HH II; also in Saxo). In HH I this event is mentioned only as something long past: "Not long the lord / delayed battle. / When fifteen winters[22] the folk-warder [= Helgi] / Hunding he slew, / the hardy king / who long had ruled / over lands and thanes."[23] The primary theme of both lays about Helgi Hundingsbani is the rivalry of the hero with Hǫðbroddr for the hand of a maiden. The epilogue is the death of the maid's family followed by that of

15 *Edda*, ed. Neckel - Kuhn, p. 50 = Edda/Hollander, pp. 190-191.
16 *Edda*, ed. Neckel - Kuhn, p. 153.
17 HH II 4.4; 8.2; 47.4.
18 *Edda*, ed. Neckel - Kuhn, pp. 162-163.
19 Hkr I (IF 26), p. 67 = Hkr/Hollander, p. 40; cf. S. Bugge, *Home of the Eddic Poems*, p. 157, 343, n. 1.
20 Now Mörköfjorden, south of Stockholm.
21 Saxo, *Gesta*, ed. Olrik - Ræder I (Kbh, 1931), p. 47; cf. Herrmann, *Heldensagen* II, pp. 150-151.
22 At the beginning of the eleventh century the age of majority changed from twelve years to fifteen. Cf. *GAL* I², p. 305.
23 HH I strophe 10 = Edda/Hollander, p. 182.

Helgi at the hand of the maiden's brother, who was bound to take vengeance.

Hǫðbroddr was, according to HH II, the son of King Granmarr[24] at Svarinshaugi ("Svarin's Hill," Schwerin).[25] HH I[26] calls him Ísungsbani[27] (Ísungr's slayer).[28] According to Saxo, Hothbrodus was the son of the king of Sweden, Regnerus,[29] and of Suanhuita, daughter of the Danish king, Hadingus (the great-grandfather of Helgo/Helgi). He died in battle with Helgo but his second son, Høtherus,[30] became the successor of Rolvo Krage (Hrólfr), son of Helgi, in Denmark.

The proper name of Hǫðbroddr, as Anglo-Saxon court epic poems (*Beowulf, Widsith*) indicate, came to the Scandinavian epos from the name of a clan, the Old English form of which was Heaðo-Beardan. One passage in *Widsith* is particularly noteworthy for the identification of this clan; it describes the victory of the Danish kings, Hrōð(w)ulf (Hrólfr kraki) and his paternal uncle, Hrōðgār (Hróarr), over the ruler of the Heaðo-Beards, Ingeld, in which the latter is described as belonging to the Wicingas:

[24] The name *Granmarr* means, according to Malone, "beard-famous-one" (*Studies*, p. 99). "By virtue of his name he could easily be connected with the Bards (whether *Lango-* or *Heaðo-*). What name, indeed, could be more appropriate for a Bard than 'the beard-famous-one'?" (*Studies*, p. 100). In *Hkr* I (IF 26), pp. 66–70, there is a konungr of Suðrmannaland, Granmarr, married to Hildr, daughter of Hǫgni, konungr of Östergötland. They gave their daughter in marriage to Hjǫrvarðr the Ylfing, who may be identical with the father of Helgi in HHv. According to *Hkr* I (IF 26), p. 70, Yngling Ingjald treacherously burned Granmarr and Hjǫrvarðr escapes, and only his father-in-law dies. Cf. Malone, *Studies*, p. 101.

[25] *Edda*, ed. Neckel-Kuhn, p. 153; cf. Edda/Hollander, p. 168. Cf. S. Bugge, *Home of the Eddic Poems*, p. 137.

[26] HH I, strophe 20 (*Edda*, ed. Neckel-Kuhn, p. 133); cf. Bugge, *Home of the Eddic Poems*, pp. 149, 201.

[27] The only Ísungr known to me is the hero of the *Þiðrikssaga*, Ísungr, konungr of Bertangaland (ed. Henrik Bertelsen, I, pp. 255, 319, 354 passim; II, p. 1-7, 13-36, passim), an ally of Attila and the rival of the konungr of Villcina land (the Wilzi/Liutizen on the Elba River). Concerning the meanings of the name *Bertangaland* (*-menn*), "Brittany," see William J. Paff, *The Geographical and Ethnic Names in the Þiðriks Saga* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), pp. 35–40. Bugge states that "this *Ísungr* may be the poetic representative of *Isefjord*, including the principal place of assize (*Thingsted*) of the Danish kingdom, *Isöre*, which lay at the mouth of Isefjord on its west side" (*Home of the Eddic Poems*, p. 149).

[28] According to HH II (*Edda*, ed. Neckel-Kuhn, p. 153), Hǫðbroddr had two other older brothers, Guðmundr and Starcaðr. Obviously, both are patterned after the well-known Old Norse heroes of the same names.

[29] Saxo, ed. Olrik-Ræder I, p. 48; the variant *Hodbroddus* is also attested, Saxo, ed. Olrik-Ræder I, p. 63.

[30] According to Saxo, the elder brother of Høtherus, Athislus king of Sweden married Ursa, the wife/daughter of the Danish Helgo/Helgi, in order to take vengeance on Helgi's son Rolvo (Saxo, ed. Olrik-Ræder I, pp. 48-50).

(45) Hroþwulf & Hroðgar	Hrothwulf and Hrothgar held
heoldon lengest	friendship together longest,
(46) sibbe ætsomne, suhtor-	nephew and uncle,
fædran,	
(47) siþþan hy forwræcon	after they drove away the tribe
Wicinga cynn	of Wic dwellers
(48) & Ingeldes ord forbigdan,	and lowered Ingeld's spear,
(49) forheowan æt Heorote	cut to pieces at Heorot the
Heaðobeardna þrym.	army of the Heathobards.[31]

Thus the Hǫðbroddr[32] of the *Edda* is to be understood as the ruler of the Had-Brods/Heaðo-Beards.

Malone is correct in saying that Wicingas in *Widsith* means "men of the Wīc," and that "the Wīc in question was presumably Bardowiek on the Ilmenau, a tributary of the Elbe and very near Lüneburg, where lived the Bardi of the twelfth-century chronicler Helmold."[33]

The text of *Widsith* (which has survived in a manuscript from the end of the tenth century), like the other Anglo-Saxon court epic poem *Beowulf*, recorded the revolutionary significance of the establishment of the system of trading factories (*emporia*) called *vīk*s for the economic and political history of Europe as it was happening. The network of the *factorii* of the *vīk-ings* (Had-Bards, Frisians) was ever more tightly surrounding the old Scandinavian world (that is, the elder line of Skjǫldungar in Denmark), which was forced to defend its positions in a life-and-death struggle. After the death of Hrólfr the new order of the younger Skjǫldungar (Viking Had-Bards from Bardowiek) triumphed. The information in *Beowulf* can be dated hypothetically. The deeds of the Skjǫldungar, Hrōðgar and Hrōðulf, on the one hand, and the Heaðo-Beard Ingeld, on the other, are thought to coincide roughly with the fourth quarter of the sixth century.

Since the Skjǫldung Helgi (as we know *inter alia* from *Beowulf*) was the father of Hrōðulf (Hrólfr) and the brother of Hrōðgar (Hróarr), he may also

[31] *Wicinga cynn/Ingeldes ord/Heaðoberdna þrym*, *Widsith*, ed. Malone, ll. 45–49 = Eng. trans. by Malone in *Studies*, p. 1.

[32] Eyvindr skáldaspillir (tenth century) in his *Hálevgjatal* (a poetic genealogy of the Sæmingar clan), names the dynasts, Höðbroddr (fourth generation) and Bárðr (sixteenth generation). The extent to which the inclusion of the Bardish names in a genealogy may be interpreted as signifying a generic connection is a matter that requires special study. Cf. also Bugge, *Home of the Eddic Poems*, pp. 141–143; 156–160.

[33] Malone, *Widsith*, p. 162.

have belonged to the last quarter of the sixth century, but he just as obviously was not Helgi Hundingsbani. In HHv[34] Helgi avenges the death of his maternal grandfather (Svafnir),[35] but in HH I[36] and HH II[37] the death of his father. The murderer of Svafnir was called Hróðmarr, while the murderer of Sig(e)mundr, father of Helgi, was Hundingr himself.

The name Hróðmarr is otherwise attested only in the prose paraphrasis of the *Edda* song *Hyndlolióð* (Hdl.),[38] there it is borne by the father of Haki,[39] who is probably identical with the hero of "one of the greatest love stories of the world," the story of Haki/Hagbarth/Hagbarðr and Signe/Signý. Saxo (in his seventh book) also calls this Haki Hagbarthus (**Hag-Barð-*), a name which, as Malone has shown, arose under the influence of the Frisian form: *Had-Bard-*, that is, **Haoðu- > *Haogu- > *Hag-*.[40]

Thus it emerges that the HHv reflected the struggle of the Skjǫldungr Helgi with the Had-Bards at some time, possibly in the last quarter of the sixth century. In it, the hero of the Had-Bards, Hróðmarr (not a king!), has taken the place of the king of the Had-Bards, Ingeld. Malone[41] has clearly shown the connection between the account about Hag-Bard- (in Saxo) and the account about Ingeld (*Beowulf* and *Widsith*). Obviously in both cases we are dealing with a tradition about the Had-Bards, in the first case (Saxo) from the Danish point of view and in the second (*Beowulf/Widsith*) from that of the Had-Bards themselves.[42]

For some reason, in both cases the tradition about the Had-Bards has preserved the name of Helgi (or his son) as that of their enemy.

According to the prose introduction to HH II,[43] Hundingr was the king of Hundland ("við hann er Hundland kent"). This term is found in the *R* version

[34] The prose text after strophe 11, *Edda*, ed. Neckel-Kuhn, p. 143.

[35] King of Svávaland: Hollander has identified this latter name as "the original home of the Suevi, now Brandenburg" (L. Hollander, *The Poetic Edda* [Austin, Texas, 1962], p. 159, n. 1).

[36] HH I, strophe 10, *Edda*, ed. Neckel-Kuhn, p. 131.

[37] HH II, the prose introduction, *Edda*, ed. Neckel-Kuhn, p. 150.

[38] Vigfússon-Powell, *CPB* II, p. 520. Cf. Bugge, *Home of the Eddic Poems*, pp. 288-289.

[39] In Saxo, the father of Hako/Hagbarthus is named Hamundus (ed. Olrik-Ræder I, pp. 192-200); in the *Poetic Edda* (*Sf.*) this name is borne by the son of Sigmund and the half-brother of Helgi (*Edda*, ed. Neckel-Kuhn, p. 162). In þula III and þula IV ("Sea Kings") appear the names Hagbarðr and Haki (Kock I, p. 322; p. 323); þula IV also has a Hundingr (Kock I, p. 323).

[40] Malone, *Studies*, p. 66, n. 11.

[41] Malone, "Hagbard and Ingeld," *Studies*, pp. 63-81.

[42] See Malone, *Studies*, p. 71.

[43] *Edda*, ed. Neckel-Kuhn, p. 150.

of the *Heiðreks* (= *Hervarar*) saga, where it replaces Hunaland, "land of the Huns."[44]

In Saxo's *Gesta*, Hunding is the son of King Syricus of Saxland and was defeated by Helgi near *Stadium oppidum*,[45] that is, Stade near Hamburg. Here we have, as in the case of Buðlungar, a confusion of the Huns with the Saxons. The town of Stade was, by the beginning of the tenth century, the capital of the Margraviate of Saxony, the immediate neighbor of Denmark. In 994 it was attacked by the Normans/ Danes, as we learn from the *Chronicon* of Thietmar of Merseburg,[46] and it is quite possible that this is why Stade found its way into the Danish tradition conveyed by Saxo.

The term "Hun" here is to be understood not as pertaining to the Huns of Attila but rather to their successors, the Avars, who from the mid-sixth century and until the beginning of the ninth had their powerful state in the heart of Europe. Contemporary European sources, including the chronicle of the Langobards (the immediate neighbors of the Avars), by Paul the Deacon, refer to the Avars as "Huns."[47] We know that at that time the power of the Avars extended as far as the Baltic.

Widsith calls the ruler of the Hundings *Mearchealf*.[48] It is difficult to find a convincing etymology for this name in the Germanic languages,[49] but the Central Asian **marč alp* < **barč alp* is easily recognized.[50] *Barč* was the name of one of the leading charismatic noble clans of Central Asia and Iran. The Barč were closely linked with international trade and without doubt must have played an important part in the state of the European Avars.[51]

[44] Ed. Tolkien, p. 26.

[45] Ed. Olrik - Ræder I, p. 47. *Stadium oppidum* was also known to Saxo in historical times (book 14), pp. 396, 434.

[46] Ed. Trillmich (1958), p. 142.

[47] See, e.g., Paul the Deacon (d. ca. 799), *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. L. Bethmann and G. Waitz, in *MGH. Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum* II (Hannover, 1878), Index, passim = Eng. trans. by William Dudley Foulke, *Paul the Deacon: History of the Lombards*, ed. Edward Peters (Philadelphia, 1907), pp. 50, 62, 159, 168 and passim.

[48] Line 23, Malone, *Widsith*, p. 23. Malone explains the name *Hundingas* as "apparently an old nickname of the Langobards, later confined to the part of the tribe settled in East Holstein," *Widsith*, p. 176.

[49] Malone's etymology of the name is given in *Widsith*, pp. 182–183: *mearh*, "horse" and *ealf*, "elf." On an assumed connection of Mearchealf with Marculf in the *Dialogue of Solomon and Saturn*, see Bugge, *Home of the Eddic Poems*, pp. 181–182; cf. also Schütte, *Gotthiod und Utgard* I, p. 105; vol. 2, p. 211.

[50] *Alp* is a well-known Central-Asian title meaning "hero."

[51] The same first fit of *Widsith* (v. 23, ed. Malone, p. 23) mentions the Myrgingas, which was the tribe of Widsith himself. They lived on the Avar border: "By virtue of the Offa episode, the Myrgingas can be localized with some precision; they lived south of the river Eider, in a region apparently identical with that held by the Nordalbings of later times,

The tribal name Ylfingr/Ylfingar derives from the appelative Úlfr, "wolf." Scholars (in particular Malone)[52] rightly see as the eponym of this clan, Úlfhamr, "wolfskin," that is, "a hero with the ability to assume the shape of a wolf," a werewolf. According to *Sǫrla þáttr*, Hjǫrvarðr's[53] father was called by this name, and Ylfingr Hjǫrvarðr was the name of the father of our hero, Helgi.

Úlfhamr Heiðrekr is the hero of the *Heiðreksaga* and was, according to that source, the direct descendant of Guðmundr á Glasisvǫllum.[54] HHv calls Hjǫrvarðr's place of residence Glasislundr.[55] In old Scandinavian *glasir* meant "amber,"[56] and *vǫllr*, "field, plain," while *lundr* meant "grove." Thus at one time the leaders of the Ylfingar lived "on the amber fields"/"at the amber grove."[57] The description locates the Ylfingar of that time on the amber coast of the Baltic Sea: Grobin, the main amber port Truso (supplanted in the second half of the tenth century by Danzig/Gdańsk), Vollin (Wolin), Haithabu in Jutland.[58] There immediately comes to mind the name of the stream on which Truso lay: *Elfing* (< *Ilfing*), a variant of the name of *Ylfingr* (> *Elbing*, Pol. *Elbląg*),[59] known from Wulfstan's account of a voyage to the port of Truso, undertaken on the initiative of Alfred the Great (871–899).[60]

That the Ylfingr Helgi was regarded as the grandson of Úlfhamr Heiðrekr permits us to fix the approximate dates when he flourished. The well-known semihistorical conqueror Ívarr víðfaðmi, possibly active between 680/690 and 725,[61] was the grandson of Hervǫr/Hildr, who was the daughter of Úlfhamr Heiðrekr — thus Helgi could have lived one generation earlier, ca. 640/650–680. These dates coincide nicely with the history of the Avars: in 630 the

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themselves a branch of the Old Saxons (to use King Alfred's term)" (Malone, *Widsith*, p. 183).

52 Malone, *Studies*, pp. 100–101. Cf. Herrmann, *Heldensagen* II, p. 122.

53 Ed. Björn Sigfússon (IF 10), pp. 109–113.

54 Ed. Tolkien, pp. 20, 59, 66–68. Cf. Malone, *Studies*, p. 101: "Helgi's family, then, is that of Hjörvarðr at Glasislundi. But this character can hardly be separated from Hjörvarðr, son of Heiðrekr Úlfhamr and grandson of Guðmundr á Glasisvöllum."

55 *Edda*, ed. Neckel–Kuhn, p. 140.

56 Tolkien, *Saga of King Heidrek*, p. 85; Malone, *Studies*, p. 101.

57 "The royal seat 'at the amber grove' or 'on the amber fields' probably points to a time when the Wulfings (who lived on the Pomeranian coast) participated in the amber trade and profited by it" (Malone, *Studies*, p. 101).

58 On the amber coast and the amber trade routes, see *SSS* 1, pp. 389–391, 208. Cf. also Arnolds Spekke, *The Ancient Amber Routes* (Sthlm, 1957).

59 See K. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde* II (Berlin, 1906), p. 207.

60 See Malone, *Speculum* 5:2 (1930), pp. 161–162; G. Labuda, *Źródła* (1961), pp. 107–113; Labuda, *Sagi* (1960), pp. 80–89.

61 On this chronology which, it must be kept in mind, is purely speculative, cf. e.g., Birger Nerman, *Festskrift til Finnur Jónsson* (1928), pp. 206–212.

dynasty of Bayan died out, and internecine war broke out.[62] "Helgi", both the Odinic hero and his sacrifice, might well have taken advantage of that opportunity to undertake a victorious campaign. Here the historicizing of a myth started to take shape.

Between the second and the sixth centuries a lively trade was carried on between the Roman Empire and the Scandinavian countries over two main routes: the Helweg from the Rhineland along the coast as far as Jutland, and the amber route from Aquileia to Sambia (Samland). As we have seen above, the Ylfingar wanted to control the amber route.

This was the golden age of Scandinavia, the Peace of King Fróði (*Fróða friðr*),[63] and Fróði's wishing mill,[64] a time during which Roman golden *solidi* and imported manufactures of the provincial Roman Rhineland industries passed into Scandinavia in exchange for amber or service in the Roman army.

The center of the amber industry in the Roman Empire was Aquileia on the Adriatic coast (between Venice and Trieste). From 568 to 774 it belonged to the state of the Langobards and later to the margraviate of Verona (> German epic: *Bern*). It is not surprising that the German epic, *Dietrich von Bern* (> Scand. epic Þíðrik < historic Theodoric the Great, king of the Ostrogoths, d. 526), showed the Ylfingar as comrades-in-arms (*comitatus*, tribe in the making = "Männerbund") collaborating with the leader of the Aumlungar (Ostrogoths), Theodoric,[65] who was often resident in Verona.

This trade was unexpectedly interrupted about the time of the death of Emperor Justinian I (565), causing an internal catastrophe in Scandinavia, which was reflected in the burning of the halls of the local rulers recorded in the sources. Archaeologists have found the reason for the interruption of the contacts between the Roman Empire and Scandinavia to have been the advent of the Avars who, having established themselves in Pannonia about 568, cut Rome off from northern Europe.[66] The arrival of the Avars had epochal significance in the life of the peoples of Scandinavia: it destroyed the golden age of Scandinavia and the Peace of Fróði along with it.

We can now understand the reason why the victory of the Ylfingr Helgi

[62] See *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar*, ed. and trans. J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (London, 1960), pp. 60–61 (s.a. A.D. 630). On the death of Bayan, see V. N. Zlatarski, *Istorija na pŭrvoto bŭlgarsko carstvo* I (Sofia, 1918), pp. 117–118.

[63] Olrik, *The Heroic Legends of Denmark*, trans. Lee M. Hollander (New York, 1919), pp. 446–471.

[64] Cf. "Grottasǫngr" in *Edda*, ed. Neckel–Kuhn, pp. 297–301.

[65] An Ylfingr, *inter alia*, was the hero Hilldibrandr, with his father Alibrandr, see *Þíðriks Saga af Bern*, ed. Henrik Bertelsen II, p. 344 ("ek heiti Hilldibrand Ylfinga meistari"), p. 353. See Paff, *Geographical and Ethnic Names*, p. 227.

[66] H. Jankuhn, "Der fränkisch-friesische Handel zur Ostsee im frühen Mittelalter," *Viert SuWG* 40 (1953), pp. 197–204.

Hjǫrvarðsson over the Avars (possibly under the command of **Marč alp*) hypothetically dated sometime around the middle of the seventh century (that is, approximately one hundred years after the arrival of the Avars in Europe) could have captured the imagination of its contemporaries. The Ylfingr "Helgi" made a heroic type par excellence, and his "name" would be passed down to other heroes. Popular songs about the "Skjǫldungr Helgi," particularly about his military and amorous adventures, existed in Scandinavia from time immemorial. This Helgi (son of Hálfdan) now had to be identified with Helgi Hundingsbani.[67] The heroic "name" *Helgi* was so popular that its position was not shaken by the appearance of the stylish hero from the German epic (*Nibelungenlied*), Sigurðr (< Germ. *Sîfrit* = Siegfried). Helgi simply became a member of Sigurðr's clan, the Vǫlsungar, having exchanged his own father for King Sigmundr of that clan; Sigurðr then became the (younger; sic!) half brother of the heroic Helgi.[68]

The lay cycle of the *Poetic Edda* about "Helgi" should thus be linked with the events of the seventh century, that is, with the struggle of the Ylfingar against the Avars. The Ylfingar were directly connected to the trade along the amber route which, after 568, came under the control of the Avars. The Ylfingar — active as they were — now had to transfer their activities elsewhere. In the eighth century, routes were opened using the Baltic and east European rivers and, during the ninth century, along the Scandinavian peninsula and across the White Sea to the semilegendary land of the precious northern furs, Biarmia. It must be assumed that the Ylfingar did not waste any time in taking advantage of these new opportunities.

The next stage in the activity of the Ylfingar is linked with (H)Reiðgotaland. There is a considerable literature concerning this term, but the most likely hypothesis is that of Otto von Friesen[69] and Kemp Malone that the term meant "nest" Goths:

> Presumably they were the Goths who had remained at home when the others migrated, the Goths who had stayed in the nest rather than those who had taken to their wings. Now there were two great Gothic migrations before the invasion of the Roman Empire began. The first of these was the migration from Scandinavia to the Vistula; the second was the migration from the Vistula to the Ukraina. Logically, then, the term *Hreiðgotar* might have been applied, in very early times, to those Goths who stayed in Scandinavia, while at a later date, it might have been applied to those Goths who stayed in the Vistula

67 See Saxo, ed. Olrik - Ræder, pp. 47–48.
68 See, e.g., Sf. (*Frá dauða Sinfiǫtla*), *Edda*, ed. Neckel - Kuhn, pp. 162–163.
69 Von Friesen, *Rökstenen* (Sthlm, 1920), p. 108.

> region after their fellows had migrated southward. It is not surprising, then, to find two traditions in Scandinavia about the Hreiðgotar; according to one tradition they were a tribe settled in Gautland or Jotland (or both); according to the other tradition, they were a tribe settled in the Vistula region.[70]

As we see, the term *Hreiðgotar* was a movable one, used by those Goths who at a given time had not migrated to distinguish them from their relatives who had.

After the main mass of Ostrogoths abandoned the Ukraine and migrated through Moesia (ca. 475–488) to Italy, the remnants of the Goths who stayed behind called the Ukraine *Reiðgotaland.* When the Baltic (mainly Lithuanian) tribes encountered the ancestors of the Belorussians and Ukrainians who had come from the middle Dnieper region some time in the eighth or ninth century,[71] they still found the term "Goths" in use both with reference to the population of the area and to émigrés from it. They preserved until historical times (from ca. 1546 to the present) the term *Guda-s* (sing.) / *Guda-i* (pl.), for the "Rus'ian population of the Lithuanian-Polish state," that is, Ukrainians and Belorussians, in contrast to *Maskvos,* Muscovites.[72]

Geographical names from the times of the Huns (Huns and Avars), such as *Dúnheiðr* "Don(ec') Heath"; *Jassarfjǫll* Jas Mountain (= "*Svjati Hory* on the Sivers'kyj Donec'"); *Myrkviðr* Black Forest (near the Donec'); *Danparstaðir* "homesteads on the Dnieper"[73] show that the Reiðgotaland of the surviving version of the *Hlǫðskviða* denoted the Ukraine, especially the land of the Poljane in the ninth century, between the Donec' and the Dnieper. It also shows that during the same period for a time the Ylfingar had control of the trade routes.

Although in the *R* version of the *Heiðreks* (= *Hervarar*) saga Guðmundr is called only *konungr af Glasisvǫllum,*[74] in version *U* we find the following localization of the land of Guðmundr: "To the north beyond Gandvík it was called Jǫtunheimar."[75] Saxo[76] describes the domain of Guthmundus as lo-

[70] Malone, *Studies,* p. 178.

[71] P. N. Tretjakov, *Finnougry, Balty i Slovjane na Dnepre i Volge* (M.-L., 1966), pp. 281–282.

[72] This question occupies the main portion of Eduard Hermann's "Sind der Name der Gudden und die Ortsnamen Danzig, Gdingen und Grudenz gotischen Ursprungs?," *NAWG,* 1941, pp. 207–291, especially pp. 209–244, 287. Herrmann explains why the name *Guda-s* contains a *-d-* (instead of the expected *-t-*) under the influence of folk etymology: the Baltic languages did not have a syllable /gut/, but only /gud/, *NAWG,* 1941, pp. 243–244.

[73] Ursula Dronke, *The Poetic Edda* I (Oxford, 1969), p. 4.

[74] Ed. Tolkien, p. 20.

[75] Ed. Tolkien, p. 66. Data on Jötunheimar have been collected in E. Metzenthin, *Länder* (1941), pp. 52–53, and will be included in a forthcoming volume of this work. It is

cated *in ulteriore Biarmia*. This is very important for our purposes: when the northern fur and slave trade replaced the amber trade the Ylfingar took it into their own hands. There they were obviously the Vikings/Varangians who protected the local *vík* (*Gand-vík*), by spreading terrifying information about it in order to ward off potential competitors.[77]

For some reason Saxo included the Gothic king of what is present-day Ukrainian territory, Hermanarich/Hermanaric(us) (Jarmericus), in the list of Danish kings, placing him and his dynasty not in the legendary first part of his work, as one might expect, but in the two last, protohistorical, books (the eighth and ninth). It is in those books that a descendant of Hermanaric appears as the historical Godfred (Gotricus/Gotfridus/Godefridus; *fl.* 800-810), the worthy opponent of Charlemagne. The lineage of Hermanaric/Jarmericus' dynasty in the Danish tradition is as follows:[78]

Table 1. *The Ylfingar (according to the Danish tradition).*

Jarmericus
|
Broderus
|
Syualdus
|
Snio
|
Biorn
|
Haraldus
|
Gormo

Gotricus — Olauus

interesting that the Scandinavian word *gand-r* "sorcery" also has the poetical meaning "wolf"; see F. Holthausen, *WAWN* (1948), p. 80; de Vries, *ANEW* (1962), pp. 155-156; A. Jóhannesson, *IEW* (1956), p. 415. *Gandvík* is not the "Bay of Sorcery" (as given by Tolkien, *The Saga of King Heidrek*, p. 66, n. 2), but rather an adaptation of the Finnish **kanta-lahti*, "Bay of the [trading] base," i.e., "Bay of the *vík*."

[76] Ed. Olrik-Ræder I, p. 240.

[77] Here one should mention the dispatch in Saxo of the konungr, Gormo, under the leadership of the Norwegian Thorkillus to Biarmia (ed. Olrik-Ræder I, pp. 239-247). Compare the commentary of Herrmann, *Heldensagen* II, pp. 584-608. Similar horror stories were spread by the Volga Bulgars about the atrocities of the "third tribe [= kind] of Rus'"; see Ivan Hrbek, *Archiv Orientální* 25 (1957), pp. 628-652.

[78] The sources are as follows: Jarmericus (Saxo, ed. Olrik-Ræder, pp. 230-235); Bro-

Although we shall not discuss the dynasty of Godfred (Gotfrid-/Godefrid-/Gottfried), it should at least be said that a ruler so well aware of his political, economic, and military objectives could not have arisen out of nowhere. Each of his moves, as recounted in the surviving sources, reveals an experienced ruler accustomed to realizing plans prepared well in advance. Behind his undertakings, whether the construction of the great defense line of the Danevirke on the Jutland peninsula or the elimination of the Slavic Baltic port (*emporium*) of Reric and the forced transfer of the international merchants to the port of Haithabu, which he founded,[79] can be detected generations of experience, although Godfred appears in our sources as one of the first historical rulers of Denmark.

We can follow the history of his line further. His nephew and heir, Hemming Óláfsson[80] (810-812), along with his brothers and his son, Horik (813-854), are spoken of in history.[81] The *Chronicon Roskildense* says that Horik II/*Hericus puer* was the son of Horik I,[82] and there is no reason to question this source. The son of Horik II was, according to the data from the Danish genealogical tradition (*Reges Danorum*), Lota Knut, father of Sven Langfot.[83]

At this time, however, Denmark was no longer in the hands of the dynasty of Jarmericus. Until the defeat at Louvain (891) it was ruled by Sigurðr (ca. 873-891), probably one of the sons of the famous Viking Ragnarr loðbrók.[84] Later, according to the words of the king of Denmark, Sveinn Úlfsson (1047-1076), the king was a certain "good king among the Danes" (thus of

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derus (Saxo, ed. Olrik - Ræder, pp. 233-235; the "Incerti auctoris genealogia regum Danie" calls him *frater* "brother" of Jarmericus, *SMHD*, ed. Gertz I, p. 187); Syualdus (Saxo, ed. Olrik - Ræder, p. 235); Snio (Saxo, ed. Olrik - Ræder I, pp. 235-237); Biorn (Saxo, ed. Olrik - Ræder I, p. 238; "Series ac brevior historia regum Danie," *SMHD*, ed. Gertz I, p. 162); Haraldus (Saxo, ed. Olrik - Ræder I, p. 238; "Annales Ryenses," *ADMÆ*, ed. Jørgensen, p. 67); Gormo (Saxo, ed. Olrik - Ræder I, pp. 238-247); Gothricus (Saxo, ed. Olrik - Ræder I, pp. 247-250; "Annales Ryenses," *ADMÆ*, ed. Jørgensen, p. 67); Olauus (Saxo, ed. Olrik - Ræder I, p. 250). Saxo (and *Annales Ryenses*, p. 267) has Olauus as the son of Gothricus, but the *Reges Danorum* calls Olaff gothdreng *frater*, or brother of Gotrich hin giafmild (*SMHD*, ed. Gertz I, p. 168). The latter source is probably correct.

[79] *Annales Regni Francorum*, ed. G. H. Pertz F. Kurze (*SRG*) (Hannover, 1895), p. 126.

[80] That Hemming was the son of Olaf is attested in Danish tradition: "Series ac brevior historia regum Danie," *SMHD*, ed. Gertz I, p. 162; "Incerti auctoris genealogia regum Danie," *SMHD*, ed. Gertz I, p. 187, and "Saxonis Gesta Danorum in compendium redacta," *SMHD*, ed. Gertz I, p. 338.

[81] Vogel (*Normannen und das Fränkische Reich* [1906]) devoted a special excursus to the genealogical problems of the Danish kings (Supplement 1), with a discussion of "Gottfried's Geschlecht" on pp. 404-405. However, I have not always been able to agree with Vogel.

[82] *SMHD*, ed. Gertz I, p. 15. Vogel (*Normannen und das Fränkische Reich*, p. 405) believes Horik II to be the brother of Gottfried I.

[83] *SMHD*, ed. Gertz I, p. 170.

[84] See Vogel, *Normannen und das Fränkische Reich*, pp. 410-412.

Danish origin), Helgi (ca. 891–900).[85] He was driven out by the Swedes, and for some thirty or forty years a Swedish dynasty ruled Denmark: Óláfr, Gnupa, Gurd, Sigtrygg.[86]

In chronological terms the Danish Helgi coincides with the historical Prince Oleg of the Kievan chronicles. After the tragedy of 891, a representative of the legitimate dynasty of Jarmericus succeeded in retaking Denmark. When he was driven out by the Swedes in 900 he set out to seek his fortune in Austrvegr and reappeared in the Novgorod-Kievan sources (the tract of ca. 907, the treaty of 911) as the Grand Prince of Rus', Oleg (< ON *Helgi*).

Adam of Bremen, who uses Sveinn Úlfsson's account, connects the new Danish dynasty which drove the Swedes out in the third and fourth decades of the tenth century with a *Hardegon filius Suein* who had "come from [what later became] French Normandy (*veniens a Nortmannia*)."[87] Obviously these words are not to be taken as indicating that Hardegon was originally from Normandy. We may assume that "Hardegon filius Suein," or his father, after having been forced for some reason to flee Denmark (also in connection with the events of 891 or later) found refuge in the Great Army which was active on the continent and took part in Rollo's conquest of Normandy. In the *Chronicon Roskildense* we have information about a "Swen quidam, Normannorum transfuga"[88] who had two sons, one of whom was indeed named Hartha Knut.[89] I think this is just the "Hardegon filius Suein" mentioned above, the father of the fully historical king of Denmark, Gormr inn gamli (d. ca. 945), whom Adam of Bremen calls "Herdecnudth Vurm" (book 1, para. 55).[90] From this it appears that the history of Jarmericus is in the eighth book of Saxo's work because the Jelling dynasty traced its own origins to the Goths and Hermanaric. The genealogy of the Jelling dynasty from Gotricus to Gormr hinn gamli is given in the Tables 1 (p. 134) and 2 (p. 137).

The Ylfingar were, as we have seen, the descendants of Úlfhamr, that is, of a werewolf. They were originally, it seems, a Männerbund tribe in the making (*comitatus*) with their own initiation rite. Two princes of Rus' were linked to

[85] Adam of Bremen, *Gesta*, ed. Trillmich, p. 218.

[86] On them, see Adam of Bremen, *Gesta*, ed. Trillmich, p. 224; cf. also the *Reges Danorum*, in *SMHD*, ed. Gertz I, p. 170; *Annales Ryenses*, *ADMÆ*, ed. Jørgensen, p. 68, passim. See also Gwyn Jones, *A History of the Vikings* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 111–112.

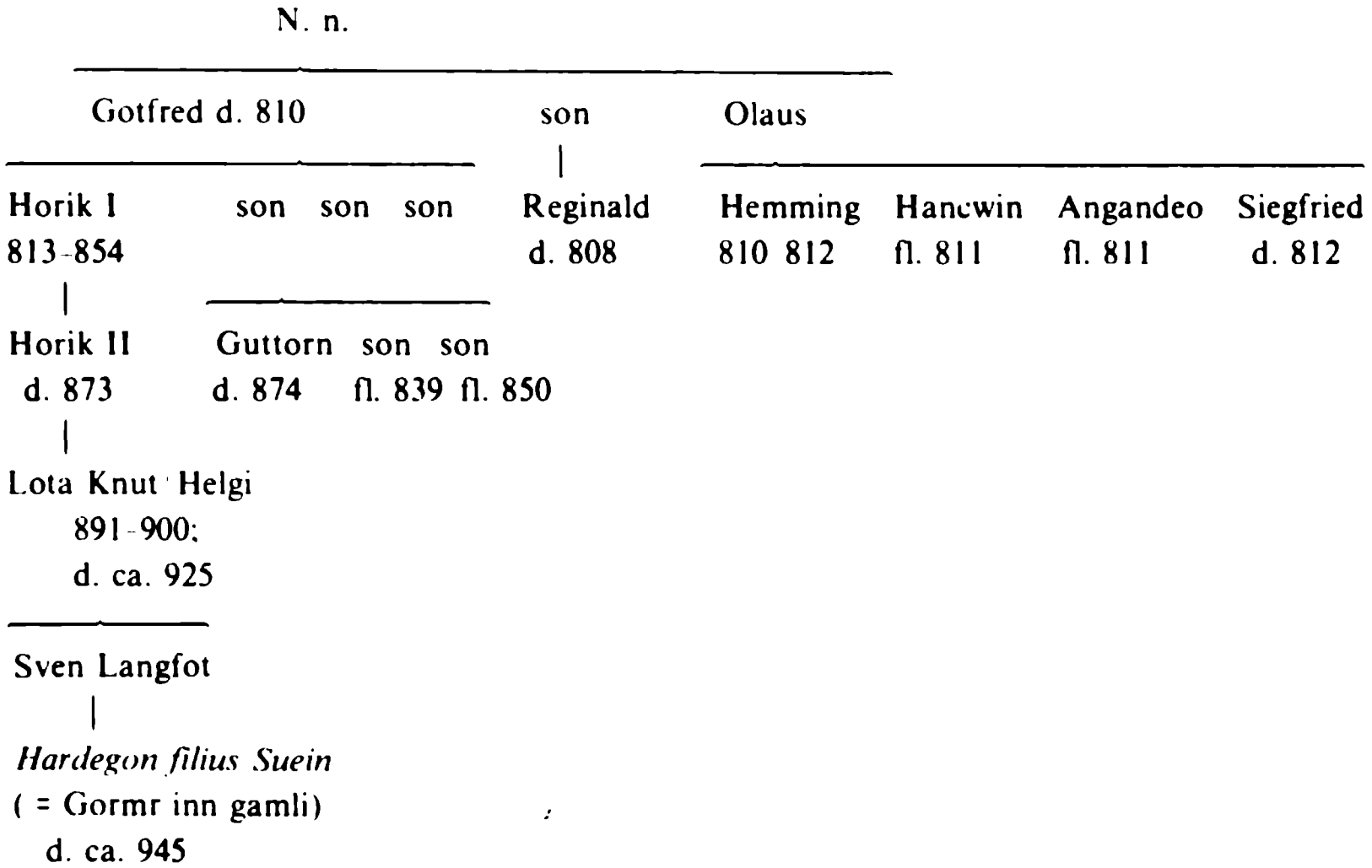
[87] Adam of Bremen, *Gesta*, ed. Trillmich, p. 224. Here it should be stressed that Adam considers the term *Nortmanni/Nortmannia* as being in opposition to Nor*d*manni/Nor*d*mannia: the first denotes the Normans of the French dukedom and that dukedom itself, and the second, Norsemen in general and the Norwegians and Norway in particular. See W. Trillmich in his edition of Adam of Bremen, Index, p. 736.

[88] *SMHD*, ed. Gertz I, p. 17, ll. 21–22.

[89] *SMHD*, ed. Gertz I, p. 18.

[90] *Gesta*, ed. Trillmich, pp. 226, 228.

Table 2. *The Dynasty of Gormr*



magic: the legendary Oleg the Seer (his epithet *veščij* means both "wizard"[91] and "werewolf") and the historical prince of Polock (and Kiev) Vseslav Brjačislavič (d. 1101). In general, the dynasty of Polock was the only one among the old dynasties that survived the competition with the Rurikids, and in the eyes of the Rurikid chroniclers (and only their accounts have survived) was, as a result, to say the least, suspicious. But even the historical Prince Oleg had been associated with Polock, for he had his residence there, as we know from the so-called treaty of 907.

Polock lay on the Dvina at one end of the route from the Baltic Sea to the Sea of Azov via the Dnieper, Desna, Sejm, Donec', Don. The struggle for control of that route was an essential element in the relations between the dynasties of Rurik and Rogvolod.

Among the Russian epic *byliny* (i.e., *stariny*) recorded by Kirša Danilov in the middle (?) of the eighteenth century (probably in western Siberia) is a poem about a werewolf prince named Volx Vseslav'evič.[92] Another version of

[91] Roman Jakobson with Marc Szeftel, "The Vseslav Epos," in *Roman Jakobson: Selected Writings* IV (The Hague, 1966), pp. 301-368.

[92] "Sbornik Kirši Danilova," no. 6 = V. Ja. Propp and B. N. Putilova, eds. *Byliny v dvux tomax* I (M., 1958), pp. 8-13 (text) and pp. 506-507 (commentary).

it (the prince is called there Vol'ga) was recorded approximately a century later (1871) by the well-known Slavicist A. F. Hilferding; he found it in the region around Lake Onega.[93] Scholars are unanimous in considering this one of the oldest of the *bylina*s, and they have as a result devoted a great deal of attention to it. While earlier researchers identified the deeds of Volx/Vol'ga with those of Oleg the Seer of the *PVL*,[94] in our time Roman Jakobson and Marc Szeftel in a methodologically exemplary monograph have clearly shown the close link of the hero of the bylina with the Polock werewolf prince Vseslav Brjačislavič.[95]

But we can go even further. In my opinion we have here a contamination of two heroes: *mythic* Helgi (Oleg/Vol'ga/Volx), the doer of extraordinary deeds — hence the campaign to India in the style of Helgi's struggle against Hunding, and the Kievan chronicles' fictional account of Oleg's campaign against Constantinople — and *epic* werewolf prince (Úlfhamr = Ylfingr), whose model could only have been Oleg the Seer (cf. Qrvar-Oddr!) and Prince Vseslav Brjačislavič of Polock. The combination of two variants of the name of the hero of the bylina Volx/Vol'ga with the same patronymic, Vseslav'evič, also suggests this. Volx/Vol'ga is obviously Oleg/Helgi, for the hero had to have the name Helgi.[96] The patronymic Vseslav'evič is a clear reflex of the name Vseslav.

The contents of the first book of Saxo are also unusual. The book is an elaboration of the theme of the struggle of the Goth-Hun brothers from the *Hervararsaga* and the Viking (sic!) history of the Viking pirate Hadingus intermixed with legends of the two eponyms of Denmark, Dan-r and Skiǫld-r. Heiðrekr of the *Hervararsaga* and his clan were, as we have seen, Ylfingar and therefore Goths. Saxo began and ended his work with Gothic themes because he lived and worked at the court of a dynasty that traced its line from the Ylfingar/Goths.

Mythic Helgi became the embodiment of supra-heroic deeds in Scandinavia and the Old Ru'sian Oleg the Seer essentially corresponds to the Scandinavian Helgi not only in name (Helgi/Oleg) but also in heroic deed (here the

[93] *Onežskie byliny, zapisannye A. F. Gil'ferdingom letom 1871 goda*, 4th ed. (M. - L., 1950) = V. Ja. Propp and B. N. Putilova, eds. *Byliny* I, pp. 14-19 (text) and p. 507 (commentary).

[94] Regarding this, see, e.g., Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy* I³, (K., 1913), pp. 435-437.

[95] See above, n. 91.

[96] Concerning the exploits of *Hlgw* (Helgi/Oleg) as represented in one Cairo Geniza Hebrew document ("Schechter's document") see the new edition and commentary in the forthcoming book by Norman Golb and myself: *Khazarian Hebrew Documents of the Tenth Century* (Cornell University Press; in press).

alleged attack on Constantinople, the conquest of Kiev). The *helgi* myth became historicized. Now it is clear why the clan of the Ylfingar occupied the leading place among the four canonical dynasties of Old Scandinavian tradition. But, as we have demonstrated, this clan is important for the student of the history of Rus' as well (see "Þul IV" in Kock I, p. 336).

Helgi and the Two Haddingjar

Unfortunately the *Káruljóð* lay about Helgi Haddingjaskaði and his beloved Kára has not come down to us. We only have the *membra disjecta* in the later sagas to give us some insight, however fragmentary, into the fate and rites of this incarnation of Helgi Hundingsbani and his Sigrún, all the more regrettable because the lay apparently combined the myths of Helgi and the Haddingjar.[97]

Curiously enough the two great-grandsons of Hrómundr Gripsson, the man who was supposed to have killed our Helgi, were foster-brothers and second cousins: Ingólfr and Leifr, the first settlers to arrive in Iceland (ca. 875). Moreover, the first fornaldar saga ever mentioned in a source dealt with the deeds of Hrómundr Gripsson. It was recited at the wedding feast of Reykjahólar in western Iceland in 1119, an event described in the *Þorgils saga ok Hafliða* (ca. 1180–1200).[98] This saga also did not survive; all that remains is a later fornaldar saga *Hrómundar saga Gripssonar*[99] based on a fourteenth-century ballad (*ríma*) called *Griplur*,[100] but with probable connections to the original saga.

Helgi, called *inn frækni* ("the valiant"), had a famous brother -- the Viking Hrǫngviðr (about whom we know nothing except that he was killed by Hrómundr with the third blow of his club)[101] as did the other Helgis: Helgi Hundingsbani (Sinfjǫtli) and Helgi Hjǫrvarðsson (Heðinn). This Helgi is the champion of the two kings of Sweden (*tveir konungar af Svíþjóð*) called Haddingjar.[102]

The adversary king, Óláfr, was styled in the original *Hrómundarsaga* as king of the sailor retainers (*liðsmannakonungr*);[103] the extant *Hrómundar-*

97 See *GAL* I², p. 317, and Otto Höfler, *Festschrift F. Genzmer*, pp. 22–25.

98 Ursula Brown, "The Saga of Hromund Gripsson and Þorgilssaga," SBVS 13:2 (1947–1948), pp. 51–77. Cf. also the introduction to Brown's edition of *Þorgils saga ok Hafliða* (London, 1952).

99 *FSN*, ed. Guðni Jónsson (1959), II, pp. 405–422.

100 *GAL* II², p. 496.

101 *FSN*, ed. G. Jónsson II, pp. 408–409.

102 *FSN*, ed. G. Jónsson II, p. 415; the text has the incorrect form "Haldingjar."

103 "Þorgils saga ok Hafliða," *Sturlunga saga*, ed. G. Jónsson I (1954), p. 38.

saga says that he ruled over Garðar in Denmark (*sá konungr réð fyrir Görðum í Danmörk, er Óláfr hét*),[104] while the *Gǫngu-Hrólfs saga* (where Óláfr appears as the son of Hrólfr) makes him simply king of Denmark (*konungr í Danmörk*).[105] The latter two cases show a historicization of the myth, whereby the Danish *Garðar* probably meant Frisia under Danish rule. In the extant *Hrómundarsaga*, the *tveir Haddingjar* are kings of Sweden; the genealogical *Hversu* saga connects them with Haddingjadalr (mod. Hallingdal) in Norway;[106] as sons of berserkr Arngrímr of Bólmr and Eyfura of Garðaríki (Garðar); the tveir Haddingjar appear in the Eddaic *Hyndluljóð* from where they are incorporated into the Sámsey poetry (*Hervararsaga, Qrvar-Odds saga*).[107]

Hrómundr Gripsson was presented as a man from Telemark in Norway;[108] *Hálfs saga ok Hálfsrekka* says that his grandfather Hrókr inn svarti was a retainer of King Hjǫrr of Hǫrðaland. Hrómundr seems to be a historical figure of the eighth century.

Hrómundr killed Helgi. Wearing a mask, he dispatched him with an unusual weapon — mistletoe (*mistilteinn*). Otto Höfler, commenting on this mythic ritual, pointed out that Baldr, the god of fruitfulness, was killed in a similar way. Helgi championed the "divine twins," the two Haddingjar, who together represented the third function: fecundity and growth of plants.[109] As a perennial evergreen, mistletoe symbolized the continuation of life. Killing Helgi with a perennial evergreen, mistletoe, expressed the hope that he would soon return.

Regrettably, we are told little about the death of the two Haddingjar. The saga only says that one of them was attacked by King Óláfr and struck down by blows from Hrómundr's club.[110] What happened to the second Haddingr remains untold.

In the Old Rus' tradition one finds data that resemble a blending of the two myths under discussion, that of Helgi (the Seer) and of the two Haddingjar-like figures. This can be seen in the joint rulers of Kiev, Askold and Dir. But Oleg, who is of course ON Helgi, was not the champion of the two Haddingjar, but their killer (ON *bani*).

Apparently there are two strata in the Kievan chronicle. The older one was

104 *FSN*, ed. G. Jónsson II, p. 407.
105 *FSN*, ed. G. Jónsson III, p. 279.
106 *Flat*, ed. Unger-Vigfússon I (1860), p. 24.
107 See above, n. 104.
108 *FSN*, ed. G. Jónsson II, p. 132.
109 Otto Höfler, *Festschrift F. Genzmer*, pp. 43–44.
110 *FSN*, ed. G. Jónsson II, p. 422.

mythic and concerned the founding of a Viking realm. As was the case with the Langobards (Ibor and Agio), the Vandals (the two Hastingi), the Anglo-Saxons (Horsa and Hengest), and others, it was necessary to have the two Dioscuri figures who would lead the way for their people, whether in a hazardous expedition, a war, or the conquest of a new land.[111] But in the late eleventh or the twelfth century, when the Rurikid dynasty established their hegemony over eastern Europe, it was prudent to weed out from the tradition all traces of that stage when many charismatic clans looked afar and found their fortune in eastern Europe.

The historical Helgi/Oleg was not even present in Kiev in 882 (the supposed date of his conquest of that city). At that time Kiev was still in Khazar hands;[112] nor did he conquer Constantinople in 907. He most probably arrived in eastern Europe after 900 and made the town of Polock (Palteskja) the center of his power.

Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj has pointed out a contradiction in the Kievan chronicle's tale about the killing of Askold and Dir.[113] Although they met Oleg together (to the south of Kiev, but coming from the north!) and were supposed to have been killed by him at the same place (near Ugorskoe), local tradition locates their tombs in two very different places: Askold was buried at Ugorskoe, south of Kiev, whereas Dir's supposed tomb was situated in the center of Jaroslav's Kiev, near the church of Jaroslav's wife Irina Ingigerðr (d. 1050; the daughter of the Swedish King Óláfr skautkonungr).

Dir/Bjǫrn was king of Aldeigjuborg and probably died in Rus' (Garðar) in that city, the property of Ingigerðr, who received it as a dowry from her husband Jaroslav. From the *Heimskringla* and other sources (e.g., skaldic poetry), we know that she was very much involved in eastern European affairs.[114] It is quite reasonable to assume that she took care of the remains of her distant relative and the illustrious Viking ruler of her earldom, and later, after she had constructed her own church in the new capital of Kiev, transferred those remains for burial nearby.

It is possible that Dir/Bjǫrn died a violent death; but Askold/Hasting, his companion of the great attack on Constantinople in 860, did not remain with him, for he had already returned to England (see pp. 181–182). Hence, there is no reason to assume that the old Dioscurian myth of the death of the two Haddingjar could have played any role in the Kievan chronicle's story.

One more element in the Rus' tradition, the killing of a previous Rus'

111 Cf. de Vries, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* II, 2nd ed. (1957), pp. 252–255.

112 On this, see the forthcoming monograph by Norman Golb and myself (see n. 96).

113 Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy* I³, pp. 406–409.

114 See, e.g., *Hkr* II (IF 27), pp. 98–100, 111–117, 130–134, 147–148 = *Hkr*/Hollander, pp. 307–309, 316–321, 332–335, 342–343.

prince by Oleg/Helgi, may have had some historical basis. If our identifications of both Oleg (as Lotha Knut) and Dir (as Bjǫrn) are correct, then the two konungar belonged to two different dynasties, which from the beginning of the ninth century in every place in northern Europe had been struggling for power and in the process had almost brought their respective clans to extinction. Oleg/Helgi/Lotha Knut was a member of the Gothic dynasty; his ancestor was the famous Godfred, the successful rival of Charlemagne. On the other side, Dir/Bjǫrn belonged to the Frisian clan, which for decades had dominated the richest towns of Europe.

Oleg certainly could not have killed Dir/Bjǫrn loðbróksson, who was probably born ca. 820–830. Bjǫrn, however, might have had a grandson, carrying — as was often the case in Old Norse custom — the name of his grandfather.

Al-Mas'ūdī had finished his *Murūğ aḍ-Ḍahab* in 332 A.H. (A.D. 943/944). Although a contemporary, his information concerning eastern Europe could have been some twenty or thirty years old.[115] Oleg/Helgi was still active in the 930s. He had arrived in eastern Europe about 900, and ca. 907 already had made a treaty with Byzantium which considerably strengthened his authority and position. If there was a Dir II (Bjǫrn II) of the Frisian dynasty in Aldeigjuborg after 907, then Oleg/Helgi was in fact in a position to get rid of him and take the important trading town into his own hands. This would solve the puzzle of how al-Mas'ūdī, who worked in the first half of the tenth century, was able to obtain information concerning an eastern European king called ad-Dīr.

II.

Oleg the Seer and Oleg "The Grand Prince of Rus'"*

In both the Pečery Codex (*Pečerskij svod* > *Novgorod First Chronicle*) and the *PVL* (*Pověsť vremennyx lět*) (in the latter s.a. 6415/907) is preserved a legend, or saga, about an attack on Constantinople by Oleg the Seer at the head of a great flotilla of 2,000 ships, carrying 80,000 men from Rus'. This campaign, thanks to Oleg's resourcefulness (which included mounting wheels on the ships so they might be transported over land), ended in a great victory

[115] The data of al-Mas'ūdī are discussed in detail in vol. four of this work.

* Reprinted with some corrections and additions from the *O. Ohloblyn Festschrift* (Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences, New York, 1978), pp. 389–399.

for the prince. The Greeks were forced to pay the victors an enormous tribute, 12 *grivnas* of silver per man, amounting to 960,000 grivnas, or more than 8,000 pounds of silver, in all.

While the Pečery Codex gives only the text of this saga legend, the editor of the *PVL*, found documents in the princely archives that contained the name of the "Grand Prince of Rus' Oleg," whom he identified as Oleg the Seer of the saga. Accordingly, he introduced interpolations that would combine his information about these two Olegs into a more plausible narrative.

The interpolations are of two kinds: (a) editorial additions required to bring narrative unity to a text interrupted by interpolations of another kind, namely, (b) quotations from records, both oral and written.

The oral record was a list, in the style of the Scandinavian *þulur, voces memoriae*, of the ten territorial tribal state organizations controlled by Kievan Rus' in the tenth century: и кривичѣ и мерю, и деревляны, и радимичѣ, и поляны, и сѣверъ, и вятичи, и хърваты, и дулѣбы, и тиверьцѣ, иже суть тълковины.

In the legend itself, which was not of Kievan origin, this list was apparently not given. But the editor of the *PVL*, once he had identified Oleg the Seer with Oleg the Grand Prince of Rus', and Prince of Kiev as well, had also to describe the enormous army of that sovereign and to add the detail that Oleg had "left Igor' in Kiev."[116] Having mentioned the list of the ten territorial tribal organizations, he added "and Oleg went with all of them on horse and by ship."[117] The mention of horses, of course, spoils the effect of the incident where Oleg had his ships equipped with wheels, a stratagem which is effective only when Oleg's campaign is described as an attack by a waterborne force.

An analysis of the list of ten territorial tribal organizations will not be undertaken here; it will suffice to point out that this list is composed of five pairs of names. The first pair is "the Kriviči and the Merja." This coupling of the Kriviči (i.e., Polock) with the Merja (i.e., Rostov) deserves special attention.

The editor of the *PVL* had at his disposal four written documents which he used for the entry s.a. 6415 (907). For greater clarity and convenience in discussing them, these documents will be designated no. 1, no. 2, no. 3, no. 4. Nos. 1 and 2 were the texts of articles from commercial treaties between Rus' and Byzantium. A. A. Šaxmatov thought that both these documents gave excerpts from one treaty, that of 911 (the entry s.a. 6420 [912]).[118] Detailed

[116] Игоря оставивъ Кыевѣ.

[117] и съ сими вьсѣми поиде Ольегъ на конихъ и въ кораблихъ.

[118] *TODRL* 4 (1940), pp. 113–116.

analysis has shown, however, that only text no. 1 is taken from the treaty of 911; no. 2 has a more complex history.

The first feature to attract attention is the fact that both no. 1 and no. 2 are treaty articles dealing with the rights and obligations of the Rus' in Constantinople. The text of no. 1 refers to Rus' in general, while no. 2 divides Rus' into two categories: "Rus' who come with no intention to buy,"[119] and the Rus' who came to Constantinople as merchants or as envoys.

The text of no. 1 grants very notable privileges to the Rus', while no. 2 speaks of stringent limitations imposed upon them. For example, according to no. 2 the Rus' must register in the Church of St. Mamas; they may enter the capital only through one particular gate in groups of no more than fifty, unarmed and accompanied by the imperial police. Clearly, such contradictory articles could not have come from the same treaty. No. 1 reads as if it had been taken from a treaty favorable to the Rus'; no. 2, on the other hand, appears to be more concerned with protecting Byzantine interests.

We know that Igor''s campaign of 941 was a catastrophe for Rus', and it is clear that Byzantium took advantage of its victory to curtail their previously won commercial privileges. In fact, the text of no. 2 is identical with the corresponding article of Igor''s 944 treaty (s.a. 6453 [945] = no. 4) with the difference that the first-person speech (*oratio recta*) of the 944 treaty is replaced by the third person (*oratio obliqua*). No. 2, moreover, does not include the whole article of the treaty of 944 in question, but only an extract from it.

It is likely that in no. 2 we are dealing with a translation of part of an article in the 944 treaty from the Greek original that was made for some member of the Rus' dynasty interested in commerce with Byzantium. This possibility is indicated, among other things, by the fact that the expression "your empire" (цѣсарьство ваше) in the treaty of 944 is given in the text of no. 2 as "our empire" (цѣсарьство наше). In the Greek original, obviously, the word "our" was used to refer to the Byzantine emperors and their empire, while in Slavonic the possessive "our" used in this context would have made no sense.

In addition, no. 2 mistakenly omits the words "the agents the amount proper to their position, and the merchants the usual monthly stipend"[120] after "they shall take their monthly stipend."[121] On the other hand, after "as is proper for them"[122] no. 1 has left out the words "paying no duty for anything."[123]

By way of illustration, the three texts in question are given here. The first

[119] Русь бес купля.

[120] съли съльбьное, а гостие мѣсячьное.

[121] възьмуть мѣсячьное свое.

[122] якоже имъ надобѣ.

[123] не платяще мыта ни въ чемьже.

two, no. 1 and no. 2, are taken from the entry s.a. 6425 [907], while the third (no. 4) is from the treaty of 944 (*PVL*, entry 6453 [945]):

No. 1[124] 907 [= 911]	No. 2[125] 907 [= 944]	No. 4[126] 944
	Аще придуть Русь бес купля, да не възимають мѣсячьна.	Аще придуть Русь бес купля, да не възимають мѣсячьна.
	Да запретить кънязь съломъ своимъ и приходящимъ Руси сьде, да не творять пакости въ селѣхъ въ странѣ нашеи.	И да запретить кънязь съломъ своимъ и приходящимъ Руси сьде, да не творять бещиния въ селѣхъ в странѣ нашеи.
Да приходящи Русь	Приходяще Русь да витають у святаго Мамы, и посълеть цѣсарьство наше, да испишють имена ихъ, и тъгъда възьмуть мѣсячьное свое [съли сьльбьное, а гостие мѣсячьное,][127]	И приходящемъ имъ, да витають у святаго Мамы, да посълеть цѣсарьство ваше, да испишеть имена ваша, и тъгда възъмуть мѣсячьное, свое, съли сълъбьное, а гостие мѣсячьное,
сълъбьное емлють, елико хотящи; а иже приходяще гостие, да емлють мѣсячьное на 6 мѣсяць, хлѣбъ и вино и мясо и рыбы и овощь,	пьрвое отъ града Кыева, и пакы ис Чьрнигова и ис Переяславля. . . .	пьрвое отъ града Кыева и пакы ис Чьрнигова и ис Переяславля.
	И да въходять въ градъ единѣми враты съ цѣсаревъмь мужьмь, безъ оружия, мужь 50,	И да въходять въ градъ единѣми враты съ цѣсаревъмь мужьмь, безъ оружия, мужь 50,
и да творять имъ мовь, елико хотять [не платяще мыта ни въ чемьже.][128]	и да творять куплю. якоже имъ надобѣ не платяще мыта ни въ чемьже	и да творять куплю, якоже имъ надобѣ [не платяще мыта ни въ чемьже.]

[124] The text is given here after A. A. Šaxmatov, *Povĕst' vremennyx lĕt* (Petrograd, 1916), p. 31. An English translation is in *The Russian Primary Chronicle. Laurentian Text*, trans. and ed. Samuel Hazzard Cross and Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), pp. 64–65 (henceforth cited as *RPC*).

[125] Šaxmatov, *Povĕst'*, pp. 31–32 = Cross–Sherbowitz-Wetzor, *RPC* p. 65.

[126] Šaxmatov, *Povĕst'*, pp. 54–55 = *RPC*, pp. 74–75.

[127] Omitted by error in text no. 2.

[128] Omitted by error in text no. 1 and text no. 4.

Поидуци же Русь домови, да емлють у цѣсаря вашего на путь брашьно и якоря и ужа и пърѣ, елико надобѣ.

И пакы да исходять; и мужь цѣсарьства вашего да хранить я; да аще кто отъ Руси или отъ Грькъ сътворить криво, да оправляеть то.

Въходяще же Русь въ градъ, да не творять пакости и да не имѣють власти купити паволокъ лише по 50 златьникъ; и отъ тѣхъ паволокъ аще кто крьнеть, да показаеть цѣсареву мужю, и тъ я запечатаеть и дасть имъ.

И отъходящи Руси отъсюду, да възимають отъ насъ, еже надобѣ брашьно на путь, и еже надобѣ лодиямъ, якоже уставлено есть преже. И да възвращаються съ съпасениемь въ страну свою; и да не имѣють власти зимовати у святаго Мамы.

Let us now return to the document designated here as no. 1. This text, despite the opinion generally accepted in the literature, is probably not an excerpt from the corresponding article of the treaty of 911, which has itself not survived, but is simply a section of a Slavonic original made by or for a member of the dynasty who had some use for it. At a later time, when the documents were being arranged in order and the text of the treaty of 911 (which may by then have consisted of a few fragments of torn parchment) was being reassembled, no. 1 was not recognized for what it was and consequently was not given its proper place. During the same operation, the half line of text, мѣсячину и творящихъ, was lost (or cut out so that the editor of the *PVL* could copy only the nonsensical О възимающих куплю Руси, after which followed the entirely new entry: О различьныхъ ходящихъ в Грекы и удължающихъ. . . .

The corresponding passage in the original of the treaty of 911 may be reconstructed as follows:

О възимающихъ [мѣсячину и творящихъ][129] *куплю Руси:*

1. Да приходящи Русь сльбьное емлють, елико хотящи;
а иже приходяще гостие, да емлють мѣсячьное на 6 мѣсяць, хлѣб и вино и мясо и рыбы и овощь,
и да творять имъ мовъ, елико хотять.

2. Поидущи же Русь домови, да емлють у цѣсаря вашего на путь брашьно и якоря и ужа и пърѣ, елико надобѣ [не платяще мыта ни въ чемьже].

О различьныхъ ходящихъ въ Грькы и удължающихъ. . . .

Now for the text of no. 3. Its specific feature is that it names Prince Oleg along with the emperors Leo VI and Alexander. Leo and Alexander were co-rulers after August 30, 866. After June 9, 911 Constantine VII became the third co-ruler. Leo died May 11, 912, and Alexander on June 6, 913.[130]

The document as preserved in the *PVL* is divided into two parts, between which no. 1 and no. 2 are inserted. This probably happened because the editor of the *PVL* found in the princely archive, in addition to the three dated full texts of the treaties of Rus' with Byzantium (Oleg, 911; Igor', 944; Svjatoslav, 971), four other undated texts — two parts of no. 1, no. 2, discussed above, and no. 3. Concluding that all four of these undated texts were related to one central event, he connected them to the campaign of Oleg the Seer, and thus established the sequence of texts found in the *PVL*.

It is possible to reconstruct the text of no. 3. The reconstruction might read:

Ольгъ[131] нача миръ творити съ цѣсарема грьчьскыма, съ Леонъмь и Александръмь, посъла къ нима въ градъ Карла, Фарлофа, Вельмуда, Рулава и Стемида глаголя: имѣте ми ся по дань. И реша Грьци: Чего хощеши, дамъ ти. И заповѣда Ольгъ[132] даяти уклады на Русьскыя грады:[133] на Полотьскъ и на Ростовъ

[129] Šaxmatov's reconstruction in *Povĕst'*, p. 39, note to line 11.

[130] Cf. V. Grumel, *Traité d'études byzantines, I. La Chronologie* (Paris, 1958), p. 357.

[131] Text no. 3 is inserted after the place in the saga of Oleg the Seer where it is recounted that Oleg demanded the Greeks "pay tribute for 2,000 ships, 12 grivnas per man, 40 men to the ship" (text according to Šaxmatov, *Povĕst'*, p. 30). The words of the editor of the *PVL*, и яшася Грьци по се, и почаша мира просити, да бы не воевалъ Грьчьскыя земля, serve as a transitional interpolation. At this point the editor of the *PVL* began to copy text no. 3. But immediately after the word Ольгь he added, же мало отъступивъ отъ града; this obviously was necessary, because at the conclusion of the saga, Oleg the Seer (who had in the meantime become Oleg, prince of Rus') was already at the walls of Constantinople.

[132] This is an echo of the passage from the saga: И заповѣда Ольгъ дати воемъ на 2000 корабль по 12 гривьнѣ на ключь.

[133] For the editor of the *PVL* in the second decade of the twelfth century, it was

> и на Любьчь и на прочая грады, по тѣмъ бо градомъ сѣдяху велиции кънязи, подъ Ольгъмь суще.
>
> Цѣсаръ же Леонъ съ Александръмь миръ сътвориста съ Ольгъмъ, имъшеся по дань и ротѣ заходивъше межю собою, цѣловавъше сами крьстъ, а Ольга водивъше на роту и мужа его по Русьскому закону, и кляшася оружиемь своимь, и Перунъмь, богъмь своимь, и Волосъмь, скотиемь богъмь, и утвьрдиша миръ.[134]

Šaxmatov thought that the whole of the "original" part of the entry s.a. 6415 in the *PVL* (that is, everything that does not have to do with the legend of Oleg the Seer) was composed by the editor, based on the two articles from the treaty of 911 and his own additions. The editor used this diverse material to fabricate the text of the spurious first treaty, for such a treaty was required by the legend of Oleg the Seer. This legend the editor borrowed from the Pečery Codex, but in his effort he was handicapped by his inability to understand the Slavonic-Bulgarian technical terms of the tenth century.[135]

This hypothesis, however, does not stand up under criticism. In the first place, the Scandinavian name of one of Oleg's emissaries, Vermund-r, is given differently in the two documents: Веремуд, in the treaty of 911, and Вельмуд in no. 3. Second, in the treaty of 911, three Byzantine emperors are mentioned: Leo, Alexander, and Constantine. In text no. 3 only two emperors are named: the brothers Leo and Alexander. Constantine, who — as mentioned above — became co-ruler on June 9, 911, is not mentioned. Thus, text no. 3 dates from before June 9, 911, while the treaty of 911 (the exact date it contains,

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unthinkable that even when the event in question had taken place at the beginning of the tenth century the three centers of the Poljane could be omitted from the list of the cities of Rus'. Therefore he adds here, from text no. 2 (itself taken from the treaty made by Igor' in 944): Пьрвое на Кыевъ, таже на Чьрниговъ и на Переяславль. However, Oleg never ruled in Kiev. His residence was in Polock, and he also controlled Rostov (Volga Kaganate) and the renowned Varangian center of Ljubeč-on-the-Dnieper.

134 English translation may be found in Cross/Sherbowitz-Wetzor, *RPC*, pp. 64–65. At this point the editor of the *PVL* introduces text no. 1 without any transitional interpolation, and after that (having used as a transition the words и яшася Грьци, и рѣста цѣсаря и болярьство вьсе), he gives text no. 2.

135 It has already been established that the editor of the *PVL* did not understand the Old Slavonic-Bulgarian technical term, равьно другаго съвѣщания "copy," interpreting it as "in accordance with the other agreement." This led him to conclude that there must have been a previous treaty. In the same manner, the editor of the *PVL* "corrected" the names of the Byzantine emperors in the heading of the treaty of 911, since he had found only the two names in a text which he correctly considered to be the earlier (our no. 3). Similarly, he added before their names, the words: Равьно другаго съвѣщания, бывъшаго при тѣхъже цѣсарихъ, Львѣ и Александрѣ. In the text of the treaty of 911, however, the names of all three emperors are retained.

November 2, cannot be questioned) appeared after June 9, 911, but before May 11, 912 (the death of Leo).

The most important argument in favor of the independent nature of no. 3 is the character of the document itself. It is not a commercial treaty, as the treaty of 911 is, but plainly a record of a demand for a one-time *contributio* (tribute/дань).

Where did the editor of the *PVL* get the date 6415 [907]? In this case, Šaxmatov's solution appears entirely acceptable. In the entry for 6420 [912] in which, after the text of the treaty of 911, the editor of the *PVL* continues the saga legend of Oleg the Seer (now, however, in its Kievan reworking), it is recalled that Oleg died during the "epic" fifth year after his return to Kiev. Since the editor of the *PVL* had decided that September of the year 6420 [912] (= January of the year 911), the year of the treaty, was also the year of Oleg the Seer's death, he simply subtracted five years from that date. In this manner he established the date of the legendary campaign of Oleg the Seer against Constantinople as 6415 (907).[136]

It may be concluded from all this that in the first decades of the twelfth century the Kievan archives contained an undated account written in the lingua franca of the Byzantine (Slavic) periphery, the Old Slavonic-Bulgarian language, to the effect that Prińce Oleg had forced the Byzantine emperors Leo and Alexander to pay him and his subject princes a one-time *contributio*. This document was probably a résumé of a Greek document, whose original might even at that time have already been lost.

Although the date 907 is fictitious, the editor of the *PVL* nevertheless had good reason for placing the event in question before 911. The exact year will probably be never known, and for practical reasons text no. 3, and the events which it describes, must therefore be dated "ca. 907."

It is clear that Oleg, the Prince of Rus', never attacked Constantinople.[137] He probably attacked and captured some much less important place, perhaps a town either in the Crimea or in Anatolia, and forced the Byzantine government first to pay him the one-time *contributio*, and later to conclude the favorable commercial treaty of 911. But Oleg the Seer, the hero of the saga legend, did wage a victorious campaign against Constantinople. This saga legend has survived in the Pečery Codex and in the *PVL* in almost identical

[136] There is an abundant literature concerning the historicity of Oleg's campaign of 907. Although outstanding Byzantinologists have taken part in the discussion (for example, G. Ostrogorsky, *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, 11 [1940], pp. 47–62), the question itself remained unsolved. This was principally because the event was considered divorced from the history of eastern Europe and from the matter of the chronology of the *PVL* and the Pečery Codex.

[137] See R. H. Dolley, "Oleg's Mythical Campaign against Constantinople," *Bulletin de la classe des lettres etc.* Académie Royale de Belgique, Brussels, 1949, issue 2, pp. 106–130.

texts. As to the death of Oleg the Seer, the saga legend version has survived only in the *PVL*, clearly with some Kievan editorial additions.

The text of the saga legend of Oleg the Seer that has survived has two parts: "The Campaign of Oleg the Seer against Constantinople" and "The Death of Oleg the Seer."[138]

The Campaign of Oleg the Seer against Constantinople

Иде Ольгъ на Грькы.[139]
И приде къ Цѣсарюграду.
И Грьци замъкоша Судъ, а градъ затвориша.
И вылѣзе Ольгъ на брегъ.
И повелѣ воемъ извлещи корабля на брегъ;
И повоева около града,
И мъного убииство сътвори Грькомъ;
И разбиша мъногы полаты.
И цьркъви пожьгоша.[140]
И повелѣ Ольгъ воемъ своимъ колеса изъдѣлати.
И въставити корабля на колеса.
И бывъшю покосьну вѣтру, въспяша пърѣ.

[138] After this study was written, the fourth volume of *Literaturna spadščyna*, containing *inter alia* a verse reconstruction of the oldest Kievan chronicle by Ivan Franko (Kiev, 1967), pp. 13-110, arrived. While Franko is right when he says that students of the *PVL* have not yet paid proper attention to the fact that the *PVL* contains poetical saga legends, it is impossible to agree with the conclusion that almost the entire text of the *PVL* (which also contains passages from Old Bulgarian translations, e.g., of Georgios Hamartolos) is a poetic work.

[139] At this point in the *PVL* there are five additions that are not present in the *Pečery Codex* (= *Novgorod First Chronicle (Nov 1 Chron)*: (1) Игоря оставивъ Кыевѣ. This was necessary because the editor thought that Prince Oleg had the younger Prince Igor' as co-regent. (2) Поя же мъножьство Варягъ, и Словѣнъ, и Чюдь, и Кривичѣ. This is the standard attribute of a large army of a Novgorodian prince. Compare, for example, *PVL*, s.a. 980, where of Volodimer it is said that he собра бои многи: Варягы, и Словѣны, и Чудь, и Кривичѣ, although it was the prince of the Kriviči, Rogvolod, whom Volodimer was attacking. (3) At this point there follows a list of the ten territorial tribal-state organizations of the time of the rise of the Kievan state, given in pairs (see p. 143): Кривичѣ и Мерю. / и Поляны и Сѣверъ / и Древляны и Радимичѣ / и Вятичи и Хърваты / и Дулѣбы и Тиверьцѣ. (4) Here follows a gloss about the Tiverians: иже суть Тълковины: си вьси зъвахуться отъ Грькъ Великая Скуфь. (5) Because "non seafaring peoples" are also named in the list, the editor of the *PVL* had to add и съ сими вьсѣми поиде Ольгъ на конихъ и въ кораблихъ. Once having mentioned the ships, he also gives their number (и бѣ числъмъ корабль 2,000), although this fact is later repeated in the saga.

[140] At this point the editor introduces a well-composed description of the usual plundering of the peaceful population by soldiery, taken from the Old Bulgarian-Slavonic translation of Hamartolos: а ихъже имаху плѣньникы, овы посѣкаху,другыя же мучаху, иныя же растрѣляху, а другыя въ море въмѣтаху и ина мъногa зъла творяху Русь Грькомъ еликоже ратьнии творять.

И с поля идоша къ граду.
И видѣвъше Грьци, и убояшася.
И рѣша, высълавъше къ Ольгови:
Не погубляи града; имемъся по дань, якоже хощеши.
И устави Ольгъ воя.
И вынесоша ему брашьно и вино.
И не прия его, бѣ бо устроено съ отравою.
И убояшася Грьци, и рѣша: Нѣсть сь Ольгъ, нъ святыи Дьмитрии, посъланъ на ны отъ Бога.
И заповѣда Ольгъ дань даяти на 2000 корабль, по 12 гривьнѣ на человѣкъ, а въ корабли по 40 мужь.[141]
*Самь же взя злато и паволокы.

И возложи дань, юже дають и доселѣ княземь рускымъ.[142]
И рече Ольгъ: Ищиите пърѣ паволочиты Руси, а Словѣномъ[143] кропиньны.
И бысть тако.
И повѣси щитъ свои въ вратѣхъ, показая побѣду.
И поиде отъ Цѣсаряграда.
И въспяша пърѣ Русь паволочитыя, а Словѣне кропиньныя.
И раздьра я вѣтръ.
И рѣша Словѣне: Имѣмъся своимъ тълстинамъ, не даны суть Словѣномъ пърѣ.
И приде Ольгь . . .[144] неса злато.
И паволокы, и овощи, и вина, и вьсяко узорочие.
И прозъваша Ольга вѣщии.[145]

The Death of Oleg the Seer[146]

И живяше Ольгь, миръ имѣя къ вьсѣмъ странамъ.[147]
И приспѣ осень.
И помяну Ольгъ конь свои, иже бѣ поставилъ кърмити и не въсѣдати на нь.

[141] Here the editor of the *PVL* enriched the text of the saga with documents nos. 1, 2, and 3, which clearly the Pečery Codex (= *Nov. 1 Chron*) did not know.
[142] This is clearly a case of an epic trope (cf. the account of the tribute paid to the Khazars). It is difficult to find any concrete basis for the statement that Byzantium paid regular tribute to Rus'. This text has been preserved only in the *Nov. 1 Chron.*
[143] The fact that the Slovenes are mentioned in this version of the saga deserves special attention. The possibility that the surviving version of this song of the saga is of Novgorodian origin must be kept in mind.
[144] Kiev is already named in both versions as the residence of Oleg the Seer, Кыеву (*PVL*); къ Кыеву и ко Игорю (*Nov. 1 Chron*).
[145] Both texts have added a Christian commentary from the later (Polanian) version of the

Бѣ бо преже въпрашалъ вълхвъ и кудесьникъ:
Отъ чего ми есть умрети?
И рече ему единъ кудесьникъ:
Къняже! Конь, егоже любиши и ѣздиши на немь, от того ти умрети.
Ольгъ же, приимъ в умѣ си, рече:
Николиже въсяду на нь, ни вижю его боле того.
И повелѣ кърмити и, и не водити его къ нему.
И пребывъ нѣколико лѣтъ, не дѣя его, доньдеже и на Грькы иде.[148]
И пребывъшю 4 лѣта.
На пятое лѣто помяну конь свои, отъ него же ему бяхуть рекли вълсви умрети.
И призъва старѣишину конюхомъ, река:
Къде есть конь мои, егоже бѣхъ поставилъ кърмити и блюсти его?
Онъ же рече: Умьрлъ есть.
Ольгъ же посмѣялся.
И укори кудесьника, река:
То ти неправо глаголють вълсви, нъ вьсе то лъжа есть:
Конь умьрлъ есть, а язъ живъ.
И повелѣ оседьлати си конь:
Да ти вижю кости его.
И приѣха на мѣсто, идеже бѣша лежаща кости его голы и лъбъ голъ,
И сълѣзъ съ коня, посмѣяся река:
Отъ сего ли лъба съмьрть мънѣ възяти?
И въступи ногою на лъбъ.
И выникнувъши змия из лъба, уклюну и въ ногу.
И съ того разболѣся, и умьре.

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saga: бяху бо людие погани и невѣгласи.

The English translation of "The Campaign of Oleg the Seer" (after the *PVL*) is given in Cross/Sherbowitz-Wetzor, *RPC*, p. 65.

[146] The text of this portion of the saga has been preserved in the *PVL* in the entry for 6420 (912), after the historical account of the treaty of 911. In the *Nov. I Chron* only a short paraphrase of the saga has been preserved: Иде Ольгъ к Новугороду, и оттуда в Ладогу. Друзии же сказають, яко идущю ему за море, и уклюну змия в ногу и с того умре. Есть могыла его в Ладозѣ.

[147] In the *PVL* there follows a Kievan addition: къняжа Кыевѣ.

[148] In the *PVL* there follows a Kievan addition: и пришьдъшю ему Кыеву.

И плакашася по немь людие вьси плачьмь великъмь.
И несъше и, погребоша и на горѣ.[149]

A detailed analysis of the entries s.a. 6415 and 6420 of the *PVL* presented above shows that they have the same origin. They resulted from the editor's combining his various sources into one narrative despite their seemingly incompatible nature. The editor combined materials from both written and oral sources; the written sources were documents relating to treaties with Byzantium, while the oral sources consisted of epic songs from the Slovene-Novgorodian version of the sagas about *the* hero, Helgi/Oleg, based — as one would expect in Novgorod — on ultimately Danish traditions.[150] The Grand Prince of Rus', Oleg, was the subject of the written documents; the historical saga dealt with Oleg the Seer. But because both had the name "Oleg," the editor of the *PVL* concluded that they were one and the same person, and treated them as such. Thus arose the montage that continues to deceive historians up to the present day.

For conclusion see p. 163.

[149] In the *PVL* there follows a Kievan addition: яже глаголеться Щековица. After this the editor of the *PVL* adds his own words: есть же могыла его и до сего дьне, словеть могыла Ольгова. As may be seen from fn. 146, the *Nov. 1 Chron* says: Есть могыла его в Ладозѣ. The entry proper concludes with a comment by the editor of the *PVL*, based upon his chronological computations: и бысть вьсѣхь лѣтъ княжения его 33.

The tale about the magician (*volxv*) gave the editor of the *PVL* the notion that it might be a good idea to include a discussion on magicians and sorcerers from the Slavonic translation of the work of Hamartolos. In spite of the length of the tract in question, he reproduced it, in Šaxmatov's words, "almost *literatim*." See A. Šaxmatov, *TODRL* 4 (M., 1940), pp. 50–52. The English translation of the "Death of Oleg the Wise" (after *PVL*) is in Cross/Sherbowitz-Wetzor, *RPC*, p. 69.

[150] Extracts from the Old Bulgarian translations of Byzantine authors play a subsidiary role here and are therefore not included.

CHAPTER SEVEN

From Myth and History to Epic: The Migrational Myth and Two Historical Transplantations

The Migrational Myth

In Old Norse mythology migrations were usually regarded as the results of poor harvests and overpopulation. These themes belong to the third function, for they are simply the obverse of good crops and fecundity. A migration would always be preceded by a great famine in the realm, and it was often connected with the Dioscuri myth (in Old Germanic **Hazdingōz* > ON *Haddingjar*), for the Dioscuri always led the migrants to better lands.

This tradition is contained in the Old Danish annals and chronicles and is connected with the royal figures of Frotho and Lothaknut.

The name Frotho occurs, among other documents, in one of the oldest Danish chronicles, *Brevis Historia Regum Dacie* by Svend Aggesøn (ca. 1180), which has come down to us in two redactions, designated *X* (older) and *S* (more recent). While the *S* redaction calls the king Frotho (< ON *Fróði*)[1] the older *X* redaction calls him Snio.[2] But neither is a proper name. Snio

[1] *SMHD*, ed. Gertz I, p. 109.
[2] *SMHD*, ed. Gertz I, p. 108.

corresponds to ON *Snær* and means "snow"[3]; the name Frotho means "vigor," "fertility." The appellations are meant to symbolize the two sides of a Danish king's fate by using the metaphor of winter and summer; they are not proper names.

Another Danish king, during whose reign the migration to eastern Europe took place, appears in the *Annales Ryenses* (which preserved the tradition of that particular migration) under the name Lothænæ Knut.[4] The first part of the name, Lothænæ (the other annals write Lothe-, Lotha-, etc.) contains the Danish word *Lodde* (= ON *loðinn*) which was defined as "kapelan, mullotus, villosus," that is "shaggy," "covered with long, rough hair."[5] This again is a synonym for ON *Haddingr/Hasting* (< **Hazdingōz*), the Nordic figure connected with maritime adventure.

The work of Svend Aggesøn does not speak about migrations during the reign of Snio Frotho. But Saxo (working ca. 1202–1216),[6] and the chronicles that follow him do give details about them, although not those based on Danish traditions. Saxo did not bother to collect data; he simply illustrated the events with an excerpt taken from Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum* (compiled ca. 787–799),[7] and one must look elsewhere for other sources to check their historicity. The Lothene Knut story in the *Annales Ryenses* provides some very valuable information concerning the destination and character of the migration. It involved the deliberate transplantation of one whole segment of the Danish population to eastern Europe.

King Snio

In the famous founder story dealing with the invitation to the Varangians,[8] three Varangian brothers, Rjurik,[9] Sineus, and Truvor,[10] appear. Vilhelm

[3] Herrmann, *Heldensagen* II, p. 578.
[4] "Annales Ryenses," ed. Jørgensen, *ADMÆ*, p. 68.
[5] Hjalmar S. Falk – Alf Torp, *Norwegisch-Dänisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* I² (Oslo, 1960), p. 652; Holthausen, *WAWN*, pp. 184; Jóhannesson, *IEW*, p. 746; de Vries, *ANEW*, pp. 362 363
[6] Saxo, *Gesta*, ed. Olrik Ræder I, pp. 135–237.
[7] Herrmann, *Heldensagen* II, p. 582.
[8] Pritsak, *HUS*, I (1977), pp. 7 22.
[9] I ascribe to the identity of Rørik (Hrærekr) of Jutland and Rjurik of the Old Rus'ian annals as first suggested by F. Kruse (1836) and later developed by N. Beljaev (1929). The counterarguments amassed by Henryk Łowmiański in his study, *Skan Sb* 7 (1963), pp. 221–240 are not convincing. A later volume will devote further attention to the Rørik = Rjurik problem in support of this identification. See also pp. 582–583.
[10] V. Thomsen, *Samlede Afhandlinger* I (1919), pp. 410–411, derived the name *Truvor* from ON *Þórvarðr*, i.e., *þór-r* "the god Thor" and *varð-r* (= *vǫrð-r*, "ward," "warder;" cf. Zoëga, *Dictionary*, p. 503; de Vries, *ANEW*, pp. 645, 675, but it seems that the second

Thomsen explained the Sineus as being derived from ON *signiutr/signjótr* "he who enjoys victory."[11] Max Vasmer cites this etymology but also contributes his own: "Es kann Angleichung an *sin* 'blau' und *us* 'Schnurrbart' vorliegen."[12] Apart from the fact that Thomsen's etymology is not very convincing[13] from the standpoint of linguistics, the name **Signiutr/Signjótr* is completely unattested in any known Scandinavian source for members of charismatic clans.

In the second half of the ninth century, however, Scandinavian sources do mention the name usually in the form *snyo/sniø*, which corresponds to the Norwegian form *snjo/snjø*, "snow." The member of a charismatic clan under discussion here was connected with the earlier Gothic tradition, and consequently his name could also have been attested in the Gothic form which would appear like the sixth century hapax (Mc 9, 3)[14] *snaiws* "snow." This word had evidently reached Slavic in a form with the initial *sьn-*. This **sьneus* is in our view the origin of the form that popular etymology changed into Sineus.

The majority of thirteenth century Danish chronicles, starting with the work of Saxo Grammaticus, contain an interpolation after the battle of Brávellir (ca. 770), that is, between the reigns of the defeated Haraldr hilditǫnn of the Younger Skjǫldungar and his victorious nephew Sigurðr hringr, "the grandfather of the Viking Ragnarr loðbrók." This interpolation covers five cycles of sagas, which are presented in most of the chronicles schematically as genealogies of the major protagonists: (1) Starkaðr kills the tyrant Áli inn frækni (Olo Vegetus) Friðleifsson, cf. *Hkr* I (IF 26), p. 49; (2) the saga of Jarmun-rek/ Hermanaric;[15] (3) the saga of Snio; (4) the saga of Gorm and his adventures in Biarmia; and (5) the saga of Charlemagne's antagonist, Godfred/ Gotrik. The first of these is still connected with the earlier Younger Skjǫldungar, the other four are of Gothic origin.[16]

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component should instead be *-vē-r*, "warrior" (cf. Holthaussen, *WAWN*, p. 337). Another development from original *þórvér* is the name form *Þóri-r* (cf. Holthaussen, *WAWN*, p. 317) which appears in Old Swedish as Thore and in the Danish runes as *ÞuriR* (de Vries, *ANEW*, p. 617).

[11] *The Relations between Ancient Russia and Scandinavia and the Origin of the Russian State* (Oxford-London, 1877), pp. 138-139; cf. Ernst Kunik, *Die Berufung der Schwedischen Rodsen durch die Finnen und Slaven* II (St. Petersburg, 1845), pp. 133-138.

[12] *REW*, II (Heidelberg, 1955), p. 626.

[13] S. Gedeonov, *Varjagi i Rus'* I (St.-Pb., 1876), pp. 201-203.

[14] See Sigmund Feist, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Gotischen Sprache*, 3d ed. (Leiden, 1939), p. 440.

[15] Omitted in the *Catalogus regum Danie* (see *SMHD*, ed. Gertz I, p. 159). The Goths were the only Germanic people to use the word **reiks* to mean "king"; see S. Feist, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache*, pp. 396-397.

[16] An analysis of all five cycles is given in the commentary of Herrmann (*Heldensagen* II):

Saxo or his source connects the bearers of the name Snio with three episodes: Snio secretly courts the daughter of the king of the Goths, who was already married to the Swedish king Athislus;[17] a poor harvest in the land leads King Snio to forbid the brewing of beer. One habitual drunkard, however, outwits him.[18] Because of a famine during his reign, King Snio forces some of the strongest young people, chosen by lot, to migrate to the island of Gotland (*ad Gutlandiam*). Saxo identifies these emigrants with the Longobardi of Paul the Deacon, and, following that source, has them continue their journey to Italy,[19] but here we must just stress the theme of emigration from Denmark during the reign of Snio.

In addition to these three sagas, in early-thirteenth-century Denmark still other sagas mentioned the name of King Snio. One of these is cited in the *Chronicon Lethrense* (ca. 1170). During the childhood of Rolf Kraki of the Older Skjǫldungar the Swedish king, Athisl, placed the shepherd Snyo over the Danes as their ruler and forced him to be a tyrant. Snyo died a terrible death: he was eaten alive by lice.[20]

The anonymous *Genealogia regum Daniae* (written after 1252) places the saga of Snio, not between those of Jarmunrek and Gorm, but after the saga of Gotrik, although still chronologically before that of Sigurðr hringr, the father of Ragnarr loðbrók. The relevant passage reads:[21]

> Gøtrik, contemporaneus Karoli Magni [768–814],
> Post hunc frater eius Olauus.
> Cui successit filius eius Hemming.
> Post hunc filius eius Rørik.
> Deinde filius eius Haraldus.
> Postea filius eius Snio.

Elsewhere in this work we have shown that the above-mentioned Hemming was not the nephew of Gøtrik/Godfred (ruled 810–812), but the father of Rørik. Here Haraldus was probably incorrectly placed. This name undoubtedly refers to the historic Haraldr Klak ,[22] the first Christian Danish king, who was not the son of Rørik, but his paternal uncle.

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1. "Der Tod des Olo Vegetus" (pp. 552–568); 2. "Jarmerikus" (pp. 568–577); 3. "Snio" (pp. 577–583); 4. "Gormo und Thorkillus," (pp. 583–608); 5. "Gotrikus Rofo," pp. 608– 612.

17 Saxo, *Gesta*, ed. Olrik - Ræder I, p. 235; cf. Herrmann, *Heldensagen* II, p. 578, n. 1.

18 Saxo, *Gesta*, ed. Olrik - Ræder I, pp. 236–237.

19 Saxo, *Gesta*, ed. Olrik - Ræder I, p. 238; the saga about the emigration has also been preserved in the *Annales Ryenses* (ca. 1288); text in *ADMÆ*, ed. E. Jørgensen, pp. 66–67 (after Saxo).

20 *SMHD*, ed. Gertz I, pp. 48–51. This saga was known to Petri Olai Minoritae, *Chronica regum Danorum* (ca. 1560–1570); text ed. Langebek, *Scriptores* I, p. 80.

21 *SMHD*, ed. Gertz I, p. 187.

22 See above, p. 51.

This series of names: Hemming, Rørik, Harald, Snio, cannot be considered coincidental. It was probably taken from some lost *þula*. But for our purposes it is important to note that Snio is linked with personages of the second half of the ninth century who belonged to the ruling Frisian clan in *regnum Nordmannia*.

Medieval genealogists as a rule categorize all the successors of rulers as their sons. Their data on filiation should therefore be treated with caution.[23] In this case the reference is probably to two successions: Rørik followed Hemming, and Snio followed Harald. Since Rørik is identical with the Rjurik of the *PVL*, Snio can easily be identified with Sineus, and can be considered a relative, if not actually the brother, of Rjurik/Rørik.

Snio/Sineus must have figured in other sagas which unfortunately have not come down to us. Icelandic literature has a tradition of a great sea king, Snær gamli, who was used as an ancestor by the very enterprising earls of Orkney.[24] *Snær* is an Old Icelandic form of the appellative "snow."

In Idrīsī's work Great Novgorod appears as سنوبلى *Snawbly* (**Sinawboli*);[25] the second component of the name, *boli*, which Idrīsī uses either for the Greek πόλις (e.g., *Adrinū-bolī* < Ἀδριανούπολις;[26] *Swzw-bolī* < Σωζόπολις),[27] or for other words meaning "city," e.g., German and ON *vīk* in the name *Silīs-bolī* "Schleswig."[28] The first part of the name (**sinaw* < **snäw*) is close to OHG OSax OLFrank *snēo* "snow," evidently another variant of the name Sniø/Snær/ Sineus.

Under the influence of the Laurentian Chronicle and the codices dependent upon it we have become so accustomed to connecting the name Rjurik with

[23] Sueno Aggonis filius (Svend Aggesøn) in his *Brevis historia regum Danie* of 1185 presents in chapter 4 data on Danish kings from *Siwardus, filius Regneri Lothbroki* to *Gorm Loghae*. The name of the grandson of Siwardus and son of Kanut is given differently in the two manuscripts: ms. *X* has Snio (*SMHD*, ed. Gertz I, pp. 106, 108) = ms. *S* has Frotho (*SMHD*, ed. Gertz I, pp. 107, 109). According to Svend, this Snio/Frotho was the father of Harald Klak (ms. *X* = Harald, ms. *S*). We have already seen that according to another tradition Harald [Clac] was the father of Snio. As Frotho's predecessor the *Necrologium Lundensis* (*SMHD*, ed. Gertz I, p. 157) and *Catalogus regum Danie* (*SMHD*, ed. Gertz I, p. 159) give Ericus II (Horik, d. 854). The sequence Hericus rex II, Frothi, Gorm is also given in the *Chronicon Roskildense* of ca. 1170 (*SMHD*, ed. Gertz II, p. 17). Apart from these, all other chronicles, including Saxo, mention a grandson of Kanut (*Lota Cnut, filius Eric*), and son of Suen Langfot by the name of Frothi, *victor Angliae*, whose son was Gorm Ensci/Ænscae (*SMHD*, ed. Gertz I, pp. 163, 170, 176, 350; cf. Saxo, *Gesta*, ed. Olrik–Ræder I, pp. 265–266).

[24] See *CPB* II, p. 523; cf. also Herrmann, *Heldensagen* II, p. 581.

[25] See volume four, part two of this work.

[26] Boris Nedkov, *Bŭlgarija i sŭsednite i zemi prez XII vek spored 'Geografijata' na Idrisi* (Sofia, 1960), p. 117, n. 95.

[27] Nedkov, *Bŭlgarija*, p. 132, n. 234.

[28] O. J. Tuulio (Tallgren), "Du nouveau sur Idrīsī," *Studia Orientalia* 6 (Helsingfors, 1936), p. 95.

Great Novgorod that we ignore the data of the Hypatian Chronicle, which mentions Old Ladoga as the center of Rjurik's dominions. Idrīsī's name for Novgorod is indicative of the important role in the history of that city that the "Sineus topic" (that is the immigration there because of hunger in Denmark, see below) must have played.

Since Scandinavian sagas connect the person of Snio with an emigration across the sea which followed upon a famine in the Danish domains that included lands inhabited by the Baltic Slavs, were not the lands of the later Novgorod perhaps the goal of these emigrants? The appearance of the name *Snio/Snēo* in the very name of the city certainly suggests that possibility.

Lotha Knut's Transplantation of Peoples

We have already tentatively established that the Oleg of the *PVL* is probably the Lothaknut (Lotha Knut, Lothene Knut) of the old Danish chronicles (p. 122). But there is a passage in the *Annales Ryenses* which, both in its Latin original and in its three Danish versions, not only corroborates the proposed equation, but also gives very valuable information about the first steps Lothaknut/Helgi/Oleg took in eastern Europe to ensure a steady source of supplies for his military expeditions. The texts in question read as follows:

Annales Ryenses[29]	*Ryde-årbogen I*[30]	*Ryde-årbogen II*[31]
Lothænæ Knut filius Erici Barn	Æfthær hannum kom Lotæ knuth, Erik barnson. Lotæ knuth.	Effthær hannum kom Lothæn knut, LXXXIII[us] Eric barns søn.
Iste bellicosus erat multum	Han hauthæ stor wilyæ at arlowæ,	Han var en megel orlofsman
et versutus,	oc der til wor han møghæt furkindigh.	oc hart gernings man.
et regnavit XI annis.	Han regnerethæ XI aar.	Han var konningh j ellofue vinter.

[29] Ed. Jørgensen, *ADMÆ*, p. 68.

[30] Ed. Lorenzen, *GDK*, pp. 92–93.

[31] Ed. Lorenzen, *GDK*, pp. 157–158; the text of "Ryd III" was published by Jørgensen, *MHL* (1930), p. 35: "Effther hanum kom *Lodhknuth*, Erik barn søn, han regneredhe i elleffuæ aar, han war meghet klogh i striidh, han war ok meghet surkyndigh. I hans tiidh hwer thredie wor aff almwens folketh oc aff them, ey fry føddæ wore, foore wdh aff righeth ok komme till Prytzen, hwilken som twingde under them Prytzen oc Halthgalliam, Karelslandh oc manghe andre righe, ok forthy at the landh wore gantzke fruchtsommelighe, tha wille the ey igen komme till Danmark, men bleffue i samme righe. Then samme Lodknuth døde een hedhningh."

Hujus tempore qvilibet tertius de servis et popularibus hominibus exivit de regno,	J hans timæ: Hwær thredyæ af thrælæ oc almowæ fooræ wt af Danmarch	J hans time foor vth aff Danmarch huæær tredie man aff thrælæ oc af andre smoa men
et venientes, totam Pruciam, Semigaliam, et terram Carelorum, aliasqve qvam plures terras subjugaverunt sibi,	oc wnnæ all Pritzæn, Semigaliam, Karele[la]nd oc mangæ fleræ land.	oc komæ till oc muuktæ vnder thom alt Prytzen landh oc eth landh, hedær Semigalia, oc Karelæ landh oc manghe andre land,
et delectati terrarum ubertate noluerunt redire,	The sowæ landenæ war gothæ oc fruct sumelighæ.	oc forti ath the kiætedes aff the fructsommelige landh, tha vilde the ey fare effter igen
sed ibi remanent usque in presentem diem.	Thær blywæ the oc bo æn i dagh.	mæn æræ thær æn i dagh.
Iste Lothene Knut mortuus est paganus.	Thænnæ Lathnæ knudt han døthæ hedning.	Thenne Lothenknut han døthæ hæden.

Unknown to Saxo, the tradition represented here was contained in the lost annals of Valdemar II (ca. 1220), which recorded several important references that seem to be based on real events.

The first was that Lothaknut was a belligerent (*bellicosus*) leader and also *versutus*, a word that has both positive (adroit, dexterous, versatile, shrewd, clever, ingenious) and negative (cunning, crafty, wily, sly, deceitful)[32] connotations, but in either case indicates that the figure has a strong and compelling personality, not unlike the characterization given King Oleg in the Rus'ian *PVL*.

Second, Lothaknut ruled eleven years, a period that corresponds neatly to the chronology proposed above (ca. 891–900) with a two-year correction (901).

Third, a major colonizing effort associated with his rule involved the moving of one third of the slaves (*servi*) and bondsmen (*populares*) from Denmark to be settled in eastern Europe. The new settlement was described as including all of Prussia (*tota Prucia*), the land of Semigalia (on the left bank of an important waterway — the Western Dvina) and the land of Karelia (to the west and north of Lake Ladoga). This is a huge territory, which takes in practically all of the eastern Baltic coast, with the exception of Finland. Oleg

[32] *A Latin Dictionary Founded on Andrew's Edition of Freund's Latin Dictionary*, ed. Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short (Oxford, 1879; repr., 1969), p. 1977.

of the *PVL*, we may remember, started his career in eastern Europe from a base on the Baltic coast, especially Polock.

The role of King Lothaknut in this immense colonizing effort is unfortunately not explicitly stated, but the characterization of him given in the annals suggests that he was certainly capable of performing this complicated task.

The reason for the exodus of 901 is not given in the source, probably because it was not a glorious one, and during the glorious era of the Valdemars, only glorious deeds could be recorded. But, as we can deduce from the information provided by Adam of Bremen, it was apparently a result of the conquest of Hedeby in Jutland, the economic base of Denmark's ruling class of that time, by the Cold Swedish clan.

Lothaknut died as a pagan. The stress laid on this point probably reflects a tradition connected with the unusual, for a Christian, death of the king — perhaps comparable to that of Oleg in the *PVL*.

The difference between the colonizing of 901 and that of Danelow, Normandy, and Iceland was that the last two were settlements of free yeomen (the *bóndi* class) while Lothaknut's colonies was specifically limited to slaves and bondmen.

When Lothaknut lost Hedeby and the islands, he had apparently sent his son Sveinn to Rollo's Normandy (from where ca. 930, his grandson Gormr gamli started his reconquest) and decided to establish himself in eastern Europe. The prerequisite for the success of this enterprise was an assured source of supply, especially of food. To solve the problem Lothaknut resolved to transplant from the Danish islands to eastern Europe his most advanced farming population. The population that Lothaknut transplanted to his new domains in eastern Europe were the Wends, the inhabitants of the islands, especially Falster,[33] Lolland, and Møn, that were the center of Danish agriculture at that time. The majority of the Baltic Slavs were unfree people,[34] who were noted for their well-developed agricultural techniques; their yields were among the highest in Europe.[35] They were settled on the lands best suited for agriculture — to the north of the upper Western Dvina and on the upper Dnieper, and were later responsible for the Slavization of the aboriginal Baltic (Old Latvian) population of that territory.

In the ninth century Jutland was known as Reið-Gotaland, and the dynasty

[33] Falster was regarded as "the Pearl of Denmark"; see E. Arup, in Axel Nielsen, *Dänische Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Jena, 1933), p. 21.

[34] Concerning the Wends on the Danish islands, see Saxo, *Gesta*, ed. Olrik-Ræder, pp. 414-416; see also Leon Koczy, *Polska i Skandynawia za pierwszych Piastów* (Poznań, 1934), pp. 206-213; Kazimierz Ślaski, *Pamiętnik Słowiański* 4: 2 (Wrocław, 1955), pp. 227-266.

[35] See W. B. Wilinbachow, *Jahrbuch für Geschichte der USRR und der Volksdemokratischen Länder Europas* 9 (Berlin, 1966), pp. 227-242.

of Lothaknut claimed to be of Gothic origin. The Balts, therefore, called the newcomers after their masters — *krievi* (< *Hreið* [*-Gotar*]); the neighboring Eastern Slavs adopted that designation and called the strangers *kriv-ič-i.* Slavic popular etymology connected that name with the Slavic word *krivit'* [*dušej*] "to dissemble,"[36] so during the whole Kievan period the Novgorodians and Kievans distrusted the Polockians (as the population of this territory was called) because the name *kriviči* had been given that pejorative qualification.

This new source not only clarifies one stage in the colonizing of eastern Europe, but also provides the answer to the question so often raised by scholars of why, in spite of the managerial and colonizing talents of the Norsemen, eastern Europe was Slavicized and not Scandinavianized.

The Danish chroniclers are not the only ones to speak about the transplantation of agricultural people to eastern Europe from the area of Mare Balticum. The following passage appears in the *PVL*:

> The Radimiči and the Vjatiči [sprang] from the Ljaxs. There were two brothers among the Ljaxs, one Radim and the other Vjatko. When they came, Radim settled on [the river] Soz', and [those Ljaxs] called themselves Radimiči; Vjatko settled with his kin on [the river] Oka, [and] they called themselves Vjatiči after him.[37]

The name Ljax- can refer both to the Western Slavs (excluding the Czechs) in general, and the Poles in particular.[38] Here the first meaning is certainly intended, as it refers to the ON *Vindr,* i.e. the Wends.

Both the Radimiči and Vjatiči are described as being good farmers. According to the *PVL*[39] they paid the Khazars a tribute of one shilling (*ščьljagъ*)[40] for each plow (*dym*), and this "implies that the plow was their main tool for subsistence";[41] the reference to the shilling also suggests that they were familiar with the Western[42] coin system. Their agricultural skills were also

[36] O. Wiedemann in *BB* 28 (1904), p. 53. Vladimir Dal', *Tolkovyj slovar' živogo velikorusskogo jazyka* II, 2d ed., pp. 193-194; cf. Max Vasmer, *REW* I, p. 663.

[37] *PVL*, ed. Lixačev I, p. 14.

[38] Cf. *PVL*, ed. Lixačev I, p. 11: словѣни (Slavs) же ови пришедше сѣдоша на Вислѣ, и прозвашася ляхове (= Lechitian Western Slavs), а от тѣхъ ляховъ (Lechitian Western Slavs) прозвашася поляне (Poles), ляхове друзии лутичи (the other Lechitians, the Lutichians/Wilci), ины мазовшане (Masowians), ини поморяне (Pomorians).

[39] *PVL*, ed. Lixačev I, p. 20 (Radimiči), p. 47 (Vjatiči). In contrast, the Poljanians paid to the Khazars as their tribute one sword (*meč*) for each plow (*PVL*, ed. Lixačev I, p. 16). Here the sword is an indication of the cultural impact of the Norsemen on the Poljanians.

[40] See Vasmer, *REW* III, p. 453.

[41] George Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia* (New Haven, 1948; 7th repr., 1973), p. 101.

[42] Old Saxon *scilling*, see Kunik in E. Kunik and Baron V. Rosen, *Izvestija al-Bekri i drugix avtorov o Rusi i slavjanax* (St.-Pb., 1872), pp. 99-100.

described in laudatory terms by contemporary Arabic and Persian Muslim writers. In this tradition the eponyms, Radim and Vjatko, play the role of the Dioscurian twins usually associated with migrations.

In conclusion (chapters 6 and 7), there was among the Ylfingar a *mythic* institution called "helgi," that is, a succession of most noble individuals specially selected to serve as both Óðinn's heroes and sacrifices to that deity. One of them, sometime around A.D. 630, acquired an *epic* fame through his victory over the Avars. The last known cultic "helgi," the young Danish king Lotha Knut (ca. 891-900), switched his allegiance from the first (Odinic) to the third (Freyr's) function, because he was forced to flee his country and to engage in a maritime adventure. Exactly these same two careers were followed by another hero, Hadingus, but in reverse order, as elaborated on by Dumézil (p. 165). An echo of this occurs in strophe 55 of the HH II, where Helgi is hailed as "Yngvi's scion," i.e., as Freyr's hero. Helgi reappears in *history*, this time in Eastern Europe, both as Oleg (< Helgi), King of Rus' (a *historic* figure), and Oleg the Seer (an *epic* figure).

The myths analyzed in chapters 6 and 7 belong to the *transition rites* that are but a subdivision of the general category Arnold van Gennep called *les rites de passage* ("rites of passage").[43] As elaborated by Victor Turner, a transitional stage (or *liminal situation/liminality*) is a condition "in which are frequently generated myths, symbols, rituals, philosophical systems, and works of art. These cultural forms provide men with a set of templates or models which are, at one level, periodical reclassifications of reality and man's relationship to society, nature, and culture."[44] It is in myth and ritual that "an individual undergoing passage may learn the total pattern of social relations involved in his transition and how it changes."[45]

Since in a cyclical culture (like that of the pre-Christian Scandinavians and of the Eastern Slavs) both myth and epic can serve as repositories for disguised and/or unconscious historical memory,[46] the task was undertaken in chapters 6 and 7 to de-mythicize and de-epicize history. These methods have made it possible to reconstruct one of the most obscure pages of East European history.

[43] *The Rites of Passage* (Chicago, 1960), esp. pp. 10-13.
[44] *The Ritual Process* (Chicago, 1969), pp. 128-129.
[45] V. Turner, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors* (Ithaca, 1974), p. 240.
[46] See Claude Lévi-Strauss, "When Myth Becomes History," in *Myth and Meaning* (New York, 1979), pp. 34-43.

CHAPTER EIGHT

From Myth to Epic and from History to Myth: Hadingus/Haddingjar and the Norse Attack on Constantinople in 860

The Myth of the Maritime Adventure (The Divine Twins) and Its Germanic Re-Creations

In 1953, following a detailed analysis of Saxo's *Hadingussaga*, Georges Dumézil came to the conclusion that its central hero, Hadingus, is the Old Norse deity of the third function, Njǫrðr, transposed into a hero.[1] Njǫrðr and his son Freyr were the major representatives of the divine race of the Vanes (*Vanir*). Contrary to the Ases (*Æsir*), the embodiment of religious and legal sovereignty (the first function), the Vanes were the gods of fertility, sensual pleasure (including the practice of legitimate incest), and — what is important here — of maritime adventure and maritime wealth (the third function). Njǫrðr was the tutelary god of the seafarers; he lived in Nóatún, or "the

[1] Georges Dumézil, *La Saga de Hadingus (Saxo Grammaticus, I, v-viii): du mythe au roman* (Paris, 1953); see Dumézil, *From Myth to Fiction: The Saga of Hadingus*, Eng. trans. Derek Coltman (Chicago, 1973); cf. C. Scott Littleton, *The New Comparative Mythology* (1973), pp. 107-110.

enclosure of ships," and exercised control over the winds and navigation.

Both Hadingus and Njǫrðr had two careers. The original one was among the Vanes with the legitimate incestuous marriage when each was "half of Vane couple," and the Odinic (< Óðinn) period. Both were concerned with the sea, and they moved from a style of life associated with the third function to one associated with the first.

In Saxo's *Gesta* the transposition figure of Freyr (Njǫrðr's son) has the alliterate name *Frotho* (< ON *Fróði*). "The problem of Frotho I [the son of Hadingus]," writes Dumézil, "who occupies Saxo's second book — is in reality the problem of the Frothones. The history of the Skjöldungar in fact includes several characters transposed from Fróði-Freyr, dividing the constitutive elements of his particular divine type among them."[2]

Saxo's Hadingus corresponds to the ON Haddingr, which is derived from **Hazdingōz* > *Haddingjar* "Haddingjar" (≪**hazdaz-* meaning (1) "a woman's hair or mode of dressing it"; or (2) *sacerdos muliebri ornatu,* i.e., the effeminate representatives of the third function, as patrons of fertility.[3] The two Haddingjar correspond, on the one hand, to the (*H*)*Asdingi*/˜Αστιγγοι, the ruling clan of the maritime Vandals, and, on the other, to the Vedic Aśvins and the Greek Dioscuri.

In some texts these "divine twins" are conceived as being father-son (see, e.g., Njǫrðr-Freyr). Ideally they "are so closely united by their twinship that together they have the strength of only one man."[4]

In the Helgi cycle of the *Poetic Edda* the Hadingus myth is connected with the institution of the *helgi.* Thus, at the end of the prose fragment of the *Helgakviða Hundingsbana II,* it is stated that the reincarnation of Helgi Hundingsbani was a Helgi Haddingjaskaði, or "Helgi, the champion of the Haddingjar."[5]

The first Teutonic people to establish themselves as a leading maritime power in the Mediterranean were the Vandals. During the age of migrations they marched through Gaul, crossed the Pyrenees, and settled for a time in Spain (A.D. 407), but soon they marched across Spain and set sail for Roman Africa (A.D. 428). There they made their capital in Carthage into a pirates' stronghold, built a powerful fleet, and for over one hundred years (until 536) were the terror of Rome (capturing and plundering it in 455) and of Constantinople.[6]

The Vandals were led by two royal brothers, Gunderich (d. 428) and

2 Dumézil, *From Myth to Fiction,* p. 159.
3 Dumézil, *From Myth to Fiction,* p. 115.
4 Dumézil, *From Myth to Fiction,* p. 110.
5 *Edda,* ed. Neckel–Kuhn, p. 161.
6 See Ludwig Schmidt, "Die Wandalen," in *Geschichte der deutschen Stämme.* (I) *Die Ostgermanen,* 2d ed. (Munich, 1934), pp. 100–116.

Geiserich (d. 477). The dynasty the brothers belonged to bore the name Hasdingi/Hastingi, which goes back to the form **Hazdingōz* discussed above.[7] Although the Vandals of the fifth and sixth centuries were already Arian Christians, they nevertheless kept the cult traditions of the Njǫrðr/Freyr, believing that their mastery overseas depended on them.

In 834 the Norsemen laid waste the biggest market in northwestern Europe, Dorestad, situated in the Rhine delta.[8] Soon they appeared at the mouths of the rivers Seine and Loire, ready to begin their adventures in Spanish waters (844) and in the western Mediterranean.[9] It was as if the Vandals were reappearing on the arena of history.

Most of the Norsemen's spectacular maritime raids are connected with an enigmatic figure whom the contemporary annals called (H)Astingus.[10] According to the Frankish annals, in 866 he undertook a long expedition along the rivers in Anjou, Poitou, and the Tourraine. In 869 he extracted ransom from Salomon of Brittany (851–874) and the city of Tours. In 872–874 the same figure is attested in Angers, Tours, and Brittany, and in 891–892, at the mouth of the Somme. The last data about him, given by the Anglo-Saxon annals, concern his activity in England in 893–894.

The first historian of French Normandy, Dudo the Dean of St. Quentin (d. 1029), also knew about Hasting, whom he called Alstingus. In his *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum* Dudo made note of Hasting's expedition in the western Mediterranean, especially his "sack of Rome," actually the capture of the city of Luna, which they believed to be Rome, through a typical Viking stratagem, supposedly in 859. This would antedate the beginning of Hasting's naval operations.[11]

Some scholars, including Dumézil, assumed that Hasting "for the most part worked on his own, with his own army, and did not associate himself with big cooperative expeditions."[12] In the Old Norse tradition of Normandy, however, Hasting had a partner, Bier *costae ferreae*, son of *Lothroci regis Daciae* (= Denmark). The tradition was preserved by William of Jumièges, in his

[7] The references on the Hasdingi can be found in Kaspar Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme* (Munich, 1837; repr., Heidelberg, 1925), pp. 461–462; M. Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen* (Heidelberg, 1911), p. 129.

[8] *Annales Bertiniani*, ed. G. Waitz (SRG) (Hannover, 1883), p. 9. See Jan de Vries, *De Wikingen in de lage landen bij den zee* (Haarlem, 1923), pp. 128–129.

[9] See T. D. Kendrick, *History of the Vikings* (London, 1930), pp. 194–219.

[10] About him, see Walther Vogel, *Die Normannen und das Fränkische Reich* (1906), Index, p. 428, *s.v.* Hasting. Cf. de Vries, *ANF* 44 (1928), pp. 118–130; Dumézil, *From Myth to Fiction*, pp. 3–18.

[11] *Dudonis Sancti Quintini. De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. M. J. Lair (Caen, 1865), pp. 132–133.

[12] Dumézil, *From Myth to Fiction*, p. 16.

Gesta Normannorum ducum, written in 1087.[13] The existence of Berno (= Bier) *dux parties pyratarum Sequanae* is attested by the reliable *Annales Bertiniani* (s.a. 858).[14] In the Icelandic Viking sagas the son of (Ragnarr) Loðbrók is called Bjǫrn jarnsíða,[15] which corresponds exactly to the Latin designation *costae ferreae*, the fixed attribute of the Viking Bier.

As one might suspect, (H)Astingus was not a proper name; but was, in fact, nothing other than the Hasting which, again, goes back to the old *Hazdingōz. The heroic figure called Hasting (we do not yet know his real name) was one of the tveir Haddingjar; the second was Bjǫrn (Bier/Berno), the son of a hero called Loðbrók.

Like the two Vandal brothers — daring pirates who appeared in the same Mediterranean area some three hundred years later — Hasting and Bjǫrn acted, not surprisingly, under the tutelage of the "divine twins" Njǫrðr and Freyr, the gods of the maritime adventurers.

In his remarkable commentary to Saxo's *Gesta*, Paul Herrmann presented a great deal of data supporting his proposal that Saxo's Hadingus should be identified with the Viking hero Hasting.[16] But, having discovered that Hadingus was the transposition of the third-function hero, Dumézil vehemently criticized Herrmann's *Märchenkunde* methodology, and although he calls it "a magnificent labor of erudition," he goes on to say: "We shall be obliged almost constantly to protest against the conclusions and the method [of the work]."[17] As a result, Dumézil's own book on the saga of Hadingus begins with a programmatic chapter, entitled "Hadingus is not Hasting the Viking,"[18] in which with his typical elegance he establishes beyond any doubt that Saxo's Hadingus is, in fact, primarily a transposition of the mythical career of the god Njǫrðr. As we shall see, however, in principle Herrmann was also correct, even though, writing in 1922, he did not have the advantage of Dumézil's discovery (1953).

A correct answer to this problem must take into account the various perspectives of the sources, according to the theory of Ortega y Gasset.[19] For the most part, the Frankish and Anglo-Saxon annals noted purely external facts, such as the raids of the Norsemen, without going into their spiritual world. The Norman historians and Saxo, on the other hand, were so involved

13 Guillaume de Jumièges, *Gesta Normannorum ducum*, ed. Jean Marx (Rouen, 1914), pp. 5–6, 8–9.

14 *Annales Bertiniani*, ed. G. Waitz, p. 49.

15 E.g., "Ragnars saga loðbrókar," ed. Guðni Jónsson, *FSN*, 1, pp. 239, 241, 255 256, 260, 262, 270–272, 279, 280, 284; "Þáttr af Ragnars sonum," ed. Guðni Jónsson, *FSN* 1, pp. 290, 293, 294, 298, 301.

16 Paul Herrmann, *Heldensagen* II, pp. 89–123.

17 Dumézil, *From Myth to Fiction*, p. 9.

18 Dumézil, *From Myth to Fiction*, pp. 9–18.

19 See J. Ferrater Mora, *Ortega y Gasset: An Outline of His Philosophy* (London, 1956).

in finding out whatever they could about early Danish history that they were not afraid to epicize it, using myths (as in Saxo's handling of the *Hadingus-saga*) or historicizing it outright if the result in any way reflected the Danish maritime past.

The task of the modern historian is to understand the perspective of the source and to ascertain what it can contribute to history. If the information of the source needs to be transposed from one mode of thinking into another — mythic into epic or epic into historical — the historian must find ways of doing so.

Saxo presents the extraordinary exploits of the Viking Hadingus/Hasting twice: once, significantly, in the first of his nine prehistorical books and once in the last (book 9). The first story is the saga of Hadingus discussed above.[20] The second, based on an epic Viking tale, has Regnerus as its leading figure.[21] Herrmann proved that the Regnerus in Saxo corresponds to Ragnarr loðbrók of the Icelandic Viking sagas.[22]

As de Vries has shown the Icelanders learned a great deal about the deeds of Ragnar loðbrók and his sons from British Northumbrian tradition (Danelaw).[23] But since that tradition had nothing about the Viking Mediterranean expeditions, including the raid against Constantinople, the Icelandic sagas are silent on that particular subject as well.

The Danish tradition written down by the Norman historians and Saxo did speak of the Mediterranean adventures. But in its oral version the name of Constantinople, the Christian and Eastern Roman capital, was apparently left out in favor of an epic designation, because no Frankish or Anglo-Saxon annals mention the Norsemen's attack on Constantinople in 860 — the Byzantine sources would have been beyond the reach of both the Normans and Saxo — or, for that matter, mention Constantinople at all.

Ragnar loðbrók, the Anglo-Icelandic Viking, had, in the meantime, become popular in Denmark.[24] Not surprisingly, in his Danish description of the Mediterranean adventures Saxo replaced Bjǫrn (Bier/Berno), all the more readily because Bjǫrn was Ragnarr's son. Thus, the exploits of the historic tveir Haddingjar, i.e., Hasting and Bjǫrn, are presented in Saxo's work as the epic tveir Haddingjar — in books 1 and 2 as Hadingus and Frotho I, and in book 9 as Regnerus (and Biorno/Bjǫrn).

Of Bjǫrn, the Icelandic saga tellers knew only that he was king of a land called Svíþjóð (Sweden),[25] and as a result later Icelandic historians jumbled

[20] Saxo, *Gesta*, ed. Olrik-Ræder I, pp. 20-39.
[21] Saxo, *Gesta*, ed. Olrik-Ræder I, pp. 250-264.
[22] Herrmann, *Heldensagen* II, pp. 613-661.
[23] De Vries, *ANF* 44 (1928), pp. 148-163; de Vries, *ZfdPh* 53 (1928), pp. 257-302 = *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 285-330; de Vries, *GRM* 15 (1927), pp. 81-100.
[24] Cf. de Vries, *APS* 2 (1927), pp. 115-149.
[25] "Þáttr af Ragnars sonum," ed. Guðni Jónsson, *FSN* I, p. 298.

chronology very badly, by putting Bjǫrn jarnsíða, the son of Ragnarr loðbrók, on the top of the historical kings of Uppsala.[26] Saxo says that Biorno was given Sweden to rule (*Suetica praelatio*) by Ragnerus (Ragnarr).[27] But he also mentions Withsercus, "another" son of the same Ragnarr, whom he called *Suetiae principans.*[28] What he did not realize was that Withsercus was not a proper name, but an epithet meaning "whiteclad" (ON *hvít-serkr*),[29] in other words Biorno and Withsercus were one and the same person — Saxo had turned one person into two by supplying two different names to Ragnarr's one son.

While Biorno's Suetia was just mentioned without any specific details, Withsercus's Suetia was described more fully. Located in eastern Europe, it was ruled before Ragnarr by the "Hellespontici," whose leaders were related to the kings both of the *Ruteni* and Scythians.[30] To the kingdom belonged the Baltic Curetes and Sembi; not far distant from the land lay Biarmia.[31] From this data it is reasonable to assume that the Suetia in question was not in Scandinavia, but in eastern Europe — the "Cold," later also called "Great" Sweden. This assumption in turn explains why the fornaldar sagas call the realm ruled by Hvítserkr either Austrríki (*Heiðrekssaga*),[32] Austrvegr (*Ragnars saga loðbrókar*),[33] or Reiðgotaland and Windland (*Ragnarssona þáttr*),[34] all of which are terms relating to eastern Europe.

Saxo describes the unusual circumstances surrounding the death of Withsercus. Captured along with his twelve companions by Daxon, *rex Hellesponti,* Withsercus was offered not only his life, but Daxon's own daughter in marriage, with half his kingdom as her dowry. The proud Viking, however, who like Pollux did not wish to outlive his Dioscurian brother, expressed one single wish — to choose the manner of his death. Daxon readily granted him his request, which was to be bound and burned with his friends. Upon receiving the news, Regnerus, Withsercus's father, began "to grieve stubbornly even unto death." Only after lengthy persuasion was his wife able to rouse him to declare revenge.[35] This is an epicized variant of a story preserved in a more original, mythical form in both the *Ragnarssona þáttr* and *Ragnars saga.*

Withsercus's place is taken by "divine twins," Agnarr and Eiríkr, who were

26 "Heiðreks saga," ed. Ch. Tolkien (1960), p. 60; *Alfræði Íslenzk,* ed. Kr. Kålund III: 1 (Kbh, 1917), p. 57.
27 Saxo, *Gesta,* ed. Olrik - Ræder I, p. 256.
28 Saxo, *Gesta,* ed. Olrik - Ræder I, p. 259.
29 Herrmann, *Heldensagen* II, p. 624, n. 2.
30 Saxo, *Gesta,* ed. Olrik - Ræder I, p. 257.
31 Saxo, *Gesta,* ed. Olrik - Ræder I, p. 257.
32 "Heiðreks saga," ed. Tolkien, p. 60.
33 "Ragnars saga loðbrókar," ed. Jónsson, *FSN* I, p. 279.
34 "Þáttr af Ragnars sonum," ed. Jónsson, *FSN* I, p. 299.
35 Saxo, *Gesta,* ed. Olrik - Ræder I, pp. 259-260.

under special protection. They had the same mother — Þóra, daugher of the earl of Gotland — and apparently had some kind of a "legitimate incest" relationship with their stepmother, the heroic being Kráka who, in reality, was Áslaugr, the daughter of the Eddaic superhero, Siegfried / Sigurðr Fáfnisbani, and the Valkyrie, Brynhildr Buðladóttir.

Together the two brothers sailed to Austrvegr, the domain of Eysteinn, king of Sweden, for maritime adventure. There Agnarr was killed and Eiríkr was captured. Being attached to his brother and, like one of the "divine twins," having by himself "the strength of only half a man," Eiríkr refused compensation for his slain brother. Like Withsercus, he rejected the princess's hand in marriage, asking only for the right to choose the manner of his death, and his wish was granted.

Upon receiving word of the fate of her stepsons, Áslaugr, who had not been moved by the death of one of her own sons, became grief-stricken and enraged; she urged her remaining sons to take revenge, as in the following stave:

> Unavenged yourselves would not lie
> If ye by chance were the first ones dead;
> No sons of mine were Eiríkr and Agnarr —
> Yet I wish they lived in your stead.[36]

The names Agnarr and Eiríkr were both originally appellatives: the first is **agana-harjar*, "host of a rough sea,"[37] and the second goes back to **aina-rīkia-* and has the meaning "the all-mighty."[38] This complex designation apparently referred to a mythic figure whose epic representation was called *hvítserkr*, "the white-clad" and who corresponded to the historical Berno / Bjǫrn.

Saxo's Hellespont

In classical Greek and Latin literature, the term Hellespont (ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος "the sea of Hella," a heroic figure connected with the myth of the Argonauts) often included all the Propontis as well as the Dardanelles.[39] The (Thracian) Bosporus on which Byzantium, later Constantinople, was situated, remained

[36] "Þáttr af Ragnars sonum," ed. Jónsson, *FSN* I, pp. 290-296; "Ragnars saga loðbrókar," ed. Jónsson, *FSN* I, pp. 247-256 = *The Saga of the Volsungs. The Saga of Ragnar Lodbrok, Together with the Lay of Kraka*, trans. Margaret Schlauch, 2d ed. (New York, 1949), pp. 216-225.

[37] Cf. de Vries, *ANEW*, p. 3; Holthausen, *WAWN*, p. 2.

[38] De Vries, *ANEW*, p. 97.

[39] Cf. Strabo (63 B.C. - A.D. 24), *The Geography of Strabo*, ed. H. L. Jones (London, 1917-1932), book 7, chap. 57; Viktor Burr, *Nostrum Mare* (Stuttgart, 1932), pp. 11-21.

unknown to several early authors. But the classical period knew the other, Cimmerian, Bosporus (the Strait of Kerč), which connected the Black Sea and the Azov Sea, into which the largest river to empty was the Tanais (Don). Saxo, a scholar of the classics, knew full well about the two Bosporuses, and he consequently went on to develop the idea of two Byzantiums and two Hellesponts! His first Byzantium is mentioned three times in the prehistoric part of the *Gesta*, and is always connected with Óðinn and his fellow gods: "But the gods, whose chief seat was then at Byzantium (At dii, quibus praecipua apud Byzantium sedes habebatur);[40] "Thus Ollerus was driven out from Byzantium by Óðinn and retired into [Cold] Svetia (Igitur Ollerus ab Othino Byzantio pulsus in Suetian concessit)."[41] And finally:

> Then [Starkaðr, the Odinic hero] thrusting in his bodily strength [after his victory over Wisinus in Ruscia], fought with and overcame a giant at Byzantium (apud Byzantium), reputed to be invincible, named Tanna, and drove him to fly an outlaw to unknown quarters of the earth. Therefore, finding that he was too mighty for any hard fate to overcome him, he went to the country of Polonia, and conquered in a duel a champion whom our countrymen name Wasce; but the Teutons (Theutones), arranging the letters differently, call him Wilzce.[42]

There can be hardly any doubt that in all three passages, the name "Byzantium" referred to Ásgarðr, the Old Norse place of the pagan gods, but it was equated with Troy by Snorri Sturluson's source, because the Norman/Icelandic "gelehrte Urgeschichte" of the twelfth century had located Troy on Tanais (Don = Dún of the Germanic heroic epos).[43]

The realm of the *rex Hellesponti* should not be viewed merely as the product of Saxo's imagination. Sometime in the 830s a revolution took place in the Khazar Empire against the forced introduction of Judaism by the imperial majordomo. The rebels were Kabars, a Turkic tribe who remained loyal to the supreme ruler or *Kagan*; their insurrection was crushed, however, and they, along with the defeated Kagan, were forced to flee the capital.

The fugitive Kagan established himself in the western territories of the Khazar realm. There he assumed control over the so-called Ellipaltar, the main waterways of the former Bosporus Kingdom that connected the Azov Sea with the basin of the Volga River via the Don and Donec'.[44]

40 Saxo, *Gesta*, ed. Olrik - Ræder I, p. 72 = *Gesta*/ Elton, p. 196.
41 Saxo, *Gesta*, ed. Olrik - Ræder I, p. 73 = *Gesta*/ Elton I, p. 197.
42 Saxo, *Gesta*, ed. Olrik - Ræder I, p. 155 = *Gesta*/ Elton II, p. 370.
43 See pp. 245-247 of this volume.
44 On *Ellipaltar* see vol. four of this work.

Saxo calls the first *rex Hellesponti* Handwanus in the *Hadingus/Frotho-saga* I[45] and Dian in the *Regnerus saga.*[46] Gustav Storm in 1878[47] and Paul Herrmann in 1922[48] both recognized that Dian is an abbreviated variant of Handwanus, but their attempts at establishing a Scandinavian etymology for the name were not convincing.[49] In my view, the word is derived from Altaic **xān-duwan,* the first component being a noun meaning "king," "ruler" and the second (its homonym is Saxo's Dian [= Dyggvi in Ys, chap. 17]), a past participle (/An/, cf. Chuvash /nĂ/) of the verb *duv-* (< Proto-Bulgarian and Old Turkic *toγ-*) "to be born." The meaning "king-born," *porphyrogenitus* is obviously an appropriate title for a fugitive ruler claiming legitimacy. (See pp. 233, n. 38 and 583).

In the historical part of Saxo's work (which begins at book 10.1.29, p. 291) the same name, Byzantium, appears with its more usual meaning (the equivalent to ON *Mikligarðr/Garðr*) of imperial Constantinople, the center of Eastern Christianity, on the Thracian Bosporus and north of the Thracian Hellespont. Saxo undoubtedly also knew the city's official Christian name: in one passage he uses the form *Constantinopolitana urbs.*[50] One can speculate that in his Catholic fervor — he wrote around the time of the Fourth Crusade — Saxo thought it unnecessary to distinguish very clearly between the center of paganism and that of schismatic Christianity.

The first *Hellespontus* of Saxo occurs in both the *Hadingus* and the *Regnerus* sagas. At the outset of his Odinic career, Hadingus, having been inspired by Óðinn, became brother to a Viking named Liserus; they launched an unsuccessful attack on Locerus, the king of Courland (*Curetum tyrannus*), in the course of which Hadingus was captured, but escaped. He then successfully besieged and took by stratagem the supposedly impregnable town on the river Duna/Don (*Duna urbs*) that belonged to Handwanus, whom the sagas style as king of the Hellespont (*Hellesponti rex*).[51]

The Hellespont near Duna (< *Dún*) "Don" could only be the Hellespont of the Azov Sea. The route from the Azov Sea to the Don to the Donec' was called Ellipaltar in the *Heimskringla*;[52] it seemed to Saxo that the term's first element, *Elli-*, was reminiscent of the **Hella* of *Hellespontus,* and thereby strengthened his conviction that there were two Hellesponts to match the two Bosporuses and the two Byzantiums.

Saxo credits Regnerus with three raids on the Hellespont. In the first two

45 Saxo, *Gesta,* ed. Olrik - Ræder I, pp. 24, 38–39.
46 Saxo, *Gesta,* ed. Olrik - Ræder I, p. 257.
47 Gustav Storm, *Kritiske Bidrag til Vikingetidens Historie,* pp. 93–94.
48 Herrmann, *Heldensagen* II, p. 93, n. 3; p. 643.
49 Storm, *Kritiske Bidrag,* p. 94; Herrmann, *Heldensagen* II, p. 93, n. 3.
50 Saxo, *Gesta,* ed. Olrik - Ræder I, p. 338.
51 Saxo, *Gesta,* ed. Olrik - Ræder I, pp. 23–24.
52 *Hkr* III (IF 28), p. 89; see also above n. 44.

his adversary was Dian, king of the Hellespont, and his sons Dian II and Daxon, both of whom married daughters of the "king" of the Ruteni, apparently an Ynglingr from the Volga-Rus factory. Daxon's mother was of Scythian origin.[53]

Leaving his son Withsercus in charge of his land, called by Saxo Suetia, Regnerus made an expedition to Biarmaland, as it was obligatory for a Norwegian hero to do. Upon his return he learned about his son's tragic end. Regnerus then made a second raid against the land (now called Ruscia), having first transported his fleet there. Daxon, defeated and imprisoned, was sent away in chains to Utgarthia (*Út-garðr* "the outyard," an abode of the giants in the far north and far east).[54] To these geographical data one can add Curi and Sembi, mentioned in connection with Regnerus's raids. Together these names show that his first two naval raids were directed against Hellespontus = Ellipaltar, i.e., the Azov-Don Hellespont.

The third Hellespont expedition was undertaken by Regnerus from Ireland, where he had laid siege to Dublin. "There he lay in a camp for a year, and then, sailing through the Mediterranean Sea (Mediterraneanum fretum pernavigans) he penetrated to the Hellespont (ad Hellesponticum penetravit), traversing the countries that lay in his way with most brilliant victories, no mishap interfering anywhere with the course of his continuously successful advance." Returning from Hellespont (*Regneri ab Hellesponto redeuntis*), Regnerus met the unsuccessful pretender to the Danish throne, Haraldus.[55] Having realized that his resources at home were exhausted, Haraldus went to the historical Frankish Emperor Louis I, the Debonnaire (814–840) and was baptized in Mainz (historically in 826). The Hellespont mentioned in this connection undoubtedly refers to one of the Dardanelles (> Bosporus). Unfortunately, Saxo's source revealed no details regarding that particular raid. Nevertheless, the context makes it clear that, in this instance the Hellespont meant the Dardanelles and the Bosporus, and the old Danish lay used by Saxo clearly stated that fact.

Saxo knew nothing about the Norse attack on Constantinople in 860, and his chronology of Regnerus's activities is faulty. Yet Saxo — or his source — was correct in speaking about Regnerus and Haraldus as contemporaries; they not only lived at the same time, but were most probably brothers.[56] Both died around 845. It was not Regnerus who made the expedition to the Mediterranean, however, but his son Bjǫrn, together with Hasting.

Undue concern should not be given to Saxo's account of the Danish leader who traveled to the Dardanelles's Hellespont through the Mediterranean Sea.

[53] Saxo, *Gesta*, ed. Olrik - Ræder I, p. 257. Daxon is Dagr in Ys, chap. 18.
[54] Saxo, *Gesta*, ed. Olrik Ræder I, pp. 259 260.
[55] Saxo, *Gesta*, ed. Olrik Ræder I, p. 261 = *Gesta*/ Elton II, p. 561.
[56] See Vogel, *Die Normannen und das Fränkische Reich*, pp. 409-412.

This itinerary was unknown in the ninth century, and could not have been included in the Old Danish lay. It was most probably introduced by Saxo himself, since by his time — the beginning of the thirteenth century — the Dardanelles could be reached through the Mediterranean Sea. The crusaders went to Constantinople that way, for instance, in 1204.

Only nine serious attempts — the first in 626 and the last in 1044 — were made by the various barbarian powers to conquer Constantinople between 330, when it became the capital of the empire, and 1204, when the western Christian crusaders led by Venice finally succeeded in realizing the old barbarian dream by conquering the hitherto impregnable city (April 13, 1204), up to then believed to be protected by the Holy Virgin.

Contemporary Byzantine sources were always careful to record data about assaults on their capital. Five barbarian peoples had tried their luck: the Arabs, Avars, Bulgars, Persians, and Rus'. They list these unsuccessful attacks as follows: one combined naval and land attack by the Avars and Persians (626); five naval attacks, two by the Arab fleet (678 and 717), one by the enigmatic Rus' (860), and two by the Kievan-Novgorodian Rus' (941 and 1044); and three land attacks by the Bulgars (813, 913, 923).

The Rus'ian Attack on Constantinople in 860

One or Two Attacks?

Of concern here is the attack of the year 860, which occurred on June 18, when Emperor Michael III (842–867) was absent from the city, campaigning against the Arabs of Melitene and the Paulicians of Tephrice (Divrigi). Upon receiving a timely warning from an admiral named Ooryphas, the emperor and his forces hastened back to Constantinople just in time to save the capital from the unexpected attack.

Only the contemporary Byzantine sources and those written later in the countries belonging to the political (Venice) or cultural (Bulgaria, Rus') sphere of the empire mention the attack of 860; no western source reflects any knowledge of it. While the Byzantine sources call the attackers Rhos (Ῥῶς), and the Bulgarian and Rus' chronicles, based on Byzantine data, equate that term with Rus', the Venetian chronicles (the first by Johannes Diaconus, ca. 991–1008) call the attackers *Normanorum gentes.*

In 1946, the eminent Byzantinologist Alexander A. Vasiliev published a book entitled *The Russian Attack on Constantinople in 860.*[57] Reexamining

[57] Mediaeval Academy of America Publication No. 46 (Cambridge, Mass.) xii + 245 pp.

the Western and Eastern sources concerning the Norsemen's raids in the Mediterranean from 858 to 861, he concluded that there were two barbarian moves against Constantinople, "one from the south and one from the north," which "almost met each other under the walls of the capital of the Byzantine Empire."[58] However, he rejected the idea proposed by N. T. Beljaev that the two expeditions were carried out according to the master plan of one Viking leader.[59] Vasiliev dated the southern, or Mediterranean, attack to the spring of 861,[60] and the northern, or Rus', attack to a "ten month [period] at least," lasting from June 18, 860 to March 861.[61] According to him, the Rus' sailed "from the estuary of the Dnieper, where they had come from Kiev."

Although Vasiliev's findings were the result of a detailed analysis, both Western and Soviet scholarship rejected his conclusion that two raids were made on Constantinople in 860–861, and has since held to the theory that only one such attack took place — that by the Rus' in June 860.[62]

The account in the Rus'ian *Povĕst' vremennyx lĕt* (*PVL*) is not original; it was taken almost verbatim from the Slavic (Slavonic-Bulgarian) translation of the Byzantine chronicle, known as the Continuator of George Hamartolus.[63] The *PVL* does contain one essential addition, however: the names of two Rus' leaders, Askold and Dir.[64] This unexpected information is all the more curious because not one but two leaders are credited with the extraordinary Rus'ian maritime adventure. Apparently the Rus' tradition had turned them into a reincarnation of the two Haddingjar, the divine twins of Njǫrðr, the patron of seafarers and pirates.

Askold and Dir

The Scandinavian origin of the names, Askold and Dir, has long been recognized. The usual etymology of Askold, from ON *Hǫskuldr*, is **hǫss-kollr*, "gray-head,"[65] in which the first element, *hǫss*, usually implies a wolf-like gray.[66] Dir, from ON *dýr*, originally meant "an animal or beast," "a wild

58 Vasiliev, *Russian Attack on Constantinople in 860*, p. 234.
59 Vasiliev, *Russian Attack*, pp. 236–237.
60 Vasiliev, *Russian Attack*, pp. 24, 62–63.
61 Vasiliev, *Russian Attack*, pp. 148–149, 174–175, 217–218.
62 See, e.g., M. V. Levčenko, *Očerki po istorii russko-vizantijskix otnošenij* (M., 1956), pp. 60–65; Dimitri Obolensky in *Cambridge Mediaeval History* IV: 1: *Byzantium and Its Neighbours*, ed. J. M. Hussey (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 495–496.
63 A. A. Šaxmatov, "'Povest' vremennyx let' i ee istočniki," *TODRL* 4 (1940), pp 48–49.
64 *PVL*, ed. D. S. Lixačev I, p. 19 (s.a. 866).
65 A. Jóhannesson, *IEW*, p. 307.
66 Cleasby - Vigfússon, *Dictionary*, p. 312; G. T. Zoëga, *Dictionary*, p. 226.

beast or deer."[67] Although in the Germanic languages the word almost always referred to "deer", in Russian the corresponding word, *zver'*,[68] is the most common taboo-word for "bear," as *bjǫrn* (lit. "bear") is in Scandinavian and Germanic; so it is possible that in eastern Europe also, *dýr* meant "bear" rather than "deer". If so, one can speculate that the Dir of the Rus' chronicle is the Viking king Bjǫrn who, according to all Norse traditions, was king in Cold or Great Sweden, i.e., in eastern Europe. The Arab historian al-Mas'ūdī (ca. 943/944) also referred to the "first" king over the Ṣaqāliba in eastern Europe as ad-Dīr (< *Dýr*); *Murūǧ aḏ-ḏahab*, ed. Ch. Pellat, II (Beyrouth, 1966), p. 144.

A Bjǫrn Svíakonungr is referred to in some sources. The first known skald, Bragi inn gamli, is said to have composed a drápa of twenty strophes overnight to mollify his wrath, but the figure otherwise remains an enigma. He has been identified with King Bernus of Birka, whom St. Anskar visited around 830, but recent scholarship tends to reject this equation. The newest studies on skaldic forms confirm the view that Bragi's work was not contemporary with Bjǫrn (= Bernus of 830), but was written later in the ninth century, although no Swedish king named Bjǫrn ruled at that time.[69]

The Viking King Bjǫrn

For the most part, however, Bragi's work is connected with the clan of Ragnarr loðbrók, since his only long poem to survive is the *Ragnarsdrápa*, written to honor that Viking king.

But all the historical discrepancies disappear if we accept the view that Bragi's patron was Bjǫrn, son of Ragnarr, the king of Cold Sweden during the second half of the ninth century, and that the poem Bragi is said to have written for Bjǫrn was actually the *Ragnarsdrápa*, which does, in fact, contain twenty strophes.

Another patron of Bragi mentioned in the *Skáldatal* was Eysteinn beli, also styled as a king of Sweden. He, too, is not among the known kings of Uppsala.[70] The data of the *Ragnarssona þáttr* and *Ragnars saga* make clear that the Sweden of Eysteinn was actually in eastern Europe, and that Eysteinn

[67] Jóhanesson, *IEW*, pp. 507–508.

[68] O. Schrader, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde* I (Berlin – Leipzig, 1917–1923), p. 81; cf. Vladimir Dal', *Tolkovyj slovar' živogo velikorusskogo jazyka* I² (M., 1955), p. 674.

[69] E.O.G. Turville-Petre, *Scaldic Poetry* (Oxford, 1976), pp. xxii–xxiii.

[70] Vigfússon – Powell, *CPB* II, p. 442.

himself had arrived there before Ragnarr's clan, only to be destroyed by them later.

The epic tradition styled Eysteinn as king of Aldeigjuborg, i.e., Old Ladoga, which is probably historically accurate. Archaeology confirms that Old Ladoga, the first town in eastern Europe, had been founded as early as the second half of the eighth century. Recent excavations of Old Ladoga on levels dating from the eighth or ninth century yielded a stick (short twig) with a runic inscription of Old Norse poetry, probably of the Eddaic type which specialists agree cannot be more recent than the ninth century.[71] On the basis of this evidence, one can accept the ninth-century court of the Viking kings of Aldeigjuborg in Cold Sweden as an active Old Norse literary center.

Berno Nortmannus, *dux partis pyratarum Sequanae insistentium* appears in the Frankish annals from 855 to 858 as the leader of the Vikings operating in the basin of the Seine around Paris and Rouen. After Berno swore fealty to the Carolingian Charles at Vermeria in 858,[72] he disappeared from the chronicler's sight, but the Norman tradition knows him as the commander of the spectacular Mediterranean raid in 859. Prudentius and both Arabic and Christian Spanish sources describe how the Vikings circumnavigated Spain by passing through the Straits of Gibraltar to plunder the North African coast, crossed back to Spain to the coast of Murcia and the Balearic Islands, and finally established themselves in the Camargue (Camaria) in the Rhône delta. From there they made raids on Italy, especially Luna (Norman tradition) and Pisa (annals).[73]

Berno is none other than the Bjǫrn, son of Ragnarr loðbrók, who was accompanied by Hasting. Since Hasting does not appear in the Frankish annals by name until 866,[74] i.e., eleven years after Bjǫrn, he must have been his junior (contrary to the Norman tradition, which styles him as Bjǫrn's *paedagogus*).[75] Except for his part in the Mediterranean raid, the only information the Norman tradition contains about Bjǫrn is that he died in Frisia,[76] an error that arose because at the time of William of Jumièges (ca. 1072), the ON geographic term *Garðar* meant already "Rus'," but in the ninth century, when the events described actually occurred, it designated "Frisia," especially its main emporium, Dorestad. The disclosure is significant, because it confirms that

71 O. I. Davidan, "Contacts between Staraja Ladoga and Scandinavia," *Varangian Problems* (Kbh, 1970), pp. 79-94; Aslak Liestøl, "Runic Inscriptions," *Varangian Problems* (1970), pp. 122-125; Wolfgang Krause, *Runen* (1970), pp. 100-101.

72 [Prudentius] *Annales Bertiniani*, ed. Waitz (SRG), p. 49.

73 On all these traditions, see Vasiliev, *Russian Attack*, pp. 17-34.

74 Vogel, *Normannen und das Fränkische Reich*, p. 218.

75 Guillaume de Jumièges, *Gesta Normannorum ducum*, ed. Jean Marx (1914), p. 8.

76 Cf. Vogel, *Normannen und das Fränkische Reich*, p. 410.

Bjǫrn lived and died in that part of eastern Europe which was later known as Rus'.

The Viking Hasting

Who was Hasting? Strangely enough, no attempt has been made to establish this figure's identity. One twelfth-century writer, Hugh of Fleury, using the Norman tradition, made a very important identification regarding him when he wrote: "Verum iste Alstagnus vulgo Gurmundus solet nominari."[77] Gurmundus was long ago (1878) identified by Gustav Storm with Guthrum/Guthorm of the Anglo-Saxon sources, and with Gormr enski of the Danish tradition.[78]

Guthrum appeared in England in 875, when he occupied East Anglia. Significantly enough, beginning in 874 the continental Hasting disappeared from the Frankish annals for eight years. After making a single appearance in 882 and another in 890–891, he then vanishes from the sources completely. Guthrum's activity, encompassing the years 878–889, was marked by his baptism in 878, with the Christian name Athelstan, and the treaty he concluded in 886 with his godfather, King Alfred the Great (871–899).[79]

There is no reason not to accept this identification. *Gormr* (> *vurm*) seems to have been a title in the Old Danish system of titulature, cf. Hardecnudth Vurm noted by Adam of Bremen.[80]

In the Danish tradition Gormr enski was the son of the conqueror of England, who historically was Hálfdan (Halbdeni/Healfdene), son of Loðbrók.[81] Between 865 and 876 this Viking laid the foundation for the Danish realm in Northumbria (Danelaw). In 877 he was killed during an invasion of Ireland, part of the Norwegian sphere of influence.[82] The Danish tradition knows Hálfdan as Frothi (*fróði*) *victor Angliae*.[83] Both Danish kingdoms in England, then — the kingdom of York in the north and the kingdom of East Anglia — were founded by members of the same family: the father, Hálfdan Loðbróksson, and the son, "Guthrum" (Gormr) Hálfdanarson.

In 860, after the siege of Constantinople, some of the Norse forces who returned to the seas around Britain must have been known in Venice, which was always involved in maritime affairs. The Venetian humanist Flavius

[77] Fr. C. H. Kruse, *Chronicon Nortmannorum, Wariago-Russorum* (Hamburg - Gotha, 1851), p. 146.
[78] See above, n. 47.
[79] F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3d ed. (Oxford, 1971), pp. 252–262.
[80] *Gesta*, ed. Trillmich, pp. 226, 228.
[81] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (1971), pp. 246, 252–253.
[82] Storm, *Kritiske Bidrag* (1878), p. 71.
[83] *Reges Danorum*, *SMHD*, ed. Gertz I, p. 170; *Annales Ryenses*, ed. Jørgensen, *ADMÆ*, p. 68.

Blondus (b. 1392 d.1463) not only repeats the information about the Norse attack on Constantinople contained in earlier Venetian chronicles (Johannes Diaconus, compiled ca. 1008; Andrea Dandolo, ca. 1348–1354) but adds that the Normans "returned to the Britannic Sea (*in Britannicum mare sunt reversi*)."[84]

The 890s had begun catastrophically for the Danes with carnage on the Dyle in 891. By 896 the consolidating activity of Alfred the Great of Wessex made it impossible for the Danes to carry on any further operations in England. So the most active Vikings, realizing that their careers on British soil were finished, set off for France to try their luck there. The contemporary annals note this by reporting that the Norsemen transfered their fleet from the mouth of the Thames to that of the Seine. A well-informed twelfth-century source, the *Chronicon S. Neoti*, based on materials collected by Asser (d. 910), the historian of Alfred the Great, connected that risky venture with the name Hastengus,[85] i.e., with the two Haddingjar, or divine twins, of the ON protector of maritime adventures.

But another problem remains, for, while the contemporary Frankish annals (*Annales Vedastini*, s.a. 896) name the Norse leader Huncdeus (which has been correctly identified by J. M. Lappenberg with the Anglo-Saxon *Ongenþeow*, corresponding to ON Angantýr),[86] the *Chronicon de gestis Normannorum in Francia* simply called him Rodo,[87] i.e., Rollo (ON Hrólfr). This ceases to be puzzling if one bears in mind that these data reflect myths. Rollo repeats the deeds of the divine twins, tveir Haddingjar, who in their Norman tradition, represented in the work of Dudo (d. 1029), are the two brothers, Rollo and Gurim);[88] he as Angan-Týr is also a manifestation of the Gothic supreme god (see pp. 204, 235).

The Hasting of the expedition of 859 had dealings with Rollo both in England, as *Rex Anglorum Christianissimus nomine Alstemus*,[89] and later in France, as Astignus / Hastingus.[90]

The existing sources do not mention the death of Hasting. His father, Hálfdan, was born ca. 816, so in 896 Hasting (b. ca. 836) could not have been much more than sixty years old. Because of his role in the Danish settlement of

84 See Vasiliev, *Russian Attack*, pp. 28–32.

85 Ed. W. H. Stevenson in *Asser's Life of King Alfred* (Oxford, 1904), p. 142 (s.a. 895).

86 Johannes C.H.R. Steenstrup, *Normannerne* I (1876), pp. 156–160; W. Vogel, *Normannen und das Fränkische Reich*, pp. 373–374.

87 *Chronicon de gestis Normannorum in Francia*, ed. G. Pertz, *MGH SS* I, p. 536.

88 Dudo, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. Jules Lair (Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de Normandie 23) (Caen, 1865), pp. 141–143; cf. Steenstrup, *Normannerne* I, pp. 129–130.

89 Dudo, *De moribus*, ed. Lair, p. 147.

90 Dudo, *De moribus*, ed. Lair, pp. 129, 137, 154–155; Guillaume de Jumièges, *Gesta*, ed. Marx, p. 22. See the essay on Hasting by Lair in his Dudo edition, pp. 36–48.

Normandy between 896 and 911, Hasting was mentioned by Dudo, but Bjǫrn, the chief commander of the expedition of 859, did not appear in his account of those events.

Both Muslim and Christian Spanish chroniclers mention that the Norse fleet operating in Spain and Italy in 859 reached "the country of the [East] Romans (*bilād ar-Rūm*) and Alexandria."[91] Vasiliev's interpretation of this passage, that the Norsemen "passed through the Hellespont, entered the Sea of Marmara, and reached the suburbs of Constantinople" from the south, does not seem well considered. Having already reconnoitered and raided the western Mediterranean, the experienced Norse sailors would have known that it was impossible to reach Constantinople from the south,[92] i.e., by bypassing the elaborate system of Byzantine fortifications and the vast hostile Aegean Sea, and would have come to Constantinople from the north.

Two completely independent sources, Saxo and the Rus' Nikon Chronicle, agree on the route they took. According to Saxo, Frotho I, the son of Hadingus, seeking to dominate the waterways in the land of the Ruteni, besieged (using the same stratagem as Hasting did in taking the Italian town of Luna) and finally seized the town of "Paltisca," i.e., Polock, on the Western Dvina.[93] The Nikon Chronicle says under 6375 (865; a date that is certainly wrong): "The same year Askold and Dir waged war against the Poločane [the citizens of Paltisca] and created much evil (Того же лѣта воеваша Асколдъ и Диръ Полочанъ и много зла створиша)."[94] The Rus' chronicles assign an incorrect date to the raid on Constantinople of 860, making it 6374/866 —that is, one year after Polock was taken.[95]

From all this it is clear that the route of the invaders of 860 went from the North Sea to the southern trans-Jutland waterway (Treene-Schlei Fjord), the Baltic Sea, the Gulf of Riga, and the Western Dvina. From there it continued through a system of portages down the Don and to the Azov Sea (Ellipaltar), the point of departure for the Rus' raid of 941 headed by Igor'.[96]

We know that Hasting accompanied Bjǫrn during the latter's Mediterranean expedition in 859. There is no reason to doubt that he was with his uncle in the eastern European adventure, and only some time later returned to England.

[91] Ibn al-Qūṭiya (d. 977), "Ta'rīkh al-Andalus," ed. Alexander Seippel, *Rerum Normannicarum fontes Arabici* (Oslo, 1896-1928), p. 4.

[92] Vasiliev, *Russian Attack*, p. 59.

[93] Saxo, *Gesta*, ed. Olrik - Ræder I, p. 38.

[94] *Letopisnyj sbornik, imenuemyj Patriaršeju ili Nikonovskoju letopis'ju* I (*PSRL* IX) (S-Pb, 1862), p. 9.

[95] Vasiliev, *Russian Attack*, pp. 107-113. The wrong date 6374/866 (rather than the correct one, 6368/860) is due to an error in computation which occurred in the later compilations, subsequently used by the *PVL*.

[96] Cf. Leo the Deacon, *Historiae libri decem*, ed. C. B. Hase (*CSHB* XI) (Bonn, 1828), 6.8 (pp. 102-103); 6.10 (pp. 105-110).

Hastings and Bjǫrn = Askold and Dir

The Rus' tradition preserves the name *Askold* (< ON Hǫskuldr) for one of the two Haddingjar who risked attacking Constantinople in 860. Since Hasting remained without a proper name, that Hǫskuldr was the given name of our hero is a likely assumption.

The apogee of the naval activity of the Norse Vikings was their expedition to the western Mediterranean in 859 and their attack on Constantinople from the north in 860. Both these expeditions are attested in contemporary and later annals and in the oral tradition that was later written down. All these contemporary written accounts, however, reflect not only the Christian attitude of their writers, but often also elements from pre-Christian myths. Much of the information they contain is, as a result, viewed with skepticism by scholars, particularly those who approach these sources as conventional historical documents.

By applying the methods of comparative mythology — especially Dumézil's analysis of the third-function myth of the divine twins — the credibility of these materials can be restored, and they can be used to establish several new facts, although of varying degrees of certitude. Only one, northern Nordmani/Rus' raid was made against Constantinople in June 860; the raiders traveled the Baltic-[Western Dvina]-Don-Azov-Sea route. The Hadingus of Saxo is the same figure as Hasting, and he together with Bjǫrn represent the mythical divine twins, just as Hastengus and Rollo did later.

The names of the two leaders of the raid of 860 are known from both the Old Rus' and the Old Norse tradition. The established correspondences are Askold = Hasting and Dir = Berno/Bjǫrn, the son of Ragnarr loðbrók. After the raid Bjǫrn remained in eastern Europe (in Cold Sweden) until his death, residing in Aldeigjuborg/Old Ladoga, where the skald Bragi made his famous *Ragnarsdrápa*. Bjǫrn became the ruler of Old Ladoga after he killed its previous king, Eysteinn, who was also patron of Bragi.

Hasting = Askold returned to England, and later went to France, where he was known first by the pagan title Guthurm (< *gormr*) and later by the Christian name of Athelstan. His godfather was none other than Alfred the Great.

Summing up, the audacious attack of the Norsemen on Constantinople in 860 — an event unknown to Western Christian historians — has been preserved in both the northern oral tradition and in Byzantine (and Venetian) historical and homiletic writings. The northern tradition was coded into a Dioscurian myth having two variants — the Norse ("Hasting" and Bjǫrn) and the Slavic Rus'ian (Askold and Dir).

The question from where the attack was launched has long been unresolved.

Now, finally, it has been answered by the data of the northern traditions. Although the Norse and Slavic Rus'ian traditions developed completely independently, both name the eastern European town of Polock in connection with that event.

Conclusion: The de-mythicizing and de-epicizing method, which has also been applied in this chapter, supplies the historian with a great deal of new data, all of primary importance for understanding the course of events in Eastern Europe in the second half of the ninth century.

Two centers of power existed on that territory around A.D. 840–860: the civic center of Aldeigja (Ladoga) and a factory of the Rus / Rus' company. The citizens of Aldeigja invited — as the Novgorodians later (after 1136) did — members of the most successful charismatic clan in the region to be military commanders over them. In the period under discussion, the Frisian clan, ruling over both Jutland (Hedeby) and the northern economic capital of Dorestad in Frisia, were one such attractive dynasty.

After Rørik (PVL Rjurik) of Jutland died, an invitation was extended to his close relative Bjǫrn, the son of the most famous Viking of the epoch, Ragnarr loðbrók. Bjǫrn (PVL Dir), himself a renowned Viking led the attack on Constantinople in 860 together with another famous leader, Hasting (PVL Askold). The partners met in Polock, the natural meeting place for them: Hasting, coming from Denmark, sailed down the Dvina River on which Polock is located; Bjǫrn, arriving from Aldeigja, sailed down the usual Volxov-Lovot' route, so as to enter the Dnieper.

The factory of the Rus company (Saxo explicitly called them *Ruteni*) was located near Jaroslavl'-Rostov (hence the famous tumuli), where it could control the Volga-Donec' route (Saxo: *Hellespont*). Some time earlier (around 830–840) the fugitive Khazar kagan had found refuge in the Rus factory and had assumed the identity of a Rus Kagan. His name has been transmitted in both Hunno-Bulgarian (*Xān-tuvan*, "Porphyrogenitus") and "Icelandicized" (*Dyggvi*, see p. 233*n*) forms. The "local" charismatic clan was soon honored in an unusual way: two daughters of the *Ruteni* king were permitted to marry two sons of the Kagan (Saxo). The *Ruteni* in question were Ynglingar since Ys (see p. 233) connects the introduction of the title *Konungr* for the Ynglingar with one of these marriages, which apparently gave Ari inn fróði the right to claim that his progenitor was a "Kagan" (*Tyrkjakonungr*, see pp. 237–242). At the beginning of the tenth century, there arrived in Eastern Europe from Denmark (via the Dvina River) the fugitive Danish king Lotha Knut, who because of his former activity as a "helgi" had renown under that appellation, the Slavic version of which became Oleg. Soon this Oleg would attack a successor of Dir I / Bjǫrn I. Having killed the successor (called here Dir II), Oleg incorporated Aldeigja into his realm. His encounter with Igor', the successor to the Volga-Rus Kagan, was not recorded in the sources under analysis; this event will be discussed in subsequent volumes.

CHAPTER NINE

From History to Myth and Epic: Hnæf and Hnabi/Ønevus. New Approach to the Fight at Finnsburg and Old Danish Cønogardia

The heroic theme sometimes called *The Tragedy of Finnsburg* has survived in two Old English versions. The first one is called the *Fight at Finnsburg* and is a fragment of the original Germanic heroic lay from about A.D. 800, containing forty-eight lines (the beginning and end are missing). The court epic poem *Beowulf*, also from about 800, included into its sophisticated structure a ninety-one-verse work, allegedly by King Hrōþgare's scop, which recounts how "at the hands of the sons of Finn that Hnæf of the Scyldings, champion of the Half-Danes, had to fall on a Frisian field of slaughter"[1] (the *Finn Episode* in *Beowulf*, lines 1068 1159).

The treatment of the theme in the two works differs in some respects. Nevertheless the *Fight at Finnsburg* (FF) and the Finn episode in *Beowulf* (FE) both represent the Danish point of view and agree in overall plot development. In keeping with the rules of the Germanic lays, the conflict is presented as a family quarrel; the tragic figure is Hildeburgh, who is at the same time the sister of the slain man and the wife of the slayer. The FF concentrates on one

[1] *Finnsburh. Fragment and Episode*, ed. Donald K. Fry (London, 1974). Cf. *Beowulf and Its Analogues*, trans. G. N. Garmonsway and Jacqueline Simpson (London, 1968), p. 30.

decisive critical incident involving a conflict of loyalties within this family drama. Except for the hero, Hnæf, all the characters' names are either mythical (Hengest, Finn) or topical:[2] Gār-ulf (ll. 18, 31; *gār* "spear"; *wulf* "wolf"). Gūð-ere (l. 18: *guð* "war," "battle"; *here* "army"). Gūþ-lāf (ll. 16, 33: *gūð* "war," "battle"; *lāf* "survivor"), Ord-lāf (l. 16: *ord* "front," "point"; *lāf* "survivor"), Sige-ferð (ll. 15, 24: *Sige* "victory"; *frið(u)* "peace"); the two geographical names, Finns-buruh (l. 36) "Finn's stronghold" and Secgan (l. 24), the name of a tribe from the appellative *secg* "sword," are also topical.

The FE contains almost all the mythic or topical names found in the FF, and in addition, Folc-walda (l. 1089, the father of Finn), Hūn-lāfing (l. 1143: *hūn*, "high," *lāf*, "survivor"), and Ōs-lāf (l. 1148: *Ōs*, "good"; *lāf*, "survivor", or < **ord* "point"? [D. Fry]).

The main hero, Hnæf, receives special treatment in FE: not only is the name of his father given (Hōc, l. 1076) but also that of his sister (Hildeburgh, ll. 1071, 1114; although that name seems derived from the topical *hild* "battle"; *burg* "fortified place"). He has a double denomination, *hælað Healf-Dena, Hnæf Scyldinga* (l. 1069, "Hnæf of the Scyldings, the champion of the Half-Danes"). His counterpart, Finn, also has two peoples named after him, the Frisians (Frēsan, l. 1093; Frēs-lond, l. 1126; Frēs-wæl, l. 1070, "F. battlefield") and the Jutes (Ēotan, ll. 1072, 1088, 1141, 1145).

The name Hnæf Hōcing, otherwise unknown in the Germanic lays, corresponds very neatly to a historical figure, the grandfather of Charlemagne's wife Hildegard (758–783). Her mother, Imma, was the daughter of Nebi (= Hnæf), son of Huocingus (Hōcing), who belonged to the former Alemanni ruling house. It was the practice of the Franks, especially the rising Arnulf clan of Austrasia (the later Carolingians), to marry members of such noble families and to appoint their "tamed" members to responsible positions, thus neutralizing their drive for independence.

About 700 Godafridus (Gauzfred/Waldfred) was the duke (*Herzog*) of the Alemanni;[3] between 730 and 746, after two unsuccessful uprisings the duchy had finally been pacified. Hildegard (this name probably inspired the FE to name Hnæf's sister Hildeburgh, since *-burgh = gard*), who became the wife of Charlemagne in 771, was already of a mixed family: her mother, Imma,[4] was

[2] See Glossary in Fr. Klaeber, *Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg*, 3d ed. (Lexington, Mass., 1950), pp. 293–444, 462, 470–471.

[3] Karl Ferdinand Werner, "Bedeutende Adelsfamilien im Reich Karls des Grossen," *Karl der Grosse, Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, ed. Wolfgang Braunfels et al., I[3] (Düsseldorf, 1967), p. 105, n. 79; Reinhard Wenskus, "Die Deutschen Stämme im Reiche Karls des Grossen," *Karl der Grosse* I[3], pp. 197–198.

[4] Werner in *Karl der Grosse* I[3], p. 111.

the daughter of an Alemanni duke, Nebi[5] (< Hnabi = Hnæf), but her father was the Frankish noble Geroldus filius Eigilolfi (*fl.* 780),[6] a representative of the most noble Frankish family (*gens nobilis Ayglolfinga*)[7] with roots in the old home of the Franks on the Maas River, and with new possessions in Mainz. Hildegard's brother Geroldus (the Younger, d. 799) became the first *praefectus Bavariae*, after the old Bavarian dynasty was deposed in 788.[8] There can hardly be any doubt that Nebi/Hnæf, Geraldus' father-in-law and Imma's father, cooperated with the Franks.

Scholars have often wondered why there was no reflection of the Hnæf story of the Battle at Finnsburg in Saxo's *Gesta*. But Gudmund Schütte, as early as 1935,[9] connected the name Hnæf with Ønef/Ønevus, which appears in Saxo's work, though without comment. Ønef appears in Saxo's *Frotho* (III) *saga*.[10]

As Dumézil has shown,[11] the deeds of Frotho (especially Frotho III) are a transposition of the story of Fróði-Freyr, or rather of the third-function gods Njǫrðr/Freyr, the patrons of seafarers, seatraders, and pirates. In 1883 H. Möller argued that the name Finn Folcwalda (Finn's "father") was not the name of kings of the Frisians, but an epithet for the god Freyr.[12]

One of the most lucrative offices was that of procurator of Quentovic on the English Channel at the mouth of the Canche. It was the procurator's function to collect the toll at Quentovic and other ports on the channel, a position that was especially profitable during the revival of trade in the second half of the eighth century.[13] Frotho made Ønevus praefectus of Cønogardia,[14] a name long identified with Kiev, which made the story appear to be one of Saxo's extravagant fantasies. But since Cønogardia seems to be an earlier name for Quentovic, Saxo's data prove to be of great value. It is clear that Hnæf/Ønef

5 Thegan, *Vita Hludowici*, chap. 2, in *MGH SS* II, pp. 590-591, cf. John Mitchell Kemble, *The Saxons in England* I (London, 1849), p. 419.

6 Werner, in *Karl der Grosse* I[3], pp. 111-112, nn. 100 and 101.

7 Werner, in *Karl der Grosse* I[3], p. 106.

8 Kurt Reindel, "Bayern im Karolingerreich," *Karl der Grosse* I[3], p. 228.

9 Schütte, *Gotthiod und Utgard* I, p. 105.

10 Saxo, *Gesta*, ed. Olrik-Ræder I, p. 133, ll. 4-5.

11 Dumézil, *From Myth to Fiction. The Saga of Hadingus* (1973), pp. 159, 206-207.

12 H. Möller, *Das altenglische Volksepos in der ursprünglichen strophischen Form* I (Kiel, 1883), pp. 46-100, esp. pp. 94, 100, and 151-156. On Freyr as *folkvaldi*, "captain," lit. "leader of men" or of the "folk," see Dumézil, *Gods of the Ancient Northmen* (1973), p. 20.

13 François Louis Ganshof, *Frankish Institutions under Charlemagne*, trans. Bryce and Mary Lyon (New York, 1970), p. 44. Cf. Charlemagne's charter from 779, confirming immunity from tolls and granting income from tolls (*MGH Diplomata Karolinorum* I, no. 122, pp. 170-171).

14 See above, n. 10.

was known in Danish tradition, and that Quentovic had lengthy and close trade connections with England. This could easily explain how the Anglo-Saxon audience of around 800 was well informed concerning the fate of the procurator/praefectus of Quentovic who had been active there only thirty or forty years earlier.

In 1934 Hermann Schneider asked who Hnæf and his band were and why they had come to Finnsburg.[15] We can now try to answer him. In the FF, Hnæf's lieutenant and the commander of his troops after he died was Sigeferð. "I am a warrior of the Sec-gan" (*ic eom Secgena lēod*), he says to identify himself. In interpreting the name Sigeferð (> Widsith, l. 31 *Sae*-ferð)[16] one has to accept the proposal of Ludwig Uhland (b. 1787, d. 1862), who identified it with Siegfried of the Germanic lays.[17] Sigeferð of the FF (l. 25) called himself a *wrecca*, "exile," "adventurer"; this is exactly what the young Siegfried Sigurðr of the Germanic lays was, a boy who, although of noble birth, grew up bereft of parental care, adventuring in foreign lands. Since Siegfried was a Frankish hero, his people had to be Franks.

Jan de Vries has shown that the name "Frank" was derived from the *franca* or spear, the very effective weapon of that people.[18] But in the poetic language of the FF, the *secg* "sword,"[19] another important weapon, is metonymically used for the *franca*, "spear." It is only one step further to make Secg-an mean the Franks as well.

Hnæf, as the Frankish official responsible for collecting tolls from the various trading organizations at the ports of the English Channel, had a Frankish retinue and assistants to aid him. In the FF these "sixty triumphant warriors" are called the Secgan. They are headed by the Frankish hero named Sigeferð/Siegfried – the FF uses this name to stress the importance and magnitude of Hnæf's mission.

Since his granddaughter, Hildegard, was born in 758 and her mother Imma's birth year was probably about 730, we may put Hnæf/Nebi's birth at about 710. In 700 his grandfather Godefridus/Ganzfred was still active. In the Finnsburgh battle Hnæf's son was killed as a young warrior; consequently at the time of the battle Hnæf was at least forty years old; the battle itself must have taken place about 750–760.

Frisia was first subdued by the majordomo Pippin (Pepin) the Young (d.

[15] Hermann Schneider, *Germanische Heldensage* II: 2 (Berlin, 1934), p. 56.

[16] Malone, *Widsith* (1962), p. 193; R. W. Chambers, *Widsith* (New York, 1965), p. 199; cf. de Vries, *ANEW*, p. 474.

[17] Ludwig Uhland, "Zur deutschen Heldensage," *Germania* 2 (Vienna, 1857), pp. 357–363.

[18] De Vries, "Völkerwanderung und Wikingerzeit," *Kleine Schriften* (1965), pp. 216–217.

[19] Cf. Chambers, *Widsith*, p. 199; Malone, *Widsith* (1962), p. 204.

714) in 689, but only in 734 was the land incorporated into Frankish Austrasia.[20] It has long been established that in the eighth and ninth centuries trade with England and with the Scandinavian lands was in the hands of the Frisians. In order to be effective in the north they cooperated with the Jutes and other warrior aristocracies, and this accounts for the presence of Jutes in Finnsburg.

The disharmony between the new political institutions and the old traditional way of life in the rest of free Germania produced unavoidable conflicts. Translated into the mythic language of the Old Germanic lay, these were conflicts of the first function, represented by the Odinic hero (Sigeferð Siegfried), and of the third function, with "Finn" standing for Freyr and "Finnsburg" probably representing Njǫrðr's residence, Nóatún.[21] In an Anglo-Saxon lay, the hero has to belong to the race of the Half-Danes or to the Danes (the Scyldings). This tradition of associating the actors with one of an established set of tribal nations was typical of the Old Germanic lays; Schütte calls it "Verschiebung der Nationalität."[22]

Both the FF and the FE serve as a classical example of how, within a very short time (not more than fifty years), a historical event could become the subject of both a lay and a coúrt epic. A marginal historical event was selected and transformed into one of epic proportions by giving the dramatis personae (with the exception of the hero) topical or mythic names and mythicizing the purpose of the action. But when the epic and mythic elements are stripped away important historical evidence is revealed about events in the north shortly before the start of the Viking Age.

20 Cf. P.C.J.A. Boeles, *Friesland tot de elfde eeuw* (The Hague, 1951).
21 Cf. Dumézil, *Gods of the Ancient Northmen* (1973), pp. 29, 40–41.
22 Schütte, *Gotthiod und Utgard* II, p. 338.

CHAPTER TEN

The Transposition of History into Epic: The Battle of the Goths and the Huns

The Source Basis

The *Battle of the Goths and the Huns* is probably the oldest epic poem preserved in the north and perhaps the oldest in Germanic literature. Unfortunately, it has come down to us only as part of a fornaldar saga, the famous *Heiðreks saga/Hervararsaga,* and (to quote Christopher Tolkien) "it has been an academic battlefield for more than a century — particularly on the question of whether it had a basis in recorded history."[1]

The Structure of the Hervararsaga

The *Hervarvarsaga* as it appears in existing redactions is a conglomeration

[1] Christopher Tolkien, *The Saga of King Heidrek the Wise* (London, 1960), p. xxi.

of stories condensed from versions belonging to various times and told both in verse and prose and both in the original and in paraphrases. Some stories are preserved more or less intact; others are revised and/or mutilated. The threads that connect all its parts together are, first, a fictional genealogical continuity and, second, a probably later motif of the reappearance, in three succeeding generations, of a cursed sword, the Tyrfingr, that must take a man's life every time it is unsheathed.

The saga has been divided by scholars into six parts, four of which have older and newer poetic strophes:

(1) The "historical" introduction and the story of the sword Tyrfingr;

(2) The story of the sons of the Viking Arngrímr, and the (poetic) "Hjálmarr's Death Song" (called also the "Battle of Sámsey");

(3) The story of Hervǫr and the (poetic) "The Awakening of Angantýr";

(4) The story of Heiðrekr, the (prose) "Good Counsels" and the (poetic) "Riddles of Gestumblindi";

(5) The story of Angantýr and Hlǫðr, and the (poetic) "Battle of the Goths and the Huns";

(6) The "historical" conclusion.

There are two versions of the first part, both told in prose: short *R* (= Tolkien, p. 2), and long *U* and *H* (= Tolkien, pp. 66–68).

According to *R*, King Sigrlami of Garðaríki, the father of Eyfura, obtained from a dwarf a sword called Tyrfingr "the keenest of all blades." It had two magic properties: it brought victory to its wielder; it brought disaster to someone every time it was unsheathed. The long version (*U*, *H*) names Svafrlami, son of Sigrlami and grandson of Óðinn, as its first owner. He was given the sword by the two skilled dwarfs, Dvalinn and Durinn/Dulinn, as a reward for sparing their lives. But they placed two curses on the sword: it would be the instrument of "three most hateful deeds" (þrjú niðingsverk in mestu), and it would kill Svafrlami himself. Svafrlami named the sword Tyrfingr.

U begins the saga with a complicated genealogy of the Viking Arngrímr of Bólmr in Hálogaland. Among his ancestors were: Ymir, the first man to be created out of chaos; the giant Arngrímr; King Álfr of Álfheimar in Norway; and the famous Danish hero Starkaðr áludrengr.

The beginning of the second story has two variants. According to *R* the Viking Arngrímr (heir to the island of Bólmr) became the captain of King Sigrlami's host in Garðaríki and eventually married the king's daughter, Eyfura, and received the sword Tyrfingr from the king.

On the authority of *U* (and *H*), Arngrímr won Eyfura and Tyrfingr by

force; he slew Svafrlami with Tyrfingr, thus fulfilling the curse placed on the sword by the dwarfs.

Arngrímr and Eyfura settled on the island of Bólmr. They had twelve sons; the names of six of them were known to the author of *R*, whereas all twelve were known to that of *U*. Hjǫrvarðr, one of the twelve brothers, vowed that he would marry (*U*: Ingibjǫrg) the daughter of the king of the Svíar Ingjaldr (*U*: Yngvi). Because of this, the brothers came into conflict with Hjálmarr inn hugumstori, a local suitor of the king's daughter and a friend of the Norwegian hero [Qrvar-] Oddr. Hjǫrvarðr challenged Hjálmarr to a duel on the island of Sámsey (*hólmganga*) in the following summer. The brothers found support in the person of Earl Bjarmarr (*HU*: Bjartmarr) who (according to *U*) ruled in Aldeigjuborg. Angantýr married Bjarmarr's daughter Sváfa (*R*, *U*; not in *H*). Angantýr told the earl that he had dreamed that he and his brothers were slain on Sámsey by the birds.

This narrative is the introduction to a collection of strophes from what Tolkien called "Sámsey poetry" (ca. twelfth century). The first series of strophes is Hjálmarr's death song (Tolkien, verses no. 1–12; cf. also pp. 69–75) which begins with a dialogue between Hjálmarr and his second [Qrvar-] Oddr and then goes on to the death song proper. It has been preserved more fully in a (later?) version included in the late redaction of the *Qrvar-Odds saga* (see Tolkien, pp. 69–75). The narrative says that Angantýr (not Hjǫrvarðr!) and Hjálmarr killed each other (Hjálmarr was killed by Tyrfingr), and that Oddr killed his eleven brothers. The twelve brothers were buried on Sámsey with all their weapons, Angantýr with his Tyrfingr.

Earl Bjarmarr had a foster child, his granddaughter Hervǫr, born after her father's death. He forbade anyone to speak to her of her parentage. But one day Hervǫr learns from some thralls whom she has mistreated that she is the daughter of a serf "who tended swine." It is at this point that the second series of Sámsey strophes begins. First comes a dialogue between Hervǫr and Earl Bjarmarr (strophes 13–16) and Hervǫr and her mother Sváfa (strophe 17). Hervǫr learns now that she is the daughter of Angantýr, slain in the famous battle on Sámsey, and decides to visit the barrow of her father. She disguises herself in men's clothing, arms herself, and assumes the identity of a Viking named Hervarðr. After arriving on Sámsey she learns the location of Angantýr's burial mound in a conversation (verses 18–21) with a local herdsman (see also verses not found in *R*, Tolkien, pp. 76–77). Then the poem, "The Awakening of Angantýr," follows (verses 23–43). Hervǫr demands the sword, Tyrfingr, from her father, and he reluctantly complies (cf. also Tolkien, pp. 78–79, for verses of "The Awakening of Angantýr" not found in *R*).

There follows the story of Heiðrekr. After her visit to Grund, the residence of Guðmundr á Glasisvǫllum (disguised as the Viking, Hervarðr), Hervǫr, dressed again as a girl, marries Guðmunðr's son, Hǫfundr. They have two sons: the calm Angantýr (II), his father's favorite, and the ill-natured mother's darling, Heiðrekr, fostered by Gizurr (*HU*).

The tale of how Heiðrekr killed his brother exists in two versions. According to *R* the robust Heiðrekr hurled a large stone in the direction from which he heard men talking; the stone accidentally killed his brother, Hǫfundr, and Heiðrekr was outlawed. According to *U*, Heiðrekr maliciously made trouble at a feast and induced the participants to kill each other. He was then banished by his father. As he departed, by chance he unluckily drew Tyrfingr from its sheath to examine it and was forced to slay Angantýr (II).

Prompted by his wife, Hǫfundr gave their son Heiðrekr sound advice, called "The Good Counsels," before his departure (in prose, Tolkien, p. 22). The six counsels of *R* and *U* seem to be the originals; *H* has some additions. From his loving mother Heiðrekr received the sword Tyrfingr (*R*); according to *U* and *H* Hervǫr gave him the sword before the killing of Angantýr (II).

After some further travels, Heiðrekr, who had already broken the first two of his father's counsels, arrived in Reiðgotaland, ruled by the aged King Haraldr, whose disobedient vassals were forcing their king to pay tribute. Heiðrekr entered the king's service, and, as leader of his host, soon reestablished the king's authority. He was rewarded with the king's daughter, Helga, with whom he had a son named Angantýr (III). King Haraldr also begot a son in his old age called Hálfdan (in *U*). Then a great famine came upon Reiðgotaland (at this point, a learned gloss in *H* states that Reiðgotaland is now called Jutland). Now the most high-born youth in the land was to be sacrificed. The decision was to be made by Heiðrekr's father, Hǫfundr, who was invited to serve as judge. But an argument broke out over whether Angantýr or Hálfdan was the choice, and it soon developed into a riot, during which King Haraldr and his son were killed. As a result Heiðrekr became the new ruler of Reiðgotaland.

Heiðrekr's wife committed suicide. Heiðrekr extended the territory of his realm, defeated the Huns, and captured Sifka (in *R* and *H*; *U* has Sváfa), the daughter of Humli, the king (*H* has incorrectly the late term *hertogi*) of Húnaland (*R* wrongly has the epic form, Hundland), but soon returned her to her father. She bore him a son, Hlǫðr, who was brought up at Humli's court. In the meantime Heiðrekr took to wife the daughter of the king of Saxland (*U* has Ólǫf Hakadóttir) who proved unfaithful to him. After divorcing her, Heiðrekr consoled himself for a time with a Finnish (in *H*) captive, also called Sifka. Heiðrekr again broke two counsels of his father: he adopted Herlaugr,

son of Hrollaugr, king of Garðaríki (*HU*), and he confided in his mistress. Sifka's intrigues (in *R* the Sifka of this episode is the Hunnish princess, Humladóttir) caused difficulties between Heiðrekr and Hrollaugr, but they were soon reconciled. Heiðrekr married Hrollaugr's daughter, Hergerðr (*U*), who bore him a daughter, Hervǫr (II). She was fostered by Fróðmarr (*R*) or Ormarr (*U*), and like her grandmother (Hervǫr I) became a female warrior.

After this long prose narrative the charming "Riddles of Gestumblindi" (in *R*; in *U*: Gestr [inn] blindi, "the blind stranger" = Óðinn) appear as a unique piece of poetry in Old Norse literature (Tolkien, pp. 32–44 = strophes 44–72; see also Tolkien, pp. 80–82: riddles peculiar to the *H* text). Gestumblindi, a powerful chieftain in Reiðgotaland (*R*; Gautaland, *U*), was Heiðrekr's opponent. The two had a riddle contest, at the end of which Heiðrekr recognized that his partner was Óðinn, drew the sword of Tyrfingr, and tried to slay the false Gestumblindi, who escaped only by turning himself into a hawk. The enraged Óðinn doomed Heiðrekr to death at the hands of his captive slaves (*H* ends with this passage.)

The fifth story, that of Angantýr and Hlǫðr, has been studied the most, since — as stated above — it includes the famous poem on the Battle of the Goths and the Huns (comprising some 31 strophes or bits of strophes).

R breaks off here at the end of the tenth strophe (= Tolkien no. 83); the rest of the poem was transmitted in a seventeenth-century manuscript of *U*, which is corrupt in many places.

There is no agreement where the poem begins. Some say the strophe (Tolkien, no. 74) where Angantýr avenges his father's slayers; some the þula (*vox memoriae*) enumerating the names of those "who ruled over the lands in these days" (strophe 75); and some the strophe (Tolkien, no. 76) where the Hun kingdom, the birthplace of Hlǫðr, is mentioned.

Hlǫðr, the illegitimate son of Heiðrekr and his Hunnish mistress, learns about the death of his father, and, supported by his grandfather, King Humli, decides to claim his inheritance from his half-brother, the new king, Angantýr (III). He rides to Árheimar on the Dnieper, "the home of the Goths," and demands to see his brother (strophes 77–78). Having learned of his arrival (strophes nos. 79–80), Angantýr offers him a drink. Hlǫðr demands half of Heiðrekr's possessions (strophes 81–82). Angantýr offers him a third (strophes 83–86), but his counselor and the foster father of Heiðrekr, Gizurr Grýtingaliði, objects, reminding him that Hlǫðr is only a bastard son (strophe 87).

Enraged by the turn of events, Hlǫðr leaves Árheimar and returns to his Hunnish grandfather. Together they decide to wage war against Angantýr (strophes 88–89). The following spring a large Hunnish army of 187,200 men

(six *fylki* "phalanxes," five thousand in each phalanx, each "thousand" in fact being thirteen "full" hundred, each having 480 [120x4] men; cf. Jón Helgason's commentary to the strophe 102, *Kviður af Gotum og Húnum* [Rvík, 1967], p. 244) marches on a Gotish frontier stronghold commanded by Heiðrekr's warrior sister (*sic*! not daughter), Hervǫr (II) and her foster father, Ormarr. In the ensuing attack Hervǫr is killed on Myrkviðr, and Ormarr brings the news to Angantýr in Árheimar (strophes 90–93).

Now Angantýr decides that he will meet the Huns "on the Dún-Heath below the Jassar Mountain," a place renowned for Goth victories (strophes 96–98). Gizurr is sent to announce the proposal to the Huns (strophes 99–101), who had gathered in large numbers (strophe 102). But Angantýr, because he is wielding Tyrfingr, is victorious. Both Hlǫðr and Humli are killed by Tyrfingr, and the Huns are routed. Angantýr now realizes that he has just fulfilled the (third?) Tyrfingr curse (strophes 103–104).

The sixth story, the conclusion, present only in *U*, AM 203, offers genealogical and historical data on the rulers from Angantýr (III) to the Swedish king, Ingi II Hallsteinsson (d. 1130). In general the historical data are reliable.

The Sámsey Poetry

Both the *Hervararsaga* and the *Qrvar-Odds saga* include twelfth-century strophes, mainly in the form of dialogues that presuppose the existence of an earlier prose narrative. The strophes revolve around a Viking battle on the island of Sámsey in Denmark — thus their designation as Sámsey poetry.[2] Although inferior to the heroic poems of the *Poetic Edda*, Sámsey poetry is nevertheless often included by editors into the corpus of Eddaic songs. The strophes have been transmitted in very unsatisfactory form, and their structure raises many unanswered questions, but they seem to belong to four distinct poems, known as "The Dialogue before the Battle on Sámsey"; "The Battle on Sámsey"; "Hjálmarr's Death Song"; and "The Awakening of Angantýr (I)."

The Sámsey poetry is connected with Götland. Its main hero is Angantýr, the leader of the twelve berserker brothers (the sons of Arngrímr), whose

[2] See R. C. Boer, *Qrvar-Odds saga* (Halle a.S., 1892), pp. xv–xix, 102–111; Boer, "Om Hervararsaga" [§5: Kampen på Samsø], *ÅNO*, 1911, pp. 28–38; Boer, *ANF* 8 (1892), pp. 97–139 and 246–255; Paul Edwards - Hermann Pálsson, *Arrow-Odd: A Medieval Novel* (New York, 1970), pp. 39–49; Christopher Tolkien, *Saga of King Heidrik the Wise*, pp. xi–xiv and 69–79.

family lived on the island of Bólm[3] (modern Bolmsö) on Bolm Lake,[4] situated in Småland's Finvidher Province. The island includes the parish of Angelstad, which is rightly explained by Schütte as "the place of Ongenþeow/Angantýr."[5]

Saxo Grammaticus (worked around 1200) included two variants of the Angantýr (I) story in his collection of Norse legends, one that might be called "Norwegian" (Book 5),[6] and a second that might be called "Danish" (Book 6).[7]

The Norwegian version is characterized by the importance of the Bjarmaland campaign and the presence of the Hálogaland hero, Arvaroddus/Qrvar-Oddr; the Danish version has as its central character the national hero Starkaðr.

The Norwegian version is closer to the *Hervararsaga*. It tells the story of the parent pair, Ofura (= Eyfura) and Arngrimus/Arngrímr, of the twelve sons and gives the names of all twelve of them (including Angantir/Angantýr and Tirvingar/Tyrfingr), Hialmerus/Hjálmarr, and the island of Sampsø/Sámsey). It divests the Sámsey battle of any romantic element, however, representing the duel for the king's daughter merely as a casual encounter between two Viking groups. The battle ends with the deaths of Hjálmarr and twelve brothers, leaving Qrvar-Oddr as the sole survivor.[8]

A romantic element is present in the Danish version. There, Anganterus/Angantýr (I) is the oldest of "the nine sons of a certain prince," who had grown up on the island of Sialandia/Zealand. Angantýr (and not his brother, as in the *Hervararsaga*) became a rival suitor for the Danish princess, Helga, betrothed to the Norwegian Helge. Starcatherus/Starkaðr (who replaces Hjálmarr's friend Sóti[9] of the *Qrvar-Odds saga* and the *Hervararsaga*) helps Helgi to win, after the nine (as opposed to the twelve in the Danish version) brothers were killed by the hero.

The attribution of the genealogy of the twelve (or nine) sons of Arngrímr depended on a sagnamaðr's view of the importance of a given nation in the given epoch. For example, Eyfura, the mother of the twelve brothers, was the daughter variously of Frotho (III), the Danish king;[10] Sigrlami (*R*)/Svafrlami (*U, H*) king of Garðaríki;[11] and Svafrlami, king of Flæmingjaland.[12]

3 *Hervarar saga*, ed. Tolkien, pp. 3, 67–69; *Qrvar-Odds saga*, ed. Boer (1892), pp. 52 and 102.

4 See, e.g., Tolkien, *Saga of King Heidrek the Wise*, p. 3, n. 2.

5 Schütte, *Gotthiod und Utgard* II, p. 411.

6 Saxo, *Gesta*, ed. Olrik - Ræder I, book 5, chap. 13, pp. 137–139.

7 Saxo, *Gesta*, ed. Olrik - Ræder I, book 6, chap. 7, pp. 161–165.

8 *Qrvar-Odds saga*, ed. Boer (1892), pp. 58, 104.

9 *Hervarar saga*, ed. Tolkien, p. 9.

10 Saxo, *Gesta*, ed. Olrik - Ræder I, p. 137.

11 *Hervarar saga*, ed. Tolkien, pp. 1, 3, 68–69.

12 *Qrvar-Odds saga*, ed. Boer (1892), pp. 54–55.

The research of R. C. Boer has proved beyond any doubt that the Sámsey poetry originally had no connection with either Qrvarr-Oddr or Starkaðr (Starcatherus),[13] but the traditions of the Sámsey poetry nonetheless have some information about eastern Europe. For instance, the father-in-law of Angantýr (I) of Bólmr is presented (in *U*) as the earl of Aldeigjuborg (Old Ladoga).[14] The version of these parts of the Sámsey poetry incorporated into the *Hervararsaga* must date from not much earlier than the beginning of the twelfth century,[15] because its author(s) used the Eddaic songs on Helgi, notably the *Helgakviða Hundingsbana II* from the end of the eleventh century,[16] as an analysis of the poetic language of the poems clearly establishes — for example, the borrowing of the geographical name Munarvágr, which is typical of the Helgi song: "where ten ships were lying in the anchorage called Munarvágr" (> Unarvágr).[17] Munarvágr later appeared in the Sámsey poetry, although it has no connection with the island of Sámsey.

Widsith and the Battle of the Goths and the Huns

The final part ("fit") of *Widsith* (lines 109–124) presents a list of kings and nobles who formed the household of Eormenric, the historical Ostrogothic King Hermanaric (d. ca. 375):[18]

109 Ðonan is ealne geondhwearf eþel Gotena,	From there I wandered through all the country of the Goths.
110 sohte is a [ge]siþa þa selestan:	I always sought the best of comrades:
111 þæt wæs innweorud Earmanrices.	they were the household of Eormanric.
112 Heðcan sohte ic ond Beadecan ond Herelingas	Heðca, I sought, and Beadeca and the Herelings (Harlungs),
113 Emercan sohte ic ond Fridlan ond East-Gotan,	Emercan I sought and Fridla, and Eastgota,
114 frodne ond godne fæder Unwenes.	The wise and good father of Unwen.
115 Seccan sohte ic ond Beccan, Seafolan, ond Þeodric,	Secca I sought and Becca, Seafola, and Þeodric,

[13] See above, n. 2.

[14] *Hervarar saga*, ed. J. Helgason, p. 136. One can only agree with Helgason (*Festskrift Hj. Falk*, p. 222) and J. Benediktsson (*Arngrimi Jonae Opera latine conscripta* IV, p. 239) that, although the name of Aldeigjuborg was surely present in Arngrímr Jonsson's manuscript, he did not know where Aldeigjuborg was and therefore wrote about Earl Biartmarr "baronus Danicus (vel fortasse Svecus, quod minus credo)."

[15] *GAL* II², pp. 168–177; Tolkien, *Saga of King Heidrek the Wise*, pp. xi–xii.

[16] *GAL* II², pp. 168–173.

[17] *GAL* II², p. 169. The etymology of the topical name *Munar-* is given by Otto Höfler in *Festschrift Felix Genzmer* (1952), p. 10, n. 44.

[18] *Widsith*, ed. R. W. Chambers, pp. 218–222.

116 Heaþoric ond Sifecan Hliþe ond Incgenþeow.	Heaþoric and Sifeca, Hliþe and Incgenþeow.
117 Eadwine sohte ic ond Elsan, Ægelmund, ond Hungar	Eadwine, I sought, and Elsa, Ægelmund, and Hungar,
118 ond þa wloncan gedryht Wiþ-Myrginga.	and the proud company of the Wiþ-Myrgings.
119 Wulfhere sohte ic ond Wyrmhere: ful oft þær wig ne alæg,	Wulfhere, I sought, and Wyrmhere: seldom was warfare stilled,
120 þonne Hræda here heardum sweordum	when the host of the Hrædas (Hræd-Goths) with their hard swords
121 ymb Wistlawudu wergan sceoldon,	had to defend by the Wistla (Vistula) wood,
122 ealdne eþelstol, Ætlan leodum.	their ancient dwellingplace, from the people of Ætli [= Huns].
123 Rædhere sohte ic ond Rondhere, Rumstan ond Gislhere,	Rædhere, I sought, and Rondhere, Rumstan, and Gislhere.
124 Wiþergield ond Freoþeric, Wudgan ond Haman.	Wiþergield and Freoþeric, Wudga and Hama.

Beginning with Heinzel (1887), scholars dealing with the *Battle of the Goths and the Huns* have paid careful attention to the data of *Widsith*, especially lines 116 and 119–122.[19]

The four names that appear in line 116 have been identified with the characters of the *Battle* as follows: Heaþoric = Heiðrekr, Sifeca = Sifka, Hliþe = Hlǫðr and Incgenþeow = Angantýr (III).[20] Although these equations do not follow phonetic rules precisely, there is no reason to doubt the correspondences,[21] but also no basis for establishing any links between *Widsith* and the *Battle*, aside from the data appearing in line 116.

Lines 112–114 enumerate the Ostrogothic kings and heroes. Line 115 names Frankish heroes who also appear in the Middle High German epic poem *Wolfdietrich* (thirteenth century);[22] lines 117–118, before the Wulfhere episode, list the Langobardish heroes,[23] followed by two heroes (line 123) who also figure in the later Middle High German poem *Biterolf* (thirteenth cen-

[19] Special studies by Kemp Malone: "Widsith and the Hervararsaga," *PMLA* 46 (1931), pp. 769–813, and "Hliþe and Hlöðr," *APS* 6 (1932), pp. 328–331; G. Labuda, *Źródła*, pp. 194–198.

[20] See especially Schütte, *Gotthiod und Utgard* I, pp. 151–157.

[21] See the commentaries by R. W. Chambers (n. 1) to his edition, as well as those by Schütte, *Gotthiod und Utgard* I, pp. 152–166. Monographic commentaries are furnished by Malone in his edition of *Widsith* (Kbh, 1962²): p. 168 (Hehca); pp. 130–131 (Bædeca); p. 170 (the Harlungs); pp. 144–145 (Emerca); p. 151 (Fridla); pp. 142–143 (Eastgota); p. 206 (Unwen).

[22] Malone, *Widsith*, pp. 196–197 (Secca), p. 132 (Becca), pp. 194–195 (Seafola), pp. 204–205 (Þeodric).

[23] Malone, *Widsith*, p. 139 (Eadwine), p. 143 (Elsa), p. 126 (Ægelmund), pp. 177–178 (Hungar), p. 211 (Wið-Myrgings).

tury),[24] two Burgundian heroes (line 123),[25] two Heathobardish champions,[26] and two Gothic heroes[27] (line 124). Since no direct connection can be found between the list given in line 116 and the Wufhere episode (lines 119–122), that episode need not be connected with the *Battle of the Goths and the Huns* (especially in view of the fact that the Ormarr of the *Battle* was originally not a given name, but an appellative).

Line 116 suggests only that the author of *Widsith* had access to a version of the *Battle* in which two pairs of actors played an important role: Heaþoric/ Heiðrekr and Sifeca/Sifka, Hliðe/Hlǫðr and Incgenþeow/Angantýr (III). Since Sifeca is a masculine name, one can assume that in an older version of the *Battle* Sifka had not yet changed sex; he was still a "bad counselor" of Heiðrekr's.[28]

The best possible explanation for the Wulfhere (ON *Úlfarr)[29] episode is that it does not belong to this part of the *Hervararsaga,*[30] but instead should be regarded as a fragment from another lay dealing with the battles of the Vistula Goths with the Avars (= Huns), as do the Helgi cycles of the *Poetic Edda.*

The Þula in the Battle of the Goths and the Huns

The *Þula,* or mnemonic verse, provides the chronological framework for a lay or saga. The *þula* for the *Battle of the Goths and the Huns* names six peoples and their respective rulers as follows:[31]

Ár kváðu Humla	Of old they said Humli
Húnum ráða,	of the Huns was ruler.
Gizur Gautum,	Gizurr of the Gautar,

[24] Malone, *Widsith,* p. 191 (Rædhere, Rondhere); cf. also Schütte, *Gotthiod und Utgard* I, pp. 142–144.

[25] Malone, *Widsith,* pp. 192–193 (Rumstan); p. 155 (Gislhere).

[26] Malone, *Widsith,* p. 211 (Wiþergield); p. 150 (Freoþeric).

[27] Malone, *Widsith,* pp. 212–213 (Wudga); pp. 159–162 (Hama).

[28] See especially Schütte, *Gotthiod und Utgard* I, p. 227.

[29] An Úlfarr Svipsson appears in the *Hálfdanar saga Eysteinssonar,* where he is a counselor of King Eysteinn, and plays an important role in the events at Austrvegr and Aldeigjuborg. Úlfarr does not appear in the *Hervararsaga* (or in the *Battle*).

[30] Labuda, who also connects the Wulfhere episode with the *Battle,* explains the strange geography of Ormarr's activity as being the result of the *Widsith*'s author's recollected study of an Anglo-Saxon textbook on geography (probably Alfred's *Historia* of Orosius) where the Wisle-land, to the east of the land of the Goths, was represented as the frontier of the known world (*Sagi,* pp. 197–198).

[31] Ed. Tolkien, p. 46. On commentaries, see also Schütte, *Gotthiod und Utgard* I, pp. 283–286, and Labuda, *Sagi,* pp. 100–102.

Gotum Angantý,	of Goths Angantýr,
Valdar Dǫnum,	Valdarr the Danes ruled,
en Vǫlum Kjár,	and the Valir ruled Kjárr,
Alrekr inn frækni	Alrek inn frækni (the Valiant)
enskri þjóðu.	the English people.

That the Huns were mentioned first is logical for a lay dealing with a Hunnish battle. But the second place choice is more significant. Normally one would expect the Goths, the Huns' partners in combat, to be named next, but instead, the Gautar (Göts) appear and the Goths are relegated to the third place, suggesting that the lay about the battle was a work created, not by Goths, but by the Gautar (Göts).

The other three rulers mentioned are the Danish king, the "Welsh" (i.e., western Roman) emperor, and the English king. The þula contain no historical names. The names Humli (the Hun), Gizurr (the Gaut) and Angantýr (the Goth) are *nomina appellativa.*

Valdarr, the name of the Danish king, is also an appellative, from **waldaharjaR* "army commander."[32] It appears in Danish lore as a designation for a Danish ruler in texts referring to the eleventh and twelfth centuries,[33] for example, the twelfth-century Eddaic lay, *Guðrúnarkviða ǫnnor* where in strophe 19 the Danish Valdarr occurs together with one "Jarizleifr," a name apparently patterned on that of the Novgorodian king, Jaroslav the Wise (1010–1054):[34]

Valdarr Dǫnum	Valdarr the Dane
með Iarizleifi,	with Jarizleifr,
Eymóðr þriði	Eymóðr third
með Iarizkári;	and Jarizkárr,
inn gengo þá,	in they came
iǫfrom líkir.	like wild boars (= kings),
Langbarðz liðar.	the host of the battle-axes [the army of the Huns of Atli].

Kjárr derives from **kēzar* < *kaizar*, and thus ultimately from *caesar*, the title of every Western emperor after Charlemagne's *renovatio imperii.*[35] The name Alrækr inn frækni occurs in the genealogical saga *Hversu* (thirteenth century) as a Skilfingar/Skjǫldungar ancestor of the mother of Haraldr inn hárfagri (875–945).[36] But Alrækr as he appears in the þula (< *al-rækr* "sov-

[32] De Vries, *ANEW*, p. 640.
[33] De Vries, "Das zweite Guðrúnlied," *Kleine Schriften* (Berlin, 1965), pp. 263–284.
[34] *Edda*, ed. Neckel–Kuhn, p. 227; cf. *Edda*/Hollander, p. 272.
[35] De Vries, *ANEW*, p. 312; Schütte, *Gotthiod und Utgard* I, p. 234; II, pp. 229–230.
[36] *Hversu* in *Flat*, ed. Unger–Vigfússon I, p. 25; Alrekr Eiríksson was supposed to be the hero's father, Eiríkr inn málspaki. The thirteenth-century fornaldar saga, *Hálfs saga ok*

ereign king")[37] is probably the popular "Danish" (= Norse) reflection of their ultimate victor, Alfred the Great of Wessex (871-899).[38]

All the *þula*'s historical names come, then, not from historical tradition, but from popular (meaning Old Gautish [Götish] and Old Danish) learning and symbolism. It could not possibly have been part of the original Eddaic epic lay about the Hunnish battle, therefore, but must have been compiled later, probably sometime in the eleventh century.

Harvaða Fjǫll and Graf-á

The seventy-fourth half-strophe (helmingr) of the *Hervararsaga* is one of the most remarkable examples from the oldest layers of Old Norse poetry. In it occur "among the strangest fossils in the whole range of Norse"[39] the Harvaða Mountains (*-fjǫll*) and the Graf-á River:[40]

þess galt hon gedda	The pike has paid
fyrir Grafár ósi	by the pools of Grafá
er Heiðrekr var veginn	for Heiðrekr's slaying
undir Harvaða fjǫllum.	under Harvaða-fells.

The hapax *Harvaða-fjǫll* ("the Harvaða mountains") has long been identified as a reference to the Carpathians,[41] and most scholars also agree that the form "must be a relic of extremely ancient tradition," since *harvað-* < **xarfaþ* < **karpat-*.[42] But the other hapax, the name of the river (*-á*) *Graf*, is still unexplained. Attempts to identify the river with the Pommeranian Grabowa have not generally been accepted.[43] The problem is complicated by the four variants of the name that have been transmitted in the saga's various manuscripts as Graf-á, Grop-á, Grip-á, and Greip-á.

Grap-á, the river at whose outlet the slayers of Heiðrekr were presumably

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Hálfsrekka, mentions King Alrekr á Alreksstöðum in Hörðaland (Norway), ed. Jónsson, *FSN* II, pp. 31, 34.

37 De Vries, *ANEW*, pp. 4, 7, 441.

38 Cf. K. Müllenhoff, *ZfdA* 23 (1879), p. 168; S. Bugge, *ANF* 36 (1910), pp. 59-60; Labuda, *Sagi*, p. 101.

39 Tolkien, *Saga of King Heidrek the Wise*, p. xxiii.

40 *Hervarar saga*, ed. Tolkien, p. 45.

41 See R. Heinzel, *SWAW* (1889), p. 499; R. Much, *ZfdA* 33 (1889), p. 6; Schütte, *ANF* 21 (1905), p. 40; T. Lehr-Spławiński, *O pochodzeniu i praojczyźnie Słowian* (Poznań, 1946), p. 62; Tolkien, *Saga of King Heidrek the Wise*, p. xxiii.

42 Tolkien, *Saga of King Heidrek the Wise*, p. xxiii.

43 Heinzel, *SWAW* (1889), p. 499; Schütte, *ANF* 21 (1905), pp. 36, 40. Cf. Labuda, *Sagi*, p. 128; Labuda, *Źródła*, p. 224, n. 5; Schütte, *Gotthiod und Utgard* I, p. 316.

discovered, and the Harvaða fjǫll (Carpathians), where Heiðrekr met his death, need not have been close to each other in either location or time. The identification of Grap-á is therefore not of crucial importance to the localization of the *Battle of the Goths.*

There is no doubt that the helmingr in question is a fragment of an old lost poem, probably on Heiðrekr's death. It is impossible to know, however, whether or not it originally had any relation to the *Battle of the Goths and the Huns.*[44]

Proper Names in the Saga

The *Hervararsaga* presents its main characters as if they were historical figures, but there are various schools of thought about their identity. The first is the "plain historical" school, best represented by Birger Nerman, who believed that he had successfully established the heroes of the saga (some of their names are also found in other Icelandic sources, including the *Hversu, Frá Fornjóti, Sǫrla þáttr,* and *Sǫgubrot*) as the ruling dynasty of Reiðgotaland. That Germanic state encompassed, he believed (accepting the views of R. Much, O. von Friesen, and G. Schütte), northeast Germany, northern Poland, and eastern Prussia. Taking as the basis for chronology the hypothetical date of Ívarr víðfaðmi's death (ca. 675) and thirty years for a generation, Nerman arrived at a "historical" genealogy for that dynasty (see Table 3, p. 201).[45]

The second, the epic-historical school, tried to identify the heroes of the saga with important personalities of the age of migrations, i.e., the epic age, thereby blending several personalities into one, or splitting one personality into several, depending on their roles. Richard Heinzel initiated this approach, following an idea first expressed by Peter Erasmus Müller (b. 1776, d. 1834)[46] that the *Battle of the Goths and the Huns* was to be identified with the great battle of the year 451 on the Mauriac/Catalaunian Plains, in which Attila the Hun (Humli of the saga), together with the Gepids under Ardaric, the Ostrogoths, and other Hunnic subjects, were decisively defeated by the Roman patrician Aetius, assisted by the Visigoths. From this starting point, Heinzel created an extremely complex and ingenious system of fusions,[47] for example, the name Angantýr derived from Aetius (Agetius), and Hlǫðr from

[44] In his edition of the *Battle of the Goths and the Huns,* Labuda puts the seventy-fourth helmingr at the beginning of the lay, *Źródła,* p. 202.

[45] B. Nerman, *Festskrift til Finnur Jónsson* (1928), p. 210.

[46] In the posthumously published "Notae uberiores" to vol. 1 of his edition of Saxo Grammaticus (Kbh, 1858), p. 240.

[47] Heinzel, *SBAW* 114 (1887), pp. 490–496.

Table 3.

Angantýr, d. ca. 465

Hervǫr, d. ca. 495

Angantýr

Heiðrekr, d. ca. 525

Angantýr, d. ca. 555 Hlǫðr Hervǫr

Heiðrekr úlfhamr, d. ca. 585

Hildr (Hervǫr), d. ca. 615

Hálfdan snjalli, d. ca. 645

Ívarr vídfaðmi, d. ca. 675

Hildibrandr

Hildir Hildr

the Frankish Chlodio. Hlǫðr as a character, however, he identified with the Roman general, Litorius, a rival of Aetius. Gizurr, Angantýr's advisor, is a composite figure, in that he represents three historical personages: the Vandal King Geiserich (d. 477), who instigated Attila's attack on the Visigoths (Gizurr owes his name to him); the Bishop of Orleans, St. Anianus, the organizer of the city's defense against the Huns; and a certain anchorite who predicted to Attila his defeat on the eve of the battle of 451.[48]

According to R. Much, Angantýr and his Valkyrie sister, Hervǫr, are to be identified with the Langobardic dynasty, specifically, with King Agelmundus (ca. 360–400) mentioned in *Widsith*, and his daughter, who (as Paul the Deacon relates) fought against the Vulgars (representing the Huns) in a battle in which the king was killed and the daughter carried off as a prisoner. The battle that inspired the saga was, however, the victory of Lamissio, Agelmundus' successor, over the said Vulgars.[49]

Henrik Schück found a historical prototype for the battle in the struggle between Vinitharius, the king of the Goths (and the successor of Hermanarich; last quarter of the fourth century), and Balamber, the king of the Huns,

[48] Heinzel, *SBAW* 114 (1887), pp. 466, 496–497, 512–513.

[49] R. Much, *ZfdA* 33 (1889), pp. 1–13.

who helped the Goth Gesimund.[50] Schütte, who in principle defended the Catalaunian theory[51] (with its equations Angantýr = Aetius, Hlǫðr = Chlodio) nevertheless made his own correction to Heinzel's system. His Heiðrekr was the king of the Gepids (H)Ardaric,[52] and the name Hervǫr (Her-vǫr) was originally that of the Hreiðgothic hero Wyrm-here (with the two elements transposed) named in *Widsith*, line 119, in other words, the female Hervǫr is in fact the male hero Ormarr (= Wyrm-here).[53]

Kemp Malone identified the Angantýr of the saga with the Beowulfian Ongenþeow of Sweden, and Hlǫðr (= *Widsith* Hliþe) with the Beowulfian Hreðel (> ON *HrōþilaR).[54] *Hǫdr, not Heiðrekr (Widsith Heaþorik < *Hǫðrekr), of the saga corresponds to the Gautish leader Hæðcyn of *Beowulf*; the second element of the name -cyn = -kon was replaced in the saga by -rekr. "We must assume," says Malone,

> a fusion of Hreðel and Hæðcyn under the name Hlǫðr, for historically Angantýr (Ongenþeow) killed Hæðcyn in battle, as we know from the Beowulf (v. 2930). Since Hlǫðr and Hǫðr are manifestly confused, or rather fused, in Messenius and Saxo, and since in HS [= *Hervarvar saga*] not Heiðrekr but Hlǫðr is killed in the battle with Angantýr, we may with some plausibility assume at least this, that the final scene in Heiðrekr's life had been transferred to Hlǫðr before AH [= the quarrel between the brothers] was combined with T [the story of Tyrfingr].[55]

No less complex is the hypothesis of Niels Lukman[56] (which Schütte has rejected[57]), who decided to pass over Jordanes (who wrote in 551) in favor of the original sources of the fourth century, including Ammianus Marcellinus (lived about 330-after 391). Heiðrekr is Athanaric (Haitanarich, ruled ca. 369-381), the ruler of the Visigoths; the battle refers to the events of the year 386, when the Ostrogoths under Odotheus appeared on the Danube, and were defeated by a stratagem. The Hlǫðr of the saga is Odotheus.

In evaluating the achievements of the epic-historical school, Christopher Tolkien's remarks are appropriate:

50 H. Schück, *Studier i Hervararsaga* (Uppsala, 1918).
51 Schütte, *ANF* 21 (1905), pp. 30-45.
52 Schütte, *APS* 8 (1933), pp. 256-261.
53 Schütte, *Gotthiod und Utgard* I (1935), pp. 220, 226.
54 Malone, *APS* 6 (1932), pp. 328-331.
55 Malone, *PMLA* 40 (1925), pp. 807-808; cf. also Malone, *APS* 13 (1939), pp. 201-214.
56 Lukman, *ÅNO* (1946:1), pp. 103-120.
57 Schütte, *ÅNO* (1946:1), pp. 261-266.

I do not think that it should need to be said that to pick about in old histories, looking for names that begin with the same letter or contain one or two of the same consonants as those in one's text, will attain nothing. If heroic legend really evolved in this way, with the most chance and casual accretions and distortions — so that [in Lukman's presentation] Safrax the Ostrogothic lord was "fused" with Sabas the martyr, and then (keeping nothing save a violent death connected with a river and the initial consonant of the name) developed into a Hunnish concubine — then, with our fragmentary materials, the chances against our hitting upon the correct combinations are so monumental that we may as well give up the game at once; or, at least, admit that it is only a game. And since the game has virtually no rules, I cannot be breaking any if I propose the theory that Angantýr is a legendary transformation of Constantine the Great. Hlǫðr is then Licinius, the Eastern Emperor, and the Battle of the Goths and the Huns descends ultimately, no doubt, from the battle of Chrysopolis on the Bosphorus in 323, whereby Constantine made himself sole ruler of East and West, after twenty-five thousand men had been slaughtered.[58]

One characteristic feature of the personal names in the *Hervararsaga* that has escaped attention is the uniqueness of their onomastic material. The names of the main figures are unknown to the other *Fornaldar sögur* (with the exception of a few borrowed from the prototype of the *Hervararsaga*), such as:

Masculine		*Feminine*
Angantýr[59]	Hǫfundr	Eyfura
Gestumblindi	Ormarr	Hervǫr[60]
Gizurr	Sigrlami	Sifka

[58] Tolkien, *SBVS* 14:3 (1955 56), p. 155.

[59] Besides appearing in the *Qrvar-Odds saga*, which has the same texts of the Sámsey poetry as the *Hervararsaga*, the name Angantýr occurs in the later fornaldar sögur, such as *Hálfdanar s. Brǫnufóstra* (ed. G. Jónsson, *FSN* IV, pp. 300, 318), *Hrómundar s. Gripssonar* (ed. G. Jónsson, *FSN* II, p. 407), *Þorsteins s. Víkingssonar* (ed. G. Jónsson, *FSN* III, pp. 58-59, 63-68) and *Friðþjófs s. ins frækna* (ed. G. Jónsson, *FSN* III, pp. 82, 89, 93).

[60] Hervǫr is known to *Hversu* and *Sǫrla þáttr* (ed. G. Jónsson, *FSN* I, p. 375), which borrowed it from the *Hervararsaga*. Hervǫr appears also in the late *Hjálmþés s. ok Ǫlvis* (ed. G. Jónsson, *FSN* IV, pp. 204, 211, 213-215, 230-233, 242, 243).

Heiðrekr[61]	Svafrlami	Sváfa
Hlǫðr	Tyrfingr[62]	
Humli		

Several, if not all, are doubtlessly not proper names at all, but *nomina appellativa*, e.g., Hǫfund = ON *hǫfund-r* "judge";[63] the main role of the figure called by Hǫfundr was to function as a counselor to Heiðrekr and a judge in the quest for the highest-born person in the country.

Gestumblindi (*R*) is ON *gestr inn blindi* (the form which actually appears in *U*), "the blind stranger," meaning Óðinn disguised as the old one-eyed wanderer.[64]

Hlǫðr is none other than ON *hlǫðr* "a destroyer, vanquisher,"[65] as Heiðrekr is ON *heið-rekr* "the king of the heath," that is, of the Dún-heiðr, the Dún Heath, the battlefield of the poem.

Jordanes clearly stresses the close connection between the Goths and their god, Mars (= ON Týr):[66]

> quem Martem Gothi semper asperrima placavere cultura (nam victimae eius mortes fuere captorum), opinantes bellorum praesulem apte humani sanguinis effusione placandum, huic praede primordia vovebantur, huic truncis suspendebantur exubiae, eratque illis religionis preter ceteros insineatus affectus, cum parenti devotio numinis videretur inpendi.

The Gothish king and also their protector was Angantýr, a name that derives from ON *Angan Týr*, "Joy/Happiness Týr";[67] he is apparently referred to in the *Battle of the Goths and the Huns* in his role as the Gothish hero. Similarly, Gizurr, one of the surnames of Óðinn, protector of the Gauts, appears as the name of the Gautish king, and as that of a king's counselor, since the word etymologically has that meaning: < **gits-var-r* "counselor."[68]

[61] Apart from the *Sǫrla þáttr* (ed. G. Jónsson, *FSN* I, p. 375), Heiðrekr úlfhamr appears in *Þorsteins s. bæjarmagns* (ed. G. Jónsson, *FSN* IV, p. 343), where he is the son of Goðmundr á Glæsisvöllu, clearly a borrowing from the *Hervararsaga*.

[62] Tyrfingr appears only in the *Qrvar-Odds saga*.

[63] See de Vries, *ANEW*, p. 280; Holthausen, *WAWN*, p. 140.

[64] See de Vries, *ANEW*, p. 165.

[65] See de Vries, *ANEW*, p. 241; Holthausen, *WAWN*, p. 120.

[66] Jordanes, *Getica*, ed. E. C. Skržinskaja (M., 1960), chap. 41, p. 137.

[67] Cf. de Vries, *ANEW*, p. 10; Holthausen, *WAWN*, pp. 4-5.

[68] See de Vries, *ANEW*, pp. 168-169; Holthausen, *WAWN*, p. 86.

In the legend about the origin of the Huns, Jordanes stresses the role of the *cerva*, "hind," in their mythology:[69]

> . . . huius ergo gentis, ut adsolet, venatores, dum in interioris Meotidae ripam venationes inquirent, animadvertunt, quomodo ex inproviso cerva se illis optulit ingressaque paludem nunc progrediens nunc subsistens index viae se tribuit. quam secuti venatores paludem Meotidam, quem inpervium ut pelagus aestimant, pedibus transierunt. mox quoque Scythica terra ignotis apparuit, cerva disparuit, quod, credo, spiritus illi, unde progeniem trahunt, ad Scytharum invidia id egerunt. illi vero, qui praeter Meotidam alium mundum esse paenitus ignorabant, admiratione ducti terrae Scythicae et, ut sunt sollertes, iter illud nullae ante aetati notissimum divinitus sibi ostensum rati, ad suos redeunt, rei gestum edocent, Scythiam laudant persuasaque gente sua via, qua cerva indice dedicerant, ad Scythiam properant.

It seems reasonable to assume that the difficult proper name, *Humli*, derives from **humli*, "hind." The word appears in Old Norse mythology as the second component of Auðhumla/Aụðumla/Auðhumbla, the mother of both giants and gods who assumed the form of a cow, called the auð-hum[b]la, "deep-wealthy," *humla*.[70] De Vries derives *humla* from the adjective ON **humala-*, *humula-*, "hornless," the word used especially for "hind."[71] The king of the Goths and Gauts (protector > king), the Hunnish king par excellence, is here named after the hind, because he is the protector of the Huns.

In his *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, Otto Schrader collected rich material showing the role that serpents (OE *wyrm*) had as house protectors (OE *cofgodas*, "penates, lares"), the (tutelary) genius of the master of the house.[72] Ormarr, in his role as guardian of the Gothish frontier, was the tutelary genius of the Gothish master, Angantýr. Ormarr is not a proper name, but a designation of the function of its bearer: ON *ormar-r* < **wurma-harjaR*, "serpent-host."[73]

The other protector of the Goths is called Hervǫr. The appellative *hervǫr* goes back to ON *her-vǫr*: the first element is *her-r* "host," "people," and the

[69] Jordanes, *Getica*, ed. Skržinskaja, chap. 124, p. 151.

[70] Turville-Petre, *Myth*, p. 277; cf. Foote-Wilson, *Achievement*, p. 55 (the meaning of *auðr*).

[71] De Vries, *ANEW*, p. 18 (s.v. *Auðhumla*).

[72] I (Berlin-Leipzig, 1917-1923), pp. 22 23.

[73] De Vries, *ANEW*, p. 420.

second is the feminine form of *varr* (< **warjaR*), "protector," "defender."[74] The meaning of the elements agree with the role of the Valkyrie sister of Angantýr.

As the data and analysis above show, in the *Hervararsaga*, especially in the component *Battle of the Goths and the Huns*, no historical names can be detected, and it is useless to look for them. The original author of the *Battle* — a gifted and original poet — established a very elaborate system of names taken from appellatives whose only purpose was to indicate the role the bearers of the names had been given. The probable reason behind this usage was shown by de Vries: "The truth is, however, that the mythical nature lies in the very core and essence of the heroic poem itself."[75] The saga is "a myth, not of a god, but of a man who raised himself to the level of the gods."[76]

Ethnic and Geographic Names in the Battle of the Goths and the Huns

In addition to the names of the two warring tribes, the Goths (*Gotþjóð, Gotar*) and the Huns (*Húnaland, Húnar*), there appear in the lay proper (strophes 76–104) six other geographic names: *Árheimar* (strophes 77, 101); *á stǫðum Danpar* (strophe 82); *Dúnheiðr* (strophes 98, 100); *Grýtingaliði* (strophe 101); *Jassarfjǫll* (strophes 98, 100); *Myrkviðr* (strophes 82, 91); *Tyrfingr* (strophe 83).

Strophes 77 and 101, in which the name Árheimar occurs, testify that the designation referred to the "homes of the Goths" (*Gotar byggja*), with the residence and court of their kings:

77. Hlǫðr reið austan,	Hlǫðr rode from the east,
Heiðreks arfi;	heir of Heiðrekr;
kom hann at garði,	he came to the court,
þar er Gotar byggja,	the homes of the Goths,
á Árheima,	to Árheimar,
arfs at kveðja,	claiming his birthright;
þar drakk Angantýr	there drank Angantýr
erfi Heiðreks.	arval for Heiðrekr.

[74] Cf. de Vries, *ANEW*, pp. 647, 675.

[75] De Vries, *Heroic Song and Heroic Legend* (London, 1963), p. 227.

[76] De Vries, *Heroic Song*, p. 241. See also the remarks of M. I. Steblin-Kamenskij about the epic hero who must always be an ideal figure, i.e., the personification of an idea (*Istoričeskaja poètika* [L., 1978], pp. 154–157).

101. Taki þér Gizur	[Hlǫðr cried:] Seize you Gizurr
Grýtingaliða	Grýtingaliði
mann Angantýs,	Angantýr's man
kominn af Árheimum.	come from Árheimar.

Strophe 82 enumerates what was to be found in the "houses of the Goths":

hrís þat it mæra	The renowned thicket
er Myrkviðr heitir,	that is named Myrkviðr,
grǫf þá ina helgu	the hallowed grave
er stendr á Gotþjóðu,	in Gothland standing,
stein þann inn fagra	the fair-wrought stone
er stendr á stǫðum Danpar	standing in the homesteads on the Dnieper,
hálfar herváðir	half the strongholds
þær er Heiðrekr átti	owned by Heiðrekr,
lǫnd ok lýða	lands and liegemen
ok ljósa bauga!	and lustrous rings!

This passage is reminiscent of the second helfingr of the fifth strophe of the *Atlakviða*, which contains lines apparently patterned on the *Battle of the Goths and the Huns* (but having no relation to the geography of that poem):[77]

Stórar meiðmar	Vast treasures
ok staði Danpar,	and homesteads on the Dnieper,
hrís þat it mæra,	the famous thicket,
er meðr Myrkvið kalla.	men call Myrkviðr.

The name Danpr (= Danpar) as an eponym occurs (together with Danr) in the forty-eighth strophe of the famous *Rígsþula*,[78] providing interesting data for speculation about the origins of the three social classes:[79]

Á Danr ok Danpr	Have Danr and Danpr
dýrar hallir,	a dwelling richer,
æðra óðal	and lands larger,
enn ér hafið;	than are left to thee;
þeir kunno vel	and they skilled in steering
kjól at ríða,	on stormy seas,
egg at kenna,	in trying swords,
undir rjúfa.	and slaying heroes.

The prose text of the *Hervararsaga* is more specific about Árheimar. Un-

[77] Ed. Ursula Dronke, *Poetic Edda* (Oxford, 1969), p. 4.
[78] *Edda*, ed. Neckel - Kuhn, p. 287; cf. Jón Helgason, *Eddadigte* II² (1952), p. 79.
[79] See Turville-Petre, *Myth*, pp. 150-151; de Vries, *GAL* II², pp. 123-127.

fortunately, however, the manuscript tradition does not agree as to whether Árheimar was a place name, settlement (*bær*; = *R*), or a district (*hérað*; = *U*-tradition). Instead of *á stǫdum Danpar*, the prose text also contains the combined place name Danparstaðir / Dampstaðir.

Finally, the lost Eiríksson manuscript of the *U* version (*E*)[80] also had another hapax, *Ernar*, which remains totally obscure. The respective passages from the *Hervararsaga* are:

R[81]	U[82]	E[83]
því næst lætr Angantýr gera	þui næst lætur A(nganntyr) efna	síðan lèt hann efna
veizlu mikla á Danparstǫðum á þeim bæ, Árheimer heita,	til erfis eptir fodur sinn i þui hieradi, er Aarheimar heita,	veizlu mikla á þeim bæ, er Dampstaðir heita, í Árheimum,
at erfa fǫður sinn.	enn bærinn Da[m]pstadir.	er sumir kalla Ernar hèrað, var þat höfuðborg á Reiðgotalandi í þann tíma, ok drakk þar erfi eptir föður sinn.

(*translation*)

Immediately afterwards Angantýr had a great funeral feast held in Danparstaðir at the place called Árheimar, to honor the memory of his father.	Immediately afterwards Angantýr had a great funeral feast held to honor the memory of his father in the district called Árheimar, but the place [is called] Dampstaðir (homestead on the Dnieper).	Afterward Angantýr had a great funeral feast at the place called Dampstaðir in Árheimar, some [people] call it Ernar district; in those days the capital of Reiðgotaland was located there.

Several etymologies for Árheimar have been proposed. The editors of *Antiquités Russes* believed that the name "signifie précisément le pays du fleuve au d'Ahva, et dont le mot correspondant en gothique était *Ahvôs-háimôs*."[84] They refer to a passage in Jordanes's *Getica* dealing with the

[80] Cf. *AR* II, p. 114.
[81] Ed. Tolkien, p. 46.
[82] Ed. Helgason, p. 141.
[83] *AR* I, p. 193.
[84] *AR* I, p. 112.

Gothic king, Ostrogotha, who defeated the Gepids on the river Auha;[85] the commentators, however, localize that same Auha (not Ahva!) with the river Aluta (Alt, Olt), the left tributary of the Danube, in ancient Dacia.[86] Heinzel[87] connected the residence of Árheimar with the Gothic residence, Oium, also mentioned by Jordanes;[88] this equation was accepted by Schütte, who placed it ("auf den Auen") in the Vistula delta.[89]

According to Arwid Johannson, "the name *Árheimar* could mean 'water terrain' (*Flussgelände*) or 'head-water region' (*Quellengebiet des Flusses*), or still better it should be understood (with *R*) as a place 'Riverhome' (*Fluss-heim*); Heinzel rightly assumed here a Germanic neologism [in eastern Europe] and the name, therefore, could be applied to any locality."[90]

Ivan Šarovol's'kyj doubted the validity of the equations, Árheimar = Auha and Árheimar = Oium. Rather, he would connect the first component of the name *ár-* with the Hunnic name for the Dnieper (also attested in Jordanes, *Getica*) *Var*, i.e., *Árheimar* < **Varheimar*.[91] Finally, Tolkien explains Árheimar as < **ár-dagar* "days of old" = "the ancient abode," used to describe a Gothic king's court in eastern Europe.[92]

The ON word *staðir* (plural of *staðr*) does appear as a second component in place names, and in that usage it is older than the Viking age.[93] As Heinzel rightly pointed out, however, the first component in such a composite place name is usually a proper name and never a river name.[94]

Myrkviðr means literally "mirkwood." It is a topical name and therefore could be used for any "dark" thicket or forest. Much[95] and Schütte[96] connected the Myrkviðr of the *Battle of the Goths* with Thietmar's (wrote 1013–1014) name for the mountains in eastern Germany, Erzgebirge/Sudety: *Miriquidui*.[97] Langenfeldt proposed that the word was used to refer to the

[85] Ed. Skržinskaja (M., 1960), p. 147.
[86] See Skržinskaja's commentary in her edition of Jordanes, *Getica*, pp. 256–257, n. 358; cf. pp. 207; 243 244.
[87] Heinzel, *SWAW* 114 (1887), p. 482.
[88] Jordanes, *Getica*, ed. Skržinskaja, p. 135.
[89] Schütte, *ANF* 21 (1905), p. 37; Schütte, *Gotthiod und Utgard* I, pp. 54, 69, 224.
[90] A. Johannson, *APS* 7 (1932), p. 103.
[91] Šarovol's'kyj, *Skazanie o meče Tjurfinge* III, p. 159. Concerning Hunnish *var* see O. Pritsak, "Ein hunnisches Wort" in *ZDMG* 1041 (1954), pp. 124–135.
[92] Tolkien, *SBVS* 14 (1955 56), p. 158. See still another possibility on p. 115.
[93] Foote Wilson, *Achievement*, p. 9.
[94] Heinzel, *SWAW* 114 (1887), pp. 473–474.
[95] Much, *ZfdA* 33 (1889), p. 5.
[96] Schütte, *ANF* 21 (1905), p. 30; Schütte, *Gotthiod und Utgard* I, pp. 225, 234–235; Schütte, *Our Forefathers* I, p. 247.
[97] Thietmar, *Chronicon*, ed. Trillmich, p. 254.

"dark thicket" of Isarnho, located on the Old Saxon territory to the south of Hedeby.[98] Rosenfeld identifies the mountains with the Carpathians.[99]

The prose text itself gives the following explanation: [100]

. . . skóg þann, er Myrkviðr heitir,	. . . the forest called Myrkviðr, which
er skilr Húnaland ok Gotaland.	divided the Húnaland from the [Reið]gotaland.
En sem þeir kómu af skóginum,	And when they came out of the forest,
þá váru byggðir stórar ok vellir	they were in a land of broad, populous
sléttir.	tracts and level plains.
En á vǫllunum stóð borg ein fǫgr,	On the plains stood a fair stronghold,
þar réð fyrir Hervǫr, systir	over which Hervǫr, the sister of
Angantýs ok Hlǫðs. . . .	Hlǫðr and Angantýr, had command. . . .

Where were the "homes of the Goths" (*Gotar byggja*), with their political and religious monuments in the style of the Ötükän refuge of the Old Turks on the Orkhon River in Mongolia? [101] Some scholars, among them Vigfússon and Heinzel, tried to connect this area of the Dnieper with Kiev.[102] But that supposition must be abandoned, because Kiev did not become a leading center until the tenth century. Its predecessor in that role was another city located in the southern Ukraine and therefore closer to the Greek colonies and the cultural sphere of Mare Nostrum. Beginning in the fifth century B.C., the city was the political, economic, industrial, and commercial center of the Scythians. Its ruins, comprising Kam"jans'ke Horodyšče on the left bank of the lower Dnieper, opposite present-day Nikopol', were unearthed (in 1889–1900; 1938–1941; 1944–1950) between the village of Velyka Znam"janka and the town of Kam"janka Dniprovs'ka (oblast'/province of Zaporižžja).[103]

The connection of Kam"jans'ke Horodyšče with Árheimar is confirmed by the archaeological finds of settlements and necropolises of the Černjaxovo culture, which unbiased scholars have attributed to the Goths of the fourth and fifth centuries.[104]

[98] G. Langenfelt, "Notes on the Anglo-Saxon Pioneers," *Englische Studien* 66 (1931), pp. 161–244.

[99] Rosenfeld, *PBB* 77 (1955), p. 238.

[100] Ed. Tolkien, p. 52.

[101] Cf. Annemarie von Gabain, *Der Islam* 29:1 (1949), pp. 30 62.

[102] See Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy* I³, pp. 545–546.

[103] See B. N. Grakov, *Kamenskoe gorodišče na Dnepre* (M., 1954); N. N. Pogrebova, *Pamjatniki skifo-sarmatskogo vremeni v Severnom Pričernomor'e* (M., 1958), pp. 103 247; see also "Kam"jans'ke horodyšče" in *Radjans'ka encyklopedija istoriji Ukrajiny* II (K., 1970), pp. 302–303. As I see now already H. Rosenfeld connected Árheimar with the site of the Kam"jans'ke horodyšče, *PBB* 77 (1955), p. 238.

[104] See Konrad Jażdżewski, *Studia Historyczne* (Warsaw, 1958), pp. 57 71; Józef Kostrzewski, "Czerniachowska kultura," in *SSS* 1:2 (1962), pp. 296–298.

Historically the region is known as the Dnieper meadow (Ukr. *luh*), whose many rivulets and islands made it an ideal refuge for pirates. Between about 1550 and 1648 the Dnieper meadow was the home of the water-borne Ukrainian Zaporogian Cossacks, the scourge of the Ottomans.

Located to the north of the meadow in medieval times were two great forests, well known as places of refuge for the Polovcians in the twelfth century: the Blue Forest (*Goluboj lěsъ*), which extended along the rivers Volča and Samara; and the Black Forest (*Černyj lěsъ*), stretching along both banks of the Dnieper, approximately from the river Oril' to the Samara.[105] The three basic geographic names of the *Battle of the Goths and the Huns* can thus be located with great certainty in the territory along the large bend in the Dnieper River.

The names Dúnheiðr and Jassarfjǫll both occur in strophes 98 and 100:

98.	Kenndu dylgju	You shall call them to fight
	á Dúnheiði,	on the Dún Heath,
	orrostu undir	to a battle below
	Jassarfjǫllum;	the Jassarfjǫll;
	þar opt Gotar	there often Goths
	gunni háðu,	have given battle,
	ok fagran sigr	renown gaining
	frægir vágu.	in noble victories.
100.	Býð ek yðr dylgju	I call you to fight
	á Dúnheiði,	on the Dún Heath,
	orrostu undir	to a battle below
	Jassarfjǫllum;	the Jassarfjǫll;
	ok láti svá Óðinn flein fljúga	may Óðinn let the dart fly
	sem ek fyrir mæli!	as I proscribe it!

The second component of Dúnheiðr, *-heiðr*, meaning "heath," occurs frequently in Old Norse toponymy. The first part, *Dún-*, has been explained in several ways. Most Germanists (with the exception of R. C. Boer, who identified *Dún-* with the Western Dvina [Düna]) explained Dúnheiðr as an abbreviation of **Dūnabisheiðr* "the Danube heath."[106] While Johannson identifies this Danube heath specifically with the Marchfeld (at the confluence of the Danube and March),[107] however, the most enthusiastic proponent of the Dún = Danube equivalency, Rosenfeld, explains the name as the "Danube

[105] See Pritsak, "The Polovcians and Rus'," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 2 (1976 [1981]), pp. 279–338.

[106] R. C. Boer, *ÅNO* (1911), pp. 59–60.

[107] Johannson, *APS* 7 (1932), p. 101.

Plain."[108] The other etymology is that established by Much[109] and accepted by Schütte,[110] who connect the name with the area Λοῦγοι οἱ Δοῦνοι "Dunish Lugians" in Silesia, mentioned by Ptolemy, since it is located near the Hercynian Wood (Thietmar's Miriquidui "Ergebirge").

But historians, notably Franz Altheim,[111] Gerard Labuda,[112] and the literary historian G. Baesecke,[113] have all presented convincing arguments for the identification of *Dún* with the name Don, which during the Middle Ages applied to the Donec'.

In 1887 Heinzel acknowledged, although reluctantly, that there might be some connection between the first element in the name Jassarfjǫll and the Jasi/Alans (the second element is ON *fjǫll* "mountain").[114] Two years later Much made another suggestion: that the mountain in question was the Ἀσκιβούργιον ὄρος of Ptolemy, the modern Czech ridge Jasenik = German Gesenke, the southeastern part of the Erzegebirge/Sudety Mountains.[115] This identification was accepted by Johannson.[116] In several articles, Rosenfeld explained Jassarfjǫll as **Jazaga-felisōs* "the mountains of the Jazygi" (Ἰάζυγες), a range to the north of Budapest, between the Bakony Forest and the Mátra Mountains.[117] On the other hand, Otto Maenchen-Helfen insisted that the name goes back to the Ἴασιοι of Ptolemy and the Jasi of Pliny, where the Roman trading town of Aquae Iasae (modern Varaždinske Toplice) was located. Jassarfjǫll was a range between the Sava and Drava rivers in Banovina of present-day Yugoslavia.[118]

It was left to Franz Altheim to develop Heinzel's suggestion, and he proved beyond any doubt that the mountains in question are the Alan Mountains mentioned by Ptolemy (*Geography*, 5.9.16), and that the *j-* in the first component **Jas* = *As/Alan* can be explained by referring to Iranian philology.[119]

[108] Rosenfeld, *PBB* 77 (1955), p. 236.
[109] Much, *ZfdA* 33 (1889), p. 5.
[110] Schütte, *ANF* 21 (1905), p. 39; Schütte, *Gotthiod und Utgard* I, pp. 75-76, 224-225, 316, 331, 335.
[111] Franz Altheim, *Attila und die Hunnen* (1951), p. 8; Altheim, *Geschichte der Hunnen* I (1959), pp. 354-359.
[112] Labuda, *Sagi*, pp. 129-131.
[113] G. Baesecke, *Vor- und Frühgeschichte des deutschen Schrifttums* I (Halle, 1940), p. 177.
[114] Heinzel, *SWAW* 114 (1887), p. 469.
[115] Much, *ZfdA* 33 (1889), pp. 4-6.
[116] Johannson, *APS* 7 (1932), p. 101.
[117] Rosenfeld, *PBB* 77 (1955), p. 236; Rosenfeld, *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 7 (1956), pp. 200-203.
[118] Otto Maenchen-Helfen, *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 10 (1959), pp. 247-250.
[119] Altheim, *Geschichte der Hunnen* I, pp. 354-359.

Altheim did not, however, identify the east European mountain range.

As early as 1907, Šarovol's'kyj made the very reasonable suggestion that the Jassarfjǫll were "the Jas/Alanian Mountains in the Donec' mountain range."[120] Unfortunately, until recently his work remained unknown to Western scholars. Now it is possible to add that the range in question is located to the south of the Donec' and to the north of the Suxyj Torec' River. It was regarded as holy even in the sixteenth century (and was therefore called Svjatye Gory). In its vicinity were located the "Holy Water" Netrigus (Turkic: < Tengri su) and the Polovcian imperial city (Carev Gorod).[121]

The name *Grýtingaliði* occurs in strophe 102; Tyrfingr (as a geographic name, not that of the sword) is attested in strophe 83:

Bresta mun fyrr, bróðir,	The bright buckler
in blikhvíta lind	shall break, kinsman,
ok kald geirr	the cold lances
koma við annan	clash together,
ok margr gumi	grim men unnumbered
í gras hníga	in the grass sinking,
áðr en Tyrfing	or ever Tyrfingr
í tvau deilak	in twain I sunder,
eða þér, Humlungr,	ere the heritage I share
hálfan arf gefa!	with Humli's grandson!

Scholars generally agree on the etymology of these two names. Grýtingar (*liði*, not of ON origin, < **galidan* means "retainer")[122] has been recognized as Greutungi, the name of the Ostrogoths, while Tyrfingr corresponds to Tervingi, the designation for the Visigoths. Both names were transmitted by Jordanes (550).[123]

An unanswered question is why the sword of the *Hervararsaga* was given the name of Tyrfingr. It may be supposed that the continental Tyrfingar/Visigoths were in contact with the Visigoths of Spain, and they may have believed that the unusual sword was made there. One should remember that Toledo, the capital of the Visigoths, had for centuries been an important center for the manufacture of swords. The excellent blades produced in Toledo were already mentioned by the "Cynegetica" of Faliscus Grattius in the first century B.C.

In contrast to the names of the individuals mentioned in the *Battle of the*

120 Šarovol's'kyj, *Skazanie o meče Tjurfinge* III (K., 1907), pp. 241-242.
121 See above, n. 105.
122 De Vries, *GAL* I², p. 72; de Vries, *ANEW*, p. 354.
123 Tolkien, *Saga of King Heidrek the Wise*, p. xxiv.

Goths and the Huns, all of which are topical, both the geographic and tribal names mentioned there are historical and can be located in the territory of the Ukraine during the period ca. 150–450. The long scholarly debate over the locale of the *Battle of the Goths and Huns* (and the provenance of the Eddaic lay in question) can be brought to a conclusion. For both the Baltic theory of Schütte and the variants of the Danube hypothesis held by Heinzel, Much, Rosenfeld, and Maenchen-Helfen must be shelved.

Reið-Gotaland and Garðaríki in the Hervararsaga

The names *Reið-Gotaland* and *Garðaríki* do not appear in the *Battle of the Goths and the Huns,* but they do occur elsewhere in the *Hervararsaga* and, together with two other names, Saxland and Húnaland, they provide its geographical framework. *R* and *U* give no explanations for the names; *H* gives two, but they may have been added by Haukr Erlendsson (d. 1334), a prominent copyist and an owner of the manuscript. He says that *Reiðgotaland, —þat heitir nú Jútland* "Reið-Gotaland is now called Jutland";[124] *Vindland . . . er næst liggr Reiðgotalandi* "Vindland [Wendland] . . . lies next to Reið-Gotaland."[125]

The term *(H)Reiðgotar* appears in the sources from the late eighth century, first in the Anglo-Saxon ones.[126] "Beowulf," probably written at the court of King Offa of Mercia (757–796), has the form *Hreð-menn* (l. 445). In Anglo-Saxon Boethius, "De consolatione philosophiae," which was translated by Alfred the Great of Wessex about 887–888, the term occurs twice, as *Rædgot* and *Rædgota.* The data also show that the term *(H)Reiðgotar* (> OE *Hreðgotas*) occurred together with the name *Húnar* (> OE *Hunas*). To the Anglo-Saxon Christian literati both designations referred to barbaric peoples. The Anglo-Saxon (Mercian) poet Cynewulf (lived ca. 750–825) in his epic poem *Elene* mentions them twice:

18.	Him wæs hild boden wiges woma; werod samnodan	And the battle was brought on him, the tumult of strife, gathered a host together
20.	Huna leode ond Hreð-Gotan	the people of the Huns and the Hreð-Goths,
	foron fyrdhwate Francan ond Hugas,	and the Francs and Hugas marched forth,

[124] *Heiðreks Saga,* ed. Helgason, p. 41.
[125] *Heiðreks Saga,* ed. Helgason, p. 53.
[126] They had been collected by Pamela Gradon, "Constantine and the Barbarians: A Note on the Old English 'Elene'," *MLR* 42 (1947), pp. 164–169.

wæron hwate weras	men fierce in battle
gearwe to guðe.[127]	and ripe for war.
56.... Cyning wæs áfyrhted,	But the king was fear-smitten,
egsan geaclad, siððan elþeodige,	awed with terror, as he looked upon the hostile host,
Huna ond Hreða here sceawedon,	the army of the Huns and Hreð-[Goths],
ðæt he on Romwara rices ende	which upon the river's bank at the boundary
60. ymb þæs wæteres stæð	of the Roman realm was amassing
werod samnodon,	its strength,
mægen unríme.[128]	a discontented multitude.

The same two, the Huns and the Hreð-Goths, appear in *Widsith* (ca. 900):[129]

Ic wæs mid Hunum ond mid Hreð-Gotum.	I was among the Huns and among the Hreð-Goths.

In the Wulfhere episode of *Widsith*, the Gothic name has the elliptic form, *Hrædas*.[130]

The name, in the forms **Hraiþ-** and **Hraiþ-Kutum**, also occurs in the famous runic inscription on the Rök stone in Öster Götland, carved about A.D. 800. The first form is found in a strophe of the Eddaic type:

raiþ þiaurikR	Ruled Theodorich [the Great, king of the Ostro-goths, 474–526]
hin þurmuþi	the thought-daring,
stiliR flutna	lord of seamen,
strantu Hraiþ-maraR;	land of Hreið [-Gothic] Sea (= Adriatic Sea);
sitiR nu karuR	sits he now chafing
ą kuta sinum.	on his charger [lit.: "horse of Gothic breed"] surely.

The second form appears in the inscription's prose text:

aft uamuþ stąnta runaR þaR.	For Væmoð stand these runes.
in uarin faþi, faþiR aft	And Varinn wrote them, the father for
faikiąn sunu.	his dead son.
. . . miR hraiþkutum;	. . . with the Hreið-Goths;
auk tu miR ąn ub sakaR. . . .	and he [Væmoð] died with them, because of his guilt. . . .[131]

[127] *Cynewulf's Elene*, ed. P. O. E. Gradon (London, 1958), p. 26.
[128] *Cynewulf's Elene*, ed. Gradon, p. 28.
[129] *Widsith*, ed. Kemp Malone (1962), p. 24 (l. 57); cf. p. 175.
[130] *Widsith*, ed. Malone, p. 26 (l. 120); cf. pp. 174–175.
[131] Lucien Musset, *Introduction à la runologie* (Paris, 1965), pp. 378–380; cf. Foote Wilson, *Achievement*, pp. 320–321.

This would indicate that the Göts (Gauts) had good reason for keeping the (H)Reið-Gothish traditions and for using the name Goth (with an epithet) to refer to the historic east European and Italian (Ostro-)Goths. Apparently the term spread from their Götish territory to Denmark and England.

The term Hreið-Gotar is comparatively rare in Old Norse literature. In Eddaic poetry it occurs only in *Vafþrúðnismál* (the first half of the tenth century),[132] in strophe 12, where it means "heroes":[133]

Skinfaxi heitir,	[Óðinn said:] He is Skínfaxi hight,
er inn skíra dregr	which skyward brings
dag um dróttmǫgo;	every day at dawn to mankind;
hesta beztr	of horses best he
þykkir hann með Hreið-	to heroes [lit.: the Hreið-Goths]
gotom,	seems,
ey lýsir mǫn af mari.	his mane glisters like gold.

The name is not to be found in the skaldic poetry after about 850 or in the historical runic inscriptions of the tenth and eleventh centuries. It recurs in the works of Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla* (*Ynglinga saga*)[134] and *Snorra Edda* (Prologue,[135] *Skáldskaparmál*),[136] in the *Skjǫldunga saga* (*Sǫgubrót*;[137] *Ragnarssona þáttr*),[138] in the encyclopedic compilations (*Hauksbók*,[139] *Book of Skálaholt*),[140] in the genealogical compilation *Hversu*,[141] and in the later fornaldar saga *Hálfdanar saga Brǫnufóstra*[142] (after 1300).[143]

From this survey it is reasonable to assume that the name *(H)Reið-Gotar/(H)Reið-Gotaland* used for Götland (and later Jutland) corresponded to the reality of between 750 and 850, during the Viking age proper. The Huns of the period in question could only have been the Avars, which means that one must locate the Reið-Gotaland of that time to the north of the Avar realm. During the second part of the Viking age (ca. 800–850), southern Jutland, with its emporium at Hedeby (Haithabu), was the economic and political center of

132 De Vries, *GAL.* I², p. 45.
133 *Edda*, ed. Neckel Kuhn, p. 46 = *Edda*/Hollander, p. 44.
134 *Hkr* I (*IF* 26), p. 35.
135 *Snorra Edda*, ed. F. Jónsson (1931), p. 6.
136 *Snorra Edda*, ed. F. Jónsson, p. 186.
137 *Sögubrot af fornkonungum*, ed. G. Jónsson, *FSN* I, pp. 342, 344, 350.
138 *Þáttr af Ragnarssonum*, ed. G. Jónsson, *FSN* I, pp. 291, 299.
139 *Hauksbók*, ed. E. Jónsson F. Jónsson (Kbh, 1892 1896), pp. 155, 359, 363, 459, 464.
140 *AR* II, p. 447.
141 *Hversu Noregr byggðist*, ed. G. Jónsson, *FSN* II, p. 82.
142 *Hálfdanar saga Brönufóstra*, ed. G. Jónsson, *FSN* IV, p. 289.
143 De Vries, *GAL.* II², p. 541.

Denmark. One might add that, according to the *Snorra Edda,* Óðinn gave Reið-Gotaland to his son Skjǫldr, the progenitor of the Skjǫldungar, who were the kings of Denmark. The identification of Reið-Gotaland with Jutland found in the *Snorra Edda* and in the *H* version of the *Hervararsaga* seems, therefore, to have some foundation, although the Götar continue to connect the form Hreið-Gotar with the Goths of the great migration age (see the Rök inscription), whom they considered to be their ancestors.

Garðaríki, contemporary to Reiðgotaland, that is, the Garðaríki of the Viking age proper (ca. 750–850) certainly could not have referred to the Rus' Great Novgorod, as it does later in the Old Norse sources of the tenth and eleventh centuries; Novgorod was not founded and built until after 900, as archaeological excavations and carbon dating testify.[144] The term has an exceptional position in the *Hervarvarsaga.* The *R* version of the saga begins: "Sigrlami hét konungr, er réð fyrir Garðaríki" (Sigrlami was the name of a king who ruled over Garðaríki),[145] and then goes on to say that the great Viking, Arngrímr, father of the twelve heroes of the Sámsey poetry, in order to make a career:

hann sótti *vestr [text: austr],	. . . journeyed *west [text: east]
í Garðaríki,	to Garðaríki,
ok dvalðisk um hríð með Sigrlama konungi.[146]	and dwelt a while with Sigrlami the king.

Heiðrekr, the hero of the saga's second part, believed it a great honor to rear the son of the king of Garðar, although his father had advised him that he who fosters another's child is himself of less distinction:[147]

Á einu sumri sendir Heiðrekr konungr menn í Garðaríki þess ørendis at bjóða syni Garða-konungs heim til fóstrs.	One summer King Heiðrekr sent men with the errand of inviting the son of the king of Garðaríki to be fostered in his house.

The name of the king of the "second" Garðaríki dynasty in the *Hervararsaga* is not given in *R*; *U*[148] and *H*[149] give the (otherwise unattested) name of Hrollaugr.

The exceptional character of Garðaríki/Garðar is stressed by the charis-

144 See Pritsak, *HUS* 1:1 (1977), pp. 16–17.
145 Ed. Tolkien, p. 2.
146 *Heiðreks saga,* ed. Tolkien, p. 3.
147 *Heiðreks saga,* ed. Tolkien, p. 28.
148 *Heiðreks saga,* ed. Helgason, pp. 47–53.
149 *Heiðreks saga,* ed. Helgason, pp. 124–128.

matic origin of its "first" dynasty in the *Hervararsaga*; its coming into being is connected with the migration of the god Óðinn:[150]

Þessu samtíða kómu austan
Asíamenn ok Tyrkjar
ok byggðu Norðrlǫnd.
Óðinn formaðr þeira átti marga
sonu, urðu þeir allir miklir
menn ok ríkir. Einn hans sonr
hét Sigrlami; honum fekk Óðinn
þat ríki sem nú er kallat
Garðaríki; gerðisk hann þar
hǫfðingi mikill yfir því ríki.

It was about this time that the
men of Asía and the Turks came out
of the east and settled in the Northlands.
Óðinn, their leader, had many sons,
all great men and mighty. One of
his sons was called Sigrlami; to
him Óðinn gave over the realm
which is now called Garðaríki;
and [Sigrlami] became a great lord
over those lands.

The name *Sigrlami* (< *sigr-lami*) does not appear in the *Snorra Edda*'s list of Óðinn's sons. However, *Sigi-*, the first component of the name *Sigr-lami* (because of *sigi* = *sigr*)[151] does occur. The text of the *Snorra Edda* reads:[152]

En þriþi s(onr) Oþins er
nefndr Sigi,
hans s(onr) Rerir; þeir
langfeðr réþv þar fyrir, er
nv er kallat Frakland, ok er
þaþan sv ætt komin, er
kavllvt er Vavlsvngar.
Frá avllvm þesvm erv stórar
ættir komnar ok margar.

Óðinn's third son was called
Sigi;
his son, Rerir; this pair ruled
over what is now called Frankland
(= Frankish realm), and the family
(clan) known as Vǫlsungar came
from there.
Great and numerous kin have
come from all of them.

During the Viking age (750–850), two towns were the main trading ports of the Frankish empire: Quentovic, near modern Calais, and the emporium of Dorestad (modern Wijk bij Duurstede) situated on the fork of the Rhine delta,[153] which, according to J. Brøndsted, the Danish archaeologist and authority on the Viking age, "was reputedly the largest trading center in northern Europe."[154] Its coinage was exceptionally valued in the north, and after the town's destruction in the 830s the Norsemen tried to copy it. In this way the first Scandinavian coins were struck in the later part of the ninth century and around 960–980, most probably in Hedeby (Haithabu) in Jut-

150 *Heiðreks saga*, ed. Tolkien, p. 67.
151 Holthausen, *WAWN*, p. 242; de Vries, *ANEW*, p. 474.
152 *Snorra Edda*, ed. F. Jónsson, p. 6.
153 De Vries, *De Wikingen in de lage landen bij den zee* (1923), pp. 19–21, 25, 29–51, 94–96, 103 and passim.
154 Johannes Brøndsted, *Vikings*, p. 46.

land.[155] Their models were Charlemagne's Dorestad *denarii* dating from the early ninth century. The dies contained the following inscriptions, which were copied more or less exactly by the northern minters:

A:	CARO	R:	DOR
	LVS		STAT

The Old Norse correspondence to the Frankish-German STAT was *garðr*, hence *Garða-ríki*.

Undoubtedly Óðinn's son was connected with Garðaríki because the name *Garðaríki* "the realm of towns" was originally used by Norsemen to refer to the Frankish coast towns. This supposition is supported by the *Qrvar-Odds saga*. Here Sigrlami, who in the *R* version is father of Eyfura (the mother of the twelve Viking heroes of Bólmr), is styled as his son Svafrlami. In the parallel Sámsey story of the *Qrvar-Odds saga*, however, this Svafrlami is king, not of Garðaríki, but of Flanders (Flæmingjaland).[156] The present version of the *Qrvar-Odds saga*, written down between 1265 and 1275,[157] was based on songs composed at the end of the twelfth century,[158] when Flemish trade and industry were achieving international importance. Equating "the king of Flæminjaland" with the ruler of the coastal towns (Garðaríki) corresponded to reality, because that ruler was necessarily the commercially powerful count of Flanders.

The *H* version assigned the role of *garðakonungr* "the ruler of towns" to the king of Hólmgarðr[159] (Great Novgorod), which in the eleventh century became as important to the Vikings (e.g., St. Óláfr, d. 1030; Haraldr inn harðráði, d. 1066) as Dorestad had been to their ancestors during the Viking age. Apparently the moment Garðaríki was identified with Novgorodian Rus', an earl of the king of Garðaríki, the father-in-law of Angantýr (I), should have ruled in Aldeigjuborg/Old Ladoga; the model was probably Rǫgnvaldr inn gamli (d. 1030), the earl of Aldeigjuborg, while Jaroslav/Jarizleifr (d. 1054) reigned as king of Hólmgarðr/Great Novgorod.

In Old Norse, the important geographical names normally occur together with a fixed direction of the compass — north, south, east, west. In texts from

[155] H. Jankuhn, *ViertSuWG* 40 (1953), pp. 193 243, esp. pp. 224 225; Brøndsted, *Vikings*, pp. 186 187; cf. Stanisław Suchodolski, *Początki mennictwa w Europie Środkowej i Północnej* (Wrocław, 1971), pp. 7 8, 158, 227 229.

[156] *Qrvar-Odds saga*, ed. Boer (1892), pp. 54 55.

[157] De Vries, *GAL* II², p. 487.

[158] De Vries, *GAL* II², p. 484.

[159] *Heiðreks saga*, ed. J. Helgason, p. 47.

the later Viking age onward, the adverb *austr*, "east" was always affixed to the name Garðaríki. This usage was not, however, original. In his *Heimskringla*, Snorri Sturluson uses *vestr* with Garðaríki when dealing with the prehistoric Ynglings (*Ynglinga saga*):[160]

Fór hann fyrst vestr í Garðaríki ok þá suðr í Saxland.

First he [Óðinn] journeyed west to Garðaríki and then south to Saxland (Old Saxony).

The puzzling question of why the Norsemen (during the later Viking age) would call Rus' *Garðaríki*, or "the realm of the towns" can now be solved. The name was not coined by the Rus', but was originally a topical designation. In the Viking age it came to refer to the North Sea coast of the Carolingian Empire because of the location there of important emporia such as Dorestad and Quentovic. Certainly there was no reason to call ninth-century eastern Europe by that name. By the late tenth or the eleventh century, however, the situation had changed. The Novgorod rulers contemporary to the Old Norse oral saga, Volodimer the Great (970–1015) and especially Jaroslav the Wise (1010–1054), made the new, Kievan, Rus' realm into a real "realm of towns," i.e. Garðaríki. In the eleventh century well-informed people knew that there were two Garðr/Garðar, hence the usage East Garðr for Great Novgorod. Consequently, about 1073–1076 Adam of Bremen wrote *Ostrogard Ruzziae* when referring to Great Novgorod; there *Ostro-* stood for ON *austr*, "East" (cf. *Ostro-Gothae*).[161]

Some twenty years later, a copyist of Adam's *Gesta* introduced the following scholium (no. 120) into the text:[162]

Ruzzia vocatur a barbaris Danis Ostrogard, eo quod in oriente posita quasi hortus irriguus abundant omnibus bonis.

Ruzzia (= Novgorodian Rus') is called Ostrogard by the barbarian Danes, for the reason that, situated in the east, it is like a watered garden [cf. Isa. 58:13; Jer. 31:12], abounding in all good things.

The Genesis of the Hervararsaga

Following its text of the *Battle of the Goths and the Huns*, the *U* version of the *Hervararsaga*, the only one having a complete narration, concludes with a

160 *Hkr* 1 (*IF* 26), p. 14.
161 Adam of Bremen, *Gesta*, ed. Trillmich, p. 254.
162 Adam of Bremen, *Gesta*, ed. Trillmich, p. 450 (cf. p. 155) = *Gesta*/Tschan, p. 135.

genealogy and brief history of the Swedish kings down to the end of the reign of Philippus Hallsteinsson (1112–1118).[163] Two questions relating to this history remain unanswered: first, why was it added at all, and, second, why did it end abruptly with King Philippus in 1118, when the saga itself was composed no earlier than 1250?

In his *Íslendingabók*, Ari inn fróði (b. 1067, d. 1148) noted the death of Philippus.[164] Many Icelandic biographical sagas (*Kristnisaga*,[165] *Byskupa sögur*,[166] *Sturlunga saga*)[167] and annals (*Lǫgmanns annáll*,[168] *Flateyjar annáll*,[169] copied his information, but added no contemporary data on Sweden with the result that Philippus was the only Swedish king of the twelfth century to be mentioned.

The last decades of the eleventh century and the first three decades of the twelfth were the years of scholarly activity for Sæmundr inn fróði (b. 1056, d. 1133). About 1080, he returned from Paris, where he had probably studied at the school of Nôtre-Dame, and began to establish historical and theological scholarship in Iceland. Among his collaborators were the second bishop of Skálaholt, Gizurr Ísleifsson (b. 1081, d. 1118), the lawman and poet, Markús Skeggjason (b. 1040, d. 1107), and the aforenamed Ari inn fróði.[170]

It was Sæmundr who established the chronological framework for the history of Norway and Iceland. He also studied the history of the Skjǫldungar kings of Denmark and Sweden, since his clan, the Oddaverjar, believed themselves to be descendants of that royal dynasty.[171] With Sæmundr, a new intellectual center came into being within the structure of the Skálaholt bishopric, attracting the attention of the northern rulers.

Gizurr Ísleifsson, the dominant figure in this Icelandic cultural revolution, who, in the judgment of Haraldr inn harðráði (d. 1066) was worth three men (a Viking leader, a king, and a bishop),[172] kept in contact with Denmark and Götland (Sweden). After his consecration, he spent one year ("winter") in each country.[173] Markús Skeggjason, for many years (1084–1107) the second

163 *Heiðreks saga*, ed. Tolkien, pp. 59–63.
164 Ed. J. Benediktsson (*IF* 1:1), p. 25.
165 *Kristni saga*, ed. G. Jónsson, *Íslendinga sögur* I, p. 278.
166 *Jóns saga helga*, ed. G. Jónsson, *Byskupa sögur* II, p. 52; *Jóns saga helga*, ed. G. Jónsson, *Byskupa sögur* II, p. 108.
167 "Haukdæla þáttr," ed. G. Jónsson, *Sturlunga sögur* I, p. 94 = *Íslendinga sögur*, ed. G. Jónsson XII, p. 76.
168 "Lögmannsannál," *Annálar*, ed. G. Jónsson, p. 83.
169 "Annálar," *Flat*, ed. Unger-Vigfússon III, p. 511.
170 Cf. de Vries, *GAL* I², pp. 223–225; 334–351; Turville-Petre, *Origins*, pp. 76–108.
171 Cf. Bjarni Guðnason, *Um Skjöldungasögu* (Rvík, 1963), pp. 153–162, 254–291.
172 *Flat*, ed. Unger-Vigfússon III, p. 379.
173 *Byskupa sögur*, ed. G. Jónsson II, p. 27; *Sturlunga sögur*, ed. G. Jónsson I, pp. 92–93.

highest official in Iceland (*lǫgsǫgumaðr*), appears in the *Skáldatal*[174] as the court poet of the Danish King Knútr Sveinsson (later *inn helgi*, 1080–1086), as well as of the Swedish King Ingi I Steinkelsson (1080–1112), uncle and immediate predecessor of Philippus.

It would certainly have been strange for the knowledge-seeking Icelanders not to have used the newly available opportunity to gather information on the history of the Swedish royal house, and there is reason to assume that this particular dynasty of Sweden was especially interested in having a saga commemorating their unusual past. In 1099, following a fifty-year struggle begun by his father, Ingi I Steinkelsson, the patron of Markús Skeggjason, finally defeated the heathen reaction. He destroyed the center of northern paganism — the famous temple of Uppsala — and built a cathedral in its place.

The Steinkell dynasty was not of Svíar origin: the Steinkells were originally earls (jarls) of West Götland. The first king from that dynasty, Steinkell Rǫgnvaldsson (1056–1067), was raised (and probably born) in Rus'. His father, Earl Rǫgnvaldr Úlfsson, cooperated with Ingigerðr Óláfsdóttir (d. 1050), and with the Norwegian king St. Óláfr (1015–1030), against the wishes of Óláfr, king of Uppsala. In 1016, Ingigerðr married the Novgorodian king, Jaroslav (1010–1054). Subsequently, King Óláfr skautkonungr (995–1022) of Uppsala forced Rǫgnvaldr to leave West Götland. Rǫgnvaldr joined Ingigerðr, who appointed him to the newly created earldom of Great Ladoga (Aldeigjuborg) in Rus' (1016–1030).

Philippus had a special relation to Norway and Rus', for he married Ingigerðr, the daughter of the "last Viking," Haraldr inn harðráði (1046–1066). Ingigerðr was also the grandchild of Jaroslav of Novgorod (and Kiev), since her mother was the famous Ellisif (Elisabeth) Jarizleifsdóttir.[175]

The author(s) of the *Hervararsaga* had access to some materials of Gautish (Götish) provenance, as reflected in the use of the name (H)Reið-Gotar to designate the historical Goths, the Sámsey poetry's knowledge of Aldeigjuborg, and the þula containing names of rulers thought to be contemporary to Angantýr (III). Family tradition related the dynasty of the West Götish earl to the ancestor of the Ylfingar, Heiðrekr úlfhamr ("werewolf"). Arngrímr Jónsson, who in 1596–1597 had access to a better version of *U*, explained the last term in the following way: "Heidricus cognomento Ulffhamur — eo qvod se in lupum transformare noverit, vel est tropicè dictum pro saevo."[176] This Götish material was apparently delivered to Skálaholt-Oddi by King Philippus

[174] Ed. Vigfússon - Powell, *CPB* II, p. 443.
[175] *Arngrimi Jonae Opera latine conscripta*, ed. J. Benediktsson I (Kbh, 1950), p. 474.
[176] *Arngrimi opera*, ed. Benediktsson I, p. 353.

himself, which is probably why his name was so well remembered in Iceland.

Ingi II (1118–1130), the brother of Philippus, drank heavily and did not share his brother's antiquarian interests; he discontinued any association with the learned Icelanders and is mentioned only as the brother of Philippus, without any distinguishing characteristics or activities. He was poisoned in 1130, and upon his death the Steinkell dynasty came to an end.[177]

In 1133, Sæmundr inn fróði also died. With his death, the project of writing a historical saga about the West Götish Ylfingar dynasty was dropped. The material for the uncompleted saga was, however, used twice: first about 1250 by the author(s) of the *Harvararsaga*, and second, in the fourteenth century (or later), by the compiler of the list of popes and kings of Norway, Denmark, and Sweden in AM 415, 4°; the compiler brought the material up to about 1319.[178]

When Arngrímr Jónsson (1568–1648) was working on his *Rerum Danicarum fragmenta* (in 1596–1597), he already had access to the *U* version of the *Hervararsaga*.[179] In some cases *U* had more detailed information, especially on the history of the Steinkell dynasty. However, Arngrímr's manuscript, like the known versions of the *Hervararsaga*, gives no information about Steinkell's father, Rǫgnvaldr inn gamli, save an inaccurate reference to his marital connection to a powerful Norwegian clan:

Hervararsaga (*U*)[180]	*Arngrímr Jónsson*[181]
Steinkell hét ríkr maðr í Svíaríki ok kynstórr; móðir hans hét Ástríðr dóttir Njáls Finnssonar ins skjálga af Hálogalandi; en faðir hans var Rǫgnvaldr inn gamli.	Steinchillus. Nomen fuit viro amplis divitiis et generis qvoqve nobilitate claro inter Svecos; ex Halogia Norvegiae hic oriundus erat. . .

There was a mighty man in Sweden,
and of high lineage; his name was Steinkel,
and his mother was Ástríðr, daughter
of Njáll the son of Finn inn skjálgi
(the Squinter) from Hálogaland;
his father was Rǫgnvaldr inn gamli (the Old).

The very fact that Arngrímr did not hesitate to use the *Hervararsaga* along

177 "Ingo venenata potione sublatus creditur," *Arngrimi opera*, ed. Benediktsson I, p. 474.
178 *Alfræði Íslenzk*, ed. Kr. Kålund II, p. 57; cf. also Introduction, pp. vi vii.
179 *Arngrimi opera*, ed. Benediktsson III, p. 264.
180 *Heiðreks saga*, ed. Tolkien, p. 62.
181 *Arngrimi opera*, ed. Benediktsson I, p. 473.

with other sources, such as the (lost) *Skjǫldunga saga,* to fill a gap in his reconstructed history indicates that he did not consider it a fairy-tale fornaldar saga.

In 1927 Albert Le Roy Andrews stated that the introductory part of the *Hervararsaga* (*U* version) is similar to the beginning of the *Ynglinga saga* in the *Heimskringla,* and that it was intended to begin a great historical saga. He established four features typical of the *Hervararsaga*'s introduction:[182] the reference to old books; the account of the Turks (Tyrkjar) and *Asíamenn,* led by Óðinn, coming from the east; the using of Óðinn as the starting point of the genealogy; and the location of the territories as being between those inhabited by giants and those inhabited by human beings.

Now let us summarize the findings. Sometime at the end of the eleventh century or the beginning of the twelfth, the Swedish kings of the West Götish dynasty commissioned the Icelandic historical school of Skálaholt-Oddi to write a great historical saga about their ancestors — or perhaps the Icelanders themselves initiated the undertaking. For it, King Philippus arranged the collection of oral material in West Götland and made it available to the Icelanders, but with the death of Philippus (1118) the undertaking collapsed. About 130 years later, an Icelandic literatus came upon some of this collected miscellaneous material and used it in composing a saga (*R* version), in which he brought certain events and personages together because he found names such as Heiðrekr and Angantýr repeated in the materials at his disposal. Some decades later, another literatus attempted to compose a saga or *þáttr* (see AM 203, fol.) in the style of the *Konunga sögur* (*U* version).

The (preserved) material collected in West Götland consisted of strophes from about 800 with ethnic and geographic, but not personal, names from the period prior to 453 (the *Battle of the Goths and the Huns*); the "(H)Reið-Gothic" layer from about 750–850; and Sámsey poetry of the eleventh or twelfth century.

The Battle of the Goths and the Huns as a Historical Source

The long scholarly battle over the historicity of the *Battle of the Goths and the Huns* and its exact date and location has so far managed only to create a galaxy of diverse, uncompromising opinions and no objective criteria that

[182] Albert Le Roy Andrews, "The Hervarar saga," *Modern Philology* 25 (1927), p. 151.

could be used to settle the disputes. The reason behind this is the refusal to part with the idea that the battle must reflect an important historical event.

The truth is, however, that the *Battle* is simply an epic lay governed by its own laws and rules, and these are different from the ones that govern historical writing.

Like every true epic, the *Battle* had telescoped several centuries of history and transformed its main characters into archetypes. To do this they are given not proper names of historical people, but topical appellations symbolizing the role of the characters in the epic's plot.

The only historical aspect to the *Battle* — and a precious one — is its set of topographic names. These in fact do reflect the geography of the Ukraine during the period of the great migrations.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Snorri's "Gelehrte Urgeschichte": Has It a Historical Basis?

> Auf die Frage: *kann* sich in der gelehrten Urgeschichte der Isländer ein Stück alter Sage und damit geschichtlicher Wahrheit bergen? wäre es wohl vermessen mit einem Nein zu antworten. Aber fruchtbar ist doch nur die Frage: findet ein Teil dieser Urgeschichte seine einzige oder seine nächste Erklärung in altüberlieferten geschichtlichen Tatsachen? Diese Frage kann nur verneint werden.[1]

Snorri's Gelehrte Urgeschichte

In the introductions to his two major works, the *Prose Edda* (ca. 1220) and the *Heimskringla* (ca. 1230), Snorri Sturluson (b. 1178, d. 1241) presents his geographical system and, in euhemerized form, the struggle between two classes of gods (*Æsir* and *Vanir*), their eventual appeasement, and the spread of Óðinn's religion of the Männerbünde type from eastern to central Europe and to Scandinavia.

[1] Andreas Heusler, *Die gelehrte Urgeschichte im altisländischen Schrifttum* (ABAW, 1908, no. 3) (Berlin, 1908), p. 101. See Appendix 2, pp. 661–682.

The interpretation of the mythic context of Snorri's narrative plays a large role in the study of Norse and Germanic mythology. To date, three major — and mutually exclusive — schools of thought have developed on the subject: the historical, or, more precisely, the historicizing; the "gelehrte Urgeschichte"; and the new comparative mythology.

Two Scandinavian archaeologists, the Dane, Karl Nikolai Henry Petersen (b. 1849, d. 1896),[2] and the Swede, Bernhard Salin (b. 1861, d. 1931),[3] propounded the historical interpretation — subsequently adopted by most Germanic philologists — that the migration of Óðinn to the north may reflect the memory of actual past events. Óðinn, whose origin according to this school of thought was probably humble, seemed to be a latecomer from the south to the northern religion. In the parochial system of tribal rivalries among the Old Germanic peoples there was no room for a universal sovereign like Óðinn of the Viking age. The conflict between Æsir and Vanir marked the struggle between the cults of the virile newcomers and the religion of the autochthonous agricultural population. Snorri's data agree with a migration of Germanic peoples coming from the Tanais and Black Sea area through Germany to Scandinavia, but scholars disagree as to the date. The originators of the theory had in mind the age of migrations (fourth century after Christ), while others would like to push the religious struggle back to an archaeological epoch (e.g., the meeting between the Megalithic and the Battle-Axe peoples).[4]

The school of "gelehrte Urgeschichte" is best represented in the study by Andreas Heusler (b. 1865, d. 1940) published in 1908 and quoted at the head of this section.[5] In it he deals with the Trojans and the Turks in Snorri's and Ari's writings.

The school of new comparative mythology is best represented by its founder, Georges Dumézil.[6] He argues that Snorri's narration can be properly understood only by applying the comparative structural method to mythology apart from any historicization. The divine battle described by Snorri is the Scandinavian manifestation of a common Indo-European theme of the

[2] *Om Nordboernes Gudedyrkelse og Gudetro i Hedenold: En antikvarisk Undersøgelse* (Kbh, 1876), 139 pp.

[3] *Studier tillägnade Oscar Montelius* (Sthlm, 1903), pp. 133-141.

[4] See Karl Helm, *Wodan: Ausbreitung und Wanderung seines Kultes* (Giessen, 1946), 71 pp.; Ernst Alfred Philippson, *Die Genealogie der Götter in Germanischer Religion, Mythologie und Theologie* (Urbana, Ill., 1953), ix + 94 pp.; Ólafur Briem, *Vanir og Æsir* (Studia Islandica 21) (Rvík, 1963), 80 pp.

[5] A. Heusler, *Gelehrte Urgeschichte* (1908), 102 pp.

[6] C. Scott Littleton, *The New Comparative Mythology: An Anthropological Assessment of the Theories of Georges Dumézil*, 2d ed. (Berkeley, 1973), xv + 271 pp.; Dumézil, *Gods of the Ancient Northmen*, ed. by Einar Haugen (Berkeley, 1973), xlvi + 157 pp. See also de Vries, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte*, 2d ed., 2 vols. (Berlin, 1956-1957); Turville-Petre, *Myth* (1964).

Sabine war, that is, the struggle between the first and second function (the Æsir) on the one hand, and the third function (the Vanir), on the other and its appeasement.[7] The relative rarity of Óðinn place names throughout Scandinavia and their complete absence in Iceland undermines the thesis that the god was a latecomer to the north: "In Scandinavia itself," Dumézil writes,

> it is understandable that farms, built-up areas, refuges of peasants and sailors would more often have received their names from one of the patron gods of rural prosperity, navigation, storms, and their beneficial consequences than from the great chief of the gods and sorcerer. As the head of social groups that would be statistically small, the god would not appear frequently in place names. The situation in Iceland confirms this view. It is natural that those settlers who had fled Europe and founded in their new home a veritable republic of rich peasants would not have had occasion to name a single place after the god-king. Finally the extreme rarity of personal names of men containing that of Odin may be explained by the character of the god, in certain respects disquieting and terrifying.[8]

Snorri's geography is irrelevant to Dumézil's theory, so he does not consider it, saying only that Snorri

> not only reduces the gods to kings now dead, who have succeeded one another and who, during their lifetimes, moved, emigrated, and invaded. He also localizes on the map of the known world the divine races thus humanized, and for that, depends on puns, some of them excellent (Æsir, "Asia"), others less successful (Vanir — **Vana-kvísl* — Tanais, "River Don"). If he places the Æsir and the Vanir, initially, on the banks of the Black Sea, at the mouth of the Don, it is not from an obscure memory of some migration, Gothic or otherwise, nor even from knowledge of a great commercial route going from the Crimea to Scandinavia, but simply from the allure of a play of sounds, during an epoch when such quasi-etymological word play was acceptable as a historical argument.[9]

While Dumézil makes full use of the data in the *Heimskringla*, he completely ignores the Prologue of the *Snorra Edda*, without giving any explanation.[10] His interest lies primarily in deciphering the mythological aspects of Snorri's basically historical texts. He distinguishes two distinct strata that are

[7] Dumézil, *Gods of the Ancient Northmen*, p. 24.
[8] Dumézil, *Gods of the Ancient Northmen*, p. 33.
[9] Dumézil, *Gods of the Ancient Northmen*, p. 13.
[10] Dumézil's sources are: (a) *Vǫluspá* 21-24; (b) *Skáldskaparmál* (chap. 5, *Prose Edda*);

important in Snorri's narrative mythologems and points to some geographical puns that he finds sometimes sophisticated, but for his purposes worthless. Dumézil does not investigate whether or not what he calls "puns" were in fact Snorri's free inventions, but until Snorri's authorship of these puns is proved beyond any doubt, they have to be treated seriously. If Snorri used a geographic name he had good reason for doing so, regardless of its origin. This reason would be that the name contained a message. Our duty is to find out what that message was. For instance, why in talking about early times did he decide to use one particular mythologem or epicized dictum instead of another — or, for that matter, a particular pun?

The introductory chapters of Snorri's *Prose Edda* (= SnE) and *Heimskringla* (= Hkr) contain not only his mythological system but also the prehistory of the Norsemen and their geographical horizons derived from their previous territorial experience.

Doubts concerning Snorri's authorship of the Prologue have proved groundless.[11] Not only are both the Prologue and the *Gylfaginning* homogeneous ("aus einem Guss," to use the term of Siegfried Beyschlag[12]) and the one incomprehensible without the other, but the mythic and epic data of both the Prologue and the *Ynglinga saga* (= Ys) are either parallel or complementary. Snorri's mastery in presenting the same epic or mythic event several times, each time from a different perspective, is without parallel in medieval literature.[13]

The Æsir Óðinn and Þórr are described as if by a man educated in the classic Latin tradition. They are heroes; they come from Troy, and, as was only reasonable, they are provided with a Trojan pedigree.[14] For the pagan ances-

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(c) Snorri's *Ynglingasaga* (chaps. 1, 2, 4, 5); (d) Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum*, I, 7; see Dumézil, *Gods of the Ancient Northmen*, pp. 7–11.

[11] Walter Baetke, *Die Götterlehre der Snorra-Edda* (Berlin, 1950), 68 pp.; Hans Kuhn, *ZfdA* 79 (1942), pp. 133–166; Siegfried Beyschlag, *ZfdA* 85 (1954), pp. 163–181. But see also *GAL* II, p. 222; Turville-Petre, *Myth*, pp. 22–24.

[12] *ZfdA* 85 (1954), p. 181.

[13] The text of the SnE is given according to the edition of Finnur Jónsson, *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar* (Kbh, 1931), and that of the Ys, according to the edition of Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson, *Snorri Sturluson, Hkr* I (*IF* 26) (Rvík, 1941). English translations of the texts under discussion, based on the existing standard translations, are given in the bibliographical section. Used for SnE were Arthur G. Brodeur, *The Prose Edda by Snorri Sturluson* (New York, 1967), pp. 3–13, and Jean I. Young, *The Prose Edda of Snorri Sturluson* (Berkeley, 1965), pp. 23–29; used for *Hkr* was *Hkr*/Hollander.

[14] The classical hero *Trór* (> *Þórr*) was the grandson of the Trojan King Priam; see SnE, ed. F. Jónsson, p. 4 (= Eng. trans. A. G. Brodeur, p. 6). But as an Old Norse god (*Ása-Þórr*), *Þórr* was the son of *Óðinn* (Ása-Óðinn, see *Hkr* I (*IF* 26), p. 17) and *Jǫrð*, SnE, ed. Jónsson, p. 17 (= SnE/Brodeur, p. 22).

tors of the Icelanders, however, the Æsir were gods, not heroes, and they dwelled in Ásgarðr outside time and space;[15] but this residence was, historically speaking, Tyrkland,[16] situated to the east of the river Tanakvísl/Tanais.[17] The mythical gods possessed their own genealogy (e.g., Óðinn was the son of Bórr and a grandson of Búri), which differed from that of the Trojan heroes, and also from the Tyrkland Æsir, the euhemeristic ancestors of the noble Norse families.[18]

The contradictions here are only illusory (*ginning*), however, for both the classic and the Old Norse versions are based in a pagan world; each side had simply interpreted it in his own way. The archetype of a divine residence as it appears in Snorri's works had three realizations: Troy in the classic version, Ásgarðr in the pagan Icelandic conceptions, and Tyrkland in the euhemeristic historical perspective.

The complementary character of the date for both the Prologue and the Ys can be illustrated with some examples. While enumerating the three parts of the known world, the Ys omits Africa, which is mentioned in the SnE.[19] Óðinn's anticipated journey to Norway, mentioned as fact in the SnE, is not referred to in the Ys.[20] The latter, in turn, tells about Skaði, not present in the SnE, by whom Óðinn's son Sæmingr, the ancestor of the Norwegian earls of Hlaðir, was born.[21]

Snorri apparently wrote his Prologue before his journey to Norway and West Götland in 1218–1219. In the earlier, SnE, Óðinn is said to have appointed twelve chieftains (*hǫfuðmenn*) in Sweden, after the pattern of Troy; in the later, Ys, Svíar Sweden is divided among only five chiefs (*hofgoðar*), corresponding to the reality described in Snorri's *St. Óláfr's Saga* (chap. 77).[22]

Like the lay, *The Battle between the Goths and the Huns,* both presentations of Snorri discussed here deal with the oldest, or southern, epoch of Norse experience in eastern Europe, as indicated by the geographic terminology appearing there: Tanais, Goðheimar, Tyrkland, Svíþjóð in mikla, etc.; the northern and Baltic seacoast terminology is still lacking.

15 *Ásgarðr hinn forni,* SnE, ed. F. Jónsson, p. 17 (= SnE/Brodeur, p. 22).
16 "Er kallat er Trója, þar sem vér kǫllum Tyrkland," SnE, ed. F. Jónsson, p. 3 (= SnE/Brodeur, p. 6).
17 *Hkr* I (*IF* 26), p. 11 (= *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 7).
18 See n. 14. On the Æsir as the ancestors of the Old Norse earls and rulers see the translations on pp. 680–681.
19 See the translations on p. 670 (Appendix 2).
20 See the translations on p. 677.
21 See the translations on p. 677.
22 *Hkr* II (*IF* 27), pp. 109–110.

The dividing line is between chapters 12 and 13 of the Ys. The terms Vanaheim, Goðheimar, Tyrkland, Svíþjóð in mikla are used for the last time in chapter 12;[23] chapter 13 introduces new geographic terminology beginning with Finnland and Finnar (chap. 13),[24] then the very popular Viking geographic name, Austrvegr ("Eastern Way"; chap. 27),[25] and finally Eistland and Aðalsýsla (chap. 32). The first instance of the northern terminology is actually in chapter 12 where a great farm (*bær mikill*) *at Steini* is mentioned; it must have been located in northern Europe because it is mentioned again later on (chap. 32) in connection with Eistland.[26]

Óðinn's journeys to the north deserve attention. While SnE says that, coming from Tyrkland, Óðinn with his retinue "did not halt" until he had come "north into the land that is now called Saxland," according to the Ys, he "first journeyed west to Garðaríki."[27] This discrepancy can be resolved when we remember that the Prologue (SnE) is primarily mythological. The starting point of Óðinn's career was Old Saxony, the continental home of the Anglo-Saxons.[28] Snorri therefore felt it appropriate to quote the Anglo-Saxon mythic pedigrees for the rulers of Kent and Deira (= Austr Saxland) and of Wessex (continental form, Westfall). The founding fathers of Kent and Deira, Hengist and Horsa, were, according to Bede (wrote about 731), whose work was known to Snorri, buried in East Kent.[29]

From the historical viewpoint represented in the Ys, however, the Norsemen did not begin their political rise until after they had conquered Garðaríki. At that time the name did not yet have the meaning of "Rus'" or "Russia," but was used to designate the Frisian commercial capital of Dorestad.

The Danish journey story is told in two parts.[30] The second, the Gefjon story, is contained in both texts and seems to represent an old memory in mythic form of the origin of the Danes in the region south of Mälaren Lake. The first section is more problematic; it is impossible at this stage to determine

[23] *Hkr* I (*IF* 26), p. 27. The term *Tanais* is used only in chap. 1 of the Ys, *Hkr* I (*IF* 26), p. 10.

[24] *Hkr* I (*IF* 26), pp. 28–29.

[25] *Hkr* I (*IF* 26), p. 54.

[26] *Hkr* I (*IF* 26), p. 61. There the term *Austr-vegr* also occurs.

[27] See the translation on p. 674.

[28] SnE, ed. F. Jónsson, pp. 5–6 (= SnE/ Brodeur, pp. 7–8). On these pedigrees see Jacob Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, trans. James Steven Stallybrass (New York, reprinted, 1966) I, pp. 164–165, 4, 1709–1736; Heusler, *Gelehrte Urgeschichte*, pp. 66–70, cf. Kenneth Sisam, *Proceedings of the British Academy* 39 (1953), pp. 287–348.

[29] Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, I.15, ed. Charles Plummer (Oxford, 1896), p. 31 = Eng. trans. Leo Sherley-Price (Edinburgh, 1965), p. 56.

[30] See the translations on pp. 674–675.

whether the two sections complement each other or whether they are two distinct presentations — one mythic and the other epic-historical. The SnE speaks about Reiðgotaland (meaning Jutland) as the home of the Skjǫldungar, and the Ys connects Óðinn's journey with the town Óðinsey (Odense) on the island of Funen.

A special relation did indeed exist between the Svíar (Swedes) and their god Freyr as the Ys (chap. 10) bears witness.[31] Óðinn, however, would not have visited Uppsala; both texts agree that his Swedish seat was the commercial town of Sigtuna (Sigtúnir).[32]

Several other historic and historicogeographic questions that have a direct relation to the main theme of this study are discussed here: Óðinn, kingship, and his pedigree; the mentions of Tyrkir, Tyrkland, and Tyrkjakonungr in the Icelandic sources; Vanakvísl and Vanaheimr/Vanaland; the localization of Svíþjóð in mikla eða kalda; Ásgarðr, Tyrkland and Troy; the location of Troy to the east of the Tanais River; Troy = T"mutorokan'; Goðheimar.

Appendix 2 contains the relevant extracts of Snorri's work (text and translation) dealing with the "Gelehrte Urgeschichte," as well as the entire text of *Upphaf allra frásagna.*

Óðinn, Kingship, and the Royal Family Tree

According to a fairly reliable Old Norse tradition preserved in the *Heimskringla,* the title *konungr* was introduced sometime after the acceptance of Óðinn's laws.[33] Óðinn's two successors, Njǫrðr and Freyr, are attested there as bearing the title *dróttinn* "lord," a word derived from ON *drótt,* which corresponds in meaning to the Old Germanic version of the Roman *comitatus,* an institutionalized, permanent war party whose function was plundering and which was made up of a chief and retainers recruited from various clans and peoples.[34]

During the migration period many Germanic peoples became acquainted with the ultimately Iranian idea of kingship based on the preeminence of a single charismatic royal family (originally the "royal hordes") who are believed to descend from ancient gods. The Hunnic Attila was such a king

[31] See the translation on p. 678-679.
[32] See the translation on p. 676.
[33] *Hkr* I (*IF* 26), pp. 22-25 (Ys, chaps. 9, 10).
[34] Concerning *drótt* see Holthausen, *WAWN,* p. 40; Jóhannesson, *IEW,* p. 516; de Vries, *ANEW,* pp. 84 85. Concerning the Old Germanic *comitatus,* see Donald E. Queller, "Political Institutions," in *One Thousand Years* (1974), pp. 111, 119.

and, as one might expect, he became *the* king of the Old Germanic lays.[35] The Goths followed the Hunnic example, and for the purpose Jordanes (551) constructed the first Germanic royal family tree that traced the ruler's lineage back to a divine ancestor. Since the organizational inspiration for the new Männerbünde had come from the Turkic Khazarian pax, a charismatic dynasty like that of the Turkic kagans (Tyrkjakonungar) was both attractive and necessary. The charismatic origin acquired prime significance, but the Gothic title *reiks* had no such connotation, and therefore a suitable title had to be found for the ruler who was now *konungr*, "man of divine origin," a derivation from "*kunja-*."[36] The *Heimskringla* connects the introduction of this new title with the Ynglingr Dyggvi:

Móðir Dyggva var Drótt, dóttir	The mother of Dyggvi was Drótt, the daughter of
Danps konungs, sonar Rígs, er	Danpr *konungr*, the son of Rígr; he [Danpr] was the first
fyrstr var konungr kallaðr á danska tungu.	to be called konungr [king] in the Danish [Norse] tongue.
Hans áttmenn hǫfðu ávallt síðan konungsnafn fyrir it œzta tignarnafn.	His kinsmen have ever since borne the title of konungr as that of the highest rank.
Dyggvi var fyrst konungr kallaðr sinna ættmanna, en áðr váru þeir dróttnar kallaðir, en konur þeira dróttningar, en drótt hirðsveitin.	Dyggvi was the first of his line to be called konungr; before that they were called dróttnar, their spouses, dróttningar, and the king's retinue, drótt.
En Yngvi eða Ynguni var kallaðr hverr þeira ættmanna alla ævi, en Ynglingar allir saman.	But everyone in the [Ynglingar] line was always called Yngvi or Ynguni, and all of them, Ynglingar.
Drótt dróttning var systir Dans konungs ins mikilláta, er Danmǫrk er við kennd.[37]	Lady Drótt was the sister of Danr konungr inn mikilláti [the Proud], after whom Denmark is named.[38]

Rígr, the old title for rulers (= Goth. *reiks*), was the designation of the god Heimdall, the progenitor of the various classes of mankind. His actions are presented in mythic form in the Eddaic lay *Rígsþula*.[39]

[35] See, e.g., Franz Altheim, *Attila und die Hunnen* (Baden-Baden, 1951), pp. 137–142.

[36] De Vries, *ANEW*, p. 326. Names of Germanic rulers composed with *kuni-* begin to appear in the sixth century; see M. Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen* (Heidelberg, 1911), pp. 67–68: *Cuni-gastus, Cuni-mundus*. Cf. de Vries in *Saeculum* 7:3 (1956), pp. 289–309. See also p. 583.

[37] *Hkr* I (*IF* 26), pp. 34–35.

[38] *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 20. The name *dyggvi* goes back to **dheugh-*, as does the Irish *dūan* (*IEW*, p. 508). Cf. *Handwan-*, p. 172.

[39] *Edda*, ed. Neckel - Kuhn I³ (1962), pp. 280–287; prose introduction identifies Heimdallr

In the epicized myth of *Heimskringla*, Rígr was the father of the first konungr (as he was in the *Rígsþula*). What is interesting here is that the son of Rígr, the first bearer of the new title, was named after the river Dnieper (Danpr), and his son was also connected with eastern Europe. As far back as 1887, Heinzel explained the name *Dan-r* as having been taken from the name of the Tanais River in its Alanic form *Dan* (< Sarmatian *Dān*).[40] It can hardly be a coincidence that these two names, Danpr and Danr (which also appear together in the *Rígsþula*, strophe 49) appear on the scene in connection with the introduction of the new title.[41] The eastern European origin of the idea of a *konungr* thus finds decisive corroboration. See also p. 582.

The first Germanic royal pedigree has been preserved in Jordanes's *Getica* (551). As elsewhere, Jordanes made use of the work of the official Ostrogothic senator of noble Roman Christian origin, the consul and senator Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus (*fl.* ca. 530). In his address to the Roman senate in late 533, the *reiks* (king) of the Italian Ostrogoths, Atalarich (526–534), the grandson and successor of the great Theodoric, had mentioned the special merits of Cassiodorus,[42] who, on the king's urging, had collected the old Ostrogothic lays and thus had saved the history of the Ostrogothic kings from oblivion.

According to the findings of this Catholic Christian writer and personal friend of the Roman pope, the ancestors of the Gothic Amalian dynasty were "not mere humans, but semi-gods, called Ansis" (non puros homines, sed semideos id est Ansis vocaverunt). The progenitor of the divine royal clan was the hero Gapt.[43] I agree with Karl Helm (against Jan de Vries and others) that there is no basis for identifying this Gapt with one of the epithets of Óðinn (Gauti, Gautr, Hergautr, etc.) which are attested only in the late Norse sources.[44] The data of the *Battle of the Goths and the Huns* would rather sug-

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with Rígr (p. 280); on Heimdalr, cf. Jan de Vries, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* II² (1957), pp. 238–244 and Dumézil, *Gods of the Ancient Northmen*, pp. 126–140. On Rígsþula, see Dumézil, *Gods of the Ancient Northmen*, pp. 118–125.

[40] Richard Heinzel, *SWAW* 114 (1887), pp. 473–474. On the etymology of the name *Don*, see V. I. Abaev, *Istoriko-ètimologičeskij slovar' osetinskogo jazyka* I (1958), pp. 366–367.

[41] According to Saxo Grammaticus, the first Danish ruler to be elected king was Humblus: "lecturi regem veteres affixis humo saxis insistere suffragiaque promere consueverant, subiectorum lapidum firmitate facti constantiam ominaturi. Quo ritu Humblus, decedente patre, novo patriae beneficio rex creatus . . ." (*Gesta*, ed. Olrik – Ræder I, p. 10). It is probably not accidental that Humli of the *Battle of the Goths and the Huns* was a *king* of the Huns.

[42] Cassiodorus, *Variae*, ed. Theodor Mommsen, *MGH AA* XII (1894), IX, 25 (pp. 291–293).

[43] Jordanes, *Getica*, ed. E. C. Skržinskaja (M., 1960), p. 143.

[44] Helm, *Wodan*, p. 45.

gest that the Gothic patron was Týr (Angan-Týr) and not Óðinn. Heiðrekr, his epic hypostasis, not only was engaged in a contest of intellect with the disguised Óðinn (Gestumblindi), but even had dared to attack him with his sword Tyrfingr. This last mythologem can be interpreted as the memory of a struggle for supremacy between Týr (< **tīwaz* < *IE *dḭēu̯s*)[45] and Óðinn.

In the Burgundian Code of King Gundobad (474–516) only four royal ancestors are mentioned.[46] More information is provided by the king of the Langobards, Rotharius (636–652), in the preface to his code (643). One not only finds in it a list of seventeen old Lombard kings, beginning with Agilmund from the clan of the Gugings, together with information about their appropriate clan (comparable to the lists of the old Proto-Bulgarian kings from the seventh and eighth centuries), but also the lineage of King Rotharius himself, consisting of ten generations (the name of his first ancestor was Obthora).[47] The code, however, does not mention Óðinn.

The so-called *Origo gentis Langobardorum*, which was compiled some thirty years later (ca. 670)[48] added to the official royal tradition a Dioscurian myth and the divine figure of Godan (< *Wodan* = AS *Woden*: Óðinn),[49] and is probably a reworking of the Anglo-Saxon epicized mythic story. The Lombardian Dioscuri (patterned on Hengist and Horsa) were Ybor and Agio, the latter the father of Agilmund. Godan is presented as dispenser of victory, but it was his wife Frea (ON Frigg) who could influence him; her help was requested by the mother of the Dioscuri, Gambara.

As the divine ancestor of kings, Woden appears in the pedigrees of the Anglo-Saxon kings, first in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (731), where he is the great-great-grandfather of the Anglo-Saxon Dioscuri, Hengist and Horsa. "There is," writes Kenneth Sisam, "evidence for the existence, some two generations after Bede's *History* (731), of a systematic collection of royal genealogies, witnessed by the 'Vespasian group' of manuscripts, by Nennius and the [Anglo-Saxon] Chronicle."[50]

There is no trace of the cult of Wodan/Woden among the Saxons prior to the Anglo-Saxon colonization in the fifth and sixth centuries,[51] and the exist-

45 De Vries, *ANEW*, p. 603; de Vries, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* II², p. 25.
46 *The Burgundian Code*, trans. Katherine Fisher Drew (Philadelphia, 1972), p. 24.
47 *The Lombard Laws*, trans. Katherine Fisher Drew (Philadelphia, 1973), p. 40. Cf. Pritsak, *Bulgarische Fürstenliste*, pp. 76–77.
48 Ludwig Schmidt, *Geschichte der deutschen Stämme bis zum Ausgang der Völkerwanderung*: [I] *Die Ostgermanen* (Munich, 1934²), p. 30.
49 In Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*, trans. William Dudley Foulke (Philadelphia, 1974), pp. 316–317; cf. de Vries, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* II², pp. 37–38.
50 Sisam, *Proceedings of the British Academy* 39 (1953), p. 323.
51 Helm, *Wodan*, p. 26.

ing evidence confirms that he made his appearance first as the patron of the victorious Anglo-Saxon bands of pirates and settlers. But the Woden of the Anglo-Saxons was not yet the aristocratic cunning Old Norse Óðinn. Frank Stenton, on the basis of English toponyms, came to the conclusion that the traces of Woden's cult scattered widely throughout England

> bring him out of the aristocratic mythology in which dynastic traditions wrapped him, down to his holy places in the countryside. They show that he was worshipped by common men belonging to each of the three principal races of which the English nation was composed. The popular element in his cult is brought out even more clearly by the fact that, so far as is known, he was the only god to whom the English peoples applied an alias.[52]

This type of god Woden had remained in the ON dictum *Óðinn Saxa god* "Óðinn, the god of the [Anglo-]Saxons."[53]

The Viking age started with a kind of repetition of the Anglo-Saxon maritime experience in the British Isles. It was only natural that the new adventurers, aspiring to similar success, should take over the Anglo-Saxon cult of Woden, but they also soon became involved in global maritime ventures and trading operations that brought them in contact with the Turkic Khazar Empire. There the aristocratic clans of the Iranians (among them the Alans-Ās-es) and Turks maintained a blooming commercial empire and the old aristocratic steppe (Indo-European) religion of the Männerbünde. As a result of these contacts and common ventures, a new aristocratic version of the sophisticated Óðinn emerged among the mobile Viking aristocracy in the eighth and ninth centuries. The popular "Óðinn, the god of the [Anglo-]Saxons" was then replaced by Óðinn Tyrkjakonungr, Óðinn the aristocratic emperor of the Turks. It was this second Óðinn (Ása-Óðinn) who in Snorri's Prologue and the beginning chapters of the *Ynglinga saga* made his triumphant journey to the north and soon captured the imagination of the aristocratic class of the Vikings, hungry for booty and adventure.

Tyrkir, Tyrkland and Tyrkjakonungr

Óðinn's ties to Tyrkland and to the Tyrkir as presented by Snorri have never

[52] Frank Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3d ed. (Oxford, 1971), p. 100.
[53] "Viðbætir við Óláfs sögu hins helga," *Flat*, ed. Unger - Vigfússon III (Chria, 1868), p. 246.

been seriously considered by Germanic scholars. They either ignore them as nonsense, as Elias Wessén did in his 1976 edition of the *Ynglinga saga*,[54] or they limit themselves to brief comments, as Felix Niedner did in a footnote to his German translation of the *Heimskringla* (Tyrkland "the Seljuks state in Asia Minor [since 1073])."[55]

A similar attitude was maintained toward another, more important, Old Icelandic faux pas, made by the second known Icelandic writer, Ari inn fróði (b. 1067, d. 1148), a historian renowned for his critical sense. When in his *Íslendingabók* (written ca. 1120–1130) he listed Yngvi, that is the god Yngvi-Freyr, as the progenitor of the illustrious royal Ynglingar dynasty, he referred to him as (*horrible dictu!*) *Tyrkjakonungr*, i.e., "king of the Turks."[56] This unfortunate blunder is what inspired Andreas Heusler to write his monograph on Icelandic "scholarly protohistory"; in it he denies that Ari's statement was based on any historic tradition. Dumézil's position in this respect is identical to that of the Germanic scholars. In fact he does not even mention the Turks, as if his otherwise reliable sources could not possibly have used the designation in a context meriting attention.

According to Heusler, there were three stages in the production of Icelandic scholarly protohistory. It was initiated by Ari, who often received oral reports from his senior fellow-historian Sæmundr inn fróði (b. 1054, d. 1133),[57] who, while studying in Paris, had apparently read a version of the first redaction of the Frankish chronicle of Fredegarius Scholasticus (*fl.* ca. 658–661). In that chronicle, the presentation of the Trojan origin of the Franks also mentioned the Turks: after the fall of Troy, two groups of Trojan refugees reached the shores of the Danube in Thracia. There they split up: one group was headed by King Francio, who thus became the progenitor of the Franks (*Franci*); the other by King Torchotus, who thus created the *natio Torchorum*. It was this latter name that was interpreted by Sæmundr as meaning Turci = ON Tyrkir,[58] and it is in this way that the two geographic terms, Thracia and the Turks, were introduced into Icelandic scholarship. In Heusler's opinion Ari's contribution was his pun *Ás-* "the member of the Æsir group of the gods" = *Asia* = "Asia."[59]

Some eighty years later (ca. 1200), writes Heusler,[60] the anonymous author of the partially transmitted *Skjǫldunga saga* used the second redaction of

[54] Elias Wessén, *Snorri Sturluson. Ynglingasaga* (Nordisk Filologi, A. 6) (Oslo, 1976), p. 7.

[55] Felix Niedner, *Snorri's Königsbuch* (Thule XIV), 2d ed. (Düsseldorf-Cologne, 1965) I,

[56] *Íslendingabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson (*IF* 1: 1) (Rvík, 1968), p. 27. Only H.-J. Graf seriously accepts the possibility that "hinter dieser Nachricht eine historische Tatsache . . . steckt" (*Togan'a Armağan* [Istanbul, 1950–1955], p. 31).

[57] Heusler, *Gelehrte Urgeschichte*, pp. 81–82.

[58] Heusler, *Gelehrte Urgeschichte*, p. 38.

[59] Heusler, *Gelehrte Urgeschichte*, p. 39.

[60] Heusler, *Gelehrte Urgeschichte*, p. 48; cf. pp. 6–7.

(Pseudo-) Fredegarius's chronicle (= Fredegarius II), the *Liber Historiae Francorum,* also called the *Gesta Francorum,* composed in 727. According to Fredegarius II the Trojan refugees, after sailing through Tanais and Maeotis to the north of the Black Sea, settled in the (imaginary) town of Sicambria. After a victory over the Alans, the foes of Rome, they were given the name of Franci[61] by Emperor Valentinian I in 364–367, but unwilling to pay tribute to the Romans, the Franci migrated to the basin of the upper Rhine.

Since the work of Pseudo-Dares does not mention the Turks, the author of the *Skjǫldunga saga,* in Heusler's view, must have deduced it from his knowledge of geography. He knew that Troy was located in Asia Minor, and that in his time the peninsula was dominated by the Seljukids.[62] From the *Skjǫldunga saga* Snorri took the names Turks, Tanais and Meotis and put them to use in his Ys.[63]

The third stage of scholarly protohistory is illustrated by the anonymous compiler of the Prologue to Snorri's *Gylfaginning,* the Prologue of the SnE (Formáli). Heusler has rejected Snorri's authorship of that text (the oldest ms., the Codex Upsaliensis, is from ca. 1300).[64] This anonymous compiler had at his disposal the ON version of Pseudo-Dares Phrygius's work, the *Trójumanna saga* (thirteenth century). There Troy became the capital of the Old Norse gods and Priam their progenitor. Scythia was abandoned, but Thracia reintroduced.[65] The compiler made use of Anglo-Saxon royal lineages to fill in the long period between Priam and Óðinn's migration.

Scholarly protohistory certainly plays its part in both versions of (Pseudo-) Fredegarius's *Frankish History* (Fredegarius I and II).[66] The first half of the seventh century marks the first political alliance ever established in Europe, that formed by Byzantium in the center, the Turks (Khazars) in the East, and the Franks in the West. When in 629, the Emperor Heraclius I, a friend and father-in-law of the mighty Turkic Emperor T'ong Jabγu Qaγan, recognized the Frankish king, Dagobert I, as his ally, the new-born national pride of the Franks required that they prove their noble origins. Since Byzantium was the East Rome, and since Rome, during the rule of Augustus (31 B.C.–A.D. 14) had already traced its roots back to Troy (Vergil's *Aeneid*), it was natural for the Franks to follow their example. To make it more convincing, it seemed ap-

[61] The text from the *Gesta Francorum* 727 is given by Alexandre Eckhardt, "Sicambria. Capitale légendaire des français en Hongrie," *De Sicambria à Sans-Souci: Histoires et légendes franco-hongroises* (Paris, 1943), pp. 14–15, n. 1.

[62] Heusler, *Gelehrte Urgeschichte,* p. 62.

[63] Heusler, *Gelehrte Urgeschichte,* pp. 14, 43–44.

[64] Heusler, *Gelehrte Urgeschichte,* pp. 34–35.

[65] Heusler, *Gelehrte Urgeschichte,* pp. 36–39.

[66] Heusler, *Gelehrte Urgeschichte,* pp. 64–68.

propriate at the same time to derive the predecessors of the mighty Turks from Troy. This explains the character of the Trojan legend of (Pseudo-) Fredegarius I (ca. 658-661).

In 727, during the reign of Charles Martel (717-741), who was a friend and supporter of the pope, (Pseudo-) Fredegarius II (*Liber Historiae Francorum*) no longer had to worry about proving that the Franks were the equal of other powers. What was now needed was an interesting tale that would enhance their origins. As the Hungarian scholar Alexandre Eckhardt has demonstrated, the well-read compiler made up his attractive story by piecing together segments from several sources: Isidore's *Etymologiae* (9.2.100-101), Jordanes's *Romana* (234 [ed. Mommsen, *MGH* AA V (1882), p. 30], 309 [ed. Mommsen, p. 39]), Jerome-Eusebius's *Chronicon* (under the year 377) and Gregory of Tours's *Historia* (2.19). The compiler apparently ignored the fact that the people he was setting out to glorify were not called Franks in his sources, but rather Saxons, their neighbors.[67]

Ingvi, or Yngvi-Freyr, was one of the most important of the Old Norse gods. According to Adam of Bremen (wrote ca. 1076) Ingvi's idol (Fricco) sat alongside that of Óðinn and Þórr in the temple of Uppsala in Swedish Uppland.[68] The Ynglingar, who euhemeristically traced their origin back to Ingvi, were regarded as the most ancient and illustrious royal dynasty of the north. If Ari, himself a scion of the Ynglingar, claimed that Yngvi was a Tyrkjakonungr, one must conclude that this title at one time must have had a significance worthy of being connected with the god Yngvi-Freyr.

The Turks did not begin to infiltrate the Anatolian borderlands on a large scale until after 1070, a result of the rise to power of the Turkic (Türkmen) Seljuks in the Muslim Near East. Formerly nomads and mercenaries of the Karakhanids, the Turkic emperors of Central Asia, the Seljuks now became the lords of the sedentary states, first (1040) Khorasan and later (1055) Persia and Iraq. The Great Seljuks (as they were called by historians), having conquered Khorasan, at first had no intention of occupying any Byzantine territories in Asia Minor, but once they had transformed themselves from the chiefs of the warrior Männerbünde into sedentary rulers of the Iranian type, they had to get rid of the nomads, their own kin, the Oghuz Turks to whom they owed their original success. To accomplish this Togrul Beg (d. 1063), the conqueror of Baghdad, sent the Oghuz tribes westward to the Muslim frontiers, and there kept them occupied by giving them free rein to raid and

[67] Eckhardt, *De Sicambria à Sans-Souci*, pp. 20-26.
[68] *Gesta*, ed. Trillmich, p. 470.

harry the sedentary Christian territories of Armenia, Georgia, and the Byzantine Empire.[69]

Alp Arslan's (1063–1072) victory at Manzikert (1071) marked the first time in Byzantine history that an emperor had been captured by barbarians. It also came as a surprise to the victor, who was not prepared to exploit it, but it did make evident to all that the Byzantine hold on Anatolia was extremely weak, and the Oghuz nomads along with the Muslim frontier warriors (the *ġāzī*'s) started to carve out pieces of it for themselves. Two of these groups had the most success. To the north the Dānišmendids were headed by Dānišmend Aḥmad Ġāzī (d. 1104), supposedly a descendant of the Arab leader Baṭṭāl Ġāzī who fell in 740 attacking Byzantine territories. To the south, a branch of the Great Seljuks, the so-called Rūm (Byzantine) Seljuks, were led by Sulaymān (b. Qutlumiš; ca. 1077–1086) and his son Sulaymān (Qilij Arslan I; 1092–1107).[70] But until the second half of the twelfth century the Rūm Seljuks remained only provincial rulers with the devaluated titles of *šāh* (Persian) or *malik* (Arabic); they were still subordinated to the Khorasan Great Seljuks, who in turn were not sovereign Turkic rulers, but Muslim *sulṭān*s (lit. "power"), the political representatives of the only orthodox Islamic sovereign — the Abbasid caliph of Baghdad.[71] Under no circumstances could the Rūm Seljuks have been regarded as holders of the title Tyrkjakonungr.

The Scandinavians and Normans from Normandy, England, and Italy, who often served as members of the imperial guard in Constantinople and later actively participated in the crusades, were well aware of these relationships. It was an anonymous Norman chronicler from Italy who provided us with a first-hand account of the events of the First Crusade (1096–1099). Although his *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum* was edited by a cleric in Jerusalem, ca. 1099–1101, it preserved the perspective of a warrior.[72]

In 1097 the enemies the crusaders faced in their march from Anatolia to Jerusalem were not all Turks: "multitudo Turcorum et Araborum et Saracenorum et aliorum quos enumerare ignoro" (p. 46); "statim autem venientibus militibus nostris, Turci et Arabes et Sarraceni et Angulani et omnes barbare nationes dederunt velociter fugam per compendia montium et per

[69] Claude Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, trans. J. Jones-Williams (New York, 1968), pp. 19–50; Speros Vryonis, Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1971), pp. 80–96.

[70] Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, pp. 64–96; Vryonis Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, pp. 96–113.

[71] Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, pp. 216–230. Cf. also Karl Bertau, *Deutsche Literatur im Europäischen Mittelalter* 1 [800–1197] (Munich, 1972), p. 188.

[72] *Histoire anonyme de la première croisade*, ed. Louis Bréhier (Paris, 1924).

plana loca. Erat autem numerus Turcorum, Persarum, Publicanorum (Paulicians), Sarracenorum, Angulanorum aliorumque paganorum CCCLX milia, extra Arabes, quorum numerum nemo scit nisi solus Deus" (p. 48); "idem vero [in June 1098] Curbaram (Kurbaγa) congregavit innumeras gentes paganorum, videlicet Turcos, Arabes, Saracenos, Publicanos, Azimitas, Curtos (Kurds), Persas, Agulanos et alias multas gentes innumerabiles" (pp. 110, 112).

The Rūm Seljuk ruler Sulaymān does not have the title of king (*rex*), but is styled *dux*: "Postquam vero Turci, inimici Dei et sancte Christianitatis, omnino fuerunt devicti, per IV dies et noctes fugientes huc et illuc, contigit ut Solimanus [Qilij-Arslan] dux illorum, filius Solimani veteris, fugeret de Nicena (Nicea), qui invenit X milia Arabum . . ." (p. 52).

Even the Great Seljuk ruler is not called the king of the Turks, but a Persian sultan; the real sovereignty of the Abbasid caliph was also recognized by the keen Norman observer: "Curbaram (Kurbaγa) princeps milicie soldani (*sulṭān*) Persie [at that time the Great Seljuk Barkiaruq, 1092–1104], dum adhuc esset Corrozanum (Khorasan), quotiens Cassianus ammiralius Antioche legationem ei misit quo sibi succurreret in tempore opportuno . . . cumque jam habuisset maximum exercitum Turcorum, ex longo collectum tempore, et licentiam occidendi Christianos acceptisset a calipha (caliph), illorum apostolico, ilico inchoavit iter longe vie Antiochie" (p. 110).

Another Norman, this one from Normandy, wrote a pamphlet, *De profectione Danorum in Hierosolymam*, around the year 1200 in which he speaks about the *pagani* in general, but does not specify the Turks.[73]

The *Leiðarvísir* of the Icelandic Abbot Nikulás Bergsson, which were based on a pilgrimage he took in 1154, say that the cape of Chelidonya lying south of Attalya/Antalya (Ialandanes, modern Turkish Gelidonya burnu) was located in Tyrkland (see Appendix 4, p. 715). "Tyrkland" here, however, is most probably a later gloss, since in 1154 the region (especially its maritime portion) was still firmly in Byzantine hands; it was seized by the Rūm Seljuk ruler Kay-Khusraw I only in 1207.[74] Such dubious "source-data," can hardly be taken as a basis for connecting Troy with the Seljuk Turks, as Heusler suggested.

Like Grikkjakonungr, the title given to the Byzantine emperor (ὁ βασιλέυς), the ON epithet Tyrkjakonungr designated the highest Turkic ruler, the kagan (*qaγan*), emperor of the steppes. This ruler, like the Norse rulers of old, professed the tolerant religion of the Männerbünde, and was therefore better suited for becoming the ancestor of the illustrious clan of the Ynglingar than was a sedentary Iranized Seljuk ruler, the propagator and active defender of

[73] Ed. Gertz, *SMHD* II, pp. 443–492, esp. p. 488.

[74] Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, p. 120; *Cambridge Medieval History* IV, pt. 1, ed. J. M. Hussey, p. 746.

the religion of Islam, which was especially aggressively anti-Christian in the age of the Crusades.

Ari's Tyrkjakonungr also had nothing to do with the bookish Frankish Troy stories. This important epithet should rather be treated as an epic reflection of the real past, of the close relations that existed between the Norsemen and the Turkic Khazars from the eighth to the tenth centuries, a time when the true Turkic emperor, the Tyrkjakonungar, still existed. (See also pp. 182 and 583.)

Vanakvísl and Vanaheimr/Vanaland

Dumézil called Snorri's equation *Vana-kvísl* = *Tanais* "Don River" a "less successful pun."[75] Vanakvísl was, however, not invented by Snorri, nor was it even a pun.

The French scholars commissioned to write the *Acta*, or *Gesta*, of the Norman dukes (Dudo, d. 1029; William of Jumièges, c. 1072) were too securely rooted in the Latin Christian scholarly tradition and too uninvolved in the pre-Christian world of the strange northerners to transmit it to posterity; besides, geography was not their metier.

In contrast, Roger II (1105–1154), king of Norman Sicily and a passionate geographer, instructed his Moroccan collaborator al-Idrīsī (b. 1100, d. 1166) to incorporate in his geographic compendium and *mappa mundi* not only current material concerning the trade routes, but also geographic data based on the experience of the Norsemen from the ninth and tenth centuries. One can find in al-Idrīsī's work the term *Ellipaltar* for the Azov Sea route used by the Norsemen and known from the *Haralds saga harðráða*; the Latin etymology of the name "Baltic" (cf. Adam of Bremen), and data locating Troy east of the river Don. Tanais/Don as being the "fork" (ON *kvísl*) of the Don and of six rivers, the Sivers'kyj Donec' and the latter's five tributaries, is described by al-Idrīsī both in the text of his *Kitāb nuzhat al-muštāq* and on the map. In the relevant chapter (6.5) he writes: "Six large rivers [the Sivers'kyj Donec' with its tributaries] mix their waters with that of the above-mentioned river Rūsiya [= Don]; their sources are in the Riphaean Mountains [cf. Snorri, Ys, chap. 5] . . . The valleys are inhabited by the an-Nb'ryh people. They possess six fortified cities along the course of these rivers . . ." (al-Idrīsī's map gives the names of all six towns).[76]

Archaeological excavations in the basin of the Sivers'kyj Donec' have

[75] Dumézil, *Gods of the Ancient Northmen*, p. 13.

[76] See Pritsak, *Hungaro-Turcica* (Budapest, 1976), pp. 24–28.

recently uncovered a group of twelve white stone castles from the Saltovo-Majaki culture dating into the eighth and ninth centuries. Because no Arab sources (aside from al-Idrīsī) mention these towns, it is reasonable to suppose that al-Idrīsī's work reflects a piece of disguised Norse (> Norman) geographic tradition.

Thus the name *Tana-kvísl*, the "Tanais fork," has an old and solid tradition. But what about the Vana-kvísl? According to Ys (chap. 1), "the land around the Vana-kvísl was called Vanaland." Since Vana-kvísl was another name for Tana-kvísl (according to the same source), Vanaland was the land on both sides of the Tanais/Don.

Sometime between 635 and 665, around Maeotis and the lower Don, the realm of Magna Bulgaria (not unlike the previous Bosporus Kingdom) was founded by the Ōnoγur-Bulγar (Bulgar) ruler Kobrat. After Kobrat died, the country was attacked by the Turkic Khazars, the rising power in that area. The struggle prompted the migration of three groups of Proto-Bulgars in the 670s; those remaining made peace with the victors and accepted the suzereignty of the Khazar kagan.[77]

The name *Ōnoγur* (Onogur) is an Altaic tribal name, derived from a compound with a numeral as the first component: *ōn* in *ōnoγur* means "ten." Not infrequently such names also occur in an abbreviated form consisting of the numeral alone, e.g., Nayman, a proto-Mongolian tribe, means "eight." The Hunno-Bulgarian correspondence to the Turkic *ōn* was *vān*.[78]

The Turkic Khazars, before attacking the Vān (Onogur-Bulgars) during the first half of the seventh century, took possession of most of the realm of the Alans in the northern Caucasus. The Alans were commercially active and, voluntarily submitting to the new and powerful empire, soon became part of its ruling elite. The Islamic sources actually distinguish two groups of Alans: the Alans proper, e.g., Arabic *al-Lān*, and the Ās, e.g., Arabic *al-Ās*.[79] Abu'l-Fidā' (ca. 1321) preserved an old story according to which the Ās were a Turkic (i.e., Turkicized) people living near the al-Lān (Alans), having the same origin as the Alans and professing the same religion.[80]

In the second half of the eighth century, when the Norse traders and adventurers started penetrating into the Khazar Empire, there still existed memories in the epic tradition of the great war between the Turks and Ases, on one side, and the Vanes (Onogur-Bulgars) on the other, and the ensuing peace.

[77] Pritsak, *Die bulgarische Fürstenliste* (Wiesbaden, 1955), pp. 35–42, 50–51.

[78] Pritsak, *Bulgarische Fürstenliste*, p. 54.

[79] See, e.g., V. Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* (London, 1937), pp. 445, 456, 458, 481. Concerning the etymology of the name *ās* (different from ON *áss*), see Abaev, *Istoriko-ètimologičeskij slovar' osetinskogo jazyka* I (1958), pp. 79–80.

[80] *Taqwīm al-buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane (Paris, 1940), p. 201.

The Iranian Alans formed a close alliance with the Germanic warriors during the migration period, especially with the Goths and the Vandals.[81] It is not so unlikely, then, that the Alans of the Khazar Empire — who were politically Turks and ethnically Āses (i.e., Iranians) — transmitted to the Norse trading and warrior bands the current version of the steppe tradition that then became known as the religion of the Tyrkir, alias Æsir.

The basic mythologems of the steppe religion, which had been abandoned by the now agricultural Germanic peoples, reappeared in a new version. The struggle of the first and second function against the third function was transposed into an epic story whose basis was a great historical event in southeastern Europe.

The Norse trading and war bands operated in the Khazar Empire. From there they brought back to the north, where the Viking movement was just starting to emerge, a form of ideology and religion that suited their needs. This reintroduction of the once-upon-a-time Indo-European religion to the north later received an epic representation in the form of the story about Óðinn's journeys from Tyrkland to Saxland, Frakland, and Scandinavia.

In view of this theory ON *Van-r* should be identified with the Proto-Bulgarian name (*Vān* >) Van; Tanais-Don received the second name Vana-kvísl (the fork of the [land of the] Vanes), and the territory around its lower course became known as the "land" or "home" of the Vanes (Vana-land, Vanaheimr).

Svíþjóð in Mikla eða kalda

The data on *Svíþjóð in mikla eða kalda,* or "Sweden the Great or Cold," are found in Ys, chapters 1 and 5. Although they are not very detailed, they provide enough information to identify a concrete, localizable geographical territory. The pieces of information Ys provides are: Sweden the Great or Cold was located to the north of the Svartahaf (chap. 1); it was a large territory, comparable in size to Serkland in mikla (Saracen land) or Bláland in mikla (Africa); it was inhabited by many tribes speaking their own languages; its northern (less well-known) part was peopled with giants and dwarfs (chap. 1) and was "uncultivated because of frost and cold" (chap. 1); through its southern part ran the river Tanais, which was called *Tana-* (*Vana-*) *kvísl* ("Tana/Vana Fork") by the Norsemen, and which had its mouth at Svartahaf

[81] See, e.g., Bernard S. Bachrach, *A History of the Alans in the West* (Minneapolis, 1973).

(chap. 1). The land was divided from other countries by a great mountain chain which ran north-east and then south-west (chap. 5). To the west of the river *Tana-* (*Vana-*)*kvísl* was Europe; to its east was Asia. Svartahaf does not just mean the Black Sea; the term also includes the Sea of Azov which on the maps of al-Idrīsī (1154) was also not a separate entity. Tanais is the classical name for the Don River; the term "Tanais Fork" (*Tana-* [*Vana-*] *kvísl*) refers to the area that includes the Don, its major tributary Sivers'kyj Donec', and the five tributaries of the latter, also, as we have seen, described by al-Idrīsī. The river flows into the Sea of Azov and the Strait of Kerč. The two parts of the mountain chain are identifiable as the Volga Uplands (a mountain chain running north-east) and the Central Russian Uplands (a mountain chain running south-west). These are the boundaries of the territory called Sweden the Great or Cold by the Norsemen — the basin of the middle Volga and the Oka.

Ásgarðr/Tyrkland, Troy, and T"mutorokan'

A comparison of the text of Snorri's Ys with the Prologue of his Edda provides the following information concerning *Ásgarðr*, *Tyrkland*, and *Troy*, and their interrelation: The land in *Ásiá*, east of the *Tana-* (*Vana-*) *kvísl* (= Don) was called *Ásaland* or (eða) *Ásaheimr*; its capital was *Ásgarðr* and Óðinn was its ruler (Ys, chap. 1). The great possessions of Óðinn were in *Tyrkland* (Ys, chap. 5), which was the Norse word for *Trója* (Troy); Troy was located near the earth's center (SnE, Prologue, chap. 3[4]). Tyrkland was situated south of the mountain chain that formed the northern border of Sweden the Great or Cold (the Volga Uplands and the Central Russian Uplands) (Ys, chap. 5). Óðinn's starting point for his journey is called Ásgarðr in Ys (chap. 5), while SnE calls it *Tyrkland* (Prologue, chap. 3 [4]). Troy had the customs of the *Tyrkir* (Turks; SnE, Prologue, chap. 5).

All this data leads one to assume that Snorri considered Tyrkland to be another name for Ásgarðr, and that both names, in the manner of the *interpretatio Graeca vel Romana*, corresponded to classical Troy.

If Ásgarðr/Tyrkland corresponded to Troy, then Snorri's Troy had to be located east of the river *Tana-* (*Vana-*) *kvísl* (= Tanais = Don). This conclusion had, in fact, been made, but not by Snorri (or as Heusler puts it, the later "compiler" of the SnE Prologue).

In the eleventh century the most advanced Norse political establishment was the French dukedom of Normandy centered at Rouen; in the twelfth and

thirteenth centuries, it was the kingdom (*regno*) of Sicily. Its reformer, Roger II (count, 1105–1130; king, 1130–1154), writes Donald E. Queller, "combined the assimilative and organizational ability of the Normans with the government experience and institutions of the Greeks and Muslims to form the strongest government in Western Europe. Free from dependence on the feudal class, this government was run by professional bureaucrats, mostly businessmen, many of them foreigners, including Muslims."[82] One of the latter was our Arabic geographer, al-Idrīsī. A Moroccan prince and court geographer, he wrote a compendium of universal geography in 1154, based on classical, Arabic, and Norse information. This compendium includes a great compilative *Mappa Mundi*. On the map, climate VII, section 6, one finds طروبا *Ṭrōyā*, i.e. Troy, located east of the تناوي *Tän-Älwi* River (one of al-Idrīsī's names for the Tanais), near its entry to the Bay of the Goths (غتون *Ġutūn*).[83]

Interest in the ancient legends of Troy was revived by two anonymous medieval Latin quasihistorical narratives (purporting to be translations from the Greek). One was a fictitious journal of the siege, allegedly written by Dictys of Crete, *Dictys Cretensis, De bello Trojano Libri VI* (ca. fourth century of our era); the other, inferior one was entitled *Daretis Phrygii, De excidio Trojae historia* (ca. A.D. 400–600).[84]

When Pseudo-Fredegarius Scholasticus in the first decades of the seventh century wanted to recount the origins of the Franks, he used the legend in order to establish his Franks as a part of the fugitive Trojans.[85] The first nationally conscious Frankish ruler (and Fredegarius's patron), Dagobert I (629–639), used this discovery to style himself in his charters "ex nobilissimo et antiquo Trojanorum reliquiarum sanguine nati."[86] After that, every new Christian European nation tried to overcome its inferiority complex by utilizing the untapped potential contained in the story of the destruction of Troy and the subsequent migration of the defeated heroes, for in it the possibilities for finding a suitable ancestor were practically unlimited.

About 1050, a new impetus for utilizing the Trojan legend was given by the

[82] "Political Institutions," in *One Thousand Years: Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard L. De Molen (Boston, 1974), p. 142.

[83] Details are presented in vol. four, part two (of this work).

[84] Hermann Dunger, *Die Saga vom Trojanischen Krieg in den Bearbeitungen des Mittelalters und ihren antiken Quellen* (Leipzig, 1869).

[85] Edmund Lüthgen, *Die Quellen und der historische Werth der fränkischen Trojasage* (Bonn, 1875); Alexandre Eckhardt, "Sicambria," pp. 11–52.

[86] This statement is repeated almost literally by Charles the Bald in his charters: "Ex preclaro et antiquo Trojanorum sanguine nati," see "Troy," *Encyclopaedia Britannica* XXII (Chicago, 1966), p. 508. Cf. R. Barroux, *Dagobert, roi des Francs* (Paris, 1938), and A. Giry et al. (ed.), *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1943–1955).

monk Bernard's *De excidio Trojae*, which was reinforced in the last decades of the twelfth century by two very influential poems, the French *Roman de Troie* in octosyllabic couplets (30,000 lines) composed about 1184 by Benoît de Sainte-More, and a Latin poem in six books *De bello Trojano* by the English Joseph of Exeter (ca. 1187).[87]

Although we do not have any direct evidence for the method used by the Norman scholars to conclude that Troy was located east of the Tanais River, we may reasonably suspect that it resulted from the following categorical syllogism: The Tanais River is the frontier of Europe and Asia; Asia is on its eastern side. Troy was located in Asia near the frontier of Europe and Asia. Therefore Troy was located in Asia, east of the Tanais River.

On April 13, 1185, Igor' Svjatoslavič of Novhorod Sivers'kyj, the second ranking prince of the Černihiv land, together with a group of princes of his domains, set out on a campaign into the Polovcian (Qipčaq/Quman) steppe through the basins of the Don and Sivers'kyj Donec' rivers. Igor's goal was to reconquer the city of T"mutorokan' (Byzantine Tamatarcha; Old Turkic Tümän Tarqan), the most prestigious possession of the Černihiv dynasty, lost to Byzantium by his father Svjatoslav some thirty years earlier. This goal is very clearly stated in a court láy of that time, the famous *Igor' Tale*, commissioned by Igor' in 1199 and finished by an anonymous author about 1201.[88]

The campaign ended in disaster for the Rus' princes. When the boyars in the poem inform the senior member of the Černihiv dynasty, the then king of Kiev, Svjatoslav Vsevolodovič (1181-1194), of the disaster, they use the following words:[89]

102. Се бо два сокола слѣтѣста съ отня стола злата поискати града Тъмутороканя,	Two falcons [Igor' Svjatoslavič and his brother Vsevolod], indeed, have flown off the golden paternal throne in quest of the city of T"mutorokan',
а любо испити шеломомь Дону.	or at least to drink a helmetful of the [river] Don.

In order to describe the route ("trail") and the territory traversed by the

[87] A. Joly, *Benoît de Sainte-More et le Roman de Troie* (Paris, 1870-1871); R. Jäckel, *Dares Phrygius und Benoît de Ste-More* (Breslau, 1875); F. Settegast, *Benoît de Ste-More* (Breslau, 1876); G. Körting, *Der altfranzösische Roman de Troie* (Paderborn, 1883).

[88] Pritsak, "The Igor Tale as a Historical Document," *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.* 12 (1969-1972), pp. 44-61.

[89] The "Igor' Tale" is quoted here after the most recent edition by Roman Jakobson, "Édition critique du *Slovo*," *Selected Writings* IV (The Hague, 1966), pp. 133-163. The numbers refer to Jakobson's verse divisions. The English translation is based in part on Vladimir Nabokov's *The Song of Igor's Campaign* (New York, 1960).

Rus' host, the lay uses the adjective *Trojan'*. Its significance has been the subject of scholarly battles for almost two hundred years, and has yet to be solved. The three occurrences at issue are as follows:

14. О Бояне, соловію старого времени! абы ты сіа плъкы ущекоталъ, скача, славію, по мыслену древу, летая умомъ подъ облакы, свивая славы оба полы сего времени, рища въ тропу Трояню чресъ поля на горы.	O, Bojan, nightingale of the times of old! If you were to trill [your praise of] these troops, while hopping, nightingale, over the tree of thought; [if you were] flying in mind up to the clouds; [if] weaving paeans around these times, [you were] rowing the Trojan trail, across steppes onto mountain chains. . . .
76. Въстала обида въ силахъ Дажьбожа внука: вступила дѣвою на землю Трояню; въсплескала лебедиными крылы на синѣмь море, у Дону.	Obida [the personification of harm] has risen among the forces of the grandson of [the Rus' god] Daž'bog; in the guise of a maiden she has stepped into the Trojan land. She clapped her swan wings on the blue sea by the [mouth of the] Don.
152. Которою бо бѣше насилiе отъ земли Половецкыи на седмомъ вѣцѣ земли Трояни.	Because of the quarrel, violence came from the Polovcian (Qipčaq) land, upon the Trojan land, in [our] seventh millennium [from the creation].

Finally there is one passage where both Troy, with its famous battles, and T"mutorokan', located at the mouth of the Don (cf. also verse 76), are mentioned together:

57–59. Были сѣчи Трояни, минула лѣта Ярославля; были плъци Олговы, Олга Святъславличя. Тъй бо Олегъ . . . ступаетъ въ златъ стремень въ градѣ Тъмутороканѣ.	There have been the Trojan battles, gone are the [battle] years of Jaroslav [1010–1054], there have been the battles of Oleg, the Oleg Svjatoslavič [ca. 1058–1115]. That Oleg [grandfather of Igor' Svjatoslavič and Prince of T"mutorokan', 1079, 1083–1094] . . . set foot in the golden stirrup [= ruled] in the city of T"mutorokan'.

There is hardly any doubt that the T"mutorokan' at the mouth of the river Don and the classical Troy have been equated by the author of the *Igor' Tale*. This is not surprising when one considers the dynastic ties the Rurikids maintained during the eleventh and twelfth centuries with the Norse dynasties. New discoveries and important religious-cultural events would have reached Old

Rus' comparatively rapidly. For example, in 1197 the Latin Chronicle of Cologne recorded the appearance of a ghostly horseman who called himself Theodericus Bernensis (Dietrich von Bern) and predicted misfortune for the Roman Empire.[90] A few years later (1204) the same Theodericus is mentioned in the contemporary Novgorodian account of the conquest of Constantinople.[91]

As al-Idrīsī's work testifies, Palermo had a collection of detailed reports concerning the trade routes in Rus' and the lands around the Black Sea; the main sources of information were the Rus'ian and foreign traders and merchants. They certainly had ample opportunity to spread the results of the new discoveries and achievements of the Palermo school throughout central and eastern Europe.

From the *Igor' Tale* we learn not only that "historical" Troy was located east of the Don River, but that it was equated with the most important economic center of that epoch, the city of T"mutorokan', which after the Turkic conquest in 576[92] had become the administrative and political center of the territories formerly constituting the Bosporus Kingdom, replacing in importance the old capital of Panticapaeum (modern Kerč), a role that it continued to play throughout Khazar times and during the old Rus' period (until the end of the twelfth century).

Goðheimar

Goðheimar (sg. *Goðheimr*) means literally "god home," and this must have been the way Snorri (or his source) also understood the term for the *Heimskringla* also contains the pendant *Mannheimar* "man home."[93] Snorri gives two equivalences for Goðheimar, one narrow and one broad. The first corresponds to Svíþjóð inn mikla; the second includes Tyrkland and Vanaheimr as well.

Gudmund Schütte, when dealing with the fate of the name of the Goths in Old Norse, established a law of the "Verballhornung (transmogrification) epischer Namen."[94] Under the influence of the Celtic model, a compound form with *-þeud*, "people," was introduced for the Gothic name *Gut-þiuda*,

[90] See von See, *Germanische Heldensage* (Frankfurt am M., 1971), p. 42.
[91] See Kunik in *Mélanges Russes* I (St. Petersburg, 1851), pp. 419–421.
[92] Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I², pp. 76–77.
[93] *Hkr* I (*IF* 26), p. 22 (*Goðheimar, Goðheimr*), p. 27 (*Goðheimr*); p. 21 (*Manheimar*), p. 22 (*Mannheimar*).

which in Old Norse developed into *Gotþjóð* > *Goðþjóð*,[95] the last being the form used in the epic lay, *The Battle of the Goths and the Huns*.[96] Now there developed the new stem **Goð-* (< *Got-*), from which the forms *Goð-heimar/Goð-heimr* and *Goð-lǫnd* were derived; SnE preserved the original form *Got-land* as the epic name for Denmark.[97]

Upphaf (the extant manuscript dates from the fourteenth century) very clearly equates the *Goð-* in *Goð-lǫnd* with *Goð-* in *Goð-þjóð*, which seems to correspond to reality: "And then that land which [the Turks and] Ásíamenn peopled was called Goð-lǫnd and the people [were called] Goð-þjóð." Snorri's epic source thus unknowingly preserves the old geographic nomenclature from eastern Europe disguised as a popular etymology, just as the lay *The Battle of the Goths and the Huns* did. Goðheimar should not be understood as "god home" but as "the home of the Goths."

Has Snorri's "gelehrte Urgeschichte," then, a historical base? This question, posed by Heusler, can now be answered with an emphatic *Yes*! The differing judgments among scholars arose because Snorri — he was, after all, first a poet — used a *ginning* device in presenting the same epic event several times, each time from a different perspective. One time *interpretatio Graeca vel Romana* was applied; in this instance, Snorri used the Trojan legend. Another time, he operated with the data of Germanic mythology; in explaining the character of the Deity of Männerbünde that corresponded to the Vedic Mitra, he called him Óðinn, but with the specification that he was not the simple Germanic Óðinn, but Ása-Óðinn as Óðinn of the Tyrkir (meaning Khazars) — in fact their Tyrkjakonungr.

This chapter identifies Ása-Óðinn's residence Ásgarðr with the city T"mutorokan'/Tamatarcha, the successor to Hellenistic Bosporus, and the name "Vanes" with the Onogur-Bulgars. T"mutorokan', a meetingplace of both sedentary and nomadic cultures and a center of international trade, was a place where the religion of steppe Männerbünde could have received its Khazar-Turkic interpretation. The adoption of the title of Tyrkjakonungr by the Icelandic tradition only bears witness to the prestige which the Khazar ruler enjoyed during the seventh to tenth century.

Óðinn's journeys, on the other hand, symbolize the spread of the Khazar version of the Männerbünde ideology to the Germanic West, as was expounded above (p. 92).

[94] *Gotthiod und Utgard* II (1936), pp. 350–352.
[95] Schütte, *Our Forefathers* I (1929), pp. 33–34, 159.
[96] Tolkien, *The Saga of King Heidrek the Wise* (1960), pp. 49, 50, 53.
[97] *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar*, ed. F. Jónsson (1931), p. 135: "þar sem nv er kavllvð Danmork, en þa var kallat Gotland"; cf. p. 186.

CHAPTER TWELVE

The Poetry of the Skalds
Skaldic Poetry as a Historical Source

Skaldic Poetry

Unlike the anonymous poems of the *Edda*, the poems of the skalds (*skáld, skald*; *hirðskáld*, "court poet") from the ninth to thirteenth centuries usually have identifiable authors. "The Norse skalds were essentially recorders of events, advertisers, men whose profession it was to fix or stabilize memory in a brief statement that would outlast time" (Frank, *Court Poetry*, p. 25). Their poems reached their peak of development in the eleventh century. Like the Arabic *qaṣīda*, these poems are panegyrical songs, but they differ in that they have syllabic versification. Of the nearly one hundred types of skaldic verse that have been identified, perhaps the oldest and certainly the one used most widely was the *dróttkvætt*, or "court measure" (meter), which consists of eight-line strophes, of six syllable lines each, ending in a trochee. The syntactic unit was not a strophe, however, but a half-strophe, or *helmingr*, which was followed by a pause. Skaldic poetry is therefore strophic and, like other Old Germanic poetry, based on alliteration and internal rhyme. One verse is composed of two half-verses. "For although *dróttvætt* is oral poetry, it is

dependent on the concept of a fixed text" (Frank, *Court Poetry*, p. 27).

A strophe is called a *vísa* (pl. *vísur*). Strophes are grouped either into longer poems, called *drápa* (pl. *drápur*), which are tied together by a common refrain (*stef*, "burden"), or into short poems without refrain, known as *flokkr* (pl. *flokkar*).

The drápa, designed for ambitious encomiastic purposes, is usually composed of three parts (comparable to the structure of the Arabic *qaṣida*): the *upphaf* ("introduction"); the main section or *stefjubálkr* ("body of discourse") with a refrain; and the "conclusion," *slœmr* ("slim end").

The skald Egill Skallagrímsson (ca. 910–990) created a new form of verse, the so-called *run-hent*, but it never became as widely used as the drápa. It was characterized by a four-syllable structure with an end rhyme, which was often the same for every four consecutive lines. Other forms were also developed such as the *hryn-hent*, an eight-syllable strophe, resembling Latin religious hymns.

Like Arabic poetry, skaldic poetry could also be of a satirical, mocking nature. Such strophes were known as *níð-vísur*. The term *lausa-vísur* was used to denote improvisations or occasional verse.

Typical of skaldic poetry — Óðinn's gift for mankind (see p. 301) — are *heiti* or poetic appelations for commonplace things, rare in normal speech (e.g., *verr* for the prose word *maðr* 'man'), and the individual codification of ideas and objects in which two, three, or more ideas were usually combined to denote one subject or object in the form known as *kenning* (< Old Norse *kenna*, "to call [by periphrasis]"). "Sea-stirrers," for example, is a kenning for "oars," "arrow-thing" or "storm of the spear" a kenning for "battle," "steed of waves" or "fjord elk" a kenning for "ship." Kennings were constructed by adding one onto another to form a complete, and often very complex, system which some scholars designate as the hypertrophy of the form. The following quotation from Hollander's study on skaldic poetry serves to illustrate this point:[1]

> Let us say that Haki is the name of a sea king of old. Then *Haka dýr* (the animal of Haki) can stand for "ship"; and *Haka dýrs blik* (the glamour of the animal of Haki) for "shield" — shields were fastened on the railings of a Viking ship; and *Haka dýrs bliks dynr* (the tumult of the glamour of the animal of Haki) for "battle"; and *Haka dýrs bliks dyns sæðingr* (the gull of the tumult of the glamour of the animal of Haki) for "raven" or "vulture"; and finally *Haka dýrs bliks dyns sæðinga hungrdeyfir* (the appeaser of the hunger of the gulls of the tumult of Haki's animal) for "warrior," "king!"

[1] *The Skalds* (Ann Arbor, 1968), p. 13; cf. also Frank, *Court Poetry*, pp. 40–49.

In many instances the kenning can serve the modern historian as a source for cultural history. For example, in his *Erfidrápa,* written in 1067 in honor of King Haraldr harðráði, the skald Arnórr Þórðarsson used the kenning: *Grikkja vǫrðr ok Garða,* "protector of Greeks and Rus'," to denote the Christian god.[2] This is significant because it shows, first, the Greeks and Rus' named together and, second, the two peoples joined by Christianity (that is, after 988 and before 1051), when most of the Scandinavians were still pagan, though Christianity of the Greek rite only, not of both the Greek and Slavonic rites.

Another Viking concept concerning a connection between God and the Byzantine Empire was reflected in the preserved refrain (*stef*) of *Hǫfuðlausn* ("Head Ransom," 1026) by Þórarinn loftunga, a skald of Canute the Great.

The function of a skáld who wandered from the court of one Scandinavian konungr to another was not so much to compose "original" works as to sing the praises of his patrons. He did so according to precisely determined poetical forms and patterns, but was free to develop and arrange them individually. Jan de Vries correctly regards skaldic poetry as having been an integral part of Scandinavian court etiquette.[3]

Unfortunately, most skaldic poetry has survived only in fragments, for the most part in quotations found in other works, such as the collections, *Morkinskinna, Fagrskinna, Heimskringla,* and *Snorra Edda.*

The *Skáldatal,* a register of skalds in two editions, has aided scholars in identifying and dating skaldic poetry. The first edition lists the names of konungar and their skalds beginning with semilegendary times and going up to 1260, while the second covers the period from 1260 to 1300.[4]

Essentially the surviving works represent the remnants of skaldic poetry from the courts of the Norwegian konungar and jarlar. At first the skalds were Norwegians, later usually Icelanders by birth with skaldic training. There were members of the Norwegian royal dynasty among them.[5]

Most of the extant skaldic verses are found in the manuscripts of king's sagas and family sagas, about which E.O.G. Turville-Petre writes:

> Few, if any, of these verses were put on parchment before the late twelfth century. Therefore we must allow, in some cases, for three centuries of oral transmission. Since the manuscripts on which we

[2] Appears in *Erfidrápa Haralds harðráða.* Snorri Sturluson in his *Edda* (ed. F. Jónsson [Kbh, 1931], p. 159, No. 275), writes that this kenning was used to describe the Byzantine emperor ("Grickia konvngr"). Cf. R. Meissner, *Die Kenningar,* p. 369; E. Rydzevskaja, *TODRL* 2, p. 7, n. 2, quotes this kenning from Meissner without identifying it.

[3] *GAL* I², p. 93.

[4] About them, see *CPB* II, pp. 442–446, and *GAL* I², p. 124.

[5] *GAL* I², pp. 155–157;cf. Frank, *Court Poetry,* pp. 152–153, 174–177.

> rely are, for the most part, copies of copies, many of them written in the fourteenth century and later, we must also allow for generations of scribal transmission, involving occasional misreading and attempts at improvement.[6]

In order to check the authenticity of the skaldic verses, scholars developed a set of linguistic and metrical criteria: uncontracted word forms, which are supposed to be earlier (e.g., *bráa* for later *brá*); the use of *a* and the umlaut *ǫ* (< *a*) in full rhyme; the use of the expletive *of*; and irregularity in the earlier verses in the use and distribution of the rhyme (esp. in *dróttkvætt*). Turville-Petre continues:

> In general, we may say that the rigid form of scaldic poetry was a safeguard against corruption during oral transmission, and that scaldic texts are less corrupt than those in the free measures of the *Edda*. We may say that many verses are older than the sagas in which they are embedded. In that case, they were important sources for sagas. It may never be possible to say whether one verse or another is correctly ascribed to the poet who is said to have made it, nor whether he made it on the occasion on which the author of the saga believed he did. In spite of all these doubts, we may also say that there would be little history in sagas of early kings of Norway or of Icelandic heroes, were it not for scaldic verses, transmitted orally, and the explanatory tales which went with them.[7]

The English sources, especially the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, often provide data dealing with the same events as the skaldic verses. This unique opportunity prompted Alistair Campbell to reexamine the accuracy of the skaldic poetry by checking it against the information contained in the more matter-of-fact Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.[8]

Five sets of events occurring between 937 and 1066 came under Campbell's scrutiny: the battle of Brunnaburh in 937; the identity of Óláfr Tryggvason with the Viking leader at Maldon in 991; the role of Óláfr inn helgi (St. Óláfr, d. 1030) in the wars of Æthelred the Unready, ca. 1009–1014; the invasion of England by Canute the Great and Eiríkr Hlaðajarl (ca. 1014–1027); and, finally, the battle of Stamford Bridge (1066). Campbell insisted that a saga's verses should be considered in isolation, since "the prose may be wrong in its

[6] Turville-Petre, *Scaldic Poetry*, pp. lxvi–lxvii; cf. Frank, *Court Poetry*, pp. 30–33.

[7] Turville-Petre, *Scaldic Poetry*, p. lxxiv. He presented his findings in his Dorothea Coke Memorial Lecture in Northern Studies delivered on March 17, 1970, at University College, London. Cf. O. Moberg, *Historisk Tidskrift* 83 (Sthlm, 1963), pp. 385–390.

[8] A. Campbell, *Scaldic Verse and Anglo-Saxon History* (London, 1971).

attribution of the verse to particular persons or events," and he also asserted that "historical inaccuracy is not itself a good reason for regarding a verse as a forgery. The poet may have been imperfectly informed about the events which he described."[9]

Campbell then went on to show that the deeds of a Scandinavian hero are often telescoped and presented schematically. Thus, St. Óláfr, certainly only a junior officer in 1009, is nevertheless depicted by his skalds as a great leader and victor in every battle. But the skaldic verses do usually reflect some historical reality, and they cannot be rejected simply as forgeries.[9a]

Individual Works and Their Data

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[9] Campbell, *Scaldic Verse*, p. 3.

[9a] See also two known East Norse *drótikvætts*: on Karlevi stone (OD, p. 341) and on Sigtuna box (OS, p. 364).

17. Bjǫrn Hítdœlakappi (10-11 cent.)
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34. Ívarr Ingimundarson (12th cent.): *Sigurðarbǫlkr* (ca. 1140); strophes 19, 20, 21)
35. Anonymous (12th cent.): *Þulur* (strophes 2, 3, 4)
36. Four skaldic historical poems of the twelfth or thirteenth century: *Geisli* (1153) by Einarr Skúlason, *Rekstefja* by Hallar Steinn (twelfth century), Anonymous, *Nóregs konunga tal* (ca. 1190), and *Jómsvíkinga drápa* by Bjarni Kolbeinsson (d. 1223)

1.

Bragi Boddason enn gamli: *Lausavísa* (Hollander, *Bibliography*, pp. 67–68).

The oldest authentic skaldic poetry is connected with the name of Bragi Boddason, who probably worked in Norway (and in Aldeigja?, see p. 316) in the second half of the ninth century. His *Ragnarsdrápa* is an example of heraldic poetry. It gives a colorful description of a painted shield, presented to him as a gift, where scenes from Old Norse mythology are represented; these descriptions are expressed in masterly organized systems of kenningar.[10]

Bragi probably composed some *Lausavísur*. One of them, quoted in *Landnámabók*, refers to a situation in which Bragi was chosen to be the one to decide which of three children of a king of Hǫrdaland (who harried Bjarmia) were his true sons, Hámundr and Geirmundr, or Leifr. He presented his decision in the form of a *Lausavísa*:

Tveir 'ro inni	Twain are here —
— trúek bǫ́ðum vel —	whom I trust well —
Hámundr ok Geirmundr,	Hámundr and Geirmund,
Hjǫrvi bornir.	Hjǫ́rr's children.
Enn Leifr þriði,	But Leifr, the third,
Loðhattar sunr,	is a Loðhattarson.
fœðat þú þann:	A [bonds-]woman
fár mun enn verri.[11]	bore him.[12]

2.

Þjóðólfr ór Hvíni: *Ynglingatal* (Hollander, *Bibliography*, pp. 92–94).

The other skald whose works have survived at least in excerpt form is Þjóðólfr ór Hvíní. Sometime during the ninth century he was the skald at the courts of the Ynglings of the twenty-eighth generation, Rǫgnvaldr heiðumhæri and his cousin Haraldr inn hárfagri (*regn.* ca. 875–945).[13] Only excerpts from the *Ynglingatal*, included by Snorri Sturluson in his *Heimskringla*,[14] remain from this genealogical song about the dynasty of the Ynglings.

[10] On Bragi, see *GAL* I², pp. 125–129, Hollander, *Skalds*, pp. 25–37, Frank, *Court Poetry*, pp. 103–105, 108–110, and Turville-Petre, *Scaldic Poetry*, pp. 1–6. See also pp. 176–177 of this volume.

[11] Kock I, p. 3 = *Skj* I, p. 5. The end line of the strophe has reached us in several variants (see *IF* I:1, p. 151, n. 6). There is no need to discuss it here, however, since it is only of significance to scholars of Old Norse literature.

[12] Vigfússon-York Powell, *Origines Islandicae* II (1905), p. 88 (with my emendations).

[13] See *GAL* I², pp. 153, 131–136, Hollander, *Skalds*, pp. 38–48 and H. Magerøy, *KHL* XX (1976), cols. 362–363.

[14] The newest edition is Elias Wessén, *Ynglingasaga* (Nordisk Filologi, A. Texter 6) (Sthlm, 1976), 76 pp. The basic studies: Walter Åkerlund, *Studier över Ynglingatal* (Lund, 1939) (8) + 274 pp.; Siegfried Beyschlag, *Konungasögur* (Kbh, 1950), pp. 21–105. Eyvindr Finnsson skáldaspillir's (the Plagiarist's) *Háleygjatal*, a poetic chronicle of the Sæmingar dynasty written for Hlaðajarl Hákon Sigurðarson (970–995), is modeled on the *Ynglingatal*, but the partially preserved strophes of that work contain no reference to eastern Europe.

The first geographical term in the *Ynglingatal* which is directly related to our subject is *Austrvegr*, "the Eastern Way" (or "the East [Baltic] lands").[15] It is first mentioned in connection with the exploits of Dagr, a legendary Ynglingr of the ninth generation. Dagr knew bird language. He also led a campaign to the "East [Baltic] lands" to avenge a death in Reiðgotaland.[16] According to the text included in the *Ynglingasaga*:

8.	Frák, at Dagr dauða orði frægðar fúss of fara skyldi, þás valteins til Vǫrva kom spakfrǫmuðr spǫrs at hefna.	Heard I have that high-born Dagr to death doomed, undaunted came to avenge on Vǫrvi strand, the seeker of glory, his sparrow's loss.
9.	Ok þat orð á Austrvega vísa ferð frá vígi bar, at þann gram of geta skyldi sløngubref Sleipnis verðar.[17]	And eke that, in East [Baltic] lands, the king's host of combat told that this thane by thrown hay-fork from hind's hands to Hel should fare.[18]

According to the *Ynglingasaga*, Yngvarr, an Ynglingr of the nineteenth generation who lived probably in the first half of the seventh century, made many sea raids in retaliation for incursions against Sweden by both Danes and men from Austrvegr. He was killed in an attack on Estonia, and was buried near the seashore under a mound in the Aðalsýsla district.[19]

Þjóðólfr describes this incident in these words:

25.	Þat stǫkk upp, at Yngvari Sýslu kind of sóat hafði ok ljótshǫmum við lagar hjarta	Said it was that slaughtered had Estnic (Sýsla) folk Yngvar the fair, and (at Steini) had struck with force

[15] The term *austrvegr* later came to denote Rus'.

[16] This term unfortunately is not found in any of the surviving skaldic texts.

[17] Kock I, p. 5, strophe 8 = *Skj* I, 9; 9. *Hkr* I (IF 26), p. 36 = *Ynglinga saga*, ed. A. Wessén (Oslo, 1976), p. 21.

[18] *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 21. With my emendation.

[19] *Aðalsýsla* is the mainland of Estland, which lies opposite the island of Ösel (Ey-Sýsla).

herr eistneskr
at hilmi vá.
Ok austmarr
jǫfri sœnskum
Gymis ljóð
at gamni kveðr.[21]

against the Estonian warriors'[20]
gallant leader.
And the sea
a song doth sing
in the east
to atheling slain.[22]

The son of Yngvar, Braut Ǫnundr, avenged his father and defeated *eista* (< *eistra*) *dólgr*, "the Estonian enemy":

26. Varð Ǫnundr
Jónakrs bura
harmi heptr
und Himinfjǫllum.
Ok ofvæg
Eista dolgi
heipt hrísungs
at hendi kom,
ok sá frǫmuðr
foldar beinum
Hǫgna hrørs
of horfinn vas.[23]

Ǫnund was
'neath open sky
with Jónakr's-
son's-evil [= stones] slain.
And the Ests'
enemy strong
by bastard
base was murdered;
and he who
Hǫgni's blood shed
o'erborne was
by bones-of-earth [= stones].[24]

3.

Glúmr Geirason.

Eiríksdrápa (Hollander, *Bibliography*, p. 78). The *Eiríksdrápa* was composed by Glúmr Geirason (d. ca. 975) in honor of the Norwegian king, Eiríkr Haraldsson blódøx (945-948).[25] From the *Fagrskinna*[26] we learn that Glúmr's work which was lost, praised the raids of Eiríkr on Denmark, Kurland, Sweden, and England. The appearance of Kúrland is of interest to our subject. Unfortunately, only one strophe of the entire *Eiríksdrápa* has

[20] Cf. *Lexicon Poeticum*, s.v. *Eysýsla* (p. 116b) and *Sýsla* (p. 557b). Hollander's translation is done freely for poetic purposes, and, although usually accurate in its Scandinavian data, it is in some cases inaccurate in its data concerning eastern Europe and geographical names, epithets, etc., were left out. In those cases I have inserted my own verbatim translation.

[21] Kock I, p. 7 = *Skj* I, p. 12; cf. *Hkr* I (IF 26), pp. 61-62 = *Ynglinga saga*, ed. Wessén, p. 36.

[22] *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 35 (with my emendations).

[23] Kock I, pp. 7-8 = *Skj* I, pp. 12-13; cf. *Hkr* I (IF 26), pp. 64-65 = *Ynglinga saga*, ed. Wessén, p. 38.

[24] *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 38.

[25] *GAL* I², pp. 171, 173.

[26] Ed. F. Jónsson, p. 30.

survived, and it contains no mention of Kúrland or any other east European land.[27]

Gráfeldardrápa (ca. 970) (Hollander, *Bibliography*, p. 78). Glúmr was also skald to the Norwegian King Haraldr Eiríksson gráfeldr (961–970), for whom he wrote the *Gráfeldardrápa*. In this work he glorified the king's military campaign in Bjarmia — it is in Glúmr's work that this important geographical and political name first appears in Scandinavian literature. Quite significantly, the river Vína, "the Northern Dvina," is mentioned together with Bjarmia, implying that Haraldr's campaign proceeded along the coast of Norway, across the White Sea and down the Northern Dvina River. The relevant strophe reads:

5. Austr rauð jǫfra þrýstir	Eastward saw I the athelings'
orðrakkr fyr bý norðan	awer redden his broadsword
brand, þars bjarmskar[28] kindir,	where Bjarmian folk, frightened,
brinnanda, sák rinna.	fled their burning dwellings.
Gótt hlaut gumna sættir	Good fame got him youngish
geirveðr í fǫr þeiri;	gold-bestower on [Northern] Dvina's
ǫðlingi fekksk ungum	(Vína's) banks, in fiercest battle
orð á Vínu borði.[30]	braving the storm-of-arrows.[29]

4.

Guttormr (Goþþormr) sindri: *Hákonardrápa* (Hollander, *Bibliography*, p. 78).

The *Hákonardrápa* is a poem by Guttormr sindri.[31] It glorifies his patron, the Norwegian King Hákon Haraldsson Aðalsteinsfóstri (948–961), for defeating the Danish and Baltic Slavic (*vindr*) Viking pirates on the coast of Skåne and also for defeating the Gauts:

2. Almdrósar fór eisu	Sailed from the south toward
élrunnr mǫrum sunnan	Selund's green sea-nesses
trjónu tingls á grœna	the elmbow-shower's-urger [= king],
tveim einum Selmeina,	with only two swift sail-ships,

[27] Kock I, p. 40 = *Skj* I, p. 75.

[28] The term *Bjarmar* is found in skaldic poetry only in poetic inserts in the *Qrvar-Odds saga* (Kock II, group VII, strophe 8, line 3 = *Skj* II, p. 299). For information about this saga, see *GAL* II², pp. 483–487. Cf. *Lexicon Poeticum*, p. 49a (s.v. *Bjarmar, bjarmskr*).

[29] *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 140; cf. J. Sephton, *The Saga of King Olaf Tryggvason* (London, 1895), p. 44.

[30] Kock I, p. 41 = *Skj* I, p. 76; cf. *Hkr* I (IF 26), p. 217 and *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta*, ed. Ó. Halldórsson I, p. 64.

[31] See *GAL* I², pp. 172–173.

þás ellifu allar	when the liege eleven
allreiðr Dana skeiðar	long-ships cleared of Danish
valsendir hrauð vandar	crews — far-famed that fray — in
víðfrægr at þat síðan.	fierce-fought battle clashing.
3. Selund náði þá síðan	Selund (Zealand) overset the
sóknheggr und sik leggja,	sea king with his power
vals ok Vinða frelsi	and [swept] the choicest of the Wends
víð, Skáneyjar síðu.	as far as Skaney.
4. Skattgilda vann skyldir	Gained the Gauts' subduer
skautjalfaðar Gauta.	gold and tribute from them.
Gollskýflir vann gjǫflastr	Stirred the sea-nag's-steerer
	[= warrior king]
geirveðr í fǫr þeiri.[32]	Strife wherever he fared there.[33]

5.

Kormákr Qgmundarson, *Lausavísa* (Hollander, *Bibliography*, p. 84).

One of the greatest Icelandic skalds, Kormákr Qgmundarson[34] (b. ca. 955, d. ca. 970), will be mentioned only in passing, since his work contains only a single reference to eastern Europe. That reference is to *Húnaland*, "the land of the Huns" (probably the Avars), found in an erotic poem written to his Iseult, the beautiful Steingerðr:

8. Alls metk auðar þellu	Well considered, the woman's
Íslands, þás mér grandar,	worth the whole of Iceland —
Húnalands ok handan	heavy though my heart — of
hugstarkr sem Danmarkar.	Húnaland and of Denmark;
Verð es Engla jarðar	not for all of England's
Eir háþyrnis geira	earth and kingdoms I'd fore-
— sól-Gunni metk svinna	go the golden-braided
sunds — ok Íra grundar.[35]	girl, ay, nor for Ireland.[36]

6.

Egill Skallagrímsson (Hollander, *Bibliography*, pp. 68–72).

[32] Kock I, p. 34 = *Skj* I, p. 62; cf. *Hkr* I (IF 26), pp. 158, 159, 160 and *OsTm*, ed. Ó. Halldórsson, pp. 26–27.

[33] *Hkr*/Hollander, pp. 101–102 (with my emendations); pp. 19–20, and G. Labuda, *Fragmenty* II, p. 123.

[34] For information on him, see *GAL* I², pp. 186–189, Hollander, *Skalds*, pp. 118–128 and Frank, *Court Poetry*, pp. 55–57, 81–82, 115–118, 160–163.

[35] Kock I, pp. 43–44 = *Skj* I, pp. 81–82.

[36] Hollander, *Skalds*, p. 122; cf. Turville-Petre, *Scaldic Poetry*, pp. 47–48.

This Icelandic poet[37] (b. ca. 910, d. ca. 990) spent his best years on many journeys and adventures in Norway, Sweden, Iceland, and northeastern Europe. "Egill," writes Hollander, "is the most original and also the most versatile of the skalds."[38] But he also belonged to a princely clan of Hálogaland in northern Norway and engaged in commerce with the Lapps. The data found in the saga about him (unfortunately many fewer data are found in his preserved poetic work) are of primary importance to us.[39] His poems, like *Hǫfuðlausn* or *Arinbjarnarkviða,* contain no onomastic material about eastern Europe. Some information is available in the two *Lausavísur.*

Lausavísur (Hollander, *Bibliography,* pp. 71-72). The first vísa refers to the famous battle of Brunanburh (A.D. 937)[40] where Þórólfr, Egill's brother and companion, fell. It is significant that Egill metaphorically uses the designation of the famous northeastern European river, Vína (Northern Dvina), for the British Bruna:

10. Gekk, sás óðisk ekki,	Went he who feared nothing,
jarlmanns bani snarla	the earl's slayer (Þórólfr Skallagrímsson), briskly
þreklundaðr fell Þundar	the bold one fell — of Þundr [= Óðinn]
Þórólfr í gný stórum.	— Þórólfr—in the great din.
Jǫrð grœr, en vér verðum,	Earth grows — yet I have to —
Vínu nær of mínum	near Vína [literally: Northern Dvina]
— helnauð es þat — hylja	— over my—deadly agony is
harm, ágætum barma.[41]	it — bury — sorrow — noble brother.[42]

In another vísa, Egill vividly describes an event that took place during his expedition in the Baltic Sea in the summer of 947:

8. Gerðum helzti harða	We found some hard fighting
hríð fyr Jótlands síðu	foretime off Jutland's foreshore;
— barðisk vel, sás varði,	the warrior who was warden
víkingr, Dana ríki — ,	of Denmark made deep dintmark,

[37] About him, see *GAL* I², pp. 158-171, Hollander, *Skalds,* pp. 55-100, and Turville-Petre, *Scaldic Poetry,* pp. 15-41 and Frank, *Court Poetry,* pp. 50-57, 76-80, 122-123, 136-138, 147-149.

[38] Hollander, *Skalds,* p. 55.

[39] See vol. two of this work.

[40] For the identification of the place of the battle, see the essay by Gwyn Jones in the introduction to his translation of *Egils Saga* (1960), pp. 3-9.

[41] Kock I, p. 29 = *Skj* I, p. 51; cf. *Egils saga,* ed. S. Nordal (IF 2), p. 142 and Frank, *Court Poetry,* pp. 78-80.

[42] Frank, *Court Poetry,* p. 53 (with my emendation); *Egils saga*/Jones, p. 131; cf. Turville-Petre, *Scaldic Poetry,* p. 20. On the historicity of this strophe, see A. Campbell, *Skaldic Verse and Anglo-Saxon History,* pp. 5-7.

áðr á sund fyr sandi	till brash of wit Eyvindr [*skreyja* "the Braggart"]
snarfengr með lið drengja	(his hands all close behind him)
austr af unnar hesti	overborne leapt overboard
Eyvindr of hljóp skreyja.[43]	to break these eastern breakers.[44]

Sonatorrek (Hollander, *Bibliography*, pp. 70–71). In his *Sonatorrek*, i.e., "The Irreparable Loss of One's Sons," written on the occasion of his beloved son Bǫdvarr's death in 960, Egill calls the god Óðinn, according to an old tradition, the "good friend of Gauts":[45]

21.	Þat manek enn,	This mind I, too,
	es upp um hóf	he lifted high,
	í Goðheim	did Gaut's good friend [= Óðinn]
	Gauta spjalli.	to the god's home (Goðheimr).
	Ættar ask,	My line's ashbranch
	þanns óx af mér;	which grew from me;
	ok kynvið	that kindred timber
	kvánar minnar.[46]	from wife's side sprung.[47]

7.

Anonymous, *Níðvísa* (ca. 980).

An anonymous skald wrote a níðvísa for the Danish King Haraldr Gormsson blátǫnn (936–986). In it he refers to this ruler as *vinða-myrdir*[48] "slayer of (Baltic) Slavs":

3.	Þás sparn á mó mǫrnis	South of the sea when Harald — the Slayer of the Wends (Baltic Slavs) —
	morðkunnr Haraldr sunnan	set upon the mare-horse,
	— varð þá Vinða myrðir	wax-soft was his limb and
	vax eitt — í ham faxa.	weak, though he a stallion.
	Enn bergsalar Birgir	Was base, mare-like[49] Birgir
	bǫndum rækr í landi	banned from the isle by land-wights

[43] Kock I, p. 28 = *Skj* I, p. 50; cf. *Egils saga*, ed. S. Nordal (IF 2), p. 127.

[44] *Egils saga*/Jones, p. 119.

[45] About the relation between God Óðinn and the Gauts, see O. Briem, *Vanir og Æsir* (Rvík, 1963); see also p. 204.

[46] Kock I, p. 24 = *Skj* I, p. 42 = Turville-Petre, *Scaldic Poetry*, p. 39; cf. *Egils saga*, ed. S. Nordal (IF 2), p. 254.

[47] *Egils saga*/Jones, p. 209; cf. Turville-Petre, *Scaldic Poetry*, pp. 24–41, esp. p. 39, and Hollander, *Skalds*, p. 97.

[48] On this epithet, see also Labuda, *Fragmenty* II, p. 124, n. 51.

[49] To be likened to a mare was regarded as a mortal insult (note by Hollander).

— þat sá ǫld — í jǫldu
óríkr fyrir líki.[50]

angrily eying him —
all the world did see that.[51]

8.

Eyjólfr Valgerðarson, *Níðvísa* (976) (Hollander, *Bibliography*, p. 74).

Another níðvísa to this king was written by the otherwise unknown skald, Eyjólfr Valgerðarson (d. ca. 985).[52] It referred to the White Sea, Gandvík, indicating that the activity of Haraldr must have had some relation to Bjarmia.

Selit maðr vápn við verði!
Verðr dynr, ef má, sverða.

Verðum Hropts at herða
hljóð; eigum slǫg rjóða.
Vér skulum Gorms af gǫmlu
Gandvíkr þokulandi
— hǫrð es vǫn at verði
vápnhríð — sonar bíða.[53]

Let no man sell his weapon
for a price! There may soon be clashing of swords.
Let us temper our blades;
let us have our axes ready.
Let us abide the onslaught of Gormr's son
in the Old Gandvík-fog-land.
There is like to be
a stubborn shock of weapons.[54]

9.

Þórleifr Rauðfeldarson jarlsskáld, *Hákonardrápa* (Hollander, *Bibliography*, p. 97).

A group of skalds was present at the court of the earl, or jarl, of Norway, Hákon Sigurðarson the Great (970–995), a member of the Sæmingar clan. Remnants, or at least some data, exist for a number of *Hákonardrápas*.

The *Hákonardrápa* (986) by Þórleifr Rauðfeldarson jarlsskáld[55] has survived in fragments, but an episodic narrative about this work (þáttr) is found in the *Flateyjarbók*[56] (copied ca. 1380–1394) and contains one very important detail. We read that at one time (986) Þórleifr disguised himself as a traveler by the name of Níðúngr Gjallandason from Suzdal' in Cold Sweden ("Kyniadr ór Syrgisdǫlum af Suiþiod hinne kǫlldu").[57] If the name of the city of Suzdal' in

[50] Kock I, p. 89 = *Skj* I, p. 176; cf. *Hkr* I (IF 26), p. 270.
[51] *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 173 (with my emendations).
[52] See *Skj* I, p. 100.
[53] Kock I, p. 55 = *Skj* I, p. 100.
[54] *CPB* II, p. 81 (with my emendations).
[55] About him, see *GAL* I², pp. 33, 177; II², pp. 49, 51, 93–95. Cf. E. Rydzevskaja, "K varjažskomu voprosu," *BAS-S* (1934), no. 8, p. 620.
[56] Ed. Unger Vigfússon I (Chia, 1860), p. 211 (*Þórleifs þáttr jarlaskálds*). Cf. E. Rydzevskaja, *BAS-S* (1934), no. 8, p. 620, n. 1.
[57] On the term "Cold Sweden" see p. 244 of this volume.

this form is really derived from Þórleifr's times, then the name of "Suždal'"/ "Suzdal'" (= Syrgisdalir) dates back to the tenth century. This Scandinavian form should be considered in dealing with etymological questions about the name, which has yet to be satisfactorily explained.[58]

10.

Einarr Helgason skálaglamm (Hollander, *Bibliography*, pp. 72–73).

Another *Hákonardrápa* was written in ca. 975 by the Icelander, Einarr Helgason skálaglamm (d. ca. 995).[59] Only one strophe has remained from this work, and it is not relevant to our subject.[60]

In another work by the same author which has survived, the poem *Vellekla* ("Lack of Gold," written in 986),[61] many interesting references can be found:

Vellekla (986)
(Hollander, *Bibliography*, p. 73)

12. Hjalmgrápi vann hilmir harðr Lopts vinar barða	With helmet-hail got the ruler stern (= Hákon), of-Loptr's friend [= Óðinn], beaten,
því kom vǫxtr í Vínu vínheims fíandr sína,	therefore came a swelling in the Vína—[lit. Northern Dvina; here: 'river'] of-the-wine-abode [= skaldship], his enemies,
at forsnjallir fellu fúrs í Þróttar skúrum	so that very bold ones fell in-the-showers-of-Þróttr's [Óðinn] fire [= battle]
þat fær þjóðar snytri þrír jarlssynir tírar.[62]	that gives to the people's minister— three sons of an earl [= Eiríkr] — glory.[63]

[58] Cf. Max Vasmer, *REW*, III (Heidelberg, 1958), p. 41.

[59] About him, see *GAL* I², pp. 173–177; Hollander, *Skalds*, pp. 101–116, Frank, *Court Poetry*, pp. 60–62, 71, 84–85, 91, 96–97 and Turville-Petre, *Scaldic Poetry*, pp. 59–63.

[60] Kock I, p. 65 = *Skj* I, p. 122.

[61] The poem consists of the following sections: Hákon (a) revenges his father; (b) undertakes an expedition against the German Emperor Otto II (*Ótta keisari*) (this campaign of the year 975 is referred to in strophe 28 above); (c) sacrifices in Gautland; (d) battles with Ragnfrøðr Eiríksson; (e) battles again with Ragnfrøðr; (f) Hákon establishes peace and restores worship of Þórr. Cf. A. E. Freudenthal, *Einar Skålaglams Vellekla öfversat och förklarad* (Diss.) (Helsingfors, 1865), 114 pp.; Finnur Jónsson, *ANF* 7 (1891), pp. 147–182; H. Lie, *KHL* XIX (1975), cols. 640–643.

[62] Kock I, p. 67 = *Skj* I, p. 125; cf. *Hkr* I (IF 26), p. 219.

[63] Frank, *Court Poetry*, p. 61 (with my emendation); cf. *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 141 and Hollander, *Skalds*, pp. 106–107.

24. Varð fyr Vinða myrði	Waged the wide-famed chieftain [= Hákon],
víðfrægr enn gramr síðan	the Slayer of the Wends (Baltic Slavs).
— gerðisk mest at morði	Again, then, Hákon gathered
mannfall — við styr annan.	galleys his sword to redden.
Hlym-Narfi bað hverfa	Bade the buckler's-destroyer
hlífar flagðs, ok lagði	beach the rudder-horses,
Jalks við ǫndurt fylki	and in order of battle
ǫndur fors, at landi.[64]	endlong 'rayed his warriors.[65]
28. Vasat í gǫgn, þótt gerði	Not easy was't to enter
garð-Rǫgnir styr harðan,	into breastwork by him defended, fiercely though the
gegniligt at ganga,	foeman stormed against it,
geirrásar, her þeira,	when with Franks and Frisians
þás með fylki Frísa	fared the battle-urger [= Emperor Otto II]—
fór gunn-Viðurr sunnan	stern was the strife, the sea-buck's-
kvaddi vígs ok Vinða	steerman [emperor], and host of
vágs blakkriði Frakka.[66]	Wendish.[67]

11.

Tindr Hallkelsson, *Hákonardrápa* (Hollander, *Bibliography*, p. 99).

Of the *Hákonardrápa* by the Icelander Tindr Hallkelsson (d. after 1015),[68] approximately eleven stanzas survive, and even these have been tampered with slightly. One vísa refers to the famous battle of Hákon with the Jómsvíkings in 994:

4. Vann á Vinða sinni	Wounds the warrior dealt to the
verðbjóðr Hugins ferðar	Wendish host [= the Jómsvíkings] with
— beit sólgagarr seilar —	bloody sword — with savage bit it
sverðs eggja spor leggja,	sundered bones — in battle,
áðr hjǫrmeiðir hrjóða	ere of their crews could clear the
— hætting vas þat — mætti	combat-urger — was it
leiðar langra skeiða	fraught with fearful danger —
liðs halfan tøg þriðja.[69]	five and twenty longships.[70]

[64] Kock I, p = *Skj* I, p. 128; cf. *Hkr* I (IF 26), p. 246 and *OsTm*, ed. Ó. Halldórsson I, pp. 102–103.

[65] *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 158 (with my emendations); cf. Hollander, *Skalds*, p. 111, and *OsTm*/Sephton, p. 66.

[66] Kock I, p. 68 = *Skj* I, p. 129; cf. *Hkr* I (IF 26), pp. 257–258 and *OsTm*, ed. Ó. Halldórsson I, p. 137.

[67] *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 165 (with my emendations); cf. Hollander, *Skalds*, p. 111, and *OsTm*/Sephton, p. 84.

[68] About him see *GAL* I², pp. 177–178.

[69] Kock I, p. 75 = *Skj* I, p. 145; cf. *Hkr* I (IF 26), p. 286.

[70] *Hkr*/Hollander, pp. 184–185.

12.

Eilífr Goðrúnarson, *Þórsdrápa* (Hollander, *Bibliography*, p. 72).

Eilífr, about whom we know nothing except his mother's name, is mentioned by the Skáldatal as one of the skalds of Earl Hákon Sigurðarson (970–995).[71] He was an Icelander and probably lived until Iceland's Christian conversion (A.D. 1000).[72]

The *Snorra Edda*, which quotes one helmingr of his encomium on Earl Hákon, contains nineteen stanzas of his *Þórsdrápa* (two more are known from other sources), together with Snorri's own summary of the myth. "It deals," write G. Vigfússon and F. York Powell,

> with the popular and interesting story of Thor's [Þórr] adventures with the volcanic Giant Garfred (Geirrod [Geirrøðr]), whose daughters raise the river Wimmer against the god, while the Giant assails him with a glowing mass of iron off his forge, which Thor catches and returns with deadly effect upon the huge Smith's head. A primitive and quite in keeping with the half-humorous, half-fanciful spirit of the poets who loved to sing of Thor.[73]

The *Þórsdrápa* is among the most difficult of the skaldic texts. "It is," writes Jan de Vries, "so overloaded with complicated forms of kenningar that it is unclear in many places what the poet had actually intended to say; on top of that, defective transmission must be contended with, for it has created some distortions."[74]

The mythical town of Geirrøðargarðar[75] was supposed to be located in the north. Therefore the *Þórsdrápa* contains some topographical data, including the Gandvík, or White Sea, and kolgu Svíþjóð or Cold Sweden[76] (strophe 2). The last name is of special importance for our topic, since its skaldic provenance confirms the genuineness of Cold Sweden as a Viking-age Norse notion. Scholars had long followed the thesis of Andreas Heusler that the equation: [Cold] Svíþjóð = Scithia (especially if it was used in connection with eastern

71 See *CPB* II, p. 445 and Frank, *Court Poetry*, pp. 96, 105–108, 118–119.

72 *GAL* I², p. 204; see a fragment of his lay on Christ in *Snorra Edda*, ed. F. Jónsson, p. 158, §65.

73 *CPB* II, p. 17.

74 *GAL* I², p. 205. Frank, *Court Poetry* (p. 105: "conceded to be perhaps the most difficult *dróttkvætt* poem extant"), pp. 106, 108, 112–115. Special monographs on the *Þórsdrápa* are Konstantin Reichardt, *PMLA* 63 (1948), pp. 329–391; Vilhelm Kiil, "Eilífr Goðrúnarson's Þórsdrápa," *ANF* 71 (1956), pp. 89–167; H. Lie in *KHL* XIX (1975), cols. 397–400. Cf. also Turville-Petre, *Myth*, pp. 15, 78–79, 81, 85, 128, 134.

75 Concerning *Geirøðr/Geruthus*, see Saxo, *Gesta*, ed. Olrik–Ræder I, pp. 239–242, and Turville-Petre, *Myth*, pp. 31, 78–81.

76 Cf. *Lexicon Poeticum*, p. 343a.

Europe) was the product of the *gelehrte Urgeschichte* of the twelfth-century Christian Icelandic literati.[77] The term Vikings (*víkingar*) also occurs in the poem (strophe 8), and in strophe 12 there seems to be an allusion to earlier Danish activity in Cold Sweden. Strophes 2, 8, and 12 follow:

2. Geðstrangra lét gǫngu	Not long did the valiant [= Þórr] allow Loptr [= Loki]
Gammleið Þórr skǫmmum	to entice him to the journey;
— fýstusk þeir at þrýsta	they were eager to overcome
Þorns niðjum — sik biðja,	Þorn's kin [= giants], when
þás gjarðvaniðr[78] gerðisk,	the Lord of the [main] belt [= Þórr],
Gandvíkr Skotum ríkri,	the conqueror of Gandvík's-Scots [= Þórr],
endr til Ymsar kindar.	made ready for journeying to the children of Ymir [= giant]
Iðja setrs, frá þriðja.	to Idi's [= giant's] seat from Þriði [= Óðinn].
8. Óðu fast — enn fríðra	They waded swiftly — the brave
flaut eið svara Gauta —	confederates [= Þórr and Loki], the battle-skilled
setrs víkingar snotrir	Vikings of the Gautar-home [= Óðinn's home = Ásgarðr],
sverðrunnit fen Gunnar.	while the turbulent sward was rising and heaving violently.
Þurði hrǫnn at herði	The earth-drift's wave swept,
hauðrs runkykva nauðar,	blown by the mighty tempest,
jarðar skafls af afli	pulled hard with powerful rage
áss hretviðri blásin.	at the shoulder of the oppressor [= Þórr] of the rocky-ridge-earth-dwellers [= giants].
12. Dreif fyr dróttar kneyfi	The hostile hordes of Cold Sweden [= giants]
dolg-Svíþjóðar kolgu	fled before the oppressor [= Þórr];
— sótti ferð á flótta —	the endangered cliff-dwellers
flesdrótt í vǫ nesja.	turned to flight.
Þás funhristis fasta	When the flame-shaker [= Þórr] firmly endured,
flóðrifs Danir stóðu,	the Danes-of-the-flood-rib's-frontier [= giants]
knǫttu Jólnis ættir	learned how to bow down
útvés fyrir lúta.[79]	before Jólnir's [= Óðinn's] kindred.[80]

[77] *Gelehrte Urgeschichte*, pp. 43–45.

[78] *Megingjarðar* "main girdle," the belt of Þórr is meant here. When Þórr girded himself with it, his divine strength (*ás-megin*) was doubled, cf. Turville-Petre, *Myth*, p. 85.

[79] Kock I, pp. 76, 77, 78 = *Skj* I, pp. 148, 149, 150; cf. the text in the *Snorra Edda*, ed. F. Jónsson, pp. 107 (no. 74), 108 (no. 80), 109 (no. 84).

[80] My translation; cf. SnE/Brodeur, pp. 124, 125–126, 127; the German translation by Gustav Neckel and Felix Niedner, *Die jüngere Edda* (*Thule* xx), 4th ed. (1966), p. 153 (no. 74); p. 155 (no. 80); p. 157 (no. 84); and the English short paraphrasis in *CPB* II, pp. 19, 20, 21.

13.

Eyvindr Finnsson skáldaspillir, *Lausavísa* (Hollander, *Bibliography*, pp. 75–76).

Among the skalds of Hákon Sigurðarson was also Eyvindr Finnsson skáldaspillir (d. 990),[81] the author of the well-known genealogical poems about the clan of Sæmingar, *Háleygjatal* (985; came down to us only fragmentarily) and *Hákonarmál* (961). He also wrote lausavísur, of which the following is an interesting example from both the historical and the ethnographic point of view:

12. Snýr á Svǫlnis Vǫru:	It snows on Svǫlnir's yokemate[82]
svá hǫfum inn sem Finnar[83]	So, like the Lapps, have we
birkihind of bundit	our bud-eaters[84] bound in
brums at miðju sumri.[85]	barn in middle summer.[86]

14.

Eyjólfr dáðaskáld, *Bandadrápa* (Hollander, *Bibliography*, p. 74).

The raid on Aldeigja/Old Ladoga in 997 by the earl of Norway, Eiríkr Hákonarson (1000–1016), son of Hákon, is described by Eyjólfr dáðaskáld[87] in his *Bandadrápa*,[88] of which parts have survived. The following is a relevant strophe:

6. Oddhríðar fór eyða	Waste laid then the warrior —
— óx hríð at þat síðan —	waxed battle thereafter —
logfágandi lægis	Valdamarr's land and lieges
land Valdamars brandi.	likewise with sword and fire.
Aldeigju brauzt, œgir	Didst Aldeigja level,
— oss numnask skil —	dreaded leader — such news

[81] About him, see *GAL* I², pp. 142–146; 151–154, Turville-Petre, *Scaldic Poetry*, pp. 42–45 and Frank, *Court Poetry*, pp. 57–60, 67, 82–84, 106–107, 115–117.

[82] Svǫlnir is one of Óðinn's names; his yokemate is the earth.

[83] The name *Finnar*, "Lapps," also appears in a surviving fragment of a poem by an anonymous skald from the tenth century, in Kock I, p. 93 (C, strophe 3, line 2) = *Skj* I, p. 185; cf. *Lexicon Poeticum*, p. 133a, s.v. The name *Finnmerkr* "Finnmark" appears in *Nóregs Konungatal* I, strophe 7 (= Kock I, p. 279 = *Skj* I, p. 580); about this work written at the end of the twelfth century see *GAL* II², pp. 46–49.

[84] The livestock that has to subsist on the buds of trees (note by Hollander).

[85] Kock I, p. 40 = *Skj* I, p. 74; cf. *Hkr* I (IF 26), p. 221, and *Fgr*, ed. F. Jónsson (Kbh, 1902–1903), p. 53.

[86] *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 142; cf. Turville-Petre, *Scaldic Poetry*, p. 44.

[87] See *GAL* I², pp. 182–183, 112, 178 for further information.

[88] Rydzevskaja writes about this raid in *KSIIMK* 11 (M.-L., 1940), pp. 53–57.

gumna.
Sú varð hildr með hǫlðum
hǫrð. Komt austr í Garða.[89]

heard we for sure — when you
harried in the east, in Garðr
(Rus').[90]

From the *Heimskringla* we learn about Eiríkr, that "when he left Garðaríki he raided throughout Aðalsýsla and Eysýsla where he took four galleys from the Danes and killed all their crews."[91]

The *Bandadrápa* has some further references to Earl Eiríkr's harassing expeditions in Estonia (Aðalsýsla and Eysýsla):

7. Frák, hvar fleina sævar
fúrherðir styr gerði
endr í eyja sundi.
Eirekr und sik geira.
Hrauð fúrgjafall fjórar
folkmeiðir Dana skeiðar,
vér frǫgum þat, vága,
veðrmildr ok semr hildi.[93]

Heard have I how the
hardy blood-wand [= sword] wielder
fought in the firth 'twixt islands.
Fray-loving Earl Eiríkr[92] —
cleared them of their caitiff
crews four Danish warships,
learned we, fiercely fighting.
— *furthered storm-of-arrows.*[94]

8. Ǫttuð hjaldr, þars hǫlðar,
hlunnviggs, í bý runnu,
gæti-Njǫrðr, við Gauta,
gunnblíðr, ok rœðr síðan,
Herskildi fór hildar,
— hann þverði frið mǫnnum —
ǫss of allar Sýslur
jarl, goðvǫrðu hjarli.[96]

Battle gave ye 'gainst the
Gautar, in their stronghold
afterward ye entered.
Eager - for - the - Fray, the -
Went the god-of-war [= king] - to
wights he gave no surcease -
throughout [Aðal-] -Sýsla.[95]
Earl rules the land god-warded.[97]

15.

Haldórr ókristni, *Eiríksflokkr* (Hollander, *Bibliography*, p. 80).

The skald Haldórr ókristni (eleventh century)[98] wrote in ca. 1001 his *Eiríksflokkr* for Earl Eiríkr, of which only eight stanzas have survived. The work

[89] Kock I, p. 101 = *Skj* I, p. 201; cf. *Hkr* I (IF 26), pp. 166–167, and *OsTm*, ed. Ó. Halldórsson II, p. 243.
[90] *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 223; cf. *OsTm*/Sephton, p. 402.
[91] *Hkr* I (IF 26), p. 339 = *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 223.
[92] Lines 4 and 8 of each stanza are parts of the refrain (stef).
[93] Kock I, p. 101 = *Skj* I, p. 201; cf. *Hkr* I (IF 26), pp. 339–340.
[94] *Hkr*/Hollander, pp. 223–224; see above, fn. 89.
[95] Hollander translates *sýslur* as "districts." But see B. Aðalbjarnarson's note *a* to 153 vísa in *Hkr* I (IF 26), p. 340.
[96] Kock I, p. 101 = *Skj* I, p. 202.
[97] See above, fn. 90; *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 224 (with my emendations).
[98] About him, see *GAL* I², pp. 179–180.

recounts the battle at Svǫlð (1000) in which Óláfr Tryggvason was killed (it was composed not long afterwards, perhaps in 1001). We know that in this battle, called the Battle of the Three Scandinavian Kings, the Baltic-Slavic Vikings fought on the side of Sveinn of Denmark (sovereign of Earl Eiríkr) and Óláfr of Sweden against Óláfr Tryggvason.[99] Strophes 6 to 7 give a vivid picture of that situation:

6. Hét á heiptar nýta
hugreifr — með Áleifi
aptr stǫkk þjóð og þoptur —
þengill sína drengi,
þás hafvita hǫfðu
hallendr of gram snjallan
— varð fyr Vinða myrði
vápneiðr — lokit skeiðum.[100]

Urged the gladsome earl his
iron-hearted troops — while
all of Óláfr's [= Tryggvason's] men ran
aftmost — to the onset,
round when his rudder-horses [= ships]
ringed — waxed then the din of
battle about the Slayer of the Wends
[= Óláfr Tryggvason] — the Long Serpent.[101]

7. Drógusk vítt at vígi
Vinða skeiðr, ok ginðu
Þriðja hauðrs á þjóðir
þunn gǫlkn íarnmunnum.
Gnýr varð á sja sverða,
sleit ǫrn gera beitu,
dýrr vá drengja stjóri,
drótt kom mǫrg á flótta.[102]

Wide-spread, Wendish longships (skeið) to
weapon-thing then hurried —
grimly, Garms-of-shields [= battle-axes] there
gaped, thin-mouthed 'gainst warriors.
Din was on deep sea-ways,
Dun eagles slit corpses,
Fiercely fought the war-lord,
Fled the host of enemies.[103]

16.

Hallfrødr Óttarsson vandræðaskáld.

Óláfs drápa (Hollander, *Bibliography*, p. 80). Although not exceptionally talented, the skald Hallfrødr Óttarsson vandræðaskáld (b. ca. 976, d. 1007)[104] was the favorite of the king of Norway, Óláfr Tryggvason (995–1000). His *Óláfs drápa* (996), of which nine strophes have been preserved, contains several interesting facts derived from the king's stay in Novgorod (ca. 973–986) and in Vindland, the land of the Baltic Slavs (ca. 986–989):

[99] About this battle and the Slavs who participated in it, see Labuda, *Fragmenty* II, pp. 235–259.

[100] Kock I, p. 102 = *Skj* I, p. 204; cf. *Hkr* I (IF 26), p. 365; *Fgr*, ed. F. Jónsson, p. 129; and Oddr, *OsT*, ed. F. Jónsson, pp. 228–229.

[101] *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 240 (with my emendations).

[102] Kock I, p. 102 = *Skj* I, p. 204; cf. *Hkr* I (IF 26), p. 367, and *OsTm*, ed. Ó. Halldórsson II, p. 289.

[103] *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 241; cf. *OsTm*/Sephton, p. 431.

[104] About him, see *GAL* I², pp. 233–237, Hollander, *Skalds*, pp. 128–136, Frank, *Court Poetry*, pp. 62–68, 85–88, 103–104, 156–157, 163–164, 180 and Turville-Petre, *Scaldic Poetry*, pp. 70–73.

1. Tolf vas elds at aldri
ýsetrs hati vetra
hraustr þás herskip glæsti
Hǫrða vinr ór Gǫrðum.
Hlóðu Hamðis klæðum
hjǫrva gnýs ok skýjum
hilmis menn sem hjǫlmum
hlýrvigg, enn mól stýri.[105]

Twelve years was he
the arm who shuns
when he — the friend of the Hǫrðar —
launched his warship out of Garðar (Novgorod).
They loaded her with Hamðir's cloths [= coats of mail], and shields and helms.
Then the rudder
churned up the sea.[106]

2. Hilmir lét at Holmi[107]
hjalmskóð roðin blóði
— hvat of dylði þess
hǫlðar? —
hǫrð ok austr í Gǫrðum.[108]

On the island [Bornholm?] Óláfr
arrows with blood colored —
why should that be hidden?
In the East — Garðar (Rus')
also felt him.[109]

4. Endr lét Jamta kindir
allvaldr í styr falla
vanðisk hann ok Vinða
végrimmr á þat snimma.
Hættr vas Hǫrða dróttinn
hjǫrdjarfr Gota fjǫrvi.
Gollskerði frák gerðu
geirþey a Skáneyju.[111]

Erstwhile, the fanes'-flouter[110]
felled in battle — early
was he wont to war-play —
Wends and Jamts in the Baltic.
Mortal was to many
men of Gotland he who
the stern storm-of-spears did
stir on shores of Scania.[112]

Óláfs erfidrápa (1001) (Hollander, *Bibliography*, pp. 80–81). Hallfrødr also wrote a second poem, *Óláfs erfidrápa*,[113] to praise his hero (1001). There we find the following strophes that are relevant to our theme (in connection with the Battle of Svǫlð in the year 1000):

7. Varð of Vinða myrði
vígskýs — enn þat lýsik —
ramr und randar himni

Around the Slayer of Wends
a mighty noise of fight
arose under an arch of shields.

[105] Kock I, p. 81 = *Skj* I, p. 156.
[106] Cf. *CPB* II, p. 94.
[107] As to the identification *Hólmr* = *Borgundarhólmr* (Bornholm), see B. Aðalbjarnarson's note to 119 vísa in *Hkr* I (IF 26), p. 253, and *Lexicon Poeticum*, p. 273b, s.v.
[108] Kock I, p. 81 = *Skj* I, p. 157; cf. *Hkr* I (IF 26), p. 253, *Fgr*, ed. F. Jónsson, p. 110, and *OsTm*, ed. Halldórsson I, p. 111.
[109] *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 163 (with my emendations); cf. *OsTm*/Sephton, p. 70.
[110] This kenning anticipates Óláfr's later role as missionary king (note by Hollander).
[111] Kock I, p. 81 = *Skj* I, p. 157; cf. *Hkr* I (IF 26), p. 255, and *OsTm*, ed. Ó. Halldórsson I, p. 138.
[112] *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 164; cf. *OsTm*/Sephton, p. 85.
[113] On *Erfidrápa*, see Magnus Olsen, *Heidersskrift til Marius Hægstad* (Oslo, 1925), pp. 23–33; Svend Aage Petersen, *Hallfred Vandraadeskjald Óttarssons Arvedrapa over Olaf Tryggvason: En Oversættelse og Tolkning* (Kbh, 1935), 35 pp.; Frank, *Court Poetry*, pp. 65–67, 86–88.

rymr: knǫ́ttu spjǫr glymja
Hirðir stózk við harðan
hnitvegg með fjǫld seggja
víðis veltireiðar
varghollr þrimu marga.[114]

I bear witness: the spears did clash.
Gracious to wolves, the warden
of the rolling-car-of-the deep [= ship]
aided by a troop of men
withstood many a thundery.[115]

17. Harðgǫrvan lét hjǫrvi
Holms verða Týr sverða
vind á víðu sundi,
vígþey, Heðins meyjar,
áðr an Ormi næði
Eirekr eða hlut meira
— mǫrg óð bitr í blóði
benkneif — fyr Áleifi.[116]

The lord of brands
on the wide sound of the [Wendish] isle
raised up a storm
of Heðinn's maid, fierce fought with swords.
Many wounding blades
were steeped in blood round Óláfr
e'er Eiríkr won the "Serpent"
and gained the victory.[117]

17.

Bjǫrn Hítdœlakappi (d. ca. 1024) (Hollander, *Bibliography*, p. 66).

Regrettably, no significant mention of Rus' can be found in the surviving poems of the Icelander, Bjǫrn Ąrngeirsson Hítdœlakappi[118] (d. ca. 1024), who lived in Rus' with Óláfr Tryggvason.[119]

18.

Sighvatr Þórðarson, (Hollander, *Bibliography*, pp. 87-89).

Sighvatr Þórðarson (b. ca. 995, d. 1045) has been recognized as the most prominent skald of the era of the Norwegian king, St. Óláfr (Haraldsson enn helgi, 1014-1030).[120] His first work, written at the age of eighteen around the year 1014/1015, was the impromptu poem *Víkingarvísur*. (Hollander, *Bibliography*, p. 87).[121] It praised the victories of young Óláfr, including his

[114] Kock I, p. 82 = *Skj* I, pp. 160-161; cf. *OsTm*, ed. Ó. Halldórsson II, pp. 268-269.
[115] *OsTm*/Sephton, p. 418 (with my emendations).
[116] Kock I, pp. 82-84 = *Skj* I, p. 163; cf. *OsTm*, ed. Ó. Halldórsson II, pp. 294-295.
[117] *OsTm*/Sephton, p. 434.
[118] About him see *GAL* I², pp. 193-195, II², pp. 351-353; and Turville-Petre, *Scaldic Poetry*, pp. 87-90 and Frank, *Court Poetry*, pp. 161-163, 172-174.
[119] In some texts of his works, the name *Garðaríki*, "Rus'," appears twice. Experts on skaldic poetry believe that this form is an addition by a later copyist; see F. Braun, "Das historische Russland im nordischen Schrifttum des X.-XIV. Jh.," *Festschrift E. Mogk* (Halle, 1924), p. 195.
[120] About him, see *GAL* I², pp. 241-242, 246-248, 255-258; Fredrik Paasche, "Sigvat Tordssøn. Et skaldeportræt," *Edda* 8 (1917), pp. 57-58; Hollander, *Skalds*, pp. 147-176, Turville-Petre, *Scaldic Poetry*, pp. 77-78 and Frank, *Court Poetry*, pp. 33-42, 44-45, 49, 67. 72-74, 122, 123, 129-132.
[121] See *GAL* I², pp. 241-242; text in Kock I, pp. 111-113 = *Skj* I, pp. 223-228.

victory over Sveinn Hákonarson, even though the latter was regarded by the Scandinavians as the hero par excellence. In the poem, Óláfr is referred to as *Vindum háttr*, "to Wends a terror," i.e., enemy of the Baltic Slavs.[122] We quote from the *Víkingarvísur* two strophes containing information relevant to our subject:

2. Þat vas enn, es annat
Áleifr — né svik fǫlusk —
odda þing í eyddri
Eysýslu gekk heyja,
Sitt ǫttu fjǫr fótum
— fár beið ór stað sára —
enn, þeirs undan runnu,
allvaldr, búendr gjalda.[123]

It befell afresh — nor was
foulest reason hidden —
that Óláfr arrow-thing [= battle] must
urge on sacked Eysýsla.
Their lives, liege-lord, to their
legs they owed who away ran
nor, wincing, waited there for
wounds where they were stationed.[124]

3. Hríð varð stáls í stríðri
strǫng Herdala gǫngu
Finnlendinga at fundi
fylkis niðs en þriðja.
Enn austr við lǫ leysti
leiðvíkinga skeiðar.
Bálagarðs at barði
brimskíðum lá síða.[126]

Stern was the third storm-of-
steel, what time the king in
Her Dale (Härjedalen) forest fought the
Lappish hordes in combat.
But in the east the ocean's
ebb-shore parted the Vikings.
Past Bálagarðr's beaches[125]
beat the liege's sea-stags [= ships].[127]

Among the *Víkingarvísur* of Sighvatr there is a stanza about Óláfr's capture of Canterbury in 1011 in which the above-mentioned epithet *Vindum háttr* appears in reference to Óláfr:

8. Veitk, at víga mœtir
Vindum háttr enn átta,
styrkr gekk vǫrðr at virki
verðungar styr gerði.[128]

Wot I that the warrior, to
Wends a terror, strongly
an eighth time 'gainst earthworks
onset made and won them.[129]

Sinn mǫttut bœ banna,
borg Kantara — sorgar
mart fekksk prúðum Þǫrtum —
portgreifar Áleifi.[130]

Nor could Canterbury's
keepers hold back Óláfr
who the prideful [village of] Partar
plunged into greatest sorrow.[131]

122 About this epithet, see Labuda, *Fragmenty* II, p. 135.
123 Kock I, p. 111 = *Skj* I, p. 223; cf. *Hkr* II (IF 27), p. 10.
124 *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 249.
125 About this place name see volume two of this work.
126 Kock I, p. 111 = *Skj* I, pp. 223–224.
127 *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 250.
128 Kock I, p. 112 = *Skj* I, p. 225; cf. *Hkr* II (IF 27), p. 20, *Fgr*, ed. F. Jónsson, p. 142, and "Legendary Saga of St. Óláfr," ed. G. Jónsson, *Konunga sögur* I (Rvík, 1957), p. 226.
129 *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 255.
130 Kock I, p. 112 = *Skj* I, p. 225; cf. *Hkr* II (IF 27), p. 20.
131 *Hkr*/Hollander, pp. 255–256.

Austrfararvísur (1015) (Hollander, *Bibliography*, p. 88). Sighvatr's classical literary account of his delicate diplomatic mission on St. Óláfr's behalf to Rǫgnvaldr Úlfsson, earl of West Gautland (he later became earl of Old Ladoga) has the interesting title *Austrfararvísur*, or "Strophes about a Journey East." Sighvatr's destination was the city of Skara, the capital of Rǫgnvaldr. It is a vivid report of a poet-diplomat and a keen observer. Sighvatr's mission was to persuade Rǫgnvaldr to serve as an intermediary between the new king of Norway and the king of Sweden, Óláfr skautkonungr. Peace was to be assured by St. Óláfr's marriage to Ingigerðr, the daughter of the Swedish king.[132]

There is no agreement among scholars as to the date when the *Austrfararvísur* were written. While de Vries places them in the year 1017,[133] and Hollander in the autumn of 1018,[134] Finnur Jónsson maintains 1019,[135] and Gudbrand Vigfússon, 1023.[136] But since St. Óláfr became the only king of Norway after he destroyed the army of Earl Sveinn Hákonarson on Palm Sunday 1015, and in the summer of 1016 Ingigerðr was already married to Jaroslav of Great Novgorod,[137] it seems reasonable to put the date both of the journey and of the account as the fall of 1015.

The following strophes refer directly to Sighvatr's activity in the east:

13. Átt hafa sér, þeirs sóttu, sendimenn fyr hendi Sygna grams, með sagnir siklinga, fǫr mikla. Spǫrðumsk fæst, en fyrða fǫng eru stór við gǫngur. Vǫrðr réð nýtr því, es norðan, Nóregs, þinig fórum.[138]	Friends, on our hands had we a hard task, when asked us the sea-king-of-the-Sǫgnings [= St. Óláfr] to go on his business. Ordered us to folk-warder, word to bear from fjord-land. Nor have we spared us hardships heavy, nor moil and toiling.[139]
17. Létk við yðr, es ítran, Áleifr, hugaðsmǫlum	I clung fast, king, as I came at last to famous

[132] On *Austrfararvísur*, see Nataniel Beckman, *ANF* 39 (1923), pp. 321-332; Hans Toll, *NHT* 26 (1924), pp. 546-565; Toll, *Edda* 23 (1925), pp. 155-158; Toll, *NHT* 27 (1927), pp. 95-99; Toll, *NHT* 28 (1929), pp. 506-519; Johannes Schreiner, *NHT* 28 (1929), pp. 303-306; Hermann Patzig, *ZfdA* 67 (1930), pp. 87-96; Finnur Jónsson, *Austrfararvísur* (Oslo, 1931); de Vries, *APS* 7 (1932-1933), pp. 169-180; Hans Ellekilde, *APS* 8 (1933-1934), pp. 182-192; N. Beckman, *ANF* 50 (1934), pp. 197-217; Willem van Eeden, *Neophilologus* 28 (1942-1943), pp. 228-232; Torgny Edqvist, *Namn och Bygd* 31 (1943-1944), pp. 62-71; Frank, *Court Poetry*, pp. 37, 74, 155, 158, 170.

[133] *GAL* I², p. 243.

[134] *Skalds*, p. 152.

[135] *Skj* I, p. 233.

[136] *CPB* II, p. 122.

[137] See p. 222 and vol. two of this work.

[138] Kock I, p. 116 = *Skj* I, p. 237; cf. *Hkr* II (IF 27), p. 139.

[139] *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 338 (with my emendations).

rétt, es ríkjan hittak
Rǫgnvald, konungr, haldit.
Deildak mǫl ens milda
malma vǫrðs í gǫrðum
harða mǫrg, né heyrðak
heiðmanns tǫlur greiðri.

Earl Rǫgnvaldr, to my errands
all, thy words recalling.
In his demesne and manor
many a time with the thane I
held converse: he's beholden
wholly to thee, Óláfr.

18. Þik bað, sólar søkkvir,
sinn halda vel, Rínar,
hvern, es hingat árnar,
húskarl, nefi jarla.
Enn hverrs austr vil sinna,
— jafnvíst es þat — Lista
þengill, þinna drengja,
þar á hald und Rǫgnvaldi.

"Thous shalt," said ne, "shelt'ring,
shield them who, wielder
of-Norway's-power, come near you
anon, sent by Rǫgnvaldr.
And likewise, belike if
Lister's-king, to eastward
o'er the main at thy commanding,
men shall fare to Rǫgnvaldr."

19. Folk réð við sik, fylkir,
flest, es ek kom vestan,
ætt sem áðr of hvatti
Eiríks svika þeira.
Enn þvít, jarla frændi,
eins, þás tókt af Sveini,
yðr kveðk jǫrð, es nǫðuð
Ulfs bróður lið, stóðusk!

Thy false friends from elsewhere
folk-warder, aye spoke of
turning traitor to Norway,
as, trothless, Eiríkr's kin[140] urged them.
To tell the truth: not well couldst
retain the land from Sveinn which
thou tookst, if so forsook thee
the son of Úlfr [= Rǫgnvaldr], for money!

20. Spakr lét Ulfr meðal ykkar,
Áleifr, tekit mǫlum
— þétt fengum svǫr — sátta
— sakar leggið it — beggja.
Þér lét, þjófa rýrir,
þær, sem engar væri
riptar reknar heiptir
Rǫgnvaldr gefit, aldar.[141]

The son of Úlfr, King Óláfr,
said that he was ready
to mediate 'twixt you speedily,
mighty one, with troth plighted:
mayhap to settle matters
if minded and inclined to
forgive and forget, fore'er,
all grievances, foe-of-the-thief-tribe.[142]

21. Fast skalt, ríkr, við ríkjan
Rǫgnvald, konungr, halda
— hann es þyðr at þinni
þǫrf nǫtt ok dag — sǫttum.
Þann veitk, þinga kennir,
þik baztan vin miklu

Fast shalt, hero, hold with
him, and shoulder to shoulder
stand; for to aid thee, always
Earl Rǫgnvaldr bestirs him,
working for thy welfare,
war-lord, night and day eke.

[140] This seems to be a reference to the Sæmingar (the clan of Earl Eiríkr and of his defeated son, Sveinn), rivals of St. Óláfr for the throne of Norway. This same interpretation of the passage is given by F. Jónsson in his edition of *Hkr*, Index, p. 646; cf. Aðalbjarnarson's note to vísa 78 in his edition of *Hkr* II (IF 27), p. 143. Hollander in *Skalds*, p. 158, n. 26, takes this to refer to the clan of the Swedish King Eiríkr sigrsæli.

[141] Kock I, pp. 116–117 = *Skj* I, pp. 238–240; cf. *Hkr* II (IF 27), pp. 142–143.

[142] *Hkr*/Hollander, pp. 339–340; cf. Hollander, *Skalds*, pp. 157–158.

á austrvegum eiga
allt með grœnu salti.[143]

Thy best friend in the Eastlands (Austrvegr) he's
been, all by the green sea.[144]

Erfidrápa Óláfs ens helga (ca. 1031) (Hollander, *Bibliography*, p. 89). In Sighvatr's *Erfidrápa Óláfs ens helga*[145] we read the following:

23. Lýgk, nema Áleifr eigi
ýs sem kykvir tívar
gœðik helzt í hróðri
hárvǫxt konungs óru.
Enn helzk, þeims sýn seldi,
svǫrðr es óx í Gǫrðum
hann fekk læs af ljósum
lausn Valdamar hausi.[146]

Like on living men — I
lie not — much praise is due the
fearless men who his flag did
follow — Óláfr's hair grew.
Lasted the locks of him who
light gave to the eyes of
Valdamarr [son of Jaroslav] who, view-less
vision gained in Garðar (Rus').[147]

Vísa (ca. 1055–56). When St. Óláfr's son Magnús returned to Norway from his refuge at the court of Jaroslav the Wise in Rus', his return was greeted by Sighvatr with the following strophe, written ca. 1055–1056:

30. Heim sóttir þú hættinn
hǫnd, enn vel mátt lǫndum
— þinn stoðak mǫtt — sem mǫnnum,
Magnús konungr, fagna.
Fœrak víst, þvít vǫrum
varðr at þér, í Garða;
skrifin vas skírinafna
skript, þjóðkonungr, niptar.[148]

Boldly back to your homeland —
bounden am I to aid you —
faring, may'st thou, King Magnús,
make claim of lands and liegemen.
Gone had I to Garðr (Rus')
gladly — thy name I gave thee —
messages must have reached you,
Magnús, from thy kinsfolk.[149]

19.

Óláfr Haraldsson (Hollander, *Bibliography*, p. 85).

The king of Norway Óláfr (later *inn helgi*; 1014–1030), was once engaged to Ingigerðr, the daughter of the Swedish king Óláfr skautkonungr. But Ingigerðr's father decided that she should marry Jaroslav, the king of Novgorod (1010–1054). In 1028, when Óláfr sought refuge in Rus' and saw

143 Kock I, p. 117 = *Skj* I, p. 240; cf. *Hkr* II (IF 27), p. 145.
144 *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 341 (with my emendation); cf. Hollander, *Skalds*, pp. 158–159.
145 See *GAL* I², pp. 99, 246, 255–258; Otto von Friesen, *Sighvat skald och solformörkelsen* (Uppsala, 1924), 16 pp.; Frank, *Court Poetry*, pp. 129–130. About one particular kenning from the *Erfidrápa*, see p. 253.
146 Kock I, p. 126 = *Skj* I, p. 263; cf. *Hkr* II (IF 27), p. 406.
147 *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 530.
148 Kock I, p. 131 = *Skj* I, p. 274; cf. *Hkr* III (IF 28), pp. 18–19.
149 *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 547.

again his former fiancee, he is said to have composed the following stanza, which has been preserved only in *Flateyjarbók*:

11. Ár stóð eik en dýra	Once a precious oak [= Ingigerðr] stood
jarladóms með blómi	in the earldom, all green and in bloom,
harðla grœn sem Hǫrðar	equal to the extremely green [i.e., sturdy, flourishing] men of Hǫrða-land —
hvert misseri vissu.	each season they knew.
Nú hefr bekkjar tré bliknat	Now the tree-of-the bench [= woman, i.e., Ingigerðr] had become pallid and desolate;
brátt Mardallar gráti,	soon [it will turn into] tears of Mardǫll [= Freyja, i.e., gold];
lind hefr laufi bundit	with gold leaf (foliage)
línu vǫrðr í Gǫrðum.	the crown-protector of Rus' has bound the lime-tree [= woman, i.e., Ingigerðr].[150]

20.

Þormóðr Kolbrúnarskáld (Hollander, *Bibliography*, p. 98).

Another Icelander, Þormóðr Bersason Kolbrúnarskáld (b. ca. 995, d. 1030), was a confidant of St. Óláfr, who in 1028 took him along to Rus',[151] but no word of his experiences has survived.[152]

21.

Óttar svarti, *Hǫfuðlausn* (Hollander, *Bibliography*, p. 86).

Óttar svarti,[153] nephew of Sighvatr, wrote poems in praise of many Scandinavian kings. Among these was Knútr Sveinsson inn ríki (Canute the Great, 1014- 1035). Especially famous was a poem entitled *Hǫfuðlausn* ("Head Ransom"), written ca. 1025, which Óttar was compelled to write in order to ransom himself from St. Óláfr's captivity. In it, he praises the various military exploits of his captor. The following stanzas paint a colorful picture of St. Óláfr's activity in the Baltic lands:[154]

[150] Kock, I, p. 111 = *Skj* I, p. 222, cf. Frank, *Court Poetry*, pp. 167, 174-176. The translation of lines 1-2 was taken from Frank (p. 175); the others are given in my translation.

[151] See the *Fóstbræðrasaga* in *Flat*, ed. Unger-Vigfússon, II, p. 226.

[152] See *GAL* I², p. 239.

[153] About him, see *GAL* I², pp. 237-239.

[154] Other parts of the work are devoted to the exploits of St. Óláfr in England (London Bridge, Canterbury), France (Poitou, Tourraine), and Norway.

3. Ungr hratt á vit vengis,
vígrakkr konungr, blakki
þú hefr dýrum þrek dreyra
Danmarkar þik vanðan.
Varð nýtligust norðan
nú'st ríkr af hvǫt slíkri;
frák til þar es fóruð
fǫr þín, konungr gǫrva.[155]

Young still, yet you, Óláfr,
used early to warlike
deeds, impelled to Denmark
dauntlessly your sea-steeds.
From the north but newly —
knowledge have I of your
progress — cam'st thou, peerless
princeling, seeking glory.[156]

4. Ǫttuð ǫrum skreyttum
austr í salt, með flaustum.
Bǫruð lind af landi,
landvǫrðr, á skip randir.
Neyttuð segls ok settuð
sundvarpaði stundum.
Sleit mjǫk róin mikla
mǫrg ǫr und þer bǫru.[157]

Onward east ye sailed with
oar-dight roller-horses.
Linden shields ye lifted,
liege, on your ships' gunwales,
hoisted sails and seized the
sea-stirrers [= oars], too, sometimes.
The main's mighty swells by
many oars were parted.[158]

5. Drótt vas drjúgligr ótti,
dolglinns, at fǫr þinni,
svanbræðir; namt síðan
Svíþjóðar nes hrjóða.[159]

Fear befell the people
forthwith at your coming,
Sovran. Sithen didst in
Sweden redden nesses.[160]

6. Gildir, komt at gjaldi
gotneskum her, flotna;
þorðut þér at varða
þjódlǫnd firar rǫndu.
Rann, enn maðr of minna
margr býr of þrek varga
hungr frák austr an yngvi,
Eysýslu lið þeyja.[161]

Tribute-taker, thou didst
teach the Goths to fear you,
so they did not dare to
draw their swords to war them.
Fled the islanders — few are
fearless more than thou art.
Wolf-brood's hunger, hear I
hero, in the host of Eysýsla in the East
thou satedst.[162]

22.

Þórarinn loftunga, *Hǫfuðlausn* (Hollander, *Bibliography*, p. 94).

Þórarinn was a skald of Canute the Great (1014–1035). Only the refrain (*stef*) remains from his *Hǫfuðlausn* ("Head Ransom," written in 1026 for his patron):

155 Kock I, pp. 137–138 = *Skj* I, p. 290; cf. *Hkr* II (IF 27), p. 5.
156 *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 246.
157 Kock I, p. 138 = *Skj* I, p. 291; cf. *Hkr* II (IF 27), p. 6.
158 *Hkr*/Hollander, pp. 246–247.
159 Kock I, p. 138 = *Skj* I, p. 291; cf. *Hkr* II (IF 27), p. 6.
160 *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 247.
161 Kock I, p. 138 = *Skj* I, p. 291; cf. *Hkr* II (IF 27), p. 9.
162 *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 249 (with my emendation).

Knútr verr grund sem gœtir	As Greekland's protector [= Christ]
	the heavenly kingdom —
Griklands himinríki.[163]	[so] Canute defends his country.[164]

23.

Bjarni Hallbjarnarson gullbrárskáld, *Kálfsflokkr* (ca. 1050) (Hollander, *Bibliography*, p. 66).

Earl Kálfr Árnason (d. 1051) was the powerful opponent and eventually the slayer of St. Óláfr (although later also an ally of his son, Magnús). He was praised by the Icelandic skald, Bjarni Hallbjarnarson gullbrárskáld,[165] in his *Kálfsflokkr*, written ca. 1050. Eight stanzas of this work have reached us. They contain the following vísa about the flight of the defeated St. Óláfr to Rus' in the year 1029:

3. Austr réð allvaldr rísta	Forthwith the folk-warder [= Óláfr]
ótála haf stáli.	fared to the east o'er salt wave.
Varð at vitja Garða	Would he, then, Harald's brother
	[= St. Óláfr], weary of
vígmóðr Haralds bróðir.	war, make his way to Garðar (Rus').
Enn of íðnir manna	Not used am I to utter
emkak tamr at samna	untruth about men's doings:
skrǫkvi. At skilnað ykkvarn	Slow you were not since, to
skjótt lézt Knút of sóttan.[166]	seek out Knútr after parting.[167]
6. Hafa lézt unga jǫfra	Great the help you gave, to
erfð, sem til réð hverfa.	gain for each his kingdom.
Satt's, at sitja knátti	Right I reck it for Sveinn to
Sveinn at Danmǫrk einni.	rule in Denmark only.
Kenduð, Kalfr, til landa	Kálfr, through you the king did
kappfúsum Magnúsi	come into his own; and
— olluð ér, þvís stillir	you it was who brought Magnús
jǫrð of fekk — ór Gǫrðum.[168]	out of Garðar (Rus') and won his title.[169]

24.

Arnórr Þórðarson jarlaskáld (Hollander, *Bibliography*, pp. 65–66).

[163] Kock I, p. 151 = *Skj* I, p. 322; cf. *Hkr* II (IF 27), p. 307.
[164] *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 461 (with my emendations).
[165] For information on him, see *GAL* I², p. 280.
[166] Kock I, p. 182 = *Skj* I, p. 394; cf. *Hkr* II (IF 27), p. 334.
[167] *Hkr*/Hollander, pp. 478–479 (with my emendation).
[168] Kock I, p. 182 = *Skj* I, p. 395; cf. *Hkr* III (IF 28), p. 12, and *Fgr*, ed. F. Jónsson, pp. 191 192, where the two helmingrs are given in the opposite order.
[169] *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 543 (with my emendations); cf. *CPB* II, p. 164.

The Icelander Arnórr Þórðarson jarlaskáld (b. ca. 1011, d. after 1066)[170] came to the Orkney Islands around 1040. There he became a close friend of the local earl, Rǫgnvaldr Brúsason (d. 1046), a supporter of St. Óláfr and his clan. Following the death of the earl, Arnórr returned to Norway where he wrote in praise of St. Óláfr's son, Magnús Óláfsson inn góði, king of Norway (1035–1047). He also wrote a panegyric for Haraldr Sigurðarson harðráði, king from 1046 to 1066, who had been to Rus' and Byzantium together with the earl, Rǫgnvaldr.

Unfortunately, except for remnants of three strophes, Arnórr's *Rǫgnvaldsdrapa* (Hollander, *Bibliography*, p. 65) has not survived. From the first helmingr of that work, accidentally preserved in the *Jarlasaga*, we can tell that it contained sections concerned with Rus'. It describes Rǫgnvald's exploits in Rus', where he was victorious in ten battles:

1. Deildisk af svá at aldri:
él grafninga þélar
Gǫndlar Njǫrðr í Gǫrðum
gunnbráðr tíu háði.[171]

-He flourished as a fruitful tree,
and fierce in fight; ten storms of
swords that file the shield [= battles]
Gǫndul's Njǫrðr [= Rǫgnvaldr][172]
in Garðar's (Rus') regions won.[173]

Magnússdrápa hrynhent (1047) (Hollander, *Bibliography*, p. 65). The following is a quotation from one of Arnórr's more fully preserved works, the *Magnússdrápa hrynhent*,[174] written in 1047. In these strophes he praises Magnús's victory over the Baltic Slavs, or Wends, and his sacking of Jómsborg, the famous Baltic trade center:

4. Herskip vannt af harða stinnum
hlunni geyst í salt et eystra.
Skjǫldungr, stétt á skǫrum hvéldan
skeiðar húf með gerzku reiði.
Vafðir lítt, enn vendir bifðusk;
varta hrøkk, enn niðr nam søkkva;
geystisk hlýr, enn hristi bára

Dragon ships thou didst launch forth
down on rollers in the East Sea (Baltic),
setting foot on planked, slender
sea-steed, decked with Rus'ian tackle;[175]
tarriedst nowise, masts though trembled,
tossing, and the bowsprit wallowed —
stem and stern still ice-encrusted,

[170] About him see *GAL* I², pp. 263–269; Jan de Vries, "Über Arnórr jarlaskáld," *ANF* 67 (1953), pp. 156–175; Hollander, *Skalds*, pp. 177–178; Turville-Petre, *Haraldr the Hard-Ruler and His Poets* (1968), pp. 5–10; Turville-Petre, *Scaldic Poetry*, pp. 93–97.

[171] Kock I, p. 155 = *Skj* I, p. 332; cf. *Orkneyingasaga*, ed. F. Guðmundsson (IF 34), p. 54, and Snorri's *Independent Óláfs saga helga* (IF 27), p. 440.

[172] *Njǫrðr* is the name of a famous Scandinavian god, associated especially with the harvest of the sea (he was of the Vanir race); *Gǫndul* is the name of the Valkyrie of battle; Gǫndlar Njǫrðr, a kenning for Rǫgnvaldr.

[173] *Orkneyinga saga*/Dasent, p. 39 (with my emendations); cf. *CPB* II, p. 193.

[174] See *GAL* I², pp. 264–266.

[175] Given to Magnús by his foster father, prince of Rus', Jaroslav the Wise.

hrími stokkin búnar grímur.[176]

struck by waves — deep in the sea troughs.[177]

9. Síðan vas, þats suðr með láði
siklingr ýtti flota miklum.

Skíði vas þá skriðar of auðit
skorðu; rendi Visundr norðan.

Samnask bað til hverrar hǫmlu

— hræðask menn við ættar klæði
Gjúka, þótti gǫfugt eiki

gerzkum málmi — Peitu hjalma.[179]

Sithen, south along the home-land
sailed the Siklingr [= king] with a great fleet.
Scope then was there given for skiffs to
skim the seas ran Visundr (ship "Bison") from the north.
Thou badest men to gather to every oar-bench:
frightful men in the apparel
of the Gjúki[178] clan; they went on board of the goodly oak [= ship]
with Rus'ian metal [= swords] and helmets of Poitou.[180]

11. Heyra skalt, hvé herskjǫld bǫ́ruð,
hilmis kundr, til Vinda grundar
— heppinn drótt af hlunni sléttum
hélug borð — í stefjaméli.
Aldri frák — enn, vísi, valdið
Vinda sorg — at dǫglingr spendi

— flaustum vas þá flóð of ristit —
fleiri skip til óðals þeira.[181]

Hear now how the scion of heroes
harried on the Wendish homelands,
in this burden; fortune-favored
fared his ships from shipyard rollers;
hardly ever had a ruler
high-born launched more ships — 'twas rued by
Wends — the foaming main to furrow,
frosty-prowed — against that folk-land.[182]

12. Skjǫldungr, fórt of óþjóð eldi;
auðit vas þá flotnum dauða.
Hæstan kynduð, hlenna þrýstir,
hyrjar ljóma suðr at Jómi.
Hvergi þorði hallir varða
heiðit folk í virki breiðu.
Buðlungr, unnuð borgarmǫnnum
bjǫrtum eldi stalldræp hjǫrtu.[183]

Skylding king! With fire then fell you
furiously upon the heathen,
made great carnage, keen-eyed rapine-queller, bloody, south by Jóms[borg];
heathen hosts durst nowise shield their
halls within the ample breastworks:
fire and hurtling flame, high-blazing,
frightened townsmen, king, awe-stricken.[184]

[176] Kock I, pp. 155–156 = *Skj* I, p. 333.
[177] Hollander, *Skalds*, pp. 183–184.
[178] In the *Poetic Edda*, this was the name of Gunnar's father (the hero of the Burgundian Niflungar/Nibelungen).
[179] Kock I, p. 156 = *Skj* I, p. 335.
[180] Hollander, *Skalds*, p. 185 (first helmingr only, with my emendations; the second helmingr is given here in my translation).
[181] Kock I, pp. 156–157 = *Skj* I, p. 335.
[182] Hollander, *Skalds*, pp. 185–186.
[183] Kock I, p. 157 = *Skj* I, pp. 335–336; cf. *Hkr* III (IF 28), pp. 39–40.
[184] *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 560; cf. Hollander, *Skalds*, p. 186.

13. Skjǫldungr, lézt við skíra valdit
Skotborgarǫ́ Vinda sorgum.

Yngvi, vas sá frægr, es fenguð,
fǫrnuðr þinn, við helming minna.
Verja lá þar valkǫstr hæri,
— vas þér sigr skaptr grams ens digra
virðum kunnr — an víða runnin
varga ætt of klífa mætti.[186]

Skylding prince, much scathe by glassy
Skotborg burn[185] to the Wendish didst thou:
famous was thy feat 'gainst greater
forces, king, and strong thy good luck;
higher were the heaps of slain men —
hero, was thee victory granted —
than the wilding wolf-packs, ranging
widely, e'er could clamber over.[187]

Magnússdrápa dróttkvætt. *Arn*órr's *Magnússdrápa dróttkvætt*, written in 1046–1047, mentions the name *Garðar* (Rus') in the following context:

1. Nú hykk rjóðanda reiðu
rógǫrs, þvít veit gǫrva,
— þegi seimbrotar! — segja
seggjum hneitis eggja.
Vasat ellifu allra
ormsetrs hati vetra,

hraustr þás herskip glæsti
Hǫrða vinr ór Gǫrðum.[188]

Of the atheling's early
outfitting shall I speak now —
give ye heed, ye gold-ring
givers — for I was witness.
Eleven years had not lived the
patron of Hǫrðaland [= Magnús],
when out of
Garðar (Rus') he made ready
red-shielded war-galleons.[189]

In the same work reference is made to the battle at Jóm[sborg]:

8. Vann, þás Vinðr of minnir,
vápnhríð konungr síðan

Sveið ófám at Jómi
illvirkja hræ stillir.
Búk dró bráðla steikðan
blóðugr vargr af glóðum.
Rann á óskírð enni
allfrekr bani hallar.[190]

The Wends will remember
ever since the king's weapon-storm
[= battle],
Sveið [= a Valkyrie] of Black at Jóm
he signed carcasses of the heathen.
The bloody wolf dragged
the half-roasted trunks out of the embers;
over their unbaptized foreheads
the fierce fire raged.[191]

Mention is also made of the capture of the island of Ré, later known as Rügen, which was then a Baltic Slavic state. In 1043 Magnús defeated the Danish king, Sveinn Úlfsson, near that island. A relevant helmingr reads thus:

185 On this battle see vol. two of this work.
186 Kock I, p. 157 = *Skj* I, p. 336.
187 Hollander, *Skalds*, p. 186. This hyperbole is justified to some extent in describing the historically attested great slaughter of the Wends (note by Hollander).
188 Kock I, p. 158 = *Skj* I, p. 338; cf. *Hkr* III (IF 28), p. 3.
189 *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 538 (with my emendations).
190 Kock I, p. 159 = *Skj* I, p. 340; cf. *Morkinskinna*, ed. F. Jónsson (Kbh, 1932), pp. 37 38.
191 My translation. Cf. *CPB* II, p. 190.

9. Fúss lét á Ré ræsir rammþing háit Glamma. Valska rauð fyr víðu Vestlandi gramr branda.[192]	Ready was the ruler at Ré to go to battle. Welsh swords before Westland wide then reddened Magnús.[193]

Erfidrápa Haralds harðráða (1066) (Hollander, *Bibliography*, p. 66). Arnórr wrote his *Erfidrápa Haralds harðráða* about the tragic death of King Haraldr harðráði in 1066. The epilogue to that poem[194] is interesting to us for one of its kennings, which reads:

19. Bœnir hefk fyr beini bragna falls við snjallan Girkja vǫrð ok Garða. Gjǫf launak svá jǫfri.[195]	Prayers I offer for the valiant heroes to the Protector of the Greeks and Garðar (Rus') folk (i.e., "Christian God"). Thus I repay to the wild boar [= the king] his gifts.[196]

25.

Oddr kíkinaskáld, *Vísa* (1043) (Hollander, *Bibliography*, p. 85).

Oddr kíkinaskald was a court skald of the king of Norway, Magnús Óláfsson inn góði (1035–1047).[197] The following stanza refers to two battles between Magnús and the Wends. The first was fought in Jutland in the fall of 1043, on the Eve of Michaelmas (September 28), and the second occurred off Árós, at the mouth of the river near the city of Århus:

1. Vas fyr Míkjálsmessu malmgrimm háið rimma. Fellu Vinðr, enn vǫnðusk vápnhljóði mjǫk þjóðir. Enn fyr jól vas ǫnnur óhlítulig lítlu — upp hófsk grimm með gumnum gunnr — fyr Árós sunnan.[198]	Before Michaelmas was murderous battle fought. Wends did fall. To war-din waxed men very accustomed. At Yule before was fiercely fought out still another: savage sword-fight was — south of Árós — started.[199]

[192] Kock I, p. 159 = *Skj* I, p. 340; cf. *Hkr* III (IF 28), p. 46, and *Morkinskinna*, ed. F. Jónsson, p. 38.

[193] *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 563.

[194] This epilogue was earlier (as e.g., in *CPB* II, p. 197) included in a different work by Arnórr, the *Þorfinnsdrápa*, in honor of the famed earl of the Orkney Islands, Þorfinnr Sigurðarson (1022–1064).

[195] Kock I, p. 165 = *Skj* I, p. 353; cf. *Snorra Edda*, ed. F. Jónsson, p. 159 (no. 275).

[196] My translation.

[197] Concerning him see *GAL* I², p. 274.

[198] Kock I, p. 165 = *Skj* I, pp. 354–355; cf. *Hkr* III (IF 28), pp. 63–64.

[199] *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 574; cf. *CPB* II, p. 214.

26.

Þórleikr fagri, *Flokkr* (1043) (Hollander, *Bibliography*, p. 98).

Þórleikr fagri, an Icelandic skald of the Danish King Sveinn Úlfsson (1047–1076),[200] wrote a flokkr praising Sveinn's participation in the aforementioned fierce battle of 1043 between King Magnús inn góði (1035–1047) and the Wends:

1. Fúrsendir vann fjǫndum
fjǫrspell í gný hjǫrva

— brǫð fekk hrafn — fyr Heiða
haukstorðar bœ norðan.
Rǫkusk Vindr — enn vákar
vals ginu þar of halsa.

dauðr lá herr á heiði
hundmargr — fáir undan.[201]

The fire-thrower-of-hawk-land [Sveinn]
brought the enemy death in a clash of
swords [= battle];
— the raven fetches ford —
north of Hedeby.
Few of the Wends escaped;
falcons [= ravens] snap at the necks
- from under —
the innumerable dead of the host
layed on the heath.[202]

27.

Haraldr Sigurðarson harðráði (Hollander, *Bibliography*, p. 81).

The restless king of Norway, Haraldr Sigurðarson harðráði[203] (1046–1066), "the last of the Vikings," was himself a gifted skald. Wounded in the tragic battle of Stiklarstaðir (1030), he, then a fifteen-year-old youth, composed the following *Vísa*:

2. Réðk — enn benjar blœða,
búþegna sák vegna:
lið fekkr lindar váði
lífs grand — í bǫð standa.
Nú lætk skóg af skógi
skreiðask lítils heiðar.
Hverr veit, nema ek verða
víða frægr of síðir.[204]

Share I had where shields were
shattered, wounds were bleeding;
franklin's fell 'neath blows of
foes-of-linden-targes [= swords].
In holes I hide me now, am
hunted, without honor.
Who knows if not sometime my
name be known and famed afar![205]

200 Concerning him see *GAL* I², pp. 279–280.

201 Kock I, p. 182 = *Skj* I, p. 396; cf. *Knýtlinga saga*, ed. C. af Petersens - E. Olson (Kbh, 1919–1925), p. 56.

202 Cf. *CPB* II, p. 219.

203 About him as poet, see Hollander, *Skalds*, pp. 197–206 and Frank, *Court Poetry*, pp. 28, 145, 152–153, 178.

204 Kock I, p. 166 = *Skj* I, p. 356. *Orkneyinga saga*, ed. F. Guðmundsson (IF 34), p. 53, and *Hkr* III (IF 28), p. 69, quote only the second helmingr of this strophe.

205 Hollander, *Skalds*, p. 198; cf. *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 576, and *Orkneyinga saga*/Dasent, p. 38.

Gamanvísur (1044). Haraldr's series of sixteen gamanvísur (sportive strophes), written aboard a ship on the Black Sea on his return trip to Novgorod in 1044, after several years' service in Byzantium, is quite famous.[206] The work is addressed to his sweetheart Elizabeth/Ellisif, daughter of Jaroslav the Wise (1018–1054), King of Novgorod and Kiev; only four of its strophes have fully survived. They read as follows:

3. Fundr vas þess, at Þrœndir
þeir hǫfðu lið meira.
Varð, sús vér of gerðum,
víst errilig snerra.
Skilðumk ungr við ungan
allvald í styr fallinn.
Þó lætr Gerðr í Gǫrðum
gollhrings við mér skolla.[208]

The Þronders, thus it fell out,
threw us with their numbers,
fiercely though we fought, and
fearless, in that struggle:
young, from peerless prince I
parted, for he fell there.
Yet the gold-ring-Gerð[207] *from*
Garðar (Rus') *lets me dangle.*

4. Sneið fyr Sikiley víði
súð; vǫrum þá prúðir.
Brýnt skreið vel til vánar
vengis hjǫrtr und drengjum.
Vættik miðr, at motti
myni enn þinig nenna.
Þó lætr Gerðr í Gǫrðum
gollhrings við mér skolla.[209]

On Sicilian seas we
sailed in stately fashion —
shield-walled moved the shapely
ships, full-manned with warriors.
Scarce would cowards care to
come, I ween, where we did.
Yet the gold-ring-Gerð from
Garðar (Rus') *lets me dangle.*

6. Enn munat ekkja kenna
ung né mær, at værim,
þars gerðum svip sverða,
síð í borg of morgin.
Ruddumk umb með oddi,
eru merki þar verka.
Þó lætr Gerðr í Gǫrðum
gollhrings við mér skolla.

Let no high-born lady
light make, nor fair maid, of
how I hewed, one morning,
hard, within a castle —
laid about with broadsword,
abound eye-witnesses.
Yet the gold-ring-Gerð from
Garðar (Rus') *lets me dangle.*

7. Alinn vas ek þars alma
Upplendingar bendu.
Nú lætk við sker skolla
skeiðr búmǫnnum leiðar.
Vítt hef ek, síz ýttum,

Born I was where bows were
bend by Upplǫnd [Norway] yeomen;
feared by foemen, now my
fleet doth hug the skerries;
wide o'er salty waters

[206] About him see G. Storm, "Harald Haardraade og Væringerne i de græske Keiseres Tjeneste" *NHT*, 2 ser., vol. 4 (1884), pp. 354–386.
[207] Gerðr is a goddess or Valkyrie; the whole, a kenning for woman, i.e. Ellisif, the "Goddess of Rus'," cf. Benedikz, *Varangians*, p. 67.
[208] Kock I, p. 166 = *Skj* I, p. 357; cf. *Morkinskinna*, ed. F. Jónsson, p. 85.
[209] Kock I, p. 166 = *Skj* I, p. 357; cf. *Morkinskinna*, ed. F. Jónsson, p. 85, *Fgr*, ed. F. Jónsson, p. 236, and *Hkr* III (IF 28), p. 89.

eygarð skotit barði.
Þó lætr Gerðr i Gǫrðum
gollhrings við mér skolla.[210]

went my prows since boyhood.
Yet the gold-ring-Gerð from
Garðar (Rus') *lets me dangle.*[211]

28.

Þjóðólfr Arnórsson (Hollander, *Bibliography*, p. 92).

The Icelander Þjóðólfr Arnórsson (d. 1066)[212] was skald at the courts of the Norwegian kings, Magnús (1035–1047) and Haraldr harðráði (1046–1066). He praised Magnús's victory over the Wends in 1043 in a poem called *Magnússflokkr*, written in 1045. It reads:

7. Hykk í hundraðsflokki
Haralds bróðurson stóðu
— hrafn vissi sér hvassast
hungrbann — framast manna.
Vítt lá Vinða flótti;
varð, þars Magnúss barðisk,
hǫggvinn valr at hylja
heiði rastar breiða.[213]

In host, Haraldr's nephew
hardy — was the ravens',
starved long, strongest hunger
stilled — foremost of all stood.
Widely, Wends lay scattered.
Was, where Magnús battled
the heath hidden by corpses
hewn down, in several miles' breadth.[214]

Sexstefja (1065). Þjóðólfr's elaborate panegyrical song, *Sexstefja* ("Six-Stave"), was written in 1065 in honor of Haraldr harðráði. It lauds the exploits of that adventurous Viking in Scandinavia, the Mediterranean lands, Rus', and the Near East. Many interesting geographical names from eastern Europe appear in the text:

1. Hvasst frák Haugi et næsta
hlífél á gram drífa,
enn Bolgara brennir

Heard have I that near to
Haug did rage the shield storm;
by his brother stood, though,

[210] Kock I, p. 166; cf. *Morkinskinna*, ed. F. Jónsson, p. 86.

[211] Hollander, *Skalds*, pp. 199–200; cf. *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 589 (translation of the fourth strophe). In another verse (second *helmingr* of no. 15), Haraldr refers to his own fighting in northern Africa in Byzantine service (ca. 1035):

Hitt vas fyrr, es fjarri
fóstrlandi rauðk branda.
Sverð í Serkja garði
sǫng; enn þat vas lǫngu.

Another time it was — far from my
fosterland — I reddened swords.
The sword sang in the burgh
of Saracens; but this was long ago.

(Kock I, p. 167 = *Skj* I, p. 359; cf. Benedikz, *Varangians*, p. 61).

[212] About him, see *GAL* I², pp. 269–274; Hollander, *Skalds*, pp. 189–196; Turville-Petre, *Haraldr the Hard-Ruler and His Poets* (1968), pp. 11–18; Turville-Petre, *Scaldic Poetry*, pp. 97–102 and Frank, *Court Poetry*, pp. 106, 114–115, 124, 134–135.

[213] Kock I, p. 168 = *Skj* I, pp. 362–363; cf. *Hkr* III (IF 28), p. 44.

[214] *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 562.

brœðr sínum vel tœði.
Skilðisk hann — ok hulði
hjalmsetr gamall vetra
tyggi tolf ok þriggja —
trauðr við Áleif dauðan.[215]

the burner of the Bulgars.
Parted from his peerless
prince he, all unwilling —
fifteen years the youth then —
beyond the woods to hide him.[216]

2. Tøgu má tekna segja
tandrauðs á Serklandi
ungr hætti sér átta
ormtorgs hǫtuðr borga,
áðr herskorðuðr harðan
Hildar leik und skildi
Serkjum hættr í sléttri
Sikileyju gekk heyja.[217]

Taken were twice forty
towns — oft risked his life the
youthful glow-red gold-rings'-
giver — in land of Saracens,
ere the hardy hero
Hild's-[= Valkyrie] dire-game, to Saracens
baleful, buckler-shielded
brought to level Sicily.[218]

The story of Haraldr's adventures in the Byzantine lands and in the Near East cannot be continued here, except for strophes 5 (mentioning of Langbarðaland), 6 (describing Haraldr's role in the blinding of the Byzantine Emperor and 8 (where the name *Garðar* (Rus') appears:

5. sás við lund á landi
Langbarða réð ganga.

He [Haraldr] who led the march at the grove
in the land of the Langobards
[= catepanate of Italy].[219]

Mentioning of the blinding of the Emperor (Michael Calaphates) on 21 April 1042:

6. Stólþengils lét stinga
— styrjǫld vas þá byrjuð —
eyðir augu bæði
út heiðingja sútar.
Lagði allvaldr Egða
austr á bragning hraustan
gráligt mark, enn Girkja
gǫtu illa fór stillir.[220]

The destroyer of the hunger of the heath-dweller
[= warrior, i.e., Haraldr harðráði]
— the struggle was started —
plucked out both eyes
of the throne-prince [= emperor].
The-sole-ruler-of-the-men-of-Egdir [= Haraldr harðráði]
put an ill mark on the bald king of the East
[= emperor];
the king of the Greeks [= emperor]
suffered a cruel fate.[221]

215 Kock I, p. 171 = *Skj* I, p. 369; cf. *Hkr* III (IF 28), p. 68.
216 *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 577 (with my emendations).
217 Kock I, p. 171 = *Skj* I, p. 369; cf. *Hkr* III (IF 28), p. 75.
218 My translation. Cf. Turville-Petre, *Scaldic Poetry*, p. 98, *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 581 and Benedikz, *Varangians*, p. 61.
219 Kock I, p. 171 = *Skj* I, p. 370; see Benedikz, *Varangians*, p. 70.
220 Kock I, p. 171 = *Skj* I, p. 370; cf. *Hkr* III (IF 28), pp. 86–87; cf. Frank, *Court Poetry*, pp. 134–135.
221 *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 588 (with my emendations). Concerning the events, see Benedikz, *Varangians*, pp. 93–94.

8. Reist eikikjǫlr austan
ǫrðigt vatn ór Gǫrðum.
Svíar tœðu þér síðan,
snjallr landreki, allir.
Gekk með golli miklu
— glygg fell ótt of tyggja —
hǫll á hléborð sollin
Haralds skeið und vef
breiðum.[222]

The oaken keel breasted
the steep water from Garðar (Rus') in the East.
Since that time all Swedes did aid you,
valiant protector of the land.
Gales fell on gold-laden Haraldr's
galley soaked with salt sea,
leeward leaning strongly,
luffing under broad sail.[223]

Strophes on Haraldr harðráði. Jaroslav, the King of Novgorod and Kiev (1018-1054), appointed Haraldr harðráði (as earlier Eilífr, son of Earl Rǫgnvaldr) leader of his Viking retinue (*družina*). That period of Haraldr's life (1045-1047) is described in the following strophes by Þjóðólfr:[224]

1. Eitt hǫfðusk at,
Eilífr þars sat,
hǫfðingjar tveir:
hamalt fylkðu þeir.[225]
Austr Vinðum ók
í ǫngvan krók.
Vasa Læsum léttr
liðsmanna réttr.[226]

The same was done
by Rǫgnvaldr's son:
in phalanx taut
both chieftains fought
East Wends, pent tight
in sorry plight;
to Poles (Læsir) hard driven
harsh terms were given.[227]

3. Jarizleifr of sá,
hvert jǫfri brá.
Hófsk hlýri frams,
ens helga grams.[228]

Jarizleifr (Jaroslav) saw
after whom he (Haraldr) took.
The fame of the Holy King's (St. Óláfr)
brother [= Haraldr] grew.[229]

Apart from the name *læsir* (< **lesi*), which doubtlessly is derived from the Western Slavic language of the Wends,[230] this poem also contains a statement of great interest. In Jaroslav's state lived the "East Wends," *Austr Vindr*, i.e.,

222 Kock I, p. 172 = *Skj* I, pp. 370-371; cf. *Hkr* III (IF 28), p. 92.
223 *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 591 (with my emendations); cf. *CPB* II, p. 205.
224 For some reason Labuda called this poem "anonymous" and relates its data to the year 1031 (*Fragmenty* II, pp. 167-168).
225 Kock I, pp. 170-171 = *Skj* I, p. 368; cf. *Morkinskinna*, ed. F. Jónsson, p. 58 (with reversed order of the helmingrs), *Fgr*, ed. F. Jónsson, p. 218 and *Hkr* III (IF 28), p. 70.
226 Kock I, pp. 170-171 = *Skj* I, p. 368; cf. *Morkinskinna*, ed. F. Jónsson, p. 58 and *Hkr* III (IF 28), p. 70.
227 *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 578 and Benedikz, *Varangians*, p. 54. Here Jaroslav's campaign against the Poles in 1047 is mentioned; see *PVL*, ed. D. S. Lixačev I, p. 104.
228 Kock I, p. 171 = *Skj* I, p. 368.
229 My translation. Cf. *CPB* II, p. 211 and Benedikz, *Varangians*, p. 55.
230 Cf. M. Rudnicki's *Prasłowiańszczyzna. Lachia. Polska* (Poznań, 1961) II, pp. 248-253. The contemporary East Slavic form was already *ljax*, not **lęx*; cf. also Holthausen, *WAWN*, p. 188.

Wends relocated in eastern Europe.[231] It was against these that King Jaroslav's Vikings fought.

29.

Bǫlverkr Arnórsson, *Vísa* (Hollander, *Bibliography*, p. 67).

The brother of Þjóðólfr, Bǫlverkr Arnórsson,[232] was also a skald in the courts of the two Norwegian kings, Magnús and Haraldr. He also praised in writing the adventures and heroism of Haraldr in many lands. His eight surviving strophes contain many exotic geographical names. Some of the following visur have interesting references to Rus' and Constantinople.

1. Mildingr, straukt of mækis	Bold prince! Blood didst wipe from
munn, es lézt af gunni.	brand ere leaving combat.
Holds vannt hrafn of fylldan	You filled the ravens with flesh of
hrás. Þaut vargr í ási.	fallen — wolves howled in forests.
Enn, gramr — né frák fremra	Passed then — of more peerless
friðskerði þér verða —	peace-destroyer [= warrior] not heard I
austr vast ár et næsta,	ever speak — the atheling
ǫrðiglyndr, í Gǫrðum.[233]	east, next year, to Garðar (Rus').[234]

Haraldr, with his fleet, approaches Constantinople during a cool shower:

2. Hart kníði svǫl svartan	Fresh gales drove our gallant
snekkju brand fyr landi	galley scurrying shoreward —
skúr, enn skrautla bǫru	with armored prows and poops our
skeiðr brynjaðar reiði.	proud ships rode to harbor.
Mætr hilmir sá malma	Of Miklagarðr (Constantinople) the golden
Miklagarðs fyr barði.	gables our famous prince saw.
Mǫrg skriðu beit at borgar	Many a mere-ship fair-dight
barmfǫgr hǫum armi.[235]	moved toward the high-walled city.[236]

Further strophes show other exotic names such as *Sikiley* "Sicily,"[237] and *Bláland* "Blackland,"[238] i.e., North Africa.

[231] On the East Wends see pp. 162-163, 300.

[232] About him see *GAL* I², pp. 274-275 and Frank, *Court Poetry*, pp. 155, 159.

[233] Kock I, p. 178 = *Skj* I, p. 385; cf. *Hkr* III (IF 28), pp. 69-70.

[234] *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 578; on the circumstances see Benedikz, *Varangians*, p. 55.

[235] Kock I, p. 178 = *Skj* I, p. 385; cf. *Hkr* III (IF 28), p. 71 and Frank, *Court Poetry*, p. 159.

[236] *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 579; *Miklagarðr* "great city" was the Scandinavian name for Constantinople; it also appears in the *Eiríksdrápa* by Markús Skeggjason = Kock I, p. 207 (strophe 30, line 4 = *Skj* I, p. 451) and in *Geisli* by Einarr Skúlason = Kock I, p. 217 (strophe 53, line 2) = *Skj* I, p. 469; cf. *Lexicon Poeticum*, p. 406b, s.v.; cf. Benedikz, *Varangians*, p. 56.

[237] Kock I, p. 178 (strophe 4, line 6) = *Skj* I, p. 386. Strophes by two skalds, Bǫlverkr Arnórsson and Valgarðr á Velli, referring to Haraldr's Sicilian expedition, are quoted with

30.

Stúfr inn blindi, *Vísa* (Hollander, *Bibliography*, p. 91).

He was a scion of an illustrious literate clan and a direct descendant of skald Glúmr Geirason.[239] Unfortunately, only a few remnants of his *Haraldsdrápa* survive, but they testify to his high technical skill.

One helmingr of a vísa, quoted by *Morkinskinna*, *Fagrskinna*, and *Heimskringla*, alludes to Haraldr's marriage to Ellisif of Novgorod:

4. Mægð gat allvaldr Egða	Kinship won the keen-eyed
ógnar mildr, þás vildi.	ruler of Egðir, which he had wished,
Golls tók gumna spjalli	gold a-plenty as guerdon
gnótt ok Bragnings dóttur.[240]	gained he, and eke the Bragningar daughter [= Ellisif].[241]

31.

Valgarðr á Velli, *Drápa* (Hollander, *Bibliography*, p. 100).

Valgarðr á Velli[242] also wrote a drápa glorifying the exploits of Haraldr harðráði. Haraldr, who blinded the Emperor, had also punished the Varangians who sided with his enemies. This we know from the following half-strophe (*helmingr*) by Valgarðr, preserved in *Fagrskinna*:

4. Helmingi bautt hanga,	Son of king, you commanded
hilmiskundr, af stundu.	the half of them to hang there and then.
Skipt hafið ér, svát eptir	After you have accomplished it,
eru Væringjar færi.	there are fewer Varangians left.[243]

In the following relevant strophe (also quoted by Snorri), the poet describes the unusual vitality of his hero:

English translation by Benedikz, *Varangians*, p. 68.

238 Kock I, p. 178 (strophe 5, line 4) = *Skj* I, p. 386.

239 For information on him, see *GAL* I, p. 277; II, p. 65.

240 Kock I, p. 186 = *Skj* I, p. 405; cf. also *Morkinskinna*, ed. F. Jónsson, p. 87, *Fgr*, ed. F. Jónsson, p. 232, and *Hkr* III (IF 28), p. 90.

241 *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 590 (with my emendations). In the two surviving strophes of Stúfr names appear that refer to Haraldr's expedition to the Holy Land, for example, "Jerusalem" (Kock I, p. 186 (strophe 2, line 4) = *Skj* I, p. 404), *Jórdán* (Kock I, p. 186 (strophe 3, line 4) = *Skj* I, p. 404). Both strophes with English translation are found in Benedikz, *Varangians*, p. 64. These names are also found in the *Sigurðardrápa* of Einarr Skúlason, Kock I, p. 209 (strophe 4) = *Skj* I, p. 456.

242 About him see *GAL* I², pp. 275, 288.

243 Kock I, p. 180 = *Skj* I, p. 391; cf. *Fgr*, ed. F. Jónsson, p. 230, and Benedikz, *Varangians*, p. 95.

5. Skauzt und farm enn frízta
— frami veitisk þér — beiti:
farðir goll ór Gǫrðum
grunlaust, Haraldr, austan.
Stýrðir hvatt í hǫrðu,
hvardyggr jǫfurr, glyggvi.
Sátt, þás sædrif létti,
Sigtún, enn skip hnigðu.[244]

Laden with fairest load [= Ellisif], you
launched your swift ship, Haraldr,
carrying gold from Garðar (Rus') —
glory came to you — westward.
You steered in stormy weather,
stalwart chief — ships wallowed
deep — through spray and spindrift
speeding, till you saw Sigtún.[245]

32.

Hjǫrtr Óláfsson, *Lausavísur* (1066).

Hjǫrtr was an Icelander and a courtier of Haraldr harðráði (1046–1066). Shortly before his English campaign (1066), Haraldr — in need of money — sent Hjǫrtr, along with Þórarinn Nefúlfsson, to Hólmgarðr (Novgorod). Their mission was to bring back a goatskin filled with gold and pure silver which Haraldr had earlier given to his now estranged wife, Elisabeth/Ellisif, the daughter of Jaroslav. According to the *Hemings þáttr* in which this story appears,[246] upon his return from the mission, Hjǫrtr reported to Haraldr in verse. Three of these strophes from the *Hemings þáttr* follow:

Haraldr did not pay attention to the returned emissaries:

1. Þrøngvir golli
gramr fast saman.
Veitir Sýrar
sonr fás konar.
Land skyldi lítit
lafhamðir hafa.
Þá myndi hǫlðum
Haraldr svara.

The prince his gold
piled fast together;
but never a word
will the sow's son [= Haraldr][247] utter:
gey little land
should laf-Hamðir[248] have,
then perhaps Haraldr
would answer a man.

2. Hafr es úti
hvítr í túni,
skúmir augum,
hefr skegg mikit,

Outside in the enclosure (*tún*; also "town")
is a billy-goat white,[249]
he glares with his eyes,
and has a long beard;

[244] Kock I, pp. 180–181 = *Skj* I, p. 391; cf. also *Morkinskinna*, ed. F. Jónsson, pp. 87–88; *Fgr*, ed. F. Jónsson, p. 233, and *Hkr* III (IF 28), p. 91.

[245] *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 590.

[246] See vol. two of this work.

[247] Sow's son is an allusion to Haraldr's father, Sigurðr Hálfdanarson, who was called *sýr*, "sow."

[248] The meaning of *laf-Hamðir* is unknown.

[249] In these verses the skin of the he-goat is represented as a bugbear in a nursery tale (note by G. W. Dasent).

brestir klaufum,
vil bǫrn taka.
Sá's geitar son
gerr við erru.

he stamps with his hoofs
and will carry off bairns.
This nanny-goat's son
is madle ye-made.

Ellisif's answer

3. Munat í vári
vestr langskipum
hugragr of haf
Haraldr fara.
Því mun lengi
lafhræddr konungr
alls andvani,
Englands ok vegs.[250]

Never next spring
with long-ships west,
shall hare-hearted Haraldr,
o'er salt-sea sail.
For long shall be
that quaking king
quite without hope
of England and fame.[251]

33.

Markús Skeggjason, *Eiríksdrápa* (Hollander, *Bibliography,* pp. 84–85).

Markús Skeggjason (ca. 1040–1107) was an Icelander who served in the courts of Denmark and Sweden.[252] His main surviving work, the *Eiríksdrápa,* written in 1103, posthumously praises the Danish king, Eiríkr Sveinsson (1095–1103), as a warrior, a valiant enemy of the Wends, the real engineer and founder of the archbishopric of Lund, and a traveler who visited, among other places, Rus' and western Europe. King Eiríkr died on Cyprus in 1103, while en route from Constantinople to Jerusalem. This drápa[253] devoted to him contains the last concrete references to Rus' (Garðar) and to the Baltic Slavs (Vinðar) found in Old Norse poetry:

4. Fœðir sótti fremðar-ráða
foldar vǫrðu austr í Garða.
Auði gœddu allvald prúðan

ítrir menn, þeirs hnøggvi slíta.
Stillir varð of Austrveg allan
einkar tíðr enn mærðarblíði.
Hinn varð engr, es hans nafn kunnit,
heiðarmanns, í lofi reiða.

Breeder of rightly glorious deeds
visits Garðr's (Rus') princes in the east.
Excellent people presented the disdainful of frugality,
the courageous ruler, with shining gold.
Far known in the Austrvegr (eastern Europe)
the glory-rich prince without equal.
No one who could not praise
the name of the king, the able one, was there.

250 Kock I, pp. 185–186 = *Skj* I, p. 403; cf. *Hemings þáttr,* ed. G. F. Jensen (Kbh, 1962), pp. 38–39.

251 *Orkneyinga saga*/Dasent, pp. 394–395.

252 For information on him, see *GAL* I², pp. 282–286 and Frank, *Court Poetry,* pp. 46–49, 67, 75–76, 177.

253 On this drápa see Axel Åkerblom, *NTF* 3d ser. 11 (1901), pp. 529–538; Magnus Olsen, *Edda* 15 (1921), pp. 161–169 and Frank, *Court Poetry,* pp. 75, 121.

5. Vár ǫndurt bjó Vinda rýrir
veglig flaust ór Gǫrðum austan.
Hlýrum skaut á hola bǫru
helmings oddr í sumars broddi.
Hlýðu studdi borðvið breiðan
bróðir Knúts í veðri óðu.
Síðan knátti svikfolks eyðir
snilli kendr við Danmǫrk lenda.[255]

Early in the spring the diminisher of the Wends (*Vinda rýrir*)[254]
prepared his splendid vessels to sail west from Garðar (Rus').
The following summer the master of the men let the stems
shoot through the swelling waves.
The broad brim of the ship with boards protects
Knútr's brother in the storm, the defiant.
Thus could the conqueror of the deceitful waves
now land on Denmark.[256]

Eiríkr's raid against the Wends is described in the following strophes (to 23), some of which have not remained intact. Only strophes 8, 15, 16, 22, and 23, which contain references to the Wends, their towns, and dwellings, will be quoted here:

8. Vǫrgum eyddi Vinda fergir,
víking hepti konungr fíkjum.
Þjófa hendr lét þengill stýfa,
þegnum kunni ósið hegna.
Aldri frásk, at Eiríkr vildi
allréttligum dómi halla.
Hála kunni sér til sælu
sigrs valdari goðs lǫg halda.[257]

Oppressor of the Wends [= Eiríkr] slew the truce-breakers;
Viking raids did he always crush;
he did cut off the hands of thieves;
he knew how to punish the thanes' breach of law.
Never did one hear that a judgment
passed by Eiríkr was not just.
He upheld to the utmost
the laws of God for his own profit.

15. Veldi þorðu Vindr at halda
— villa gerðisk þeim at illu:
sunnan kom þá svikdómsmanna
sáttarof — þats Buðlungr átti.[258]

[the king's] power dared to hold the Wends;
he grew to bewilder them toward the evil:
from the south came there the violation of truce
by the traitors — Buðlungr [= Attila] owned them once.

16. Yngvi helt í óðastrǫngum
ǫldugangi skipum þangat.
Hlýða skalf, es hristi grœðir
hélug bǫrð fyr Vinda gǫrðum.[259]

Yngvi [= Eiríkr] steered there ship quick
in the raging motion of the waves.
The cabins trembled; the white-capped
waves shook the starboard before the towns of the Wends.

[254] See Kock; F. Jónsson has *týrir*, though in his *Lexicon Poeticum* there is no entry *týrir*; in the given quotation from Markús it appears as *rýrir* (p. 474a).
[255] Kock I, pp. 204–205 = *Skj* I, p. 445; cf. *Knýtlinga saga*, ed. C. af Petersens – E. Olson, pp. 165–166.
[256] My translation. Cf. *CPB* II, p. 235.
[257] Kock I, p. 205 = *Skj* I, p. 446; cf. *Knýtlinga saga*, ed. C. af Petersens – E. Olson, p. 169.
[258] Kock I, p. 206 = *Skj* I, p. 447; cf. *Knýtlinga saga*, ed. C. af Petersens – E. Olson, pp. 175–176.
[259] Kock I, p. 206 = *Skj* I, p. 447; cf. *Knýtlinga saga*, ed. C. af Petersens – E. Olson, p. 177.

22. Herðin vǫru hjǫrtu lýða
hryggðarfull í Vinða byggðum.
Eldrinn sveif of ótal hǫlda,
Eiríkr brendi sali þeira.
Eisur kyndusk hǫtt í húsum,
hallir nǫðu vítt at falla.
Óttu leið, enn uppi þótti
elris grand í himni standa.[260]

Sorrow was felt
in the abodes of the Wends.
Fire fell on many men there.
Eiríkr let flames devour their dwellings.
The sparks flashed high in the house;
halls fell far and wide.
The night retreated. Close to the sky
still the-alder's-damager [= fire] spit there.

23. Eiríkr vas með uppreist hǫri,
undan flýðu Vindr af stundu.
Gjǫld festu þá grimmir hǫldar,
gumnar vǫru sigri numnir.
Yngvi talði erfðir þangat,
alþýða varð stilli hlýða.
Veldi réð því ástvinr aldar
einart; lá þat fyrr und Sveini.[261]

Eiríkr was having a great good fortune;
quickly the Wends fled away from [him];
those grim men paid ransom,
being reft of victory.
Everybody had to listen to him.
Thus kept the brave lord
incessantly his kingdom
which was once Sveinn's.[262]

34.

Ívarr Ingimundarson, *Sigurðarbǫlkr* (Hollander, *Bibliography*, p. 83).

In his *Sigurðarbǫlkr*, written about 1140 in the Eddaic measure fornyrðislag, Ívarr Ingimundarson, another Icelander, described the deeds of Sigurðr slembidjákn, the adventurer of unknown origin who became king of Norway from 1130 to 1139.[263]

One of Sigurðr's exploits has direct bearing on the main theme of this book, since it is the last contemporary testimony in skaldic poetry of the activity of the Wendish Slavs on the Baltic Sea.

In his *Heimskringla*, Snorri Sturluson writes as follows:

> That summer [1137] Sigurðr slembidjákn came east across the sea to Norway. But when he learned of the ill-luck of his kinsman Magnús [Sigurðarson enn blindi, Sigurðr's fellow king, 1130–1139], he considered that he would get little support in Norway. So he sailed south along the coast by the outer course all the way to Denmark, and

260 Kock I, p. 206 = *Skj* I, pp. 448–449; cf. *Knýtlinga saga*, ed. C. af Petersens & E. Olson, p. 180.

261 Kock I, p. 206 = *Skj* I, p. 449; cf. *Knýtlinga saga*, ed. C. af Petersens & E. Olson, p. 181.

262 My translation. Cf. Polish translation of the last strophe by Labuda, *Fragmenty* II, pp. 172–173. In other strophes by the same author appear the names *Væringjar*, Kock I, p. 180 (strophe 4, line 4) = *Skj* I, p. 391, and *Sikiley*, Kock I, p. 180 (strophe 1, line 4) = *Skj* I, p. 390. Markús mentions Eiríkr's reception in Constantinople (1103), where he supposedly was to receive "half a ton of gold" from the Emperor; the strophe in question (no. 30) has been quoted, with an English translation, by Benedikz, *Varangians*, p. 134.

263 About him see *GAL* I², pp. 290–291.

steered into the Eyrar Sound. South of Erri (Ærø, south of Funen) he encountered some swift-sailing Wendish ships (*Vinða-snekkjur*), attacked them, and was victorious, clearing them of their men, killing many, and hanging others. Another successful battle he fought against the Wends by Mǫn Island (Møen). Then he sailed north and anchored in the eastern branch of the [Gaut] Elf River, overcoming three ships of the fleet of Þórir hvínantorði. . . .[264]

Now we present Ívarr's contemporary comment on the events:

19. Mœtti Vinðum,
sás vega þorði,
sókndjarfr Sigurðr,
suðr við Erri.

He met the Wends
daring them [to pass] the way,
— martial Sigurðr —
south of Ærø.

20. Hrauð ungr konungr
átta snekkjur
— vargr gein of val —
Vinða ferðar.
Hné fyr eggju
óþjóðarlið.

The young king
cleared eight smacks —
the wolf was snapped by the falcon —
during the expedition against the Wends.
The barbarian crew
sunk before the edge [of the sword].

21. Enn lét aðra
austr fyr Mœri
gramr geirþorinn
gunni háða.
Neytti vápna,
þás Vinðr hnigu,
ǫrr oddviti
ǫðru sinni.[265]

And he — the spear-daring king —
let perform another battle
East of Mœri.
The brave leader
made use of weapon
another time.
At that time
the Wends fell dead.[266]

35.

Anonymous, *The Þula Naming Rivers* (Hollander, *Bibliography*, p. 106).

At the end of the twelfth century, a skald's skill and talent were evaluated according to his knowledge of the antiquarian works and techniques of the skalds of the "classical times" (we have a similar situation with the Arabic poets of the Abbasid period). Such works included glossaries written in verse, þulur (sg. þula), or *voces memoriae*, in which were collected various terms, expressions, names, and idioms, used by authors of that period to make their works resemble the old skaldic style. These glossaries contained mythical

[264] *Hkr* III (IF 28), p. 309 = *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 740.
[265] Kock I, p. 231 = *Skj* I, p. 498.
[266] Cf. *CPB* II, p. 263.

names: Óðinn [Woden], the sons of Óðinn, the Æsir, goddesses, Freyja, Valkyries, dwarfs, giants and giantesses, kings, men, and women, as well as terms for company and kindred, for the household, for war, battle weapons and parts of weapons (especially swords), shields, helmets, coats of mail; names of seas, islands, rivers, fish and whales; terms for ships, parts of ships; names of trees and plants; and names of animals.

The þula for naming rivers has six strophes. Three of them, which include the names of rivers in eastern Europe, are given below (those rivers are in italics):

2. Þyn, Rín ok Nið,
Þǫll, Rimr, Ysja,
Dún, Qgn, *Dýna*,
Dyn, Hǫllfara
Órun ok Bró,
Auðskjǫlg, Lodda,
Mun, Merkriða,
Mein ok Saxelfr.

3. Tífr, Durn, *Vína*,
Tems, Vǫnd ok Strind,
Mǫrn, Móða, Þrym,
Morn ok Gautelfr,
Alin, Uðr, *Olga*
ok Eufrátes,
Ógn, Eiðrennir
ok Apardjón.

4. Rǫgn, Hrǫnn ok Raun,
Raumelfr, Hnipul,
Hnǫpul, Hjǫlmunlǫ,
Humra, *Vína*,
Vil, Vín, Vella,
Valin, Sœmð, Salin,
Nepr, *Drǫfn*,[267] Strauma,
Nis, Mynd, Gnapa.[268]

Many of these are names of rivers from western Europe, especially of British (Celtic) origin,[269] from the late crusading *encomia*, several mythological names from the *Poetic Edda*, three names from central Europe (Rín, "Rhine"; Dyn, "Danube,"; Sax-Elfr, "Elbe"). At least six are eastern European names: Dún, "Don(ec')"; Dýna, "Western Dvina"; Vína, "Northern Dvina"; Olga, "Volga"; Nepr, "Dniepr"; Drǫfn, "river near Polock."[270]

36.

Four other poetical works of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are worth mentioning because they include many foreign names, especially from eastern Europe, for descriptive purposes. Two of these were written in connection with the canonization of two saints, both Norwegian kings, St. Óláfr Haraldsson (1015–1030) and Óláfr Tryggvason (995–1000). The famous poem about St. Óláfr, entitled *Geisli*, was written in 1153 by Einarr Skúlason (ca. 1090–1165), the greatest skald of the second half of the twelfth century.

267 A river near Polock.

268 Kock I, p. 331 = *Skj* I, pp. 669–670.

269 Most of these names are from North Britain, a few are Irish (*CPB* II, p. 615).

270 Only once in all Scandinavian poetry does the name *Samland* appear — in an anonymous poem of the twelfth century, as part of a kenning for woman: *Serkjar Samland* (Kock I, p. 292: Anon. XII, c, strophe 33, lines 3–4 = *Skj* I, p. 600); cf. *Lexicon Poeticum*, p. 490a (s.v. *serkr*). There we find also the name *Serkland* for the Moslem East including North Africa (Kock I, p. 292: Anon. XII, c, strophe 33, line 2 = *Skj* I, p. 600).

The *Óláfs drápa Tryggvasonar* by Hallar-Steinn (twelfth century), which praises the "Icelandic" saint, is also known as the *Rekstefja* after a special type of stef used there.

Another work is the anonymous *Nóregs konunga tal*, a short review of Norway's history, written about 1190. Finally, there is the *Jómsvíkinga drápa* of Bjarni Kolbeinsson, the bishop of the Orkneys (*fl.* 1188–1222). These works will not be considered in detail here because they are not contemporary reactions to the events, but rather elaborations with historical aims based on tradition (sagas) and hagiographical sources.

Skaldic Poetry's Vistas on Eastern Europe

To sum up, the first references to eastern Europe found in the skaldic poetry of the late ninth/tenth century were *Austrvegr* "the eastern way," i.e., the north-eastern coast of the Baltic Sea, and *Sýsla, eistnesk, eistr*, names relating to Estonia. All these are found in the poems of the skald Þjóðólfr ór Hvíni (*fl.* ninth century).

In the poetry of the tenth century, specifically that of Egill Skallagrímsson (A.D. 937), Glúmr Geirason (d. ca. 970), and Einarr skálaglamm (*fl.* 986), we find the name *Vína* for the Northern Dvina River; Glúmr also uses the word *bjarmskar*, "inhabitants(s) of Biarmia." These names were undoubtedly introduced as a result of the completed exploration of the Scandinavian peninsula. In the same century the names *Gandvík* or White Sea (Eyjólfr Valgerðarson, ca. 976; Eilífr Goðrúnarson), *kolgu Síþjóð*, or Cold Sweden (Eilífr Goðrúnarson), and *Finnar*, or Lapps (Eyvindr Finnsson skáldaspillir, d. 990) also appear.

Third in chronological order, but also from the tenth century, are (probably) *Kúrland* (Glúmr Geirason, ca. 945–948), *Vindr* "Baltic Slavs" (Guttormr sindri, ca. 950–960), and *Húnaland* — a poetic designation for the former state of the Avars in central Europe (Kormákr Ogmundarson).

The order in which these names occur is surely not accidental; we can suppose that the Norwegians initiated the Scandinavian discovery of eastern Europe which proceeded from north to south.

The two geographical names most frequently found in skaldic poetry are *Vindr*, or Wends, and *Garðar/Garðr*, or (Novgorodian) Rus'. The former appears in sixteen works of fourteen different skalds[271] and the latter in thir-

[271] The names of the skalds are Guttormr sindri (ca. 950–960), Anonymous of the *Níðvísa* of ca. 980, Einarr skálaglamm, Tindr Hallkelsson, Eyjólfr dáðaskáld, Halldórr ókristni, Hallfrøðr vandræðaskáld (*Óláfs drápa, Óláfs erfidrápa*), Sighvatr Þórðarson, Arnórr

teen poems of ten skalds, beginning with Eyjólfr dáðaskáld (ca. 997).[272] The relations between the Wends and the Scandinavians were often hostile, which explains the epithets the skalds bestowed on several Danish and Norwegian kings: *Vinda myrðir*, "slayer of the Wends"; *Vindum háttr*, "to Wends a terror"; *Vinda fergir*, "oppressor of the Wends"; *Vinda rýrir*, "diminisher of the Wends." The first title, *Vinda myrðir*, was given to the Danish king Haraldr Gormsson (d. 986; an anonymous níðvísa from ca. 980), the Norwegian earl, Hákon Sigurðarson (d. 995; Einarr skálaglamm, *Vellekla*, 986), Óláfr Tryggvason (d. 1000; Hallfrødr vandræðaskáld, *Óláfs erfidrápa*, 1001), and the earl, Eiríkr Hákonarson (Halldórr ókristni, *Eiríksflokkr*, ca. 1001). The title *Vindum háttr* was given to St. Óláfr (d. 1030; Sighvatr Þórðarson, ca. 1011), and the titles *Vinda fergir* and *Vinda rýrir* were used by Markús Skeggjason in the *Eiríksdrápa* (1103) for the Danish King Eiríkr Sveinsson (d. 1103). The names *Jóm/Jómsborg*, a military and trade center of the Baltic Slavs, and *Ré*, or Rügen, the famous Slavic island state (especially Arnórr Þórðarson, d. 1066) also occur.

Military aid from the Vikings was often enlisted by the kings Volodimer[273] (d. 1015) and Jaroslav[274] (d. 1054) of Novgorod.[275] The Novgorod court played host to such Scandinavian heroes as Óláfr Tryggvason (d. 1000), St. Óláfr (d. 1030), Magnús Óláfsson enn góði (d. 1047), and Haraldr harðráði (d. 1066). Thus the skaldic lexicon acquired names such as *Aldeigja*, or [Old] Ladoga, and *Garðar* or [Novgorodian] Rus'; both appear in the poems of Eyjólfr dáðaskáld (ca. 997), along with the enigmatic *Bálagarðr* coastline, *Eysýsla* "(the Estonian island) Ösel," and *Finnlendingar* "Lapps" (all in Sighvatr Þórðarson, ca. 1015–1016).

In connection with the eastern European exploits of St. Óláfr and Haraldr harðráði, skaldic poetry contains such interesting and important terms from the Rus'ian sphere as: *Væringjar*, "Varangians"; *Bolgarar*, "[Volga] Bulgars";

Þórðarson (*Magnúsdrápa hrynhent*, *Magnúsdrápa dróttkvætt*), Oddr kíkinaskald, Þórleikr fagri, Þjóðólfr Arnórsson, Markús Skeggjason, Ívarr Ingimundarson (ca. 1140).

272 The names of the skalds are: Eyjólfr dáðaskáld (ca. 997), Hallfrødr vandræðaskáld, Sighvatr Þórðarson (*Erfidrápa*, *Vísa*), Bjarni gullbrárskáld, Arnórr Þórðarson (*Rǫgnvaldsdrápa*, *Magnússdrápa dróttkvætt*, *Erfidrápa Haralds harðráða*), Haraldr harðráði, Þjóðólfr Arnórsson, Bǫlverkr Arnórsson, Valgarðr á Velli, and Markús Skeggjason (1103).

273 Volodimer (*Valdamarr*) is known to Eyjólfr dáðaskáld (ca. 1000), and his grandson (V. Jaroslavič) to Sighvatr Þórðarson (ca. 1031).

274 Jaroslav (*Jarizleifr*) is known only to Þjóðólfr Arnórsson; however, Jaroslav's name is found in one song of the *Poetic Edda*, *Guðrúnarkvída II* (strophe 19, line 1), which was written toward the end of the twelfth century (*GAL* II², p. 135).

275 Strangely enough the name *Hólmgarðr* (Novgorod) does not appear in skaldic poetry.

Austr-Vindr, "eastern Wends," meaning obviously the Vjatyči/Radimiči, *Læsir* "Poles" or "Western Slavs" (cf. Old Rus'ian *ljaxy*), and *Serkland* "the Moslem East" (Þjóðólfr Arnórsson, beginning of the eleventh century).[276] There are also references to the military and political sphere of Byzantium, such as: *Miklagarðr*, "Constantinople"; *Langbarðaland*, "catepanate of Italy"; *Girkir/Grekir*, "Byzantines"; *Sikiley*, "Sicily"; and *Bláland*, "Northern Africa" (Arnórr Þórðarson and the brothers Þjóðólfr Arnórsson and Bǫlverkr Arnórsson). Finally names connected with pilgrimages to the Holy Land also appear: *Jórsalir* ("Jerusalem") and *Jórdán* ("Jordan") among others (Stúfr inn blindi, eleventh century). In an anonymous poem of the twelfth century we find the name *Samland*, also known to us from runic epitaphs, referring to an amber peninsula located near the mouth of the Vistula.

The skaldic strophes often reflect important military or political events such as the burning of Old Ladoga (*Aldeigja*) in 997 by Earl Eiríkr Hákonarson, as well as his struggle with the Danes for Estland (Eyjólfr dáðaskáld, *Bandadrápa*); the diplomatic mission to Rǫgnvaldr Úlfsson of West Gautland (Sighvatr Þórðarson, *Austrfararvísur*, 1015); Jaroslav's campaign against the Poles (*Læsir*) in 1047 (Þjóðólfr Arnórsson); Magnúss's victory over the Baltic Slavs (Wends) in 1047 (Arnórr Þórðarson, *Magnússdrápa hrynhent*). Sometimes the skalds mention important details, such as Rus'ian and Welsh swords (Arnórr Þórðarson, ca. 1046–47), and Wendish longships (Eyjólfr dáðaskáld, ca. 1000).

Many important names are found either in the prose texts accompanying the ninth-to-eleventh-century selections from skaldic poetry (as the *Heimskringla* of Snorri Sturluson) or in the strophes woven into the thirteenth-to-fourteenth-century sagas. Quite possibly these prose texts, as well as the strophes, are remakings of older poetic works, and as such have authentically preserved older data, especially geographical names.

The following names are connected with eastern Europe: *Reiðgotaland*: found in the text accompanying the strophes of Þjóðólfr ór Hvíni (*fl.* ninth century); *Kúrland*: in the text with the strophes of Glúmr Geirason (d. ca. 975); *Bjarmar*: in the strophes woven into the saga about the sons of Ragnarr loðbrók; *Syrgizðalir*: (meaning Suzdal') appears in the saga about the activity of the skald, Eyjólfr Valgerðarson (d. ca. 985); *Hólmgarðr*, "Novgorod": in the strophes of the *Gǫngu-Hrólfs saga*.

Glossaries containing names of foreign rivers from the late twelfth century, written in verse for mnemonic purposes, can also be included in this group of works. They contain such names as: *Dún*, "Don"; *Dýna*, "Western Dvina";

[276] See also Þórarinn stuttfeldr, *fl.* twelfth century, Frank, *Court Poetry*, pp. 100–101.

Vína, "northern Dvina"; *Olga*, "Volga"; *Nepr*, "Dnieper"; and *Drǫfn*, "a river near Polock."

The typical social, military, and other terms which occur in the quoted skaldic strophes are given in the index on pp. 911-912.

We must be aware, however, that this evidence only partially reflects the geographic compass of skaldic poetry, since for the most part only remnants of the works of the skaldic poets have survived. Nonetheless, we can assume that these remnants at least provide a fairly representative cross section of the skaldic poets' knowledge of eastern Europe from the ninth to twelfth century.

* * *

In chapters one through eleven we have dealt with Óðinn as the Old Norse god of both the warrior elite and the merchant aristocracy who was also the reformer of the runic script. But Óðinn/Mercurius was also like the Old Rus'ian Veles/*skotij bogъ*, *the* creator of refined poetry. In Old Norse, its realization was the highly elaborate and elegant *skaldic* poetry. As Roberta Frank writes:

> It was Óðinn . . . who gave an eye for a drink at the spring of wisdom, who endured spear wounds and nine nights of hunger for a sip of the mead of poetry. This one-eyed god for some reason shared his filched mead with men, mead [= poetry, O.P.] he had stolen from giants. (*Court Poetry*, 22)

In this chapter we have just examined this Óðinn's "mead" (see also p. 265) as a historical source for Eastern Europe.

PART THREE

The Runic Inscriptions

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

The Runic Inscriptions in Younger Futhark

Runic Inscriptions as a Historical Source

In contrast to the runic texts in the older futhark,[1] almost all of which appear on portable objects, the younger futhark texts are generally carved on large stone slabs. The origin of the custom of erecting these memorial stones is not known: some scholars (e.g., Ole Klindt-Jensen) have suggested that it probably arose in imitation of British grave monuments.[2] In any case, two types of stones were used: the older, *bautasteinar* (reminiscent of the Old Turkic *balbal*) were larger, and the younger, *runsteinar* were somewhat smaller standing-stones. In the last quarter of the tenth century the Jelling stones in Jutland were given carved pictorial and usually decorative representations

[1] Concerning the inscriptions in the older futhark see Elmer H. Antonsen, *A Concise Grammar of the Older Runic Inscriptions* (Tübingen, 1975).

[2] Ole Klindt Jensen, "The Evaluation of the Archaeological Evidence," *Varangian Problems* (Kbh, 1970), p. 40.

that had no direct relation to the text (ca. 960–1000, Mammen style; ca. 990–1050, Ringerike style; 1050–1170, Urnes style).[3]

A memorial monument often consisted of a barrow, or burial mound, and one or more stones, both with or without runes. The monument itself was called the *kumbl*, a term, usually used in the plural, originally meaning "sign," or "mark"; later it could also indicate a "grave mound." Sometimes several stones were arranged in the form of a ship — a reflection of Viking Age ship burial —and was called the ship setting (*skep*, *DR* 230). The memorial could also contain a wooden pillar or vertical "staff" (*staſR*).[4]

Memorial stones erected on actual graves were rare,[5] more often they were located where they would be most visible: in places of assembly (*þing*), churches, crossroads, or near bridges. Many of them were dedicated to kinsmen who had perished abroad.[6]

[3] For general orientation on the art styles see fn. 52. The relevant basic study was published by Hans Christiansson, *Sydskandinavisk stil* (Uppsala, 1959). See also Foote-Wilson, *Achievement*, pp. 286–318.

[4] On terminology, *kumbl*, see *DR*, cols. 676–677; *DR Summary*, col. 34; Elias Wessén, *Södermanlands runinskrifter*, pp. 270–271; Ragnar Kinander, *Smålands runinskrifter*, p. 61; *bautasteinar*, see Sven B. F. Jansson, *Runes of Sweden*, pp. 86, 111–112; O. Nicolaissen, ÅNO, 2d ser, 12 (1897), pp. 57–74; *DR*, cols. 998–999; — *stafr*, see Sven B. F. Jansson, *Runes of Sweden*, pp. 106–107. The *skep*'s photo appears in D. Wilson, *The Vikings* (1970), p. 48.

To facilitate the identification of inscriptions, the abbreviations used by runologists for the pertinent collections are used here (details in the bibliographical introduction): the Danish corpus is abbreviated *DR*; the Norwegian, *NYR*. The Swedish inscriptions use the abbreviated forms of the names of provinces where they originated, *G*, *Ög*, *Öl*, *Sm*, *Sö*, *U*, *Vs*; the numbers following these letters are the numbers of the inscriptions. Citations from four works containing selections of inscriptions are: *J* = I. S. Johnsen, *Stuttruner*; *M* = L. Musset, *Introduction à la Runologie*; *Mel* = E. A. Mel'nikova, *Skandinavskie runičeskie nadpisi*, and *R* = A. Ruprecht, *Die ausgehende Wikingerzeit*. The numbers following the abbreviation (*M*, *R* or *J*) indicate the number of the inscription; if the page is cited the number is preceded by p. or pp. The transliterations of the inscriptions are in bold type; in cases in which the probable phonological form is given (= transcription) italics are used.

[5] See *DR* 143 and *DR Summary*, col. 19.

[6] Many stones of the foreign travelers may have been cenotaphs. For instance, two stones were erected by ÞōriR to his friend (**fElaka sin**) and fellow Västergötlander, Karl, who was a *drængR*. One ("the original") is found at the place where Karl died (Hobro, Randers amt in Northern Jutland = *DR* 127); the other ("the cenotaph") was erected in the homeland of the fallen warrior (in the churchyard of the town of Ås [= Åse hd; *Vg* 112 = *R* 40]). The stone on the island of Berezan' at the mouth of the Dnieper may be considered to be one such original. In the majority of cases, the originals erected in eastern Europe have probably not survived, possibly because they were written on wooden staffs (as, for example, the monument mentioned by Ibn Faḍlān in 922). Suitable stone was not easily available in eastern Europe, and in addition, the local population probably did not treat the stones erected by foreigners with any great respect. Even in Sweden in the middle of the thirteenth century the rune stones were often regarded as building material. Sven B. F. Jansson discovered in the late fifties in the church of Hov in Östergötland, the richest source of runic

Two written sources provide us with information concerning the Old Norse burials, and in general their data are confirmed by archaeological findings.

The first is an account by the Arabic traveler Ibn Faḍlān (A.D. 922), who witnessed a Rūs cremation and ship burial while visiting the Volga Bulgars. He speaks about the erection of a wooden staff on the burial mound: "In the middle of it [the mound] they erected a thick staff of *khaḍank*-fire-wood [called probably in Old Norse *rúnakefli*], and on it they wrote the [dead] man's name and the name of the king of Rūs."[7] Unfortunately, none of these wooden staffs with written texts, runic or otherwise, have survived in eastern Europe, although in Gnezdovo (near Smolensk) a staff without any inscription was found.[8]

The second source is a passage from Snorri's *Ynglingasaga* (chapter 8):

> In his country Óðinn instituted such laws as had been in force among the Æsir before. Thus he ordered that the dead were to be burned together with their possessions, saying that everyone would arrive in Valhalla with such wealth as he had with him on his pyre and that he would also enjoy the use of what he himself had hidden in the ground. His ashes were to be carried out to sea or buried in the ground. For notable men burial mounds were to be erected as memorials. But for all men who had shown great manly qualities memorial stones (*bautasteinar*) were to be erected, and this custom continued for a long time thereafter.[9]

The importance of these runic inscriptions as a historical source cannot be overemphasized; for a period of two hundred and fifty years (ca. 800–1050) they are the only available contemporary written sources from Scandinavia, and in most cases they have been preserved in their original form. Yet these extraordinary documents have certain weaknesses. The majority are extremely brief and formulaic. Aside from some Danish royal stones, most are also

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stones in the land, burial monuments with runic inscriptions that had been broken up and used for building stones. See *Fil Ark* 9 (1962), pp. 1–39.

[7] *Wa-naṣabū fī waṣṭiha [at-talli] ḥašabatan kabīratan khaḍank wa-katabū 'alayhā 'sma 'r-raǧuli wa'sma maliki 'r-rūsi*, ed. Andrij Kovalivs'kyj, *Kniga Axmeda Ibn Fadlana* (Xarkiv, 1956), Arabic text, p. 313 (ms. p. 212b, l. 6–7), Russian trans. p. 146. Cf. Aslak Liestøl in *Varangian Problems* (Kbh, 1970), p. 125. In one Swedish inscription from Gästrikland (ca. 1050–1060) the dating by the ruling king of Uppsala is used (see p. 355).

[8] D. A. Avdusin, "Skandinavskoe pogrebenie v Gnezdove," *Vestnik Moskovskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta* (1974) no. 1, p. 83.

[9] *Ynglinga saga*, ch. 8 = *Hkr* 1 (IF 26), p. 20 = *Hkr*/Hollander, pp. 11–12. Cf. also *Hávamál*, str. 72.

private documents of limited application. Only a few offer any clues for dating. The chronology for most of them has been established only through archaeological, runological, and art historical evidence.[10] It is impossible to date any particular inscription precisely except in the rare cases where a historical person or event is mentioned.

Most of the runic stones still stand where they were originally raised, and therefore testify to the relation between the people named in the inscriptions on them and that territory. They usually record the name of the person who erected the stone and of the individuals in whose honor the stones were raised; they also frequently included descriptions of one or the other or both, especially if they were members of a retinue. Specialists on Scandinavian onomastics and linguistics are thus provided with important primary source materials, although often the name that appears on one stone in a given location does not recur on any other, making it impossible to establish any relationship between them.

Stones erected for men who traveled abroad contain particularly precious material as contemporary testimonies to Viking activities overseas. Others commemorate civic events such as the clearing of a road. Some are found on bridges and causeways built in honor of deceased kin, reflecting the Christian hope that they would ease the passage of the dead into the next world. Still others mark assembly sites (*þing*) where the local courts were held or the judicial decisions arrived at there dealing with land, especially with its inheritance.

Thus the data from the inscriptions contribute much to our knowledge of the Old Norsemen's social structure, religion, and art, their activities at home and their expeditions abroad, both trading missions and Viking raids. Unfortunately, however, the message is brief and often leaves much unanswered. Nevertheless, one has to be grateful that these contemporary sources survived at all, and try to decode their messages especially those contained in the pre-Christian inscriptions such as the Rök stone, the Sparlösa stone, and the Kälvesten stone.

In order to help individuate the generic term "Viking," or "Varangian," all available information concerning the 1266 persons active between about 800

[10] See the divergence in dating of the "Ingvarr-stones" on the basis of runological criteria on pp. 425, 434–435.

In 1959, Hans Christiansson examined the styles of ornamental art on the rune stones from the Viking Age and concluded that his investigation had not yielded any clues to a more definite dating. "How the carvings," he writes, "are related to each other chronologically cannot be decided on ornamental grounds" (*Sydskandinavisk stil*, p. 173). Concerning the very peculiar dependence of the linguistic dating on the archaeological one, see also the thoughts of Karl Martin Nielsen in his *Om dateringen af de senurnordiske runeindskrifter* (Kbh, 1970).

and 1100, whose names (and partially accounts) had been preserved on the stones, is presented in Appendix 1, entitled "A Runic Viking-Varangian 'Who's Who'."

The older futhark runic alphabet consisted of twenty-four letters and was common to all Germanic languages. The last runic monuments written in that alphabet are found in Scandinavia and date from ca. A.D. 600–650. After this there was a period of 150 years in Scandinavia with no written monuments at all. Then we find inscriptions in another runic alphabet, using sixteen runes, called the younger futhark that date from about 800. This alphabet is found in two distinct forms: the Danish futhark, probably the older of the two; and the Swedish-Norse (Norwegian) futhark, also called twig runes (in Norwegian, Stuttruner; in German, Stutzrunen) or Rök runes.

In this section we are concerned with the Viking Age Runic inscriptions written in those alphabets between 800 and 1100.

Their chronology can be based on that of the runes from Denmark as follows:[11]

A.D.	800-1050	Viking Age	(Period 2)
	800-900	Helnæs-Gørlev type;	(Period 2.1)
	900-940	Pre-Jelling type;	(Period 2.2a)
	940-1000	Jelling type;	(Period 2.2b)
	1000-1050	Post-Jelling type. Most of the Norwegian inscriptions belong to this period.	(Period 2.2c)

The majority of the Sviar-Swedish inscriptions, most of them from Uppland and Södermanland, correspond to the Danish period of the post-Jelling type. They begin to appear there around 1020, but reach their apex in the middle of the eleventh century. By 1100 they were already very rare, and they soon disappear altogether.

Ninth Century Inscriptions

Based on archaeological and runological criteria, scholars generally assign forty-three inscriptions to the period between 800 and 900. Twenty of them use the Danish (Helnæs-Gørlev) futhark; twenty-three are executed in the Swedish-Norse ("Rök") runes. Their distribution is as follows:

[11] See *DR Summary*, cols. 7–24.

A. Danish Runes

Denmark (DR)

South Jutland	N. Brarup (*DR* 9);
	Starup (*DR* 17);
North Jutland:	Gunderup 2 (*DR* 144);
Fyn:	Ørbæk (*DR* 188);
	Avnslev (*DR* 189);
	Helnæs (*DR* 190);
	Flemløse 1-2 (*DR* 192-193);
	N. Nærå (*DR* 211);
Sjælland:	Gørlev (*DR* 239);
	Snoldelev (*DR* 248);
	Høje Tåstrup (*DR* 250);
Skåne:	Örja (*DR* 333);
Blekinge:	Sölvesborg (*DR* 356).

Norway (NYR)

South Trøndelag:	Strand, ca. 750 (*NYR* 450);
Vestfold:	Valby, ca. 800 (*NYR* 140);
Buskerud:	The Cufic coin of Hon, ca. 860 (*NYR* 127);
Sogn:	Urnes 21, ninth century (*NYR* 338).

Lettland: Daugmale.

Russia: Great Novgorod I (ca. 900).

B. Swedish-Norse Runes

Sweden

Western Götland:	*Vg* 119. Sparlösa, ca. 800;
Uppland:	Björkö, ca. 800 (*J* 14);
	Ulvsunda, ca. 800 (*J* 15);
	Björkö, ca. 900 (*U* 4);
Eastern Götland:	Kälvesten, ca. 840 (*Ög* 8);
	Rök, ca. 840 (*Ög* 136);
	Ingelstad, ca. 850 (*Ög* 43);
	Boberg, ca. 900 (*Ög* 38);
	Slaka, ca. 900 (*Ög* 117);
Småland:	Gursten, ca. 850 (*Sm* 144);
Södermanland:	Kärnbo, ca. 850 (*Sö* 176);

	Gotland:	Hangvar, ca. 900 (*J* 1); Lokrume, ca. 900 (*J* 2).
Norway		
	Østfold:	Bjørneby, ca. 800 (*NYR* 2);
	Vestfold:	Oseberg ship; ca. 850 (*NYR* 137–138); Gokstad ship; ca. 900 (*NYR* 139); Kaupang hanging bowl; ca. 900 (*NYR* 579);
	Buskerud:	Tanberg 4; ca. 900 (see *NYR* II, p. 21; *NYR* p. 98);
	Western Agder:	Oddernes, ca. 850 (*NYR* 209);
	Hordaland:	Eikaland, ca. 900 (*NYR* 300).
Denmark		
	Skåne:	Elleköpinge, ca. 900 (*J* 29).
Russia		Old Ladoga 1, ca. 850–900.

It is clear from this list that both runic scripts — Danish and Swedish-Norse — had spread into the rest of Europe in the course of the ninth century. The Danish runes had penetrated as far as Daugmale and Great Novgorod; the Swedish-Norse runes were used in Old Ladoga.

All the Danish and Swedish (including Gotlandish) runes are inscribed on erected stones; however, seven of the Norwegian runes (the ships of Gokstad and Oseberg, the hanging bowl of Kaupang, the vessels from Trå and the cufic coin from Hon) and all the eastern European runes (Old Ladoga, Daugmale, and Great Novgorod) were inscribed on portable objects.

The Götland Inscriptions

The Sparlösa and Kälvesten Inscriptions

The most important runes from this period are three Götish inscriptions,[12] all written with the Rök runes. They come from the heart of the Götish territory — between Lake Vättern and Lake Vänern, a distance of about twelve miles.

According to Arthur Nordén, the stones of Sparlösa (*Vg* 119) and Kälvesten (*Ög* 8) should be grouped together, since they have the same central figures,

[12] All runic texts are transliterated from the original. The reconstructed Viking Age forms, especially of personal names, are given in the standard transcription used by scholars of each particular nation, i.e., Denmark, Norway, Sweden. When appropriate, Old Icelandic name forms (marked ON) are added.

and both should be dated not later than about 800. They commemorate two Götish leaders. The first was when the military commander Æivisl (Ejvisl), son of Æirīkr (Eiríkr), perished during a harrying expedition in the east (*austr*). His follower, Øyvindr (Eyvindr), son of StikuR, perished with him; *Ög* 8 was erected in Eyvindr's memory.

The second was AlrīkR Lu..R. Nordén ingeniously identified him with Lumber, the first lawman (a man trained in law) in Western Götland, known from the list of lawmen in the *Västgötalagen* (ca. 1240).

Because of difficulties in deciphering it, the Sparlösa stone is not included in general works on the Swedish inscriptions. The text given here (Section one) and translation basically are following Arthur Nordén's interpretation;[13] the division of words is mine.

I.	**A⁺⁺iuls kAf+ Airikis sunR kAf Alriku**	Æivisl gave [an invitation to participate in a Viking raid to] Æirīkr's son. Gave [the same also to] AlrīkR.
II:1.	**in AtR hAlA kAf rAut At kiAlti**	And the warriors gave red [gold] as a recompense.
2.	**A sAt fAþiR ub sAt fAþiR suAþ Ai Atu libA**	With sorcery had procured the father for their steady lucky escape.
3.	**[fr]ąmAs nątu Auk tAkAR A^{s}lriku lu. .R ukþi t Aiuisl**	Nights and days passed by, while AlrīkR Lumber thought of Æivisl.
III:1.	**sik-a nu-u Aui þAt sikmar Aiti makuR airikis**	Now it was said in the sancturary (*vē*) that the victorious, who is the son of Æirīkr
2-3.	**makiniaru þuną**	[the increaser of combat cry?] . . .
4.	**Aft Aiui^{s} uk rAþ**	after Æivisl. And explains
5.	**runąR þAR rAki-ukutuiu þAr ^{s}uAþ Aliriku lubu fAþi**	these runes derived from the divine powers, these which AlrīkR Lumber had carved.

In contrast, the Kälvesten stone (*Ög* 8; known in its entirety only since the early 1940s) presents no problems; it is the predecessor of the typical commemorative stones from the Viking Age:[14]

stikuR karþi kubl þau // aft auint sunu sin. sa fial austr miR aiuisli uikikR faþi auk rimulfR	StikuR erected this *kumbl* for Øyvindr, his son. He fell in the east with Æivisl. VīkingR incised [runes] and GrīmulfR.

We may conclude from this text that sometime in the late eighth or early

[13] A. Nordén, in *Fv* 56 (1961), pp. 256-270; cf. *Vg* 119; Otto von Friesen, *Sparlösastenen* (Sthlm, 1940); Ivar Lindquist, *Sparlösa-stenen* (Lund, 1940), W. Krause, *GGA*, 202 (1940), pp. 181-205, and *J* 25.

[14] Cf. Jansson, *Runinskrifter i Sverige*, p. 42, and *J* 20.

ninth century a Gotish Viking named Æivisl led a raid "in the east" (*austr*), that Øjvindr took part in this raid, and that both men perished. Whether the campaign took place in the eastern Baltic or on the territory of what later became Rus' is impossible to determine. It is clear, however, that both the Sparlösa and Kälvesten inscriptions are the earliest reports of Varangian activity in eastern Europe.

The Rök Inscription (Götland)

The largest of all Germanic runic inscriptions is the Rök stone (*Ög* 136), the top and four sides of which are covered with nearly 750 runes. This stone is usually dated around 800–850. "The Rök stone," writes Sven B. F. Jansson,

> is not only the most impressive monument ever raised in Sweden to commemorate a dead kinsman — it also stands as the great memorial of Swedish literature in antiquity. It is true that inscriptions in verse form are already to be found in the Migration Age, chiefly in the powerful language of sorcery, highly wrought and archaically obscure, and it seems possible to glimpse a developed poetic art of magico-mythical character behind a number of Primitive Norse inscriptions. And later in the Viking Age we shall also meet rune carvers with some literary pretensions. But no inscription gives us such deep insight into the world of ancient literature as does the Rök stone. . . .
>
> The unique inscription appears to contain many allusions to heroic lays and legends now lost. It thus gives us an insight into the literature that flourished at the beginning of the Viking Age. But it is with sadness that the modern reader must admit that these allusions in their compressed form can call up no associations in his mind. The literary milieu in which Varin incised his runes is not to be recovered; the tales and poems that were known in Östergötland in the ninth century are, and doubtless always will be, wrapped in oblivion. And yet this cannot destroy the Rök stone's priceless value as a literary [and historical] document.[15]

Fortunately, the inscription has survived almost intact: there are only a few small gaps. One peculiarity is that it contains a complete eddaic strophe written in the *fornyrðislag* meter (see p. 315).

Scholars have proposed many theories and interpretations concerning the meaning underlying the text and the correct sequence of its component parts. Of these two schools of thought dominate. One, originated by Otto von

[15] Jansson, *Runes of Sweden*, pp. 11, 13, 14–15.

Friesen and now supported by Otto Höfler, says that the Rök inscription had a magical purpose: it was meant to wreak vengeance on the slayer of its author's son. Höfler suggested that Varin, the ninety-year-old guardian of the sanctuary, begot a son so that he might avenge the death of his slain brother. To fulfill this important mission and to obtain divine aid, the youth was consecrated to the deified king of the Ostrogoths (Hraið-Goths), Theodoric (d. 526), the *Totenreiter*, instead of the more usual patron for such an operation, the god Óðinn.

Elias Wessén and Lis Jacobsen have put forth a different interpretation. They do not see any consistent theme in the inscription. Wessén prefers to explain it as a gifted author's accumulation of epic topics in the style of the Anglo-Saxon court epic poem *Widsith*, that is, as a display of artistic virtuosity and not as magic. Since the text of the Rök inscription doubtlessly reflects the older pre-Christian cyclic mythical thinking, however, I am inclined toward the interpretation of von Friesen and Höfler. In either case, no historian of the Viking Age can afford to ignore such a precious primary source as the Rök inscription, the text and translation of which follows:[16]

aft uamuþ stąnta runaR þaR	For Vǣmōþr stand these runes.
(i)n uarin faþi faþiR aft faikiąn	And Varin wrote them, the father
sunu	for his dead son.
sakum ukmini þat, huariaR ualraubaR	I tell to the youth what the two
	war booties were;
uarin tuaR þaR	twelve times taken as war booty, both
suaþ tualf sinum uaRin (n)umnaR	together from man to man.
(a)t ualraubu	
baþaR sąmąn ą umisum (m)ąnum	[*meaning unclear*]
þat sakum ąnart, huaR fur niu	This I tell second, who nine generations
altum ąn urþi fiaru miR hraiþkutum	ago was born among the Hraiþ-Goths
auk tu miR ąn ub sakaR	and still makes decisions over the strife.

[16] The literature devoted to the Rök inscription is immense; only the works relevant to one particular topic are given in the bibliography. The basic works on, and discussions about, the interpretation of the monuments that are summarized here are (basic works): O. von Friesen, *Rökstenen* (1920); O Höfler, *Der Runenstein von Rök* (1952), E. Wessén, *Runstenen vid Röks kyrka* (1958); cf. N. Å. Nielsen, *Runerne på Rökstenen* (1969), and S. Lindqvist, *ANF* 82 (1967), pp. 197–242; the discussion: O. Höfler, *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie d. Wiss.* (1954) pt. 4, pp. 62–93; Höfler, *ANF* (1963), pp. 1–121; Höfler, *ANF* 81 (1966), pp. 229–254; Höfler, *ANF* 90 (1975), pp. 92–110; E. Wessén, *Fv* 48 (1953), pp. 161–177; Wessén, *ANF* 79 (1964), pp. 1–20; Wessén, *ANF* 81 (1966), pp. 255–257; L. Jacobsen, *ANF* 76 (1961), pp. 1–50; cf. *J* 22. Concerning the English translations, see E. V. Gordon, *An Introduction to Old Norse*, 2d ed., rev. A. R. Taylor (Oxford, 1957; repr. 1974), pp. 190–191 and Jansson, *Runes of Sweden*, pp. 13–14. Although some passages of the Rök inscription are referred to here, a thorough commentary on the monument is outside the scope of tnis study.

The fornyrðislag strophe:

raiþ (þ)iaurikR	Ruled Theodoric (ÞiōðrīkR)
hin þurmuþi	the thought-daring,
stiliR flutna	lord of the seamen,
strąntu hraiþmaraR	land of Hraiþ-marish;
sitiR nu karuR	sits he now chafing,
ą kuta sinum	on his Gothic steed,
skialti ub fatlaþR	buckler on shoulder,
skati marika	the lord of the Mæringar.

Text in coded runes:

sibi uiauari ul niruþR	The parent [= Varin], the guardian of the sanctuary, ninety years of age, begot a descendant.
sakum ukmini þat huaR ikult(i)ka	I tell this to the youth which of the Ingvaldings
uaRi kultint kuąnar husli	was redeemed through a wife's sacrifice.
sakum ukmini uaim si burin niþR	I tell to the youth to whom a son is born:

Normal runes:

trąki	to the hero
uilin is þat	it is our will.

Text in coded runes:

knuą knat(i)	He could slay

Normal runes:

iatun	a giant.
uilin is þat	It is our will.

Text in coded runes:

nit(i) ub af uks(i)	The heir had grown up from this.

Normal runes:

þat sakum tualfta huaR histR si kunaR	This I tell in the twelfth instance where the steed
itu (u)ituąki ąn kunakaR tuaiR	of the Valkyrie [= wolf] sees food on the battlefield

tikiR suaþ ą likia	where twenty kings lie.
þat sakum þritaunta huariR tuaiR	This I tell in the thirteenth instance, which twenty
tikiR kunukaR satin [a]t siulunti	kings sat on Sjælland (Zealand) for four years.
fiakura uintur at fiakurum nabnum	with four names, sons of four [sets of]
burn(i)R fiakurum bruþrum	"brothers":
ualkaR fim raþulfs (s)uniR	five [called] Valki, sons of RāþulfR,
hraiþulfaR fim rukulfs (s)uniR	five HræiþulfR, sons of RugulfR,
hąislaR fim haruþs suniR	five Hāisl, sons of Haruþ,
kunmuntaR fim bi(a)rnaR suniR	five GunnmundR, sons of Biorn.
nu (u)km [ini] m[iR] alu	Now I tell to the youth: I rear a son.
[hu]ki ain huaR iþ[kialta] þ[urbi]	May he apprehend, when alone, who needs vengeance.

Text in coded runes:

[s]akum ukmini þur	I tell to the youth: be bold!

The Danish and Norwegian Inscriptions

For Danish runology the hundred years between 800 and 900 are crucial, for inscribed standing stones first appear in that period, although they were already known in Norway in the age of migration. These inscriptions are commemorative in character and have short standard texts where the term *kumbl* (referring to a monument consisting of one or more erected stones, probably also to a grave mound) appears, often as a part of the set phrase "use the *kumbl* well" (e.g., *DR* 239). The carver of two such runes (*DR* 190, 192) was AweR.

The Inscriptions from Old Ladoga, Daugmale, and Great Novgorod

In 1950 an inscription on a wooden stick was found during archaeological excavations in Old (Staraja) Ladoga; it was published in 1957.[17] The inscription (Old Ladoga 1) was written in the Rök type of runes and was found in an archaeological stratum (E_2) dating from the first half of the ninth century. Although all of its fifty-two runes have since been deciphered, specialists are still divided over their interpretation. Gerd Høst explained the text as a half-strophe of a skaldic "shield drápa," in the tradition of Bragi's *Ragnarsdrápa*. Another scholar, Wolfgang Krause, considered the inscription to be a part of a

[17] V. G. Admoni–T. I. Sil'man in *Soobščenija Gosudarstvennogo Èrmitaža* 11 (1957), pp. 40–43. The basic literature is G. Høst, *NTS* 19 (1960), pp. 418–488; W. Krause, *NTS* 19 (1960), pp. 555–563; V. Kiil, *ANF* 79 (1964), pp. 31–42. Cf. Mel 143 and *J* 30.

skaldic poem in honor of someone who had died. A third scholar, Vilhelm Kiil, argued that the inscription was simply a magic charm, written on the shaft of the arrow, which had been designed especially for it. Until the problem is solved historians will have to be content with the simple fact that an Old Norse text in Swedish-Norse runes from the first half of the ninth century has been found in Old Ladoga.

A fragment of a runic inscription was found in 1937 in Daugmale, Latvia[18] on the upper part of a mace made of flagstone. It was discovered among various Gotland artifacts in a ninth-century archaeological stratum. It is carved in Danish runes and contains only two words: **runar þisar**, "these runes."

A Novgorodian inscription excavated in 1958 in the former Nerev quarter (*konec*) of Great Novgorod was carved on the humerus of a domesticated pig; its inscription consists of the larger part of the runic stave (**khniasthmlR**), using Danish Gørlev runes. Scholars date it to around 900.[19]

The Pre-Jelling Inscriptions

Only nine Danish inscriptions are known from the pre-Jelling period (900–940). They are (*DR*):

South Jutland	Ø. Løgum (*DR* 15);
North Jutland	Læborg (*DR* 26);
	Bække 1 (*DR* 29);
	Horne (*DR* 34);
	Hammel 1 (*DR* 70);
	Laurbjerg (*DR* 105);
Fyn	Rønninge (*DR* 202);
	Glavendrup (*DR* 209);
Sjælland	Tryggevælde (*DR* 230).

Three of the North Jutland stones (*DR* 26, 29, 34) were carved by order of Rafnunga-Tofi (i.e., Tofi, the descendant of Rafn), probably a representative of the local nobility. This Tofi, together with Fundin and Gnypli (*DR* 29), had built mounds for Þorwi, his lady; attempts have been made to identify this Þorwi with the wife of King GormR of Jelling.

[18] I. Lindquist, *Ceļi* 14 (1969), pp. 33–34; cf. *Mel* 140.
[19] È. A. Makaev in *Sovetskaja arxeologija* (1962, no. 3), pp. 309–311; cf. *Mel* 141.

Special attention should be given to the Glavendrup stone (Fyn), which has the longest inscription found in Denmark. It has three parts (*DR* 209):

A.	**raknhiltr sati stain þąnsi auft** **ala saulua kuþa uia l[i]þs** **haiþuiarþan þiakn.**	Ragnhildr set up this stone to Alli the Pallid [?], the *goþi* of sanctuaries, the high born *þægn* (chieftain) in the body-guard (*liþ*).
B.	**ala suniR karþu kubl þausi** **aft faþur sin auk hąns kuna**	The sons of Alli made these *kumbl*s to their father, and his wife to her husband;
	auft uar sin, in suti raist runaR **þasi aft trutin sin.** **þur uiki þasi runaR.**	but Soti carved the runes to his master (*drottin*). Þor (Þórr), consecrate these runes!
C.	**at rita sa uarþi is stain þansi** **ailti iþa aft ąnąn traki.**	A *ræti* [a most pejorative word] be the one who violates [?] this stone, or drags [it] away [to set it up] as a memorial to another person.

The social and religious-magic terminology clearly reflects pre-Christian pagan notions. Alli "was accordingly the highest clerical dignitary of the place, or [probably] of the whole province, while at the same time he held a high secular office in the bodyguard."[20] (The same "double status" should be assumed for Ragnhildr's second husband.) "The stone forms part of a monument planned on a large scale consisting of a 'ship-setting' (circle of stones forming the outline of a boat), the stem and stern of which are marked off by low mounds; the runic stone is located on one of these mounds."[21]

The second stone sponsored by Ragnhildr (for her second husband) is the huge Tryggevælde stone (= *DR* 230) on the island of Sjælland. It reads:

raknhiltr sustiR ulfs sati stain	Ragnhildr, sister of UlfR, set up this stone
þnnsi auk karþi hauk þąnsi auft	and made this barrow and this "ship-setting"
auk skaiþ þaisi kunulf uar sin	to GunulfR, her husband,
kląmulan man sun nairbis.	a "bellowing" man (*glamulan man* = a recorder of religious chants), son of NærfiR.
faiR uarþa nu futiR þąi batri.	Few are now born, better than he.
sa uarþi at rita is ailti stain	He shall be a *ræti* who violates [?] this stone,
þąnsi iþa hiþan traki.	or drags it away from here.

[20] *DR Summary*, col. 17.
[21] *DR Summary*, col. 17.

Runic Inscriptions from 940 to 1000

From this period we have inscriptions from Denmark, the Isle of Man, Norway, and Gotland. In Denmark, this Jelling period provides several stones of historical interest; the most important are five dynastic stones: two from Jelling, two from Hedeby (Haithabu, Haddeby), and one from Sønder Vissing.

In all, thirty-four Jelling inscriptions, also called "family stones," are known from Denmark. They are (*DR*):

South Jutland	Haddeby 2 (*DR* 2);
	Haddeby 4 (*DR* 4);
North Jutland	Bække 2 (*DR* 30);
	St. Vilstrup (*DR* 36);
	Egtved (*DR* 37);
	Randbøl (*DR* 40);
	Jelling 1 (*DR* 41);
	Jelling 2 (*DR* 42);
	Grindsted (*DR* 44);
	Gylling (*DR* 53);
	S. Vissing 1 (*DR* 55);
	S. Vissing 2 (*DR* 56);
	Langå 2 (*DR* 85);
	Torup (*DR* 90);
	Ørum (*DR* 106);
	Virring (*DR* 110);
	Rimsø (*DR* 114);
	Mejlby (*DR* 117);
	Stenalt (*DR* 118);
	Dalbyover (*DR* 125);
	Flejsborg (*DR* 132);
	Skivum (*DR* 133);
	Lyngby (*DR* 140);
	Gunderup 1 (*DR* 143);
	Ferslev 1 (*DR* 145);
	Jetsmark (*DR* 160);
	Hune (*DR* 161);
Lolland:	Tirsted (*DR* 216);
	Sædinge (*DR* 217);
	Tågerup (*DR* 218);
	Bregninge (*DR* 219);
Sjælland:	Sandby 1 (*DR* 227);
Skåne:	Stora Köpinge (*DR* 339);
Blekinge:	Sturkö (*DR* 363).

The tenth century saw the appearance of the Norwegian inscriptions on the Isle of Man and in the Hebrides. They have certain runological peculiarities of the Stuttruner type. Nine of them, including one from the Hebrides (*J* 76. Kilbar) are dated ca. 930–950; the second series (fourteen pieces) are from around 1000 or earlier, including one inscription from Faeroes (*J* 69. Kirkjubø). One inscription (of the Stuttruner type) was found in Sweden (Småland = *Sm* 20. Rottnekvarn).

From about 950 there are four stones from Norway with the Stuttruner:

Hordaland:	Trå (*NYR* 282–284);
Buskerud:	Hønen (*NYR* 102);
South Trøndelag:	Gravråk (*NYR* 458);
North Trøndelag:	Engstad (*NYR* 537). Cf. also *NYR* 543, 544.

Twenty-one Stuttruner type inscriptions are dated about 1000 or earlier; three of them were found in Gotland, four in Sweden and fourteen in Norway:

Gotland:		Tjängvide, before 1000 (*G* 110);
		Olleifs (*G* 109);
		Pilgårds, before 1000 (*R* 193);
Sweden:		
	Öland:	Runsten (*Öl* 33);
	Uppland:	Björkö, before 1000 (*U* 5 = *J* 10);
		Björkö (*U* 9 = *J* 11, 12);
		Björkö (*J* 13).
Norway:		
	Rogaland:	Ålgård (*NYR* 217);
		Orrestad (*NYR* 221);
		Klepp 1 (*NYR* 225);
		Tu (*NYR* 228);
		Stangeland (*NYR* 239);
		Helland midtre 2 (*NYR* 244);
		Helland østre 3 (*NYR* 245);
	Western Agder:	Ryen (*NYR* 208);
		Søgne (*NYR* 211);
	Opland:	Gran (*NYR* 64);
		Fåberg (*NYR* 59);
	Møre and Romsdal:	Kuli (*NYR* 449);
	South Trøndelag:	Hårberg (*NYR* 453);
		Furen (*NYR* 459).

Eight inscriptions of the Stuttruner type are dated 1000 or later; seven of them are from Norway and one from the Norwegian colony on Greenland:

Rogaland:	Njærheim 1 (*NYR* 223); Njærheim 2 (*NYR* 224); Klepp 2 (*NYR* 226); Reve (*NYR* 230);
Hordaland:	Gjerde (*NYR* 271);
Sogn and Fjordane:	Svanøy (*NYR* 417);
Opland:	Vang (*NYR* 84);
Greenland:	Narssaq (*J* 68).

Danish Inscriptions

The Jelling Inscriptions

Only in Denmark do ruling kings and queens appear as the sponsors of memorial stones. Five (perhaps six) such royal inscriptions are known from the tenth century.[22] The kings and queens of the Jelling dynasty, Gorm I (reigned ca. 934–945), his wife Þorwi, and Haraldr (ca. 945–985) and his wife Tofa appear in the following inscriptions:

Jelling Stone 1 (*DR* 41):

kurmR kunukR k[ar]þi kubl þusi	King GormR made these *kumbls*
a(ft) Þurui kunu sina	to Þorwi his wife, the mender
tanmarkaR but.	of Denmark.

Jelling Stone 2 (*DR* 42):

haraltr kunukR baþ kaurua kubl	King Haraldr bade these *kumbls* to be made
þausi aft kurm faþur sin auk aft	to GormR, his father, and to
þąurui muþur sina.	Þorwi, his mother:

[22] *DR Summary*, col. 16–21. Concerning the royal Danish inscriptions, see Lis Jacobsen, *Svenskevældets fald* (1929); Jacobsen, *Scandia* 4 (1931), pp. 234–269; Jacobsen, *Scandia* 8 (1935), pp. 64–79; Jacobsen, *ÅNO* (1945), pp. 104–110; K. M. Nielsen, *ÅNO* (1943), pp. 159–167; Nielsen, *ÅNO* (1946), pp. 267–275; Nielsen, *ÅNO* (1954), pp. 252–264; H. Jankuhn, *Haithabu*, 4th ed. (Neumünster, 1963), pp. 87–96, 4 pls. Some general studies on the Danish inscriptions as historical sources have also been published: L.F.A. Wimmer, *De danske Runemindesmærker* 1 (Kbh, 1893); J. Steenstrup, *Festskrift til Kristian Erslev* (1927), pp. 61–84; Jacobsen, *Scandia* 5 (1932), pp. 103–147; H. A. Koefoed, *Scandinavian Studies* 35 (1963), pp. 110–122

sa haraltr ias sąR uan tanmaurk	the Haraldr who won for himself all
ala auk nuruiak	Denmark and Norway
auk tani (karþi) kristną.	and made the Danes Christians.

Sønder Vissing 1, Tyrsting hd., Århus amt (*DR* 55):

tufa lEt kaurua kubl mistiuis	Tofa, daughter of Mistiwi(R)/ Mistivoj, the wife of
tutiR uft muþur sina	Haraldr the Good, the son of GormR, had
harats hins kuþa kurms kuna sunaR.	these *kumbls* made to his mother [Queen Þorwi].

This last inscription has particular relevance for our topic, since it documents the dynastic connections between the Danish Jelling dynasty and the Wendish Obotriti. Mistivoj, who is known from the written sources, died around 990.

The last two dynastic stones belong to the Swedish dynasty of Haithabu (Haddeby = Hedeby); SigtryggR died about 950.[23]

Haddeby 2 (*DR* 2):

ąsfriþr karþi kumbl þaun	Asfriþr made these *kumbls*
ąft siktriku sun (s)in	to SigtryggR, her son and
ąui knubu.	Gnupa's.

Haddeby 4 (*DR* 4):

ąsfriþr karþi kubl þausi	Asfriþr, the daughter of Oþinkor,
tutiR uþinkaurs ąft	made these *kumbl*s to King SigtryggR,
siktriuk kunuk sun sin	her son and Gnupa's.
auk knubu	
kurmR raist run(aR).	GormR carved the runes.

Some scholars assume[24] that the HaklangR mentioned in the Bregninge stone of Lolland (*DR* 219) is identical to the Norwegian land king of Agder, Þórir Haklangr, who perished about 900 in the battle of Hafrsfjord with the Norwegian unifier, King Haraldr inn hárfagri.[25] The inscription reads:

(ą)s(a) karþi kubl þusi aft tuka sun	Asa made these *kumbls* to Toki,
(si)n auk tuka haklaks sunaR.	her son and Toki Haklangsson's.

[23] J. Markwart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge* (Leipzig, 1903), pp. 309-310, 322-327.

[24] Cf. *DR* I, col. 661.

[25] See *Hkr* I (*IF* 26), p. 116 = *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 75.

Another characteristic feature of the Danish stones is that they deal with secular subjects, particularly family relations. Both their sponsors and the dead they honor belonged to the warrior aristocracy; they were mainly chieftains and squires. Three of them are very explicit in their information:

Skivum, Års hd, Ålborg amt, North Jutland (*DR* 133):

þau muþ(r)kin þurui auk	Þorwi, the mother, and Oþinkor and Guþmundr,
uþinkau(r) a(u)k kuþmuntr þri [u	the sons, these three erected these *kumbls*
ra]is(þ)[u] kumbl þausi aift ki —	to **Ki** — the **huþska.**
hin huþska. hąn uas ląntmąną	He was the best and foremost of
baistr i tąnmarku auk furstr.	landmen in Denmark

Gunderup 1, Fleskum hd, Ålborg amt, North Jutland (*DR* 143):

A. **tuki raisþi stini þąisi auk karþi**	Toki erected these stones [?] and made these
kubl þausi aft aba mak sin.	*kumbls* to Abbi, his *magR*, a high-
þaikn kuþan auk	born *þægn*, and
B. **tufu muþur siną. þau lika**	to Tofa, his mother. They both lie
baþi i þaum hauki, abi uní	in this barrow. Abbi left Toki
tuka fiaR sins aft sik.	his property.

The significance of this stone is that it was in fact placed on the sepulchral mound of the deceased,[26] while most were memorials without any connection to the tombs themselves.

Stora Köpinge, Herrestads hd, Malmöhus län, Skåne (*DR* 339):

uristr ąuk nukR ąuk krusa	Wrestr and NykR and Krusa erected
risþu stin þąnsi uft aba	this stone to Abbi, their companion,
filaka sin trik kuþan.	a high-born *drængR*.

In this case, as in *DR* 125, the people who erected them were companions of the deceased, a feature also typical of the following period.

For the first time we see in two inscriptions the *skipari*, a member of the crew of a ship:

Tågerup, Fuglse hd, Maribo amt, Lolland (*DR* 218):

austains suniR raisþu stain þansi	Sons of Østen created this stone to
aft sbarlu, bruþur sin, skibara	Spærla, their brother, *skipari* to
ąsbiarnaR nafs.	Æsbiorn Beak (Næf).

[26] Cf. *DR Summary*, col. 19.

Sturkö, Östra hd, Blekinge (*DR* 363):

skibarE kuþis raisþ . . . stin. — Guþi *skipari* erected [N.N.]'s stone.

The ancestors of the Danes were very active in the years between 793 and 891. But their deeds, unfortunately, were not commemorated in the stones, because the stones at that time were set up mainly for magic or ritual purposes. Only a few of the stones dating from 940 to 1000 tell about adventures abroad, though they can nonetheless contain significant data.

Egtved, Jerlev hd, Vejle amt, North Jutland (*DR* 37):

— at fain tu i suiu raist —
[br]uþiR aft bruþur stain sasi skarni.

[N.N. made these *kumbls* to] — **at** the Painted [?]; he died at Swia. Carved [runes] brother to brother. This stone **skarni —**

Mejlby, Støvring hd, Randers amt, North Jutland (*DR* 117):

ąni risþ stin þansi aft ąskl, sun sin,
ias tauþr uarþ maþ þuri i urasuti.

Ani erected this stone to Æskil, his son who found his death in the Øresund together with ÞoriR [or: "on ÞoriR's raid"].

Tirsted, Fuglse hd, Meribo amt, Lolland (*DR* 216):

A. **ąsraþr auk hiltu-R raisþu**
stain þansi aft frąþa frąnti sin sin.
ian han uas þą fąink uaiRa.

Asraþr and HildungR [or HildwikR] erected this stone to Fræþi, their kinsman. But he was then [?] a commander [?] (*forungi*)

B. **ian han uarþ tauþr ą suą**
þiauþu auk uas furs i frikis iąþi
þą aliR uikikaR.

And he met with his death in Sweden and was in the retinue of FrøygæiRR. when all the Vikings [fell?].

Sædinge, Fuglse hd., Maribo amt, Lolland (*DR* 217):

A. **þurui kat kauruan stain þansi . . .**
kruk

Þorwi had this stone made [to] KrokR,

B. **uiar sin. ian han uas — alra triu —**

her husband. And he was [then?] the very strongest [?]

C. **sutrsuia auk suþr[tana].**

of the "separate Swedes" (*sutrsuia*) and the south Danes.

kuaul at ha-af nurminum/sąm

Agony [i.e., suffering] devoured the chieftain [i.e., put him to death], the best of the Normans.

D. **baistr, han uas sutrsuia-uk.**

He was the **-uk** of the separate Swedes [Who these are is unknown.]

Manx Inscriptions

The Manx inscriptions are incised mainly on crosses and cross fragments. They are all memorial stones for local families, e.g., "Sandulfr, the Black erected this cross for Arinbiǫrg, his wife" (Andreas II = *M.C.* 103 = *B* 2), or "Áleifr Ljótolfsson erected this cross for Úlfr, his son" (Ballaugh = *M.C.* 77 = *B* 6).[27]

Norwegian Inscriptions

The Norwegian inscriptions appear in Jæren (ON *Jaðarr* > Jæder), part of the province of Rogaland during the second half of the Jelling period. Runologically they are a continuation of the Manx runes, and are therefore referred to as being of the Man-Jær type. Like their contemporary Danish inscriptions, the Norwegian ones are family stones and reflect exclusively local interests.

Two such stones, erected by members of the same family, can best illustrate the type of source we are dealing with.

Klepp I, Rogaland fylke (ca. 980–990) (*NYR* 225):

þurir harþarsunr raisti stain þina	Þórir Harðarsonr erected this stone
aft ąskarþi kuąn sina (t)u(t)ur	for Ásgerðr, his wife, daughter of
kunars	Gunnarr
bruþur halka ą klabi.	[who was the] brother of Helgi of Klepp.

Tu, Rogaland fylke (ca. 975) (*NYR* 228):

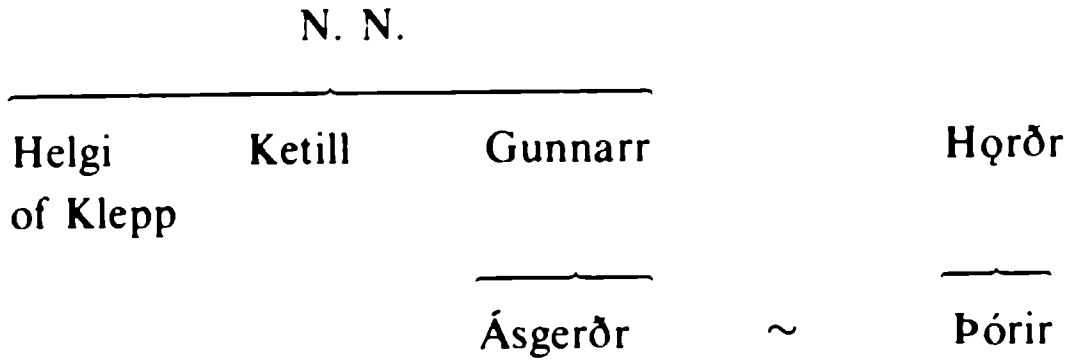
hailki rais(ti sta)in þąn	Helgi erected this stone
aft kaitil bruþur sin.	for Ketill, his brother.

On the basis of the data of the two inscriptions, it is possible to draw a genealogical tree of this Rogalandish noble family for the last quarter of the tenth century (see Table 4, p. 326).

Only one inscription from this period refers to a historical event. In the 970s there was a military confrontation between the independently minded Danish King Haraldr Bluetooth (ca. 945–984) and his suzerain, the German Emperor Otto II (973–983). Otto attacked the Danevirke and Haddeby in South Jutland. Haraldr was aided by the Norwegian ruler, Hákon jarl Sigurðarson

[27] Magnus Olsen in *Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland* 6 (1954), p. 184 (Andreas II), p. 189 (Ballaugh). The abbreviations used are: *M.C.* = Philip Kermode, *Manx Crosses* (London, 1907); *B* = Erik Brate, "Runinskrifterna på ön Man," *Fv* 2 (1907), pp. 20–34, 77–95.

Table 4



(970–995). This Norwegian campaign was memorialized in a runic inscription carved by a skáld:

Stangeland, Høiland sn, Rogaland (*NYR* 239):

þurbiurn skalt raisti stn	Þorbiǫrn skáld raised this stone
þąna aft sąi-þuri sun sin	for Seim-Þórir, his son,
is ą tąnmarku fil.	who fell in Denmark.

The Pilgårds Inscriptions

The inscription from Pilgårds (Boge sn), Gotland, dates from the period when the Swedish-Norse runes were merging with the Danish. It deals with an expedition from Gotland that navigated the Dnieper cataracts. Wolfgang Krause, using runological criteria, dates it to the last decades of the tenth century.[28]

Four "brothers" were commissioned by Vīfil, possibly a trader or military leader, to sail their ship through the Dnieper cataracts and to find a way around the most dangerous one, the Nenasytec' (ἀειφόρ of Constantine Porphyrogenitus). The expedition succeeded in penetrating far into this cataract, but in struggling over the first level — the so-called Rvanyj Kamin' (**Rufstain**) — one of the members of the expedition, Rafn, lost his life. South of the Rvanyj Kamin' the "brothers" erected a gravemarker for this man, and upon their return home they had a memorial stone erected in their Gotland fatherland in his memory. The inscription reads:

biarfaa statu siso stain —	This stone, brightly painted, erected —
hakbiarn bruþr ruþuisl austain imu[n]r.	Hegbiarn [and his] "brothers" (H)Rōðvīsl, Øysteinn [and] Emundr/Amundr.
isafa staina stata aft rafa	They set up the stone for (H)Rafn
suþfuri ru[f]staini,	south of Rvanyj Kamin' (**Rufstain**).
kuamu uit i aifur.	They penetrated far into the Nenasytets' (**Aifur**).
uifil bauþ um.	Vīfil commissioned [them].

[28] Wolfgang Krause, "Der Runenstein von Pilgårds," *NAWG* 3 (1952), pp. 53–68, 1 pl.

Runic Inscriptions from 1000 to 1100

Dating from the period 1000 to 1050 are runic monuments in Denmark, Norway, Jämtland, Sweden, Gotland, the Ukraine, and Greece.

Danish Inscriptions

Of the 110 Danish inscriptions from the post-Jelling period, 107 are in Denmark, 2 are in England, and 1 is on the island of Öland. In Denmark the two leading provinces are Skåne, with 54 inscriptions, and North Jutland, with 45. South Jutland and Sjælland have 3 each, and Lolland and Falster only 1 each. Most of them are pagan; only 15 or 16 display any connection with the Christian faith in words or symbols. Runologically, a new version,the so-called dotted runes, appears side by side with the old, non-dotted ones; the ratio is 44 dotted to 66 non-dotted. They are all basically secular in content. During the Jelling period most were "companion" stones, although some family stones continued to be erected.

The inscriptions of the period are a rich source of social and political terminology, though caution must be used since the texts of the inscriptions are often so cryptic as to make it difficult to decide among several possible meanings. The first terms encountered are the very popular ones of *drængR* (EON pl. *drængjaR*) and *þægn*.[29]

DrængR at first meant generally a boy or youth, or a fine young man, and then came to mean a warrior. Since the virtue of a warrior is bravery combined with military prowess, the word acquired the meaning of younger member of a retinue, or a crewman on a battleship.

The word *þægn* (a cognate of English *thane*) was first used for a mature man of high social standing, or a seasoned warrior; then specifically for an older member of the retinue. Both terms may also have been used to designate two different social strata — here a comparison with Kievan Rus' comes to mind. Two types of retainers (*družina*) existed there: *pervaja družina* ("first (i.e., senior) retinue"),[30] and *molotšaja družina* ("junior retinue").[31] The extraordinary members of the retinue were called *uniþingR*, "most esteemed" (*DR* 68), or *unes*, "far famed," e.g., **unisiR i uikiku**, [they were] far-famed on Viking raids (*DR* 330).

[29] Concerning the terms *drængR* and *þægn*, see Svend Aakjær, *APS* 2 (1928), pp. 1-30; K. M. Nielsen, *ÅNO* (1945), pp. 111-121; *R*, pp. 62-67; P. G. Foote D. M. Wilson, *Achievement*, pp. 105 108; cf. also Lis Jacobsen, *APS* 1 (1921), pp. 235-237.

[30] Cf. *PVL*, ed. Lixačev, I, p. 142 (s.a. 1093).

[31] Cf. *PVL*, ed. Lixačev, I, p. 176 (s.a. 1097).

Both *þægn* and *drængR* appear with the epithet *góðr*, "good," i.e., "high born" (e.g., *DR* 143: **þaikn kuþan**; *DR* 339, **trik kuþan**), often (especially *drængR*) with the emphatic **harþa** "very" (*DR* 213: **harþa kuþan þiakn**; *DR* 68 etc. **harþa kuþan trik**). One *þægn* is called **þiakna furstr** "the most prominent of the *þægn*s" (*DR* 277).

The following family members are attested as *þægns*: father: *DR* 123, 130, 143, 213, 343; stepfather (*magR*; *DR* 143); husband: *DR* 98, 99, 209, 277, 293; brother: *DR* 86, 121, 278.

The following family members appear as *drængiaR*: sons: *DR* 78, 94, 380; brothers: *DR* 77, 268, 276, 288; a male in-law (*magR*); *DR* 289; *felagi*, *DR* 68, 127, 262, 339: in ON *félag* meant "money-combining," i.e., partnership, mainly in trading activity. Although *felagi*[32] did mean "partner," "fellow," or the man who joined in a sharing, the word was certainly also used to mean "comrade" and was used by retainers. The term was very popular during the period in question: *DR* 66, 68, 127, 262, 270, 279, 316, 318, 321, 329, 330. In at least one case (*DR* 295), the word *broþiR*, "brother" was used rather than *felagi*. The overlord was called *drottin* "liege" (*DR* 295). A term often used for a companion or member of a retinue was *hemþægi*: *DR* 1, 3, 154, 155, 296, 297; only once did the designation *lagsmannr* "companion" appear (*DR* 62).[33]

The military leader of the local naval levy, usually a great magnate was culled **sturimatr** (*DR* 1). The other prominent landowners, leaders of the local assembly, were called *landmannr*'s. One from Skivum, Års hd, Ålborg amt in North Jutland, was **ląntmąną baistr i tąnmarku auk furstr** "the best (*bæztr*) and foremost of landowners in Denmark" (*DR* 133).

The master of a farm, landowner, the yeoman, appears as *bondi*[34] (*DR* 99, 277, 291, 298, 338), or as *bomannr* (*DR* 291); one such yeoman, Asgotr, was called **bastr bumana**, "the best of the yeomen" (*DR* 291), another **harþ kuþn buta**, "honorable yeoman" (*DR* 298), and still another **harþa kuþan buta**, "very high born yeoman" (*DR* 338). Generosity was the exemplary quality of a yeoman. BramR of Sövestad 2 (Herrestads hd, Malmöhus län, Skåne) was "the best of yeomen and most generous with food" (**bastr bumana auk miltastr mataR**, *DR* 291).

The landsteward was called *landhirþiR* (*DR* 107, 134); one, Manni by name (cf. Egå, Ø. Lisbjerg hd, Randers amt, North Jutland), was "land steward to Kætill the Norwegian" (*DR* 107).

[32] On *félagi*, see *R*, 69–72 and Foote–Wilson, *Viking Achievement*, p. 97.

[33] Concerning the interrelation of the terms *félagi*, *hemþægi*, (OD) *styrimannr* (OS *stȳrimaðr*) and (OD) *landmannr* (OS *landmaðr*), see Jankuhn, *Haithabu*, 4th ed., pp. 91–93; *M*, 155, pp. 265–268; *R*, pp. 59–77, 186–187.

[34] On *bóndi*, see Foote–Wilson, *Achievement*, pp. 80–87.

Other representatives of the lower classes seldom appear in the inscriptions. Only three times (*DR* 58, 91, 108) is a craftsman (*smiþr*) named. Two of them are very interesting. One contains a reference to thralldom, where the craftsman, Toki, honors the master who freed him:

Hørning, Hjelmslev hd, Århus amt, North Jutland (*DR* 58):

tuki smiþr riþ stin ift þurkisl kuþmutaR sun. is hanun kaf kul uk frialsi.

Toki, a craftsman, erected this stone to Þorgisl the son of Guþmundr who gave him gold [apparently to arrange his *frelsisǫl*,[35] or "freedom feast"] and freedom.

The other inscription mentions the participation of a craftsman's kin in a raid on some unspecified place in eastern Europe:

Kolind, Sønder Djurs hd, Randers amt, North Jutland (*DR* 108):

tusti risþi stin þąnsi ift tufa is uarþ tuþr ustr burþur sin smiþr ąsuiþaR.

Tosti, Aswiþr's craftsman, erected this stone to Tofi, his brother, who met his death in the east.

It may be sheer coincidence, but it is worth noting that in the inscriptions of the post-Jelling period no further mention is made of pagan priests (*goþi, þulR*), although one inscription (Sønder Vinge 2, Middelsom hd, Viborg amt, North Jutland *DR* 83) does say that two wounded brothers of the erector "practiced witchcraft" (**auk siþ**).

Some stones give data on peaceful public activities: the building of bridges in memory of the deceased (*DR* 238, 269) and the construction of churches (*DR* 315).

At least one inscription was erected at the king's order:

Haddeby 3. Gottorp amt, South Jutland (*DR* 3):

A. **suin kunukR sati stin uftiR skarþa sin himþiga, ias uas farin uestr iąn; nu**

B. **uarþ tauþr at hiþabu.**

King Swen [Sveinn, 984–1014] created the stone to Skarþi, his retainer (*hempægi*, see below), who had gone westward [to England], [but] now met his death at Hedeby.

Another Haddeby inscription mentions the same King Swen (Sveinn) Forkbeard (984–1014):

[35] On *frelsisǫl*, see Foote-Wilson, *Achievement*, pp. 72–73.

Haddeby 1 (*DR* 1):

A.	**þurlf risþi stin þąnsi himþigi**	ÞorulfR, [King] Sveinn's retainer (*hemþægi*), erected
	suins eftiR erik filaga sin,	this stone to ErikR (Eiríkr), his companion (*felagi*)
	ias uarþ	who met his
B.	**tauþr þą trekiaR satu um haiþabu.**	death when warriors laid siege to Haddeby;
	ian han uas sturimatr tregR harþa kuþr.	and he was *styrimannr*, a very highborn *drængR*.

Sveinn's son, King Knutr/Knútr inn ríki (Canute the Great, 1014-1035) appears in one Skåne-Danish Christian inscription:

Simris 2. Järestads hd, Kristianstads län, Skåne (*DR* 345):

sigrifr let resa sten þensa	SigrefR had this stone erected to Forkunnr **if r**,
aiftiR furkun if — r faþur ąsulfs	the father of AsulfR,
triks knus.	[King] Knutr's *drængR*.
hilbi kuþ ąn hans.	God help his spirit.

According to the editors of the *DR*, this is the only Danish inscription in which a father is identified by naming his more famous son, who apparently took part in Canute's English campaigns.[36] The inscription ends with a Christian formula, a practice that is common in the later Swedish stones. King Knútr is named in one Norwegian (*NYR* 184 and in three Swedish inscriptions (*U* 194, *U* 344, *Ög* 111). The two inscriptions from London (*DR* 412; 412a, a fragment) must certainly be connected with Canute's activities in England.

Three Danish inscriptions name great battles: two seem to refer to the famous Fýris battle, near Uppsala (ca. 980-990),[37] where the Swedish King Eiríkr the Victorious, helped by the Danes and the Jómsborg Vikings, defeated his rebellious nephew, Styrbjǫrn inn sterki.

Sjörup, Ljunits hd, Malmöhus län, Skåne (*DR* 279):

saksi sati stin þasi huftiR ąsbiurn	Saxi set up this stone to Æsbiorn, his
sin filagą tufas sun.	companion (*felagi*), son of Tofi [or Toki]
saR flu aki at ubsalum	He did not flee at Uppsala, but fought as long
an wa maþ an uabn afþi.	as he had weapons.

[36] Cf. *DR* I, col. 390.

[37] Brøndsted, *Vikings*, p. 207; Jansson, *Runinskrifter i Sverige*, pp. 88-89 = *Runes of Sweden*, pp. 64-65; O. Moberg, *Historisk Tidskrift* 83 (Sthlm, 1963), pp. 385-390.

Hällestad 1, Torna hd, Malmöhus län, Skåne (*DR* 295):

A.	**askil sati stin þansi ift[i]R tuka**	Æskil set up this stone to Toki,
	kurms sun, saR hulan trutin.	GormR's son, who was a gracious master (*drottin*) to him.
	saR flu aigi at ubsalum.	He did not flee at Uppsala.
B.	**satu trikaR iftiR sin bruþr**	Warriors (*drængiaR*) set up to their brother the
	stin ą biarki stuþan runum.	stone on the hill, firm fixed with runes.
C.	**þiR kurms tuka kiku nist[iR].**	They came nearest after GormR's Toki.

The third Danish inscription mentions an unspecified battle "when the kings fought":

Århus 4, Århus amt, North Jutland (*DR* 66):

A.	**kunulfR auk augutr auk aslakR auk rulfR risþu**	GunulfR and Øgotr and AslakR and RoulfR erected
B.	**stin þansi eftiR ful felaka sin.**	this stone to **Ful,** their companion (*felagi*).
	iaR uarþ —— y — tuþr	He found —— **y** — his death,
C.	**þą kunukaR barþusk.**	when the kings fought.

This inscription certainly refers to the same unknown battle as does the contemporary Swedish stone, *Vg* 40:

Råda, kyrkan, Råda sn, Kållands hd. (*Vg* 40):

þurkil sati stin þasi itiR	Þorkell placed this stone for
kuna sun sin. iR uarþ tuþr	Gunni, his son. He fell
i uristu, iR bþiþus kunukaR.	in battle, when the kings fought.

Jansson tentatively suggested that the battle in question might be the battle of Svǫlð in the year 1000,[38] when Óláfr Tryggvason of Norway fought against both Óláfr skautkonungr of Sweden and Sveinn Forkbeard of Denmark.

Strangely enough, the inscriptions of the Danes, those genuine Nomads of the Sea, very seldom contain the word for ship in the pre-Jelling period, the word *skæið*, "big long ship" is attested only once, and from the context it is clear that the word did not refer to a real sea-going ship, but rather to a "ship-setting," i.e., a memorial stone in the form of a ship (*DR* 230).[39] Real ships (*skip*) are mentioned twice. In both cases coownership is involved. In the second inscription, Viking activity is mentioned in connection with the ship:

[38] Jansson, *Runinskrifter i Sverige*, p. 86 = *Runes of Sweden*, p. 61.

[39] See *DR Summary* (1947), col. 51.

Århus 6, Århus amt, North Jutland (*DR* 68):

A. **[t]usti auk hufi auk þiR frebiurn risþu stin þąnsi eftiR ąsur saksa, filaka sin, harþa**
B. **kuþan trik, saR tu mana mest uniþikR. saR ati skib miþ arną.**

Tosti and Hofi jointly with Frøbiorn erected this stone to Azur Saxi, their companion, a very highborn *drængR*. He died the most esteemed (*uniþingR*) among men; he owned a ship together with Arni.

Västra Strö 1 2, Onsjö hd, Malmöhus län, Skåne (*DR* 334–335):

1. **faþiR lit hukua runaR þisi uftiR ąsur bruþur sin, is nur uaþr tuþr i uikiku.**

FaþiR had these runes cut for Azur, his brother, who met his death in the north on a Viking raid.

2. **faþiR lit hukua stin þansi uftiR biurn is skib ati miþ anum.**

FaþiR had this stone cut for Biorn, who owned a ship jointly with him.

Two inscriptions mention members of the ships' crew (*skipari*); in one instance they are from North Jutland (*DR* 82), and, in the other, from Skåne (*DR* 275).

Arndt Ruprecht made the first attempt systematically to use the Scandinavian runic inscriptions as a historical source.[40] He was able to include only twenty-six Danish stones from the period in question into the sure inscriptions on foreign journeys; fifteen were from Skåne, ten from North Jutland, and one from Lolland. In attempting to classify the foreign travelers according to age, Ruprecht arrived at the following results. Older generation ("fathers"): 3 — 2 from North Jutland, 1 from Skåne; younger generation ("sons"): 5 — 3 from Skåne and 2 from North Jutland; of uncertain age, but most probably the representatives of the younger generation: 18 — 11 from Skåne, 6 from North Jutland, and 1 from Lolland. His findings are rather meager, especially in view of the exceptional role the Danes had as seafarers, attested in the historical sources dating from the ninth to the eleventh century.

Even more disappointing are the geographic data found in the inscriptions. Some are general designations according to points of the compass: **is nur uarþ tuþr i uikiku**, "who met his death in the north on a Viking raid" (*DR* 334), **is uarþ tuþr ustr**, "who found his death in the east" (*DR* 108), i.e., on the east Baltic coast or in Rus'. In two cases "west" appears, undoubtedly referring to the England of kings Sveinn (**uas farin uestr** "who has gone westward," *DR* 3) and Canute (**han uarþ uistr tuþr**, "he met his with his death westwards," *DR*

[40] Ruprecht, *Die ausgehende Wikingerzeit* = *R*, pp. 125-169.

266). England is mentioned directly only once (**aenklanti**, *DR* 6), as in London (**ian þeR likia i luntunum** "and they lie in London," *DR* 337). Two Danes had perished in Gotland (*DR* 220, 259).[41] In addition, the Swedish town of Uppsala appears twice (**saR flu aki at ubsalum**, "he did not flee at Uppsala," *DR* 279; see also *DR* 295).

One proper name (as has already been suggested by Ludwig Wimmer) may have some connection with eastern Europe. The erector of a stone from Suldrup in North Jutland (*DR* 138, Suldrup 2, Hornum hd, Ålborg amt) had the name (or surname) **riuskR**: **riuskR risþi st — R ufah bruþur sin** "RiuskR erected [this stone to] UfagR (Ófeigr) his brother." The word **riuskr** seems to have been a borrowing based on a Middle High German form like *Riuze*, "the Rus'ian."[42]

One might add that the Danish, like the German, sources do not use Garðar for Rus' or Hólmgarðr for Novgorod. Runologically the Danish Viking period ends around 1050; the runes that follow face outside the period we are concerned with.

Norwegian Inscriptions

There are only thirty to forty Norwegian inscriptions[43] from the late Viking period (1000–1050), most of them written in Danish runes. These stones often contain pictorial representations in the Ringerike style (ca. 990–1050),[44] leading scholars to use the term Ringerike period in referring to them. Five occur on stones that contain exact or approximate dates. This category can also include the short inscriptions on the coins of King Óláfr Haraldsson kyrri (1067–1093; *NYR* 598–602). Several contain interesting data about peaceful rural life. A final set contains information about adventures in foreign lands, two of them in eastern Europe (these will be dealt with in a later chapter).

The datable historical inscriptions[45] (*NYR* 449, 184, 252, 209–210, 211, 271) follow:

Kuli, Edøy sn and hd, Møre (*NYR* 449):

1. **þurir auk haluarþr raistu stain þinsi aft (ulfliut).**
2. **tualf uintr hafþi kristintumr uirit i nuriki.**

Þórir and Hallvarðr raised this stone for [Ulfljótr].
For twelve winters (years) had Christiandom (*Kristindomr*) been in Norway.

41 L. E. Grandjean, *De danske gotlandsfarere* (Visby, 1950).
42 See Ernst Kunik in B. Dorn, *Kaspij* (St. Petersburg, 1876), pp. 672–673.
43 Cf. Magnus Olsen, in *NK* VI (1933), pp. 83–113.
44 Olsen, *NK* VI, p. 92.
45 Cf. *NYR* V (1960), p. 245.

Aslak Liestøl, the editor of this inscription, accepts the year 996 or 997 as the date of the Christianization of Norway. The Kuli stone, twelve years later, must therefore date to 1008 or 1009.

Galteland, East (Aust) Agder fylke (*NYR* 184):

A. **arn[stin] risti stin þi[na] iftir** **bior [s]un sin. [sa uar] tuþr** **i liþi þąs knutr soti ikląt**	Arnsteinn raised this stone for Biór his son, who met his death in the host (*lið*) when Canute [the Great] took over England.
B. **in is ko[þ].**	God is one.

Canute the Great conquered England in 1015-1016; this, therefore, must have been the date of Biorn's death.

Stavanger 3, Rogaland (*NYR* 252):

alf [—]ir bristr raisti stain	Alfgeirr[?], the priest, raised this
þina aft arlik trotin sin [——]	stone for Erlingr, his lord ——
is han bariþisk uiþ olaif.	when he fought with [St.] Óláfr.

Erlingr Skalgsson of Sóli, according to Snorri's *Óláfs saga helga*, "the most powerful of men in Norway, excepting only those of princely rank,"[46] was killed on December 21, 1028, while fighting against St. Óláfr in the Bóknfjord behind the island of the same name. This important event was described in detail by the skald, Sigvatr Þórðarson (d. ca. 1045).

Gjerde kirke 1, Hordaland fylke (*NYR* 271):

arlantr rist runar þisar	Erlendr raised these runes
aftir alui faþur.	for his father Qlvi.

It has been established (see *NYR* 271) that the Erlendr of this inscription is identical with the "landed man," Erlendr of Gerði (modern Gjerde), who collaborated with Canute the Great and was the foe of St. Óláfr. Erlendr is named several times in Snorri's *Heimskringla* and in the sagas of St. Óláfr.[47] The inscription, therefore, should be dated "about 1030."

Oddernes near Kristiansand, West Agder (*NYR* 209-210):

[46] *Hkr* II (*IF* 27), p. 318 = *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 468.
[47] E.g., *Hkr* II (*IF* 27), p. 346, 386 = *Hkr*/Hollander, pp. 488, 516.

1. **-niriþs sun is stain sa.**	Neridr's son's is this stone.
2. **ayintr karþi kirkiu þisa,**	Øivindr (Eyvindr) built this church,
kosunr olafs hins hala	the godson (*goðsunr*) of Óláfr the
a oþali sinu.	saint, on his family inheritance (*óðal*).

The editors of the *NYR* identified the Eyvindr of the inscription with the famous historical figure and saga hero, Eyvindr úrarhorn (Uroxhorn). Snorri writes about him: "There was a man called Eyvindr úrarhorn whose kin resided in East Agder. He was a man of great importance and of noble descent who went on raiding expeditions every summer, sometimes to the west, sometimes to the East Way (*Austrvegr*) or south to Frisia. He owned a swift-sailing ship with twenty rowers' benches and a good crew."[48] He was killed in 1019, while sailing from Ireland, by Einarr, jarl of the Orkneys.

The following inscription also refers to Eyvindr:

Søgne, West Agder fylke (*NYR* 211):

auintr risti stin þina	Eyvindr raised this stone
aftir kunuat sun sn.	for Gunnhvatr [or Gunnvaldr]
	his son.

Eyvindr's genealogy, compiled by the editors of the inscriptions (with my addition), is given in Table 5 (p. 336).

The following three inscriptions give us interesting details about everyday life; the third of them confirms the interrelation between the stone and the text.

Dynna, Opland fylke (ca. 1040) (*NYR* 68):

kunuur kirþi bru þririks tutir	Gunnvǫr, Þrýðrikr's daughter, built
iftir ąsriþi tutur sina.	the bridge (=*brú*) after Ástríðr,
	her daughter.
su uas mar hanarst ą haþalanti.	She was the most skillful maiden (*mær hǫnnurst*) in Hadeland (Haðaland).

The stone is adorned with drawings in the Ringerike style.

Nørstebø, Lesja pgd., Opland fylke, second half of the eleventh century (*NYR* 29):

þair finr auk skofti raistu stin	Finnr and Skopti raised this stone
þena þa es þair skiþtu lantom	when they divided their lands, [as]
sinum, sayner uala.	the sons of Váli.

[48] *Hkr* II (*IF* 27), p. 163 = *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 354.

Table 5

Neriðr gamli (8th century)
|
Arnmóðr (ca. 800)
|
Eyvindr jarl

Ormr gamli	(N. N.) | Neriðr (see Oddernes 1) | "Neriðr's son" | (N. N.) | Eyvindr úrarhorn, b. ca. 985, d. 1019 | Gunnhvatr

Alstad 1, Hof sn, Østre Toten hd, Opland fylke, first quarter of the eleventh century (*NYR* 61):

1. **iurun raisti stain þina aftir**	Jórunn raised this stone in memory
au — aun — is hana (ha)ti	of **Au — aun —** who had her [for wife].
auk furþi af hrikariki utan	And he took her away from Ringerike (Hringaríki), from
ur ulbaui	[the isle of] Ulvøy
2. **auk munta stain — ir þusi.**	and this pictured stone - (*mynda-steinn*).

The second sentence in part 1 has given rise to several interpretations. All must be considered and judged in the light of the interrelation between the stone itself and the content of the inscription. The Alsted stone is not local. Petrographical evidence has proved that it originated in Ringerike, where there is in fact an isle of Ulvøy.[49] The stone was adorned with elegant pictures of a hunt, including horses, hounds, and falcons. The carvings themselves are classic examples of the combination of animal and plant ornaments typical of the Ringerike style of the first quarter of the eleventh century.

[49] A. Bæksted, *ANF* 57 (1944), pp. 266-287; C.J.S. Marstrander, *NTS* 14 (1947), pp. 236-292; cf. Foote - Wilson, *Achievement*, p. 307.

A later inscription (Alstad 2) was added at the foot of the stone, possibly by another generation of the same family. Its text is particularly important to us because it contains some interesting geographical details about the Ukraine (it is discussed below).

út, "abroad," is mentioned twice (*NYR* 57, 358); *útfærþar* occurs in the second stone (from Sogn), dating from the twelfth century (*NYR* 358). Mentioned twice are the Rome pilgrims (*Rúmfari*, *NYR*, 529, 530). One stone text (*NYR* 102. Hønen, Buskerud) from 1046 deals with tragic encounters in the north, probably in Greenland; another stone mentions England (*NYR* 184). A half strophe in *fornyrðislag* meter from about 1025 sheds some light on the nature of the Old Norse-Frisian relationship:

Senja ("Botnhavn"), Troms fylke (*NYR* 540):

furu[m] trikia	We fared to the meeting
frislats a uit,	with Frisian warriors,
auk uiks fotum	and the raid's booty
uir skiftum.	we divided among ourselves.

Inscriptions from Jämtland

Throughout the Middle Ages Jämtland was able to maintain its autonomy, although it was influenced politically by Norway and culturally by Swedish Uppland. An inscription dating from the middle of the eleventh century is carved on a stone found in a provincial center of the island of Frösö (= Freyr's Island), located in Lake Stor. It tells about the Christianization of Jämtland:[50]

austmąþr kuþfastaR sun	Østman, the son of Guðfastr,
lit rai[sa stain] þiną, auk	had this stone raised and
[k]irua bru þisa. [a]uk h[an	this bridge made. And he
li]t kristną eątaląnt.	made Jämtland Christian.
ąsbiurn kirþi bru, triun raist	Āsbiorn made the bridge, Tryn
auk tsain runąR þisaR.	and Stæinn [carved] these runes.

Swedish Inscriptions

The 2,100 Swedish Viking Age inscriptions (excluding a few earlier Götish stones using the Rök runes) date from the eleventh century.[51] They usually use the Danish runes; only a small portion, mainly those from Hälsingland, use

[50] Von Friesen, ed., *Runorna i Sverige*, p. 66; cf. Jansson, *Runinskrifter i Sverige*, p. 119 = *Runes of Sweden*, p. 102 = *M* 151.

[51] General presentations are von Friesen in *NK* VI (1933), pp. 145-248; Jansson, *Runinskrifter i Sverige* = *Runes of Sweden*.

the local shorthand, the so-called Hälsinge runes. The majority are carved on standing stones, and are often (especially in Uppland) adorned with decorative or pictorial representations, e.g., the "runic serpent," forming the band in which the runes are inscribed.[52]

The Götish stones (*Vg, Ög, Sm*) are generally from the first half of the century. Some of the inscriptions of the Svíar (basically *Sö, U* and *Vs*) also date from the first half, but the majority are from the second half of the century. About one-fourth were erected in Götland (ca. 480). The lion's share (ca. 1,500) belongs to Svíaland, where Uppland has produced 1,000 stones, Södermanland 370, Öland 60, Västmanland 40, Närke 20 and Gästrikland 20.

Why are there so many more from Svíaland, particularly Uppland? The custom of erecting memorial monuments for kinsmen using runes for inscriptions seems to have been a result of the secularization of the originally magic use of the runes. The stimulus for the development came from England, the Rome of the Vikings. Many a foreign traveler who visited the England and Denmark of Canute the Great and his successors eventually converted to Christianity and died "in white clothes" (*þæiR dou i hvītavāþum*), i.e., in the baptismal robes worn by converts (*U* 243, 364, 613, 699, 896, 1036). As soon as Christianity was firmly established in a Scandinavian land, the runes were quickly replaced by the Latin script. This leads one to deduce that the use for memorial purposes flourished only during a transitional period, when the pagan religion was losing its vigor but the Christian faith was not yet dominant. In the Scandinavian countries this transition lasted longest in Uppland, precisely until 1100.

In contrast to Denmark, Sweden has no stones which could have been erected by or for the ruling kings, although some inscriptions seem to have been made for members of the royal family. The three sets of historical inscriptions in Sweden are divisible according to the events they describe.[53] The first consists of only one stone (from about 1010; *Ög* 81) and refers to the battle of the Fýris Plain (near Uppsala) (ca. A.D. 980–990), which is also known from two Danish inscriptions.

The thirty stones in the second set refer to Swedish activity in England,

[52] See Bernhard Salin, "Studier i ornamentik," *Antiqvarisk Tidskrift för Sverige* 11:1 (Sthlm, 1905); B. Salin, *Die altgermanische Thierornamentik* (Sthlm, 1904); Friedrich Plutzar, *Die Ornamentik der Runensteine* (Sthlm, 1924); Sune Lindqvist, "Yngre vikingastilar," *NK* XXVII (1931), pp. 144–179; Bengt Bergman, *Uppländsk run- och bildstenristning* (Sthlm, 1948); Haakon Shetelig, *Acta Archeologica* 19 (1948), pp. 69–113; Hans Christiansson, *Sydskandinavisk stil* (Uppsala, 1959). Cf. also S. Gardell, *Gravmonument från Sveriges medeltid* (Sthlm, 1937).

[53] For special studies on Swedish historical inscriptions, see von Friesen, *Fv* 5 (1909), pp. 57–85 and 6 (1911), pp. 105–125; Wessén, *Historiska runinskrifter* (1960).

mainly during the conquest and the reign of Canute the Great (1015–1035).[54] Their composition is interesting: ten are from Södermanland, eight from Uppland, four from Västmanland, four from Småland, three from Väster Götland, and one from Öster Götland. One stone is from Norway and typically, one from Christian Denmark.

The inscriptions tell us about many aspects of the Danish involvement in England, e.g., about Canute's gold, the famous Danegeld (*U* 194, 343, 344) and about the service in Canute's bodyguard, called *þingalið* (*U* 668; *Sö* 160). One Upplander is said to have "died in Jutland when he was on his way to England" (*U* 539); apparently in the Limfjord from which Danish attacks against England usually started.

The third historical event with a set of inscriptions is the famous campaign in Ingvarr hinn víðfǫrli to the Saracen land (*Særkland, Serkland*) in 1041, recorded on about thirty stones. The majority of the participants in this campaign, eighteen men, also came from Södermanland.

Finally, it is possible that one Swedish inscription refers to a fourth historical event. Jansson suggests that the Forsheda stone from Småland contains information on an important battle, probably fought at Gårdstånga in Skåne in 1025–1026, when Canute the Great fought Anund Jacob, king of Sweden, and St. Óláfr of Norway.[55] The inscription reads as follows:

Forsheda allmänning, Forsheda sn, Västro hd, Jönköpings län (*Sm* 52):

rhulf auk oskihl riþu stin þo[nsi]	[H]RōlfR and Āskell raised this stone
etiR lifstin fuþur sin.	for Līfstæinn, their father.
es uarþ tuþr o skonu	He found death in Skåne
n karþstokum, auk furþu	at Gårdstånga. And they carried
o finhiþi.	[him home] to Finnhæiðr (Finnveden).

Two Swedish inscriptions testify to the Norsemen's keen interest in genealogy. The first, from Hälsingland (Malsta), was written in mid-century, in Hälsinge runes:[56]

frumunt riti staina þin	Freymundr raised this stone for Fē-Gylfi (the Rich),
aftiR fikiulfa brisasun,	son of Bräsi;
in brisi uas linasun,	and Bräsi was Lini's son;

[54] These inscriptions were the subject of Sven B. F. Jansson's Dorothea Coke Memorial lecture in Northern studies (University of London), given on 11 March 1965: *Swedish Vikings in England* (London, 1966).

[55] Jansson, *Runinskrifter i Sverige*, pp. 86–88.

[56] Ed. von Friesen, *NK* VI (1933), pp. 160–162. Cf. Jansson, *Runinskrifter i Sverige*, pp. 100–102 = *Runes of Sweden*, pp. 79–80.

in lini uas unaRsun.	and Lini was Aunn's son;
in un uas ufaksun,	and Aunn was ŌfæigR's son;
in ufakR uas þurisun,	and ŌfæigR was ÞōriR's son;
krua uas muþiR fikiulfis.	Groa was Fē-Gylfi's mother;
in þa bar lafu, in þa kuþrun.	and she then bore La[d]vi (Hlǫðvé?) and later Guðrūn;
frumuntr fikiulfasun faþi runaR þisaR.	Freymundr, Fē-Gylfi's son, cut these runes.
uiR sutum stin þina [a] nuri an balastin.	We fetched this block of stone from the headland at Balsten.
kiulfiR uarþ um lanti þisu,	Gylfi acquired this district as well as
in þa nuriuika i þrim bium,	three estates further north.
in þa lanakri in þa fiþrasiu.	He also acquired Lönnåker and afterwards Färsjö.

The stone bears witness that in the middle of the eleventh century there were still individuals in Sweden who could remember the names of ancestors going back six generations.[57] If one assumes the usual thirty years per generation, then the Malsta stone goes back to the 870s:

Table 6

ÞōriR, *fl.* ca. 870
|
ŌfæigR, *fl.* ca. 900
|
Aunn, *fl.* ca. 930
|
Lini, *fl.* ca. 960
|
Bräsi, *fl.* ca. 980
~ Groa

Fē-Gylfi, *fl.* ca. 1020 — La(d)vi — Guðrūn

Freymundr, *fl.* ca. 1050

Another stone, from Småland (*Sm* 71), contains the names of five ancestors:

erinuorþr let reisa stein þena	Ærinvarðr had this stone raised
eftiR heka faþur sin, auk	for Hæggi, his father, and
heru faþur hans, auk karl	for Hæri, his father, and Karl,
hans faþur, heru hans faþur,	his father, [and] Hæri, his father,
auk þiagn hans faþur,	and Þiagn, his father,
auk eftiR þe lagfaþrga fem.	and for these five forefathers.

[57] Cf. the words of the Rök stone that mention nine generations.

One of the oldest Swedish inscriptions is on the Karlevi stone in Öland (*Öl* 1), carved in the late tenth century, but no later than the year 1000. It contains the only complete strophe in the original skaldic form called *dróttkvætt*, or the "court" (*drótt*) meter (see p. 251). Its language is Old Norse and the figure being praised is a Danish military leader:[58]

Öl 1 = *DR* 411

stain sasi ias satr aiftir	This stone is erected for Sibbi the
siba	Good (*inn góði*),
kuþa sun fultars, in hąns	son of Foldarr. But his retinue
liþi	(*lið*)
sati at u, tausaiþ.	set up the stone on the island [Öland], the liegemen of the dead [?].

Then follows the famous *dróttkvætt* (see p. 255, fn. 9a):

fulkin likr hins fulkþu	Hidden lies the man whom the greatest virtue
flaistr uisi þat maistar	accompanied — most men knew that —
taiþir tulka þruþar	"executor" of the goddess of battles [i.e., the warrior]
traukr i þaimsi huki,	in this mound.
munat raiþ uiþur raþa	A more honest battle-strong god
ruk starkr i tanmarku	of the wagon of the mighty ground
ąintils iarmunkruntar	of the sea king [i.e., more honest battle-strong sea captain] shall not
urkrąntari ląnti.	rule over the land in Denmark.

Approximately one-tenth of the Swedish inscriptions (about 200) deal with Viking expeditions and men who sailed abroad as mercenaries, merchants, or adventurers never to return.[59] The Swedish Vikings took one of three main routes to foreign lands. The travelers received the epithet *fari*, "traveler to," hence: direction west: *Ænglandsfari*, "traveler to England" (*U* 978, 1181); direction east: *Æistfari*, "traveler to the Ests" (*Sö* 45, *U* 446); direction south: *Grikkfari*, "traveler to the Greeks" (Byzantium) (*U* 270, 956). The connection

[58] Magnus Olsen suggested that the *dróttkvætt* was composed by a skald of Hákon jarl (970–995) named Vígfúss Víga-Glúmsson (*NVAOA* 1 (1956). This thesis, however, has not generally been accepted; see Jan de Vries, *GAL* 1², p. 124. See also Frank, *Court Poetry*, pp. 120–129. Concerning the English translation, see *DR Summary* (1947), col. 65; Jansson, *Runes of Sweden*, pp. 124–125, and Foote-Wilson, *Achievement*, pp. 326–328.

[59] On the Swedish foreign traveler's inscriptions, see Jansson, *Svenska Turistföreningens Årsskrift* (1949), pp. 101–129; Jansson, *Svenska spår i främmande land* 3, pp. 1–48; Wessén, *Fil Ark* 6 (1957), 23 pp.; and Ruprecht, *Die ausgehende Wikingerzeit* (1958).

between the eastward direction and the Ests is of particular importance to our main theme. The data of the stones corroborate the information gathered from other contemporary sources, especially Alfred's updated translation of Orosius made sometime before 899 and the skaldic strophes. The people whom the Old Norsemen first met in eastern Europe were not Slavs, but Ests of the Fennic linguistic group.

According to Arndt Ruprecht, there are about 160 inscriptions that can with certainty be related to the foreign journeys of Swedes: 66 are from Uppland, 46 from Södermanland, 12 each from Väster Götland and Småland, 10 from Öster Götland, and 6 from Västmanland. Dividing the travelers by Ruprecht's three age categories results in the following strata:[60] older generation ("fathers") — 44 (*U* - 19; *Sö* - 17; *Sm* - 4; *Ög* - 3; *Vg* - 1); younger generation ("sons") — 42 (*U* - 18; *Sö* - 11; *Vg* - 6; *Ög* - 5; *Sm* - 2); uncertain generation —69 (*U* - 29; *Sö* - 18; *Sm* - 6; *Vs* - 6; *Vg* - 5; *Ög* - 2; *Öl* - 1; Närke - 1; Gästrikland - 1. It is important to stress the relatively greater participation of the older, more experienced generation; they surpass the younger generation "on a national level" by two, i.e., 44 to 42 (in *Sö* — 17:11).

The Swedish Vikings traveled both east and west; the same person could have made both journeys (*U* 504), or one brother could have died in the west, the other in the east (*Vg* 197). The place where one warrior from West Götaland perished is styled as "on western way (*vestrvegr*) in Viking" (*Vg* 61). "Westward" or "west" is expressed either as *vestr* (*Sö* 14, 53, 62, 106, 159, 166, 260, 319; *U* 504, 668; *Ög* 68, 83; *Vg* 197; *Sm* 104) or *vesterla* (*Sö* 137, 164, 173).

In the West the most important land to the Vikings was England. Many warriors went there as mercenaries to obtain "Danegeld"; others may have had some different goal. Most of the "Englandsfarers" (cf. *U* 978, 1181) lost their lives in England in the undertaking (*Sö* 46, 55, 83, 160, 166, 207; *U* 194, 241, 343-344, 539, 616, 812, 978, 1181; *Vs* 5, 9-10; *Ög* (= *R* 59), *Vg* 20, 187; *Sm* 5, 27, 28, 29, 77, 101, 104). Some died in Jutland along the way (*U* 539).

To the English towns known from the Danish inscriptions — London (*DR* 337) and **i skiu**, probably Skidby in Yorkshire or Shoeburg in Essex (*DR* 6), one should add Bath (*Sm* 101) and **a tuti**, probably Dundee in Scotland (*Ög* 81).

The name of King Canute the Great (1014-1035) occurs in four inscriptions: *Sö* 14; *U* 194, 343-344; *Ög* 111 (cf. *DR* 345; *NYR* 184). His guard, the

[60] *R*, pp. 131-163.

þingalið, is also mentioned (*Sö* 160; *U* 668). The English Danegelds are also attested, either generally (*Sö* 166; *U* 241: "two [nonspecified] gelds") or by the specific names of distributors: Canute's geld (*U* 194), and the gelds of Skǫglar-Tósti, Þorkell Strút-Haraldsson inn hávi (in 1012), and Canute (in 1018: *U* 343-344).[61]

Another land mentioned several times in the Swedish inscriptions is Denmark (*Sö* [= *R* 83]; *U* 699, 896), where the Upplander were baptized (*U* 699, 896). Among the Danish geographic names are Jutland (*U* 539), Skåne (*Sö* 333; *Sm* 52), and the Kalmarsund (*Sö* 333). Both Jutlandish capitals — southern Hedeby (*U* 1048) and northern Viborg (*U* 180) — Ulvshale, on the island of Møn (*G* [= *R* 191]), and Gårdstånga in Skåne (*Sm* 52) are also mentioned.

The island of Gotland appears several times, in three cases as the place where warriors died (*Sö* 174; *U* 527, 614). The Upplander Hūsbrion of Torsätra, Bro hd, died there in 1060-1070 (Vīseti's stone) while he was imposing tribute (*U* 614; cf. *DR* 220, 259) on the natives. One inscription tells us that in the eleventh century the famous picture stones of Gotland were imported to Uppland (Norrsunda, Ärlinghundra hd, *U* 414). In another the Norwegians are mentioned (*U* 258), and in another the Norwegian land Hordaland (*U* 948). The only western European nations to be named are Saxland (northern Germany, *Sö* 166) and England, which is mentioned in about a third of the foreign-travelers' inscriptions.

Besides King Canute the Great and Viking leaders in England such as Tosti and Þorkell, the Swedish inscriptions name one king of England, Harold Harefoot (1037-1040; *Sm* 42), one Norwegian earl, Hlaðajarl Hákon (d. 1029; *Sm* 76), and several commanders, some of them active in the east (e.g., Æskell [*Sö* 126], FrøygæiRR). Other leaders occurring in the Swedish runic texts are GuðvēR (*Sö* 217), UlfR (*Sö* 260), and VæringR (*Ög* 68, 111); in the Danish texts are commanders FinulfR (*DR* 155), Swen (*DR* 1), Toki Gormsson (*DR* 295-297); and in the Gotlandic text, Vīfil (Pilgårds, *G*).

Gotland's Inscriptions

Of the two hundred runic stones from Gotland, some twenty-five date to the eleventh century and three are even earlier,[62] but the majority belongs to the

[61] Jansson, *Swedish Vikings in England*, pp. 12-14.

[62] To date 222 inscriptions have been published in the Gotland series.

fourteenth or fifteenth. The eleventh-century texts are usually written in Danish runes. Only about ten stones dating from the eleventh century were erected to commemorate people active in foreign lands. This small number would challenge the usual view that Gotland was *the* international trade center of the Viking Age. Four of these (Hallfreda, Rute, Stenkumla, and Timans) contain eastern European geographical names.

A number of these inscriptions were found in Sjonhem and Ardre, in churches belonging to two families, some of whose members were active in the East; the families may possibly have been related by marriage.

In the Sjonhem church are three inscriptions on decorated stones and a fragment of a fourth. All three inscriptions doubtlessly refer to the same family (they were published by Jansson and Wessén in their new edition of Gotland's runic inscriptions):

Sjonhems kyrka. Nu i Gotlands Fornsal (*G* 134):

roþuisl auk roþalf þau litu raisa	(H)Rōðvīsl (Hrōðvīsl) and Rōðalf (HrōðælfR)
staina eftir sy[ni sina] þria.	let stones be erected for their three
þina eftir roþfos, han siku	sons. This [stone is] for Rōðfoss (Hrōðfoss);
blakumen i utfaru.	he was treacherously killed by the
kuþ hielbin sial roþfoaR.	Blakumen (Polovcians) during a journey abroad.
kuþ suiki þa aR han suiu.	O Lord! Help Rōðfoss's soul. O Lord! Betray those who betrayed him.

Sjonhems kyrka. Nu i Gotlands Fornsal (*G* 135):

þina eftir (liknat?).	This [stone is] for Liknat [?].
(han) [ua]rþ tauþr a uitau.	He found death in Vindau.
systiR [tuaR lifþu efti]R	[Two] sisters [survived the]
bryþr þria, roþanþr auk	three brothers: **Roþanþr** (Hróðvaldr) and
roþkutr.	(H)Rōðgaut (Hróðgautr).
roþar auk þorstain þir iRu	(H)Rōþar (Hróðarr) and Þōrstæinn;
faþur bryþr.	they were the father's brothers.

Sjonhems kyrka (*G* 136):

þina iftir hair — os han to haima.	This stone is for Hair-os (Hailfoss?) — he died at home.
auk ati totur aina han haitiR haili.	And he had one daughter; her name was Haili (Hailvi).
utr ualtika gierþi staina auk uab	Utr-Valdinga made the stone and the

kustaR ma —	luxurious weapon [?] —
tan auk botbiern ristu.	Dan and Botbiorn raised [the inscription].

The inscriptions are in Danish runes and date from the middle of the eleventh century. They convey a situation typical of Scandinavia at the time. One of the three brothers from Gotland was treacherously killed by Polovcians in the south, possibly in Byzantine Bulgaria or southern Rus' (he could have been a member of the Byzantine emperor's guard); the second brother died in the north, in Vindau (Ventspils, Latvia), which is a part of Courland and is located at the mouth of the Vinda River. Only the third brother died at home. The data provide the following genealogical tree:

Table 7

N. N.

(H)Rōðvīsl ~ (H)RōðælfR	(H)Rōþar	Þōrstæinn
(H)Rōðfoss	Liknat (?) (daughter)	Hailfoss	Roþanþr (daughter)	(H)Rōðgautr

Hail[v]i

In 1900 Hugo Pipping (d. 1944) discovered in the walls of the Ardre Church the remnants of two stone coffins[63] covered with pictures and runic texts; he dated it to the mid-eleventh century. The texts (*G* 111) read as follows (according to the edition of Jansson and Wessén):

siba raisti stain eftir roþiauþ	Sibba raised a stone for [H]Rōþiauþ (Hróðiauð),
kunu sina, totur roþkais i ankum	his wife, the daughter of [H]RōðgæiRR (Hróðgeirr) of Anga.
to unk fran ofurmakum.	She died young [just parting] from the minors [i.e., their children].

Their daughter is named in the following inscription (*G* 112):

siba lit kearua stain hebtiR	Sibba let a stone be made for
totuR sina auk roþiauþar.	his and [H]Rōþiauþ's daughter.

[63] On the Ardre inscriptions, see Hugo Pipping, *Om runinskrifterna på de nyfunna Ardrestenarna* (1901); Brate, *ANF* 18 (1902), pp. 132–141.

G 113:

+utar ak kaiRuatr ak aiuatr þaR
setu stain ebtir liknat faþur
+sen.
+raþialbr ak kaiRaiaut — þaiR
kiarþu
merki kuþ ubtir man saaran.
+likraibr risti runaR.

Ōttar and GaiRhvatr and Aihvatr
set up a stone for Liknat (Liknhuatr)
their father.
Raþialbr and GaiRniautr — they made
a good monument for the bold man.

Liknraifr cut the runes.

G 114:

V. **syniR liknata-[litu ki]arua merki**
kut ebtir ailikni, kunu koþa, moþur.
I. **[þaira aiuataR auk utar]s auk kiaRuataR**
auk liknuiaR
VI. **kuþ a[uk kuþs moþiR naþi]n heni**
auk kieruantum merki m[est þaun s]ua
aR men sin
II. **— R i karþum aR. uaR uiue meR::h —**

Liknat's sons let a good monument be
made for **Ailikni**, the good wife, mother
of Aihvatr and GaiRhvatr and Liknvi.

God and God's mother have mercy on her
and on those who made the most
magnificent monuments of all which
one can see.
— he [Liknat] was in Garðar —

There are two opinions on the meaning of **i karþum.** The first explained it as "in Rus'"; the other, as "in Garda," meaning the Gotlandish Gardasocken, a mile from Ardre. In my view the first explanation is more likely, since a visit to Gardasocken would certainly not merit any special mention. The two families in the Ardre texts — the Sibbas and the Liknats — must almost certainly be related in some way. The proposed relationship is that **Ailikni**, the wife of Liknat, was the unnamed daughter of Sibba and **Roþiauþ**. On that basis we can construct the following genealogical tree:

Table 8

(H)RōðgæiRR
|
(H)Rōþiauþ
~ Sibba
|
Ailikni
~ Liknat

Ōttar — GaiRhvatr — Aihvatr — Liknvi

The Sjonhem family apparently had a liking for names with *roþ* (*hróð-*) as a first element. It can therefore be assumed that (H)RōðgæiRR and (H)Rōþiauþ,

as well as Liknat (Sjonhems kyrka, *G* 135), belonged to the Sjonhem family and that the two families had frequently intermarried.

Liknat of the Sjonhem (*G* 135) died in Vindau; we can assume that he was active in Garðar, meaning Rus'. In creating for him "the most magnificent monument," his sons had good reason to name their father's encounters in eastern Europe. But these "most magnificent monuments" were very costly, implying that both families were among the rich of Gotland.

East European Inscriptions

Two Germanic runic inscriptions have been discovered in the Ukraine. The first is the famous Kovel' (Kowel, Volhynia) iron spearhead bearing a Gothic inscription carved in older futhark (ca. A.D. 250): **tilarids**, "goals-pursuer." It was unearthed in the spring of 1858 during field work in the ravine called Velykyj Hrond at the southwestern end of the town Sošyčne (about 30 kilometers northeast of Kovel'). The spearhead was taken to Germany during World War II and later disappeared.[64]

In 1905, during archaeological excavations on the isle of Berezan' at the mouth of the Dnieper, E. R. Štern (von Stern) of Odessa University discovered in a burial ground a stone containing a runic inscription written in younger futhark. The inscription was first published by Fedor A. Braun in Russian (1907) and then by Ture A. Arne in Swedish (1914). Both scholars agreed that the stone was in its original location and that the inscription was incised by a Gotlander during the eleventh century (probably in mid-century).[65] It is now in the Odessa Archaeological Museum (inv. no. 50378). The text reads as follows:

krani kerþi half þisi	Grani made this vault (ON *hválf*)
iftir kal filaka sin.	for Ka[r]l, his companion.

Only two runic inscriptions are known from the territories of the former Byzantine Empire, where for nearly one hundred years (988–1066) the Norsemen had manned the Varangian (later Imperial) Guard or Miklagarðr in Constantinople. A fragment of one was discovered in 1966, in the southern choir of St. Sophia Cathedral in Istanbul. Recognized in the fragment was the popular Norse name **Iftan**, i.e., (Ha)lfdan.[66]

The other inscription has a rather romantic story behind it. Sometime

[64] See Antonsen, *A Concise Grammar of the Older Runic Inscriptions* (1975), no. 96, p. 74, and Mel 121.

[65] F. A. Braun, *Izvestija arxeologičeskoj komissii* 23 (1907), pp. 66–75; T. J. Arne, *Fv* 9 (1914), pp. 44–48; cf. Krause, *NAWG* (1952), p. 65, and Mel 139.

[66] See Klaus Düwel, *Runenkunde* (1968), p. 67. See also B. S. Benedikz, *The Varangians of Byzantium* (Cambridge, 1978), pp. 230–233.

before the mid-eleventh century, some Varangians, probably comrades-in-arms of the "last Viking," later the Norwegian King Haraldr inn harðráði (1046–1066), set out to immortalize themselves in Greece. Guarding the entrance to the harbor at Piraeus (Porto Leone) was a magnificent classic marble lion. On its left shoulder one of the Varangians, a rune cutter, incised an Uppland serpent band, filled with runes. Over six centuries later, in 1687, the victorious Venetians carried the lion off as a trophy, and today it stands in front of the arsenal in Venice. Unfortunately, the lion's inscriptions have suffered much from battles and the weather and are no longer decipherable. They were discovered by the nineteenth-century Swedish diplomat and Egyptologist, Johann David Åkerblad while they were still readable. The inscription, now obliterated, is known to us only from a copy made by C. C. Rafn in 1854. Several runologists have attempted to decipher the text. The most successful, although by no means definitive, attempt was made by Erik Brate in 1914. It reads as follows:[67]

hiuku þir hilfninks milum	They cut him down in the midst of his
hna en i hafn þesi þir min	forces. But in the harbor the men cut
eoku runar at haursa bunta	runes by the sea in memory of Horsi, a
kuþan a uah.	good warrior.
riþu suiar þita linu.	The Svíar (Swedes) set this on the lion.
fur raþum kul uan farin.	He went his way with good counsel, gold he won in his travels.
tri(n)kiar ristu runar	The warriors cut runes,
[a rikan strin]k hiuku	hewed them in an ornamental scroll.
þair isk[il—] [þu]rlifr	Æskell (Áskell) [and others] and ÞorlæifR (Þorleifr)
litu auka ui[l þir a]	had them well cut, they who lived
roþrslanti b[yku] —	in Roslagen. [N. N.] son of [N. N.]
a sun iuk runar þisar.	cut these runes.
ufr uk — ii st[intu]	UlfR (Úlfr) and [N. N.] colored them
a[t haursa.	in memory of Horsi.
kul] uan farn.	He won gold in his travels.

If the text is authentic, the name of the Swedish coastal area, **Roþrslant**, is certainly of interest. Normanist scholars usually connect the name Rus' with that province, although that particular etymology is not corroborated by the data presented in this work.

[67] Brate, *Pireus-Lejonetsruninskrift* (1914). Concerning the English translation, see Gordon (rev. Taylor), *Introduction to Old Norse*, p. 193. The alleged runic graffiti found on the gateway of the Bukolean palace should be regarded as "merely doodles by the guards on duty," see Benedikz, *The Varangians of Byzantium*, p. 233.

The Structure of a Swedish Runic Inscription of the Eleventh Century

The inscriptions related to east European and Asian history are mostly on cenotaphs erected for those who died abroad by relatives or comrades at home. Without exception these inscriptions are written on stone, and for this reason they are referred to as **stain** (sg.), or **staina** (acc. pl.). Other terms also used are *kumbl*, "commemorative monument," *merki*, "marker," or *runaR*, "runes."

A typical Swedish runic inscription of the eleventh century can be divided into four parts, the first of which has five subdivisions:[68]

I. The memorial formula
   1. The name(s) of the person(s) who sponsors the memorial
   2. The act of commemoration
   3. The formula "in memory of" (translated here as "for")
   4. The name(s) of the commemorated and relationship to the sponsor(s)
   5. Additional information about the commemorated, consisting either of a short characterization of the commemorated; or a description of the subject's potential and/or kin; or information about the subject's abilities.

II. Historical portion of the inscription

[68] A serious contribution to Uppland runology and runography is Clairborne Watkins Thompson, "Studies in Upplandic Runography," Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1969. It includes a chapter on previous studies (pp. 1-33); a good analytic presentation beginning with Johan Bure/Bureus (b. 1568-1652); a severe but correct criticism of Brate's works (pp. 18-21); and of the Swedish corpus, *Sveriges Runinskrifter* (pp. 21-23). Chapter 2, "Formulation" (pp. 34-51), presents the structure of a Swedish inscription, which in many instances is similar to that I have developed here; Thompson, however, does not separate out the historical portion of the inscription, as I have done. Her system is as follows: I. The Memorial Formula: the name of the person who sponsors the memorial; the act of commemoration; the expression denoting "in memory of"; the name of the commemorated and his relation to others; additional commemoration; part 2: the prayer; part 3: the addition; part 4: the signature. Other chapters are devoted to design (pp. 52-67); runeforms (pp. 68-89); orthography and language (pp. 90-129); technical considerations (pp. 130-144); runographers, attributions, and the five criteria (pp. 145-155); Asmund Karasun (pp. 156-310). It is a valuable work since the exact criteria for attributions were not only formulated for the first time, but also applied in practice. See also Clairborne W. Thompson, *Medieval Scandinavia* 3 (Odense, 1971), pp. 50-62, which shows that the runographer Āsmundr Kārasun is not identical with the "headless bishop," Osmundus, mentioned by Adam of Bremen, book 3, chap. 15.

III. Christian prayer formula (in several variants)
IV. Signature of the master(s) who incised the runes
While items I.1–4 and II are compulsory components of every inscription, parts I.5, III, and IV are optional.

The structure and variants of the Swedish memorial inscriptions of the eleventh century in translation and in the Old Swedish original follow.

I. The memorial formula includes the name(s) of the person(s) who sponsor(s) the memorial:

X	X (the name of the person who ordered the stone, without the name of the father);
X **auk/uk** Y	X and Y
X **auk** Y **auk** Z, etc.	X and Y and Z, etc.;
þair (*Sö* 338)	these [sometimes used when the stone has been ordered by several people].

The act of commemoration consists of a simple or a factitive verbal expression and of the name of the object. Both the simple and the factitive verbal expression appear in several variants:

risþi (*Vg* 135)/**raisti** (*Sö* 106) **raisþu** (*Sö* 159)/**raistu** (*Sö* 46)	raised, sing./plural;
sati (*Sm* 5)/**seti** (*Vs* 1-2); **situ** (*U* 479)	set up, sing./plural;
kiarþi (*U* 209); **kiarþu** (*Sö* 166)	made, sing./plural.

The factitive verbal expression:

lit risa (*U* 1087); **litu risa** (*U* 518)	had raised, sing./plural;
lit hakua (*U* 1048)	had incised;
lit kiara (*U* 687); **litu gera** (*U* 898)	had made, sing./plural.

The name of the object:

stain (*Sö* 165)	stone;
stain þansi (*Sö* 9, 14, 45, 65, 96, 110, 131, 148)	this stone;
sthin þinsa (*Vs* 18), **stin þina** (*U* 439, 504); **stain þina** (*U* 661, 664); **stain þino** (*U* 356)	
staina þasa (*U* 136)	these stones;
staina þisa ala (*U* 778)	all these stones;
kuml þisi (*Ög* 94)	this *kumbl* [commemorative monument];
merki (*U* 898); **mirki** (*U* 687)	mark;
runaR (*U* 112)	runes;

runaR þisa (*U* 80)	these runes;
stff auk sena þasi (*Vs* 1-2)	this staff and these stones.

If the memorial concerns civic activities, expressions such as the following are used:

[X] **lit braut ryþia auk bro kiara** (*Sö* 312)	[X] had the way cleared and the bridge made;
[X **uk** Y **uk** Z] **þiR kariþu iar þikstaþ** (*U* 225)	[X and Y and Z,] they made here a thing place.

The formula "in memory of" is expressed by the preposition *aftiR*, "for," written either **aftiR** (*U* 654), **eftir** (*Sm* 10), **hibtiR** (*Sö* 33), **oftir** (*U* 194), or in abbreviated form **at** (*Sö* 164).

The name(s) of the commemorated and his (their) relation to the sponsor(s):

iftiR A (*Ög* 94)	for A;
at A **faþur sin** (*Sö* 164); **aftir** A **foþur sin** (*U* 654)	for his father, A;
at bruþur sin A, **auk faþur sin** B (*Sö* 173)	for his brother, A, and his father, B;
eftir A **sun** Bs (*Sm* 10)	for A, son of B.

Additional information about the commemorated, including a short characterization:

þrutaR þiagn (*Sö* 170)	Excellent *þægn* (or possible: member of the older retinue);
trak kuþan (*Öl* 28)	high born *drængR* (or possible: member of the younger retinue);
trik snialan sun X (*Sö* 320)	brave *drængR* (or possible: member of the younger retinue), son of X;
triR arþa kuþr (*Ög* 104), **harþa ku[þ]an trik** (*Sm* 48)[69]	very high born *drængR*.

A description of potential of the commemorated and/or of his kin:

is ati ain sir skib (*U* 778)	He had his own ship (*skip*);
bruþiR ans sitr karþum (*Öl* 28)	his brother sits [= lives] in *Garðar* (Rus').

Information about the abilities of the commemorated:

[69] This Danish formula also occurs in *Ög* 60, 104, but it is not found in stones from *Sö* or *U*.

is kuni ual knari stura (*U* 654)	He was good at steering a *knarr*-ship;
iaR buki C; **an uaR bunti kuþr** (*Ög* 94)	he lived in C; he was a good head of a household (*pater familias*);
huar a griklanti uas lis forunki (*U* 112)	[he] was the leader of the retinue [Imperial Guard] in Greece (Byzantium).

Sometimes this information is presented in poetical form, usually in the fornyrðislag:

uar han i krikum	He was in Greece (Byzantium);
iuli skifti (*Sö* 165)	he allocated gold.

The entire text of the memorial formula of an inscription having four groups of sponsors follows:

1–4. Sponsor *A*:

ketil auk biorn	Kætill and Biorn
þaiR	they
raistu	raised
stain þina	this stone
at þourstain faþur sin	for Þorstainn, their father;

Sponsor *B*:

anuntr	Anundr
at bruþur sin;	for his brother;

Sponsor *C*:

auk huskarlaR	and members of the retinue
hifiR iafna	for the just [leader];

Sponsor *D*:

ketilau	Kætiløy
at buanta sin	for her husband.

In fornyrðislag meter:

bruþr uaRu þaR	The brothers were
bistra mana	best among men
a lanti,	on land,
auk i liþi uti;	and out in the retinue;
hiltu sini	they held their
huskarla ui[l] (*Sö* 338)	housemen well.

II. The historical portion of the inscription tells how the commemorated person(s) died, and names the land (and occasionally the place) of death. Sometimes the name of the deceased's leader, or of others who had died at the same place, is given. Several words are used to desribe the manner of death:

[*falla*:] **hon fil i kriklontr** (*U* 374)	He fell in Greece (Byzantium);
han fil austr miþ ikuari (*U* 644)	He died in the East with Ingvarr;
[*dǿya*:] **han to austr** (*U* 283)	He died in the East;
[*ændas*:] **han entaþis miþ ikuari** (*Sö* 9)	He came to his end with Ingvarr;
han entaþis uti krikum (*Sö* 85)	He came to his end abroad, in Greece (Byzantium);
[*faras*:] **on furs uti miþ ala skibin** (*U* 349)	He perished in the east with the entire crew of the ship;
[*drunkna*:] **han troknaþi a holmshafi** (*U* 214)	He drowned in the *Hōlms'* (Novgorodian) sea;
[*at verða dauðr*:] **an uaR tauþr i hulmkarþi i olafs kriki** (*U* 687)	He found death in *Hōlmgarðr* (Novgorod) in the church of St. Óláfr;
þiR urþu tuþiR i lþi ustr (*Vg* 184)	They found death in the retinue [as members of the Imperial Guard] in the east;
[*at verða drepinn*:] **han uas tribin a uirlanti** (*U* 533)	He was killed in Vīrland (Estonia).

This information is sometimes also related in poetic form, usually in the fornyrðislag meter:

þaiR furu trikila/fiari at kuli/ auk austarla/rni kafu/ tuu sunarla/ a sirklanti (*Sö* 179)	They went boldly/far afield in search of gold in the east/ they gave food to the eagles/ they died in the south/ in Serkland (Særkland);
h [n] uft siklt/ til simkala/ turum knari/um tumisnis (*Sö* 198)	He often sailed/ to the SæimgaliR (Semgall)/ with his fine *knarr*ship/ around Domesnäs (Dōmisnæs).

III. The most frequent variants of the Christian prayer formula are:

kuþ hialbi salu (*U* 668)	God help the soul;
kuþ ialbi at (*U* 349)	God help the spirit;
kuþ ialbi as salu (*U* 504)	God help his soul;
kuþ hialbi ot A (*U* 778)	God help A's spirit;
kuþ hialbi salu Bs (*Sö* 9)	God help B's soul;
kuþ hialbi hon salu kuþs muþir (*U* 431)	God help his soul and God's mother.

IV. The signature of the master(s) who incised the runes:

ybiR risti (*U* 104)	ØpiR incised [the runes];
eski rsti runa þasi (*Sö* 333)	Æskell incised these runes;
osmuntr karasun markaþi (*U* 956)	Āsmundr Kārasun incised [the runes];
suain uk osmunrt þau markaþu (*L* 1049 = *R* 187)	Svæinn and Āsmundr, they incised [the runes].

V. While these inscriptions contain very valuable primary-source material they lack exact dates. In many cases, however, we can still date them with relative accuracy, at least to within twenty years. For one thing they often refer to names and deeds of known historical personages (for example, the campaign of Ingvarr in the east in ca. 1041); they also mention the names of the masters who incised the inscriptions. We also know approximately when certain changes in the language took place, so that orthography (for example, the use of *o* instead of the later *u*), paleography (the engraver ØpiR [ca. 1070–1100] adds *h* in some words beginning with a vowel as in **hustr** (*U* 898), or **huastr** (*Sö* 308) for "in the east")[70] are helpful, as are the style of the compositions and pattern motifs of the pictorial decorations.[71]

A list of over seventy rune carvers has already been established, and the chronological limits of their activity have been set. The pioneering work was done mainly by Erik Brate and Otto von Friesen. It is worth mentioning that there were skalds among these masters. The following list provides data that can be utilized in dating the inscriptions themselves.[72]

ca. 1010–1025	Þorkell (*Ög* 81)
ca. 1010–1030	Hāvarðr (*Vg* 181)
ca. 1010–1030	Gunnarr (*U* 226, 504)
ca. 1020–1050	Āsmundr Kārasun (*U* 346, 356, 431, 956 etc.)
ca. 1025–1050	Svæinn and Āsmundr (*R* 187)
ca. 1030–1040	Lifstæinn (*U* 1158)
ca. 1041	AlrikR (*U* 654)
ca. 1041	Æskell of Södermanland (*Sö* 202, 333)
ca. 1041	Æskell of Uppland (*U* 778)
ca. 1041	Āmundi (*Sö* 215, 217, 233, 254, 271)
ca. 1041	ÞōriR (*Sö* 34, 35, *U* 1143)

[70] See, e.g., von Friesen, "Runornas ljudvärden," in *Upplands runstenar*, pp. 77 89 ("Tillägg I").

[71] The basic reference work is Friedrich Plutzar, *Die Ornamentik der Runensteine* (Sthlm, 1924). Cf. Jansson, "Bilder på runstenar," in *Runinskrifter i Sverige*, pp. 146 164 (Eng. trans., pp. 136–155).

[72] See von Friesen, *Upplands runstenar* (Uppsala, [1913]); Brate, *Svenska runristare* (Sthlm, 1925). Cf. also Thompson, "Studies in Upplandic Runography."

before 1050	Biorn (*R* 111)
before 1050	Lōfi (*Ög* 64)
before 1050	Brandr (*Öl* 28)
ca. 1050	Fōtr (*U* 605)
ca. 1050	Værmundr (*U*, *R* 173)
ca. 1050–1070	Balli (*Sö* 92, *U* 729)
ca. 1050–1100	Lītli (*Vs* 20, 22, 27)
ca. 1050–1100	Þōrbiorn skāld (*U* 29, 70, 379, 391, 532)
ca. 1060–1070	Vīseti (*U* 72, 73)
ca. 1070–1100	ØpiR (*U* 104, 142, 687, 898, 922, 925, *Sö* 308, etc.)[73]

In one inscription from Gästrikland (Järvsta, Gävle), carved by master Āsmundr Kārasun, the approximate date is identified by reference to the ruling king of Uppsala:

þa sat aimunt	Emundr [1047/1050–1060] ruled at that time.[74]

[73] *ØpiR*, according to present information, was the most prolific of the master engravers; runologists attribute seventy inscriptions to him, forty-five of them bear his signature.

[74] Von Friesen, in *NK* VI (1933), pp. 208–209.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

The Geographical Vistas in the Runic Inscriptions

General Designations for Foreign Countries

The word meaning "abroad" or "foreign lands"[1] is *ut*. In the eleventh century even the Kalmar Sound (*Kalmar Sund*, cf. *Sö* 333) was "abroad" for the Swedes; the provinces of Blekinge, Halland and Skåne on the Scandinavian peninsula belonged to Denmark in the Middle Ages. The term *uti* (adv.) is attested in reference to England (*U* 616) and Byzantium: **uti krikum** (*U* 201) / **krikium ut** (*U* 431).

In two cases where the word **uti** appears, it is impossible to identify the foreign land referred to. The Upplander, Øystæinn, the father of Vīkætill and Assurr "died abroad with the entire crew of the ship" (**on furs uti miþ ala skibin**, *U* 349).[2] Another Upplander, Þiagn, son of Biorn, also died abroad

[1] See Jansson, "Om främmande" (1954), pp. 32-55. The author deals there with the names used by the Old Scandinavians for Greece/Byzantium, Jerusalem, Iceland, Denmark, Norway, Finland, Estonia, and Latvia.

[2] A similar text contained in a Danish inscription from Bornholm (*DR* 379) Alwarþr, the father of Sazur **truknaþi han uti meþala skibara,** "drowned abroad with the entire crew of the ship" (ca. 1050).

about 1050 (**fors uti**, we are not told how he died). He was mourned by his mother, Gīslaug, and five brothers: Spiallbuði, UlfR, Ingvarr, Holmfastr, and GæiRi (*U* 363).

In one case we can identify the "foreign lands" with a good degree of certainty as being the Baltic coast. The Upplander, Gīsli, the brother of Biorn and Stæinfrīðr, "fell abroad in FrøygæiRR's retinue" (**han uti fial i liþi frekis.** *U* 611). The commander, FrøygæiRR, was active in that region in the 1050s. Concerning the Gotlander, (H)Rōðfoss, the son of (H)Rōðvīsl and (H)RoðælfR (ca. 1050), it is written that "he was treacherously killed by the Polovcians (Kumans) during a campaign [journey] abroad" (**han siku blakumen i utfaru,** *R* 192).

The points of the compass were used as general designations for foreign countries. West and east were used most often since these were the main directions of Varangian/Viking activity, north and south more rarely.

Only one Swedish inscription has the word **nur** "northwards,"[3] probably a reference to the Estonian island of Saaremaa (Ösel): **isilu** (*U* 518).

The word "south(ward)" appears in the Swedish inscriptions three times: **sunarla** (*sunnarla*) "southward" twice refers to the Islamic lands (inscriptions dealing with Ingvarr's campaign ca. 1041, *Sö* 179, *Sö* 279), and once (*R* 191, I), in the sense of **i suþr** "in the south" (*U* 925), probably to Byzantium.

The word "west" is attested in three forms: **uestr** (*vestr, Sö* 14), **uisitaula** (*vestarla, Sö* 106), and **uastruakm** (*vestrvegR, Vg* 61). Usually it designates the British Isles (*Sö* 166, *U* 668);[4] in one case (Old) Saxony (*Sö* 166). It is, however, also found in inscriptions relating to eastern Europe and dealing with those Norsemen who were active both in the east and the west. For example (*Sö* 173), Mus-Gea and Manni of Södermanland give this brief description of their brother (H)RōðgæiRR's activity:

han hafþi ystarlaui	He had been in the west
uaRit linki	for a long time;
tuu austarla	he died in the east
meþ inkuari.	with Ingvarr.

The Upplander, Kætilfastr, says about his father, Āsgautr: "he had been in the west and the east" (**saR uas uistr uk ustr**, *U* 504). Another inscription that can be cited in this connection is that of Tōki and his brothers, who recorded for us the fate of their two unnamed brothers: "[one of them] found death in the west, and the other in the east" (**eR uarþ tuþr uestr en anar austr**, *Vg* 197).

[3] In the same way only one Danish inscription (first half of eleventh century) has the term **nur** "north." It concerns Azur, the brother of FaþiR: **is nur uarþ tuþr i uikiku**, "he found death in the north while viking" (*DR* 334). The very name "Norway" goes back to the ON *norðr vegr*, "North Way."

[4] See more data on this in Jansson, *Swedish Vikings in England* (1965).

The term **austr** (*austr*; in several runic variants), "in the East," is attested ten times used in a general sense, that is, not in reference to a specific country:

sa fial austr	he fell in the east (*Ög* 8)
han to austr	he died in the east (*U* 283; cf. *Sö* 92: **[þ]iR to aus[tr]**; they died in the east (*U* 154)
han uarþ austr tauþr	in the east he found death (*Ög* 30; cf. *Sö* 92 (= *R* 100) and 216);
þiR urþu tuþiR i lþi ustr	in the retinue they found death in the east (*Vg* 184)
han uaR trebin hustr	he was killed in the east (*U* 898)
[þ]iR uaRu huastr	they were in the east (*Sö* 308)
sumiR tuþ austR	SumiR died in the east (*Sö* 121)
[þ]iR to aus[tr]	they died in the east (*U* 154).

Cf. also *U* 504, *Ög* 145, and *Vg* 197.

In the cases cited above we do not know whether the term *austr* means "in Rus'," or "in Greece (Byzantium)," or perhaps "in the Islamic countries" (the last meaning occurs in *Sö* 131, 281, 320; *U* 439, 644, 654, 661, 778; *Vs* 19). One inscription from Södermanland (Skåäng, Vagnhärad sn, Hölebo hd = *Sö* 33), dating from the first half of the eleventh century, states, "Gnūpa had this stone put up after GuðlæifR, his brother," **han antaþis austr at þikum,** "he came to his end in the east during the thing" (or: "in the retinue," *Sö* 33). Unfortunately, we do not know in which "east" the given thing (*þing* assembly) (cf. OR сънемъ) took place or what its character was. In one case *austr* meant Jerusalem (*U* 605). It also appears in the construction, *austr i,* with the name of a specific country):

austr i karþum	in the east, in Garðar (Rus') (*U* 209; *Sö* 148; possibly *U* 153)
ausR i karþa	in the east, in Rus' (*U* 636)
austR i tuna asu	in the east, at the mouth of the [Western] Dvina (*Sö* 121)
austr i karusm	in the east, in Khwārizm (*Vs* 1-2)
austr i krikum	in the east, among the Greeks (*Ög* 81; *Sm* 46; possibly *U* 153)
austr i kirikium	in the east, among the Greeks (*Sö*/*R* 111).

Three stones from Östergötland (*Ög* 30, 149, 152) make it possible to establish three ancestors for one eastfarer, as well as the name of his son, giving us four generations of that family. The traveler was Ingvarr, son of Sigstæinn and most probably the father of Illugi, who died in the east around 1050:

Table 9

HrōlfR
Ög 149

Hākon
Ög 149

Sigstæinn
Ög 30, 149, 152

Ingvarr, d. in the East (*austr*)
Ög 30

Illugi
Ög 152

austarla (*Austarla*) is found five times, four (*Sö* 173, 179, 277, 335) in connection with Serkland, i.e., the Islamic East (the campaign of Ingvarr in 1041), and one time (*Sö* 65) in relation to the Byzantine catepanate of Italy, which the Scandinavians called **lagbarþilant**, "land of the Langobards."

East European Place Names

Finland and Tafæistaland (Tavastland)

Both parts of Finland proper are attested under their well-known Scandinavian names: **tafstalont** (cf. *Heimslýsing*, p. 155, l. 21: Tafeistaland, literally "land of the lazy" = Finn. *Häme* > Old Rus'ian *Jam'*), central Finland, and **finlont** (see Old Icelandic forms in Metzenthin, p. 25b; Finn. *Suomi* = Old Rus'ian *Sum'*), southwestern Finland.

In *Tafæistaland* (**atafstalonti**), in about the second quarter of the eleventh century, Ægill of Gästrikland, a member of FrøygæiRR's retinue (*R* 187) lost his life. (Concerning *Tafæistr* as a proper name, see p. 383.) ŌtryggR of Uppland, the son of Biorn and Īgulfrīðr, was killed **o finlonti**, "in [southwestern] Finland" (*U* 582). The Gotlander Auðvaldr died in the same place (**a finlandi do**) in the twelfth century; he was one of the heirs of SigtryggR (**sihtris aruar**; *R* 195). Whether the reasons for their presence were military or commercial we do not know. (On the proper name *Finnr*, see p. 383.)

ailati **Øyland* = "Åland (?)"

In the first half of the eleventh century the Östergötlander Rōðr erected a stone in his home, Gillberga (*Ög* 104, Kaga sn, Hanekinds hd.) in honor of his

brother, Tōki, **triR arþa kuþr** "a very high born *drængR*" who was killed (**saR uarþ trbin**) in a territory called **a ilati**.[5] This name has been interpreted in two ways. Erik Brate, the editor of the Östergötish volume, assumed that the name was a corruption, and suggested ***ai[k]lati** *ā Æŋlandi*, "in England." Arndt Ruprecht accepted Brate's proposal but did not exclude the possibility that the inscription actually refers to Öland (*R* 67). In our view, the reading **Øyland*, "Öland" is certainly to be preferred, but the name *Øyland in the text should not be identified with the present-day Swedish island of Öland; that island is called in *Öl* 1 (= *DR* 411) simply *øy*, "island."

There must have been another meaning of the word for island in the cultural province of Mare Balticum, namely "water land," as the name of the island of Åland testifies in both its variants: Swedish *Å-land* (*å*<*ā*, meaning "river," "running water") and Finnish *Ahvenan-maa*, where *maa* is "land" and **ahvenan-* goes back to the Germanic **ahwō*, "water."[6] Apparently the words were interchangeable; one can assume that **Øy-land* of the Östergötish inscription could have meant Åland (<*Ā-land*). The island Åland/Ahvenanmaa, is the largest of a group of islands which separates the Gulf of Bothnia from the Baltic and which — as the finds of the cufic coins testify — had served during the Middle Ages as a bridge from Sweden to Finland, Rus', and the Islamic East.

The form **islat** "*island*" is actually attested in an interesting inscription from Gotland from a time after 1050 (*G* 216 = *R* 196):

ormiga ulfuair. krikiaR	Ormika [and] UlfaRR: Greeks,
iaursaliR islat serklat.	Jerusalem. Island, Serkland.[7]

Runologists have translated **islat** as "Iceland," but that does not make sense: how is the placing of Iceland between Jerusalem and the Islamic countries to be understood? It appears rather that the two directions the Gotlanders, Ormika and UlfaRR, traveled are given here in telegraphic style. The first journey was a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, made, as was usual in the eleventh century, by way of Byzantium ("Greeks"). The second journey was probably an expedition for booty and/or commerce to the Islamic East ("Serkland"). In this case, too, the starting point for a man from Gotland was not Iceland in the North Atlantic but rather the crossover to Rus', the island of Åland.

But is there any corroboration in the sources that the name **Island* could

[5] Brate in *Ög*, pp. 104-105.

[6] See Y. H. Toivonen, *Suomen kielen etymologinen sanakirja* 1 (Helsinki, 1955), pp. 7-8; de Vries, *ANEW* (1962), p. 1.

[7] See von Friesen in *ANF* 56 (1942), pp. 275-290; cf. *R* 196.

have referred to the present day archipelago of Åland? It is possible. Adam of Bremen (in ca. 1073–1076) states that St. Óláfr, while returning from Novgorod to Norway in 1029, received military support (*infinitam congregans armatorum multitudinem*) from two sides: from the king of Sweden (St. Óláfr's brother-in-law, *de rege Sueonum*), and from the "peoples of the *Islani*" (*de . . . populis Islanorum*).[8]

The names *Islani* meaning "Icelanders" and *Island*, "Iceland," occur four times[9] and eight times,[10] respectively, in the work of Adam, but without explanation. Only the passage quoted above, the oldest and best manuscript of Adam's work (Vienna ms. A 1; ca. 1200), explains *Islanorum* as *insularum*, i.e., from Latin *insula* "island." The help, therefore, came to St. Óláfr from the peoples of the *Islani*, i.e. "of the islands."

The other source dealing with St. Óláfr, Snorri's *Óláfs saga ins helga* (ca. 1220–1230), also reported that St. Óláfr received support from two sources. He identifies the first source as the king of Sweden: *þá kom til hans lið þat, er Svíakonungr fekk honum, ok váru þat fjǫgur hundruð manna*, "now came to him the troop the king of Sweden furnished, amounting to four hundred [= 480] men."[11] Curiously enough Snorri, although himself an Icelander, does not identify the second source as the Icelanders, but rather as Dagr Hringsson, a member of a distant branch of the Norwegian royal dynasty. He had settled in Sweden after he and his father had been driven from Norway (ca. 1014–1015) by the same St. Óláfr. Dagr was at that time governor of one of the kings of Sweden's provinces.[12] Dagr was a brother of the famous Eymundr Hringsson who also left Norway and was active for several years as the commander of the Varangian retinue at the court of the Novgorodian King Jaroslav (1014–1054). It is hard to believe that Snorri, the leading Icelandic historian, would have neglected to mention the participation of the Icelanders in these crucial events, if they, in fact, had been active in them.

Where in Sweden could mercenaries be hired? First of all in Sjāland, the maritime provinces that usually supplied sailors for long expeditions. The Swedish name *Sjāland* meant simply "sealand," like the old Danish *Sjaland* (new Danish *Sjælland*, Eng. Zealand). *Sjáland* consisted of two parts: the maritime regions of Tíundaland and Áttundaland, and the Åland archipelago. One is immediately reminded of old west Estonia which also had a mainland region (*aðall*)[13] of the frontier province (*sýsla*), i.e., Aðal-sýsla, and an island

8 Ed. Trillmich, p. 300.
9 Ed. Trillmich, pp. 300, 358, 426, 486.
10 Ed. Trillmich, pp. 348, 422, 424, 430, 448, 484, 488, 490.
11 *Hkr* II (*IF* 27), p. 348.
12 *Hkr* II (*IF* 27), p. 349.
13 See Jóhannesson, *IEW*, p. 19.

(*ey*) part: Ey-Sýsla. I suspect that *Åland* was also called "island Sealand," to distinguish it from mainland Sealand, i.e., Swedish Sealand (*Rōðr*). In short the *Island* of *R* 196 and *Islani/insulae* of Adam of Bremen corroborate each other, and they make sense only if interpreted to mean "Åland archipelago."

Estonia

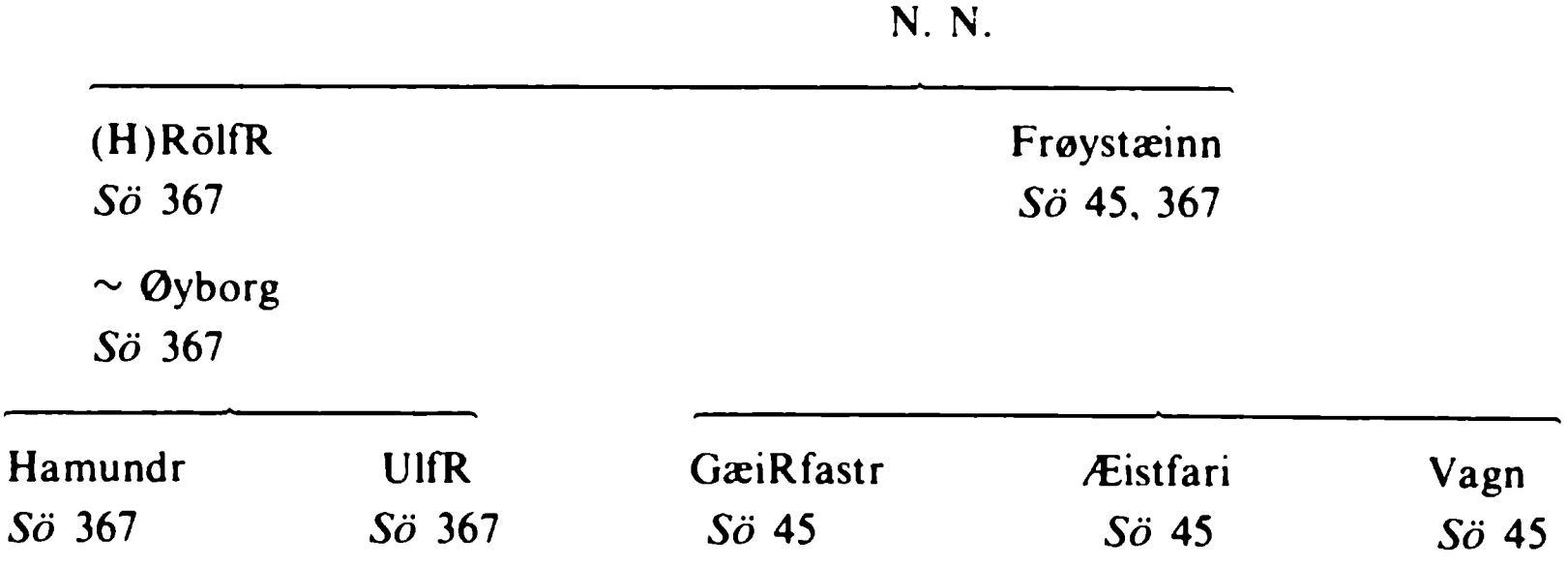
Estonia is mentioned in the inscriptions in terms of its two component parts. During the period under discussion,the western part was known as **estlat,** *Æistaland* (cf. the form given in the sagas) and the northeastern part was called **uirlant**, *Vīrland* (cf. *Heimslýsing,* p. 155, 1.21: *Virland*).

A stone erected in Västergötland before 1050 (*Vg* 181: Frugården, N. Åsarps sn, Redvägs hd; cf. *R* 38) deserves special attention: "Gufi erected this stone for his son, ŌlafR **trk hrþa kuþan** (*drængR harða góðan*), a very high born *drængR*" (or: member of the younger retinue). He was killed (**hn uarþ trbin**) in Estland (**i estlatum**, plural; but see p. 459, n. 132).

A stone (*U* 439) raised in honor of one of the participants in Ingvarr's campaign of 1041 has been (incorrectly, in my opinion) connected with Estland (**askalat**). On the basis of an earlier interpretation scholars believed that Ingvarr was initially active in Estland (*Mel* 78).

Another reference to Estonia is found on the stone erected for an Upplander who died in Byzantium in the latter half of the eleventh century (**hon tu i krikum**). The dead man was called an **isifara**, a term that specialists have interpreted as *æist-fari* "one who traveled to the Ests" (*U* 446 = *R* 159; cf. also *Sö* 45).[14] Wessén has reconstructed the genealogical tree of that particular Estfarer (*Sö*, p. 357) in the following way:

Table 10



Two Upplanders died in Vīrland, in the northeastern part of Estonia. The

[14] Concerning Æistr as a personal name see p. 383; on *Æist-fari* see p. 383.

parents of the first of these (the mother, Ragnfrīðr, and the father, Kætilmundr) commissioned two stones in honor of their son from Āsmundr Kārasun (ca. 1020-1050), a well-known master of the runic art. One of these stones was found at a church in Frösunda (*U* 346), the other on the father's estate in Ängby (*U* 356). The inscriptions are almost identical (see *R* 137 = *M* 57):

U 356/346

rahnfiþr lit rasa (346: **rt**) **stain þino**	Ragnfrīðr had this stone erected
aftiR biurn (346: **biurno**) **sun þaiRa**	in memory of Biorn, her and
kitilmuntaR.kuþ mialbi (346: **hialbi**) **hons**	Kætilmundr's son. God and God's mother
ant, aukuþs muþiR.hon fil a uirlanti.	help his soul. He fell in Vīrland.
(346: **urlati**). **in osmuntr markaþi.**	But Āsmundr engraved [the stone].

Sigrūðr ordered a stone for her son, Anundr, who "was killed in Vīrland" from the skāld Þōrbiorn (second half of the eleventh century). The stone stands in the church at Roslags-Bro (Bro och Vätö sg; *U* 533 = *R* 141):

sigruþ lit raisa stain eftir anunt	Sigrūðr had this stone erected in memory
sun sin.han uas tribin a uirlanti.	of Anundr, her son. He was killed in
	Vīrland.

In a damaged inscription from Västmanland carved by Lītli ca. 1050-1100 (*Vs* 22 = *R* 185: Ulvsta [now in Svanå] Haraker sn, Norrbo hd), we read that Rūnfastr found death **i faru runo** "in transit [during a journey or campaign] to Runö [?]." We cannot be sure whether this is a reference to the island in the Gulf of Riga.

FrøygæiRR, leader of a Varangian retinue, operated in the "Čudian land" in the middle of the eleventh century and died possibly on the island of Ösel (now Saaremaa; in the text we have **isilu** < * **isi[s]la** < **i eyr-sȳsla*; *U* 518 = *R* 130).

Latvia

Seven inscriptions contain references to the territory of present-day Latvia. The name *Lífland* (*Heimslýsing*, p. 155, l. 22: *Lifland;* compare Old Rus'ian *Liv'*) is attested two times. The first time it occurs on the stone of an Upplander (*U* 698), a member of FrøygæiRR's retinue (*U* 698); the second time it appears on the stone of Bergviðr of Södermanland. The latter's brother states that **h[an] trukniþi a lflanti**, "he was drowned [in] Lifland" (*Sö* 39: Åda, Vagnhärads sn, Hölebo hd).

The Cape of *Dōmisnæs* (Domesnäs, present-day Kolkasrags), which is located at the entrance of the Gulf of Riga in the Baltic, and the geographical region *Semgallen* (see Metzenthin, p. 20b: *Seimgaler*; Old Rus'ian, *zimĕgola*)

are both mentioned in the inscription of Sigríðr, a woman from Södermanland. In the middle of the eleventh century this lady had commemorated in verse the following account of her husband Svæinn's activity abroad (*Sö* 198):[15]

hn uft siklt	He often sailed
til simkala	to Semgallia (*SæimgaliR*)
turum knari	with his fine *knarr* ship
um tumisnis.	round [the cape] of Dōmisnæs.

The SæimgaliR appear in an inscription of Södermanland (*Sö* 327):

ruaR kuma son raisti stain þansa at uþaR fauþr sloþa ak abtr sin faþu[r. k]uli han o sim[kalum skifti].	(H)RōaRR, son of Guma, raised this stone for AuðaR, the father of Slōði, and for his own father. [While living] among the SæimgaliR (Semgallen) he divided gold.

According to Brate's reconstruction, the same name also occurs on another Södermanland stone (from ca. 1026–1060) (*Sö* 110):[16]

sinfaþur raistii stain þansi at þurstain fauR i maisi (<* **saimi**).	FæaR-Āsmundi (or **Sinfaþur**) raised this stone for Þōrstæinn who traveled to the SæimgaliR[?].

Semgallen is also probably mentioned in the inscription on a copper box found in Sigtuna (ca. 1050, *R* 173), in which was kept a little set of scales for weighing silver and gold:

tiarfr fik af simskum mąni skalaR þisaR i [simkalal] oti. in uirmuntr faþi runąr þisar.	DjarfR obtained these scales from a man from Samland[17] in Semgalen and Værmundr made these runes.[18]
[here follow two lines in *dróttkvætt*. See p. 255, fn. 9a].	

An inscription from Södermanland (*Sö* 121) mentions the mouth of the [Western] Dvina: **sumiR tuþ austR i tuna asu**, "SumiR died in the East at the mouth of the Dvina [*Duna*]."[19]

[15] Mervalla, Ytterselö sn, Selebo hd = *R* 82 = *M* 85. Cf. Jansson, *En bok om Mälarlandskapen*, 87; Jansson, *Svenska Utlandsfärder*, p. 12.

[16] See S. Gardell, *Gravmonument*, pp. 66–77.

[17] The adjective *sæmsk* can also have the meaning "of Semgallen," i.e., in our text, "a man from Semgallen."

[18] Cf. von Friesen, *Upplands runstenar*, pp. 73–76; and *Fv* 7 (1912), pp. 6–19 and 234. Cf. also Jansson, *Runinskrifter i Sverige*, pp. 58–59 (Eng. trans., pp. 33–34).

[19] Bönestad, Allhelgona sn, Rönö hd. Information about the Scandinavian discoveries on the Venta River can be found in Ed. Šturms, "Schwedische Kolonien in Lettland," *Fv* 44 (1949), pp. 214–216 and the map on p. 215.

The inscriptions concerning a family from Gotland whose members often had (*H*)*Rōðr-* as the first component of their names have already been mentioned. One of the members of this family found death **a uitau**, "in *Vindau*," that is, in present-day Ventspils which is at the mouth of the Venta (*Vinda*) River on the Baltic Sea (*R* 192).

Rus'

Two terms designating Rus' and northeastern Europe are used in the inscriptions: *AustrvegR* and *Garðar*; to them the Norwegian term *Risaland* and the Danish name *RiuskR* are added.

AustrvegrR

In four or five inscriptions the term *austrvegR*, "the Eastern Route" (Way), "east ride," "eastern voyage," is attested. In Old Icelandic literature this term often designated the northeastern coast of the Baltic Sea and later Rus'. We cannot, however, accurately establish its meaning in a specific inscription. In one case, in a badly damaged inscription from Södermanland (*R* 112; before 1050), the term *austrvegr* probably means "the catepante of Italy": **iR entaþr i austruiki ut o la[kbarþalanti]** [?], "he died in an eastern campaign abroad in the catepanate of Italy."[20] Two other inscriptions, both from Södermanland (ca. 1050), mention *austvegR*. The first of these (written on two stones, A and B, and almost all in the fornyrðislag meter), reads as follows (*Sö* 34–35):[21]

A.	**styrlaugR auk hulmbR**	StyrlaugR and HolmbR
	staina raistu	raised the stones
	at bryþr sina	for their brothers
	brautu nesta	by the nearest road.
	þaiR entaþus	They met their end
	i austrueki	in the eastern voyage (route).
	þurkil auk sturbiarn	Þorkell and Styrbiorn
	þiaknaR kuþiR.	noble (=high born) *þiagn*'s (thanes, or members of the older retinue).
B.	**lit igikeR**	Ingigēr had raised
	anan raisa stain	another stone
	at suni sina	after his sons,
	suna kiarþi.	a visible cenotaph.[22]

[20] Cf. Jansson, *Fv* 49 (1954), pp. 20–25.

[21] *Sö* 34–35: Tjuvstigen, Vagnhärads sn. Hölebo hd = *R* 84. Concerning *Sö* 34, see Jansson, in *Fv* 49 (1954), p. 23.

[22] After this comes the invocation **kuþ hialbi ant þaira**, "God help their spirit" and the signature of the engraver: **þuriR hiu** "ÞōriR inscribed." Since ÞōriR incised one of Ingvarr's inscriptions (*U* 1143), we have a relatively exact date, ca. 1041, for our inscription.

The second inscription (*Sö* 126) states the following:

hulmfriþ iþinf [ri]r	Holmfrīðr [and] Heðinfrīðr [female name]
[þ]aR litu hakua stain	they had the stone incised
eftiR eskil faþur sin.	after Æskell, their father.

The following is in fornyrðislag meter:

han trau i orustu	He fought
i austruihi	in the eastern route [or "in Rus'"]
aþaa fulks krimR	until [he], the prince of the people,
fala orþi.	had to fall.[23]

This inscription preserves an interesting term for the designation of the commander of the retinue (guard =pъlkъ): *folks grimmR* "prince of the "people" ("people" meaning company or retinue).[24] It is possible that Æskell's title is the same as that of the commander of the Varangian Guard at the court of Jaroslav the Wise in Novgorod.

One inscription from Uppland (*U* 366) has preserved only the following: **uaR tauþr i austruih-** "he found death in the eastern route."[25]

Garðar

In the older sources, such as the skaldic poetry and the King's Sagas, the usual ON name for Rus' (especially Novgorodian Rus') was *Garðar*, the plural form of *Garðr*. In the Swedish inscriptions *Garðar* "Rus'" always appears in the plural dative form (**karþum**), usually preceded by the preposition *i*, "in" and by the word explaining the direction: *austr*, "east." This form of the name is attested on six or possibly seven stones, three from Södermanland, one or two from Uppland, and one each from Öland and Gotland. All of them, except one which is doubtful (*U* 153), date from the first half of the eleventh century, the oldest being *Öl* 28 (ca. 1020–1050). The stones *Sö* 148 and *G* 114 are also old (surely before 1050). Their texts are: *Öl* 28 and *Sö* 148:[26]

harþruþr raisti stain þinsa	Hærþrūðr raised this stone
aiftiR sun sin smiþ	for her son Smiðr

[23] On *Sö* 126 (Fagerlöt, Hamra sg, Rönö hd.) see Jansson, in *Fv* 49 (1954), p. 24.

[24] On this title, see *R* 71.

[25] An inscription from Västergötland, dating from the first half of the eleventh century (*Vg* 135), contains the following: "Brandr erected this stone for Asmundr, his brother. He [Asmundr] was killed **otustitki**." This last word has various interpretations: Ruprecht (p. 133 = *R* 42) considered it to be a mistake of the engraver; he read it as *ā austrvegi*, "during the eastern campaign."

[26] See Jansson in *ANF* 62 (1947), pp. 186–195, 1 pl.

trak kuþan, halfburin, bruþiR ans	a high born *dræng R*; Halfborinn, his brother
sitr karþum.	resides in Garðar (Rus').
brantr riti iak þu raþa khn.	Brandr [a rune carver] wrote so that one can read (*Öl* 28 = *R* 190).

Unfortunately, there is no indication of the nature of Halfborin's position in Rus' — whether he was a trader or a member of some retinue. Since Halfborin's brother, Smiðr, was a member of a retinue, the latter possibility is the more likely.

þiuþulfR bui þaiR raisþu	ÞiūðulfR [and] Bōi, they raised
stain þansi at farulf	this stone for FarulfR,
faþur sin.	their father.
han [in fornyrðislag:] **uas antaþ**	He came to his end
austr i kaþum.	east in Garðar (*Sö* 148).

Stone *G* 114 discussed above (p. 346) has one relevant sentence: "he [Liknat of Ardre] was in Garðar (**i karþum**).

Two stones with the name *Garðar* (*Sö* 338, *U* 209) from the middle of the century refer to the activity of a retinue commander Þōrstæinn, active in Rus'.

The entire inscription from Hagstuga (*Sö* 130) is composed in fornyrðislag meter and is in honor of a *dræng R* active in Rus' in the first half of the eleventh century:

fiuriR kirþu	Four made [this memorial]
at faþur kuþan	for a good father,
tyrþ trikela	a noteworthy *dræng R*;
at tumara	for Dōmari,
miltan urþa	mild of word,
uk mataR kuþan	unselfish in hospitality.
þatum han i uilukþ.	For him [they] are in grief.
ha[n] f[ia]l i k[a]rþu[m].[27]	He fell in Garðar.

A stone from Uppland (*U* 153; second half of the century) informs us that Svæinn and UlfR had stones erected for their brothers:

[su]ai[n] [a]uk ulf- litu	Svæinn and UlfR let
raisa stai[n]a eftiR hlftan auk	stones be raised for Halfdan
eftiR kunar bryþr sina	and Gunnarr, their brothers.
þaiR antaþus aust — um.	They died east in — [?]

[27] This line, from a mixture of common and coded runes, was decoded by Wessén in an appendix to his volume (*Sö*, tillæg, p. 399; cf. *R*, p. 60). The same Þōrstæinn bought an estate in Uppland for his son Ærinmundr. Ærinmundr died, and his father erected a memorial for him in Veda; in the inscription, the name *Garðar*, "Rus'" is mentioned (*U* 209).

There are two equally likely possibilities for the reconstruction of Halfdan's place of death: **[i karþ]um,** "in Garðar" (Rus'), and **[i krik]um** "among Greeks," i.e. in Byzantium.

Risaland

In 1957 Aslak Liestøl published in the fourth volume of the Norwegian corpus (*NYR* 420–428) nine inscriptions found on a stone on Hinn (Hennøy), the largest island of the Lofoten and Vesterålen group off the northwest coast of Norway. Two of these consist of only one word, a personal name (no. I [*NYR* 420]: **þorþr** Þórðr; no. II [*NYR* 421]: **atres** Andrés); four others are only partly decipherable. The best preserved is inscription no. 3:

Hennøy, Rugsund sn (*NYR* 422)

1.	**her lago þeir men er komo af**	Here lie the men who came from
2.	**risalade meþ loþnu skipi af gulli.**	Risaland with a ship loaded with gold.
3.	**ok þet er i þesum steini.**	And that [gold] is in this stone.

Inscription no. 8 (*NYR* 427) reads:

ǫ (?) motr ræst, þæir [li] þo sa — ? Qgmundr incised [the runes], they fared —

On the basis of several criteria, especially since the names Andrés[28] and Qgmundr occur there, the editor connected these inscriptions with the last, tragic Norwegian campaign to Bjarmaland and eastern Europe in 1222. He proposes the identification of the names with Andrés Skjaldarband and Qgmundr of Spándeimi. Qgmundr went also to Suðrdalaríki (Suzdal') "with his men and wares."[29] The inscription from Hennøy deserves special attention because it proves that *Risaland*, apparently a *heiti* (see p. 252) for **Rusa*-land, was not merely a name taken from fairytales, but an actual place name in eastern Europe.

RiuskR

The word *riuskR* occurs only in one Danish inscription from north Jutland (near Ålborg; *DR* 138), and it belongs to the post-Jelling period (after 980). It should be regarded as a Middle High German loan word, whose original meaning was probably either Rus'ian or "[merchant traveling to] Rus'."

[28] The name Andrés was not used in Norway before 1100. A Liestøl, *NYR* IV, p. 230.
[29] Described in the *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*, ed. G. Jónsson, *Konunga sögur* III (Rvík, 1957), pp. 94–95.

Hōlmgarðr

The Old Rus'ian "town" (*gorod*) whose name is attested with certainty in Swedish inscriptions is **hulmkarþ** *Hōlmgarðr*, "(Great) Novgorod." This name appears in four inscriptions: one from Gotland, one from Södermanland, and two from Uppland. The Gotland stone (*G* 220; dating from about the middle of the eleventh century) is badly damaged. The only words that still remain on it are: **—eptir—tkaiR aR to i hulmka—/—þ—k—**, "[— set up this stone for —]-gæiRR; he died in Novgo[rod] ——."[30]

The Södermanlander Sigviðr from Esta, captain of a *skæið*, "longship," probably died in the service of the Novgorodian prince (before 1050). His inscription reads:

Esta, Säterstads sn, Rönö hd (*Sö* 171)

inkifa[s]tr lit haku[a] sta[i]n	Ingifastr let the stone be
eftiR sihuiþ	incised for Sigviðr,
faþ[u]r sin.	his father.

The following is in fornyrðislag meter:

ha[n fial	He fell
i h]ulmk[arþi	in Hōlmgarðr (Novgorod),
skaiþaR uisi	the ship's captain
mi]þ ski[ba]ra.	with [his] crew.

Another sailor, an Upplander whose name we do not know and who might have been an owner of *knarr* ship, drowned in the Novgorodian sea together with his son some time near the middle of the eleventh century. His wife, Ingiberg, and (cf. *U* 215) daughters, Ragnhildr and Ulfhildr, had this inscribed:

Vallentuna kyrka, Vallentuna hd (*U* 214)

. . . uk inkiber eftiR buanta sin	. . . and Ingiberg for her husband.
han troknaþi a holms hafi.	He drowned in the Hōlmian (Novgorodian?) Sea.
skreþ knar hans i kaf	His *knarr* slid into the deep,
þriR eniR kamo af.	only three came out.

Runologists (especially Jansson) suggest that what is meant here by the **holms haf*, "Novgorodian Sea" is the Gulf of Finland.

The following inscription is also from Uppland from the final decades of the eleventh century: Sjusta, Håbo hd, Skoklosters sn (*U* 687):

30 Von Friesen, *Got Ark* 6 (1934), pp. 46–49 (= *R* 197). Concerning the term *skæiðar vīsi*, see Jansson, *Runinskrifter i Sverige*, pp. 50–52, and this volume, p. 387.

runa lit kiara mirki at sbialbuþa
uk at suain uk at antuit uk at raknaR
suni sin uk ekla uk siriþ at

sbialbuþa bonta sin.
an uaR tauþr i hulmkarþi i olafs kriki[u]. ubiR risti ru[naR].

Rūna prepared a memorial for Spjallbuði
and for Svæinn, and for Andvēttr, and for Ragnarr,
her sons and Hælgi. And Sigrīþr [had inscribed] for Spjallbuði,
her husband.
He found death in Novgorod, in [St.] ÓláfR's church. ØpiR [ca. 1070–1100] incised the runes.

The place of Spjallbuðis' death, specified in the inscription as **i olafs kriki**, has been the subject of scholarly speculation. Richard Dybeck (1857) explained **kriki** as *Grikk-*, "Greece," while Sophus Bugge (1891) read the word as *grið*, "retinue," and Adolf Noreen (1904) connected it with ON *krikr*, "hook," "bend," "corner." Otto von Friesen first propounded the reading *i olafs kirki*, "in [St.] Óláfr's church," in 1907, and this has since been accepted.[31]

In Great Novgorod there was a permanent Varangian trading center located in the business area (*torgovaja storona*) of the city.[32] According to an early tradition it was called *Got'skij dvor*.[33] As Paul Johansen has shown, an important role in every Varangian-Hanseatic trading colony was played by the church; one of its many functions was that of maintaining the warehouse and treasury.[34] That the Varangian church in Great Novgorod should be dedicated to St. Óláfr is not surprising. The cult of St. Óláfr (d. 1030) started in the north almost immediately after the king's tragic death; by about 1050 it had already reached England.[35] St. Óláfr had a special relation to Great Novgorod: he was the brother-in-law of its king, Jaroslav (1014–1054), who granted him refuge in 1029. Magnús, the son of St. Óláfr (in 1029–1035) was fostered at Jaroslav's court.

St. Óláfr's church is mentioned in two written sources, one of the twelfth, the other of the thirteenth century. The first is *Acta Sancti Olavi regis et martyris*, compiled about 1160–1170 by Eysteinn, archbishop of Trondheim from 1160 to 1175. There "in civitate, quadam Rusciae, que Holmegarder (Great Novgorod) appellatur" lived a Latin priest by the name of Stephan,

[31] For details, see *U* III, pp. 194–196, and E. A. Mel'nikova in *Istorija SSSR* (1974, no. 6), pp. 174–178.
[32] *Nov I Chron*, p. 90; cf. M. N. Tixomirov, *Drevnerusskie goroda*, 2d ed. (M., 1956), p. 123.
[33] *Nov I Chron*, ed. M. N. Tixomirov, p. 365.
[34] Paul Johansen, "Die Kaufmannskirche im Ostgebiet," *Vorträge und Forschungen*, ed. T. Mayer, 4 (Lindau and Constance, 1958), pp. 499–525.
[35] G. Turville-Petre, *Origins*, pp. 171, 178–179.

who served in the church of St. Óláfr.[36] The other source is the German draft of a treaty with Great Novgorod dating from around 1229–1231; in it one reads, "curia gotensium (i.e., *Got'skij dvor*, Gothic court) cum ecclesia et cimiterium Sancti Olaui."[37]

The Novgorodian I Chronicle does not mention the name of the church of the foreign (Varangian) merchants in the *torgovaja storona* of the city. The chronicle simply states "*cerkv . . . variaz'skaja na T"rgovišči.*"[38] This church is mentioned four times and each time in connection with fires. In 6660/1152 the church together with eight others burned down (p. 29/p. 215). In 6689/1181 the church burned again; this time the fire was caused by lightning (p. 371). In 6725/1217 the church is called a *Varjaz'skaja božnica*, "Varangian shrine" and during a fire "*tovar ves' variaz'skyj beščisla,*" "all the Varangian's countless merchandise" burned;[39] in 6819/1311 seven churches burned down, among them the Varangian church.[40]

The passage from the *Acta* also recounts a miracle that occurred through St. Óláfr's agency during a conflagration in Great Novgorod, probably the one of 1152 mentioned in the Novgorodian I Chronicle. The proximity of church and warehouse clearly had its dangers, especially from fire. It is a reasonable assumption that the Upplander Spjallbuði perished in one of these fires (ca. 1080–1090) in St. Óláfr's Church in Novgorod.

Garðr/Garðar "Kiev," *Vitaholm*, and *Ustaholm*

Only one Swedish inscription (from about 1020–1060) has the singular form *Garðr* (*U* 636) which probably was used for Kiev:[41]

alui lit risa stn þtin	AlviR let raise this stone
at arfast sun sin.	for Arnfastr, his son.
hn fur ausR i karþa.	He fared east in Garðr (Kiev?).

The second time the name for Kiev is found is in a contemporary Norwegian inscription. The stone of Alstad in Opland fylke has two inscriptions placed there at different times by members of the same clan.[42] Bjørn Hougen established that the first inscription (*NYR* 61) was made about 1000–1030;[43]

36 "Qui in ecclesia beati Olavi ibidem ministrabat," *Acta*, ed. Gustav Storm in *MHN* (Kria, 1880), p. 142.

37 G. F. Sartorius, *Hansisches Urkunderbuch*, ed. J. M. Lappenberg, II (Hamburg, 1830), p. 42.

38 *Nov I Chron*, ed. M. N. Tixomirov, p. 37 (Sinodal'nyj spisok) = p. 226 (Komissionnyj spisok).

39 Ed. Tixomirov, p. 57 = p. 258.

40 Ed. Tixomirov, p. 93 = p. 334.

41 See S. Gardell, *Gravmonument*, pp. 66–77.

42 Magnus Olsen, in *NYR* I, pp. 154, 157.

43 *NYR* I, pp. 159–176.

according to Magnus Olsen the second inscription (*NYR* 62) was made in the sixties of the eleventh century.[44] The first inscription has already been dealt with; the text of the second reads as follows:

Nedre Alstad, Hof sn, Østre Toten hd and pgd, Opland fylke (*NYR* 62):

1.	**ikli reisti stein þana eftir þoral[t],**	Engli raised this stone for Þóraldr,
2.	**sun sin, is uarþ tauþr i uitahol(mi),**	his son, who found death in Vitaholm,
3.	**miþli u[?]taulms auk karþa.**	[which is located] between U?ta[h]olm and Garðar.

Until 1965 great difficulties were encountered in identifying the topographical names of the second inscription (which scholars usually connected with the eastern Baltic territories). The editor of *NYR*, Magnus Olsen, assumed that *U?taulm?* is a repetition of the name in the previous line, and he interpreted it as *i Vitaholmi, miðli Vitaholms ok Garða*, that is "[Þóraldr found death] in Vitaholm, between Vitaholm and Garðar."[45] This reading was challenged in 1933 by Lis Jacobsen who suggested that two toponyms were contained here, with the second to be read as *ustaulm*.[46] On that basis and inspired by an archaeological discovery in Vitičev near Kiev in 1961 by B. A. Rybakov, Boris Kleiber found an ingenious solution to the difficulties.[47] What Rybakov discovered in Vitičev was a beacon, or a tower on a hill from which fire signals were given to Kiev. In Old Norse the term for "beacon kindled as a warning signal" was *viti*; the existence of this type of communication system is already attested to in Snorri's *Hákonar saga góða* for the year 954.[48]

Kleiber connects *viti* with the name Vitičev (xolm), for which there is no Slavic etymology, and identifies the first Vitaholm with Vitičev xolm. In his opinion, the Scandinavian term *viti* was adapted in Slavic in a suffixed form as **vitiča*. As to the second Vitaholm, Kleiber suggests that the first part of the name has to be read as *usta*, a genitive of **usti* which is the supposed Old Norse rendition of the Slavic name Ustja (or Zarub) located on a hill at the mouth of the river Trubež, where a major ford over the Dnieper was situated.

Kleiber interprets Garðar, the well-known Old Norse designation for Rus', as Kiev (probably a short form of *Kænugarðar*). Due to this proposition the

[44] *NYR* I, p. 154.

[45] *NYR* I, p. 152; the older interpretations of Vitaholm are given in *NYR* I, pp. 155–156. This is the only known Norwegian inscription where the term *Garðar* appears.

[46] *Norske Oldfunn* VI: "Evje-Stenen og Alstad-Stenen" (Oslo, 1933), p. 29; cf. also *M* 138 and p. 275; *Mel* 6.

[47] In *Viking* 29 (1965), pp. 61–75.

[48] *Hkr* I (*IF* 26), pp. 176–177 = *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 114.

second inscription can be now fully understood: Þóraldr found death in Vitičev, located between Ustja (Zarub) and Kiev. Apparently his father, Engli, who raised the stone, was familiar with the topography of the Kievan region. Kleiber suggests that Engli may have been a member of Eymundr's force in Rus' in the first half of the eleventh century, and was fortunate enough to return home. From the data one may assume that the "Varangians" of the middle of the eleventh century used the singular form, Garðr, to designate the city of Kiev, the new capital of King Jaroslav (reigned 1036–1054) who previously ruled in Novgorod.

Aifur and the Berezan' Inscription

Aifur, a cataract on the Dnieper River (Ukr. Nenasytec'), and one of its levels (**Rufstain** = Ukr. Rvanyj Kamin') are mentioned in an inscription from Pilgårds in Gotland (ca. 1000); cf. above p. 326.

An unpretentious inscription from Gotland (ca. 1050–1100) was found on a stone from the island of Berezan' located near the mouth of the Dnieper at the last station before the Black Sea. Professor È. R. von Stern (Štern) found this stone in 1905 in a late-medieval gravesite (but unfortunately not *in situ*).[49] The text of this inscription has already been given (see p. 347).

The Blǫkumenn

The Sjonhem inscription from about 1050 found in Gotland (Halla ting) says that (H)Rōðfoss "was treacherously killed by **blakumen** during a journey abroad (p. 344)." There are two interpretations of the ethnonym **blakumen** = ON *Blǫkumenn* (s.g. **Blǫkumaðr*). The prevailing one equates it with the Daco-Roman Vlachs (Walachians; Byzantine Greek: Βλάχοι).[50]

In 1929 Aleksej I. Sobolevskij proposed an alternate etymology. According to him, the first component of the name *Blǫku-* should be connected with the Middle-European designation for the Kipchak (Qipčāq) Polovcians (Qumāns) *Blawen, Blauen,* as a translation from the Slavic, e.g., Czech *Plavci.*[51] I accept this thesis for two reasons. All existing ON data on the Blǫkumenn go back to events between 1016/1017 (*Eymundar þáttr*) and 1122 (Berroea battle; St. Óláfr's miracles). The Vlachs are first mentioned in eastern Europe on the Galician frontier to the north of the Danube Delta. The reference occurs in a description of the events of 1164[52] by Niketas Choniates (ca. 1150–1213) in his *Chronikē diēgesis* (dealing with the years 1118–1206). In about 1050, the date of our inscription, they had not yet left their Transylvanian home.

[49] Braun, *Izvestija Arxeologičeskoj Komissii* 23 (S.-Pb, 1907), pp. 66–75 (= *R* 194 = *M* 109).

[50] See, e.g., Metzenthin, *Länder,* pp. 12–13; *Hkr* III (*IF* 28), p. 371, fn. 1, and *Mel* 20, pp. 199–200.

[51] "V poiskax slědov Varjagov-Vikingov," *Slavia* 8 (1929–1930), p. 764.

[52] Cf. L. V. Čerepnin et al., *Istorija Moldavskoj SSR* I (Kišinev, 1965), p. 80.

The second reason relates to etymology. The ON word *blakkr* has the basic meaning 'pale', which in many languages is also the main designation for the first ruling Kipchak Polovcian horde, one of the most important nomadic peoples in eastern Europe during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[53] The name of the valley in Macedonia where the nomads were defeated appears in the ON sources in two variants: *Pézína vellir* and *Blǫkumanna vellir*. By contrast, *Heimskringla* and *Flateyjarbók* have the names as *Blǫkumanna-***land** and *Pézína* **vellir,** Snorri's "Independent Óláfs saga helga" and the *Heilagra manna sǫgur,* on the other side, give the form *Blǫkumanna* **vellir.**[54] In this way the two steppe ruling people, the Pečenegs and their successors, the Kipchaks, have been equated.

The Byzantine Empire

Byzantium played an important role in the lives of the Scandinavians of the eleventh century. It was the terminus of the route "from the Varangians to the Greeks" and it was also the place where the Scandinavians had the opportunity to make their fortune serving in the emperor's Varangian Guard, service that gave adventurous spirits a chance to express themselves and an opportunity to see and savor the sophisticated pleasures of a cosmopolitan civilization.[55] Greece = "Byzantine Empire," "Byzantium," actually **a kriklati,** "in

[53] Details are given in Pritsak, "The Polovcians and Rus'," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 2 (1976 [1981]), pp. 279–338.

[54] The story begins as follows:

A (*Hkr, Flat*)	B (*Osh;* cf. *H.m.s.*)
Sá atburðr varð á Griklandi, þá er þar var Kirjalax konungr, at konungr fór herferð á Blǫkumannaland. En er hann kom á Pézínavǫllu . . .	Sa atburþr varð a Griclandi, þa er þar var Kirialax konungr, at konungr for herferðir a Blǫcumanna vǫllu. Enn er hann com a Pezina vǫllu . . .
(*Hkr* III [*IF* 28], p. 371 = *Flat* II, ed. Unger–Vigfússon, p. 380).	(*Óláfs saga helga,* ed. Munch–Unger [Kria, 1853], p. 242 = ed. O. A. Johnsen–J. Helgason II [Oslo, 1941], p. 633 = *Heilagra manna sögur* II, ed. Unger [Chria, 1877], p. 175).

Translation:

"The following happened in Greece during the time King Kirjalax [John II Comnenus, 1118–1143] ruled there and was on an expedition against Blǫkumannaland. When he arrived at the Pézína Plains. . . ." Cf. *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 787.

[55] The "Varangian" inscriptions were recently treated rather arbitrarily by Benedikz in his reworking of Sigfús Blöndal's standard work *The Varangians of Byzantium,* pp. 223–233.

Greece," is one of the commonest names appearing in the Swedish inscriptions. This name and the most common form *GrikkiaR* (actually: **i** [or: **miR/miþ] krikium,** "among the Greeks") for its inhabitants are attested in several variants in thirty-one inscriptions. Only in a few of them can it be definitely established which of the persons mentioned had served with the guard, which had been traders, and which merely pilgrims traveling through Byzantium on their way to Jerusalem.

One of the first Varangians who is attested to have died in the Byzantine service was the Östergötlander, Assurr (d. ca. 1010), one of five sons of the "good man," Gulli. The fate of this interesting, possibly typical, family of this *Sturm und Drang* period of Varangian history is related in a two-part inscription erected by a niece on the death of Assurr, the last of her five uncles (*Ög* 81):

I. **þukir resþi stin þansi eftiR**	Þorgærðr raised this stone for
asur sin muþur bruþur	Assurr, her mother's brother,
sin iaR eataþis austr i krikum	who died east in Greece.
II. **kuþr karl kuli**	The good man Gulli
kat fim suni	had five sons.
feal o furi	At Fýris[56] fell Āsmundr,
frukn treks asmutr	the fearless *drængiaR* [or: member of the junior retinue].
aitaþis asur	Assurr perished
austr i krikum	out east in Greece.
uarþ o hulmi	Halfdan was
halftan tribin	in Bornholm [or "in duel"] slain,
kari uarþ a tuti	Kāri died at Dundee.[57]
auk tauþr bui[58]	Dead is Bōi, too.
þurkil rist runaR.	Þorkell cut the runes.[59]

The inscription from Ed, a locality in Uppland (*U* 112), acquaints us with one

[56] The field near Uppsala where, about 980-990, a famous battle took place between the Swedes under Eiríkr Emundarson and the Danes under King Haraldr Gormsson, which the Swedes won.

[57] The identity of **atuti** remains problematical. Of all the possibilities proposed, the most attractive is the Scottish port of Dundee. (Cf. Jansson, *Runinskrifter i Sverige*, p. 92 = Eng. trans., p. 69).

[58] Here the rhythmic part of the inscription ends.

[59] Musset's commentary to this inscription (*M* 97, p. 411) gives two possibilities. Along with Erik Brate (in 1911) (*M* 97) and Ruprecht (*R* 61, commentary) he is inclined to think that Bornholm is meant here. Jansson (*Runinskrifter i Sverige*, p. 92; cf. Eng. trans., pp. 68 69) prefers Musset's second possibility, *holmgang*, "islet-going," which was the technical expression for a formal duel (Jansson, English trans., p. 69). Cf. also idem, *Svenska utlandsfärder*, p. 45.

of the leaders of the Varangian Guard in Constantinople (*liðs forungi*) in the middle of the eleventh century. He had the noble name of Ragnvaldr, which indicates close family ties with one of the Scandinavian dynasties (see p. 393).

Three inscriptions contain the Swedish name for the Byzantine catepanate of Italy, *Langobarðaland* (*Sö* 65; cf. *Sö/R* 112; *U* 133; *U* 141; cf. *R* 135). Obviously this name stems from the Germanic Langobards (Lombards) who, until the 770s, ruled not only southern, but the greater part, of Italy.

Two inscriptions from Södermanland acquaint us with one of the families of the Varangian *condottiere*: the father, BāulfR of Nälberga (Svärta sn, Rönö hd), was a member of the older retinue and died in Byzantium. GuðvēR, the youngest of his three sons, was the leader of the Varangian Guard in the emperor's service sometime in the middle of the eleventh century. The first inscription (*Sö* 170 = *R* 74) is on the stone raised for BāulfR:

uistain agmunr kuþuiR þaiR	Vīstæinn, Agmundr, GuðvēR
r[ai]sþu	raised
stain at baulf faþur sin	the stone for BāulfR, their father
þrutaR þiagn	noted *þægn* (member of the older retinue).
han miþ kriki. uarþ tu	He found death with the Greeks
a þumþa.	in **þumþa**.[60]

The second stone (*Sö* 217 = *R* 77)[61] was raised for one of the members of the GuðvēR's retinue: it is from this stone that we know that GuðvēR was commander of the retinue:

suertikr nuk [instead: **auk**]	SværtingR and Kāri and
kari auk kuþmutr	Guðmundr
auk skari auk knutr raistu	and Skāri and Knūtr raised
stain þena	this stone
aftiR utruk faþur sin. is fel	for ŌtryggR, their father.
i liþi kuþuis.	He fell in the retinue of GuðvēR.

Anundr was member of the Swedish dynasty (brother of Ingvarr of 1041 fame) and **hon uarþ tauþr a kriklati** (*U* 540), "found death in Greece" around the 1030s.[62] He was probably a member of the retinue in Byzantium, as were

[60] Up to now it has not been possible to identify this geographic name. Magnus Olsen has connected it with the Icelandic form *Þolomaida*, "Ptolomais/Acre"; cf. *R* 74. If this theory is correct, then this is the only Byzantine city whose name has survived in the inscriptions. It is interesting that the inscriptions do not use the Scandinavian name for Constantinople, *Miklagarðr*. Mel'nikova, however, reads the passage as **uarþ tu o þum þa**, "and later he died among them" (*Mel* 106).

[61] In his translation, Ruprecht omitted two names, "Skāri and Knūtr."

[62] This had to have occurred prior to the campaign of Ingvarr, which began about 1035 because Ingvarr's name is mentioned as being among the mourners.

the Upplanders, OrmæiRR, and OrmulfR, the brothers of FrøygæiRR, its leader. The two brothers **þiR antriR uti krikum**, "met their end abroad among the Greeks" (*U* 518). Another Upplander, whose name is obliterated in the damaged inscription, also **hon fil o kriklontr**, "fell in Greece" (*U* 374 = *R* 157).

The Death of Varangians and Other Norsemen in Byzantium

Seventeen Swedes died or were killed in Byzantium. Four different terms are used in the inscriptions for their death.

Faras, "to die" is used only once, with reference to the Upplander Tōki, the father of Þiagn, GautdiarfR, Sunnhvatr, and ÞōrulfR: **on furs uti krikum**, "he died abroad among the Greeks" (*U* 201 = *R* 116). *Andas*, "to end [one's life]" is attested seven times. Svæinn, the son of someone from Småland, **im itaþisk oustr i krikum**, "ended [his life] in the east among the Greeks" (*Sm* 46 = *R* 51).

A Södermanlander, the father of Antsvarr and Æm-, **han entaþis uti krikum** "ended his life abroad among the Greeks" (*Sö* 85 = *R* 70); so probably did ŌlæifR, son of ÞrȳðrīkR, who "divided gold [while living] among the Greeks" (*Sö* 163). Another Södermanlander, GæiR-, also **eR e[nta]þr ut[i] kr[ikum]**, "ended his life abroad among the Greeks" (*Sö* 345 = *R* 110).[63] In the catepanate of Italy, **o langbarþilanti**, the Södermanlander, ŌlæifR, ended his life. ŌlæifR was a sailor and the successor (*arfi*) of Inga. She had him immortalized in the following lines (*Sö* 65 = *R* 88):

han austarla	He to the eastward
arþi barþi	ploughed with his prow,
auk o lakbarþi	and in Langobards'
lanti [a]n[ta]þis.	land met his end.[64]

Concerning another Södermanlander it was said sometime before 1050: **han iR entaþr i austruiki ut o la[kbarþalanti]**, "he met his end on the eastern road abroad in the catepanate of Italy" (*Sö* Lagnö. = *R* 112).[65]

The Upplander Folkbiorn, the son of Folkmarr, **saR itaþis uk miþ krkum**, "he also met his end among the Greeks" (*U* 358). Another Upplander **han entaþis i kirikium**, "met his end among the Greeks" (*U* 140), but only a fragment of this inscription has survived. This same man, however, is mentioned many times in other inscriptions. He was a descendant of the Iarlabanki jarls.

[63] New edition by Jansson in *Fv* 53 (1958), pp. 245–246.
[64] See also Jansson in *Fv* 49 (1954), p. 25, and idem, *Runinskrifter i Sverige*, p. 74.
[65] New edition by Jansson, in *Fv* 49 (1954), pp. 20–25.

At verða dauðr, "to find death," is attested seven times; one of them uses the word *dauðr* alone in an elliptical sense. In the first half of the eleventh century Āsgøta and Guðmundr (his parents?) state the following about the Östergötlander, Oddløgr: **iaR buki haþistaþum an uaR bunti kuþr taþr i kirkium**, "he lived at Haddestad and was a good *pater familias*; he found death among the Greeks" (*Ög* 94 = *R* 58). Agmundr, a relative (*frændi*), and Āsa, the wife of the Västergötlander, Āsbiorn, the son of Kulbēn, erected a monument for him in the first half of the eleventh century: **saR uarþ tuþr i krikum**, "he found death among the Greeks" (*Vg* 178; Kölaby sn, Kyrkogården, Redvägs hd = *R* 34).

The brother of Frøystæinn, a Södermanlander and a commander of a retinue, writes that his brother had "found death among the Greeks" **þuþR kRkum** (*Sö* 82 = *R* 99).

In Biorn's inscription (before 1050) we find similar words to the effect that someone (his name has not survived) from Södermanland **[uarþ tuþ]r austr i kirikium**, "found death in the east among the Greeks" (*Sö*: Nölinge = *R* 111).[66]

The Upplanders Tōfa and HæmingR ordered an inscription for their son, Gunnarr, from the master engraver Āsmundr Kārasun (*fl.* ca. 1020–1050). The inscription states that **hon uaR tau[þ]r miR krikium ut**, "he found death abroad among the Greeks" (*U* 431 = *R* 140).

Fastvī of Uppland had a stone raised for her two sons, of whom the second (*onar*) ŌtryggR (?) **uarþ tauþr i girkium**, "found death among the Greeks" (*U* 1087 = *R* 151).

The father of Īgulbiorn and his brothers, Halfdan and Þialfi, commissioned a stone from the master engraver ØpiR (ca. 1070–1110) in honor of GagR who **uaR tauþr i suþr**, "found death in the south." Runologists believe with good reason that "south" in this case means Byzantium (*U* 925 Uppsala Domkyrkan = *R* 127).

Døya, "to die," is found in three Uppland inscriptions. Only fragments of one inscription have survived: an **is[t]ifara**, "a person who travels to Estonia [?]" (*U* 446); **hon tu i krikum**, "died among the Greeks" (*U* 446 = *R* 159).

Guðlaug erected a stone for her son, Holmi, **han to a lankbarþalanti**, "who died in the catepanate of Italy" (*U* 141 = *R* 135).

Gærðarr and Iarundr ordered a stone from the master engraver Vīseti (*fl.* ca. 1060–1070) after their cousins, the sons of Inga, Ærinmundr and Ingimundr, **þir to i kirikium**, "who died among the Greeks." Included in the inscription is the following: "Gærðarr and Iarundr had these stones raised in the memory of their sister's sons, Ærinmundr and Ingimundr. These signs

[66] New edition by Jansson, in *Fv* 49, pp. 19–20.

are made in memory of Inga's sons. She came into the inheritance after them [Ærinmundr and Ingimundr], and the brothers [of Inga], Gærðarr and his brother [Iarundr], came into the inheritance after her [Inga]. They [Ærinmundr and Ingimundr] died among the Greeks" (*U* 72-73 = *R* 134 = *M* 49; cf. Jansson, *Runes of Sweden*, p. 78, and *Skansens runstenar* [1967], pp. 11-17).

Travelers to Greece

The next group consists of nine inscriptions dealing with travelers to Byzantium. The inscriptions do not say whether or not they died there, but it is likely that they were either merchants or part of a retinue who had eventually returned home.

Two eleventh-century stones found in the churchyard at Stenkumla on the island of Gotland were raised by three brothers (Botmundr, BotraifR, and Gunnarr) in memory of their father: **—ut** is all that is left of his name. This is what they say about him:[67]

1.	**. . . auk sunarla sat miþ skinum**	. . . and he sat in the south [as a merchant] with skins [furs] . . .
2.	**. . . auk han entaþis at ulfshala þa hin helki . . .**	. . . and he died in Ulvshale,[68] when Saint . . .

The south is Byzantium; Ulvshale, where he died presumably en route to or from Byzantium, is on the Danish island of Møn.

Two Södermanland inscriptions, both from Rönö hd. on the shore of the Baltic Sea from the period after 1050 mention a special activity: **uli**[69] **skifta**, "to divide gold." This may well refer to distributing pay to the Varangian Guard, though it could also refer to the division of booty.

ÞrÿðrīkR says about ŌlæifR, one of his sons, **sniala trakia** "brave (*drængR's* or: members of the younger retinue)," that **for ulaifr i krikium uli sifti**, "ŌlæifR traveled to the Greeks and divided gold" (*Sö* 163 = *R* 90).

Guðrūn erected a stone for Heðinn, her husband or father, the cousin (**nafi**) of Svæinn. The description of Heðinn's activity is in the *fornyrðislag* meter (*Sö* 165 = *R* 81):

uaR han i krikum	He was among the Greeks,
iuli skifti.	divided [had his share of] the gold.

[67] Sune Lindqvist, *Gotlands Bildsteine* II (Sthlm, 1941-1942), p. 113; = *R* 191 = *M* 91.
[68] Located on the Danish island of Møn.
[69] The correct form is *gulli*.

The following six stones are all from Uppland. Kārr had a stone raised for Horsi, his father, and Kabbi for Horsi his relative (*magR*). His accomplishments are presented in meter (*U* 792 = *R* 166):[70]

fu[r] hfila	He went boldly,
far aflaþi	wealth he gained
uti kri[k]um	out in Greece
arfa sinum.	for his heir.

Two Upplanders are called *Grikkfari*, "travelers to Greece," "Greecefarers." One of them was Vīðbiorn, the husband of Stæinhildr, who ordered an inscription in his honor from the master engraver Āsmundr Kārasun (*U* 956 = *R* 133) (*fl.* ca. 1020–1040); the other *Grikkfari* was Kætill, the father of Ingiþōra (*U* 270 = *R* 118). Two Upplanders were said to be captains of ships sailing to Byzantium. One of them came from a family of sailors. This is what the father, Liūtr, himself a helmsman (*stȳrimaðr*), says about his sons (in meter; *U* 1016 = *R* 149):

sa hit aki sims uti furs	That [son] was called Āki, who died abroad.
[styrr vaR annarr][71] **sturþi**	Styrr was another [son], he
[k]nari	steered the *knarr* ship;
kuam hn krikhafnir haima tu.	he came to Greek harbors, died at home.

Ingimundr, Þorðr, Iarl, and Vīgbiorn had the master engraver ŌpiR (ca. 1070–1110) make a stone for their father, Ingifastr, **sturnmaþr sum for til girkha hut**, "to the steerman [who] sailed abroad to Greece." Ingifastr was the son of **ionha** (genitive; *U* 922 = *R* 126). This stone was also dedicated to the memory of Īgulbiorn, who appears above as the father of GagR, who "found death in the south." Here is a comparison of data from the two stones (both from the workshop of the master engraver ŌpiR):

I. *U* 925:

1.	**ihulbiarn**	Īgulbiorn [from his side as the father]
2.	**uk alfnthan uk þelfi**	and Halfdan and Þialfi [from their side as the sons]
	litu risa stin at kak	let a stone be raised for GagR,
1.	**sun sin**	his [Īgulbiorn's] son,

[70] Cf. Jansson, *En bok om Mälarlandskapen*, 86, and idem, *Runinskrifter i Sverige*, pp. 46–48.

[71] Wessén's reconstruction.

2.	**uk faþur sin**	and his [i.e., Halfdan's and Þialfi's] father
	uaR tauþr i suþr kakr.	found death in the south — GagR.

II. *U* 922

	ikimun[tr u]k þorþr [iarl uk	Ingimundr and Þorðr, Iarl and
	uikibiarn	Vīgbiorn
	litu risa stain	let a stone be raised
1.	**at] ikifast faþu[r sin**	for Ingifastr, his father,
	sturmmaþr]	the helmsman,
	sum for til girkha hut	who sailed out to Greece abroad,
	sun ionha	son of **Ionha** [genitive],
2.	**uk at igulbiarn**	and for Īgulbiorn.
	in ybiR risti.	And ØpiR incised [the stone].

The material from both of these inscriptions permits the following conclusions: GagR, the son of Īgulbiorn and the father of Halfdan and Þialfi, died "in the south"; Īgulbiorn and both of his grandsons had a stone raised for GagR. Afterwards Īgulbiorn died with his brother, Ingifastr, who was the father of four sons: Ingimundr, Þorðr, Iarl, and Vīgbiorn. Ingifastr and Īgulbiorn were the sons of **Ionha** (genitive), who died before them. Unfortunately, his origin is unknown, but it appears likely that he was a foreign merchant. The family had connections with Greece; therefore *suðr* in the *U* 925 inscription should be taken as referring to Greece (cf. Ruprecht's commentary to *R* 126).[72]

For greater clarity the data contained in both inscriptions are given in a genealogical table showing several generations of this interesting Uppland family (see Table 11, p. 382).

A stone ordered by Þōrstæinn of Ed and carved by the master engraver ØpiR (ca. 1070–1110) for the church of Ed (Sollentuna hd; this stone is now at Oxford: *U* 104 = *R* 115) tells us that two members of the family **þiR huaru hut til k[r]ika**, "were out to Greece." We are dealing here with Þōrstæinn's father (Svæinn) and his brother ÞōriR.[73]

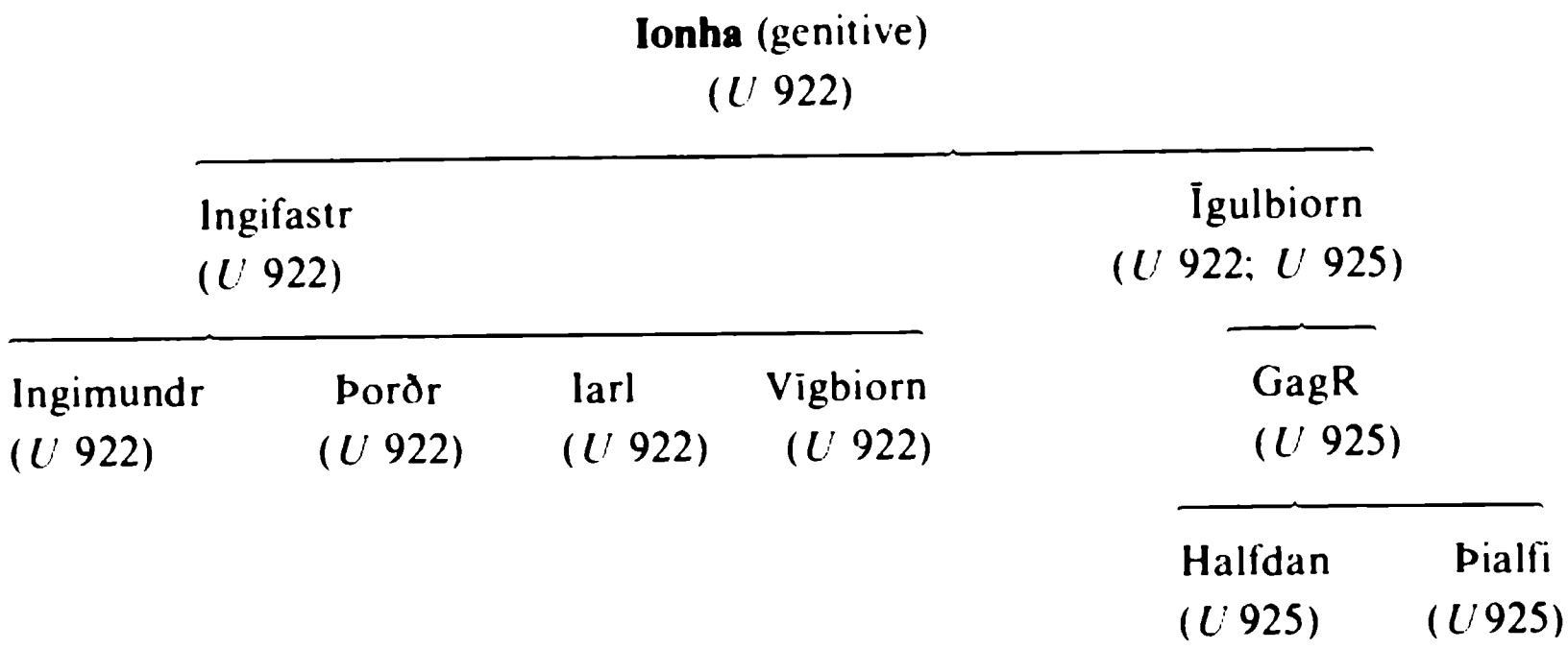
The East: Jórsala, Særkland and Karusm

The route taken by pilgrims to Jerusalem, ON *Iórsala*, lay through Byzantium.

[72] See also Jansson, *Runinskrifter i Sverige*, p. 74.

[73] Concerning the marble lion which the Venetians brought home with them from Piraeus in 1687 as a victorious trophy see Jansson, *Svenska utlandsfärder*, p. 46 and Benedikz, *The Varangians of Byzantium*, pp. 230–233, and this volume p. 348.

Table 11



Jerusalem is mentioned three times in the inscriptions. Øystæinn (from a family of jarls) set out for Jerusalem in the beginning of the eleventh century — one of the first Swedes to do so (*U* 136). The stone of Ormika and UlfaRR (ca. 1050) where Greece to Jerusalem (*R* 196) is given as one of the routes traveled has already been discussed.

A woman from Stäket in Uppland (*U* 605) informs us of her intention to travel in about 1050:

iskirun harþir totiR	Ingirūn [?], the daughter of Harðr,
lit risti runiR ati sik	let raise these runes for
sialfan	herself.
hn uil austr fara auk ut	She will go abroad east
til iursala	as far as Jerusalem.
fair risti runiR.	Fōtr [?; ca. 1050] incised the runes.

Material dealing with the general designation for the countries of the Islamic East, including Saracen Africa, *Særkland* (Serkland), is treated in the review of the inscriptions which refer to the campaign of Ingvarr to the East in 1041. Here it needs only be noted that *Særkland* is attested five times (*Sö* 131, 179, 279, 281, *R* 196).

The only specific mention of the country of *Særkland* to survive is in an inscription as **karusm**, "Khwārizm" (*Vs* 1; *R* 183 = *M* 79).

Geographic Names Used as Proper Names

In the majority of cases geographic names were given to a boy as a proper

name when he was born in a foreign country. Proper names of this type could be used as surnames for those who traveled to a foreign country or for the foreigners themselves. These surnames then became fashionable and were used as given names.

In the Scandinavian runic inscriptions there are two proper names of this type that seem to have enjoyed great popularity. Significantly enough, they go back to the names of two immediate eastern neighbors: the Baltic Finns, neighbors of the Swedes (since *Æistr*, "Est") and the Lapps, neighbors of the Norwegians (since *Finnr/Fiðr*, "Lapp," later "Finn"). The name *Æistr* was especially popular in Swedish Uppland, where it is attested on twelve stones: *U* 70, 181, 458, 459, 461, 670, 766, 780, 855, 1050, 1060, 1158). It also appears in Södermanland: *Sö* 90; cf. also *Æist-fari*, *Sö* 45.[74] The name was also used in composite forms, e.g., *Æist-UlfR* (*U* 791, 968).

Finnr/Fiðr was seldom used in Sweden; only two such cases are known (*Sö* 139; *Sm* 132). But the name was popular in Norway: *NYR* 29, 182, 272, 287; cf. also *Arn-Finnr* (*NYR* 330, 391); *Auð-Finnr* (*NYR* 63), *Þor-Finnr* (*NYR* 6).[75] From Norway the name *Finnr* also reached Denmark: *DR* 22.

Two inscriptions in Swedish Uppland attested to the name *Tafæistr* (*U* 467, 722) meaning "Finn."[76] Only once does the Old Norse designation for the Germans appear as a Sörmish proper name, *ÞȳðiskR* (*Sö* 22).[77] The same is true of the German name for the Rus' in Denmark, *RiūskR* (*DR* 138).

During the eleventh century three proper names were used that derived from three professional trading and mercenary organizations — one active in the west (*Vīkingar*), one in the east (*Væringar*), and the third in the north (*Kylfingar*). The name *VīkingR* enjoyed great popularity: *Sö* 54, 182, 197, 203, 269; *U* 34, 175, 260, 432, 498, 649, 681, 802, 813; *Sm* 10, 11; *Vg* 17; it also occurred in Norway (*NYR* 288, Bergen).[78]

Two VæringRs[79] were connected with England. The first *VæringR* owned a *skæið* ship operating in "the west" (= England); his crewman, Øyvindr, a brother of Svæinn, died there (*Ög* 68). *VæringR* of *Ög* 111 — according to Brate identical with the VæringR of *Ög* 68 — erected a stone in memory of his brother Þiælfi, who as a *dræng R* fought with Canute the Great (*Ög* 111).

[74] It is typical that in the Old Norse texts , e.g., *Landnámabók*, *Heimskringla*, and the Icelandic family sagas, the name *Eistr* never occurs, whereas there are many instances of the name *Finnr*. On both names, see Assar Janzén in *NK* VII, pp. 56 and 131; cf. also the commentaries in *U* II, p. 282, and *U* IV, p. 603 (*Æistr*), and *Sö*, pp. 163 164 (*Finnr*).

[75] *Finnr-* as the first element of composite names was popular in Swedish inscriptions (especially *Finn-GæiRR*, *Finn-Hæiðr*, and *Finn-Viðr*).

[76] See *U* II, p. 282.

[77] See *Sö*, p. 16.

[78] See *Sö*, p. 157; cf. also Magnus Lundgren, Erik Brate, and E. H. Lind, *Svenska personnamn från medeltiden* (Uppsala, 1892 1934), p. 299.

[79] On this name, see *Ög*, p. 110 and M. Lundgren et al., *Svenska personnamn*, p. 303.

The name *KylfingR* appears once in Södermanland and three times in Uppland.[80] The Sörmish *KylfingR* was from Sund, Helgesta sn in Villåttinge hd. The stone was erected by *KylfingR* and HolmgæiRR for their father Vræiðr, who drowned in Lake Bågen and for their sister Vīborg (*Sö* 318).

More information is available on the Upplandish *KylfingR*. He was from Bromsta, Odensala sn, Ärlinghundra hd. On the basis of the stones *U* 444 and 445, the following genealogy was established for the clan:[81]

Table 12

BorgulfR
(*U* 444)

UlfR	Hærbiorn	Næsbiorn	HæmingR
(*U* 444, 445)	(*U* 444)	(*U* 444, 445)	(*U* 444)
		~ Gillaug (*U* 445)	
		KylfingR (*U* 445)	

According to Brate,[82] the *KylfingR* who is mentioned on the stones *U* 320 (Kimsta, Skånela hd, Seminghundra hd) and *U* 419 (Norslunda, Norrsunda sn, Ärlinghundra hd) was the same person. This is possible, but it cannot be proved.

One proper name ultimately goes back to the maritime people, *Barðar*, well known from the *Poetic Edda*, *Hkr* and Saxo: **iahbaþr**/**ahbaþr**, "Hag-Barðr" (*U* 1041).[83] The *Hagbarðr* in question was from Golvasta (Norunda hd); together with Ingigærðr, he let the master IngulfR engrave an inscription in memory of his parents (Rūnfastr and Rūna), and he also constructed a bridge.

[80] On this name, see *Sö*, pp. 294–296.
[81] *U* II, p. 242.
[82] Details are given in the commentary to *U* 320, 419, and 445.
[83] Cf. commentary *U* IV: 1, p. 295.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

The Varangians at Home and Abroad

General Observations

A study of the records pertaining to Scandinavian soldiers-of-fortune and the countries in which they died turns up the names of numerous Varangians. Among them are the names of the leaders of the Varangian units or retinues. One of these leaders, Æivisl/ Eyjuls, was already in the east at the beginning of the ninth century (*Vg* 119; *Ög* 8); another, Vīfil, was a contemporary of Volodimer the Great (Pilgårds, Gotland). The Västergötlander, ŌlafR, "a greatly esteemed *drængR*" (or member of the younger retinue), died in Estland at the beginning of the eleventh century, probably in Volodimer's service (*Vg* 181).

All the other Scandinavians mentioned in the inscriptions are contemporaries of Jaroslav the Wise and his sons. Among them were the Södermanlander, Dōmari (*Sö* 130), also a *drængR* and the Ölander Halfborinn who **sitr karþum**, "sits in Rus'" (*Öl* 28 = *R* 190). It is possible that the Södermanlander Sigviðr from Esta (*Sö* 171, a commander of a *skæið* ship (= longship) and an

Upplander whose name is unknown (*U* 214–215, the husband of Ingiborg and the commander of a *knarr* ship) should be included in this group. They both died in Novgorod.

In some cases, it is possible to reconstruct some of the history of several generations and branches of Scandinavian families, including their connections and civic activities. Most of them were representatives of the highest social classes (*jarlar*) and the landed aristocracy. Once we become acquainted with them and observe their familial affairs in their Scandinavian homeland, we realize that these "northern guests" in eastern Europe should be considered primarily as specialists in the art of sea warfare who settled on specific territories. These Scandinavians found that their opportunities to practice their speciality and become rich were better abroad than they were at home.

Some of them settled down in eastern Europe, possibly under pressing circumstances, as happened in the case of Jarl Hákon's relatives. But most of them made their fortunes in the service of some ruler and then returned to their Scandinavian homeland, where they bought estates and erected buildings for civic and philanthropic purposes in order to gain fame in this world and reward in the next.

During the period of the runic inscriptions (mainly eleventh century) the Varangian retinue (*lið*) composed of sailor-warriors was recruited by three European courts: Novgorod-Kiev (ca. 980–1060); London (1018–1066); Constantinople (988–1066; after 1066 [–1204] they were mainly Englishmen). A retinue in the service of a ruler was usually referred to by the term *lið*,[1] although the retinue of the English king had a special name: **i þikaliþi,** *þingalið* (*U* 668). For purposes of identification, the name of its leader was applied to the *lið*; for example, **i liþi kuþuis** "in the retinue of *Guðvēr*" (*Sö* 217), **i liþi frekis** "in the retinue of FrøygæiRR" (*U* 611). A retinue under a Varangian leader setting out on an adventurous campaign (*far*, *Vs* 22; *Sö* 108, 360) was also called *hælfningR*. This term is attested with reference to Ingvarr's campaign of 1041 (*Ög* 145, 155). A journey to a remote land was known as *ūtferð* (*G* 134).

The leader of the retinue had the title **lis furugi** (*liðs forungi*; *Sö* 338; cf. *U* 112) or **fulks krimR** (*folks grimmR*; *Sö* 126). A Varangian appanaged prince had the title *jarl* (*Sm* 76; *U* 617; Eng. earl); his second-in-command was called *stallari* (*Sm* 76).

The members of the retinue were grouped on two hierarchical levels: The older retinue, *þiagn-ar* (*Sö* 34, 112, 170; cf. also *Sö* 90, 151) formed its core and provided the officers; they were also called *hūskarlaR*, "housecarles" (*Sö*

[1] According to the laws of Uppland, *lið* meant "retinue of the ruler" (cf. *R*, pp. 80–81).

338; *U* 330, 335). A variation involved the addition of the name of the leader; for example, **uskarl sifruþaR**, "housecarles of Sigrødr" (*U* 335). The younger retinue, *drængR* (*Vg* 61, 112, 181, 184; *Ög* 81; *Sö* 163; *Vs R* 182; *Öl* 28 etc.),[2] served as *rōðr*, that is, they performed the duties of rowers and soldiers (cf. *U* 16).[3] The entire military unit could also be called a *rōðr* with the addition of the leader's name: **i ruþi hakunar**, "in the rōðr of Hákon" (*U* 16). The men were called *bōndi* in the *rōðr* of *X* (the leader's name; cf. *U* 16), or they could be designated as the crew of the ship, *skipan* (*U* 349), individual sailors being called *skipari* (*Sö* 171, 335). The commander's name could be added: **ksibari** (< **ski-**) **hulmstains**, "the crew of Holmstæinn's ship" (*Sö* 335).

The commander of the ship was called *vísi*, for example *skæiðaR vīsi*, "commander of a *skæið* ship" (longship; *Sö* 171). The steersman was called *stȳrimaðr* (*Sö* 161; *U* 922, 1011, 1016). A name which the members of the retinue, especially the younger ones, applied to themselves was *fēlagi*, "comrade" (Eng. "fellow"; Berezan'/ *R* 194; *Vg* 112, 122, 146, 182; *Sö* 292; *U* 984).

A campaign in the West (*vestvegR*) was called *vīking* (*Vg* 61: **sa uarþ tuþr o uastruakm i uikiku**, "he perished in the western way in Viking"); in the east it was called *far* (*Sö* 108, 360, *Vs* 22). A battle was called *orrusta* (*Vg* 40; *Sö* 126, 338).

When important matters were to be discussed during a campaign abroad, the retinue held its council, *þing* (e.g., *Sö* 33).

The basic military unit of the retinue was the ship.[4] Terms relating to the ship are:

skip: the general term for ship (*U* 439, 778); cf. **skibuarþ** "shipwatch" (*R* 113);

skæið: (ON *skeið* > old Eng. *scegð*), "ship of war of the class of longship" (*Sö* 171);

knarr: (ON *knǫrr* > old Eng. *cnear*), "a roomy, sea-going ship," heavier and stronger than the longship (*Sö* 49, 198; *U* 214, 258, 654, 1016).

following: "It was in these [*knarr*] that the Scandinavians came to Britain and made the crossing to Iceland and to the Faroes. It may be assumed that in the Viking period, as in the 12th century, the *knarr* was more seaworthy than the long-ship, having a higher free-board, and being shorter and possibly broader." [5]

In the inscriptions, the *knarr* ships are mentioned most often in data concerning eastern Europe[6] and Islamic Asia: the Baltic Sea (*Sö* 198); the

[2] This designation, not attested in the *U* inscriptions, occurs frequently in Götland, especially in *Vg* 8, 59, 62, 73, 74, 101, 102, 103, 108, 113, 115, 137, 150, 151, 152, 155, 157, 158; cf. *Sm* 35 and 37, and *Ög* 200. Concerning the terms *þægn* and *drængR*, see *R*, pp. 62–65, and Foote-Wilson, *Achievement*, pp. 105–108.

[3] Cf. *R*, pp. 80–81, concerning the term *roðr* in the laws of Uppland.

[4] On Varangian ships, see Foote-Wilson, *Achievement*, pp. 232–256.

[5] *The Age of the Vikings* (London, [1962]), p. 80.

[6] Also on the shores of Norway (*U* 258).

Novgorodian Sea (*U* 214); Byzantine ports (*U* 1016); Ingvarr's campaign (*U* 654).

The *skæið* ship is attested only twice, once in relation to Novgorod (*Sö* 171), and once in relation to the west: **uerekskaiþ**, in the *skæið* of VæringR, *Ög* 68; cf. *R* 66. Unfortunately, the inscriptions do not provide concrete information concerning the numbers of men in the crew of a single ship or of the number of ships that went to make up a retinue.

Iarlabanki and His Clan

A most interesting bridge was built in Täby,[7] Uppland (Danderyds skeppslag) in the Viking period as an offering for the salvation of the soul (**lit raisa stain þina at sik kuikuan** = *U* 212 A, B; cf. *U* 261) of Iarlabanki, a member of a noble family of the second half of the eleventh century. This bridge has been investigated by a number of Swedish archaeologists and runologists, who have reconstructed its dimentions[8] at about 380 feet (approximately 116 meters) long and 21 feet (6.4 meters) wide. At both the northern and the southern ends were inscriptions composed by Iarlabanki himself (*U* 164, 165). In addition to this bridge Iarlabanki also built another bridge in Fresta (*U* 261), paved a road (**braut ruþia**) in Hagby (Täby sn = *U* 149), and made a *þing* (assembly) place (**auk þinkstaþ þina karþi**) in Vallentuna (*U* 212 B).[9] He proudly states that he **auk ain ati alan tabu**, "alone owned the whole of Täby" (*U* 127, 164, 165, 212 A, 261) and that he **auk ain ati alt huntari þita**, "alone owned the whole of this hundred (*hundari*, "district" = *U* 212 B).[10]

Iarlabanki's philanthropical works and the property he acquired ("all of Täby") must have cost a great deal of money. He undoubtedly belonged to an

[7] Cf. the special study by Sune Lindqvist in *Nordiska arkeologmötet i Stockholm* (1922), pp. 123–141, and the publication of the inscriptions from Täby region by Jansson in *Täby hembygdsförenings skriftserie n:l, Runristningar i Täby köping* (Täby, 1955), pp. 2–71. See also the commentary by Wessén in *U* I concerning no. *U* 142.

[8] Cf. *U* I, p. 249.

[9] See Jansson in *Fv* 54 (1959), pp. 250–252.

[10] One inscription, identical in content with *U* 164, was rediscovered in 1958 in Fresta Kyrka, Uppland, and published by Jansson in *Fv* 54 (1959), pp. 250–253. In *The Runes of Sweden* (p. 105), Jansson writes as follows: "In passing, it may be noted that Jarlabanke's statement that he *owned* the whole hundred contains a serious — but significant — exaggeration. In fact, he was probably the king's *bryti* or steward in charge of the Vallentuna district, and possibly it was because of this that he called himself *Jarla*banke. At any rate, it seems a reasonable assumption that he was the leader of the assembly, its law-man." I think that Jansson underestimates the extent of Iarlabanki's wealth.

aristocratic clan of Uppland, but to maintain his position he must have had other sources of income as well. For Iarlabanki and his entire clan (and for other such clans) that source of income was their mercenary activity in the west (*viking*; mainly the Danegeld in England) and in the east, service in the Byzantine emperor's Varangian Guard or undertakings in Rus'.

This emerges very clearly from the data we have concerning Iarlabanki's clan. Their history can be partially reconstructed from the thirty-two Uppland stones that were erected by the clan and have survived.[11]

One of the ancestors of this clan was Øystæinn of Danderyds skeppslag (Broby, Täby sn), who was undoubtedly one of the loyal supporters of King Óláfr skautkonungr (995–1020/22) and took part in the king's Christianization of Sweden. His was the first Swedish pilgrimage to Jerusalem for which we have documentation. It took place at the beginning of the eleventh century (cf. Musset, in *M*, p. 228), and from it, as his wife's Æstriðr's inscription tells us, he never returned: **is suti iursalir auk antaþis ubi kirkum**, "he set out to Jerusalem and ended [his life] among the Greeks" (= *U* 136 Broby, Täby sn, Danderyds skeppslag, = *M* 51).

Øystæinn had five sons: GagR, who died (or was killed?) during the lifetime of his parents[12] (*U* 137): Ingifastr, Øystæinn, Svæinn, and Ingvarr (*U* 101).[13] Ingifastr inherited the property of the parents; his older brother, GagR, had died earlier and was probably childless. Ingifastr was married twice. From his first wife, Ragnfrīðr, who probably came from Hagby (Täby sn, cf. *U* 148), he had a son, HæmingR (*U* 148, 101, 143); from his second wife, Iōrūn of Fällbro (Täby sn, cf. *U* 142), he had a son, Iarlabanki, the same as the bridge builder.

Ingvarr of Harg (Skånela sn, cf. *U* 101, 309, 310) also married twice. His first wife, Fastvī (*U* 112), came from a clan that had its seat in Orkesta (Seminghundra hd). She was one of the daughters of ŌnæmR of BārastaðiR (Bårresta; *U* 112, 336, 328);[14] her sisters were Gȳrīðr[15] and Guðlaug.

ŌnæmR's successor was his paternal nephew, the famous UlfR of Bårresta (*U* 336, 343, 344, 161) who boasted in one of his inscriptions that he had collected the Danegeld three times: **in ulfr hafiR onklati þru kialtakat þit uas fursta þis tusti ka[l]t, þa [kalt] þurktil. þa kalt knutr**, "and UlfR took in

[11] *U* 100, 101, 104, 112, 127, 133, 135, 136, 137, 140, 141, 142, 143, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 160, 161, 164, 165, 212, 225, 226, 261, 309, 310, 328, 336, 343, 344.

[12] It may be concluded from the place where his memorial stone was erected that Iarlabanki was to inherit Broby from his father.

[13] In their turn, Ingifastr, Øystæinn and Svæinn, the sons of Øystæinn, erected a stone for their father, but there is no indication where he died (*U* 135).

[14] Cf. Wessén, *Historiska runinskrifter* (Sthlm, 1960), p. 39.

[15] Cf. p. 391 of this volume.

Table 13a. *Iarlabanki's Clan*

Øystæinn (d. ca. 1000 Byz)
U 135, 136, 137; Bro
~ Æstriðr (d. ca. 1050)
U 101, 135, 136, 137, 143

GagR
U 137
Bro

Ingifastr (b. ca. 998, d. 1043 (?) Byz)
U 101, 135, 143, 147, 148; Bro
~ 1) Ragnfriðr of Hag, *U* 148
~ 2) Iōrūn of Fäll, *U* 142, 143, 147

Øystæinn
U 135, 136

Svæinn
U 135

Ingvarr
(d. ca. 1043 Byz [?])
U 101, 143, 147, 309, 310
Harg
~ 2) Æstriðr of Ed, U 310

1) ~ Fastvi (d. before 1043 in Ed)
U 112
(see Table 13b)

1
Igull
U 151
Kar
~ Ærinvi
U 151

1
HæmingR
U 101, 143
148, Hag

2
Iarlabanki (b. ca. 1015, d. ca. 1070-1080 Byz)
U 101, 127, 140, 142, 143, 149, 150, 164, 165, 212, 261
Bro Fäll Hag
~ 1) Fastvi (d. ca. 107x) *U* 150
~ 2) Kætiløy *U* 142

2
Ragnvaldr
(d. ca. 1043 Byz)
U 112, 309, 310
Harg
L Byz

1
Sigviðr
U 309

1
Ingvarr
U 309

1
Iarlabanki
U 309

1
Þōrbiorn
U 151

Ingiþōra
U 104, 151

1
~ Svæinn (d. ca. 107x Byz)
U 104, 150; Ed

2
Ingifastr (b. ca. 107x)
U 142

ÞōriR (d. ca. 107x Byz)
U 104

Þōrstæinn
U 104; Ed

Table 13b. *Iarlabanki's Clan — BārastaðiR Clan*

N. N.

Ōnæmr of BārastaðiR
U 112, 328, 336
Ork

N. N.

Fastvī (d. before 1043 in Ed)
U 112
~ Ingvarr
(see Table 13a)

Gȳriðr
U 100, 226, 328; Bäll
~ UlfR of Skulhamarr
U 160, 161, 225, 226; Risb

Guðlaug
U 133, 141, 328
~ Ansurr of Lund
U 328; d. probably in the East
cf. *U* 29

Ulfr of BārastaðiR
U 161, 336, 343, 344; Ork
L. Eng

Ulfkætill
U 100, 160, 225; Risb

Arnkell
U 225

Gȳi
U 100, 160, 225

Uni
U 160

Holmdīs
U 100

Holmi (d. in Lang)
U 133, 141

Kar(l)si
U 343

GæiRbiorn
U 343
(d. probably in the East, *U* 154)

Abbreviations:

Bäll = Bällsta, Vallentuna sn
Bro = Broby, Täby sn
Ed = Ed, Eds sn
Fäll = Fällbro, Täby sn
Hag = Hagby, Täby sn
Harg = Harg, Skånela sn
Kar = Karby, Täby sn
Lund = Lundby, Markims sn
Ork = Orkesta, Seminghundra hd
Risb = Risbyle, Täby sn

Byz = Byzantium
Lang = Catepanate of (Byzantine) Italy
L/Eng = Leader of Danish expeditions to England
L/Byz = Leader of the Byzantine Imperial Guard

England three Danegelds — first, the one that [Skǫglar] Tosti[16] paid [991]; then the one that Þorkell [Strút, "the Tall"][17] paid [1012]; then that of Canute [the Great, 1018]"[18] (*U* 344).

Guðlaug, the third daughter of ŌnæmR, married Ansurr/Assurr who was probably from Lundby (Markims sn) and who died or was killed soon after. He was probably a *hūskarl* in the retinue of Ragnfastr (cf. *U* 330). The two stones commemorating their son Holmi had been erected by the time the mother had become a widow, one at the church at Täby (*U* 133), and the other on the territory of her holdings in Fittja (Täby sn, *U* 141). The message on

[16] Skǫglar-Tósti was a well-known Swedish Viking and the father of Sigríðr stórráða, "the Ambitious." This woman was the wife of two leading Scandinavian rulers of the latter half of the tenth century, the Swede, Eiríkr the Victorious (957–995) and the Dane, Sveinn the Forkbeard (995–1014). She was also unsuccessfully courted by the son of Volodimer the Great, Vsevolod of Volhynia. As to Tósti, see Snorri, *Hkr* I (*IF* 26), pp. 215, 287, 341; *Hkr* II (*IF* 27), pp. 433, 435, 438.

[17] Þorkill Strút ("the Tall") Haraldsson inn hávi was a chief of the Jómsvikings and a legendary figure. Cf. Snorri, *Hkr* I (*IF* 26), pp. 272, 274; *Hkr* II (*IF* 27), pp. 12, 54, 333.

[18] It was the last and biggest Danegeld from England paid by Canute to his returning troops. A friend and *magR* ("male relation through marriage") of UlfR of Bårresta was another UlfR, UlfR of Skalhåmra from Risbyle (Täby sn). UlfR of Bårresta survived his friend and erected a stone for him in his homeland (*U* 161). UlfR of Skålhamra was married to a cousin of his friend, Gȳrīðr, the daughter of ŌnæmR of Bårresta (*U* 160, 100, 226, 328). They had four sons: Ulfkætill/Ulfkell (*U* 160, 225), who died young; Arnkell (*U* 225); Gȳi (*U* 160, 100, 225); and Uni (*U* 160). In addition there was a daughter, Holmdīs, who also died young (*U* 100). There were four stones erected for UlfR of Skålhamra, two in Risbyle (one by his friend, UlfR of Bårresta, *U* 161, and a second one erected by his three sons, Ulfkell, Gȳi, and Uni, *U* 160), and two stones in Bällsta (Vallentuna sn), which were erected by his wife (*U* 226) — Bällsta was apparently her property — and three sons, Ulfkell, Arnkell, and Gȳi (*U* 225). In honor of their father the sons built a *þing* (thing) place and had the rune carver, Gunnarr incise the following words of praise in metric form:

a.	**[m]unu iki mirki**	There shall no mightier
	maiRi uirþa	memorial be found
	þan ulfs suniR	than the one UlfR's sons
	iftiR kir [þu]	set up after him,
	[snial]iR suinaR	active lads
	at sin faþur.	after their father. (*U* 225)
b.	**ristu stina**	They raised the stones
	uk staf uan	and made the staff,
	uk in mikla	the splendid one,
	at iartiknum	as a sign of honor.
	uk kuriþi	Likewise Gȳrīðr
	kas at uiri	loved her husband,
	þu mon i krati	so a song of sorrow
	kiatit lata.	sustains his memory. (*U* 226)

This translation is adapted from Jansson's *Runes of Sweden*, p. 103.

both[19] is the same: **han to a lankbarþalanti**, "he died in the catepanate of Italy," probably as a member of the Varangian Guard.[20]

Ingvarr had four sons by Fastvī:[21] Ragnvaldr (the princely name should be noted), Sigviðr (*U* 309), Ingvarr (*U* 309), and Iarlabanki (*U* 309). Æstrīðr of Ed (cf. *U* 112) was the second wife of Ingvarr; this marriage produced no children because Ingvarr died soon after the marriage as a *algoðr drængR* (*U* 143). His death presents something of a riddle. The inscriptions tell us that three members of the clan died simultaneously: Ingifastr of Täby, his brother, Ingvarr, and Ingvarr's oldest son, Ragnvaldr (*U* 309, 310). This tragedy could not have happened later than 1050 because Æstrīðr, the wife of Øystæinn (who died sometime around the beginning of the eleventh century) was still alive (*U* 101). Unfortunately the stones do not tell us where or how they died. The inscriptions are equally silent as to whether Ingifastr and Ingvarr were ever abroad. But an inscription (Ed, Eds sn, Sollentuna hd; in meter), commissioned by Ingvarr's son, Ragnvaldr, on the occasion of the death of his mother, Fastvī (*U* 112 B) tells us the following:[22]

runa rista	The runes be cut
lit rahnualtr	let Ragnvaldr.
huar a griklanti	He was in Greece;
uas lis forunki.	he was the leader of the imperial *lið* (guard).

In other words, sometime before 1050 Ragnvaldr was the leader of the Varangian Guard.

Ragnvaldr had left the Byzantine imperial service even before the death of his mother, for the inscription refers to his career "in Greece" in the past tense (*U* 112 B). Ragnvaldr, his father Ingvarr, and paternal uncle Ingifastr must therefore subsequently have been together in someone else's service. Since the period involved coincides with that of the reign of Jaroslav the Wise (1018–

[19] Guðlaug also mentions herself on the stone at the church in Täby (*U* 133): **auk at sik sialfa**.

[20] The stone was probably incised by the rune carver, Fōtr (cf. *R* 135), and can be dated soon after 1050.

[21] The inscription from Harg (Skånela sn, *U* 310) indicates that Fastvī was the first wife of Ingvarr: **estriþ lit bro kiara eftiR ikuar bonta sin auk at raknualt sun hans**, "Æstrīðr had the bridge erected in memory of her husband, Ingvarr and his son, Ragnvaldr." If Ragnvaldr had also been her son, Æstrīðr would have written **sun þaiRa**, "their son" (cf. *U* 346, 356), so Ragnvaldr must have been the son of Ingvarr's first wife.

[22] Together with this is a prose inscription by Ragnvaldr (*U* 112 A): **rahnualtr lit rista runar efR fastui moþur sina onems totR. to i aiþi, kuþ hialbi ant hena**, "Ragnvaldr let these runes be incised after Fastvī, his mother, who was the daughter of ŌnæmR. She died in Ed. God help her spirit."

1054) in Rus', we can hypothesize that all three members of the clan served him. The tragedy that occurred in Rus' before 1050 is, then, the unfortunate campaign of Volodimer Jaroslavič and Vyšata Ostromirovič in 1043. We know from both Old Rus'ian and Byzantine sources that Jaroslav recruited Varangians[23] for the campaign or, to use the words of the Byzantine historian, Ioannes Scylices (*fl.* after 1057), Volodimer [i.e. his sovereign father Jaroslav] "united [to his army] the aid of peoples who lived on the northern isles of the ocean."[24] It is therefore very probable that Ingifastr, Ingvarr, and Ragnvaldr had decided to enter the service of Jaroslav, hoping to acquire a great deal of booty.

Iarlabanki was correct when he said that he ruled "all of Täby," the entire "hundred" (a land unit). He probably had two residences: his father's at Broby (Täby sn); and Fällbro (Täby sn), which he inherited from his mother. Memorials left by him have been found in both places (*U* 140, 142). After the death of his older brother, HæmingR, he also inherited Hagby (Täby sn; cf. his inscription about himself in *U* 149). Obviously he had holdings in Täby itself, as is evident from the Täby bridge inscriptions (*U* 164, 165). He left inscriptions not only in the provincial church in Fresta (Vallentuna hd, *U* 261), where he also had property (possibly from one of his wives), but also in the churches of the two administrative centers where he had his holdings, in Danderyd (center of Danderyds skeppslag to which the entire Täby hd belonged; *U* 127), and in Vallentuna (the center of the Vallentuna hd, *U* 212).

Iarlabanki was married twice and had two sons. Fastvī (*U* 150) bore him Svæinn (*U* 150), and Kætiløy (*U* 142) bore him Ingifastr (*U* 142). Svæinn married Ingiþōra of Karby (Täby sn), the daughter of Igull and Ærinvī (*U* 151), and died together with his older son, ÞōriR, during the lifetime of his parents. We know this from the inscription set up by the parents (*U* 150) and by his second son, Þorstæinn of Ed (*U* 104). The latter inscription relates that both the father Svæinn and the son ÞōriR **ÞiR huaru hut til krika**, "were abroad as far as the Greeks," that is, they died in Byzantium. This inscription (*U* 104) was incised by the master engraver ØpiR, which means that their death had to have occurred after 1070. This fits well with what is known about the chronological history of the clan.

UlfR of Bårresta was active in England in the years between 991 and 1018. Øystæinn belonged to the previous generation and was therefore born prob-

[23] The "classical" texts of the *PVL* (Laurentian, Hypatian), give no indication of any participation by the Varangians in the campaign of 1043; these data have survived in the chronicles that trace their origins to the so-called Polychron of 1418: the Sofia I (*PSRL* V² [1925], pp. 128-129); the *Nov* IV (*PSRL* IV² [1915], pp. 115-116) and others.

[24] Scylices-Cedrenus, *Synopsis*, ed. Immanuel Bekker (*CSHB* XXXV) (Bonn, 1839), p. 551.

ably no later than about 960 and died at the beginning of the eleventh century. The year of birth of Ingifastr was probably around 998 and of Iarlabanki around 1015. Svæinn, the son of Iarlabanki, would have been born about 1030 and the grandson, ÞóriR, about 1048/1050. The early seventies of the eleventh century can be taken as their probable death date.

From a stone fragment in Broby (*U* 140) we learn that Iarlabanki also died in Byzantium (**han entaþis i kirikium**). The stone from Fällbro, the work of ØpiR the master-engraver, (*U* 142) mentions his death as well.[25] Iarlabanki therefore died sometime after 1070 and before 1110.

Since Iarlabanki and his first wife, Fastvī, erected the stone in memory of their son, Svæinn, in the 1070s (possibly in the first half of the decade) and since we know that Iarlabanki had a second wife, we can infer that Fastvī died soon after her son. Iarlabanki was proud of his wealth and was now left without an heir; his second marriage to Kætiløy was soon arranged, and he fathered a son, Ingifastr (*U* 142). Iarlabanki had to have died three to five years after his elder son, probably in the late seventies of the eleventh century.

Table no. 13b illustrates in graphic form this reconstruction of the genealogy of three generations of another Uppland noble clan (that of BārastaðiR, related by marriage to Iarlabanki) that had close contact with eastern Europe.

Þōrstæinn and His Varangian Retinue in Rus' during the 1050's

A stone — its great size standing as evidence of the wealth of those who commissioned it — stands in the church at Turinge (Öknebo hd, *Sö* 338 = *M* 86 = *R* 79) in Södermanland. It is dedicated to the memory of Þōrstæinn, the commander of a retinue. Those who commissioned it were, in the order given: the sons of the deceased, Kætill and Biorn, who are named; his brother, Anundr; members of the deceased's retinue (*hūskarlaR*); Kætiløy, wife of the deceased.

The metrical portion of the inscription describes Þōrstæinn as follows:

[25] The text of the inscription: **ikifastr lit raisa stain uk bro kera eftiR iarlabaka faþur s[in, uk sun io]runa, uk ketilau lit at bonta sin. ybir risti**, "Ingifastr let the stone be raised and the bridge be built for Iarlabanki, his father and the son of Iōrūn; Kætiløy also let [the stone be raised and the bridge be built] for her husband; ØpiR incised [the inscription]."

bruþr uaRu þaR	The brothers were
bistra mana	best among men
a lanti	on land
auk i liþi uti	and out in the retinue;
hiltu sini	they held their
huskarla uil.	housemen well.
han fial i urustu	He fell in action
austr i garþum	east in Garðar (Rus'),
lis furugi	the captain of the retinue
lanmana bestr.	of his landsmen the best.

Þōrstæinn, then, was the commander (*forungi*) of a retinue (*lið*) in Rus' (**i garþum**). Certain characteristics of the Old Swedish language (e.g., *biorn*) used in this inscription assign it to sometime around the middle of the eleventh century, probably just after 1050 (cf. *R* 79). Þōrstæinn must therefore have been the commander of Jaroslav's retinue and died in the early fifties of the eleventh century.

Þōrstæinn must have spent a long time in Rus' since he managed to accumulate a sizable fortune there (as witnessed by his huge monument, *Sö* 338). He must also have been the one who bought the estate of Veda in Uppland (Angarns sn, Vallentuna hd) that he later gave to his son. We know this from the inscription he raised for his son (*U* 209; Veda = *R* 136 = *M* 53):

þurtsain kiarþiftiR irenmunt	Þōrstæinn raised [this stone] for Ærinmundr,
sun sin aukaubti þinsa bu.	his son, and bought for him this estate.
[metric] **auk aflaþi**	And [Þōrstæinn] gained [wealth]
austr i karþum.	in the east, in Rus'.

It is regrettable that we do not know how the son died; it is possible that he had been in Rus' together with his father.[26]

Þōrstæinn himself had inherited an estate from his father in Gådersta, Uppland (Skepptuna sn), as is apparent from the *U* 360 inscriptions:

þurstain hiak a hili [= *hælli*]	Þōrstæinn [let] cut the stone
iftiR erinmunt sun sin	after Ærinmundr, his son,
auk iftiR kaiRbiarn faþur sin.	and after GæiRbiorn, his father.

From these inscriptions we can derive the following genealogy of this clan:

[26] It is possible that he died in the tragic campaign of Volodimer Jaroslavič against Constantinople in 1043.

Table 14. *The Clan of GæiRbiorn*

GæiRbiorn
U 360

Þōrstæinn d. ca. 105 *Sö* 338; *U* 209; *U* 360. ~ Kætiløy *Sö* 338		Anundr *Sö* 338
Ærinmundr *U* 209; *U* 360	Kætill *Sö* 338	Biorn *Sö* 338

FrøygæiRR's Retinue in the Baltic Areas

Six stones contain information related to FrøygæiRR's activity in eastern Europe. We learn about FrøygæiRR himself from the inscriptions of *U* 518 and *U* 1158:

U 518:

þurkir uk suin þu litu risa **stin þina** **iftiR urmiR uk urmulf uk frikiR.**	Þorgærðr [the mother] and Svæinn [the father] had this stone raised for OrmæiRR and OrmulfR and FrøygæiRR.
on etaþis i silu nurian	He [FrøygæiRR] ended [his life] in Ösel (Estonia) in the north,
þiR antriR uti krikum.	and these others [OrmæiRR and OrmulfR] abroad, among the Greeks.
kuþ ihlbi [þei]Ra ot uk salu.	God help their spirit and their soul.

U 1158:

kuisþen yg estr yg uin — yk aki **litu risa stn fryke faþur se.**	Guðstæinn and Æistr and — and Āki had this stone raised for FrøygæiRR, their father.
lfsten iuk runi þsa.	Līfstæinn cut these runes.

The *U* 1158 stone bears an obvious signature, which runologists have established as belonging to the rune-carver Līfstæinn, who was active in western Uppland at approximately the same time as Āsmundr Kārasun —

that is, in the second quarter of the eleventh century.[27] This dating is supported by a stone raised for one of the members of FrøygæiRR's retinue, which also has a signature: **suain uk osmunrt þau markaþu**, "Svæinn and Āsmundr [Kārasun] incised [this] stone."[28] Āsmundr is obviously Āsmundr Kārasun. The approximate time of FrøygæiRR's activity is therefore undoubtedly the second quarter of the eleventh century.

The two stones (*U* 1158 and 518) are not necessarily from the same period. *U* 1158 is a monument raised by the sons, probably shortly after receiving word about the death of their father, FrøygæiRR. The parents of FrøygæiRR raised a single stone (*U* 518) for all three of their sons. FrøygæiRR's brothers, OrmæiRR and OrmulfR, could either have died at the same time or at different times but, in either case, during the lifetime of their parents.

The data from these two stones allow us to establish three generations of this Uppland clan. FrøygæiRR's parents lived in eastern Uppland (Sjuhundra hd), though he himself had settled in the west. He might have married a woman whose hereditary estate was in Simtuna sn.

Table 15. *FrøygæiRR's Clan*

Svæinn *U* 518
~ Þorgærðr *U* 518

OrmæiRR *U* 518	OrmulfR *U* 518	FrøygæiRR *U* 518, 1158, *U/L* 1049 = *R* 187; *DR* 216	
Guðstæinn *U* 1158	Æistr *U* 1158	N. N. *U* 1158	Āki *U* 1158

Four stones were raised in the memory of members of FrøygæiRR's retinue. Two of them come from Uppland (from the vicinity of Lake Mälar, Bro and Trögds hd), one from Gästrikland (Gävle), and one from the Danish island of Lolland. In other words, all belonged to peoples from the Baltic coasts, regardless of their nationality. The texts are as follows:

U 611:

biurn auk stnfriþ litu arisa Biorn and Stæinfrīðr had a

[27] For information concerning him, see von Friesen, *Upplands runstenar* (Uppsala, 1913), pp. 38-39; cf. idem, "Runorna," *NK* VI (1933), pp. 211-212; see also the data in the footnote to *U* 173 (= *U* I, p. 268).

[28] *L* 1049. Cf. Brate, *Svenska runristare*, p. 28. See Jansson, *Runinskrifter i Sverige* (Sthlm, 1963), p. 60, concerning the signature. Cf. Jansson, *Runes of Sweden*, p. 36.

s[ti]n	stone raised
afti kisila.	for Gīsli.
[in meter]	
han uti fial	He fell abroad
i liþi frekis.	in the retinue of FrøygæiRR.

U 698:

sufar lit aristn þin afir	**Sufar** [?] had a stone raised
askir	for ĀsgæiRR,
sun sin. han ut fal a liflainþi	his son. He fell abroad in Lifland,
[i liþi] frai[kis].	in the retinue of FrøygæiRR.

L 1049:

brusi lit rita st[in þina]	Brūsi had this stone incised
[a]b[t]iR ahil	after Ægill
brur sin. in han uarþ tauþr a	his brother. And he found death
tafstalonti.	in Tavastland,
þo brusi furþi lank lans[29]	when Brūsi commanded the left
abtiR brur sin.	wing after [the death (?) of] his brother.
hon fur miR fraukiRi.	He traveled with FrøygæiRR.
kuþ hialbi hon saluku[þs] muþir	God help his soul [and] Mother of God:
suain uk osmunrt þau markaþu.	Svæinn and Āsmundr [Kārasun]
	they incised [runes].

DR 216:

ąsraþr auk hiltu-R raisþu stain þansi	Asraþr and HildungR erected this
aft frąþa frąnti sin sin,[30] **ian han**	stone for Fræþi, their kinsman, but
uas þą fąink uaiRa.	he was then a commander [?].
ian han uarþ tauþr ą suą þiauþu	And he met with his death in Sweden,
auk uas furs i frikisiąþi, þą aliR	and was in the retinue of FrøygæiRR,
uikikaR.	when all the Vikings [fell?].

It is evident that FrøygæiRR and his retinue operated along the shores of the eastern Baltic, between Lifland, Ösel, and Tavastland (= central Finland, the Ямь/*Jam'* of the Rus'ian chronicles). He himself died *i silu* (*U* 518), a word interpreted by runologists (correctly, in my opinion) as **i isilu*, the **isilu* being deciphered as *Osila* (Heinricus de Lettis, *Chronicon Livoniae*:

[29] There is some uncertainty about the meaning of the term **lank lans**; cf. *R* 187 and *Mel* 15.

[30] The second **sin** is the result of dittography.

Osilia = Съсолы/*Sъsoly*, Ссолы/*Ssoly* of the Rus'ian chronicles), the modern Estonian island of Saaremaa.[31] Another indication that FrøygæiRR was connected with Estland is the fact that the name of his second son was *Æistr*, literally "Estonian."[32] He was probably born in Estonia during his father's term of service there.

Two other Upplanders who were probably members of FrøygæiRR's retinue are Biorn and Anundr, both of whom died at different times in Vīrland (Estonia). Biorn, the son of Kætilmundr and Ragnfrīðr, came from Ängby (Lunda sn; Seminghundra hd).[33] The inscription written in his memory was incised by Āsmundr Kārasun, which means that he died in the 1040s.

In the church at Roslags-Bro (Bro och Vätö skeppslag) are two inscriptions ordered by Sigrūðr from the master engraver Þōrbiorn skāld in the 1050s. The first is for her husband Kāri (*U* 533), but unfortunately it does not mention how or where he died. The second is for her son Anundr (*U* 533 = *R* 141); it says: **han uas tribin a uirlanti**, "he was killed in Vīrland."

Adam of Bremen writes in his *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum* (ca. 1073–1076) about the unsuccessful mission of Bishop Adalwardus Senior,[34] an emissary of the Hamburg see whose archbishop was Adalbert from 1043 to 1072. Adalwardus's mission was to tie the newly converted Sweden more securely to the Roman Catholic camp, especially on the question of investiture. He undertook this mission at a time when the pro-Rome Qnundr/Anundr-Jakob (ca. 1020/22–1047/50) had been succeeded by his half-brother, the half-Slav, by his mother, Emundr gamli (the Catholics called him *pessimus* < *slemme* "bad"; reigned 1047/50–1060). He acknowledged Osmundr, a churchman of Anglo-Saxon ancestry (who died around 1070 in the English monastery at Ely), as his archbishop. As a result of difficulties with Rome, Osmundr was consecrated bishop by a "Poljanian archbishop,"[35] and Adalwardus was forced to return (possibly ca. 1055) empty-handed.

[31] Heinrici, *Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. L. Arbusov and A. Bauer (Darmstadt, 1959), index, p. 349. Cf. Saks, *Aestii* (Montreal, 1960), Index, p. 291c, s.v.

[32] Cf. the article *U* 1158 (= *U* IV, p. 603) for other cases where this name is attested. If this *Æistr* was an adult at the time of his father's death (1050s or 1060s) then he must have been born some time in the early 1040s.

[33] *U* 356. An identical copy of the inscription is to be found in the church at Frösunda, to which the village of Ängby belonged (= *U* 346).

[34] He was nominated bishop of both Väster and Öster Götland; his residence was in Skara. He was active between 1051 and about 1064. Cf. Adam of Bremen, *Gesta*, ed. Trillmich, pp. 344 n. 64; 428, 429, and n. 325.

[35] "A quodam Polaniae archiepiscopo" (Adam of Bremen, *Gesta*, ed. Trillmich, p. 344, l. 3). Scholars are divided on this point: some believe that the consecrating eparch was Aron of Cologne (active ca. 1049–1059), the Polish archbishop whose residence was in Cracow. See, for example, Karolina Lanckorońska, *Studies on the Roman-Slavonic Rite in Poland* (Rome, 1961), p. 59; concerning *Aron*, cf. Anna Czudowska, "Aron," *SSS* I (1961), p. 49b.

In the meantime, in the words of Adam, God's punishment caught up with the Swedes: "during a campaign to the land of women[36] whom we consider to be Amazons, first there perished the son of the king [Emundr], by the name of Anundr, and namely by means of poison which they [the Amazons] poured into the well."[37] Although the chronicler does not give a date for that event, he does connect it with another "punishment of God," a drought that has been dated by west European chroniclers (*Chronicon Wirziburg; Annales Islandici*) as having taken place in 1056.[38] This means that the campaign of Anundr, the son of Emundr, against the Kvenir ("Amazons") must have occurred ca. 1056/57.

At this same time we hear about the efforts of Novgorod directed against the Čud' (the Ests). Ostromir, the governor of Novgorod (and related to the ruling dynasty of Rus') attacked them with his Novgorodians, but the campaign ended in failure and Ostromir himself paid with his life. Jaroslav, the new King of Kiev (and as such, the sovereign of Novgorod), went to avenge

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Werner Trillmich, Adam of Bremen's editor, accepts the archbishop of Gniezno, Stephan I, 1038-1058; *Gesta*, p. 343 n. 61. Other scholars believe that the archbishop of the eastern Poljanians is meant here, that is, the Kievan metropolitan. See Toni Schmid, *Sveriges kristnande* (Uppsala, 1934), p. 61, and Matts Dreijer, *Häuptlinge, Kaufleute und Missionare im Norden vor Tausend Jahren* (Mariehamn, 1960), p. 153. This view is more probable. It is hardly likely that the archbishop of Poland, whose church, with its ties to Rome, was experiencing a revival at that time, would have consecrated a "heretic." It was exactly in 1051 that Jaroslav established Ilarion as a metropolitan independent of Byzantium, and it was only Ilarion who, in any case, could have consecrated Osmundr as a bishop independent of both Rome and Byzantium.

We should also recall that Osmundr was a cousin of the Norwegian bishop, Sigurðr/Sigafridus (Adam of Bremen, *Gesta*, book IV, §34, Zusatz A 3 = p. 480) who was a close associate of St. Óláfr and who in 1028, after the expulsion of St. Óláfr, was in exile in Sweden. The possibility that Osmundr, the cousin of Sigurðr, was at the court of Jaroslav together with the expelled St. Óláfr should not be excluded. Concerning Bishop Sigurðr see Snorri, *Hkr* II (*IF* 27), pp. 184, 187, 205. Since the Swedish Emundr gamli was the brother of Jaroslav's wife, Ingigerðr, the independence in church affairs of the two brothers-in-law need not have been accidental. Cf. Otto Janse, *Fv* 53 (1958), pp. 118-124.

[36] The Finnish term *kainulaiset* was rendered by the Scandinavians as *Kvenland* (cf. Metzenthin, pp. 60-61). This term was explained by folk etymology as stemming from the Scandinavian word **kwēno*, "woman." This provided the basis for the belief that on the eastern shore of the Gulf of Bothnia, *terra feminarum, Amazonae* was located; the gulf itself was called *Cwensea* (as in King Alfred; = Finnish *Kainunmeri*, cf. Dreijer, *Häuptlinge*, pp. 64-65). In Old Rus'ian sources they are called *kajane*; see also *kajano more*, "Gulf of Bothnia," in the text of the treaty concluded at Nöteborg in 1323.

[37] Adam of Bremen, *Gesta*, ed. Trillmich, pp. 345, 346, 456; Schol. 123 (119).

[38] See, e.g., the Icelandic annals, *Islandske Annaler indtil 1578*, ed. Storm (Chria, 1888), s.a. 1056 (or 1057): "oaulld i kristni" (*A Hen*, s.a. 1057, p. 58), "oǫlld" (*A Reg*, s.a. 1056, p. 108), "Oaulld onnur" (*A Lǫg*, s.a. 1056, p. 250b), "o aulld" (*A Gott*, s.a. 1056, p. 318), "Oalldar air mikid" (*A Odd*, s.a. 1056, p. 470).

him, and was successful and взя осек[39] Кеди[н]пив, сиречь слънца рука, "he took the abatis of Kedi[n]piv, that is 'Sun's Hand.'"[40] This information has survived in a group of chronicles that used the so-called Polychron of the mid-fifteenth century as their source (the *Novgorod-Sofievskie svody*), where it was recorded under the year of Jaroslav's death, 6562/1054.[41]

Commentators on the *PVL* have indicated the chronological difficulties. The governor, Ostromir, was still alive in 6564/65 (1056/57)[42] because a book, which later became famous as the *Gospel of Ostromir*, was being copied for him at that time.

Undoubtedly, the fault here lies with subsequent compilers. Tatiščev used the *svod* which had 6564 as the date of Ostromir's death.[43] Therefore the campaign and death of Ostromir occurred in the first half of the March year of 6565 which corresponds to the second half of the September year of 6565. In both cases, the summer of 1057 is referred to, which allows us to conclude that the campaign and death of Ostromir took place then.

Under the year 6568/1060 this same group of chronicles[44] again provides information relating to the eastern Baltic. Izjaslav set out на Съсолы, "against the S"soly," the inhabitants of the island of Saaremaa/Ösel, and imposed on them a tribute of two thousand grivnas of silver. They first agreed to pay the tribute, but the following spring they revolted, ravaged the area around Jur'ev (Tartu/Dorpat),[45] the town founded by Jaroslav in 1030 on the shore of Lake Peipus. Then they burned the town, and advanced almost as far as Pskov. At this point the Pskovians and Novgorodians set out against them, and a bloody

[39] The editors of the chronicles include the word among the geographical terms, but there is no doubt that here we have the Old Rus'ian appelative *оськ*, "abatis"; a military fortification in a forest made from felled trees and stakes (cf. I. I. Sreznevskij, *Materialy* II, p. 754, s.v.).

[40] The equivalent Old Estonian term was **keden päh*, cf. Saks, *Aestii*, pp. 56, 276.

[41] The following chronicles are included here: *Sofia* I (p. 131); *Nov* IV (*PSRL* IV:1², p. 118); *Nov* V (*PSRL* IV:2², p. 122); *Mosk* [of fifteenth century] (*PSRL* XXV, p. 379); *Voskr* (*PSRL* VII, p. 333); *Nikon* (*PSRL* IX, p. 86); and *Tver'* (*PSRL* XV, p. 152).

[42] Cf. Lixačev, *PVL* II, p. 390.

[43] In Tatiščev's text, Ostromir's name was misread as Стромил-; "Stromil-." (*Istorija Rossijskaja* IV² [1964], p. 152).

[44] *Sofia* I (*PSRL* V:1², p. 132); *Nov* I (Comm., ed. A. N. Nasonov, p. 183); *Nov* IV (*PSRL* IV:1², p. 120); *Nov* V (*PSRL* IV:2², p. 124); *Mosk* (*PSRL* XXV, p. 380); *Voskr* (*PSRL* VII, p. 333); Tatiščev, *Istorija Rossijskaja* IV², p. 153; *Pskov* I (*PSRL* IV, p. 176); *Nikon* (*PSRL* IX, p. 92); *L'vov* (*PSRL* XX:1, p. 158); *Tver'* (*PSRL* XV, p. 153).

[45] The founding of Juriev was preceded by Jaroslav's successful campaign against the Čud' (*PVL*, s.a. 1030). Eleven years later Volodimer Jaroslavič fought in Tavastland (= Jam'), and although the chronicle credits him with victory, the entire affair actually ended in failure. A terrible plague afflicted the horses: "While the horses were still breathing, they tore off their hides, for such was the plague that struck the horses" (*PVL*, s.a. 1042).

battle took place in which a thousand Rus' and Ссолъ бесчисла, "countless Ssoly" died.

In that same year, 1060, Emundr gamli (or slemme) died; with his death Sweden's role in Estland ceased for some time, as did the activity of the Rus' on the territory of the Čud' (Ests), about which we hear nothing for fifty years, until 6621/1113.

The cooperation between Emundr and his son, Qnundr, on the one hand, and Emundr's brother-in-law, Jaroslav and his son, Izjaslav (who — probably — bore the Scandinavian name, Holti), on the other, deserves a detailed study.[46] But one thing Emundr and Jaroslav had in common was clearly their struggle to maintain the independence of their churches — Emundr's from Hamburg/Rome and Jaroslav's from Constantinople. Once the question of the possible cooperation between Emundr and Jaroslav/Izjaslav in the affairs of the eastern Baltic shores has been elucidated, we will be able to determine whom FrøygæiRR and his retinue served — Emundr/Qnundr, Jaroslav/Izjaslav, or both? In the meantime we can only suggest some possible hypotheses.

The son of FrøygæiRR who raised the monument to his father was probably known in his maturity (that is, by fifteen or twenty years of age) as Æistr, "Estonian," because he was born while his father was in service there fifteen or twenty years before his death, in the forties of the eleventh century. We have no information about a campaign of Swedish kings in the eastern Baltic during that period.

Of the three sons of Svæinn and Þorgærðr, one died in the north during the conflict with the Ssoly; the other two in the south either in Byzantine service or in Rus'ian service against Byzantium. Could all three, OrmæiRR, OrmulfR, and FrøygæiRR, have been in the service of Jaroslav and Izjaslav, who, as princes of Kiev and Novgorod were involved with both Byzantium and the Ests. If so, it will be necessary to extend both the dating of the stones bearing the name of FrøygæiRR and that of the workspan of their rune carvers to the years between 1042 and 1060.[47]

[46] There is nothing that would indicate a conflict of interest between the ruler of the Swedes (Uppland) and the ruler of Novgorod the Great.

[47] In such a hypothetical situation, we would have to date the *L* 1049 stone as belonging to the year 1043 and the *U* 518 and 1158 stones as 1060. OrmæiRR and OrmulfR, in such a hypothetical situation, would have died in the ill-fated campaign of Volodimer Jaroslavič against Constantinople (1043) and FrøygæiRR, who was mourned by his sons (who were probably full-grown) would have died in Izjaslav's campaign of 1060.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

Jakun, the Varangian King of the Year 1024

The only Varangian king who is mentioned by name in Old Rus'ian chronicles is Якун-/Jakun. The annals contain, under the year 6532/1024, the following account about his involvement in the struggle between the half-brothers Jaroslav and Mstislav:

> Ярослав приде Новугороду, и посла за море по Варягы.
> И приде Якунъ с Варягы.
> И бѣ Якун* съ лѣпъ[1] и луда бѣ у него* вся[2] золотом истъкана. И приде къ Ярославу.
> И иде Ярославъ съ Якуномъ на Мьстислава* Чернигову.[2] Мьстислав же слышавъ взиде противу има к Листвену.
> *И бяше осень, и ту ся сретоша.[2]

[1] сълѣп. This word for some permits an equivocal reading of the text. It has long been subject to discussion among scholars as to whether it is съ лѣп or сълѣп.

[2] The "standard text" of the *PVL* i.e., the *Laurentian Chronicle* (*PSRL* I², cols. 147-148) and/or the *Hypatian Chronicle* (*PSRL* II², cols. 135-136), appears somewhat abridged in comparison with the text that has survived in those chronicles based on the so-called Polychron of 1418 (the Sofia I, Novgorod IV, Moscow of 1479 [cf. *PSRL* XXV, p. 375]; *Voskresensk*, etc.). The text between the asterisk and note number 2 is missing in the standard texts of the *PVL*. On its validity, see e.g., Lixačev, *PVL* II (M.-L., 1950), p. 371.

Мьстиславъ же с вечера исполчивъ дружину, и постави Сѣверъ в чело противу Варягомъ, а сам ста с дружиною своею по крилома.
И бывши нощи* рябиной,[2] бысть тма, молонья, и громъ* шибаше[2] и дождь.
И рече Мьстиславъ дружинѣ своей: Поидемъ на ня!
И поиде Мьстиславъ, и Ярославъ противу ему, и сступася чело Сѣверъ съ Варягы. И трудишася Варязи секуще Сѣверъ.
И посемъ наступи Мьстиславъ с дружиною своею, и нача сѣчи Варягы.
И бысть сѣча* зла и страшна,[2] яко посвѣтяще молонья,* тако[2] блещашеться оружье* их.[2]
*Елико же молния освѣтяше, только мечь видяху, и тако другъ друга убиваше.[2] И бѣ гроза велика и сѣча силна и страшна.
Видѣвъ же Ярославъ, яко побежаемъ есть, побѣже с Якуномъ княземь варяжьскым; и Якунъ ту отбѣже луды* своея[2] златоѣ.
*И тако победи Мьстислав великого князя Ярослава и Якуна.[2]
Ярославъ же приде Новугороду, а Якунъ иде за море* и тамо умре.[2]
Мьстиславъ же, о светъ заутра, видѣвъ лежачиѣ сѣчены от своих Сѣверъ и Варягы Ярославлѣ, и рече: Кто сему не радъ?
Се лежить Сѣверянинъ, а се Варягъ, а дружина своя цѣла.

(*translation*)

Jaroslav came to Novgorod, and sent overseas for the Varangians.
And Jakun came with the Varangians.
[This] Jakun was *Sь lěp[1] and he had a robe *all[2] woven with gold.
And he came to Jaroslav.
And Jaroslav marched with Jakun against Mstislav *to Černigov.[2]
But Mstislav, learning of this, proceeded to meet them at Listven.
*And it was autumn, and here they met.[2]
At eventide Mstislav marshaled his troops, placing the Severians (Сѣверъ) in the center opposite the Varangians, while he himself and his own retinue took up positions on the flanks.
And when the *pied[2] night fell, there was darkness, lightning, and thunder *claps,[2] and rain.
And Mstislav said to his retinue: Let us attack them!
And Mstislav attacked, and Jaroslav came against him, and the Severians in the center met the Varangians. And the Varangians exhausted themselves in fighting the Severians.
And thereafter Mstislav attacked with his retinue, and started to chop the Varangians.

> And Mstislav came up with his retinue and began to fight the Varangians.
> And the combat was *terrible and fearsome.[2] As the lightning flashed, *so[2] *their[2] weapons gleamed.
> *Only when the lightning flashed did they see the swords, and thus they killed one another.[2] And the storm was great, and the fight was violent and fearsome.
> When Jaroslav saw that he was overpowered, he fled together with Jakun, the Varangian king; and here Jakun lost *his[2] golden robe. And in this way Mstislav defeated the great princes Jaroslav and Jakun.
> Jaroslav arrived at Novgorod, but Jakun departed across the sea *and there he died.[2]
> Mstislav, when on the morrow at dawn he beheld lying dead his own Severians and the Varangians of Jaroslav, exclaimed: "Who does not rejoice at this? Here lies a Severian, here a Varangian, while my retinue is unharmed."[3]

The Varangian King Jakun is presented by the *PVL* in colorful terms, although scholars are divided on the exact meaning of the attribute used to describe him. Was Jakun *lěpъ* ("handsome"?) or *sъlěpъ* ("blind")?

In his compendium of data from Old Scandinavian sources relating to the history of Rus' (1924), Friedrich (Fëdor) Braun noted that the Scandinavian and Old Rus'ian sources did not agree. For example, the Scandinavian sources give detailed information on the wives of Jaroslav the Wise (d. 1054) and Mstislav the Great (d. 1132), but from the Rus'ian sources it is impossible to tell that they were Swedish princesses. On the other hand, although the Rus'ian sources frequently mention that the prince of Novgorod went "overseas" to recruit Varangian mercenaries, only in the passage discussed here do they provide the name of one particular Varangian prince, Jakun (< Scand. *Hākon*). "Doch gerade über diesen Hákon erfahren wir aus skandinavischen Quellen nichts; er scheint Verwandter des schwedischen Königshauses gewesen zu sein."[4]

Two Swedish runic inscriptions from the first half of the eleventh century, one from Uppland (*U* 617) and the other from Småland (*Sm* 76), mention a Hākon jarl. Runologists and historians are faced with the task of determining,

[3] Cf. English translation. *The Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, trans. and ed. Samuel Hazzard Cross and Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor (Mediaeval Academy of America, Cambridge, Mass., 1953), p. 135.

[4] Braun, "Das historische Russland," p. 160.

first, whether Hākon jarl was one individual or two, and who he or they were. All of the known Hákon jarls have been considered: Hákon Sigurðarson (d. 995), his grandson Hákon Eiríksson (d. 1029), Hákon Ívarsson (d. 1062), and even Hákon Pálsson (d. 1122). The leading runologists (Brate, von Friesen, Wessén, Jansson, Kinander, Ruprecht)[5] are in general agreement that the Hákon jarl of the two inscriptions are different individuals, one Hákon being Swedish, the other Norwegian.

In the first case, Hākon jarl from Uppland (the Swedish Hākon jarl) was a landowner whose son Assurr organized the defenses of the Uppland Södermanland coast against the Vikings. His family ties can be studied on the basis of inscriptions *Sö* 101 and *Sö* 106, and A. Ruprecht has devoted space to them in his monograph.[6]

As for the Norwegian Hákon jarl of the Småland inscription (*Sm* 76), the most popular identification was proposed in 1922 by Otto von Friesen[7] who believed him to be the Norwegian jarl (Jarl of Hlaðir) Hákon Eiríksson (d. 1029). He has also been identified with the Hākon of the *U* 16 inscription.

In 1925, Erik Brate[8] connected this Norwegian Hákon Eiríksson with Jakun, the Varangian prince of the *PVL*. The Danish Slavicist Stender-Petersen accepted Brate's identification without himself going into the details of the problem: "Es liegt nämlich die vermutung nahe, dass er [Jakun in the *PVL*] mit jenem reichen jarl Hákon identisch ist, dessen name mehrfach auf runensteinen in Uppland und Södermanland auftaucht. Wir wissen, dass er zusammen med [sic] seinem mächtigen freunde Gaut, offenbar in englischen diensten *landwehrmann gegen die vikinger* (*wikinga worþr . . .*) war."[9] In other words, Stender-Petersen identifies the Jakun of the *PVL* not with the Norwegian Hákon jarl, as the runologists do, but with the Swedish Hākon jarl. However, he does not give any reasons for doing so, and it is probable that he was unaware of the problems involved.

The inscriptions *U* 617, *Sm* 76, *Sö* 101 and 106 are the key to establishing Hākon jarl's identity. Their texts are given below:

[5] The literature is cited under the numbers of the inscriptions, *U* 617 and *Sm* 76; see also Jansson, *Runinskrifter i Sverige*, pp. 92–93 (Eng. trans., pp. 69–70; 58–59); idem, *Swedish Vikings in England* (London, 1966), p. 17; cf. also von Friesen, *NK* VI (1933), pp. 179–180; Arndt Ruprecht, *Die ausgehende Wikingerzeit* (1958), no. 48 and excursus, pp. 113–124; L. Musset, *Introduction à la runologie*, no. 62.

[6] According to Ruprecht, (= *R*, p. 163), Hākon jarl was the senior member of a Swedish yeoman clan (*Grossbauernsippe*) from the locality of Bro. He was born sometime between 960 and 980; his son Assurr and Assurr's wife were born sometime between 985 and 1000.

[7] *Meddelanden från Norra Småland fornminnesförening* 6 (Jönköping, 1922), pp. 39–51; Jansson, *Swedish Vikings in England*, p. 17.

[8] *Svenska runristare* (Sthlm, 1925), p. 15.

[9] *Varangica* (Aarhus, 1953), pp. 137–138.

U 617:

kinluk hulmkis tutiR systiR	Ginnlaug, HolmgæiRR's daughter,
sukruþaR	sister of Sygrøðr
auk þaiRa kaus aun lit keara	and Gautr, had this bridge made
bru þesi	
auk raisa stain þina eftiR	and this stone raised for
asur bunta sin	Assurr, her husband,
sun hakunaR jarls, saR uaR	son of Hākon jarl. He kept
uikika uaurþr	watch against the Vikings
miþ kaeti. kuþ ialbi ans	with GæitiR (?)/Knūtr [?].[10] May God
nu aut uk salu.	now help his spirit and soul.

Sm 76 (cf. Jansson, *Swedish Vikings in England*, p. 17):

tufa risti stin þina eftiR ura	Tōfa raised this stone after Vrāi,
faþur sin stalara h[a]kunaR jarls.	her father, Hākon jarl's marshal.

Sö 101:

siriþr kiarþi bur þosi muþiR	Sigrīðr made this bridge, the
alriks	mother of AlrīkR.
tutiR urms, fur salu hulmkirs	the daughter of OrmR, for the
faþur	soul of HolmgæiRR,
sukruþar buata sis.	the father of Sygrøðr, her husband.

Sö 106:[11]

alrikR raisti stain sun siriþar	AlrīkR raised this stone,
	the son of Sigrīðr,
at sin faþur sbiut.	for his father Spjūt.
[metrically]	
saR uisitaula	He had been
um uarit hafþi	in the west,
burg um brutna	township taken
i auk um barþa	and attacked,
firþ han karsaR	of kinds of attacks
kuni alaR.	he knew all.

Unfortunately the inscriptions are not signed, so that there is no help from that quarter for establishing a chronology. The language of the inscriptions

[10] The reading of the name **kaeti** is not wholly certain. The rune **-a** and the rune **-n** are very similar; the third rune was possibly inscribed instead of rune **-u**, and the reading ***knuti**, "Knūtr," is a possibility (cf. *Sö* 14 where the rune **n** is omitted: **kuti**); see also Jansson, *En bok om Mälarlandskapen*, pp. 90–91; and Jansson, *Runes of Sweden*, pp. 69–70.

[11] Eng. trans. Jansson, *Swedish Vikings in England*, p. 8.

indicates that some belong to the first half of the eleventh century, some probably closer to the middle of the century. Important information, however, can be obtained from the inscriptions themselves.

The two erectors of the inscriptions *U* 617 and *Sö* 101 are widows, each of whom names herself and the persons to whom the inscriptions are dedicated. In inscription *U* 617 (Bro, Uppland), Ginnlaug found it necessary to give the names of her own family first: her father (HolmgæiRR) and two brothers (Gautr and Sygrøðr), and not that of her dead husband, Assurr, the son of Hākon jarl, although it is to his memory that the bridge, on which the inscription was placed, is dedicated. But the bridge was important primarily to the inhabitants of Bro (where it was erected), to whom the father and brothers of Ginnlaug were evidently well known and who had no connection with Hākon jarl and his son. Evidently Assurr, whose high birth (the son of a jarl) is especially stressed, was a stranger in Bro.

While the data contained in the inscription from Bro may be described as belonging to a horizontal line of genealogy, the data from the Ramsundsberget inscription (*Sö* 101) follow a perpendicular line. Sigrīðr identifies herself first as the mother of AlrīkR (her son by her first husband), and then proudly as the daughter of OrmR (who must have been well known since his name is given with no further particulars). Sigrīðr, in contrast to Ginnlaug, did not mention the names of her brothers or sisters. Inscription *Sö* 101 also deals with the dedication of a bridge in memory of some deceased person, here HolmgæiRR (whom we have already encountered in inscription *U* 617 as the father of Ginnlaug), the father-in-law of Sigrīðr and the father of her second husband, Sygrøðr. Evidently Ramsund belonged to HolmgæiRR and after him to Sygrøðr, his son. Sigrīðr and her father OrmR were strangers in Ramsund.[12]

Inscription *Sö* 106, erected in a public place in Kjula, where the local *þing* took place, indicates that AlrīkR's father Spjūt and evidently AlrīkR (the son of Sigrīðr) himself considered Kjula as their homeland. One can conclude from this that Assurr and his father, Hākon jarl, did not come from the Swedish Uppland, and that OrmR, the father of Sigrīðr, was a foreigner in Södermandland as well.

Historical sources do not mention any Swedish Hākon jarl in the first half of the eleventh century. There was, however, a Norwegian Hákon jarl Eiríksson, a nephew of Canute the Great, who after the victory of St. Óláfr (1016) emigrated from Norway to England,[13] where, like Canute himself, he served as a magnet for enterprising Vikings.

[12] It is not surprising that Ruprecht (*R*, p. 124 and geneal. table) was unable to determine which homestead belonged to OrmR.

[13] Cf. Snorri, *Hkr* II (*IF* 27), pp. 36–39.

Although the relations between the Anglo-Danish King Canute and his Swedish colleagues, particularly, Qnundr/Anund-Jakob (ca. 1020/22–1047/50), were quite strained, mainly on account of St. Óláfr,[14] the retinue he organized for the defense of England from the Vikings (*víkinga vqrðr*; cf. *U* 617), the so-called *þingalið* (1018–1066), attracted Swedish fortune hunters. The þingalið had a navy of forty ships and a small standing army of 3,000 housecarles (*husceorl/huscarl*).[15] One of those who served in the þingalið was the Upplander GæiRi. In the inscription of his sons, Stærkarr and Hiorvarðr from Kålsta,[16] we read that he **uestr sat i þikaliþi**, "in the west served in the *þingalið*."

The well-known Uppland landowner, UlfrR of BārastaðiR (Bårresta)[17] joined Canute's army in order to get his share of the Danegeld for the third time (1018). Another Upplander, Alli, also got his share, as he recorded in his own inscription: **(lit raisa stain þin oftiR sik sialfan) hon tuk-nuts kialt an-klanti**, "he took Canute's [Danegeld] payments in England."[18]

Evidently, Canute also had his partisans in Norway, as *Hkr* II (IF 27), pp. 293–386 and the inscription *NYR* 252 attests (cf. also *NYR* III, pp. 254–256). In general, to be "with Canute" (**miR knuti/miþ k[n]uti**, etc.) must have been a great distinction. Östergötlander Væring boasted that his brother, a *drængR* by the name of Þjælfi **uaR miR knuti**, "served with Canute."[19]

The following is an inscription from Södermanland (*Sö* 14):

rakna raisti stain þansi at suin	Ragna raised this stone for
buta sit	Svæinn, her husband,
auk sifa auk raknburk at sit faþur.	and Sefa and Ragnborg for their father.
kuþ hialbi at hats.	God help his spirit.
[metrically]	
uit iak þet uaR	I know that
suit uestr miþ kuti.	Svæinn was westward with Knūtr (Canute).[20]

[14] For this see the monograph: Ove Moberg, *Olav Haraldsson, Knut den Store och Sverige. Studier i Olav den Heliges förhållande till de nordiska grannländerna* (Lund, 1941).

[15] Concerning the *þingalið*, see Svenonis Aggonis filii *Lex castrensis*, ed. Gertz in *SMHD* I, pp. 64–93; Snorri, *Hkr* II (*IF* 27), pp. 18–21; *Flat* I, ed. Unger-Vigfússon, pp. 203–205. See also P. J. Jørgensen, *Dansk retshistorie*, 2d ed. (Kbh, 1947), pp. 251ff.; Erik Arup, *Danmarks Historie* I (1925), pp. 131–132; Thorkild Ramskou, *Danmarks historie* II, ed. John Danstrup–Hal Koch (1963), pp. 437–441; Wessén, *Historiska Runinskrifter*, pp. 10–29; Jansson, *Swedish Vikings in England*, pp. 15–18.

[16] *U* 668 = *R* 124.

[17] *U* 343–344 = *R* 120. Cf. Jansson, *Swedish Vikings in England*, p. 12.

[18] *U* 194 = *R* 175. Cf. Jansson, *Swedish Vikings in England*, p. 14.

[19] *Ög* 111. See Jansson, *Swedish Vikings in England*, p. 15.

[20] *R* 68. Cf. Wessén, *Historiska Runinskrifter*, pp. 28–29, and Jansson, *Swedish Vikings in England*, p. 14.

Inscription *Sm* 76, quoted above, states that Vrāi was Hākon jarl's deputy (*stallari*). Evidently, Vrāi, along with his brother Gunni, served Hákon "in the west," in England. Vrāi himself tells us this in his inscription in his brother's honor:[21]

urai sati stin þonsi eftiR kuna	Vrāi raised this stone for Gunni
bruþur sin. han uaR tauþr o iklati.	his brother. He met his death in England.

Another member of Hākon's army was an Upplander whose name has not survived. Concerning him, Gunni and Kāri, possibly his comrades, wrote on a stone which they raised (probably in the first half of the eleventh century):[22]

han uas buta, bastr i ruþi hakunar.	He was a bondi [crewman],[23] the best of Hākon's sailors (*rōþr*).

Hākon's retainers **[suain]aR** (or: **[triki]aR**) **hakunaR** are attested in a recently discovered fragment from Småland.[24]

Available historical sources know nothing of a Swedish Hākon jarl in the first half of the eleventh century nor do they refer to defenses set up to protect the Swedish coast (Uppland, Södermanland) from the Vikings.[25] Such defenses were organized in England by the Anglo-Dane, Canute, and were found later in Denmark during the reign of Canute's nephew, Sveinn Úlfsson (1047-1074). The Scandinavian peninsula at that time was the reservoir from which Vikings were recruited and against whom Canute, and later Sveinn, organized defenses.

Evidently then, Assurr served **uikika uaurþr** (*U* 617), "keeping watch against the Vikings," not on the shores of Uppland-Södermanland, but in England under Canute, as did his brother, UlfR, and for that matter his father Hākon jarl. Hākon jarl had another son, UlfR, who continued his mercenary

21 *Sm* 77 = *R* 55. On the identification of persons, see von Friesen, *NK* VI (1933), p. 180. Cf. also Jansson, *Swedish Vikings in England*, p. 17.

22 *U* 16: Nibble, Ekerö sn, Färentuna hd.

23 Regarding the terms *bōndi* and *rōþr*, see Ruprecht, *Die ausgehende Vikingerzeit*, pp. 80-81.

24 *Sm* 127. Cf. Jansson, in *Fv* 49 (1954), pp. 18-19 = *R*, p. 67.

25 Scholars frequently quote Snorri's *Hkr* III, (*IF* 28), p. 130, to prove that Sweden also had a system of coastal defense against the Vikings. Cf. e.g., *U* III, pp. 32 33. However, Snorri's text deals with something quite different. Hákon Ívarsson, after failing to receive the office of jarl from his Norwegian king, Haraldr harðráði (1046-1066), went to Denmark into the service of Canute's successor Sveinn Úlfsson (1047-1074), becoming there a *landvarnarmaðr fyrir víkingum*, "commander of the coast defense against the Vikings." This occurred sometime around 1047-1049, but in Denmark, and not in Sweden.

profession.[26] Under his command in England we find the Södermanlander Iarundr, in whose inscription we read: **aR uaR uestþr meþ ulfi suni hakunar**, "he was in the westward (= in England) together with UlfR, the son of Hākon."[27] It would therefore appear that the supposed Swedish [Uppland] Hākon jarl and the Norwegian jarl were one and the same Hákon jarl Eiríksson.

Can Hákon jarl Eiríksson be identified with Jakun, the Varangian king, of the *PVL*? The Kievan chronicle (*PVL*) mentions one characteristic attribute of this Varangian: the text, *i bě Jakunъ sьlěpъ*, has been interpreted in one of two ways by scholars. One interprets *sьlěp* as *sьlěpъ*, "blind," the other as *sь lěpъ*, "this handsome [one]," ("and Jakun was the handsome one"). Although it is rather difficult to imagine a blind Viking commander, there have been blind generals in history (for example, the Venetian doge, Enrico Dandolo [1192-1205], of the Fourth Crusade), but a careful and extensive search of the Old Scandinavian texts failed to unearth any mention of a blind Hákon jarl from the first half of the eleventh century. Surely, had there been a blind Viking commander some memory of him would have been preserved, not only among his own people, but also among foreigners with whom he came into contact.

Snorri Sturluson in his *Haralds saga Sigurðarsonar* (chapters 40 and 41) gives ample reason why a contemporary Kievan (Rus'ian) writer could use in reference to Jakun, the Varangian prince the word *lěp*, "handsome." Here is what we read in *Heimskringla* about Hákon jarl Eiríksson's two descendants:[28]

Of Eindriði Einarsson[29]

Einarr þambarskelfir var ríkastr	Einarr þambarskelfir was the most powerful
lendra manna i Þrándheimi . . .	landed man in the Trondheim district . . .
hann átti Bergljótu, døttur Hákonar	his wife was Bergljót, the daughter of Hákon
jarls. . . . Eindriði var þá alroskinn,	jarl. . . . Eindriði, their son,
sonr þeira. Hann átti þá Sigriþi,	was grown up; he married Sigríðr,
dóttur Ketils kálfs ok Gunnhildar,	a daughter of Ketil Kálfr and
systur-dóttur Haralds konungs.	Gunnhilðr, King Haraldr's sister's daughter.

[26] Cf. Erik Brate, *Sverges runinskrifter* (Sthlm, 1922), p. 123.

[27] *Sö* 260; S. Betby, Österhaninge sn, Sotholms hd. = *R* 93. Cf. Jansson, *Swedish Vikings in England*, p. 16.

[28] Hákon jarl Sigurðarson was the grandfather of Hákon jarl Eiríksson.

[29] *Hkr* III (*IF* 28), p. 122 = *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 609. On him, see also the genealogical table (no. 16, p. 421) of the Sæmingar clan.

Eindriði hafði friðleik ok fegrð af móðurfrændum sínum, Hákon jarli eða sonum hans . . .

Eindriði had inherited the handsome appearance and comeliness of his mother's kin, Hákon jarl and his sons . . .

Of Ormr jarl Eilífsson[30]

Orms hét þá jarl á Upplǫndum. Móðir hans var Ragnhildr, dóttir Hákonar jarls ins ríka;

Ormr was at that time jarl in the Uplǫnds; his mother was Ragnhildr, a daughter of Hákon jarl the Mighty;

Ormr var inn mesti ágætismaðr, þá var á Jaðri austr á Sóla Áslákr Erlingsson.

Ormr was a most excellent man. Then was in Jadar (Jæren), in the east at Sóli Áslákr Erlingsson;

Hann átti Sigríði, dóttur Sveins jarls Hákonarsonar.

he was married to Sigrīðr, a daughter of Jarl Sveinn Hákonsarson.[31]

Gunnhildi, aðra dóttur Sveins jarls, átti Sveinn Úlfsson Danakonungr.

Gunnhildr, Sveinn jarl's other daughter was married to Sveinn Úlfsson, the king of Denmark.[32]

Slíkt var afkvæmi Hákonar jarls þá í Nóregi ok mart annat gǫfugra manna, ok var ætt sú qll miklu fríðari en annat mannfólk, ok flest atgørvimenn miklir, en alt gǫfugmenni.

These were the descendants of Hákon jarl at that time in Norway. . . . and the whole kin were handsomer by far than other people, and most of them were gifted with great bodily perfection, but all were distinguished.

This means, then, that the clan of Hákon jarl was famed for its handsomeness! Now it is clear why the contemporary Kievan Rus'ian writer, the source of the *PVL*, used the attribute *sь lěpъ*, "this handsome one," to describe his hero.[33]

In the *PVL* account Jakun is styled as "king" (*kniaz'*) and appears as an

[30] *Hkr* III (*IF* 28), p. 122 = *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 609; he is probably named in *Sö* 101. On the persons mentioned in this chapter, see the genealogical table (p. 421).

[31] Jarl Sveinn Hákonarson was a paternal uncle of Hákon jarl Eiríksson.

[32] He is usually called Sveinn Ástríðsson, from the name of his mother Ástríðr, the sister of Canute the Great; Sveinn II ruled in Denmark from 1047 to 1074.

[33] This refutes Stender-Petersen's assertion (based on A. A. Šaxmatov), which states: "Wenn tatsächlich von der schönheit des H*á*kon die rede gewesen wäre, das adjektiv irgendwie mit einem hinweis auf die gestalt oder das antlitz des väringers näher bestimmt gewesen wäre." Citing the description of the slain Izjaslav (*PVL*, s.a., 1078) he asserts: "Wie wir sehn, wird das wort *krasenъ* oder *lěpъ* immer wieder mit einem instrumental näher bestimmt, niemals aber absolut gebraucht" (*Varangica*, p. 126). The passage from the *PVL* under discussion here must force the specialists in Old Rus'ian grammar to revise their thesis.

equal to Jaroslav; he therefore must have belonged to a ruling dynasty. Of all the known Hákon jarls only Hákon jarl Eiríksson, a member of the old Scandinavian Sæmingar dynasty, meets these criteria.[34]

The source for the account of the battle in the year 1024 in the *PVL* was aware that Jakun died shortly after his return "across the sea." In fact, Hákon jarl Eiríksson died some four and a half years later, in 1029.

In a report of his mission to Skara (Väster Götland), about 1023, given in the form of a poem (*Austrfararvísur*, strophe 19), the skald and diplomat Sighvatr Þórðarson informs St. Óláfr of "treason" in Rus' (evidently in relation to St. Óláfr) of *ætt . . . Eiríks*, "Eirík's kin" (i.e., the clan of Sæmingr Jarl Eiríkr Hákonarson) whom St. Óláfr expelled from Norway in 1014. Evidently this is also a reference to our Jarl Hákon Eiríksson, the Jakun of the Old Rus'ian sources. There can be no doubt that Jakun *sъ leръ* of the Old Rus'ian sources must be identified with Hákon jarl Eiríksson of the Scandinavian sources (the runic inscriptions and the *Heimskringla*). Friedrich Braun's complaint that the Old Scandinavian and Old Rus'ian sources do not agree is — fortunately — at least in this case unfounded.

Two historically attested charismatic clans of Scandinavia, the Ynglingar and Sæmingar, struggled for hegemony in Norway almost from the time of their first appearance in the arena in the tenth century. The Ynglingar, whose base was in the province of Vestfold (i.e., on the western coast of Oslofjord), were of "Swedish" origin (from Uppsala) according to tradition. The origin of the Sæmingar was Hlaðir in Trondheimfjord; they probably came to Norway earlier than the Ynglingar.

The first definitely attested member of the Sæmingar clan, Hákon Grjótgarðsson, was an ally of the chief of the Ynglingar and the "unifier of Norway," Haraldr inn hárfagri (d. ca. 945). They soon formed alliances through marriage; Hákon married his daughter Ása to Haraldr[35] while Hákon's son, Sigurðr, married Bergljót, a granddaughter of Haraldr (through his daughter Álof árbot).[36]

The historically attested conflict between the two clans began in 963 when the king of Norway, the Ynglingr Haraldr Eiríksson gráfeldr (ca. 960-970) slew Sigurðr Hlaðajarl. The latter's son, Hákon Sigurðarson Hlaðajarl, made an alliance with the Danish Skjǫldungar. In 970 he avenged his father's death, and Hákon assumed full power in Norway; he refrained, however, from

[34] Jaroslav the Wise was the husband of Ingigerðr, whose sister Hólmfríðr was married to Sveinn I, the paternal uncle of Hákon jarl (= Jakun).

[35] *Hkr* I (*IF* 26), pp. 100, 114.

[36] *Hkr* I (*IF* 26), pp. 142, 163.

using the title *konungr*, retaining that of *jarl*. This formed a precedent for the next sixty years of Norway's history, that is, until 1030. Power passed back and forth between the Ynglingar and the Sæmingar, as follows:

	Sæmingar	Ynglingar
970–995	Hákon jarl inn ríki	
995–996	Eiríkr Hákonarson and Sveinn Hákonarson	
995–1000		Óláfr Tryggvason
1000–1014	Eiríkr Hákonarson and Sveinn Hákonarson	
1014–1016	Sveinn Hákonarson and Hákǫn Eiríksson	
1015–1029		Óláfr Haraldsson helgi
1028–1029	Hákon Eiríksson	
1030		Óláfr Haraldsson helgi

The Ynglingr Óláfr Tryggvason became acquainted with Christianity somewhere in the British Isles during his Viking adventures and was baptized around 994. This added a confessional aspect to the struggle, as ancient Germanic paganism came into conflict with Christianity. The ultimate victory of the Ynglingar brought with it the Christianization of the country.

In their banishment the Sæmingar usually found refuge and scope for their activity, either in Denmark itself or with the Danish campaigns, notably in England; the Ynglingar usually chose service in Sweden or Novgorod. Later Haraldr harðráði opened up the possibility of service in the imperial Varangian Guard in Constantinople.

Hákon Sigurðarson enjoyed great esteem both at home and abroad; he was given the epithet *inn ríki*, "the Mighty." Although drawing on the support of Danish kings (Haraldr blátǫnn, ca. 940–985, and Sveinn tjúguskegg, 985–1014), he nevertheless succeeded in maintaining full independence in that part of Norway not occupied by the Danes. He married off his daughters to Norway's leading clans; Bergljót to Einarr Eindriðason þambarskelfir of the Trondheim district, and Ragnhildr first to his brother-in-law, Tíðenda-Skopti Skagason, of Mærr (Møre), a coastal region of western Norway, and after his death in 973 to Eilífr of Uplǫnd. Hákon himself took to wife, among others, Þóra, a daughter of the powerful Skagi Skoptason, the father of the above-mentioned

Skopti. Hákon Sigurðarson was treacherously slain during his struggle with Óláfr Tryggvason (in 995). His two elder sons, Eiríkr (b. 963, d. 1024) and Sveinn (d. 1016), managed to hold on in Norway for only a year after their father's death (in 995–996).

The wheel of fortune turned again in favor of the Ynglingar. Eiríkr died in 1014 and his son Hákon was captured by St. Óláfr and had to swear that he would not fight against him. Sveinn jarl fled to his father-in-law, the Swedish king Óláfr skautkonungr, who promised aid, but Sveinn needed money to prepare for the campaign. At that very time Volodimer the Great of Kiev was preparing an expedition against his insubordinate son, Jaroslav of Novgorod, and he sent "across the sea" to hire Varangians. Volodimer died shortly after they arrived, however, on July 15, 1015, and the conflict ended. The misbehavior of the Varangians in Novgorod — they dishonored local "married women" — led to their slaughter "in the court of Poromon'."[37] From the work of Snorri we learn that the leading Varangian mercenary could only have been Sveinn jarl Hákonarson, who later became Jaroslav's brother-in-law.

After his release from captivity Hákon jarl Eiríksson sailed to his uncle Canute in England where he came to play an important role; he was the king's official responsible for the defense of the country against Viking raids. Then in 1024 it was Jaroslav who needed a retinue, this time against his half-brother Mstislav. He turned to one of the more battle-hardened and popular of the Scandinavian pirates, Hákon jarl/ **Якунъ князь Варяжьскый** (= "Jakun, the Varangian king"),[38] the nephew of his brother-in-law and ally of 1015, Sveinn jarl. Evidently Hákon jarl could not leave for Rus' without Canute's consent. Canute probably had good reason to fear the growth of the power of Mstislav of Tmutorokan', and in 1024 he and Jaroslav reached some kind of agreement.

In an inscription quoted above we met the name of Ormr. This person is apparently identical with Ormr mentioned by Snorri in his *Heimskringla.*[39] He was the son of Hákon jarl's aunt (a daughter of Hákon Sigurðarson) by her marriage with Eilífr of Upplǫnd. Unfortunately, we know very little about OrmR/Ormr. He was married to Sigríðr, a daughter of Finnr jarl, one of the seven sons of the influential Árni Armóðsson of Yrjar/Ørland (North Mærr).[40] Both the father, Árni, and his sons were friends and partisans of the Yngling

[37] *PVL*, ed. D. S. Lixačev I, 95. The word *poromon'* is derived from the Scandinavian *farman-*, "merchant"; see Stender-Petersen, *Varangica*, p. 118.

[38] Soviet authors consistently identify Jakun with Hákon of the *Eymundarsaga* (cf., e.g., D. S. Lixačev's commentary to the *PVL*, ed. D. S. Lixačev, II, 371; V. T. Pašuto, *Vnešnjaja politika Drevnej Rusi* [M., 1968], p. 27). The difficulty with this is that the name *Hákon* does not appear at all in the *Eymundarsaga* (or better *Eymundar þáttr*).

[39] *Hkr* III (*IF* 28), pp. 28, 122, 306.

[40] *Hkr* III (*IF* 28), p. 128.

St. Óláfr. Thus it is not surprising that when St. Óláfr's half-brother Haraldr harðráði became king of Norway (1047), he made Ormr Árni's son-in-law, his chief jarl (that of Upplǫnd). He even refused to withdraw this choice when Hákon Ívarsson (d. 1067), another son of Hákon jarl's daughter, threatened to break with him on that account. Ormr jarl died in 1049.

We have hypothetically located the actual homeland of Hākon jarl, the father of Assurr, from inscription *U* 617, and of OrmR, the father of Sigrīðr, from inscription *Sö* 101. Evidently inscription *Sö* 101 must have been executed shortly after the death of Ormr (1049), in the early 1050s. Inscription *U* 617 can be assigned the same approximate date.

One cannot say that the Varangians who were active in Rus' were exclusively Swedish. They were recruited from all over the Baltic region and from among all Scandinavian peoples. Their typical representative in Rus' at the time of Jaroslav the Wise was not a Swede but the Norwegian Sæmingr and the former Hlaðajarl Hákon who was at the time in the service of the Danish king of England, Canute the Great.

In the Kievan *Patericon*, in an account of the creation of the Monastery of the Caves (Pečery) Church of the Mother of God, a certain Šimon is mentioned as being its most generous benéfactor. He is described as a son of Afrikanъ (Afrikan), a king въ земли Варяжьской, "in the Varangian land," a brother of "Jakun the Blind," evidently the same Jakun that appears in the *PVL*. Šimon came to Rus' as a refugee, driven, together with his brother, Friand, from their estates by their uncle after their father had died.[41]

In the genealogical table of the Sæmingar clan appears AlrīkR (from inscriptions *Sö* 101 and *Sö* 106), the son of Sigrīðr (a great-granddaughter of Hākon jarl) by her first husband, Spjūt. Through his step-father, Sygrøðr he came into contact with the family of Hākon jarl: Sygrøðr was the brother of Ginnlaug of Bro in Uppland, who became the wife of Assurr, the son of Hākon jarl.

Stender-Petersen identifies this AlrīkR with the Afrikan of the *Patericon*, basing his theory on the equating by Vilhelm Thomsen[42] of the names Alfrek and Alrik. He identifies the sons of Afrikan/Alrik as Sigmund and Friandi.[43]

[41] *Kyjevo-Pečers'kyj paterỳk*, ed. D. Abramovyč (Kiev, 1930) = repr. D. Čyževs'kyj (Tschižewskij) (Munich, 1964) (abbreviation = *Paterỳk*), pp. 1–5.

[42] V. Thomsen, *Samlede Afhandlinger* I (Kbh, 1919), p. 391.

[43] "Wenn aber der Hákon der runensteine mit dem blinden Hákon der *Altrussischen chronik* identisch ist, dann können wir die genealogie des hauses auf grund russischer quellen fortsetzen. Aus diesen quellen wissen wir nämlich, dass der blinde Hákon seine beiden *neffen* oder *vetter* Sigmund und Friandi, söhne eines Alfrek oder Alrik, . . . aus ihrem Erbe vertrieben habe, worauf sie zu Jaroslav nach Russland flohen. Meiner meinung nach ist es völlig evident, dass diese brüder, söhne des Alrik, in unsere genealogische tafel [on the basis of inscriptions *Sö* 101 and *Sö* 106] eingesetzt werden müssen (*Varangica*, p. 138).

The theory does not stand up to scrutiny, however. If the AlrīkR of inscriptions *Sö* 101 and *Sö* 106 is identical with the Afrikan in the *Paterikon*, then he would have to have been the brother of Jakun/ Hākon jarl. In fact, however, he appears to have been the nephew of the Hākon's daughter-in-law. Finally, Hākon jarl died in 1029, while AlrīkR could not have been born earlier than 1036. Hákon jarl could not have banished the sons of his nephew, because in his lifetime that nephew not only had not yet married, but had not even been born.

The starting point of identifying the individuals in the *Patericon* account is still the 1902 article by Fëdor Braun. He explains the Varangian name **afrikan* as an archaic pronounciation in the Södermanland dialect of Old Swedish of the *casus obliquus* of **afreki* (stem in /-an/), viz.: **afreką* (*son*)< **afrikan*. Further, Braun concludes that the Friand in the *Patericon* is not a proper name, since this name is otherwise not attested among the Scandinavians, but an appellative form of the verb *frjā-*, "to love," which is found in some Old Norse sources as meaning "nephew." According to Braun, we cannot connect the name Šimon (parallel to Simon, in the same *Patericon* account) with **Sigmund* for phonetic reasons. The initial *š*, according to Braun, reflects the pronounciation in Södermanland of /s/ before /i/ .

The redactor of the account of the construction of the Caves Church of the Mother of God had at his disposal a Varangian text based on the words of a Varangian, with the following contents: "Jakun expelled his **friāndi* [that is, nephew"] by the name of Simon Afrekąson." But the redactor, not knowing the Scandinavian languages, turned the appellative *friāndi*, "nephew," into a proper name. This was the origin of the name Friand for the brother of Simon.[44]

We read in the work of Maciej Stryjkowski, a Lithuanian-Polish historian of the sixteenth century (d. ca. 1582), that Jaroslav "przyzwał na pomoc Jakuja (a jako Ruś pisze, Afrika Akuna) xiążęcia Worahimowskiego, według Miechoviusa [<Długosz, O.P.], albo Warangowskiego,"[45] "called Jakuj [the Ruś write here Afrik Akun], the Worahimow prince, so according to Miechovius, or [according to others] the Varangian [prince], to his assistance." Unfortunately it is still unknown from which source the double name *Afrik-Akun* was taken by Stryjkowski. Joannes Długosz (d. 1480)[46] has instead the form Jakvy (*ducem Vorahunorum Jakvy*).

The form *Afrik* merits attention since it has been posited by Braun on the

[44] *IORJaS* 7: 1 (1902), pp. 359-365.

[45] Maciej Stryjkowski, *Kronika Polska, Litewska, Żmódzka i wszystkiéj Rusi* I, 2d ed. (Warsaw, 1846), p. 159.

[46] Joannis Dlugossii, *Annales seu Cronica incliti Regni Poloniae*, ed. J. Dąbrowski, I (Warsaw, 1964), p. 273.

basis of the *Patericon* name *Afrikan*. The Rus'ian source used by Stryjkowski seems to have had the following text: *"Jaroslav called Afrik and [J] Akun to his assistance." Braun's findings are still valid. On their basis, we can reconstruct the event approximately as follows: Jakun/Hákon jarl (b. ca. 997) had a brother by the name of **Afreki* (unattested in Scandinavian sources), who was born somewhat earlier (ca. 990/995). This *Afreki, who died young, probably before 1028, had been in Rus' with Jakun/Hákon in 1024. When Hákon regained power in Norway (1028–1029), he expelled Afreki's son, probably because his father had cooperated with St. Óláfr (an ally and relative of Jaroslav of Novgorod). The name of this son was Šimon;[47] he was then a boy of no more than twelve years (b. ca. 1016–1020).

Šimon arrived in Rus' sometime after 1030 to enter Jaroslav's service. Jaroslav дасть его сынови своему Всеволодя, да будеть старѣй у него, "gave him to his son Vsevolod, so that he might grow old at his [court].[48] Vsevolod was born in 1030. When Vsevolod was already prince of Perejaslav (1054), Šimon пріатъ же велику власть от Всеволода, "received great power from Vsevolod."

Šimon took part in the battle with the Polovcians on the Alta River (1068) and was seriously wounded.[49] He was tended by Anthony of the Caves (d. 1073). In gratitude he gave Anthony a gold belt имуще вѣса 50 гривенъ злата, "worth fifty grivnas [approximately fifty pounds] of gold"[50] to pay for the construction of the Caves Cathedral of the Assumption.[51] The cathedral was begun in 1073 and completed in 1078.[52] Šimon, whose name[53] Anthony changed to Simon to symbolize his conversion to Orthodoxy, was one of the first to be buried there. He must have died shortly after 1078.

Šimon-Simon was the first benefactor of the Kievan Monastery of the Caves who did not belong to the ruling dynasty in Rus', although he was related to it. A convert from Catholicism to Orthodoxy (after 1054), Simon was also the first to ask for and receive from the hegumen of the Caves Monastery a written remission of sins for himself and for all his descendants.[54]

[47] Since Braun's Södermanland thesis cannot apply here (the Sæmingar were originally from Norway), the Western Slavic form of the name Šimon (< ON Sigmundr; later = biblical Simon) received its initial *š* very early (beginning of the eighth century). See Walter Kaestner, *Die deutschen Lehnwörter im Polnischen* (Leipzig, 1939), p. xxiii.

[48] *Paterik*, ed. Abramovyč, p. 1.

[49] *Paterik*, ed. Abramovyč, pp. 1–3.

[50] *Paterik*, ed. Abramovyč, p. 2.

[51] *Paterik*, ed. Abramovyč, p. 3.

[52] Cf. Ju. S. Asjejev in *Istorija ukrajins'koho mystectva* 1 (Kiev, 1966), pp. 170–172.

[53] Possibly this is a thirteenth-century allusion to the well-known New Testament account of the renaming of Simon to Peter by Christ. Šimon of the Varangian faith became the Orthodox Simon.

[54] *Paterik*, ed. Abramovyč, pp. 3–4.

A copy of the text was to be placed in the hands of each deceased member of Šimon's clan before burial.

In the *Patericon* story a son of Šimon-Simon, Georgij, is also mentioned.[55] Георгій, сынь Симоновъ, внукь Африкановь, "Georgij, son of Simon, grandson of Afrikan." He also appears in an account "concerning the sealing of the coffin of our venerable father Theodosius of the Caves"[56] in which he is clearly confused with the Georgij of the account about the construction of the Caves Church of the Mother of God. The Kievan Chronicle records that sealing of Theodosius's coffin (with the precious metal) and dates it 6638/1130. There it says: Георгий Шимоновичь Ростовьскый тысячкый, "Georgij *Šimonovič, the Rostov chiliarch . . .[57] sealed the tomb of Theodosius, the hegumen of the Caves, in the time of the hegumen Timoféj."

The *Patericon* account mentions the high office to which Georgij Šimonovič was appointed by Prince Jurij Monomaxovič after Jurij had occupied Kiev in 1149. Around that same time (1149–1150 or 1155–1157) Georgij Šimonovič gave to the Caves Monastery another gift, this time, five hundred grivnas of silver and fifty of gold.[58]

Although the author of this story identifies Georgij Šimonovič of 1130/1149–1157 with the Georgij Šimonovič of the battle on the Alta (1068), this is obviously wrong. Georgij Šimonovič was somewhere between twenty and thirty years old when his father died shortly after 1078. Simon was more than sixty years old when he died; in the 1150s, then, this Georgij would have to have been at least 110–120 years old.

It is therefore better to accept the existence of two Georgij Šimonovičes, and, of necessity, two Šimons. Georgij Šimonovič II of 1130/1150s, to whom Monomach (ca. 1113) entrusted his young son Georgij/Jurij (b. ca. 1090), was possibly the grandson of the Georgij Šimonovič (I), who received the blessing of Theodosius of the Caves (d. 1074). The sources unfortunately provide no information[59] about him or his son Šimon (II).

Georgij Šimonovič (II) became the *kormilec* ("tutor") of Jurij Monomaxo-

[55] *Paterỳk*, ed. Abramovyč, pp. 84, 4, 5.

[56] *Paterỳk*, ed. Abramovyč, pp. 84–86.

[57] Thus the Xlebnikov-Pogodin Codices and the Hustynian Chronicle (*PSRL* II², col. 293); the Hypatian Chronicle leaves out the patronymic. In the Hypatian Chronicle (*Letopis' po ipatskomu spisku* [S-Pb, 1871], p. 211) before *tysjačkyj*, an *i* has erroneously been added.

[58] According to the *Patericon* story (pp. 84–86), a boyar, Vasilij, wanted to appropriate this treasure for himself; for this he was punished by God.

[59] The genealogical tradition of the Russian aristocracy considers Georgij Šimonovič the progenitor of five aristocratic families: the Aksakovs, Vel'jaminovs, Voroncovs, Voroncov-Vel'jaminovs, and the Islen'evye; see A. Bobrinskij, *Dvorjanskie rody* I (S-Pb, 1890), pp. 180–181, 189.

Table 16. *Jakun (Hákon) and the Sæmingar*

Hákon Grjótgarðsson
Earl of H

Ása
~ Haraldr inn hárfagri
K of N 875-945

Grjótgarðr

Herlaug

Unnr
~ Hrólfr hersir

Ása
~ Ketill

Sigurðr (d. 963)

Grjótgarðr

Hákon Earl of H 970-995
~ 1) N. N.; ~ 2) Þóra Skagadóttir; ~ 3) N. N.; ~ 4) N. N.; ~ 5) N. N.

Rannveig
~ Þorgrímr

1
Eirikr (b. 963, d. 1024)
Earl of H 995-996; 1000-1014
~ Gyða, d. of Sveinn tjúguskegg K of D 995-1014

2
Hemingr

2
Sveinn (d. 1016)
Earl of H 995-996; 1000-1015
in Rus' 1015
~ Holmfriðr, d. of Óláfr Skautkonungr, K of S 995-1020/1022

2
Bergljót
~ Einarr Þambarskelfir

4
Erlendr

3
Ragnhildr
~ 1) Tíðenda-Skopti
~ 2) Eilífr

5
Sigríðr

Afreki/Afrikan (b. ca. 990/995) in Rus' 1024

Hákon (b. 997, d. 1029 in England)
Earl of H 1014-1016; 1028-1029
in Rus' 1024 (= Jakun)
U 16, 617; *Sm* 76

Sigríðr
~ Áslákr Erlingsson

Gunnhildr
~ Sveinn Úlfsson
K of D 1047-1074

HolmgæiRR of Bro (U) and Mora (Sö)
Sö 101; *U* 617

2
Ormr (d. 1049); *Sö* 101
Earl of *U* (N) 1047-1049
~ Sigríðr Finnsdóttir

Ívarr hviti

Šimon (b. ca. 1016/1020, d. ca. 1078 active in Rus', commander of King Vsevolod (b. 1030, d. 1093)

Bóthildr
~ Galizu-Úlfr

Úlfr (b. ca. 1013/1015) active in England
Sö 260

Assurr (b. ca. 1015/1020) active in England
U 617

~ ca. 1035 Ginnlaug of Bro; *U* 617

Gautr
U 617

Sygrøðr of Mora
Sö 101; *U* 617

Sigríðr
~ 2) ca. 1035/1040 [~ 1) ca. 1035 Spiūt of Kjula (Sö), active in England]
Sö 101, 106

Ragna
~ Sveinn

Ogmundr

Hákon (d. 1062)
Earl of *U* (N) 1049-1062
~ Ragnhildr, d. of Magnús inn góði, K of D and N (1035-1047)

Georgij (b. ca. 1040/1050, d. ca. 1100) active in Rus'

2
AlrīkR of Kjula (Sö)
Sö 101, 106

Munán

Ástríðr

Šimon (b. ca. 1060/1070) active in Rus'

Georgij (b. ca. 1080/1090, d. after 1157) commander (since 1113) and regent of Suzdal' (1150-ca. 1157)

Abbreviations:
Earl of H = Hlaðir
Earl of *U* (N) = Upplǫnd (Norway)
K of D = King of Denmark
K of N = King of Norway
K of S = King of Sweden

vič around 1113. Since Jurij was born about 1090,[60] Georgij must have been born before 1090, and by 1113 he would have been at least thirty years old. He therefore must have been born sometime in the early 1080s.

Toponymic data corroborate the presence of members of the Sæmingar clan in Rus'. On the territories of the Vladimir-on-the-Kljaz'ma, Moscow and Kaluga oblasts and in the regions of Smolensk, Minsk, and Pskov are settlements whose names have as their root the form **semjag-/semig-*, derived evidently from **sæming-*.[61]

[60] И бысть посланъ отъ Владимера Мономаха в Сужьдальскую землю сей Георгій [Шимоновичь]; дасть же ему [Мономах] на руцѣ и сына своего Георгия, i.e., "This Georgij [Šimonovič] was sent by Volodimer Monomax to the Suzdal' land; [Monomax] put into Georgij's hands his own son Georgij [the later Jurij Dolgorukij, d. 1157]" (*Paterik*, p. 5). Jurij Dolgorukij received his appanage отчину ("patrimony") in 1113; at the same time Georgij Šimonovič became Jurij's *kormilec*.

[61] See Max Vasmer, "Wikingspuren in Russland," *SBAW* 24 (Berlin, 1931), p. 666; E. A. Rydzevskaja, *BAS-S* (L., 1934), p. 519. See now H. Stang in *NHT* 1980, no. 3, pp. 302–314.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

Yngvarr hinn víðfǫrli and His Campaign in Særkland (1041)

Who Was Yngvarr hinn víðfǫrli?

Swedish epigraphy presented a treasure trove to the historiographers of Sweden in the form of twenty-five stones attesting to an event that other known Swedish sources do not even mention.[1] At least nine more inscriptions

[1] A large body of scholarly literature has been devoted to the campaign of Yngvarr; some more important of these studies are Braun, *FV* 5 (1910), pp. 99–118; von Friesen, *Fv* 5 (1910), pp. 199–209; Wessén, *Bidrag till Södermanlands äldre kulturhistoria* 30 (Strängnäs, 1937), pp. 3–17 (publishes twenty-four relevant inscriptions); Wessén, *Historiska runinskrifter* (Sthlm, 1960), pp. 30–46; cf. also the recent publications (in the Select Bibliography) by Alf Thulin (1975) and Elena A. Mel'nikova (1975). Mel'nikova makes an (abortive) attempt to identify Yngvarr's campaign with the third and last attack of the Rus' against Constantinople in 1043. According to her, Serkland there meant the northern coast of the Black Sea (*Skan Sb* 21 [1976], pp. 82–84). She relies too much on the vague data of the *Yngvars saga víðfǫrla*, without having properly analyzed that late tale. The article contains some serious errors, e.g., according to Mel'nikova (p. 78), von Friesen (in *Fv* 7 [1912]) corroborated the hypothesis of Braun about the origin of Yngvarr/Ingvarr which was based on the data of *Yngvars saga* (sic!).

are connected with this event, so it is clear that we are dealing here with a marvelously well documented episode. No other Swedish event of the time has left such a large amount of evidence carved in stone.

The event is the campaign of Yngvarr/Ingvarr in the East, and for this reason Swedish epigraphy often refers to the evidence as the *Ingvar-stenarna*, "Ingvarr's stones."[2] When they found nothing referring to this campaign of Ingvarr in Swedish sources, they turned to the Icelandic collections of Scandinavian traditions, and there they were not disappointed for they found important information in three Icelandic annals under the year 1041.[3] *Ø* [= *obiit/andaðiz*] *Yngvar hinn vidfǫrli*, "died Yngvarr hinn vidforli" (*Annales regii*), *Ø* [= *obiit/andaðiz*] Yngvar vidforle (*The Lögmanns-annáll*), *Andadiz Ynguar vidforli* (*The Flateyjarbók Annals*). All three probably used the same source, the no longer extant first Icelandic annalistic compilation by Sturla Þórðarson (d. 1284). The same date for Yngvarr's death is given in *Yngvars saga viðfǫrla*: *Enn þá er Ynguar andadizt, uar lidit fra burd Jhesu Christi MXL ok einn uetur*, i.e., "And when Yngvarr died, there had elapsed 1040 and one year from the birth of Jesus Christ."[4] Since the saga about Yngvarr was written in the fourteenth century, the learned author had probably taken his facts from the annals. His information, therefore, has no independent value.

Now let us turn to this special saga devoted to Yngvarr, the only Icelandic saga dealing with a Swedish hero. It is entitled *Yngvars saga viðfǫrla*,[5] and, like most of the sagas, it is anonymous. Written sometime in the fourteenth century, its oldest preserved vellum manuscript dates from before 1400 (AM 343a, 4to).

According to the anonymous author of the saga, Áki, the grandfather of Yngvarr/Ingvarr, was not a member of the ruling Uppsala dynasty, but a *hǫfðingi* ("chieftain," or "commander") of the king. He desired to marry an unnamed daughter of the Uppsala King Eiríkr sigrsæli (957–995), but was

[2] According to Wessén (*Historiska runinskrifter* [1960], p. 30) the sure Ingvarr stones are fifteen stones from Södermanland: *Sö* 9, 96, 105, 107, 108, 131, 173, 179, 254, 277, 279, 281, 287, 320, 335); seven stones from Uppland: *U* 439, 644, 654, 661, 778, 837, 1143; one stone from Västmanland: *Vs* 19; and two stones from Östergötland: *Ög* 145, 155. Jansson in 1946 added *U* 785 and *Vs* 1–2 (*Fv* 41 [1946], pp. 260–265).

[3] *Annales regii*, ed. Buergel, f. 22v = ed. Storm, p. 108; The *Lögmanns-annáll*, ed. Storm, p. 250a; the *Flateyjarbók Annals* in *Flat* III, ed. Unger - Vigfússon, p. 507. See the section on the Icelandic Annals in this volume.

[4] *Yngvars saga*, ed. E. Olson (Kbh, 1912), p. 30.

[5] The only critical edition of the saga was published by Emil Olson in the series *SUGNL* XXXIX (Kbh, 1912) CII [= introductory essay], 71 pp.

refused because he was not sufficiently high-born. The bride was given instead to an unnamed prince from Garðaríki. While the pair was en route to the prince's homeland, Áki killed his rival in an ambush and eloped with the girl, whom he married against the will of the king.

The offspring of that forbidden marriage was Eymundr, the father of Yngvarr. Eymundr was also forced to leave Sweden for maintaining friendly relations with Ingigerðr, the daughter of Eiríkr's successor, King Óláfr skautkonungr. After Ingigerðr had married Jarizleifr (Jaroslav) of Hólmgarðr (Novgorod), Eymundr entered the service of that king, helped him in his struggle with his brother Burizleifr, and gained great fame. Soon after he returned to Sweden, married a daughter of some powerful man, and had a son, Yngvarr.

Such is the account of Yngvarr hinn víðfǫrli's origins according to his saga.

In the scholarly literature there are three schools of thought concerning the origin of Ingvarr. A "conservative" school believes that the data of the saga reflect an old oral tradition (stemma A); among scholars who adhere to this view are Otto von Friesen and more recently Elena A. Mel'nikova.[6]

In 1968 Sune Lindquist advanced another theory,[7] as a result of the reevaluation initiated by Elias Wessén of the chronology of the Ingvarr stones. After comparing the structural and pictorial elements of the Ingvarr stones with those mentioning the activities of Canute the Great in England (esp. the last Danegelds of 1018), Wessén decided that the stones should be dated some twenty years earlier, in the 1020s rather than the 1040s. Lindquist pushed the date back even further, to the 1010s. Since, according to the saga, Yngvarr perished at the age of twenty-five, he could not have been the son of Emundr Óláfsson, but he might have been the son of another Emundr, a son of King Eiríkr sigrsæli of the 990s (stemma B). The existence of this brother of Óláfr skautkonungr, who ruled before him in Uppsala, has been postulated by the research of Lauritz Weibull (1911) and J. Svennung (1966).[8]

A third hypothesis concerning the origin of Yngvarr was presented by F. Braun, entirely on the basis of the runic inscriptions (stones *U* 513 and 540; *Sö* 179 and 279).[9] According to him, Ingvarr was the son of the Swedish King Emundr slemme (1047/1050–1060) and a grandson of Óláfr skautkonungr (stemma C). The relationship is as follows (in three stemmata):

[6] Von Friesen, *Fv* 7 (1912), pp. 199–209; Mel'nikova, *Skan Sb* 21 (1976), p. 78.

[7] Sune Lindqvist, *Saga och Sed* (1968), pp. 74–98.

[8] L. Weibull, *Kritiska undersökningar i Nordens historia omkring år 1000* (Lund, 1911): J. Svennung, "Gränsdragningen mellan Sverige och Danmark på 1000-talet," *Fv* 61 (1966), pp. 219–229.

[9] F. Braun, *Zapiski Neofilologičeskogo Obščestva* 4 (1910), pp. 131–153.

Table 17.

Stemma A.		Stemma B.		Stemma C.
Eiríkr Sigrsæli (d. 995)		Eiríkr Sigrsæli (d. 995)		Óláfr skautkonungr (d. ca. 1020/1022)
Óláfr skautkonungr d. ca. 1020/1022	daughter ~ Áki	Emundr K of Uppsala d. ca. 990s	Óláfr skautkonungr K of West Gautland d. 1020/1022	Emundr d. 1060
	Eymundr			Ingvarr
	Ingvarr	Ingvarr		

The author of the saga provides some further details about Ingvarr's story and about the Icelandic tellers of the saga:[10]

> And this saga we had heard and wrote following the example of Oddr munkr hinn fróði [fl. ca. 1170–1180] who used to put in writing the stories as told to him by such experienced men as he himself named in an account which he had sent to Jón Loptsson [d. 1197] and Gizurr Halsson [b. 1126, d. 1206]. They, having studied [his transcripts] minutely, would add what was lacking.
>
> Oddr munkr said that he had heard this story [about Yngvarr víðfǫrli] first from a priest by the name of Ísleifr, second from Glúmr Þorgilsson, and third from someone called Þórir.
>
> He [Oddr munkr] then had retained from their versions what he had found most remarkable.
>
> And Ísleifr had told that he had heard Yngvarr's saga from a merchant according to whose testimony it had been told at the court of the king of Sweden.
>
> Glúmr learned [the story] from his father; and Þórir had learned [it] from Klakka Sámsson, and Klakka had heard it when it was told by his ancestor.

Unfortunately the learned author of Yngvarr's saga does not tell us whether Oddr munkr in fact wrote down all three versions (or simply restricted himself to mentioning their existence). But he does make one significant statement:[11]

> We do know that there are some saga tellers who say that Yngvarr

[10] Ed. E. Olson, pp. 48–49; cf. *AR* II, p. 169, and *FSN*, ed. G. Jónsson II, p. 458.
[11] Ed. Olson, pp. 47–48.

was the son of [King] Qnundr Óláfsson [d. 1060], because they think that it would be more honorable for him to be a king's son. And [they say that] Qnundr would gladly give up all his realm if he had been allowed to bargain for Yngvarr's life, because all the chiefs in Sweden would gladly have had him [Yngvarr] as king over them.

But there are also those who argue that Yngvarr was not the son of Eymundr Óláfsson.

To [all those] we will answer as follows: Eymundr Óláfsson had a son, his name was Qnundr [and not Yngvarr].

He [Qnundr] was similar in many ways to Yngvarr, as far as his nature and his wide journeys were concerned.

It is said in the book entitled *Gesta Saxonum* [= Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, ca. 1073-1076] where it is written: "Fertur quod Emundus rex Sueonum misit filium suum Onundum per Mare Balzonum, qui postrem[o] ad Amazones [veniens], ab eis interfectus est."[12]

No one has ever attempted to analyze the data assembled here. First of all, it is clear that the saga about Yngvarr already was known in Iceland by the second half of the twelfth century, or at least at the intellectual center, the Þingeyrar monastery (a Benedictine institution founded in 1133, the oldest in Iceland), located in the northern, Hólar, diocese. The Þingeyrar literary school, which cultivated a hagiographic style, remained in contact with the historically oriented scholars at Oddi to the south. The southern hereditary chieftains, who were known to be authorities on tradition, were consulted and asked for their corrections. The two most influential of these were named by Oddr, himself a monk of Þingeyrar, as Jón Loptsson, a grandson of Iceland's first historian, Sæmundr inn fróði (d. 1133) and foster-father of Snorri Sturluson (d. 1241), and Gizurr Halsson (b. 1126, d. 1206), the law-speaker (lǫgsǫgumaðr) in 1181-1200.

The informants of Oddr munkr, who was the author of the (Latin) saga about Óláfr Tryggvason, are otherwise unknown. Priest Ísleifr and Þórir appear only in the quotation above; Glúmr Þorgilsson is also mentioned as the informant of Gunnlaugr Leifsson (d. 1218/1219),[13] Oddr's younger Þingeyrar colleague and the author of another saga about Óláfr Tryggvason. One would like to know more about the Ísleifr version told at the court of the king of Sweden, but we can at least regard as fact that in Þingeyrar, the center of Icelandic literary activity in the last decades of the twelfth century, Yngvarr/Ingvarr was known as a son of the Swedish King Emundr (d. 1060).

12 Cf. Adam of Bremen, *Gesta*, ed. W. Trillmich, pp. 344, 346.

13 See *Þórvalds þáttr víðförla*, ed. G. Jónsson in his series *Íslendinga sögur* VII (1968), p. 450.

Our learned compiler found two sources that forced him to dismiss the original Yngvarr story and to create one that was more in fashion. First, he learned from Adam of Bremen's *Gesta* that the name of Emundr's son was Anundr, and not Yngvarr, which in turn was based on the assumption that Emundr had only one son (he in fact had six). The other source was the saga about St. Óláfr of the type that was included in the *Flateyjarbók*. An otherwise unknown Eymundr Ákason appears there, as a foster-brother of the sainted king. Our learned compiler believed that this had to have been the Eymundr who fathered Yngvarr.

The result of all this was a genealogy for Yngvarr, according to which his grandfather has the name Áki, a pedigree that has no basis in the actual sources, but is the result of speculation on the part of the author of Yngvarr's saga. The author wrote in Iceland in the fourteenth century, a time when the hopeless political situation demanded romantic moods and unusual happenings in its literary works. A saga had to deal with the olden times, foreign and distant lands, and supernatural creatures. This type of saga, a *sui generis* conglomeration of historical themes, figures, and actual places combined with fairytale motifs and names taken from the ancient mythology, was called in nineteenth-century scholarship *Fornaldar sögur Norðurlanda*, or the legendary sagas of ancient times in the northern (i.e., fantastic) lands. Toward this end our author introduced a bold *hǫfðingi* (chieftain) Áki who, against the wishes of the Swedish king, would marry the king's unnamed daughter, after having killed a princely competitor. Such a courageous man was certainly a suitable grandfather for the adventurous hero, Yngvarr/Ingvarr.

Now the author of the *Yngvars saga* needed some northern flavor for his story. He had at his disposal the *Eymundar þáttr*, which was part of the extended version of the saga about St. Óláfr. The hero of the story, Eymundr Hringsson, a relative of St. Óláfr and a fugitive, spent the years 1015 to around 1020 in Rus' as a mercenary for Novgorod's King Jaroslav (d. 1054). He either disregarded the name of Eymundr's father, Hringr, or believed that Hringr was only a nickname (*hringr*, "ring," in fact does occur in the northern sources), and he appropriated the hero of the þáttr for his saga. In this way Eymundr Hringsson's deeds became those of Yngvarr's father. Eymundr Hringsson's associate, Garða-Ketill (Rus'-Ketill), was then given a more important role in Yngvarr's saga.[14]

In short, the genealogical data found in the saga will have to be ignored. There is no basis in fact for giving Yngvarr/Ingvarr a grandfather named Áki. We should rely rather on the Swedish oral tradition, according to which Yngvarr/Ingvarr Eymundarson was a son of the Uppsala King Emundr (d.

[14] *Flat*, ed. Unger - Vigfússon II, p. 127.

1060) and a grandson of King Óláfr skautkonungr. The data of the runic inscriptions do corroborate that tradition.

The data can be found in four inscriptions, two of which are from Uppland (*U* 513, 540) and two from Södermanland (*Sö* 179, 279):

1. *U* 513:

anuntr auk airikr auk hakun auk inkuar	Anundr and ÆirīkR and Hākon and Ingvarr
rais[tu stain] þin[s]a iftir raknar	raised this stone for Ragnarr,
bruþur sin. kuþ hialbi ant hans.	their brother. God help his soul.

2. *U* 540:

airikr auk hokun auk inkuar aukk rahn[ilt]r	ÆirīkR and Hākon and Ingvarr and Ragnhildr
þou hl [itu rita stin þino at onunt	had this stone raised
bruþur þaiRa	for Anundr,
airiks auk sun rahnhilta]R[15]	brother of ÆirīkR and others,
ina hon uarþ [tau]þr	and the son of Ragnhildr. And he found death
[a]kriklati. kuþ hialbi hon salu kuþs muþiR.	in Greece (Greekland). God help his soul and God's Mother.

3. *Sö* 179:

tula lit raisa stain þinsat sun sin haralt bruþur inkuars	Tōla had this stone raised for her son Haraldr, the brother of Ingvarr.
[in meter]:	
þaiR furu trikila	They fared like *drængiaR* (or: members of the younger retinue)
fiari at kuli	far after gold
auk austarla	and in the east
[æ]rni kafu.	gave the eagle food [= slew enemies].
tuu sunarla.	They died southward in Serkland.

4. *Sö* 279:

ai[rikR lit hak]ua [st]a[in þina at ikuar auk haralt s]uni aimunt[aR	ÆirīkR had this stone cut for Ingvarr and Haraldr, the sons of Emundr.
þaiR tuu][16] **sunarla a serkl[anti].**	They died southward in Serkland.

[15] Reconstructed by von Friesen in *U* II, p. 426.

[16] Reconstructed by von Friesen in *Sö*, p. 244; cf. Jansson, *En bok om Mälarlandskapen*, p. 92.

According to these inscriptions then, Emundr, the father of Ingvarr, had at least two wives, Ragnhildr and Tōla, who bore him six sons. Five of these were the children of Ragnhildr, in the order Ragnarr, Anundr, ÆirīkR, Hākon, and Ingvarr; Haraldr was the son of Tōla. Two of the older brothers, Ragnarr and Anundr, died even before the campaign of Ingvarr (1041). Ragnarr died first (the place of his death is not given) and Anundr afterwards, in Byzantium. Ragnhildr, his mother, and his brothers (in order of age) ÆirīkR, Hākon, and Ingvarr raised a monument for him (*U* 540).

ÆirīkR also raised (ca. 1041) a monument for Ingvarr and Haraldr (*Sö* 279). Ingvarr's family came from the shores of Lake Mälar in Södermanland. In the local church in Strängnäs a stone was raised for Ingvarr himself (*Sö* 279). It is possible that Tōla, the mother of Haraldr (cf. *Sö* 179), lived in Gripsholm. The family must also have owned domains in Uppland, because monuments in honor of the older brothers were raised in the churches there: for Ragnarr in Rimbo (cf. *U* 513) and for Anundr in Husby-Lyhundra (cf. *U* 540).

In 1910[17] Friedrich Braun compared the list of the sons of E(y)mundr who outlived Ingvarr (according to the Ingvarr stones) with a set of pretenders to the Swedish throne who were active around 1067–1080, after the death of King Steinkell Rǫgnvaldsson (1056–1067), namely: EirīkR, Anundr, Qnundr, and Hākon. After analyzing the existing sources,[18] Braun came to the conclusion that these two sets of rare ("royal") names were not accidental.[19] There was a reason why the inscription *U* 540 was erected in a place called Husby (*husaby*), a technical term for the farms located on crown land[20] ("the official inheritance of the Uppsala kings").[21] He proposed to place an equal sign between the two sets of names, i.e., EirīkR-Hākon and Qnundr-Anundr. In doing so, he claimed to have solved the mystery of the origin of Ingvarr/

[17] *Zapiski Neofilologičeskago Obščestva* 4, pp. 131–153.

[18] Adam of Bremen, *Gesta*, ed. Trillmich, book III, §15, §16, §53 and Z Sch 84 (85); book IV, §29 and C Sch 123 = *Gesta*/Tschan, pp. 126–129, 159–161, 200, 209–210; the list of the Swedish kings, added to the later Västgöta Law of about 1240. Its basic text is the vellum codex SKB B 58 from the second half of the 1340s), ed. H. S. Collin–C. J. Schlyter in *SGL* I(1827), p. 299 = French trans. L. Beauchet, *Loi de Vestrogothie* (Paris, 1894), pp. 433–434; *Hkr* III (*IF* 28), pp. 225, 263; the historical appendix to the *Heiðrekssaga*, ed. C. C. Rafn, in *AR* I, pp. 210–211; ed. Tolkien, *The Saga of King Heidrek the Wise* (London, 1960), pp. 59–63; the list of the Swedish Kings published in J. Langebek's *Scriptores* I (Kbh, 1772), p. 12.

[19] Braun, "Kto byl," pp. 141–52.

[20] Braun, "Kto byl," pp. 139, 144.

[21] See Foote–Wilson, *Achievement*, p. 128.

Yngvarr hinn víðfǫrli, who now appears as one of the six sons of the king of Uppsala, E(y)mundr gamli Ōlafsson (ca. 1050–1056).[22]

In general, I accept his ingenious solution. But his claim that E(y)mundr's second son, Anundr/Qnundr came from Adam of Bremen is incorrect. Anundr died in Greece before 1041 — as *U* 540 informs us (see also *U* II, p. 426) and therefore cannot be the same man as Adam's *Anunder a Ruzzia*,[23] since that Anundr became king of Uppsala only after the death of the two EirīkRs sometime around 1068.[24]

Adam's mention of *Anunder a Ruzzia* deserves our attention because it explicitly states that Anundr was raised in Rus' and remained there until he returned to Uppsala. One may risk the hypothesis that Anundr's father lived in Rus' for a long time, and that his son was born there. The father was probably one of the two oldest sons of E(y)mundr, possibly the oldest, that is, Ragnarr, since, as we have seen, the second oldest, Anundr/Qnundr, was connected not with Rus', but with "Greece" (Byzantium) where he died.[25] Unfortunately, *U* 513 does not mention the place of Ragnarr's death, but there is no reason why the eldest son of the king of Uppsala would not have tried his luck in Rus', as the second eldest had in Greece, and as the third, Ingvarr, was to do some time later. If this assumption is correct, then Ingvarr followed the footsteps of his eldest brother.

According to Adam of Bremen, after the death of King Steinkell Rǫgnvaldsson (1056–1067; from the western Götish dynasty, which represented the new Christian faith) a struggle for power emerged in 1067 between the *duo Herici*, the two Eirīkr's, who were soon killed in battle.[26] Braun's proposal to consider them the representatives of the old semipagan Uppsala dynasty, and the sons of two brothers, Qnundr Óláfsson (1020–1050) and E(y)mundr Óláfsson (1050–1056), can be accepted,[27] and is corroborated by the fact that after the death of Ragnarr and Qnundr, Eiríkr E(y)mundarson was the eldest brother and, therefore, the heir to the Uppsala throne.[28]

After the tragic end of the *duo Herici* (ca. 1067–1068), Hallsteinn Steinkelsson (of the Christian West Götish dynasty) tried his luck at ruling (ca.

[22] Braun, "Kto byl," pp. 144–45.

[23] Adam of Bremen, *Gesta*, ed. Trillmich, book III, Z Schol 84 (85), p. 396 = *Gesta*/Tschan, p. 159.

[24] Braun, "Kto byl," pp. 144–145. Cf. von Friesen, *Fv* 5 (1910), p. 207, who for the same reason opposes Braun's identification.

[25] One would not expect that the son's name would be the same as his father's.

[26] *Gesta*, ed. Trillmich, book III, §53, and Z Schol 84 (85), p. 396 = *Gesta*/Tschan, pp. 159–160.

[27] Braun, "Kto byl," p. 141.

[28] See e.g., *U* 540 and *Sö* 279.

Table 18. *The Origin of Ingvarr* (*Yngvarr hinn víðfǫrli*)

ŌlāfR skautkonungr
K of S 995–1020/1022
~ 1) Āstrīðr, d. of the king of Abotriti; ~ 2) concubine

1	2		1	2
Anundr Jakob K of S 1020/1022– 1047/1050	Emundr slemme; *Sö* 279; cf. *U* 540; K of S 1047/1050–1060 ~ 1) Ragnhildr of Rimbo; *U* 540 ~ 2) Tōla of Gripsholm; *Sö* 179	Hōlmfrīðr ~ Sveinn (d. 1016) Earl of Hlaðir 995–996; 1000–1016	Ingigærðr d. 1050 ~ Jaroslav of Rus' 1014–1054	Æstrīðr ~ St. Óláfr (d. 1030) K of N 1016–1028, 1029–1030

	1	1	1	1	1	2	
ÆirīkR K of S 1067–1068	Ragnarr d. before 1041 *U* 513	Anundr d. before 1041 (in Byz?) *U* 513, 540	ÆirīkR; *Sö* 279, *U* 513, 540 K of S 1067–1068	Hākon *U* 513, 540 K of S 1068–1080 ~ Ellisif, d. of Jaroslav	Ingvarr d. 1041 *Sö* 179, 279; *U* 513, 540	Haraldr d. 1041 *Sö* 179, 279	daughter ~ Stēnkæl (Steinkell) of W. Götland K of S 1056–1067

"Anunder a Ruzzia"
K of S 1068

Svæinn
("Blót-Sveinn")
K of S 1090–1099

Kolr
("Sveinn ársæli")
K of S 1090–1099

1068), but he was soon expelled by the pagan reaction. Then *Anunder a Ruzzia* appears in Sweden (ca. 1068). As the eldest nephew of the Uppsala brothers, he was before his younger uncle Hákon in the line of succession. But Hákon soon followed him as king of Uppsala (sometime around 1068), because Anunder was expelled for refusing to offer sacrifices to the pagan gods.[29] Hákon was more successful: one source reports that he ruled for thirteen years (probably 1068–1080). The relations between his clan and Rus' continued to flourish: Hákon married Ellisif (Elisabeth), the daughter of Novgorod-Kiev's Prince Jaroslav (1014–1054) and widow of Haraldr harðráði of Norway (d. 1066).[30]

According to the Yngvars saga, Ingvarr had a son by the name of Sveinn. Braun identified him as Blót-Sveinn,[31] who restored the pagan sacrifices (*blót-*) in Uppsala for several years (ca. 1090–1099). He was succeeded by his pagan son Kolr, called "Sveinn ársæli" by the Uppsala Swedes.[32]

E(y)mundr was sent by his father King Qnundr "*Anunder a Ruzzia*" to *Kvenland*/Finland — "against the Amazons," as Adam of Bremen says — to enlarge the realm. He was poisoned there about 1070. Adam acquired his information about that campaign from his contemporary, Adalwardus the Younger, the German-born Bishop of Sigtuna-Uppsala (1064–1070/71).[33]

[29] Adam of Bremen, *Gesta*, ed. Trillmich, book IV, V Schol. 140 (136), p. 470: "Nuper autem cum rex Sueonum christianissimus Anunder sacrificium gentis statutum nollet demonibus offere, depulsus a regno dicitur a conspectu concilii gaudens abisse, quoniam dignus habebatur pro nomine Jesu contumeliam pati" (= Eng. trans. Tschan, p. 208: "When not long ago the most Christian king of the Swedes, Anunder, would not offer the demons the prescribed sacrifice of the people, he is said, on being deposed, to have departed from the presence of the council, rejoicing that he had been accounted worthy to suffer reproach for the name of Jesus.") I see no reason to identify Anunder with King Ingi I, although many scholars, especially Bruno Schmeidler, do; see his *Hamburg-Bremen und Nordost Europa vom 9–11 Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1918), p. 313.

[30] All this information is given by Adam of Bremen, *Gesta*, ed. Trillmich, book III, Z Schol 84 (85), p. 396 = *Gesta*/Tschan, p. 159. Hákon appears with the epithet *rödhe*, "red," and is supposed to have reigned thirteen years; see the list added to the Västgöta law, ed. H. S. Collin–C. J. Schlyter in *SGL* I (1827), p. 299. About Hákon, see also *Hkr* III (*IF* 28), p. 225, and the list of the Swedish kings in J. Langebek's *Scriptores rerum Danicarum* I, p. 121: "Catalogus regum Sueciae ab Olavo Skoetkonung ad Valdemarum" (written ca. 1250), ed. E. M. Fant, *Scriptores rerum suecicarum medii aevi*, I: 1 (Uppsala, 1818), no. 7, pp. 16–17; *U* 513 and 540.

[31] "Kto byl," pp. 148–149. For more on Sveinn (Blót-Sveinn), see also *Hkr* III (*IF* 28), p. 263, and the historical appendix to the *Heiðrekssaga* (ed. C. C. Rafn, in *AR* I, p. 210; ed. Tolkien, pp. 62–63).

[32] Historical appendix to the *Heiðrekssaga*, ed. Rafn, in *AR* I, p. 211 = ed. Tolkien, p. 63; cf. W. Dworzaczek, *Genealogia*, table 35.

[33] Adam of Bremen, *Gesta*, ed. Trillmich, book III, §16 (15), pp. 344–346, and book IV, C. Schol. 123 (119), p. 456 = *Gesta*/Tschan, pp. 126–127, 200. One inaccuracy in Braun's article should be corrected here. Ragnhildr of *U* 540 was not Ingvarr's wife ("Kto byl," p.

An Arabic Source for Rus' Expeditions to the Caucasus

In 1975, Alf Thulin suggested a revision in the dating of the Ingvarr stones,[34] based on the publication of a new Arab source concerning Transcaucasia made in 1953-1958 by the eminent Orientalist Vladimir F. Minorsky (Minorskij).[35] Thulin concluded that Ingvarr's expedition should be dated around

148), but his mother; the inscription states it very clearly. The sequence of the kings of Sweden, as well as those of Uppsala and Western Götland, for the period 1051-1112 can be reconstructed as follows:

Table 19. *The Swedish Kings, 1051-1112.*

	Kings of All of Sweden	Kings of Uppsala	Kings of western Götland
1051-1056		E(y)mundr Óláfsson	Steinkell Rǫgnvaldsson
1056-1067	Steinkell Rǫgnvaldsson		
ca. 1067-1068		The struggle between the "two Eiríkrs"	
1067-1080			Hallstein Steinkelsson Ingi I Steinkelsson
ca. 1068	Hallstein Steinkelsson (expelled)		
ca. 1068		Qnundr (?Ragnarsson) *"Anunder a Ruzzia"*	
ca. 1068-1080	Hákon E(y)mundarson		
1080	Hallstein Steinkelsson		
1080-1090	Ingi I Steinkelsson		
1090-1099		Blót-Sveinn Ingvarsson Kolr Sveinsson (Sveinn ársæli)	Ingi I Steinkelsson
1099-1112	Ingi I Steinkelsson		

[34] *ANF* 90, pp. 19-29.

[35] V. F. Minorskij, *Acta Orientalia Hung* 3 (1953), pp. 207-209; Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History* (London, 1953); Minorsky, *A History of Sharvān and Darband in the 10th-11th Centuries* (Cambridge, Eng., 1958). See the review by B. N. Zaxoder in his *Kaspijskij svod svedenij o vostočnoj Evrope* II (1967), pp. 173-180.

1030–1033, and that it was directed toward the southeastern shores of the Caspian Sea: Darband (al-Bāb) and Šarwān.[36] We must agree with Thulin that the Scandinavians operating in Western and Central Asia would be called in the Islamic sources *ar-Rūs* (and, we may add: Turkic > Persian *urūs*[37]), since they came east via the territories belonging to the realm of Rus' (and were often at the service of some Rus' ruler).

Minorsky discovered that the Ottoman historian Aḥmad b. Luṭfullāh, known as Müneğğim-baši ("astronomer royal"), who died in A.H. 1113/A.D. 1702, had written down in Arabic some otherwise unknown sources for his historical work ("Ğāmi' ad-duwal"). Among them was the anonymous *Ta'rīkh al-Bāb wa Šarwān*, a local history of three eastern Caucasian Muslim lands: al-Bāb/Bāb al-Abwāb (Darband), Arrān (Caucasian Albania), and Šarwān (Shirvan). Müneğğim-baši included a good part of this source in his presentation. Although according to him the *Ta'rīkh al-Bāb* was completed around A.H. 500/1106, Minorsky rightly argues that the date of the work was some thirty years earlier (A.H. 468/1075).[38] The original Arabic text of Müneğğim-baši's work has not yet been published, but Minorsky had photographs from the best Istanbul manuscript of *Ğāmi' ad-duwal* at his disposal (Top-kapı Sarayı Aḥmad III Library, no 2954, copied in A.H. 1116/1704), said to be a copy of the author's own draft.[39]

Around 1030 there were three distinguishable cultural and political zones in the Caucasian lands: a sedentary Christian zone in the west, a sedentary Muslim zone in the east, and a mixed zone — pagan-Christian and sedentary-nomadic. The Christian zone comprised Armenia to the south and Georgia to the north. Armenia (headed in the tenth century by the Great King of Ani) was rapidly disintegrating and being absorbed into the Byzantine Empire by Basil II (976–1025), Romanus III (1028–1034), and Constantine IX Monomachus (1042–1055). In Georgia at the same time the Iberia-Abasgian kings continued to build a strong united Georgian state.

Al-Bāb (Bāb al-Abwāb/Darband), Šarwān, and Arrān were the three Muslim states in the area. Darband had long been ruled by commanders appointed by the caliphs to fight the northern invaders, chiefly the Khazars.[40] One of these commanders was the progenitor of the Yazīdī clan of Šarwān, and on that basis he at times laid claim to Darband. The Hāšimid dynasty,

36 *ANF* 90, esp. pp. 28–29.
37 *ANF* 90, pp. 24–26. See also p. 449.
38 Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, p. 4; Minorsky, *A History of Sharvān*, p. 3.
39 Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, p. 4.
40 Minorsky, *History of Sharvān*, p. 122.

which had independently ruled al-Bāb since 869, had arisen from the ranks of the local merchant aristocracy.

The city of Darband possessed the most important harbor on the western shores of the Caspian Sea, and the local merchant aristocracy dominated al-Bāb politics. The emir was a kind of hereditary president of an aristocratic republic.[41]

As with any other political body on the Muslim frontier, al-Bāb had at its disposal various categories of warriors, including "fighters for the faith" (*ġāzī*), volunteers (*muṭṭawi'ī*), "readers of the Qor'ān" (*qurrā'*), and the warriors of "the centers." In addition, the emirs of al-Bāb relied on their personal retinue (*ġulām*). During the period in question, Manṣūr b. Maymūn (393–425/1003–1034) ruled in al-Bāb. His father, Maymūn b. Aḥmad (366–387/976–997), had once sought the help of the Rūs (377/987) when he was having domestic difficulties,[42] and Rūs were still mentioned as being among the members of his retinue two years later (in 379/989).

Šarwān was north of the Kur (Kura, Kurr) River; its capital was Šamākhiya, also called by the dynastic name, Yazīdiya. It was ruled by the aristocratic Arabic clan of Yazīdī, which belonged to the great Šaybānī tribe. But at this time the Iranization of the clan was already apparent; the rulers had accepted the ancient Iranian title of *Šarwānšāh*. Yazid IV (381–418/991–1029) was the last to bear an Arabic name. His son Minūčihr I (418–425/1024/1034) headed the list of Yazīdiya Šarwānšāhs who were given Iranian names, and he married a daughter of the Šaddādid Faḍl I b. Muḥammad of Arrān. Šarwān had earlier had friendly relations with the Khazars.

Arrān lay south of the Kur River. Its capital was Ganja, a city founded by an ancestor of the Šaddādid Šarwānšāhs in 245/859, and then for some time occupied by the Iranian Daylamites. They were in turn ousted in 360/970 by the Šaddādids who were Kurdish adventurers. Ganja remained their capital, but they also held Barda'a, an important trading center of the Caucasus that had been looted by the Rūs in 943–944, some twenty years before their destruction of the Khazar state.

In our period Ganja was ruled by Faḍl I b. Muḥammad (375–422/985–1031) and his son Mūsā (422–425/1031–1034). In 421/1030 Mūsā sought the help of the Rūs against his rebellious brother 'Askarūya, who was a prince of the city of Baylaqān.

The northern, mixed pagan-Christian zone included three powers: Sarīr, Alān and Rūs. Among the rulers who were often in alliance with the Khazar

[41] Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, p. 125.

[42] One such retainer of Maymūn had the Novgorodian name of Valit (بالد *b'ld*; s.a. 378/988: Ar. text, p. 7 = Eng. trans. p. 29, and s.a. 380/990: Ar. text, p. 19 = Eng. trans., p. 46). The Novgorodian form was detected by B. N. Zaxoder in *Kaspijskij svod* II, p. 178.

dynasty was the enigmatic *Ṣāḥib as-Sarīr*, "lord of the throne," who ruled over the valleys of the river Qoy-su in Daghestan. The upper stratum of that realm was probably of (Altaic) Avar origin. According to the tenth-century Arabic sources, the ruler professed Christianity. At the time with which we are concerned, his name, Bīkht-Yišō, was Syriac Christian in origin; Manṣūr b. Maymūn, the emir of Bāb, married his daughter.

The people of Sarīr often allied themselves with the Alāns. Well known in the West during the Great Migrations, the Alāns also retained their realm in the Northern Caucasus. Their center, called in the eastern sources *Maġas* (near Vladivokavkaz/Ordžonikidze, on the Terek River)[43] was situated near the famous Darial Pass and controlled the traffic on that important trade route. Darial was therefore called the Alān Gate in the older sources. They established their ascendency over the Cherkes tribes who lived in the basin formed by the Kuban' and Kuma rivers.

Since the sixth century, the Alāns had remained loyal satellites of the Byzantine Empire. Their ruler had accepted Christianity in the tenth century, and an autocephalous archbishopric and, by the end of the same century, a metropolitanate had been founded in Alania, but it seems that the majority of the people remained strongly pagan.

The relations between the Alāns and the Khazars varied, as they did with their successors, the Rus', after 965–969, but they were on friendly terms with their Christian neighbors, the Georgians and the people of Sarīr. They made their raids on the Islamic Caucasian realms operating both through the Darial Pass and through Daghestan. After the Rus' (Rūs) and the Oγuz (Torki) had destroyed the Khazar state, some of the Rus' established themselves in the former Bosporus Kingdom, and another group probably settled at the estuary of the Terek River in Daghestan (Semender).

Minorsky has suggested that the Rūs operating in the Caucasus "may have had a base somewhere near the estuary of the Terek (the spit of Agrakhan?), whence the Khazar refugees had been repatriated."[44]

The principality of T"mutorokan' (Byzantine name, Tamatarcha), as the new version of the Bosporus Kingdom came to be called, was then united with the Černihiv Principality. This union extended its power further to the east and forced a part of the Cherkes tribes (*PVL* Kasogi) of the Kuban' basin to acknowledge its suzerainty. Between 1014 and 1034 Mstislav Volodimerovič, a half-brother of Jaroslav of Novgorod ruled in T"mutorokan'. The brothers entered into a struggle for power that ended with the Treaty of Horodec' in

[43] See Minorsky, *BSOAS* 14 (1952), pp. 221–238.
[44] Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, p. 114 n. 2.

1026, which made the Dnieper River the frontier of the two realms. T"mutorokan' and Černihiv became the two centers of the eastern half.[45]

In 1033 Mstislav's only son, Eustaxij, died and the next year (6542/1034), the father followed.[46] Now Jaroslav could unite all the Rus' lands under him. Two years later, after a decisive victory over the Pečenegs, Jaroslav transferred his capital from Novgorod to Kiev. The years 1034–1036 had special significance for Jaroslav: he gradually succeeded to all Mstislav's realm.

Now let us turn to the data of the *Ta'rīkh al-Bāb*. They are found in three chapters:[47] A. On the Descendents of Šaddād, rulers of Arrān (s.a. 421/1030); B. On the Kings of Šarwān and Bāb al-Abwāb (s.a. 421/1030; 423/1032; 424/1033); C. On the Bānū-Hāšim, kings of Bāb al-Abwāb etc. (s.a. 423/1032; 424/1033).

The Arabic Text

A	B
§10. وفى سنة ٤٢١ ارسل الفضل ابنه و ولي عهده موسى بن الفضل فى جمع الى قتال ابنه الاخر عسكويه (كذا) ببيلقان وكان قد عصى على ابيه واخيه وجمع جمعًا فاراد الخروج على ابيه فسار موسى واستعان بالروسية على اخيه لانّهم كانت قد دخلت منهم طائفة بنحو ثمان وثلثين سفينة الى بلاد شروان	§15. . . . ثُمّ دخلت الروس أيضا بلاد شروان في هذه السنة
فحار بهم صاحب شروان منوچهر	فقابلهم منوجهر شروانشاة عند باكويه فقُتل جمع عظيم من الشراونة وقتل أحمد بن خاصكين (ه خاصتكين؟) من عظمائهم
(فعقد منوچهر) الرسّ ليمنعهم من الصعود تغرقّوا جماعةً من المسلمين	ثم صعد الروسية إلى نهر كُر (كذا) فعقد منوجهر الرسّ ليمنعهم من الصعود فغرّقوا جماعة من المسلمين،
فاخرجهم موسي بن الفضل واعطاهم اموالاً جمّةً وحملهم الي بيلقان فاخذهابهم وقبض علي اخيه عسكر يه (كذا) فقتله	ثم أخرجهم صاحب جنزة موسي بن الفضل وأعطاهم أموالاً جمّة وحملهم إلي بيلقان لأنّ أهلها كانوا قد استعصوا عليه حتي اخذ بيلقان بإمداد الروسية ، وقبض علي أخيه عسكر ية وقتله
ثم انّ الروسية خرجوا من ارّان الي الروم وامتدّوا فيها الي الروس	ثم إنّ الروسية خرجوا من أرّان إلي الروم وامتدوا منها إلي بلادهم

[45] See *PVL*, ed. Lixačev I, p. 83 (s.a. 6496/988), p. 99–101 (s.a. 6530/1022; 6531/1023; 6532/1024; 6541/1026).

[46] *PVL*, ed. Lixačev I, p. 101; however the correct date of Mstislav's death is to be found in the Hypatian chronicle, *PSRL*, II², ed. A. A. Šaxmatov, col. 138.

[47] Arabic Text A, ed. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, §10 = p. *11, l. 14 — p. *12, l. 1; §11 = p. *12, l. 4 — l. 6; Text B, ed. Minorsky, *History of Sharvān*: §15 = p. *9, l. 6 — l. 13; §15 *bis* = p. *9, l. 13 — l. 21; Text C, ed. Minorsky, *History of Sharvān*: §38 = p. *21, l. 2 — l. 12.

A

§11. سنة ٤٢٢ وفيها خرجت الروسيه كرّة ثا
نية فسار اليهم وقاتلهم عند باكو يه فاخرجهم من بلاده وقتل
منهم مقتلة عظيمة

B

§15 (*bis*). وفي سنة ٤٢٣
اتّفق السر ير ية واللانية وأغاروا علي شروان وأخذوا اليز يدية
منها عنوة وقتلوا فيها وفي سائر بلاد شروان ز يادة علي عشرة آلاف
نفس وأقاموا فيها عشرة أيام يحفرون الأرض و يُخرجون منها ما
دفنه فيها أهل البلاد من الاموال ولامتعة، فلمّا امتلات أيديهم
من غنائم المسلمين انصرفوا الي بلادهم راجعين فلمّا عبروا من
باب حشب وثب عليهم أهل الثغور البابية وأخذوا الطرق
والمضائق عليهم وقتلوا منهم مقتلة عظيمة لم يذكر مثلها، وأخذوا
منهم جميع ما حملوه من شروان من أموال المسلمين من صامت
وناطق وما نجا منهم إلاّ شرذمة قليلة بحشاشة أنفسهم مع صاحب
اللان

§15 (*ter*). ثم عاد صاحب اللان
في سنة ٤٢٤ لأخذ الثأر إلي الباب فانكسر في هذه الدفعة أيضا
بعون الله تعالي.

C

§38. وفي سنة ٤٢٣ غزا الأمير منصور مع غزاة
المراكز الإسلامية غزوة عظيمة وذلك أن الروسية كانوا قد
أغاروا علي بلاد شروان وخرّبوها ونهبوها وقتلوا وأسروا من أهلها
عالما عظيما، ولمّا عادوا وأيديهم ممتلئة من المنهوبات والسبايا
أخذت الغزاة البابية والثغر ية مع الأمير منصور هذا عليهم
المضايق والمسالك فحكّموا فيهم السيف فلم يفلت منهم إلاّ
قليل، وأخذوا من أيديهم جميع ما أخذوه من شروان من صامتٍ
وناطف، فقصد الروسية واللانية أخذ الانتقام فجمعوا وحشدوا
وتوجّهوا إلي الباب والثغور.

§38 (*bis*). في سنة ٤٢٤ فقصدوا
أولاً الكرخ وكان بها شرذمة قليلة مع خسرو(؟) والهيثم بن
ميمون البائي (البابي؟) رئيس الدبّاغين وحارب مع الكرخية
فأنزل الله النصر علي المسلمين حتي قتلوا من اللانية والروسية
مقتلة عظيمة فانهزم صاحب اللان من باب الكرخ مقهورا
فانقطع بالكلية طمع الكفرة من هذه المراكز الإسلامية.

(*translation*)

A. On the descendents of Šaddād, rulers of Arrān.[48]

§10. In 421/1030 Faḍl [b. Muḥammad, emir of Arrān, 375–422/985–1031] sent his son and heir, Mūsā b. Faḍl [emir of Arrān 422–425/1031–1034], with a detachment to Baylaqān to fight his other son 'Askarūya, who revolted against his father and

B. On the kings of Šarwān and Bāb al-Abwāb.

[48] Trans. Minorsky. Text A: *Studies in Caucasian History*, §10 = p. 17; §11 = p. 17; Texts B and C: *History of Sharvān*, §15 = pp. 31–32; Text C: §38 = p. 47.

brother and collected troops with the intention of marching against his father.

Mūsā set out and sought help against his brother from the Rūs, some thirty-eight of whose boats had penetrated into Šarwān.

§15. And in the same year the Rūs entered Šarwān.

The lord of Šarwān Minūčihr [b. Yazīd 418-425/1027-1034]

And the Šarwānšāh Minūčihr met them near Bākūya (Baku).
Many of the Šarwānians were killed, and Aḥmad b. Khāṣṣ[ti]gin, one of their notables, lost his life. Then the Rūs went up to the river Kur, and Minūčihr closed the Araxes in order to stop their progress, but they drowned a party of Muslims. Later the lord of Ǧanza (Ganja) Mūsā b. Faḍl made them disembark.

fought them on [?] the Araxes in order to stop their progress, but they drowned a party of Muslims. Later Mūsā b. Faḍl [emir of Arrān] made them disembark.

He gave them much money and took them to Baylaqān,and with their help took the town,
and seized and killed his brother 'Askarūya.

He gave them much money and took them to Baylaqān. With the help of the Rūs he captured Baylaqān, and seized and killed his brother 'Askarūya.

Then the Rūs quitted Arrān for Rūm and thence proceeded to the Rūs [country].

Then the Rūs quitted Arrān for Rūm and thence proceeded to their own country.

§11. [AH 422/AD 1031]. And in this year the Rūs came a second time and [Mūsā b. Faḍl, as the new emir of Arrān] set forth and fought them near Bākūya (Baku). He expelled them from his dominions and killed a large number of their warriors.

C. On the Bānū-Hāšim, kings of Bāb al-Abwāb, Masqat and the marches, which are also called "centers"

§15 (bis). In 423/1032 the people of the Sarīr and the Alāns made an agreement, raided Šarwān, and took [its capital city] Yazīdiya by force. There and in other parts of Šarwān they killed over ten thousand people and stayed ten days digging the earth and extracting from it the money and goods that the inhabitants had hidden there.

§38. In 423/1032 the Emir Manṣūr [b. Maymūn of al-Bāb, 393–425/1003–1034], with the ġāzī's of the Islamic centers led a great expedition. This was because the Rūs had raided the territories of Šarwān, ruined and plundered them, and murdered or took prisoner a great mass of the inhabitants. As they were returning, their hands full of booty and captives, the ġāzīs of al-Bāb and the marches with the Emir Manṣūr at their head occupied the defiles and the roads and put them to the sword so that few escaped. They took from their hands all the booty, animate and inanimate, which they had captured in Šarwān.

Then the Rūs and the Alāns [returned] with the intention of revenge.
They gathered together and jointly set off in the direction of al-Bāb and the marches.

§38 (bis). First, in 424/1033 they moved to [Ur-]al-Karakh where there was only a small group [of warriors] with Khusrau and Haytam b. Maymūn al-Bā'i [-Bābī?], chief of the tanners. And [the latter?] fought them with the help of the people of [Ur-]Karakh, and God let victory descend on the Muslims, and they wrought great havoc among the Alāns and the Rūs.
The lord of the Alāns was beaten off from the gate of [Ur-]Karakh, and the infidels' greed for these Islamic centers was extinguished absolutely.

When their hands were full of Muslim booty they went back to their country, but on reaching Bāb Khašab (the Wooden Gate) the people of the March of al-Bāb attacked them, barred the roads and the defiles to them, and killed a great many of them, [a slaughter] the like of which has not been recorded.
They took from them all the Muslim property, animate and inanimate, which they had carried off from Šarwān. Only a small party, including the lord of the Alāns, escaped with their lives.

§15 (ter). Again in 424/1033 the lord of the Alāns came to take his revenge on al-Bāb, but this time, too, with God's help, he was defeated.

The synchronic presentation of the data of the *Ta'rīkh al-Bāb* shows that the Rūs are mentioned there in the following contexts:

In 421/1030, Mūsā b. Faḍl, the heir-apparent of Arrān invited some Rūs to help him punish his rebellious brother in Baylaqān. The Rūs, coming apparently from their Terek base, arrived in thirty-eight ships. While they were on their way to the estuary of the Kur River, they were surprised by the fleet of Šarwānšāh Minūčihr I b. Yazīd, who apparently was not sympathetic to the plans of the Sāddādid Mūsā. But the Rūs drowned the Muslims, and were able to proceed with their plan. They entered the Kur River, went upriver to the confluence of the Araxes, and there they were told to disembark and attack and capture the town of Baylaqān.

Having successfully accomplished that mission, the Rūs returned home via *Rūm*, "thus completing the circuit of the Caucasus." Their final destination was the principality of T"mutorokan'.[49]

In 422/1031, the Rūs ships came again, this time uninvited; their former host, Mūsā b. Faḍl, by now lord of Arrān and brother-in-law of the Šarwānšāh Minūčihr, defeated them near Baku, killing a large number.

In 423/1032, a coalition of three peoples, the Sarīr, the Alāns, and the Rūs, raided the territory of Šarwān and took its capital city of Šamākhiya by force. As they were returning with their Muslim booty, the emir of al-Bāb/Darband Manṣūr b. Maymūn (although newly married to the daughter of the king of Sarīr) attacked them with various divisions of Islamic frontier fighters, after having earlier occupied the defiles and roads. The Muslims recaptured the booty and exterminated many of the raiders. Only a small party, which included the king of the Alāns, escaped.

In 424/1033, the Rūs and the Alāns attacked al-Bāb/Darband bent on revenge, but they were defeated at [Ur-]Karakh, northwest of Darband.

After 424/1033 the Rūs never again came to the lands of al-Bāb, Arrān, and Šarwān.

We can infer from this narrative that all the peoples named in it were local. The Rūs of 1030–1033 (and earlier, e.g., of 987) were not strangers to that society: in 987–989 they are named as being among the members of the retinue of a local Muslim ruler (the emir of al-Bāb/Darband). They knew the Caucasian sea and land routes. The local rulers, both Christian (e.g., Alāns, Sarīr) and Muslim (al-Bāb, Arrān) were associated with them.

There is no way to identify the Rūses of the *Ta'rīkh al-Bāb* with the Rus' of Kiev or Novgorod, let alone the Swedish Varangians from Södermanland and Uppland. We shall have to accept Minorsky's suggestion that they are the Rus'

[49] I concur with Minorsky on this point; see *Studies in Caucasian History*, p. 77.

of T"mutorokan'. The thesis of Alf Thulin that Ingvarr directed one of their expeditions, therefore, has to be rejected.

The Expedition to Khwārizm

In one of the eleventh-century stones discovered in 1938 in the church ruins at Stora Ryttern (Västmanland) (but which does not mention Ingvarr), the word **karusm** appears, a term hitherto unknown in the runic inscriptions (*Vs* 1-2):

kuþlefR seti stff auk sena þasi uftiR slakua sun sia, etaþr austr i karusm.	GuðlæifR set up a staff and these stones for Slagvi, his son. He died eastwards in **karusm.**

Sven Birger Frederik Jansson, the first editor of the inscription, suggested in 1940 that the spelling of the word was wrong, and that it should be corrected to read ***austr i krþum**, "eastwards in Garðar (= Rus')."[50] But in 1946, he changed his mind, and identified **karusm** as the Central Asian city of Chorezm (Khwārizm). Since it was situated in the same region as Serkland, he connected inscription *Vs* 1-2 with the Ingvarr stones and declared Khwārizm to be the place where the bold Viking expedition of 1041 had met its unhappy end.[51]

This theory was criticized by the eminent Swedish archeologist Ture J. Arne,[52] who declared that a Viking chieftain would have been incapable of making the journey to Khwārizm, south of the estuary of the Amu Darya at the Aral Sea as late as about 1040. Such an enterprise would have been possible only during the time of Ibn Faḍlān's expedition of 922. Arne, instead, accepted Jansson's first interpretation, namely that **i karusm** was a corruption of **i krþum**. In his corpus of Västmanland inscriptions Jansson retains the "corrected" form of the name "austr i Garðum (?)";[53] other scholars, e.g., Ruprecht and Mel'nikova, follow this interpretation.[54] But the form **karusm** still deserves attention: it cannot be so lightly dismissed as a corruption.

In the Eurasian medieval trade two languages were customarily used as *linguae francae*, one Iranian and one Altaic. By the beginning of the eleventh century Hunno-Bulgarian had been replaced by another Altaic language, Middle Turkic.

50 Jansson, *Västmanlands fornminnesförenings årsskrift* 28-29 (1940-1941), pp. 1-8.
51 Jansson, *Fv* 41 (1946), p. 265.
52 Arne, *Fv* 41 (1946), pp. 290-305.
53 *Vs* 1-2, pp. 7-9.
54 See *R* 183 = *Mel* 13.

The form **karusm** is a perfect Middle Turkic rendering of the Iranian name Khwārizm (*X*^{w}*ārizm*). Typically Turkic is the substitution here of the initial *x*- (*x*^{w}-) by the Turkic "back *k*-" (i.e., *q*-) and the devoicing of /z/ in combination with the liquid and/or nasal consonant. As for the substitutions of Iranian *x*- and *x*^{w}- by Turkic *q*-, see, e.g., Sogdian *γ*^{w}*t(')ɣnh*/xutēn/'queen' > Old Turkic *q-at-u-n*^{l}/qatun/'id';[55] Sogdian *γ*^{w}*ɣšt*/x^{w}ēštar/'superior' > Old Turkic *qwšt*/qoštr/'id.'[56]

There was no cluster /zm/ in the final position in Turkic, but /z/ next to liquids and nasals had the tendency to become voiceless, e.g., OT **ɣaliŋuz* > *ɣ*^{l}*-al-i-*ŋ*-u-s*^{l}/yaliŋus/"alone";[57] OT *b*^{l}*-ar-z-u-n*^{l}/barzun/, "let him go" > MT *barsun* id.[58]

Finally, the vowel sequence *a-u* from the older *a-i* (~*ǐ*) is a typically Middle Turkic phenomenon (after A.D. 1000), e.g., OT *b'lɣq*/baliq/"fish"[59] > MT (e.g., CC) *baluc*/baluq/id.[60] OT "*γɣz*/aγiz/"mouth"[61] > MT (e.g., CC *aźz*/auz/id.;[62] cf. Middle Ottoman (Megiser) *agus* id.[63]

In the corpus of extant Old Turkic inscriptions, the name Khwārizm does not occur. The Arabs conquered that trading city and political center early (712), and after their conquest the traditional spelling in Arabic script in the written sources was the rule: خوارزم *Khwārizm*).

But with the reawakening of European interest in Asian matters during the Mongol period (after 1223), the popular form of the name for Khwārizm was

[55] Old Turkic (Runic script): Kül Tigin inscription (731), e.g., *IE* 31; Sogdian: Ilya Gershevitch, *A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian* (Oxford, 1961), p. 18 (§132).

[56] Old Turkic (Manichean script), Annemarie von Gabain and Werner Winter, *Türkische Turfan-Texte* IX (Berlin, 1958), p. 5; Sogdian: I. Gershevich, *Grammar*, p. 37 (§230).

[57] Old Turkic (Runic script, eighth century): W. Kotwicz and A. Samojlovič, *Rocznik Orjentalistyczny* 4 (L'viv, 1928): E 23 (p. 104). *Qutadγu Bilig* (1069) still has the older form with the final /z/: Arabic script/Ferghana-ms. (thirteenth century), facs. ed. (Istanbul, 1943), p. 55, l. 8: *ɣlnkwzwn* (cf. p. 40, l. 8: *ɣnklwz*) = Uighur script/Herat-ms. (A.H. 843/A.D. 1439), facs. ed. (Istanbul, 1942), p. 23, l. 26: *ɣ'lɣwz*; but in the later ms. in the Uighur script there is also a form with /s/: p. 32, l. 3: *ɣ'lɣwswn*.

[58] Old Turkic (Runic script): Toñuquq inscription (ca. 716), l. 31; for Middle Turkic (Arabic script), see e.g., Maḥmūd al Kāšġarī (ca. 1075), *Dīwān luġāt at-Turk*, facs. ed. B. Atalay (Ankara, 1941), p. 300, l. 13: برسون, *barsūn*.

[59] Old Turkic (Uighur script): *Türkische Turfan-Texte VII*, ed. G. R. Rachmati (Berlin, 1936), no. 28, l. 46, p. 40; "Altun yaruq," p. 62, l. 11 = ed. S. E. Malov, *Pamjatniki drevnetjurkskoj pis'mennosti* (M.-L., 1951), p. 172.

[60] Middle Turkic (Latin script): *Codex Cumanicus* (ca. 1300), facs. ed. Kaare Grønbech (Kbh, 1936), f. 46a, l. 29.

[61] Old Turkic (Manichean script): *Türkische Turfan-Texte III*, ed. W. Bang and A. v. Gabain (Berlin, 1930), l. 140 (p. 16 = facs. III).

[62] Middle Turkic (Latin script): *Codex Cumanicus*, facs. ed. K. Grønbech, f. 71a, l. 8.

[63] Hieronymi Megiseri, *Institutionum Linguae Turcicae . . . Liber Quartus . . . Dictionarium Turcico-Latinum* (Leipzig, 1612), p. (2): *agus* "os, oris."

recorded. William of Rubruck (1253-1255) calls the inhabitants of the city *Crosmini*,[64] i.e., *crosm-*/krosm/ < */karŭsm/. Sometime during the twelfth century the formerly stressed /a/ < /ā/ of the first syllable has developed in Central Asian Iranian and Turkic into /o/.

In his atlas (*Theatrum orbis terrarum*), published at Antwerp in 1570, Abraham Ortelius writes the name of our city as *Corus*[65] (the final *-m*, untypically for Turkic had already been dropped), which goes directly back to **Karus* (**Qarus*), and ultimately has as its forerunner the form attested in the Stora Ryttern inscription, i.e., *karusm* (*/qarus-m/).

From this one can see that the ingenious suggestion made by Jansson in 1946 has to be vindicated. The runic spelling **karusm** is not an error, but a very precious documentation of an Iranian name that reached Scandinavia through Middle Turkic mediation.

Ture J. Arne made two statements in discussing this problem: one, that it was hardly possible for a Viking chieftain to have made the journey to Khwārizm about 1040; the other that such a journey would doubtless have been easier during the times of Ibn Faḍlān (ca. 921/922). It is now appropriate to examine them.

In 712 the Arabs conquered and Islamicized Khwārizm. Although the old Afrīġ dynasty that had ruled there from A.D. 305 to 995 was not dismissed, its political power gradually passed to the Arabic governor (*amīr*, Emir) residing in the city of *Gurgānč* (Arabic al-*Ǧurǧāniya*, on the left bank of the Amu Darya (later called Urgenč), to the west of the old capital city of Kāṯ. We know very little about the history of Khwārizm until the first quarter of the tenth century, and by that time, the Khwārizmian oasis had already been divided between two rival realms, that of the emir of Gurgānč (left bank and south) and that of the Khwārizmšāh (right bank and north).[66]

Each of the two Khwārizmian states possessed its own sphere of mostly commercial interests. While the Khwārizmšāh, whose realm was called by the geographer al-Maqdisī (985-997) the "Hephthalite [i.e. Transoxanian] side" (or *al-ǧānib*), directed his attention to the Volga Bulgars and then to their new trading partners, the Novgorodian Rus', the emir of Gurgānč (the ruler over the "Khorasan side"), showed his interest in Khazaria.[67]

[64] *Itinerarium Willelmi de Rubruc*, ed. P. Anastasius van den Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana* I (Florence, 1929), p. 320.

[65] Reprinted in John F. Baddley, *Russia, Mongolia, China* I (London, 1919), facing p. cxxii.

[66] For a general orientation, see Wilhelm Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, 2d ed. (London, 1928), pp. 233-234, 261-264, 277-279; S. P. Tolstov, *Po sledam drevnexorezmijskoj civilizacii* (M.-L., 1948), pp. 221-273.

[67] Al-Maqdisī, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *BGA* III (Leiden, 1906), pp. 286-287.

To the north of Khwārizm the new version of the Turkic Empire had existed since the middle of the eighth century. This was the realm of the Oγuz (Oghuz) Yabγu with his residence in *Yaŋi Kent* ("New Town") near the estuary of the Syr Darya which flows into the Aral Sea.[68] Around 965 the ruler of Rus', Svjatoslav (whose father Igor' had conquered Kiev around 930), and the Oγuz Yabγu formed a coalition that would last for almost a hundred years.

These partners soon attacked the Khazar state from two sides,[69] destroyed its capital twin city at the mouth of the Volga, ending its existence entirely.[70] The Volga trade route was replaced by a newly established Dnieper route, and the lands of the *Pax Chazarica* were divided between the two partners: the Rus' received Tamatarcha/T"mutorokan' (the former Bosporus Kingdom) and Semender, a port at the mouth of the Terek River where it flows into the Caspian Sea.[71] To the Oghuz partners were ceded the estuary of the Volga (with the ruins of the former capital)[72] and the peninsula of Man-Qišlaγ (Persian Siyāh-Kūh) with its port on the northeastern side of the Caspian

[68] About that realm, see Pritsak, in *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.* 2: 2(4) (1952), pp. 279–292.

[69] The Rus' attack is documented in the entry 6473/965 of the *PVL*, ed. Lixačev I, p. 47: "Svjatoslav marched against the Khazars. When the Khazars received news about it, they marched against him with their king, the *Kagan* (< OT *qagan*). They met, fought, and after a battle Svjatoslav defeated the Khazars and took their city and Běla Veža [Šarkel]. And he defeated the Jasy (Alans) and the Kasogi (Cherkessians)." Here the Novgorodian I Chronicle has a very important addition: "and he made them [i.e., the Jasy and Kasogi] pay tribute to Kiev." See, on this passage, Lixačev, in *PVL* II, p. 311. From this there can be no doubt that the commercial centers and routes near the Cherkessian/Kasogi (i.e., T"mutorokan') and those close to the Alans/Jasy (i.e., the Terek River with the port of Semender) had become parts of the Kievan realm.)

The Arabic geographer Ibn Ḥawqal (ca. A.H. 367/A.D. 977) mentions the destruction of the Khazar empire by the Rūs three times (ed. J. H. Kramers [Leiden, 1938], pp. 15, 392, 393). See the English translation of these passages in D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars* (Princeton, 1954), p. 242; see especially pp. 242–246, where the discussion on Ibn Ḥawqal's dating of the Rūs attack is presented. Ibn Ḥawqal names three Khazar cities destroyed by the Rūs, stressing especially the Rūs'ian conquest of Semender, ed. J. H. Kramers, p. 393.

[70] The Oghuz attack of A.H. 354/A.D. 965 had been recorded by the Arabic historian Ibn Miskawaihī (d. 421/1030). He writes: "News came to the effect that the Turks (*al-atrāk*, i.e., the Oghuz-Turks) had invaded the territory of the Khazars. The latter invoked the aid of the people of Khwārizm (*ahl Khwārizm*), who declined, saying: 'You are Jews; if you want us to help you, you must become Muslims. They all adopted Islam in consequence with the exception of their king (*malik*)'." See D. S. Margoliouth, *The Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate* (Oxford, 1921); Arabic text, II p. 209 = Eng. trans. V/2, p. 223.

[71] See above, n. 69.

[72] According to the Arabic traveler Abū Ḥāmid al-Ġarnāṭi, when he arrived in A.H. 525/A.D. 1131, the city of *Sxsyn*/Saxsīn, the former capital of the Khazars at the estuary of the Volga River, was in the hands of a coalition of "forty Oghuz tribes" (فيها من الغزّ اربعون قبيلة). See César E. Dubler, *Abū Ḥamid el Granadino y su Relación de viaje por tierras Eurasiáticas* (Madrid, 1953), Arabic text, p. 5.

Sea.[73] Twenty years later (985) the same allies attacked the realm of the Volga Bulgars. Svjatoslav's son Volodimer and his entourage went by ship, and the Oghuz Yabγu (*Torki* of the *PVL*) went on horseback along the coast.[74] But this time the expedition was not successful.

Now Khwārizm had to act. After the disintegration of the *Pax Chazarica* the Emir of Gurgānč Ma'mūn b. Muḥammad (d. 997) undertook a series of annual raids against the former Khazar towns.[75] To fill the vacuum that had resulted from the end of the Khazar state and to prevent the Rus' from taking over all the Khazar inheritance, the emir decided to set up an empire equal to that of the Khazars.[76] The situation was ripe for such an action since Ma'mūn's theoretical suzerain, the Samanid Emir, was being replaced by the Turkic Karakhanids after 982, a branch of the former Central Asian imperial dynasty. The first step toward this goal was the liquidation of his partner (Khwārizmšāh) and the unification of the entire Khwārizamian oasis, which was accomplished in 995.[77]

The sovereignty of the new all-Khwārizmian dynasty, created by Ma'mūn I, who had now also assumed the title of Khwārizmšāh, lasted only twenty years. During the following twenty-five years it acted as a protectorate for the new mighty (but ephemeral) power of the slave dynasty of the Ghaznawids.[78] Nevertheless, the very concept of a *Pax Chwarizmica* as a successor to the *Pax Chazarica* proved vigorous and survived not only the Seljuk era but even the Mongol invasion.[79]

After the death of Ma'mūn II b. Ma'mūn (ca. 1010–1017), who did not long

[73] The "recent" interest of the Oghuz in the port of Man-Qišlaγ / Siyāh-kūh is reported by al-Iṣṭakhrī (ca. 951), ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, repr. 1927), p. 219. The author of *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* (A.H. 372/A.D. 982) already names the Oghuzes as the inhabitants of the region: "Siyāh-kūh: a horde of Oghuz-Turks who have settled there loot (*duzdī*) on land and sea," facs. ed. V. Barthold (L., 1930), f. 5b = Eng. trans. V. Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* (London, 1937), p. 60. For al-Kāšġarī (ca. 1074), Man-Qišlaγ is already "a placename in the country of the Oghuz" (*bi-bilād al ġuzziya*), facs. ed. B. Atalay, p. 234, l. 6. The great Khwārizmian scholar, al-Bīrūnī, in his *Qānūn* (A.H. 421/A.D. 1030) specifies the "Mountain Banxišlaγ" (Man-Qišlaγ) as the "port of the Oghuzes," ed. M. Krause, S. H. Barani, et al., *Canon Masudicus* (Hyderabad, 1954–1956), I, p. 575 = Russian trans. by P. G. Bulgakov and B. A. Rozenfel'd, *Biruni. Izbrannye proizvedenija* V:1 (Taškent, 1973), p. 470.

[74] See *PVL*, ed. Lixačev I, p. 252, and S. P. Tolstov, *Po sledam*, pp. 252, 255–256, and map on p. 254.

[75] See al-Maqdisī (A.H. 375–387/A.D. 985–997), ed. de Goeje (*BGA* III), p. 361.

[76] See S. P. Tolstov, *Po sledam*, pp. 223–233; his presentation of the Khazar-Khwārizmian political ties and programs is somehow exaggerated, but still useful. Concerning the Karakhanids, see Pritsak, *Der Islam* 31 (1953–1954), pp. 17–68.

[77] See W. Barthold, *Turkestan* (Eng. ed.), p. 147.

[78] On the Ghaznawids, see Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids* (Edinburgh, 1963).

[79] During the epoch of the Golden Horde (ca. 1240–1400) there were two centers: the political capital on the Volga, Saray, and the cultural center, Khwārizm. The term "Khwa-

outlive the loss of his independence, the Ghaznawid ruler Maḥmud b. Sebük-Tigin installed his former Turkic slave Altuntaš as Khwārizmšāh (1017–1032). The son and successor of the latter, Hārūn b. Altuntaš, took advantage of the weak rule of Mas'ūd (1030–1041), Maḥmūd's successor, and rebelled in 1034. He proclaimed the independence of Khwārizm,[80] but was soon replaced by his more obedient brother, Isma'īl Khandān b. Altuntaš. Then a new pretender to Khwārizm arose. This was the ruler of Ǧand, Šāh-Malik,[81] the son and successor of the last Oγuz Yabγu 'Alī (who had accepted Islam in 1003)[82] and who had been ousted by the new power, the Seljuks.

It is reasonable to suppose that in 1034 Šāh-Malik would have turned for help to the traditional ally of the Oghuzes, Jaroslav of Novgorod, the grandson of Svjatoslav, Oghuz ally of 965, and the son of Volodimer, Oghuz ally of 985. Just at this time Jaroslav was emerging as the sole ruler of Rus'.

After Volodimer's death in 1015 the struggle for power among his sons lasted eleven years. The Battle of Listven (1024), for which Jaroslav, following his usual pattern, hired the mercenary Varangian prince Jakun/Hákon, had proved that the strength of the two remaining competitors was about equal. As a result, in the Treaty of Horodec' Jaroslav of Great Novgorod and Mstislav of T"mutorokan' and Černihiv divided the realm of Volodimer, and the Dnieper became the frontier between the two Rus' realms.

But the half-brothers soon became allies and initiated a period of new Rus' expansion. In 1030 Jaroslav took Belz from the Poles and founded the town of Jur'ev (Tartu/Dorpat) on the newly occupied Estonian (Čud') territory. In 1031 Jaroslav and Mstislav waged a campaign against the Poles and reconquered the famous Červen towns (Grady Červen'skyja).[83] The Nikon Chronicle (and Tatiščev) contains some information on this point under the year 6537/1029: "Jaroslav marched against the Jasy [Alāns] and took them" (*Jaroslav xodi na Jasy i vzjat ix*).[84] The possible way for Jaroslav to attack the Alāns, whose center was near the Darial Gate was to sail along the Terek River in the North Caucasus. In 1029 Mstislav, now occupied with Jaroslav's

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rizmian Turkic" is currently used by scholars to designate the Islamic Turkic literary language which was cultivated there at that time. See János Eckmann in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* I (Wiesbaden, 1959), pp. 113–137 (language), and II (1964), pp. 275–296 (literature).

[80] For details, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, Index, s.v., and Bosworth, *Ghaznavids*, Index, s.v.

[81] Concerning Šāh Malik, see Pritsak, "Decline" (see n. 68), pp. 289–290.

[82] So according to Gardīzī (ca. 1050), ed. W. Barthold, in *Turkestan v èpoxu mongol'skogo našestvija* I (S-Pb, 1898), p. 13. See also Pritsak, "Decline" (see fn. 68), pp. 288–289.

[83] *PVL*, ed. Lixačev I, p. 101.

[84] "Nikon Chronicle," *PSRL* IX (S-Pb, 1862), p. 79; V. N. Tatiščev, *Istorija rossijskaja* IV (M.-L., 1964), p. 147.

campaigns in the west, must have invited his brother to launch an attack in the east, that is, in the Terek basin.

Events moved very quickly. In 1033 Eustaxij, Mstislav's only son, died; Mstislav himself died in the year following. This was also the year of the revolution in Khwārizm, when Jaroslav became the sole ruler of all of Rus'. Now he had to claim the territories beyond the Dnieper ruled by Mstislav, especially the two naval bases at T"mutorokan' and Semender.

For that difficult task he needed the help of experienced seamen. As a brother-in-law of the ruling Swedish king, Jaroslav quite naturally again turned to the Varangian mercenaries; he needed them all the more, as his Oghuz ally had also asked for help.

In the spring of 1035 Jaroslav sent a fleet from the Terek estuary toward Khwārizm. Our main source for the years 1030–1041 in Khwārizm and the Ghaznavid state in general just before and just after this event are the memoirs, unique for the time in Islamic historiography, of the former state secretary, Abu'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn Bayhaqī (ca. 995–1077), the so-called Ta'rīkh-i Bayhaqī, or Ta'rīkh-i Mas'ūdī, written in Persian. Under the year A.H. 426/1035 is the following report:[85]

رضي الله عنه پيوسته اينجا بشراب ونشاط مشغول مي بود.

وامير [مُسعود بن محمّد]

And the emir [Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad, 1030–1044], may God be pleased with him, there [in the southern Caspian city of Āmūl] gave himself over to the drinking of wine.

وروز آدينه دو روز مانده از جمادي الالي امير با لشكر رفت بكرانهٔ در ياي آبسكون وآنجا خيمها وشراعها زدند وشراب خوردند وماهي گرفتند.

On Friday, two days before the end of the month of Ǧumādā I [= 4 April 1035], the emir went with his soldiers to the shore of the Ābaskūn (Caspian) Sea, and there they pitched pavilions and tents, drank wine, and fished.

وكشتيهاي اروس ديدند كز هر جاي آمد و بگذشت.

And they saw the ships of the *Urūs* (*'rw's* = Rus'), which appeared from all sides and sailed by.[86]

[85] Ed. Dr. Ghanī - Dr. Fayyāz (Teheran, 1324/1945), p. 463.

[86] The name 'rws, *Urūs* is a Turkic loanword in Persian where, unlike Turkic, the liquids /r/ can occur in the initial position of a word. Bayhaqī, who did not see the ships of the *Urūs* himself, does not say how many there were. But he describes them as appearing "from all sides," so the thirty ships reported in the *Yngvars saga víðfǫrla* (see E. Olson's introduction to his edition, *Yngvars saga*, pp. xciv–xcviii) is not an exaggeration; it may even be too low.

[87] In the text است is certainly incorrect.

وممکن نشد که دست کس بدیشان رسیدي که معلوم بُوَد [87] که هر کشتي بکدام فرضه در گذار بود.

It was not possible to reach them [they were far from the shore] to discover to which port [of Ǧurǧān] each ship was heading.

این اللهم شهر که خردست من ندیدم. اما بو الحسن دلشاد که رفته بود این حکایتها مرا وي کرد.

This Allahum (= port of the town of Āmul), a small town, I did not see; however, Bu'l-Ḥasan Dilšād [the emir's secretary], who had gone there, told me of these happenings.

Unfortunately, Bayhaqī did not see the ships of the Urūs himself and does not provide other details for that strange expedition. But one thing is evident: these Urūs had no intention of attacking any of the South Caspian trading centers, as the Rūs of 1030–1033 did; they were only passing by on their way to a more distant place.

Navigation was not sufficiently developed during the Middle Ages to negotiate the stormy Caspian Sea.[88] After the destruction of the Khazar capital, the twin cities, Sāriγčin and Khamlīkh at the mouth of the Volga, only five Caspian major ports were left: in the west, Semender at the mouth of the Terek belonging to the Rus' and, below it, the Muslim al-Bāb (Darband). The main port of the southern, Persian, coast was Ābaskūn in Hyrcania (*Ǧurǧān*); of less importance was the port Dihistānān Sur in the country of the ancient Dahæ people, by the estuary of the Atrak, and, finally, Man-Qišlaγ (Persian *Siγāh-kūh*) on the northeastern coast of the Caspian, since 965 the port of the Yabγu Oghuz realm.[89] The Urūs ships could have had only two possible destinations: Dihistānān Sur[90] or Man-Qišlaγ. Both ports were terminals for routes that headed toward Khwārizm.

In the meantime, the Ghaznawid Sultan Mas'ūd felt it necessary to grant an official charter to Šāh-Malik b. 'Alī (in 1038) for the office of Khwārizmšah.

[88] The classical description of the Caspian Sea (*Baḥr al-Khazar*) and navigation on it was made by al-Iṣṭakhrī (ca. 930–951), ed. de Goeje (*BGA* I) (Leiden, repr. 1927), pp. 217–227. Cf. also G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1905), pp. 172–184, 364–381; and Konrad Miller, *Mappae Arabicae* IV (Stuttgart, 1929), esp. Supplement, no. 16 ("Kaspisches Meer").

[89] In his geographic encyclopedia, al-Yāqūt ar-Rūmī (A.H. 621 / A.D. 1224) says the following about Man-Qišlaγ (ed. F. Wüstenfeld, IV [Leipzig, 1869], p. 670): ". . . an impregnable fortress at the end of the Khwārizmian frontier. It is located between Khwārizm, Saqsin [the estuary of the Volga], and the lands of the Rūs (*nawāḥī ar-Rūs*)." Thus it is clear that the presence of the Rūs on the Caspian Sea (i.e., at their port of Semender) was common knowledge among the Muslims after their incursion (based on the data of the ninth to eleventh centuries).

[90] On this, see Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 193.

After some further events, the battle of Asīb (not yet definitely located) on February 11, 1041 left Šāh-Malik victorious and opened the gates of Khwārizm to him on June 18, 1041.[91]

The Urūs ships seen by Sultan Mas'ūd in April 1035 probably belonged to Ingvarr/Yngvarr, sent by his uncle Jaroslav to help his Oghuz ally.[92] According to a Swedish tradition reflected in the Yngvarr saga, Ingvarr spent several (probably six) years in the east. Since the Icelandic annals give as the date of Yngvarr's death the year 1041, that Yngvarr/Ingvarr and his companions perished in the bloody battle on the field of Asīb seems likely.

Contrary to a statement by T. J. Arne, it was only during the years 1035–1041 that a Varangian could have sailed to Khwārizm. The very important date, not only from a historical but also from a runological point of view of the expedition of Yngvarr/Ingvarr hinn viðfǫrli can now be regarded as definitely established.

The Message of the Ingvarr's Stones

As Swedish runologists have already established from the data on ten Södermanland and six Uppland stones,[93] the participants of Ingvarr's campaign of 1041 were mainly recruited from the areas near Lake Mälar. The Södermanland stones include fragments of three monuments in the cathedral church (*domkyrka*) at Strängnäs: one for Ingvarr himself (*Sö* 279), the second for the brother of a certain UlfR who died in Serkland together with Ingvarr (*Sö* 281), and the third for a member of the retinue who was either the son or the husband or the father of Ingiborg (*Sö* 277). The fourth, in Gripsholm (Kärnbo sn, Selebo hd) was raised by Tōla for her son Haraldr, the brother of Ingvarr who died in Serkland (*Sö* 179 = *M* 77c). The next four are for four warriors who came from the district (hd) of Östra Rekarne: BægliR, the husband of Sefa and the father of (**-stain**) from Jäder (*Sö* 96); Þōrbiorn (?), the son of Holmviðr from Högstena (Kjula sn; *Sö* 105; cf. *R*, p. 114, no. 8); SkarfR, the father of (H)RōðlæifR from Balsta (Klosters sn; *Sö* 107); UlfR, the father of GunnulfR from Gredby (Klosters sn; *Sö* 108). The ninth is for Hugi, the brother of Andvēttr (*Sö* 287) who came from Hunhammar (modern

[91] *Ta'rikh-i Bayhaqi*, ed. Ghanī - Fayyāz, pp. 689–690.

[92] Unlike the Pečenegs, the Oghuzes (*PVL* calls them *Torki*, i.e., "Turks") never raided the Rus' territories; after the Kipchak (Polovcians) subdued the Oghuz territory (ca. 1050), many of them left their homeland to enter the service of the Rus' princes as soldiers in the famous Black Hoods (*černye klobuki*).

[93] See Wessén, *Historiska runinskrifter*, p. 31.

Norsborg, Botkyrka sn, Svartlösa hd). The tenth is in the church Ärja ödekyrka (Åkers sn and hd) and is a monument erected for Ōsnīkinn, the brother of UlfR, who was a sailor (*skipari*) under the command of Holmstæinn (*Sö* 335).

The following men came from the Uppland side of Lake Mälar: Sæbiorn, the father of of Hærlæif and Þorgærðr, was the commander of a ship during Ingvarr's campaign (Steninge, Husby-Ärlinghundra sn; *U* 439 = *M* 77a). GunnlæifR, the father of Andvēttr, **Kiti**, Kārr, Blesi, and DiarfR, was a good helmsman during the campaign; he has monuments in two places: one in Ekilla bro (*U* 644), and the second in Varpsund (*U* 654). Anundr, the father of GæiRvī and Gulla, came from Råby (Håtuna sn; *U* 661). Banki was the sole owner of an entire ship (*U* 778). Þjalfi and Holmlaug ordered a stone from the master-engraver Æskell for their son. It is in the church at Svinnegarn (Åsunda hd) and was originally part of an imposing monument that probably stood in the assemblyplace at Svinnegarn.[94] A sailor whose name has not survived came from Alsta (*U* 837). Finally, the family of Ingvarr himself, of course, also had ties with Uppland (cf. *U* 513, 540).

Fourteen inscriptions stem from other areas and to a certain extent circumscribe the limits of the territories from which the participants in the campaign came. In Uppland there is in the Tierps kyrka (*U* 1143) an inscription in memory of Gunnviðr, the father of Klintr and BlæikR. Ruprecht (p. 55 and *R* 165) agrees that *U* 785, an inscription from the first half of the eleventh century raised by Vīfastr for his dead brother Guðmundr in the church in Tillinge could also belong among Ingvarr's stones. That inscription states that Guðmundr **han uarþ tuþr a srklant[i]**, "found death in Serkland" (= *R* 165). This is the only mention of the name Serkland that appears without a reference to Ingvarr's campaign. In the other four cases, it appears in that connection, thus supporting Ruprecht's thesis that *U* 785 is also one of Ingvarr's stones.[95] There are also other indications that allow us to consider Guðmundr to have been a representative of the landed aristocracy.

The individuals named in the stones from Södermanland are: the commander Holmstæinn (his son (H)RōðgæiRR may have been with him) who died in "the east." This information is given by Holmstæinn's children, **muskia** and Manni from Tystberga (*Sö* 173); Biūrstæinn, the son of (H)Līføy, was **trik snialan,** "a brave *dræng*R (member of the younger retinue). His brothers GæiR(h)vatr, Anundr, and ŌtamR from Stäringe (*Sö* 320) raised this stone for him; UlfR, son of Bergviðr and Helga from Lifsinge (*Sö* 9); Skarði, son of Øyvindr and brother of Spiūti and Halfdan, died in Serkland;

[94] Svinnegarns kyrka, Åsunda hd; Jansson, *The Runes of Sweden*, p. 43.

[95] The same proposal was made much earlier by Jansson, *Fv* 41 (1946), pp. 260–265.

he came from Lundby (*Sö* 131); Tosti, the father of Svæinn and Stæinn[96] from Vansta (*Sö* 254); Þōrbiorn, son of (H)Rūtr, his brother Þōrstæinn raised the stone for him. They came from Bjuddby (*Sö* 360).[97]

Two inscriptions came from Västmanland. The first consists of two stones raised by Gunnvaldr from Berga (Skultuna sn, Norrbo hd), the first for "GæiRfastr, his son, a high-born *drængR* who had gone to England" (**auk uas farin til eklans** (*Vs* 18). The second for OrmR, his step-son, also "a highborn *drængR*" (**auk uas farin os[t]r miþ ikuari**), who "had gone eastward with Ingvarr" (*Vs* 19).[98]

A stone from Stora Ryttern (Snevringe hd) should also be included in this series although it does not mention Ingvarr: **kuþlefR seti stff auk sena þasi uftiR slakua sun sia, etaþr austr i karusm**, "GuðlæifR set up this staff and this stone for Slagvi, his son, who died in the east in Khwārizm" (*Vs* 1–2).[99]

Gulli from Smula (Redvägs hd) in Västergotland raised a stone for his wife's two brothers, Āsbiorn and Iuli, who were **treka hrþa kuþa**, "very highborn *drængiaR*," "and they found death in the retinue (**i lþi**) in the east (**ustr**)" (*Vg* 184). Otto von Friesen correctly assumes that the reference is to Ingvarr's campaign (cf. *R* 39).[100]

Two inscriptions from Östergötland (both from Lösings hd) conclude this series. In the first, a son (the name is illegible) raised a stone for his father (the name is also illegible) (*Ög* 145). In the second, Þōrfrīþ from Sylten raised a stone for her two sons, Āsgōtr and Gōti. Gōti died in Ingvarr's campaign (*Ög* 155).

Only three stones bear the names of the master engravers who cut them. They are all Upplanders: AlrīkR (*U* 654), Æskell (*U* 778), and ÞōriR (*U* 1143). Runologists, using art-historical criteria, have been able to identify the makers of several more unsigned Ingvarr stones.[101]

Altogether we have thirty-two inscriptions immediately connected with the event: sixteen stones from Södermanland,[102] ten (eight participants[103] plus two familial stones)[104] from Uppland, three from Västmanland (two partici-

[96] The inscription also lists Þōrstæinn and Øystæinn, the sons of Alfhildr, as among the deceased; however we have no evidence that they participated in Ingvarr's campaign.

[97] The stone bears a formula in abbreviated form about participation in Ingvarr's campaign; Elias Wessén, the editor, deciphered it superbly (*Sö*, p. 352; cf. *R*, 104).

[98] Cf. Olson, *Yngvars saga víðfǫrla*, p. 63, no. 23.

[99] See pp. 443–451 as to the reasons why that stone may belong to the Ingvarr stones.

[100] Von Friesen, *NK* VI, p. 178.

[101] Compare Erik Brate, *Svenska runristare*, pp. 66–69, 91–92, 125.

[102] *Sö* 9, 96, 105, 107, 108, 131, 173, 179, 254, 277, 279, 281, 287, 320, 335, 360.

[103] *U* 439, 644, 654, 661, 778, 785, 837, 1143.

[104] *U* 513, 540.

pants[105] plus one familial stone),[106] one from Västergötland,[107] and two from Östergötland.[108] Thirty-one participants in Ingvarr's campaign are definitely named in the inscriptions, all of them recorded by their first names; the names of four have not survived.[109]

Among these thirty-one are ten fathers and twelve "independent" brothers, twenty-two senior warrior-sailors; and seven sons who are junior warrior-sailors. The family relationship of two of the participants is unknown. The importance of the campaign is reflected in the preponderance (a 22:7 ratio) of older, more experienced warriors.

Almost half (fifteen) of the participants mentioned were from the immediate environs of Lake Mälar and more than half (sixteen) were from the general area. In all, eighteen participants came from Södermanland, seven from Uppland, and two each from Västmanland, Östergötland, and Västergötland. The chart below presents detailed information concerning the age, relationship, and original province of the participants:

Table 20.

	Fathers	*Brothers*	*Sons*	*Unknown*	*Total*
Lake Mälar area					
Södermanland	3[110]	5[111]	1[112]	1[113]	10
Uppland	3[114]	-	1[115]	1[116]	5
Total	6	5	2	2	15
Outlying environs of Lake Mälar					
Södermanland	2[117]	4[118]	2[119]	-	8
Uppland	1[120]	1[121]	-	-	2
Västmanland	-	-	2[122]	-	2
Östergötland	1[123]	-	1[124]	-	2
Västergötland	-	2[125]	-	-	2
Total	4	7	5		16

105 *Vs* 1-2.
106 *Vs* 18.
107 *Vg* 184.
108 *Ög* 145, 155.
109 *Sö* 277, 281; *U* 837; *Ög* 145.
110 *Sö* 96, 107, 108.
111 *Sö* 281, 287, 335, 279 (cf. *Sö* 179).
112 *Sö* 105.
113 *Sö* 277; cf. *Sö* 335 (Holmstæinn).
114 *U* 439, 644/654, 661.
115 *U* 778.
116 *U* 837.
117 *Sö* 173, 254.
118 *Sö* 131, 173, 320, 360.
119 *Sö* 9, 173 (perished together with his father).
120 *U* 1143.
121 *U* 785.
122 *Vs* 1-2, 19.
123 *Ög* 15.
124 *Ög* 145.
125 *Vg* 184.

The term for Ingvarr's campaign used in the inscriptions is *far* (*i faru*, *Sö* 108, 160 [cf. *R* 104]). The participants of the campaign are referred to as Ingvarr's *ma*[*nna*] (*Sö* 277), or **i liþi ikuars**, "in Ingvarr's retinue" (*Sö* 254), **i ikuars liþ** (*U* 778, *U* 837), **i lþi ustr** "in the retinue [of Ingvarr] eastwards" (*Vg* 184), or **i ikuars hilfniki**, "in Ingvarr's regiment" (*Ög* 145, *Ög* 155). The phrase **miþ ikuari**, "together with Ingvarr," appears fourteen times in various contexts.

The ships used in the campaign are generally called *skiþ* (*U* 439, 778) or, in some cases, *knarr* (*U* 654). Unfortunately, the number of ships used in the campaign is not mentioned. *Yngvars saga víðfǫrla* gives the traditional epic number of thirty,[126] but the actual number was probably greater.

The names of four commanders are given: one Södermanlander (not counting Ingvarr) and three Upplanders. The Södermanlander Holmstæinn came from the Baltic area (Tystberga, Rönö hd; *Sö* 173, cf. *Sö* 335). We also have the name of one member of his crew (*skiþari*), Ōsnīkinn from Åkers sn (and hd; *Sö* 335). Holmstæinn was probably an experienced sailor since his sons say of him (metrically) that **han hafþi ystarlaui/ uaRit linki**, "he had westerly/ been long," in other words, he had often participated in the Viking raids on England (*Sö* 173).

We are told by the parents of the Upplander Banki from the area of Lake Mälar (Åsunda hd) that **is ati ain sir skib auk austr sturþi i ikuars liþ**, "he had a ship of his own and steered eastward in Ingvarr's host" (*U* 778). The same is said about another Upplander from the vicinity of Lake Mälar (Ärlinghundra hd), Sæbiorn (the father of several children) who **isturþi austr skibi maþ ikuari**, "steered his ship westward with Ingvarr" (*U* 439).

One inscription states that the Upplander GunnlæifR (also from the Lake Mälar area [Håbo hd] and a father) **is kuni ual knari stura**, "skillfully could steer a *knarr*-ship" (*U* 654).

Three *drængiR*, all from the outlying areas, are referred to by name and in complimentary terms: the Södermanlander Biūrstæinn was *snjallr*, "swift" (*Sö* 320); the Västmanlander OrmR was *gōðr* "highborn" (*Vs* 19), and the Västergötlanders Āsbjorn and Iuli were *harða gōðr*, "very highborn" (*Vg* 184).

The participants in Ingvarr's campaign all belonged to the landed aristocracy of Sweden. The structure of one of the families, including its branches in Uppland and Södermanland, can be reconstructed on the basis of eight inscriptions.[127] Vīfastr (*U* 623),[128] the owner of the settlement of Jursta (Bro

[126] Ed. Olson, p. 12.

[127] *Sö* 105, 116; *U* 29, 329, 330, 331, 332, 623, 785. The approximate dates of some stones are *U* 623 = ca. 1040; *Sö* 105; *U* 785 = 1041; *Sö* 116 = after 1050; *U* 329 *U* 332 (by Fōtr) = 1060; *U* 29 (by Þōrbiorn skāld) = after 1070; see Brate, *Svenska runristare*, pp. 69–72; cf. *U* 2, p. 149.

Table 21. *The Clan of Vīfastr*

N

Vīfastr, d. ca. 1040 (*Jursta*) *U* 623, 785

Guðmundr, d. 1041 in Ingvar's campaign (*Tillinge*) *U* 785

Holmviðr ~ Gȳrīðr Sigviðr Sigfastr GæiRlaug
d. after 1050 *Sö* 116, 105 *U* 623 (*Snottsta*) d. post 1070s
(*Högstena-Sundby*) *U* 623 *U* 623; ~ 1) GæiRmundr
Sö 116; *Sö* 105; *U* 331 drowned; *U* 29
U 623 ~ 2) GuðrīkR (*Hillersjö*)
U 29

Þōrbiorn Hani Sigviðr Æstrīðr Gȳrīðr I. Ragnfastr i ~ 1) Inga ~ 2) ÆirīkR
d. 1041 in Ingvarr's campaign *Sö* 116 *Sö* 116 *U* 329 *U* 329 Snutastaðum d. pre 1060 (*Snottsta*) *U* 29, 329–332 d. pre 1070 *U* 29; *U* 329–332 d. pre 1071 *U* 29
Sö 105

son, d. pre 1060
U 29

sn and hd) in Uppland, had a daughter, Gȳriðr and two sons, Sigviðr and Sigfastr. Gȳriðr married the wealthy Södermanlander, Holmviðr of Högstena-Sundby (*Sö* 116, 105), who was probably the founder of the local church. They had three children, one of whom, Þōrbiorn, died in Ingvarr's campaign (*Sö* 105).

Sigfastr, the son of Vīfastr and heir of Snottsta (Markims sn, Uppland), had two daughters, Æstriðr and Gȳriðr, and a son, Ragnfastr, the heir of Snottsta (*U* 330, 331, 332). He married Inga, the daughter of GæiRmundr and GæiRlaug (*U* 29). After the death of her husband, GæiRlaug married GudrīkR of Hillersjö (Uppland), and Inga lived there with her mother until her own marriage (*U* 29).

Inga had a son by Ragnfastr who died young, just as his father had.[129] She then became the wife of ÆirīkR. After both had died, Inga's mother, Gæirlaug, inherited all the lands of her daughter's two husbands (*U* 29 = *M* 48).[130]

Inga's first husband, Ragnfastr, the son of Sigfastr of Snottsta, was commander of a retinue, possibly in eastern Europe; Assurr is attested as his *hūskarl* (*U* 330); see p. 456.

Another Upplander clan connected with Ingvarr's campaign had two estates in Håbo hd, one in Ekilla (Yttergrans sn; *U* 643, 644) and another in Varpsund (Vi ägor, Övergrans sn; *U* 654). The attested patriarch of the clan was GunnlæifR, a commander in Ingvarr's campaign who died in the Islamic East. His son, Andvēttr, died soon after his father, some time around 1045;[131] it is not known where. Andvēttr may have taken part in Volodimer Jaroslavič's campaign against Constantinople in 1043 and have lost his life there; see p. 458.

One of the Ingvarr stones clearly states that *verðr ængi Ingvars manna,* "no one remained of Ingvar's men" (*Sö* 277). The information found on the stones concerning the death of the participants of the campaign uses ten terms to describe the fate of the participants: "he was" (**uar**; *Sö* 320) together with

[128] It is very likely that his brother Guðmundr, who owned Tillinge (Åsunda hd; *U* 785) was a participant of Ingvarr's campaign; he perished in Serkland (**han uarþ tuþr a srklant**).
[129] Inga ordered three stones (*U* 329, 331–332) and a bridge (*U* 330) in memory of her husband, Ragnfastr of Snottsta, with inscriptions by the rune carver Fōtr "after 1050"; cf. von Friesen, "Runorna," *NK* VI (1933), p. 219; cf. S. Gardell, *Gravmonument,* pp. 66–77.
[130] "A peculiar chain of inheritance is recorded on the rune-inscribed rock at Hillersjö (Uppland; [= *U* 29 O.P.]), where the passerby is also exhorted to 'interpret the runes' — *raða runum*: "Interpret the runes. Later they had a son, before GæiRmundr was drowned. Afterwards the son died. Then she had GudrīkR as her husband. He . . . [lacuna of about 25 runes]. Then they had children. Of them only a girl lived; she was called Inga. Ragnfastr of Snottsta took her to wife. Afterwards he died and then the son. And the mother [Inga] took the inheritance after her son. Inga afterwards had ÆirīkR as her husband. Then she died. Then GæiRlaug came into the inheritance after Inga, her daughter. Þōrbiorn Skāld cut the runes" (Jansson, *Runes of Sweden,* pp. 76–77).
[131] A stone from the school of the rune carver Fōtr. Cf. *U* 3, p. 92, concerning *U* 643.

Table 22. *The Clan of GunnlæifR*

GunnlæifR
d. 1041 in Ingvarr's campaign
U 644, 654

Andvēttr d. ca. 1045 *U* 644, 643, 654	**Kiti** *U* 644, 654	Kārr d. ca. 1045 *U* 644, 654	Blesi *U* 644, 654	DiarfR *U* 644, 654

GunnlæifR b. ca. 1041 *U* 643	Kārr b. ca. 1045 *U* 643

Ingvarr; "he journeyed" (**uaR farin**, *Sö* 107; cf. *Vs* 19) together with Ingvarr; "he went away" (**foR bort**, *U* 1143) together with Ingvarr; "he lies (**likR**) in Serkland" (*Sö* 131; cf. *Sö* 281); "deceased" (**entaþis**; *Sö* 9; *Ög* 155; cf. *Vs 1*-2; "perished" (**furs**; *Sö* 335; *Ög* 145); "found death" (**uarþ tauþr**; *Sö* 254, 287, 785; *Vg* 184; cf. *U* 661); "killed" (**tribin**; *U* 654); "died" (**tuu**; *Sö* 173, 279); "fell" (**fil**; *U* 644).

The texts can be divided into groups of prose and poetic formulas. The prose formulas are:

saR uaR austr miþ ikuari,	was in the East together with Ingvarr. (*Sö* 320)
han uar fa[rin] miþ ikuari,	he journeyed together with Ingvarr (*Sö* 96, 105, 107)
han uaR i faru miþ ikuari,	he was on the campaign with Ingvarr (*Sö* 108)
þiR au[str foro] **miþ ikuari** **o sirklat**[i liggja syniR],	they went East together with Ingvarr; in Serkland [lie the sons] . . . (*Sö* 281)
farit uas i farinki [<*farin uasi faru miþ inkuari],	journyed on campaign together with Ingvarr (*Sö* 360 = *R* 104)
uas farin os[t]r miþ ikuari,	journeyed to the East together with Ingvarr (*Vs* 19)
han foR bort miþ ikuari,	he went away together with Ingvarr (*U* 1143)

isturþi austr skibi maþ ikuari *askalat,[132]	he steered his ship eastward . . . together with Ingvarr (*U* 439 = *M* 77a)
han entaþis miþ ikuari,	he ended with Ingvarr (*Sö* 9)
austr sturþi i ikuars liþ,	met his end in the east in Ingvarr's retinue (*U* 778 = *M* 77c; cf. *U* 837)
etaþis i ikuars hilfniki,[133]	met his end in Ingvarr's regiment (*Ög* 155)
saR furs austarla maþ iiknuari,	he perished in the east together with Ingvarr (*Sö* 335)
eR furs [i ikuars] hilfnŋi austr,	he died in Ingvarr's regiment in the east (*Ög* 145)
is uas austr tauþr miþ ikuari,	he found death in the east together with Ingvarr (*U* 661)
is uarþ tauþr i liþi ikuars,	he found death in the retinue of Ingvarr (*Sö* 254)
eR uar tauþer miþ inku[ari],	he found death together with Ingvarr (*Sö* 287)
han uarþ tuþr a srklant[i],	he found death in Serkland (*U* 785 = *R* 56)
etaþr austr i karusm,	died in the east in Khwārizm (*Vs* 1-2 = *R* 183)
þiR urþu tuþiR i lþi ustr,	they found death in the retinue in the east (*Vg* 184 = *R* 39)
is uas nustr miþ ikuari tribin,	he was killed in the east together with Ingvarr (*U* 654)
[þaiR tuu] sunarla a serkl[anti],	they died in the south in Serkland (*Sö* 279)
han fil austr miþ ikuari.	he fell in the east together with Ingvarr (*U* 644 = *M* 77b).

The poetic formulas are as follows:

a) **þaiR furu trikila**	They fared like *drængiaR*
fiari at kuli	far after gold,
auk austarlar	and in the east
ni kafu	gave the eagle food.
tuu sunarla	They died southward
a sirklanti.	in Serkland (*Sö* 179).

[132] The word **askalat** is interpreted as a mistake for the word **estlat* < **Æistaland* (cf. *U* 439, *M* 77 = *Mel* 78) "Estland." In my opinion, however, it seems more likely that in the text the rune *r* was mistakenly omitted, and that the word should be read **a s[r]kalat[i]** 'in Serkland'.

[133] Concerning the term *hælfningR* "regiment," "military unit," see Olson, *Yngvars saga víðfǫrla*, p. 64.

b) **fur austr hiþan**
miþ ikuari,

o sirklanti likR
sunR iuintaR.

He went east from here
together with Ingvarr.

In Serkland lies
the son of Öjvindr
(*Sö* 131 = *M* 77d; cf. *Sö* 281).

c) **han hafþi ystarlaui**
uaRit linki
tuu austarla
meþ inkuari.

He had westerly
been long;
died in the east
together with Ingvarr (*Sö* 173).

The direction of the campaign is usually indicated in the inscriptions as *austr,* "east" (*Sö* 131, 320; *U* 654, 661, 778; *Vs* 19; *Ög* 145). In addition, but less frequently, the following phrases appear: **austarla,** "eastward" (*Sö* 173, 179, 335) and **sunarla,** "southward" (*Sö* 179, 279). The land where the participants died is usually called by the Scandinavian term for the Islamic east, Særkland, "Serkland": **sirklant** (*Sö* 131, 179), **sirklat** (*Sö* 281), **serkl--** (*Sö* 279; cf. *G/R* 196: **serklat**); **srklant** (*U* 785), or **skalat** (*U* 439).

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

Merchant Guilds in Eleventh-Century Sweden

Only a few of the eleventh-century runic inscriptions refer in any way to merchants from Scandinavia, either those who lived there (for example, the Gotland Frisians), or those of Scandinavian ancestry. We are certain that the Södermanlander, Svæinn of Mervalla (Ytterselö sn, Selebo hd = *Sö* 198) was a merchant and "often sailed / to Semgallen / with his fine *knarr*-ship / round Kolhasrags (*Dōmisnæs*). Another Upplander, Spiallbuði, was also probably a merchant; he died in Novgorod in the church of St. Óláfr after 1070 (ØpiR's stone; *U* 687).

Information about an inhabitant of the island of Gotland who came from Stenkumla (= *R* 191) is very valuable (although his name, unfortunately, has not survived): "he sat in the south (= Byzantium) [as a merchant] with furs" (**sat miþ s[k]inum**). These furs were no doubt obtained in the Rus'ian north.

At least four Swedish stones have been discovered on which the activity of members of merchant guilds is attested. Two are from Östergötland, the others from Sigtuna. The oldest of them (first half of the eleventh century)[1]

[1] E. Brate dated this stone into the tenth century; cf. *R* 64.

was raised in the church in Bjälbo (Göstrings hd), not far from the local trading center of Skänninge (*Ög* 64):

trikiaR risþu stin	The *drængiaR* raised this stone
þisi aft krib kilta sin.	for Grēpr, member of their guild.
lufi rist runaR þisR iuta sunu.	Lōfi cut these runes, son of Iūti.

Von Friesen, Wessén, and others[2] interpret guilds here not to mean an organization with commercial aims but partnerships formed for the purpose of obtaining booty. This meaning for the word *gildi* is apparently not documented elsewhere, however, so we shall have to accept the word in its more usual sense of a trading company consisting of merchants who are guild members and of a younger retinue who protect them during their commercial activities.[3]

A second stone was discovered by Jansson in Törnevalla (Ög), near the trading center of Linköping in the fall of 1960. It is *æftiR Dræng, ØygæiRs sun, gilda sinn,* "for DrængR, son of ØygæiRR, member of their guild."[4]

Sigtuna was a trading center of eleventh-century Sweden. One would, therefore, logically expect to find information there about the guild of the Frisian international merchants, and there are in fact two inscriptions there whose additional information makes it clear that the guilds were commercial in purpose and were run by Frisians.[5] Both were incised by the rune carver Þōrbiorn skāld during the last decades of the eleventh century; they read as follows:

U 379:

frisa kiltar letu reisa stein þensa	The guild brotherhood of Frisians had this stone raised
eftiR þur[kil kilt]a sin.	for Þorkell, their guild brother.
kuþ hialbi ant hans.	God help his spirit!
þurbiurn risti.	Þōrbiorn cut the runes.

U 391:

frisa ki[ltar letu rista runar]	The guild brotherhood of Frisians
þesar	had these runes cut

[2] Von Friesen in *Upplands fornminnesförenings tidskrift* 26 (1910), pp. 11–19; Wessén in *U* 2, pp. 140–147.

[3] More on this in the fifth volume of this work.

[4] Jansson in *Meddelanden från Östergötlands och Linköpings stads museum* (1960/1961), pp. 219–237, and *Early English and Norse Studies Presented to H. Smith* (London, 1963), pp. 110–119.

[5] Concerning the role of the Frisians in Baltic trade, see p. 187.

eftR alboþ felaha sloþa.	for Albōð, Slōði's partner.
kristr hia helgi hinlbi ant hans.	Holy Christ help his spirit!
þurbiun risti.	Þōrbiorn cut the runes.

The second Sigtuna stone shows that a member of the Frisian guild has an authentic Frisian name — Albōð;[6] his trading partner (the term *fēlagi*, "fellow," is used) was Sloði, possibly a local merchant. Although the name *frisa* does not appear on the Östergötland stones, it is difficult to doubt that the **kilta (gildi)** could mean anything but **frisa kilta**. There were no Swedish merchant guilds in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when the Frisians in the Baltic were replaced by the German Hanse.

6 Elis Wadstein, "Friesische Lehnwörter im Nordischen" (Uppsala, 1922), p. 4.

PART FOUR

The Laws as a Historical Source

CHAPTER NINETEEN

The Old Scandinavian Laws

The Legal Literature of the Old Northmen

The first period of Old Scandinavian legal history ended in the thirteenth century when, as a result of the transformation of the three systems of regional kingdoms into Christian monarchies (Denmark, Norway, and Sweden), the provincial laws were gradually replaced by unified state laws.

Norway, under King Magnús Hákonarson, the Lawmender (*lagabætir*) (1263–1280) led in this transition. He replaced the provincial laws with a national land code (*Den Nyere Lands-Lov*) based on them.[1] The cities and the church[2] were given their own codes. A special *hirð* law and a law for Iceland were also instituted.

Sweden followed the Norwegian example some eighty years later. The first Swedish national laws (the *Landslag* and the *Stadslag*) were promulgated by

[1] Ed. and trans. Rudolf Meissner, *Landrecht des Königs Magnus Hakonarson* (Weimar, 1941) (Germanenrechte: (Neue Folge, Abteilung: Nordgermanisches Recht I), xxviii + 426 pp. The older edition was included into *NGL* (see n. 8) II (Chria, 1848), pp. 1–178.

[2] The new Christian law was drawn up by the archbishop of Niðaróss, Jón den yngre (1267–1282). It was published by R. Keyser – P. A. Munch in *NGL* II (1848), pp. 339–386. See also King Magnús's *Nyere Christenret* in the same corpus *NGL* II, pp. 291–338.

King Magnus VI Eriksson (1319–1374).[3] The first national Danish law (*Kong Christian den Femtes Danske Lov*) was not introduced until 1683.

The tradition transmitted by Snorri Sturluson (b. 1179, d. 1241) ascribes the first codification of provincial laws in the north to Uppland's Norwegian (Oppland Fylke) King Halfdan Guðrøðarson inn svarti, who lived sometime in the first half of the ninth century.[4]

The Old Scandinavian laws of the first period can be divided into three groups: (1) Provincial (*folk*) laws, "provincial" here referring to the countryside as opposed to the towns. The provincial laws have not come down to us in their original pagan[5] and pre-urban form, but from the post-baptism period after the eleventh century, when they already include a special section of Christian laws (*Ius ecclesiasticum*), usually as the first part of the code, and a section on merchant law. (2) Municipal laws apparently have their origin in the foreign merchant laws; and the (3) *Hirð* laws.

All extant copies of the Old Scandinavian laws date from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, although fragments exist dating to the twelfth.

These notations were of various origin and value: they include outlines to aid the lawman's memory, unofficial minutes of his recitations of the law (*uppsaga*) at the sessions of the *þing* ("thing"), notations of enactments, decisions, and judgments on points of law by the provincial court, marginal notes, and other anonymous additions. The first reference in the sources to the codes refers to Iceland. According to Ari inn fróði (d. 1148) the Icelandic *þing* (*Al-Þingi*), established in 930 (according to the so-called Úlfjótr law), decided in 1117/1118 to inscribe their provincial law on parchment, so they would not have to depend on the memory of their law-speakers (*lǫgsǫgumenn*); the lawspeaker was the officer who presided over Iceland's national assembly (Al-Þingi). Hafliði's Scroll (*Hafliða skrá*, unfortunately lost) was

[3] Both codes were included into the respective series, *SGL* (see n. 19), the text edition by C. J. Schlyter, and the facsimile edition in *CCSMA* (see n. 19). So the *Landslag* (*Codex iuris communis Sueciae Magnæanus*) appeared as volume X of *SGL* (Lund, 1862), cii + 459 pp. + 2 pl., and as volume I of the *CCSMA* (ed. Henrik Cornell [Kbh, 1943], xlvi + 246 pp.; from the vellum manuscript SKB B 172); the *Stadslag* (*Codex iuris urbici Magnæanus*) was included as volume XI of *SGL* [Lund, 1865], cv + 490 pp. + 2 pl.), and as volume IV of the *CCSMA* (ed. Nils Ahnlund [Kbh, 1944], xl + 240 pp.; from the vellum manuscript SKB B 154).

[4] *Hkr* I (IF 26), p. 163 = *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 104. Cf. also *Hkr* I (IF 26), p. 86 = *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 53.

[5] Some data concerning the Heathen Law (*heðnalag*) in Uppland (the law of Viger spa, *compositor legum*), in Västra Götland (the *heðna lag* of the lawman Lumber), and in Iceland (Úlfjótr's Law) are to be found in Dag Strömbäck's introduction to *CCSMA* XIV (1960), pp. xxxv–xxxvi.

the result.[6] It was apparently the beginning of the codification that was called the Gray Goose (*Grágás*) law book in the first half of the sixteenth century. The various redactions of this law book differ on some points.

Scholars divide the first period of Old Scandinavian legal history into two parts. In the first the legal recitations are reduced to writing through various anonymous efforts, first of all to aid the lawman's memory, but secondarily also for the curiosity of the antiquarian. This first codifying activity is distinguished by the epic character of its law records and their rhythmical expressiveness, but also by their incompleteness and lack of clear structure. Scholars ascribe to this period the Norwegian *Gulaþingslǫg*, the Older *Västgötalag* and the *Dalalagen* of Sweden, and the *Grágás* of Iceland.

The later the codification, the more apt it is to lose its oral pattern and become an edited written law record. Examples are the *Frostaþingslǫg* in Norway, the Later *Västgötalagen* in Sweden, and the two Scanian Laws and the two Zealand laws of Denmark.

In the second part of this first period the provincial lawbooks are drafted by official order into a clear legal language and a systematized form. They are sanctioned by the respective *things* signed by the lawman, and enforced by royal confirmation as the only legal code valid in the province. The Jutish Law (*Jyske lov*) of 1241 marks the beginning of this second stage in Denmark, the Uppland's Law (*Upplandslagen*) of 1296 marks it in Sweden.

The main concern of this section is to determine whether and in what way Rus' and other East European countries are mentioned in the extant legal texts of the Old Scandinavians.

(The possible influence of the Germanic ("Barbarian") and/or Scandinavian laws on the "Rus' law (*ruskyj zakon*)" of the Rus'-Byzantine treaties of the tenth century on the "Pravda Rus'skaja," as well as the German-Rus'ian treaties of the twelfth-thirteenth century, are dealt with in volume four of this work.)

Because of the important role of the Frisians in the opening of eastern Europe to west European markets (as assumed by the present writer), the Frisian laws, too, are examined from the same point of view in the second chapter to this section.

[6] Concerning the activity of Hafliði Másson, see Ari's *Íslendingabók*, ed. Benediktsson (IF I:1), p. 23. Cf. also Turville-Petre, *Origins of Icelandic Literature* (Oxford, 1967), p. 80.

The Provincial Laws

Norway

Four provincial laws from Old Norway[7] are known to us; they were included in the five-volume corpus, *Norges gamle love indtil 1387,* which was begun in Christiania in 1846 by Rudolf Keyser (b. 1803, d.1864) and Peter Andreas Munch (b. 1810, d. 1863) and completed in 1895 by Ebbe Hertzberg and Gustav Storm.[8]

The first of them is the *Gulaþingslǫg*[9] or the law of the Gulaþing, a legal confederation on the southwestern coast of Norway; its assembly was held on the Gula Peninsula, due south of the mouth of the Sognefjord. Tradition credits King Hákon Haraldsson inn góði (947-961) with devising it; he was said to have been aided in this endeavor by Þórleifr spaki Hǫrða-Kárason.[10]

The territories of the six kinglets of the Gulaþing consisted of a narrow strip of barren rock-bound coast and numerous islands, and as a result the Hords (Hǫrðar, who included the charismatic clan of Skilfingar), the Rugians (Rygir), and others either survived by roaming the seas as traders or pirates or emigrated altogether. The *Gulaþingslǫg* became a model for early Icelandic laws, brought there by colonists.

The *Frostaþingslǫg,*[11] the law of Frostaþing, a legal confederation of eight counties of Trondheim (*Trøndelag,* "Trondelaw"), held its assembly at Frosta, a peninsula in the Trondheimfjord, headed by the jarls of the clan of Sæmingar. According to tradition, King Hákon inn góði (947-961) was the codifier of the *Frostaþingslǫg.*[12]

The *Borgarþingslǫg*[13] or the law of Borgarþing, a group of southeastern counties around the fjord of Vík(in) (Grenland, Vestfǫld, Vingulmǫrk, Ranríki, Hringaríki), was organized by King St. Óláfr (1014-1030) into a legal province with an assembly at Borg or Sarpsborg.[14]

[7] About Norwegian provincial laws, see Absalon Taranger, *Udsigt over den Norske retshistorie* I (Chria, 1898). Cf. also Laurence M. Larson's introduction to his *Earliest Norwegian Laws* (New York, 1935), pp. 3-31.

[8] Abbreviated *NGL.* Volume five of the corpus contains a *glossarium* to the Old Norwegian Laws prepared by Ebbe Hertzberg with the assistance of Gustav Storm (Chria, 1895), pp. 57-834, and pp. 854-864.

[9] Trygve Knudsen in *KHL* V (1960), cols. 559-565.

[10] *Hkr* I (IF 26), p. 163 =*Hkr*/Hollander, p. 104.

[11] Trygve Knudsen in *KHL* IV (1959), cols. 656-661.

[12] *Hkr* I (IF 26), p. 163 = *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 104.

[13] Didrik Arup Seip in *KHL* II (1957), cols. 149-150.

[14] See L. M. Larson, *The Earliest Norwegian Laws* (New York, 1935), p. 7.

The *Heiðsævislǫg*[15] or the law of (H)Eiðsivaþing, a legal confederation of kinglets in south-central Norway, headed by the kings of Uppland (Upplendinga konungar) of the Ynglingar clan. Their assembly met at a place just south of Lake Heiðsær (Mjǫrs, today Mjøsa); the codification of these laws was ascribed to Hálfdan inn svarti of the ninth century.[16]

Only two of these four law books that had legal authority before Norway codified its laws under Magnús Hákonarson lagabœtir (1263-1280) have survived in a complete copy. These are the *Gulaþingslǫg* (the older) and the *Frostaþingslǫg* (the more recent).

Reference to Eastern Europe

The *Gulaþingslǫg*, the oldest extant Norwegian provincial law, has eleven sections. The second section deals with the merchant law (*kaupa bolkr*), and chapter 47 of this section deals with lawsuits and summons to return home. In it the following passage is found:

> Within the land every man who is free and of legal age shall prosecute his own lawsuits; but, if a man leaves the land, his possessions shall remain for three winters in the keeping of whomever he has authorized before witnesses to hold them, and this man shall have the right of suit and defense in his behalf.

Enn ef hann ferr á Grikland,	But if the man goes to the Greek (Byzantine) Empire,
þá scal sá hallda fé hans er arve er nestr.	his nearest heir shall hold his property.[17]

Sweden

Two Germanic peoples, the Svíar and the Gautar, lived in medieval Sweden.[18] A corpus of the Swedish laws was published by Hans Samuel Collin (b. 1791, d. 1833) and Carl Johan Schlyter (b. 1795, d. 1888) in thirteen volumes, *Corpus Iuris Sueo-Gotorum Antiqui/Samling of Sweriges Gamla Lagar* (Sthlm, 1827- 1877).[19]

[15] Trygve Knudsen in *KHL* III (1958), cols. 526-528.

[16] See n. 4.

[17] *NGL* I (1846), p. 26; English trans. Laurence M. Larson, p. 71; German trans. R. Meissner, p. 42; cf. *AR* II, p. 456.

[18] About Swedish provincial laws, see Ludovic Beauchet, "Les sources du droit Suédois jusqu'au XVe siècle," in his *Loi de Vestrogothie* (Paris, 1894), pp. 1-127; see also Elias Wessén, *Svenskt lagspråk* (Sthlm, 1965).

[19] Abbreviated *SGL*. In addition to the glossaries in each volume of *SGL*, volume 13

Five folk laws in the lands of the Svíar were codified in the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. They may be grouped into two categories: the provincial law independent of the *Upplandslagen*, and the provincial laws codified under the influence of and with loans from the *Upplandslagen*.

The first category is represented by the law of Dalarna, or *Dalalagen* (*Lex Dalecarliæ*),[20] which is preserved in a single medieval parchment manuscript dating from the middle of the fourteenth century (SKB B 54).[21] Although Dalarna and Västmanland formed a single judicial district headed by the same lawman, each had its own lawbook. The extant redaction of the *Dalalagen* originated during the reign of King Birger Magnusson (1298–1317).[22]

The *Upplandslagen*[23] (*Lex Upplandiæ*) or the Uppland Law, which included the present-day province of Gästrikland, was the most important legal work produced in Sweden.[24] Its presentation is clear and explicit; its organization of material logical and convincing. Apparently the old laws of Tíundaland, the heart of Uppland, formed the nucleus of the new law, which became common to all of Uppland.

The *Upplandslagen* was edited by representatives from the three folklands of Uppland headed by the lawman of Tíundaland Birger Persson (St. Birgitta's father). It received the royal sanction in 1296. The basic manuscript of the text is a vellum codex of the first half of the fourteenth century (SKB B12).[25] This thoroughly prepared legal work[26] made a great impression on the lawmen of the other provincial districts, who adapted their laws to it.

The *Södermannalagen* (*Lex Sudermanniæ*),[27] or the law of the Söderman-

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contains *Glossarium ad Corpus iuris Sueo-Gotorum antiqui* by C. J. Schlyter (1877), liv + 818 pp.

The most important Old Swedish vellum manuscripts are now available in the phototypically reproduced 20-volume series, *Corpus codicum Suecicorum medii aevi* (Kbh, 1943 1967), ed. Elias Wessén, each with an up-to-date introduction both in Swedish and English (abbreviation *CCSMA*). An annotated translation of the Old Swedish provincial laws into modern Swedish, ed. Åke Holmbäck - Elias Wessén, with exhaustive introductions to each law is *Svenska Landskapslager, tolkade och förklarade för nutidens Svenskar*, 5 vols. (Sthlm-Uppsala, 1933–1946) (abbreviated *SLL*).

[20] Wessén, *CCSMA* 17 (Kbh, 1964), pp. xxxvi–lxiii; Gerhard Hafström in *KHL* II (1957), cols. 623–626; see also the introduction to vol. II pt. 1 (1936) of *SLL*, pp. xxv–xl.

[21] Facsimile by Wessén, *CCSMA*, XVII (Kbh, 1964), lxiii + 110 pp.

[22] The *Dalalagen* was edited by C. J. Schlyter in *SGL* V (1841) as ms. A of his edition of the *Västmannalagen*; Swedish translation in *SLL* II: 1 (1936), 113 pp.

[23] Dag Strömbäck in *CCSMA* XIV (1960), pp. xxiv–xxxvii; Wessén, *SLL* I: 1 (1933), pp. xxxviii–xlv.

[24] Holmbäck and Wessén, *SLL* I: 1 (1933), p. xvi.

[25] Facsimile by Strömbäck in *CCSMA* XIV (1960), xxxvii + 246 pp.

[26] Ed. Schlyter, *SGL* III (1834), lxxxiii + 456 pp., 3 pl.; Swedish trans. *SLL* I: 2 (1934), 216 pp.

[27] Wessén, *CCSMA* IX (1948), pp. xxi–xxix; idem, Introduction, *SLL* III: 1 (1940), pp. xi xliii.

land, was compiled in 1325 by twelve men chosen from "the wisest men in Södermanland" under the leadership of the provincial lawman Lars Ulvsson; the government of the minor King Magnus VI Eriksson (1319–1363) confirmed it two years later. The vellum SKB B 53[28] is the original text of the lawbook, and the copy owned by the lawman Lars Ulvsson.[29]

The Västmannalagen (*Lex Vestmanniæ*),[30] or the law of the Westmen, is a compilation drawn up in the first decades of the fourteenth century by a lawman, possibly with the assistance of the "wisest men" appointed by the Westmen Thing. Its main source is thought to be the Uppland Law of 1296.[31] Its basic manuscript is the vellum codex SKB B 57[32] from the fourteenth century.[33]

The *Hälsingelagen* (*Lex Helsingiæ*),[34] or the law of the Hälsingland and of the Swedish colonies on both sides of the Gulf of Bothnia (including Finland) was also modified after the pattern of the Uppland law of 1296, sometime around 1320. The Hälsingland and Uppland formed a single judicial district, headed by the same lawman, but each maintained its own laws. The basic manuscript is a vellum codex (Bibl. Univ. Uppsaliensis, B 49),[35] written in the 1320s.[36]

The Gautar

Four folk laws of the Gautar (Götar) are known to us. *Västgötalagen* (*Lex Vestro-Gothica*), or the Väster-Götland law, is the oldest Swedish law. It has come down to us in two versions: the earlier *Västgötalagen* (*Lex Vestro-Gothica vetustior antiquior, Äldre Västgötalagen*), and the later *Västgötalagen* (*Lex Vestro-Gothica recentior, Yngre Västgötalagen*).

The *Äldre Västgötalagen*[37] was written down in 1220 by the lawman Eskil Magnusson (*fl.* 1175–1227) of the Folkungar clan, probably on the suggestion of Snorri Sturluson who visited there in 1219. Part is preserved in an early (ca. 1250) fragment of two leaves (SKB B 193); the greater part in the vellum

28 Facsimile by Wessén in *CCSMA* IX (1948), xxix + 192 pp.

29 Ed. Schlyter, in *SGL* IV (1838), lv + 338 pp. + 2 pl.; Swedish trans. *SLL* III: 1 (1940), 1–258 pp.

30 Wessén, *CCSMA* XX (Kbh, 1967), pp. xxx–l; Wessén, Introduction, *SLL* II (1936), pp. xl–l.

31 Wessén, *CCSMA* XX, p. xxxv.

32 Facsimile by Wessén, *CCSMA* XX (1967), l+68 pp.

33 Ed. Schlyter, in *SGL* V (1841), xlv + 357 pp. + 2 pl.; Swedish trans. *SLL* II: 2 (1936), 181 pp.

34 Axel Nielson, *CCSMA* VIII (1948), pp. xlvii–lxxxii; Gerhard Hafström in *KHL* VII (1962), cols. 233–235; Wessén, Introduction, *SLL* II (1940), pp. xliii–lxix.

35 Facsimile by Nielson, *CCSMA* VIII (1948), lxxxii + 158 pp.

36 Ed. Schlyter *SGL* VI (1844), pp. 1–93; Swedish trans. *SLL* III: 2 (1940), pp. 259–413.

37 Wessén, *CCSMA* XII (1950), pp. xxvii–xliii; idem, Introduction, *SLL* V (1946), pp. xi–xxxvii.

SKB B 59a from about 1280,[38] which is also the earliest extant book in Swedish.[39] An English translation was made by Alfred Bergin in 1909.

The Later *Västgötalagen*[40] was compiled about 1280 by the lawman Algot, the father of Brynjulf, the bishop of Skara. He was both careless and lacking in experience. He based his compilation on an old copy of Eskil's law (since lost) that differs from SKB B 59a. Its basic text is the vellum codex SKB B 58[41] from the second half of the 1340s.[42]

The *Östgötalagen* (*Lex Ostro-Gothica*),[43] or the Öster Götland Law was drafted sometime between 1286 and 1303. It demonstrates the care and expertise of the competent lawman Bengt Magnusson (1269–1292) of the Folkungar clan. It has come down to us in some authoritative lawman's manuscript (SKB B 50)[44] from around 1350.[45]

The *Smålandslagen* (*Lex Smalandici*)[46] is the law of the land of Värend in the Tiuhärad's part of Småland, compiled around the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century. Only the part on Christian law (*Kristnubalk*) is extant; it is found in two vellum manuscripts of the fourteenth century (Skokloster 155, 4°, and AM 51, 4°).[47]

[38] Facsimile by Wessén, *CCSMA* XII (1950), xliii, 156 pp. The editions also contain SKB B 59b, the Vidhem priest's copy from 1315, which includes *Lydekini excerpta et annotationes* from ca. 1300 (these excerpts are connected with the later Västgötar law), and the so-called three Västgötar lists (fols. 48–52a) of the Västergötland lawmen, the kings of Sweden, and the bishops of Skara. "These pieces [dating from ca. 1240]," writes Wessén, "constitute the earliest exposition of Swedish history found in our literature" (*CCSMA* XII, pp. xxxi–xxxii). Both the *Lydekini excerpta* and the Västgötar lists are translated into French by L. Beauchet (pp. 407–426: "Lydekini excerpta"; pp. 427–447: "Incerti auctoris variae annotationes").

[39] Ed. H. S. Collin–C. J. Schlyter, *SGL* I (Sthlm, 1827), pp. 1–74. A new edition for student use was prepared by Elias Wessén, *Äldre Västgötalagen* (Sthlm, 1954) (Nordisk Filologi, series A, Text 9), xiv + 53 pp. Swedish translation in *SLL* V (1946), pp. 1–200. Concerning the English, French (by L. Beauchet, pp. 131–267, "Codex antiquior"), and German translations, see p. 475.

[40] Adolf Schück, "The Later Västgöta Law and the Bjärköa Law," *CCSMA* VI (1946), pp. xxxviii–lxxiv. Concerning *Lydekini excerpta*, see n. 42.

[41] Facsimile by Schück, *CCSMA* VI (1946), xlvi + 252 pp.

[42] Ed. Collin and Schlyter, *SGL* I (1827), pp. 75–253; pp. 256–281 (*Lydekini excerpta*). Swedish trans. *SLL* V (1946), pp. 200–403; pp. 404–420 (*Lydekini excerpta*). French trans. L. Beauchet, pp. 269–406 (*Codex recentior*).

[43] Wessén, Introduction, *SLL* I (1933), pp. xxv–xxxvii; see also idem, *CCSMA* XII (1950), p. xxxviii.

[44] Unfortunately, this codex was not included in *CCSMA*.

[45] Ed. Collin and Schlyter, *SGL* II (1830), xxxi + 403 pp. + 4 pl. Swedish trans. *SLL* I: 1 (1933), 245 pp.

[46] Gerhard Hafström in *KHL* XVI (1971), cols. 309–311; Wessén, Introduction, *SLL* V (1946), pp. lxxv–xci.

[47] Unfortunately, they were not included in *CCSMA*; the *Smålandslagen* was edited by Schlyter, *SGL* VI (1844), pp. 95–110; Swedish trans. *SLL* V (1946), pp. 421–449.

Ludovic Beauchet translated two basic Old Swedish laws into French: the *Upplandslagen* (*Le loi d'Upland* [Paris, 1908]), and the *Västgötalagen* (*Loi de Vestrogothie* [Paris, 1894]).[48]

A German translation of the same two Old Swedish laws was prepared by Claudius Freiherr von Schwerin (b.1880, d. 1944). It appeared in volume 7 of the *Germanenrechte: Schwedische Rechte* ("Älteres Westgötalag," pp. 1–62; "Uplandslag," pp. 63 242 [Weimar, 1935], xvi + 256 pp.).

Reference to Eastern Europe

The older version of the *Västgötalagen* has nineteen sections. Section 7 deals with inheritance (*arfþær bolkær*), and in it chapter 12 is concerned with the right of inheritance of a Greek farer. It reads as follows:

> If a man (*maðr*) leaves the country, appoints a steward (*bryti*) over his estate (*bó*), and says he is going to Rome, then shall the steward care for the estate one year, then the heir shall take charge, and not the steward any longer, unless the heir so wishes.
>
> If a man leaves the country, and his wife (*huspreä*) remains at home, [and if she] has one child on her lap and another in the womb, which is baptized, if he does not turn heel and neck to home and step with feet from the fatherland, they shall be his heirs who were nearest related to him when he left home, if he never returns.

Ingsins manns arf takr hann, me(ða)n i Girklandi sitr.	He can inherit [from] no one, while living in Greece (= Byzantine Empire).[49]

Gotland

The island of Gotland did not become part of the Swedish kingdom until the peace of Brömsebro in 1645; before then the Swedish law system was not used on the island.

Gotland belonged to Denmark after King Valdemar Atterdag (1340–1375) conquered it in 1361. Then between 1394 and 1449, it was held first by the so-called Vitaliebröder (1394–1398), then by the German knights of the Teutonic Order (1398–1408). Finally it became part of the Baltic realm of Eric of Pomerania (1408–1449). After 1449 it belonged to Denmark again.

[48] See nn. 38, 39, and 42.

[49] *SGL* I, ed. Collin–Schlyter (1827), p. 28 = Wessén, *Äldre Västgötalagen* (Sthlm, 1954), p. 21 = English trans. A. Bergin, p. 52 = French trans. L. Beauchet, p. 181 = German trans. von Schwerin, p. 26 = Swedish trans. E. Wessén, *SLL* V (1946), p. 78 (text) and p. 89 (commentary); cf. *AR* II, p. 457.

The only extant written work dealing with Gotland's history is the *Gutasaga*, written around 1285, but its data are very scanty. We know virtually nothing about the political affiliation of Gotland until 1361.

The *Gutalagen* (*Lex Gotlandici*),[50] or the law of Gotland Island was apparently promulgated in the thirteenth century by the foreign-trading ruling class for its rural island population. It has come down to us in three versions: in two Gotland (Gutnish) manuscripts written in the middle of the fourteenth century (SKB B 64),[51] in a Low German translation from 1401 (SKB B 65),[52] and in a Danish translation, probably made in 1492 in connection with the ratification of the *Gutalagen* by King Hans (AM 55, 4°, a paper manuscript from the middle of the sixteenth century).[53]

Both the Low German and the Danish translations were made on the basis of an older Gutnish text of the *Gutalagen*, and not the extant version.

The *Gutalagen* has three remarkable features. Its first part agrees with the Norwegian tradition of the Christian law; it nowhere mentions the Swedish king and "confers no prerogatives upon him," "no fines go to the king, nor does the Gotland law contain any rules concerning the breaking of the king's peace."[54] Finally, trade and shipping play no part in the *Gutalagen*, as we might have expected — the city of Visby is mentioned once, and only incidentally — and eastern Europe is not mentioned in it at all.[55]

Denmark

The Danish folk laws were collected in the eight-volume critical edition, *Danmarks gamle Landskabslove med Kirkelovene*, edited by Johannes Brøndum-Nielsen and Poul Johannes Jørgensen (Kbh, 1920–1961).[56]

[50] Wessén in *CCSMA* V (1945), pp. xxvii–xlii; Wessén, *KHL* V (1960), cols. 601–602; Wessén's Introduction, *SLL* IV (1943), pp. lxiv–xcix.

[51] Facsimile by Wessén in *CCSMA* V (1945), 50 fol. + (2) pp.; ed. Schlyter, *SGL* VII (1852), pp. 1–93; Swedish trans. *SLL* IV: 2 (1944), pp. 203–322.

[52] Facsimile by Wessén, *CCSMA* V (1945), 32 fol. + (1) p.; ed. Schlyter, *SGL* VII (1852), pp. 113–168.

[53] Ed. Schlyter, *SGL* VII (1852), pp. 169–218.

[54] Wessén, *CCSMA* V (1945), p. xxxix.

[55] The Gutnish and Low German versions of the *Gutalagen* contain the *Gutasaga* at the end.

[56] Abbreviated *DGL*. The most important Old Danish vellum manuscripts are now available in the series *CCDMA*, ed. Ioannes Brøndum-Nielsen, 10 vols. (Kbh, 1960–1973); each volume has an English introduction. An annotated translation of the Old Danish provincial laws into modern Danish has been edited by Erik Kroman - Stig Iuul: *Danmarks gamle Love paa Nutidsdansk*, 3 vols. (Kbh, 1945–1948; abbreviation, *DGLND*); vols. I–II, translations; vol. III, commentaries.

During the Middle Ages Denmark was divided into three legal provinces, each of which had its own laws:[57] the *Skånske lov*,[58] or the law of Scania (Skåne, including Halland and Blekinge in the Scandinavian peninsula and the island of Bornholm), had been edited by the end of the twelfth century, and comes down to us in two independent versions: the *Skånske lov* proper (ca. 1200) in Old Danish and the Latin paraphrase made about 1216 by the Archbishop of Lund, Anders Sunesøn (1201–1222), later called *Antique leges Scanie*. The manuscripts of the *Skånske lov* proper are classified in three groups: ABC, DEF, and GI. The oldest manuscript of the first group, SKB, B 74 dates from about 1250[59] and is the earliest extant Danish law manuscript. It already includes the Skanish Christian Law (*Ius ecclesiasticum Scaniæ*), which was edited sometime around 1250.[60]

The most important manuscripts of the Latin paraphrase (group A–E) are Ledreborg 13 (first half of the thirteenth century = A) and AM 37, 4° (second half of the thirteenth century = C).[61]

The *Sjællandske lov*,[62] or the Law of Zealand (Sjælland; after 1284 also Lolland, Falster, and Møn) includes two lawbooks: *Valdemars Sjællandske lov* and *Eriks Sjællandske lov*. There are two independent redactions of the

[57] About the Danish provincial laws, see Poul Johannes Jørgensen, *Dansk Retshistorie* [until the 17th century], 3d ed. (Kbh, 1965); E. Kroman's "Indledning," *DGLND* I (1945), pp. i–xxxiv.

[58] Johannes Brøndum-Nielsen, Introduction, *CCDMA* III (1961), pp. vii–xv; Erik Kroman, Introduction, *DGL* I: 1 (1933), pp. i–cxlix; Jens Ulf Jørgensen, *KHL* XVI (1971), cols. 81–83.

[59] Facsimile by Brøndum-Nielsen, *CCDMA* III (1961), pp. 1–172; the vellum codex GKS 3121, 4° (pp. 173–238) is reprinted in the same volume. Codex Rantzovianus (The Royal Library, Copenhagen, E. donat. var., 136, 4°; ca. 1430) containing the *Skånske Lov* and the Skanish Christian law was reprinted by Brøndum-Nielsen, *CCDMA* VI (1964), pp. 1–160. Four other old manuscripts of the *Skånske lov* and of the *Ius ecclesiasticum Scaniæ* were reprinted by Karl Martin Nielsen in *CCDMA* VII (Kbh, 1965), xix + 338 pp.

[60] The *Skånske lov* [Texts I–III] has been edited by Johannes Brøndum-Nielsen and Svend Aakjær in *DGL* I: 1 (1933), pp. 1–466. Danish trans. Erik Kroman–Stig Iuul, *DGLND* I (1945), pp. 1–98; and III (1948), pp. 3–57 (commentary); Swedish trans. *SLL* IV: 1 (1943), pp. 1–202. The *Skånske kirkelov* was edited by Svend Aakjær–Erik Kroman, *DGL* I: 2 (1933), pp. 819–954. For the Danish translation by Erik Kroman–Stig Iuul, see *DGLND* I (1945), pp. 226–240, and pp. 58–66 (commentary). German trans. von Schwerin, *Schwedische Rechte*, pp. 199–205.

[61] Ed. (with Anders Sunesøns paraphrase) Svend Aakjær and Erik Kroman, with Jørgen Olrik and Hans Ræder, *DGL* I: 2 (1933), pp. 467–954. Danish trans. *DGLND* I (1945), pp. 99–194, and III (1948), pp. 58–66 (commentary).

[62] See Peter Skautrup, Introduction, *DGL* V (1936), pp. i–lxxxvi, Peter Jørgensen, Introduction, *DGL* VI (1937), pp. i–xlv, and Erik Kroman, Introduction, *DGL* VII (1942), pp. i–lxv.

first lawbook: the *Arvebog og Orbodemål*[63] (The Book on Inheritance and Unexpiable Things), composed around 1216 (its manuscripts are grouped in A–E, the basic text being Codex Rantzovianus; The Royal Library, Copenhagen, E donat. var., 136, 4° = ca. 1430); and the *Valdemars Sjællandske lov* proper. The latter exists in two redactions: the "older" (*Ældre*) redaction, edited after 1215 (the manuscripts are grouped in A–D; the basic manuscript is SKB C 69 from ca. 1400),[64] and the "younger" (*Yngre*) redaction, dating from soon after 1241 (the manuscripts are grouped in A–C, the basis for edition is AM 455, 12° from around 1300).[65] Both redactions include as a last section their respective versions of the Zealand Christian Law (*Sjællandske Kirkelov*), which belongs to the last half of the thirteenth century and shows some dependence on the Scanian Christian Law.[66]

Eriks Sjællandske lov[67] was edited between 1216 and 1241; its extant vellum manuscript originates from around 1300 (AM 455, 12°). *Eriks Sjællandske lov* is in general an expanded version of *Valdemars Sjællandske lov*.[68]

The basic Sjælland (Zealandish) laws have been translated into German by Claudius Freiherr von Schwerin in *Dänische Rechte: Seeländischer Rechtskreis* (Germanenrechte VIII), (Weimar, 1938; 2d ed., Witzenhausen, 1960), xvii + 222 pp. (pp. 157–194: *Arvebog og orbodemål* [Vom Erbe und unbüssbaren Sachen]; pp. 1–156: *Eriks sjællandske lov*; pp. 199–205: Scanian Christian Law).

The *Jyske lov*,[69] or the Law of Jutland (used also for Fyn and nearby islands) has been preserved in some 240 manuscripts, of which about 160 are in Danish, about 70 in Low German or German, 11 in Latin; its many old printings date from 1486 to 1670. The manuscripts are grouped ABD, D–G, and HI; the basic texts of the A group are NkS 295, 8° and SKB C63, both from the beginning of the fourteenth century.[70] The *Jyske lov* was given by

[63] Ed. Kroman, *DGL* VII (1942), pp. 1–232; Danish trans. *DGLND* I (1945), pp. 197–245; and III (1948), pp. 67–80 (commentary). German trans. von Schwerin, pp. 157–194.

[64] Ed. Kroman, *DGL* VIII (1941), pp. 1–244; Danish trans. *DGLND* I (1945), pp. 246–259, and III (1948), pp. 80–84 (commentary).

[65] Ed. Kroman, *DGL* VIII (1941), pp. 245–442; Danish trans. *DGLND* I (1945), pp. 260–270, and III (1948), pp. 84–87 (commentary).

[66] Ed. Kroman, *DGL* VIII (1941), pp. 443–504; Danish trans. *DGLND* II (1945), pp. 227–241; and III (1948), pp. 187–188 (commentary).

[67] Ed. Kroman, *KHL* IV (1959), cols. 34–36.

[68] Texts 1–2, ed. Peter Skautrup, *DGL* V (1936), iv + 584 pp. (16 Kapiteltavler); texts 3–5, ed. Mogens Lebech, with Peter Jørgensen and Peter Skautrup, *DGL* VI (1937), (2) + 578 pp.; Danish trans. *DGLND* II (1945), pp. 1–132, and III (1948), pp. 88–132 (commentary).

[69] Stig Iuul in *KHL* VIII (1963), cols. 50–51; Peter Skautrup, Introductions to *DGL* II (1933), pp. i–cxxxiii and *DGL* III (1951), pp. i–lxxxv; Peter Jørgensen, Introduction to *DGL* IV (1945), pp. i–lviii.

[70] Text 1: NKS 295, 8°, ed. Peter Skautrup, *DGL* II (1933), viii + 535 pp.; texts 2–4, ed.

King Valdemar II the Victorious at a General Assembly at his residence in Vordinberg in March 1241 as the official legal code for Jutland. It was remarkably enduring. It was used continuously in Denmark until 1683, and in the duchy of Slesvig (Schleswig) until 1900.

Klaus von See recently translated the *Jyske lov* into German as *Das Jütsche Recht* (Weimar, 1960), x + 216 pp. The *Jyske lov* has two additions:[71] the glosses of Knud Mikkelsen (the bishop of Viborg) from about 1480,[72] and the articles of Thord Litle, probably the lawman of Viborg, written in Low German shortly after 1300.[73]

Eastern Europe is not mentioned in any of the extant versions of the Danish provincial laws.

Iceland

The earliest codification of Iceland's national law,[74] known since the sixteenth century by the name "Gray Goose" (*Grágás*) is attributed to the Norwegian King Magnús inn góði (1035–1047),[75] but the common ancestors of the extant texts are thought to have been codified during the first half of the twelfth century. The *Grágás* was based originally on the local adaptation of the Norwegian *Gulaþingslǫg*.

"Armenian" Bishops

The *Grágás* consists of fifteen sections, of which the first and fifteenth contain some data on eastern Europe. Section I deals with Christian law (*Kristinna laga þáttr*); chapter 6 of this section contains interesting provisions about foreign clergy, particularly bishops and priests of *(h)ermskir* and *girskir* origin. The data from the first section are as follows:

> If priests come from out [from abroad] here in the land [i.e., to Iceland] who have been here before, and the [Catholic] bishop [who

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Skautrup, *DGL* III (1951) (4) + 416 pp; texts 5–6, ed. Stig Iuul - Peter Jørgensen, *DGL* IV (1945), 396 pp. (+11 pp.: Kapiteloversigt). In the facsimile series *CCDMA* were published six vellum manuscripts from the fourteenth century, vol. IX by Skautrup (1972), xvi + 178 pp. (AM 286, 2°; AM 4, 4°; AM 453, 12°); vol. X by Skautrup (1973), x + 229 pp. (SKB C 37; SKB C 44); Danish trans., *DGLND* II (1945), pp. 133–224, and III (1948), pp. 133–182 (commentary).

71 See Erik Buus, Introduction, *DGL* Supplement to IV (1961), pp. i–ccvi.

72 Ed. Buus, *DGL*, Supplement to IV (1961), pp. 1–75.

73 Ed. Peter Jørgensen, *DGL*, Supplement to IV (1961), pp. 77 426.

74 About the Icelandic national law see two works by Ólafur Lárusson: *Yfirlit yfir íslenzka rjettarsögu*, 2d ed. (Rvík, 1932); Ó. Lárusson, *Lög og saga* (Rvík, 1958); Ó. Lárusson, "Grágás," *KHL* V (1960), cols. 410–412. Ólafur Lárusson also made a comparison of the *Grágás* with the two Icelandic laws imposed by the kings of Norway, the *Járnsíða* (1271–1273) and the *Jónsbók* (1281): *Grágás og lögbækurnar* (Rvík, 1923).

75 *Hkr* III (IF 28), p. 31 = *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 594; cf. *GAL* II, pp. 207–209.

has the jurisdiction over Iceland] had allowed them to hold holy service (*tíðir*) in Iceland, then the people have the right to buy holy services from them, after they have shown their books and vestments to the bishop or to the priest delegated by the bishop.

If foreign priests come from out [from abroad] here [to Iceland] who have not been here before, holy services should not be bought from them, and they should not baptize children unless one is so sick that a secular person would [otherwise] have to baptize it; when no other priest can be reached it is better that the former [foreign priest] should baptize it than a secular person.

It is, then, right to buy holy services from them when they produce the writing and seal of the bishop and the testimony of two men who were present at their ordination and impart the word of the bishop, whereupon the people are entitled to accept all spiritual aid (*þiónostv*) from them.

Ef byskvpar koma vt hingat til landz eþa prestar þeir er eigi erv lærþir a latinv tungv, huartz þeir erv hermskir eþa girskir, oc er mavnnvm rett at hlyþa tiþvm hans ef menn vilia.

If bishops or priests who are not learned in the Latin tongue come from out [from abroad] in the land [to Iceland], be they (H)Ermskir (Armenian) or Girskir (Greek), then the people are entitled to listen to their holy services if they wish.

[But] one should not buy holy services from them and receive spiritual aid from them.

If a man lets a bishop who is not Latin-taught consecrate a church or confirm children, then he must give the three-mark penance to the bishop who was here [in Iceland] formerly; the latter [the bishop who has the jurisdiction over Iceland] should also take the fee for consecration. The churches should be so consecrated and the children so confirmed as though nothing had occurred earlier, even when such as those not learned in the Latin tongue have sung about it.[76]

Specialists connect this legislation with the activity of three foreign bishops in Iceland between the years 1056 and 1072. They are mentioned in the written Icelandic sources, in Ari's *Íslendingabók* (ca. 1123–1133), and in the *Hungrvaka* (ca. 1210). It should also be viewed as a reflection of the great church

[76] *Grágás I*, ed. V. L. Finsen, p. 22 = German trans. A. Heusler, pp. 18–19. Cf. *Grágás II*, ed. V. L. Finsen, pp. 26–27; *Grágás III*, ed. Finsen, pp. 23–24; 71–72; 116–117; 166–167; 209–210; 249–250; 329–330.

reforms initiated by Hildebrand, later Pope Gregory VII, from around 1060 to his death in 1085. The passage from *Íslendingabók* in chapter 8 reads as follows:

Enn kvómu hér aðrir fimm,	Five others who claimed to be
þeir es byskupar kváðusk vesa:	bishops came to Iceland:
Qrnolfr ok Goðiskolkr ok	Arnulf and Godiskálkr and
þrír ermskir: Petrus ok	three Armenians: Peter
Abrahám ok Stephánus.	and Abraham and Stephan.[77]

It corresponds to the following digression in the *Hungrvaka* (chapter 2):

> In the days of Bishop Ísleifr (1056–1080) foreign bishops, whose doctrines were characterized by greater laxity than those of Bishop Ísleifr, came [to Iceland].
>
> They therefore became popular among wicked people, until Archbishop Adalbertus [1043–1072, of Bremen-Hamburg] sent a letter to Iceland, forbidding all people to accept their services and saying that some of them had already been excommunicated and that all of them had undertaken the mission without his leave.[78]

Scholars traditionally connected the term *(h)ermskir* with the "heretics" from the East, the Armenian Paulicians, and the term *girskir* with the Byzantine Greeks.[79]

In 1960 Magnús Már Larússon developed an interesting hypothesis, contending that these laws echoed the close relationship between Rus' and Scandinavia during the the reign of Jaroslav the Wise (1014–1054). *(H)ermskir* referred to Ermland on the southeast Baltic coast (Warmia), and *girskir* stood for *gerzkr*, "Rus'."[80] The traditional view seems, however, the more likely one, especially since Ermland — and this is also acknowledged by M. M. Larússon — was not Christianized by the Teutonic knights until about 1230; a Roman bishopric, Allenstein (Olsztyn), was founded there in 1243.

Tíundargjald and the Travelers to Rus'

Section 15 of the *Grágás* deals with the payment of the tithe (*um tíundargjald*), which was introduced to Iceland in June 1076. The bishop of Skálaholt, Gizurr Ísleifsson (1082–1118), drew up the law (on the basis of the western

[77] *Íslendingabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson (= ÍF I: 1), p. 18.

[78] *Hungrvaka*, ed. B. Kahle (ASB XI) (Halle/Saale, 1905), p. 92 = ed. Jónsson, in *Byskupa sögur* I (Rvík, 1953), p. 4.

[79] Frédéric Macler, *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 87 (Paris, 1923), pp. 236–241.

[80] Magnús Már Lárusson, *Studia Islandica* 18 (Rvík, 1960), pp. 23–38.

European practice) called *Tíundarlǫg Íslendínga hin fornu*, which was then accepted by the Al-þingi (1097). Tithes were not levied in any other Scandinavian country at the time.[81] According to the *Tíundarlǫg*, "they were to be levied from nearly all independent farmers, and provision was made not only for the bishop and the see, but also for the guardians of the smaller churches and for the maintenance of the poor."[82]

The *Tíundarlǫg* comes down to us in nine manuscripts (labeled A through I), the oldest (A) having been copied around 1250 (GkS 1157, fol.). All the extant copies were published by Jón Sigurðsson as no. 22 in his collection *Diplomatarium Islandicum: Íslenzkt fornbréfasafn* I (Kbh, 1857–1876), pp. 70–162. The *Tíundarlǫg* was incorporated into the *Grágás* verbatim. The law regarding the tithe to be paid by Icelanders who were abroad is contained in the following decision:

Tíundarlǫg[83] (redaction A, §24)	*Grágás*[84] (chapter 259, §3)	Translation[85]
En ef órer landar fara heþan oc eigo fe epter, oc scal maðr giallda tiund af er at varðveita hefer feet.	En ef órir landar fara heþan oc eigo fe eptir, oc scal maðr giallda tiund af er at varðveita hefir feet.	When a man (maðr) goes out of the country and leaves property behind, then he who is ward of that property should pay a tithe on it.
En vm þat fe er hann hever a brot með ser oc erat hann scylldr at giallda her tiund af þvi þott hann se allengi a brot.	En vm þat fe er hann hevir abrott með ser oc erat hann scylldr at giallda her tiund af þvi þott hann se allengi abrott.	But he is not obliged to pay a tithe on the property that he takes with him, even if he stays abroad for a long time.
En ef hann kømr ut hengat þa scal hann giallda her tiund af þvi fe er hann hever ut með ser en næsta vetr epter er hann hever ut comit aþr vm sumaret þott hann se i Gørðom austr.[86]	En ef hann kømr ut hengat þa scal hann giallda her tiund af þvi fe er hann hevir ut með ser en næsta vetr eptir er hann hevir ut comit aþr vm sumaret þott hann se i Gørðom avstr.	If he comes back [to Iceland] from out yonder, then he shall pay a tithe on the property that he took out with him, in the next winter, after the summer in which he went out, even though he be in the east in Garðar (Rus').

[81] G. Turville-Petre, *Origins*, p. 80.

[82] Turville-Petre, *Origins*, p. 80. Cf. Hans Kuhn, *Das alte Island* (Düsseldorf, 1971), pp. 42–44; 112–113.

[83] *Diplomatarium Islandicum* (abbreviation *DI*) I, pp. 82–83; cf. also p. 94 (ms. 13, §26); p. 126 (ms. E, §26); p. 138 (ms. F, §24); p. 148 (ms. G. §26); p. 153 (ms. H. §26).

[84] *Grágás* I:2, ed. Finsen, pp. 211–212.

[85] Cf. German trans. Heusler, p. 434. Unfortunately, the *Grágás* has not yet been translated into English.

[86] Some manuscripts have instead of *austr* the word *erlendis* (*DI*, p. 94; p. 138; *er-lendr*, "foreign") or *orlændis* (*DI*, p. 126), or *herlendis* (*DI*, p. 153); ms. G has *j storfvm herlendiss* instead of *i Garðum austr* (*DI*, p. 148).

Ef maðr kømr ut hengat oc hever vaxit fe hans eða þorrit eða hann hever eigi eiða fyrr at unnit, oc er hann scylldr at vinna eið at fe sino ef menn vilia beiða hann.	Ef madr kømr ut hengat oc hevir vaxit fe hans eða þoRit eða hann hevir eigi eida fyR at unit. oc er hann scylldr at vinna eið at fe sino ef menn vilia beiða hann.	If a man comes out here and his property has increased or diminished, or he had not taken an oath over it [his property], then he shall take an oath over his property if the people (menn) demand it of him.

This legal provision can only mean that at the time the tithe was instituted (i.e., in 1097), traveling to Rus' from Iceland was still a common practice.

Municipal Laws

The designations for the municipal laws in Old Scandinavian have a common origin in "the law of the island of Birka" (= Birch Island), which appears in the sources as *biærköæ rættær* in Old Swedish, *biarkeyiar-réttr* in Old Norwegian and Old Icelandic, and *biærke ræt* in Old (Scanian) Danish. Thus, for example, in the merchant law of the *Frostaþingslǫg* (chapter 32, "Where a Lawsuit Shall be Brought Up") one reads:

> If a case that originated in the borough (*kaupangr*, lit: market-town) shall be tried in the country (hérað), let it be tried according to the law of the Frostaþing and decided according to the *Biarkeyiar-réttr*.
>
> If the case that originated in the country is to be tried in the borough, it should be tried according to the *Bjarkeyjar-réttr* and decided according to the law of the Frostaþing, if it comes to a judgment."[87]

One should not assume, however, that the Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish laws of the island of Birka can be brought back to some common denominator, some reconstructed "protolaws" of the island of Birka. Scholars[88] agree that the designation "the law of the island of Birka" was used in the Old Scandinavian judicial manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth century simply as a technical term meaning "the municipal law" regardless of its origin.

[87] *NGL* I, ed. Keyser - Munch (1846), pp. 224-225 = Eng. trans., L. M. Larson (New York, 1935), pp. 354-355.

[88] Concerning the laws of the island of Birka, see *KHL* I (1956), cols. 655-661. See also Wessén, *Namn och Bygd* 11 (1923), pp. 135-178; 13 (1925), pp. 39-60; Adolf Schück in *CCSMA* VI (Kbh, 1946), pp. xxxvii-xlvi.

The very term is certainly older than the towns of Scandinavia, since not the idea of a town but that of "Birch island" as a trading station is the source. The law of Birch island granted to the capital city of Niðaróss[89] (and preserved in four fragments ranging from the thirteenth century to the eighteenth) gives the following definition:

Biarkeyiarréttr er á fisknesi hveriu ok í sildveri ok í kaupförum[90]	The law of the island of Birka is in force in every fishing place, in herring fisheries, and during voyages taken for trade.[91]

The connection between the law of the island of Birka and trade is stressed in the Old Norwegian *Speculum regale* (*Konungs skuggsjá*) from about 1243–1247. Its third section, dealing with the activities and habits of merchants, contains the following passage: "Make a study of all the laws, but while you remain a merchant there is no law that you will need to know more thoroughly than the 'law of the Island of Birka' (*Bjarkeyjar-réttr*)."[92]

But why was the name Birka associated with the idea of trade in the north? Between 780 and 834 the Frisian town of Dorestad, the trading capital of the Carolingian Pax, developed the first trading metropolis for eastern Europe. It was replaced in this role around 800 by Birka, its former colony at the Mälaren Sea in Sweden. Birka (Swedish, Björkö) emerged sometime toward the end of the eighth century and soon centralized the oriental trade until 1000, as indicated by the hoardes of dirhems found there.

In medieval Finland, far from the centers of western European Christian culture and the *Machtpolitik* that began in the seventies of the thirteenth century, the trading company of *Bircarli* (Latinized from *Birkarlar*; Finnish, *Pirkkalaiset*) is attested. Its traders went from their center, the town of Birkala (Finnish, *Pirkkala*), or Birkala-boa, situated on the upper reaches of the Kokemäki River and roamed through Lappland, northward via the chain of

[89] Said to have been founded by Óláfr Tryggvason (995–1000). "[In 996] King Óláfr returned with his army to Niðaróss. Then he had houses built on the bank of the Nið River, decreeing that there was to be a market town there. He gave people plots of land to build their houses on and had the royal residence erected there above a small inlet. In the fall he had all furnishings [and provisions] requisite for a winter residence brought there, and maintained a very considerable force at that place" (*Hkr* I [= IF 26], p. 318 = *Hkr*/Hollander, p. 208).

[90] Ed. Meissner, *Stadtrecht* (1950), p. 356 = "Den ældre By-Lov eller Bjarkö-Ret," *NGL* I, ed. Keyser–Munch (1846), p. 312.

[91] Cf. German trans. Meissner, *Stadtrecht* (1950), p. 357.

[92] Ed. Ludvig Holm-Olsen, *Utvalgte stykker av Konungs Skuggsiá* (Bergen, Oslo and Tromsø, 1970), p. 18 = English trans. L. M. Larson, *The King's Mirror: Speculum Regale–Konungs skuggsjá*) (New York, 1917), p. 81.

lakes emptying into the Kokemäki River.[93] Until 1552 the Swedish kings granted this organization of fur traders the right to exact tribute from the Lapps and to fish for salmon in the northern rivers as far as Tornio.[94] The company of Bircarli have certainly to be regarded as relics of the early Viking period, when the town of Birka was the most important trading center in eastern Europe (*Birkarlar* < *Birka-karlar*).[95]

During the period of Birka's hegemony the first towns of the western European type began to appear on the Scandinavian peninsula. Writes Adolf Schück:

> The law which had come into existence at the international trading station of Björkö in the Viking age must naturally have become known throughout the North through the traders who visited that place. It is probable, therefore, that in their Danish and Norwegian home countries they introduced the word "Björköa rätt" (*björkö-arätt*) as a designation for the special laws which were to be used at a trading station where numerous strangers gathered at a brief fair and where lawsuits might occur which had no reference to a settled peasant population in an ordinary jurisdiction (e.g. a *härad, hundred,* or *tingslag*). Gradually as several permanently inhabited trading stations grew up in the North, the term "bjärköarett" should then have become a common Nordic designation for "municipal law," no matter whether the provisions of the different "björköarätter" accorded with each other.[96]

The term "law of the island of Birka" appears for the first time in an early diplomatic document, a record of the privileges granted by King St. Óláfr (1014-1030) to Icelanders in Norway.[97] In it one reads that if a foreigner died in Iceland and a controversy arose they should favor the law of the island of Birka ("at biarceyiar rétte til mótz").[98]

Birka Laws and Rus'

There are extant three Swedish, one Scanian Danish, and two Norwegian laws

[93] Jalmari Jaakkola, *Suomen varhaishistoria: Heimokausi ja Kalevala-Kulttuuri* (= *Suomen Historia* II), (Porvoo and Helsinki, 1956), pp. 334-346.
[94] Eino Jutikkala, *A History of Finland* (New York, 1962), p. 63.
[95] Jaakkola, *Suomen Historia* II (1956), pp. 334-335.
[96] Schück, *CCSMA* VI (1946), p. xxxviii.
[97] The document, the authenticity of which was never questioned, is a copy of a later (ca. 1083) sworn testimony; see Turville-Petre, *Origins,* p. 81.
[98] Ed. Jón Sigurðsson, *DI* I (Kbh, 1857-1876), p. 66 (manuscript A is GkS 1157, fol.; from ca. 1250); the document in question was previously included in Keyser and Munch, *NGL* I (1846), p. 438.

of the island of Birka. All three Swedish *bjærköæ rættær* are copies of Stockholm municipal law from the end of the thirteenth century (but before 1296), one used by the Väster Götland city of Lödöse (SKB B 58; ca. 1345),[99] the second by the towns of Södermanland (SKB B 53; ca. 1325),[100] and the third by an unknown Swedish town (Uppsala University Library, C 16; first half of the fourteenth century).[101]

The Danish *bjærke-ræt* is the municipal law for Lund, the oldest town in Denmark (founded about 1020) and the see of the archbishop (Ledreborg 12, fol. 88-98; fourteenth century).[102]

As to the Norwegian *biarkeyiar-réttar,* one consists of fragments from the municipal law of Niðaróss; the other, the municipal law of Björgvin (Bergen; founded by Óláfr Haraldsson kyrri, 1067-1096), promulgated in 1276 by King Magnús Hákonarson as the *bæjarmanna-lǫg,* the obligatory municipal law for the Norwegian cities. This last law includes a fragment of undoubtedly early origin.[103] The *bæjarmanna-lǫg* of Bergen was published in the second volume of the corpus, *Norges Gamle Love indtil 1387,* by R. Keyser and P. A. Munch on the basis of the vellum manuscript AM 323, fol. (first half of the thirteenth century). Rudolf Meissner revised that text in his edition of the *bæjarmanna-lǫg* for Bergen, and translated it into German in *Stadtrecht des Königs Magnus Hakonarson für Bergen* (Weimar, 1950) (Germanenrechte, N.S. III 3), 512 + xlviii pp.

This municipal law consists of ten sections, the ninth of which deals with the merchant law (*farmanna lǫg*); section 6 has the following passage:

> If a ship-fellow (*háseti*)[104] violates the arrangement with the shipmaster (*stýrimann*) in Denmark, or in Gautland, or in Sweden, he shall pay a fine (*gjalde*) of two silver marks [one for the king and one for the shipmaster] for every additional cargo.
>
> And if a man (*maðr*) violates the arrangement [with the shipmaster] in Gotland or Samland [var.: Saxland], he pays four silver marks, half for the king and the other for the shipmaster.
>
> And if a man violates the arrangement [with the shipmaster] in England or in Orkney, in Shetland (Hjaltland) or in Faroes, he shall

[99] See *CCSMA* VI (1946), pp. xxxvii-xlvi.

[100] See *CCSMA* IX (1948), p. xxiv; *CCSMA* VI, p. xxxix.

[101] See *CCSMA* VI (1946), p. xxix-xli.

[102] Ed. Schlyter, *SGL* IX (1857), pp. 397-500 (*Codex iuris urbici Scaniæ*) = Swedish trans. Ebbe Kock in *SLL* IV (1943), pp. 187-197, and pp. 198-202 (commentary).

[103] Rudolf Meissner stresses the conservatism of Magnús Hákonarson in his codifying activity, *Stadtrecht* (1950), pp. xvii-xviii.

[104] Meaning one of the crew or one of the merchant passengers. Concerning this term, see Meissner, *Stadtrecht* (1950), pp. xlii-xliii, and p. 259, n. 3.

pay a fine of eight silver marks [half for the king and the other half for the shipmaster].

Rýfr maðr skipan á Grœnalande eða á Íslande eða í Gaurðum austr, gjalde VIII ertogar oc XIII merkr silfrs, hálft konúngi en hálft stýrimanni.[105]

If a man violates the arrangement [with the shipmaster] in Greenland, or in Iceland, or in Rus' (*Gaurðar*) in the east, he shall pay a fine of eight örtug [= a third of a mark][106] and thirteen silver marks, one half for the king, and the other for the shipmaster.[107]

I cannot help but agree with the editors of the *Norges gamle Love* that Samland must have been in the original. In the thirteenth or fourteenth century Samland lost its independence and importance, while the Hanse cities of Saxland (Germany proper) became leaders in the Baltic trade. It is hardly possible that a contemporary scribe would have written an unknown name — Samland — instead of the very known Saxland; the opposite is much more likely.

The text is important because it reveals the existence of four maritime (danger?) zones of the Old Norsemen: Gotland and Samland belonged to the second zone, while Rus' was treated together with Iceland and Greenland as the fourth. This connection of Rus' with Iceland and Greenland in one zone corrresponds with Norse cartography (e.g., Claudius Clavus's version of the Ptolomy map of 1424).[108] It reflects the geographical perception[109] of the Norsemen who traveled to Rus', not via the Baltic Sea, but along the Scandinavian peninsula, White Sea and the Northern Dvina.[110]

[105] Ed. Meissner, *Stadtrecht* (1950), pp. 266, 268 = the old edition by Keyser — Munch, *NGL* II (1848), pp. 276–277; cf. *AR* II, pp. 456–457.

[106] One mark silver was equal to twenty-four ärtugs; see Cleasby–Vigfússon, *Dictionary*, p. 768.

[107] Cf. Meissner's German trans., *Stadtrecht* (1950), pp. 265, 269.

[108] Ella Lesser, *Der Däne Claudius Claussøn Swart* (Innsbruck, 1909), maps 1–3.

[109] See E. Lesser, *Der Däne Claudius Claussøn Swart*, p. 189; cf. also Matts Dreijer, *Häuptlinge, Kaufleute und Missionare* (Mariehamn, 1960), pp. 62–70.

[110] The body of legal rules which has grown up around the shipping industry, the maritime law (Old Norse: *Farmannalǫg*), seems not to have emerged as a separate law system in the pax of the Mare Balticum before the fourteenth or fifteenth century. Until that time it was just a component of the municipal law. The maritime law therefore cannot be treated separately here. It should be stressed, however, that medieval Hanseatic Gotland did play a special role in the development of the European maritime law. Its *Codex iuris maritimi Visbyensis* of unknown date (but probably not later than the fourteenth century) belongs to the three basic maritime laws of medieval Europe, together with the *Jugements au rôles d'Oléron* (an island located in the Bay of Biscay north of the Gironde estuary) and the *Consolat de mar* of Barcelona (1494). But the corporation which ruled over Gotland was

Taking all the data into consideration, one can assume that this section of the *farmanna log* dates from the second half of the eleventh century or from the twelfth century.

Hirð Laws

Hirð is the Old Norse word for a band of retainers, or retinue. It is a loanword from the Anglo-Saxon *hired* or "household") from around 1000.[111] The first Old Norse *hirð* law was promulgated by Canute the Great (Knútr inn ríki, 1014–1035) in the 1020s for his standing army in England, the famous *þingmannalið*. Unfortunately it has not come down to us in its original form, but it exists in a Latin version both in *Lex Castrensis* by Sven(d) Aggesøn (ca. 1185)[112] and in the tenth book of Saxo's *Gesta* (around 1200),[113] as well as in an Old Danish epitome of around 1182–1202 (made for Archbishop Absalon), the so-called *Vitherlagsret*.[114]

In the heyday of the Kingdom of Norway in the thirteenth century (Hákon Hákonarson, 1217–1263; Magnús Hákonarson lagabœtir, 1263–1281), a Norwegian Hirð law, called the *Hirð-skrá*[115] was composed; the existing version goes back to approximately 1273–1277.[116]

Although all these hirð laws are important for understanding the social structure of the Norsemen,[117] none of them mentions eastern Europe.

Only a few passages in the preserved versions of the Old Norse provincial laws mention eastern Europe, and all of them are from laws dating from the earliest period. The Greece farers are mentioned both in the Norwegian *Gulaþingslǫg*

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not of Norse origin, and in the extant versions of the *Codex iuris maritimi Visbyensis* (Low German, Dutch, and Danish), Rus' and eastern Europe are not mentioned. It was published by Schlyter, *SGL* VIII (1853), cliii, 580 pp. + 2 pl. (pp. 1–182 has the text of the *Codex iuris urbici Visbyensis* in Low German).

111 Foote–Wilson, *Achievement* (London, 1970), pp. 100–102.

112 Ed. Gertz, *SMHD* I (Kbh, 1917), pp. 64–93; facsimile by J. Brøndum-Nielsen in *CCDMA* VI (Kbh, 1964).

113 Ed. Olrik–Ræder, p. 293 (book 10, chap. 18).

114 The *Vitherlagsret* (modern Danish: *Vederlov*) is published in J. Brøndum-Nielsen, *Danske Sprogtekster til Universitetsbrug* II (Kbh, 1942), pp. 22–25 = German trans. von Schwerin, *Dänische Rechte* (1938), pp. 195–198.

115 Didrik Arup Seip, *KHL* VI (1961), cols. 580–582.

116 Ed. Keyser–Munch, *NGL* II (1848), pp. 387–450 = German trans. Meissner (*Germanenrechte* V): *Norwegisches Recht: Das Gefolgschaftsrecht (Hirdskrá)* (Weimar, 1938; 2d ed., Witzenhausen, 1960), xli + 76 pp.

117 These laws are therefore often quoted by Foote–Wilson in their book, *Achievement* (London, 1970), to illustrate Old Norse political and social structure.

(succession of a Greece farer) and in the Swedish *Västgötalagen* (a Greece farer is excluded from inheritance while in Greece). The Christian law of the Icelandic *Grágás* contains rather laconic information on the presence of the bishops and priests of *ermskir* (Armenian) and *girskir* (Greek) origins. The same law mentions Icelanders active in *Garðar* (Rus'); it regulates the tithe payment by a *Garðar* (Rus') farer.

The maritime section of one of the oldest known versions of Old Scandinavian municipal laws, the *bjarkeyjarréttr* for the trading city of Bergen, mentions the Samland peninsula on the southeastern Baltic coast and *Gaurðar* (Rus'). While Samland was considered to be located in the second (danger) Baltic zone, Rus', together with Iceland and Greenland, are in the fourth (danger?) Atlantic Zone. The term *bjarkeyrar-réttr* is a remnant from the time of Birka's leading role in eastern Europe, between 800 and 975. The extant *hirð* laws, dealing with retinues, contain no data on eastern Europe.

CHAPTER TWENTY

The Old Frisian Laws

The Lex Frisionum

The Old Frisian laws come from two distinctive periods: the *Lex Frisionum* from the eighth century; the so-called common Old Frisian lawbooks and the provincial laws beginning in the last decades of the eleventh century and ending in the thirteenth, when the Frisian law began to be replaced by Roman canon law. Both groups cover the legal aspects of the pacified Frisians within the framework of the Frankish realm of the Holy Roman Empire. Unfortunately no legal texts survived from the ninth and tenth centuries, leaving us bereft of legal documents from such trading centers as Quentovic and Dorestad. The laws of the Frisian charismatic clans operating in Denmark and the rest of Scandinavia, Redbad's Frisians who did not cooperate with the Franks, and the Frisian colonies in Haithabu, Birka, or Sigtuna, including statutes from the Frisian guilds are similarly lacking.

The *Lex Frisionum* was the lawbook for those Frisians who accepted Carolingian rule and entered Christian society. Two basic Frisian divisions are observed in it: the eastern Frisians who lived between the rivers Weser and Laubach (Lauwers), or the Trans/Ultra Laubaci Frisians (*inter Laubachi et Vuisaram*), and the western Frisians who occupied the territory between the

Laubach River and the Sincfal Creek (modern Zwin), south of Western Schelde (*inter Laubaci et Sincfalam*). The latter division had two subdivisions; their boundary was the Zuyder Zee, or Fli (Latin: Flehum). Middle Frisia was situated between the Laubach River and the Zuyder Zee (*inter Laubachi ac Flehum*), while the Cis-Fli was located between the Zuyder See and Sincfal (*inter Fli et Sincfalam*).

Most scholars today agree that the *Lex Frisionum* is a collection of legal material from Middle Frisia dating from the eighth–ninth century (terminus ante quem 850) of both local and foreign origin, especially laws taken from the *Lex Alamannorum*. The collection may have been considered for promulgation during the legal diets in Aachen in 802 and 803, but for some reason it was never given its final form nor proclaimed officially as law.[1] There is no mention of northern or eastern Europe in the *Lex Frisionum*.

The Common Old Frisian Laws

The common Old Frisian lawbóoks belong to the period between the middle of the eleventh and the middle of the thirteenth, when most of Frisia was either being handed back and forth between the counts of Holland and the bishops of Utrecht (1077–1165) or governed by them jointly (1165–1299). The lawbooks are not official codes, but private collections arranged from various sources — statutes, lists of fines, private legal treatises, and historical or fictional legal accounts. Lawbooks are extant for five Frisian provinces located between the Weser River and the Zuyder Zee, (from east to west) Riustringen (Rüstringen), Emesgo, Fivolgo, Hunesgo, Westergo (Westerlauwers), but they should not be regarded as collections of laws for each province exclusively.

In 1939 Sydney Fairbanks wrote about the problem of classification of the Old Frisian Law texts as follows: "A perspicuous diagram of the whole field is badly needed, but so far no one seems to have been bold enough to attempt it."[2] Recently Bo Sjölin provided some sketchy but useful lists in his *Einführung in das Friesische* (Stuttgart, 1969), pp. 9–16. The following is a simplified classification of the common Old Frisian Laws: the basic common Old Frisian laws; the general statutes; the synod laws; two legendary stories about Frisian liberties; the law of magistrates.

[1] See Karl von Amira and Karl August Eckhardt, *Germanisches Recht*, 4th ed. I (Berlin, 1960), pp. 67–69. The strongest supporter of the official character of the *Lex Frisionum* was Philipp Heck in his *Die Entstehung der Lex Frisionum* (Stuttgart, 1927).

[2] Fairbanks, *Skeltana Riucht* (1939), p. 5. For abbreviations see pp. 792–794.

The extant common Old Frisian lawbooks are from the wrong periods — either the eighth century or after the middle of the eleventh century — and left by the wrong Frisians for our purposes. Especially the so-called common Old Frisian lawbooks from after the middle of the eleventh century reflect the ideology of the pacified Frisians, who regarded themselves as loyal knights of the Holy Roman Empire and the pope. They certainly bear no resemblance to the enterprising Frisians active in northern and eastern Europe between 800 and 1000. But some of the data contained in them do help make comprehensible the policy of the Franko-Roman alliance toward the Frisians. The pacified Frisians, so important for the economy, should be carefully distinguished from their independent brothers.

The Basic Common Old Frisian Laws

There are three basic common Old Frisian laws: the seventeen statutes; the twenty-four constitutions; the common Frisian Wergeld chapter, and almost all Old Frisian lawbooks have these three texts, normally written in Old Frisian; both H1 and H2 provide a Latin version, called by the scholars *Vetus jus Frisicum*. Scholars believe that this Latin version is an abbreviation of a hypothetical original (*x) made shortly after 1252.[3]

The Seventeen Statutes

The Seventeen Statutes is the oldest and most common Old Frisian text. N. E. Algra assumes that the statutes (Old Frisian, *kest-en*; Latin, *petitiones*) go back to a lost *capitulare* from the tenth century.[4] It is concerned mainly with public law. Manuscripts R1, H1-2 (with a Latin version), E1, F, J, U, D contain the Seventeen Statutes. One of the most recent researchers,[5] Jelle Hoekstra, established that the Latin version of H (based on *x) was one of the sources for the Old Frisian version in F and W (= J, U, D). R1, H (Old Frisian

[3] Concerning the Vetus jus Frisicum, see von Richthofen, *Untersuchungen* I (1880), pp. 32-62. In the fifteenth and sixteenth century, translations were made from Frisian into Old Low German, especially in Wursten and Wührden adjacent to Rüstringen.

[4] N. A. Algra, *De Tekstfiliatie van de 17 Keuren en de 24 Landrechten* (1966), pp. 54-56.

[5] Von Richthofen, *Untersuchungen* I (1880), pp. 20-201; Heck in *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde* 17 (Hannover, 1892), pp. 567-598; Rudolf His, *ZRG-GA* 20 (1899), pp. 39-114; Rudolf His, *ZRG-GA* 57 (1937), pp. 58-137; Jelle Hoekstra, *Die gemeinfriesischen Küren* (Assen, 1940), 196 pp.; N. E. Algra, "De Riustringer tekst fan 'e 17 Kêsten en 24 Lânrjochten," *Us Wurk* 8: 4 (Groningen, 1959), pp. 73-82; N. E. Algra, *De Tekstfiliatie van de 17 Keuren en de 24 Landrechten* (Estrikken 39), (Groningen, 1966); Sjölin, Introduction, *OTR* XII (1970), pp. 32-43.

version) and E1 belong to the same group as the common Old Frisian ancestor (*X)[6] compiled in the eleventh century.[7] But it had not yet been possible to establish the priority between the two hypothetical original versions, the Latin (*x), and the Old Frisian (*X). Hoekstra has reedited all the Latin and Old Frisian texts of the Seventeen Statutes, translated the Old Frisian text (version H1) into German, and added an exhaustive commentary.[8]

The Twenty-four Constitutions

The Twenty-four Constitutions (Old Frisian, *Londriucht*; Latin, *constitutio*) always follow the Seventeen Statutes in the manuscripts. Scholars agree that they are somewhat more recent, but there is no consensus as to whether they belong to the eleventh, twelfth, or even thirteenth century.[9] N. E. Algra has done the preliminary textological work on them in volume 39 of the *Estrikken* Series: *De tekstfiliatie van de 17 Keuren en de 24 Landrechten* (Groningen, 1966),[10] but a monograph has yet to be written. According to Algra the constitutions are not original, but a reworking and rearrangement of legal material taken from two basic sources: the decisions concerning the private law taken from the Seventeen Statutes, and a private law collection.[11]

[6] Hoekstra, *Die gemeinfriesischen Küren* (1940), p. 65. There are also two additional texts: "The Five Exceptions to the Seventeenth Statute," and "The [Four] Exceptions to the Sixteenth Statute." The exceptions to the Seventeenth Statute are older (eleventh or twelfth century); there is also a Latin version of them (cf. Sjölin, Introduction, *OTR* XII [1970], p. 44). The other exceptions are probably from the twelfth century (see Sjölin, *Einführung* [1969], p. 9). R2 contains an elucidation of the seventeen statutes, ed. Buma, *OTR* VIII (1954), pp. 57–60 = *AFR* I (1963), pp. 132–139. While commenting on the second (*AFR* I, pp. 134–135) and ninth statutes (pp. 136–137), the anonymous author uses the term *skilling cona;* see p. 496.

[7] Hoekstra, *Die gemeinfriesischen Küren* (1934), p. 26: "Soviel scheint aber festzustellen, dass die Datierungsversuche Richthofens widerlegt sind und dass für die zeitliche Fixierung der Küren im 11 Jahrhundert ein ziemlich erheblicher Grad von Wahrscheinlichkeit erreicht wurde. Eine genauere Datierung ist beim heutigen Stand der Forschung wohl nicht möglich." Cf. the opinion of van Buijtenen in *De grondslag van de Friese vrijheid* (1953; French resumé): "Malgré la diversité d'opinion, on peut admettre, toutefoi, que les 17 pétitions et les 24 droits territoriaux datent du XIe siècle" (p. 185). See also Sjölin, *Einführung*, p. 9.

[8] Hoekstra, *Die gemeinfriesischen Küren* (1940): text (pp. 79–140), German translation (pp. 141–146); commentary (pp. 147–175); *index verborum* (pp. 176–193).

[9] Bo Sjölin, *Einführung*, p. 9. But see also Buijtenen's opinion in n. 21.

[10] For further bibliography, see n. 20. The texts and German translation of the Twenty-four Constitutions, according to manuscripts R 1, E 1, F, H 2, are given in *AFR*: R 1 = I (1963), pp. 42–59; E 1 = III (1967), pp. 28–45; F = V (1972), pp. 40–53; H 2 = IV (1969), pp. 30–43; concerning the W text, see K. von Richthofen, *Friesische Rechtsquellen* (1840), pp. 41–81. The Latin version of H (based on Dr) is to be found in *OTR* VI (1950), pp. 90–95 (H 2) and pp. 114–119 (H1). R1 contains elucidations to the first constitution, ed. Buma, *OTR* VIII (1954), p. 60 = *AFR* I (1963), p. 138 (text); p. 139 (German translation).

[11] N. E. Algra, *De Tekstfiliatie* (1966), pp. 150–152.

Statute 7 and Constitution 10, and Statute 14 and Constitutions 3 and 20 are of particular interest. Statute 7[12] concentrates on a turning point in Frisian history; before Charlemagne granted them privileges so that they would be "inclined toward the south" (i.e., recognize Carolingian leadership), "all Frisians belonged to the north, to the terrible corner" (F).[13] The Rüstringen first codex has here instead the name of the historic Frisian King Redbad (679–719): "previously we belonged to the north, to Redbad the quarrelsome, all of them who were Frisians" (*wi er north herdon Redbate tha unfrethmonne, al thet Frisona was*).[14] The reference is to the connection between Redbad and Denmark. In the Second Westergo Codex (J = W2), originally copied in 1464, there is an apocryphal story about a supposed encounter between Charlemagne and Redbad in which Charlemagne appears as the winner.[15] These casual data, fortuitous as they seem, are very significant. They bear witness to the memory of Redbad among the Frisians even into late medieval times, and they also testify that the Frisians who produced the so-called common Old Frisian laws, were different from the Frisians who made their career with Redbad in the north and became heroes of the Norsemen.

Constitution 10 is identical with the fifth of the Seven Statutes of Magnus. According to this tradition, Charlemagne demanded that the Middle Frisians, westward as far as Sinkfal and eastward as far as Hitzacker (Hiddishecker) on the Elbe River, obey his summons to arms. But at the time when the statute was promulgated (eleventh century), the Frisians were no longer willing to go further than the Zuyder Zee (Fli) in the west and the Weser River in the east. The reason for this decision is best presented in F. The Frisians would serve no further than a day's journey away, "so that we may protect our [seven] lands against the salt sea, and against the knight[s] arrayed in the north, against the high helmet[s], and against the northern host."[16] Hitzacker[17] is a town located

[12] The basic Old Frisian texts with German translations: E = *AFR* III (1967), pp. 20, 22 (text), and pp. 21, 23 (trans.); F = *AFR* V (1972), p. 30 (text), p. 31 (trans.); H = *AFR* (1969), p. 24 (text), p. 25 (trans.); for the W texts, see J = Hoekstra, *Die gemeinfriesischen Küren* (1937), p. 94; U and D = Hoekstra, *Die gemeinfriesischen Küren*, p. 95.

[13] See n. 21. The Latin text in H has "quia Frisones olim ultra occeanum subditi erant," see *OTR* VI, ed. Hoekstra (1950), p. 87 (H2), and p. 111 (H1).

[14] Ed. Buma, *OTR* XI (1961), p. 96 = *AFR* I (1963), p. 36 (text), p. 37 (German trans.); cf. n. 20.

[15] Ed. Sipma in *Fon alra Fresena fridome* (Snits [Sneek], 1947), pp. 165–166.

[16] Ed. and trans. into German, Bo Sjölin, *OTR* XII (1970), p. 242 = *AFR* V (1972), pp. 34–35. R1 has here a shorter version: "So that we may save our land and our people from the sea and the northern host" (*with thene northhiri*) *AFR* I (1963), pp. 38–39. The other texts either end with a reference to the frontier at Fli (ed. Hoekstra, *Die gemeinfriesischen Küren*, p. 106), or have the pathetic statement: "Therefore all Frisians shall be free from the Northmen" ("thruch thet sa scelen alle Fresa fon tha northliuden fri wesa") (H 2 = *AFR* IV,

on the left bank of the Elbe River, to the northeast of Uelzen; in Charlemagne's time it belonged to the system of Saxon limes, a frontier fortification against the Danes and the Wendi (Wilti Wends). So from this we learn that Charlemagne was now forcing the loyal Frisians to take an active part in his defense arrangements in the north.

Both Statute 14 and Constitutions 3 and 20 reflect the threat to the Frisians who were subordinated to the Franks by heathen Norsemen. They decree that the Frisians shall regain their land and possessions upon their return from the Norsemen's heathen captivity.[18] According to Constitution 20 a Frisian was not responsible before the thing for his deeds while being held captive (*servus*) of the Norsemen, even if he is forced to take part in their pillaging activities against the Frisians.[19] The period involved is prior to 1041, most probably in the ninth century when Norse attacks against Frisia were frequent. All the manuscripts containing the Seventeen Statutes and Twenty-four Constitutions have a prologue in Old Frisian with a list of Jewish, Roman, Frankish, and Holy Roman emperors, which can be dated about 1250.[20] In the R1 this prologue is preceded by a second, longer preface, also with a longer list of kings. After the name of Emperor Otto III (d. 1002), the text says: "In his time Rus', Poland, and Hungary became baptized" (*vnder sino tidon warth Rysz-lond and Pulenera lond and Vngeron bikerd*).[21]

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pp. 26–27; E 1 = *AFR* III, pp. 24–25; U and D. Hoekstra, *Die gemeinfriesischen Küren*, p. 107).

[17] Concerning the role of Hitzacker, see N. E. Algra, *De Textfiliatie* (1966), pp. 40–41.

[18] The basic texts and German translation of statute 14 are given in *AFR*: R1 = I, pp. 38–41; E 1 = III, pp. 24–27; F = V, pp. 34–37; H 2 = IV, pp. 28–29. The basic texts and German translations of Constitution 3 are also to be found in the *AFR*: R 1 = I, pp. 46–47 (the foe is called "heathen people," *an tha hethena thiade*); E 1 = III, pp. 30–31 (the foe is called Northmen); F = V, pp. 42–45 (the foe are *Nortmon*); H 2 = IV, pp. 32–33 (the foe are *Normen*). In Statute 2 of the General Statutes, the foe are called *Viking*.

[19] The basic text and German translation of Constitution 20 is given in *AFR*: R 1 = I, pp. 50–51; E 1 = III, pp. 40–41; F = V, pp. 50–53; H 2 = IV, pp. 40–41. The text in R 1 uses the word *Witsing*: *ther hi er mith tha Witsingon efremid heth* "[the deeds] which he previously accomplished with the Vikings" (*OTR* XI, p. 105).

[20] Sjölin, *Einführung*, p. 10.

[21] Ed. Buma, *OTR* XI (1961), p. 93 = *AFR* I (1963), pp. 30–31. There is also a typical ideological passage concerning the past of the pacified Frisians: the four Christian missionaries (Boniface, St. Willebrord, Willehad, Liudger) "procured independence and freedom for us the Frisians from King Charlemagne, for all Frisians belonged before to the north, to the terrible corner," i.e., to the Norsemen (*thesse fiuwer hera bihulpon vs Frison frihalses ande fridomes with thene kinig Kerl, hwande alle Frisa er north herdon anda grimma herna*).

Concerning the term *frihalsi*, van Buijtenen writes: "Feu le professeur [I. M.] Gosses [in *Verspreide geschriften* (Groningen, 1946), pp. 138–139] a démontré que la légende ultérieure,

The Common Frisian Wergeld Chapter

The Common Frisian Wergeld chapter was incorporated into R 1, H 1 (also in Latin), H 2 (also in Latin), E 1, and F; it is missing in the Westergo lawbooks.

The Wergeld chapter — unparalleled in Germanic legal literature — is an enumeration and classification of injuries and their corresponding compensations. It is the subject of Klaas Nauta's dissertation, *Die altfriesischen Busstaxen: Texte und Untersuchungen* (Assen, 1941), in which he establishes the priority of the Old Frisian text in H.[22] The Wergeld chapter is not uniform; its oldest parts go back to the eleventh century.[23] In it there is no mention of northern or eastern Europe.

Individual manuscripts usually also include a Wergeld chapter of local origin. In the two Rüstringen codices, in the chapters about the Rüstringer wergeld, the silver coin called *skilling cona/kona* is mentioned.[24] *Kona* is probably a borrowing from Old Rus'ian *kuna*, "pelts valued at a silver *dirhem*."[25] This reference in codices R1 and R2 provides evidence for trade relations between the Rüstringen Frisians and Rus', not surprisingly since Rüstringen had close ties to Bremen, which was in turn closely connected with eastern Europe, especially in the second half of the twelfth century.[26]

The General Statutes

Seven short statutes, the so-called General Statutes (Old Frisian, *urkera*;

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d'après laquelle les Frisons devaient porter, sour la domination des Normands (Danois) des colliers de bois autour du cou, en signe de servitude, repose sur une fausse interprétation d'un de ces textes. En effet, il y est dit, que le Frisons achetèrent leur liberté par leur soumission (*hiara fria hals*; en haut allemand: *frihalsi*; en anglo-saxon: *freols*; en islandais: *frelsi*, veut dire: liberté). Quand le mot, fria hals, n'était plus compris, la légende absurde des colliers autour du cou, par opposition à 'cou libre,' a pris naissance" (*De grondslag van de Friese vrijheid* [Assen, 1953], p. 185; see the Dutch text on pp. 17–18).

[22] K. Nauta presents the Latin text (M) on pp. 31–37, the Old Frisian texts on pp. 37–66, with a synoptic table on pp. 81–82; the German translation, on the basis of M, is given on pp. 67–80.

[23] Rudolf His, *ZRG-GA* 57 (1937), pp. 58–137; Sjölin, Introduction, *OTR* XII (1970), pp. 54–59; see also idem, *Einführung* (1969), p. 9.

[24] All passages are given in the indexes. For R 1 = *OTR* XI (1961), p. 207 (s.v. *kona*); for R 2 = *OTR* VIII (1954), p. 95 (s.v. *cona*).

[25] Max Vasmer, *REW* I (Heidelberg, 1953), p. 693.

[26] See, e.g., the treaty concerning the cooperation between the merchants of the city of Bremen and the Rüstringen Frisians concluded in 1220. The treaty is included in the collection: *Urkundliche Geschichte des Ursprungs der deutschen Hanse*, ed. Georg Friedrich Sartorius, II (Hamburg, 1830), p. 15.

German, *Ueberküren*) are connected with the Upstalsbam[27] Alliance of the Frisians on both sides of the Ems River, which probably dates from the eleventh century. Specialists do not agree on a date for the General Statutes, except to say that they come from the second half of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century.[28] There are no recent studies on the General Statutes.[29] The text is found only in H, F, and E 1;[30] F and H 2 seem to have the oldest version.

Statute 2 is of some interest to our subject. It reads (F):[31]

Jefter eng lond vrherat worde fonta sutherna serada herum jefta fonta norda Wising, thetta sex tha sogenda hulp, thet hit alsa wel machte sa othere sex.	If any of the [seven-sea] lands[32] should be devastated from the south by the arrayed host [Germans], or from the north by the Vikings, those six [sea lands] would help the [devastated] seventh [sea land], until it is as strong as the other six.

Without doubt this statute reflects the threat to the loyal Frisians from the Norsemen during the Viking Age; the name Viking is preserved there. The basic Old Frisian form was *witsing*;[33] H has *wiszeg*,[34] but the E1 had already

[27] Upstalsbom was located near Aurich (Old: Awerk) in Ost-Friesland (Germany). Concerning the etymology of the name, see Theodor Siebs in Heck, *Die altfriesiche Gerichtsverfassung* (1895), pp. 356-357. About the Upstalsbom Alliance, see von Richthofen, *Untersuchungen*, I (1880), pp. 1-7, 10-19, 297-369.

[28] See Sipma, *De Eerste Emsinger Codex* (*OTR* IV [1943], pp. 47-51). Cf. also Heck, "Ursprung," *Neues Archiv* 17 (1892), p. 594 (eleventh century); Sjölin, *Einführung* (1969), p. 9 ("time and origin uncertain"); idem, Introduction, *OTR* XII (1970), pp. 62-63, and Buma, Introduction, *AFR* V (1972), p.13.

[29] Von Richthofen devoted chapter 3 of his *Untersuchungen* I (1880), to the General Statutes ("Die Ueberküren," pp. 202-241; the texts after H and E are published on pp. 236-241.

[30] The Old Frisian texts and German translation in *AFR*: H = IV, pp. 72-75; E = III, pp. 96-97; F = V, pp. 172-173; cf. von Richthofen, *Friesische Rechtsquellen* (1840), pp. 93-101.

[31] Ed. Sjölin, *OTR* XII (1970), pp. 360, 362 = *AFR* V (1972), pp. 172-173.

[32] Concerning the Union of the Seven Sea-Lands, see von Richthofen, *Untersuchungen* II: 1 (1882), pp. 1-145; D. Kalma, "Apud Upstallesbame," *It Beaken* 15 (Assen, 1953), pp. 97-105, and Jelle Hindriks Brouwer, ed., *Encyclopedie van Friesland* (Amsterdam, 1957), p. 712.

[33] See Sjölin in *OTR* XII (1950), p. 224. The form *witsing* is attested in the texts from Rüstringen (n. 35) and Westerlauwers. The form (*witsing*) may help the problem of the origin of the Slavic **vitęgъ*. Concerning the last, see Stender-Petersen, *Varangica* (Aarhus, 1953), pp. 21-63, and Vasmer, *REW* I (1953), pp. 206-207.

[34] Ed. Hoekstra, *OTR* VI (1950), p. 68 (H 2) and p. 152 (H 1).

replaced this older term by the more familiar *wigand*, "warrior."[35] The antiquity of the General Statutes is demonstrated by the appearance of this word.

The Synod Laws

As a result of the activities of Anglo-Saxon missionaries (e.g., Willibrord, 690–738; Boniface, 716, 719–722), Utrecht, a bishopric since about 700, became and remained the center of Christianity for those Frisians loyal to the Carolingians. After Charlemagne had finally subdued the remaining Frisians (775–785), their territory of East Frisia was divided between bishoprics erected in 804 on the conquered Saxon territories: Münster received the *pagi* Emsgo, Fivolgo, and Hunesgo; Rüstringen was included into the archbishopric of Bremen(-Hamburg).

Old Frisian synod laws (*Sendrecht*) from the diocese of Utrecht and the archdiocese of Bremen have survived, but no Frisian Christian laws from the diocese of Münster. Their originals were probably written in Latin, but only Old Frisian versions are extant.

The Utrecht Synod Law (the thirty-six *Sendrechten*) originated in Middle Frisia, but also appear in the Westerlauwers Frisian texts; it includes sections from the ninth and tenth centuries;[36] others were added, up to the thirteenth century. It was edited in two versions; the incunabulum (D, Dr, Ul) reprinted both versions separately, the J (U2) combines them.[37] M. P. van Buijtenen published a new critical edition of the law in his monograph, *De grondslag van de Friese vrijheid* (Assen, 1953), Suppl. VII, 22 pp. (with leaves I–X added after p. 217).

This work deserves special attention. The author gives two fascinating panoramic views, first on the activity of the Frisians in Rome, including their Roman church and traditions, and second on the Catholic Church in Frisia. An essay on the Utrecht synod law must by the same token be a study of the Church in Frisia because traditions concerning the fidelity of the Frisians

[35] *AFR* III, pp. 96–97. Concerning *wigand*, see von Richthofen, *Altfriesisches Wörterbuch* (Göttingen, 1840), p. 1148.

[36] Pieter Gerbenzon, *Philologia Frisica: Anno 1956* (Groningen, 1957), p. 36; Sjölin, Introduction, *OTR* XII (1970), pp. 46–51.

[37] Von Richthofen, *Untersuchungen* II: 2 (1882), pp. 730–731.

toward the pope and the Holy Roman Emperor are best preserved in Westerlauwers, Middle Frisia (Friesland), which belonged to the see of Utrecht. The strong reliance on Rome and Roman Christian institutions resulted in the infiltration into the Old Frisian law of Christian canon law in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. By the fifteenth century, canon law had become dominant even in secular life and the Old Frisian law fell into disuse.[38]

The Synod Law of Rüstringen is shorter; it is also a compilation that continued to expand until sometime before 1230. Its Frisian version comes down to us in the *Asega Book* (R 1) dating from the last decades of the thirteenth century,[39] published, with a German translation, by W. J. Buma and Wilhelm Ebel in "Das Rüstringer Recht," *AFR* I (1963), pp. 110–119. The Old Frisian Synod Laws make no reference to eastern Europe.

Two Legendary Stories about Frisian Liberties

Frisians had a special status within the framework of the Holy Roman Empire. Very early the Frisians insisted on their immediate dependence on the pope and the emperor, and the adage "every Frisian is a nobleman" was very popular in Middle Frisia. To strengthen their position they forged stories and even special privileges granted them by the emperors, particularly Charlemagne,[40] especially during their encounters with the Duke of Holland in the thirteenth century. To these forgeries belong the so-called Seven Statutes of Magnus. They are based on an apocryphal story about the legendary knight Magnus who supposedly defeated the rebellious Romans. For his effort he demanded from Charlemagne liberties and noble privileges for his Frisian kinsmen. The Seven Statutes of Magnus was allegedly granted by Charlemagne in response; Magnus was supposed to have deposited it in St. Michael Church at Almenum (near Harlingen in Westergo).[41] The Seven Statutes of Magnus seem to be of Middle Frisian (Westerlauwers) origin; of their four known texts, three are from the Westerlauwers: J (W 2, the basic text), D (W 1), and U (W 3), and the fourth is F. A new edition of the W texts was made by

[38] Pieter Gerbenzon, *Philologia Frisica* (1956), pp. 35–43.

[39] Concerning the Rüstringen synod law, see von Richthofen, *Untersuchungen* II: 2 (1882), pp. 1257–1262.

[40] The apocryphal Privileges of Charlemagne of 802 were published by von Richthofen, *Untersuchungen* II: 1 (1882), pp. 166–179 (texts), with a philological commentary (pp. 180–223), a historical commentary (pp. 223–234), and his evaluation (pp. 234–315).

[41] Concerning the site of Almenum, see von Richthofen, *Untersuchungen* II: 1 (1882), p. 235, and *Encyclopedie van Friesland* (1958), p. 144.

P. Sipma in his book *Fon alra Fresena fridome* (Snits [Sneek], 1947), pp. 158–160. The F version, with a German translation, is available both in Bo Sjölin's edition, *OTR* XII (1970), pp. 260–263, and in *AFR* V (1972), pp. 54–59.

Until recently scholars dated the Statutes of Magnus as a rather late Old Frisian text, from about the thirteenth or fourteenth century,[42] but van Buijtenen completely revised that theory, pointing to their formal resemblance to the Old Scandinavian *lǫg-saga*; it is essentially a spoken text based on free verse. He meticulously reduced the statutes into their component parts and presented a fascinating panorama of events that contributed to the development of story: the blinding of Pope Leo III in 799 by his adversaries, combined with the Saracen attack on Rome in 846, and the heroic deeds of the Frisian colony in Rome during that ordeal, the discovery of the relics of St. Magnus by these Frisian combatants, and transportation of the relics to St. Michael's Church in Harlingen. With the passage of time St. Magnus turned into Magnus, the standard bearer of the Frisians, a warrior for the Holy Roman Empire and the pope, and a guardian of Frisian freedom.

According to van Buijtenen the Seven Statutes of Magnus preceded both the Seventeen Statutes and Twenty-four Constitutions, and should be regarded as a work of the first half of the eleventh century. From them, the other two works developed.[43] The fifth of the Seven Statutes of Magnus is in fact the same as the tenth of the Seventeen Statutes[44] — the demand to do military service only within the confines of the Middle Frisian patrimony. The reasons are presented in rather pathetic form:

Tha kas Magnus thene fifta kere,	Thereafter Magnus chose the fifth
that se nene herefert nelde farra	statute, that they [the Middle
fara than aster to there Wisere and	Frisians] follow summons to the
wester to tha Fli, vp mitha flod	arms not further than to the Weser in
an vit mitha ebba, thruch thet,	the east and to the Fli in the west,
thet se hudat [thene ower] deis	upward with the flood, downward
ande nachtis withen nordischa	with the ebb tide, since they keep
kening and with thene wilda	guard day in, day out, against the
witzend and thene deikis flod	northern king and against the wild

[42] Von Richthofen, *Untersuchungen* I (1880), pp. 204, 231, and II: 1 (1882), pp. 235–238; Heck, "Ursprung," *Neues Archiv* 17 (1892), pp. 582–585; idem, *Die altfriesische Gerichtsuerfassung* (1894), pp. 449–458; Hugo Jökel, *Forschungen zur altfriesischen Gerichts- und Ständeverfassung* (Weimar, 1907), pp. 200ff.; Sydney Fairbanks, *Skeltana Riucht* (1939), p. 11.

[43] Van Buijtenen, *De grondslag* (1953), pp. 14–27, 184–186 (French resumé); see also Sjölin, Introduction, *OTR* XII (1970), pp. 45–46, and Sjölin, *Einführung* (1969), p. 9.

[44] See n. 16.

mith fif weppnum mith swerde, mith schelde, mit spada, mith forka and mith ettegris orde.	Vikings and against the daily flood with fire weapons: with sword, with shield, with spade, with fork, and with spearspoint.[45]

This passage deserves mention on account of its reference to the northern king and the Vikings, styled by the pro-Frankish Frisians as "wild."

Another work about Frisian liberties is the *Book of Rudolf*, a longish lawbook showing very strong influence of Roman canon law compiled sometime between 1215 and 1227, probably about 1220, since it emphasizes the duty of joining in the Crusades led by pope and emperor.[46]

The *Book of Rudolf* can be found in three texts from the Westerlauwers Frisia, of which versions U (U3) and J (W2; the basic version) go back to the lost original, while the text of Dr (W1) derives from both U and J; Henny S. E. Bos-van der Heide published a new critical edition of the *Book of Rudolf* in her dissertation *Het Rudolfsboek* (Assen, 1937), pp. 85–163.[47]

Rudolf of Swabia (1077–1080), one of Charlemagne's successors, was chosen to bestow on the Frisians their liberties for their extraordinary services in defense of the Holy Land, their help to the pope and emperor to keep Rome, their aid to the bishops of Utrecht, and their guarding against the attacks of the northern power.[48]

The danger from the Norsemen is presented in it as coming "fan des norsche koninghes handen," "from the hands of the northern king."[49]

The Law of Magistrates

The word *skelta* means "magistrate," so the *Skeltana Riucht* (German: *Schulzenrecht*) is the law of the magistrate. This lawbook does not belong with the common Old Frisian legal texts; it was a lawbook only for a single province, the Westerlauwers, though it was also in accord with the traditions of the Frisian liberties. But it has a special significance, since, promulgated in the

[45] Text (F) ed. and trans. into German, Sjölin, *OTR* XII (1970), pp. 262–263 = *AFR* V (1972), pp. 56–57.

[46] Fairbanks, *Skeltana Riucht* (1939), p. 10.

[47] See also vol. 32 of *Estrikken: Rudolfsboekmateriael* (Groningen, 1961).

[48] Von Richthofen, *Untersuchungen* II: 1 (1882), pp. 449–458; Heck, *Altfriesische Gerichtsverfassung* (Weimar, 1894), pp. 449–458; Bos-van der Heide, *Het Rudolfsboek* (1937), pp. 11–21; Fairbanks, *Skeltana Riucht* (1939), pp. 10–11; Sjölin, *Einführung* (1969), p. 9.

[49] *Book of Rudolf*, ed. Bos-van der Heide (1937), p. 158.

eleventh century,[50] it is the oldest of all Old Frisian provincial laws. It exists in four copies: U (the basic text), J, Dr, and the Roorda manuscript from about 1500. Its basic edition was prepared by Walther Steller, *Der altwestfriesische Schulzenrecht* (Breslau, 1926). On that basis, Sydney Fairbanks published his normalized text with an English translation: *The Old West Frisian Skeltana Riucht with an Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (Cambridge, 1939).

Its second law, the favorite legal doctrine of the Middle Frisians, is almost identical with the fifth of the Seven Statutes of Magnus, and of common origin with the tenth of the Seventeen Statutes. It reads: "This is the law: the free Frisian need make no further foray, whether under proclamation or order, than out with the ebb and back with the flood because he needs must guard the shore, day in, day out, against the salt sea and the wild Viking with five weapons: with spade and with fork, with shield and with sword, and with spearpoint."[51]

[50] See Sjölin, *Einführung* (1969), p. 9.

[51] English trans. after Fairbanks, *Skeltana Riucht* (1939), p. 73 (text is on p. 72); cf. p. 124 (commentary).

PART FIVE

Old Icelandic Geographic Literature

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

Human Geography in the Religious Literature

In the field of geography, the Norsemen kept to practical applications. Unlike the Arabs, they were never interested or actively engaged in mathematic geography and its theory, and even their descriptive geography never gained independent importance. It was simply added to their highly developed historical narrative to set the scene of the action, or was included in their religious literature and encyclopedic collections of curiosities. The exceptions are the itineraries to Rome, the Holy Land, and surrounding countries and a *Mappa Mundi* of the mid-twelfth (or thirteenth?) century.

Although unknown to the Old Icelandic scholars, Alfred the Great plays a role in the northern geography, especially since he included the accounts of two Norsemen (Ohthere, Wulfstan) of his time in his geographic work. Therefore, King Alfred's geography is dealt with in Appendix 3 (pp. 683-703).

The Old Norse elements in the geographic work of al-Idrīsī, however, are dealt with in volume three of this work which is devoted to the analysis of the data of the Arabic sources.

Translational Religious Literature
Scitia = "Sweden the Great"

The first confrontation of the Icelanders with geographic data available to them

in written form came through twelfth-century translations made from Latin at the Benedictine monasteries of Þingeyrar (founded in 1133) and Munka-Þverá (founded in 1155), both in the diocese of Hólar (established in 1106) in the northern part of Iceland. The scholarly monks were engaged among others in the translated saint lives, the apocryphal (often of Manichaean provenance) Acts of the Apostles, and the Alexander Saga, among other works. After their conversion the Icelanders applied a euhemeristic concept to the gods of their pagan mythology just as the Christian Romans and Greeks did, and as a result Icelandic translators often replaced the classical pantheon (which was by then also an integral part of medieval Christian civilization) with a northern one. Thus Þórr replaced the Roman Jupiter[1] or the Egyptian Hamon;[2] Óðinn replaced Mercury[3] or Hercules;[4] Freyja, Venus;[5] Freyjr, Saturn;[6] Týr, Mars;[7] and so on. The Icelandic translators also had used their own Old

[1] See *Clemens saga*, text following the vellum ms. AM 645, 4° of ca. 1200 (facs. ed. Anne Holtsmark in *CCI* XII [Kbh, 1938]), ed. C. R. Unger, *Postola sögur* (Chria, 1874), pp. 146-147; *Heimslýsing*, ed. E. Jónsson-F. Jónsson in *Hauksbók* (Kbh, 1892-96), p. 158: "en sa Íupíter var þeira alra rikastr hinna heiðnu manna, er sumir menn kalla Þor"; *Alexanderssaga* (two basic vellum mss.: AM 519a, 4° of the end of the thirteenth century, and AM 226, fol., second half of the fourteenth century), ed. F. Jónsson (Kbh, 1925), p. 21: "Iupiter heitir a latino, en Þorr a vara tungo."

On the Old Icelandic lives of saints, see the basic study by Ole Widding, Hans Bekker-Nielsen, and L. K. Shook, "The Lives of the Saints in Old Norse Prose: A Handlist," *Mediaeval Studies* 25 (Toronto, 1963), pp. 294-337; cf. also Hans Bekker-Nielsen, "On a Handlist of Saints' Lives in Old Norse," *Mediaeval Studies* 24 (1962), pp. 323-334.

[2] *Alexanders saga*, ed. F. Jónsson, p. 50: "Þors hof . . . þat var kallat templum Hamónís."

[3] *Heimslýsing* in *Hauksbók*, ed. E. Jónsson-F. Jónsson (1892-96), p. 159: "Mercurio þann er ver kollum Oðenn"; "Páls saga postola II" (the four basic manuscripts are: A = AM 234, fol., first half of the fourteenth century; B = "Codex Scardensis," fourteenth century facs. ed. Desmond Slay, in *EIM* II [Kbh, 1960]; C = AM 84, 8°, middle of the fifteenth century; D = AM 236, fol., thirteenth century), ed. C. R. Unger, *Postola sögur*, p. 244, where one *passus* of the Acts of the Apostles (14:12) is rendered as follows: "ok kolluðu þeir Barnaban Þor, en Paulum Merkurium, þat kaullum ver Oðin"; cf. "Rím I" (AM 625, 4°, mid-fifteenth century) in *Alfræði Íslenzk*, ed. Kr. Kålund, II (Kbh, 1914), p. 63: "Stilbon [planet] heiter Mercurius, þat kǫllum vér Oðinn."

[4] *Clemens saga*, in *Postola sögur*, ed. C. R. Unger, p. 146.

[5] *Clemens saga*, in *Postola sögur*, ed. Unger, p. 146; *Trójumanna saga* in *Hauksbók*, ed. E. Jónsson-F. Jónsson, pp. 199, 200, 211, 232 (cf. *Trójumanna saga*, ed. Jonna Louis-Jensen, pp. 20, 49, 112, 123, 126, 139-140, 148); *Breta sögur* in *Hauksbók*, ed. E. Jónsson-F. Jónsson, p. 232; cf. "Rím I," in *Alfræði Íslenzk*, ed. Kålund, II, p. 63: "Hesperis [planet] heiter Venus, þat kaullum ver Freyio."

[6] *Trójumanna saga*, ed. Jonna Louis-Jensen, p. 1: "Satvrnvs var kallaðr en ver kollvm Frey."

[7] "Rím I" in *Alfræði Íslenzk*, ed. Kålund, II, p. 63: "Fispena [planet] heiter Mars, þat kaullum ver Ty." This Old Norse euhemerism recalls similar phenomena in works of Old Rus'ian literature, such as the *PVL* and the *Igor' Tale*.

Norse designations where such forms existed in place of Latin geographic names. In church histories, in the Acts of St. Andrew, and in the Acts of St. Philip, where the classic geographic *Scythia* occurs, it appears in an Old Icelandic guise.

In the *Ecclesiastica Historia* by Eusebius of Caesarea (b. 260, d. 340) the following passage appears: "Meanwhile, the Holy Apostles and Disciples of our Saviour were scattered over the whole world. Thomas, tradition tells us, was chosen for Parthia, Andrew for Scythia ('Ανδρέας δὲ τὴν Σκυθίαν), John for Asia [Minor]."[8]

In *Andreas saga postola I*, which belongs to the first, twelfth-century, hagiographic period in Iceland and is written in a straightforward style that has eliminated the stamp of its Latin sources,[9] a similar passage is found:

En þáer postolarnir skiptuðusk til landa, þá fór Andreas postoli fyrst til Svíþjoðar hinnar Miklu at fœra þar Guð i margfaldan ávǫxt sinna kenninga.[10]	And when the Apostles dispersed to the nations, then the Apostle Andrew went first to Sweden the Great there to offer to God the manifold fruit of his preaching.

In the St. Andrew book of the *Acta Apostulorum Apocrypha* by Pseudo-Abdias of Babylon we find an account of the Apostle Andrew's journey from Nicaea through Nicomedia to Constantinople: "Postea egressus Nicaeam Andreas, cum ad portam Nicomediae appropinqvaret . . . egressus itaque Nicomediae Apostulus, navem conscendit, ingressesque Hellespontum, fretum navigabat, ut veniret Byzantium."[11]

[8] Eusebii Caesariensis, *Opera* IV: *Historiae ecclesiasticae libri I-X*, ed. W. Dindorf (Leipzig, 1873), p. 83 (III.1.1), Eng. trans., G. A. Williamson, *Eusebius: The History of the Church from Christ to Constantine* (Baltimore, Md., 1965), p. 107.

[9] Lenore Harty, *Andreas saga postola* (Ph.D. diss., University of Otago, Dunedin, N.Z., 1970), p. xxxiii. The translation of the *Andreas saga postola* — its ultimate source was the *Liber de miraculis S. Andreae apostoli* by Gregory of Tours (d. 594), based on Manichean literary traditions but revised and made orthodox by the author — into Old Icelandic is connected with the activity of Bishop Páll Jónsson of Skálaholt (1195-1211); cf. Lenore Harty, *Andreas saga postola*, p. xxi , and G. Turville-Petre, *Origins*, pp. 128-129.

[10] *Andreas saga postola I* has been preserved in a vellum ms. from the beginning of the thirteenth century: AM 645, 4°, (= A), facs. ed. Anne Holtsmark, in *CCI* XII (Kbh, 1938) and in another vellum ms. of the thirteenth century, AM 652, 4°, of whose original version there is a complete transcript dating from the beginning of the seventeenth century: AM 630, 4°. The saga was published twice: in *Postola sögur*, ed. Unger (our passage is on p. 319), and ed. Harty, *Andreas saga postola* (our passage with an Eng. trans., pp. 1-2; notes on p. 49); cf. also Introduction on pp. viii-ix, xxi and xxiii. Concerning the problem of whether the land which St. Andrew visited was actually Achaia or Scythia, see K. R. Brooks, *Andreas* (Oxford, 1961), and Peter M. Peterson, *Andrew, Brother of Simon Peter* (Leiden, 1958).

[11] *Liber tertius: De gestis Beati Andreae Apostoli*, in *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*

The same passage is also found in the *Andreas saga postola II*, but this time it contains a very interesting insertion about the Hellespont, which the translator apparently identified with Old Norse *Ellipaltar*, the Scandinavian name for Palus Maeotis (the Azov Sea), and the river route that passed through it: [12]

Fra Niceaborg for heilagr
Andreas til siofar ok ætlaði
at sigla yfir haf, þat er
kallað er Hellispontus.
Þetta haf skilr .ii. þriðiunga
heimsins Asiam ok Europam,
þviat firir norðan er
Grikland, en firir sunnan
Asia hin meiri.
Þetta haf gerir enda a
miðiarðarsionum með sinum
botni i hinni Miklu Sviþioð.
I þenna botn fellr ofvan af
Sviþioð hin mikla aa, er heitir
Tanais eðr Ta[na]qvi[s]l, ok
gerir þetta vatnfall þar
umskifti aa fyrr saugðum
heimsins þriðiungum.
Nu sem Andreas postoli stigr a
skip með sinum maunnum, ætluðu
þeir at sigla til Miklagarðz, er
i þann tima var kǫllut Bizancium.

The Holy Andrew went from Nicaea
to the sea and intended to
sail over the sea, which is
called Hellespontus. That sea
divides two of the three parts
of the world, Asia and Europe,
because to the north [of it]
there is Greece and to the south
[of it] — Asia Major.
That sea makes an end to the
Mediterranean Sea by means
of its bay in Sweden the Great
(= Azov Sea). Into this bay
discharges in Sweden the Great
a river called Tanais or
Ta[na]qvi[s]l,[13] and into that place
this stream empties water
sucked from one third of the world.
Now the Apostle Andrew went
on board ship with his
men; they intended to sail to
Miklagarðr (Constantinople)
which at that time was called Byzantium.

The Old Icelandic authors used the designation "Sweden the Great" to explain the name *Scythia*, identifying the territory called Scythia in the written sources with the lands around the Azov Sea and along the Tanais River. Those lands were important in the Ostrogothic tradition, as is evident from some of the geographical-mythological chapters in Snorri Sturluson's works and in *Kitāb Ruǧǧār* by al-Idrīsī (*fl.* 1154).

We also find an insertion similar to the one in the Icelandic reworking of the

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II (Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha, sive Historia certaminis apostolici adscripta Abdiae, primo, ut ferunt, Babyloniae Episcopo, et distributi in libros decem), ed. Johannes Albertus Fabricius (Hamburg, 1719), pp. 466–467.

[12] *Andreas Saga postola II* (preserved in two vellum mss., AM 646, 4°, first half of the fourteenth century and AM 647, 4°, fifteenth century), in *Postola sögur*, ed. Unger, pp. 361–362. On etymology of *Ellipaltar* see Stender-Petersen, *Varangica*, p. 214.

[13] On *Tanakvísl* see pp. 243–245 of this volume.

Alexanders Saga, this time based on a medieval Latin poem, the *Alexandreis*, written by Philippus G[u]alt[h]erus or Gautier de Castelione (Châtillon) in the late twelfth century. The Icelandic translation made by Brandr Jónsson, bishop of Hólar (1263–1264),[14] is given below along with the Latin original and an English translation of the Icelandic text:

At Macedo . . ./	Eptir þetta fer Alexander konungr með her sinn til	After that went King Alexander with his army
Ad Tanaim transfert, qui vasto gurgite Bactram/	ár þeirar, er Tanais heitir. Þar gengr at ánne þeim megen er hann kom at rike þat er Bactra	to the river called Tanais; passing the main river he came there to the realm called Bactra,
A regno Scythiae dirimit, qui terminus	heitir, en auðromegen S[c]ithia þat kalla svmir Sviþioð ena miclo. Þesse en	and on the other side [was] S[c]ithia, which we call Sweden the Great. This is the same Tanais
idem Europam medijs, Asiamque interfluit undis.[15]	sama Tanais scilr oc heims þriðiunga Asiam oc Evrópam.[16]	that divides one third of the world, Asia and Europe.

At the time the translators did not use a Norse term, or make any additions, when translating the name *Scithia*, as one can see from comparing similar passages in the *Tveggia saga postola Philippus ok Jacobs II* with the original Acts of St. Philip by Pseudo-Abdias:

Post adscensionem vero Salvatoris beatus Philippus per annos viginti instanter praedicavit Gentibus per Scythiam Evangelium.[17]	Heilagr Philippus postole guds drottins vórs Jesus Cristz fór eftir uppstigning hans til þess landz, er Scithia heitir, ok kendi þar kenningar ok retta tru .xx. vetr.[18]	The Holy Philip, the Apostle of our Lord Jesus Christ, went after His Ascension to these lands called Scithia and preached there and made straight the faith there for twenty winters.

[14] About him, see de Vries, *GAL* II², pp. 194–195.

[15] *Alexandreidos Galteri poetae clarissimi libri decem* (Ingolstadt, 1541), fol. XC r, book 8. The author based his work on § VII.7 of the *Historia Alexandri Magni* by Quintus Curtius Rufus (ca. A.D. 40–54).

[16] *Alexanders saga*, ed. F. Jónsson, pp. 125–126.

[17] "Liber decimus: De rebus a Beato Philippo Apostolo gestis," in *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, ed. J. A. Fabricius, II, p. 738.

[18] "Tveggja saga postola Philippus ok Jacobs II." The basic vellum ms. is the *Codex Scardensis/Skarðsbók* of the fourteenth century, facs., ed. Desmond Slay in *EIM* II (1960); cf. the edition by Ólafur Halldórsson, *Sögur úr Skarðsbók* (Rvík, 1967); the other ms. is AM 630, 4°, a paper copy from the beginning of the seventeenth century in *Postola sögur*, ed. Unger, p. 740.

The names *Bláland* and *Serkland* are used frequently, both in the later sagas and in the translated literature, to correspond to the Latin "Aethiopia" (*Bláland*) and "Media" (*Serkland*). The translation of the Acts of St. Bartholomew by Pseudo-Abdias provides an example:

Indiae tres esse ab historiographis asseruntur. Prima est India, quae ad Aethiopiam vergit; secunda, quae ad Medos; tertiaquae finem Asiae versus orientem facit.[19]	Indialǫnd eru þriu: eitt er þat er liggr hia Blalandi; annat liggr hia Serklandi; en hit þriðia er við heimsenda, ok er þat hit yzta Indialand kallat a bokum.[20]	There are three Indias: the first lies near Bláland; another lies near Serkland; and the third [lies] at the end of the world: that one is called in the books the outermost Indíaland.[21]

The Itinerary Literature

The word *leiðarvísir* (lit. "sign-post") was the Old Norse term for itinerary or guide book, especially those intended for Christian pilgrims. Unfortunately, during their long and turbulent voyages and raids, the pagan Norsemen seldom used their Runic script system. Until the tenth century its use was confined almost exclusively for magic and ritual; it was not used for recording adventures or discovering new lands and peoples.

Two ninth-century itineraries, however, were written down from dictation at the court of the learned Anglo-Saxon king of Wessex, Alfred the Great (871-899), and are thus preserved for posterity. They are the *Periplus* of Ohthere to the White Sea and Hedeby, and Wulfstan's account of his voyage from Hedeby to Truso. Adam of Bremen was able to use the intelligent Danish king and nephew of Canute the Great, Sveinn Úlfsson (1047-1076), as his chief informant.

[19] "Liber octavus: De rebus per Indiam a beato Bartholomaeo gestis," *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, ed. Fabricius II, p. 669.

[20] "Bartholomeus saga postola," ms. A = *Codex Scardensis* (see above, n. 18); ms. B. = AM 630, 4°, in *Postola sögur*, ed. Unger, p. 744.

[21] Approximately the same text is given in the *Rímbegla* (AM 731, 4°; paper ms., copied in 1641 by Björn Jónsson of Skarðsá) in *Alfræði Íslenzk* III, ed. Kålund (1917), p. 9: "Indialǫnd eru þrjú; eitt er i nánd við Bláland, annat við Serkland, en hit þriðja í enda heims, því at ǫðrum-megin þess liggr myrkva herað, en ǫðrum-megin er haf. Á þetta Indialand fór Bartholomeus postuli at eyða blótum þeira."

In their literary period — that is, after their conversion — the Scandinavians, like their Christian contemporaries on the European continent, regarded two destinations as worthy of any effort in cost or danger: one was the eternal city of Rome, the former capital of the empire, then become center of Christian learning and the seat of ecclesiastic power, the other was Jerusalem and the Holy Land.

Nikulás Bergsson's *Leiðarvísir*, the most detailed and informative of all the medieval itineraries, contains data for pilgrimages from Denmark to Rome and to the Holy Land. Nikulás Bergsson (also called Bergþórsson, Hallbjarnarson) was a mystical poet and the first abbot (1155–1159) of the Benedictine monastery at Munka-Þverá in the Eyjafjǫrdr district of Iceland. His work is based on an actual pilgrim's diary of a voyage that took place in 1154. The *Leiðarvísir* was taken down from dictation a few years later, sometime between 1155, when Nikulás became abbot, and 1159, when he died.

Nikulás was a mature and keen observer. He directed his attention not only to Christian topography (churches, episcopal sees), relics, and pious anecdotes, but also to the climate of the lands he saw, the people, the language they spoke, and even the local traditions connected with the old Germanic heroic legends. His work is also valuable for the geography it contains. It mentions places of commercial importance and gives information about alternate routes and where their junctions were.

More modest and limited in scope is the anonymous itinerary *Wegur til Róms* ("The Route to Rome"), which has only been preserved in a late copy on paper. It is valuable, however, because it deals with the second eastern route (Lübeck-Brenner-Verona-Rome) and probably derives directly from the thirteenth-century original.

The manuscript of 1387 that includes the *Leiðarvísir* of Nikulás Bergsson, also contains a short presentation, called *Leiðir* ("signs"), that mentions the routes to Rus' and Constantinople.

Although the *Leiðarvísir, Leiðir* and *Wegur* deal primarily with pilgrim routes (*Rómferð* "pilgrimage to Rome," *Jórsalaferð*, "pilgrimage to Jerusalem"), they provide important information for other purposes, since the pilgrim routes were also the highways of international trade and commerce in the twelfth and thirteenth century, and perhaps even earlier.[22] Scholarly literature had distinguished two main routes in the sources: the western or *in vestri leið* (route 1) and the eastern, or *in eystri leið* (route 2).

The starting point of the western route was Dover in England. After

[22] This overview is based on the sources analyzed in this chapter and on the existing literature, especially the monographs by Magoun in *Mediaeval Studies* 6 (1944), pp. 314–354, and Otto Springer in *Mediaeval Studies* 12 (1950), pp. 99–122.

crossing the English Channel, it had two main branches: one by sea (route 1 proper) and the other overland (route 1.1).

After brief stops along the coast of Flanders and northern France, usually in Normandy, the sea route crossed the Atlantic, the Bay of Biscay, made a brief stop in Santiago de Compostela (Galicia), and then through the Straits of Gibraltar and the Mediterranean Sea to Rome.

The land route began in Paris or Rouen and went via Troyes to Dijon, Geneva, and the Mount Jovis (*Mundio* = Great St. Bernard) Pass. At that point the two routes joined and both alternates (route 1 and route 1.1) continued together to Rome.

The starting point of the eastern route (route 2) was either the Danish (Jutish) port of Ålborg (route 2.1) or the Frisian centers of Deventer (route 2.2a) or Utrecht (route 2.2b). All these alternate routes met in Mainz.

Route 2.1 first went along the old trans-Jutish *Hærvej*: Ålborg-Viborg (a two-day journey), Viborg-Hedeby (a seven-day journey) to the Saxon town of Stade, where it forked and continued to Mainz. One road went westward: Verden-Minden-Paderborn-Mainz, and the other ran along the route Marsefeld-Hannover-Hildesheim-Gandersheim-Fritzlar-Mainz.

The alternate Frisian roads (route 2.2a and 2.2b), which began either in Deventer or Utrecht, continued together to Arnhem; then to Cologne (a six-day journey), along the Rhine (a three-day journey), and finally rejoined route 2.1 in Mainz. From Mainz both the western and eastern routes (1.1 and 2.1) had to continue along the next segment: Mainz to Mount Jovis, or the Great St. Bernard Pass, which led through the towns Worms-Speyer-Strassburg-Basel-Geneva (Vevey on Lake Geneva).

The Mount Jovis Pass (*Mundio*) is described by Abbot Nicholas as the meeting-place for Franks, Flemings, Englishmen, Saxons, and Norsemen. Travel from Hedeby to Mount Jovis was a three-week journey. From Mount Jovis the route went to Piacenza, passing through Etroubles, Aosta, Vercelli, and Pavia.

In Piacenza both northern routes were joined by the eastern *Ilians-vegr*,[23] i.e., the route from the Rhône Valley (Provence) which began in S. Gilles, located between Montpellier and Arles. It was a nine-week journey to Rome from S. Gilles. The routes then went to Luni,[24] as a route junction, by sea from Santiago de Compostela and Spain.

The next segment was from Lucca to Pisa. At the time, Pisa acted as a center for repairing large trading vessels from both the Christian and Muslim world.

[23] Assuming that our explanation for the name Ilians-vegr is correct.

[24] This explains why the Vikings had to conquer Luni.


Oriens
Vulturnus qui ꝛ calcias. Sub solanus. qui ꝛ a feliotes. furus.
Yer tepidū
Infancia tepor sanguis
Asia
Monstras India
Hircania Armenia Parthia Media
Bactria
Tigris fluuius. Mesopotamiā Charra ciuitas abrahe
Hiberia
Cilicia ciuitas tharus
Cappadocia
Carmania
Palestina Cesarea Sidon
Arabia ibi ē mons syna id est horeth
Babilon
Caldea
Libanus mons Madianite
Iudea Hebron ibi sepultus est adam primus
Hie rusalem
Haxareth
Galilea hiericho Egiptus Babilon
Galathia
Syria Ascalia Iopen Alexandria
Tanakuisl fluuius maximus
Nilus flumen egipti
Caria
Frigida
Asia minor
Assiria
Ptholomais
Galathia
Syria Ascalia
Tanakuisl fluuius maximus
Cappadocia
Cartagena
Tyrus
Cerci
Caspies
Massagete
Aquilo
Septentrio



The Icelandic *Mappa Mundi*

The last sizable stops before Rome were Siena and Viterbo. From Mount Jovis to Rome was a six-week journey at a moderate pace.

Sometime around A.D. 1200, after the German city of Lübeck had been founded, a new eastern variant of the road to Rome came into use, the one called here route 2.2. Beginning in Lübeck, it ran through the heart of Germany to Bavarian Augsburg (Artlenburg-Lüneburg-Braunschweig-Goslar-Eisenach-Meiningen-Würzburg-Rotenburg); from Augsburg to Verona it followed the imperial Roman road, known from the so-called Peutinger Table (now in the Hofbibliothek in Vienna), which went through the Brenner Pass. It continued to Rome via Ferrara, Bologna, and Florence. The route from Rome to Jerusalem went overland to Brindisi in Apulia (Rome-Capua-Salerno-Bari-Brindisi, a journey of fourteen days), then by boat to Acre via Durazzo (Durrës, also a fourteen days' journey). The route continued along the Greek coast to its junction on the island of Chios in the Aegean Sea. From there it went to Constantinople, then along the Anatolian coast to the island of Cyprus, and from there to Acre in Palestine, then overland to the Jordan River (via Capernaum/Ptolemais-Caesarea-Jaffa), a journey of some five days, to Jerusalem.

The network of international routes in the twelfth and thirteenth century, as described in the *Leiðarvísir* literature, transversed all western (England, Flanders, France, Spain) and central (Frisia, Germany, Hungary, Italy) Europe, as well as the Greek coast and islands, in other words the most vital part of Western Christiandom.

From Germany there were also routes to Hungary, from where one could go either northeast to Rus' or southeast to Constantinople. At the time, however, neither played an active role in international traffic.

In the last quarter of the ninth century northern Europe (Ohthere, Wulfstan) was the center of international travel. From the central point of Hedeby (South Jutland), [or Birka (Sweden),] one could reach either the Fennic White Sea, via Kaupang in the Oslofjord and Hálogaland, or the Baltic Fennic Truso.

The data of Adam of Bremen from the 1070s (see the fifth volume of this work) reflect the late stage of the route from the Varangians to the Greeks, when its most active segment was the voyage from Hamburg to Jumne (Vollin/Jóm) with the final destination of Novgorod. There was, however, an alternate route to Prussian Samland.

In Appendix 4 are given both the Old Norse texts and translations of all three products of the Icelandic itinerary literature (pp. 704–721).

The Icelandic Mappa Mundi of about 1150 or 1250

The only known Icelandic *Mappa Mundi* is found in the vellum manuscript GkS 1812, 4° (fols. 38–39), dated around 1150 by C. C. Rafn and into the first half of the thirteenth century by Kristian Kålund. Rafn published it in the second volume of *Antiquités Russes* (Kbh, 1852), pp. 392–394, together with the facsimile (table 4); the new edition by Kålund appeared in the third volume of his *Alfrædi Íslenzk* I (SUGNL XLV) (Kbh, 1917), pp. 71–72; facsimile at the end of no. 2, published in the year 1918.

It is a round map of the T-O type[25] and not constructed according to a system of mathematical-geographical coordinates. Rather it is a schematic map based on the directions of the world. These directions are marked in four corners in two languages, Norse and Latin: *avstr*, oriens; *svðr*, meridies; *vestr*, occidens; *norðr*, septentrio. This southern orientation is common for Arabic maps, which it resembles.

Although the map is not divided into four sections, this must have been inherent in its scheme, since the grouping of the names falls into four quarters. No distinctions are made between the names of lands, rivers, mountains, and seas. On the map's edge three parts of the world, Asia, Africa, and Europe, are named in accordance with the Old Norse system adopted from the classical one. Asia takes up the whole eastern half of the map. It has three internal hemispheres. The rest of the area is not demarcated into hemispheres, but presents names in from six to eight rows. Only scholarly classical and biblical names appear there, the first of them belonging to Asia proper, the second hemisphere: Monstras,[26] India,/ Massagete, Caspies, Colci, Seres, Bactria, Hircania, Armenia, Parthia, Media, Persidia, Carmania. In Asia Minor (third hemisphere): Caria, Troia, Frigida,[27] Pamphilia, Hiberia, Tigris fluuius, Mesopotamiam, Charra ciuitas Abrahe/ Asia minor, Isauria, Cilicia ciuitas, Tharsus, Cappadocia, Commagena; in the Near East (new row): Assiria, Calldea, Babilon (with the perpendicular addition): Evfrates; (now names appear in two rows): Palestina, Cesarea, Sidon, Tyrus/ Arabia ibi est mons Syna id est Horeb/ (new row): Ptholomais, Philistea; (names appear in two rows): Libanus Mons, Madianite/ Judea, Hebron ibi sepulltus est Adam

[25] See Leo Bagrow, *History of Cartography* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), pp. 41–50.
[26] Probably Monstrosa, cf. *AR* II, p. 392.
[27] Error for Frigia.

primus/ (new row): Galathia, Nazareth, Hierusalem/Galilea, Hiericho, Egiptus, Babilon/ [28] (new row): Syria, Ascalia, Jopen, Alexandria/.

The eastern is divided from the western half by two rivers; their names appear in the last row of the Asian half of the map. The southern quarter includes the Nilus flumen Egipti, whereas the northern part includes the *Tanakvisl* fluuius maximus (Don), which is the only Scandinavian name on that half of the map. The two other rivers placed among the Asian names are the Tigris and Evfrates.

All African names are listed in the southwestern quarter in one column at the top and four at the bottom; they are also taken from classical sources (upper column): Libia/ prouincia/ Affrice que est circa Cirenem/; (first lower column): Pentapolis regio/ibi sunt .v. urbes/Trogita prouincia/ibi inuenitur carbun/culus igneus et al/ter exacontalitus .Lx./coloribus micans/ Bizancena fructissima terra/ (second low column): Garamannia/Getulia ibi in/fantes ludunt/serpentibus/Gaulo insula ibi/nec serpens nasci/tur nec uiuit/Numidia/ Mauritanie .III./ (third lower column): Hic sunt/ solitu/dines inacces/sibiles/ et arene/ usque huc/ (fourth lower column): E/thi/o/pia.

Europe is separated from Africa by the Mediterranean sea (*Mediterraneum mare*), and its names are presented in two plans, if we use the northern orientation as our basis. The lower plan is subdivided into two groups: the western, which contains five names (from north to south): Normannia/ Britannia/ Vasconia/ Galicia/ Hispania, and the eastern which is a set of fifteen lines, ten of which are perpendicular to the inscription Mediterraneum mare. Beginning with the eleventh line, names are given in two rows. The first ten lines are Grecia/ Tracia/ Constanti/nopo/lis/ Apulia/ Italia/ Roma/ La[n]gobardia/ Germania/. The next, in two columns, are: Saxonia/ Danmorc/ Frisia/ Scocia. Anglia/ Ibernia/; Fra[n]cia/ Gallia/ Parmo/ Montes.

Parmo Montes (probably an erroneous substitute for Pyrenees[29]) is located in front of Hispania. The name Francia appears at the end of the inscription "Mediterraneum mare."

In the upper plan the most northern column begins with the inscription: *Bjarmar* habitant/ hic, which is followed by a blank space.

The northwestern column (just under the inscription "Europa") consists of two parts, separated by an empty space. The first part is a column of two names: Tile/ Island (= Iceland). The second part with four names under Island follows the same pattern: Norvegie, Gautland, Sviþioð, *Rvsia*.

In the northeastern part there are two columns parallel to the column beginning with Grecia. The first has only two names: Misia and Sparta. The

[28] The name Babilon, repeated here; it is first mentioned above after Calldea.

[29] See Kålund's edition in *Alfræði Íslenzk* III, p. 72 n. 7.

easternmost column has four rows: Scithia/ Frigida/ Eronei ("Nomades")/ *Kio* (Kiev); Kio is located just opposite to *Rvsia*; to the east of Scithia Frigida is the river *Tanakvisl* (Don). Rvsia and Kio (Kiev) appear on the map as two separate entries.

This *Mappa Mundi* presents what was for the time a precise picture of northern and eastern Europe. It also introduces some names unknown to classical and biblical geography, such as Tanakvisl, Biarmar, Rvsia, Kio, Gautland, Sviþioð, Norvegie, Island, Danmorc, and Saxonia.

(See the color edition of the *Mappa Mundi* appended to this chapter.)

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

Human Geography in the Encyclopedic Collections

The Climates 5 to 7 and the Old Norse Name for Caspian Sea

The Christian medieval encyclopedists adopted the ancient Greek concept of the climates (τὰ κλίματα) as it was described by Martianus Capella (fifth century) in his *De Nuptiis philologiae et Mercurii,* and by Bede (b. 672, d. 735) in the *De natura rerum.*[1] The Old Icelandic literature has an adaptation of these descriptions in *Rím II* (ca. 1260–1270). Relevant to our topic are the descriptions of climates 5, 6, and 7. Because *Rím II* was a compilation, we will first present the relevant passages from Capella and Bede, then those of *Rím II* with its English translation.

Climate 5

Capella[2]	*Bede*[3]
Quintum est Dia-Rhomes	Quinto circulo continentur ab introitu Caspii maris Bactrii,

[1] See Ernst Honigmann, *Die sieben Klimata* (Heidelberg, 1929), pp. 50–54.
[2] *Martianus Capella,* ed. Adolphus Dick (Leipzig, 1925), p. 462 (book 8: "De astronomia").
[3] Venerabilis Bedae, *Opera quae supersunt omnia . . . ,* ed. J. A. Giles, vol. VI: *Opuscula scientifica* (London, 1843), p. 119.

per Macedoniam et alteram partem per Gallias et Lusitaniam ad Tagum descendens . . .

Armenia, Macedonia, Tarentum, Tuscum mare, Baleares, Hispania, Media . . .

Rím II

Et .5. climata er kallad Dyaromoes; þat gengur af Calþenhafin ok vm Bactriam, Macedoniam, Tarentum, Tuscum haf ok vm Romam ok Lusitaniam. ok sua vestur i Spanland.[4]

And the fifth clime is called Dia-Rhomes (διὰ 'Ρώμης), passing at the Caspian Sea and Bactria, Macedonia, Tarent, Tuscian Sea, and Rome, and Lusitania, as well as west in Spain.

In this passage the Old Norse name for the Caspian Sea, *Calþenhaf-*, is attested as a hapax in all Old Scandinavian literature. The first part of the name — *Calþen* [Kalĭþ-en] designates the people who had their commercial center in the area around the mouth of the Volga River. From the eighth to the tenth century that city was the center for the trade of the Khazar kaganate with northern peoples, particularly the Rus'. It was called in Rus'ian sources *Xvalisy* (Xvalis-y). In the Old Rus'ian chronicles of the eleventh and twelfth centuries the Caspian Sea was called after that city *More Xvalis'skoe* (*PSRL*, I², col. 7), later also *Xvalynskoe*. *Xvalyn-* is an alternative form of *Xvalis-*, the name both for the people and for their city.[5] In the Old Rus'ian form the original Iranian initial *xv-* was retained. In the Old Norse rendering we see the same development (*xv-* > *k*) as in the Old Hungarian form *Kaliz*.[6] Both may be regarded as resulting from Hunno-Bulgarian linguistic influence.

Climate 6

Capella[7]

Deinde sextum per Hellespontum, Thraciam.

Bede[8]

Sextus amplectitur Caspias gentes, Caucasum, Samothraciam, Illyricos, Campaniam, Etruriam, Massiliam,

[4] Ms. GkS 1812, r, p. 38, l. 30–33: *Rím II*, ed. N. Beckman - Kålund, *Alfræði Íslenzk* II, p. 116.

[5] See Pritsak, "The Khazar Kingdom's Conversion to Judaism," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 2 (1978), p. 262.

[6] Concerning Hungarian *Kaliz* (Χαλίσιοι), see Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* II², pp. 338–339.

[7] *Martianus Capella*, ed. Dick, p. 462.

[8] Bede, *Opera* VI, ed. Giles, pp. 119–120 (chapter 47).

Hispaniam. Terraconensem mediam,
et inde per Lusitaniam . . .

et confinem Germaniae Galliam.

Rím II

Et .6. climata er kallat
Dyalespontum, þat gengur
vm Elispontum ok þyderkst
riki sunnan uert.[9]

And the sixth climate is called
Dyalespontum (διὰ Ἑλλησπόντου),
passing at Hellespont and southern
Germania.

The Old Norse translator here renders the classical name "Germania" with the contemporary political designation, *Þýðerkst ríki,* German Empire.

Climate 7

Capella[10]

Septimum Dia-Borysthenis per
Ponticum mare
et ab altera parte Germaniam
Britanniamque praecidens.

ultimum est ultra Maeotis
paludes et infra Riphaeos
montes . . .

Bede[11]

Septimus ab altera Caspii maris
ora incipit,
vaditque per Thraciae aversa.
Venetiam, Cremonam, Ravennam,
Transalpinam Galliam, Pyraenaeum,
Celtiberiam . . .
Octavus a Tanai per Maeotim lacum,
et Sarmatas, Dacos, partemque
Germaniae Gallias ingreditur . . .

Rím II

Et .7. clima er kallat
Diaboristenes;
þat gengur firir vttan Mæotis
paludes ok firir innan fiollin
Ripheos, ok vm nordan uert
þyderkst riki ok sua vm
England uestur til hafs.[12]

And the seventh clime is called
Dia-Boristenis (διὰ Βορυσθένους),
passing by Maeotis palus and by
the Riphei Mountains,
and by northern Germania,
as well as west by England to
the sea.

In this text the classical names "Maeotis palus" and "Riphei Montes" are

9 Ms. GkS 1812, 4°, p. 38, l. 33–34 = Rím II, ed. Beckman - Kålund, *Alfræði Íslenzk* II, p. 116.
10 *Martianus Capella,* ed. Dick, p. 462.
11 Bede, *Opera* VI, ed. Giles, p. 120.
12 Ms GkS 1812, 4°, p. 38, l. 35–p. 39, l. 1–3 = Rím II, ed. Beckman - Kålund, *Alfræði Íslenzk* II, p. 116.

not replaced by their corresponding Old Norse forms, as was the case with the Caspian Sea.

A Biblical Genealogy of Nations

In book 9, chapter 2 of his *Etymologiae,* Isidore of Seville (Isidorus Hispalensis, ca. 560–636) presents a genealogy of the sons of Noah. This genealogy was then used by Nikulás Bergsson (d. 1159) in the *Landafræði,* and the anonymous author of *Heimslýsing* (written about 1200), probably via some later Scandinavian compilation. That they did not have the *Etymologiae* itself is suggested by their confusion in the lands they assign to Noah's progeny (especially in the *Landafræði*), both in those portions that clearly derived from Isidore and in those inspired by later additions of Scandinavian origin.

Sons of Shem

Etymologiae[13]	*Landafræði*[14]	*Heimslýsing*[15]
Filii Sem quinque singulariter gentes singulas procreaverunt.	Séém atti[V]syni; þeir byggia allir austr-halfu heims, ok þeira kyns-menn eptir þa.	Sem Noa sonr atte .V. sono oc bygðu þeir vm austr halfo heímsens.
	Einn þeira suna Sems hét Elám,	Eínn þeira het Elam,
	annar Assur,	annar Assur,
	III. Arphaxath,	.III. Arfaxað,
	fjordi Illudi,	.IIII. Nudi
	fimti Arán.	.V. Aram.
	Þessi eró þiodlónd i þeim hluta heimsins, er þeir bygdu:	Þessi ero þioð lond i þeim lut heímsens.
Quorum primus Elam, a quo Elamitae principes Persidis;	India-land, Persidia, þar bygdi Elam;	India land, oc Persidia land, Elam;
secundus Assur, a quo Assyriorum pullulavit imperium;	Assirialand, þar bygdi-Assur;	Assiria land bygði Assur;

[13] *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX,* ed. W. M. Lindsay (Oxford, 1911), 9.2. 3 and 5. On Isidore's worldview and sources see Ernest Brehaut, *An Encyclopedist of the Dark Ages: Isidore of Seville* (New York, 1912; repr. 1972).

[14] Nikulás Bergsson, "*Landafræði*" in *Alfræði Íslenzk* I, ed. Kålund, pp. 7–8.

[15] "Heimslýsing," in *Hauksbók,* ed. E. Jónsson - F. Jónsson, p. 165; cf. also *Rymbegla,* ed. Stephanus Björnsen (Kbh, 1801), p. 340.

tertius Arphaxat, a quo gens Chaldaeorum exorta est;	Medialand, Kalldealand, þar bygdi Arphaxath;	Meidia land Arfaxað.
quartus Ludi, a quo Lydii;	Albanialand, þar réd Illudi;	Kalldea land Nudi;
quintus Aram, a quo Syri quorum metropolis fuit Damascus	Bactria, Áranea, þar var Aran, Kvennaland, Sviþiod en mik[la].	en Aram Syrland, Bactria land. Albanía land. Kuna land, Suiþioð hína míclu.[16]
Posteritas Arphaxat filii Sem: Heber nepos Arphaxat, a quo Hebraei; Iectam filius Heber, a quo Indorum orta est gens; Sale filius Iectam,[17] a quo Bactriani, licet eos alii Scytharum exules suspicantur.		

(*translation*)

Landafræði	*Heimslýsing*
Shem had five sons; they peopled the entire eastern half of the world, and their kinsmen thereupon. One of Shem's sons had the name Elam; another was Asshur; the third, Arphaxad, the fourth, Lud, the fifth, Aram. These were the empires in their allotment of the world; they peopled Indialand, Persidia, where Elam had settled; Assirialand, where Asshur had settled; Medialand, Kalldealand (Chaldea), where Arphaxad had settled; Albanialand, where Lud ruled;	Shem, the son of Noah, had five sons; they peopled the eastern half of the world. One of them had the name of Elam. Another Asshur; the third, Arphaxad. the fourth, Lud, the fifth, Aram. These were the empires in their allotment of the world: Indialand and Persidialand, Elam; Assirialand, Asshur settled; Meidialand, Arphaxad; Kalldealand (Chaldea), Lud; and Aram, Syrland.

[16] Here the text in "Upphaf allra frásagna" (the *Rímbegla* redaction: AM 730, 4°; AM 731, 4°) differs from that in *Heimslýsing*:

Syrland, Bactrialand, þar bygði Iludi Albanialand, Kvennaland, Sviþjóð hin mikla, þar bygði Aram.	Syrland, Bactrialand, there settled Lud; Albanialand Kvennaland. Sviþjóð hin mikla, there settled Aram.

[17] Here Isidore departs from the Bible; according to Genesis 10:24, Salah was a son of Arphaxad ("and Arphaxad begat Salah").

Bactria, Aranea, where Aram was.	Bactrialand, Albanialand, Kunaland,
Kvennaland, Svíþjóð en mikla.	Suíþióð hin micla.

The realm of Aram, the fifth son of Shem, is of interest here. The *Heimslýsing* (and the *Upphaf/Rímbegla*) uses the geographic name Syrland (Syria) that corresponds to the Syri of Isidore.[18] But the original Scandinavian source gave four additional names, which it attributed to Salah, who belonged to the next generation of the Shem line. The Old Icelandic works give two of these names, Bactrialand and Albanialand, in their Latin form; the two other names, Kvennaland and Svíþióð en mikla, appear in the Old Scandinavian translation. The east Iranian land of Bactria is a straightforward designation, but it is necessary to explain what was intended by the word Albania. Elsewhere in the same chapter Isidore describes in some detail the strange Scythian neighbors of the Iranian Parths and Bactrians. Among them was a blond people, whose extreme whiteness — said to be caused by snow! — led them to be called Albani ("albino," cf. Latin *albus*, white).[19] Their neighbors were the Amazons,[20] for whom our Old Icelandic texts use their own term *Kvennaland* (< ON *kona*, gen. plur. *kvenna* "woman"); both these peoples were of Scythian origin, and the Old Icelandic text uses the designation for Scythia with which we are now familiar, *Svíþjóð en (hin) mikla*, Sweden the Great.

Doubtless the Old Icelandic reader would have identified the last two names quite differently, however. In the saga tradition, *Kvennaland* is the Finnish *Kainulaiset* and Svíþjóð en (hin) mikla would be understood as the Sweden the Great of the Volga basin.

The *Heimsaldrar*, the continuation of the *Landafræði*,[21] contains some additional information on the progeny of Salah, in a manuscript of the fifteenth century:

[1.]	Sonr Heber var Sale, er lifdi	The son of Eber was Salah;[22] he lived
	CC vetra ok XX ok IX ar.	229 years.

[18] Instead of Syrland, the *Landafræði* mentions a land which seems to be named after Noah's fifth son: Aranea < Aran (< *Aram).

[19] Isidore, *Etymologiae*, 9.2.65, ed. Lindsay: "In partes Asiaticae Scythiae gentes, quae posteros se Iasonis credunt, albo crine nascuntur ab adsiduis nivibus; et ipsius capilli color genti nomen dedit. Et inde dicuntur Albani. Horum glauca oculis, id es picta, inest pupilla, adeo ut nocte plus quom die cernant." Cf. the continuation of the *Landafræði* (ms. fifteenth century): "A Sviþiod enni miclo ero Albani [in Sweden the Great there are the Albani], þeir ero hvitir sem snær bėdi aa hars Lit ok hórund, þegar þeir ero alnir, þeir hafa augu gul ok séa betr um nėtr en daga" (*Alfræði Íslenzk*, ed. Kålund I, p. 36).

[20] Isidore, 9.2.66: "Albani autem vicini Amazonum fuerunt. . . ." Cf. the continuation of the *Landafræði*: "þat land er þar, er kallat er Kvenna-land. þau byggiaz eth nėsta ok Albani. . . ." (*Alfræði Íslenzk*, ed. Kålund I, p. 36).

[21] *Alfræði Íslenzk*, ed. Kålund I, p. 49.

[22] According to Genesis, 12: 14, Salah was the father of Eber.

[2.]	Sonr Sale var Reu, er lifdi CC vetra ok XXX ok IX ar. A hans dǫgum hofz [konung-domr a] Svi-þiodar riki.	The son of Salah was Reu;[23] he lived 239 years;[24] in his days the head [kingdom was] the realm of the Svíar;
	Þar red fyrst sa sem Thaneus het, vid hann er kend a su, er Thanais [heitir], hon skilr Asiam ok Eyropam.	there ruled first somebody called Thaneus, after whom was named [the river] which is called Thanais; it divides Asia and Europe.[25]
[3.]	Sonr Reu var Seru[c]; er lifdi CC vetra ok XXX. A hans dogum hofuz [konung-]domar a Egipta-landi.	The son of Reu was Serug; he lived 230 years; in his days the head [king-]dom [was] in Egypt.[26]
[4.]	Sonr Seruc var N[ac]hor, er lifdi C vetra ok LXVIII. A hans dogum hofz konung-domr a Serklande.	The son of Serug was Nahor; he lived 168 years; in his days the head kingdom [was] in Serkland (Mesopotamia, i.e., Assyria and Babylonia).[27]

The Svíar on the Tanais River is certainly Great Sweden, located near the old home of the god Óðinn.[28] By connecting them, the anonymous Old Icelandic author did his best to combine the biblical with the Old Scandinavian traditions.

Sons of Japhet

When Isidore's list of the sons of Japhet is compared with the Old Icelandic compilations, one sees that Japhet's progeny are in the same order but the allotments are given to them in a different sequence.

Isidore	Old Icelandic Compilation
I. Gomer	1. Magog
II. Magog	2. Madai
III. Madai	3. Juban (Javan)
IV. Javan	4. Tiras
V. Thubal (Tubal)	5. Tubal
VI. Mosoch (Meshech)	6. Gomer
VII. Tiras	7. Masoch

Now let us juxtapose the text of Isidore with the two basic Old Icelandic geographic works:

[23] According to Genesis, 12:16–18, Reu was the son of Peleg and the grandson of Eber.
[24] These years differ from those in Genesis 12.
[25] Genesis 12, of course, has no reference to Sweden/Scythia and Tanais.
[26] Genesis 12 does not mention Egypt in connection with Serug.
[27] There is no mention of Mesopotamia in Genesis 12.
[28] Cf. pp. 244–245 of this volume.

	Isidore		*Landafræði*		*Heimslýsing*
	Filii igitur Iaphet septem nominantur:		Iapheth atti VII syni; þeira nófn voro þessi: Gomer, Magoc, Madai, Iuban, Tubal, Masok, Tirak. Þessi ero þjodlónd i þeim hluta heims, er Eyropa heiter:		Iafeth Noa sonr atte .VII. sono; þessi ero nofn þeira: Gomer, Magon, Madia, Ioban, Tubal, Mosok, Tiras. þessi ero þar þioðlond:
[I.]	Gomer, ex quo Galatae, id est Galli.		[see no. 6]		[see no. 6]
[II.]	Magog, a quo arbitrantur Scythas et Gothos traxisse originem.	[1.]	Sviþiod sum hinn micla, þar réd Magoc;	1.	Magon reð Suiþioð hinní miclu sumri;
[III.]	Madai, a quos Medos existere putant.	2.	Kylfingaland, þath kóllum ver Garda-riki; þar var Madai;	2.	En Madia Kylfínga lande þat kollum ver Garða riki.
[IV.]	Iavan, a quo Iones, qui et Graeci. Vnde et mare Ionium.	[3.]	Grikland, þar réd Iuban.	[3.]	Ioban Gírclande.
[V.]	Thubal, a quo Iberi, qui et Hispani; licet quidam ex eo et Italos suspicentur.		[see no. 5]		[see no. 5]
	[see no. VII]	[4.]	Bolgara-land, þar var Tirac.	[4.]	Tiras Bolgara lande oc Vngara lande, Saxlande oc Fraclande.
	[see no. V]	[5.]	Un[g]araland, Saxland, Frakland,[29] Spanland, þar var Tubal.	[5.]	Tubal Spanía l[ande] oc Rumuería lande Suiþioð oc Danmorc oc Noregí.

[VI.]	Mosoch, ex quo Cappadoces. Vnde et urbs apud eos usque hodie Mazaca (Eusebeia in Anatolia) dicitur. [see no. I]		[see no. 7]	[see no. 7]
[VII.]	Thiras, ex quo Thraces; quorum non satis inmutatum vocabulum est, quasi Tiraces	[6.]	Romverialand, Danmork, Sviþiod, Noregr, þar var Gomer.	[6.] En Gomer reð Gallia.
		[7.]	Gallia, Capado[cia], þar var Masoc.[31]	[7.] En Mosok-Kapadocía.[32]
	Filii Gomer, nepotes Iaphet. . . .[30]			

[29] *Frak*[*k*]*land* means usually "Francia; the land of the Franks," see E. Metzenthin, *Länder*, pp. 27–28; here it appears as a modernized "correct" form for old *Tracland* (see *Heimslýsing*).
[30] Isidori, *Etymologiae*, 9.2.26–32, ed. Lindsay.
[31] Nikulás Bergsson, "Landafræði," in *Alfræði Íslenzk*, ed. Kålund I, p. 8.
[32] "Heimslýsing," in *Hauksbok*, ed. E. Jónsson and F. Jónsson, p. 165; cf. *Rymbegla*, ed. Björnsen (1801), pp. 340, 342.

(*translation*)

Landafræði

Japheth had seven sons; their names are these: Gomer, Magoc (Magog), Madai, Iuban (Javan), Tubal, Masok (Masoch) Tirak (Tiras).
These are the empires in their allotment of the world which is called Europe:

1. Sweden the Great. There ruled Magoc.
2. Kylfingaland, which we call Garðaríki, Madai ruled.
3. Greece, Iuban (Javan) ruled.
4. Tirac (Tiras) ['s allotment] was in Bolgaraland (Bulgaria).
5. Hungary, Saxony, Frakland (Francia), Spanland (Spain) Tubal ruled.
6. The land of the Romans, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, was [the allotment of] Gomer.
7. Gaul, Cappadocia were [the allotment of] Masoc (Masoch).

Heimslýsing

Japhet Noahsson had seven sons; these are their names: Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Tubal, Meshech, Tiras.
These are the empires [located] there:

1. Magog ruled over Sweden the Great.
2. And Madai [ruled in the] Kylfingaland which we call Garðaríki.
3. Javan [ruled in] Greece.
4. Tiras [ruled in] Bulgaria and Vngaraland (Hungary), Saxland (Saxony) and Tracland (Francia).
5. Tubal [ruled in] Spain and Rumverialand (the land of the Romans), Sweden and Denmark and Norway.
6. And Gomer ruled Gaul.
7. And Meshech [ruled in] Cappadocia.

As one can see, the Old Icelandic author partly modernized Isidore's list, and later copyists were not always careful in making the appropriate caesuras between the names, as can be seen in numbers 4–7. But it is possible to reconstruct the original order of the lands by combining Isidore's data with the realia from the time of the anonymous author.

4. Tiras ruled classical Tracland/Tracia, and not Frakkland, "Francia," in addition to three central European lands: Bulgaria, Hungary, and Saxony.

5. Tubal ruled classical Spanland/Hispania, Spain, and Rumverialand/the land of the Romans, with no later additions.

6. Gomer ruled classical Galia/Gaul, to which the author added three Scandinavian lands: Denmark, Sweden, and Norway.

7. Meshech ruled classical Cappadocia; no later lands were added.

The difference in the sequence of the sons of Japhet between Isidore (who

took it from Genesis) and the Old Icelandic source is chiefly the elevation of Magog and Madai to the top of the list. Why were they so honored? The answer seems to be that the Old Icelandic author was using traditional Old Norse rank order according to which the first two places are reserved for the two lands from which the tradition originated: *Svíþióð hin mikla*, Sweden the Great, belonged to Magog's allotment; *Kylfingaland*, Garðaríki, to Madai's. Why does Sweden the Great appear as belonging to Magog? Because the Old Norse term translates the name "Scythia" in that way. The connection between Magog and the Scythians was already known to Josephus Flavius (d. about A.D. 100).[33] Saint Ambrose (b. ca. 340, d. 397) was the first to identify the progeny of Magog with the Goths rather than with the Scythians,[34] though Saint Jerome (Eusebius Hieronymous, b. ca. 347, d. ca. 420) disagreed and followed Josephus on that point.[35] The Gothic historian Jordanes (wrote 551) defended Ambrose's connection between the Goths and the Scythians, claiming that Josephus used the name Scythian for the Goths.[36] Jordanes also knew about three old settlements of the Goths. The first of them was in Scythia near the Azov Sea (Maeotis Palus); the second was in Mysia (Moesia), Thracia, and Dacia; the third was in Scythia, but on the Black Sea coast.[37]

In the *Etymologiae* Isidore proposed a compromise solution by making both the Scythians and the Goths descendants of Magog. Elsewhere in the same work, however, he states very clearly that there was a special relation between the Goths and Magog: "Gothi a Magog filio Iaphet nominati putantur, de similitudine ultimae syllabae, quos veteres magis Getas quam Gothos

[33] Μαγώγης δὲ τοὺς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Μαγώγας ὀνομασθέντας ᾤκισε, Σκύθας δὲ νῦν προσαγορευομένους (Josephus Flavius, *Antiquitatum Iudaicarum epitoma*, ed. Benedictus Niese [Berlin, 1896], p. 7).

[34] "Gog iste Gothus est . . ," Saint Ambrose (Ambrosius), *De fide*, 2.16 = *MPL* XVI (Paris, 1845), col. 588.

[35] "Japhet filio Noe, nati sunt septem filii, qui possederunt terram in Asia ab Amano et Tauro, Syriæ Cœles et Ciliciæ montibus, usque ad fluvium Tanain . . . Magog, Scythæ: . . . Scio quemdam Gog et Magog, tam de præsenti loco, quam de Ezechiel, ad Gotthorum nuper in terra nostra bacchantium historiam retulisse, quod utrum verum sit, prælii ipsius fine monstratur. Et certe Gotthos omnes retro eruditi, magis Getas, quam Gog et Magog appellare consueverunt. Hæ itaque septem gentes, quas de Japheth venire stirpe memoravi, aquilonis partem inhabitant," *Liber hebraicarum questionum in Genesim*, 20.2 (*MPL* XXIII [Paris, 1845], cols. 950–951); St. Jerome, however, used the term Scythia to mean the Huns, who were his contemporaries.

[36] Jordanes, *Getica*, ed. E. C. Skržinskaja (M, 1960), p. 135, §29: "Joseppus [Flavius] . . . haec vero quae diximus de gente Gothorum principia cur omiserit, ignoramus: sed tantum Magog eorum stirpe comemorans, Scythas eos et natione et vocabulo asserit appellatos."

[37] Jordanes, *Getica*, ed. Skržinskaja, p. 136, §38: "quorum [of the Goths] mansione prima in Scythiae solo iuxta paludem Meotidem [i.e., on the river Tanais], secundo in Mysiam Thraciamque et Daciam, tertio supra mare Ponticum rursus in Scythia legimus habitasse. . . ."

vocaverunt; gens fortis et potentissima, corporum mole ardua, armorum genere terribilis."[38]

The land of the Goths, Svíþióð hin mikla, was located on the Tanais River and near the Maeotis Palus according to Old Norse tradition, a tradition already known to Jordanes. The Goths who were connected both with the Tanais and with Óðinn could have been the Ostrogoti-Greutungi (> Slavic *Poljane*), who had brought the religion of Óðinn from the shore of Tanais to the north and had thereby won first place in the list of peoples in the Old Norse tradition.[39]

Who were the Medi of Isidore? They were certainly not the Iranian *Maedi,* who do not appear in history until later (they are in the records of the Assyrian King Shalmaneser III, 859–824 B.C.). But when the map of "Ur-Bibel" was composed (ca. 950 B.C.)[40] some other Medi were important. Thucydides (d. ca. 404 B.C.) and Strabo (b. ca. 63 B.C., d. A.D. 13) call these people Maidoi (Μαῖδοι) and gave their habitat as Thracia, especially the Moesia area and the basin of the river Strymon/Struma.

The victory of the Visigoths over the Roman emperor, Claudius II, near Naissos in A.D. 270 was a turningpoint in the history both of the Roman Empire and of the history of the Goths themselves. They soon became acquainted with Christianity in its Arian version, which was generally accepted at that time. The acts of the Council of Nicaea testify to the existence of a Gothic bishopric. In 341 the apostle of the Goths, Ulfilas (ca. 311–383), started his missionary activity, and it was he who was responsible for the translation of the Gospel into Gothic.

[38] Isidore, *Etymologiae,* ed. Lindsay, 9.2.89, cf. also 14.3.31: "Scythia sicut et Gothia a Magog filio Japhet fertur cognominata."

[39] Leo the Deacon, a very well-informed and reliable Byzantine author of the tenth century, set down in his Ἱστορία (of the years 959–976; written ca. 992) a passage that has remained puzzling to researchers. There he says that in 970/971, Emperor John I Tzimisces (969–976) reminded Svjatoslav about the tragic death of his father Igor (Ἴγγορος), who was cruelly killed while Svjatoslav was raiding "the Germans" (παρὰ τοῦς Γερμανοὺς; ed. B. Hase [Bonn, 1829], p. 106.). Here the *PVL* (ed. D. S. Lixačev I, p. 40) names the Derevljanians. It is certainly too radical an exchange to transform the name Γερμανοὺς into *Δερβλανοὺς, as, e.g., A. A. Kunik does (*Die Berufung der Schwedischen Rodsen* II [St. Petersburg, 1845], p. 446). Apparently, awareness that the contemporary Slavonic Derevljane were once the Gothic *Tervingi* was still alive in historically oriented tenth-century Constantinople.

[40] See Albert Herrmann, *Die Erdkarte der Urbibel* (Braunschweig, 1931), pp. 31, 41, 70, 74, 84, 134, and maps IIa, IIb.

[41] Cf. E. A. Thompson, *The Goths in Spain* (Oxford, 1969); see also the surveys of medieval Spain: Joseph O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca, 1975); Luis Suarez Fernandez, *Historia de España: Edad Media* (Madrid, 1970); Luis García de Valdeavellano, *Curso de historia de las instituciones españolas de los origines al final de la Edad Media,* 3d ed. (Madrid, 1973); Luis García de Valdeavellano, *Historia de España,* 4th ed., I: 1–2 (Madrid, 1968).

In 332 the Visigoths were entrusted by the Romans with the protection of the north Danube frontier. They enjoyed the status of *foederati* of the empire from 382 to 395 in Moesia, from 395 to 410 in Italy, from 410 to 415 in southern Gaul, and finally from 481 to 475 in Aquitania. They established their own kingdom in Gaul and Spain, which lasted from 475 to 711.[41] After the tragic battle south of Vejer de la Frontera (711), the Visigothic nobles and their retinues withdrew to the mountains of Asturias, where they elected one of their princes as king. Their Asturian kingdom gained prominence during the Viking Age: around 830 the tomb of St. James was supposedly discovered in Compostela in Spanish Galicia, and this made the Asturian kingdom the guardian of a shrine of all-Christian significance and provided a symbol for Christian Spanish unity. During this period the Vikings were in contact with their Spanish cousins.

Among the Spanish Visigoths, some memory of Thrace — the long-lost home where they first accepted Christianity — must have survived and been transmitted to the Vikings sometime during the second half of the ninth century. This can explain the connection between Isidor's "biblical" designation for Thrace (Medi) and the Goths. For some reason, the Goths called Thracia — which in fact was a land of cities, or *Garðaríki* (Sardica/Sofia, Philippopolis/Plovdiv, Hadrianopolis/Edirne, and the most famous of all — Byzantium/Constantinople) — Kylfingaland, and editors of geographical tracts then identified that term with Garðaríki. The problem of the *Kylfingar* will be dealt in the second volume of this work.

It is possible that in the Old Norse tradition the first two places in the system of nations were reserved for the founders of a new type of Germanic realm (the charismatic clans), the Ostrogoths (Amali) and the Visigoths (the Balthi).[42]

Descriptions of Europe

There are six texts in Old Norse geographic literature that contain descriptions of Europe, but all of them derive from two main redactions of a single description, that found in the fourth chapter of the fourteenth book of Isidore's *Etymologiae*. Redaction 1 is represented by the *Heimslýsing*[43] and the *Upphaf*.[44] Redaction 2 is found in *Landafræði*[45] and the *Tocius orbis brevis*

[42] Jordanes, *Getica*, ed. Skržinskaja, pp. 137 and 154.

[43] AM 544, 4°, f. 3 v = *Hauksbók*, ed. E. Jónsson-F. Jónsson, pp. 155-156.

[44] Ed. Rafn in *AR* II, p. 447, and *Fornmanna sögur* XI, pp. 114-115 = *Scripta Historica Islandorum*, trans. S. Egilsson, XI, pp. 373-374.

[45] AM 194, 8°, f. 10 r = 11 r = *Alfræði Íslenzk* I, ed. Kålund, pp. 10-12.

discriptio,[46] while the texts in *Tocius orbis brevissima descriptio*[47] and *Gripla*[48] are nothing more than abbreviated versions of that redaction.

The structure of the first redaction remains within the framework of Isidore's work; most of the second redaction is an independent tract. It incorporates new material concerning the northern, especially the Scandinavian, lands.

Information on Eastern Europe: A General Review

In redaction 2 Europe is designated (following Isidore) as the "third and last continent." Its description begins (as does Isidore's) with Scythia, the largest east European country, and then adds some original Scandinavian information on eastern Europe. The relevant part of Isidore's text reads as follows:[49]

Prima Europae regio Scythia inferior, quae a Maeotidis paludibus incipiens inter Danubium et Oceanum septemtrionalem usque ad Germaniam porrigitur;	The first region of Europe is lower Scythia, which begins from the Maeotis Swamps (Azov Sea) and stretches between the Danube and the northern Ocean up to Germania.
quae terra generaliter propter barbaras gentes, quibus inhabitatur, Barbarica dicitur.	That land is generally called Barbarica because of the barbaric peoples who are its inhabitants.
Huius pars prima Alania est, quae ad Maeotidis paludes pertingit; post hanc Dacia, ubi et Gothia; deinde Germania, ubi plurimam partem Suevi incoluerunt	The first part of it is Alania, which stretches to the Maeotic swamps; beyond it lies Dacia, where Gothia also is; beyond that Germania, most of which is inhabited by the Suevi.

Isidore wrote in the first half of the seventh century, but his information was not up to date. The Alani,[50] who first appear in Roman literature in the first century after Christ, had been overwhelmed by the Huns around 370 and had lost their independence; they associated themselves either with their new rulers, the Huns, or with the Goths and other Germanic peoples. The Germanic tribes along the upper Danube, the Alemanni, Marcomanni, and Quadi, were known collectively as the Suevi until 406, when the Marcomanni and the Quadi, together with the Alani and the Teutonic Vandals, crossed into Gaul and then on into Spain.

[46] AM 736 I 4°, 41 r; cf. *Antiquitates Americanae,* ed. Rafn (Kbn, 1841), pp. 286–289.
[47] AM 764α, 4°, f. 1 v; cf. *AR* II, p. 445.
[48] AM 115, 8°, f. 24 r; cf. *Antiquitates Americanae,* ed. Rafn, pp. 293–294, and *AR* II, p. 404 n.
[49] Isidore, *Etymologiae,* 14.4.3, ed. Lindsay.
[50] See Bernard S. Bachrach, *A History of the Alans in the West* (Minneapolis, 1973).

Around 270 the defeated Romans were forced to hand over the province of Dacia to the victorious Visigoths, who remained there until 375, when they were replaced by the Germanic Gepids, who stayed there first as vassals of the Huns, then, after 568, of the Avars. Jordanes writes in his *Getica* (551) as follows:[51]

Haec Gotia, quam Daciam appellavere maiores, quae nunc, ut diximus, Gepidia dicitur . . .	That Gotia, which was called Dacia by the ancestors and which now, as we said above, is called Gepidia . . .

The Old Norse recasting of this passage, in which each of the two redactions is represented by two texts, is as follows (the numbers 1–5 have been added):

(text continues on p. 534)

51 *Getica*, ed. Skržinskaja, p. 143.

	Redaction 1		Redaction 2	
	Heimslýsing	*Upphaf*	*Landafræði*	*Brevis* and *Brevissima descriptio*
[1.]	I þeim lut heímsens er Europa, oc er austast Suíþioð hin micla;	Í Európa er austast Cithía, þat köllum vèr Svíþióð hina miklu;	I austan-verdri Eyropa er	I austanuer þri Europa er
[2.]	þangat kom at cristna Philippus postole.	þar prèdikaði Filippus postuli.		
[3.]	I þui riki er þat er Ruzcia heítír, þat kollum ver Garðariki.[52]	Garðaríki.[53]	Garda-riki.[54]	Garðavellði[55] (*Brevissima*: Garðaríki).[56]
		(*translation*)		
[1.]	In the inhabited part of the world is Europe, whose easternmost [country is] Sweden the Great.	The easternmost [country] in Europe is [S]Cithía, called by us Sweden the Great.	In easternmost Europe is	In easternmost Europe is
[2.]	To that place came the Apostle Philip to Christianize.	There preached the Apostle Philip.		

[3.]	In that dominion is what is called Ruzcia; we called it Garðaríki.	Garðaríki.	Gardaríki.	Garðavellði (Garðaríki).

[52] AM 544, 4°, f. 3 v. The preceding sentence of the *Heimslýsing* also concerns *Svíþióð hin mikla*. It reads (*Hauksbók*, ed. E. Jónsson–F. Jónsson, p. 155):

En hit micla Asia ero kallað all riki þau er told ero af Índia lande alt híngat til, oc þangat huerfr sum Suíþioð hín micla. Alsz ero told i Asia. CCCC.oc .VI. þioðlond, en þat ero tungur .VII. oc XX.	And all realms which — as it assumed — are situated from India land hither and thither are called Great Asia, and it [Great Asia] extends up to Sweden the Great. In Asia altogether there are 406 empires and 27 languages.

[53] *AR* II, p. 447.

[54] AM 194, 8°, f. 10 r; cf. *Alfræði Íslenzk* I, ed. Kålund, p. 10.

[55] AM 736 I, 4°, f. 1 a. *Brevis descriptio* also contains the term *Austrríki*, "Eastern Realm," which in the sagas usually means the same as Garðaríki. Here it occurs in the following context (AM 736 I, 4°, f. 1 a; cf. *AR* II, p. 443):

Er þvi líkt, sem Asía gángi þvert austan fyri endimark Affrice. Asía hefir nafn tekið af konu nakkvari, er í fornum tímum hèlt Austrríki.	Asia stretched, it seems, from the east to the confines of Africa. Asia was called after a woman who in the olden days ruled in Austrríki.

This is certainly a reflection of the old Greek myth concerning the nymph Ἀσία, her husband, the Titan Ἰαπετός (> Japhet), and their son Prometheus.

[56] AM 764α, 4°, f. 1 v.

Redaction 2 is clearly a highly abbreviated form of redaction 1. Paragraph 1 has been best preserved in the text of the *Upphaf*. The missionary activity of the Apostle Philip was discussed earlier. Svíþióð hin mikla, Sweden the Great, was used here because Scythia (Cithía) was identified with Sweden, the easternmost land of Scandinavia, in the *Upphaf*.

Isidore considered it necessary to distinguish two ethnicopolitical bodies in his Scythia: *Alania* and *Dacia, ubi et Gothia*. Since redaction 1 uses the name (S)Cithía for Isidore's Alania, the Norse term Garðaríki originally must have referred to Isidore's *Dacia, ubi et Gothia*. The first Scandinavian author to deal with Isidore's text had already drawn on Norse scholarship of the eleventh and twelfth century (aptly defined by A. Heusler as "gelehrte Urgeschichte") in which classical Dacia was identified with the contemporary Dania,[57] so the connection was easy to make.

The Scandinavian author already knew that Garðaríki referred to eastern European Rus'; therefore one finds the following in the *Heimslýsing*:

(text continues on p. 537)

	Redaction 1		Redaction 2	
	Heimslýsing	*Upphaf*	*Landafræði*	*Brevis descriptio*
	þar [í Garðaríki] ero þessir hofuð garðar:	þar stendr	þar er	þar er
[a.]	Moramar, Rostofa, Surdalar;			
[b.]	Holmgarðr,			
[c.]	Syrnes, Gaðar,			
[d.]	Palteskia	Pallteskja ok		
[e.]	Kœnugarðr, þar bygði fyst Magon, sonr Iafeths Noa sonar.[58]	Kiænugarðar; þar bygði first Magogg, sonr Japhets Nóasonar.[59]	Kėnugardr	
			[f.] ok Holmgardr	Holmgarðr
			[g.] Pallteskia	ok Pallteskia
			[h.] ok Smale[n]skia[60]	oc Smalenskia.[61]

57 Heusler, *Gelehrte Urgeschichte*, p. 46.
58 AM 544, 4°, f. 3 v. = *Hauksbók*, ed. E. Jónsson–F. Jónsson, p. 155.
59 *AR* II, p. 447.
60 AM 194, 8°, f. 10 r; cf. *Alfræði Íslenzk* I, ed. Kålund, p. 10.
61 AM 736, I, 4°, f. 1 a.

(*translation*)

	There are [in Garðaríki = Rus'] these chief cities:	There are situated:	There are [these chief cities]:	There are [these chief cities]:
[a.]	Moramar, Rostofa, Surdalar,			
[b.]	Holmgarðr,			
[c.]	Syrnes, Gaðar			
[d.]	Palteskia			
[e.]	Kœnugarðr; there settled first Magog, the son of Japhat, the son of Noah	Kiænugarðar; there settled first Magog, the son of Japhet, the son of Noah	Kėnugarḍr	
[f.]	and Holmgardr			Holmgarðr, and
[g.]	Pallteskja			Pallteskia, and
[h.]	and Smale[n]skia			Smalenskia

The first three cities named in *Heimslýnsing* are repeated in the *Qrvar-Odds saga*, in a description of Garðaríki.[62] All the names are there except Syrnes and Gaðar (c):

[a.]	Móramar, Ráðstofa, Súrsdal,	Móramar, Ráðstofa, Súrsdal,
[b.]	Hólmgarðr,	Hólmgarðr,
[d.]	Palteskjuborg,	Palteskjuborg,
[e.]	Kœnugarðar, en þar bygði fyrst Magok, sonr Japhets	Kœnugarðar, and there settled first
	Nóasonar.	Magog, the son of Japhet, the son of Noah.

Group a is interesting both because of the cities included and because of the order in which they were presented. Doubtless what we have here is a list of those Rus' cities that lay on the Volga route in the period of the tumuli of the so-called Vladimir-on-the-Kljazma type, that is between the ninth and tenth centuries (before the emergence of the Dnieper route).[63] The city of Murom (Móramar) did not play a major role after that time, and so one would expect it to have been named before Rostov (Rostofa/Ráðstofa) and Suzdal' (*Surdalar/Súrsdal*). The names Syrnes and Gaðar (< Garðar?), which occur in the *Heimslýsing* are *hapax legomena*, and are not found elsewhere in the Old Scandinavian literature.[64]

Pal(l)teskja, or *Palteskjuborg* is the Norse designation for old Polock (Poltĕskъ). *Kœnugarð[a]r*, included in the list of Rus' cities, already refers to Kiev; its connection with the activity of Magog, however, seems to indicate that that name originally designated the center of Svíþjóð hin mikla.

Redaction 2 contains basically the same list, but with some differences: Kœnugarðr/Kiev is excluded from the *Brevis discriptio*. The three cities named in both texts of redaction 2 are Hólmgarðr/Novgorod, Pallteskia/Polock and Smale[n]skia/Smolensk. The presence of this last city, which is not mentioned in redaction 1, points to the first half of the twelfth century as the earliest date for the compilation of the list. Whether Kiev/Kœnugarðr was in the original of that version is difficult to establish. It was probably omitted because it no longer played a significant role in the Baltic trade, its place having been taken by Smolensk, which does appear.

62 Ed. R. C. Boer (Leiden, 1888), p. 187.

63 A. Spicyn says that during the Volga-Bulgarian period, Murom was "the commercial capital of all Oka Finns," *S. F. Platonovu učeniki, druz'ja i počitateli* (S-Pb, 1911), pp. 235-253.

64 Mel'nikova identifies Syrnes with Černihiv, but leaves Gaðar unexplained (*Drevnejšie gosudarstva* [I] [1976], p. 148).

A Listing of the Baltic Lands

The cities of Garðaríki are followed by a list of Baltic lands, beginning with Karelia (Kirjalaland) and ending with Poland (Pulinaland). This list was known to the author of the *Qrvar-Odds saga*, who repeated it almost verbatim:

	Heimslýsing	*Upphaf*	*Qrvar-Odds saga*
	Hia Garða riki liggia lond þessi	Close to Garðaríki are located these lands:	þer er ok	there are:
[a.]	Kirialir, Refalir, Tafeistaland			Kirjalaland ok Rafestaland, Refaland,
[b.]	Virland, Eistland,			Vírland, Eistland,
[c.]	Lifland, Kurl[and],		Kúrland, ok Kirjálaland,	Lifland, Vitland, Kúrland,
[d.]			Sámland,	Samland,
[e.]	Erml[and], Pulína land.[65]		Ermland.[66]	Ermland, Púlinaland.[67]

The list is obviously best preserved in the *Qrvar-Odds saga*; *Upphaf* contains only the second half of the names [c.]–[e.], but it did preserve among them, as did the *Qrvar-Odds saga*, the name Samland [d.], which had fallen out of the *Heimslýsing*'s list.

The names of the land can be divided into five groups, clustered geographically: (1) Finland: Karelia (Kirialir/Kirjalaland) and Häme (Tafeistaland/Rafestaland); (2) Estonia: Vironia (Vírland), Revele (Refalir/Refaland), and Eistland; (3) Latvia: Lifland and Kúrland; (4) Prussia: Vitland,[68] Samland, and Ermland (Polish: *Warmia*); (5) Poland: Púlinaland.

Remarks on Wendland, Reiðgotaland and Hunaland

In redaction I the enumeration of the lands is followed immediately by the remark:

Víndland er vestast nest Danmork.[69]	Wendland is [located in] westernmost Denmark.

[65] AM 544, 4°, f. 3 v. = *Hauksbók*, ed. E. Jónsson–F. Jónsson, p. 155.
[66] *AR* II, p. 447.
[67] See note 62.
[68] Witland appears in Wulfstan's account.
[69] AM 544, 4°, f. 3 v. = *Hauksbók*, ed. E. Jónsson–F. Jónsson, p. 155.

The editors of the *Antiquités Russes*[70] included this remark in the list itself; but since it does not concern east Baltic lands and since the texts of the *Upphaf* and *Qrvar-Odds saga* do not include it, one can regard it as independent information.

After the list of the lands close to Garðaríki (= Rus'), redaction 1 has the following information:[71]

En austr fra Polena er Reiðgota land, ok þa Hun[a]land.	To the east from Polena is [located] Reiðgotaland and then Hun[a]land.

Scholars agree that *Polena* means Poland.[72] The designations *Reiðgotaland* and *Hunaland* stem from epic, prehistoric times; the first probably refers to the political entity in western and central Ukraine (Reiðgotaland) before the arrival of the Rus' in the ninth century; Hunaland refers here to Khazaria. An entry in the *Brevissima descriptio* follows Miklagarðr (Constantinople) with:

Austr af Saxlandi er Hunaland, þat er litið ríki.[73]	To the east of Saxland [here, Bavaria] is Hunaland; it is a small realm.

This can only refer to Avaria, or the Provincia Avarorum of Carolingian times, called by the modern scholar Arnulf Kollautz "der awarische Klientelstaat des 9. Jh."[74]

Redactions 1 and 2 on Eastern Europe

Redaction 1 follows Isidore's order; it first mentions Saxland (Isidore: Germania) and the Danube River, which was the frontier (*limes*) of the Roman Empire. It then goes on to describe the Roman province of Thrace. Following Isidore, it mentions where Thrace's capital city of Constantinople (Miklagarðr) was situated and that the land was first populated by Thiras, the son of Japhet. There follows a very interesting addition, based on the Scandinavian *Trojan Saga*, on data from the *gelehrte Urgeschichte* of the Scandinavian peoples:

Fra honum er komen þioð su er Tyrkir heíta.	From him [Thiras] originated people called Tyrkir (Khazar Turks).

70 *AR* II, p. 438.
71 AM 544, 4°, f. 3 v. = *Hauksbók*, ed. E. Jónsson-F. Jónsson, p. 155.
72 Metzenthin, *Länder*, p. 84.
73 AM 764α, 4°, f. 1 v.
74 "Abaria" in *Reallexikon der Byzantinistik* I: 2 (Amsterdam, 1969), cols. 9–16.

Þat er oc mioc margra manna mal
at þuí er fornar bœkr visa til
at af þui lande bygðist Suiþioð.

En Noregr af Suiðioð.
En Island af Noregi.
En Grœnland af Islande.[75]

Many people infer, on the basis of
the testimony found in the old books,
that from this land [of the Turks]
Sweden was peopled.
And Norway [was peopled] from Sweden;
and Iceland [was peopled] from Norway;
and Greenland [was peopled] from Iceland.

Then follows a reference (missing in Isidore) to Hungary (Ungaraland) and Bulgaria (Bolgaraland). In the former reference it is added that a "Bishop Martin" came from there,[76] no doubt a reference to St. Martin of Tours (b. ca. 315, d. 397), who was born in Sabaria, in a region then called Pannonia and now part of Hungary.

The description then turns to Greece. A reference to Mount Olympus is followed by some information about the mineral asbestos quoted from another passage of Isidore's work;[77] a reference to Apostle Andrew's teaching activity in Greece ("vm Gircland kendi kenningar Andreas postole"), and an enumeration of major Greek cities, such as Athens, Corinth, Thebes, Thessaloniki, and Durazzo (Durres/ *Dyrakr*).[78]

The description then treats Italy. This portion is partially based on Abbot Nikulás's *Leiðarvísir*, and it first mentions the province Pull (Apulia, Puglia) with the city of Bari, followed by the cloister of Montecassino (Abbot Benedict, b. 480, d. 547, the patriarch of Western monks is named), Italy proper (Scandinavian designation, Rumaborgarland) with its capital city of Rome, and finally Lombardy (Lumbarðaland) with its center Meinlangsborg (Milan), where Bishop Ambrose (b. 334, d. 397) was active.[79] As in Isidore's work, the description in redaction 1 ends with Spain. This passage, preserved only in *Upphaf*, mentions the island of Gaðis (Cadiz), describing it as the frontier between Europe and Africa.[80] Redaction 1 typically lacks a description of any northern, especially Scandinavian, countries.

After data on Garðaríki, Redaction 2 presents data on Greece (Byzantium):

Nèst Garda-riki til út-sudrs
er Grickia konungs riki; [hó]-
fut-stadr þess rikis er

Next to Garðaríki in the southern
direction is the realm of
the Greek [Byzantine] king. The

[75] AM 544, 4°, f. 3 v. = *Hauksbók*, ed. E. Jónsson-F. Jónsson, p. 155.
[76] AM 544, 4°, f. 3 v = *Hauksbók* ed. E. Jónsson-F. Jónsson, p. 155.
[77] Isidore, *Etymologiae*, 16.4, ed. Lindsey.
[78] AM 544, 4°, f. 3 v. = *Hauksbók*, ed. E. Jónsson-F. Jónsson, p. 156.
[79] AM 544, 4°, f. 4 r. = *Hauksbók*, ed. E. Jónsson-F. Jónsson, p. 156.
[80] *AR* II, p. 447.

Constantinopolis, er ver kǫllum Miclagard.[81]	capital city of that realm is Constantinopolis, which we call Miklagarðr.

Short references are made to the greatness of St. Sophia, called (*ok Nordmenn kalla*) *Egisif* by the Norsemen. Then it is mentioned that Bulgaria[82] and many islands are under the suzereinty of the Byzantine emperor. The data are, therefore, from about 1018–1185. The best known of the islands are Crete and Cyprus.[83]

Sicily is styled as the *mikit ríki* ("great realm") "that is bound to that part of the world which is called Europe."[84] Here, no doubt, is meant the powerful Norman Kingdom of Sicily, Apulia and Calabria, created in 1130 by Roger II (1105–1154).

The description which follows corresponds in general to that presented in Redaction 1, and it, too, ends with Spain. Apulia (called Pulsland by the Norsemen),[85] Rome, (Rómaborg), and Lombardy (called Langbarðaland by the Norsemen)[86] are all mentioned. "Behind the northern mountains [the Alps] lies Germany (Saxland) to the east and France (Frakland) to the southwest." It is followed by Spain, called by the Norsemen Spánland, a great realm situated between Langbarðaland and Frakland."[87]

The Redaction 2 on Northern Europe

The starting point for redaction 2's description of northern Europe is the Rín (Rhine) River, another frontier (*limes*) of the Roman Empire, which flows north of Mundio (Great St. Bernard Pass), between Germany (Saxland) and France (Frakland).

At the mouth of the river, on the shores of the North Sea, is Frísland

[81] AM 194, 8°, f. 10 r = *Alfræði Íslenzk* I, ed. Kålund, p. 10; cf. AM 736, I, 4°, f. 1 r.
[82] *Undir Grickia konung er Bolgara-land,* "Under the Greek king (Byzantine emperor) is Bulgaria," AM 194, 4°, f. 10 r = *Alfræði Íslenzk* I, ed. Kålund, p. 10; cf. AM 736 I, 4°, f. 1 r.
[83] Isidore (*Etymologiae,* 14.4.7, ed. Lindsey) knew that Greece had seven provinces at that time: Dalmatia, Epirus, Hellas, Thessalia, Macedonia, Achaia, and the islands of Crete and the Cyclades. This information was repeated by the Norse encyclopedists: AM 415, 4°, f. 9 v. = *Alfræði Íslenzk* III, ed. Kålund, p. 54; cf. *AR* II, p. 439 n. a.
[84] AM 194, 8°, f. 10 r = *Alfræði Íslenzk* I, ed. Kålund, p. 10; cf. AM 736 I, 4°, f. 1 r.
[85] *Apulia, þat kalla Nordmenn* [*P*]*uls-land,* AM 194, 4°, f. 10 r = *Alfræði Íslenzk* I, ed. Kålund, p. 10; cf. AM 736 I, 4°, f. 1 r.
[86] *Langbardia, þat kǫllum ver Langbar*[*da*]*-land,* AM 194, 4°, f. 10 r = *Alfræði Íslenzk* I, ed. Kålund, p. 11, cf. AM 736 I, 4°, f. 1 r.
[87] *Hyspania, er* [*ver*] *kǫll*[*um*] [*S*]*panland,* AM 194, 4°, f. 10 r = *Alfræði Íslenzk* I, ed. Kålund, p. 11; cf. AM 736 I, 4°, f. 1 r.

(Frisia); to the north of Germany (Saxland) is Denmark.[88] Here *Gripla* has the following gloss:[89]

Beierland er við Saxland; hjá Saxlandi er Hollsetuland, þa Danmǫrk.	Bavaria (Beierland) is located near Old Saxony (Saxland). Next to Saxony is Holstein (Hollsetuland), then Denmark.

Since this passage distinguishes Bavaria from Saxony, one may date this brief explanatory note after 1180, i.e., after Otto of Wittelsbach was invested with Bavaria and the union between Saxony and Bavaria under Henry the Lion (b. 1142; r. 1156–1180) had ended.

The next passage refers to Astrvegr:[90]

I gegnum Danmork gengr sior i Austr-veg.	Through Denmark the sea [ocean] goes to the Austrvegr.

Denmark is located to the west of Sweden and to the south of Norway.[91]

After this general description, *Landafræði* presents more detailed information about the Scandinavian countries in the following order: Norway, Finnmǫrk, Gautland, Denmark, Sweden, Greenland, and Vinnland (America). The description of Europe ends with the mention of three large islands: England, Ireland, and Iceland.

The other texts of redaction 2 contain only excerpts of *Landafræði*'s version, sometimes with small additions.

Landafræði[92]

1.	Noregr er kalladr nordan fra Vęgistaf, þar er Finnmork, þat er hia Gandvik, ok sudr til Gautelfar.	Norway is called a land which [extends] in the north from Vegistaf — where Finnmǫrk is [located] and beyond it [lies] Gandvík (Kandalakša Bay and the White Sea) — and [stretches] in the south to [the river] Gaut-Elfr.
2.	Þesa rikis ero endimork: Gandvik fyrir nordan, en	The extreme boundaries of this realm are: Gandvík (Kandalakša Bay and the

[88] AM 194, 8°, f. 10 r = *Alfræði Íslenzk* I, ed. Kålund, p. 11; cf. *AR* II, p. 404.
[89] AM 115, 8°, f. 24 r; cf. *Antiquitates Americanae*, ed. Rafn, p. 293.
[90] AM 194, 8°, f. 10 r = *Alfræði Íslenzk* I, ed. Kålund, p. 11; cf. *AR* II, p. 404, and AM 115, 8° ("Gripla"), f. 24 r.
[91] AM 194, 8°, f. 10 r–10 v = *Alfræði Íslenzk* I, ed. Kålund, p. 11; cf. *AR* II, p. 404, and AM 115, 8°, f. 24 r.
[92] AM 194, 8°, f. 10 v = *Alfræði Íslenzk* I, ed. Kålund, p. 11.

Gaut-elfr fyrir sunnan, Eida-skogr fyrir austan, en Aunguls-eyiar-sund fyrir vestan.	White Sea) to the north and Gaut-Elfr to the south; Eiða-skógr to the east, and St. George's Channel (Qnguls-eyjar-sund) to the west.
3. Þessir ero hofut-stadir i Noregi: kaupangr i Þrand-heimi, þar hvilir hinn helgi Olafr konungr, annar i Biórgyn aa Haurdalandi, þar hvilir hen helga Sunnifa, þridi er i Vik austr, þar hvilir hinn helgi Halvardr frendi Olafs konungs.	These are the chief towns in Norway: the marketplace (*kaupangr*) in Trondheim, where King St. Óláfr lies buried; the other [marketplace] in Biorgyn (Bergen) in Hǫrdaland, where St. Sunnifa [tenth century] lies buried; the third [marketplace] is Vík in the east [Oslo], where St. Halvardr [d. 1043], a kinsman of St. Óláfr, lies buried.

Brevissima descriptio has a gloss which can hardly date back further than the second half of the thirteenth century, since it mentions the Tatars:[93]

en austr af Noregi er Ruzaland ok norða þatan Tartarariki.	East of Norway lies Rúzaland (Rus'), and to the north from there [is] Tartararíki (the realm of the Golden Horde).

The description of Finnmǫrk is missing in *Landafræði*, but it appears in the *Brevis descriptio*, *Gripla*, and, in part, in the *Brevissima descriptio*:[94]

Fyri[r] norðan Noreg er Finnmörk, þaðan víkr landi til lan[d]norþrs oc svá til austrs, ádr komi til Bjarmalands; þat er skattgilt undir Garða konúngs.	North of Norway is Finnmǫrk. From there the land ex[t]ends to the northeast and also to the east before it comes to Bjarmaland, which is tributary to the king of Garðr (= Novgorod).
Frá Bjarmalandi gánga lavnd til óbygða ab norðr [a] ett, allt til þess er Gr[a]enland tekr við.	From Bjarmaland the land extends to the desert in the north until it comes to Greenland.

Of interest here is the statement about the political allegiance of Bjarmaland.

Landafræði[95]

Gaut-land er fyrir austan Gaut-elfi;	Gautland is located east of Gaut-Elfr;

[93] AM 764, 4°, f. 1 r; cf. *AR* II, p. 445.

[94] AM 736, 4°, f. 1 r; see also *Antiquitates Americanae*, ed. Rafn, pp. 290–292; AM 115, 8° ("Gripla"), f. 24 r; see also *Antiquitates Americanae*, pp. 293–294; AM 764, 4° (*Brevissima*), f. 1 v, and also *AR* II, p. 445.

[95] AM 194, 8°, f. 10 v = *Alfræði Íslenzk* I, ed. Kålund, p. 11.

enn þar næst Suiþiod, þa næst Helsingaland, þa Finnland, þa er t[al]ith til motz vid Garda-riki, sem fyR er sagt.

next to it [lies] Sweden, then Helsingland and then Finland which is thought to meet with Garðaríki (= Novgorod), as was said above.

Rather than a mere description we have here practically a verbal map of the road from western Gautland to Novgorod (Garðaríki).

Landafræði[96]

Enn odrum megin h[ia] [Gaut]landi er Danmork, þar er hófut-stadr á Skaneyio i Lun[di], [þar] er [byskups] stoll, þar hvilir hi[n]n helgi Licius byskup;
annar á F[io]ni,

þ[ar] hvi[l]ir enn helgi Knutr konungr enn ellri en i Od[in]s-eyio;
á Siolandi hvilir enn yngri Knutr konungr a Hringsstódum;

i Roeskelldo aa Siolandi er én fagra mė[r] [Ma]rgaret[a].

On the other side near Gautland lies Denmark. There is the chief town Lund in Skaney (Skåne); there is the bishop's see, where St. Licius (= Laurentius, d. 258), the bishop, lies buried.
The other [chief town] is on [the island of] Fion (Fyn).
There in Odins-ey (Odinse) King St. Knútr enn ellri [r. 1080–1081], lies buried.
In Hringsstadir [the island of] Sioland (Zealand) King Young-Knutr [lávarðr, d. 1131] lies buried.
In Roskellda (Roskilde) on Sioland is [the burial place of] the fair virgin Margaret [d. 1177].

Landafræði[97]

Nėst Danmork er Svidiod en [minn]i;
þa er Ey-land, þa er Gotland,
þa Helsing[a-land],

þa Vermaland, þa K[v]enlond II,

Next to Denmark [lies] Sweden the Small;
then is [the island of] Eyland (Öland),
then is [the island of] Gotland, then is Hälsingaland,
then Värmland, then two Kvenlands

[96] AM 194, 8°, f. 10 v = *Alfræði Íslenzk* I, ed. Kålund, pp. 11–12.

[97] AM 194, 8°, f. 10 v = *Alfræði Íslenzk* I, ed. Kålund, p. 12. Then follow interesting data about the discovery of Helluland (Labrador), Markland (Newfoundland), and Vinland en goda (New England), and about the spread of Christianity to Greenland. The description ends as follows: "Eingland and Skotland are on the same island, but they are different kingdoms. Irland is a great island, Island is also a great island to the north of Ireland. All these lands lie in the portion of the world called Eyropa."

The legend about St. Augustine in *Reykjahólabók* (*SKB* 3, fol., from ca. 1525) has the following list of European lands: "Sem er Thorkarie (Turkey), Vollvchie (Wallachia), Ybernie, Pickerdie, Tartharie, Rysszer (Rus'), Pryzser, Slesierikes, Letten, Polen, Vngerenn (Hungary), Bemmen (Bohemia), Sassen, Francka Rike, Svia Rike, Norige, Danmarck, Eingland, Skothland, Þydeska land (Germany) og hit mikla Griklannd (Greece the Great)," ed. Agnete Loth II (Kbh, 1970), p. 97.

ok ero þau [no]rdr fra Biarmalandi.	which are [located] to the north of Bjarmaland.
[Af] Biarmalandi ganga lond óbygd of nordr-ętt, unz vidtekr Grenland.	From Bjarmaland the land extends to the deserts in the north until it comes to Greenland.

Remarkable here is the mention of *two* Kvenlands, also known from the saga literature.

An Old Scandinavian List of Rivers

The thirteenth book of the Encyclopedia of Isidore of Seville, chapter 21, "De fluminibus" (35 paragraphs), gives data on the four principal rivers originating in paradise, the Phison/Ganges, Geon/Nile, Tigris, and Euphrates, and some twenty-six rivers of Europe and Asia, most of them in Asia Minor.[98] Five Old Icelandic texts contain data based on Isidore's list of rivers: *Landafræði* presumably by Nikulás Bergsson (ca. 1150); the anonymous continuation of *Landafræði* (fourteenth-century manuscript); the *Heimslýsing* (ca. 1200); the *Upphaf allra frásagna* (basic manuscript from the fourteenth century); and the *Tocius orbis brevis descriptio* (thirteenth-century manuscript). While in *Landafræði* and the *Tocius orbis brevis descriptio* one finds only the data on the four principal rivers of Paradise, the continuation of *Landafræði* includes the list of rivers of Europe and Asia, and excludes the rivers of Paradise.

Only the *Heimslýsing* and *Upphaf allra frásagna* (in manuscripts AM 731, 4° and AM 730, 4°) have both parts: the rivers of Paradise as well as the list of rivers of Europe and Asia. We will not deal here with the rivers of Paradise.[99] The list of rivers of Europe and Asia has some peculiarities. Although based on Isidore's list it has a different order, and most of Isidore's rivers do not appear in it; the list includes eight eastern European rivers unknown to Isidore and of special interest to us. The list has come down to us in two slightly different redactions, one in the continuation of *Landafræði* and the other in *Heimslýsing*:

[98] The rivers in question are: [Geon/Nilus, Phison/Ganges, Tigris, Euphrates], Indus, Araris, Bactrus, Choaspis, Araxis, Orontes, Iordanis, Eusis, Cydnus, Hylas, Pactolus, Hermus, Maeander, *Tanais*, Inachus, Erymanthus, Padus/Eridanus, Tiberis, Danubius/Ister, Rhodanus, Rhenus, Iberus, Mineus, Durius, Tagum, and Baetus.

[99] Data on the rivers of Paradise are also found in a compilation of universal history dating from the end of the twelfth century, the so-called *Veraldar saga*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson (*SUGNL* LXI [Kbh, 1944]), p. 5, as well as in the legend on St. Augustine in *Reykjahólabók*, ed. Agnete Loth II (Kbh, 1970), p. 95.

Continuation of *Landafræði*[100]	*Heimslýsing*[101]
[First Part]	
Pactol [§21] heítir aa á Asialandi, þar er gull numith or sǫndum hia.[102]	Pactol heítir a. a Asialande þar er gull i sondum hía.
Géon [§7] heitir aa, þar er enn gull numith ór sondum hia.[103]	
	Tog [§33] heítír a. a Spanie, þar ero gull sandar.[104]
	Ermonol [§22] heitír a. [á Asíalandi][105] þar ero enn gull sandar i hia.[106]
Rin [§30] heitir aa á Fraklandi[107] þar hittizt ėnn gull i sondum hia.	Rin heítir a. a Saxlande, þar er enn gull i sondum hia.

[100] AM 194, 8°, f. 27 r, l. 16–f. 27 v, l. 1 = *Alfræði Íslenzk* I, ed. Kålund, p. 44.
[101] AM 544, 4°, 1 r = AM 765, 4°, 1 r = *Hauksbók*, ed. E. Jónsson - F. Jónsson, p. 150; cf. *AR* II, pp. 430–431.
[102] Isidore: "Pactolus fluvius Asiae, harenas aureas trahens: de quo Vergilius (*Aeneid*, 10.142):

> Pactolusque inrigat auro.
> Quem pro aurato fluore aliter Chrysorrhoam vocant.
> (*Etymologiae*, 13.21.21, ed. Lindsay).

[103] Isidore: "Geon fluvius de Paradiso exiens atque universam Aethiopiam cingens, vocatus hoc nomine quod incremento suae exundationis terram Aegypti inriget; γῆ enim Graece, Latine terram significat. Hic apud Aeguptios Nilus vocatur propter limum quem trahit, qui efficit fecunditatem; unde et Nilus dictus est, quasi νέαν ἰλύν: nam antea Nilus Latine Melo dicebatur." (*Etymologiae*, 13.21.7, ed. Lindsay).
[104] Isidore: "Tagum fluvium Carthago Hispaniae nuncupavit, ex qua ortus procedit; fluvius harenis auriferis copiosus, et ab hoc ceteris fluviis Hispaniarum praelatus" (*Etymologiae*, 13.21.33, ed. Lindsay).
[105] This is my conjecture. The name is a contraction of Ἕρμον Αἰολιδος (acc.), a river in Lydia (Asia Minor), cf. *AR* II, p. 430 n. b.
[106] Isidore: "Hermus fluvius Asiae qui Smyrneos secat campos, et ipse fluctibus aureis et harenis plenus; a quo et Smyrna vocata est" (*Etymologiae*, 13.21.22, ed. Lindsay).
[107] Isidore: "Rhenus a Rhodani societate fertur vocatus, quoniam cum eodem ex una provincia oritur. Est autem Germaniae fluvius inter tres Europae maximos fluvios conputatus, qui a iugo Alpium usque in Oceani profunda cursus suos dirigit." (*Etymologiae*, 13.21.30, ed. Lindsay).

Tanais [§24] heitir aa, er skilr Eyropa ok Asia.[108]	Tanais heitír a. er skilr Europa fra Asia.
Duna [§28] er mest aa á Eyropa; þar falla i [hann][109] LX stor-aa, ok kemr i VII staudum til siofar ok mikil hvar saman.[110]	Dun heitir a. er mest vatn er a Europa; þar falla i .IX. stor a, oc kemr i .VII. stoðum i sę mikil i ollum stoðum.
[Final Part]	
Padus [§26][111]	
Tifr [§27][112]	
Rodo[n]- [§29][113]	Rodon
petus [§34][114]	Betus
Continuation of *Landafræði*	*Heimslýsing*

(*translation*)

[First Part]

Pactol [§21] is the name of a river in Asia [Minor; in Lydia]; gold is extracted from its sand.

Geon [§7; = Nile] is the
name of a river; gold is
extracted from nearby sands;

Tog [§33; = Tajo] is the

[108] Isidore: "Tanus fuit rex Scytharum primus, a quo Tanais fertur fluvius nuncupatus, qui ex Riphaeis silvis veniens dirimit Europam ab Asia, inter duas mundi partes medius currens atque in Pontum fluens" (*Etymologiae*, 13.21.24, ed. Lindsay).

[109] So in AM 544, 4°, f. 1 r.

[110] Isidore: "Danubius Germaniae fluvius vocari fertur a nivium copia quibus magis augetur. Iste est qui in Europa plus omnibus habet famam. Idem et Ister, quia dum per innumeras vadit gentes, mutat et nomen et maiores sibi ambiendo colligit vires. Oritur a Germanicis iugis et occidentalibus partibus barbarorum, pergens contra orientem: sexaginta in se fluvios recipit: septem ostiis in Pontum influit" (*Etymologiae*, 13.21.28, ed. Lindsay).

[111] Isidore: "Padus Italiae fluvius a iugis Alpium fusus ex tribus fontibus oritur" (*Etymologiae*, 13.21.26, ed. Lindsay).

[112] Isidore: "Tiberis Italiae fluvius a Tiberino rege Albanorum dicitur appellatus, qui in hunc fluvium cecidit, et de exitu suo nomen dedit" (*Etymologiae*, 13.21.27, ed. Lindsay).

[113] Isidore: "Rhodanus Galliae fluvius ab oppido Rhodo cognominatus, quem coloni Rhodiorum locaverunt" (*Etymologiae*, 13.21.29, ed. Lindsay).

[114] Isidore: "Baetus fluvius, qui et Baeticae provinciae nomen dedit" (*Etymologiae*, 13.21.34, ed. Lindsay).

name of a river in Spain; gold
is gotten from [nearby] sands;

Ermonol [§22; = Hermus] is the
name of a river [in Asia Minor;
in Lydia]; gold is extracted
from nearby sands;

Rin [§30; Rhine] is the name of a river
in Frakland; in Saxland;
there is found gold in nearby sands.

Tanais [§24; = Don, Donec'] is the name of a river which separates
Europe and Asia Europe from Asia.

Duna/Dun [§28; = Danube] is the greatest river in Europe; there fall into it sixty great rivers; it empties in seven arms, each of which is great, into the sea.

[Final Part]

Padus [§26; = Po in Lombardy];
Tifr [§27; = Tevere/Tiber in Italy];
Rodo-/Rodon [§29; = Rhone in France];
-petus/Betus [§34; = Guadalquivir in Spain].

[Scandinavian Addition]

Continuation of *Landafræði*	*Heimslýsing*
I þeim hlut heims ero enn adrar stor-ar:[115]	I þeim lut heimsíns ero þessar aðrar storaer:[116]

("In those parts of the world there are still other great rivers.")

[The variants of the names of these eastern European rivers are given here according to all known manuscripts]:

Continuation of *Landafræði* (= *A*)	*Heimslýsing* (= *B*)	*Upphaf alla frásagna* AM 731,4° (= *C*)[117]	AM 730,4° (= *D*)[118]
1. Nepr	Nepr	Nipr	Nipr
2. Nyia	Nyia	Nÿía	Nyia
3. Seimgoll Duna	Seimgol Duna	Seimgol Dÿna	Seimgel Dýna
4.	Olkoga	Olkóga	Olkoga
5. Yma	Vina	Vina	Vina

[115] See n. 100.

6. Kauma	Kuma	Kina	Kina
7. Manga			
8. Saxelfr	Saxelfr	Saxelfr	Saxelfr.

The comparison shows very clearly that there are two versions of the list of rivers. List *A* does not include the name of river 4, but it has river 7 which is not present in the remaining lists Most of the names are easy to identify: 1. *Nepr* = Dniepr; 2. *Nyia* = Neva;[119] 3. *Seimgoll Duna* = Western Dvina (Düna); 4. *Olkoga* = Volxov; 5. *Yna* of list *A* should be corrected to *Vina* (as in lists *B*–*D*) = Northern Dvina; 6. *Kauma*/*Kuma*/*Kina* is undoubtedly the Kama River, a tributary of the Volga; 8. *Saxelfr* = Elbe. For the name *Manga*, see below.

All the rivers named in these additions were the well-known highways of international trade from the ninth to the twelfth century. The compiler of the list must have had exact knowledge of this system of highways, since he included in his list two rather small rivers, which, however, played an essential role in the portage system of the Dniepr route: the Nyia (Neva) and the Olkoga (Volxov). He also knew that the (Western) Dvina (Düna) was the Seimgoll Duna.

Schematically, the system of eastern European highways is as follows:

The Elbe route	The Dvina route	The Dniepr route	The Northern Dvina route	The Volga route
Saxelfr.	Seimgoll Duna.	Nyia; Olkoga; Nepr.	Vina.	Kama.

Surprisingly, one very important eastern European river is missing here — the Volga. As we know from a skaldic *þula* of the end of the twelfth century, the Scandinavians knew the Volga under the name of Olga. It seems that the original version of the addition had the name Olga (see p. 297). It was probably dropped by a copyist who noted the similar names *Olga* and *Olkoga*, and omitted one of them on the assumption that they were the same thing. The curious name, Manga, in list *A*, possibly has the following origin: the *Ma* at the beginning is perhaps a repetition of the last syllable of the previous name (Kau*ma*). Possibly the two letters *o* and *l* (if written very close together) were

[116] See n. 101.
[117] AM 731, 4°, f. 21 r, l. 25–26.
[118] AM 730, 4°; cf. *AR* II, p. 431.
[119] Concerning Nyia, see Mel'nikova in *Drevnejšie gosudarstva* [I] 1975 (1976), p. 150.

misread as *n*: thus the *ma-*ol*-ga of the original could have been reproduced as ma-*n*-ga (suggestion by Agnete Loth, Copenhagen).

We can now account for all the variations in the list: the copyist of texts *B–D* copied the name of river 4 (*Olkoga*), and then decided that 7 (**Olga*) was a duplication of it and omitted it. The copyist of the original text *A* did the same thing with 4; at that time in the continuation of *Landafræði* Olga had not yet been replaced by the meaningless *Manga*.

PART SIX

Old Scandinavian Chronicles and Annals

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

The Danish Chronicles and Annals

The Development of Historical Writing

One indication of the primitive cultural life of the Western Roman Empire after its Christianization in 313 was the replacement of historical writing by annals and chronicles, genres that had been common in early Egypt, Babylonia, and China. The medieval Christian annals derive from the practice of entering short notices about memorable events opposite each year in the margins of the authenticated paschal tables. These notices were sent from the bishops' sees or the more important monasteries to all parishes and provincial monasteries to guarantee that information about the annual lunations governing the date of Easter and other movable feasts would be correct. Related to them were the necrologies (*necrologium*) and records of miracles (*miracula, translatio*) kept at the local cathedral.

The annalist was usually an anonymous monk with parochial interests and a limited historical perspective. He noted events he considered important, both natural (flood, hard winter, good crops, famine, comets, battles, deaths of important figures) and supernatural (miracles, appearance of marvelous beasts). He used the dating of the Christian era, although there were several local traditions that governed when the year began March 25, September 24,

December 25. The language of the Western Christian annals was usually Latin; only the Anglo-Saxon, Irish, and Icelandic annalists used the vernacular. In the eighth century the systematic keeping of annals was fostered by local governments. Charlemagne, for example, ordered the keeping of annals by the more important monasteries.

The Western Christian chronicle evolved when the notations over a considerable period were taken from several sets of provincial annals, systematized, and enlarged with data from universal and church history. Then compilation was feasible only in the intellectual centers (in the reformed monasteries of the Benedictines, Premonstratensians, or Cistercians, or by chapters of regular canons).[1] This reorganized material not only provided a wider perspective, but was presented in a more comprehensible language. Often used as sources for the introductions of these Christian chronicles were St. Jerome's (b. 342, d. 420) version of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History* up to the year 378, the *Origines* and *Historia* of St. Isidore of Seville (b. 560, d. 636), Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation* (731) (especially popular in the north), and the chronicle of Cologne. In time the more learned compilers began to inject their own literary styles into the records and embellish their texts with quotations from the writings of the classic Roman and Christian authors.

Christian historical writing developed during the eleventh century in Norway and Denmark and at the beginning of the twelfth century in Iceland. It did not begin in Sweden until the first half of the fourteenth century.[2] Swedish chronicles therefore remain outside the scope of our inquiry. Its two major centers were Niðaróss (Trondheim) in Norway and Lund in Denmark. Niðaróss's historical activities began about 1031, in connection with records regarding the translation of the relics of St. Óláfr. On the basis of these records, Eysteinn, the archbishop of Niðaróss (1161–1182), compiled his *Acta Sancti Olavi* (1160s). Two earlier works that have not come down to us are the *Translatio Sancti Olavi* (ca. 1050) and *Catalogus regum Norwegensium*, known only from excerpts from it found elsewhere.[3]

Denmark soon had its own sainted king, Knud IV (1080–1086), with its literature about his martyrdom and cult. The king was killed by his enemies in the St. Albanus Church in Odense on the island of Fyn. Shortly after, a

[1] On the beginnings of monastic life in Scandinavia see Hal Koch, *Danmarks Kirke i den begyndende Højmiddelalder*, 2 vols. (Kbh, 1936; repr. 1972).

[2] The oldest Swedish chronicle, written ca. 1330–1355, is the *Eirikskrönikan*, a work in verse recounting events of the years 1229–1319. The data of the *Eirikskrönikan* concerning eastern Europe were collected by Elena A. Rydzevskaja (d. 1941), but published much later, *Drevnejšaja Rus' i Skandinavija v IX–XIV vv.* (M., 1978), pp. 105–123.

[3] See Turville-Petre, *Origins* (Oxford, 1967).

Benedictine monastery of Anglo-Saxon monks from St. Mary's Monastery in Evesham, Worcestershire, was founded. There, around 1095, the anonymous *Passio S. Canuti regis et martyris*[4] and, in 1124, the *Gesta Swenomagni regis et filiorum eius et Passio gloriosissimi Canuti regis et martyris* (also called *Historia ortus vitae et passionis S. Canuti regis*) by Ælnoth of Canterbury,[5] were composed.

But Odense did not become the center of Danish intellectual life. That position was held, first, by Roskilde on the island of Zealand, the new political center, and, later, by Lund, which in 1104, after several decades of negotiations, became the first see of the first northern archbishopric.

The second Danish prince-saint was a nephew of St. Knud IV, also Knud (Knútr) by name (lávarðr, duke of southern Jutland and king of the Obotriti, r. 1128–1131). Around 1116/18 he married Ingilborg, the daughter of the Novgorodian King Mstislav-Haraldr Monomachovič (1097–1132); their son was Valdemar I the Great (1157– 1182).

Historia Sancti Canuti Ducis et Martyris was written in 1170 by the Englishman Robert of Ely. It was commissioned by Valdemar.[6]

Fortunately, the early products of the Lund center survived to provide the historian with data. The *Necrologium Lundense*, the necrology of the cathedral where the bishopric was established in 1060, was begun sometime before 1100. The extant manuscript on the oldest existing Scandinavian vellum, has two parts: the first (nos. 1–7) comprises admonitional and canonical writings; the second (nos. 1–14) is a collection of lists, including a list of the bishops of Lund, canons of Lund, and other local officials, and of the kings of Denmark, *Series Regum Danie* (fol. 123v–124) that continues to Valdemar I (1157–1182).

The basic study on the *Necrologium Lundense* is by Lauritz Weibull, "Necrologium Lundense. Lunds domkyrkas nekrologium," reprinted in his (posthumous) *Nordisk Historia* 2 (Stockholm, 1948), pp. 187–263.[7]

[4] Ed. M. Cl. Gertz, *Vitae Sanctorum Danorum* (= *VSD*) (Kbh. 1908 1912), pp. 34 38 (introduction); pp. 62 71 (text). *Gesta Cnutonis* [=Canute the Great, 1014 1035] *regis* or *Encomium Emmae reginae* (Canute's widow, d. 1052), composed by a Frankish monk of the Bertinus monastery (ed. Gertz, *SMHD* II [1918 1920], pp. 376 385 [introduction], pp. 386-426 [text]) has no information on eastern Europe.

[5] Ed. Gertz, *VSD*, pp. 42-54 (introduction); pp. 77 136 (text), cf. also pp. 531 558.

[6] Ed. Gertz, *VSD*, pp. 171-180 (introduction); pp. 189 204 (text).

[7] The first list of bishops from the Danish territory was *Ordo et nomina Sleswicensium episcoporum* [948-1085], compiled by the clerks of the German Hamburg-Bremen archbishopric between 1043 and 1085. The document exists in a Bremen copy from the twelfth century. See *Series episcoporum Sleswicensium*, ed. O. Holder-Egger in *MGH SS* 13 (1881), p. 349; and Sture Bolin, "Slesvigs biskopslängd," *Om Nordens äldsta historieforskning* (Lund, 1931), pp. 9-28.

The necrology of Lund was followed by the earliest northern annals, the *Annales Colbazenses*, also called *Liber Sancte Marie de Colbaz*. The original vellum codex, produced around 1140, has been preserved; since 1682 it has been in the former Prussian State Library in Berlin (Cod. Berol. theol. Lat., 149 fol.). The initiator of this historical and annalistic work was the bishop of Roskilde (1135–1137) and then the second archbishop of Lund, Eskil Kristiernsen (1137–1172), who belonged to a powerful aristocratic clan of Viking origin which had ties with Normandy. On his initiative a cleric from the chapter of the Cathedral of Lund copied the annals, a universal history of the Anglo-Norman *Chronica ex Francia* type. The copy was part of a Paschal table which left only a small space beside each year for mentioning notable events. The table began with excerpts from Isidore of Seville concerning the six days of creation and other bits of biblical as well as classical history (the Trojan war, the founding of Rome). After the birth of Christ, which is given as 5154 A.M., the chronicle notes mainly the ascensions and deaths of the Roman emperors and popes (the entries for the years 48 to 488 are missing) and, later, the Frankish kings. For the eleventh century the compiler utilized the annals of Cologne and Dijon, and, especially for the years 1066–1125, the *Annales Rotomagenses* (Rouen) and the Annals of Lewes Abbey in Sussex. Rollo's arrival is dated 876; dates for Norman dukes and bishops of Rouen are listed.

The first Danish annals comprised the years 1130–1170, and were written from the perspective of the emerging national-political and religious-cultural center of Lund. Then in the 1170s the codex left the cathedral of Lund. It was first taken to Lund's Premonstratensian Trinity Monastery, then, around 1180, it was brought to the newly (1174) established Cistercian monastery of Mera Vallis in Wendish Colbaz (Pol. Kołbacz) east of the upper Oder, a branch of the mother monastery of Esrom on the island of Zealand. There, local monks continued to add items reporting local events that occurred from 1177 to the end of the fourteenth century.[8] These annals were edited and published by Ellen Jørgensen in *ADMÆ* (Kbh, 1920), pp. 5–7 (introduction), pp. 39–43 (text).[9]

In the last quarter of the twelfth century, Norwegian and Icelandic historical writings became so intermingled that they must be treated as a single entity.

[8] There are some important studies on the *Annales Colbazenses*: A. D. Jørgensen, *Bidrag til Nordens Historie i Middelalderen* (Kbh, 1871), pp. 202–206; G. Waitz in *Neues Archiv* 12 (Hannover, 1887), pp. 25–33; Lauritz Weibull in *Nordisk Historia* II (Sthlm, 1948), pp. 173–186 [originally published in 1909]; Ellen Jørgensen, *Historieforskning* (Kbh, 1931), pp. 5–8; Leif H. Rosenstock, in *KHL* II (1957), cols. 517–518.

[9] The previous editions were by Wilhelm Arndt in *MGH SS* 19 (1866), pp. 710–720, and Rodgero Prümers in *Pommersches Urkundenbuch* 1: 2 (Stettin, 1877), pp. 467–496.

During the thirteenth to the fourteenth century the histories were of two types: the (Norwegian-)Icelandic sagas and the Icelandic annals.

Historical writing in medieval Denmark reached its peak between about 1170 and 1240. Its most notable chronicle is the *Gesta* of Saxo Grammaticus, written between 1185 and 1216. The Danish annals, usually based on foreign annals (cf. the Annals of Colbaz) and the material of the Danish Latin chronicles (until 1200), never developed into an important, independent branch of historical literature. Like the lists of kings, they remained brief and compilative, with very little original information.

The Danish Chronicles

Two types of chronicles emerged from Bishop Eskil's historical activities. One begins its history with the king of Jutland Haraldr Klak, the first Christian Danish ruler, baptized in 826. The other traces the national origins to legendary kings. For one of them this was Dan, the ancestor from local tradition; the other accepted the Icelandic saga's representation of the Skjǫldungar as the first clan of Danish kings.[10]

The first Christian history of the Danish kings was the *Chronicon Roskildense*.[11] Its author, an unknown clerk of Bishop Eskil, first wrote his chronicle for the years 826 to 1140 and later continued it to the accession of Valdemar I in 1157. He based his account on Adam of Bremen's *Gesta* and on an English universal chronicle by Radulphus Niger. The basic manuscript (K) is *Codex Kiloniensis* (S.H. 8, A. 8°), a thirteenth-century vellum. The standard edition was published by Gertz in his *SMHD* 1: 1 (1917–1918), pp. 34–42 (introduction) and pp. 43–53 (text).

The first codification of the Danish popular traditions connected with the island of Zealand is the *Chronicon Lethrense*,[12] written between 1160 and 1170, also by an unknown clerk of Archbishop Eskil. The pamphlet first enumerates the lands and island that formed the Denmark of the time, explaining that four Danish islands (Zealand, Møn, Falster, and Lolland) had the special common designation *Withesleth*. The first Danish king, the third son of an Uppsala king, Ypper, was a ruler of that Withesleth by the name of Dan. The chronicle includes Danish accounts from Dan to the Brávellir battle

[10] See Bjarni Guðnason, *Um Skjöldungasögu* (Rvík, 1963).

[11] Jørgensen, *Historieforskning*, pp. 25–26. Cf. Lauritz Weibull in *Nordisk Historia* II, pp. 267–292 (first published in 1928); Herluf Nielsen in *KHL* XIV (1969), cols. 427–428.

[12] Jørgensen, *Historieforskning*, pp. 27–28; Jørgen Olrik in *DHT* 7th ser. 2 (1899–1900), pp. 222–229; Helge Toldberg in *KHL* 10 (1965), cols. 485–486.

(ca. 770). It has come down to us in two old vellum manuscripts: A = AM 843, 4° (middle of the thirteenth century) and E = Codex Erfordensis, num. 23 (thirteenth to fourteenth century). The chronicle is included in Gertz's *SMHD* 1: 1, pp. 34–42 (introduction), pp. 43–53 (text).

Svend Aggesøn is the first known Danish author. He was of aristocratic origin and a nephew of Archbishop Eskil (1137–1177). Like his younger colleague Saxo, later the canon of Lund, he studied in Paris and devoted himself to historical work. After succeeding Eskil, Absalon, the new archbishop (1177–1201) and foster brother of King Valdemar I, allowed the nephew of his deposed predecessor to write only an epitome of Danish history. He commissioned Saxo, later styled Grammaticus, to compose a detailed presentation of the Danish past. Both authors made use of the findings and accomplishments of Icelandic historical research; an example is Svend Aggesøn's introduction of Skjǫldr and the Skjǫldungar as the ancestors of the Danish kings.

Three fourteenth-century chronicles written in Old Danish survive. They are based on the Latin chronicles, primarily the *Chronicon Lethrense* and Saxo's *Gesta*, and the Latin annals, such as *Annales Lundenses* and *Annales Ryenses*. They were published by M. Lorenzen, *Gammeldanske krøniker* (1887–1913); a preface was published subsequently by E. Jørgensen (1930).

The *Gesta Danorum paa danskæ* (= Cod. Holm. B 77 and C 67; fifteenth century)[13] begins with an account of the legendary Hwmble, king of Uppsala, and his sons (cf. the *Chronicon Lethrense*), one of whom was Dan, and ends with the reign of Christopher II (1319–1332); it was published in *GDK*, pp. 6–7, 13–14 (introduction); pp. 1–60 (text).

Sagnkrønike i Stockholm (= Cod. Holm. K 46 [fifteenth century]) contains the sagas of the legendary kings from Dan to Byørn, son of Snyø; it was published in *GDK*, pp. 6–7, p. 13 (introduction); pp. 193–219 (text).[14]

Runekrøniken (= AM 28 8° [Codex Runicus; fifteenth century]) is missing the beginning up to Haddingr. It ends with Erik VI Menved (1286–1319); it was published in *GDK*, pp. 6–7, p. 12 (introduction); pp. 221–226 (text).

The Lists of Danish Kings

The idea of producing lists of the Danish kings, sometimes with, sometimes without dates and genealogical information, was introduced in Lund during

[13] Cf. Jørgensen, *Historieforskning*, pp. 28, 55, 59, 84.
[14] Cf. Herluf Nielsen in *KHL* XIV (1969), col. 662.

the rule of King Valdemar I and Archbishop Absalon (1177–1201). The lists were usually based on the existing chronicles and, later, on the annals.

A short list with dates, divided into three parts, was written down in the *Necrologium Lundense*[15] by three scribes, the last of whom probably worked about 1170. The original list, chapter 2, included figures from Svend Estridssen (1047–1074) to Niels (1104–1134); and the second, chapter 3, from Erik emune (1134–1137) to Valdemar I. The list in chapter 1, written by the third scribe, runs from Haraldr Klak (his conversion in 826 [dated 827] is mentioned) to Canute the Great (1014–1035). The basic edition of this first list of the kings of Denmark is Gertz, *SMHD* I: 1, pp. 147–148 (introduction), pp. 157–158 (text).

The *Catalogus Regum Danie* consists of three parts (*distinctio*): nine ancient pagan kings from Dan to Guthorm; sixteen kings of the second division from Haraldr Klak (827 [sic]) to Niels (1104), and "modern" kings, the third *distinctio*, Erik emune (1134–1137) to Valdemar II (1202–1241). The original manuscript, written in the mid-thirteenth century, was lost, but a copy made by Árni Magnússon (b. 1663, d. 1730) has survived (AM 1030, 4°). The standard edition is Gertz, *SMHD* I: 1, pp. 148–149 (introduction); pp. 159–160 (text).

Series ac brevior historia regum Danie a Dan ad Waldemarum II is a list of seventy-eight kings; part 1, up to no. 50 (Ragnarr) Lothbroki, filius Siward Ring, consists of names only; part 2, from no. 51, Harald clac, is a kind of short chronicle, probably written in the mid-thirteenth century. The text is known from the copy by Árni Magnússon (AM 1030, 4°). The standard edition: Gertz, *SMHD* I: 1, pp. 149–150 (introduction); pp. 161–166 (text).

Reges Danorum is a list similar to the one above: a proper list (first part from 1, Dan, to 48, Regner Lotbroki) and a short chronicle (from 47, Clak Harald to Christopher II [1319–1332]). The basic manuscript is a fifteenth-century vellum, G = Codex Upsalensis ex coll. de la Gardie, no. 50. The standard publication is Gertz, *SMHD* I: 1, pp. 150–151 (introduction); pp. 167–174 (text).

Nomina regum Danorum is a list that includes eighty-nine kings from Dan to Ericus (Glipping, 1259–1286), included in the famous thirteenth-century vellum codex Holmiensis A 41 (the manuscript of the *Liber census Daniae*). The standard publication is Gertz, *SMHD* I: 1, p. 151 (introduction); pp. 175–176 (text).

Wilhelmi Abbatis Genealogia regum Danorum was written by Wilhelm, abbot of the Augustine monastery in Ebbeholt (Zealand) in connection with

[15] See Lauritz Weibull, "Necrologium Lundense. VII. Konungalistan," *Nordisk Historia* II, pp. 214–219.

the divorce proceedings initiated by the French King Philip I Augustus (1060–1108) against his new wife (1193), Ingeborg, the daughter of Valdemar I (1157–1182). Wilhelm himself was of French origin. Two versions of this genealogy are known: A = AM 1030, 4° is Árni Magnússon's copy from an old manuscript that perished in the great fire of Copenhagen in 1728; E = the version included in the annals of the *Ecclesia Laudunensis*, edited by Henrik Ernst under the title *Regnum aliquot Daniae Genealogia* (Sorø, 1646). The standard edition is Gertz *SMHD* I: 1, pp. 152–155 (introduction); pp. 176–185 (text). The *Genealogia* consists of three parts: the first lists eleven legendary and early historical kings from Danus to Hemmingus; the second lists the kings from Haraldus Blatan (ca. 940–985) to the father of Valdemar I, St. Kanutus (lávarðr, d. 1131). The marital ties of the Danish ruling family, especially those to the western dynasties, are stressed. Ingilborg, Kanutus's wife and the mother of Valdemar I, is included; she was the daughter of Izizlaui (A) / Iuzillani (pp. 182–183) *Ruthenorum regis*. This last name was transmitted in corrupt form: it should have been given as Mstislav (Haraldr) of Novgorod Kiev (d. 1132). The third part gives the family ties of the Swedish Princess Christina (Mstislav's wife) and Valdemar I; the latter's father-in-law is named as Waledar, *Ruthenorum rex* (pp. 184–185).

Incerti auctoris genealogia regum Danie consists of two parts: the list proper, from "Dan et Angul" to Kanutus (VI, 1182–1202), and a short chronicle from Valdemar II (1202–1241) to Erik V Glipping (1259–1286). It was written at the end of the thirteenth century; the extant version (= S) was printed by Stephan Stephanius (d. 1650) in Sorø (1642). The standard edition is Gertz, *SMHD* I: 1, pp. 155–156 (introduction); pp. 186–194 (text).

Five lists of Danish kings written in Old Danish on the basis of Latin lists and chronicles are to be found in various, mainly legal, manuscripts. All date from the fourteenth or fifteenth century and were published by M. Lorenzen in his *Gammeldanske Krøniker* (1887–1913). An introduction was provided by Ellen Jørgensen in 1930. The lists are known under letter designations from A to E, as follows: A =AM 28, 8°; the beginning is missing; the contents run from the legendary Wærmundr to Erik VI Menved (1286–1319). Published in *GDK*, p. 12 (introduction); pp. 228–229 (text). B = Cod. Holm. C 67, 4°; from Dan to Erik VI Menved. Published in *GDK*, p. 12 (introduction); pp. 229–236 (text). C = after the edition of Ole Worm (Kbh, 1642); from Dan to Erik VI Menved (d. 1319). Published in *GDK*, p. 12 (introduction); pp. 237–241 (text). D = Cod. Holm. B 72, 4°; from Dan to Erik VII of Pomerania (1412–1439). Published in *GDK*, p. 12 (introduction); pp. 241–247 (text). E = AM 20, 8°; from Dan to Regnær (Ragnarr loðbrók, ninth century). Published in *GDK*, pp. 12–13 (introduction); pp. 247–252 (text).

The Latin Annals

In 1861 the German historian Rudolf Usinger suggested that all Danish annals up to 1246 had a common source that had since been lost. He called this source the *Annales Lundenses majores.*[16] In 1872 Dietrich Schäfer sought to demonstrate that these lost original annals had four continuations: 1246–1266; 1267–1287; 1287–1307; 1307–1313.[17] In the interim the Annals of Colbaz were published in 1866 by W. Arndt in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica,* and their Danish provenence was recognized and proven by the Danish scholar A. D. Jørgensen in 1871.[18] Several other Danish scholars reexamined the thesis of Usinger, and finally concluded that the hypothetical *Annales Lundenses majores* was no longer defensible.[19] Instead, they showed that several annalistic centers emerged in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Denmark: at the cathedral in Lund, at the royal chancery, and in the newly established western monasteries, such as the Benedictine monastery in Næstved on the island of Zealand (which produced two consecutive annalistic works), the Cistercian monasteries in Sorø, also in Zealand (two consecutive annalistic works; the later one was the *Annales Sorani* covering 1202–1347, and the earlier part of the *Chronica Sialandie*) and Ruh/Rus, near modern Glücksburg in Schleswig (*Annales Ryenses,* to 1288), and the Dominican monasteries (the *Annales* 980–1286).[20]

In her corpus *Annales Danici medii ævi,* Ellen Jørgensen included twenty-seven annals from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, of which the following six had been basic to the development of the rest: *Annales Waldemariani; Annales Nestvedienses* (I) 1130–1228; *Annales Nestvedienses* (II) 821–1300; *Annales Sorani* (I) 1130–1300; *Annales Lundenses,* to 1307; and *Annales Ryenses,* to 1288. She published parallel texts of these six annals for 1130–1307, the first independent period of Danish annalistic activity. Only three of these are relevant to the present investigation: *Annales Waldemariani, Annales Lundenses,* and *Annales Ryenses.*

[16] Rudolf Usinger, *Die dänischen Annalen und Chroniken des Mittelalters* (Hannover, 1861), p. 33.

[17] Dietrich Schäfer, *Dänische Annalen und Chroniken* (Hannover, 1872), pp. 3, 12–13, 36, 37.

[18] A. D. Jørgensen, *Bidrag til Nordens Historie i Middelalderen,* pp. 202–206.

[19] G. von Buchwald, *DHT* 5th ser. 1 (1879), p. 733; Kr. Erslev, *DHT* 6th ser. 2 (1889), p. 375; Kr. Kålund, *ANF* 25 (1909), p. 303; Anne Kristensen, *Danmarks ældste Annalistik. Studier over lundensisk Annalskrivning i 12. og 13. Århundrede* (Kbh, 1969).

[20] Cf. Jørgensen, *Historieforskning,* pp. 5–18; E. Jørgensen, *ADMÆ,* pp. 1–5.

Although the *Annales Waldemariani*[21] gives 1074, the year of death of the restorer of the Danish kingdom, Svend Estridssen (Úlfsson), as its starting date, it really begins with 1130, as does the Danish part of the Annals of Colbaz, the purported date of death of Knud lávarðr (actually 1131). For the period 1130–1180s it utilizes earlier sources, but beginning with 1181 the work is based on systematic notations of events in the royal chancery. It was compiled in its present form during the reign of either Knud VI (1182–1202) or Valdemar II (1202–1241).

The *Annales Waldemariani* was transmitted in the famous thirteenth-century Codex Holm A 41 (fol. 58b–64). In Ellen Jørgensen's corpus it is found on pp. 8–9 (introduction) and pp. 72–104 (text).

Jacob Langebek published the *Annales Lundenses*, found in a vellum manuscript from the beginning of the fourteenth century (AM 841, 4°), in volume I of his *Scriptores* (1772).[22] Because in the previous entry (1307) two benefactors were mentioned as having been buried in the Esrom Monastery (on Zealand), the editor called this source *Annales rerum Danicarum Esromenses a nato Christo ad annum 1307.*

In 1841 Georg Waitz discovered in the public library of Erfurt, Germany, a Danish vellum codex from the second half of the thirteenth century (no. 23, 8°); after a thorough examination he established that the text of the manuscript was that of the *Annales Esromenses*, except that it ended forty years earlier, in 1267.[23] On the basis of a critical analysis of the annals' data, Waitz concluded that the original annals found in the Erfurt manuscript had been written in Lund,[24] and then a copy had been sent to the Cistercian monastery in Esrom (founded in 1153), where some additions — the first in the entry for 1307 — were made.

Ellen Jørgensen and Herluf Nielsen assume that the original *Annales Lundenses* was written ca. 1250 at the cathedral of Lund.[25] It is a very complex compilation of both foreign and Danish materials. Except for the *Annales Colbazenses*, it is the only known Danish universal annal to begin from the Creation. The account of the five pre-Christian ages (*aetates*) was taken from the *Annales Colbazenses* and its source, the works of Isidore of Seville. From the year of Christ's birth the compiler drew heavily on Bede's *Chronica majora* and *Historica ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*; his subsequent sources were the Annals of Cologne, the Anglo-Norman *Annales Uticenses*, and,

[21] Cf. Jørgensen, *Historieforskning*, pp. 6–8.

[22] J. Langebek, *Scriptores* I, pp. 212–250, 1 facsim.

[23] G. Waitz, *Nordalbingische Studien* 5 (Kiel, 1858), pp. 1–6 (introduction), pp. 7–55 (text).

[24] G. Waitz, *Nordalbingische Studien* 5, p. 4.

[25] Jørgensen, *Historieforskning*, pp. 8, 10; Herluf Nielsen in *KHL* XI (1966), col. 7.

above all, for the period 768–1053, Adam of Bremen's *Gesta*. As his entry for 767, the compiler incorporated the entire text of the *Chronicon Lethrense* (ca. 1160–1170) into his work. Under 856 is information about Viking raids in various parts of Europe. Throughout the remainder of his text (which goes up to 1170) the compiler continued to borrow from the *Annales Colbazenses*, but he often misread its dates and attributes certain events to the wrong year, e.g., the information from the *Annales Colbazenses* under 855, 868, 869, 888 was placed in the *Annales Lundenses* under 845, 848, 849, 855. For the period after 1130 the compiler used the existing Danish annals, such as the *Annales Waldemariani*, 1130–1219, *Annales Nestvedienses*, 1130–1228, *Annales Nestvedienses*, 821–1300, and *Annales Sorani*, 1130–1300.[26] The standard edition of the *Annales Lundenses* was published by Ellen Jørgensen in *ADMAE*, pp. 10–14 (introduction), pp. 44–62 (text up to 1128) and pp. 73–129 (text from 1128 up to 1307).

In contrast to the *Annales Lundenses*, with its universal Christian perspective, the *Annales Ryenses* has a national, Danish orientation. Jacob Langebek, following the usage established by the annals' previous editors, Erpoldus Lindebrogius (Hamburg, 1603; Frankfurt, 1609) and I. A. Fabricius (Hamburg, 1706), called the source *Chronicon Erici Regis*. His reason was that the text known to the previous editors ended with the sentence, "Hactenus Ericus rex Dacie [i.e., Erik VI Menved, 1286–1319]."[27] J. M. Lappenberg found in the public library of Hamburg a thirteenth-century vellum manuscript (98b) containing the same annals, but without the concluding sentence. Since the Cistercian monastery in Ryd (Rythia / Rye / Rus regium = German Ruhkloster) located in Angeln, also the site of the future Glücksburg, was "frequently" (in fact, only four times) mentioned, Lappenberg introduced the name *Annales Ryenses* for his edition published in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, XVI (Hannover, 1866, pp. 386–410). It is doubtful, however, that the work was composed in Ryd. It is dependent on the Lund sources, i.e., the *Annales Colbazenses* and the *Annales Lundenses*.

D. Schäfer claimed that the first redaction of the *Annales Ryenses* went no further than 1261, since after 1262 the texts of the Old Danish translations of the surviving annals do not agree with the Latin text.[28] One can assume, however, that the first version of the *Annales Ryenses* was compiled in Lund shortly after 1267 (the end of the first redaction of the *Annales Lundenses*)

[26] See Usinger, *Die dänischen Annalen*, pp. 27–33, 38–52; Schäfer, *Dänische Annalen*, pp. 29–37; Waitz, *Neues Archiv* 12 (1887), pp. 25–39; Jørgensen, *Historieforskning*, pp. 8, 10.

[27] Langebek, *Scriptores* I, pp. 148–170. On the "Annales Ryenses" see Herluf Nielsen in *KHL* XIV (1969), cols. 515–518.

[28] Schäfer, *Dänische Annalen*, pp. 5–13; cf. Usinger, *Die dänischen Annalen*, pp. 22, 28, 35, 61–78; Jørgensen, *Historieforskning*, p. 12.

and that a copy was sent to the *Rus regium*, where the account was continued for the period up to 1288.

The *Annales Ryenses* was the most popular of all the Danish annals. It consists of two parts. The first is a kind of small encyclopedic dictionary on ninety-nine Danish kings from 1, Dan, to 99, Nicolaus rex (Niels, 1104–1134), i.e., up to the time covered by the original Danish annals (1130–).

At the outset, the compiler was faced with the task of uniting three different traditions — the biblical, the classical, and the Danish:

> Dani, ut testantur ueteres hystoriographi, tempore Saruch, proaui Abrahe, regnum, quod nunc Dania uel Dacia dicitur, intrauerunt uenientes de Gothia. Qui quidem Gothi, ut dicit Papias, de Gog, filio Japhet, orti sunt. Quod autem quidam dicunt Danos a Danaitis, id est Grecis, uenisse, uerisimile est, sed usque quaque certum non est. Nec ab initio dicti sunt Dani, sed quelibet terra habuit nomen speciale, quod habet adhuc, donec tempore David regis habuerunt regem Dan.[29]

The author of the *Annales Ryenses* knew the *Chronicon Lethrense* (his Dan was king of Withesleth),[30] and he relied heavily on Saxo's *Gesta*. He also included some traditions unknown in the other sources, for example, in the entry on the seventy-fourth king, Reynær Lothbroki,[31] and on the eighty-fourth, Lothænæknut. The last tradition — about the transplantation of the Danish Slavs has great importance for our theme; it has been discussed above in chapter seven.

The fully historical kings begin with 88, Gorm Gamælæ (p. 68). The annalistic part begins with the year 1111 of the *Annales Ryenses* and depends primarily on the *Annales Lundenses*;[32] it also makes direct use of the *Annales Colbazenses* and the Cistercian tradition as well as the *Annales Waldemariani*. It contains independent information from around 1240.

The standard edition of the *Annales Ryenses* is that by Ellen Jørgensen in *ADMÆ* (1920), pp. 14–17 (introduction), pp. 62–70 (text up to 1127) and pp. 73–125 (text from 1130 up to 1288).

The *Annales Ryenses* was used as the pattern for the *Annales Slesuicenses*.

[29] ed. Jørgensen, *ADMÆ*, p. 62.
[30] ed. Jørgensen, *ADMÆ*, p. 62.
[31] ed. Jørgensen, *ADMÆ*, p. 67.
[32] At times the redactor of the "Annales Ryenses" made great errors in reading the numbers. The information "Tartari Ungariam invaserunt" is given s.a. 1127 (ed. Jørgensen, *ADMÆ*, p. 70), while the *Annales Lundenses* has the correct date 1241: "Tartari Ungariam intrauerunt et deuasterunt" (ed. Jørgensen, *ADMÆ*, p. 111); cf. *Annales Ripenses* s.a. 1241: "Tunc Tartari Ungariam uastauerunt" (ed. Jørgensen, *ADMÆ*, p. 152).

It again includes articles on ninety-nine kings, the last being Gorm den gamle, and annals to 1270.[33] It was also the model for the *Annales Ripenses*,[34] compiled in the fourteenth century (GkS 2455, a paper manuscript from the sixteenth century), which begins with Rollo, and incorporates data on the migration during the reign of Lothene Knut.[35]

Three translations of the *Annales Ryenses* into Old Danish have come down to us. They are referred to as follows: Ryd I, known from an old vellum manuscript (ca. 1400; Codex Rantzowianus, Don. var. 3, 8°), has a continuation up to 1314. It was published in M. Lorenzen, *GDK*, pp. 61–134, with an introduction by E. Jørgensen, *MHL*, pp. 9–10. Ryd II covers events up to 1245; it is represented by a paper manuscript from the fifteenth century (Cod. Holm. K. 4, fol.), published by M. Lorenzen, *GDK*, pp. 135–192; introduction by E. Jørgensen, *MHL*, pp. 10–11. Ryd III has also come down to us in a paper manuscript from the fifteenth century (NKS 606, 8°); it runs up to 1226 and was published by E. Jørgensen, *MHL*, p. 11 (introduction); pp. 21–47 (text). On pp. 50–57 parallel texts of the Latin *Annales Ryenses* and two Old Danish translations for the years 1262–1288 are given.

Eastern Europe in the Danish Chronicles and Annals

The Danish chronicles, lists of kings, and annals contain important genealogical, mythological, epic, and factual data from the Old Danish tradition not to be found in other sources, so irrespective of the amount of concrete information they convey, they deserve attention. Only two contemporary historical events were recorded in this group of sources: the journey of Knud III (1146–1157) in 1151 or 1152 to seek refuge in Ruscia/Rucia, which is noted in several Latin and Old Danish annals;[36] and the expedition of Magnus VI Eriksson (1319–1374, king of Norway, Sweden; and from 1333, of Skåne)

[33] ed. Jørgensen, *ADMÆ*, pp. 132–135.

[34] ed. Jørgensen, *ADMÆ*, pp. 149–156.

[35] ed. Jørgensen, *ADMÆ*, p. 149. The *Annales Ryenses* had influenced Swedish and German chronicle writing. See M. Lappenberg, *MGH SS* XVI (1866), p. 391; Usinger, *Die Dänischen Annalen*, p. 63.

[36] "Annales Sorani 1130–1300" ("Exulauit Kanutus in Suetiam et in Ryasiam," ed. Jørgensen, *ADMÆ*, p. 79); cf. "Annales Lundenses," "Annales Ryenses" (ed. Jørgensen, *ADMÆ*, p. 136); "Annales 67–1287" (ed. Jørgensen, *ADMÆ*, p. 195); "Ryd I" (ed. Lorenzen, *GDK*, p. 106); "Ryd II" (ed. Lorenzen, *GDK*, pp. 173–174), "Aarbog 1074–1255" (ed. Jørgensen, *MHL*, p. 170. Cf. also "Annales Ryenses" s.a. 1153: "Kanutus rex rediens de Ruscia uenit in Frisiam, ibique construxit castrum Mildeborg, cum auxilio Frisonum" (ed. Jørgensen, *ADMÆ*, p. 79).

against Novgorodian Ruscia, attested only in the *Annales Scanici*, under 1348.[37]

The geographical references for eastern Europe in the Danish sources are only to lands or towns well known in Valdemar's time: Arcun (Arkona),[38] Pomerania,[39] Polonia,[40] Pruscia/Prycia (Prussia),[41] Samland/Semlandia,[42] Kurland,[43] Semigalia,[44] Est(h)onia/Hestia/Estland,[45] Reuale,[46] Karelia,[47] Finland/Findland/Finnia.[48]

Place names from the Viking Age, such as Aldeigjuborg, Biarmia, Austrvegr, Garðr/Garðar, Hólmgarðr, are totally absent in the Danish sources; only some, for example, *Holmgardia*, appear in Saxo's *Gesta* and in the texts dependent on it. Rus' is given only in its Latino-Germanic forms: Ruscia,[49] Rucia,[50] Ryzae,[51] Ryssia,[52] Rytzæn,[53] Rytzeland,[54] Ryscæland,[55] Ruteni.[56] The Wends (Slavs) are usually called by the Latin terms *Slavi/Sclavi, gens Slavica, Sclavonia*;[57] the Old Danish term *Windær, Windland* appears, but not infrequently it is mistaken for Fin(d)land.[58] All other eastern geographic

[37] ed. Jørgensen, *ADMÆ*, p. 189.

[38] *ADMÆ*, pp. 43, 79, 195; cf. Arcona, *SMHD* I, pp. 425–428.

[39] *ADMÆ*, pp. 42, 134, 164, 195; *SMHD* I, pp. 140, 178, 193, 430, 431; *GDK*, p. 110 (Pomerania).

[40] *ADMÆ*, pp. 65, 98, 99, 151; cf. *SMHD* I, pp. 184, 290, 396, 411; *GDK*, pp. 78, 146.

[41] *ADMÆ*, pp. 68, 97–99, 134, 137, 149, 151, 157, 165, 189, 209; *SMHD* I, p. 441; II, pp. 58, 74, 116; *GDK*, pp. 93, 116, 158.

[42] *ADMÆ*, pp. 97–99, 134, 137, 151, 165; *SMHD* II, p. 58; cf. Sembi *SMHD* I, pp. 122, 178; *GDK*, pp. 116, 181.

[43] *GDK*, pp. 8, 9, 17, 36, 44, 45.

[44] *ADMÆ*, pp. 68, 149; *GDK*, pp. 93, 158.

[45] *ADMÆ*, pp. 69, 92, 93, 97, 104, 105, 130, 131, 134, 135, 137, 142, 146, 147, 149, 151, 154, 157, 165, 166, 189, 193, 196; *SMHD* I, pp. 161, 171, 430, 442, 459–460, 480; II, pp. 54, 57, 58, 69, 84, 106, 109, 374; *GDK*, pp. 44, 45, 52, 53, 110, 113, 119, 160, 179, 184.

[46] *ADMÆ*, pp. 97, 105, 111, 142, 146, 193; *SMHD* I, p. 459, II, pp. 306, 374; *GDK*, pp. 114, 218 (Ræwæl).

[47] *ADMÆ*, pp. 68, 149; *GDK*, pp. 93, 153.

[48] *ADMÆ*, pp. 92, 93, 137, 140, 145, 151, 157, 164, 193, 196; *SMHD* II, pp. 54, 111, 125, 310, 322, 466; *GDK*, pp. 113, 214, 217.

[49] *ADMÆ*, pp. 63, 67, 79 (*Annales Ryenses*); p. 150 (*Annales Ripenses*); p. 164 (*Chronica Sialandie*); p. 189 (*Annales Scanici*); p. 192 (*Annales*, 980–1286); *SMHD* II, p. 39.

[50] *ADMÆ*, p. 79 (*Annales Lundenses*); *SMHD* II, p. 117.

[51] *GDK*, p. 139 (*Ryd II*).

[52] *ADMÆ*, p. 79 (*Annales Sorani*, 1130–1300); cf. *Ryscia*, *ADMÆ*, p. 65 (*Annales Ryenses*), *ADMÆ*, p. 136 (*Annales*, 67–1287).

[53] *GDK*, pp. 78, 106 (*Ryd I*).

[54] *GDK*, pp. 89, 106 (*Ryd I*), p. 214 (*Sagnkrønike i Stockholm*).

[55] *GDK*, pp. 22 (*Gesta Danorum paa danskæ*), 89, 106 (*Ryd I*), 173, 174 (*Ryd II*).

[56] *SMHD* II, pp. 117, 131 (*Chronica archiepiscoporum Lundensium*).

[57] *ADMÆ*, Index, p. 227, s.v.; *SMHD* II, Index, p. 115.

[58] *ADMÆ*, p. 145 (s.a. 1165); p. 148 (s.a. 1301; *Annales Essenbecenses*).

names which are not borrowed from Saxo or Adam of Bremen are either biblical (e.g., Emmaus,[59] Palestina[60]) or classical (e.g., Constantinopolis,[61] Capadocia[62]) or belong to the epoch of the Crusades (Saraceni,[63] Accaron[64]).

[59] *ADMÆ*, p. 47.
[60] *ADMÆ*, pp. 47, 48.
[61] *ADMÆ*, pp. 48, 70, 206; *SMHD* II, pp. 23, 490; *GDK*, pp. 103, 170, 183; cf. Bizantium, *ADMÆ*, p. 65; Byzancium, *GDK*, p. 78 (*Ryd I*), p. 146 (*Ryd II*).
[62] *ADMÆ*, p. 47.
[63] *ADMÆ*, pp. 154, 182; *SMHD* II, p. 23.
[64] *ADMÆ*, pp. 127, 131, 154, 167; *SMHD* II, pp. 71, 489; *GDK*, p. 131.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

The Icelandic Annals

The Development of Annalistic Work

Soon after Iceland received its ecclesiastical organization — in 1056 the western bishopric of Skálaholt; in 1106, the northern bishopric of Hólar — astronomical and chronological studies were undertaken for the practical requirements of the church calendar. According to a local tradition preserved in the *Biskupa sögur*, the first versatile Icelandic scholar, Sæmundr Sigfússon (b.1054, d. 1133), studied astronomy while he was in Paris and acquired great skill in that science. It was he who created the basic system for Icelandic chronology,[1] which was continued by Ari inn fróði (b. 1067, d.1148) and found its culmination in the works of Snorri Sturluson (b. 1179, d. 1241) and of his nephew Sturla Þórðarson (b. 1214, d. 1284).

Since the Icelandic annals record the eruptions of Mount Hekla, beginning in 1104,[2] Nataniel Beckman assumes that a chronological register was introduced[3] at the cathedral church in Skálholt not later than that year. The earliest

[1] See *Biskupa sögur*, ed. G. Vigfússon and J. Sigurðsson, I (Kbh, 1858), pp. 156-157, 227-229; *Alfræði Íslenzk* II, ed. Nataniel Beckman and Kristian Kålund (Kbh, 1914), p. 9; cf. G. Turville-Petre, *Origins*, pp. 84, 86-87.

[2] *Islandske Annaler*, ed. G. Storm, p. 111 ("Annales Regii"), p. 251 ("Lögmanns-annáll"), p. 319 ("The Annals of Gottskálkr"), p. 473 ("Oddaverja Annals").

[3] In *Xenia Lideniana* (Sthlm, 1912), pp. 16-17.

preserved Icelandic reckoning table, or *ta(f)l-byrðingr*, containing the solar, lunar, and paschal cycles is dated 1121.[4] In contrast to the German and Danish annals, which used Latin letters to designate the years of the Christian era, the Icelandic annals used the signs of the paschal tables.

According to Beckman the first work to use the Icelandic protoannals was *Hungrvaka*, the anonymous history of the first hundred and twenty years of the Skálaholt bishopric (1056-1176); the protoannals themselves started with 1022, the year the first Icelandic bishop, Ísleifr Gizurarson, was born. Beckman even presented his reconstruction of the protoannals containing the years 1022-1176 (*Xenia Lideniana*, pp. 16-39).

But the compilation of larger annalistic works comparable to the Old Rus' *izvody* did not begin in Iceland until the last quarter of the thirteenth century. Specialists have connected their beginnings with the activitiy of the great historian, politician (*lǫgmaðr*), and poet, Sturla Þórðarson who compiled the so-called archetype of 1280. They reached their peak of creativity in the first half of the fourteenth century,[5] but continued their activity until the first half of the fifteenth century.

Sturla Þórðarson's annals must have been compiled shortly after 1279, since the first redaction of the basic Icelandic annals, the *Annales (Islandorum) regii*[6] ends with that year.[7] Sturla, who spent several years (1263-1271) at the Norwegian court, had access to the archives of the kings and also to the archbishop's library in Trondheim, where the necessary handbooks were available. The *Annales regii* begin with Julius Caesar (46 B.C.); its first part (until 958) is written mainly in Latin.

The chronological system was taken from Bede's *De temporum ratione*, but the main sources of information concerning the history of the popes and emperors to 1156 were the two compendia of universal history produced in Germany in the twelfth century: the *Chronicon universale* by Ekkehard of Aura, the *Historia scholastica* by Petrus Comestor, and the *Speculum naturale, historiale, doctrinale* by Vincent of Beauvais, written in France about 1250.[8] For Scandinavian history until 1266, the Danish annals were used, especially the *Annales Lundenses* and *Annales Ryenses*.[9] Among the sources

[4] *Alfræði Íslenzk* II, ed. Beckman - Kålund, pp. 121, 157, 200, 208. About the "Computus ecclesiasticus" see N. Beckman's introduction to his (and Kålund's) edition of *Alfræði Íslenzk* II, pp. xi-xiv.

[5] Jakob Benediktsson's Introduction to *Arngrimi Jonae Opera latine conscripta* IV (Kbh, 1957), p. 46.

[6] Benediktsson in *KHL* IX (1964), cols. 92-93.

[7] See *GAL* II, pp. 213-214.

[8] Storm's introduction to his *Islandske Annaler*, pp. lxxvi-lxxviii.

[9] *Islandske Annaler*, ed. Storm, p. lxxix.

for the Scandinavian events the *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum* by Adam of Bremen (d. ca. 1085) is quoted (s.a. 861).[10]

The data concerning the history of the Norsemen begin with the baptism in 824 (actually in 826!) of Harioldus (Haraldr) of Jutland in Mainz.[11] Starting with the entry under 842 about the fire in Hamburg, the Nordic entries are given almost exclusively in Old Norse.[12]

Sturla's own redaction of the annals has not survived, but shortly after 1300 a new version was compiled. Its existing vellum manuscript goes back to the fourteenth century (GkS 2087, 4°); the text written by the first hand ends with 1306,[13] the several other scribes who continued it also leave remarks on the parts before 1341, making it a valuable primary source. It contains original information from the northern and western parts of Iceland.

The *Annales regii* (abbreviated C) was published in G. Storm's collection as no. 4, *Islandske Annaler*, pp. xi–xv; 77–155.[14]

The next redaction of the annals,[15] the *Annales Reseniani*, was made sometime between 1283 and 1295 in the western part of Iceland.[16] It was revised shortly after 1295 and again after 1306. An old vellum manuscript of the 1295 redaction, which was written about 1320,[17] and which belonged to P. J. Resenius (hence its name) in 1640 perished in the 1728 Copenhagen fire. Fortunately, Árni Magnússon (1663–1730) had made a copy of the text around 1700, and it has survived as AM 424, 4°.

The *Annales Reseniani* begins with the year A.D. 228 and ends at 1295. The chronological computations of the Scandinavian entries in the *Annales Reseniani* differ somewhat from those in the *Annales regii*:

10 *Islandske Annaler*, ed. Storm, p. 98.
11 *Islandske Annaler*, ed. Storm, p. 97.
12 "Brennd Hamborg," *Islandske Annaler*, ed. Storm, p. 98; cf. *GAL* II, p. 213.
13 *Islandske Annaler*, ed. Storm, p. xi.
14 There exists a diplomatic edition of the text with an exhaustive introduction: (1) Heinrich Karl Hugo Buergel-Goodwin, "*Konungsannáll.*" *Annales Islandorum regii. Beschreibung der Handschrift, Laut- und Formenlehre, als Einleitung zu einem diplomatarischen Abdruck des Cod. reg. 2087, 4°, Gamle Samling der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Kopenhagen.* (Ph.D. diss., University of Leipzig) (Munich, 1904), viii + (2) + 96 pp.; (2) Heinrich Buergel Goodwin, "*Konungsannáll.*" *Annales Islandorum regii Isländska handskriften N:o 2087 4: to i den Gamla Samlingen på det Stora Kungliga Biblioteket i Köpenhamn i diplomatariskt avtryck utgiven* (Uppsala, 1906), 44 + (2) pp. + 45 fols. + 4 pl.

Guðni Jónsson, in his popular edition, included the C-entries from 848 to 1341: *Annálar og nafnaskrá* (Rvík, 1953; repr. 1962), pp. 1–74.
15 Benediktsson, *KHL* XIV (1969), col. 79.
16 *Islandske Annaler*, ed. Storm, pp. vi, lxxiii.
17 *Islandske Annaler*, ed. Storm, p. vii.

Annales Regii (C)		*Annales Reseniani* (K)
842	Birth of Haraldr hárfagri	852
858	His accession to the throne	862
868	He establishes his sole rule	872
875	Colonization of Iceland	874
931	Death of Haraldr hárfagri	933[18]

Until 999 the text of the *Annales Reseniani* is similar to that of the *Annales Vetustissimi* and the Annals of Henrik Høyer; for the period 1000–1269 the *Annales Reseniani* is also close to the Annals of Henrik Høyer. In the part concerned with the years 1270–1295, however, it can be regarded as an independent source for western Iceland. The *Annales Reseniani* was published by G. Storm as no. 1 in his *Islandske Annaler*, pp. ii–vii, 1–30.

The name *Vetustissimi*[19] was coined by the Danish historian Jacob Langebek, who included the *Annales Vetustissimi* in the second volume of his *Scriptores rerum Danicarum* (Kbh, 1773), pp. 177–199. P. A. Munch and C. C. Rafn called this work *Hauk Erlendssons Annaler*, in their excerpts published in *AR*, II, pp. 367–383, since the vellum manuscript AM 415, 4° containing the *Annales Vetustissimi* was written by those same scribes who about 1334 copied the famous *Hauksbók* (AM 544, 4°). The *Annales Vetustissimi* begins "a nato Christi" and continues until 1313. Unfortunately, several leaves are missing in manuscript AM 415, 4°, including the entries for the years 1000–1269. The existing manuscript was essentially written by two scribes; the first-hand account ends with 1306,[20] the second hand starts with some additions to 1270 and continues to 1313. Up to 999, the *Annales Vetustissimi* is very similar to the *Annales Reseniani*, but from 1270 there are some independent data concerning western Iceland. The *Annales Vetustissimi* (abbreviation: B) was included by Storm as no. 2 of his *Islandske Annaler*, pp. vii–x, 31–54.

The vellum manuscript AM 22, fol. *Adversaria Huitfeldiana*[21] was copied in Norway in the first quarter of the fourteenth century from an Icelandic original. It belonged at one time to Dr. Henrik Høyer of Bergen (d. 1615), and derived its name from him. Its text begins with the Fifth Ecumenical Council

18 *Islandske Annaler*, ed. Storm, p. lxxx, n. 1.
19 Benediktsson, *KHL* IV (1959), col. 516.
20 *Islandske Annaler*, ed. Storm, p. viii.
21 Benediktsson, *KHL* VII (1962), cols. 320–322.

(the Second Council of Constantinople) held in 553, though because of the peculiarities of Icelandic chronology, the year 547 is given for that event. The annals end with 1310. Up to 999 the Henrik Høyer Annals are identical with the *Annales Vetustissimi.*[22] For the years 1000–1269 they depend on the *Annales Reseniani*, and from 1270 until 1302 again on the *Annales Vetustissimi*, though the *Annales regii* were also consulted for the last part.

The second part of the Annals of Henrik Høyer (beginning with the year 1000; abbreviation O) appears as no. 3 in Storm's collection, *Islandske Annaler*, pp. x + 55–75. The peculiarities in the Annals of Henrik Høyer prior to 999 are listed by Storm as variants to his edition of the *Annales Vetustissimi.*

The fourteenth-century vellum manuscript, AM 420 B, 4°, was copied by the priest Einarr Hafliðason (b. 1304, d. 1393) to the year 1362. It reflects a new abbreviated redaction of the *Annales regii* (on the basis of its 1306 edition),[23] since the compiler (working in the northern part of Iceland) included in his chronicle long passages from the *Veralldarsaga*, the Icelandic version of world history (written at the end of the twelfth century). There are some lacunae in the beginning of the manuscript up to the year A.D. 247, and the account of the years 450–655 is missing.[24] Sometime after 1300 the manuscript was brought to southern Iceland, where the work of Einarr Hafliðason was continued by several scribes until 1391. Then between 1391 and 1400 it was taken to Skálaholt and continued until 1430. Since about 1650 the manuscript has been known as the *Lögmanns-annáll*,[25] after Bishop Brynjólfur Sveinsson's suggestion (since proved wrong) that the annals were written by Árni Oddsson lögmaður (b. 1592, d. 1665).

A copy made in the middle of the sixteenth century (AM 420 C, 4°)[26] contains the missing parts of Einarr Hafliðason's annals, i.e., the section beginning from A.D. 70 ("passio Petri et Pauli apostolorum") until 247, and the years A.D. 450–655. This continuation of the *Lögmanns-annáll* (AM 420 B, 4° and AM 420 C, 4°) written in Skálaholt is called the *Nýi annáll*;[27] it includes the years 1393–1430. Both annals were included in Storm's *Islandske Annaler* (as no. 7), pp. xxi–xxiv, 231–285 (*Lögmanns-annáll* = abbr. E) and pp. 285–296 (*Nýi annáll* = abbr. Eb).

[22] *Islandske Annaler*, ed. Storm, p. x.
[23] *Islandske Annaler*, ed. Storm, p. lxxxii.
[24] *Islandske Annaler*, ed. Storm, p. xxi.
[25] *Islandske Annaler*, ed. Storm, p. xxiv; cf. Magnús Már Lárusson, *KHL* XI (1966), cols. 135 136.
[26] *Islandske Annaler*, ed. Storm, p. xxii.
[27] See Guðni Jónsson's introduction to his edition of *Annálar*, p. ix; cf. Benediktsson, *KHL* XII (1967), col. 392.

The Skálaholt Annals[28] originated in the Mǫðruvellir Monastery in northern Iceland in the fourteenth century; the original version began with A.D. 140 and ended in 1348.[29] Shortly thereafter the annals were brought to Skálaholt and continued until 1362. In the existing manuscript (AM 420, 4°) the years 1013–1180 and 1265–1271 are missing.

The Skálaholt Annals are based on the *Annales Reseniani* (for the ealier part), the *Annales Vetustissimi* and the Annals of Høyer; but the editors also utilized the *Annales regii*[30] and the *Gottskálksannáll* for the period after 1300. The independent material of the annals starts with 1300 and concerns southern Iceland. The Skálaholt Annals (= abbr. D) was published by Storm (as no. 5) in his *Islandske Annaler*, pp. xv–xviii, 157–215.

In the seventeenth century, fragments of the annals were preserved in Skálaholt (abbreviation N) for the period 1328–1372 (AM 423 A, 4° and AM 764 A, 4°).[31] They were set down in northern Iceland in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and were included by Storm as no. 6 of his *Islandske Annaler*, pp. xviii–xx, 217–229.

The famous vellum codex GkS 1005 fol., called the *Flateyjarbók*,[32] written about 1380–1394, contains an annalistic work beginning in 46 B.C. and ending in 1394. It was compiled around 1388–1396 by a priest named Magnús Þórhallsson.[33] His main sources were the *Annales regii*, *Skálholtsannáll*, and *Lögmanns-annáll*. For the period 1150–1269, he also used some of the kings' sagas (*Sverris saga*, *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*) and other sources.[34] Beginning with 1283 these annals have value as an independent source.[35] The *Flateyjar* annals were published (as no. 9; abbreviation A) by Storm in his *Islandske Annaler*, pp. xxxii–xxxviii, 381–426, 492–497.

The annalistic work in Iceland[36] came to a standstill for more than a hundred years and was then revived by a priest named Gottskálkr Jónsson (b. 1524, d. 1590) from Glaumbær in Skagafjörður. Basing his work on an old manuscript (now lost) of the *Annales regii–Flateyjarbók Annals* type, which contained data from the birth of Christ to 1394, he wrote a series of annals from the birth

28 Benediktsson, *KHL* XV (1970), cols. 391–392.
29 *Islandske Annaler*, ed. Storm, p. xv.
30 *Islandske Annaler*, ed. Storm, p. lxxxii.
31 *Islandske Annaler*, ed. Storm, pp. xix–xx.
32 Benediktsson, *KHL* IV (1959), col. 412.
33 *Islandske Annaler*, ed. Storm, p. xxxiv.
34 *Islandske Annaler*, ed. Storm, p. xxxiv.
35 *Islandske Annaler*, ed. Storm, p. xxxiii.
36 Benediktsson, *KHL* V (1960), cols. 405–406.

of Christ to 1567.[37] His work was continued up to 1578 by his son, Jón.[38] For the parts after 1300, Gottskálkr and his son used documents, written records, and oral tradition, but they kept their entries extremely brief. The independent part is concerned with northern Iceland.

The Annals of Gottskálkr (abbreviated P) was published (as no. 8) by Storm on the basis of the vellum autograph (SKB, 5, 8°), with variants from AM 412, 4°, AM 412, 4°, AM 429 A2, 4°, in his *Islandske Annaler*, pp. xxv–xxxii, 297–378.

The name "Oddaverja" for the last Icelandic annalistic work was introduced by Storm.[39] The Oddaverja Annals were compiled in Oddi about 1579–80, and include the period from Julius Caesar until 1427.[40] The text of the manuscript (AM 417, 4°) also contains additions made by a second scribe around 1600.[41] The main sources of the Oddaverja Annals are the *Lögmanns-annáll* (in an edition of 1313)[42] and the *Nýi annáll*. But the compiler also had at his disposal the *Annales regii* and the *Flateyjarbók*.[43]

For the earlier part, the editor made extensive use of the kings' sagas (*OsTm, Sverris saga, Knýtlinga saga*), the family sagas, and Vedel's Danish version of Saxo's *Gesta* (Kbh, 1575). He also quotes poetic stanzas.[44] For the part after 1313 he used the *Sturlunga saga* among others. The Oddaverja Annals (abbreviation L) resembles a chronicle more than it does annals.[45] It was included by Storm as no. 10 of his collection, *Islandske Annaler*, pp. xxxviii–xxxvi, 427–491.

Eastern Europe in the Icelandic Annals

The extant Icelandic annals are of late origin (the third quarter of the thirteenth century) and therefore should be used as a primary source only if the original has disappeared, for example, for the date of Yngvarr inn víðfǫrli's death,[46] for which the Icelandic annals are our only source. They record it as

[37] Benediktsson's Introduction to *Arngrimi Opera* IV, p. 46.
[38] *Islandske Annaler*, ed. Storm, p. lxxxiii.
[39] *Islandske Annaler*, ed. Storm, pp. xxxviii–xxxix.
[40] Benediktsson, *KHL* XII (1967), cols. 492 493.
[41] *Islandske Annaler*, ed. Storm, p. xxxix.
[42] Benediktsson, *KHL* XII (1967), cols. 492–493.
[43] Benediktsson, *KHL* XII (1967), cols. 492 493.
[44] Ed. by Storm, e.g., pp. 455, 457.
[45] *Islandske Annaler*, ed. Storm, pp. xxxix, lxxxiii; cf. *GAL* II, p. 214, n. 100.
[46] See p. 424 of this volume.

1041 (= CEA). Sometimes the annals can provide the scholar with additional information, as, for instance, in Adam of Bremen's *Gesta*, under 861 where the non-Scandinavian name Or(d)wig appears among the Norse commanders.[47] The annals, when quoting Adam, give the Scandinavian form, Hjǫrðungr (= CD), as well. Very few events are mentioned in the annals that refer directly to eastern Europe, and those few are all identical with events found in the sagas of the kings of Norway, Óláfr Tryggvason (995–1000) and St. Óláfr (1015–1030) and St. Óláfr's son, King Magnús inn góði (1035–1047). The events in chronological order are as follows:

971 Óláfr Tryggvason is brought by the pirates to Estland (CDPL)
977 he arrives in Garðaríki (CDEA [s.a. 978]L)
986 he leaves Garðaríki (C [s.a. 987] DPAL)
994 The battle of the Jómsvíkingar at Hjǫrungavágr (C)
1019 St. Óláfr marries Ástríðr; and Jarizleifr, the king of Hólmgarðr, takes to wife Ingigerðr, the other daughter of the Swedish King Óláfr (CL)
1029 St. Óláfr goes east to Garðaríki (KOCEPAL)
1043 King Magnús burns Jómsborg and defeats the Wends at (H)Lýrskógsheiðr (KOCP [s.a. 1041],L).

The following geographical and historical names from eastern Europe are attested in the Icelandic annals:

Place name	*Under Year*	*Annals*
Bjarmaland	1222	KOCDPA
Bláland		L (p. 438, s.a. 34; p. 442, s.a. 70)
Churlandz straund		L (p. 434, l.18)
Estland	971	CDPL
	1219	CDAL (s.a. 1218)
Fenedi (Venice)	1380	L
Finnmǫrk	1258	CDAL (s.a. 1257)
	1310	A
	1311	A
Garðaríki	977	CDEA (s.a. 978); L
	987	CD (s.a. 986); P (s.a. 986); AL (s.a. 986);
	1029	KOCEPAL
Grickland		L (p. 436 s.a. 22; p. 437, s.a. 27; p. 450 s.a. 758)
Gricklandz-haf	1230	CPAL

[47] Adam of Bremen, *Gesta*, ed. Trillmich, p. 208; see *Islandske Annaler*, ed. Storm, p. 98 (= C) and p. 173 (= D).

(Mediterranean Sea)		
Hólmgarðr	1019	CL
Húna Kongr		L (p. 432, A.M. 3960; p. 434)
Jarizleifr	1019	CL
Jarizmarr, king of Rügen	1170	CAL
Jómsborg	1043	KOCPA (s.a. 1041); L
Kan (Kám, Kain, Cham) inn ríki (Mongolian Kagan)	1246	KCDPAL
Kirjálaland	1296	P
Kurland		L (p. 434, 1.34)
Langbardaland		L (p. 552, 1.23)
Pryzaland (Prussia)	1210	A
Pulinaland (Poland)	1210	A
Rauðstockr (Rostock)	1306	CDEA
	1363	P
	1393	P
Rucia		L (p. 434, 1.34)
Russialand		L (p. 439, s.a. 44)
Ruzaland	1348	N
	1351	EAL (s.a. 1350)
Samland	1210	A
	1259	KOCDAL (s.a. 1258)
Serkland	629	D
	1349	NEAL (s.a. 1348)
Tamerlanes Scyta	1398	L
Ungaria	1230	KOC (s.a. 1231); DA (s.a. 1231); L (s.a. 1231)
	1241	KCDAL
	1271	KOCE (s.a. 1270); AL (s.a. 1269)
Vngarialand		L (p. 433, 1.5–4 from the bottom)
Vindland	986	L
	1000	L
	1170	L
	1182	L
	1190	CDA
	1299	D
		L (p. 434, 1.34)

The city of Constantinople appears in the annals under three different names, two classical and one of Norse origin:

Year	*Bizancium*	*Constantinopolis*	*Mikligarðr*
A.D. 311		EL (s.a. 310)	EAL (s.a. 310)
361		NE	DA
386		CD (s.a. 384) AL	
392		CE	AL
409		KB (s.a. 410) A	
527			EA (s.a. 529) L
531			KB (s.a. 532) DPL (s.a. 534)
541	CEL		
542			A
547		CE	DA (s.a. 548)
553		CE	DA (s.a. 554) L
629		C	D
801			EL (s.a. 800)
804			A
875			L
886		C	
1108			E
1215			DA

Preliminary Conclusion

CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE

Preliminary Conclusions

This first of six projected volumes on the origin of Rus' cannot provide verification for all the theories suggested in it, but it may be appropriate here at least to review its findings and to posit some preliminary conclusions.

As we mentioned in the preface, volumes one through four will be devoted to the information that can be extracted from the sources. Volume one has dealt with the sources belonging to the Old Scandinavian tradition, excluding the Old Icelandic sagas, whose inclusion in volume two is owing entirely to considerations of space. This exclusion, however, was not complete. Several of the topics discussed have been preserved in the sagas, and therefore analysis of the data of the respective sagas had to be included in this volume. Because the Old Scandinavian sources (e.g., the Old Danish or Old Icelandic annalistic literature) could not be relied upon neatly to supplement the information provided by the Old Rus' Primary Chronicle (*PVL*) — as products of a specific cultural milieu, they have their own raisons d'être — we had first to survey the Old Scandinavian tradition in its entirety to clarify its scope and

character. In doing so, I have provisionally accepted the formal division into genres (e.g., Eddaic poetry, Skaldic poetry, Runic inscriptions) which specialists of Old Scandinavian literatures have legitimately established for their own purposes. (My structural analysis of these categories and their interrelationship will be presented in volume two, following the evaluation of the saga literature.)

My primary objective was to extract from the sources any remnants of the Old Scandinavian experience in Eastern Europe through attention to the content and flow of information they contained: hence the mixture of source studies and historical, literary, and methodological essays, presented without reference to chronological or thematic order. Most of the sources treated in this volume are the products of a pre-secular society with mythic cyclical thinking. Their very nature has demanded that they be studied with a special methodology. First, it was obligatory to check whether in this case, as in others, myth and epic had served as a repository for a disguised collective historical memory. If that were so, methods for decoding that memory and transforming it into verified historical data had to be found.

This methodology has yielded five important findings for universal history. First, the *gelehrte Urgeschichte* of the Old Scandinavians and their Germanic ancestors has been de-mythicized, and evidence has been adduced that their prolonged stay in "Tyrkland" on the Tanais River corresponds to the actual Germanic-Khazarian encounters that took place in eastern Ukraine between the eighth and the tenth centuries.

Second, Tamatarcha/T"mutorokan', located in the heart of the earlier Bosporus Kingdom, was an important center in late Hellenistic civilization; the role of the Onogur-Bulgars (apparently the "Vanir" of the Eddaic tradition) and their successors, the Khazars, has also been delineated.

Third, the role of the Huns and the Khazars (the "nomads of the steppe") in transmitting the sociopolitical and religious system of the *Männerbünde* to the Old Scandinavians (the "nomads of the sea") has been established.

Fourth, the data brought together here suggests that in Khazaria the empire-building Old Norsemen most probably adapted the idea of a *konungr* ("man of divine origin"), and the rules of reformed writing, i.e., younger Futhark, because it was suitable for use in a military-commercial multilingual pax.

Fifth, the sources — especially the Skaldic poetry — corroborate the hypothesis that the Norsemen regarded the northern, northwestern, and central parts of the later realm of Rus' as Finnish territory and that the name "Slavs" (*Vindr*) was not used in connection with Rus' or Eastern Europe in the ninth to eleventh century.

Volume One has made at least two other contributions to historical knowledge: (1) the collaboration in trade of the Vikings (the warrior aristocracy of

Old Norse stock) and the Frankish Frisian merchants in the middle of the eighth century has been reconfirmed; and (2) the famous epic, "The Battle of the Goths and the Huns," has been shown to have had no basis in fact. It was rather a telescopic transposition of an epoch into epic, with archetypes substituted for actual persons.

On problems relating specifically to the origin of Rus', the results presented in this volume include the finding that several Varangian charismatic clans were active in Eastern Europe between ca. A.D. 750 and 930. In some cases (e.g., the Ylfingar, the Ynglingar) I retained the names found in the sources regardless of whether or not they could be corroborated with that specific clan for that early time. For some other clans (e.g., the Frisians) I have made up new names.

It was especially exciting to find in the Scandinavian material corroboration for the migration of some West Baltic Slavic groups (Wends) to Eastern Europe, as mentioned in the *PVL*, and for the Wendish origin of Great Novgorod.

In light of the new data, the role of Aldeigjuborg (Old Ladoga, with Old Norse as its *lingua franca*) as a political and cultural center in the ninth century has become clearer. Saxo's Handvanus, King of Hellespont, was decoded to be the fugitive Khazar kagan who found refuge in the Volga trading factory of the Ruteni/Rus. The ensuing marriages (also attested to in Saxo's work) between the Khazar elite and the Ruteni/Rus were of great import for further development, because they produced the dynasty of the kagans of Rus, which later conquered Kiev and was transformed into the Slavic Kievan Rus' state.

Hasting and Bjǫrn, the two Viking maritime heroes of the mid-ninth century, have been identified as, on the one hand, a representation of the Germanic mythical divine twins who figure in the Dioscuri myth of maritime adventures, and, on the other, as the Askold and Dir of the *PVL*. The data of the Scandinavian sources make it most probable that Dir-Bjǫrn of the "Frisian" dynasty was based in Aldeigjuborg, not in Kiev. The data also showed that the mysterious Norse attack on Constantinople of A.D. 860 was launched from the north and that the departure point was Palteskja/Polock.

A detailed study has revealed that the Oleg (< ON *Helgi*) of the *PVL* is a composite of two personages: Oleg the Seer, an epic hero, and Oleg, the grand prince (king) of Rus' whose base in the early tenth century was Polock. Surprisingly, the decoded Scandinavian traditions present exactly the same picture. The two Olegs have their counterparts in the two Helgis of the Scandinavian sources: Helgi, the cult figure of the ultimately Suebian myth, and Helgi/Lotha Knut, the scion of the Danish royal dynasty (Ylfingar). The latter Helgi was expelled from his native land by a Swedish charismatic clan. In about A.D. 900 he departed for Eastern Europe, accompanied by his Baltic Slav subjects, who later settled along the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea.

Volume One has provided new philological interpretations of several Old Scandinavian geographic names and proved that they belong to the category of "movable" terms. So to the established movable name *Reiðgotaland* now are added *Garðar, Garðaríki, Garðr,* [Rus], Huns, and *Kœnugarðr.*

Study of the entire corpus of Scandinavian runic inscriptions has yielded a large amount of new data. These will help properly to evaluate the Varangian contribution to the history of Eastern Europe and West and Central Asia from the tenth to the twelfth centuries.

Throughout this work, I have sought to accomplish two objectives: to gather all the relevant sources that have not previously been collected and to present a new historical vision of the origin of Rus' based upon them. This volume's historiographical, literary, historical, and bibliographical introductions, along with the citation of all pertinent sources in both the original and in translation, should allow the historian unfamiliar with Old Scandinavian philology to have access to this important material.

My systematization, interpretation of all the source material, thorough discussion of remaining specific terms, concepts, and conceptual models will appear — as mentioned in the Preface — in volumes five and six, which are devoted entirely to synthesis.

* * *

Some of my readers will certainly be disappointed that this book of nearly 1,000 pages on the origin of Rus' has not even a single paragraph about such topics as the emergence of the Eastern Slavs, the Antes controversy, or the development of the Slav economy and society.

The reason for this absence is that a scholar working in the last quarter of the twentieth century has the right, and even the obligation, to free himself from the issues and queries formulated by his predecessors two hundred, or even one hundred, years before.

It is time to abandon the intuitive, subjective, and teleological bias of the historicism of the past, and to review problems from an enlarged, structurally based vision, adopting scientific methods, especially those developed by modern anthropology, linguistics, and sociology.

The documentary material should not be misused to answer neatly a scholar's *a priori* questions, but rather to give him the groundwork for asking the *right* questions, i.e., questions which elicit scientifically provable responses. If, as I hope, I have posed a few of these *right* questions, the time and effort that have gone into producing this volume were indeed productively spent.

Appendices

APPENDIX ONE

A Runic Viking-Varangian "Who's Who"

Introduction

This appendix is intended to make the data of the Scandinavian runic inscriptions more usable to historians, who until now have only been able to quote the inscriptions in a sporadic and chresthomatic way. Proper names occurring in these inscriptions have hitherto been studied almost exclusively by linguists and philologists and therefore not in terms of the historical person behind the name, but only in terms of the linguistic form of the name itself. The concern here, however, is to identify and interrelate the historical individuals to whom each name refers. All the data in the inscriptions pertaining to a given name are included to provide the perspective required for a proper evaluation of each source.

The inscriptions in question are those written in the younger Futhark and date from ca. 800 to 1100. Data from 577 inscriptions have been incorporated: 365 (including 16 from Gotland) are of Swedish provenance, 126 Danish, 77 Norwegian, and 7 come from what is today the Soviet Union. All inscriptions dating from ca. 800 to 1000 were included. Inscriptions dating from 1000 to 1100 were added if they were (a) historical inscriptions, or (b) inscriptions of travelers to foreign countries, west or east, including "alien" Scandinavia, as

well as Ruprecht's collection (*R*) in its entirety; (c) inscriptions that include social or political terms; and (d) private inscriptions containing unusual information.

The appendix codifies all relevant data about the individual given in the inscription, including: (a) personal name and names of parents, children, relatives, friends; (b) social position; (c) the landed property the individual owned; (d) the part the person took in historical or family events and manner of his or her death; (e) personal characteristics (only the historically most important poetic forms are included); and (f) geographic names, whether Scandinavian or foreign. The names of all known relatives of every person are given, and are then repeated for each family member. If a relationship is uncertain, it is qualified with a question mark or the addition of "probably."

The date of an inscription is usually taken from the corpus cited or from other specialized literature on the subject. The date refers either to the reign of the ruler mentioned or to the event, but in most cases the dating is based on runological and/or art historical (e.g., styles of Viking Age ornaments) criteria.

The personal names are given in the reconstructed form (Old Danish, Old Norwegian, Old Swedish) according to the orthography used in the corpus from which it was taken (e.g., Danish *OlafR, Toki* = Norwegian *Óláfr, Tóki* = Swedish *ŌlafR, Tōki*). Added for comparison in brackets are the forms of the names as they appear in the Old Rus' sources, notably in the Byzantine-Rus' treaties of 907, 912, 945, and 971, which are found in the *PVL*, in the Kievan Chronicle, and in the Kievan *Patericon*.

The alphabetizing is generally based on the Scandinavian letter order, with some minor simplification: although *ā/á* usually follows *a*, names beginning with *a* and *ā/á* are given here in one division, rather than two.

Special Abbreviations

b. = born
br. = brother
ct. = century
D = Denmark
d. = died
dt. = daughter
E = England
f. = father
fl. = flourished
h. = husband
K of = King of
m. = mother
n.d. = not datable
N = Norway
N.N. = name unknown
S = Sweden
s. = son
st. = sister
w. = wife

A

1. *Abbi*, Toki's f., "a wise man" (*uhemskR*), ca. 940-1000, *DR* 56.

2. *Abbi*, Toki's relative (*magR*), probably his step-f., h. of Toki's m. Tofa; he left Toki his property, ca. 940-1000, *DR* 143.

3. *Abbi*, "a highborn *drængR*" and companion (*felagi*) of Wrestr, NykR, and Krusa, ca. 940-1000, *DR* 339.

4. *Alfriðr*, w. of Vigmundr, ca. 1050, *U* 1011.

5. *Agmundr*, s. of BāulfR, br. of Guðvēr and Vistæinn, ca. 1050, *Sö* 170.

6. *Agmundr*, a relative (*frænði*) of Kulbēnn, before 1050, *Vg* 178.

7. *Agmundr*, h. of Þyrvī, "a mightly, highborn *þægn*," 10th ct., *Vg* 150.

8. *Āgūti*, s. of Āsgautr, set up a stone for his father, 11th ct., *Vg* 74.

9. *Aihvatr*, s. of Liknat and **Ailikni**, ca. 1000-1050, *G* 114.

10. **Ailikni**, dt. of Sibba, w. of Liknat, ca. 1000-1050, *G* 114.

Aki, see also *Āki*

11. *Aki*, br. of UlfR, for whom he set up a stone, ca. 1000-1050, *DR* 288.

12. *Āki*, s. of FrøygæiRR, br. of Guðstæinn, Æistr and N.N., after 1050, *U* 1158.

13. *Āki*, s. of Liūtr, br. of Styrr (?), d. abroad, 11th ct., *U* 1016.

14. *Albōð*, Slōði's partner (*fēlagi*), Frisian guild brother (*gildi*), 11th ct., *U* 391.

15. *Áleifr Ljótolfssonr*, raised a cross for his son Úlfr, ca. 1000, Isle of Man, *J* 82.

16. *Álfgeirr*, the priest of Erlingr, ca. 1028, *NYR* 252.

17. *Alfhildr*, m. of Øystæinn, w. of Tosti (?), ca. 1041, *Sö* 254.

18. *Alfkil*, a *frænði* of Manni for whom he, together with his sons, set up a stone, ca. 1000-1050, *DR* 107.

19. *Alli*, member of a ship's crew (*skipari*), "drowned with AlwarÞr" (or: "AlwarÞr ——— was drowned out there with all the crew"), ca. 1050-1100, *DR* 379.

20. *Alli*, took Canute's payment (Danegeld) in England in 1018, *U* 194.

21. *Alli* "the Pallid" (?), the priest (*goþi*) of the sanctuaries and "the highborn *þægn*"; his sons and wife made *kumbl*s to him, ca. 850-950, *DR* 209.

22. *Alli*, s. of Frøystæinn, br. of Karli, 11th ct., *Vg* 137.

23. *Alli*, s. of Iarl, br. of Gīsl, Ingimundr and Iofurfast, after 1070, *U* 898.

[*AlrīkR* = OR *Afrik-*, Paterikon, 1024, 1068]

24. *AlrīkR*, rune carver, ca. 1041, *U* 654.

25. *AlrikR Lumber*, lawman and rune carver, ca. 800–840, *Vg* 119.

26. *AlrikR*, s. of Spiūt (of Mora) and Sigrīðr, ca. 1020, *Sö* 101, 106.

27. *AlvēR*, s. of Þōrbiorn, br. of Ingialdr, ca. 1030, *Sö* 159.

28. *AlviR*, f. of Arnfastr, ca. 1020–1060, *U* 636.

29. *Alwaþr*, f. of Sazur, "was drowned out there with all the crew" (or: "with the *skipari* Alli"), ca. 1050, *DR* 379.

30. *Āmundi*, rune carver, ca. 1041, *Sö* 215, 217, 233, 254, 271.

31. *Āmundi*, f. of RūnulfR, br. of HringR, for whom he set up a stone, before 1050, *Sö* 333.

[*Amundr* = OR *Amund*, 945]

Amundr, see *Emundr*

32. *Andrés*, Skjaldarband, foreign merchant in Bjarmaland, d. 1222, *NYR* 421.

33. *Andvēttr*, h. of Gillaug, f. of Līfstæinn, Sibbi, and Skalli, 11th ct., *U* 173.

34. *Andvēttr*, s. of GunnlæifR (I), br. of Blesi, DjarfR, Kārr (I), and **Kiti**, d. ca. 1043 in the east (possibly with Volodimer Jaroslavič), *U* 643, 644, 654.

35. *Andvēttr*, s. of Holmi and HrōðælfR, br. of Arnkell and Vargas (?), 11th ct., *U* 357.

36. *Andvēttr*, br. of Hugi and Þōrgīls, ca. 1041, *Sö* 287.

37. *Andvēttr*, s. of Hælgi and Rūna, br. of Ragnarr, Spiallbuði, and Svæinn, ca. 1070–1080, *U* 687.

38. *Andvēttr*, s. of Hælga, d. in "white clothes" (baptismal robes), 11th ct., *U* 1036.

39. *Andvēttr*, s. of Svæinn and Kætiløy, br. of Gærðarr, ca. 1050, *U* 80.

40. *Andvēttr*, s. of Æistr, set up a stone for him, 11th ct., *Sö* 90.

41. *Ani*, f. of Æskil, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 117.

Ansurr, see also *Assurr* and *Azur*

42. *Ansurr*, h. of Guðlaug (dt. of Ōnæmr of BārastaðiR), f. of Holmi, probably d. in the east, before 1050, *U* 328; cf. *U* 29.

43. *Antsvarr*, br. of *Ærn—*, their father died in Greece, 11th ct., *Sö* 85.

44. *Anundr*, s. of Emundr, K of S and Ragnhildr, br. of Æirīkr, Hākon, Ingvarr, and Ragnarr, d. in Greece (?), before 1041, *U* 513, 540.

45. *Anundr*, s. of GæiRbiorn, br. of commander Þōrstæinn, after 1050, *Sö* 338.

46. *Anundr*, f. of GæiRvī and Gulla, d. with Ingvarr in 1041, *U* 661.

47. *Anundr*, s. of (H)Līføy, br. of Biūrstæinn, GæiRhvatr, and ŌtamR, ca. 1041, *Sö* 320.

48. *Anundr*, s. of Kāll, br. of Ingifrīðr and VīkingR, 11th ct., *U* 498.

49. *Anundr*, s. of Kāri and Sigrūðr, d. in Vīrland, ca. 1040, *U* 533.

50. *Anundr*, s. of Svarthaufði and Þorgunn, br. of Æistr, 11th ct., *U* 457.

51. *Anundr*, s. of VīkingR, 11th ct., *Sö* 269.

52. *Anundr*, h. of Æstrīðr, f. of Ragnvaldr, "powerful in Rauningi," d. in Denmark, ca. 1030, *Sö/R* 83.

53. *Arinbiǫrg*, w. of SandulfR the Black, ca. 950, Isle of Man, *J* 79.

[*Arnfastr* = OR *Arfast* 945]

54. *Arnfastr*, s. of AlviR, lived in Garðr (Kiev), ca. 1020–1060, *U* 636.

55. *Arnfiðr*, ca. 1000, *NYR* 330.

56. *Arnfiðr Jatvardsson*, probably 12th ct., *NYR* 391.

57. *Arni*, owned a ship with Azur Saxi, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 68.

58. *Arni*, s. of StødingR, br. of Ōrōkia and Þialfi, went to **hayrt lant** (Horda-land?), 11th ct., *U* 948.

Arnkell, see also *Arnketill*

59. *Arnkell*, s. of Holmi and HrōðælfR, br. of Andvēttr and Vargas (?), 11th ct., *U* 357.

60. *Arnkell*, s. of UlfR (of Skulhamarr) and Gȳrīðr, br. of Gȳi, Holmdīs, Ulfkætill, and Uni, after 1050, *U* 225.

61. *Arnketill*, set up a runestone, ca. 1000, *NYR* 230.

62. *Arnsteinn*, f. of Biórn, ca. 1020, *NYR* 184.

63. **As——**, br. of **—sur**, d. in Gotland, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 220.

Asa, see also *Āsa*

64. *Asa*, named together with FriiR (her son?), ca. 800–900, *DR* 333.

65. *Asa*, w. of King HaklangR of Agder, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 219.

66. *Asa*, set up a stone for **tuku——iR**, killed on **aufu**-Heath, a *huskarl* of **Saga iutis**, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 154.

67. *Āsa*, w. of Æsbiurn; m. of Kulbēnn, before 1050, *Vg* 178.

68. *Asa*, w. of Ømundi, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 155.

Āsbiorn, see also *Æsbiorn*

69. *Āsbiorn*, owner of a *knarr* in which GæiRbiorn was killed at Svalunæs (?) by the Norwegians, ca. 1000–1030, *U* 258.

70. *Āsbiorn*, set up a stone for those who were treacherously killed, after 1050, *U* 1028.

71. *Āsbiorn*, named together with *DagR*, 11th ct., *Vg* 101.

72. *Āsbiorn*, bridge builder, Frösö, Jämtland, ca. 1050, *L* 1085.

73. *Āsbiorn*, br. of Iuli and br.-in-law of Gulli (of Smula), probably died with Ingvarr, in 1041, *Vg* 184.

74. *Āsbiorn*, s. of Vīgfastr, together with his brother, **——biurn** he set up a stone for his father, ca. 1025, *Ög/R* 59.

75. *Āsbiorn*, s. of VīkingR, br. of KrōkR, 11th ct., *U* 432.

76. *Asfriþr*, w. of Gnupa (K of D/Hedeby, d. ca. 950), m. of SigtryggR, *DR* 2, 4.

Āsgautr, see also *Asgotr* and *Āsgōtr*

77. *Āsgautr*, f. of Āgūti, a very highborn *þægn*, 11th ct., *Vg* 74.

78. *Āsgautr*, f. of Kætilfastr, he traveled west and east, ca. 1000–1025, *U* 504.

79. *Āsgautr* **hlu**, f. of Svæinn and Ōðkætill, a highborn *þægn*, 11th ct., *Vg* 103.

80. *Āsgautr*, s. of Æistr, br. of Ingibiorn, Ingifastr and Svæinn, 11th ct., *U* 181.

81. *Āsgautr*, s. of *þægn* Ōðkætill, 11th ct., *Vg* 102.

82. *Ásgerðr*, dt. of Gunnarr, w. of Þórir Harðarsonr, before 1000, *NYR* 225.

83. *Āsgīsl*, s. (?) or other relative of Forkunnr, 11th ct., *U* 126.

Asgotr, see also *Āsgōtr*

84. *Asgotr*, s. of BramR and Tonna, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 291.

85. *Asgotr* "with the red shield," f. of ElefR and Soti, ca. 900–940, *DR* 202.

86. *Asgotr*, s. of Wiþi, a **kims**-man of Swen, erected a stone for BroþiR ca. 940–1000, *DR* 90.

87. *Asgotr*, br. of Ærra, ca. 980–990, *DR* 296.

88. *ĀsgæiRR*, s. of **Sufar**, member of FrøygæiRR's retinue, d. in Līfland, ca. 1040, *U* 698.

89. *Āsgōta*, made, together with Guðmundr, a *kumbl* for OddlōgR of HaðistaðiR, before 1050, *Ög* 94.

90. *Āsgōtr*, br. of Bruni and Dȳri, a yeoman (*bōndi*) of Jär(m)stad (?), 11th ct., *Ög* 60.

91. *Āsgōtr*, s. of Þorfrīþ, br. of Gōti, ca. 1041, *Ög* 155.

Āskell, see also *Æskell* and *Æskil*

92. *Āskell*, s. of Līfstæinn, ca. 1025, *Sm* 52.

93. *AslakR*, a *felagi* of **Ful**, ca. 1000, *DR* 66.

[*Asmundr* = OR *Asmud*, 945]

Asmundr = *Āsmundr*

94. *Āsmundr* Kārasun, rune carver, ca. 1020–1050, *U* 346, 356, 431, 956; Gästrikland/*R* 187; Järvsta, Gävle.

95. *Asmundr* Lippi, a companion of ÞolfR and UlfR, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 329.

96. *Āsmundr*, br. of Brandr, was killed in **otustitki** (*AustvegR*?), before 1050, *Vg* 135.

97. *Āsmundr*, s. of Gulli, br. of Assurr, Bōi, Halfdan and Kāri, killed in the battle at Fȳris, ca. 980–990, *Ög* 81.

98. *Āsmundr*, s. of SigulfR and Gȳrīðr, br. of **e——iR**, brothers set up a stone for their father, after 1070, *U* 479.

99. *Asraþr, frændi* of Fræþi, together with HildungR erected a stone for him, ca. 1000–1050 (not 940–1000!), *DR* 216.

100. *Asraþr*, s. of Iuti, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 213.

Assurr, see also *Azur*

101. *Assurr*, a retainer (*hūskarl*) of Sigfastr or Snottsta, 11th ct., *U* 330.

102. *Assurr*, s. of Gulli, br. of Āsmundr, Bōi, Halfdan and Kāri, uncle of ÞōrgæiRR, d. in Greece, ca. 1010, *Ög* 81.

103. *Assurr*, s. of Hākon iarl, h. of Ginnlaug, active in England, before 1050, *U* 617.

104. *Assurr*, br. of Tummi, *skipari* of Harold Harefoot (K of E, 1037–1040), or Haraldr harðráði (1046–1066); in that case Assur was a Varangian, *Sm* 42.

105. *Assurr*, s. of Øystæinn, br. of Vīkatill, 11th ct., *U* 349.

106. *Assurr*, s. of Øyvindr, erected a *kumbl* for his father, ca. 1000, *Sm* 37.

107. *Asti*, s. of Toki **Lutaris** son, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 145.

108. *Āstrāðr*, f. of Gautrāðr, who set up a stone for him, a leading *þægn* in Finnveden, 11th ct., *Sm* 35.

Ástriðr, see also *Æstriðr*

109. *Ástríðr*, dt. of Þrýðrikr and Gunnvǫr, the "most skillful maiden in Hadeland," ca. 1040, *NYR* 68.

110. *AsulfR*, s. of Forkummr **if——r**, retainer (*drængR*) of Canute the Great (1014–1035), *DR* 345.

111. *AsulfR*, f. of Østen, ca. 800–900, *DR* 144.

112. *Aswiþr*, master of Tosti, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 108.

113. **——at**, "the Painted," d. at Swia, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 37.

114. **Au——aun**, of Alstad, Opland, h. of Jórunn, ca. 1025, *NYR* 61.

115. *AuðaR*, f. of Slōði, 11th ct., *Sö* 327.

116. *Auðfinnr*, n.d., *NYR* 63.

[*Auðunn* = OR *Adun*, 945]

117. *Auðunn*, d. in Hedeby, ca. 1040 (?), *Sö* 16.

118. *Auðvaldr*, br. of the successors to SigtryggR, d. in Finland, after 1100, *G/R* 195.

119. *Auun*, s. of ŌfæigR, fl. ca. 930, Hälsingland, *L* 1065.

120. *AweR*, rune carver, ca. 800–900, *DR* 190, 192.

121. *Azur Saxi*, *drængR* and ship co-owner, d. "most esteemed"; among his men (*felagi*) were Hofi and Frøbiorn; ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 68.

122. *Azur*, br. of Faþir, d. in the north on a Viking raid, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 334.

123. *Azur*, s. of StufR, f. of BroþiR, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 118.

B

124. *Balli*, rune carver, ca. 1050–1070, *Sö* 92, 203, *U* 699, 729, *Vs* 24; see also *Rauð-Balli*.

125. *BallungR*, f. of Swen, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 277.

126. *Balsi*, s. of GuðrīkR, br. of HæmingR and VīkingR, 11th ct., *U* 649.

127. *Banki*, s. of Þialfi and Holmlaug, owner of a ship, d. with Ingvarr in 1041, *U* 778.

128. *BāulfR*, f. of Agmundr, Guðvēr, and Vīstæinn, "lived with the Greeks," d. in **Þumþa**, a "mighty *þægn*," ca. 1050, *Sö* 170.

129. *Bergviðr*, br. of Hærmōðr, "he was drowned in Līfland," 11th ct., *Sö* 39.

130. *Bergviðr*, of Lifsinge, f. of UlfR, h. of Hælga, ca. 1041, *Sö* 9.

131. *BiarngiR*, br. of Rafn, erected a stone for him, ca. 1050–1100, *DR* 344.

132. *BiarnlaugR*, s. of Hugi or Þōrgīls, ca. 1041, *Sö* 287.

133. *BillingR*, erected a stone for Skrauti, ca. 900, Skåne/*J* 29.

134. *Biór*, s. of Arnsteinn, d. in England with Canute the Great (1014–1035), ca. 1020, *NYR* 184.

[*Biorn* = OR *Bern*, 945]

135. **——biurn**, s. of Vīgfastr, together with his brother Āsbiorn set up a stone for his father, ca. 1025, *Ög*/*R* 59.

136. **——biurn**, companion of **——usti** and Gunnar, who erected stones for him and **Kn——**, "the warriors were [far famed] on Viking raids," ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 330.

137. *Biorn*, erected an inscription for a traveler to Greece, before 1050, *Sö*/*R* 111.

138. *Biorn*, set up a stone for his brother, ca. 1000, *NYR* 224.

139. *Biorn*, rune carver, before 1050, *Sö*/*R* 111.

140. *Biorn*, br. of Bofrīðr, participant in a sea expedition, ca. 1050, Närke/*R* 114.

141. *Biorn*, a relative of DagR, "a very highborn *þægn*," *Vg* 113.

142. *Biorn*, owned a ship with FaþiR who erected a stone for him, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 335.

143. *Biorn*, h. of Gīslaug, f. of GæiRi, Holmfastr, Ingvarr, Spiallbuði, and Þiagn, d. abroad (?), after 1050, *U* 363.

144. *Biorn*, f. of five GunnmundR, ca. 840, *Ög* 136.

145. *Biorn*, br. of Gærðarr, Sigfastr, and VīkingR, 11th ct., *Sö* 197, 203.

146. *Biorn*, h. of Īgulfrīðr, f. of ŌtryggR, before 1050, *U* 582.

147. *Biorn*, together with KylfingR set up a stone, 11th ct., *U* 320.

148. *Biorn*, s. of Kætilmundr and Ragnfrīðr, d. in Vīrland, ca. 1040, *U* 346, 356.

149. *Biorn Hos(v)i*, h. of Margareti, made a coffin for her; she was called by him a *fēlagi*, 11th ct., *Vg* 146.

150. *Biorn*, s. of OlafR, killed in Gotland, 11th ct., *Sö* 174.

151. *Biorn*, br. (?) of Stæinfriðr and Gīsli, ca. 1050, *U* 611.

152. *Biorn*, a fellow of Þiūðr, 11th ct., *Vg* 122.

153. *Biorn*, br. of Þōrstæinn and VīkingR, 11th ct., *Vg* 17.

154. *Biorn*, s. of (commander) Þōrstæinn, br. of Kætill and Ærimundr, ca. 1050, *Sö* 338.

155. **Bitu** (gen.), an uncle of *þægn* GæiRi, 11th ct., *Vg* 158.

156. Biūrstæinn, s. of (H)Līføy, br. of Anundr, GæiRhvatr, and ŌtamR, d. with Ingvarr in 1041, *Sö* 320.

157. *Bjalfi*, s. of Skarði, a "very good man," before 1000, *NYR* 244.

158. *Blesi*, s. of GunnlæifR (I), br. of Andvēttr, DiarfR, Kārr (I.), and **Kiti**, ca. 1045, *U* 644, 654.

159. *Blæik R*, s. of Gunnviðr, br. of Klintr, ca. 1041, *U* 1143.

160. *Bofriðr*, st. of Biorn, set up a stone for her brother, ca. 1050, Närk/*R* 114.

161. *Bōi*, s. of FarulfR, br. of ÞiuðulfR, 11th ct., *Sö* 148.

162. *Bōi*, s. of Gulli, br. of Āsmundr, Assurr, Halfdan, and Kāri; ca. 1010, *Ög* 81.

163. *Bolnøtr*, ca. 900–940, *DR* 105.

164. *BorgulfR*, f. of HæmingR, Hærbiorn, Næsbiorn, and UlfR, 11th ct., *U* 444.

Bosi, see also *Bōsi*

165. *Bosi*, br. of BroþiR, "a very highborn *dræng R*," ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 268.

166. *Bōsi*, f. of **Fir——riui** and **Kuru**, 11th ct., *U* 616.

167. *Bot-Biorn*, rune carver, ca. 1050, *G* 136.

168. *Botmundr*, s. of **———ut**, ca. 1000–1100, *G/R* 191.

169. *BotraifR*, s. of **———ut**, ca. 1000–1100, *G/R* 191.

170. *BramR*, h. of Tonna, f. of Asgotr, "the best of yeomen (*bomannr*) and most generous with food," ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 291.

171. *Brandr*, rune carver, ca. 1050, *Öl* 28.

172. *Brandr*, one of the erectors of a stone for Andvēttr, s. of Hælga, 11th ct., *U* 1036.

173. *Brandr*, br. of Asmundr, erected a stone for him, before 1050, *Vg* 135.

174. *Brandr*, s. of Gubbi, made *kumbl*s to his father jointly with Efi, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 318.

175. *BroþiR*; Asgoþr, s. of Wiþi, erected a stone for him, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 90.

176. *BroþiR*, s. of Azur, father erected a stone for him, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 118.

177. *BroþiR*, a br. of Bosi, who erected a stone for him, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 268.

178. *BroþiR*, s. of FraþulfR, br. of Toki, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 343.

179. *BroþiR*, br. of Æsbiorn, N.N.'s *skipari*, ca. 1000–1050; BroþiR erected a stone, *DR* 275.

[*Brūni* = OR *Bruny*, 945]

180. *Brūni*, br. of Āsgōtr and Dȳri, a "very good *drængR*," 11th ct., *Ög* 60.

181. *Brūni*, h. of Ingilæif, d. in Denmark in "white clothes," ca. 1050–1070, *U* 699.

182. *BrunulfR*, s. of Fōtr, br. of Gialli, GæfulfR, and (H)RæfningR, brothers set up a stone for their father, 11th ct., *Vg* 59.

183. *Brusi*, br. of Ægill, after whose death he took over the leadership of the retinue (*lið*) in Tavastland (FrøygæiRR's campaign) and was killed there, ca. 1025–1050, Gävle *L* 1049 = *R* 187.

184. *Bräsi*, s. of Lini, fl. ca. 980, Hälsingland/*L* 1065.

185. *Bysia*, f. of Tōki and Þorðr, found death on a *knarr*-ship, ca. 1050, *Sö* 49.

186. *BægliR*, h. of Sefa, d. with Ingvarr in 1041, *Sö* 96.

187. *Bǫdvarr*, ca. 1000, *NYR* 226.

188. *Bøsi*, s. of Kopu-Swen, "a highborn *drængR*," d. in a battle off the coast of Utlængia (Utlängan, an island of Blekinge), ca. 1050–1100, Bornholm/*DR* 380.

D

Dagr, see also *DagR*

189. *Dagr*, ca. 850, *Ög* 43.

190. *DagR*, a relative (*frændi*) of Biorn *þægn*, 11th ct., *Vg* 113.

191. *DagR*, f. of N.N., for whom a *kumbl* was erected, 11th ct., *Vg* 101.

192. *Dan*, rune carver, 11th ct., *G* 136.

193. *Dan*, s. of Halfdan and Holmfrīðr, br. of Hūskarl and Svæinn, 11th ct., *U* 240–241.

194. *DiarfR*, traveled to Semgallen, ca. 1050, *U*/*R* 173.

195. *DiarfR*, s. of GunnlæifR (I), br. of Andvēttr, Blesi, Kārr (I), and **Kiti**, ca. 1045, *U* 644, 654.

196. *DiarfR*, br. of GæiRhialmR, lōgæiRR, Ōrōkia, Svæinn, and Vīgi, ca. 1010–1020, *U* 539.

197. *DiarfR*, s. of Þorkell, br. of VīgdiarfR, 11th ct., *Sö* 112.

198. *DiarfR*, f. of Æistr, 11th ct., *U* 70.

199. *Dīsa*, st. of Þōrfastr, w. of HælgulfR, before 1050, *Sö* 352.

200. *DiuRi*, s. of Vībiorn, br. of lō(h)an, brothers set up a stone for their father, 11th ct., *Vs* 20.

201. *Dōmari*, f. of four sons, a *drængR* "mild of word, unselfish in hospitality"; fell in Garðar (Rus'), before 1050, *Sö* 130.

202. *DōttiR*, set up a stone for Iūti, ca. 900, *U* 4.

203. *DrængR*, s. of ØygæiRR, member of a guild (*gildi*), 11th ct., *Ög*, see pp. 461–462.

204. *DwærgR*, companion of Æsbiorn, "a highborn *drængR*," ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 262.

[Dȳri = OR *Dir*, 862, 866, 882]

205. *Dȳri*, br. of Āsgøtr and Brūni; set up a stone for them, 11th ct., *Ög* 60.

E

206. *Efi*, the companion of Gubbi, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 318.

207. **E——iR**, s. of SigulfR and Gȳrīðr, br. of Āsmundr, after 1070, *U* 479.

208. *ElefR*, s. of Asgotr, br. of Soti, ca. 900–940, *DR* 202.

209. *Emundr*, K of S, 1047/1050–1060, *Sö* 279; Järvsta, Gävle, see p. 425; cf. *U* 540.

210. *Emundr* (Amundr), br. of Hegbiorn, before 1000, *G/R* 193.

211. *Engli*, f. of Þóraldr, ca. 1050, *NYR* 62.

212. *Enraþi*, br. of ÞoriR, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 114.

213. *ErikR*, see also ÆirīkR

214. *ErikR*, *styrimannr* and *felagi* of ÞorulfR, retainer of King Swen I (984–1014), d. in Hedeby, *DR* 1.

215. *ErikR*, the "owner" of a *kumbl*, ca. 800–900, *DR* 17.

216. *Erlendr*, of Gerði, fl. ca. 1030, *NYR* 271.

217. *Erlendr*, f. of Þorbergr of Bergen, ca. 1150–1200, *NYR* 287.

[*Erlingr* = OR **Erlik* > poss. case *Erlisk-ov*, 945]

218. *Erlingr* Skalgsson of Sóli, d. 1028, *NYR* 252.

219. *Eyvindr*, úrarhorn of East Agder, d. 1019, *NYR* 210, 211.

F

[*FarulfR* = OR *Farlof*, 907, 912]

220. *FarulfR*, ca. 900, Gotland/*J* 1.

221. *FarulfR*, f. of ÞiuðulfR and Bōi, d. in Garðar (Rus'), 11th ct., *Sö* 148.

222. **——fast**, br. of GæiRbiorn, d. in the east, 11th ct., *U* 154.

223. *Fasti*, s. of HolmlaugR and Holmfrīðr, br. of Sigfastr, d. "in white clothes," before 1050, *U* 243.

224. *Fastlaug*, w. of Æistr, m. of FastulfR, GæiRR, Holmlaug, and ØringR, 11th ct., *U* 461.

225. *FastulfR*, s. of Æistr and Fastlang, br. of GæiRR, Holmlaug and ØringR, 11th ct., *U* 461.

226. *Fastvī*, m. of Gærðarr and ŌtryggR, 11th ct., *U* 1087.

227. *Fastvī*, w. of Iarlabanki (I), d. ca. 1070, *U* 150.

228. *Fastvī*, dt. of ŌnæmR of BārastaðiR, w. of Ingvarr of Harg, m. of Iarlabanki (II), Ingvarr, Ragnvaldr, and Sigviðr, d. before 1043, *U* 112.

229. *FatuR*, ca. 800–900, *DR* 9.

230. *FaþiR*, br. of Azur, ship co-owner with Biorn, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 334, 335.

231. *Fē-Gylfi*, of Malsta, s. of Bräsi, fl. ca. 1020, *L* 1065.

Fiðr, see *Finnr*

232. *Fiðr*, rune carver, ca. 1150–1200, *NYR* 287.

233. *Finnr*, rune carver, 11th ct., *Sö* 139.

234. *Finnr*, set up runes, 11th ct., *NYR* 182.

235. *Finnr*, f. of Hælgi, 11th ct., *Sm* 132.

236. *Finnr*, a *magr* of Ketill, before 1100, *NYR* 272.

237. *Finnr*, s. of Vali, br. of Skopti, ca. 1050–1100, *NYR* 29.

238. *Finnviðr*, s. of GæiRbiorn, for whom he set up a stone, 11th. ct., *Sö* 319.

239. *Finnviðr*, s. of VīkingR, a "born possessor of an *ōðal*" (*landburinn*), before 1050, *Sö* 54.

240. *FinulfR*, commander, his *huskarl* was Ømundi, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 155.

241. *FinulfR*, f. of Sasgærðr, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 81.

242. **Fir——riui**, s. of Bōsi, br. of **Kuru**, 11th ct., *U* 616.

243. *Foldarr*, f. of Sibbi, ca. 1000, *Öl* 1.

244. *Folkbiorn*, s. of Folkmarr, d. in Greece, 11th ct., *U* 358.

245. *Folki*, br. of Hūsbiorn and Skūli, after 1050, *U* 614.

246. *Folkmarr*, f. of Folkbiorn, 11th ct., *U* 358.

247. *Forkunnr*, **if——r**, f. of *drængR* AsulfR, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 345.

248. *Forkunnr*, f. of ÞōrgæiRR, for whom he erected a stone and made a bridge, 11th ct., *U* 126.

249. *Fōtr*, rune carver, ca. 1050, *U* 605.

250. *Fōtr*, f. of BrunulfR, Gialli, GæfulfR, and (H)RæfningR, "a very highborn *þægn*," 11th ct., *Vg* 59.

251. *FraþulfR*, f. of BroþiR and Toki, "a very highborn *þægn*," ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 343.

252. *Freymundr*, s. of Fē-Gylfi, rune carver, 11th ct., *L* 1065.

253. *FriðlæifR*, br. of *þægn* GæiRmundR, 11th ct., *Vg* 115.

254. *FriiR*, named together with Asa (and possibly s. of Asa?), ca. 800–900, *DR* 333.

255. *Frosti*, s. of OrmR, br. of ÞȳðiskR, 11th ct., *Sö* 22.

256. *Fræþi*, *frændi* (relative) of AsraþR and HildungR, d. in "Sweden"; in the retinue of FrøygæiRR, ca. 1040 (not 940–1000), *DR* 216.

257. *Fræþi*, erected a stone for his *magR* OlafR, "a very highborn *drængR*," ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 289.

258. *Frøbiorn, felagi* of Azur Saxi, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 68.

259. *Frøbiorn*, companion of Hals and Hofi, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 321.

[*Frøsten* = OR *Frastěn, Prasьtěn*, 945]

Frøsten, see also *Frøystæinn*

260. *Frøsten*, set up a stone for his *lagsmannr* Gyrþr, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 62.

261. *FrøygæiRR*, s. (?) of Svæinn and Þorgæðr, f. of Aki, Guðstæinn, Æistr, and N.N., commander in the east, d. on Ösel (?), ca. 1040, *U* 518, 611, 698, 1158; Gästrikland/ *R* 187; *DR* 216.

262. *FrøyrīkR*, 11th ct., *U* 436.

263. *Frøystæinn*, f. of Alli and Karli, "a mighty, highborn *þægn*," 11th ct., *Vg* 137.

264. *Frøystæinn*, br. of (H)RōlfR, f. of GæiRfastr, Vagn, and Æistfari, a *þægn*, before 1050, *Sö* 45, 367.

265. *Frøystæinn*, f. of Æist-UlfR, set up a stone and a bridge for him, 11th ct., *U* 791.

266. **Ful**, companion (*felagi*) of AslakR, GunulfR, RoulfR, and Øgotr, d. "when kings fought" (? at Svǫld, ca. 1000), *DR* 66.

267. *Fullhugi*, s. of Stæinn, br. of Þorkell, 11th ct., *U* 145.

Fundin, see also *Fundinn*

268. *Fundin*, a man of Þorwi, ca. 900–940, *DR* 29.

269. *Fundinn*, f. of Þorðr and Æsbiorn, "a very highborn *þægn*," 11th ct., *Vg* 157.

270. (?) *FæaR-Āsmundi*, s. of Þōrstæinn, (or: Þōrstæinn traveled to the SæimgaliR), 11th ct., *Sö* 110.

G

271. *GagR*, s. of Īgulbiorn, d. in the south (Greece?), ca. 1070, *U* 925.

272. *GagR*, s. of Øystæinn (of Broby) and Æstrīðr, br. of Ingifastr, Ingvarr, Svæinn (I), and Øystæinn, d. before 1050, *U* 137.

273. *GaiRhvatr*, s. of Liknat and **Ailikni**, ca. 1000–1050, *G* 114.

274. *GaiRniautr*, "made a good monument" for Liknat, ca. 1000–1050, *G* 113.

275. *Gási*, f. of Gunnarr, after 1000, *NYR* 84.

276. *GautdiarfR*, s. of Tōki, br. of Sunhvatr, Þiagn and ÞōrulfR, ca. 1010–1030, *U* 201.

277. *Gautr*, s. of HolmgæiRR of Broby and Mora, br. of Ginnlaug and Sigrøðr, 11th ct., *U* 617.

278. *Gautr*, f. of Kætill, set up a stone for his son, ca. 1050, *Sm* 5.

279. *Gautr*, br. of Steinarr, set up a stone for him, after ca. 1000, *NYR* 223.

280. *Gautrāðr*, s. of Āstrāðr, 11th ct., *Sm* 35.

281. *Geirlákr*(?), ca. 800, *NYR* 2.

282. *GeRmundr*, set up memorials to Sazur, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 110.

283. *GētingR*, br. of GæiRmundr, set up a stone for him, 11th ct., *Vg* 8.

284. *Gialli*, br. of BrunulfR, GæfulfR, and (H)RæfningR, 11th ct., *Vg* 59.

285. *Gillaug*, w. of Andvēttr, m. of Līfstæinn, Sibbi, and Skalli, 11th ct., *U* 173.

286. *Gillaug*, m. of Iarundr, ca. 1100, *U* 1048.

287. *Gillaug*, w. of Næsbiorn, m. of KylfingR, 11th ct., *U* 445.

288. *Ginna*, she and Toki placed the London stone, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 412.

289. *Ginnlaug*, dt. of HolmgæiRR of Broby, w. of Assurr (s. of Hākon iarl), before 1050, *U* 617.

290. *Gīsl*, s. of GæiRi, br. of Hiorvarðr and Starkarr, before 1050, *U* 668.

291. *Gīsl*, s. of Iarl, br. of Alli, Ingimundr, and Iofurfast, after 1070, *U* 898.

292. *Gīsl*, f. of Øysl, built a bridge for him, before 1050, *Vs* 9–10.

293. *Gīslaug*, w. of Biorn, m. of GæiRi, Holmfastr, Ingvarr, Spiallbuði, and Þiagn, after 1050, *U* 363.

294. *Gīsli*, br. (?) of Biorn and Stæinfrīðr, retainer of FrøygæiRR, fell in battle abroad, ca. 1040, *U* 611.

295. *Gismundr*, s. of Sigfastr, set up with his brother VīkingR a stone for their father, 11th ct., *U* 260.

296. *Gismundr*, f. of Svæinn, 11th ct., *U* 225.

297. *Gnauðimandr*, br. of Sværri and Æskell, after 1050, *Sö* 46.

Gnupa, see also *Gnūpa*

298. *Gnupa*, K of D/Hedeby, d. before 940, *DR* 2, 4.

299. *Gnūpa*, br. of GuðlæifR, set up a stone for his brother, 11th ct., *Sö* 33.

300. *Gnypli*, a man of Þorwi, ca. 900–940, *DR* 29.

301. *Goði*, f. of Skagi, ca. 850, *Sm* 144.

302. *GormR*, K of D, ca. 934–945, *DR* 41, 42.

303. *GormR*, rune carver, 10th ct., *DR* 4.

304. *GormR*, f. of Toki, ca. 980–990, *DR* 295.

305. *Grani, fēlagi* of Karl, set up a stone for him; ca. 1050–1100, *G/R* 194.

306. *Grēpr*, member of a guild (*gildi*), ca. 1050, *Ög* 64.

[*GrīmR* = OR *Grim*, 945]

307. *GrīmR*, f. of Gunnarr, ca. 1050, *Sm* 10.

308. *GrīmulfR*, rune carver, ca. 800, *Ög* 8.

309. *GrīmulfR*, a "food-fellow" (*matanautr* "messmate") of N.N., who erected a stone for him, after 1060, *U* 385.

310. *Griūtgarðr*, s. of GuðvēR, br. of Æinriði; sons set up a stone for their father, ca. 1020-1030, *Sö* 166.

311. *Groa*, w. of Bräsi, m. of Fē-Gylfi, ca. 1020, Hälsingland/*L* 1065.

312. *Gubbi*, f. of Brandr; his companion was Efi, ca. 1000-1050, *DR* 318.

313. *Guðbiorn*, s. of Guðmarr, br. of Uddi; the brothers set up a stone for their father, ca. 1030, *Sö* 164.

314. *Guðfastr*, s. of Æistr, set up a stone for his father, 11th ct., *U* 766.

315. *Guðfastr*, f. of Østman, ca. 1050, Jämtland/*L* 1085.

[*Guði* = OR *Gudy*, 912, 945]

Guði, see also *Guþi*

316. *Guði*, br. of GæiRi, d. in E, before 1050, *Vg* 187.

317. *Guðlaug*, dt. of Ōnæmr of BārastaðiR, w. of Ansurr of Lundby, m. of Holmi, after 1050, *U* 133, 141, 328.

[*GuðlæifR* = OR *Gъlěb* 980; cf. Izbornik of Svjatoslav from 1073]

318. *GuðlæifR*, br. of Gnūpa, d. in the east (Byzantium or Rus') during a Thing (*þing*); probably a Varangian, 11th ct., *Sö* 33.

319. *GuðlæifR*, f. of Slagvi, ca. 1041, *Vs* 1-2.

320. *GuðlæifR*, s. of Þiōðmundr, br. of Karl and ÞiōðgæiRR, the brothers made a stone for their father, ca. 1050, Järvsta, Gävle.

321. *Guðmarr*, f. of Guðbiorn and Uddi, "he manfully stands on the prow" (of the ship), d. in the west, before 1030, *Sö* 164.

322. *Guðmarr*, s. of N.N., killed in E, 11th ct., *Vg* 20.

Guðmundr, see also *Guþmundr*.

323. *Guðmundr*, s. of N.N., 11th ct., *Vg* 155.

324. *Guðmundr*, set up a stone (together with Āsgōta) for OddlōgR, before 1050, *Ög* 94.

325. *Guðmundr*, s. of ŌtryggR, br. of Kāri, Knūtr, Skāri, and SværtingR, ca. 1050, *Sö* 217.

326. *Guðmundr*, br. of Vīfastr (of Tillinge), d. in Serkland, (possibly) with Ingvarr, in 1041, *U* 785.

327. *GuðrīkR*, f. of Balsi, HæmingR, and VīkingR, sons set up a stone for him, 11th ct., *U* 649.

328. *GuðrīkR*, h. of GæiRlaug, f. of Inga, d. after 1070, *U* 29.

329. *Guðrūn*, dt. of Bräsi, Hälsingland, 11th ct., *L* 1065.

330. *Guðrūn*, dt. (or w.) of Heðinn (a cousin of Svæinn), set up a stone for Svæinn, 11th ct., *Sö* 165.

331. *Guðstæinn*, s. of commander FrøygæiRR, br. of Āki, Æistr, and N.N., after 1050, *U* 1158.

332. *Guðvēr*, s. of BāulfR (*Sö* 170) and br. of Agmundr and Vīstæinn, commander of the Varangian Guard in Constantinople, ca. 1050, *Sö* 170, 217.

333. *Guðvēr*, f. of Griūtgarðr and Æinriði, he "was west in England,/ had his share in the [Dane-]geld./ Townships in Saxland/ he attacked like a man," ca. 1020–1030, *Sö* 166.

334. *Guðvī* (a woman), ca. 900, Gotland/*J* 2.

335. *Gufi*, f. of ŌlafR, before 1050, *Vg* 181.

336. *Gulla*, dt. of Anundr, st. of GæiRvī of Råby, ca. 1041, *U* 661.

337. *Gulli*, of Smula, br.-in-law of Āsbiorn and Iuli, set up a stone for them, ca. 1041, *Vg* 184.

338. *Gulli*, of Högby, f. of five sons: Āsmundr, Assur, Bōi, Halfdan, and Kāri, ca. 1010, *Ög* 81.

339. *Guma*, f. of (H)RoaRR, "he divided gold [while living] among the SæimgaliR" (Semgallen, Latvia), 11th ct., *Sö* 327.

[*Gunnarr* = OR *Gunarь*, 945.]

340. *Gunnarr*, rune carver, ca. 1010–1030, *U* 226, 504.

341. *Gunnarr*, set up a stone for his brother, ca. 900–1000, *NYR* 208.

342. *Gunnarr*, together with **——usti**, erected stones for their companions **Kn——** and **——biurn**, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 330.

343. *Gunnarr* (of Klepp), f. of Ásgerðr, ca. 1000, *NYR* 225.

344. *Gunnarr*, s. of Gási, his brothers erected a stone for him, after 1000, *NYR* 84.

345. *Gunnarr*, s. of GrīmR, VikīngR Tōki set up a stone for him, ca. 1050, *Sm* 10.

346. *Gunnarr*, s. of GæiRbiorn, br. of Sassurr, brothers set up a stone for their father, ca. 1000–1030, *U* 258.

347. *Gunnarr*, br. of Halfdan, Svæinn, and UlfR, d. in Greece (or Rus'), after 1050, *U* 153.

348. *Gunnarr*, s. of (H)Rōði, br. of Hælgi, f. of Gunnkell, d. in E; "his brother laid him in a stone coffin," ca. 1030, *Sm* 101.

349. *Gunnarr*, s. of HæmingR and Tōfa, d. in Greece, ca. 1020–1050, probably a Varangian, *U* 431.

350. *Gunnarr*, **tr——**, *kumbls* were set up for him, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 44.

351. *Gunnarr*, s. of **——ut**, ca. 1000–1100, *G/R* 191.

352. *Gunnarr*, s. of Øystæinn, 11th ct., *U* 419.

353. *Gunnhildr*, m. of Ormr, ca. 1050–1090, *NYR* 274.

354. *Gunnhvatr*, s. of Eyvindr úrarhorn, before 1019, *NYR* 211.

355. *Gunni*, br. of Marshal Vrāi, warrior of Hākon iarl (d. 1029), d. in E, *U* 16, *Sm* 77.

356. *Gunni, Armundr,* mentioned on Þiuþwi's inscription, ca. 800–900, *DR* 239.

357. *Gunni,* f. of Ragni, 11th ct., *Sö* 62.

358. *Gunni,* s. of Þorkell, killed in the battle at Svǫld, 1000, *Vg* 40.

359. *Gunni,* br. of Vrāi, d. in E, before 1050, *Sm* 77.

360. *Gunnkell* (< Gunnkætill), set up a stone for his father, ca. 1030, *Sm* 101.

361. *GunnlæifR* (II), s. of Andvēttr, br. of Kārr, b. ca. 1041, *U* 643.

362. *GunnlæifR* (I), f. of Andvēttr, Blesi, DiarfR, Kārr (I), and **Kiti**, d. with Ingvarr 1041, *U* 644, 654.

363. *Gunnmundr,* five sons of Biorn, ca. 840, *Ög* 136.

GunnulfR, see also *GunulfR*

364. *GunnulfR,* s. of UlfR of Gredby, ca. 1041, *Sö* 108.

Gunnvaldr, see also *Gunwaldr*

365. *Gunnvaldr,* from Berga, f. of GæiRfastr, step-f. of OrmR, ca. 1041, *Vs* 18, 19.

366. *Gunnvar,* w. of Kani, 11th ct., *Vg* 152.

367. *Gunnviðr,* f. of Klintr and BlæikR, d. with Ingvarr, 1041, *U* 1143.

368. *Gunnvǫr,* w. of Þorbergr Erlendsson of Bergen, ca. 1150–1200, *NYR* 287.

369. *Gunnvǫr,* dt. of Þrýðrikr of Opland, ca. 1040, *NYR* 68.

370. *GunulfR, felagi* of **Ful**, ca. 1000, *DR* 66.

371. *GunulfR* of Sweden, commander of Rafn, ca. 1050–1100, *DR* 344.

372. *GunulfR,* s. of NærfiR, h. of Ragnhildr, *glamulan man,* ca. 850–950, *DR* 230.

373. *Gunwaldr,* s. of Roaldr, *þulR* at Salhøgar, ca. 800–900, *DR* 248.

374. *Guþfriþr* (a man), carved the runes for Þiuþburg (a woman), ca. 800–900, *DR* 188.

375. *GuþiR, skipari,* erected a stone, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 363.

376. *Guþmundr,* rune carver; the commemorated died in **Skia** (=?Skidby, Yorkshire, or Shoebury, Essex), *DR* 6.

377. *Guþmundr,* a nephew of RoulfR, who set up a stone for him, ca. 800–900, *DR* 190.

378. *Guþmundr,* s. of Toki, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 58.

379. *Guþmundr,* s. of Þorwi, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 133.

380. *Gȳi,* s. of UlfR of Skulhamarr and Gȳrīðr, br. of Arnkell, Holmdīs, Ulfkætill and Uni, after 1050, *U* 100, 160, 225.

Gylfi, see also *Fē-Gylfi.*

381. *Gylla,* w.(?) of steward (*bryti*) TōliR, ca. 1068–1080, *U* 11.

382. *Gȳrīðr,* dt. of Ōnæmr of BārastaðiR, w. of UlfR of Skulhamarr, m.

of Arnkell, Gȳi, Holmdīs, Ulfkætill and Uni, ca. 1010–1030, *U* 100, 226, 328.

383. *Gȳrīðr*, dt. of Sigfastr of Snottsta, st. of Ragnfastr and Æstrīðr, ca. 1060, *U* 329.

384. *Gȳrīðr*, w of SigulfR, m. of Āsmundr and **E——iR**, after 1070, *U* 479.

385. *Gȳrīðr*, dt. of Vīfastr, st. of Sigfastr and Sigviðr, w. of Holmviðr of Högstena-Sundby, ca. 1040–1050, *Sö* 105, 116; *U* 623.

386. *Gyþa*, w. of Þorbiorn *þægn*, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 99.

387. *Gyrþr*, br. of Sigwaldi, *lagsmannr* of Frøsten, Twæggi had some relation to him, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 62.

388. *GæfulfR*, br. of BrunulfR, Gialli, and (H)RæfningR, 11th ct., *Vg* 59.

389. *GæiR——*, d. in Greece, probably a Varangian, 11th ct., *Sö* 345.

390. *GæiRbiorn*, br. of **——fast**, d. in the east, 11th ct., *U* 154.

391. *GæiRbiorn*, s. of UlfR of Bārastaðir, br. of Karlsi, probably a Varangian, d. probably in the east, ca. 1050, *U* 343, 364.

392. *GæiRbiorn*, f. of Finnviðr, d. in the west, before 1050, *Sö* 319.

393. *GæiRbiorn*, f. of commander Þōrstæinn and Anundr, fl. before 1050, *U* 360.

394. *GæiRbiorn*, s. of Vittkarl, f. of Gunnarr and GæiRbiorn, was killed at Svalunæs(?) by the Norwegians in the *knarr* of Āsbiorn, ca. 1000–1030, *U* 258.

395. *GæiRfastr*, s. of Frøystæinn, br. of Æistfari and Vagn, rune carver, set up — with Æistfari — a stone for Vagn, their father and brother, before 1050, *Sö* 45.

396. *GæiRfastr*, s. of Gunnvaldr from Berga, d. in E, ca. 1041, *Vs* 18.

397. *GæiRhialmR*, br. of DiarfR, lōgæiRR, Ōrøkia, and Vīgi; brothers set up a stone for their br. Svæinn, 1010–1020, *U* 539.

398. *GæiRhvatr*, s. of (H)Līføy, br. of Anundr, Biūrstæinn, and ŌtamR; brothers set up a stone for their brother Biūrstæinn, ca. 1041, *Sö* 320.

399. *GæiRi*, "a very highborn *þægn*," a nephew of (*broðursun*) of **Bitu**, 11th ct., *Vg* 158.

400. *GæiRi*, s. of Biorn and Gīslaug, br. of Holmfastr, Ingvarr, Spiallbuði, and Þiagn, after 1050, *U* 363.

401. *GæiRi*, br. of Guði, before 1050, *Vg* 187.

402. *GæiRi*, f. of Gīsl, Hiorvarðr, and Stærkarr, member of the *Þingalið* in E, d. before 1035, *U* 668; cf. *U* 669.

403. *GæiRlaug*, w. of (1) GæiRmundr and (2) GuðrīkR (Hillersjö); m. of Inga, d. after 1070, *U* 29.

404. *GæiRmundr*, br. of GētingR, "a good *þægn*," 11th ct., *Vg* 8.

405. *GæiRmundr*, h. of GæiRlaug, drowned before 1070, *U* 29.

406. *GæiRmundr*, h. of Þōra, br. of FriðlæifR, "a very highborn *þægn*," 11th ct., *Vg* 115.

407. *GæiRR*, s. of Tōla, "a very good *drængR*, d. on western ways in Viking," before 1050, *Vg* 61.

408. *GæiRR*, s. of Æistr and Fastlaug, br. of FastulfR, Holmlaug, and ØringR, 11th ct., *U* 461.

409. ——*gæiRR*, d. in Hōlmgarðr (Novgorod), after 1050, *G/R* 197.

410. *GæiRulfR*, ca. 850, *Sö* 176.

411. *GæiRvī*, dt. of Anundr of Råby, st. of Gulla, ca. 1041, *U* 661.

412. *GæitiR* or *Knūtr* (Canute the Great, K of D and E, 1014–1035), *U* 617.

413. *Gærðarr*, br. of Biorn, Sigfastr, and VīkingR, 11th ct., *Sö* 197, 203.

414. *Gærðarr*, s. of Fastvī, br. of ŌtryggR, 11th ct., *U* 1087.

415. *Gærðarr*, br. of Iarundr and Inga, set up a stone for his nephews Ingimundr and Ærinmundr, he and his brother became Inga's heirs, after 1050, *U* 72–73.

416. *Gærðarr*, s. of Svæinn and Kætiløy, br. of Andvēttr, ca. 1050, *U* 80.

417. *Gōti*, s. of Þorfriþ from Sylten, br. of Āsgōtr, d. with Ingvarr 1041, *Ög* 155.

H, (H)L, (H)R

418. *Hagbarðr*, s. of Rūnfastr and Rūna, br. of Ingigærðr, made a bridge, 11th ct., *U* 1041.

419. *Hagni* of Sika (Frötuna hd, U), 11th ct., *U* 527.

420. *Hailfoss* (**Hair-os**), s. of (H)Rōðvīsl, f. of Hailvi, ca. 1050, *G* 136.

421. *Hailvi* (Haili), dt. of Hailfoss, ca. 1050, *G* 136.

Hair-os, see *Hailfoss*

422. *Hāisl*, the five sons of Haruþ, ca. 840, *Ög* 136.

423. *HaklangR*, Þórir Haklangr, K of Agder, d. ca. 900, *DR* 219.

[*Hākon* = OR *Jakun*, 945, 1024, 1159]

424. *Hākon iarl*, Hlaðajarl, s. of Eiríkr Hlaðajarl; active in E, d. 1029, *Sö* 260, *U* 16, 617, *Sm* 76, 127.

425. *Hākon*, s. of K Emundr and Ragnhildr, br. of Anundr, Ingvarr, Ragnarr, and ÆirīkR, K of S, 1068–1080, *U* 513, 540.

426. *Hākon*, s. of (H)RōlfR, br. of Sigstæinn; brothers set up a stone for their father, before 1050, *Ög* 149.

427. *Halfborinn*, br. of Smiðr, "sits in Garðar" (Rus'), ca. 1050, *Öl* 28.

[*Halfdan* = OR *Aldan*, 945]

428. *Halfdan*, probably 11th ct., Hagia Sophia in Istanbul, cf. p. 347.

429. *Halfdan*, s. of GagR, br. of Þialfi, ca. 1070, *U* 925.

430. *Halfdan*, s. of Gulli, br. of Āsmundr, Assurr, Bōi, and Kāri, d. in Bornholm(?), ca. 1010, *Ög* 81.

431. *Halfdan*, br. of Gunnarr, Svæinn, and UlfR, d. in Rus' (or Greece?), after 1050, *U* 153.

432. *Halfdan*, s. of UlfrikR, h. of Holmfrīðr, f. of Dan, Hūskarl, and Svæinn, 11th ct., *U* 240.

433. *Halfdan*, s. of VīkingR, br. of Svæinn, Þegn, and Þōra, 11th ct., *U* 34.

434. *Halfdan*, s. of Øyvindr, br. of Skarði and Spiūti, ca. 1041, *Sö* 131.

[*Hallvarðr* = OR *Alvad* 945]

435. *Hallvarðr*, raised stone for Úlfr inn rauði together with Þórir in 1008/1009, *NYR* 449.

436. *Hallvī* (?), had the stone made after N.N., br. of ŪlfR; they (both?) died in Ingvarr's campaign, 1041, *Sö* 281.

437. *Hals*, set up a stone for his companion Hofi, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 321.

438. *Hamundr*, s. of (H)RōlfR and Øyborg, br. of UlfR; together with his brother, he set up a stone for their parents and uncle Frøystæinn, before 1050, *Sö* 367.

439. *Hani*, s. of Holmviðr and Gȳrīðr, br. of Þōrbiorn and Sigviðr, ca. 1050, *Sö* 116.

440. *Haraldr*, N.N. made *kumbl*s to him, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 36.

441. *Haraldr* (Harold Harefoot, s. of Canute the Great by Ælgifu), K of E, 1037–1040, *Sm* 42.

442. *Haraldr*, s. of Emundr, K of S and Tōla, half-br. of Ingvarr (hinn víðfǫrli), d. with him in Serkland, in 1041, *Sö* 179, 279.

443. *Haraldr hinn góði*, "the Good," Gormsson, K of D, ca. 940–985, *DR* 42, 55.

444. *Harðr*, f. of Ingirūn, ca. 1050, *U* 605.

445. *Haruþ*, f. of the five Hāisl, ca. 840, *Ög* 136.

446. *Hávarðr*, made runes, 9th ct., *NYR* 140.

447. *Hāvarðr*, rune carver, 11th ct., *Vg* 181.

448. *Heðinfrīðr*, dt. of Æskell, st. of Holmfrīðr, ca. 1020–1060, *Sö* 126.

449. *Heðinn*, ca. 1000, *NYR* 226.

450. *Heðinn*, nephew of Svæinn, "divided gold in Greece," probably a Varangian; Guðrūn set up a stone for him, 11th ct., *Sö* 165.

451. *Hegbiarn*, br. of (H)Rōðvīsl, Anundr, and Øystæinn, before 1000, *G/R* 193.

[*Helgi* = OR *Oleg*, 897, and passim]

Helgi, see also *Hælgi*

452. *Helgi*, of Klepp, br. of Ketill, ca. 1000, *NYR* 225, 228.

453. *Hialli*, rune carver, 11th ct., *Vg* 59.

454. *HialmR*, rune carver, 11th ct., *Vg* 59.

455. *HildungR*, *frændi* (relative) of Fræþi, together with Asraþr erected a stone for him, ca. 1000–1050 (not 940–1000), *DR* 216.

456. *HiorulfR* (cf. ON *Hjǫrulfr*), killed during a raid, ca. 1000, *G* 110.

457. *Hiorvarðr*, s. of GæiRi, br. of Gīsl and Starkarr, before 1035, *U* 668, 669.

458. *(H)Līføy*, f. of Anundr, Biūrstæinn, GæiRhvatr, and ŌtamR, ca. 1041, *Sö* 320.

459. *Hofī*, set up a stone for his brothers, RiþiR and ÞorlakR, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 160.

460. *Hofī*, *felagi* of Azur Saxi, ca. 1000, *DR* 68.

461. *Hofī*, a companion of Hals and Frøbiorn, who erected stones for him, 1000–1050, *DR* 321.

462. *Hofī*, s. of RunulfR the Shrewd, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 161.

463. *HolmbR*, s. of IngigēR, br. of Styrbiorn, StyrlaugR, and Þorkell, ca. 1050, *Sö* 34.

464. *Holmdīs*, dt. of UlfR (of Skulhamarr) and Gȳrīðr, st. of Arnkell, Gȳi, Ulfkætill, and Uni, fl. after 1050, *U* 100.

465. *Holmfastr*, s. of Biorn and Gīslaug, br. of GæiRi, Ingvarr, Spiallbuði, and Þiagn, after 1050, *U* 363.

466. *Holmfastr*, h. of (H)RōðælfR, f. of Ingifastr, ca. 1070–1100, *Sö* 308.

467. *Holmfrīðr*, w. of HolmlaugR, m. of Fasti and Sigfastr, before 1050, *U* 243.

468. *Holmfrīðr*, dt. of Æskell, st. of Heðinfrīðr, ca. 1020–1060, *Sö* 126.

469. *Holmfrīðr*, w. of Halfdan, m. of Dan, Huskarl, and Svæinn, 11th ct., *U* 240.

470. *Holmgautr*, h. of Ōðindīs, 11th ct., *Vs* 24.

471. *HolmgæiRR*, participant in Ingvarr's campaign of 1041, *U* 837.

472. *HolmgæiRR* of Bro (*U* 617) and Mora (*Sö* 101), f. of Gautr, Ginnlaug, and Sigrøðr, 11th ct., *Sö* 101.

473. *HolmgæiRR*, s. of Vræiðr, br. of KylfingR and Vīborg, 11th ct., *Sö* 318.

474. *HolmgæiRR*, s. of Æistr, br. of Karl, 11th ct., *U* 1050, 1060.

[*Holmi* = OR **Olʁma*, 882]

475. *Holmi*, s. of Ansurr (of Lundby) and Guðlaug, br. of Karlsi, d. in the Catepanate of Italy (probably a Varangian), after 1050, *U* 133, 141.

476. *Holmi*, h. of HrōðælfR, f. of Andvēttr, Arnkell, and Vargas (?), 11th ct., *U* 357.

477. *Holmi*, s. of Hæra, 11th ct., *U* 335.

478. *Holmlaug*, w. of Þialfi, m. of Banki, ca. 1041, *U* 778.

479. *Holmlaug*, d. of Æistr and Fastlaug, s. of FastulfR, GæiRR, and ØringR, 11th ct., *U* 461.

480. *HolmlaugR*, h. of Holmfrīðr, f. of Fasti and Sigfastr, before 1050, *U* 243.

[*Holmstæinn* = OR *Olstěn*, 1177, 1185]

481. *Holmstæinn*, f. of (H)RōðgæiRR, Manni and **Mus-kia**, commander in Ingvarr's campaign, d. 1041, *Sö* 173, 335.

482. *Holmstæinn*, rune carver, 11th ct., *U* 527.

483. *Holmstæinn*, br. of Stæinbiorn and Æistr, 11th ct., *U* 780.

484. *Holmviðr*, of Högstena-Sundby, h. of Gȳrīðr, f. of Þōrbiorn, ca. 1040–1050, *Sö* 105, 106.

485. *Hornbori Swiþingr*, i.e., descendant of Sviði, ca. 800–900, *DR* 250.

486. *Horsi*, "a good *bōndi*," the hero of the Piraeus lion inscription, probably a Varangian from ca. 1050, see p. 348.

487. *Horsi*, f. of Kārr, relative (*magR*) of Kabbi, he (probably a Varangian) made much money for his heirs in Greece, ca. 1070, *U* 792.

488. *(H)Rafn*, member of Vīfil's retinue, d. at **Rufstain**, Ukraine, before 1000; the stone was erected by Hegbiorn and his brothers Emundr, (H)Rōðvīsl, and Øystæinn, *G/R* 193.

489. *Hreppir*, f. of Ogmundr, ca. 1000, *NYR* 213.

490. *HringR*, br. of Āmundi, uncle of RūnulfR, before 1050, *Sö* 333.

(H)Rōaldr, see also *Roaldr*

[*(H)Rōaldr* = OR (1) *Ruald*, 912, 945; (2) *Roald* 945 (Hyp.).]

491. *(H)Rōaldi* (cf. Hróaldr), his father made a stone, ca. 1000, *G* 109.

[*Hrōarr* = OR *Ruar*, 912]

Hróarr, see also *(H)RōaRR*

492. *Hróarr*, s. of Olvi, ca. 1000, *NYR* 59.

493. *(H)RōaRR*, s. of Guma, set up a stone for his father and for AuðaR, 11th ct., *Sö* 327.

494. *Hrōði*, f. of Gunnarr and Hælgi, ca. 1030, *Sm* 101.

495. *(H)Rōðfoss*, s. of (H)Rōðvīsl, killed by the Polovcians, ca. 1050, *G* 134.

496. *(H)Rōðgautr*, dt. of (H)Rōðvīsl, ca. 1050, *G* 135.

497. *(H)RōðgæiRR*, s. of Holmstæinn, br. of Manni and **Mus——kia**, active in the west; probably d. with Ingvarrr in 1041, *Sö* 173.

498. *(H)RōðgæiRR*, of Anga, f. of (H)Rōþiauþ, ca. 1000–1050, *G* 111.

499. *(H)Rōþiauþ*, dt. of (H)RōðgæiRR, w. of Sibba, ca. 1000–1050, *G* 111, 112.

[*(H)RōðlæifR* = OR *Rulav*, 907, 912]

500. *(H)RōðlæifR*, s. of SkarfR, from Balsta, ca. 1041, *Sö* 107.

Hróðvaldr, see *Roþanþr*

501. *(H)Rōðvīsl*, one of comrades of (H)Rafn, before 1000, *G/R* 193.

502. *(H)Rōðvīsl*, h. of (H)RōðælfR, f. of Hailfoss, (H)Rōðfoss, (H)Rōðgautr, Liknat, and Roþanþr, ca. 1050, *G* 134.

503. *(H)RōðælfR*, w. of Holmfastr, m. of Ingifastr, ca. 1070–1100, *Sö* 308.

504. *(H)RōðælfR*, w. of Holmi, m. of Andvēttr, Arnkell, and Vargas(?), 11th ct., *U* 357.

505. *(H)RōðælfR*, w. of (H)Rōðvīsl, ca. 1025, *G* 134.

(H)RōlfR, see also *RoulfR*

506. *(H)RōlfR*, br. of Frøystæinn, h. of Øyborg, f. of Hamundr and UlfR; "they owned Sleðabrō" (Släbro), a *þægn*; before 1050, *Sö* 367.

507. *(H)RōlfR*, f. Hākon and Sigstæinn, before 1050, *Ög* 149.

508. *(H)RōlfR*, s. of Līfstæinn, ca. 1025, *Sm* 52.

509. *(H)Rōþar*, (Hróðarr), br. of (H)Rōðvīsl, ca. 1050, *G* 135.

510. *(H)Rūtr*, from Bjuddby, f. of Þōrbiorn and Þōrstæinn, ca. 1041, *Sö* 360.

511. *(H)RæfningR*, s. of Fōtr, br. of BrunulfR, Gialli, GæfulfR, 11th ct., *Vg* 59.

512. *HræiþulfR*, the five sons of RugulfR, ca. 840, *Ög* 136.

513. *Hugi*, br. of Andvēttr and Þōrgīls; f.(?) of BiarnlaugR, d. with Ingvarr, 1041, *Sö* 287.

514. *Hunwiþr*, br. of Tomi, "a very highborn *drængR*," ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 276.

515. *Hūsbiorn*, br. of Folki and Skūli, took tribute ("geld") from Gotland, after 1050, *U* 614.

516. *Hūskarl*, s. of Halfdan and Holmfrīðr, 11th ct., *U* 240–241.

517. *Hwatr*, br. of IarpulfR, made a stone for his father and brother, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 85.

518. *HæfniR*, s. of *Þōrstæinn*, a young *drængR*, was in England, but died at home, after 1050, *Sö* 55.

519. *Hæggi*, s. of Hæri, 11th ct., *Sm* 71.

[*Hælga* = OR *Olþga*, 903, etc.]

520. *Hælga*, m. of Andvēttr, 11th ct., *U* 1036.

521. *Hælga*, w. of Bergviðr, m. of UlfR, ca. 1041, *Sö* 9.

522. *Hælgi*, f. of Finnr, 11th ct., *Sm* 132.

523. *Hælgi*, s. of (H)Rōði, br. of Gunnarr, ca. 1030, *Sm* 101.

524. *Hælgi*, h. of Rūna, f. of Andvēttr, Ragnarr, Spiallbuði, and Svæinn, ca. 1080–1090, *U* 687.

525. *Hælgi*, br. of ØyrīkR, was treacherously killed by Sasurr, after 1050, *U* 954.

526. *HælgulfR*, h. of Dīsa, br.-in-law of Þōrfastr, set up a stone for him, before 1050, *Sö* 352.

[*HæmingR* = OR *Emig*, 945]

527. *HæmingR*, s. of BorgulfR, br. of Hærbiorn, Næsbiorn, and UlfR, 11th ct., *U* 444.

528. *HæmingR*, s. of GuðrīkR, br. of Balsi and VīkingR, 11th ct., *U* 649.

529. *HæmingR*, s. of Ingifastr (of Broby), br. of Iarlabanki (I), after 1050, *U* 101, 143, 148.

530. *HæmingR*, h. of Tōfa, f. of Gunnarr, ca. 1020–1050, *U* 431.

531. *Hæra*, f. of Holmi, a *hūskarl* of Sigrøðr, 11th ct., *U* 335.

532. *Hærbiorn*, s. of BorgulfR, br. of HæmingR, Næsbiorn, and UlfR, 11th ct., *U* 444.

533. *Hæri*, s. of Karl, 11th ct., *Sm* 71.

534. *Hæri*, s. of Þiagn, 11th ct., *Sm* 71.

535. *Hærlæif*, s. of ship commander Sæbiorn, br. of Þōrgæðr, ca. 1041, *U* 439.

536. *Hærmōðr*, br. of Bergviðr, set up a stone for him, 11th ct., *Sö* 39.

537. *Hærþrūðr*, m. of Smiðr (br. of Halfborinn), ca. 1050, *Öl* 28.

538. *HærulfR*, ca. 900–940, *DR* 15.

539. *Hǫrðr*, f. of Þórir, ca. 1000, *NYR* 225.

I

540. *Iarl*, f. of Alli, Gīsl, Ingimundr, and Iofurfastr, after 1070, *U* 898.

541. *Iarl*, s. of Ingifastr, ca. 1070, *U* 922.

542. *Iarlabanki* (I), s. of Ingifastr and Iōrūn, half-br. of HæmingR, h. of: (1) Fastvī (son: Svæinn II), and (2) Kætiløy (son: Ingifastr II); owner of Täby, built a bridge and a thing, d. ca. 1070–1080 in Greece, *U* 101, 127, 140, 142, 143, 149, 150, 164, 165, 212, 261.

543. *Iarlabanki* (II), s. of Ingvarr (I) of Harg and Fastvī, ca. 1050, *U* 309.

544. *IarpulfR*, br. of Hwatr, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 85.

545. *Iarundr*, s. of N.N., who set up a stone for him, was in the west (E), with UlfR, s. of Hākon iarl, ca. 1050, *Sö* 260.

546. *Iarundr*, s. of Gillaug, d. in Hedeby, before 1050, *U* 1048.

547. *Iarundr*, br. of Gærðarr and Inga, after 1100, *U* 72–73.

548. *Iarundr*, s. of Līfstæinn and Ingirun, br. of Luðinn and Nikulas, ca. 1100, *U* 347.

If——r, see *Forkunnr*

549. *Īgulbiorn*, s. of Ionha, br. of Ingifastr, f. of GagR, ca. 1070, *U* 922, 925.

550. *Īgulfriðr*, w. of Biorn, m. of ŌtryggR, before 1050, *U* 582.

551. *Īgull*, from Karby, h. of Ærnvī, f. of Ingiþōra and Þōrbiorn, ca. 1050, *U* 151.

552. *Ill(h)ugi*, probably s. of Ingvarr and grand-s. of Sigstæinn, set up a stone for his father; ca. 1050, *Ög* 152.

553. *Inga*, dt. of GuðrīkR and GæiRlaug, w. of (1) Ragnfastr and (2) ÆirīkR; her son died prematurely, d. ca. 1070, *U* 29, 329, 330, 331, 332.

554. *Inga*, st. of Gærðarr and Iarundr, became heir to her sons Ingimundr and Ærinmundr, after 1050, *U* 72-73.

555. *Inga*, her successor was ŌlæifR who d. in Italy, ca. 1020-1060, *Sö* 65.

556. *Ingi*, h. of Iōgærðr, f. of Æistr and Ærinfastr, 11th ct., *U* 855.

[*Ingialdr* = OR *Ingeld* 912, 945 ~ *Igeld*, 945]

557. *Ingialdr*, s. of Toli, "a very highborn *drængR*," ca. 1000-1050, *DR* 94.

558. *Ingialdr*, s. of Þōrbiorn, br. of Alvēr; the sons set up a stone for their father, ca. 1030, *Sö* 159.

559. *Ingiberg*, her (unnamed) husband drowned in the Hōlms Haf (Novgorod Sea), sometime between 1020 and 1050, *U* 214.

560. *Ingibiorn*, s. of Æistr, br. of Āsgautr, Ingifastr, and Svæinn, 11th ct., *U* 181.

561. *Ingiborg*, w. (or m.) of a retainer of Ingvarr, 1041, *Sö* 277.

562. *Ingifastr*, s. of Holmfastr and (H)RōðælfR, was in the east, ca. 1070-1100, *Sö* 308.

563. *Ingifastr*, s. of Iarlabanki (I) and Kætiløy, d. ca. 1070, *U* 142.

564. *Ingifastr*, s. of **Ionha**, f. of Iarl, Ingimundr, Þorðr, and Vīgbiorn, *stȳrimaðr*, traveled to Greece, ca. 1070, *U* 922.

565. *Ingifastr*, s. of Sigþorn, br. of Þōrbiorn, after 1070, *Vs* 27.

566. *Ingifastr*, s. of Sigviðr, before 1050, *Sö* 171.

567. *Ingifastr*, s. of Æistr, br. of Āsgautr, Ingibiorn, and Svæinn, 11th ct., *U* 181.

568. *Ingifastr*, s. of Øystæinn and Æstrīðr, br. of GagR, Ingvarr (I), Svæinn, and Øystæinn, h. of (1) Ragnfrīðr (s.: HæmingR) and (2) Iōrūn (s.: Iarlabanki I), d. in Greece ca. 1043, *U* 101, 135, 143, 147, 148.

569. *Ingifrīðr*, dt. of Kāll, st. of Anundr and VīkingR, 11th ct., *U* 498.

570. *IngigēR*, f. HolmbR, Styrbiorn, StyrlaugR, and Þorkell, ca. 1050, *Sö* 35.

571. *Ingigærðr*, dt. of Rūnfastr and Rūna, st. of Hagbarðr, 11th ct., *U* 1041.

572. *Ingilæif*, w. of Brūni, ca. 1050-1070, *U* 699.

573. *Ingimundr*, s. of Iarl, br. of Alli, Gisl, and Iofurfast, killed in the east, after 1070, *U* 898.

574. *Ingimundr*, s. of Inga, br. of Ærinmundr, d. in Greece (probably a Varangian), after 1050, *U* 72-73.

575. *Ingimundr*, s. of Ingifastr, br. of Iarl, Þorðr, and Vīgbiorn, the *stȳrimaðr*, ca. 1070, *U* 922.

576. *Ingirūn*, dt. of Harðr, planned to travel to Jerusalem, ca. 1050, *U* 605.

577. *Ingirūn*, w. of Līfstæinn, m. of Iarundr, Luðinn, and Nikulas, ca. 1100, *U* 347.

578. *Ingiþōra*, dt. of Īgull and Ærnvī, w. of Svæinn (s. of Iarlabanki I), ca. 1070, *U* 104, 151.

579. *Ingiþōra*, dt. of Kætill, for whom she set up a stone, 11th ct., *U* 270.

580. *IngulfR*, rune carver, 11th ct., *U* 1041.

581. *IngvaldingR*, ca. 840, *Ög* 136.

[*Ingvarr* = OR *Igorь*, 879 etc.; (2) *Ingvarь*, ca. 1200.]

582. *Ingvarr*, set up a stone, ca. 900, *Ög* 38.

583. *Ingvarr*, set up a stone for Svæinn and for his mother, 11th ct., *U* 111.

584. *Ingvarr*, s. of Biorn and Gīslaug, br. of GæiRi, Holmfastr, Spiallbuði, and Þiagn, after 1050, *U* 363.

585. *Ingvarr*, s. of Emundr, K of S and Ragnhildr, br. of Anundr, Hākon, Ragnar, and ÆirīkR, called Yngvarr hinn víðfǫrli, d. in a campaign in Khwārizm in 1041, *Sö* 9, 96, 105, 107, 108, 131, 173, 179, 254, 277, 281, 287, 320, 335; *U* 439, 513, 540, 644, 654, 661, 778, 837, 1143; *Vs* 19; *Ög* 30, 155.

586. *Ingvarr* (II), s. of Ingvarr (I) (of Harg) and Fastvī, ca. 1050, *U* 309.

587. *Ingvarr*, s. of Sigstæinn, f. (?) of Illugi, d. in the east; his father set up a stone for him, 11th ct., *Ög* 30.

588. *Ingvarr* (I), s. of Øystæinn and Æstrīðr, br. of GagR, Ingifastr, Svæinn (II) and Øystæinn (II), h. of (1) Fastvī (dt. of ŌnæmR) and (2) Æstrīðr; four children from his first marriage were: Iarlabanki (II), Ingvarr (II), Ragnvaldr and Sigviðr; d. (probably) ca. 1043 in Greece, *U* 101, 143, 147, 309, 310.

589. *IōgæiRR*, br. of DiarfR, GæiRhialmR, Ōrōkia, Svæinn, and Vīgi, ca. 1010–1020, *U* 539.

590. *Iōgærðr*, w. of Ingi, m. of Æistr and Ærinfastr, 11th ct., *U* 855.

591. *Iofurfastr*, s. of Iarl, br. of Alli, Gīsl, and Ingimundr, after 1070, *U* 898.

592. *Iō(h)an*, s. of Vībiorn, br. of DiuRi, 11th ct., *Vs* 20.

593. **Ionha** (gen.; <*Iōhan*?), f. of Ingifastr and Īgulbiorn, ca. 1070, *U* 922.

Iōrūn, see also Jórunn

594. *Iōrūn*, w. of Ingifastr of Bro, m. of Iarlabanki (I), ca. 1050, *U* 142, 143, 147.

595. **Itinkil**, f. of ÞorgiR, "an honorable landowner," ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 298.

596. *Iuli*, br. of Āsbiorn, br.-in-law of Gulli of Smula, d. with Ingvarr, 1041, *Vg* 184.

597. *Iūti*, ca. 900, *U* 4.

598. *Iuti*, f. of Asraþr, "a very highborn *þægn*," his son made a stone for him, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 213.

599. *Iūti*, f. of Lōfi, ca. 1050, *Ög* 64.

J

600. *Jórunn*, of Ringerike, w. of **Au——aun**, ca. 1025, *NYR* 61.

K

601. *Kabbi*, a *magR* of Horsi, probably a Varangian, ca. 1070, *U* 792.

602. *Kafli*, set up a stone for *þægn* GæiRi, 11th ct., *Vg* 158.

Kali, see also *Kāli*

603. *Kāli*, s. of KlakkR, br. of VīkingR, 11th ct., *Sm* 11.

604. *Kali*, s. of Þorsten, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 130.

605. *Kāll*, f. of Anundr, IngiFrīðr, and VīkingR; the sons set up a stone for their father, 11th ct., *U* 498.

606. *Kalli*, s. of Vēurðr, br. of Kārr, 11th ct., *Vg* 73.

607. *Kani*, h. of Gunnvar, "a very highborn *þægn*," 11th ct., *Vg* 152.

Kári, see also *Kāri*

[*Kāri* = OR *Karr*, 945]

608. *Kári*, made rings, 11th ct., *NYR* 29.

609. *Kāri*, s. of Gulli, br. of Āsmundr, Assurr, Bōi, and Halfdan, d. at Dundee, ca. 1010, *Ög* 81.

610. *Kāri*, Hākon iarl's (d. 1029) crewman, together with Gunni set up a stone for a comrade, *U* 16, 343.

611. *Kāri*, s. of ŌtryggR, br. of Guðmundr, Knūtr, Skāri, and SværtingR, ca. 1050, *Sö* 217.

612. *Kāri*, h. of Sigrūðr, f. of Anundr, ca. 1040, *U* 532; cf. *U* 533.

[*Karl* = OR *Karl*, 907]

613. *Karl hinn gōði*, a fellow (*fēlagi*) of ÞōriR, "a very highborn *drængR*": ÞōriR set up a stone for him, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 127, *Vg* 112.

614. *Karl*, *fēlagi* of Grani, d. on the island of Berezan' (Ukraine), ca. 1050–1100, *G/R* 194.

615. *Karl*, s. of Horsi, *U* 792.

616. *Karl*, s. of ÞiōðmundR, br. of GuðlæifR and ÞiōðgæiRR, ca. 1050, Järvsta, Gävle.

617. *Karl*, s. of Hæri, 11th ct., *Sm* 71.

618. *Karl*, s. of Æistr, br. of HolmgæiRR, 11th ct., *U* 1060.

[*Karli* = OR *Karlʏ*, 911]

619. *Karli*, s. of Frøystæinn, br. of Alli, 11th ct., *Vg* 137.

620. *Karl(s)i*, s. of UlfR of Bārastaðir, br. of GæiRbiorn, ca. 1050, *U* 343; set up a stone for a family member, who d. "in white clothes," *U* 364.

621. *Kārr* (II), s. of Andvēttr, br. of GunnleifR (II), ca. 1045, *U* 643.

622. *Kārr* (I), s. of GunnlæifR (I), br. of Andvettr, Blesi, DiarfR and **Kiti**, d. ca. 1045, *U* 644, 654.

623. *Kārr*, s. of Horsi, set up a stone for his father (probably a Varangian), ca. 1070, *U* 792.

624. *Kārr*, s. of Vēurðr, br. of Kalli, 11th ct., *Vg* 73.

625. *Kata*, w. of Swen, made *kumbl*s for him, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 277.

626. *Katti*, s. of Vīfrīðr, ca. 850, *Sm* 144.

Ketill, see also *Kætil* and *Kætill*

627. *Ketill*, a *magr* of Finnr, made a stone for him before 1100, *NYR* 272.

628. *Ketill*, br. of Helgi of Klepp, before 1000, *NYR* 228.

629. **Ki—hin huþska**, s. of Þorwi, br. of Guþmundr and Oþinkor, "the best and foremost of landmen in Denmark," ca. 940–1000, *DR* 133.

630. **Kiti**, s. of GunnlæifR (I), br. of Blesi, Kārr (I), and DiarfR, ca. 1045, *U* 644, 654.

631. **Kitu**, f. of Tofi, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 125.

632. *Kiulr*, rune carver, 11th ct., *Sö* 139.

[*KlakkR* = OR *Klek*, 945]

633. *KlakkR*, f. of Kāli, VīkingR, and other (unnamed) sons, who set up a stone for him and two named brothers, 11th ct., *Sm* 11.

634. *Klintr*, s. of Gunnviðr, br. of BlæikR, ca. 1041, *U* 1143.

635. **Kn——**, companion of **——usti** and Gunnar, who erected stones for him and **——biorn**, "the warriors were [far famed] on Viking raids," ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 330.

Knutr, see also *Knūtr*

636. *Knutr*/*Knūtr*, Canute the Great, K of D and E, 1014–1035, *DR* 345; *NYR* 184; *Ög* 111; *U* 194, 344; *Sö* 14; probably also *U* 617.

637. *Knūtr*, s. of ŌtryggR, br. of Guðmundr, Kāri, Skāri, and SværtingR, ca. 1050, *Sö* 217.

638. *Kopu-Swen*, erected a stone to his son Bøsi, "a highborn *drængR*," ca. 1050–1100, *DR* 380.

639. **Kra——hni**, set up a stone for a relative(?), 11th ct., *Vs* 5.

640. *KrokR*'s son, "a very highborn *þægn*," ca. 940–1000, *DR* 106.

641. *KrokR*, h. of Þorwi, "the strongest of the separate Swedes and the South Danes," ca. 940–1000, *DR* 217.

642. *KrōkR*, s. of VīkingR, br. of Āsbiorn, 11th ct., *U* 432.

643. *Krusa, felagi* of Abbi, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 339.

644. **Kuru**, s. of Bōsi, br. of **Fir——riui**, d. in E, 11th ct., *U* 616.

645. *Kuþr——*, his unnamed son set up a stone for him; he fought in England, ca. 1030, *Sö* 207.

646. *Kulbēnn*, h. of Āsa, f. of Æsbiorn, before 1050, *Vg* 178.

647. *KylfingR*, s. of Næsbiorn and Gillaug, 11th ct., *U* 320, 419, 445.

648. *KylfingR*, s. of Vræiðr, br. of HolmgæiRR and Vīborg, 11th ct., *Sö* 318.

649. *Kætil*, "the Norwegian"; his land steward was Manni, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 107.

650. *Kætilfastr*, s. of Āsgautr, 11th ct., *U* 504.

651. *Kætill*, f. of Ingiþōra, a traveler to Greece (*grikkfari*), 11th ct., *U* 270.

652. *Kætill*, s. of Gautr, "he was among men the most 'undastardly'"; d. in E, ca. 1050, *Sm* 5.

653. *Kætill*, s. of commander Þōrstæinn, br. of Biorn and Ærinmundr, ca. 1050, *Sö* 338.

654. *Kætilmundr*, of Ängby, h. of Ragnfrīðr, f. of Biorn, ca. 1040, *U* 346, 356.

Kætilø, see also *Kætiløy*

655. *Kætilø*, made *kumbl*s for her husband, "a very highborn *þægn*," ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 293.

656. *Kætiløy*, w. of Iarlabanki (I), ca. 1070, *U* 142.

657. *Kætiløy*, w. of Svæinn, m. of Andvēttr and Gærðarr, ca. 1050, *U* 80.

658. *Kætiløy*, w. of commander Þōrstæinn, m. of Biorn, Kætill, and (probably) of Ærinmundr, after 1050, *Sö* 338.

L

see also (H)L

659. *Ladvi* (*Hlǫdvé*?), dt. of Bräsi, 11th ct., Hälsingland/*L* 1065.

660. *Līfstæinn*, rune carver, ca. 1050, *U* 1158.

661. *Līfstæinn*, s. of Andvēttr and Gillaug, br. of Sibbi and Skalli, 11th ct., *U* 173.

662. *Līfstæinn*, f. of (H)RōlfR and Āskell, d. in Gårdstånge in Skåne; ca. 1025; his sons brought him back to Finnveden, *Sm* 52; *U* 1158.

663. *Līfstæinn*, h. of Ingirūn, f. of Iarundr, Luðinn, and Nikulas, owned a village in ÞorsholmR (Torsholma) and a ship company (*skiplið*) in RōlstaðiR (Rolsta), ca. 1000, *U* 347–348.

664. *Liknat* (Liknhuatr), s. of (H)Rōðvīsl, h. of **Ailikni** and f. of Liknvī

and Aihvatr; traveled to Garðar (Rus'), d. in Vindau, ca. 1000–1050, *G* 113, 114, 135.

665. *Liknraifr*, rune carver, ca. 1000–1050, *G* 113.

666. *Liknvī*, dt. of Liknat and **Ailikni**, st. of Aihvatr, ca. 1000–1050, *G* 114.

667. *Līkviðr*, s. of HolmgæiRR, br. of Rīkviðr and Vīseti, after 1070, *U* 984.

668. *Lini*, s. of Aunn, f. of Bräsi, ca. 960, Hälsingland/*L* 1065.

669. *Lītli*, rune carver, ca. 1070–1100, *Vs* 22, 27.

[*Liūtr* = OR *Ljut*, 975]

670. *Liūtr*, f. of Āki and Styrr, skipper (*stȳrimaðr*), 11th ct., *U* 1016.

[*Ljōtolfr* = OR *Lidul* 912]

671. *Ljótolfr*, f. of Áleifr, ca. 1000, Isle of Man/*J* 82.

671a. *Lōfi*, commander, after 1070, *U* 479.

672. *Lōfi*, rune carver, ca. 1050, *Ög* 64.

673. *Luðinn*, s. of Līfstæinn and Ingirūn, br. of Iarundr and Nikulas, ca. 1100, *U* 347.

Lumber, see *AlrikR Lumber*

674. **Lutaris**, f. of Toki, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 145.

M

[*Manni* = OR *Monȳ*, 945]

675. *Manni*, kinsman (*frændi*) of Alfkil; land steward (*landhirþiR*) to Kætil the Norwegian, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 107.

676. *Manni*, s. of commander Holmstæinn, br. of (H)RōðgæiRR and **Mus-kia**, ca. 1041, *Sö* 173.

677. *Manni*, d. in London, together with Sweni; Swen and Þorgotr erected *kumbl*s for them; ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 337.

678. *Margareti*, w. of Biorn Hos(v)i, 11th ct., *Vg* 146.

679. *Mistiwi(R)*, Mistivoj, K of Obotriti, d. ca. 990, *DR* 55.

680. *Muli*, s. of Toki, br. of ÞorgiR, a warrior, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 121.

681. **Mus-kia**, s. of commander Holmstæinn; togethr with his brother Manni, he set up a stone for their father and for their brother, (H)RōðgæiRR, ca. 1041, *Sö* 176.

N

682. *Nafni*, br. of Toki, set up a stone for him, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 266.

683. *Nāttfari*, s. VīkingR, "a born possessor of an *ōðal*" (*landburinn*), before 1050, *Sö* 54.

684. *Neriðr's son*, of West Agder, grand-f. of Eyvindr úrarhorn, fl. ca. 850, *NYR* 209.

685. *Nikulas*, s. of Līfstæinn and Ingirūn, br. of Iarundr and Luðinn, ca. 1100, *U* 347.

686. **——nuir**, m. of Svæinn; she set up a stone for him, ca. 1050, *Sm* 46.

687. *NykR, felagi* of Abbi, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 339.

688. *NærfiR*, f. of GunulfR, ca. 850–950, *DR* 230.

689. *Næsbiorn*, s. of BorgulfR, br. of HæmingR, Hærbiorn, and UlfR, h. of Gillaug and f. of KylfingR, 11th ct., *U* 444, 445.

O

690. *OddlōgR*, "good *bōndi*, [who lived in HaðistaðiR, but] d. in Greece," probably a Varangian; Āsgōta and Guðmundr set up a stone for him, before 1050, *Ög* 94.

691. *Ōðindīs*, st. of Sigmundr, w. of Holmgautr, ca. 1050–1070, *Vs* 24.

692. *ŌfœigR*, rune carver, 11th ct., *U* 669.

693. *ŌfœigR*, s. of ÞōriR, 10th ct., Hälsingland/*L* 1065.

694. *ŌfœigR*, f. of Uddi, set up a stone for him, 11th ct., *Sm* 48.

Óláfr, see also *ŌlafR* and *OlafR*

695. *Óláfr*, St. Óláfr (Olaf), K of N, 1015–1030, *NYR* 210, 252; his church in Novgorod, ca. 1070–1080, *U* 687.

696. *ŌlafR*, f. of Biorn, built an inn (*liknhus*) and a bridge in memory of his son, 11th ct., *Sö* 174.

697. *Óláfr*, made runes together with Finnr, 11th ct., *NYR* 182.

698. *OlafR*, magR of Fræþi, "a very highborn *drængR*," ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 289.

699. *ŌlafR*, s. of Gufi, "a brave *drængR*," d. in Estland, before 1050, *Vg* 181.

700. *ŌlafR*, f. of Solfa, set up a stone for him, ca. 1000, *Sö* 53.

[*ŌlœifR* = OR *Uléb*, 945, 1146]

701. *ŌlœifR*, rune carver, 11th ct., *U* 145.

702. *ŌlœifR*, Inga's successor, he "plowed with his prow" in the east, probably a Varangian, d. in the Catepanate of Italy, ca. 1020–1060, *Sö* 65.

703. *ŌlœifR*, s. of ÞrȳðrīkR, active in Greece (as a Varangian?), where he "divided gold"; after 1050, *Sö* 163.

704. *ŌlœifR*, s. of VīkingR, a *landburinn*, before 1050, *Sö* 54.

705. *ŌnœmR* of BārastaðiR (Bårresta), f. of Fastvī, Gȳrīðr, and Gudlaug, ca. 1010–1030, *U* 112, 328, 336.

706. *Ormika*, together with UlfaRR traveled to Greece, Jerusalem, Åland (?), and Serkland, after 1050, *G/R* 196.

Ormr, see also *OrmR*

707. *Ormr Gunnhildarson*, ca. 1050–1090, *NYR* 274.

708. *OrmR*, s. of Eilífr, Earl of Upland (Norway), 11th ct., *Sö* 101.

709. *OrmR*, f. of Frosti and ÞÿðiskR, 11th ct., *Sö* 22.

710. *OrmR*, stepson of Gunnvaldr of Berga, d. with Ingvarr in 1041, *Vs* 19.

711. *OrmR*, f. of Sigriðr, 11th ct., *Sö* 101.

712. *OrmR*, s.(?) of Sværinn and Þorgærðr, d. in Greece, 11th ct., *U* 518.

713. *OrmulfR*, s.(?) of Sværinn and Þorgærðr, br. of FrøygæiRR and OrmæiRR, a member of FrøygæiRR's retinue, d. in Greece, ca. 1050, *U* 518.

714. *OrmæiRR*, s.(?) of Sværinn and Þorgærðr, br. of FrøygæiRR and OrmulfR, a member of FrøygæiRR's retinue, d. in Greece, ca. 1050, *U* 518.

715. *Ōrøkia*, br. of DiarfR, GæiRhialmR, lōgæiRR, Sværinn, and Vīgi, ca. 1010–1020, *U* 539.

716. *Ōrøkia*, s. of StødingR, br. of Arni and Þialfi, 11th ct., *U* 948.

717. *Osbiorn*, f. of Oþinkor, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 81.

718. *Ōsnikinn*, br. of UlfR, *skipari* under Holmstæinn, d. with Ingvarr in 1041, *Sö* 335.

719. *ŌtamR*, s. of (H)Līføy, br. of Anundr, Biūrstæinn, and GæiRhvatr, ca. 1041, *Sö* 320.

720. *ŌtryggR*, s. of Biorn and Īgulfrīðr, d. in Finland, before 1050, *U* 582.

721. *ŌtryggR*, s. of Fastvī, br. of Gærðarr, d. in Greece, 11th ct., *U* 1087.

722. *ŌtryggR*, f. of Guðmundr, Kāri, Knūtr, Skāri, and SværtingR, a Varangian, member of GuðvēR's retinue (in Constantinople), ca. 1050, *Sö* 217.

Øttarr, see also *Ōttarr*

[*Ōttarr* = OR **Uta*, see *Utin*, 945]

723. *Ōttarr*, d. in the east, 11th ct., *Sö* 216.

724. *Ōttarr*, s. of Liknat and **Ailikni**, ca. 1000–1050, *G* 113.

725. *Óttarr*, s. of Qrn, ca. 950–1000, *NYR* 453.

726. *Oþinkor*, Þiuþwi (his wife?) erected a stone for him, ca. 800–900, *DR* 239.

727. *Oþinkor*, f. of Queen Asfriþr (who was the w. of King Gnupa), 10th ct., *DR* 4.

728. *Oþinkor*, s. of Osbiorn, "dear and loyal man" to Sasgærðr, d. at FinulfR, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 81.

729. *Oþinkor*, s. of Þorwi, br. of Guþmundr, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 133.

R

see also (H)R

730. **——RA**, a companion of Tomi, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 270.

731. *RāðulfR*, f. of the five Valki, ca. 840, *Ög* 136.

732. *Rafn*, br. of BiarngiR, a *swen* of GunulfR of S, ca. 1050–1100, *DR* 344.

733. *Rafnunga-Tofi*, a man of Þorwi, ca. 900–940, *DR* 26, 29, 34.

734. *Ragna*, w. of Svæinn, m. of Ragnborg and Sefa, before 1035, *Sö* 14.

735. *Ragnarr*, s. of Emundr, K of S (1050–1060), and Ragnhildr; br. of Anundr, Hākon, Ingvarr, and ÆirīkR; d. before 1041, *U* 513.

736. *Ragnarr*, s. of Hælgi and Rūna, br. of Andvēttr, Spiallbuði, and Svæinn, ca. 1070–1080, *U* 687.

737. *Ragnborg*, dt. of Svæinn and Ragna, before 1035, *Sö* 14.

738. *Ragnfastr*, of SnutastaðiR, s. of Sigfastr, br. of Gȳrīðr and Æstrīðr, h. of Inga, a retinue commander possibly in eastern Europe, his unnamed son died prematurely, ca. 1060, *U* 29, 329–332.

739. *Ragnfrīðr*, w. of Ingifastr of Bro, 11th ct., *U* 148.

740. *Ragnfrīðr*, w. of Kætilmundr of Ängby, m. of Biorn, ca. 1040, *U* 346, 356.

741. *Ragnhildr*, of Rimbo, w. of Emundr, K of S (d. 1066), m. of Anundr, Hākon, Ingvarr, Ragnarr, and ÆirīkR, *U* 540.

742. *Ragnhildr*, st. of UlfR, w. of (1) GunulfR and of (2) Alli the Pallid, ca. 850–950, *DR* 209, 230.

743. *Ragnhildr*, dt. of Ingiberg, st. of Ulfhildr, before 1050, *U* 215.

744. *Ragni*, s. of Gunni, d. in the west, 11th ct., *Sö* 62.

[*Ragnvaldr* = OR *Rogvolod*, 980]

745. *Ragnvaldr*, s. of Anundr and Æstrīðr, "powerful in Rauningi" (modern Runtuna?), d. in Denmark, ca. 1030, *Sö/R* 83.

746. *Ragnvaldr*, s. of Ingvarr (I) and Fastvī, br. of Iarlabanki (II), Ingvarr (II), and Sigviðr; commander of the Varangian Guard in Constantinople, d. ca. 1043, *U* 112, 309, 310.

747. *Rannveig*, ca. 950, *NYR* 541.

748. *Rannveig*, w. (?) of Ogmundr Hreppisson, ca. 1000, *NYR* 213.

749. *Raþi*, his br. ÞolfR erected a stone for him, "a very highborn *drængR*," ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 77.

750. *Raþialbr*, friend of Liknat, ca. 1000–1050, *G* 113.

Rauð-Balli, cf. *Balli*

751. *Rifli*, s. of ÆsgiR Biorn; Toki *smiðr* set up a stone for him, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 91.

752. *Rīkviðr*, s. of HolmgæiRR, br. of Līkviðr and Vīseti, after 1070, *U* 984.

753. *RiþiR*, br. of Hofi and ÞorlakR, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 160.

754. *RiuskR*, erected a stone for his brother UfagR, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 138.

755. *Roaldr*, f. of Gunwaldr, ca. 800–900, *DR* 248.

756. *Roþanþr* (Hróðvaldr?), dt. of (H)Rōðvīsl, ca. 1050, *G* 135.

757. *RoulfR, felagi* of **Ful**, ca. 1000, *DR* 66.

758. *RoulfR*, made *kumbl*s, he was "*goþi* of the Naze dwellers," his sons set up a memorial for him, ca. 800–900, *DR* 189, 190, 192, 193.

759. *RugulfR*, f. of the five HæiþulfR, ca. 840, *Ög* 136.

760. *Rūna*, w. of Hælgi, m. of Andvēttr, Ragnarr, Spiallbuði, and Svæinn, ca. 1080–1090, *U* 687.

761. *Rūna*, w. of Rūnfastr, m. of Hagbarðr and Ingigærðr, 11th ct., *U* 1041.

762. *Rūnfastr*, a *drængR*, d. in Runö, after 1070, *Vs* 22.

763. *Rūnfastr*, h. of Rūna, f. of Hagbarðr and Ingigærðr, 11th ct., *U* 1041.

RunulfR, see also *RūnulfR*

764. *RunulfR* the Shrewd (*raþspakR*), f. of Hofi, Þorbiorn and Þorkil, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 161.

765. *RūnulfR*, s. of Āmundi, nephew of HringR, drowned in Kalmarsund as he was returning from Skåne, before 1050, *Sö* 333.

766. *Rysia*, br. of N.N., d. in the east, ca. 1050–1070, *Sö* 92.

767. *Ræfna*, dt.(?) of Wiburg and st. of Tobbi, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 30.

768. *Røðr*, br. of Tōki who died in Åland(?), 11th ct., *Ög* 104.

S

769. **Saga iutis**, his *hūskarl* was **Tuku——iR**, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 154.

770. *Sandulfr hinn svarti* ("the Black"), h. of Arinbiǫrg, set up a stone for her, ca. 950, Isle of Man/*J* 79.

771. *Sasgærþr*, dt. of FinnulfR, set up a stone for her "dear and loyal man" Oþinkor, s. of Osbiorn, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 81.

Sassurr, see also *Sasurr* and *Sazur*

772. *Sassurr*, s. of GæiRbiorn, br. of Gunnarr, ca. 1000–1030, *U* 258.

773. *Sasurr*, treacherously killed Hælgi, after 1050, *U* 954.

774. *Saxi*, set up a stone for his *felagi* Æsbiorn, ca. 980–990, *DR* 279.

775. *Saxi*, s. of Æistr, grand-s. of Svarthaufði, set up a stone for his father, 11th ct., *U* 459.

776. *Sazur*, set up a stone and made a bridge, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 238.

777. *Sazur*, s. of Alwarþr, set up a stone for him, ca. 1050, *DR* 379.

778. *Sazur*, GeRmundr made memorials for him, Star erected a stone, Þor consecrated the *kumbl*s, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 110.

779. *Sefa*, w. of BægliR, ca. 1041, *Sö* 96.

780. *Sefa*, dt. of Svæinn and Ragna, before 1035, *Sö* 14.

781. *Seim-Þórir*, s. of Þorbiǫrn skáld of Rogaland, fell in Denmark in 970s, *NYR* 239.

782. *Sibba*, h. of (H)Rōþiauþ, f. of **Ailikni**, ca. 1000-1050, *G* 111 112.

783. *Sibbi*, his w. set up a stone for him, was killed, 11th ct., *U* 158.

784. *Sibbi*, s. of Andvēttr and Gillaug, br. of Līfstæinn and Skalli, 11th ct., *U* 173.

785. *Sibbi* [*inn*] *gōði*, s. of Foldarr, ca. 1000, *Öl* 1.

786. *Sibbi*, s. of Gismundr(?), br.(?) of Ærinmundr and ÞōriR; brothers set up a stone for their brother(?) Svæinn, who d. in the east, after 1050, *U* 283.

787. *SigdiarfR*, br. of Stōði and Æist-UlfR, 11th ct., *U* 968.

788. *Sigfastr* (see Øystæinn, s. of Gunnarr), 11th ct., *U* 419.

789. *Sigfastr*, together with Brandr, Vīkætill, and Hælga, erected a stone for Andvēttr, 11th ct., *U* 1036.

790. *Sigfastr*, f. of Gismundr and VīkingR, 11th ct., *U* 260.

791. *Sigfastr*, s. of HolmlaugR and Holmfrīðr, br. of Fasti, d. "in white clothes," before 1050, *U* 243.

792. *Sigfastr* of Snottsta, s. of Vīfastr, br. of Gȳrīðr and Sigviðr, f. of Gȳrīðr, Ragnfastr, and Æstrīðr, ca. 1040-1060, *U* 329, 623.

793. *Sighvatr*, br. of Sigstæinn, Þōrbiorn, ÞōrgrīmR, and Ærinmundr; brothers set up a stone for Sigstæinn, who died in Viborg, after 1050, *U* 180.

[*Sigmundr* = *Šimon*, *Paterikon*, 1024 etc.]

794. *Sigmundr*, br. of Ōðindīs, 11th ct., *Vs* 24.

795. *SigrefR*, had a stone erected to Forkunnr **if——r**, ca. 1000-1050, *DR* 345.

Sigrīðr, see also *Sigrīþr* and *Sigríðr*

796. *Sigríðr*, ca. 850, *NYR* 138.

797. *Sigrīðr*, dt. of Ormr iarl, w. of (1) Spiūt of Kjula, and (2) Sigrøðr of Mora, m. of AlrīkR, ca. 1020, *Sö* 101, 106.

798. *Sigrīþr*, w. of Spiallbuði, ca. 1070-1080, *U* 687.

799. *Sigrūðr*, w. of Kāri, m. of Anundr, ca. 1040, *U* 532, 533.

[*Sigrøðr* = OR *Šibrid*, 945]

800. *Sigrøðr*, his *hūskarl* was Hæra, 11th ct., *U* 335.

801. *Sigrøðr*, set up a stone for Forkunnr **if——r**, ca. 1000-1050, *DR* 345.

802. *Sigrøðr*, s. of HolmgæiRR, br. of Ginnlaug and Gautr, h. of Sigrīðr and f. of AlrīkR, 11th ct., *Sö* 101.

803. *Sigstæinn*, s. of HrōlfR, br. of Hākon, f. of Ingvarr, who met with his death in the east, before 1050, *Ög* 30, 149, 152.

804. *Sigstæinn*, br. of Sighvatr, Þōrbiorn, ÞōrgrīmR, and Ærinmundr, d. in Viborg, after 1050, *U* 180.

805. *SigtryggR*, s. of Gnupa and Asfriþr, K of Hedeby, d. ca. 950, *DR* 2, 4.

806. *SigtryggR*, his successors erected a memorial stone for Auðvaldr, after 1100, *G/R* 195.

807. *Sigþorn*, f. of Ingifastr and Þōrbiorn, d. during an expedition (*i faru*), after 1070, *Vs* 27.

808. *Sigviðr*, s. of Holmviðr (of Högstena) and Gȳrīðr, br. of Hani and Þōrbiorn, ca. 1050, *Sö* 116.

809. *Sigviðr*, f. of Ingifastr, "he fell in Hōlmgarðr (Novgorod), the ship's captain (*skæiðar vīsi*) with his crew," before 1050, *Sö* 171.

810. *Sigviðr*, s. of Ingvarr (I) and Fastvī, ca. 1050, *U* 309.

811. *Sigviðr*, s. of VīdiarfR, after 1050, *U* 978.

812. *Sigviðr*, s. of Vīfastr, br. of Gȳrīðr and Sigfastr, ca. 1041, *U* 623.

813. *Sigwaldi*, br. of Gyrþr, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 62.

814. *SigulfR*, br. of Sōti, h. of Gȳrīðr, f. of Āsmundr and **E——iR**, he was a member of Lōfi's retinue (*lið*), after 1070, *U* 479.

815. **Sinfaþur**, see *Fœar-Āsmundi*, ca. 1020–1060, *Sö* 110.

816. *Skagi*, s. of Goði, rune carver, ca. 850, *Sm* 144.

817. *Skalli*, s. of Andvēttr and Gillaug, br. of Līfstæinn and Sibbi, 11th ct., *U* 173.

Skarði, see also *Skarþi*

818. *Skarði*, f. of Bjalfi, set up a stone for him before 1000, *NYR* 244.

819. *Skarði*, s. of Øyvindr, br. of Halfdan and Spiūti, d. with Ingvarr in Serkland in 1041, *Sö* 131.

820. *SkarfR*, f. of (H)RōðlæifR, went with Ingvarr in 1041, *Sö* 107.

821. *Skāri*, s. of ŌtryggR, br. of Guðmundr, Kāri, Knūtr, and SværtingR, ca. 1050, *Sö* 217.

822. *Skarþi* retainer (*hemþægi*) of Svæinn, K of D (d. 1014), went westwards, but d. in Hedeby, *DR* 3.

823. *Skógr*, rune carver, ca. 1000, *NYR* 213.

824. *Skopti*, s. of Vali, br. of Finnr, ca. 1050–1100, *NYR* 29.

825. *Skrauti*, BillingR set up a stone for him, ca. 900, Skåne/*J* 29.

826. *Skūli*, br. of Folki and Hūsbiorn, after 1050, *U* 614.

827. *SkærðiR*, d. "in England in the host" (*þingalið*?); Øybiorn set up a stone for him, before 1030, *Sö* 160.

828. *Slagvi*, s. of GuðlæifR, d. in the east in Khwārizm (**Karusm**), ca. 1041, *Vs* 1–2.

[*Slōði* = OR *Sludy*, 945]

829. *Slōði*, Albōð's partner, Frisian guild brother (*gildi*), ca. 1050, *U* 391.

830. *Slōði*, s. of Auðar, 11th ct., *Sö* 327.

831. **Sluta**, a *fēlagi* of Æsbiorn, set up a stone for him and made a bridge, 11th ct., *Vg* 182.

832. *Smiðr,* s. of Hærþrūðr, br. of Halfborinn, "a good *drængR,*" ca. 1050, *Öl* 28.

833. *Smiðr,* s. of VīkingR, "the best *drængR,*" 11th ct., *U* 802.

834. **SniriR**, ca. 1000, *U* 5.

835. *Solfa,* s. of ŌlafR, found death in the west, ca. 1000, *Sö* 53.

Soti, see also *Sōti*

836. *Soti,* man of Alli the Pallid, rune carver, ca. 850–950, *DR* 209.

837. *Soti,* s. of Asgotr, br. of ElefR, set up a stone for his brother, ca. 900–940, *DR* 202.

838. *Sōti,* br. of SigulfR, after 1070, *U* 479.

839. *Soti,* f. of Þorþr, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 227.

840. *Spiallbuði,* a leader in E, 11th ct., *Vs* 5.

841. *Spiallbuði,* s. of Biorn and Gislaug, br. of GæiRi, Holmfastr, Ingvarr, and Þiagn, after 1050, *U* 363.

842. *Spiallbuði,* s. of Hælgi and Rūna, br. of Andvēttr, Ragnarr and Svæinn, h. of Sigrīþr, d. in Hōlmgardr (Novgorod) in St. Óláfr's church, ca. 1070–1080, *U* 687.

843. *Spiūt* of Kjula, h. of Sigrīðr, f. of AlrīkR, "he had been in the west, township taken and attacked," ca. 1020, *Sö* 101, 106.

844. *Spiūti,* s. of Øyvindr, br. of Halfdan and Skarði; together with Halfdan, he set up a stone for their brother Skarði; ca. 1041, *Sö* 131.

845. *Spærla,* s. of Østen, *skipari* to Æsbiorn Næf, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 218.

846. **——stain**, son of BægliR, ca. 1041, *Sö* 96.

847. *Star,* erected the stone for Sazur, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 110.

848. *Starkarr,* s. of GæiRi, br. of Gīsl and Hiorvarðr, before 1035, *U* 669.

849. *Steinarr,* br. of Gautr, ca. after 1000, *NYR* 223.

850. *Steinarr,* f. of Þorgerðr, ca. 950, Hebrides/*J* 76.

851. *StikuR,* f. of Øyvindr, ca. 800, *Ög* 8.

852. *Stōði,* br. of Sigdiarfr, and Æist-UlfR, set up with Sigdiarfr a stone for Æist-UlfR, 11th ct., *U* 968.

853. *Stōri,* f. of VīkingR, 11th ct., *Sö* 269.

854. **Stulnuſþi**, set up a stone for his father, "a mighty highborn *þægn,*" 11th ct., *Vg* 108.

855. *Styrbiorn,* s. of IngigēR, br. of HolmiR, StyrlaugR and Þorkell; a good *þægn,* d. in the Austrvegr together with his brother Þorkell, ca. 1050, *Sö* 34.

856. *StyrlaugR,* s. of IngigēR, br. of HolmbR, Styrbiorn, and Þorkell, made with his brother HolmbR a stone for their brothers, Þorkell and Styrbiorn, ca. 1050, *Sö* 34.

[*Styrr* = OR *Stir,* 945]

857. *Styrr* (?), s. of Liūtr, *stȳrimaðr,* br. of Āki, "came to the Greek harbors, died at home," 11th ct., *U* 1016.

858. *Stæinbiorn*, br. of Holmstæinn and Æistr, 11th ct., *U* 780.

859. *Stæinfrīðr*, st.(?) of Biorn and Gīsli, ca. 1050, *U* 611.

860. *Stæinfrīðr*, (see Øystæinn, s. of Gunnarr), 11th ct., *U* 419.

861. *Stæinhildr*, w. of Vīðbiorn, ca. 1050, *U* 956.

862. *Stæinkætill*, rune carver, 11th ct., *Sö* 54.

863. *Stæinn*, rune carver, ca. 1050, Jämtland/*L* 1085.

864. *Stæinn*, f. of Fullhugi and Þorkell, 11th ct., *U* 145.

865. *Stæinn*, s. of Tosti of Vansta, br. of Svæinn, ca. 1041, *Sö* 254.

866. *Stæinn*, relative of Æshæiðr, 11th ct., *Sö* 139.

867. *Stærkarr*, s. of GæiRi, 11th ct., *U* 668, 669.

[*StøðingR* = OR **Studek-* > poss. form *Studek-ov*, *945*]

868. *StøðingR*, f. of Arni, Þialfi and Ōrøkia, 11th ct., *U* 948.

869. **Sufar**, f. of ĀsgæiRR, ca. 1050, *U* 698.

870. *SumiR*, d. in the east at the mouth of the (West) Dvina River, *Sö* 121.

871. *Sunnhvatr*, s. of Tōki, br. of Gautdiarfr, Þiagn and ÞorulfR, ca. 1010–1030, *U* 201.

872. **—sur**, br. of **As——**, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 220.

873. *Svarthaufði*, h. of Þorgunn, f. of Anundr and Æistr, 11th ct., *U* 457, 458.

874. *Svæina* (Svēna), st. of Øyvindr, ca. 1020, *Ög* 68.

[*Svæinn* = OR *Svěnь*, 945]

Svæinn, see also *Swen*

875. *Svæinn*, rune carver, Gästrikland/*R* 187.

876. *Svæinn*, Ingvarr set up a stone for him, 11th ct., *U* 111.

877. *Svæinn*, s. of **——nuir**, d. in the east in Greece (probably a Varangian), ca. 1050, *Sm* 46.

878. *Svæinn*, s. of Āsgautr **hlu**, br. of Ōðkætill, 11th ct., *Vg* 103.

879. *Svæinn*, s. of Gismundr, d. in the east; his brothers(?) Sibbi, Ærinmundr, and ÞōriR set up a stone for him, after 1050, *U* 225.

880. *Svæinn*, br. of Gunnar, Halfdan, and UlfR, after 1050, *U* 153.

881. *Svæinn*, s. of Halfdan and Holmfrīðr, br. of Dan and Hūskarl, 11th ct., *U* 240–241.

882. *Svæinn*, uncle of Heðinn, 11th ct., *Sö* 165.

883. *Svæinn*, br. of DiarfR, GæiRhialmR, IōgæiRR, Ōrøkia, and Vīgi; "he died in Jutland while on his way to England," ca. 1010–1020, *U* 539.

884. *Svæinn*, s. of Hælgi and Rūna, br. of Andvēttr, Ragnarr, and Spiallbuði, ca. 1070–1080, *U* 687.

885. *Svæinn* (II), s. of Iarlabanki (I) and Fastvi, h. of Ingiþōra, f. of ÞōriR and Þorstæinn, d. ca. 1070 in Greece, *U* 104, 150.

[886. Has been omitted.]

887. *Svæinn*, h. of Ingiþōra, f. of ÞōriR and Þōrstæinn, was in Greece, ca. 1070, *U* 104.

888. *Svæinn*, h. of Kætiløy, f. of Andvēttr and Gærðarr, ca. 1050, *U* 80.

889. *Svæinn*, h. of Ragna, f. of Ragnberg and Sefa, "he went west with Canute" (d. 1035), *Sö* 14.

890. *Svæinn*, h. of Sigrīðr, "he often sailed / to Semgallen / in dear-prized *knarr* / around Domesnäs" (Latvia), ca. 1020-1060, *Sö* 198.

891. *Svæinn*, s. of Tosti of Vansta, br. of Stæinn, ca. 1041, *Sö* 254.

892. *Svæinn*, s. of Þōra, d. in the west, ca. 1020, *Ög* 83.

893. *Svæinn*, h. of Þorgærðr, f. (?) of commander FrøygæiRR, OrmR, and OrmulfR, before 1050, *U* 518.

894. *Svæinn*, s. of VīkingR, set up together with his brothers, Halfdan and Svæinn, and their sister Þōra a stone for their father and their brother *þægn*, 11th ct., *U* 34.

895. *Svæinn* (1), s. of Øystæinn (of Broby) and Æstrīðr, br. of GagR, Ingifastr, Ingvarr, and Øystæinn, ca. 1040, *U* 135.

896. *Svæinn*, s. of Æistr, br. of Āsgautr, Ingibiorn and Ingifastr, 11th ct., *U* 181.

897. *Sværri*, br. of Gnauðjmandr and Æskell, d. in E, ca. 1050, *Sö* 46.

898. *SværtingR*, s. of ŌtryggR, br. of Guðmundr, Kāri, Knūtr, and Skāri, ca. 1050, *Sö* 217.

899. *Swen*, s. of BallungR, h. of Kata, "the most prominent of the *þægn*s," ca. 1000-1050, *DR* 277.

900. *Swen*, s. of Haraldr, K of D 980-1014, *DR* 1, 3.

901. *Swen*, **kims**man of Asgotr, ca. 940-1000, *DR* 90.

902. *Swen*, together with Þorgotr, made *kumbl*s for Manni and Sweni, ca. 1000-1050, *DR* 337.

903. *Sweni*, s. of Tosti "the Sharp," d. in London together with Manni, ca. 1000-1050, *DR* 337, 338.

904. *Swiþingr*, cf. Hornbori, ca. 800-900, *DR* 250.

905. *Sygrøðr*, of Mora, s. of HolmgæiRR of Bro, before 1050, *Sö* 101, *U* 617.

906. *Sæbiorn*, f. of Hærlæif and Þorgærðr, commander of a ship in Ingvarr's campaign in 1041 (in Serkland [?] **askalat**), *U* 439.

907. *Sølsi*, ca. 850, *Ög* 43.

T

908. *Tafæistr*, made a stone for his brother, ca. 1050, *U* 722.

909. *Tafæistr*, 11th ct., *U* 467.

910. *Tobbi*, s. (?) of Wiburg, a br. of Ræfna, ca. 940-1000, *DR* 30.

Tofa, see also *Tōfa*

911. *Tōfa*, w. of HæmingR, m. of Gunnarr, ca. 1020–1050, *U* 431.

912. *Tofa*, dt. of Mstivoj, K of Obotriti, w. of Haraldr Gormsson, K of D, 940–985, *DR* 55.

913. *Tofa*, m. of Toki, w.(?) of Abbi, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 143.

914. *Tofa*, w. of Tomi, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 98.

915. *Tofa*, m. of Tosti, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 78.

916. *Tōfa*, dt. of marshal Vrāi, (before 1029), *Sm* 76.

Tofi, see *Rafnunga-Tofi*

917. *Tofi*, the land steward (*bryti*), erected a stone for Þorgunnr, the steward's wife, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 40.

918. *Tofi*, a *skipari*, to him and his colleague ÞiriR N.N., set up a stone, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 82.

919. *Tofi*, erected a stone to his companion UmonR, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 316.

920. *Tofi*, s. of **Kitu**, set up a stone for his companion, foster-son of ÞorgnyR, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 125.

921. *Tofi*, br. of *smiðr* Tosti, d. in the east, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 108.

922. *Tofi* (or Toki), f. of Æsbiorn, ca. 980–990, *DR* 279.

923. *Tōka*, w. of VīkingR; their unnamed children set up a stone for them, 11th ct., *U* 175.

[*Tōki* = OR *Tukv*, 1067, 1078]

Toki, see also *Tōki* and *VīkingR Tōki*

Toki, see *Tofi*, f. of Æsbiorn

924. *Toki*, had a church built in Lund, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 315.

925. *Toki*, a commander; his *huskarl*s were named Ærra and Æsbiorn, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 296–297.

926. *Tōki* and his brother erected stones for their brothers: one died in the west, the other in the east, ca. 1020–1060, *Vg* 197.

927. *Toki*, together with Ginna set up the London stone, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 412.

928. *Toki, smiðr*, erected a stone to Þorgisl, s. of Guþmundr, who "gave him gold and freedom," ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 58.

929. *Toki, smiðr* (the same as above, *DR* 58?), erected a stone for Rifli, s. of Æsgir Biorn, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 91.

930. *Toki*, s. of Abbi, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 56.

931. *Toki*, s. of Asa, *DR* 219.

932. *Tōki*, s. of Bysia; set up, together with his brother Þorðr, a stone for their father, ca. 1050, *Sö* 49.

933. *Toki*, s. of Fraþulfr, br. of BroþiR, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 343.

934. *Tōki*, f. of GautdjarfR, Sunnhvatr, Þiagn, and Þōrulfr, d. in Greece, ca. 1010-1030, *U* 201.

935. *Toki*, s. of GormR, commander, "gracious master" (*drottin*) to Æskil: "he did not flee at Uppsala" (the Fýris battle, ca. 980-990), *DR* 295.

936. *Toki*, s. of HaklangR and Asa, ca. 940-1000, *DR* 219.

937. *Toki*, s. of **Lutaris**, set up a stone for Asti, his son, ca. 940-1000, *DR* 145.

938. *Toki*, br. of Nafni, d. in the west, ca. 1000-1050, *DR* 266.

939. *Tōki*, br. of Røðr, he fought well, d. in Åland(?), 11th ct., *Ög* 104.

940. *Toki*, s. of Tofa, inherited property from Abbi, ca. 940-1000, *DR* 143.

941. *Toki*, f. of Þorgir and Muli, ca. 1000-1050, *DR* 121.

942. *Toki*, s. of Þorgisl, ca. 940-1000, *DR* 53.

943. *Toki*, br. of Æsbiorn, *DR* 297.

944. *Tola* (or Toli?), set up *kumbl*s to KrokR's son, ca. 940-1000, *DR* 106.

945. *Tōla* of Gripsholm, second wife of Emundr, K of S, 1050-1060, m. of Haraldr, "brother of Ingvarr," and of a daughter; set up a stone for her son, 1041, *Sö* 179.

946. *Tōla*, m. of GæiRR, before 1050, *Vg* 61.

947. *Tobi*, f. of Ingialdr, "a very highborn *drængR*," made for him a stone, ca. 1000-1050, *DR* 94.

Toli, see *Tola*

948. *TōliR*, steward (*bryti*) of Hākon, K of S (1068-1080), in Roðr (Roden), h. of Gylla, *U* 11.

Tomi, see also *Tummi*.

949. *Tomi*, erected a stone for his companion ——**RA**, ca. 1000-1050, *DR* 270.

950. *Tomi*, br. of Hunwiþr, erected a stone for him, ca. 1000-1050, *DR* 276.

951. *Tomi*, h. of Tofa, a *þægn*, his wife erected a stone for him, ca. 1000-1050, *DR* 98.

952. *Tonna*, w. of BramR, set up a stone for him, ca. 1000-1050, *DR* 291.

953. *Tosti*, Skǫglar-Tósti, took Danegeld in England, end of the 10th ct., *U* 344.

954. *Tosti*, Aswiþr's *smiðr*, ca. 1000-1050, *DR* 108.

955. *Tosti*, a man of Azur Saxi, together with Hofi and Frøbiorn, ca. 1000-1050, *DR* 68.

956. *Tosti*, of Vansta, h.(?) of Alfhildr, f. of Svæinn and Stæinn, d. with Ingvarr, 1041, *Sö* 254.

957. *Tosti* the Sharp, f. of Sweni, "a very highborn landowner" (*bondi*), ca. 1000-1050, *DR* 338.

958. *Tosti,* s. of Tofa, a **hib——a** *a drængR,* ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 78.

959. *Tryn,* rune carver, ca. 1050, Jämtland/*L* 1085.

960. **Tuku——iR**, Asa set up a stone for him, a *huskarl* to **Saga iutis**, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 154.

961. *Tummi,* br. of Assurr, ca. 1050, *Sm* 42.

962. *Twæggi,* a relation(?) of Gyrþr and Frøsten, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 62.

963. *Twæggi Hen,* a relation(?) of Tofa, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 98.

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964. *Þiagn,* s. of Biorn and Gīslaug, br. of GæiRi, Holmfastr, Ingvarr, and Spiallbuði, "died abroad" after 1050, *U* 363.

965. *Þiagn,* s. of Hæri, 11th ct., *Sm* 71.

966. *Þiagn,* s. of Tōki, br. of GaudiarfR, Sunhvatr, and ÞorulfR; brothers set up a stone for their father, ca. 1010–1030, *U* 201.

967. *Þiagn,* s. of VīkingR, brothers (Halfdan and Svæinn) and sister (Þōra) set up a stone for him, 11th ct., *U* 34.

968. *Þialfi,* f. of Banki, h. of Holmlaug, ca. 1041, *U* 778.

969. *Þialfi,* s. of GagR, br. of Halfdan, ca. 1070, *U* 925.

970. *Þialfi,* s. of StødingR, br. of Arni and Orōkia, 11th ct., *U* 948.

971. *Þialfi,* an uncle of VīkingR, set up a stone for him, 11th ct., *U* 681.

972. *Þialfi,* br. of Væringr, who set up a stone for him; Þialfi was a warrior who served with Canute the Great, 1014–1035, *Ög* 111.

973. *ÞiōðgeiRR,* s. of Þiōðmundr, br. of GuðlæifR and Karl; brothers set up a stone for their father, ca. 1050, Järvsta, Gävle.

974. *Þiōðmundr,* f. of ÞiōðgæiRR, GuðlæifR, and Karl, ca. 1050, Järvsta, Gävle.

975. *ÞiōðrikR,* Theodoric the Great of the Ostrogoths in Italy (d. 526), ca. 840, *Ög* 136.

976. *ÞiriR, skipari,* to him and Tofi, N.N. set up a stone, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 82.

977. *ÞiuðulfR,* s. of Bōi, br. of FarulfR, 11th ct., *Sö* 148.

978. *Þiuþburg,* her man was Guþfriþr, ca. 800–900, *DR* 188.

979. *Þiūðr,* a fellow (*fēlagi*) of Biorn, 11th ct., *Vg* 122.

980. *Þiuþwi* (a woman), made a stone to Oþinkor, who should "use *kumbl* well," ca. 800–900 (the famous Gørlev alphabet is included here), *DR* 239.

981. *Þiælfi, drængR* of Canute the Great, K of D and E, 1014–1035, br. of VæringR, *Ög* 111.

[*ÞōlfR* = OR **Tulb-* > poss. from *Tulb-ov,* 945]

982. *Þōlfr*, companion of Asmundr Lippi and UlfR, ca. 1000-1050, *DR* 329.

983. *Þolfr*, br. of Raþi, ca. 1000-1050, *DR* 77.

984. *Þor*, consecrated the *kumbl*s, ca. 940-1000, *DR* 110; ca. 1000-1050, *DR* 220.

985. *Þor*——, f. of O[ddr?], d. in E, ca. 1050, *Sm* 29.

986. *Þōra*, w. of GæiRmundr, "a very highborn *þægn*," 11th ct., *Vg* 115.

987. *Þōra*, m. of Svæinn, ca. 1020, *Ög* 83.

988. *Þōra*, dt. of VīkingR, st. of Halfdan, Svæinn, and Þiagn, 11th ct., *U* 34.

989. *Þōra*, w. of ŌpiR, ca. 1030, *Sö* 137.

990. *Þóraldr*, s. of Engli of Opland (Norway), d. in Vitaholm (Vitičev), near Kiev (Ukraine), ca. 1050, *NYR* 62.

991. *Þorbergr Erlendsson*, of Bergen, h. of Gunnvǫr, set up a stone for her, ca. 1150-1200, *NYR* 287.

[*Þōrbiorn* = OR *Turbern*, 945]

Þorbiorn, see also *Þorbiǫrn*, *Þōrbiorn*

992. *Þōrbiorn*, rune carver (e.g., of the Frisian guild brothers), 11th ct., *U* 379, 391, 467.

993. *Þōrbiorn*, f. of AlvēR and Ingialdr, "he was long in the west," ca. 1030, *Sö* 159.

994. *Þorbiǫrn skáld*, of Rogaland, f. of Seim-Þórir, ca. 970, *NYR* 239.

995. *Þōrbiorn skāld*, rune carver, *U* 29, 70, 379, 391, 532.

996. *Þōrbiorn*, h. of Gyþa, "a very highborn *þægn*," ca. 1000-1050, *DR* 99.

997. *Þōrbiorn*, s. of Holmviðr and Gȳrīðr of Högstena, br. of Hani and Sigviðr, d. with Ingvarr in 1041, *Sö* 105, 116; *U* 623.

998. *Þōrbiorn*, s. of (H)Rūtr, br. of Þōrstæinn, d. (probably) with Ingvarr in 1041, *Sö* 360.

999. *Þōrbiorn*, s. of Īgull and Ærnvī, br. of Ingiþōra, ca. 1070, *U* 151.

1000. *Þorbiorn*, s. of RunulfR the Shrewd, ca. 940-1000, *DR* 161.

1001. *Þōrbiorn*, s. of Sigþorn, br. of Ingifastr, after 1070, *Vs* 27.

1002. *Þōrbiorn*, br. of Sighvatr, Sigstæinn, ÞōrgrīmR, and Ærinmundr, after 1050, *U* 180.

[*Þorðr* = OR *Turd*, 945]

Þorðr, see also *Þórðr* and *Þorþr*

1003. *Þorðr*, rune carver, 11th ct., *Sö* 82.

1004. *Þorðr*, d. in England, ca. 1050, *Sm* 27.

1005. *Þórðr*, á Stafi, made a door in the Ringsaker church, ca. 1050, *NYR* 29.

1006. *Þórðr*, ca. 1000, *NYR* 417.

1007. *Þorðr*, s. of Bysia, br. of Tōki, ca. 1050, *Sö* 49.

1008. *Þorðr*, s. of Funðinn, br. of Æsbiorn, 11th ct., *Vg* 157.

1009. *Þorðr*, s. of Ingifastr, br. of Iarl, Ingimundr, and Vīgbiorn, ca. 1070, *U* 922.

1010. *Þōrfastr*, br. of Dīsa, br.-in-law of HælgulfR, d. in the "Western Way," before 1050, *Sö* 352.

1011. *Þorfinnr*, n.d., *NYR* 6.

[*Þōfriðr* = OR *Turbrid*, 945]

1012. *Þorfriþ*, m. of Āsgōtr, and Gōti, ca. 1041, *Ög* 155.

1013. *Þorgerðr*, d. of Steinar, ca. 950, Hebrides/*J* 76.

1014. *ÞorgiR* **ialus**, made with Tola (or Toli?) and others *kumbl*s for KrokR's son, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 106.

1015. *ÞorgiR*, s. of **itinkil**, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 298.

1016. *ÞorgiR*, s. of Toki, br. of Muli, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 121.

Þōrgīls, see also *Þorgisl*

1017. *Þōrgīls*, br. of Andvēttr and Hugi, f.(?) of BiornlaugR, d. with Ingvarr(?) in 1041, *Sö* 287.

1018. *Þorgisl*, f. of Toki, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 53.

1019. *Þorgisl*, s. of Guþmundr, gave Toki *smiðr* "gold and freedom," ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 58.

1020. *ÞorgnyR*, Tofi, **Kitu**-son set up a stone for his companion, a foster-son of ÞorgnyR, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 125.

1021. *Þorgotr*, together with Swen made *kumbl*s for Manni and Sveni, who d. in London, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 337.

1022. *ÞōrgrimR*, br. of Sighvatr, Sigstæinn, and Ærinmundr, after 1050, *U* 180.

Þorgunn, see also *Þorgunnr*

1023. *Þorgunn*, w. of Svarthaufði and m. of Anundr and Æistr, 11th ct., *U* 459.

1024. *Þorgunnr*, w. of the steward; Tofi erected a stone for her, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 40.

1025. *ÞōrgæiRR*, set up a stone for his uncle Assurr, ca. 1010, *Ög* 81.

1026. *ÞōrgæiRR*, s. of Forkunnr, 11th ct., *U* 126.

1027. *Þōrgærðr*, w.(?) of Svæinn, m.(?) of FrøygæiRR, OrmæiRR, and OrmulfR, ca. 1050, *U* 518.

1028. *Þōrgærðr*, dt. of commander Sæbiorn, st. of Hærlæif, 11th ct., *U* 439.

1029. *Þōrgærðr*, m. of Æist-UlfR, 11th ct., *U* 968.

[*ÞōriR* = OR *Turr*, 980]

Þórir, see also *ÞōriR* and *ÞoriR*; see also *Seim-Þórir*

1030. *ÞoriR*, d. in Öresund with Æskil, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 117.

1031. *ÞoriR*, rune carver, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 85.

1032. *ÞōriR*, rune carver, ca. 1041, *U* 1143; *Sö* 34–35.

1033. *ÞoriR*, br. of Enraþi, erected a stone to his mother, whose death is "the greatest disaster to the son," ca. 940–1000, *DR* 114.

1034. *ÞōriR*, s. (?) of Gismundr, together with Sibbi and Ærimundr set up a stone for Svæinn, after 1050, *U* 283.

1035. *Þórir*, together with Hallvarðr set up a stone for Úlfr inn rauði "twelve winters after Norway became Christian," i.e., 1008/1009, *NYR* 449.

1036. *Þórir*, s. of Hǫrðr, h. of Ásgerðr, set up a stone for her, ca. 1000, *NYR* 225.

1037. *ÞoriR*, companion (*felagi*) of Karl the Good, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 127; *Vg* 112.

1038. *ÞōriR*, f. of ŌfæigR, fl. ca. 870, Hälsingland/*L* 1065.

1039. *ÞōriR*, s. of Svæinn and Ingiþōra, grand-s. of Iarlabanki (I), br. of Þōrstæinn, d. in Greece, ca. 1070, *U* 104.

1040. *ÞōriR*, br. of N.N., who set up a stone for him; a *stȳrimaðr*, before 1030, *Sö* 161.

Þorkell, see also *Þorkil*

1041. *Þorkell*, rune carver, 11th ct., *Ög* 81.

1042. *Þorkell*, Strút Haraldsson inn hávi, Danish commander in England, took Danegeld in 1012, *U* 344.

1043. *Þorkell*, Frisian guild brother (*gildi*), 11th ct., *U* 379.

1044. *Þorkell*, f.(?) of BairmlaugR, 11th ct., *Sö* 287.

1045. *Þorkell*, f. of DiarfR and VīgdiarfR, a mighty *þægn*, 11th ct., *Sö* 112.

1046. *Þorkell*, f. of Gunni, 11th ct., *Vg* 40.

1047. *Þorkell*, s. of IngigēR, br. of HolmbR, Styrbiorn, and StyrlaugR; a good *þægn*, d. with his brother Styrbiorn in Austrvegr, ca. 1050, *Sö* 34.

1048. *Þorkell*, s. of Stæinn, br. of Fullhugi, 11th ct., *U* 145.

1049. *Þorkell*, s. of VīkingR, a "born possessor of an *ōðal*," before 1050, *Sö* 54.

1050. *Þorkil*, set up a stone for his father, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 132.

1051. *Þorkil*, s. of RunulfR the Shrewd, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 161.

1052. *Þorkil*, s. of Þorþr, made a bridge in memory of his brother Wragi, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 269.

1053. *ÞorlakR*, br. of Hofi and RiþiR, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 160.

1054. *ÞorlæifR* of Roslagen, one of the carvers of Piraeus Lion, ca. 1050, see p. 348.

1055. *Þormóðr, sviðandi*, ca. 1050, *NYR* 273.

1056. *Þormóðr*, s. of Þormóðr sviðandi, ca. 1050, *NYR* 273.

1057. *Þormóðr*, f. of Þróndr, ca. 1000, *NYR* 245.

1058. *Þormundr*, he may "use the *kumbl*," ca. 800–900, *DR* 211.

Þorsten, see also *Þōrstæinn*

1059. *Þōrstæinn*, probably a relative of Tōsti from Vansta; Svæinn and Stæinn made a stone for him; he probably was with Ingvarr in 1041, *Sö* 254.

1060. *Þorsten*, f. of Kali, "a very highborn *þægn*," ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 130.

[*Þorstæinn* = OR *Furstĕn*, 945]

1061. *Þōrstæinn*, f.(?) of FæaR-Āsmundi(?) (or: **Sinfaþur** ?), traveled to the SæimgaliR (?)," 1020–1060, *Sö* 110.

1062. *Þōrstæinn*, br. of Biorn and VīkingR, 11th ct., *Vg* 17.

1063. *Þōrstæinn*, s. of GæRbiorn, h. of Kætiløy, f. of Ærinmundr (identical with Þōrstæinn, commander, f. of Biorn and Kætill?, *Sö* 338); purchased a farm in Veda, obtained riches in Garðar (Rus'), ca. 1050, *U* 209, 360.

1064. *Þōrstæinn*, br. of (H)Rōðvīsl, ca. 1050, *G* 135.

1065. *Þōrstæinn*, s. of (H)Rūtr, set up a stone for his brother Þōrbiorn, ca. 1041, *Sö* 360.

1066. *Þōrstæinn*, f. of HæfniR, set up a stone for his son, after 1050, *Sö* 55.

1067. *Þōrstæinn*, h. of Kætiløy, f. of Biorn and Kætill, br. of Anundr, commander (*liðs forungi*), d. in battle in the east, in Garðar (Rus'), ca. 1050, *Sö* 338.

1068. *Þōrstæinn*, s. of Svæinn and Ingiþōra, br. of ÞōriR, ca. 1070, *U* 104.

1069. *Þōrstæinn*, s. of VīkingR, 11th ct., *Sö* 54.

1070. *Þorþr*, rune carver, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 99.

1071. *Þorþr*, s. of Soti, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 227.

1072. *Þorþr*, f. of Þorkil and Wragi, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 269.

ÞorulfR, see also *ÞōrulfR*

1073. *ÞorulfR*, retainer (*hemþægi*) of Swen (I) K of D, 984–1014, *DR* 1.

1074. *ÞōrulfR*, s. of Tōki, br. of GautdiarfR, Sunnhvatr, and Þiagn, ca. 1010–1030, *U* 201.

Þorwi, see also *Þyrvī*

1075. *Þorwi*, w. of Gormr, K of D (d. 945), *DR* 41, 42.

1076. *Þorwi*, lady of Fundin, Grypli, and (Rafnunga-)Tofi, ca. 900–940, *DR* 26, 29.

1077. *Þorwi*, w. of KrokR of the "separate Swedes," set up a stone for him, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 217.

1078. *Þorwi*, m. of Oþinkor, Guþmundr, and **Ki** the **huþska**, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 133.

[*Þróndr* = OR *Truan*, 945]

1079. *Þróndr*, f. of Þormóðr, ca. 1000, *NYR* 245.

Þrýðrikr, see also *Þrȳðrīkr*

1080. *Þrýðrikr*, f. of Gunnvǫr, ca. 1040, *NYR* 68.

1081. *Þrȳðrīkr*, f. of ŌlæifR, after 1050, *Sö* 163.

1082. *Þuli*, rune carver, 11th ct., *Sö* 82.

1083. *Þīðiskʀ*, s. of OrmR, br. of Frosti, erected with his brother a bridge in memory of his father, 11th ct., *Sö* 22.

1084. *Þyrvī*, w. of Agmundr, 10th ct., *Vg* 150.

U

1085. *Ubbi*(?), before ca. 900, *NYR* 139.

1086. *Uddi*, s. of Guðmarr, br. of Guðbiorn, before 1030, *Sö* 164.

1087. *Uddi*, s. of ŌfæigR, a "very good *drængʀ*," d. during an expedition, 11th ct., *Sm* 48.

1088. *Ufagʀ*, br. of RiuskR, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 138.

1089. *UlfaRR*, together with Ormika traveled to Greece, Jerusalem, Åland(?) and Serkland, after 1050, *G/R* 196.

1090. *Ulfhildr*, dt. of Ingiberg, st. of Ragnhildr, before 1050, *U* 215.

Ulfkæll, see also *Ulfkætill*

1091. *Ulfkæll*, rune carver, before 1050, *U* 161.

1092. *Ulfkætill*, s. of UlfR (of Skulhamarr) and Gȳrīðr, br. of Arnkell, Gȳi, Holmdīs, and Uni, after 1050, *U* 100, 160, 161, 225, 226.

Úlfr, see also *UlfR*

1093. *UlfR*, ca. 900–940, *DR* 70.

1094. *UlfR*, together with his br. N.N. a participant in Ingvarr's expedition in 1041, *Sö* 281.

1095. *UlfR*, colored the Piraeus Lion inscription probably after 1050, see p. 348.

1096. *UlfR*, erected a stone for his companion Asmundr Lippir, together with ÞolfR, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 329.

1097. *UlfR* of BārastaðiR (Bårresta), f. of GæiRbiorn and Karlsi, active in E, took Canute's Danegeld in 1018, also rune carver, *U* 161, 336, 343, 344.

1098. *Úlfr* [*inn*] *rauði*, of Hedemark, d. "twelve winters after Norway became Christian" (i.e., 1008–1009); Þórir and Hallvarðr set up a stone for him, *NYR* 449 (and *NYR* V, pp. 269–270).

1099. *UlfR* of Skulhamarr (Skålhamra), h. of Gȳrīðr, f. of Arnkell, Gȳi, Holmdīs, Ulfkætill, and Uni; his friend UlfR of BārastaðiR set up a stone for him, ca. 1050, *U* 160, 161, 225, 226.

1100. *UlfR*, br. of Aki, "a very highborn *drængʀ*," ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 288.

1101. *Úlfr*, s. of Áleifr, ca. 1000, Isle of Man/*J* 82.

1102. *UlfR*, s. of Bergviðr and Hælga, d. with Ingvarr in 1041, *Sö* 9.

1103. *UlfR*, s. of Biorn and Gīslaug, *U* 363.

1104. *UlfR*, s. of BorgulfR, br. of HæmingR, Hærbiorn, and Næsbiorn, 11th ct., *U* 444.

1105. *UlfR*, br. of Gunnarr, Halfdan, and Svæinn, after 1050, *U* 153.

1106. *UlfR*, f. of GunnulfR from Gredby, d. with Ingvarr in 1041, *Sö* 108.

1107. *UlfR*, s. of Hākon iarl (d. 1029), active in E, *Sö* 260.

1108. *UlfR*, s. of (H)RōlfR and Øyborg, br. of Hamundr, before 1050, *Sö* 367.

1109. *UlfR*, br. of Ōsnīkinn, ca. 1041, *Sö* 335.

1110. *UlfR*, br. of Ragnhildr, ca. 850–950, *DR* 230.

Ulfrekr, see also *UlfrikR*

1111. *Ulfrekr*, set up stones for Steinarr, after 1000, *NYR* 223.

1112. *UlfrikR*, f. Halfdan, "he has in England taken two (Dane)gelds," ca. 1000–1018, *U* 241.

1113. *UmonR*, a companion of Tofi, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 316.

1114. *Uni*, s. of UlfR (of Skulhamarr) and Gȳrīðr, br. of Arnkell, Gȳi, Holmdīs, and Ulfkætill, after 1050, *U* 160.

1115. *Unna*, f. of Øystæinn, 11th ct., *U* 613.

1116. **——usti** and Gunnarr created stones to their companions **Kn——** and **——biurn**, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 330.

1117. **——ut**, f. of Botmundr, BotraifR, and Gunnarr, "he sat in the south (Greece?) with pelts," d. in Ulvshale on the Danish island of Møn, ca. 1000–1050, *G/R* 191.

1118. *Ūtlagi*, set up a stone for *þægn* Øyvindr, 11th ct., *Vg* 62.

1119. *Utr-Valdinga*, stone carver, ca. 1050, *G* 136.

V

1120. *Vagn*, s. of Frøystæinn, br. of GæiRfastr and Æistfari, before 1050, *Sö* 45.

1121. *Váli*, f. of Finnr and Skopti, ca. 1050–1100, *NYR* 29.

1122. *Valki*, the five sons of RāþulfR, ca. 840, *Ög* 136.

1123. *Vargas*(?), s. of Holmi and HrōðælfR, br. of Andvēttr and Arnkell, 11th ct., *U* 357.

1124. *Varin*, a *bōndi*, ca. 950, *Sm* 20.

1125. *Varin*, f. of VæmōþR, priest and rune carver, ca. 840, *Ög* 136.

1126. *Vēurðr*, f. of Kalli and Kārr, "a mighty good" *þægn*, 11th ct., *Vg* 73.

1127. *Vībiorn*, f. of DiuRi and lō(h)an, 11th ct., *Vs* 20.

Vīborg, see also *Wiburg*

1128. *Vīborg*, m. (?) of Ræfna and Tobbi, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 30.

1129. *Vīborg*, d. of Vræiðr, s. of HolmgæiRR and KylfingR, 11th ct., *Sö* 318.

1130. *Vīðbiorn*, h. of Stæinhildr, a *grikkfari*, d. after 1050, *U* 956.

1131. *VīdiarfR*, f. of Sigviðr, "England farer," after 1050, *U* 978.

[*Vīfastr* = OR *Vujefast*, 945]

1132. *Vīfastr*, set up a stone for Vīfi, 11th ct., *Vg* 151.

1133. *Vīfastr*, f. of Sigfastr, Sigviðr, and Gȳrīðr, br. of Guðmundr who d. in Serkland (with Ingvarr[?]) in 1041, *U* 623, 785.

1134. *Vīfi*, "a very highborn *þægn*," 11th ct., *Vg* 151.

1135. *Vīfil*, commander in eastern Europe (Dnieper route), ca. 1000, *G/R* 193.

1136. *Vīfriðr*, m. of Katti, ca. 850, *Sm* 144.

1137. *Vīgbiorn*, s. of Ingifastr, br. of Iarl, Ingimundr, and Þorðr, ca. 1070, *U* 922.

1138. *VīgdiarfR*, s. of Þorkell, br. of DiarfR, 11th ct., *Sö* 112.

1139. *Vīgfastr*, s. of Hælga, f. of Āsbiorn and ——**biurn**, d. in E, ca. 1025, *Ög/R* 59.

1140. *Vīgi*, br. of DiafR, GæiRhialmR, ĪōgæiRR, ŌrøkiaR, and SvæinnR, ca. 1010-1020, *U* 539.

1141. *Vīgmundr*, h. of Afrīðr, *stȳrimaðr*, ca. 1050, *U* 1011.

1142. *Vígúlfr*, ca. 1000, Faeroes/*J* 69.

Víkingr, see also *VīkingR*

1143. *Víkingr* of Bergen, *NYR* 288.

1144. *VīkingR*, 9th ct., rune carver, *Ög* 8.

1145. *VīkingR*, set up a stone for his unnamed son, 11th ct., *U* 813.

1146. *VīkingR*, s. of N.N., 11th ct., *Sö* 182.

1147. *VīkingR*, f. of Āsbiorn and KrōkR, 11th ct., *U* 432.

1148. *VīkingR*, br. of Biorn and Þōrstæinn, set up stones for them and for his daughter, 11th ct., *Vg* 17.

1149. *VīkingR*, br. of Biorn, Gærðarr, and Sigfastr; the first two set up a stone for VīkingR and Sigfastr, 11th ct., *Sö* 197, 203.

1150. *VīkingR*, f. of Finnviðr, Nāttfari, Ōlæifr, Þōrstæinn, and Øystæinn, *Sö* 54; a "possessor of an *ōðal*" (*landburinn*), before 1050, *Sö* 54.

1151. *VīkingR*, s. of GudrīkR, br. of Balsi and HæmingR, 11th ct., *U* 649.

1152. *VīkingR*, f. of Halfdan, Svæinn, Þōra and Þægn; the children set up inscription for their father and brother Þægn, 11th ct., *U* 34.

1153. *VīkingR*, s. of Kāll, set up together with Anundr and Ingifrīdr a stone for their father, 11th ct., *U* 498.

1154. *VīkingR*, s. of KlakkR, br. of Kāli; a stone inscription for VīkingR and Kāli was set up by the unknown brothers, 11th ct., *Sm* 10.

1155. *VīkingR*, s. of Sigfastr, br. of Gismundr, joint inscription for their father, 11th ct., *U* 260.

1156. *VīkingR*, f. of Smiðr, "the best *drængR*," 11th ct., *U* 802.

1157. *VīkingR*, s. of Stōri, f. of Anundr, 11th ct., *Sö* 269.

1158. *VīkingR*, h. of Tōka, a stone was set up for the parents by the unnamed children, 11th ct., *U* 175.

1159. *VīkingR Tōki* (Tōki the Viking), set up a stone for Gunnarr, s. of GrīmR, ca. 1050, *Sm* 10.

1160. *VīkingR*, nephew (b. s.) of Þialfi, 11th ct., *U* 681.

1161. *Vīkætill*, together with Sigfastr, Brandr, and Hælga set up a stone for Andvēttr, 11th ct., *U* 1036.

1162. *Vīkætill*, s. of Øystæinn, br. of Assur; the brothers set up a stone for their father, 11th ct., *U* 349.

1163. *Vīseti*, rune carver, ca. 1060–1070, *U* 669.

1164. *Vīseti*, s. of HolmgæiRR, br. of Līkviðr and Rīkviðr, after 1070, *U* 984.

1165. *Vīstæinn*, set up a stone for his brother who died in Greece, 11th ct., *Sö* 82.

1166. *Vīstæinn*, s. of BāulfR, br. of Agmundr and GuðvēR, ca. 1050, *Sö* 170.

1167. *Vittkarl*, f. of GæiRbiorn, ca. 1000–1030, *U* 258.

1168. *Vrāi*, br. of Gunni, marshal of Hākon iarl (d. 1029), active in the west, f. of Tōfa, who set up a stone for him, *Sm* 76, 77.

1169. *Vræiðr*, f. of HolmgæiRR, KylfingR, and Vīborg, drowned in Lake Bågen, 11th ct., *Sö* 318.

1170. *VæmōþR*, s. of Varin, killed ca. 840, *Ög* 136.

1171. *VæringR*, br. of Þialfi, owner of a *skæið*-ship, his br. set up a stone for him, ca. 1020, *Ög* 111.

1172. *Værmundr*, rune carver, 11th ct., *U*/*R* 173.

W

1173. *Waþi*, set up a stone to his son Asmundr, ca. 800–900, *DR* 356.

1174. *Wiburg*, m. of Ræfna, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 30.

1175. *Wiþi*, f. of Asgotr, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 90.

1176. *Willi*, rune carver, ca. 900–940, *DR* 105.

1177. *Wragi*, br. of Þorkil, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 269.

1178. *Wrestr*, companion of Abbi, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 339.

Æ

1179. *Ægill*, br. of Brūsi, retainer of FrøygæiRR, d. (probably killed) in Tavastland, ca. 1025–1050, Gästrikland/*R* 187.

1180. *Æinriði*, s. of GuðvēR, br. of Griūtgarðr, ca. 1020–1030, *Sö* 166.

1181. *ÆirīkR*, s. of Emundr, K of S (1050 1060), and Ragnhildr, br. of Anundr, Hākon, Ingvarr, and Ragnarr; K of S 1067-1068, *Sö* 279; *U* 513, 540.

1182. *ÆirīkR*, h. of Inga, f. of N.N., d. before 1071, *U* 29.

1183. *ÆirīkR*, f. of Æivisl, ca. 800-840, *Vg* 119.

1184. *Æistfari*, d. in Greece, 11th ct., *U* 446.

1185. *Æistfari*, s. of Frøystæinn, br. of GæiRfastr and Vagn; made stone, together with his brother GæiRfastr, for their father and brother, Vagn, 11th ct., *Sö* 45.

[*Æistr* = OR *Istr*, 945]

1186. *Æistr*, s. of N.N., 11th ct., *U* 670.

1187. *Æistr*, f. of Andvēttr, a mighty *drængR*, 11th ct., *Sö* 90.

1188. *Æistr*, f. of Āsgautr, Ingibiorn, Ingifastr, and Svæinn; his children made a stone for him, 11th ct., *U* 181.

1189. *Æistr*, f. of DiarfR, 11th ct., *U* 70.

1190. *Æistr*, h. of Fastlaug, f. of FastlafR, GæiRR, Holmlaug, and ØringR, 11th ct., *U* 461.

1191. *Æistr*, f. of commander FrøygæiRR, br. of Āki, Guðstæinn, and N.N., after 1050, *U* 1158.

1192. *Æistr*, s. of Guðfastr, 11th ct., *U* 766.

1193. *Æistr*, f. of HomgæiRR and Karl, 11th ct., *U* 1050, 1060.

1194. *Æistr*, br. of Holmstæinn and Stæinbiorn, 11th ct., *U* 780.

1195. *Æistr*, s. of Ingi—— and lōgærðr, br. of Ærinfastr, 11th ct., *U* 855.

1196. *Æistr*, s. of Svarthaufði and Þorgunn, br. of Anundr, f. of Saxi, 11th ct., *U* 458, 459.

1197. *Æist-UlfR*, s. of Frøystæinn, 11th ct., *U* 791.

1198. *Æist-UlfR*, s. of Þorgærðr, (half-?)br. of SigdiarfR and Stōði; brothers and mother set up a stone for him, 11th ct., *U* 968.

1199. *Æivisl*, (*Ejvisl*), s. of ÆirīkR, commander, fell in the east, ca. 800-840, *Ög* 8; *Vg* 119.

1200. *Ærinfastr*, s. of Ingi and lōgærðr, set up a stone for his brother Æistr, 11th ct., *U* 855.

1201. *Ærinmundr*, s. of Inga, br. of Ingimundr, probably a Varangian, d. in Greece, after 1050, *U* 72-73.

1202. *Ærinmundr*, s.(?) of Gismundr, br. of Sibbi and Þōrir, erected a stone for Svæinn, 11th ct. (after 1050), *U* 283.

1203. *Ærinmundr*, br. of Sighvatr, Sigstæinn, Þōrbiorn, and ÞōrgrīmR, after 1050, *U* 180.

1204. *Ærinmundr*, s. of commander Þōrstæinn and (probably) Kætiløy, (probably) br. of Biorn and Kætill, ca. 1050, *U* 209, 360.

1205. *Ærinvarðr*, s. of Hæggi, set up a stone for his five ancestors, 11th ct., *Sm* 71.

1206. *Ærn——*, br. of Antsvarr, they set up a stone for their father, who died in Greece, 11th ct., *Sö* 85.

1207. *Ærnvī*, w. of Īgull of Karby, m. of Þōrbiorn and Ingiþōra, ca. 1050, *U* 151.

1208. *Ærra*, br. of Asgotr, Toki's *huskarl*, ca. 980–990, *DR* 296.

1209. *Æsbiorn Næf*, commander, ca. 940–1000; his *skipari* was Spærla, *DR* 218.

1210. *Æsbiorn*, br. of BroþiR, N.N's *skipari*, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 275.

1211. *Æsbiorn*, companion of DwærgR, erected a stone for him, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 262.

1212. *Æsbiorn*, s. of Fundinn, br. of Þorðr, 11th ct., *Vg* 157.

1213. *Æsbiorn*, s. of Kulbēn and Āsa, a relative (*frænði*) of Agmundr, probably a Varangian, d. in Greece, before 1050, *Vg* 178.

1214. *Æsbiorn*, a *fēlagi of* **Sluta**, 11th ct., *Vg* 182.

1215. *Æsbiorn*, s. of Toki (or Tofi), a companion of Saxi, d. at the Fȳris battle, ca. 980–990; "he did not flee at Uppsala, but fought as long as he had weapons," *DR* 279.

1216. *Æsbiorn*, Toki's *huskarl*, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 297.

1217. *Æsgir Biorn*, f. of Rifli, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 91.

1218. *Æshæiðr*, a female relative (*frændkuna*) of Stæinn, 11th ct., *Sö* 139.

Æskell, see also *Æskil* and *Āskell*

1219. *Æskell*, br. of Gnauðimandr and Sværri; the brothers made a *kumbl* for Sværri, after 1050; *Sö* 46.

1220. *Æskell*, f. of Heðinfrīðr and Holmfrīðr, commander, "he fought in the eastern route until he, the prince of the people (*folksgrimmR*) had to fall," 1020–1060, *Sö* 126.

1221. *Æskell* of Roslagen, one of the carvers of the Piraeus lion runes, ca. 1050, see p. 348.

1222. *Æskell*, rune carver of Södermanland, before 1050, *Sö* 333.

1223. *Æskell*, rune carver of Uppland, ca. 1041, *U* 778.

1224. *Æskil*, s. of Ani, d. in Øresund with Þorir, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 117.

1225. *Æskil*, a man of Toki Gormsson, set up a stone for him, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 295.

1226. *Æstriðr*, w. of Anundr, m. of Ragnvaldr, set up a *kumbl* for them, ca. 1030, *Sö*/*R* 83.

1227. *Æstriðr* of Ed, w. of Ingvarr and Harg, m. of commander Ragnvaldr, 11th ct., *U* 310.

1228. *Æsriðr*, d. of Sigfastr of Snottsta, st. of Gȳrīðr and Ragnfastr, ca. 1060, *U* 329.

1229. *Æstriðr*, w. of Øystæinn of Broby, m. of GagR, Ingifastr, Ingvarr (I), Svæinn (I), and Øystæinn, d. ca. 1050, *U* 101, 135–137, 143.

Ø = Q

1230. *Øðkætill*, f. of Āsgautr **hlu**, "a very highborn *þægn*," 11th ct., *Vg* 102, 103.

1231. *Qgmundr* [of Spånheim, journeyed to Bjarmaland, 1222], *NYR* 427.

1232. *Qgmundr Hreppisson*, a man (or husband) of Rannveig, ca. 1000, *NYR* 213.

1233. *Øgotr, felagi* of **Ful**, ca. 1000, *DR* 66.

1234. *Qlvi*, f. of Erlendr of Gerði, ca. 1030, *NYR* 271.

1235. *Qlvi*, s. of Hróarr, ca. 1000, *NYR* 59.

1236. *Ømundi*, h. of Asa, a *huskarl* of FinulfR; Asa set up a stone for him, 1000–1050, *DR* 155.

1237. *Øndr*, erected a stone for his brother Øþi, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 259.

1238. *ØpiR*, rune carver, ca. 1070–1100, *Sö* 308; *U* 104, 181, 687, 898, 922, 984.

1239. *ØpiR*, h. of Þōra, fought in the west, "this stone / stands after ØpiR, / on the *þing*-place, / after Þōra's man," ca. 1030, *Sö* 137.

1240. *ØringR*, s. of Æistr and Fastlaug, br. of FastulfR, GæiRR, and Holmlaug, 11th ct., *U* 461.

1241. *Qrn*, f. of Óttar, his father set up a stone for him, 950–1000, *NYR* 453.

Østen, see also *Øystæinn*

1242. *Østen*, s. of Asulf, ca. 800–900, *DR* 144.

1243. *Østen*, f. of Spærla, ca. 940–1000, *DR* 218.

1244. *Østman* of Frösö, s. of Guðfastr, made Jämtland Christian, ca. 1050, *L* 1085.

1245. *Øþi*, br. of Øndr, d. in Gotland, ca. 1000–1050, *DR* 259.

1246. *Øybiorn*, set up a stone for SkærðiR, ca. 1030, *Sö* 160.

1247. *Øyborg*, w. of (H)RōlfR, m. of Hamundr and UlfR, before 1050, *Sö* 367.

1248. *ØygæiRR*, f. of DrængR, 11th ct., *Ög*, see pp. 462–463.

1249. *ØyrikR*, br. of Hælgi, set up a stone for him, after 1050, *U* 954.

1250. *Øysl*, f. of Gīsl, killed in England, before 1050, *Vs* 9–10.

1251. *Øystæinn*, s. of Alfhildr, probably d. with Ingvarr in 1041, *Sö* 254.

1252. *Øystæinn*, f. of Assurr and Vīkætill, drowned with all his crew, 11th ct., *U* 349.

1253. *Øystæinn*, s. of Gunnarr; KylfingR, Sigfastr, and Stæinfrīðr set up a stone for him, 11th ct., *U* 419.

1254. *Øystæinn*, s. of Unna, d. "in white clothes," 11th ct., *U* 613.

1255. *Øystæinn*, s. of VīkingR, *landburinn*, before 1050, *Sö* 54.

1256. *Øystæinn* (I), of Broby, h. of Æstrīðr, f. of GagR, Ingifastr, Ingvarr, Svæinn, and Øystæinn, went to Jerusalem, but d. in Greece, ca. 1000, *U* 135–137.

1257. *Øystæinn* (II), s. of Øystæinn of Broby, br. of GagR, Ingifastr, Ingvarr (I), and Svæinn, ca. 1040, *U* 135, 136.

1258. *Øystæinn,* one of those who set up a stone for (H)Rafn, at **Rufstain** (Dniepr cataracts) in the Ukraine, before 1000, *G/R* 193.

1259. *Øyvindr,* "a very good *þægn,*" 11th ct., *Vg* 62.

1260. *Øyvindr,* his father d. in Gotland, 11th ct., *U* 527.

1261. *Øyvindr,* d. in E(?), ca. 1050, *Sm* 28.

1262. *Øyvindr,* his son d. in "white clothes in Denmark," ca. 1080–1100, *U* 896.

1263. *Øyvindr,* f. of Assur, "the most generous (*unīðingr,* cf. *DR* 68) among men," 11th ct., *Sm* 37.

1264. *Øyvindr,* f. of Halfdan, Skarði, and Spiūti, ca. 1041, *Sö* 131.

1265. *Øyvindr,* s. of Stikur, fell in the east together with Æivisl, ca. 800, *Ög* 8; *Vg* 119.

1266. *Øyvindr,* br. of Svæina, d. in the west (England) in VæringR's ship, ca. 1020, *Ög* 68.

List of Inscriptions

The present list of inscriptions, from which this compendium has been drawn, gives the site where each monument was found and the respective administrative unit; the number assigned to it in the given corpus is also supplied.

For reference purposes, the corresponding numbers in one of the special collections listed are also given, with the designations *J, M, Mel* and *R.* These letters stand for the following works:

J = Ingrid S. Johnsen, *Stuttruner i vikingatidens inskrifter* (Oslo, 1968);
M = Lucien Musset, *Introduction à la runologie* (Paris, 1965; 2d printing 1976);
Mel = Elena A. Mel'nikova, *Skandinavskie runičeskie nadpisi* (M., 1977);
R = Arndt Ruprecht, *Die ausgehende Wikingerzeit im Lichte der Runeninschriften* (Göttingen, 1958).

The inscriptions are ordered according to the Lands. Listed first (a) are the inscriptions included into the respective national corpus. These are followed by inscriptions contained in other publications: (b), (c).

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The Danish Runes

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1	Haddeby 1, Gottorp amt, South Jutland = *M* 110 = *R* 12.
2	Haddeby 2, Gottorp amt, South Jutland = *M* 111
3	Haddeby 3, Gottorp amt, South Jutland = *M* 112 = *R* 16
4	Haddeby 4, Gottorp amt, South Jutland = *M* 111
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9	Nørre Brarup, Angel, Gottorp amt, South Jutland
15	Øster Løgum, S. Rangstrup hd, Åbenrå amt, South Jutland
17	Starup, Haderslev hd and amt, South Jutland

22 Åstrup 2, Gørding hd, Ribe amt, North Jutland
26 Læborg, Malt hd, Ribe amt, North Jutland =*M* 113
29 Bække 1, Anst hd, Ribe amt, North Jutland
30 Bække 2, Anst hd, Ribe amt, North Jutland
34 Horne, Øster Horne hd, Ribe amt, North Jutland
36 Sønder Vilstrup, Brusk hd, Vejle amt, North Jutland
37 Egtved, Jerlev hd, Vejle amt, North Jutland = *R* 6
40 Randbøl, Tørrild hd, Vejle amt, North Jutland
41 Jelling 1, Tørrild hd, Vejle amt, North Jutland = *M* 114
42 Jelling 1, Tørrild hd, Vejle amt, North Jutland = *M* 115
44 Grindsted, Slaugs hd, Ribe amt, North Jutland
53 Gylling, Hads hd, Århus amt, North Jutland
54 Odder-Ege, Hads hd, Århus amt, North Jutland
55 Sønder Vissing 1, Tyrsting hd, Århus amt, North Jutland = *M* 116 = *Mel* 3
56 Sønder Vissing 2, Tyrsting hd, Århus amt, North Jutland
58 Hørning, Hjelmslev hd, Århus amt, North Jutland
62 Sjelle, Framlev hd, Århus amt, North Jutland = *R* 18
66 Århus 4, Århus amt, North Jutland = *M* 117 = *R* 19 = *Mel* 2
68 Århus 6, Århus amt, North Jutland = *M* 118 = *R* 13
70 Hammel, Gern hd, Århus amt, North Jutland
77 Hjermind 1, Middelsom hd, Viborg amt, North Jutland
78 Hjermind 2, Middelsom hd, Viborg amt, North Jutland
81 Skern 2, Middelsom hd, Viborg amt, North Jutland
82-83 Sønder Vinge 1-2, Middelsom hd, Viborg amt, North Jutland = *R* 17 (= 82)
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86 Langå 3, Middelsom hd, Viborg amt, North Jutland
90 Torup, Middelsom hd, Viborg amt, North Jutland
91 Grensten, Middelsom hd, Viborg amt, North Jutland
94 Ålum 1, Sønderlyng hd, Viborg amt, North Jutland
98 Bjerregrav 1, Sønderlyng hd, Viborg amt, North Jutland
99 Bjerregrav 2, Sønderlyng hd, Viborg amt, North Jutland
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106 Ørum, Galten hd, Randers amt, North Jutland
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108 Kolind, Sønder Djurs hd, Randers amt, North Jutland = *R* 28 = *Mel* 1
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125 Dalbyover, Gerlev hd, Randers amt, North Jutland = *R* 4
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130 Giver, Års hd, Ålborg amt, North Jutland
132 Flejsborg, Års hd, Ålborg amt, North Jutland
133 Skivum, Års hd, Ålborg amt, North Jutland
134 Ravnkilde 1, Års hd, Ålborg amt
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140 Lyngby, Hellum hd, Ålborg amt, North Jutland
143 Gunderup 1, Fleskum hd, Ålborg amt, North Jutland
144 Gunderup 2, Fleskum hd, Ålborg amt, North Jutland
145 Ferslev 1, Fleskum hd, Ålbǿrg amt, North Jutland
154 Torup, Vang sn, Hundborg hd, Tisted amt, North Jutland = *R* 8
155 Sjørind, Hundborg hd, Tisted amt, North Jutland = *R* 9
160 Jetsmark, Hvetbo hd, Hjørring amt, North Jutland
161 Hune, Hvetbo hd, Hjørring amt, North Jutland

188 Ørbæk, Vindinge hd, Svendborg amt, Fyn
189 Avnslev, Vindinge hd, Svendborg amt, Fyn
190 Helnæs, Båg hd, Odense amt, Fyn
192 Flemløse 1, Båg hd, Odense amt, Fyn
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209 Glavendrup, Skamby sn, Skam hd, Odense amt, Fyn = *M* 124
211 Nørre Nærå, Skam hd, Odense amt, Fyn
213 Skovlænge, Sønder hd, Maribo amt, Lolland
216 Tirsted, Fuglse hd, Maribo amt, Lolland = *R* 7 = *Mel* 5
217 Sædinge, Fuglse hd, Maribo amt, Lolland
218 Tågerup, Fuglse hd, Maribo amt, Lolland = *R* 5
219 Bregninge, Musse hd, Maribo amt, Lolland
220 Sønder Kirkeby, Sønder hd, Maribo amt, Falster = *R* 29
227 Sandby, Tybjerg hd, Præstø amt, Sjælland
230 Tryggevælde, Karise el, Hårlev sn, Fakse hd, Præstø amt = *M* 125
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239 Gørlev, Løve hd, Holbæk amt, Sjælland
248 Snoldelev, Tune hd, Københavns amt, Sjælland
250 Høje Tåstrup, Smørum hd, Københavns amt, Sjælland
259 Fuglie 1, Skytts hd, Malmöhus län, Skåne = *M* 126 = *R* 30

262 Fosie, Oxie hd, Malmöhus län, Skåne = *R* 14
266 Uppåkra, Bara hd, Malmöhus län, Skåne = *R* 31
268 Østra Vemmenhög, Vemmenhögs hd, Malmöhus län, Skåne
269 Källstorp, Vemmenhögs hd, Malmöhus län, Skåne
270 Skivarp, Vemmenhögs hd, Malmöhus län, Skåne = *R* 20
275 Solberga, Vemmenhögs hd, Malmöhus län, Skåne = *R* 32
276 Örsjö, Vemmenhögs hd, Malmöhus län, Skåne
277 Södra Villie, Ljunits hd, Malmöhus län, Skåne
279 Sjörup, Ljunits hd, Malmöhus län, Skåne = *R* 27
288 Bjäresjö 2, Herrestads hd, Malmöhus län, Skåne
289 Bjäresjö 3, Herrestads hd, Malmöhus län, Skåne
291 Sövestad 2, Herrestads hd, Malmöhus län, Skåne = *M* 127
293 Stora Herrestad, Herrestads hd, Malmöhus län, Skåne
295–297 Hällestad-stenene 1–3, Torna hd, Malmöhus län, Skåne = *M* 128 = *R* 26
298 Dalby, Torna hd, Malmöhus län, Skåne
315 Lund 2, Malmöhus län, Skåne
316 Norra Nöbbelöv, Torna hd, Malmöhus län, Skåne = *R* 21
318 Håstad, Torna hd, Malmöhus län, Skåne = *R* 10
321 Västra Karaby, Harjagers hd, Malmöhus län, Skåne = *R* 22
329 Gårdstånga 1, Frosta hd, Malmöhus län, Skåne = *R* 23
330 Gårdstånga 2, Frosta hd, Malmöhus län, Skåne = *R* 15
333 Örja, Rönnebergs hd, Malmöhus län, Skåne
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337 Valleberga, Ingelstads hd, Kristianstads län, Skäne = *M* 130 = *R* 25
338 Glemminge, Ingelstads hd, Kristianstads län, Skåne
339 Stora Köpinge, Herrestads hd, Malmöhus län, Skåne = *R* 2
343 Östra Herrestad, Ingelstads hd, Kristianstads län, Skåne
344–345 Simris 1–2, Järestads hd, Kristianstads län, Skåne = *R* 11 (345)
356 Sölvesborg, Listers hd, Blekinge
363 Sturkö, Östra hd, Blekinge = *R* 3
379–380 Ny Larsker 1–2, Vester hd, Bornholm = *M* 132 = *R* 189
411 Karlevi, Vickleby sn, Öland = *Öl* 1 = *M* 94
412 London (St. Pauls-st.), St. Pauls Church, London, England = *M* 133
412a London-City, London, England

(b) *J* no.

29 Elleköpinge, Åhus, Kristianstad

The Runes of Faeros

J no.

69 Kirkjubø, Strømsøe (cf. *APS* 24 [1959], p. 124)

The Runes of Gotland

(a) *G* no.

109 Olleifs, Alskogs sn, Garda ting = *J* 3
110 Tjängvide, Alskögs sn, Garda ting, Nu i Statens Historiska Museum = *J* 4
111 Ardre kyrka 1 (= H. Pipping nr IV), Kräklinge ting, Nu i Statens Historiska Museum
112 Ardre kyrka 2 (= H. Pipping nr. VII), Kräklinge ting, Nu i Statens Historiska Museum
113 Ardre Kyrka 3 (= H. Pipping nr III), Kräklinge ting, Nu i Statens Historiska Museum
114 Ardre Kyrka 4 (Nu i Statens Historiska Museum), Kräklinge ting = *Mel* 16
134 | 135 Sjonhems kyrka (Nu i Gotlands Fornsal), Halla ting = *M* 92 = *R* 192 = *Mel* 20–21
136 Sjonhems kyrka, Halla ting
207 Stenkumla kyrkogård = *M* 91 = *Mel* 19 = *R* 191
216 Timans, Roma sn = *Mel* 22 = *R* 196
220 Hallfreda, Follingbo sn = *Mel* 23 = *R* 197

(b) *R* no.

193 Pilgårds, Boge sn = *M* 90 = *Mel* 17
195 Rute kyrka = *Mel* 18

(c) *J* no.

1	Hangvar, Hangvars sn
2	Lokrume, Lokrume sn

The Runes of Old Greece (Byzantium)

(a)	Constantinople Hagia Sofia, Istanbul
(b)	Piraeus lion Venice

The Rune of Greenland

J 68	Narssaq, Julianehåb

The Rune of the Hebrides

J 76	Kilbar, Barra = *M* 158

The Rune of Jämtland

L no.

L 1085	Frösö = *M* 151

The Manx Inscriptions

Andreas II	(= *M.C.* 103 = *B* 2) = *J* 79 = *M* 153
Ballaugh	(= *M.C.* 77 = *B* 6) = *J* 82

The Norwegian Runes

NYR no.

2	Bjørneby, Degernes sn and hd, Rakkestad pgd, Østfold fylke = *J* 31
6	Eidsberg Kirke, e., Østfold fylke
29	Nørstebø, Lesja pgd, Opland fylke = *M* 134
57	Ringebu kirke 2 (Gudbrandsdalen), Opland fylke
59	Fåberg, Fåberg sn, hd and pgd, Gudbrandsdalen, Opland fylke = *J* 40 =*M* 135
61 | 62 |	Alstad 1-2, Hof sn, Østre Toten hd, Opland fylke =*M* 135-138 = *Mel* 6 (62)
63-64	Gran kirke 1-2, Hadeland, Opland fylke = *J* 38 (=64)
68	Dynna, Gran sn, hd and pgd, Opland fylke = *M* 139
84	Vang, Vang sn, hd and pgd (Valdres), Opland fylke = *J* 39
98	Tanberg 4, Norderhov sn, hd and pgd, Buskerud fylke = *J* 37
102	Hønen, Norderhov sn, hd and pgd, Buskerud fylke = *J* 36
127	Hon, Haug sn. Eiker pgd, Buskerud fylke
137 | 138 |	Oseberg [ship], Slagen sn, Sem hd and pgd, Vestfold fylke = *J* 33-34
139	Nedre Gokstad [ship], Sandar sn, hd and pgd, Vestfold fylke = *J* 32
140	Valby, Tjølling sn, hd and pgd, Vestfold fylke
182	Hafstad, Landvig sn and hd, Hommedal pgd, Aust-Agder fylke
184	Galteland, Evje sn, hd and pgd, Aust-Agder fylke = *M* 142
208	Ryen, Tveid sn, hd and pgd, Vest-Agder fylke = *J* 41
209 | 210 |	Oddernes 1-2 (near Kristiansand), Vest-Agder fylke = *M* 143 (210) = *J* 42 (209)
211	Søgne, Søgne gamle pg, Vest-Agder fylke = *J* 43
213	Skollevoll, Vanse pgd, Lister og Mandal amt, Vest-Agder fylke = *M* 144
217	Ålgård, Sokndal sn, hd and pgd, Rogaland fylke = *J* 44
221	Orrestad, Helleland sn, hd and pgd, Rogaland fylke = *J* 45
223 | 224 |	Njærheim 1-2, Nærbø sn and hd, Hå pgd, Rogaland fylke = *J* 46-47
225 | 226 |	Klepp 1-2, Klepp hd and pgd (Jæren), Rogaland fylke = *J* 48-49
228	Tu, Klepp sn, hd and pgd (Jæren), Rogaland fylke = *J* 50

230 Reve, Bore sn, Klepp hd and pgd (Jæren), Rogaland fylke = *J* 51

239 Stangeland, Høiland sn, hd and pgd, Rogaland fylke = *M* 145 = *J* 52

244, 245 Helland 2–3, Sola sn and hd, Håland pgd, Rogaland fylke = *M* 146 (244) = *J* 53–54

252 Stavanger 3, Rogaland fylke = *M* 148

271, 272 Gjerde kirke 1–2, Gjerde sn, Etne hd and pgd, Hordaland fylke = *J* 55 (271)

273 Grindheim kirke, Grindheim sn, Etne hd and pgd, Hordaland fylke

274 Nerheim kirke, Ølen sn, hd and pgd, Hordaland fylke

282, 283, 284 Trå, Granvin sn and hd, Ulvik pgd, Hordaland fylke = *J* 56

287–288 Bergen 1–2, Hordaland fylke

300 Eikeland, Hamre sn, hd and pgd, Hordaland fylke = *J* 57

330 Urnes Kirke 13, Solvorn sn, Hafslo hd and pgd, Sogn og Fiordane fylke

338 Urnes kirke 21, Solvorn sn, Hafslo hd and pgd, Sogn og Fjordane fylke

358 Borgund kirke 11, Borgund sn and hd, Lærdal pgd, Sogn og Fjordane fylke = *M* 149

391 Hopperstad kirke 2, Vik sn, hd and pgd, Sogn og Fiordane fylke

417 Svanøj kirke, Svanøj sn, Kinn hd and pgd, Sogn og Fjordane fylke = *J* 58

421, 422, 427 Hennøy 3, Rugsund sn, Davik hd and pgd, Sogn og Fjordane fylke = *Mel* 7 (422)

449 Kuli, Edøy sn, hd and pgd, Møre og Romsdal fylke = *J* 60

450 Strand, Åfjord sn, hd and pgd, Sør-Trøndelag fylke

453 Hårberg, Rissa sn and hd, Stadsbygd pgd, Sør-Trøndelag fylke = *J* 61

459 Furen, Geitastrand sn and hd, Børsa pgd, Sør-Trøndelag fylke = *J* 63

529, 530 Sakshaug kirke 4–5, Inderøy hd and pgd, Nord-Trøndelag fylke

537 Engstad, Overhalla hd and pgd, Namdalen, N-Trøndelag fylke = *J* 64

540 Senja ("Botnhavn"), Hillesø hd and sn, Lenvik pgd, Troms fylke

541, 543, 544 — Ukjent sted i Norge (unknown place in Norway) 4, 6, 7

579 — Nordre Kaupang, Tjølling sn, hd and pgd, Vestfold fylke = *J* 35

598, 602 — Runemynter (runic coins)

The Runes from the Soviet Union

Mel no.

A. *Latvia*

140 — Daugmale (Historical Museum of the Latvian SSR, no. A9964: 6493)

B. *Ukraine*

109 — Berezan' (Archeological Museum of Odessa, no. 50378) = *M* 109 = *R* 194

121 — Sošyčne, near Kovel' (Volhynia)

C. *Russia*

141 — (Great) Novgorod I

142 — (Great) Novgorod II

143 — Staraja Ladoga I (State Hermitage, Leningrad, no. DLS 1969) = *J* 30

144 — Staraja Ladoga II

The Swedish Runes

A. *Gästrikland*

L no.

1049 — Söderby, Gävle = *R* 187 = *Mel* 15
Järvsta, Gävle (*NK* VI, pp. 208–209)

B. *Hälsingland*

L no.

L 1065 Malsta, Rogsta sn (*NK* VI, pp. 160–161) = *M* 88 = *R*, p. 81.

C. *Närke*

R no.

R 114 Apelboda, Glanshammars sn and hd

D. *Öster Götland*

(a) *Ög* no.

8 Kälvesten-stenen, v. Stenby kyrka, Aska hd = *R* 67b = *Mel* 96 = *J* 20
30 Skjorstad, Tåby sn, Björkekinds hd = *R* 63 = *Mel* 97
38 Boberg, Fornåsa sn, Bobergs hd = *J* 18
43 Ingelstad, Östra Eneby sn, Bråbo hd = *J* 19
60 "Järmsta-stenen," Dals hd
64 Bjälbo, kyrka, Göstrings hd = *M* 96 = *R* 64
68 Ekeby, kyrka, Göstrings hd = *R* 66
81 Högby gamla kyrka, Göstrings hd = *M* 97 = *R* 60–61 = *Mel* 95
83 Högby kyrka, Göstrings hd = *R* 62
94 Harstads kyrkogård, Väderstad-Harstads sn, Göstrings hd = *R* 58 = *Mel* 115.
104 Gillberga, Kaga sn, Hanekinds hd = *R* 67
111 Landeryds kyrka, Hanekinds hd = *R* 65
117 Slaka kyrka, Hanekinds hd = *J* 24
136 Rök, kyrkogården, Lysings hd = *M* 47 = *J* 22
145 Dagsberg, kyrkogårdsmuren, Lösings hd = *Mel* 93
149 Furingstads, prästgård, Lösings hd
152 Agetomta, Furingstads sn, Lösings hd
155 "Sylten," Bjällbrunna ägor, Styrstads sn, Lösings hd = *Mel* 94
200 Uddarp, Sya sn, Vifolka hd

(b) *R* no.

59 Kallerstads ägor, S:t Lars sn, Hanekinds hd

(c)

Törnevalla, s. p. 462.

E. *Öland*

Öl no.

1 Karlevi, Vickleby sn = *DR* 411 = *M* 94
28 Gårdby kyrkogård = *M* 95 = *R* 190 = *Mel* 92
33 Runstens kyrkoby, västra gärdet i en bro, Runstens sn = *J* 7

F. *Småland*

Sm no.

5 Transjö, Hjortsberga sn, Allbo hd, Kronobergs län = *R* 50
10 Växjö, domkyrkan, Kronobergs län = *R* 57
11 Kårestad, Furuby sn, Konga hd, Kronobergs län
20 Rottnekvarn, Söraby sn, Norrvidinge hd, Kronobergs län = *J* 27
27 Berga kyrkogård A, Sunnerbo hd, Kronobergs län = *R* 54
28 Berga kyrkogård B, Sunnerbo hd, Kronobergs län = *R* 55
29 Ingelstad, Berga sn, Sunnerbo hd, Kronobergs län = *R* 46
35 Replösa, Ljungby sn, Sunnerbo hd, Kronobergs län
37 Rörbro, Nöttja sn, Sunnerbo hd, Kronobergs län
42 Tuna, Ryssby sn, Sunnerbo hd, Kronobergs län = *R* 52
46 Eriksstad, Vittaryds sn, Sunnerbo hd, Kronobergs län = *R* 51 = *Mel* 59
48 Torp, Bredaryds sn, Västbo hd, Jönköpings län
52 Forsheda allmänning, Forsheda sn, Västbo hd, Jönköpings län = *R* 47
71 Norra Sandsjö prästgård, Västra hd, Jönköpings län
76 Sävsjö (f.d. Norra Ljunga sn), Komstad, Västra hd, Jönköpings län = *R* 48
77 Sävsjö (f.d. Norra Ljunga sn), Sävsjö Västergård, Västra hd, Jönköpings län = *R* 53
101 Nöbbelesholm, Nävelsjö sn, Östra hd, Jönköpings län = *R* 49
104 Vetlanda kyrka, Östra hd, Jönköpings län = *R* 56
127 Bona, Bredestads sn, Norra Vedbo hd, Jönköpings län = *R*, p. 67
132 Rickelstorp, Flisby sn, Vedbo hd, Jönköpings län

144 Gursten, Lofta sn. (Nu vid Folkhögskolan, Gamleby), Norra Tjusts hd, Kalmar län = *J* 26

G. *Södermanland*

(a) *Sö* no.

9 Lifsinge, Dillnäs sn, Daga hd = *Mel* 36
14 Gåsinge kyrka, Daga hd = *R* 68
16 Kattnäs kyrkogård, Daga hd = *R* 106
22 Håga, Mörkö sn, Hölebo hd
33 Skåäng, Vagnhärads sn, Hölebo hd = *R* 96 = *Mel* 42
34 | Tjuvstigen, Vagnhärads sn, Hölebo hd = *R* 84 = *Mel* 55
35 |
39 Åda, Vagnhärads sn, Hölebo hd = *M* 80 = *R* 97 = *Mel* 40
45 St. Släbro, Nikolai sn, Jönåkers hd = *Mel* 43
46 Hormesta, Nykyrka sn, Jönåkers hd = *R* 98
49 Ene, Stigtomta kyrka, Jönåkers hd = *R* 69
53 Valstad, Bettna sn, Oppunda hd = *R* 85
54 Bjudby, Blacksta sn, Oppunda hd
55 Bjudby, Blacksta sn, Oppunda hd = *R* 86
62 Hässlö, Lerbo sn, Oppunda hd = *R* 87
65 Djulefors, Stora Malms sn, Oppunda hd = *M* 81 = *R* 88 = *Mel* 58
82 Tumbo kyrka, Väster Rekarne hd = *R* 99 = *Mel* 111
83 Tumbo kyrka, Väster Rekarne hd = *R* 107
85 Västerby, Tumbo sn, Väster Rekarne hd = *R* 70 = *Mel* 102
90 Lövhulta, Hammarby sn, Östra Rekarne hd
92 Husby kyrkogård, Östra Rekarne hd = *R* 100 = *Mel* 54
96 Jäders kyrka, Östra Rekarne hd = *Mel* 33
101 Ramsundsberget, Mora, Jäders sn, Östra Rekarne hd = *M* 82
105 Högstena, Kjula sn, Öster Rekarne hd = *Mel* 52
106 Kungshållet, Kjula ås and sn, Öster Rekarne hd = *R* 101
107 Balsta, Klosters sn, Öster Rekarne hd = *Mel* 25
108 Gredby, Klosters sn, Öster Rekarne hd, Nu i Äskilstuna = *Mel* 30
110 Grönsta, Klosters sn, Öster Rekarne hd = *Mel* 31
112 Kolunda, Stenkvista sn, Öster Rekarne hd
116 Sundby kyrka, Öster Rekarne hd
121 Bönestad, Allhelgona sn, Rönö hd = *Mel* 26
126 Fagerlöt, Hamra skog, Bogsta sn, Rönö hd = *R* 71 = *Mel* 50
130 Hagstugan, Sparsta ägor, Lid sn, Rönö hd = *Mel* 51

131 Lundby, Lids sn, Rönö hd = *M* 77d = *Mel* 37
137 Aspa, Ludgo sn, Rönö hd = *R* 80
139 Korpbron, Jursta ägor, Ludgo sn, Rönö hd
148 Innberga, Runtuna sn, Rönö hd = *R* 72 = *Mel* 34
151 Lövsund, Runtuna sn, Rönö hd
159 Österberga, Runtuna sn, Rönö hd = *R* 89
160 161 Råby kyrka 1 2, Rönö hd = *R* 108 (160), *R* 102 (161)
163 Rycksta, Råby sn, Rönö hd = *R* 90 = *Mel* 108
164 Spånga, Råby sn, Rönö hd = *R* 73
165 Grinda, Spelviks sn, Rönö hd = *R* 81 =*Mel* 103
166 Grinda, Spelviks sn, Rönö hd = *M* 84 = *R* 91
170 Nälberga, Svärta sn, Rönö hd = *R* 74 = *Mel* 106
171 Esta, Säterstads sn, Rönö hd = *R* 75 = *Mel* 57
173 Tystberga, Tystberga sn, Rönö hd = *Mel* 49
174 Aspö kyrka, Selebo hd = *R* 92
176 Kärnbo ödekyrka, Selebo hd = *J* 17
179 Gripsholm, Kärnbo sn, Selebo hd = *M* 77e = *Mel* 32
182 Läggesta, Kärnbo sn, Selebo hd
197 Kolsundet, Husby, Ytterselö sn, Selebo hd
198 Mervalla, Ytterselö sn, Selebo hd = *M* 85 = *R* 82 = *Mel* 38
202 203 Östa, Ytterselö sn, Selebo hd
207 Överselö kyrka, Selebo hd = *R* 76
215 Sorunda kyrka, Sotholms hd
216 Aska, Sorunda sn, Sotholms hd = *R* 109 = *Mel* 24
217 Berga, Sorunda sn, Sotholms hd = *R* 77
233 Trollsta, Sorunda sn, Sotholms hd
254 Vansta, Ösmo sn, Sotholms hd = *Mel* 28
260 S. Betby, Österhaninge sn, Sotholms hd = *R* 93
269 Söderby malm, Österhaninge sn, Sotholms hd
271 Täckeråker, Österhaninge sn, Sotholms hd
277 Strängnäs, Domkyrkan = *Mel* 44
279 Strängnäs, vid Domkyrkan = *Mel* 45
281 Strängnäs, Domkyrkan = *Mel* 46
287 Hunhammar (nu Norsborg), Botkyrka sn, Svartlösa hd = *Mel* 53
292 Bröta, Grödinge sn, Svartlösa hd
308, 312 Södertälje, Vid järnavägen = *R* 94 = *Mel* 41 (= 308) = *Mel* 41
318 Sund, Helgesta sn, Villåttinge hd
319 Sannerby (nu Stäringe), Årdala hd, Villåttinge hd = *R* 78
320 Stäringe, Årdala sn, Villåttinge hd = *Mel* 47
327 Göksten (Näsbyholm), Härads sn, Åkers hd = *Mel* 29
333 Ärja ödekyrka, Åkers sn and hd = *R* 95
335 Ärja ödekyrka, Åkers sn and hd = *Mel* 56

338 Turinge kyrka, Öknebo hd = *M* 86 = *R* 79 = *Mel* 48
345 Ytterjärna kyrka, Öknebo hd = *R* 110 = *Mel* 120
352 Linga, Överjärna sn, Öknebo hd = *R* 103
360 Bjuddby, Blacksta sn, Oppunda hd = *R* 104 = *Mel* 27
367 Släbro, S:t Nikolai sn, Jönåkers hd

(b) *R* no.

83 Aspa bro, Löten, Ludgo sn, Rönö hd
111 Nolinge, Grödinge sn, Svartlösa hd = *Mel* 39
112 Lagnö, Vansö sn, Åkers hd = *Mel* 35
113 Giberga, Lunda sn, Jönåkers hd

H. *Uppland*

(a) *U* no.

4, 5, 9 Björkö, Adelsö sn, Färentuna hd = *J* 9(4), 10(5), 11(9)
11 Hovgården, Adelsö sn, Färentuna hd
16 Nibble, Ekerö sn, Färentuna hd
29 Hillersjö, Hilleshögs sn, Färentuna hd = *M* 48
34 Sundby, Sånga sn, Färentuna hd
70 Flysta, Spånga sn, Sollentuna hd
72, 73 Hansta (numera Hägerstalund), Spånga sn (Nu på Skansen, Stockholm), Sollentuna hd = *M* 49 = *R* 134 = *Mel* 114
80 Sundby, Spånga sn, Sollentuna hd
100 Skälby, Sollentuna hd
101 S. Sätra, Sollentuna sn and hd = *M* 78a
104 Eds kyrka (Nu i Oxford, Ashmolean Museum), Sollentuna hd = *R* 115 = *Mel* 117
111 Ed, Hjältarängen, Eds sn, Sollentuna hd
112 A B Ed, kyrkstigen, Eds sn, Sollentuna hd = *M* 50 = *R* 174 = *Mel* 118
126 Över-Järva, Solna sn, Danderyds sg
127 Danderyds kyrka, Danderyds sg
133 Täby kyrka, Danderyds sg, cf. no. 141
135, 136 Broby, Täby sn, Danderyds sg = *M* 51 = *Mel* 99(136)
137 Broby, Täby sn, Danderyds sg
140 Broby, Täby sn, Danderyds sg = *R* 152 = *Mel* 100

141 Fittja, Täby sn, Danderyds sg = *R* 135
142 Fällbro, Täby sn, Danderyds sg = *M* 78b
143 Hagby, Täby sn, Danderyds sg
145 Hagby, Brohammaren, Täby sn, Danderyds sg
147 Hagby, Sparingsberg, Täby sn, Danderyds sg
148 Hagby, Sparingsberg, Täby sn, Danderyds sg
149 Hagby, Täby sn, Danderyds sg
150 Karby, Täby sn, Danderyds sg
151 Karby, Täby sn, Dandryds sg
153 Lissby, Täby sn II, Danderyds sg = *R* 153 = *Mel* 68
154 Lissby, Täby sn III, Danderyds sg = *R* 154 = *Mel* 69
158 Löttinge, Täby sn, Danderyds sg = *R* 128
160–161 Risbyle, Täby sn, Danderyds sg
164–165 Täby Tä, Täby sn, Danderyds sg = *M* 78c
173 Väsby, Värmdö sn and sg
175 Österåkers kyrka, Österåkers sn, Åkers sg
180–181 Össeby-Garns kyrka, Vallentuna hd = *R* 155
194 Väsby, Össeby-Garns sn, Vallentuna hd = *M* 52 = *R* 175
201 Angarns kyrka, Vallentuna hd = *R* 116 = *Mel* 98
209 Veda, Angarns sn, Vallentuna hd = *M* 53 = *R* 136 = *Mel* 63
212A-B Vallentuna kyrka, Vallentuna hd = *M* 78d
214 Vallentuna kyrka, Vallentuna hd = *M* 54 = *R* 129 = *Mel* 61
215 Vallentuna kyrka, Vallentuna hd
225–226 Bällsta, Vallentuna sn and hd
240–241 Lingsberg, Vallentuna sn and hd = *R* 169(241)
243 Molnby, Vallentuna sn and hd
258 Fresta kyrka, Vallentuna hd = *M* 55 = *R* 117
260–261 Fresta kyrka, Vallentuna hd
270 Smedby, Fresta sn, Vallentuna hd = *R* 118 = *Mel* 110
283 Torsåker (Tjursåker), Hammarby sn, Vallentuna hd = *R* 119 = *Mel* 83
309 Harg, Skånela sn, Seminghundra hd
310 Harg, Skånela sn, Seminghundra hd
320 Kimsta, Skånela sn, Seminghundra hd
328 Lundby, Markims sn, Seminghundra hd

329 Snottsta, Markims sn, Seminghundra hd
330 Snottsta, Markims sn, Seminghundra hd
331 Snottsta, Markims sn, Seminghundra hd
332 Vreta, Markims sn, Seminghundra hd
335 Orkesta kyrka, Seminghundra hd
336 Orkesta kyrka. Nu skolhusgården, Seminghundra hd
343–344 Yttergärde, Orkesta sn, Seminghundra hd = *M* 56 = *R* 120
346 Frösunda kyrka, Seminghundra hd = *M* 57 = *R* 137 = *Mel* 86
347–348 Näs, Frösunda sn, Seminghundra hd = *R* 121
349 Odenslunda, Frösunda sn, Seminghundra hd = *R* 122
356 Ängby, Lunda sn, Seminghundra hd = *M* 57 = *R* 137 = *Mel* 91
357 Skepptuna kyrka, Seminghundra hd
358 Skepptuna kyrka, Seminghundra hd = *R* 138 = *Mel* 109
360 Gådersta, Skepptuna sn, Seminghundra hd
363 Gådersta, Skepptuna sen, Seminghundra hd = *R* 139
364–366 Gådersta, Skepptuna sn, Seminghundra hd = *R* 156(366) = *Mel* 66(366)
374 Örby, Skepptuna sn, Seminghundra hd = *R* 157 = *Mel* 119
379 Sigtuna, Kyrkogården = *M* 58 = *R* 171
385 Sigtuna, S:t Olovs ruin = *R* 170
391 Sigtuna, vid Prästgatan, Villa Karlsro = *R* 172
414 Norrsunda kyrka, Ärlinghundra hd = *R* 158
419 Norslunda, Norrsunda sn, Nu på Skansen, Stockholm, Ärlinghundra hd
431 Åshusby, Norrsunda sn, Nu i Norrsunda kyrka, Ärlinghundra hd = *R* 140 = *Mel* 107
432 Åshusby, Norrsunda sn, Ärlinghundra hd
436 Arnberga, Husby-Ärlinghundra sn, Ärlinghundra hd
439 Steninge, Husby-Ärlinghundra sn, Ärlinghundra hd = *M* 77a = *Mel* 78
444–445 Bromsta, Odensala sn, Ärlinghundra hd
446 Droppsta, Odensala sn, Ärlinghundra hd = *R* 159 = *M* 104
457–459 Skråmsta, Haga sn, Ärlinghundra hd
461 Torslunda, Haga sn, Ärlinghundra hd
467 Tibble, Vassunda sn, Ärlinghundra hd = *Mel* 80
479 Prästgården, Alsike sn, Ärlinghundra hd = *R* 160

498 Åby, Husby-Långhundra sn and hd
504 Ubby, Närtuna sn, Långhundra hd = *R* 161 = *Mel* 85
513 Rimbo kyrka, Sjuhundra hd = *Mel* 72
518 V. Ledinge, Skederids sn, Sjuhundra hd = *R* 130 = *Mel* 65
527 Frötuna kyrka, Frötuna och Länna sg = *R* 123
532-533 Rosslags-Bro kyrka, Bro och Vätö sg = *R* 141 = *Mel* 74
539 Husby-Lyhundra kyrka, Lyhundra hd = *M* 59 = *R* 162
540 Husby-Lyhundra kyrka, Lyhundra hd = *R* 142 = *Mel* 88
582 Söderby-Karls kyrka, Lyhundra hd = *M* 60 = *R* 143 = *Mel* 76
605 Stäket, Stockholms-Näs sn, Bro hd = *Mel* 79
611 Tibble (Granhammar), V. Ryds sn, Bro hd = *R* 144 = *Mel* 81
613 Torsätra, V. Ryds sn, Bro hd = *M* 61
614 Torsätra, V. Ryds sn, Bro hd = *R* 163
616 Tång, V. Ryds sn, Bro hd = *R* 164
617 Bro kyrka, Bro hd = *M* 62 = *R* 180
623 Jursta, Bro sn and hd
636 Låddersta, Kalmar sn, Håbo hd = *R* 145 = *Mel* 70
643 | 644 Ekilla bro, Yttergrans sn (Nu vid Ekolsund, Husby-Sjutolfts sn), Håbo hd = *M* 77b(644) = *Mel* 90(644)
649 Övergrans kyrka, Håbo hd
654 Varpsund, Vi ägor, Övergrans sn, Håbo hd = *Mel* 62
661 Råby, Håtuna sn, Håbo hd = *Mel* 73
668-669 Kålsta, Häggeby sn, Håbo hd = *M* 63(668) = *R* 124(668)
670 Rölunda, Häggeby sn, Håbo hd
681 Skoklosters kyrka, Bro hd
687 Sjusta, Skoklosters sn, Håbo hd = *M* 64 = *R* 131 = *Mel* 89
698 Veckholms kyrka, Trögds hd = *R* 146 = *Mel* 64
699 Amnö, Veckholms sn, Trögds hd, Nu vid Ekholmen = *M* 65 = *R* 132
722 Löts kyrka, Trögds hd = *Mel* 67
729 Ågersta, Löts sn, Trögds hd
766 Norrby, Back-Norrby, Vårfrukyrka sn, Åsunda hd
778 | 780 Svinnegarns kyrka, Åsunda hd = *M* 77c(778) = *Mel* 75(778)
785 Tillinge kyrka, Åsunda hd = *M* 68 = *R* 165 = *Mel* 82
791 Tibble, Tillinge sn, Åsunda hd
792 Ulunda, Tillinge sn, Åsunda hd = *M* 69 = *R* 166 = *Mel* 112
802 Långtora gärde, Långtora sn. Nu vid Långtora kyrka, Lagunda hd
812 Hjalsta kyrka, Lagunda hd = *R* 125
813 Brunnsta, Hjälsta sn, Lagunda hd
837 Alsta, Nysätra, sn, Lagunda hd = *Mel* 60

855 Prästgården, Balingsta sn. Nu vid Böksta backe, Hagunda hd
896 Håga, Bondkyrka sn, Ulleråkers hd. Nu i Universitetsplanteringen, Uppsala = *R* 147
898 Norby, Bondkyrka sn, Ulleråkers hd = *R* 167 = *Mel* 71
922 Uppsala Domkyrkan = *R* 126 = *Mel* 113
925 Uppsala Domkyrkan = *R* 127
948 Danmarks by, Fålebro, Danmarks sn, Vaksala hd = *R* 148
954 Söderby, Danmarks sn, Vaksala hd = *R* 168 = *M* 71
956 Vedyxa, Danmarks sn, Vaksala hd = *R* 133 = *Mel* 101
968 Bolsta, Vaksala sn and hd
978 Gamla Uppsala kyrka, Vaksala hd = *R* 176
984 Ekeby, Gamla Uppsala sn, Vaksala hd
1011 Örby, Rasbo sn and hd, Nu i Universitetsplanteringen, Uppsala =*R* 177
1016 Fjuckby, Ärentuna sn, Norunda hd = *M* 73 = *R* 149 = *Mel* 87
1028 Lena kyrka, Norunda hd = *R* 178
1036 Tensta kyrka, Norunda hd
1041 Golvasta, Tensta sn, Norunda hd
1048, 1050 Björklinge kyrka, Norunda hd = *R* 150(1048)
1060 Tibble, Björklinge sn, Norunda hd
1087 Lövsta, Bälinge sn and hd = *R* 151 =*Mel* 105
1143 Tierps kyrka, Örbyhus hd = *Mel* 84
1158 Stora Salfors, Simtuna sn and hd
1181 Lilla Runhällen, Råsbo, Nora sn, Våla hd = *R* 179

(b) *R* no.

173 Sigtuna (the copper box)

(c) *J* no.

13 | Björkö, Adelsö sn, Färentuna hd
14 |
15 Ulvsunda, Stockholm

I. *Väster Götland*

Vg no.

8 Hjälstads sn, kyrkan, Nu på kyrkogården, Vadsbo hd, Skaraborgs län

17 Torsö sn, Skeberga, Vadsbo hd, Skaraborgs län
20 Gösslunda sn, Västanåker, Kållands hd, Skaraborgs län = *R* 35
40 Råda sn, kyrkan, Kållands hd, Skaraborgs län = *M* 99 = *R* 36
59 Norra Härene sn, gamla kyrkan, Nu vid Dagsnäs, Bjärka sn, Kinnefjärdings hd, Skaraborgs län
61 Edsvära sn, Härlingstorp, Skånings hd, Skaraborgs län = *M* 100 = *R* 37
62 Edsvära sn, Ballstorp, Skånings hd, Skaraborgs län
73 Synnerby sn, kyrkan. Nu på kyrkogården, Skånings hd, Skaraborgs län
74 Vinköls sn, skolgården (gamla kyrkogården), Skånings hd, Skaraborgs län
101 Flo sn, Bragnum. Åse hd, Skaraborgs län
102 Håle sn, gamla kyrkan. Nu på ödekyrkogården. Åse hd, Skaraborgs län
103 Håle sn, ödekyrkogården. Åse hd, Skaraborgs län
108 Tängs sn, gamla kyrkan. Nu på ödekyrkogården. Åse hd, Skaraborgs län
112 Ås sn, kyrkan. Åse hd, Skaraborgs län = *M* 102 = *R* 40
113 Bjärby sn, Töfta, Lärkegapet, Viste hd, Skaraborgs län
115 Grästorps köping (Tängene sn), Stora Västölet, Viste hd, Skaraborgs län
119 Sparlösa sn, kyrkan, Nu på kyrkogården, Viste hd, Skaraborgs län = *J* 25
122 Barne-Åsaka sn, Abrahamstorp. Nu vid Dagsnäs, Bjärka sn, Barne hd, Skaraborgs län = *R* 44
135 Kinneve sn, Hassla by, Frökinds hd, Skaraborgs län = *R* 42 = *Mel* 11
137 Kinneve sn, Sörby. Nu vid Alarp, Frökinds hd, Skaraborgs län
146 Slöta sn, kyrkan. Vartofta hd, Skaraborgs län
150 Väne-Åsaka sn, Velanda, Skattegården. Väne hd, Älvsborgs län
151 Eggvena sn, kyrkan, Nu på kyrkogården. Kullings hd. Älvsborgs län
152 Eggvena sn, Håkansgården, Kullings hd. Älvsborgs län
155 Hols sn, kyrkan, Kulings hd, Älvsborgs län
157 Hovs sn, Fröstorp, Storegården, Gäsene hd, Älvsborgs län
158 Fänneslunda sn, kyrkan. Nu vid Fänneslunda, Ås hd, Älvsborgs län
178 Kölaby sn, kyrkogården. Redvägs hd, Älvsborgs län = *R* 34 = *Mel* 116

181 Norra Åsarps sn, Frugården, Redvägs hd, Älvsborgs län = *R* 38 = *Mel* 10

182 Norra Åsarps sn, Hög, Skattegården, Älvsborgs län = *R* 45

184 Smula sn, kyrkogården. Nu vid Dagsnäs i Bjärka sn, Redvägs hd, Älvsborgs län = *R* 39 = *Mel* 9

187 Vists sn, kyrkan. Nu på kyrkogården, Redvägs hd, Älvsborgs län = *R* 41

197 Dalums sn, kyrkan, Nu på kyrkogården, Redvägs hd, Älvsborgs län = *M* 105 = *R* 43 = *Mel* 8

K. *Västmanland*

Vs no.

1, 2 Stora Rytterns kyrkoruin, Rytterns sn, Snevringe hd = *M* 79 = *R* 183 = *Mel* 13

5 Vändle, Sörgården (Gästgivargården), Dingtuna sn, Tuhundra hd = *R* 186

9, 10 Vesterås, Saltängsbron (f.d. Lundby sn) = *R* 184

18, 19 Berga, Skultuna sn. Nu vid Skultuna bruk, Norrbo hd = *R* 182 (18) = *Mel* 12(19)

20 Prästgården, Romfartuna sn. Nu i kyrkan, Norrbo hd

22 Ulvsta, Haraker sn. Nu vid Svanå bruk, Norrbo hd = *R* 185 = *Mel* 14

24 Hassmyra, Fläckebo sn. Nu vid Hembygdsgården

27 Grällsta, Kila sn, Övertjurbo hd = *R* 181

APPENDIX TWO

The Basic Texts of the Icelandic "Gelehrte Urgeschichte"

Snorri's Data on Early Eastern Europe

Snorra Edda, Prologue

2. Veröldin var greind í þrjár hálfur, frá suðri í vestr ok inn at Miðjarðarsjó; sá hlutr var kallaðr Affríká. Inn syðri hlutr þeirar deilðar er heitr, svá at þar brennr, af sólu.

Annarr hlutr frá vestri til norðrs ok inn til hafsins; er sá kallaðr Evrópá eða Énéá.

Inn nyrðri hluti er þar svá kaldr, at eigi vex gras á ok eigi má byggja.

Frá norðri ok um austrhálfur allt til suðrs, þat er kallat Asíá.

Heimskringla, Ynglinga saga

1. Kringla heimsins, sú er mannfólkit byggvir, er mjǫk vágskorin. Ganga hǫf stór ór útsjánum inn í jǫrðina. Er þat kunnigt, at haf gengr frá Nǫrvasundum ok allt út til Jórsalalands. Af hafinu gengr langr hafsbotn til landnorðrs, er heitir Svartahaf.

Sá skilr heimsþriðjungana.

Heitir fyrir austan Ásíá, en fyrir vestan kalla sumir Európá, en sumir Eneá.

Í þeim hluta veraldar er öll fegrð ok prýði ok eignir jarðar-ávaxtar, gull ok gimsteinar. Þar er ok mið veröldin. Ok svá sem þar er jörðin fegri ok betri öllum kostum en í öðrum stöðum, svá var ok mannfólkit þar mest tignat af öllum giftunum, spekinni ok aflinu, fegrðinni ok alls konar kunnustu.

3. Nær miðri veröldinni var gert þat hús ok herbergi, er ágætast hefir verit, er kallat er Trjóa, þar sem vér köllum Tyrkland.

Þessi staðr var miklu meiri gerr en aðrir ok með meira hagleik á marga lund með kostnaði ok föngum, en þar váru til.

Þar váru tólf konungdómar ok einn yfirkonungr, ok lágu mörg þjóðlönd til hvers konungdómsins.

Þar váru í borginni tólf höfðingjar. Þessir höfðingjar hafa verit um fram aðra menn, þá er verit hafa í veröldu, um alla manndómliga hluti.

En norðan at Svartahafi gengr Svíþjóð in mikla eða in kalda. Svíþjóð ina miklu kalla sumir menn eigi minni en Serkland it mikla, sumir jafna henni við Bláland it mikla.

Inn nørðri hlutr Svíþjóðar liggr óbyggðr af frosti ok kulða, svá sem inn syðri hlutr Blálands er auðr af sólarbruna.

Í Svíþjóð eru stórheruð mǫrg. Þar eru ok margs konar þjóðir ok margar tungur. Þar eru risar, ok þar eru dvergar, þar eru blámenn, ok þar eru margs konar undarligar þjóðir. Þar eru ok dýr ok drekar furðuliga stórir.

Ór norðri frá fjǫllum þeim, er fyrir útan eru byggð alla, fellr á um Svíþjóð, sú er at réttu heitir Tanais. Hon var forðum kǫlluð Tanakvísl eða Vanakvísl. Hon kømr til sjávar inn í Svartahaf. Í Vanakvíslum var þá kallat Vanaland eða Vanaheimr. Sú á skilr heimsþriðjungana. Heitir fyrir austan Ásíá, en fyrir vestan Európá.

2. Fyrir austan Tanakvísl í Ásíá var kallat Ásaland eða Ásaheimr, en hǫfuðborgin, er var í landinu, kǫlluðu þeir Ásgarð.

En í borginni var hǫfðingi sá, er Óðinn var kallaðr. Þar var blótstaðr mikill. Þat var þar siðr, at tólf hofgoðar váru œztir.

Skyldu þeir ráða fyrir blótum ok dómum manna í milli. Þat eru díar kallaðir eða dróttnar. Þeim skyldi þjónostu veita ok lotning allt fólk.

Einn konungr í Trjóu er nefndr Múnón eða Mennón. Hann átti dóttur höfuðkonungsins Príamí. Sú hét Tróan. Þau áttu son. Hann hét Trór, er vér köllum Þór. Hann var at uppfæðslu í Trakíá með hertoga þeim, er nefndr er Lóríkús, en er hann var tíu vetra, þá tók hann við vápnum föður síns. Svá var hann fagr álitum, er hann kom með öðrum mönnum, sem þá er fílsbein er grafit í eik. Hár hans er fegra en gull. Þá er hann var tólf vetra, þá hafði hann fullt afl. Þá lyfti hann af jörðu tíu bjarnstökkum öllum senn, ok þá drap hann Lóríkúm hertoga, fóstra sinn, ok konu hans, Lórá eða Glórá, ok eignaði sér ríkit Trakíá. Þat köllum vér Þrúðheim. Þá fór hann víða um lönd ok kannaði allar heimshálfur ok sigraði einn saman alla berserki ok alla risa ok einn inn mesta dreka ok mörg dýr. Í norðrhálfu heims fann hann spákonu þá, er Síbíl hét, er vér köllum Sif, ok fekk hennar. Engi kann at segja ætt Sifjar. Hon var allra kvinna fegrst. Hár hennar var sem gull. Þeira sonr var Lóriði, er líkr var feðr sínum. Hans sonr var Einriði, hans sonr Vingeþórr, hans sonr Vingener, hans sonr Móda, hans sonr Magi, hans sonr Seskef, hans sonr Beðvig, hans sonr Athra, er vér köllum Annan, hans sonr Ítrmann, hans sonr Heremóð, hans sonr Skjaldun, er vér köllum Skjöld, hans sonr Bjáf, er vér köllum Bjár, hans sonr Ját, hans sonr Guðólfr, hans sonr Finn, hans sonr Fríallaf, er vér köllum Friðleif. Hann átti þann son, er nefndr er Vóden. Þann köllum vér Óðin. Hann var ágætr maðr af speki ok allri atgervi. Kona hans hét Frígíða, er vér köllum Frigg.

Óðinn, var hermaðr mikill ok mjǫk víðfǫrull ok eignaðisk mǫrg ríki.

Hann var svá sigrsæll, at í hverri orrostu

4. Óðinn hafði spádóm ok svá kona hans, ok af þeim vísendum fann hann þat, at nafn hans myndi uppi vera haft í norðrhálfu heims ok tignat um fram alla konunga.

Fyrir þá sök fýstist hann at byrja ferð sína af Tyrklandi ok hafði með sér mikinn fjölða liðs, unga menn ok gamla, karla ok konur, ok höfðu með sér marga gersemliga hluti. En hvar sem þeir fóru yfir lönd, þá var ágæti mikit frá þeim sagt, svá at þeir þóttu líkari goðum en mönnum. Ok þeir gefa eigi stað ferðinni, fyrr en þeir koma norðr í þat land, er nú er kallat Saxland. Þar dvalðist Óðinn langar hríðir ok eignaðist víða þat land.

Þar setti Óðinn til landsgæzlu þrjá sonu sína. Er einn nefndr Vegdeg. Var hann ríkr konungr ok réð fyrir Austr-Saxlandi. Hans sonr var Vitrgils. Hans synir váru þeir Vitta, faðir Heingests, ok Sigarr, faðir Svebdeg, er vér köllum Svipdag. Annarr

fekk hann gagn, ok svá kom, at hans menn trúðu því, at hann ætti heimilan sigr í hverri orrostu. Þat var háttr hans, ef hann sendi menn sína til orrostu eða aðrar sendifarar, at hann lagði áðr hendr í hǫfuð þeim ok gaf þeim bjannak. Trúðu þeir, at þá myndi vel farask. Svá var ok um hans menn, hvar sem þeir urðu í nauðum staddir á sjá eða á landi, þá kǫlluðu þeir á nafn hans, ok þótti, jafnan fá af því fró. Þar þóttusk þeir eiga allt traust, er hann var. Hann fór opt svá langt í brot, at hann dvalðisk í ferðinni mǫrg misseri.

5. Fjallgarðr mikill gengr af landnorðri til útsuðrs. Sá skilr Svíþjóð ina miklu ok ǫnnur ríki. Fyrir sunnan fjallit er eigi langt til Tyrklands. Þar átti Óðinn eignir stórar. Í þann tíma fóru Rúmverjahǫfðingjar víða um heiminn ok brutu undir sik allar þjóðir, en margir hǫfðingjar flýðu fyrir þeim ófriði af sínum eignum.

En fyrir því at Óðinn var forspár ok fjǫlkunnigr, þá vissi hann, at hans afkvæmi myndi um norðrhálfu heimsins byggva. Þá setti hann brœðr sína, Vé ok Víli, yfir Ásgarð, en hann fór ok díar allir með honum ok mikit fólk annat.

Fór hann fyrst vestr í Garðaríki ok þá suðr í Saxland. Hann átti marga sonu. Hann eignaðisk ríki víða um Saxland ok setti þar sonu sína til landsgæzlu.

sonr Óðins hét Beldeg, er vér köllum Baldr. Hann átti þat land, er nú heitir Vestfál. Hans sonr var Brandr, hans sonr Frjóðigar, er vér köllum Fróða. Hans sonr var Freóvin, hans sonr Uvigg, hans sonr Gevis, er vér köllum Gave. Inn þriði sonr Óðins er nefndr Sigi, hans sonr Rerir. Þeir langfeðr réðu þar fyrir, er nú er kallat Frakland, ok er þaðan sú ætt komin, er kölluð er Völsungar. Frá öllum þeim eru stórar ættir komnar ok margar.

Þá byrjaði Óðinn ferð sína norðr ok kom í þat land, er þeir kölluðu Reiðgotaland, ok eignaðist í því landi allt þat, er hann vildi. Hann setti þar til landa son sinn, er Skjöldr hét. Hans sonr var Friðleifr. Þaðan er sú ætt komin, er Skjöldungar heita. Þat eru Danakonungar, ok þat heitir nú Jótland, er þá var kallat Reiðgotaland.

Þá fór hann norðr til sjávar ok tók sér bústað í ey einni. Þar heitir nú Óðinsey í Fjóni.

Þá sendi hann Gefjun norðr yfir sundit í landaleitan. Þá kom hon til Gylfa, ok gaf hann henni eitt plógsland.

Gylfaginning

Gylfi konungr réð þar löndum, er nú heitir Svíþjóð. Frá honum er þat sagt, at hann gaf einni farandi konu at launum skemmtunar sinnar eitt plógsland í ríki sínu, þat er fjórir öxn drægi upp dag ok nótt. En sú kona var ein af Ása ætt. Hon er nefnd Gefjun.

Hon tók fjóra öxn norðan ór Jötunheimum, en þat váru synir jötuns nökkurs ok hennar, ok setti þá fyrir plóg, en plógrinn gekk svá breitt ok djúpt, at upp leysti landit, ok drógu öxninir þat land út á hafit ok vestr ok námu staðar í sundi nökkuru. Þar setti Gefjun landit ok gaf hafn ok kallaði Selund.

Ok þar sem landit hafði upp gengit, var þar eftir vatn. Þat er nú Lögrinn kallaðr í Svíþjóð, ok liggja svá víkr í Leginum sem nes í Selundi. Svá segir Bragi skáld gamli:

Þá fór hon i Jǫtunheima ok gat þar fjóra sonu við jǫtni nǫkkurum. Hon brá þeim í yxnalíki ok fœrði þá fyrir plóginn ok dró landit út á hafit ok vestr gegnt Óðinsey, ok er þat kǫlluð Selund. Þar byggði hon síðan. Hennar fekk Skjǫldr, sonr Óðins. Þau bjoggu at Hleiðru.

Þar er vatn eða sjár eptir. Þat er kallat Lǫgrinn.
Svá liggja firðir í Leginum sem nes í Selundi. Svá kvað Bragi inn gamli:

1. Gefjon dró frá Gylfa
glǫð djúprǫðul ǫðla,
svát af rennirauknum
rauk, Danmarkar auka.
Bǫru øxn ok átta
ennitungl, þars gingu
fyr vineyjar víðri
valrauf, fjogur haufuð.

Prologue

5. Eftir þat fór hann norðr, þar sem nú heitir Svíþjóð. Þar var sá konungr, er Gylfi er nefndr. En er hann spyrr til ferðar þeira Ásíamanna, er æsir váru kallaðir, fór hann í móti þeim ok bauð, at Óðinn skyldi slíkt vald hafa í hans ríki, sem hann vildi sjálfr.

Ok sá tími fylgði ferð þeira, at hvar sem þeir dvölðust í löndum, þá var þar ár ok friðr, ok trúðu allir, at þeir væri þess ráðandi, því at þat sá ríkismenn, at þeir váru ólíkir öðrum mönnum, þeim er þeir höfðu sét, at fegrð ok svá at viti.

Þar þótti Óðni fagrir vellir ok landskostir góðir ok kaus sér þar borgstað, er nú heita Sigtún.

Skipaði hann þar höfðingjum ok í þá líking, sem verit hafði í Trója, setti tólf höfuðmenn í staðinum at dæma landslög, ok svá skipaði hann réttum öllum sem fyrr hafði verit í Trója ok Tyrkir váru vanir.

En er Óðinn spurði, at góðir landskostir váru austr at Gylfa, fór hann þannok, ok gerðu þeir Gylfi sætt sina, því at Gylfi þóttisk engi krapt til hafa til mótstǫðu við Ásana.

Mart áttusk þeir Óðinn við ok Gylfi í brǫgðum ok sjónhverfingum, ok urðu Æsir jafnan ríkri.

Óðinn tók sér bústað við Lǫgrinn, þar sem nú eru kallaðar fornu Sigtúnir, ok gerði þar mikit hof ok blót eptir siðvenju Ásanna. Hann eignaðisk þar lǫnd svá vítt sem hann lét heita Sigtúnir.

Hann gaf bústaði hofgoðunum. Njǫrðr bjó í Nóatúnum, en Freyr at Uppsǫlum, Heimdallr at Himinbjǫrgum, Þórr á Þrúðvangi, Baldr á Breiðabliki. Ǫllum fekk hann þeim góða bólstaði.

8. Óðinn setti lǫg í landi sínu, þau er gengit hǫfðu fyrr með Ásum. Svá setti hann, at alla dauða menn skyldi brenna ok bera á bál með þeim eign þeira. Sagði hann svá, at með þvílíkum auðœfum skyldi hverr koma til Valhallar sem hann hafði á bál, þess skyldi hann ok njóta, er hann sjálfr hafði í jǫrð grafit. En ǫskuna skyldi bera

út á sjá eða grafa niðr í jǫrð, en eptir gǫfga menn skyldi haug gera til minningar, en eptir alla þá menn, er nǫkkut manns mót var at, skyldi reisa bautasteina, ok helzk sjá siðr lengi síðan. Þá skyldi blóta í móti vetri til árs, en at miðjum vetri blóta til gróðrar, it þriðja at sumri, þat var sigrblót. Um alla Svíþjóð guldu menn Óðni skatt, penning fyrir nef hvert, en hann skyldi verja land þeira fyrir ófriði ok blóta þeim til árs.

5. Eftir þat fór hann norðr, þar til er sjár tók við honum, sá er þeir hugðu, at lægi um öll lönd, ok setti þar son sinn til þess ríkis, er nú heitir Nóregr.

Njǫrðr fekk konu þeirar, er Skaði hét. Hon vildi ekki við hann samfarar ok giptisk síðan Óðni. Áttu þau marga sonu. Einn þeira hét Sæmingr. Um hann orti Eyvindr skáldaspillir þetta: . . . . Til Sæmings talði Hákon jarl inn ríki langfeðgakyn sitt. Þessa Svíþjóð kǫlluðu þeir Mannheima, en ina miklu Svíþjóð kǫlluðu þeir Goðheima. Ór Goðheimum sǫgðu þeir mǫrg tíðendi.

Sá er Sæmingr kallaðr, ok telja þar Nóregskonungar sínar ætti: til hans ok svá jarlar ok aðrir ríkismenn, svá sem segir í Háleygjatali.

9. Óðinn varð sóttdauðr í Svíþjóð. Ok er hann var at kominn dauða, lét hann marka sik geirsoddi ok eignaði sér alla vápndauða menn. Sagði hann sik mundu fara í Goðheim ok fagna þar vinum sínum. Nú hugðu Svíar, at hann væri kominn í inn forna Ásgarð ok myndi þar lifa at eilífu. Hófsk þá at nýju átrúnaðr við Óðin ok áheit. Opt þótti Svíum hann vitrask sér, áðr stórar orrostur yrði. Gaf hann þá sumum sigr, en sumum bauð hann til sín. Þótti hvárrtveggi kostr góðr. Óðinn var brenndr dauðr, ok var sú brenna gǫr allveglig. Þat var trúa þeira, at því hæra sem reykinn lagði í loptit upp, at því háleitari væri sá í himninum, er brennuna átti, ok þess auðgari er meira fé brann með honum. Njǫrðr af Nóatúnum gerðisk þá valdsmaðr yfir Svíum ok helt upp blótum. Hann kǫlluðu

Svíar þá dróttin sinn. Tók hann þá skattgjafar af þeim. Á hans dǫgum var friðr allgóðr ok alls konar ár svá mikit, at Svíar trúðu því, at Njǫrðr réði fyrir ári ok fyrir fésælu manna. Á hans dǫgum dó flestir díar ok váru allir brenndir ok blótaðir síðan. Njǫrðr varð sóttdauðr. Lét hann ok marka sik Óðni, áðr hann dó Svíar brenndu hann ok grétu allmjǫk yfir leiði hans.

10. Freyr tók þá við ríki eptir Njǫrð. Var hann kallaðr dróttinn yfir Svíum ok tók skattgjafar af þeim. Hann var vinsæll ok ársæll sem faðir hans.

Freyr reisti at Uppsǫlum hof mikit ok setti þar hǫfuðstað sinn, lagði þar til allar skyldir sínar, lǫnd ok lausan eyri. Þá hófsk Uppsalaauðr ok hefir haldizk æ síðan. Á hans dǫgum hófsk Fróðafriðr. Þá var ok ár um ǫll lǫnd. Kenndu Svíar þat Frey. Var hann því meirr dýrkaðr en ǫnnur goðin sem á hans dǫgum varð landsfólkit auðgara en fyrr af friðinum ok ári. Gerðr Gymisdóttir hét kona hans. Sonr þeira hét Fjǫlnir.

En Óðinn hafði með sér þann son sinn, er Yngvi er nefndr, er konungr var í Svíþjóðu eftir hann, ok eru frá honum komnar þær ættir, er Ynglingar eru kallaðir.

Freyr hét Yngvi ǫðru nafni. Yngva nafn var lengi síðan haft í hans ætt fyrir tignarnafn, ok Ynglingar váru síðan kallaðir hans ættmenn.

Freyr tók sótt, en er at honum leð sóttin, leituðu menn sér ráðs ok létu fá menn til hans koma, en bjoggu haug mikinn ok létu dyrr á ok þrjá glugga. En er Freyr var dauðr, báru þeir hann leyniliga í hauginn ok sǫgðu Svíum, at hann lifði, ok varðveittu hann þar þrjá vetr. En skatt ǫllum helltu þeir í hauginn, í einn glugg gullinu, en í annan silfrinu, í inn þriðja eirpenningum. Þá helzk ár ok friðr. Freyja helt þá upp blótum, því at hon ein lifði þá eptir goðanna, ok varð hon þá in frægsta, svá at með hennar nafni skyldi kalla allar konur tignar, svá sem nú heita frúvur. Svá hét ok hver freyja yfir sinni eigu,

en sú húsfreyja, er bú á. Freyja var heldr marglynd. Óðr hét bóndi hennar. Dœtr hennar hétu Hnoss ok Gersimi. Þær váru fagrar mjǫk. Af þeira nafni eru svá kallaðir inir dýrstu gripir. Þá er allir Svíar vissu, at Freyr var dauðr, en helzk ár ok friðr, þá trúðu þeir, at svá myndi vera, meðan Freyr væri á Svíþjóð, ok vildu eigi brenna hann ok kǫlluðu hann veraldargoð, blótuðu mest til árs ok friðar alla ævi síðan.

11. Fjǫlnir, sonr Yngvifreys, réð þá fyrir Svíum ok Uppsalaauð. Hann var ríkr ok ársæll ok friðsæll. Þá var Frið-Fróði at Hleiðru. Þeira í millum var heimboð ok vingan. Þá er Fjǫlnir fór til Fróða á Selund, þá var þar fyrir búin mikil veizla ok boðit til víða um lǫnd. . . .

12. Sveigðir tók ríki eptir fǫður sinn. Hann strengði þess heit at leita Goðheims ok Óðins ins gamla. Hann fór með tólfta mann víða um heiminn. Hann kom út í Tyrkland ok í Svíþjóð ina miklu ok hitti þar marga frændr sína ok var í þeiri fǫr fimm vetr. Þá kom hann aptr til Svíþjóðar. Dvalðisk hann þá enn heima um hríð. Hann hafði fengit konu þá, er Vana hét, út í Vanaheimi. Var þeira sonr Vanlandi.

Sveigðir fór enn at leita Goðheims. Ok í austanverðri Svíþjóð heitir bœr mikill at Steini.

Þar er steinn svá mikill sem stórt hús. Um kveldit eptir sólarfall, þá er Sveigðir gekk frá drykkju til svefnbúrs, sá hann til steinsins, at dvergr sat undir steininum. Sveigðir ok hans menn váru mjǫk drukknir ok runnu til steinsins. Dvergrinn stóð í durum ok kallaði á Sveigði, bað hann þar inn ganga, ef hann vildi Óðin hitta. Sveigðir hljóp í steininn, en steinninn lauksk þegar aptr, ok kom Sveigðir aldri út. . . .[1]

[1] *Hkr* I (IF 25), pp. 9–27.

Þeir Æsir tóku sér kvánföng þar innan lands, en sumir sonum sínum, ok urðu þessar ættir fjölmennar, at umb Saxland ok allt þaðan of norðrhálfur dreifðist svá, at þeira tunga, Ásíamanna, var eigin tunga um öll þessi lönd.

Ok þat þykkjast menn skynja mega af því, at rituð eru langfeðganöfn þeira, at þau nöfn hafa fylgt þessi tungu ok þeir æsir hafa haft tunguna norðr hingat í heim, í Nóreg ok í Svíþjóð, í Danmörk ok í Saxland, ok í Englandi eru forn landsheiti eða staðaheiti, þau er skilja má, at af annarri tungu eru gefin en þessi.[2]

(*translation*)

Snorra Edda, Prologue

Heimskringla, Ynglinga saga

1. The earth's globe, on which mankind lives, is much indented.

Great seas cut into the land from the ocean.

We know that a sea goes from the Nǫrvasund (the Strait of Gibraltar) all the way to Jórsalaland (Jerusalem land, i.e. Palestine, the Holy Land).

From this sea a long arm (hafsbotn) extends to the northeast which is called Svarta haf (the Mediterranean with the Black Sea).

It separates the three parts of the world.

2. The world was divided into three parts. From south to west up the Miðjarðar sjór [the Mediterranean] was the part known as Affríká [Africa], and the southern portion of this is so hot that everything there is burned by the sun.

From north to east and down to the south is Asía. . . .

The part eastward is called Ásíá;

The second part, stretching from west to north up to the ocean, is called Európá or Enéá; the northern half of this is so cold that no grass grows there, and it is uninhabited. . . .

but that which lies to the west of it is called by some Európá, by others Eneá.

These regions of the world [Asia] have great beauty and magnificence. The earth

[2] *SnE*, ed. F. Jónsson, pp. 9-27.

yields special products like gold and precious stones. The center of the world is also there, and just as the earth is more fertile and in every way superior to that found elsewhere, so the human beings living there were endowed beyond their fellows with all manner of gifts — wisdom, strength, beauty, and every kind of ability.

North of the Black Sea (Svarta haf) lies Sweden the Great or the Cold (Svíþjóð in mikla eða in kalda).

Some consider Sweden the Great (Svíþjóð in mikla) not less in size than Great Saracen land (Serkland in mikla, i.e., the Muslim Near East), and some think it is eq̄ual in size to blackman's land the great (Bláland in mikla, i.e., Africa).

The northern part of Sweden Svíþjóð [the Great] is uncultivated due to frost and cold, just as the southern part of Africa is is a desert because of the heat of the sun.

In Sweden (Svíþjóð) [the Great] there are many large provinces. There are also many tribes and many tongues.

There are giants (risar) and dwarfs (dvergar); there are black men (blámenn) and many kinds of strange tribes.

Also there are animals and dragons of marvelous size.

Out of the north, from the mountains which are beyond all inhabited districts [= classic Riphaean Mountains], a river runs through Sweden (Svíþjóð the Great) whose correct name is Tanais (Don). In olden times it was called Tana Fork (Tana-kvísl) or Vana Fork (Vana-kvísl). Its mouth is at the Black Sea. The land around the Vana Fork was called Vanaland, or Vanaheimr. This river (Tanais/Don) divides the three continents. East of it is Asia, west of it Europe.

2. The land east of the Tana-kvísl (Don) was called the home of the Æsir (Ásaland, or Ásaheimr), and the capital (hǫfuðborg) of that country they called Ásgarðr.

3. Near the center of the world where what we call Tyrkland lies was built the

most famous of homes and halls, Troy (Trjóa) by name.

That town (staðr) was built on a much larger scale than others then in existence, and in many ways with greater skill, so lavishly was it equipped.

In this capital ruled the chieftain (hǫfðingi) whose name was Óðinn.

This was a great place for sacrifices (blótstaðr).

The rule prevailed that twelve chiefs [orig. "temple priests," hof-goðar] were highest in rank.

There were twelve kingdoms (konungdómar) with one over-king (yfirkonungr), and each kingdom contained many peoples.

In the citadel were twelve chieftains (hǫfðingjar) and these excelled other men then living in every human fashion.

They were to have charge of sacrifices and to judge between men. They are called *díar* [a Celtic word] or chiefs. All the people were to serve them and show reverence.

One of the kings was called Múnón or Mennón. He married a daughter of the chief king, Príám, who was called Tróán, and they had a son named Trór — we call him Þórr. He was brought up in Thrace (Trakíá) by a duke called Lóricús and, when he was ten years old, he received his father's arms. When he took his place amongst other men, he was as beautiful to look at as ivory inlaid in oak; his hair was lovelier than gold.

At twelve years of age he had come to his full strength, and then he lifted ten bear pelts from the ground at once, and killed his foster father Lóricús, and with him his wife Lóra, or Glórá, and took possession of the realm of Thrace — we call that Þrúðheimr.

After that he traveled far and wide, exploring all the regions of the world and by himself overcoming all the berserkers and giants and an enormous dragon and many wild beasts.

In the northern part of the world he met with, and married, a prophetess called

Síbil whom we call Sif. I do not know Sif's genealogy, but she was a most beautiful woman with hair like gold. Lóriði, who resembled his father, was their son. Lóriði's son was Einriði, his son Vingeþórr, his son Vingener, his son Módi, his son Magi, his son Seskef, his son Beðvig, his son Athra, whom we call Annar, his son Ítrmann, his son Heremóð, his son Skjaldun, whom we call Skjǫldr, his son Bjáf, whom we call Bjárr, his son Ját, his son Guðólfr, his son Finn, his son Fríallaf, whom we call Friðleifr; he had a son named Vóden, whom we call Óðinn;[3] he was a man famed for his wisdom and every kind of accomplishment.
His wife was called Frígíða, whom we call Frigg.

Óðinn was a great warrior and fared widely, conquering many countries.

He was so victorious that he won the upper hand in every battle; as a result, his men believed that it was granted to him to be victorious in every battle. It was his habit that, before sending his men to battle or on other errands, he would lay his hands on their heads and give them a *bjannak* [a Celtic word for "blessing"]. Then they believed they would succeed.

It was also noted that wherever his men were sore beset, on sea or on land, they would call on his name, and they would get help from so doing. They put all their trust in him. Often he was away so long as to be gone for many years.

5. A great mountain chain runs from the northeast to the southwest.

It divides Sweden the Great (Svíþjóð in mikla) from other realms.

South of the [Riphaean] mountains it is not far to Tyrkland; there Óðinn had large possessions.

At that time the generals of the Romans moved about far and wide, subjugating all peoples, and many chieftains (hǫfðing-

3 Concerning this genealogy, see A. Heusler, *Die gelehrte Urgeschichte*, pp. 65–67.

4. Both Óðinn and his wife had the gift of prophecy, and by means of this magic art he discovered that his name would be famous in the northern part of the world and honored above that of all kings.
For this reason he decided to set on a journey from [the town of] Tyrkland.

He was accompanied by a great host of old and young, men and women, and they had with them many valuables.

Through whatever lands they went, such glorious exploits were related of them that they were looked on as gods rather than men.

They did not halt on their journey until they came north into the land that is now called Saxland. There in Saxland, Óðinn lived for a long time taking possession of much of the land.
In that land Óðinn set up three of his sons to defend it. One was called Vegdeg; he was a powerful king and ruled over East-Saxland; his son was Vitrgils; his sons were Vitta, father of Heingestr, and Sigarr, father of Svebdeg, whom we call Svipdagr. Óðinn's second son was named Beldeg, whom we call Baldr; he had the country now called Vestfál; his son was Brandr; his son, Frjóðigar, whom we call Fróði; his son, Freóvin; his son Uvigg; his son, Gevis, whom we call Gave. Óðinn's third son was called Sigi; his son was Rerir. This pair ruled over what is now called Frakland, and the clan known as Vǫlsungar came from there.

Great and numerous kindred have come from all of them.

Then Óðinn set off on his journey coming north

to the land called Reiðgotaland and took possession of everything he wanted in that

jar) fled from their possessions because of these hostilities.

And because Óðinn had the gift of prophecy and was skilled in magic, he knew that his offspring would inhabit the northern part of the world.

Then he set his brothers Vé and Víli over [the town of] Ásgarðr, but he and all gods (díar), and many other people (fólk) departed.

First he journeyed west to Garðaríki.

And then [he journeyed] south to Saxland. He had many sons. He took possession of lands far and wide in Saxland and set up his sons to defend these lands.

Then [Óðinn] journeyed north to the sea and fixed his abode on an island.
That place is now called Óðinsey [= Óðinn's island; the present city of Odense], on the island of Fjóni (= Funen/Fyn; in Denmark).

country. He appointed his son Skjǫldr to govern there; his son Friðleifr. From there has come the clan known as Skjǫldungar. They are kings of Denmark (Danakonungar) and what was then called Reiðgotaland is now named Jutland (Jótland).

Gylfaginning

Thereupon [Óðinn] sent the goddess Gefjon north over the sound [to Sweden] to seek land. She came to King Gylfi and he gave her plough land.

1. King Gylfi ruled the lands that are now called Sweden (Svíþjóð). It is told of him that he gave plough land in his kingdom, the size four oxen could plough in a day and a night, to a beggarwoman as a reward for the way she entertained him.
This woman, however, was of the family of Æsir; her name was Gefjon.
From the north of Jǫtunheimar she took four oxen and yoked them to a plough, but those were her sons by a giant.
The plough went in so hard and deep that it loosened the land and the oxen dragged it westwards into the sea, stopping at a certain sound. There Gefjon set the land for good and gave it a name, calling it Zealand (Selund).

Then she went to Jǫtunheimar and there bore four sons to some giant. She transformed them into oxen and attached them to the plough, and drew the land westward into the sea, opposite Óðinsey, and that is now called Zealand (Selund); and there she dwelled afterwards.

Skjǫldr, a son of Óðinn married her. They lived at Hleiðra (Leire).

But the place where the land had been torn up was afterwards a lake; it is now known in Sweden as Lǫgrinn [the lake, i.e., Mälaren].
And there are as many bays in Lǫgrinn as there are nesses in Zealand.

A lake was left where the land was taken which is called Lǫgrinn.

As bays in that lake correspond to the nesses of Zealand.

Thus says skald Bragi the Old:

Gefjon drew from Gylfi
gladly the wave-trove's freehold,
till from the running beasts
sweat reeked, to Denmark's increase (Danmarkarauki).
The oxen bore, moreover,
eight eyes, gleaming browlights.
O'er the field's wide booty,
and four heads in their ploughing.

Prologue

5. Thereafter Óðinn went north to what is now called Svíþjóð. There was a king there called Gylfi and when he heard of the expedition of the Asíamenn, as the Æsir were called, he went to meet them and offered Óðinn as much authority over his kingdom as he himself desired.

Their travels were attended by such prosperity that wherever they stayed in a country that region enjoyed good harvests and peace, and everyone believed that they caused this, since the native inhabitants had never seen any other people like them for good looks and intelligence.
The plains and natural resources of life in Sweden struck Óðinn as being favorable,

and he chose for himself a townsite now called Sigtún.
There he appointed chieftains (hǫfðingjar) after the pattern of Troy, establishing twelve chiefs (hǫfuð-menn) to administer the laws of the land (landslǫg),

and he drew up a code of law like that which had held in Troy and to which the Turks had been accustomed.

But when Óðinn learned that there was good land east in Gylfi's kingdom he journeyed there; and Gylfi came to an agreement with him, because he did not consider himself strong enough to withstand the Æsir.

Óðinn and Gylfi vied much with each other in magic and spells, but the Æsir always had the better of it.

Óðinn settled by Lake Lǫgrinn (Mälaren), at a place which formerly was called Sigtúnir (Sigtuna). There he erected a large temple and made sacrifices according to the custom of the Æsir.
He took possession of the land as far as he had called it Sigtúnir.

He gave dwelling places to the hofgoðar [= chiefs < temple priests].
Niǫrðr dwelled at Nóatún;[4]
Freyr at Uppsala;
Heimdallr at Himinbjǫrg;
Þórr at Þrúðvangr;
Baldr at Breiðablik.
To all he gave good estates (ból-staðir).
8. In his country Óðinn instituted such laws as had been in force among the Æsir before.

Thus he ordered that all the dead were to be burned on a pyre together with their possessions, saying that everyone would arrive in Valhǫll with such wealth as he

[4] All epic names of dwelling places — *Nóatún* "the enclosure of ships"; *Himinbjǫrg* "rocks of heaven" (cf. G. Turville-Petre, *Myth*, p. 154); *Þrúðvangr* (cf. Turville-Petre, *Myth*, p. 75), and *Breiðablik* "broad splendor" (cf. Turville-Petre, *Myth*, p. 106) — appear in *SnE* (*Gylfaginning*, ed. Jónsson, pp. 25, 28-33; 61; *Skáldskaparmál*, pp. 81, 104).

had with him on his pyre and that he would also enjoy the use of what he himself had hidden in the ground.
His ashes were to be carried out to sea or buried in the ground.

For notable men, burial mounds (haugr) were to be thrown up as memorials.

But for all men who had shown great manly qualities memorial stones (bautasteinar) were to be erected; and this custom continued for a long time thereafter.

A sacrifice was to be made for a good season at the beginning of winter, and one in midwinter for good crops, and a third one in summer for victory.

In all Sweden men paid tribute (skattr) to Óðinn, a penny (penningr) for every head, and he was to defend their land against incursions and to make sacrifice for them so they would have good seasons.

5. After that, he (Óðinn) traveled north until he reached the sea, which they thought encircled the whole world, and placed his son over the kingdom now called Norway (Nóregr).

Njǫrðr married a woman who was called Skaði. She would not have intercourse with him, and later married Óðinn.
They had many sons.

Their son was called Sæmingr and, as it says in the Háleygjatal, together with the earls (jarlar) and other rulers (ríkismenn) the kings of Norway (Nóregskonungar) trace their genealogies back to him.

One of them was called Sæmingr. About him Eyvindr skáldaspillir [d. 1038] composed these verses [in *Hálevgjatal*]. . . . Earl Hákon inn ríki [Sigurðarson, Hlaðajarl, 970–995] reckoned his pedigree from Sæmingr.
This [kind] of Svíþjóð they called Mannheimar; but Sweden the Great (*Svíþjóð in mikla*) they called Goðheimar.

About this Goðheimar many stories are told.

9. Óðinn died in his bed in Sweden. But when he felt death approaching he had himself marked with the point of a spear, and he declared as his own all men who fell in battle.

He said he was about to depart to Goðheimr and would there welcome his friends. So then the Swedes (Svíar) believed that he had gone to the old Ásgarðr (í inn forna Ásgarð) and would live there forever. Then the belief in Óðinn arose anew, and they called on him. Often the Svíar thought he revealed himself before great battles were fought, when he would give victory to some and invite others to come to his abode. Both fates seemed good to them.

Óðinn was burned after his death, and this burning on the pyre of his body took place with great splendor. It was the people's belief that the higher the smoke rose into the sky, the more elevated in heaven would he be who was cremated; and [therefore] a man [was considered] the nobler, the more possessions were burned with him.

After him, Njǫrðr of Nóatún took power among the Swedes (Svíar) and continued the sacrifices.

Then the Swedes called him their lord (dróttinn), and he received their tribute (skatt-gjafar).

In his days good peace prevailed, and there were such good crops of all kinds that the Swedes believed that Njǫrðr had power over the harvests and the prosperity of mankind.

In his days most of the díar died, and all were burned, and men made sacrifices to them.

Njǫrðr died in his bed. He had himself marked for Óðinn before he died.

The Swedes burned his body and wept sorely at his tomb.

10. After Njǫrðr, Freyr succeeded to power. He was called lord (dróttin) of the Swedes and received tribute (skatt-gjafar) from them. He was greatly beloved and blessed by good seasons like his father.

Freyr erected a great temple (hof) at Uppsala (Uppsalir) and made his chief

residence (hǫfuðstaðr) there, directing to it all tribute due to him, both lands and chattels.

This was the origin of the Uppsala treasure [= Uppsala auðr; i.e., crown goods], which have been kept up ever since.

In his days there originated the so-called peace of Fróði (Fróða friðr).

There were good harvests at that time in all countries. The Swedes attributed that to Freyr. And he was worshiped more than other gods because in his days, owing to peace and good harvests, the farmers (lands-fólk) became better off than before.

His wife was called Gerðr, the daughter of Gymir. Their son was Fjǫlnir.

Óðinn kept by him the son called Yngvi, who was king (konungr) of Sweden (Svíþjóð) after him, and from him has come the line known as the Ynglingar.

Freyr was also called Yngvi; and the name Yngvi was for a long time afterwards kept in his line as an official high title (tígnar-nafn) for rulers, and his lineage were thereafter called Ynglingar.

Freyr took sick; and when the sickness gained on him, his followers hit upon the plan to let few men see him, and they threw up a great burial mound with a door and three windows.

And when Freyr was dead they carried him secretly into the mound and told the Swedes that he was still alive, and kept him there for three years. But all the tribute they poured into the mound — gold by one window, silver by another, and copper coin (eirpenningar) by the third. Thus good seasons and peace endured.

Freyja kept up the sacrifices, for she was the only one among the godheads who survived. Therefore she became most famous, so that all women of rank came to be called by her name. . . .

When all the Swedes knew that Freyr was dead, but that good seasons and peace still prevailed, they believed this would be the case so long as Freyr was in Sweden; and so they would not burn him and called him the god of the world (veraldar goð) and sacrificed to him ever after for good harvest and peace.

11. Thereafter Fjǫlnir, the son of Yngvi-Freyr, had sway over the Swedes and the Uppsala treasure. He was powerful; there were good harvests, and peace obtained during his reign. At the same time the peace of Fróði (Frið-Fróði) ruled in Hleiðra [in Zealand, Denmark], and there was friendship between them and they invited one another to feasts. . . .

12. Sveigðir succeeded to the throne after his father (Fjǫlnir). He made a vow that he would try to find Goðheimr and Óðinn the Old (inn gamli). With eleven others he fared widely about the world.

He came out to Tyrkland and to Sweden the Great, and there he met many of his kinsmen (ok hitti þar marga frændr sína). He was five years on this journey.

Then he returned to Sweden and remained at home for a while.

In Vanaheimr he married a woman named Vana; their son was Vanlandi.

Sveigðir set out again to look for Goðheimr. In the eastern part of Svíþjóð there is a large estate, called at Steini.

There stands a boulder as big as a large house. In the evening, after sunset, when Sveigðir went from the feast to his sleeping quarters he saw that a dwarf was sitting by the boulder.

Sveigðir and his men were very drunk and ran toward the boulder. The dwarf stood in the doorway [of the rock] and called to Sveigðir, inviting to enter in if he would see Óðinn. Sveigðir ran in, and the rock at once closed after him, and he never came out again. . . .[5]

The Æsir and some of their sons married the women of the lands they settled, and their families became so numerous in Saxland, and thence over the north, that their language, that of the Ásíamenn, became the language proper to all these countries.

[5] See *Hkr*/Hollander, pp. 6–15.

From the fact that their genealogies (langfeðganǫfn) are written down, men suppose that these names came along with this language, and that it was brought here to the north of the world, to Norway (Nóregr), Sweden (Svíþjóð), Denmark (Danmǫrk) and Germany (Saxland), by the Æsir.

In England, however, there are ancient district and place names which must be understood as deriving from a different language.[6]

Upphaf allra frásagna

The fourteenth-century vellum codex AM 764, 4° contains several historical, geographical, and mythological texts of various provenences.[7] Among them, the "Historical-Geographic Survey" (*Historisk-geografisk oversigt*) that appears on folios 39–40 (marked separately as AM 1 and B, 4°) has been the most studied; it had been published in full twice[8] and in excerpts several times. Its contents include excerpts from known historical texts dealing with the early Carolingians and with Danish history of the ninth century, especially the Christian missions in Denmark (based on Adam of Bremen, *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar*), and containing some data on the discovery of Iceland and Greenland (based on the *Landnámabók*). It also contains *Upphaf allra frásagna*, an anonymous tract dealing with the spread of the Æsir under the leadership of Óðinn in the north, and with the age of the Frothones in the legendary history of Denmark. Finally, excerpts based on the *Heimslýsing* represent all the geographical information of the known world.

The text and translation of that part of the *Upphaf* dealing with Óðinn's migration supplements Snorri's version of these events:[9]

6 See *SnE*/Young, pp. 25–29.

7 Described in Kr. Kålund, *Katalog over der Arnamagnæanske handskriftsamling* II, (Kbh, 1894), pp. 184–185.

8 J. Langebek, *Scriptores* II (1773), pp. 25–37, 1 facs.; C. C. Rafn, *Fornmanna sögur* XI (Kbh, 1828), pp. 412–413 ("1. Sögubrot").

9 *Upphaf* was also published by Rafn in his *ÆR* II, pp. 446–447, and was included into the historical third part of the *Rímbegla* (AM 727, 4°, paper 1594; AM 731, 4°, paper, seventeenth century), published by Stephanus Björnsen, *Rymbegla, i.e., computistica et chronologica varia veterum Islandorum* (Kbh, 1801), pp. 316–319 (with Latin trans.).

Upphaf allra frásagna í norrænni túngu,
þeirra er sannindi fylgja, hófst þá er
Tyrkir ok Ásíamenn bygðu Norðrit;
því er þat með sǫnnu at segja, at
túngan kom með þeim norðr hi[n]gat,
er vér kǫllum norrænu, ok gekk sú
túnga um Saxland, Danmǫrk ok
Svíðjóþ, Nóreg ok um nǫkkurn hluta Englands.
Hǫfuðmaðr þessa fólks var Óðinn,
son Þórs; hann átti marga sonu.
Til Óðins telja margir menn ættir sínar.
Hann skipaði sonum sínum til landa ok gerði hǫfðíngja.
Einn af sonum hans er nefndr Skjǫldr, sá er land tók sér, þat er nú heitir Danmǫrk.
En þa váru þessi lǫnd, er Ásíamenn bygðu, kǫlluð Goðlǫnd, er fólkit
Goðþjóð.
Þar váru sett endimǫrk milli
Skjaldar ok Íngifreyrs, bróður hans,
er þat ríki bygði, er nú kalla menn Svíaríki.

Óðinn ok hans synir váru stórum vitrir ok fjǫlkunnigir,
fagrir at álitum ok sterkir at afli.
Margir aðrir í þeirra ætt váru miklir afburðarmenn með
ýmisligum algerleik, ok nǫkkura af þeim tóku menn til at blóta
ok trúa á, ok kǫlluðu goð sín.

The origin of all stories [told] in the Norse tongue
are their true records that Turks and "Asians" (Ásíamenn = the Æsir < the Anses) settled the abode in the northern part.
Because of that, indeed, the language came with them hither to the north, and that language, which we call Norse, spread all over, to
[Old] Saxony (Germany), Denmark, and the realm of Svíar
(Sweden), Norway, and over some parts of England.
The leader of that people [Turks and "Asians"] was
Óðinn, son of Þórr, who had many sons.
Many [important] people trace their lineage back to Óðinn.
He drew his sons to those lands and appointed them chieftains.
One of his sons, called Skjǫldr, took hold of a land which is now called Denmark.

And then that land which [the Turks and] the "Asians" peopled was called Goðlǫnd, and
the people, Goðþjóð.
There was set a boundary between Skjǫldr and Ingi-Freyr, his brother;
[and] that realm was settled which now the people call the realm of the Svíar (Sweden).

Óðinn and his sons were wiser and more skilled in magic, more fair in appearance, and stronger physically than the [other] sturdy [men].
Many others [than Skjǫldr and Ingi-Freyr] of their kin [the Æsir] were great men of note with
diverse perfections, and the [common] men started to make sacrifices to them and to worship
them, and they called them their gods.

APPENDIX THREE

King Alfred's Geography

Description of Europe

General Description

The Anglo-Saxon king of Wessex, Alfred the Great (871–899), in addition to being his country's savior from the Danes, a lawgiver, a warrior of rank, and an administrative and financial reformer, was also a patron of culture. In order to raise the level of learning in his country, in 887 he initiated a program to provide vernacular translations of "some books that may be most necessary for all men to know."[1] Among the six works[2] translated on his initiative and with his participation (despite the fact that he himself had never bothered to learn to read and write) was Orosius's *Historiae.* The Spanish theologian

[1] On Alfred and his times, see the contemporary biography by his counselor Asser (d. 909): *De rebus gestis Ælfredi,* ed. W. H. Stevenson (London, 1904; repr., 1959; Eng. trans., L. C. Jane, London, 1924). For a more modern biography, see Charles Plummer, *The Life and Times of Alfred the Great* (Oxford, 1902).

[2] The other five were Gregory the Great's *Dialogues* and *Cura pastoralis,* Bede's *Ecclesiastical History,* Boethius's *De consolatione philosophiae,* and St. Augustine of Hippo's *Soliloquies.*

Paulus Orosius (fl. 414–417), a pupil and follower of Augustine of Hippo, wrote the *Historiarum adversum paganos libri VII*,[3] a historical apology of Roman Christianity and its resistance to the barbarian incursions, as a textbook on universal history. This work enjoyed immense popularity throughout the Middle Ages.

Orosius's history is prefaced by a geographical introduction (a chorography, using his own invention, the so-called T-map)[4] that divides the earth into three parts — Asia, Europe, and Africa — and describes their boundaries.[5] Orosius's chorography (a degenerate form of geography) does not reflect the situation as it was in the second decade of the fifth century when he was active, because his material was not original. It essentially dates back to the great age of Roman imperial scholarship of the first and second centuries after Christ. Alfred follows this division in the beginning and keeps Orosius's name, Germania, for Europe proper, that is, for those lands to the east and north of the Roman frontier (*limes*) bounded by the Rhine and Danube rivers:

Orosius[6]	Alfred	
	Text[7]	Translation[8]
Expliciti sunt quam breuissime fines Asiae.	Nu hæbbe we scortlice gesæd ymbre Asia londgemæro.	We have thus spoken briefly about the boundaries of Asia.
Nunc Europam in quantum cognitioni hominis conceditur stilo peruagabor.	Nu wille we ymbe Europe londgemære areccean swa micel swa we hit fyrmest witon.	Now we will tell of the boundaries of Europe insofar as they are best known.
Incipit a montibus Riphaeis ac flumine Tanai Maeotidisque paludibus quae sunt ad orientem, per litus septentrionalis oceani usque ad Galliam Belgicam et flumen Rhenum quod est ab	From þære ie Danais west oþ Rin þa ea, seo wilð of þæm beorge þe mon Alpis hæt ond irnð þonne norþ ryhte on þæs Garsecges[9] earm þe pæt	From the river Don (Danais), west to the river Rhine (Rin), which rises in the mountains called the Alps (Alpis), and then runs northward to the arm

[3] Critical edition by Karl Zangemeister, *Pavli Orosii Historiarvm adversvm paganos libri VII* (Vienna, 1882; repr., New York, 1966).

[4] See Heinrich Geidel, *Alfred der Grosse als Geograph* (Munich, 1904), p. 6, n.

[5] Orosius, *Historiae*, ed. Zangemeister, pp. 9–40.

[6] Orosius, *Historiae*, ed. Zangemeister, pp. 21–22.

[7] Ms. L, p. 12, l. 6–l. 21 = Ms. C, f. 10 v, l. 3–l. 12; ed. Henry Sweet, *King Alfred's Orosius* (London, 1883), p. 14 = ed. Labuda, *Źródła*, p. 64.

[8] Cf. the translation by J. Bosworth, *King Alfred's Orosius* (1859), pp. 34–35.

[9] On the Germanic term *garsecg*, see H. Sweet, "Gársecg," *Englische Studien* 2 (1879), pp. 314–316, and H. Geidel, *Alfred der Grosse als Geograph* (diss.), p. 7, n. 3.

occasu descendens,	lond uton ymblið þe mon	of the Ocean (Garsecg)
deinde usque ad Danuuium	Bryttania hæt.	that surrounds the country
quem et Histrum uocant,	Ond eft suþ oð Donua þa	called Britain/England
qui est a meridie	ea, þære æwielme is	(Bryttania). And [it runs]
	neah Rines ofre þære	again south to the river
	ie,	Danube (Donua), whose
		source is near the bank of
		the river Rhine,
et ad orientem directus	ond is siþþan east	and runs eastward, north
Ponto (Black Sea) acci-	irnende wið norþan	of Greece, out into the
pitur;	Creca lond ut on þone	Black Sea [Wendelsae =
	Wendelsæ;[10]	Mediterranean Sea];
	ond norþ oþ þone Garsecg	and north to the Ocean
	þe mon Cwensæ hæt.[11]	(Garsecg) called the White
		Sea (Cwænsea).
ab oriente Alania est,		
in medio Dacia ubi et		
Gothia,		
deinde Germania est ubi	Binnan þæm sindon	Within them are many
plurimam partem Suebi	monega þeoda, ac hit	nations, and the whole of
tenent; quorum omnium	mon hæt eall Germania.[12]	it is called Germania.
sunt gentes LIIII.		

Alfred's Contribution

After this rather superficial and meager chorography of the barbaric lands, Orosius shifts his attention to the more cultivated southern regions: "Nunc quidquid Danuuius a barbarico ad Mare Nostro secludit expediam."[13] But Alfred's intelligent and practical mind was not so easily satisfied, and he decided to bring Orosius's antiquated information up to date.[14] First he added his own description of the lands to the north of the Danube and to the east of

[10] Alfred's term *Wendelsæ* (there are two etymologies for the word: (1) the Sea of the Wandals, and (2) the World Sea; cf. Geidel, *Alfred der Grosse als Geograph*, p. 20) meant the *Mare Nostrum* of the Romans, with all its branches, including the Black Sea. Cf. Malone, *Speculum* 5 (1930), p. 151. Concerning the Latin term *Mare Nostrum*, see Viktor Burr, *Nostrum Mare* (Stuttgart, 1932).

[11] Alfred's term *Cwensæ* does not have a specific or exact meaning. Be it "Bothian Gulf" or "White Sea," it referred to a semi-mythical sea allegedly connecting the Baltic Sea with the Arctic Ocean, which persisted in European cartography until the second half of the fifteenth century. See Labuda, *Sagi*, p. 59. Alfred's addition is underlined. Some other additions typical of Alfred are discussed by Kemp Malone in *Speculum* 5 (1930), pp. 139-167, e.g., *Liubene*.

[12] Concerning the medieval term, Germania, see Labuda, *Sagi*, pp. 18-20.

[13] Orosius, *Historiae*, ed. Zangemeister, p. 22.

[14] On the hypothetical map of Orosius used by Alfred (of the Cottonian type, e.g., British Museum, Ms. Cott. Tib. B V, f. 58 v; end of the tenth century), cf. Malone, *Speculum* 5 [1930], pl. 3 to p. 148, and on his methodology, see Labuda, *Sagi*, pp. 38-43.

the Rhine. This description was based on his own new data, and he only used classical terms from time to time — apparently when he thought they would add clarification.[15] He also included Ohthere's account in its original form, and Wulfstan's in a partly edited version.

Apparently, Alfred felt that it was beyond his competence to bring Orosius's data for the lands to the south of the Danube up to date, for his translation reproduces the arrangement of the original text, with only a few minor changes, omissions, and additions.[16] Unfortunately, Alfred's accomplishment remained inaccessible to Norse scholars, and they had to perform the task of bringing the classical Christian work up to date on their own. The source they selected, however, was not Orosius's *Historiae*, but rather the *Etymologiae* of Isidor of Seville, his younger compatriot.

Alfred's own description of Europe is ingenious in its simplicity and precision. He grouped the available materials according to provenance and to certain "pivotal points," for which he used important economic and political units of the time. Other political units were then fixed by their direction from these points.[17] Alfred's nine northeastern European points were as follows:

Regensburg, the capital of the East Frankish Carolingian realm
the (continental) Old Saxons, the old home of the Anglo-Saxons
Moravia, the successor state of the Avar Empire, in modern Czechoslovakia and Hungary (ca. 818-907)
the realm of the Talaminci/Glomaci (of the Surbi/Serbian group), near modern Meissen on the Elbe River and its tributaries (Saxony)
the South Danes (Jutland)
the North Danes (Skåne and the islands)
the Baltic Fennic peoples (*Osti/Esti*)
the island of Bornholm
the (Uppsala) Svíar/Swedes (*Sweon*).

Alfred's original description of Europe (arranged here in paragraphs according to these nine pivotal points), is as follows:

[15] Classical definitions often taken from Orosius are given in italics in the text.

[16] In his translation of Orosius's data on Dalmatia in chapter 24, Alfred adds: *ond be norðan Dalmatia sindon Pulgare*, "and north of Dalmatia are the Bulgars." At the conclusion of chapter 26, dealing with Orosius's Aquitania, he appends: *ond Wascan*, "and Gascony."

[17] On the other hand, I do not see any sense in the idea that Alfred was using a special "Old Scandinavian orientation," for which scholars were supposing different grades of deviation: 45°, 60°, etc. See E. D. Laborde, *The Geographical Journal* 62 (1923), pp. 133-138; Malone, *Speculum* 5 (1930), pp. 139-167, 5 maps; Ekblom, *Fv* 33 (1938), pp. 49-68, and Ekblom, *Studia Neophilologica* 14/15 (1942/43), pp. 115-190.

1. Þonne[18] wið norþan Donua æwielme ond be eastan Rine sindon Eastfrancan, ond be suþan him sindon Swæfas, on oþre healfe þære ie Donua;

ond be suþan him ond be eastan sindon Bægware, se dæl þe mon Regnesburg hætt,
ond ryhte be eastan him
sindon Bæme
ond eastnorþ sindon Þyringa[s];
ond be norþan him sindon Eald Seaxan.

2. Ond be norþanwestan him sindon Frisan;

[ond] be westan Ealdseaxum is Ælfe muþa þære ie, ond Frisland, ond þonan westnorð is þæt lond þe mon Ongle hæt, ond Sillende, ond sumne dæl Dene;

ond be norþan him is Afdrede,

ond eastnorþ Wilte, þe mon Hæfeldan hætt;
ond be eastan him is Wineda lond, þe mon hætt Sysyle, ond eastsuþ, ofer sum[ne] dæl, Maroara.

3. Ond hie Maroara habbað be westan him Þyringas, ond Behemas, ond Begware healfe;

ond be suþan him, on oþre healfe Donua, þære ie, is þæt land Carendre, suþ oþ þa beorgas þe mon Alpis hæt.

To þæm ilcan beorgan licgað Begwara landgemæro ond Swæfa;

Then[19] [in the territories] north of the source of the Danube (Donua) and east of the Rhine (Rin) are [first] the East Franks (Eastfrancan), and south of them are the Swabians (Swæfas), on the other side of the river Danube;
and southeast of them are the Bavarians (Bægware), that part which is called Regensburg (Regnesburg)
and due east are the Bohemians
(Bæme),
And to the northeast are the Thuringians (Þyringas); and north of them are the Old Saxons (Eald Seaxan).
And northwest of them are the Frisians (Frisan);
[and] west of the Old Saxons is the mouth of the Elbe River (Ælfe muþa) and Friesland (Frisia), and thence northwest is the land called Angeln (Ongle) and Sillende [= eastern South Jutland],[20] and some part of the Danes;
and north of them is the country of the Abotriti (Afdrede),
and to the northeast, Weletabi (Wilte) called Havolans (Hæfeldan);
and east of them is the Wendish (Wineda) country of the Susyle (Sysyle), and southeast, beyond some part, the Moravians (Maroara).

And these Moravians have west of them the Thuringians (Þyringas), and
Bohemians (Behemas), and part of the Bavarians (Begware);
and south of them, on the other side of the Danube, is the country of Carinthia (Carendre), south to the mountains called the Alps (Alpis).
Towards the same mountains lie the boundaries of the Bavarians and the Swabians (Swæfas);

[18] Ms. *L*, p. 12, l. 22–p. 13, l. 21 = *C*, f. 10 v, l. 14–f. 11 v, l. 8; ed. Sweet, *Alfred's Orosius*, pp. 14, 16 = ed. G. Labuda, *Źródła*, pp. 66–67. Immediately thereafter follow the accounts of Ohthere and Wulfstan.

[19] Eng. trans. Bosworth, *King Alfred's Orosius* (1859), pp. 35–39.

[20] Cf. fn. 61.

[ond] þonne be eastan Carendran londe, *begeondan þæm westenne,*[21] is Pulgara land, *ond be eastan þæm is Creca land*; ond be eastan Maroara londe is Wisle lond; *ond be eastan þæm sint Datia, þa þe iu wæron Gotan.* Be norþaneastan Maroara sindon Dalamentsan.

then east of the country of Carinthia beyond the wilderness, is Bulgaria (Pulgara land), and east of it is Greece (Creca land); and east of Moravia is the Vistula country (Wisle land); and east of it are the Dacians (Datia), who were formerly Goths (Gotan). Northeast of the Moravians are the Talaminci/Glomaci (Dalamentsan).

4. Ond be eastan Dalamentsan sindon Horigti, ond be norþan Dalamentsan sindon Surpe, ond be westan him [sindon] Sysyle. *Be norþan Hori[g]ti is Mægþa land, ond be norþan Mægþa londe [sindon] Sermende, oþ þa beorgas Riffen.*[22]

And east of Talaminci are the [Czech] Croats (Horigti), and north of the Talaminci are the Surbi (Surpe), and west of them the Susyle. North of the [Czech] Croats (Hori[g]ti) is the *Amazonum terra,* the Land of Women (Mægþa land), and north of the Land of Women, the Sarmatians (Sermende), up to the Riphaean Mountains.

5. [Ond] be westan Suþdenum is þæs garsecges earm þe liþ ymbutan þæt land Brettania, ond be norþan him is þæs sæs earm, þe mon hæt Ostsæ; ond be eastan him ond be norþan [him] sindon Norðdene, ægþer ge on þæm maran landum, ge on þæm iglandum; ond be eastan him sindon Afdrede, ond be suþan him is Ælfe muþa þære ie ond Ealdseaxna sum dæl.

West of the South Danes (Suþ-Dene) is the arm of the ocean that surrounds the country of Britain/England (Brettania), and north of them is the sea arm called the sea of the Osts/Ests (= Baltic Sea; Ostsæ); and east of them and to the north are the North Danes (Norð-Dene), both on the continent and on the islands; and east of them are the Abotriti (Afdrede), and south of them is the mouth of the river Elbe (Ælfe muþa) and some part of the Old Saxons (Eald Seaxan).

6. Norðdene habbað, be norþan him, þone ilcan sæs earm þe mon hæt Ostsæ, ond be eastan him sindon Osti þa leode, ond Afdrede be suþan.

The North Danes have to their north the same sea arm called the Sea of the Osts, and to their east are the people Osts/Ests (Osti),[23] and the Abotriti (Afdrede) to the south.

7. Osti habbað, be norþan him, þone ilcan sæs earm, ond Winedas, ond Burgendan;

The Osts/Ests have, to their north, the same sea arm, and the Wends (Winedas), and the Bornholmers (Burgendas);

[21] The idea of a "wilderness" beyond which Alfred believed Bulgaria lay was probably taken from a map by Orosius. See Labuda, *Źródła,* p. 95, n. 66. His map shows that Orosius already knew of the Bulgars. See Malone's reproduction of the Cottonian map (no. 261) in *Speculum* 5 (1930), pl. 3 (facing p. 148).

[22] The Land of Women, the Sarmatians, and the Riphaean Mountains were taken from Orosius. See also Hübener in *Englische Studien* 60 (1925/26), pp. 39–44, and A. Brandl, *UJb* 3 (1923), pp. 73–74.

[23] On the Osti/Esti, see Labuda, "Osti-Esti w pierwszej i drugiej części chorografii," *Sagi* (1960), pp. 51–58. Cf. also fn. 72.

ond be suþan him sindon Hæfeldan.

8. Burgendan habbað þone ilcan sæs earm be westan him, ond Sweon be norþan;
ond be eastan him sint Sermende,
ond be suþan him Surfe.

9. Sweon habbað be suþan him þone sæs earm [ond] Osti,
ond be eastan him Sermende;

ond be norþan him ofer þa westenne is Cwenland;

ond be westannorþan him sindon Scridefinnas, ond be westan Norþmenn.

and south of them are the Havolans/Haveldi (Hæfeldan).

The Bornholmers (Burgendas) have the same sea arm west of them, and the Swedes/Svíar (Sweon) to the north;
and east of them are the Sarmatians (Sermende), and south of them are the Surbi (Surfe).

The Swedes (Sweon) have south of them the sea arm [and the] Osts (Osti), and east of them the Sarmatians (Sermende);
and north of them, beyond the wilderness, is [Finnish] Kainu-maa/Kvenland (Cwenland);
and northwest of them are the Lapps (Scride-Finnas)[24] and west, the Norsemen/Norwegians (Norþmenn).

The Accounts of Ohtherę and Wulfstan

Introduction

In order to defeat the invading seaborn Danish armies, led by King Guthorm, Alfred built a fleet and hired experienced seamen. While supervising the translation of Orosius's history, he also decided that its chorography should be updated, especially for northern and eastern Europe, and, with that in his mind, included into his version accounts by two experienced sailors who had joined his fleet.[25] Their names were Ohthere and Wulfstan. Unfortunately, it is impossible to determine whether or not the original accounts were fully incorporated. It is reasonable to assume, however, that both sailors made the voyages described in their accounts prior to entering King Alfred's service. The probable *terminus ante quem* is, then, 887; and the *post quem,* around 870.[26]

Ohthere "said that the province he lived in was called Halgoland," so it has

[24] The *Scridefinnas* belong to the "classical" tradition, e.g., the Byzantine author Procopius (d. ca. 562), *De bellis Goth* 2.15.16 (Σκριθίφινοι); Jordanes, *Getica* (A.D. 551), §21 (*Screrefennae*), and Paul the Deacon (ca. 720–799), the contemporary of Alfred, historian of the Lombards, in his *Historia Langobardorum* 1.5 (*Scritofini*). Alfred's informer, Ohthere, used the straightforward name *Finnas.*

[25] The idea of a national loyalty was not, of course, very developed in medieval times, when an idea of contractual personal loyalty prevailed.

[26] Cf. e.g., Malone in *MLR* 25 (1930), pp. 79–81; R. Henning, *Terrae Incognitae* 2[2] (1950), pp. 207–208, p. 216; Labuda, *Źródła,* pp. 16–17.

been assumed that his home was located on one of the great Hálogaland islands (Senja or Kvaløy) in the Malangen Fjord region (69° N).[27] But that does not necessarily mean that he was a native of that place. We only know for certain that he was active for some time as a Lapp tribute farmer, and that he was familiar with the two northern economic centers: *Sciringes-heal* (Kaupang) in the Oslo Fjord (southern Norway) and *Hæpe* (Hedeby, Haithabu) in South Jutland. The name Ohthere is probably an anglicized form of ON Óttar.[28]

Unfortunately, Alfred's text is silent on Wulfstan's origins. The only positive information about Wulfstan that can be extracted from the text is that he journeyed from Hedeby to the Estlandish Truso, situated near the Vistula's estuary. Some scholars believe that Wulfstan was a Dane,[29] others that he was an English merchant,[30] others (Labuda, for example), that he was an Englishman and the secretary responsible for the Anglo-Saxon edition of Orosius's work.[31] Some variant of the first hypothesis — namely, that Wulfstan was a "political Dane," probably of Frisian origin — is probably closest to the truth.[32] But whatever the case both Ohthere and Wulfstan belong to the Baltic cultural sphere and reflect the traditions of that region, and their data cannot be excluded from this review. We must be grateful to English tradition for saving these two accounts of the Scando-Baltic sphere.

Alfred's work organizes both accounts according to the description of nautical voyages and ethnographic information about distant peoples encountered in these journeys. It is certainly not accidental that, along with two Scandinavian ports—Sciringes-heal/Kaupang in Norway and Hæþe/Hedeby in Denmark — two eastern trade centers were selected for inclusion in the revision of Orosius's work. Truso's importance was based on its being the entrance to the trade route that connected the Baltic Sea with Constantinople. This commercial highway ran from the Vistula's estuary along the river itself and its tributary, the Bug, and then continued from the Prypjat' to the Dniepr[33] to the Black Sea. Aldeigjuborg/Ladoga and Hólmgarðr/Novgorod

[27] See J. Qvigstad, *Haaløygminne*, 1924: 2, pp. 18–22.

[28] Concerning the name's etymology, see de Vries, *ANEW*, p. 422.

[29] E.g., G. Hübener, *Englische Studien* 60 (Leipzig, 1925/26), pp. 44–45; Hübener, *Speculum* 6 (1931), pp. 432–433.

[30] W. A. Craigie, *JEGPh* 24 (1925), pp. 396–397; Malone, *Studies in Philology* 28 (Chapel Hill, 1931), pp. 42–47.

[31] G. Labuda, *Sagi*, pp. 21–28.

[32] W. Vogel also believed Wulfstan to be a "political Dane," although of [Old] Saxon origin; *Geschichte der Deutschen Seeschiffahrt* 1 (Berlin, 1915), p. 149.

[33] Here, Johannes Brøndsted presumes the Vistula-Dniester-Black Sea route, *The Vikings* (1965), p. 159. Such a route is not attested for the early Kievan period; it first appeared in the sources in the twelfth century, after the fall of Kiev. On the other hand, one of the most

were not yet included in this earlier variant of the route from the Varangians to the Greeks. Therefore the Uppland center of Birka was as yet of no interest to Alfred, although the Swedes do appear (as Sweon) in his accounts and chorography.

At the mouth of the Northern Dvina lay the port of Biarmia,[34] the most important ninth-century trading center in the north, due largely to its ties with the East.

In his work Alfred included accounts about four voyages. Three of them are from Ohthere: Hálogaland to Biarmaland, Hálogaland to Kaupang, Kaupang to Hedeby; the fourth, Hedeby to Truso, is from Wulfstan. Together the accounts make up one unit, covering the commercially important territory from Biarmia in the north to Truso in the south. The "Oriental" peoples whom Alfred considered worth keeping an eye on were, to the south, the Ests, who apparently controlled the route from the Baltic to the Dnieper, and, to the north, the Biarmians and the Kvens, who competed for supremacy there.

Richard Hakluyt, in the first volume of his *Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation,* published in London in 1598, reintroduced the then newly discovered work of King Alfred with its accounts of Ohthere and Wulfstan. Alfred's *Orosius* has itself come down to us in two old manuscripts derived from the same protograph. The older is ms. L = Lauderdale (also called Hutton and Tollemache), executed probably toward the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century. Since 1952 it has been in the British Museum (additional Ms. 47, 967); a facsimile edition was published by Alistair Campbell: *The Tollemache Orosius* (Early British Manuscripts in Facsimile 3 [Copenhagen, 1953]).

The later ms. is C = Cottonian, from about 1050. In 1757 that manuscript along with the rest of Sir Robert Cotton's collection (begun in 1588/1590) became a part of the British Museum; it is listed under the call number Tiberius B 1. The manuscript has been partially reproduced in facsimile by Joseph Bosworth in his *Description of Europe and the Voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan* (London, 1855).

Unfortunately, part of ms. *L* is missing; the original codex consisted of eleven gatherings of sixteen pages each. Of these the entire second gathering

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important cities in tenth-century Rus' was Turov, located near the Prypjat' River on the old trade route from the Baltic Sea to the Dnieper; see M. N. Tixomirov, *Drevnerusskie goroda,* 2d ed. (M., 1956), pp. 305-306.

[34] On Biarmia and Biarmians, see A. M. Tallgren in *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua* 6 (1931), pp. 100-120; V. Jansson, *Ortnamnssällskapets i Uppsala årsskrift* (1936), pp. 35-50; Alan S. C. Ross, *The Terfinnas and Beormas of Ohthere* (Leeds, 1940).

(pages 17–32) is missing. This loss is a great misfortune, since the second gathering must have contained the greater part of Ohthere's account and the whole of Wulfstan's. Fortunately, the chorography and the beginning of Ohthere's account are preserved in *L*, and the entire text is available in *C*.

The three critical editions of the entire text: B. Thorpe, "Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Version of Orosius," appended to his translation from the German of R. Pauli's *The Life of Alfred the Great* (London, 1853), with a literal translation and glossary; Joseph Bosworth, *King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Version of the Compendious History of the World by Orosius* (London, 1859), with a translation; Henry Sweet, *King Alfred's Orosius*, part 1: *Old English Text and Latin Original* (Early English Text Society, Original Series 79) (London, 1883), 299 pp., the best edition of the three.

Of the partial editions, one deserving special attention is the publication of the chorography (with commentary), including the accounts of Ohthere and Wulfstan, by the Polish medievalist Gerard Labuda, "Chorografia Orozjusza w anglosaskim przekładzie króla Alfreda," in his *Źródła*, pp. 1–118 (pp. 42–57 contain the facsimile of the chorography according to the *C* ms., f. 6 v–15 r).

The accounts of Ohthere and Wulfstan appear below; the original part of Alfred's chorography is given above. The relevant secondary literature is listed in the selected bibliography.

The texts of the accounts of Ohthere and Wulfstan and of Alfred's chorography are based on the editions of Henry Sweet and Labuda, although they have also been collated with both extant mss. (*L* and *C*). A simplified graphic system and a more or less unified orthography have been applied. The English translation incorporates the work of previous scholars.

The "Periplus"[35] of Ohthere

The Route from Hálogaland to the White Sea[36]

Ohthere sæde his hlaforde, Ælfrede cyninge, þæt he ealra Norðmonna norþmest bude.

Ohthere told his lord, King Alfred, that he dwelt northmost of all Norsemen.[37]

[35] The term *periplus* was added here by a seventeenth-century reader of the *L* ms.; see A. Campbell, *The Tolemache Orosius*, p. 13.

[36] *L*, p. 13, l. 22–p. 14, l. = *C*, f. 11^{v}, l. 8–f. 12^{r}, l. 14; ed. Sweet, *Alfred's Orosius*, p. 17 = ed. Labuda, *Źródła*, p. 67; cf. Ross, *Terfinnas* (1940), pp. 16/17–18/19; R. Elblom, *Studia Neophilologica* 14/15 (1942/1943), pp. 118–119.

[37] At the conclusion of his ethnographical notes Ohthere informed the king that the name of the province he lived in was *Halgoland*, i.e., Hálogaland. Here, "Norsemen" means Norwegians.

He cwæð þæt: he bude on þæm lande norþweardum wiþ þa Westsæ.

He sæde þeah: þæt land sie swiþe lang norþ þonan, ac hit is eal weste, buton on feawum stowum styccemælum wicciað Finnas, on huntoðe on wintra, ond on sumera on fiscaþe be þære sæ.

He sæde þæt he æt sumum cirre wolde fandian hu longe þæt land norþryhte læge, oþþe hwæðer ænig mon be norðan þæm westenne bude.

Þa for he norþryhte be þæm lande, let him ealne weg þæt weste land on ðæt steorbord, ond þa wid sæ on ðæt bæcbord, þrie dagas.

Þa wæs he swa feor norþ swa þa hwælhuntan firrest faraþ.

Þa for he þa giet norþryhte swa feor swa he meahte on þæm oþrum þrim dagum gesiglan.

Þa beag þæt land þær eastryhte, oþþe seo sæ in on ðæt lond, he nysse hwæðer; buton he wisse ðæt he ðær bad westan windes ond hwon norþan, ond siglde ða east be lande swa swa he meahte on feower dagum gesiglan.

Þa sceolde he ðær bidan ryht norþan windes, for ðæm þæt land beag þær suþryhte, oþþe seo sæ in on ðæt land, he nysse hwæþer.

Þa siglde he þonan suðryhte be lande

He said that he dwelt in the land to the northward, on the West (Norwegian) Sea.[38]

He said, however, that the land is very far north from thence; but it is all waste, except that in few places Lapps (Finnas)[39] dwell here and there, hunting in the winter, and in the summer fishing in the sea.

He said that one time he wanted to find out how far the land extended northward, or whether any man dwelt to the north of the waste.[40]

So he went northward, along the land, leaving all the way the wasteland on his starboard, and the open sea on his larboard, for three days.

He was then as far north as the whale húnters go at the farthest.

Then he went on northward as far as he could sail in another three days.

Then the land there inclined eastward, or the sea into the land, he knew not which; he only knew that he waited there for a west wind and a little north, and then sailed eastward along the land as far as he could sail in four days.

Then he had to wait there for a due north wind, because the land inclined southward, or the sea into the land, he knew not which.

He then sailed thence along the land

[38] *Westsæ* means both North Sea and Norwegian Sea; see Malone, *Speculum* 5 (1930), pp. 157 158. I do not follow Malone's theory that Alfred's (< Ohthere's, Wulfstan's) compass points were shifted 45° clockwise from the true compass points; see *Speculum* 5 (1930), pp. 139-167, 5 maps.

[39] *Finnas*, ON *Finnar*, is the usual ON designation for the Lapps, who are related to the Finns in language, but not in race; cf. Alan Ross, *Terfinnas*, pp. 51 53.

[40] I agree with Henning's suggestion (*Terrae Incognitae*, II², pp. 209 215) that here Ohthere was not telling the whole truth. Although his information concerning the voyage is doubtless correct, the explanation that his journey to Biarmaland came about accidentally, because "he wished to find out, at one time, how far the land extended northward" is probably not true. Ohthere was not the first Norseman to sail to Biarmaland, and he himself probably sailed there several times on business. Biarmaland (= Arabic *Arṭāniya* = OR *Zavoločskaja Čud'*) was then the major center for obtaining precious furs, and that Ohthere does not mention that specific feature of Bjarmaland's economy is rather suspicious. His silence in that respect is reminiscent of that of the Volga Bulgars (as given in the Islamic sources), who tried to keep their monopoly on that lucrative trade a secret.

swa swa he mehte on fif dagum gesiglan.

Da læg þær an micel ea up in on þæt land.

Þa cirdon hie up in on ða ea, for þæm hie ne dorston forþ bi þære ea siglan for unfriþe, for þæm ðæt land wæs eall gebun on oþre healfe þære eas.

Ne mette he ær nan gebun land, siþþan he from his agnum ham for.

Ac him wæs ealne weg weste land on þæt steorbord, butan fiscerum ond fugelerum ond huntum, ond þæt wæron eall Finnas, ond him wæs a wid sæ on ðæt bæcbord.

southward as far as he could sail in five days.[41]

Then there lay a great river up into the land.[42]

They then turned up into the river, because they dared not sail on past the river for fear of hostility,[43] because all the land was inhabited on the other side of the river.

He had not before found any inhabited land, since he left his own home.

But all the way he had wasteland on his starboard, except for fishermen and fowlers and hunters, and they were all Lapps, and he had open sea on his larboard.

Ohthere's Ethnographical and Geographical Notes[44]

Þa Beormas hæfdon swiþe wel gebud

The Biarmians (Beormas)[45] had cul-

[41] The journey from Hálogaland to Biarmaland took approximately one month of sailing by day and laying anchor by night, if the winds were favorable. The sail itself took only fifteen days, according to Ohthere. Cf. Henning, *Terrae Incognitae*, II², p. 212. On the pace of Ohthere's sailing, see W. Vogel, "Zur nord- und westeuropäischen Schiffahrt im frühen Mittelalter," *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 13 (1907), p. 198.

[42] There are two schools of thought about Ohthere's "great river." One (started by G. Storm) favors its identification with either the Varzuga or the Umba (on the Kola Peninsula) or the head of Kandalakša Bay itself (e.g., G. Storm, *Det norske geografiske selskabs årbog* 5 (1893-1894), pp. 91-106; Fridtjof Nansen, *Nebelheim* 1 (Leipzig, 1911), p. 187; Alexander Bugge, *Norges historie fremstillet for det norske folk*, 1: 1 (Kria, 1912), p. 149; K. Malone, *Speculum* 5 (1930), 159; A. M. Tallgren, *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua* 6 (1931), p. 101; Ross, *Terfinnas* (1940), p. 24; R. Ekblom, *Studia Neophilologica* 14/15 (1942/1943), p. 137. An earlier scholar favored the term's identification with the Northern Dvina River, e.g., C. F. Dahlmann, *Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der Geschichte* (1822), p. 423; some modern scholars, e.g., Otto Sigfrid Reuter, *Germanische Himmelskunde* (Munich, 1934), p. 9; Henning, *Terrae Incognitae*, II² (1950), p. 213; Labuda, *Źródła*, pp. 102-103, n. 100 and map, regards both propositions as equally possible.

[43] As pointed out by Alan Ross (*Terfinnas*, p. 19, n. 26), "There is a discrepancy here: Ohthere did not dare set foot on the territory of the Beormas and yet they told him many tales." The most reasonable solution to the discrepancy is to consider the texts as parts of two different accounts. In the first, Ohthere described his experiences while on a scouting expedition; in the second, he related his experience in conducting peaceful trade with the Biarmians.

[44] Text after *L*, p. 14 = *C*, f. 12ʳ, l. 14-f. 13ʳ, l. 23; ed. Sweet, *Alfred's Orosius*, pp. 17-19 = ed. Labuda, *Źródła*, pp. 67-69; cf. also Ross, *Terfinnas*, pp. 18/19-22/23, and Ekblom, *Studia Neo-philologica* 14/15 (1942/1943), pp. 119-120.

[45] On the Biarmians, see Ross, *Terfinnas*, pp. 29-63.

hira land; ac hie ne dorston þær on cuman.

Ac þara Terfinna land wæs eal weste, buton [ðær] huntan gewicodon, oþþe fisceras, oþþe fugel[er]as.

Fela spella him sædon þa Beormas ægþer ge of hiera agnum lande ge of þæm landum þe ymb hie utan wæron; ac he nyste hwæt þæs soþes wæs, for þæm he hit self ne geseah.

Þa Finnas, him þuhte, ond þa Beormas spræcon neah an geþeode.

Swiþost he for ðider, to eacan þæs landes sceawunge, for þæm horschwælum, for ðæm hie habbað swiþe æþele ban on hiora toþum; þa teð hie brohton sume þæm cyninge; ond hiora hyd bið swiðe god to sciprapum.

Se hwæl bið micle læssa þonne oðre hwalas: ne bið he lengra ðonne syfan elna lang.

Ac on his agnum lande is se betsta hwælhuntað: þa beoð eahta and feowertiges elna lange, ond þa mæstan fiftiges elna lange.

Þara he sæde þæt he syx asum[50] ofsloge syxtig on twam dagum.

He wæs swyðe spedig man on þæm æhtum þe heora speda on beoð, þæt is, on wildrum.

He hæfde þagyt, ða he þone cyningc sohte: tamra deora unbebohtra syx hund. Þa deor hi hatað hranas; þara wæron syx stælhranas; ða beoð swyðe dyre mid

tivated their country very well, but they did not dare go ashore there.

But the country of the Terian Lapps (Terfinnas)[46] was all waste, except where hunters, fishermen, or fowlers lived.

The Biarmians told him many particulars both about their own country and about the countries lying around them, but he knew not what was true, for he did not see it himself.

It seemed to him that the Lapps and the Biarmians spoke almost the same language.[47]

He went thither chiefly, in addition to seeing the country, on account of the walruses, because they have very fine bone in their teeth; some of these teeth they brought to the king;[48] and their hides are very good for shipropes.

This [kind of] whale is much smaller than other whales: it is no longer than seven ells [fourteen feet].

But in his own country is the best whale hunting:[49] they are forty-eight ells [ninety-six feet] long, and the largest fifty ells [one hundred feet] long.

Of these, he said, that with six harpoons he killed sixty in two days.

He [Ohthere] was a very wealthy man in those possessions in which their wealth consists, that is, in wild [animals].

Moreover, when he came to the king, he had six hundred tame deer of his own breeding. They call these "reindeer": of these, six were decoy deer, which are very

[46] Concerning the Terfinnas, see Vasmer, *Englische Studien* 56 (1923), pp. 169–171, and Ross, *Terfinnas*, pp. 24–28.

[47] This statement about Lappo-Biarmian linguistic unity is of great importance for determining the nationality of the Biarmians.

[48] This is undoubtedly a reference to the Norwegian king, at that time Haraldr inn hárfagri (ca. 875–945).

[49] Cf. Albrecht Janssen, *Tausend Jahre deutscher Walfang* (Leipzig, 1937).

[50] I am following R. K. Rask's (1815, 1834) emendation (i.e., C *syxa sum* < **syx asum*). Concerning this passage, see J. Bosworth, *King Alfred's Orosius* (1859), pp. 43–44 n., and Labuda, *Źródła*, pp. 103–104 n. 106.

Finnum, for ðæm hy foð þa wildan hranas mid.

He wæs mid þæm fyrstum mannum on þæm lande: næfde he þeah ma ðonne twentig hryðera ond twentig sceapa ond twentig swyna.

Ond þæt lytle þæt he erede, he erede mid horsan.

Ac hyra ar is mæst on þæm gafole þe ða Finnas him gyldað.

Þæt gafol bið on deora fellum ond on fugela feðerum ond hwales bane ond on þæm sciprapum, þe beod of hwæles hyde geworht ond of seoles.

Æghwilc gylt be hys gebyrdum.

Se byrdesta sceall gyldan fiftyne mearðes fell ond fif hranes ond an beran fel ond tyn ambra feðra ond berenne kyrtel oððe yterenne ond twegen sciprapas, ægþer sy syxtig elna lang, oþer sy of hwæles hyde geworht, oþer of sioles.

He sæde ðæt Norðmanna land wære swyþe lang ond swyðe smæl.

Eal þæt his man aþer oððe ettan oððe erian mæg þæt lið wið ða sæ; ond þæt is þeah on sumum stowum swyðe cludig; ond licgað wilde moras[53] wið eastan ond wið uppon emnlange þæm bynum lande.

On þæm morum eardiað Finnas. Ond þæt byne land is easteweard[54] bradost, ond symle swa norðor swa smælre.

Eastewerd hit mæg bion syxtig mila brad, oþþe hwene bradre; ond middeweard þritig oððe bradre, ond norðeweard, he cwaeð, þær hit smalost wære, þæt hit mihte beon þreora mila brad to þaem more.

valuable among the Lapps, because with them they catch the wild [deer].[51]

He was among the first men in the land, though he had no more than twenty horned cattle, twenty sheep, and twenty swine.

And the little that he ploughed, he ploughed with horses.

But their revenue is chiefly in the tribute that the Lapps pay them.

That tribute is in skins of animals, feathers of birds, in whalebone, and shipropes, which are made from the whale's hide, and from the seal's.

Everyone pays according to his means.[52]

The richest must pay fifteen skins of the marten, and five of the reindeer, and one bear's skin, and forty bushels of feathers, and a bear- or otterskin kirtle, and two shipropes, each sixty ells long, one made from the whale's hide, and the other from the seal's.

He told that the Norsemen's land (Norway) was very long and very narrow.

All that can be either pastured or ploughed lies by the sea, and that, however, is in some places very rocky; and on the east, lie wild mountains along the inhabited land.

In these mountains Lapps dwell. And the inhabited land is broadest eastward, and always narrower more northerly.

Eastward it may be sixty miles broad, or a little broader; and midway thirty or broader, and northward, he told, where it was narrowest, that it might be three miles broad to the mountains.[55]

[51] Concerning hunting with the help of the decoy deers, see H. G. Porthan, *VHAAH* 6 (1800), p. 71.

[52] Cf. B. Schier, "Pelze und Stoffe als Zahlungsmittel in alter Zeit," *PBB* 72 (1950), pp. 301-314.

[53] Concerning this meaning of the word *moras*, see Ross, *Terfinnas*, p. 21 n. 28.

[54] See Craigie, *MLR* 12 (1917), p. 201.

[55] On the Anglo-Saxon mile, see Bosworth, *King Alfred's Orosius* (1859), p. 45 n. 49: "One mile of the Northman, Ohthere, contained about 5 Anglo-Saxon miles — hence the broadest part [of Norway] would be about 300 [English] miles and the narrowest 15."

Ond se mor syðþan, on sumum stowum, swa brad swa man mæg on twam wucum oferferan; ond on sumum stowum swa brad swa man mæg on syx dagum ofer feran.

Donne is to emnes þæm lande suðeweardum, on oðre healfe þæs mores, Sweoland, oþ þæt land norðeweard; ond to emnes þæm lande norðeweardum Cwena land.

Þa Cwenas hergiað hwilum on ða Norðmen ofer ðone mor, hwilum þa Norðmen on hy.

Ond þær sint swiðe micle meras fersce geond þa moras.

Ond berað þa Cwenas hyra scypu ofer land on ða meras ond þanon hergiað on ða Norðmen; hy habbað swyðe lytle scypa ond swyðe leohte.

Ohthere sæde þæt sio scir hatte Halgoland, þe he on bude.

He cwæð þæt nan man ne bude be norðan him.

And, moreover, the mountains in some places are so broad that a man can travel over them in two weeks; and in other places so broad that a man can travel over them in six days.

Then, against this land southward, on the other side of the mountains, is Sweden (Sweoland, i.e., Svíaland), extending northward; and against the land northward is [Finnish] Kainu-maa (Cwena land).

The Kainuans (= Cwenas, i.e., Kainulaiset)[56] sometimes make harrying expeditions against the Norsemen (Norðmenn = Norwegians) over the mountains, sometimes the Norsemen (Norwegians) against them.

There are very large fresh water meers beyond the mountains.

And the Kainuans (Cwenas) carry their boats overland into the meers, and thence make harrying expeditions against the Norsemen (Norwegians); they have very little boats and very light.

Ohthere said that the province he lived in was called Hálogaland (Halgoland).

Nobody, he said, lived further north than he did.

The Route from Hálogaland to Sciringes-heal[57]

Þonne is an port on suðeweardum þæm lande, þone man hæt Sciringes-heal.

Þyder he cwæð, þæt man ne mihte geseglian ond anum monðe, gyf man on niht wicode, ond ælce dæge hæfde ambyrne wind;
ond ealle ða hwile he sceal seglian be lande.

Then there is a port in the south of the country [Norway], which is called Sciringes heal (= Kaupang, in the Oslofjord[58]).

He said that a man can barely reach it by sailing for a month along the coast, if he camped at night and had a favorable wind every day.

[56] On the Kainuans, see Kustaa Vilkuna, *Saga och sed* (1968), pp. 50–63.

[57] Text after *C*, f. 13^{r}, l. 23 - f. 13^{v}, l. 11; ed. Sweet, *Alfred's Orosius*, p. 19 = ed. Labuda, *Źródła*, p. 69.

[58] C. Blindheim, *Acta Archaeologica* 31 (1960), pp. 83–100. The first scholar to identify this city correctly was C. F. Dahlmann, *Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der Geschichte*, pp. 442–443.

Ond on þæt steorbord him bið ærest Iraland ond þonne ða igland þe synd betux Iralande ond þissum lande.

[The sea route to] Ireland would be on his starboard; first; then [that to the Orkney] Islands, which are halfway points for those bound to Ireland or this country [England].

Þonne is þis land oð he cymð to Scirincges heale, ond ealne weg on þæt bæcbord Norðweg.

And finally [the direct route to] this country [England] as he made the last part of his run down to Scirincges heale; [but our voyage is not bound for the British Isles after all and therefore he keeps] the Norwegian coast close on his portside all the way.[59]

Wið suðan þone Sciringes-heal fylð swyðe mycel sæ up in on ðæt lond; seo is bradre þonne ænig man ofer seon mæge.

To the south of Sciringes-heal, a very great sea runs up into the land; it is broader than any man can see across.

Ond is Gotland on oðre healfe ongean ond siðða[n] Sillende.

And Jutland (Gotland)[60] is on the opposite side, and then Sillende [= eastern South Jutland].[61]

Seo sæ lið mænig hund mila up in on þæt land.

This sea lies many hundred miles up into the land.

The Route from Sciringes-heal to Hedeby[62]

Ond of Sciringes-heale he cwæð, þæt he seglode on fif dagan to þæm porte, þe mon hæt æt Hæþum.

And from Sciringes-heale he said that he sailed to the port known as Hedeby (æt Hæþum)[63] in five days.

Se stent betuh Winedum ond Seaxum ond Angle ond hyrð in on Dene.

It stands between the Wends (Winedas) and [Old] Saxons and Angles and belongs to the Danes.

Ða he þiderweard seglode fram Sciringes heale, þa wæs him on þæt bæcbord Denamearc, ond on þæt steorbord wid sæ

When he sailed thither from Sciringes heale, he had on his larboard Denmark and on his starboard open sea for three

[59] Here we follow the convincing interpretation for this difficult passage suggested by William C. Stokoe Jr. in *Speculum* 32 (1957), 299-306. Cf. also Emerson in *MLR* 11 (1916), p. 458; *MLR* 12 (1917), pp. 493-494; and Craigie, *MLR* 12 (1917), pp. 200-201.

[60] On Ohthere's *Gotland*, meaning ON *Gautland*, but identical with present-day Jutland, see Malone, *MLR* 20 (1925), pp. 11-11, and Malone, *MLR* 23 (1928), pp. 336-339.

[61] The most convincing identification of *Sillende* as "eastern South Jutland," was given by Ekblom, *Studia Neophilologica* 12 (1940), pp. 180-190.

[62] Text after *C*, f. 13^{v}, l. 11-l. 21; ed. Sweet, *Alfred's Orosius*, p. 19 = ed. Labuda, *Źródła*, p. 69. This passage was discussed some thirty years ago by Ekblom, *Studia Neophilologica* 12 (1940), pp. 177-190. See also Malone's study on the date of Ohthere's voyage to Hedeby in *MLR* 25 (1930), pp. 78-81.

[63] On Hedeby (Haddeby, Haithabu), see Herbert Jankuhn, *Haithabu, ein Handelsplatz der Wikingerzeit*, 4th ed. (Neumünster, 1963). Concerning the actual realization of the route Sciringes-heal-Hedeby, see Malone, *Speculum* 5 (1930), p. 161.

þry dagas; ond þa, twegen dagas ær he to Hæþum come, him wæs on þæt steorbord Gotland ond Sillende ond iglanda fela.

On þæm landum eardodon Engle, ær hi hider on land coman.

Ond hym wæs ða twegen dagas on ðæt bæcbord þa igland þe in Denemearce hyrað.

days; and then for two days before he came to Hedeby, he had on his starboard Jutland and Sillende (eastern South Jutland) and many [Danish] islands.

In those lands the Angles lived, before they came to this country [England].

And during those two days he had on his larboard the islands that belong to Denmark.

Wulfstan's Account

The Periplus of Wulfstan[64]

Wulfstan sæde þæt he gefore of Hæðum, þæt he wære on Truso on syfan dagum ond nihtum; þæt þæt scip wæs ealne weg yrnende under segle.

Weonoðland him wæs on steorbord ond on bæcbord him wæs Langaland ond Læland ond Falster ond Sconeg; ond þas land eall hyrað to Denemearcan.

Ond þonne Burgenda land wæs us on bæcbord on þa habbað him sylf cyning.

Þonne æfter Burgenda lande wæron us þas land, þa synd hatene ærest Blecingæg ond Meore ond Eowland ond Gotland on bæcbord;

ond þas land hyrað to Sweon.

Wulfstan said that he went from Hedeby (Hæðum), that he was in Truso[65] in seven days and nights, [and] that the ship was under sail all the way.

Wendland (Weonoðland) was on his starboard, and on his larboard was Langeland (Langaland), Lolland (Læland), Falster and Skåne (Sconeg); and all these lands belong to Denmark (Denemearc).

And then we had, on our larboard, Bornholm (Burgenda land), and they have their own king.

Then after Bornholm we had on our larboard those lands that were called first Blekinge (Blecingæg) and Möre (Meore) and Öland (Eowland) and (Öster) Götland (Gotland);[66]
and all these lands belong to the Swedes (Sweon).

[64] Text: *C*, f. 13^{v}, l. 21–f. 14^{r}, l. 17; ed. Sweet, *Alfred's Orosius*, pp. 19–20 = ed. Labuda, *Źródła*, p. 69; cf. Ekblom, *Studia Neophilologica* 14/15 (1942/43), p. 120, and R. C. Boer in *Festschrift Vilhelm Thomsen* (Leipzig, 1912), pp. 56–58. On the toponymical data, see Malone, *Studies in Philology* 28 (1931), pp. 574–579.

[65] After the appearance of F. Neumann's study in *Neue Preussische Provinzblätter* 6 (1854), pp. 290–326, 385–398, and 411–416, the research of S. Anger (1877, 1879), A. Kolberg (1878), and E. Carstenn (1911) established its hypothetical location, which made it possible for Max Ebert to excavate the forgotten trading center in 1925: Max Ebert in *Truso* (Berlin, 1926) and *Elbinger Jahrbuch* 5/6 (1927), pp. 109–117. Cf. also A. Miegel (1927), K. Langenheim (1933–1939), W. Neugebauer (1937), and B. Ehrlich, *Elbinger Jahrbuch* 14 (1937), pp. 1–17; *Germanenerbe* 2 (1937), pp. 80–84, and *Conventus primus historicorum Balticorum* (1938), pp. 139–145.

[66] See p. 703.

Ond Weonodland wæs us ealne weg on steorbord oð Wislemuðan.

Seo Wisle is swyðe mycel ea ond hio tolið Witland ond Weonodland;

ond þæt Witland belimpeð to Estum. Ond seo Wisle lið ut of Weonodlande ond lið in Estmere.

Ond se Estmere is huru fiftene mila brad.

Þonne cymeð Ilfing eastan in Estmere, of ðæm mere, ðe Truso standeð in staðe, ond cumað ut samod in Estmere: Ilfing eastan of Estlande ond Wisle suðan of Winodlande.

Ond þonne benimð Wisle Ilfing hire naman, ond ligeð of þæm mere west ond norð on sæ; for ðy hit man hæt Wisle muða.

And as far as the mouth of the Vistula (Wisle muða) we had Wendland (Weonodland) on the starboard.[67]

The Vistula (Wisle) is a very large river, and it lies between Witland[68] and Wendland (Weonodland);
and Witland belongs to the Ests (Estum).
And the Vistula (Wisle) runs out of Wendland (Weonodland) and runs into the Frisches Haff (Estmere).[69]
And the Frisches Haff is about fifteen miles wide.

Then comes Elbing (Ilfing)[70] from the east into the Frisches Haff, from the lake on the shore of which stands Truso, and they run out together into the Frisches Haff: the Elbing from the east, from Estland, and the Vistula from the south, from Wendland.

And then the Vistula deprives the Elbing of its name, and runs out of the Haff northwest into the sea; therefore it is called the mouth of the Vistula (Wisle muða) [rather than the mouth of the Elbing].

The Ethnographical Description of Estland and the Ests[71]

Þæt Estland is swyðe mycel ond þær bið swyðe manig burh, ond on ælcere byrig bið cyningc.

Ond þær bið swyðe mycel hunig ond fisc[n]að.

Ond se cyning ond þa ricostan men drincað myran meolc, ond þa unspedigan ond þa þeowan drincað medo.

The Estland[72] is very large, and there are many cities, and in every city there is a king.

And there is very much honey and fishing.

And the king and the richest men drink mare's milk, but the poor and the slaves drink mead.

[67] A detailed discussion by Labuda appears in *Sagi*, pp. 71–90. On *Wislemuða* see also idem, *Źródła*, pp. 112–113 n. 154.

[68] On *Witland*, see Labuda, *Źródła*, pp. 107–109 n. 146, and *Sagi*, pp. 84–89.

[69] On *Estmere* = Frisches Haff, see Labuda, *Źródła*, pp. 110–113.

[70] On *Ilfing* = Elbing, see Ekblom, "Der Name Elbing," *ANF* 58 (1944), pp. 209–220.

[71] Text: *C*, f. 14r, l. 17–f. 15r, l. 14; ed. Sweet, *Alfred's Orosius*, pp. 20–21 = ed. Labuda, *Źródła*, pp. 69–70.

[72] On the Estas, see S. H. Cross, *Speculum* 6 (1931), pp. 296–299; Malone, *Speculum* 8 (1933), pp. 67–77; Ekblom, *Studia Neophilologica* 13 (1940/1941), pp. 161–173; A. Gāters, *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 5 (1954), pp. 244–248.

Þær bið swyðe mycel gewinn betweonan him.

There is incessant war among them.

Ond ne bið ðær nænig ealo gebrowen mid Estum, ac þær bið medo genoh.

And there is no ale brewed by the Ests (Estas), but there is mead enough.

Ond þær is mid Estum ðeaw, þonne þær bið man dead, þæt he lið inne unforbærned, mid his magum ond freondum, monað, ge hwilum twegen; ond þa kyningas ond þa oðre heahðungene men, swa micle lencg swa hi maran speda habbað, hwilum healf gear þæt hi beoð unforbærned, ond licgað bufan eorðan on hyra husum.

There is also a custom with the Ests[73] that when a man is dead, he lies in his house unburnt with his kindred and friends a month, sometimes two; and the king and other men of high rank, so much longer according to their wealth, remain unburnt sometimes half a year, and lie above ground in their houses.

Ond ealle þa while þe þæt lic bið inne, þær sceal beon gedrync ond plega, oð ðone dæg þe hi hine forbærnað.

And all the while the body is within, there must be drinking and sports to the day on which he is burned.

Þonne þy ylcan dæge, [þe] hi hine to þæm ade beran wyllað, þonne todælað hi his feoh, þæt þær to lafe bið, æfter þæm gedrynce ond þæm plegan, on fif oððe syx, hwylum on ma, swa swa þæs feos andefn bið.

Then, the same day, when they wish to bear him to the pyre, they divide his property, whatever is left after the drinking and sports, into five or six parts, sometimes more, as the amount of his property may be.

Alecgað hit ðonne forhwæga on' anre mile þone mæstan dæl fram þæm tune, þonne oðerne, ðonne þæne þriddan, oþ þe hyt eall aled bið on þære anre mile; ond sceall beon se læsta dæl nyhst þæm tune ðe se deada man on lið.

Then they lay the largest part of it within one mile from the town, then another, then the third, until it is all laid within the one mile;
and the least part shall be nearest the town in which the dead man lies.

Þonne sceolon beon gesamnode ealle ða menn, ðe swyftoste hors habbað on þæm lande, for hwæga on fif milum oððe on syx milum fram þæm feo.

Then all the men, who have the swiftest horses in the land, all shall be assembled, about five or six miles from the property.

Þonne ærnað hy ealle toweard þæm feo; ðonne cymeð se man se þæt swifte hors hafað to þæm ærestan dæle ond to þæm mæstan ond swa ælc æfter oðrum, oþ hit bið eall genumen; ond se nimð þone læstan dæl se nyhst þæm tune, þæt feoh geærneð.

Then they all run toward the property; and the man who has the swiftest horse comes to the first and the largest part, and so each after the other, until it is all taken; and he takes the least part who runs to the property nearest the town.

Ond þonne rideð ælc hys weges mid ðan feo ond hyt motan habban eall; and

And then each rides off with the property and can keep it all; and for this reason

[73] On the customs of the Ests, see G. Hübener in *Englische Studien* 60 (1925/26), pp. 54-57; G. Waterhouse in *MLR* 25 (1930), p. 327; and A. Macdonald, *MLR* 43 (1948), pp. 73-74. Cf. also O. Schrader, *Reallexikon der Indogermanischen Altertumskunde* 1 (1917-1923), p. 134.

for ðy þær beoð þa swiftan hors ungefoge dyre.

Ond þonne hys gestreon beoð þus eall aspended, þonne byrð man hine ut, ond forbærneð mid his wæpnum ond hrægle.

Ond swiðost ealle hys speda hy forspendað mid þan langan legere þæs deadan mannes inne, ond þæs þe hy be þæm wegum alecgað, þe ða fremdan to ærnað ond nimað.

Ond þæt is mid Estum þeaw, þæt þær sceal ælces geðeodes man beon forbærned; ond gyf þar man an ban findeð unforbærned, hi hit sceolan miclum gebetan.

Ond þær is mid Estum an mægð[74] þæt hi magon cyle gewyrcan:
ond þy þær licgað þa deadan men swa lange ond ne fuliað, þæt hy wyrcað þone cyle hine on.

Ond þeah man asette twegen fætels full ealað oððe wæteres, hy gedoð þæt ægþer bið oferfroren, sam hit sy sumor sam winter.

swift horses there are uncommonly dear.

When his property is thus all spent, then they carry him out and burn him dressed and armed.

And most commonly they spend all his wealth with the long lying of the dead within, and what they lay in the way, which the strangers run for and take away.

And it is also a custom among the Ests, that men of every tribe must be burned; and if any one find a single bond unburnt, they must make a great offering.

And there is also among the Ests a way of producing cold;
and therefore the dead lie there so long and decay not, because they bring cold upon them.

And if a man set two vats full of ale or of water, they can cause either to be frozen over, whether it be summer or winter.

Alfred's Gotland

The accounts by both Ohthere and Wulfstan (and Orosius's Description of Europe) use the geographical term Gotland, but each with a different meaning. In 1928, Kemp Malone ended a long controversy by establishing beyond any doubt that Ohthere's Gotland (§19) is to be interpreted as = ON *Gautland*, that is present-day Jutland.[75] He did not discuss Wulfstan's Gotland, probably because it had always been assumed that it referred to the Baltic island of Gotland. Now, however, it is time to challenge that assumption as well.

On his way from Hedeby in South Jutland to Truso at the mouth of the Vistula River, Wulfstan mentions having seen the island of Bornholm to the north of his route. What follows in his account are not the names of the lands

[74] See W. S. Logerman, *Englische Studien* 40 (1909), pp. 464–465.
[75] *MLR* 23 (1928), pp. 336–339.

Wulfstan traveled through, but, in line with Alfred's system of presenting the material, a list of the lands belonging to the king of the Svíar using Bornholm as the point of reference: "Then, after Bornholm, we had on our starboard those lands that were called, first, Blekinge, and [then] Möre, and Öland and Gotland; and all these lands belong to the Swedes." With this in mind, one can see that Wulfstan's Gotland (< ON *Gautland*) is that Swedish land that comes after Möre (Blekinge, Möre), i.e., Öster Götland. Wulfstan had no reason to mention the distant island of Gotland.

APPENDIX FOUR

The Texts of the Icelandic Itinerary Literature

Nikulás Bergsson's Leiðar-vísir

Nikulás Bergsson's *Leiðar-vísir* is embedded in a geographic miscellany called *Landafræði* and has been preserved in two vellum manuscripts: AM 194, 8° fols. 11–16 (written in west Iceland in 1387) and AM 736 II, 4°, fol. 1 r.v. (written about 1400). The text has been published twice: in E. C. Werlauff's *Symbolae* (Kbh, 1821), text and Latin translation, pp. 9–32; commentary, pp. 32–54; and by Kristian Kålund in his critical edition of the Icelandic encyclopedic text, *Alfræði Íslenzk: Islandsk encyclopædisk litteratur. I. Cod. Mbr. AM 194, 8vo* (Kbh, 1908) (*SUGNL* XXXVII) Introduction, pp. xix–xxv and text, pp. 12–31.

The entire translation of the text has also been published twice, in Latin by E. C. Werlauff, *Symbolae* (Kbh, 1821), pp. 32–54, and in Danish by Kr. Kålund in *ÅNO* 3rd ser., vol. 3 (Kbh, 1913), pp. 52–61. A partial Latin translation appeared in *AR* II, pp. 405–415; Francis Peabody Magoun, Jr. translated into English and commented on the greater part of the text (the route from Iceland to Rome, including a description of the eternal city) in four meticulous articles: *Mediaeval Studies* 6 (1944), pp. 314–354; *Scandinavian Studies* 17 (1943), pp. 167–173; *JEGP* 42 (1943), pp. 210–218; *The Harvard Theological Review* 33 (1940), pp. 267–289. The special literature is: Paul Riant, *Les Scandinaves en Terre Sainte* (Paris, 1865), pp. 80–90; Finnur Jónsson and

Ellen Jørgensen, *ÅNO* 1923 (Kbh, 1924), 1-36 pp. and *Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du nord* 1920-1925 (Kbh, 1925), pp. 49-87 + 1 facs.; Sigfús Blöndal, *Nordisk Tidskrift* (Letterstedts) (1940), pp. 316-327; and *Skírnir* 123 (Rvík, 1949), pp. 67-97.

The text given is that of the *Leiðarvísir* after the standard edition of Kålund; added are Magoun's emendations, and that part translated by Magoun with some changes and additions; the final part of the text was translated by me.

Sva er [sa]gt, at umhverfis Island se VII [dægra] sigling ath [ra]udum byr, ok skiptiz sva sem [þarf, þviat eigi] ma eitt ve[dr] [h]afa.

It is said that all around Iceland is a seven day's [i.e. nychthemers; ca. 1,300 km.] sail with a strong favorable wind, provided that this changes as the occasion demands; for it is not possible to use only one wind.

Sva ok medal Island[s] [ok] No[regs] er kallat iamlangt.

So, too, between Iceland and Norway it is reckoned an equally long sail [of seven nychthemers, i.e., ca. 1,300 km.].

Úr Noregi er fyrst a[t] fara til Danmerkr i Ála-borg. Sva telia Romferlar, ath or Ála-borg se II dag[a] [fǫr] til Vebiarga. þa er viku fǫr til Sles-vikr. Þa er skamt til Heida-bėiar,[2] þa[er] dag-fǫr til Ægis-dyr[a].

From Norway[1] the first stage is to travel to Aalborg in Denmark. Pilgrims to Rome report that from Aalborg it is a two days' journey to Viborg. Then it is a week's journey to Schleswig. Then it is a short distance to Hedeby, then a day's journey to the Eider [River].

Þar mėtazt þessi lond Danmork ok Holl-setu-land, Sax-[land] ok Vinn[d]land. þa er dagfor i Heitsinn[a]bė aa Hollsetu-landi. Þa ferr yfir Saxelfi til Stǫduborgar.

There [on the Eider] these lands meet Denmark and Holstein, [Old] Saxony and Wendland. Then it is a day's journey to Itzehoe in Holstein. Then one crosses the Elbe to Stade.

Aa Saxlandi er þiod kurteisuzt, ok nema þar Nordmenn mart eptir ath breyta.

In [Old] Saxony the people are most gracious, and there the Norsemen pick up much to emulate.

I Stoduborg er biskups-sto[ll] ath Mario kirkiu.

In Verden[3] the bishop's throne is in the Church of St. Mary.

Þa er II daga for til Ferdu-borgar. Þa er skamt til Nyioborgar. Þa er Mundio-borg, þar er byskups-stoll ath Petrs kirkio.

Then it is a two day's journey to Verden. Then it is a short distance to Nienburg. Then comes Minden, where the bishop's

[1] The starting point in Norway is not mentioned, but it was most probably the trading center of Bergen, cf. Magoun, *Mediaeval Studies* 6 (1944), p. 316. A detailed linguistic and topographic commentary has been provided by E. C. Werlauff, Kålund, and Magoun. The results of their research, and that of others, have been incorporated without noting each single case.

[2] Here, Magoun had correctly established a scribal error in the order of names: the first should be *Sles-vikr* (not *Heida-bėiar*). See *Scandinavian Studies* 17 (1943), pp. 167-173.

[3] Nikulás's confusion was explained by Magoun, *Mediaeval Studies* 6, p. 320.

Nu skiptazt tungur.

Þa er II daga for til Þóddu-brunna, þar er byskups stoll ath Liborius kirkiu, þar hvilir hann. þa er IIII daga fór til Meginzo-borgar,
þar i milli er þorp, er Horus heitir, annat heitir Kiliandr, ok þar er Gnita-heidr, er Sigurdr va ath Fabni.

Su er ónnur leid ór Stódu-borg ath fara ith eystra of Saxland til Horsafellz, þaþan til Val[f]oborgar, þadan til Hana-[b]ruinborgar, [þ]a til Hilldis-he[ims], þar er byskups stoll; þar hvilir enn helgi Gu[d]hardus.
Þa til Gandurheims, þa til Fridla, þa til Arins-borgar, þa er eigi lan[g]t til [Me]ginzoborgar, sem adr foro ver.
Þesar II þiod-leid[ir][fara][Nor]dmenn, [ok] kemr saman leidin i Meginzo-borg, ef [þess]ar ero farn[ar], ok er þat [flest]ra manna for.
Su er ónnur leid til Roms [ath] f[ara] or Noregi [til Frislandz] til Deventar eda Trectar, oc taka menn þar sta[f][ok skreppu] ok vigslu til Rom-ferdar.

Ok Trekt er [V]I dag[a]f[or][til] K[oln]isborgar, þar er erkibyskups stoll ath Petrs kirkiu.
Af Kolnis [b]yskupi skal keisari taka vigslo i þeiri kirkio er Aquis[g]rani heitir.

Or Kolni ero III dagleidir upp med Rin til Meginzo-borgar, þar er erkibyskups stoll ath k[irkiu] < Martini et Stephani. Þa er dagfor til Vormizo-borgar, þar er biskupsstoll ath kirkju[6] > [P]etri et Pauli.

throne is in the Church of St. Peter. Here the dialects change.[4]
Then it is a two day's journey to Paderborn; a bishop's throne is there in the Church of St. Liborius, where he [the saint] rests. Then it is a four day's journey to Mainz. Between these places [i.e., Paderborn and Mainz] there is a village called Horhausen, another called Kilianstädten [on the Nidda] and there is the Gnita Heath, where Sigurðr slew Fáfnir.[5]
There is a second route from Stade [to Mainz]: take the more easterly route across Saxony to Harsefeld, thence to Walsrode, thence to Hannover, then to Hildesheim; there is the bishop's throne where St. Gotthard rests.
Then to Gandersheim, then to Fritzlar, then to Arnsburg: then it is not far to Mainz, to which we have previously journeyed.
The Norsemen travel these two main routes, and these routes meet at Mainz if these are taken. And that [i.e., one of the two routes] is the route of most people.
There is still another route to take from Norway to Rome: to [Dutch] Frisia, [namely] to Deventer or to Utrecht, and there men receive staff and scrip and a blessing for the pilgrimage to Rome.
From Utrecht it is [via Arnhem] a six day's journey to Cologne, where the archbishop's throne is in the Church of St. Peter.
The [German] emperor [until 1531] must receive his consecration at the hands of the [arch-]bishop of Cologne in that church that is [in the town] called Aachen.
From Cologne it is three day's journey up along the Rhine to Mainz, where the archbishop's throne is in the Church of < SS. Stephen and Martin. Then it is a day's journey to Worms, where the

[4] What is meant here is probably the transition "from the Northalbing dialect of Northern Low German to Westphalian"; see Magoun, *Mediaeval Studies* 6, p. 322.
[5] On *Gnita-heiðr*, see Magoun, *JEGP* 42 (1943), pp. 212 218.
[6] The omission was reconstructed by Magoun, *Mediaeval Studies* 6, pp. 328 329.

Þa er dag-for til Spiro, þar er byskups stoll ath Mario kirkiu.

bishop's throne is in the Church of > SS. Peter and Paul.

Þa er dagfor til Sels-borgar. þa er dagfor til Strans-[bor]gar, þar er byskups stoll ath Mario kirkiu.

Then it is a day's journey to Speyer, where the bishop's throne is in the Church of St. Mary.
Then it is a day's journey to Selz. Then it is a day's journey to Strasbourg, where the bishop's throne is in the Church of St. Mary.

Þa III dagleidir til Boslara-borgar.
Þa ferr fra Rin dagfór til Solatra.

Then it is a three day's journey to Basel.
Then one travels away from the Rhine a day's journey to Solothurn (Soleure).

Þa er dag-for til Vivilsborgar, hon var mikil, adr Lodbrok[ar]-synir brutu hana, enn nu er hon litil.

Then it is a day's journey to Wiflisburg (Avenches); the town was important before [Ragnarr] loðbrók's sons destroyed it,[7] but now it is very insignificant.

Þa er dag-for til Fivizu-borgar, hon stendr vid Marteins-vatn, þar koma ledir saman þeira manna, er fara of Mundio-fiall sudr, Frackar, Flémingiar, Valir, Englar, Saxar, Nordmenn.

Then it is a day's journey to Vivis (Vevey), which stands on the lake of Geneva (St. Martin), where the routes of those men who travel south over Mount Jovis [= Mont Jovis; the Great St. Bernard Pass] converge, [namely] Franks [from northern France], Flemings, Franks [from southern France], Englishmen, Saxons, [and] Norsemen.

Þa er dag-for fil Mauricius-borgar, þar hvilir hann med allt lid sitt VI þusundir ok VI hundróth ok VI tigir manna ok VI menn. Þar er [Pe]trs-kastali.

Then it is a day's journey to [St.] Maurice [d'Agaune], where the saint rests with his whole [Theban] legion of six thousand six hundred and sixty-six men. Then is Bourg-St.-Pierre.

Fra Mauricius-borg ero II dagleidir til [Biarnar]dz spitala, hann er kominn aa fiall upp.

From [St.] Maurice [d'Agaune] it is two day's journey to the St. Bernard Hospice; it is situated up on the mountain [i.e., on the Grand Combin].

[Aa Mun]dio uppi er Petrs spital[i], þar er opt ath Olafs messo á sumarit snær á grioti ok iss á vatni.

Up on the Mount Jovis Pass is St. Peter's Hospice, where there often is on St. Óláfr's Day in the summer [July 29][8]

[7] As told in the *Þáttr of Nornagesti* in *Flat*, ed. Unger - Vigfússon, I (Chria, 1860), p. 357. According to Jan de Vries, the story has no basis in history; it was made up by monks entertaining the pilgrims (*Kleine Schriften* [Berlin, 1965], pp. 294 295). But if one considers the commercial importance of the Alpine passes, on the one hand, and the commercial incentives of Viking leaders like Hastings and the sons of Ragnarr loðbrók, on the other, one can suspect that there might have been some historical basis for the legend.

[8] According to Magoun the allusion to St. Óláfr's Day that occurs in both manuscripts was introduced by an editor "after the canonization of the Norwegian King in 1164 and thus after Nikulás's death in 1159 or 1160," *Mediaeval Studies* 6, p. 315.

Fyrir sunnan Mundi[o] er Þrela-þorp.[9]
Þa er Augusta, god bor[g], þar er byskups stoll at Ursus kirkiu, þar hvilir hann.

Þa er Marteins-kam[rar].
Þa er Ioforey,[10] þar ero II dagle[i]dir a millum ok A[u]gusta.
Þa er dagfór til Fridsélu,[11] þar er byskups [stoll] [a]th Eysebius kirkiu, þar hvilir hann.
Þa er dagfor [au]st[r] af Romaveg til Melans-borgar.
Ef þu ferr rettan [R]oma-v[e]g, þa er dagfor til Papeyiar, þar er keisara-stoll ath Sirus kirkiu, þar hvilir hann.

Þar ox upp Martinus byskup, ok hann á þar hófut-kirkiu eina.
[Þa] er dagfor til Plazinzo, þar er byskups stoll ath Mario kirkiu.

Aa millum Papeyiar ok Plazinzo fellr á [mi]k[i]l, er Padus heitir.
þa kemr til þeirar leidar, er Ilians-veg foro.

Sudr fra Plazinzo er dagfor til Domna-borgar, þar er Eiriks spitali á milli.

Þa er á, er Tár heitir, hon er mikith vatn ok skirt, ok saurgaz hon alldri ne blaungaz, þiath þar saukkr til grunna hvert grand

snow on the rock and ice on the lake [of the Great St. Bernard].
South of the Mount Jovis Pass is Et-roubles. Then comes Aosta, a good town, where the bishop's throne is in the Church of San Orso, where the saint rests.
Then comes Ponte St. Martino.
Then comes Ivrea; between there and Aosta it is two days' journey.
Then it is two days' journey to Vercelli, where the bishop's throne is in the Church of St. Eusebius, where the saint rests.
Then east [i.e., northeast] off the road to Rome it is two days' journey to Milan.
If you journey the direct route to Rome, then it is a day's journey to Pavia, where the [coronation] throne of the emperors [*sedia imperatoris*] is in the church of St. Syrus [d. ca. 300], where the saint rests.
There Bishop Martin [of Tours] grew up, and he has a cathedral there.
Then it is a day's journey to Piacenza, where the bishop's throne is in the Church of St. Mary.
Between Pavia and Piacenza there flows a large river which is called the Po.
Then those who travel the route via S. Gilles (= Provence?)[12] meet this route [to Rome].
South [i.e., southeast] of Piacenza, it is a day's journey to Borgo San Donnino, between which is the Hospice of Erik [I Sveinsson of Denmark, 1095–1103].
Then comes a river that is called the Taro; it is a large river, and all filth that is thrown into it sinks to the bottom.

[9] The relation of the name *Etroubles* with ON *þræla þorp*, "the slaves' village," shows the importance of slavery in Scandinavian Viking society, as does the Scandinavian placename, Trälleborg.
[10] ON *Jǫfor-ey*, "warrior's island," is a popular adaptation of late Latin *Ivoreia*; Magoun, *Mediaeval Studies* 6, p. 335.
[11] ON *Frið-sæla*, "bliss of peace," is also a popular etymology from the Roman name Vercellae, a name carried over into *Þiðriks saga*; see Magoun, *Mediaeval Studies* 6, p. 635.
[12] The identification was challenged by Wilhelm Wiget (in *ANF* 38 [1922], pp. 343–346), who suggested that *Iljan* may reflect the Rheto-Romanic name, Gilgia, of the Julier Pass. According to him, the course of the Iljansvegr was: Milan-Como-Chiavenna–Julier Pass-Chur-Reichenau, but his suggestion has not been generally accepted.

ok sauR, er a hana er kastat.

Þar er Társ-borg fyrir sunnan.

To the south [i.e., south-southwest] is Borgo Val di Taro.

Þa skal fara yfir fiall, er Munbard heitir.

Then one must cross the mountain range that is called Munbard [i.e., the Ligurian Apennines].

Langbardaland heitir sunnan fra Munbardi ok nordr til Mundio.

Lombardy is the name of the region south from the Ligurian Apennines and north to Mont Jovis (the Alps).

Annar endir Mundiofials kemr til siofar vestr aa Styrio-landi, enn annar austr i Feneyiabotnum.

One end of the Alps runs to the sea westward in the region of Stura [di Demonte, tributary of the Tanaro, which empties into the Gulf of Genova], the other eastward to the lagoons in the region of Venice.

A Munbardi er Crucis-markadr ok Fracka-skáli.

Up in the Apennines (Bratello Yoke) is Cruc̆is markaðr and Fracka-skáli (Villa Franca?).

Þa er Montreflar.

Then comes Pontremoli.

Þa er dagfor til Mario-gilldis.

Then it is a day's journey to the Guild of St. Mary [in or near Aulla].

[Þa] er Luna, þar ero Luna-sandaṛ hia borginni, þar ero X mi[lur] ath fara of þa ena fógru sanda, ok ero óllum megin borg[ir], ok e[r] [þ]angat vid-synt.

Then comes Luni, where the Lunigiana region [lit. "sands of Luna"] is near the town; there one can walk ten miles over these same fine sands of Luna, and there are towns in all directions, and from there is an extensive view.

Aa millum Mario-gilldis ok Lunu er Stephanus-borg ok Mario-borg.

Between the Guild of St. Mary and Luni is Borgo S. Stefano di Magra and Mary's Castle (= Sarzana?).

I Luno-sóndum kalla sumir menn ormgard, er Gunnar var i settr.

Some men say that the snake pen that Gunnar [Gjúkason; the hero of the *Poetic Edda*][13] was put in was in the Lunigiana.

Þa er sudr fra Kiofor[m]unt.

Then south from there is Kjóformunt (Capriglia?).

I Lunu koma leidir saman af Spani ok fra Jacobs.

At Luni the routes from Spain and from Santiago de Compostela [in Spanish Galicia] join.

Dagfor or Lunu til Luku, þar er byskups stóll ath Mario kirkiu, þar er roda su, er Nichódemus lét gera eptir gudi sealfum, hon hefir II sinnum męllt, annat sinn gaf

It is a day's journey from Luni to Lucca; the bishop's throne is in the Church of St. Martin,[14] where that crucifix is that Nicodemus made in the image of God

[13] See Magoun, *JEGP* 42 (1943), pp. 211-212.

[14] The text is corrupt; the cathedral in question was dedicated to St. Martin, not to St. Mary; see Magoun, *Mediaeval Studies* 6, p. 341.

hon sko sinn aumum manni, en annath sinn bar hon vitni rėgdum manni.

Himself. It has spoken twice; once it gave its shoe to a poor man; another time it bore witness in favor of a calumniated man.

Sudr fra Luko er borg su, er heitir Pisis, þangat hallda kaupmenn dromundum af Gricklandi ok Sikil-ey, Egipta-landz menn, syrlendzkir ok Affrikar.

South [i.e., southwest] of Lucca is that town that is called Pisa; thither merchants with large trading vessels (*drómundr*, Lat. *dromon*) from Greece and Sicily, men from Egypt, Syrians, and Nord Africans (Berbers) repair.

Þar fyrir sunnan er þorp, er Arnblackr heiter.

There is to the south [i.e., southeast of Lucca] a village that is called Arno Nero.

Þa er Mattilldar sp[it]ali, þi leystiz hon af or Montakassin ath [l]ata reisa spital ok skal hvern mann ala um nott.

Then comes Matilda's [countess of Tuscany, b. 1046, d. 1115] Hospice [at Altopascio]; by this [foundation] she redeemed her pledge to Monte Cassino to have a hospice built; and it must put every man up for the night.

Þa er Sanctinus-borg.

The comes Borgo S. Genesio [?].

Þa er Martinus-borg.

Then comes Poggibonsi [?].

Þa er Semunt.

Then comes Semunt [?].

Þa er Langa-syn, god borg, þar er byskups stoll ath Mario kirkiu, þar ero konur vėnstar.

Then comes Siena, a good town, where the bishop's throne is in the Church of St. Mary; the women there are very good-looking.

Þangat ero III dagleidir or Luku, en dagfor þadan til Klerka-borgar, onnur til Hanganda borgar.[15]

It is a three days' journey from there to San Quirico, another day's to Acquapendente.

Þa ferr yfer fiall, er Clemunt heitir, þar er kastali aa uppi, sa heitir mála mulier, þat kóllum ver illa konu, þar er en versta þiod.

Then one goes over the mountain that is called Clemunt (Radicofani?); there is a castle on its summit that is called *Mala Mulier*, "Bad Woman" as we [Norsemen] say, where the people are very bad.

Fyrir sunnan Clemunt er Hanganda-borg.

Acquapendente is south of Clemunt.

Þadan heitir* Ruscia[16] nordr t[il] [Munbardz].

From there north to the Ligurian Apennines it is called Tuscany.

Þa ero XII milur til Kristino-borgar, þar hvilir [hon, ok er þar spor] hennar i steini.

Then it is twelve miles to Bolsena, where the saint [Christina] rests and [where] her footprint is [marked] there on a stone.

Þa ero VIII milur til Fla[vians] borg[ar].

Then it is eight miles to Borgo S. Flavino (Montefiascone).

Þa er dagfor til Boternis-borgar, þa er Þidreks-b[ad].[17]

Then it is a day's journey to Viterbo, Þíðrikr's Bath (Bagnoregio) is there.

[15] ON *Hanganda borg*, "city of the waterfall," see Magoun, *Mediaeval Studies* 6, p. 344.
[16] Scribal confusion for **Tuscia*.
[17] See Magoun, *JEGP* 42 (1943), p. 212.

[Þaðan] ero X milur til Sutarans micla.
Þa er dag-for til Sut[ara]ns litla, hann er hia Fegins-brecku,[18] hon er vid Roma-borg fyrir nor[dan].
[S]va er sagt, ath Roma se IIII milur aa leingd, en [II] [a]a breidd.
Þar ero V byskups stolar.
Einn er ath Ions kirkiu baptiste, þar skal eingi messo syngia yfir há-alltari, sa er midr se vigdr en lydbyskup; þar er páfa stoll; þar er blod Christi, ok klædi Mario, ok mikill hlutr beina Iohannis baptiste,

þar er umskurdr Christi ok miolk or briosti Mario; af þorn-giord Christz ok af kyrtli hans ok margir adrir helgir domar vardir i eino gullkeri miclo.

Annar byskups stoll er ath Mario kirkiu, þar skal pafi messo [sy]ngia iola-dag ok pascha-dag.

Þridi er at kirkiu Stephani et Laurenti, þar skal pafi messo syngia enn VIII dag iola ok hatidir þeira sealfra.

En austr þadan II milur er Agnesar kirkia, hun er dyrliguzt i allri borginni, hana lét gera Constantia dottir Constantini konungs, er hon tok fyrri tru en hann.

Ok bad hon leyfis ath lata gera Agnesar kirkiu, en konungr leyfdi henne utan borgar, ath radi Silvestri pafa.

Þadan ero IIII milur i borgina austan i hlid þat, er heitir anteportam latinam, þat er kirkia Iohannis postola.

Then it is ten miles to Sutri Major.
Then it is a day's journey to Sutri Minor (La Storta?); this is near Monte Mario, which is near Rome on the north.
It is said that Rome is four miles in length and two in breadth.[19]
Five bishops' thrones are there.
One is the church of St. John the Baptist [Lateran], where no one can sing mass at the high altar who is ordained less than a suffragan bishop; the pope's throne is there, the blood of Christ is there, and a garment of Mary and a great quantity of the bones of St. John the Baptist,
the prepuce of Christ is there and milk from the breast of Mary, [a great part] of Christ's crown of thorns and of his coat and many other relics preserved in a large gold reliquary.
A second bishop's throne is in the church of St. Mary (S. Maria) [Maggiore] where the pope must sing mass on Christmas Day and on Easter.
The third [bishop's throne] is in the Church of SS. Stefano and Lorenzo; there the pope must sing mass on the octave of Christmas and on the feasts of those same [saints].
Two miles east from there is the church of S. Agnese, which is the most splendid in the whole city; this [church] S. Constantia, daughter of King Constantine, had built when she received the Christian faith before him.
And she asked leave to have the Church of S. Agnese built, and the king [emperor] on the advice of Pope Sylvester [I] allowed her to build it outside the city.
Then from the east it is four miles into the city to that gate that is called Porta Latina, where the church of the Holy Apostle

[18] ON *Fegins-brecka*, "slope, or hillside, of joy," see Magoun, *Mediaeval Studies* 6, p. 346.
[19] An excellent analysis of Nikolás's description of Rome is given by Magoun in his study published in the *Harvard Theological Review* 33 (1940), pp. 277-288; this translation generally follows Magoun's.

Fra kirkiu Iohannis er skamt til hallar þeirar, er atti Deoclecianus konungr.

John (Giovanni) [a Porta Latina] is. From the church of S. Giovanni it is a short distance to that hall that King (the emperor) Diocletian owned.

Þa er Mario kirkia.

Then comes the church of [S.] Maria [in Domnica].

Þa er kirkia Iohannis et Pauli martirum, þeir [voro hird-]menn Constancie.

Then comes the Church of the martyrs SS. John (Giovanni) and Paul (Paolo); they were court officers of [St.] Constantia.

Þa er allra heilagra kirkia micil ok d[yrlig], [ok er] [o]pin ofan sem Pulkro kirkia i Hierusalem.

Then comes the large and splendid Church of All Saints [S. Maria rotunda] and it is open above [i.e., with an eye in the dome] like the church of the [Holy] Sepulchre in Jerusalem.

Vestra fra bor[ginni] er Pals kirkia, þar er munclifi ok borg um utan, er gengr or Ro[m]a.

To the west outside the city is the Church of [St.] Paul (S. Paolo) [Fuori], where there is a monastery, and round about a suburb [Iohannipolis] that extends out from Rome.

[Þar] er stadr sa, er heitir Catacumbas. þetta er allt fyrir utan Tifr, hon fellr i gegnum borgina Roma, hon hét fordum A[lban]a.

There is that place that is called Catacombs. All this [mentioned hitherto] lies [on the left bank] beyond the Tiber which flows through the city and which was formerly called Albula.

Crescentius-kastali er hęstr i borginni fyrir hedan ána [hard]la rikr.

Crescentius's Citadel (= Castel Sant'Angelo) is the highest in the city on this side [the right bank] of the river — very handsome.

Þa er kaup-hus Petrs postola hardla mikit ok langt.

Then comes the Portico bazaar of [St.] Peter the Apostle — very large and long.

Þa er en gaufga Petrs kirkia hardla mikil ok dyrlig, þar er lausn ǫll of vandredi manna of allan heim.

There is [to be had] full absolution from the perplexities of men the wide world over.

Ok skal austan ganga i Petrs kirkio, ok alltari i midri kirkio.

And one must enter [St.] Peter's Church from the east, and the alter [is] located in the middle of the church.

Þar er Petrs ǫrk undir alltara, ok þar var hann i myrkvastofu.

[St.] Peter's sarcophagus is there under the altar, and he was there in a dark dungeon.

Ecclecia Petri CCCCLX pedum a foribus longa ad sanctum alltare, sed lata CCXXX p[e]dum.

[St.] Peter's Church is four hundred and sixty feet long to the holy altar and two hundred and thirty feet wide.

Ok þi nær stod cros Petri, þa er hann v[ar] pindr, sem nu er ha-a[ll]t[ar]e.

And near where the high altar now is, stood [St.] Peter's cross when he was tortured [by crucifixion].

I þeim ero half bein Petri et Pauli guds postola, ok half hvortveggi ero i Pals kirkiu.

Under it are half the books of [SS.] Peter and Paul, apostles of God, and half [the bones] of each of the two are in the Church of St. Paul (S. Paolo).

Í ha-alltara ero folgin XXV beina lęrisveina Christz þeira er Petro fylgdu i Roma-borg.
Í Petrs kirkiu er alltari Silvestri pape, þar sem hann hvilir.
Gregorius alltari er i Petrs kirkiu, þar sem hann hvilir.
Petrs nal er hia úti fyrir vestan.

Sva hafa retorder menn sagt, ath eingi se sva frodr, at vist se ath viti allar kirkior i Romaborg.
Roma heiter fyrir nordan Tifr, en Latran [f]yrir s[unnan], ok þo allt saman Romaborg.

Þadan ero X milur til Ti. . . [am].

[Þa] er dagfor til Florenciusborgar, ónnur til Separans [borgar].
[Þar fellr] áin Garileam, hon skilr Romverja-riki ok Sikileyiar.

Ok [þar er] Campania edr Pull fyrir utan, en Italia fyrir nordan.

Þa [er] [A]qvinaborg XII milur fra Separani.
Þa VI milur til fialls [Mo]ntakassin.

Þar er munclifi rikt ok borg um utan ok X kirkiur i.
Þar er ęzt kirkia Benedicti, þar skolo eigi kónur koma i.
Þar er Marti[n]us kirkia, er Benedictus lét gera.
Þar er fingur Mathei postola ok armleggr Martinus byskups.

Þar er Andreas kirkia ok Mario kirkia, Stephanus kirkia ok Nicholas kirkia.

Þa ero II dagleider til Kapu.
Germanus borg er næst Monta-kassin.
Þa ero II dagleidir til Beneventar, hon er mest borg aa Puli.

Under the high altar are concealed twenty-five bones of those disciples of Christ who followed [St.] Peter into the city of Rome.
In [St.] Peter's Church is the altar of Pope Sylvester [I, 314–335], where he lies buried.
The altar of Gregory is in [St.] Peter's Church, where he lies buried.
Nearby outside to the west [of the east end of the church] is [St.] Peter's Obelisk.
Accordingly, truthful men have declared that no one is so wise as to know all the churches in the city of Rome.
North of the Tiber [the right bank] it is called "Rome" and south [left bank] "Lateran," and the whole together is called the "city of Rome."
Thence it is ten miles to Frascati (= Tusculum?).

Then it is a day's journey to Ferentino and the same distance to Ceprano.
Then the river Garigliano is the natural border between the Roman realm and that of Sicily.

Campania or Puglia (Apulia) is situated to the south, while Italy [proper] is to the north.

Then [there] is Aquino twelve miles from Ceprano.
Then at [a distance of] six miles [there] are the mountains of Monte Cassino.

There is a rich monastery, a town city (burgh) and ten churches.
The principal church is that of St. Benedict which is prohibited for women.
There is the Church of St. Martin built by St. Benedict.
There [in the church] is [preserved] a finger of the Apostle Matthew and a forearm of Bishop Martin.

There is the Church of [St.] Andrew, the Church of [St.] Mary, the Church of [St.] Stephen and the Church of [St.] Nicholas.

There it is two-days' journey to Capua.
Near Monte Cassino is located S. Germano.
Then it is two days' journey to Benevento, which is the largest town city (burgh) in Puglia (Apulia).

Í útsudr þadan er Salerni-borg, þar ero lęknar beztir.	To the southwest [from Benevento] is located Salerno, where the medical art is the best.
Sepont hon stendr undir Michialsfialli ok er III milur á breidd, en X á leing[d], ok hon á fiall upp.	Sipontum (Manfredonia) is situated on Monte Gargano [in Apulia]; it extends three miles in breadth and ten miles in length up the mountain.
Þar er hellir Michaelis ok silkidukr, er hann gaf þangat.	There is the cave of Michael with the silken napkin he [St. Michael] gave to this place.
Þa er dagfor til Barlar.	Then it is a day's journey to Barletta [in Apulia].
Þa VI milur til Traon.	Then [it is] six miles to Trani.
Þa IIII til Bisseno-borgar, IIII til Malfeta-borgar, IIII til Ivent, þa VI til Nicholaus i Bár, þar hviler hann.	Then four [miles] to Bisceglie, four [miles] to Molfetta, four [miles] to Giovinazzo, six [miles] to Bari where [St.] Nicholas rests.
Su er ónnur ferd ith vestra til Kapu or Roma-borg til Albanus-borgar.	There is a second route from Rome to Capua, the more westerly [route] through Albano (Alba Longa).
Þadan ferr til* Flaians-bruar [< Traians-bru],[20] hon er III vikna for ath endi-langri, ger um fen ok skoga, ok er þat eth agietazta mannvirki, ok ferr of skoga fulla dagleid, ok hvert fét ófært nema ath *Flaians-bru.	From here starts the Appian Way; it is a three-week journey [about 350 miles] from one end to another; it is difficult [terrain] across fen and woods, and this [the Via Appia] is a marvelous work of human hands, leading through woods for entire days, and otherwise impassable save through the Appian Way.
Þa er Terentiana, hana brutu Romveriar, ok er hon nu litil.	Then [there] is Terracina; it was destroyed by the Romans and is now very insignificant.
Þa er Fundiana.	Then [there] is Fondi.
[Þ]a er [Ga]ida.	Then [there] is Gaeta.
Þa er II daga for til Kapu.	Then it is two days' journey to Capua.
Þa ferr til Beneventar.	Then one day to Benevento.
[Ut fra er] Manupl.	Next to Monopoli.
Þa Brandeis.	Then Brindisi.
I hafs-botn þadan ero Fe[neyiar], [þar er] [p]atriarcha stoll.	In a gulf, after that there is Venice. There is a patriarch's throne there.
Þar ero helgir domar Marcus ok Lukas.	There are preserved relics of [SS.] Mark and Luke.
Ska[mt fra] [D]uracur er Mario-hófn.	Not far from Durazzo is Santa Maria del Kassopo [on Corfu].

[20] An ancient road converted during Trajan's reign into a main highway, called the Via Trajana. My analysis of the conclusion of the itinerary is based on the identifications made by Kålund in the index to his edition, *Alfræði Íslenzk* I.

Þa er Visgardz-hǫfn.

Then [there] is Porto Guiscardo [on Cephalonia].

Þa er Eng[ils-n]es.

Then [there] is Cape Malea (= Cap S. Angelo on Morea).

Þa er skamt til eyiar Paciencia eda Sikileyiar,

Not far from that is the island of Sapiéntza or Sicily [belonging to the Kingdom of Sicily?],

[þar] er iardelldr ok votn vellandi sem á Islandi.

where there are — as in Iceland — volcanic fires and boiling waters.[21]

Þa er borg, er Martini heitir, hon er aa Bolgara-landi.

Then [there] is a town city called San Martino which is in Bulgaria [?].

Þa er at sigla til eyiar, er Ku heitir, þar koma leidir saman af Puli ok af Miklagardi.

Then one sails to the island called Chios, a junction of the routes to Puglia (Apulia) and Constantinople.

Verdr til land-nordrs á Pul, en ut i haf til Kritar.

In the northwest direction one reaches Apulia, and at the end of the sea [the isl̃and of] Crete.

Ut fra Ku er ey, er Roda heitir.

Beyond Chios there is an island called Rhodes.

Þa er ath sigla yfir til til (sic!) Griklandz ok til Rauda-kastala.

Then one sails over to Greece or to Kastellóryzon.

Þa er Patera.

Then [there] is Patara.

Þar var Nicholaus byskup fėddr, ok stendr þar enn skoli hans.

There was born Bishop [St.] Nicholas, and his school remains there.

Þa e[r] MiRea-borg, þar var hann byskup.

Then [there] is Myra, where he [St. Nicholas] was bishop.

Þa er skamt [t]il Ialanda-ne[s] aa Tyrklandi.

Not far from it is Cape Chelidonia (= Gelidonya) in Turkey.[22]

Þa er II degra haf til Kiprar

From there it is two days' sail to Cyprus.

Þar gengr hafs-botn, er Nordmenn kalla Átals-fiord, enn Grickir kalla Gullus Satalie.

There extends a gulf which the Norsemen call Átalsfiord, and the Greeks Gullus [< Gulfus] Satalie (= Adalia, Antalya).

I Kipr er borg, er Beffa heitir, þar er Vėringia seta, þar andadiz Eirikr Dana konungr Sveins son brodir Knutz ens helga.

There is a town city in Cyprus called Paphos, a place of sojourn of the Varangians; there [in 1103] died Eiríkr Sveinsson, the brother of Knud [IV the Saint].

Hann lagdi fe til i Luku, ath hverr madr skylldi drecka vin okeypis ath ėrnu af danskri tungu.

He [Eiríkr Sveinsson] exacted tax in Lucca from everyone of the people of Norse extraction who should drink unreasonably high-priced wines.

Ok hann lėt gera spital VIII milum sudr fra Plazinzoborg, þar er hverr madr fėddr.

And he had a hospice built eight miles south of Piacenza, where everybody is to be fed.

21 This observation of Nikulás deserves attention, since it was made in the pre-secular age.

22 Cf. p. 241 of this volume; possibly a gloss of a later copyist. Cf. note 8 (p. 707).

Honum veitti Paschalis papa ath fėra erchistól af Saxlandi i Danmork.

Pope Paschal [II; 1099–1118] granted him his request to create a separate Danish archbishop's throne from Saxony [Hamburg].

Fra Kipr er II dėgra haf til Acrs-borgar, hon [er] a Iorsalalandi.
Þa er Chafarnaum, hon het fordum Þolomaida,

From Cyprus it is two days' sail to Acre which lies in [the kingdom of] Jerusalem.
Then there is Capernaum (= the ruined site at Tell Hum), which previously was called Ptolemais.

Þa Cesarea.
Þa er Iaffa, hana kristnadi Baldvini Iorsala konungr ok Sigurdr Konungr Magnusson Noregs konungr.

Then [there is] Caesarea [Palestinæ].
Then there is Jaffa, converted to Christianity by Baldwin [I; 1100–1118], the king of Jerusalem and Sigurdr Magnússon, the king of Norway [1103–1130].

Þa er Askalon, hon stendr aa Serklandi ok er heidin.

Then there is Ascalon (Ashqalon), situated in the heathen Serkland [under the Muslim rule].

En austr fra Acrs-borg er Syr, þa Seth, þa Tripulis, þa Lic.

To the east of Acre is located Sur (Tyre), then Tripoli (Tarabulus esh Sham), then Latakia.

Þar gengr inn hafs-botn, þann kóllum ver Anþekio-fiord.

There extends a gulf which we [the Norsemen] call Anþekio-fiord (= the Gulf of Alexandretta; today Iskenderun Körfezi).

Þar er Anthiochia i botninum, þar setti Petr postoli patriarcha stol sinn.

Then there is Antioch (= modern Antakya) on the gulf; there the Apostle Peter established the patriarch's throne.

Þessar borgir allar standa aa Syrlandi.
Galilea-herath er upp aa land fra Akrsborg.
Þar er fiall mikit, er Tabor heitir, þar syndiz postolom Moyses ok Helias.

These towns are all located in Syria.
The district of Galilee spreads out from Acre.
There is a great mountain called Tabor where Moses and Elijah appeared to the apostles.

Þa er Nazaret, þar kom Gabriel engill til motz vid Mario, ok þar var Cristr fėddur III vetr ok XX.

Then there is Nazareth; there the Angel Gabriel announced to [the Virgin] Mary, and there Christ grew up until his twenty-third year of age.

Þa er þorp, er heitir Gilin, þa er Iohannis-kastali, er fordum hét Samaria, þar fanzt heilagr domr Iohannis baptista, þar er Iacobs brunr, er Cristr bat conuna gefa ser ath drecka af.
Þa er Nepl micil borg.
Þa er borg, er heitir Casal.
Þa er Maka[m] Maria.[23]

Then there is John's Castle, called earlier Samaria; there are to be found the relics of St. John the Baptist; there is James's well, where Christ asked a woman to give him drink.
Then there is Nablus, a great town city.
There is a town city called Zal (Iksal).
Then there is the Virgin Mary's tomb.

[23] The name goes back to the Arabic *maqām*, which can mean site, location, place, locality, station, or tomb of a saint.

Þa er upp til Iorsala-borgar, hon er agiėzt borga allra i heimi.
Of hana er hvervetna sungit um alla Kristni, þviat þar ser enn stormerki pislar Cristz.
Þar er kirkia su, er gróf drottins er i, ok stadr sa, or cross drottins stod.

Þar ser glógt blod Christz á steini, sem ny-blėtt sé, ok sva mun æ vera til doms-dags.
Þar na menn liosi a pascha aptan or himni ofan.
Hon heitir Pulkro kirkia; hon er opin ofan yfir grofinni. Þar er midr heimr,

þar skinn sol iamt or himni ofan of Iohannis messo.
Þar er spitali Iohannis baptista, sa er rikaztr i óllum heimi.
Þa er Davids *turn.[24]
I Hierusalem er templum domini ok Salomons musteri.
I ut-sudr fra Iorsla-borg er fiall þat er heitir *Syon.[25]
Þar kom enn helgi andi yfir postola.

Ok þar matadiz Cristr skirdags aptan, ok stendr þar enn bord þat, er hann matadiz á.

Fiorar milur sudr fra er Bethleem, litil borg ok fógr, þar var Cristr borinn.

Þadan er skamt til Bethania kastala, þar reisti Cristr Lazarum af dauda.
I landsudr fra Iorsala-borg er vátn þat, er heitir Dauda-SioR,
þar sókdi gud nidr borgum II Sodoma fyrir handan, en Gomorram fyrir hedan.

Þar fellr Iordan i gegnum ok blendz ecki vid vótnin, þviat hon er helgazt vatn.

Then Jerusalem appears, the most famous city in all the world.
It has been extolled in all Christianity because it displays wonderful reminders of Christ's passion.
There stands the church in which the Lord's sepulchre is located and the place in which his cross stood.
There is the blood of Christ and a stone, as if it had just been shed, so it still appears now, and will until Doomsday.
There at the time of Easter Eve descends the heavenly lights.
The church is called the Holy Sepulchre; it is open above [i.e., with an open dome] over the sepulchre. There is the center of the world,
where at the feast of St. John the sun stands in the center of the sky.
There is the hospice of [St.] John the Baptist, the most splendid in all the world.
Then there is David's tower.
In Jerusalem there is the temple of the Lord and the temple of Solomon.
To the southwest of Jerusalem there is a mount called Zion.
There the Apostles were filled with the Holy Ghost.
And there Christ sat for the Last Supper at Maundy Thursday, and the table still stands there, where he dined.
Four miles from here to the south is Bethlehem, small and fair, where Christ was born.
Not far from there is the castle of Bethany; there Christ raised Lazarus from the dead.
Toward the southeast of Jerusalem is the lake, called the Dead Sea,
into which God sunk two towns: on the one side Sodoma, and on the other Gomorra.
Through that sea flows the river Jordan; yet it does not mix with the lake, inasmuch as it is the most holy water.

[24] In the mss. one finds the erroneous *tiorn*.
[25] In the mss. one finds the erroneous *Synai*.

Austr fra borginni er fiall, er heitir Mons Oliveti, þar ste Cristr upp til himna.	To the east of the city [Jerusalem] is the Mount of Olives, where Christ ascended into heaven.
Aa medal fiallzins Olivéti ok Iorsala-borgar er dalr sa, er heitir vallis Iosaphat, þar er grof Mario drotningar.	Between the Mount of Olives and Jerusalem is the Valley of Josaphat, in which the sepulchre of Queen (= the Virgin) Mary is [situated].
Þa er long stund til Querencium fiallz.	From there, at a distance removed, is the Mount of Meditations.
Þar fastadi gud, ok þar freistadi diofull hans.	There God (= Christ) used to fast and was tempted by the devil.
Þar er Abrahams kastali.	There is Abraham's castle.
Þar stod Hiericho.	There stood Jericho.
Þar ero Abrahams-veller.	There are Abraham's fields.
Þa er skamt til Jordanar, er Cristr var skirdr, hon fellr or landnordri i út-sudr.	Then it is a short distance to Jordan, in which Christ was baptized; it flows from northeast to southwest.
Þar fyrir utan ána er Rabita-land, enn fyrir hedan Iorsalaland, er þeir kalla Syrland.	On the far side of the river is Arabia, and on the other side the land of Jerusalem called Syria.
Aa árbackanum stendr ein litil kapella, þar for Cristr af klėdum sinum, ok er þvi kapellan ger til vitnis þes stadar sidan.	Near the bank of the river stands a small shrine where Christ laid down his garments, and therefore that shrine was erected to witness the place.
Ut vid Iordan, ef madr liggr opinn á slettum velli ok setr kne sitt upp ok hnefa á ofan ok reisir þumal-fingr af hnefanum upp, þa er leiþarstiarna þar yfir ath sea iafn-ha en eigi hėRa	To the man laying on his back on the banks of the Jordan with his knee drawn up and his fist upon it with the thumb extended, the polestar is as high as his thumb.[26]
Utan fra Iordán er V daga fór mikil til Akrsborgar, en þadan XIIII dęgra haf á Pul, þat er XVIII hundruth milna,	From the Jordan to Acre is a five-day journey at full pace, and from there four-teen days' sailing to Puglia (Apulia), i.e., 1,800 miles.
enn XIIII daga ganga ór Baar i Romaborg.	And it is fourteen days' journey from Bari to the city of Rome.
litil VI vikna for sunnann til Mundio, enn III nordr i Heida-bė.	[From there it is] a six-week journey at moderate pace to the Mont Jovis pass, and three [weeks] northwards to Hedeby.
Enn ith *eystra Iliansveg er IX vikna fór.	And via the eastern S. Gilles (Provence) route it is nine weeks' journey.
Siau daga for or Heida-bė i Vebiorg.	From Hedeby to Viborg it is seven days' journey.
Þa er Scódu-borgar-aa á midmunda.	Between the two [cities] there is the [river] Kongeå.

[26] On this simple but ingenious method of measuring the height of the polestar, see N. Beckman, *NTL*, 1935, pp. 46-48.

Ór Vebiorgum er II daga for til Álaborgar.

Leidarvisir sea ok borga-skipan ok allr þessi frodleikr er ritinn ath fyrir-sogn Nicholas abota, er bėdi var vitr ok vidfregr, minnigr og margfrodr, rádvis ok rettordr.

Ok lykr þar þessi frasogn.

From Viborg is two days' journey to Ålborg.

This itinerary [lit.: sign-post], town geography, and the rest of the information was written at the dictation of Abbot Nicholas, both wise and renowned, mindful and knowledgeable, prudent and veracious.

And here ends the narrative.

Wegur til Róms

The itinerary that follows, the *Wegur til Róms*, was included into the Old Icelandic miscellany of the first quarter of the fourteenth century called the *Hauksbók*. It was not part of the collection of Haukr Erlendsson (d. 1334), but was preserved in a paper copy (AM 281) made by Sigurður Jónsson (b. 1613, d. 1676). The text was published in a critical edition of the *Hauksbók* by Eirikur Jónsson and Finnur Jónsson (Kbh, 1892-96), p. 502, and in a facsimile edition by Jón Helgason in *MI* V (Kbh, 1960), as well as in the special study devoted to the document (with extensive commentary, but no translation) by Otto Springer, "Mediaeval Pilgrim Routes from Scandinavia to Rome," *Mediaeval Studies* 12 (Toronto, 1950), pp. 92-122, who successfully identified all localities.

Af Libiku til Mylnu 4. mijlur,

til Tertinborgar 5. mijlur,
til Lyneborgar 2. mijlur,
til Súdborgar 5. mijlur,
til Brunsvijkur XI. mijlur,
til Gozler 6. mijlur,
til Austur ródu 4 mijlur,
til Dudurstad 3. mijlur,
til Mioluhús 5. mijlur,
til Ismak 3 mijlur,
til Breiding 3. mijlur,
til Meining 11. mijlur,
til Mióle stad 2. mijlur,
til Hijiastad 2. mijlur,
til Meningstad mijla,
til Virzinborgar 8. mijlur,
til Oxenport 3. mijlur,
til Rotinnborgar 5. mijlur,
til Þeingilsbij 5. mijlur,
til Nyiasstad 5. mijlur,

From Lübeck to Molln it is 4 [German] miles;
to Artlenburg — 5 [German] miles;
to Lüneburg — 2 [German] miles;
to Suderburg — 5 [German] miles;
to Braunschweig — 11 [German] miles;
to Goslar — 6 [German] miles;
to Osterrode — 4 [German] miles;
to Duderstadt — 3 [German] miles;
to Mühlhausen — 5 [German] miles;
to Eisenach — 3 [German] miles;
to Breitungen — 3 [German] miles;
to Meiningen — 11 [German] miles;
to Mellrichstadt — 2 [German] miles;
to Neustadt — 2 [German] miles;
to Münnerstadt — 1 [German] mile;
to Würzburg — 8 [German] miles;
to Ochsenfurt — 3 [German] miles;
to Rotenburg — 5 [German] miles;
to Dinkelsbühl — 5 [German] miles;
to Donauwörth [?] — 5 [German] miles;

til Austborgar 6. mijlur,
til Blankabergs 6. mijlur,
til Svanga 4. mijlur,
og taka þa til Trentu Daler,

til Bardar kijrkiu 6. mijlur,
til Isinbriggiu 8. mijlur,
til Matran III mijlur,
til Sterting 1. mijla,
til Brigdz 4. mijlur,
til Kluz 2. mijlur,
til Boz 4. mijlur,
til Trentar 2. mijlur valskar og 30,
til Bernar klutz 2. mijlur fátt j 40,

til Bernar 12. mijlur,
til Fera 2. mijlur fátt j 50,

til Bolonia 30 mijlur,
til Florens umm munca ferla 6. mijlur og 50,
til Sena 8. mijlur og 20,
til Roma Borgar 40. mijlur,
vt vm sialfa Róm og Latran 4. mijlur,
til S: Páls kirkiu 4 mijlur.

to Augsburg — 6 [German] miles;
to Landsberg — 6 [German] miles;
to Schongau — 4 [German] miles;
and to take to the Vallis Tarentina [= Brenner Pass];
to Pantenkirchen — 6 [German] miles;
to Innsbruck — 8 [German] miles;
to Matrey — 3 [German] miles;
to Sterzing — 1 [German] mile;
to Brixen — 4 [German] miles;
to Klauzen — 2 [German] miles;
to Bozen — 4 [German] miles;
to Trient — 30 and 2 [= 32] Welsh miles;
to Berner Klause — 40 [Welsh] miles save two [= 38];
to Bern — 12 [Welsh] miles;
to Ferrara — 50 [Welsh] miles save two [= 48];
to Bologna — 30 [Welsh] miles;
to Florence along the monk's trail — 56 [Welsh] miles;
to Siena — 26 [Welsh] miles;
to the city of Rome 40 [Welsh] miles;
all around Rome itself [proper] and Lateran [it is] 4 [Welsh] miles;
to St. Paul's church — 4 [Welsh] miles.

Leiðir

Part of ms. AM 194, 8°, copied in 1387, contains the *Leiðir*, a short geographic text dealing with an itinerary around Iceland, and some data on routes in Norway and Denmark. It also mentions routes to Rome and Jerusalem, and the route from Germany to Rus' and Constantinople via Hungary. The text is in the edition of Kålund, *Alfræði Íslenzk* 1, pp. 44–45, who identified all the localities. Apparently no previous translation has been made.

Ór Noregi fra Stadi er IIII dęgra sigling til Fęreyia, enn þadan þriGia til Islandz i [a]ust-fiordu til Horns,

degr sigling fra Horni til Hiorléfs-haufda,
ónnur til Reykia-nes,
[þr]idia til Bardz,
fiorda til Horns hins vestra,

Out of Norway from Stattlandet it is a four-day sail to the Færoes, and from there three to Iceland, to Horn in the Austrfirðir,
from there it is a day to Hjǫrleifshǫfdi,
and another to Reykjanes,
a third to Barðr,
a fourth to West Horn,

fimta til Skaga, setta til Langanes, siaunda til Horns.
Um endilangt Island ero taldar XX dagleidir á sumars degi, enn IIII um þvert.
Siau dęgra sigling er fra Islandi til Noregs mids, en ór Noregi er farit fęti austr um Gautland ok upp i Svi-þiod, en þadan i Danmork á Skaney.

Eyrarsund er aa milli Skaneyiar ok Selunz, enn Bellti er á milli Selunz ok Fions.

En Medal-farar-sund er a milli Fions ok Iotlandz.
Af Iotlandi er fęti farith um Saxland ok Frackland, um Langbarda-land til Romaborgar.

Af Saxlandi er farit fęti til Ungaralandz ok þadan hvort er fara vill
i Garda austr eda út i Grikland til Miklagardz borga ok sva til Iorsala.

Roma-borg heitir Roma, enn Micla-gardr Constantinopolis, enn Iorsala-borg Hierusalem.

a fifth to Skaga, a sixth to Langanes, a seventh [day back] to Horn.
In summer it is a twenty-day journey to go around Iceland from one end to another, and four to traverse it athwart.
It is a seven-day sail from Iceland to middle Norway [Bergen], and from Norway one goes on foot eastward to Gautland and up to Sweden (Svía-land) and from there to Skåne in Denmark.
The Øresund is a river [i.e., strait] between Skåne and Sjælland (Zealand), and the [Store] Bælt is a river [strait] between Sjælland and Fyn.
And the Lille Bælt is a river [strait] between Fyn and Jutland.
From Jutland one goes on foot through [Old] Germany and France, through Lombardy (catepanate of Italy) to the city of Rome.
From Germany one goes on foot to Hungary and from there he who wishes can travel eastward
in Rus' (*Garðar*),[27] or go farther out to Constantinople in Greece, and in this way to Jerusalem.
"Romaborg" is the city of Rome, and "Micla-gardr" is Constantinople, and "Iorsala-borg" is Jerusalem.

[27] Referred to here are the continental trade routes from western Europe to Rus' via the Carpathian passes.

Bibliography

Bibliography and Bibliographical Essays

The bibliography given here lists, for the most part, only the individual works cited in this volume.

Like the volume itself, the bibliography is organized on two levels — according to topic and according to type of source. Because methodological problems have received special attention, the various philologies are grouped in sub-chapters. None of the sub-chapters, however, pretends to be fully representative of the discipline.

To the items cited were added only those works which were consulted without citation, in order to avoid over-footnoting. Most are dictionaries (especially etymological) and specialized *Real-Lexicons*. On the other hand, several works which were cited only once have been omitted. In several cases, problems connected with the given type of source or with the methodology applied are discussed in essays which preface a chapter or sub-chapter.

The entries are arranged in alphabetical order, according either to author or editor or to title. Because of the variety of philologies applied and the many types of sources analyzed, the first part of the bibliography is divided into nine chapters with sub-chapters. The second part, which includes sources of secondary importance and the secondary literature, is given strictly alphabetically,

without further subdivision, as the tenth chapter. Abbreviations appear on pp. xxiii-xxx. The chapters and sub-chapters are as follows:

1. *General Bibliography*

Reference Aids
Scandinavian and Germanic Philology
Medieval Latin Philology
Byzantine Philology
Turkic and Altaic Philology
Slavic Philology
Iranian Philology
Finno-Ugric Philology
Islamic Philology

2. *Myths and Epics*

Theoretical Foundations
Germanic Myth and Epics
Myth and Epics of Other Peoples

3. *The Eddaic Poetry*

Special Bibliography of the Eddas
The Poetic Edda
  Manuscripts of the Poetic Edda
  Basic Editions of the Poetic Edda
  Dating of the Eddaic Lays
  Select Bibliography
The Snorra Edda
  Manuscripts of the Snorra Edda
  Basic Editions and Translations
  Select Bibliography
The Battle of the Goths and the Huns and the Hervarar Saga
  Versions and Editions
  Select Bibliography
The Helgi Cycle
  Select Bibliography
Anglo-Saxon Heroic Poetry
  Special Bibliographies on Beowulf and Finnsburg
  Editions and Translations

The Fight at Finnsburg
Beowulf
Widsith
Select Bibliography
General
The Fight at Finnsburg
The Finn Episode of Beowulf
Beowulf
Widsith
Cynewulf's Elene

4. *Skaldic Poetry*

Basic Tools and Editions
Select Bibliography

5. *Runic Inscriptions*

Basic Tools and Editions
Select Bibliography

6. *Legal Literature*

The Old Scandinavian Laws
Basic Tools and Editions
Select Bibliography
The Old Frisian Laws
Basic Tools and Editions
Select Bibliography

7. *Geographic Literature*

Basic Tools and Editions
Select Bibliography
Old Norse Geographic Literature
Alfred, Ohthere and Wulfstan

8. *Chronicles and Annals*

The Danish Chronicles and Annals
Basic Tools and Editions

Select Bibliography
The Icelandic Annals
Basic Editions
Select Bibliography

9. *Sources Other than Analyzed in This Volume*

Sources of Old Norse Provenance
Latin and Greek Sources
Old Turkic Sources
Slavic Sources
Islamic Sources

10. *Secondary Sources and Literature*

General Bibliography

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The Eddaic Poetry

Special Bibliography of the Eddas

The considerable amount of literature in various languages on the *Edda* can be found listed in two special bibliographies (both published before 1955):

Hermannsson, Halldór. *Bibliography of the Eddas* (Islandica 13) (Ithaca, N.Y., 1920), 10 + 95 pp.

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The Poetic Edda

Manuscripts of the Poetic Edda

The "Codex Regius" (=R; from ca. 1270) contains a collection of twenty-nine lays which together are known variously as *The Edda*, *The Poetic Edda*, *The Elder Edda*, and *Sæmundr's Edda*. Ten of them are mythological and nineteen are heroic lays. The mythological lays are: the *Vǫluspá* (=Vsp), *Hávamál* (=Háv), *Vafþrúðnismál* (=Vm), *Grímnismál* (=Grm), *Skírnismál* (=Skm), *Hárbarðsljóð* (=Hrbl), *Hymiskviða* (=Hym), *Lokasenna* (=Ls), *Þrymskviða* (=Þrk), and *Alvíssmál* (=Alv). The heroic lays are: the *Vǫlundarkviða* (=Vkv), *Helgakviða Hjǫrvarðssonar* (=HHv), *Helgakviða Hundingsbana I* (=HH1), *Helgakviða Hundingsbana II* (=HH II), *Grípisspá* (Grp), *Reginsmál* (=Rm), *Fáfnismál* (=Fm), *Sigrdrífumál* (=Sd), *Brot af Sigurðarkviðu* (=Br), *Guðrúnarkviða I* (=Gðr I), *Sigurðarkviða in skamma* (=Sg), *Helreið Brynhildar* (=Hlr), *Guðrúnarkviða II* (=Gðr II), *Guðrúnarkviða III* (=Gðr III), *Oddrúnargrátr* (=Od), *Atlakviða* (=Akv), *Atlamál in grœnlenzku* (=Am), *Guðrúnarhvǫt* (=Ghv), and *Hamðismál* (=Hm).

A facsimile edition is Heusler, Andreas. *Codex Regius of the Elder Edda. Manuscript No. 2365, 4to in the Old Royal Collection in the Royal Library at Copenhagen* (Kbh, 1937), fol., 35 pp. + facs 46 fols. (=*CCI* X).

The Codex AM 748, 4° is a second vellum manuscript, this time from the beginning of the fourteenth century, that contains Eddaic lays, but unfortunately only a fragment of it has been preserved. Six leaves (AM 748, 4° = A) remain; they contain two complete lays (Grm, Hym) and parts of three others (Hrbl, Skm, Vm), plus the first lines of the prose introduction to the heroic lay Vkv, and the second section of the mythological lay *Baldrs draumar* (= Bdr), not included in the "Codex Regius." Finnur Jónsson published a facsimile edition of it: *Håndskriftet Nr. 748, 4to, Bl 1-6, in den Arna-Magnæanske Samling* (Kbh, 1896), 4° + vii + 12 pp. + 6 facs. (SUGNL XXV).

Two manuscripts of the *Snorra Edda* contain one heroic lay each, one of which was included in R: *Grottasǫngr* (= Grt) in the Codex Regius (GkS 2367, 4°), and *Rígsþula* (= Rþ) in the Codex Wormianus (AM 242, fol; concerning their editions, see *Snorra Edda*). The genealogical lay *Hyndluljóð* (= Hdl) has been preserved in the Flateyjarbók (GkS 1005, fol.; ca. 1380-1394), and the heroic lay *Battle of the Goths and the Huns* (= Hunn) has come down to us as part of the *Heiðrekssaga* (*Hervararsaga*).

One may add that the *Snorra Edda* contains quotations from several lays, particularly from the seven mythological ones (Vsp, Háv, Vm, Grm, Skm, Ls, Bdr) and from the three heroic ones (Rþ, Grt and Hdl).

Axel Olrik (b. 1864, d. 1917) has shown that Saxo Grammaticus, in his *Gesta Danorum* (ca. 1185-1220), translated some of the Eddaic heroic lays into Latin. They were from the Hrólfr group: *Bjarkamál*; and from the Starkaðr lays, *The Lay of Ingjaldr* (*Starkaðarhvǫt*). To the latter group belongs *Víkarsbálkr*, preserved in the "Gautrekssaga." Other sagas (mainly the Fornaldarsögur) also mention or contain fragments of heroic lays of the Eddaic type, e.g., the *Qrvar-Oddssaga*, the *Ásmundar saga kappabana* (especially: "Hildibrand's funeral dirge," = Hild), and the *Hálfssaga*, which were used by Andreas Heusler and Wilhelm Ranisch in their collection *Eddica Minora*.[1] But there is no consensus among specialists as to which of these

[1] *Eddica Minora: Dichtungen Eddischer Art aus den Fornaldarsögur und anderen Prosawerken zusammengestellt und eingeleitet* (Dortmund, 1903), cx + 160 pp., with Glossary (pp. 134-151) and Index (pp. 152-157). The editors included in their collection 25 pieces, among them I: Das Lied von der Hunnenschlacht. Aus der Hervararsaga (introd., pp. vii-xvii; text, pp. 1-12); II. Das Hervǫrlied. Aus der Hervararsaga (introd., pp. xvii-xxi; text, pp. 13-20); III. Die Biarkamál (introd., pp. xxi-xxvi; text, pp. 21-32); VII. Hiálmars Sterbelied. Aus der Qrvar-Oddrsaga und der Hervararsaga (introd., pp. xxxvii-xlii; text, pp. 49-51); IX. Qrvar-Odds Sterbelied. Aus der Qrvar-Oddssaga (introd., pp. xlv-xlviii; text, pp. 55-58); XIb. Aus dem Kampf auf Sámsey (introd., pp. lviii-lix; text, pp. 62-63); XIc. Aus der Heiðrekssaga (introd., pp. lix-lx; text, p. 64); XId. Aus einem Starkaðsliede (introd., p. lx; text, p. 64); XII. Qrvar-Odds Männervergleich. Aus der Qrvar-Oddssaga (introd., pp. lxi-lxiv; text, pp. 65-70); XIV. Qrvar-Oddr in Bjálkaland. Aus der Qrvar-Oddssaga (introd., pp. lxvi-lxix; text, pp. 74-76); XVII. Hervǫr bei Jarl Biartmarr. Aus der Hervararsaga (introd., p. lxxvii; text, pp. 88-89); XXa. Königskatalog. Aus der Hervararsaga (introd., pp. lxxxviii-xc; text, p. 105); XXI. Die Heiðreks Gátur. Aus der Hervararsaga (introd., pp. xl-xliv; text, pp. 106-120).

remnants of the lays should be included into the *Edda* proper; every editor makes his own selection. When they made their exemplary German translation of the *Poetic Edda* Andreas Heusler and Felix Genzmer included twenty-six songs that were excluded from R.

Basic Editions and Translations

The *Poetic Edda* was published for the first time (with Latin translation and a glossary) for the Arnamagnæanske legat (in three volumes, in Copenhagen, between 1787 and 1828) by a group of Icelandic scholars, Guðmundur Magnússon (b. 1741, d. 1798), Jón Johnsonius (b. 1749, d. 1826), Jón Ólafsson (Hypnonesius, b. 1731, d. 1811), Finnur Magnússon (b. 1781, d. 1847), and Gunnar Pálsson (b. 1714, d. 1791), under the title *Edda Sæmundar hinns fróða. Edda rhytmica seu antiqvior, vulgo Sæmundina dicta* I (1787), xlvii + xxviii + 722 + (4) pp. + 2 facs.; II (1818), (6) + xxiv + 1010, (6) pp.; III (1828), (6) + vi + 1146 pp. The standard edition was prepared by Gustav Neckel and published by Carl Winter Verlag: *Edda. Die Lieder des Codex Regius nebst verwandten Denkmälern* I: Text (1st ed., 1914), 3d [= 4th] edition by Hans Kuhn (Heidelberg, 1962), xii + 339 pp; II: *Kommentierendes Glossar* (1st ed., 1927; 2d ed., 1936), 3d ed.: *Kurzes Wörterbuch* by Hans Kuhn (Heidelberg, 1968), 245 pp.

In 1969 the first volume of Ursula (Brown) Dronke's *Poetic Edda* appeared, and it can now be regarded both as the useful edition of the text and as the philologically exact English translation (*The Poetic Edda:* I. *Heroic Poems* [Akv, Am, Ghv, Hm]. *Edited with Translation, Introduction and Commentary* (Oxford University Press, 1969), 1 facs. + xvi + 251 pp.). The work is planned to include four volumes in all: vol. two will contain the mythological poems, including Vsp, Bdr, Ls, Skm, Rþ, Vkv; vol. three, the heroic poems, including the Helgi lays and the Sigurðr cycle; and volume four, the remaining mythological poems of the Codex Regius, and Grt; an index verborum and a general index for all four volumes.

Jón Helgason is publishing accurate, conservative text of the Edda for the use of the students in four volumes in the Scandinavian series *Nordisk Filologi.* A. Texter, vols. 4, 7, 8. By now three issues have appeared: *Eddadigte* (Kbh, 1951); I: *Vǫluspá. Hávamál*; II: *Gudedigte* (Kbh, 1952); III: *Heltedigte* (1. [Kbh, 1952]); with many reprints of each issue.

An older basic work on the Edda is B. Sijmons and H. Gering's: *Die Lieder der Edda* (Germanistische Handbibliothek VII) (Halle/Saale) in 6 parts: I: Text. Abt. 1. *Götterlieder* (1888), xvi + 222 pp.; Abt. 2. *Heldenlieder* (1901), pp. 223–497; Abt. 3. *Einleitung* (1906), ccclxxv pp.; II: *Vollständiges Wörterbuch zu den Liedern der Edda* (1903), xiii + 1403 col.; III: *Kommentar. Erste*

Hälfte: Götterlieder (1927), xix + 438 pp.; *Zweite Hälfte: Heldenlieder* (1931), x + 489 pp.

A popular edition by Guðni Jónsson appeared in four volumes in Akureyri in 1954 (reprint 1959): *Eddukvæði (Sæmundar Edda)* I: xii, 302 pp.; II: (2) + 303–629 pp. [III: *Snorra Edda*, s. below]; IV: *Eddulyklar. Inngangur. Orðasafn. Vísnaskýringar. Nafnaskrá* (glossaries and indices) xiv + 281 pp.

Two English translations of the Poetic Edda are available: Henry Adams Bellows, *The Poetic Edda, translated from the Icelandic* (New York, 1923), xxvii + 583 pp. (The American-Scandinavian Foundation. Scandinavian Classics 21–22), and Lee M. Hollander, *The Poetic Edda, translated with an introduction and explanatory notes* (Austin, Texas, 1928), xxxi + 396 pp.; 2d ed. (1962), xxix + 343 pp. (paperback ed., 1977).

The exemplary German translation by Felix Genzmer (with introduction and notes by Genzmer in vol. I and by Andreas Heusler in vol. II) appeared as two vols. of the Series Thule, *Edda*. I: *Heldendichtung*, 1st ed. (Jena, 1920), final ed. (Düsseldorf-Cologne, 1963), 248 pp. with afterward, pp. 241–245, by Hans Kuhn; II: *Götterdichtung und Spruchdichtung* (Jena, 1920), final ed. (Düsseldorf-Cologne, 1963), 208 pp., with afterward (pp. 203–205) by Hans Kuhn.

A Russian translation by A. I. Korsun was published with introduction and commentaries by M. I. Steblin-Kamenskij, *Staršaja Èdda: Drevneislandskie pesni o bogax i gerojax* (M.-L., 1963), 259 pp.

Dating of the Eddaic Lays

Literally hundreds of scholars have studied Eddaic poetry since interest in it just arose in the two final decades of the eighteenth century. Among them have been many of great ability, including Karl Müllenhoff (b. 1818, d. 1884), Sophus Bugge (b. 1833, d. 1907), Eduard Sievers (b. 1850, d. 1932), Andreas Heusler (b. 1865, d. 1940), Gustav Neckel (b. 1878, d. 1940), and Jan de Vries (b. 1890, d. 1964). Nonetheless many basic questions still remain unanswered, including even the time and place of the creation of many of the individual lays. Discrepancies in dating often span as much as five centuries. Frederik Paasche (1924) dated *Hamðismál* as originating in the eighth century, Ursula Dronke (1969), in the ninth, Finnur Jónsson (1920), in the tenth, Eugen Mogk (1904), in the eleventh, and Gustav Neckel (1908), in the twelfth century. According to Finnur Jónsson (1920) *Rígsþula* was written in the tenth century, but Helmut de Boor assigned it to the eleventh, Andreas Heusler (1906) to the twelfth, Jan de Vries (1967) to the twelfth or thirteenth, and, finally, Gustav Neckel in the thirteenth. See also Lee M. Hollander, *Scandinavian Studies* 35 (1963), pp. 101–109.

The only secure conclusions thus far reached are of the most general nature. Old Norse historical linguistics and philology have ascertained that the *Edda* (texts R and A) was first composed in the Old Norse language of the west during the Viking Age (ca. 800–1050), but was probably not written down until sometime toward the beginning of the thirteenth century (and certainly not before about A.D. 700 or later than 1250) in Norway itself, and/or in Iceland and other Norwegian colonies of the north Atlantic, especially the British Islands. The language used, called in the sagas *dǫnsk tunga*, is identical to the language of the runic inscriptions in the "younger futhark." It already shows many of those characteristics, e.g., syncope, umlaut, and breaking, that will distinguish it from the other Germanic languages.

Some of the lays are undoubtedly very old, and date back to at least the beginning of the ninth century: the *Battle of Goths and Huns*, *Atlakviða*, *Hamðismál*, and perhaps *Vǫlundarkviða*. But the form in which most of the lays have reached us goes back only to the eleventh or twelfth centuries. As to the age and provenance of our main source of Eddaic poetry, i.e., the "Codex Regius" (=R), Ursula Dronke states:

> The scribal and linguistic evidence of the manuscript indicates that all the poems now preserved in the Codex Regius must have existed in written form before ca. 1240, and that the lost exemplar(s) from which the Codex Regius itself was copied cannot have been older than the beginning of the thirteenth century.
>
> There is no decisive evidence that any of the lost written sources of the Codex Regius were of Norwegian rather than Icelandic provenance, though in a few instances the likelihood is strong.[2]

In 1968 the Russian folklorist, Elizar M. Meletinskij, having applied the comparative method to the study of Eddaic poetry, claims that he was able to detect more precisely than his predecessors the poetic forms of old epic devices (reiteration, parallelism, common places, standing epithets). According to his findings, the basic source of Eddaic poetry was folklore, and the process of "individualization" began only as the lays started to be written down. The lays of German origin were "modernized" in Iceland, but they were also put through an opposite process of archaization, as their written versions in the foreign language were compared with the Scandinavian oral versions still known in Iceland at that time.[3]

[2] Ursula Dronke, *Poetic Edda* I (1969), p. xii.

[3] E. M. Meletinskij, *"Èdda" i rannie formy èposa* (1968), especially pp. 328–361.

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The Snorra Edda

Manuscripts of the Snorra Edda

There are five basic manuscripts of the *Snorra Edda*:

1. Codex Upsaliensis 11 (= U; vellum of ca. 1300-1325; Delagardie 11, 4°; somehow different from RWT); a facsimile edition by Grape, Anders: *Snorre Sturlasons Edda. Uppsala-handskriften DG 11* (Uppsala 1962); ed. Jón Sigurðsson, *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar*, II (Kbh, 1852), pp. 250-396.

2. Codex Regius (= R; vellum of about 1325; GkS 2367, 4°): facsimile ed. Elias Wessén (Kbh, 1940), (2) + 32 pp., 55 fols (= *CCI* 14).

3. Codex Trajectinus 1374 (= T; paper manuscript of the end of the sixteenth century closely related to R); ed. Willem van Eeden, Jr., *De Codex Trajectinus van de Snorra Edda* (Leiden, 1913), (10) + cxxvi + (2) + 156 + 7 pp.

4. Codex Wormianus (= W; vellum of the middle of the fourteenth century; related to R): AM 242, fol.; facsimile ed. Sigurður Nordal (Kbh, 1931), 20 pp., 63 fols = *CCI* 2; ed. Finnur Jónsson, *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar. Codex Wormianus* (Kbh, 1924), ix + 122 pp.

5. Three vellum fragments from the fourteenth century (in 4°): AM 748 I, AM 748 II and AM 757; facsimile edition by Elias Wessén in *CCI* 17 (Kbh, 1945).

Basic Editions and Translations

The *Snorra Edda* was first published, together with Danish and Latin translations, by Petrus Johannis (Peder Hansen) Resenius, *Edda. Islandorum an. Chr. MCCXV Islandice, conscripta per Snorronem. Sturlae Islandiae* (Kbh, 1665), 4°, 190 fols.

The two basic critical editions of the text were undertaken by the Arnamagnæanske legat. One (with a Latin translation by Sveinbjörn Egilsson) was started by Jón Sigurðsson (b. 1811, d. 1879) and finished by Finnur Jónsson (b. 1858, d. 1934): *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar*, vol. I (Kbh, 1848), (2), viii + 717

pp.; vol. II (1852), (2), x + 636, (2) pp.; vol. III (1880–1887), (8) + cxix + (8), 869 pp., 5 facs.; and the later one by Finnur Jónsson: *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar* (Kbh, 1931), (4), lix + 273 + (1) pp.

The last scholarly edition was published jointly by Anne Holtsmark and Jón Helgason: *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar. Gylfaginning og prosafortellingene av Skáldskaparmál* (Kbh, 1950).

A popular edition was published by Guðni Jónsson in Akureyri in 1954: *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar* (reprint, 1959), xi + 355 pp.

There is a reliable English translation of the whole text by Arthur Gilchrist Brodeur: *The Prose Edda by Snorri Sturluson* (New York, 1916), xxii + 266 pp., and a selection by Jean I. Young: *The Prose Edda of Snorri Sturluson: Tales from Norse Mythology* (the Prologue, the "Deluding of Gylfi," and selections from "Poetic Diction"), introd. Sigurður Nordal (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1965), 131 pp.

The German translation by Gustav Neckel and Felix Niedner, *Die jüngere Edda mit dem sog. ersten grammatischen Traktat*, appeared as volume 20 of the Collection Thule (Jena, 1925; last edition Düsseldorf-Cologne, 1966), with an Afterword (pp. 358–365) and Bibliography (pp. 366–368) by Siegfried Gutenbrunner, 368 + (1) pp. A partial Russian translation and commentary by O. A. Smirnickaja and M. I. Steblin-Kamenskij was published in Leningrad in 1970, *Mladšaja Edda*, 137 + (1) pp.

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The Battle of the Goths and the Hervarar Saga

Versions and Editions

There are three versions of the *Hervarar saga*. The one we shall designate by *R* is best preserved in a late-fourteenth-century vellum manuscript, GkS 2485, 4° (edited in facsimile by Jón Helgason in *MI* 2 [1955]); unfortunately, the

manuscript lacks one page of text (the dialogue between Hervǫr [I] and Angantýr [II]) and the greater part of the *Battle of the Goths and the Huns*, the last story in it. *R* also exists in several paper manuscripts, among them AM 359a, 4°; NkS 1769, 4°; AM 193a, fol; AM 355, 4°; SKB chart 4° nr. 15 (eighteenth century), and AM 345, 4° (from 1684) which is inferior but has been used by some earlier editors.

The version designated *U* exists in a poorly preserved paper manuscript of about 1650, R:715 (University Library of Uppsala), written by Páll Hallson of Eyjafjörður and in AM 203, fol. The version is also known from an abstract made in the winter of 1596–1597 by Arngrímur Jónsson (b. 1568, d. 1648), who might have had the original of *U* at his disposal.

The basic manuscript of version *H* is AM 544, 4°, the Hauksbók, written by Haukr Erlendsson (d. 1334;[4] a facsimile edition was prepared by Jón Helgason in *MI* 5 [1960]). In some cases two seventeenth-century paper manuscripts, AM 281, 4° and AM 5976, 4°, are helpful because they were copied from the *Hauksbók* when it was in better condition than it is now. All manuscripts of *H* end with the "Riddles of Gestumblindi."

Jón Erlendsson (d. 1672), a priest at Villingaholt in southwest Iceland, copied a collection of heroic sagas, including the *Hervararsaga* (AM 203, fol.), of which he created a hybrid version. He copied *R* up to the point where it breaks off, then continued with *U*. He provides us with a better copy both of this part and of the beginning of the saga than we have in ms. R:715. Consequently AM 203, fol., has independent textual value. To the same category of hybrid versions belong AM 202k, fol., AM 582, 4°, and AM 192, fol. (the last also copied by Jón Erlendsson), used by the previous editors (Rafn, Bugge, Šarovol's'kyj, and Helgason).

The first edition of the *Hervarar saga* (based on *U* = SKB chart 120, fol.) with a Swedish translation was made by Olov Verelius (b. 1618, d. 1682), *Hervarar saga på Gammal Gotska* (Uppsala, 1672) (8) + 194 + (6) pp. The second edition, based on AM 345 of *R* (the editor also used the lost copy of *U*, written by Jón Eiríksson in the eighteenth century) and a Latin translation was published by Stefan Björnsson (Stephanus Biörnonis [b. 1721, d. 1798]): *Hervararsaga ok Heidrekskongs* (Kbh, 1785), viii + 275 pp.

The next editor, Carl Christian Rafn (b. 1795, d. 1864), decided to include into his edition both versions: *R* according to AM 345 (with the variants from GKS 2845, 4° and AM 192, fol.) and H (AM 544, 4°). Rafn published the Hervarar saga twice, first in his *FAS* collection (I, [1829]; pp. 409–512 = AM

[4] Ed. Eiríkur Jónsson and Finnur Jónsson, *Hauksbók* (Kbh, 1892–1896), pp. xciii–xcvii and pp. 350–369. The facsimile edition by Jón Helgason appeared as volume 5 of *MI* (1960).

345; pp. 513–533 = *H*), and second in *AR* (I, [1850]; pp. 115–137 = *H*; pp. 137–211 = AM 345).[5]

Sophus Bugge (b. 1833, d. 1907), in his collection *Norrøne skrifter af sagnhistorisk Indhold* III (Chria, 1873), pp. 203–370, introduced ms. GkS 2845, 4° as the basis for *R*; his II version (pp. 299–349). The I version was given there according to *H* (pp. 203–264 = AM 544, 4° with the variants of AM 281, 4°, AM 597 b, 4°), with *U* (R: 715) following in small letters (pp. 264–298). The introduction to the edition was never published.

Bugge's edition remained for several decades the standard text of the saga. In 1887 the Vienna scholar, Richard Heinzel, then the authority on epic studies, proclaimed that "versions I and II [of Bugge's edition] are not two redactions of one original manuscript but rather two independent stories" ("Über die Hervararsaga," p. 423).

This thesis was generally accepted until it was challenged in 1906–1907 by the Ukrainian scholar Ivan Šarovol's'kyj (b. 1876, d. 1954). In a detailed analysis he argued that both "*H* and *R* go back to the one and the same lost copy of the saga" (*Skazanie*, III, p. 26); the preserved version of *The Battle of the Goths and the Huns* exists, according to Šarovol's'kyj, only in a contaminated version, for which the best mss. are *U*, AM 203, and AM 192, fol.

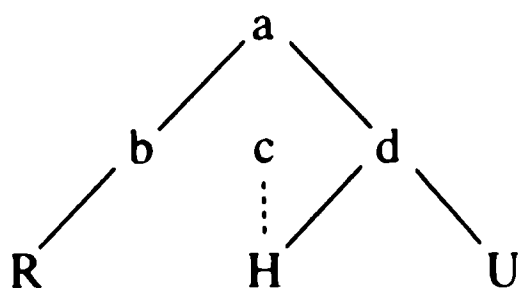
Šarovol's'kyj's work,[6] presented as a doctoral dissertation at Kiev University, had three volumes, of which volume two (the translation and commentary) never appeared. The text was published as *Skazanie o meče Tjurfingě*, vol. one: *Staroislandskij tekst s vvedeniem* (K, 1906), lxxvii + 84 pp. (pp. 1–29 = *H*; pp. 30–60 = *R*; pp. 60–79 = the contaminated version).

In a series of articles, the first of which appeared in 1913 and the fourth in 1927, Albert Le Roy Andrews rehabilitated version *U*: "There can hardly be a question but that *U* version represented most accurately in its general make-up the original Harvararsaga. It is probable, though hardly certain, that only the oral tradition stands between the versions *U* and *R*, but *H* is the product of the scribe" (*Modern Philology* 21 [1923–1924], p. 198). He continued: "The need of a new critical text of the saga could probably best be met by printing first the complete text of the *U* version, under that in finer print what is preserved of the *R* version, and under that in still finer print what there is of the *H* version, with necessary comments in footnotes" (*Modern Philology* 21, p. 199).

The next editor, Jón Helgason, followed the advice of Andrews concerning the validity of *U*, but he executed his edition differently. Two versions are printed separately. First "Saga Heiðreks konungs ens vitra" (pp. 1–88), for which he used *R* (diplomatic text) and printed *H* under it; the second,

5 Rafn's Danish translation appeared three years earlier: *Hervørs og Kong Hejdreks Saga* (Kbh, 1826).

"Hervarar saga," is given using *U*, with AM 203 in small print (pp. 89–161; diplomatic text). The edition appeared as volume 48 of SUGNL: *Heiðreks saga. Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks konungs* (Kbh, 1924), lxxxix + 167 + (1) pp. Jón Helgason's introductory essay is regarded as an important presentation of the manuscripts' relation. His stemma is as follows (p. lxxxiv):

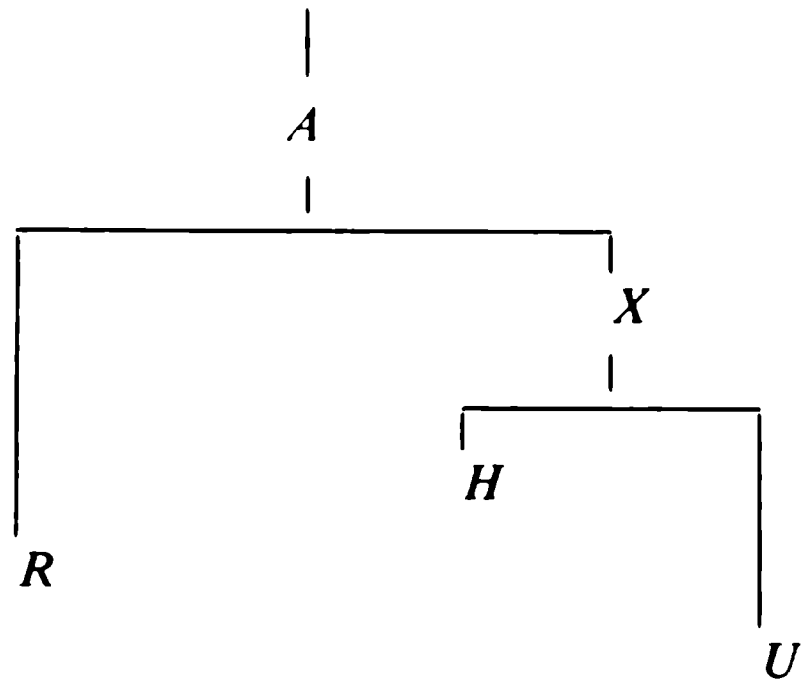


On the basis of Jón Helgason's edition, the Viking Society Text Series published an edition for the use of the students. Guðni Jónsson normalized the text, Christopher Tolkien wrote the introduction, and G. Turville-Petre prepared notes and valuable glossary (pp. 94–145): *Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks* (London, 1956), xx, 145 pp.

The most recent edition of the saga with an English translation and commentaries appeared in London in 1960 as part of the series "Icelandic Texts": Christopher [R.] Tolkien, *The Saga of King Heidrek the Wise*, xxviii (introduction) + pp. 2–82 (text) + pp. 2–82 (trans.) + pp. 83–100 (appendices, index). Tolkien's starting point was that three versions of the saga, *R*, *H*, *U*, now exist. "It is unquestioned," he writes,

> that *H* and *U* both descend from a version of the saga which cannot have been composed much after 1300, and which had been completely rewritten. . . . *U* . . . seems to represent this retelling of the saga (*X*) fairly well, whereas *H* is a drastic and by no means careful abridgement of *X* . . . *R* is undoubtedly far nearer to the original saga . . . and the loss of it after only a few verses of the *Battle of the Goths and Huns* is a great misfortune; but it is equally certain that all manuscripts of the saga go back ultimately to the same written original (A) . . .[6] The situation can be shown in a very condensed fashion thus:

[6] Šarovol's'kyj's opus for some reason received a negative review by B. P. Sil'versvan, "Něskol'ko slov ob odnoj dissertacii," *Zapiski Neofilologičeskogo Obščestva* 4 (S-Pb., 1910) pp. 41–82. But Jón Helgason respected the work of his predecessor (see his introduction to *Heiðreks saga*: "Scharovolskijs udgave er meget paalidelig og fortjener al paaskønnelse, men dens russiske sprog gør den utilgængelig for de fleste nordiske filologer" (p. lxxxviii). One can only repeat with A. Le Roy Andrews: "This volume [3] of Sharovolski on the Hervarar saga has failed to reach the general channels of Old Norse scholarship, but it is an admirable piece of work and by far the richest commentary on the Hervarar saga in existence" (*Modern Philology*, 25:2 [1927], 158, n. 3).



. . . Thus in presenting a single text of *Heiðreks Saga* one could either follow *U* throughout its length or else, as has been been done in this book, make a compilation: *R*, filled up in the lacuna from *U* and at the end from *U/203* [pp. 49–63]. I have also given as an Appendix the beginning of the saga, where the divergence between the redactions is most extreme, in the form it has in *U/203*.[7]

The abstract of Arngrímur Jónsson (b. 1563, d. 1648) was made known first by Jón Helgason: "Et tapt Håndskrift af Heiðreks Saga," *Festskrift til Hjalmar Falk* (Oslo, 1927), pp. 215–226, and later by Jakob Benediktsson in volume one of his *Arngrimi Jonae Opera Latine conscripta* (Kbh, 1950), pp. 350–354.

The poetic texts of the *Hervarar saga*, such as the Sámsey poetry ("The Battle of Sámsey," "The Death-Song of Hjálmarr," "The Waking of Angantyr"), "The Riddles of Gestumblindi," and especially *The Battle of the Goths and the Huns*, were often included in the publication of the Eddaic texts, or printed in special editions.[8] Of them two recent publications of *The Battle of the Goths and the Huns* should be mentioned. The first was prepared by the Polish historian Gerard Labuda with a valuable historical commentary, "Herwararsaga" in *Źródła skandynawskie* (Warsaw, 1961), pp. 175–230. The second has an excellent philological commentary by Jón Helgason, "Hlöðskviða," *Kviður af Gotum og Húnum* (Rvík, 1967), pp. 147–246.

[7] Christopher Tolkien, *The Saga of King Heidrek the Wise* (London, 1960), pp. xxx–xxxi.

[8] *Eddukvæði (Sæmundar-Edda)*, ed. Guðni Jónsson II, (Akureyri, 1954; repr. 1959): "Hjálmarskviða" (pp. 537–539), "Hervararkviða" (pp. 541–551), "Hlöðskviða" (pp. 553–565), "Heiðreksgátur" (pp. 577–600).

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Cynewulf's Elene

Gradon, Pamela O. E. (ed.). *Cynewulf's Elene* (London, 1958).

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Skaldic Poetry

Basic Tools and Editions

Most of the skaldic poetry that has come down to us occurs in Icelandic vellum codices of the sagas (mainly of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries) being their integral part.

A monumental edition of skaldic poetry was compiled in 1912–1915 by Finnur Jónsson (b. 1858, d. 1934). The collection consists of two parts, one providing not always reliable diplomatic texts, and the other presenting the reconstructed texts with the compiler's Danish translations:

Jónsson, Finnur. *Den norsk-islandske Skjaldedigtning*, 2 vols. (Kbh, 1912–1915): I Part A. *Tekst efter Håndskrifterne*, I [A.D. 800–1200], x + 690 pp.; II: [A.D. 1200–1400], vii + 552 pp.; Part B. *Rettet Tekst*, I: [A.D. 800–1200], x + (2) + 690 pp.; II: [A.D. 1200–1400], vii + (2) + 610 + (2) pp. [abbr.: *Skj*]. Part A was reprinted in Kbh in 1967 and part B in 1973.

Jónsson's bitterest critic, the Swedish philologist Ernst Albin Kock, published the results of his critical studies in twenty installments of the *Notationes Norrœnæ. Anteckningar till Edda och Skaldediktning* which appeared in *Lunds Universitets Årsskrift* between 1923 and 1941 [Ny följd. Avd. I], 19–34, 37. Nevertheless, Kock's posthumous skaldic corpus follows generally Jónsson's arrangement and relies on his manuscript readings:

Kock, Ernst Albin. *Den norsk-isländska skaldediktningen*, ed. Elisabeth Kock and Ivar Lindquist, 2 vols. (Lund, 1946–1949), I: 2 + 344 pp.; II: 350 pp. [abbr.: Kock].

Kock, Ernst Albin. *Ställe-, ord- och sakrejister* (LUÅ 39) (Lund-Leipzig, 1944).

The basic specialized dictionary for skaldic poetry is still the second edition of the lexikon of Sveinbjörn Egilsson (d. 1852) published in 1931 by Finnur Jónsson. Its definitions are given only in Danish:

Lexicon Poeticum Antiquae Linguae Septentrionalis. Ordbog over det norsk-islandske Skjaldesprog oprindelig forfattet af Sveinbjörn Egilsson, 2d ed. Finnur Jónsson (Kbh, 1931), xvi + 667 pp. [abbr.: *Lexicon Poeticum*].

Special bibliography:

Hollander, Lee M. *A Bibliography of Skaldic Studies* (Kbh, 1958), 117 pp. [abbr.: Hollander, *Bibliography*].

Major contributions to the rendering of Old Norse strophes into English are *Corpus poeticum boreale* by G. Vigfússon and F. Y. Powell, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1883) [abbr.: *CPB*], translations of Snorri's *Heimskringla* by W. Morris and E. Magnússon (London, 1893), and Lee M. Hollander (Austin, 1964) [abbr.: *Hkr/Hollander*], the *Egils saga* by Gwyn Jones (New York, 1960) [abbr.: Egill's saga/Jones] and by Hermann Pálsson and Paul Edwards (Penguin Books, 1976), the translation of the *Snorra Edda* by Arthur G. Brodeur, 6th printing (New York, 1967), the translations of *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta* by J. Sephton (London, 1895) [abbr.: OsTm/Sephton], and the translation of the *Orkneyinga saga* by G. Dasent (London, 1894) [abbr.: Orkn saga/Dasent].

A new edition of Skaldic poems based on a more sophisticated independent study of the manuscripts is an urgent desideratum. The situation in Skaldic research has until recently been a kind of vicious circle. But an attempt at breaking the cycle of dependence on the standard text edition, standard dictionary, standard *kenning* index, standard chronology — all created by one and the same scholar (Finnur Jónsson) — has been undertaken by Roberta Frank in her brilliant study, *Court Poetry* (Ithaca, 1978).

Along with Turville-Petre's *Scaldic Poetry* (see below), Frank's work is an excellent introduction to the basic aspects of Skaldic poetry as a literary genre; it also includes a short but very valuable glossary (pp. 183-206).

Useful are the fresh readings and interpretations of the Skaldic strophes in the modern editions of the sagas, especially in the Icelandic series *Íslenzk Fornrit* (Rvík, 1933-), and the very reliable selection of longer Skaldic poems and sixty-five *lausavísur* by Jón Helgason in his *Skjaldevers* (Kbh, 1962).

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Runic Inscriptions

Basic Tools and Editions

The best introduction to Germanic runology was published by Lucien Musset: *Introduction à la runologie. En partie d'après les notes de Fernand Mossé* (Paris, 1965; repr., 1976), 468 pp. + 20 pl. (2 pp. additions). This work also includes a bibliography and a rich selection of runic texts (nos. 1–185). Several other useful general works are:

Von Friesen, Otto. *Runorna* (NK 6) (Sthlm, 1933), viii + 264 pp.

Krause, Wolfgang. *Was man in Runen ritzte?* 2d ed. (Halle, 1943).

Arntz, Helmut. *Handbuch der Runenkunde*, 2d ed. (Halle, 1944).

Elliott, Ralph W. V. *Runes. An Introduction* (Manchester, 1959; 2d ed. 1963), xvi + 124 pp. + 24 pl.

Düwel, Klaus. *Runenkunde* (Stuttgart, 1968), xiii + 124 pp.

Krause, Wolfgang. *Runen* (Berlin, 1970), 138 pp.

Page, R. I. *An Introduction to English Runes* (London, 1973), xvi, 237 pp.

The first references to the runic inscriptions can be found in the works of the Swedish humanist brothers Johannes (b. 1488, d. 1544) and Olaus Magnus (b. 1490, d. 1557), but the first scholars to search systematically for the runic monuments were Johan Bureus (b. 1568, d. 1652) in Sweden and Ole Worm (b. 1568, d. 1654) in Denmark and Norway. They combed the villages and local cemeteries, made detailed descriptions of the monuments they found, and had exact drawings of them made. Bureus collected data on six hundred

monuments, forty-eight of which he published in his *Monumenta Sveo-Gothica hactenus exsculpta* (Sthlm, 1624). Ole Worm's work *Danicorum monumentorum libri sex* (Kbh, 1643) is a study of ninety monuments.

These two men were followed by several generations of Swedish antiquarians, the most important of whom were: Johan Hadorph (b. 1630, d. 1693), Johan Peringskiöld (b. 1630, d. 1693), Johan Göransson (b. 1712, d. 1769), Olaus Celsius, Sr. (b. 1670, d. 1756), Johan Gustaf Liljegren (b. 1789, d. 1837), Richard Dybeck (b. 1811, d. 1877), Carl Fredrik Säve (b. 1812, d. 1876), Karl Torin (b. 1826, d. 1908), and George Stephens (b. 1813, d. 1895) in Scotland. The following Swedish collections still retain their value as sources, especially since many of the stones have since disappeared:

Göransson, Johan. *Bautil, der är: Alle Svea ok Götha Rikens Runstenar* (Sthlm, 1750) (12), 5, 320 pp. (abbr. = B).

Liljegren, Johan Gustaf. *Run-Urkunder. Tillägg till Svenskt Diplomatarium I* (Sthlm, 1834) (2), 2, 4, 120, 6 pp. 1 pl. [nos. 1 3000] (abbr. = L).

Dybeck, Richard. *Svenska Runurkunder*, 2 parts (Sthlm, 1855–1857), 52 pp. + 45 pl. + 10 pp. + 7 pl. (abbr. = D 8°).

Dybeck, Richard. *Sverikes Runurkunder granskade och utgifne*, 2 vols. (Sthlm, 1860–1870) (abbr. = D).

Modern runology begins with Sophus Bugge (b. 1839, d. 1907) and Magnus Olsen (b. 1878, d. 1963) in Norway; Ludvig Frans Adalbert Wimmer (b. 1839, d. 1920) and Lis Jacobsen (b. 1882, d. 1961) in Denmark; and Erik Brate (b. 1857, d. 1924), Otto von Friesen (b. 1870, d. 1942) and Elias Wessén (b. 1889) in Sweden.

Information on new runic finds in Sweden currently appear in *Fv* (Sthlm, 1906).

The runic incriptions were first studied as historical sources by the Danish scholar Ludvig F. A. Wimmer, who in the first volume of his *De Danske Runemindesmærker* (Kbh, 1893) dealt with fifteen of them whose contents he recognized as being historical. A more recent study devoted specifically to the runic inscriptions as a source of the Viking Age was published by Arndt Ruprecht (*Die ausgehende Wikingerzeit im Lichte der Runeninschriften* [Göttingen, 1958]).

The study of personal names is important in the runic inscriptions. Volume seven of the series, *Nordisk Kultur*, Assar Janzén (ed.), *Personnamn* (Sthlm, 1948), 345 pp., with studies by Rikard Hornby ("Fornavne i Danmark i middelalderen," pp. 187–234), Assar Janzén ("De fornsvenska personnamnen," pp. 235–268) and Sven Ekbo ("Nordiska personbinamn under vikinga- och medeltid," pp. 269–284), is devoted to this problem. The special monographs for Danish names are Knudsen, G. and Kristensen, Marius. *Danmarks gamle*

personnavne (Kbh, 1936–1948); for Norwegian names, Lind, E. H. *Norsk isländska dopnamn och fingerade namn från medeltiden* (Uppsala, 1905–1915); Supplement (Oslo, 1930); for Swedish names, Modéer, I. *Svenska personnamn. Ett handbok* (Lund, 1964); and Lundgren, Magnus F., Brate, Erik, Lind, E. H. *Svenska personnamn från medeltiden* (*Nyare bidrag till kännedom om de svenska landsmålen ock svenskt folkliv* 10, no. 6–7) (Uppsala, 1892–1934), 369 pp.

Special dictionaries for the Viking Age and for the medieval Scandinavian languages are: for Danish, Lund, G.F.V. *Det ældste danske skriftsprogs ordforråd* (Kbh, 1877; repr. 1967); for Old Norse Heggstad, Leiv. *Gamalnorsk ordbok med nynorsk tyding* (Oslo, 1930; repr. 1958); for Swedish, Söderwall, K. F. *Ordbok öfver svenska medeltids-språket*, 2 vols. and supplement (Lund, 1884–1933).

The standard historical grammars are: for Danish, Brøndum-Nielsen, Johannes, *Gammeldansk grammatik i sproghistorisk fremstilling*, 8 vols. (Kbh, 1928–1973); for Norwegian, Seip, D. A. *Norsk språkhistorie til omkring 1370*, 2d ed. (Oslo, 1955); for Swedish, Wessén, Elias, *Schwedische Sprachgeschichte*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1970).

A special runological bibliography was published by Helmut Arntz, *Bibliographie der Runenkunde* (Leipzig, 1937), xiv + (2) + 293 pp. For bibliography since 1963, see, *Bibliography of Old Norse-Icelandic Studies* (Kbh, 1964–).

Approximately 620 inscriptions are known from the Danish medieval kingdom (including Skåne, Blekinge, and Halland on the Scandinavian peninsula); 240 of them are found on standing stones, about 170 on portable objects (arms, jewelry, amulets), 90 on bracelets, and 120 on the coins of King Sveinn Úlfsson (1047–1076). Five additional inscriptions have been found in the British Isles.

This Danish material has been worked out in an exemplary and well-planned edition using new photographic techniques by Lis (Rubin) Jacobsen and her pupil, Erik Moltke, aided by two other runologists Anders Bæksted and Karl Martin Nielsen. The corpus *Danmarks Runeindskrifter* was first planned in 1926. After some years of preparation, it was compiled within a decade and appeared in two volumes in 1941–42. Volume 1, *Text* (Kbh, 1942), xv pp. + 1118 cols., is divided into two parts: Part 1 is the collection of the inscriptions (cols. 1–594). It provides essential information on each item and supports it with basic bibliographical information. As a summary of the philological efforts in cols. 595–620, transcriptions of all inscriptions are given. Part 2 is devoted to an extensive analysis of the grammar and lexical material (cols. 621–1052). Its list of authors providing both biographical and bibliographical data is a welcome supplement.

The second volume, the *Atlas* (Kbh, 1941), (6) + 450 + (6) pp., provides good

photographs of each inscription. Very useful are two series of maps, one giving the location of the runic finds in Denmark during the Viking Age (pp. 432–439), and the other, Runic finds during the Migration Period (pp. 440–441).

To this were added a general index, *Register* (Kbh, 1942), 106 pp., and a summary with the translation of all inscriptions in three different editions, Danish and German in 1942 and English in 1947, *Summary*, trans. Eva Nissen (Kbh, 1947), 71 pp.

By 1964 over six hundred Norwegian inscriptions of the younger futhark (602 of them come from Norway, and 7 from Bohuslän) were already known. They were published, on the basis of the preparatory work by Sophus Bugge, Oluf Rygh, and Ingvald Undset, by Magnus Olsen (aided since 1948 by Aslak Liestøl) in *Norges innskrifter med de yngre runer* (Oslo, 1941; in progress); the fifth volume (1960) includes a short general typology (pp. 238–245) and indices (pp. 276–303) but no grammar or maps (abbr. = *NYR*).

Aslak Liestøl, who conducted excavations in the old merchant town of Bergen (1956–1967), published a preliminary report on them in the Norwegian archaeological journal *Viking* 27 (Oslo, 1964), "Runer frå Bryggen" (pp. 5–53). He reported on approximately five hundred newly discovered runic inscriptions, many of them on wood. Liestøl dates them in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. These inscriptions are now being included by Liestøl in the *NYR*, vol. 6, with the first portion of the Tyskebryggen in Bergen, has just been published (pt. 1; 1980).

The territorial distribution of the Swedish runic inscriptions until the thirteenth century is as follows:

Svealand		Götaland	
Uppland (= *U*)	1,200	Ostergötland (= *Og*)	300
Södermanland (= *Sö*)	400	Västergötland (= *Vg*)	259
Västmanland (= *Vs*)	33	Småland (= *Sm*)	170
Helsingland	50		
Others	17		
Total	1,700	Total	729
Baltic islands		**Colonial territories in eastern Europe**	8
Gotland (= *G*)	c. 40		
Öland (= *Öl*)	70		
Total	110		

The Swedish inscriptions are collected in the imposing corpus, *Sveriges Runinskrifter*, which has being published beginning in 1900 by the Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien in Stockholm. This project, not yet complete, is uneven in its treatment of the problems, unavoidable in a work accomplished by several teams of coworkers over many decades. Thirteen volumes have already been published, covering eight provinces. Uppland alone fills four of them. Each volume has two parts: the first presents a philological analysis, and the second the photographs of the inscriptions. The volumes which have appeared to date are listed below; the abbreviations used for each volume are in brackets.

I. *Öland*, ed. Söderberg, Sven and Brate, Erik (1900–1906) [= *Öl*]; II. *Östergötland*, ed. Brate, Erik (1911–1918) [= *Ög*]; III. *Södermanland*, ed. Brate, Erik and Wessén, Elias (1924–1936) [= *Sö*]; IV. *Småland*, ed. Kinander, Ragnar (1935–1961) [= *Sm*]; V. *Västergötland*, ed. Jungner, Hugo and Svärdström, Elisabeth, vol. 1 (1940–1970; not complete) [= *Vg*]; VI–IX. *Uppland*, ed. Wessén, Elias and Jansson, Sven B. F., vols. 1–4 (1940–1958; not complete) [= *U*]; X. not yet published; XI. XII. *Gotland*, ed. Jansson, S. B. F.; Wessén, Elias and Svärdström, E., 2 vols. (1962–1978) [= *G*]; XIII. *Västmanland*, ed. Jansson, S. B. F. (1964) [= *Vs*]; XIV., pt. 1: *Närke*, ed. Jansson, S. B. F. (1975); pt. 2: *Värmland*, ed. Jansson, S. B. F. (1978).

A very good introduction to Swedish runic inscriptions is found in Jansson, Sven B. F., *Runinskrifter i Sverige* (Sthlm, Göteborg, Uppsala, [1963]), 192 pp. An abridged English version has been prepared by Foote, Peter G. *The Runes of Sweden* (London, 1962), 168 pp.

For several years before the First World War, Fëdor (Friedrich) Aleksandrovič Braun (b. 1862, d. 1942) was working on an edition of 105 runic inscriptions (95 from Sweden) relating to eastern Europe. His edition was to include a detailed philological and historical commentary of over 300 pages, but for unknown reasons, the entire work was never printed.[1] Braun's pupil, Elena A. Rydzevskaja (b. 1890, d. 1941), took up the task. Her collection included one hundred runic texts, but she died in Leningrad during the siege, and her work remained incomplete as well.[2] In 1970–71 I worked on the runic inscriptions as a historical source for eastern Europe, while Elena Aleksandrovna Mel'nikova began the task of completing the work initiated by Braun and Rydzevskaja. Mel'nikova's *Corpus* appeared in 1977. Her methodology, however, differs from mine, and for that reason I have included my own runic materials here.[3]

[1] Concerning Braun, see M. B. Sverdlov, "F. A. Braun — issledovatel' skandinavskix istočnikov po istorii Drevnej Rusi," *Skan sb* 21 (1976), pp. 221–225.

[2] About the collection of E. A. Rydzevskaja, see *Mel.* p. 26; cf. p. 9.

[3] See my review in *Kritika* 14:1 (1978), pp. 21–29. A short review of the data from the runic inscriptions concerning the Scandinavians in Rus' and Byzantium was published by M. B. Sverdlov in *Arxeografičeskij ežegodnik za 1972 god* (Moscow, 1974), pp. 102–109.

Three other useful collections of runic inscriptions should be mentioned. One is a representative selection of texts in the younger futhark in "Anthologie runique" added to Musset, L. and Mossé F., *Introduction à la runologie* (Paris, 1965), pp. 378–445 (nos. 47–165; abbrev.: *M*). The second is a collection of Viking Age inscriptions: "Sichere Inschriften über Auslandsfahrten" by Ruprecht, A. in his *Die ausgehende Wikingerzeit* (Göttingen, 1958), pp. 125–165, nos. 1–197 (abbrev.: *R*). The last is a collection of Viking Age inscriptions written in Swedish-Norwegian runes by Johnsen, Ingrid S., *Stuttruner i vikingtidens innskrifter* (Oslo, 1968; abbrev.: *J*).

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Legal Literature

The Old Scandinavian Laws

Basic Tools and Editions (See also pp. 467–479).

Of the five extant manuscripts of the older redaction of the *Gulaþingslǫg*, only the vellum Codex Rantzovianus from about 1250 (The Royal Library, Copenhagen, E don. var. 137, 4°) has come down to us in what appears to be its entirety (there are only three missing sheets). The *Gulaþingslǫg* was published by R. Keyser and P. A. Munch in the corpus *NGL* I (Chria, 1846), pp. 1–118.[1]

The *Frostaþingslǫg* has come down to us in the Codex Resenianus (AM 312, fol.; AM 1155, fol.; AM 314 fol.; AM 311, fol.; AM 310, fol.) and in a vellum manuscript from the first quarter of the fourteenth century (AM 60, 4°). It also was published by R. Keyser and P. A. Munch in *NGL* I (Chria, 1846), pp. 119–258; see also *NGL* IV (Chria, 1885), pp. 19–65.

Both lawbooks were translated into English by Laurence Marcellus Larson, *The Earliest Norwegian Laws being the Gulathing Law*, pp. 32–210 and *The Frostathing Law*, pp. 211–405 (New York, 1935).

Of the *Eiðsívaþinglǫg* (*Heiðsævislǫg*) and *Borgarþingslǫg*, only those parts dealing with Christian law (*Christenret*) are extant. The Eiðsvívaþinglǫg exists in two versions: a longer and older redaction (AM 68, 4°; fourteenth century = *NGL* I, pp. 375–393), and a shorter, more recent one (AM 58, 4°; mid-fourteenth century = *NGL* I, pp. 394–406).

The *Borgarþingslǫg* is contained in three vellum manuscripts from the first half of the fourteenth century. The basic copy is AM 78, 4° (= *NGL* I, pp. 337–372; see also *NGL* IV, 1885, pp. 66–77).

The German Scandinavian scholar Rudolf Meissner (b. 1863, d. 1948) translated all four of these Old Norwegian provincial laws into German; they were published in the *Germanenrechte* series in Weimar (subdivision: *Norwegisches Recht*) as volumes 4 (*Das Rechtbuch des Frostothings*, [1939]; 2d

[1] See also *NGL* IV (1885), pp. 3–19; modern Norwegian translation is K. Robberstad, *Gulatingslovi*, 2d ed. (Oslo, 1952).

ed. [Witzenhausen, 1960], 281 pp.), 6 (*Das Rechtbuch des Gulathings* [1935], xxxvii + (1) + 208 pp.), and as n.s. vol. I (*Bruchstücke der Rechtbücher des Borgarthings und Eidsivathings* [1942]), which includes the orginal Old Norwegian text (*Borgarþingslǫg*, pp. 1–73; *Heiðsævislǫg*, pp. 74– 133).

Parts of two rather distinctive versions of the *Grágás*, both from around 1250–1260 are still extant. They are the *Konungsbók* (*Codex regius*; GkS, 1157, fol.),[2] and the *Staðarhólsbók* (AM 334, fol.).[3] A third manuscript, the *Skálaholtsbók* (AM 351, fol.) is less significant.

The first unified edition of the *Grágás*, along with a Latin translation, was prepared by Þórður Sveinbjörnsson (b. 1786, d. 1856): *Hin forna lögbók Íslendínga, sem nefnist Grágás. Codex juris Islandorum antiqvissimus, qvi nominatur Grágás . . . Praemissa commentatione historica et critica de hujus juris origine et indole*, ab J.F.V. Schlegel conscripta (Kbh, 1829), vol. I, clxix + 505 (2) pp. + 1 facs.; vol. II, (4) + 410 + 133 + (2) pp. + 3 tables. The text of individual manuscripts first appeared as critical editions in the three works of Vilhjálmur Ludvig Finsen (b. 1823, d. 1892): *Grágás. Islændernes Lovbog i Fristatens Tid, udgivet efter det kongelige Bibliotheks Haandskrift* [Codex regius] *og oversat af* . . . [Text] (Kbh, 1852), vol. I (2) + 250 pp.; vol. II, 252 pp. [= *Grágás I*]; [Danish translation] (Kbh, 1870), vol. I (2) + 248 pp.; vol. II (2) + 228 pp. *Grágás efter det Arnamagnæanske Haandskrift Nr. 334 fol., Staðarhólsbók, udgivet af Kommissionen for det Arnamagnæanske Legat* (Kbh, 1879), (8) + xxxv + (2) + 538 pp.; [= *Grágás II*]; *Grágás. Stykker, som findes i det Arnamagnæanske Haandskrift Nr. 351 fol., Skálholtsbók og en Række andre Haandskrifter* [mostly containing the text of the Christian law] *tilligemed et Ordregister til Grágás* (a very valuable glossary to *Grágás*, pp. 579–714), (Khb, 1883), (4) + lvi + (4) + 716 pp. + 6 facs. [= *Grágás III*].

Andreas Heusler published his German translation of the *Grágás* [based mainly on the Codex regius, ed. by Finsen = *Grágás I*] in volume nine of the *Germanenrechte: Isländisches Recht: Die Graugans* (Weimar, 1937), xxx + 457 pp.

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[2] Facsimile ed. Pall Eggert Olason, *CCI* III (Kbh, 1932), fol., 10 pp. + 95 pl.
[3] Facsimile ed. Ólafur Lárusson in *CCI* IX (Kbh, 1936), fol., 14 pp. + 108 pl.

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The Old Frisian Laws

Basic Tools and Editions

No manuscript of the *Lex Frisionum* has survived. It is known solely from a sixteenth-century legal print: Basil Johann Herold, *Origines ac germanicarum antiquitatum libri, leges videlicet, Salicae . . . Frisionum . . .* (Basel, 1557), pp. 131–148.

There are two basic critical editions of the law. One is by Karl Freiherr von Richthofen, *Lex Frisionum* (*MGH Leges* [folio series] III), (Hannover-Berlin, 1863), pp. 631–711. The second is Federico Patetta, "La 'Lex Frisionum,'" *Est. dalle Memorie della Reale Accademia delle scienze di Torino II* 43 (Torino, 1893), pp. 1–98. The *Lex Frisionum* was translated into German by Karl August Eckhardt in vol. 3 of his *Die Gesetze des Karolingerreiches, 714–911.*[1] *III. Sachsen, Thüringer, Chamaven und Friesen* (Weimar, 1934), pp. 61–127 (with a parallel Latin text).

All common Old Frisian laws written in that language were included into the corpus compiled by Karl Freiherr von Richthofen (b. 1811, d. 1888),

[1] Vol. II of the series, *Germanenrechte* (text and translation).

Friesische Rechtsquellen (Berlin, 1840), xlii + 582 + (6) pp., with a special glossary by the same author, *Altfriesisches Wörterbuch* (Göttingen, 1840), pp. (2) + 583–1165. Most of the extant Old Frisian Laws in Latin were published by Karl von Richthofen in his *Untersuchungen über friesische Rechtsgeschichte* I (Berlin, 1880), (vi) + (2) + 614 pp. But these old collections, as well as the collections edited by Frisian scholars in the eighteenth and nineteenth century (e.g., Petrus Brantsma, b. 1751, d. 1788; Petrus Wierdsma, b. 1729, d. 1811; Tilemann Dothias Wiarda, b. 1746, d. 1826; Montanus de Haan Hettema, b. 1796, d. 1873) are being replaced by monographic editions and by two series reproducing the basic Old Frisian manuscripts. The series *Oudfriese Taal-en Rechtsbronnen* (abbreviated *OTR*), edited since 1927 in The Hague by Pieter Sipma (b. 1872, d. 1961), provides diplomatic editions of the manuscripts in Latin and Old Frisian;[2] the series *Altfriesische Rechtsquellen, Texte und Übersetzungen* (abbreviated *AFR*), published by Wybren Jan Buma (Groningen) and Wilhelm Ebel (Göttingen) since 1963 presents critical editions in normalized transcription of the texts written in Old Frisian with German translation. The edition of the common Old Frisian lawbooks in both series has made good progress; still missing are the lawbooks from Westergo.

When quoting the manuscripts, Frisian scholars use the first letter of the name of the province (e.g., F for Fivolgo); if more than one manuscript is extant for the given province, numbers are added (e.g., R 2 = the second Rüstringen manuscript). Appended to these is a synoptic list of the manuscripts with the texts of common Frisian laws, given in order of their completion:

R 1[3] = *The Asegabook*, or the First Rüstringen Manuscript, a vellum from the last quarter of the thirteenth century, in the Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv in Oldenburg, Best. 24, 1 Ab. No. 1. This is one of the two oldest Old Frisian manuscripts,[4] ed. W. J. Buma in *OTR* 11 (1961), viii + 270, (2) pp. = *AFR* 1 (1963), pp. 24–119.

R 2[5] = *The Oelrichs' Manuscript*, or the Second Rüstringen Manuscript; an

[2] With exhaustive descriptions (in Dutch or German) of the manuscripts in question in the introduction and a complete index of names and an *Index verborum* at the end of the volume.

[3] Described by W. J. Buma in his introduction to *OTR* XI (1961), pp. 1–32, and *AFR* I (1963), pp. 13–17.

[4] The oldest Old Frisian manuscript is the *Littera Brocmanorum* (B 1), a collection of local laws of the Brokmerland, compiled about 1276; the manuscript itself (B 1) was written shortly after that time. See Bo Sjölin, *Einführung in das Friesische* (1969), p. 10 [abbreviation *Einführung*]. It has been preserved in the Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv in Oldenburg, no. XXII, 1422. The *Littera Brocmanorum* was published by Buma in *OTR* V (1949), 307 pp. = *AFR* II (1965), 136 pp.

[5] Described by Buma, introduction, *OTR* VIII (1954), pp. 1–50, and *AFR* I (1963), pp. 17–18.

eighteenth-century copy (by Gerhard Oelrichs [d. 1789], a Bremen syndicus) of a lost manuscript from 1327, in the Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek in Hannover, no. XXII, 1431, ed. W. J. Buma, *OTR* VIII (1954), vi + (1) + 140 pp. = *AFR* I (1963), pp. 122–159.

H 2^{6} = *The Scaliger Manuscript* (Julius Caesar Scaliger, b. 1484, d. 1558), or the Second Hunsingo Manuscript, a vellum from the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century, in the Provinciale Bibliotheek van Friesland in Leeuwarden, Ms. Sc.; ed. Jelle Hoekstra, *OTR* VI (1950), pp. 47–109 = *AFR* IV (1969), 158 pp.

H 1^{7} = *The von Wicht Manuscript* (Mathias von Wicht, b. 1694, d. 1778), or the First Hunsingo Manuscript, a vellum from the end of the thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth in the Provinciale Bibliotheek van Friesland in Leeuwarden, Ms. W.; it has been recognized as a copy of H 2; ed. Jelle Hoekstra, *OTR* VI (1950), pp. 110–172.

E 1^{8} = *The Jus Amasanum*, or the First Emesgo Manuscript, copied about 1400, in the library of the University of Groningen, collection of the Genootschap Pro Excolendo Jure Patrio, no. PE 13; ed. P. Sipma in *OTR* IV (1943) = *AFR* III (1967), pp. 16–99.

F^{9} = *The Codex Emmen*, or the Fivolgo Manuscript, a paper manuscript from about 1427–1450, in the Provinciale Bibliotheek van Friesland in Leeuwarden, von Richthofen collection, no. 4; ed. Bo Sjölin in *OTR* XII (1970), (viii) + 415 pp. (part 1, Introduction and Text, part 2, Glossary and Register, are in preparation), = *AFR* V (1972), 245 pp.

J, or W 2^{10} = *The Jus Municipale Frisonum*, or the Second Westergo Manuscript, a paper copy from ca. 1550 of a lost manuscript from the year 1464, in the Provinciale Bibliotheek van Friesland in Leeuwarden, van Richthofen collection. There exists only an old edition by M. de Haan Hettema, *Oude Friesche Wetten* II (Leeuwarden, 1847), pp. 1–306.

U, or W 3 = *Codex Unia*, or the Third Westergo Manuscript; the original of the copy made by Sidzo Wningha Unia of Wirdum in 1475 (from a fourteenth-

6 Described by Hoekstra, introduction, *OTR* VI (1950), pp. 1–16, pls. to pp. 17, 43, and by Buma, introduction, *AFR* IV (1969), pp. 9–10.

7 Described by Hoekstra, introduction to *OTR* VI (1950), pp. 16–25, pl. to p. 18, 43, and by Buma, introduction, *AFR* IV (1969), pp. 10.

8 Described by P. Sipma, introduction, *OTR* IV (1943), pp. 11–41, and Buma, introduction, *AFR* III (1967), pp. 9–10.

9 Described by Bo Sjölin, introduction, *OTR* XII (1970), pp. 3–25, and Buma, introduction, *AFR* V (1972), pp. 12–18.

10 Described by von Richthofen, *Untersuchungen* I (1880), pp. 25–26, by H.S.E. Bos van der Heide, *Het Rudolfsboek* (1937), pp. 2–4; and by Hoekstra, *Die gemeinfriesischen Küren* (1940), pp. 34–36. Cf. also von Richthofen, *Friesische Rechtsquellen* (1840), pp. xxv–xxvi.

century manuscript) was lost; the U is known from collections of apographa made by Francisus Junius (b. 1589, d. 1674), preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford University: ms. Jun. 49, 4° (transcripts), and ms. Jun. 109, 8° (collations in the text of the incunabulum of 1485).[11]

D, or Dr, or W 1[12] = *The Incunabulum* (*Oude Druk* or *Freeska Landriucht*), or the First Westergo Codex, probably printed in Cologne about 1485.[13] The incunabulum has been reprinted three times. The first was made by Christianus Schotanus (b. 1603, d. 1671) in his *Beschryvinge van de heerlyckheydt van Frieslandt tusschen 't Flie ende de Lauwers* (Franeker, 1664), pp. 36–106. It was reprinted in part in P. Wierdsma and P. Brantsma, *Oude Friesche Wetten met eene Nederduitse vertaling, Eerste stuk* (Campen-Leeuwarden, 1782), pp. 3–29, 33–39, 41–79, 102–107, 110–112, 385–441, 462–476. Finally, Karl von Richthofen incorporated D into his *Friesiche Rechtsquellen* (1840), pp. 3–79, 102–112, 385–441, and 462–476.

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[11] The Bodleian codices were discovered by Theodor Siebs, who published their description in his *Westfriesische Studien* (Anhang zu den Abhandlungen der K. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin) (Berlin, 1895), pp. 6–29. See also Siebs in Philipp Heck, *Die altfriesische Gerichtsverfassung* (Weimar, 1895), pp. 487–490; and Sydney Fairbanks, *The Old West Frisian Skeltana Riucht* (Cambridge, 1939), pp. 6–8; H.S.E. Bos-van der Heide, *Het Rudolfsboek* (1937), pp. 7–9; J. Hoekstra, *Die gemeinfriesischen Küren* (1940), pp. 40–42.

[12] Description given by Montanus de Haan Hettema, "Beknopte opgave der handschriften en gedrukte werken in de oudere en latere Friesche taal," in *De Jager Taalkundig Magazijn* 2 (= part 3) (Rotterdam, 1837), pp. 246–254; Foeke Buitenrust Hettema, "Der alte Druck der Westlauwerschen Rechte," *Germania* 25 (Vienna, 1890), pp. 1–34. Further descriptions of the incunabulum are to be found in von Richthofen, *Friesische Rechtsquellen* (1840), pp. xxiv–xxv; Bos-van der Heide, *Het Rudolfsboek* (1937), pp. 4–7; Hoekstra, *Die gemeinfriesischen Küren* (1940), pp. 36–40.

[13] There are seven known copies of this incunabulum: Provinciale Bibliotheek in Leeuwarden; Library of the Friesch Genootschap in Leeuwarden; Rijksarchief in Leeuwarden; Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague; Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris; and two in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (one of them is ms. June. 107, 8°).

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GEOGRAPHIC LITERATURE

Basic Tools and Editions

The first scholar to gather data on Icelandic geography from the Old Norse sources was Jón Eiríksson (b. 1728, d. 1787), in his *Disquisitiones de veterum Septentrionalium inprimis Islandorum peregrinationibus* (Leipzig and Kbh, 1755), 159 pp. August Ludwig Schlözer incorporated one part of the work in German translation into his *Fortsetzung der allgemeinen Welthistorie der neuen Zeiten* XIII (Halle a.S., 1771), pp. 556–571 ("Reisen der Isländer insonderheit"). Eiríksson was followed by Eggert Ólafsson (Egerhardus Olavius, b. 1726, d. 1768), whose *Index geographiae veterorum islandorum* was posthumously completed and edited by Grímur Jónsson Thorkelin (b. 1752, d. 1829) in Copenhagen in 1780.

But the real study of Icelandic geographic literature was initiated by Erich Christian Werlauff in his pioneering work on the basic *Leiðarvísir* in *Symbolae ad geographiam medii aevi, ex monumentis islandicis* (Kbh, 1821), 61 pp., 1 pl., in which he gives both a critical edition of the texts and an extremely rich and authoritative commentary.

Thirteen years later the only general work ever to appear on the history of Icelandic geography was published as volume one of a planned but unpublished multivolume opus, Niels Matthias Petersen's (d. 1862), *Haandbog i den gammel-nordiske Geografi* I (Kbh, 1834), viii + 319 pp.

Gudmund Schütte regarded himself as the continuator of Petersen's work, but he was primarily interested in pre-Viking times and specialized in geographical concepts as they were reflected in Germanic heroic-epic tradition. The weaknesses in his representative work, *Gotthiod und Utgard,* 2 vols. (Kbh, 1935–1936), are remarked on here in the discussion on Eddaic poetry.

A short general study of the data in the Old Icelandic compilations on Old Rus' was published by E. A. Mel'nikova in *Drevnejšie gosudarstva na territorii SSSR* [1] *1975,* pp. 141–156.

A useful selection of nine Old Norse geographic pieces (texts and Latin translations) has been published by C. C. Rafn in the second volume of his collection, *Antiquités Russes* (Kbh, 1852). The volume includes a schematic representation of the inhabited world according to an Icelandic manuscript GkS 1812 (pp. 390–391, no. 63) and two Old Icelandic T-shaped planispheres representing the three known continents, Asia, Africa, and Europe (after GkS 1812 and AM 736, 4°; pp. 391–392, no. 64), as well as the *Mappa mundi* of the

twelfth century (pp. 392–394, no. 65 and pt. 4). Excerpts from the important geographic miscellany of 1387 (AM 194, 8°) follow, including the *Leiðarvísir* of Abbot Nikulás (pp. 394–415, no. 66). Unfortunately, its editor regarded the entire manuscript as Nikulás's work; on pp. 449–452 is given as no. 71, the story of *Atburðr á Finnmǫrk* from ms. AM 194, 8°, see p. 798.

Two descriptions of Jerusalem are provided, one after mss. AM 194, 8° and AM 736, 4°, and the other after mss. AM 489 and AM 589 (pp. 415–425, no. 67 = ed. Werlauff, pp. 54–61); the ichnographies of Jerusalem were made on the basis of ms. 736, 4° (pp. 423–425 and pl. 5, no. 67). Some geographic material from the *Hauksbók* (pp. 426–441, no. 68) and eight excerpts from the seventeenth-century ms. AM 764, 4° are also included. The latter is important because it provides general data (nos. 1, 2) and descriptions of Asia (nos. 2 and 10), Africa (nos. 3 and 12), and Europe (nos. 4 and 11). The selection also contains an excerpt from the *Rímbegla* (AM 731, AM 780) on the northern Norwegian islands (pp. 448–449, no. 70).

A basic study on Scandinavian travels to the Holy Land and Norse participation in the Crusades is the unfinished work by Paul Riant, *Expéditions et pèlegrinages des Scandinaves* (Paris, 1865). Among modern works is Otto Springer's study in *Mediaeval Studies* 12 (Toronto, 1950), pp. 92–122, which gives a good deal of information on the Norsemen's travels as reflected in the sagas.

A very important Old Icelandic encyclopedic collection is contained in the manuscript AM 194, 8°, published by Kristian Kålund in his *Alfræði Íslenzk* 1 (Copenhagen, 1908). According to its colophon the first section (to page 54 in the Kålund's edition) was copied in west Iceland in 1387; the rest was added sometime in the fifteenth century.

The manuscript's most valuable first section, entitled *Landafræði*, has three divisions: the first is an anonymous document, based on the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville (b. 560, d. 636). It deals with medieval Christian encyclopedic subjects, such as the data on Paradise and its rivers (ed. Kålund, pp. 3–7), biblical genealogy of nations (pp. 7–8), and a short description of the three continents of the inhabited world: Asia, Africa, and Europe (pp. 8–12).

The author of the original version of *Landafræði* is unknown. Some scholars (most recently, E. A. Mel'nikova) assume that it was the work of Abbot Nikulás (d. 1159), because his itinerary to Rome and the Holy Land immediately precedes the text (see Mel'nikova in *Drevnejšie gosudarstva na territorii SSSR [1]*, 1976, p. 148, and p. 142, n. 4). The second part is the itinerary itself (ca. 1154; pp. 12–23); the last division is an anonymous addition[1] dealing with

[1] Parallel texts are also found in the *Hauksbók* and the *Rímbegla*. See pp. 799–800.

the enumeration of Christian objects of veneration (e.g., graves) in Italy, Byzantium, and the Holy Land reputed to be associated with Christ, the Virgin Mary, saints and martyrs (pp. 23–31).

To the *Landafræði* are added twenty-three typical Christian encyclopedic articles (nos. 1–11 were written in 1387; nos. 12–23 were compiled in the course of the fifteenth century) on the following subjects: the five ecumenical councils (*Stórþing*; the last mentioned is the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215; pp. 31–33); a Catholic legend on the origin of the Rogation days (*Uppruni gangdaga*; pp. 33–34); the Ten Commandments of Moses (*Boðorð Móyses*, p. 34); the giants (*Risaþjóðir*), based on Isidore, of which, among others, are named the east European Albani, in Great Sweden (Scythia), the Hornfinnar and the Hundingjar (pp. 34–36); waters and tarns beginning with the Dead Sea (*Vǫtn ok tjarnir*, pp. 37–38); on snakes (*ormar*, pp. 39–40); precious stones, on the basis of Bishop Marbod's *Liber lapidum* (eleventh century): *Merking steina*, (pp. 40–43); on the great rivers of the world (*stórár*, p. 44); itineraria from Norway to Jerusalem (*Leiðir*, pp. 44–45); "trifling knowledge" (*Smávegis fróðleikr*) on several matters, i.e., on the number of languages in each of three continents (based again on the work of Isidore, p. 45); and, finally, on *aetas mundi* (*Heimsaldrar*), i.e., biblical and Christian chronology (based on Isidore's *Chronica majora*, pp. 45–54).

The items added after 1387 are those on the monastic rule (*Hreinlifnaðartíðir*, p. 55); the shaping of the child's body in the mother's womb on the basis of *Flos medicinae* (*Wyndan mannslíkama*, pp. 55–56); on the naval force levy from Norway from the beginning of the fourteenth century[2] (*Leiðangrsgerð ór Nóregi*, p. 56); the genealogy of Anne, the Virgin Mary's mother, on the basis of the New Testament (*Ættartala Qnnu*, p. 56); *Creatio hominis* in Latin, on the basis of *Flos medicinae* (p. 57); an adventure of traders from Hálogaland in Finnmǫrk and Gandvík during the tenure of the Trondheim's Archbishop Óláfr, 1350–1370 (*Atburðr á Finnmǫrk*, pp. 57–59); on the fifteen signs predicting Doomsday, on the basis of Bede, *Collectanea et flores* (*Heims undr*, pp. 59–60); on medical science on the basis of Macer Floridus's *De virtutibus herbarum* (ca. 1100; *Læknisfræði*, pp. 61–77); on stones possessing virtue, on the basis of Marbod, *Liber lapidum* (*Náttúrusteinar*, pp. 77–83); on bleeding (*Blóðlát*, pp. 83–84); on lunar *prognostication* in Latin, i.e., divinations using the Vulgate's David Psalms (pp. 84–87); and on painting (*Líkneskjusmíð*, pp. 89–91).

The geographical data of *Landafræði* and some other texts contained in manuscript AM 194, 8° were taken as the basis for two other geographical compilations: *Tocius orbis brevis descriptio*, preserved in a manuscript from

[2] Cf. the Norwegian judicial text in ms. GKS 3260, 4° (beginning of the fourteenth century).

the end of the thirteenth century (AM 736 I, 4°) and published with Latin and Danish translations by C. C. Rafn in *Antiqvitates Americanae* (Kbh, 1837), pp. 283–289; *Í upphafi* (*"Tocius orbis brevissima descriptio"*) from the second half of the thirteenth century, in which the Tatars are mentioned in eastern Europe. It has been preserved in a mid-fourteenth-century manuscript (AM 764, 4°, and until 1674 it was kept in the cathedral church of Skálaholt). The text represents a very abridged version of *Landafræði* with some additions taken from *Heimslýsing*, and was published (with a Latin translation) by Rafn in *AR* II, pp. 443–445.

Finally, to this group belongs the introductory part of the anonymous *Gripla*, a kind of description of Greenland known from a copy made in the 1640s by Björn Jónsson á Skarðsá (b. 1575, d. 1655); it is AM 115, 8°, which was published by Rafn in *Antiqvitates Americanae*. The introductory part on p. 293 shows a strong dependence on *Í upphafi*.

The Old Icelandic encyclopedic collections include translations of excerpts and notes of the works of medieval authors, mainly the Christian encyclopedists, polyhistorians, and scientists such as Martianus Capella (fifth century), Isidore of Seville, Venerable Bede (b. 672, d. 1735), Vincent of Beauvais (d. ca. 1264), and Johannes de Sacrobosco (d. 1256).

Three other Old Icelandic encyclopedic works deserve our attention, *Heimslýsing*, *Upphaf allra frásagna*, and *Rím II*, for their data on geography.

The editors of the *Hauksbók* united under the title *Heimslýsing ok helgifræði* (Description of the World and of Holy Wisdom) several "encyclopedic" entries of a biblical, geographic, ethnographical, and scholastic theological nature based on writings of such medieval Christian authorities as Isidore of Seville (*Etymologiae*), Honorius of Autun/Augustodunensis (*De imagine mundi*, *Elucidarius*), and Petrus Comestor (*Historia scholastica*). The *Heimslýsing* distinguishes the following eighteen topics as separate articles: On the great rivers of the world (pp. 150–152); a prologue on the first universal historians (p. 152); the geography of paradise (p. 152); biblical and geographical compendium of continents and peoples (pp. 153–156); a homily on *De falsis diis* (pp. 156–164); the division of world between the sons of Noah (pp. 164–165); a fantastic ethnography on kinds of strange peoples (pp. 165–167); homily (pp. 167–169), excerpts from *Elucidarius* (by Honorius of Autun; pp. 170–172); on Ember-days (pp. 172–174); on rainbows (pp. 74–75); on the solstice and the sun's course (pp. 175–176); and on Christian objects of veneration (e.g., graves), in Italy, Byzantium, and the Holy Land (pp. 176–177). The editors date the geographic material (nos. 1–4 and 7–8) as ca. 1200; nos. 5–6 date from the same time; nos. 16–17 are dated into the twelfth century.

De Vries remarked that *Heimslýsing ok helgifræði* reminded him of a

notebook kept by a diligent reader of foreign works in which he noted down anything that especially attracted him.[3] The geographical essays of *Heimslýsing* were compiled about 1200.[4] They have been preserved in the *Hauksbók*, written sometime before 1334 (the basic manuscript is AM 544, 4°).[5] It was first published by Jón Þorkelsson in *Nokkur blöð úr Hauksbók, og brot úr Guðmundarsögu* (Rvík, 1865), pp. 1–42, and then by E. Jónsson and F. Jónsson, *Hauksbók*, pp. 150–177; see also the facsimile edition by Jón Helgason in *MI* V (Kbh, 1960).

The geographical material of the anonymous *Upphaf allra frásagna* is based on the *Heimslýsing*, and preserved in a fourteenth-century vellum manuscript AM 764, 4°; a paper copy made in 1641 from a no longer extant vellum by Björn Jónsson of Skarðsá (*Rímbegla*, AM 731, 4°) was recopied in the eighteenth century for Árni Magnússon (d. 1730; AM 730, 4°). Part of it has been published in *AR* II, p. 397. Another copy was written by Árni Magnússon himself (AM 765, 4°).

The text itself (after AM 764, 4°) was edited by J. Langebek in *Scriptores* II (1773), pp. 34–37,[6] and later by Rafn (in *FSN* XI, pp. 405–416, with a parallel Latin translation by Sveinbjörn Egilsson, in *SHI* XI, pp. 365–375, cf. Kristian Kålund, *Alfræði Íslenzk* III, pp. 3–24.

The word *rím* means "computation," i.e., *computus ecclesiasticus*. One such work, the *Rím II*, was compiled about 1260–1270 in the monastery at Viðey (founded in 1226 in Reykjavík) on the basis of *De natura rerum* by Bede (d. 735) and *Tractatus de sphaera* by Johannes de Sacrobosco (written in 1233). The basic manuscript of *Rím II* (= G), GkS 1812, 4°, dates from the thirteenth or fourteenth century; it was published by Nataniel Beckman and Kristian Kålund in *Alfræði Íslenzk* II, pp. 81–178.[7] See also this volume pp. 517–520.

[3] Jan de Vries, *GAL* II², p. 200.

[4] Finnur Jónsson in *Hauksbók*, p. cxvii.

[5] Sometime in the sixteenth century, the single existing manuscript of the *Hauksbók* was split into three parts; fortunately, all three have been preserved, as AM 371, 4°, AM 544, 4°, and AM 675, 4°.

[6] This is the last geographical portion of the document, which also contains historical sections. J. Langebek called it "Fragmentum vetus Islandicum Historico-Geographicum de rebus Dano-Norvegicis."

[7] A general article on Old Rus' in the Old Icelandic geographical works was recently published by E. A. Mel'nikova in *Drevnejšie gosudarstva na territorii SSSR [1] 1975* (M., 1976), pp. 141–156.

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Chronicles and Annals

The Danish Chronicles and Annals

Basic Tools and Editions

The first collection of the known medieval sources relating to Denmark was undertaken by Jacob Langebek (b. 1710, d. 1775) and completed by Peter F. Suhm (b. 1728, d. 1798). It was published in eight volumes under the title *Scriptores rerum danicarum medii ævi* (Kbh, 1772-1834); the index (vol. 9) appeared in 1878. Although this great effort of eighteenth-century scholarship was commendable for making available the source material, the texts were published without a reasonable system and under editorial principles that had become outdated by the nineteenth century, especially after the appearance of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (1826-), which also included Danish sources (vol. 16 [Hannover, 1859]; vol. 19 [1866]; and vol. 29 [1892]. Critical studies by scholars of three nations — Germany (J. M. Lappenberg, W. Arndt, Rodgero Prümers, G. Waitz, Rudolf Usinger, Dietrich Schäfer), Denmark (A. D. Jørgensen, G. v. Buchwald, Marius Kristensen, Kr. Erslev, Kristian Kålund), and Sweden (Lauritz Weibull) — made a new critical edition of the texts necessary.

This was accomplished by two Danish historians. Ellen Jørgensen published the annals as *Annales danici medii ævi* (Kbh, 1920),[1] and Martin

[1] Reviewed by E. Jørgensen in *DHT* 9th ser. 2 (1921 1923), pp. 358-362.

Clarentius Gertz published the chronicles and other related material (the lists of kings) as *Scriptores minores historiae danicae medii ævi*, 2 vols. (Kbh, 1917-1918, 1918-1920).[2]

In the fourteenth century chronicles in Denmark began to be written in vernacular. These were usually translations or retellings from Latin originals, but they sometimes contained additional data from popular tradition. M. Lorenzen published a critical edition of these texts in the SUGNL series (vol. XVIII): *Gammeldanske Krøniker* (Kbh, 1887–1913). After his death, an introduction to this collection and a supplement were published by Ellen Jørgensen in the same series (vol. LIX): *Middelalderlig historisk Litteratur paa Modersmaalet. Indledning og Supplement til M. Lorenzens Gammeldanske Krøniker* (Kbh, 1930).

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[2] Reviewed by Erik Arup in *DHT* 9th ser. 2, pp. 362-380.

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The Icelandic Annals

Basic Edition

Gustav Storm published the corpus of the annals in his work, *Islandske Annaler indtil 1578* (Chria, 1888), lxxxiv + 667 pp. Those scholars who followed him divide the Icelandic annals into two branches, according to the chronological system they use for the Norwegian kings. Group **a* followed Ari's and Snorri's chronological system; group **o* (which also has exact and independent information on Denmark) relied on Sturla.

Annals C seems to reflect **a*; A and P belong to the **a* group and provide some valuable information not found in C. Group **o* is represented by the annals KBO, which seem to be very close to the archetype of 1280. Annals D and E are to be placed somewhere in the middle, but exactly where is difficult to ascertain.

The system of abbreviations used by the specialists and the ordinal number in Storm's edition are:

A = 9 = *Flateyjarbók* Annals
B = 2 = *Annales Vetustissimi*

C = 4 = *Annales Regii*
D = 5 = Skálaholt Annals
E } = 7 *Lögmanns-annáll*
Eb } = *Nýiannáll*
K = 1 = *Annales Reseniani*
L = 10 = *Oddaverja* Annals
N = 6 = Continuation of the *Skálaholt* Annals
O = 3 = Annals of Henrik Høyer
P = 8 = Annals of Gottskálkr.

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Indices

Index of Inscriptions

The Index of Inscriptions contains all inscriptions quoted in this volume, including those in Appendix I ("A Runic Viking-Varangian 'Who's Who,'" pp. 587–660). Following the usual practice in runological studies, it is organized according to the name of the location where the inscriptions were found.

The index has two types of numbers: single and double. The single numbers refer to the pages where the item occurs (other than in Appendix I). The double numbers, separated by a slash, are used only for items taken from Appendix I: the first component refers to the page where it occurs and the second is its consecutive numeration there.

In contrast to this Index of Inscriptions, the data in the List of Inscriptions to Appendix I (pp. 640–660) are listed according to their numbers in the respective corpus. I might add that the Index of Inscriptions and the List of Inscriptions operate with the same set of inscriptions and therefore complement each other.

The reader should also consult the General Index, under the heading Runic Inscriptions, where other systematic and analytical information is given. The alphabetical order of the Index of Inscriptions is identical with that of the General Index.

The alphabetization used here is as follows: a (á, ā), ą, ä, b, c, ć, č, d (ḍ, d̲), ð, e (é, ē), è, f, g (ġ), ǧ, h (ḥ), i (í, ī), j, ǰ, k, l, m, n, ń, ñ, ŋ, o (ó, ō), ö, p, q, r, s (ṣ), ś, š, t (ṭ, t̲), þ, u (ú, ū), ü, v, w, y, z (ẓ), ź, ž, æ, œ (ø, ǫ), å.

In parentheses are given the possible variations, with diacritical signs; they are incorporated alphabetically together with the basic letter in the index.

A

Abrahamstorp (*Vg* 122): 387, 595/152, 628/979
Agetomta (*Ög* 152): 358–359, 611/552, 621/803
Alsike (*U* 479): 661/671a
Alsta (*U* 837): 424, 452 455, 607/471, 612/585
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General Index

The purpose of the General Index is to help the reader have access to the sources and follow the main arguments presented in this volume. Emphasis, therefore, is on source material and scholarship. All ancient and medieval works are identified by author and/or title with cross-references. All modern authors are indexed similarly, regardless of whether mention of them occurs in the text or in footnotes (the latter are seldom specially marked). Since bibliography is organized topically, this index can also serve as an index for bibliography.

Personal and geographic names are given selectively. Names that are of no significance to the main problems are not listed. On the other hand, names of special importance to this study's central problems are given preferential treatment: presented first is the source basis, followed by one or more interpretations.

Topical items are also treated selectively. Those topics of importance to the main argument are listed with detailed data on all pertinent information.

Since Appendix 1 lists all personal names occurring in the Old Norse runic inscriptions, they generally are not repeated here, except for some outstanding cases. The data in the Index of runic place names (pp. 839-849) as well as that in the list of runic inscriptions according to the national and provincial corpus (pp. 640-660) were also excluded.

Finally, given below is the list of abbreviations used in the topical items.

Special Abbreviations

Ad B = Adam of Bremen
Alf = Alfred the Great
Ann = Annals
Batt = *Battle of the Goths and the Huns*
Cyn = Cynewulf
D = Danish, Denmark
E =England, English
Geo = Geographic literature
Hak. s. Hak. = *Hákonar saga Hákonar-sonar*

HdL = Heinricus de Lettis
Hist. = Historical literature
Hrom.s =*Hrómundar saga*
Hrv. s. =*Hervarar saga*
I = Iceland, Icelandic
Idr = al-Idrīsī
Isd = Isidore
Jrd = Jordanes
K. = *Kitāb*
LD = Leo the Deacon
Leg = Legal literature
N = Norway, Norwegian
NB = Nikulás Bergsson
Oht = Ohthere
PD = Paul the Deacon
PE = *Poetic Edda*
Ps Fr = Pseudo-Fredegarius
Ptl = Ptolemy
Rel = Religious literature
Rgn. s. = *Ragnarssaga loðbrókar*
Rgn. s.p. =*Þáttr af Ragnars sonum*
Ru = Runic (site of, name in)
S = Sweden, Swedish
Sk = Skaldic poetry
Sn = Snorri Sturluson
Sx = Saxo Grammaticus
Upp = *Upphaf* (Rímbegla redaction)
Wds = *Widsith*
Wf = Wulfstan
Qrv.s. = *Qrvar-Odds saga*

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