

The *Viking* WORLD

edited by
Stefan Brink
in collaboration with
Neil Price

THE VIKING WORLD

Filling a gap in the literature for an academically oriented volume on the Viking period, this unique book is a one-stop authoritative introduction to all the latest research in the field.

Bringing together today's leading scholars, both established seniors and younger, cutting-edge academics, Stefan Brink, in collaboration with Neil Price, has constructed the first single work to gather innovative research from a spectrum of disciplines (including archaeology, history, philology, comparative religion, numismatics and cultural geography) to create the most comprehensive Viking Age book of its kind ever attempted.

Consisting of longer articles providing overviews of important themes, supported by shorter papers focusing on material or sites of particular interest, this comprehensive volume covers such wide-ranging topics as social institutions, spatial issues, the Viking Age economy, Icelandic sagas and poetry, warfare, beliefs, language, voyages, and links with medieval and Christian Europe.

Including extensive illustrations, maps and references, this book is essential to the collection of any student or specialist in the Viking period or Scandinavian history.

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First published 2008 by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada
by Routledge
270 Madison Ave, New York, NY 10016

This edition published in the Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2008.

“To purchase your own copy of this or any of Taylor & Francis or Routledge’s collection of thousands of eBooks please go to www.eBookstore.tandf.co.uk.”

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

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British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication Data

The Viking world / edited by Stefan Brink; in collaboration with Neil Price.

p. cm,

1. Vikings. 2. Northmen. 3. Archaeology, Medieval.
4. Civilization, Viking. I. Brink, Stefan. II. Price, Neil.
DL65.V595 2008 948'.022—dc22 2008001095

ISBN 0-203-41277-X Master e-book ISBN

ISBN 10: 0-415-33315-6 (hbk)

ISBN 10: 0-203-41277-X (ebk)

ISBN 13: 978-0-415-33315-3 (hbk)

ISBN 13: 978-0-203-41277-0 (ebk)

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P R E F A C E

Stefan Brink and Neil Price

Why do we need a new book on the Vikings? It is true that syntheses of the period appear with some regularity, most often written for a popular audience, together with well-illustrated catalogues resulting from the frequent exhibitions that are held on this theme. However, these books are not usually prepared with an academic audience in mind, and are understandably organised around particular collections of artefacts or the specific theme of an exhibition. At present there is no single work that gathers the latest research from the complete spectrum of disciplines involved, and that brings together all the leading scholars of the field. It has been our ambition to do this in this volume.

Most overviews of the Viking period have also been produced very much from a British perspective, albeit sometimes with Scandinavian involvement. Bearing in mind the geographic origins of the culture concerned, this brings with it certain inevitable problems of access to material and, not least, language. By contrast, this book covers both the homelands of the Vikings, as well as their impact on areas abroad. The authors include both established seniors of the profession and younger, cutting-edge scholars. We have here collected a team of some seventy authors who represent all the disciplines that go to make up the study of the Vikings – archaeology, history, philology, comparative religion, numismatics and cultural geography – drawn from every leading centre of early medieval studies across Europe, North America and even Australia.

This book has taken a very, very long time to prepare. It was originally proposed in outline by Neil Price, following a commission from the publishers. Having brought Stefan Brink on board, the volume was then planned and designed in detail by both editors, who shared communication with the individual authors. As the first papers began to come in, however, a combination of illness, workloads and extended periods of paternity leave forced Neil to adopt a secondary role. During this period we both have also moved between not only universities but also countries several times. The burden of the editing – that is, the primary work on the volume – has therefore been shouldered by Stefan.

Stefan Brink: I would like to, first and foremost, thank my family, for accepting me as a (more than usual) mental absentee for several years, when ‘dad was working on the Viking book’. Secondly, all the authors, who have been extremely helpful and kind,

— *Preface* —

despite the very long process of producing this volume, and thirdly the publisher, Routledge, for their understanding position concerning the delays due to severe illnesses, movements between jobs and overseas, child births, and other academic commitments.

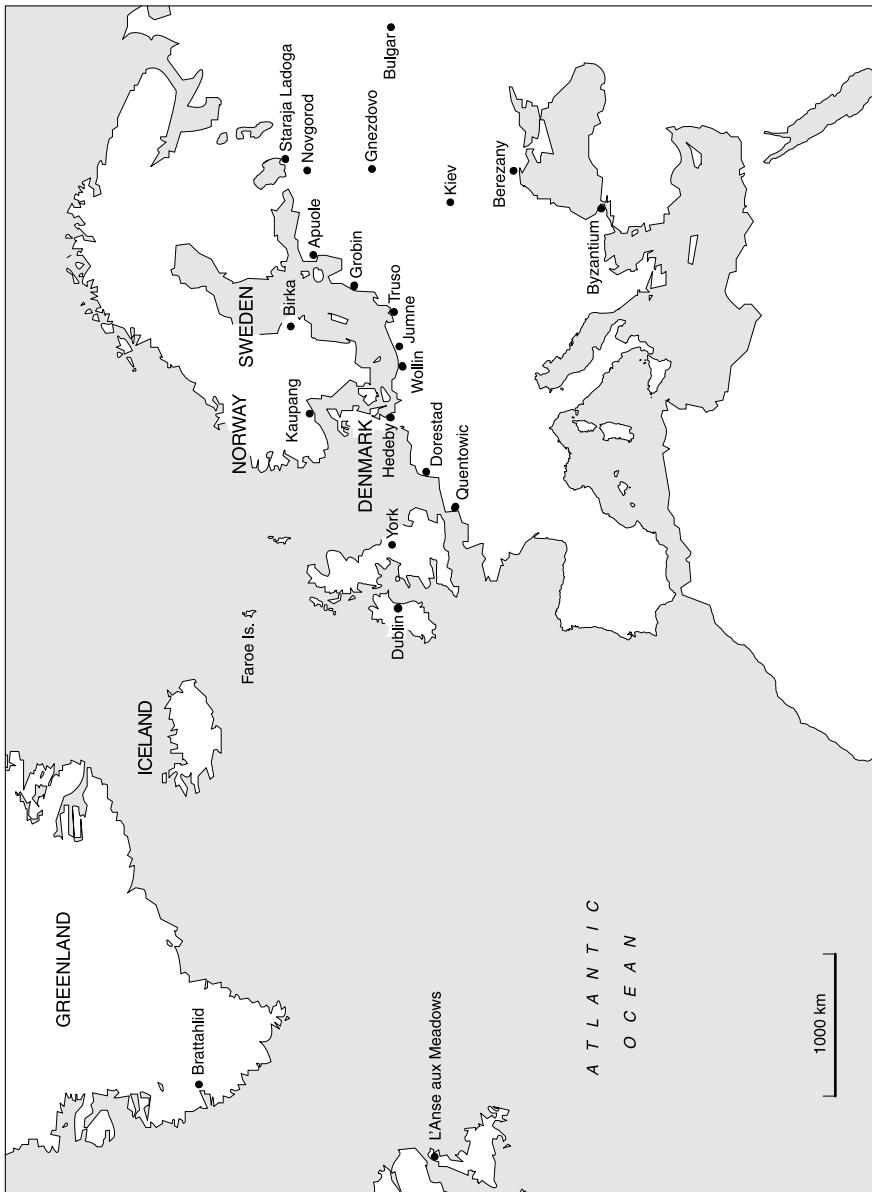
Neil Price: My principal thanks go to Stefan, not only for his friendship and academic fraternity but in particular for his patience, tireless effort and good humour as the weight of the editing fell to him, due to the proverbial circumstances beyond my control: we are both the architects of this volume, but he is without doubt also its engineer. I would also like to thank the contributors, who have similarly borne the substantial delays and dislocations with (mostly) good cheer, and I echo Stefan's respect for Routledge's forbearance. My wife and two children – both of whom were born during the gestation of this book – deserve my gratitude more than anyone, and they have it.

ABBREVIATIONS

AM	Arnamagnæan manuscript collection (see http://arnamagnaean.ku.dk/ and www.arnastofnun.is/)
Ar	Arabic
Da	Danish
DR	<i>Danmarks runeindskrifter</i> , 3 vols, L. Jacobsen and E. Moltke (eds), Copenhagen (1941–2)
EHR	<i>The English Historical Review</i> (Oxford University Press)
Goth	Gothic
Gs	<i>Gästriklands runinskrifter</i> (SRI 15), Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International (1981)
Ir	Irish
KL	<i>Kulturbihistoriskt lexikon för nordisk medeltid från vikingatid till reformationstid</i> 1–21, Malmö: Allhem (1956–78)
KVHAA	Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien/The Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities, Stockholm
Lat	Latin
MW	Medieval Welsh
NIyR	<i>Norges innskrifter med de yngre runer</i> , M. Olsen <i>et al.</i> (eds) (Norsk historisk kjeldeskrift-institutt. Norges indskrifter indtil reformationen 2), 6 vols, Oslo: Jacob Dybwad/A.S. Bokcentralen/Kjeldeskriftfondet (1941 ff.)
Norw	Norwegian
ODa	Old Danish
OE	Old English
Ög	<i>Östergötlands runinskrifter</i> (SRI 2), Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International (1911–18)
OHG	Old High German
OIr	Old Irish
Öl	Ölands runinskrifter (SRI 1), Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International (1900–6)
ON	Old Norse
OScand	Old Scandinavian

— Abbreviations —

OSw	Old Swedish
Raä	Riksantikvarieämbetet/Central Board of National Antiquities, Stockholm
RGA	<i>Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde</i> , 35 vols, 2nd edn, ed. H. Beck <i>et al.</i> , Berlin: de Gruyter, 1973–2007.
ROM	Roskilde Museum, Roskilde, Denmark
Sm	<i>Smålands runinskrifter</i> , 2 vols (SRI 4), Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International (1935–61)
SRI	<i>Sveriges runinskrifter</i> (KVHAA), Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell Inter- national, 1900 ff.
Sw	Swedish



Map of the Viking world.

INTRODUCTION

Stefan Brink

The approach used in this book combines two interactive levels of contributions: longer articles providing overviews of important themes, supported by shorter papers focusing on material or sites of particular interest. The kinds of subjects covered by the latter include spectacular sites or finds, crucial written sources and the results of the latest individual research projects on specialised subjects. In each case we have tried to approach the leading international scholars in the relevant field.

The collection of articles starts with a presentation by *Lotte Hedeager* of the period that preceded the Viking Age, to be able to set the Vikings in a historical context. This is followed by a presentation of people and societies in Scandinavia – the Viking homelands. *Stefan Brink* discusses the polities and the legal customs in Viking Scandinavia, *Inger Zachrisson* the interaction between the Nordic people and the Sámi. Social aspects of society, such as gender roles and women in society, are discussed by *Auður Magnúsdóttir*, while *Stefan Brink* discusses the lowest layer in society, the slaves or the thralls.

The section on landscape and settlement begins with an overview of Scandinavian place names from the period by *Stefan Brink*. The settlement structure of farms and villages is then examined by *Jan-Henrik Fallgren*. An important special case, Tissø, is presented by its excavator, *Lars Jørgensen*. The urbanisation, which in Scandinavia starts in this period, is given an overview by *Dagfinn Skre*. In this section there are also several in-depth articles covering the most important towns and proto-towns of the time, such as Birka by *Björn Ambrosiani*, Hedeby by *Volker Hilberg*, Kaupang by *Dagfinn Skre*, Lejre and Roskilde by *Tom Christensen*, Ribe by *Claus Feveile*, ‘Ridanaes’ at Fröjel by *Dan Carlsson*, Sebbersund by *Jens N. Nielsen*, Sigtuna by *Jonas Ros*, and Uppåkra and Lund by *Birgitta Hårdtb.*

Viking Age economy and the international mercantile endeavours are then highlighted, trade being a major factor for the cultural development of the period discussed by *Søren M. Sindbæk*, and this theme is also covered in an article on coinage by *Svein H. Gullbekk*. Very much tied to this is – for obvious reasons – the study of ships, shipbuilding and maritime voyages, given an overview by *Jan Bill*, followed by presentations by *John Ljungkvist* on handicrafts and *Annika Larsson* on textile technologies. The crucial subject of Viking warfare is covered next, on the mechanics of raiding and

combat, the detail of the weaponry, and fortifications, discussed by *Gareth Williams* and *Anne Pedersen*.

A lot of attention has for a long time been upon the world of beliefs and mentalities, therefore the section on religions in the Nordic area in the period is vital. It starts with an overview by *Anders Hultgård* on the pre-Christian Scandinavian religion. *Jens Peter Schjødt* presents the pagan pantheon, the gods and goddesses of the north, *Olof Sundqvist* discusses the important question of a sacral kingship, while *Gro Steinsland* presents an important aspect hereof, namely a *bieros gamos*, that is, a myth of marriage between a ruler and a giantess. The creation of the mythological and eschatological world of the Vikings is presented by *Margaret Clunies Ross*. The aspects of this supernatural world-view that to a large extent survived into the Christian period are discussed by *Catharina Raudvere*. The material culture of the Old Norse religion and the encounter with Christianity is presented by *Anne-Sofie Gräslund*, together with burial customs presented by *Neil Price*. One of the key elements of the mindset of Viking Age men and women was their interaction with the invisible population of gods and other beings that shared their lives, something which is discussed by *Neil Price* in the chapter ‘Sorcery and circumpolar traditions in Old Norse belief’. It is difficult to find an adequate word for this in modern languages, though something like ‘sorcery’ or ‘magic’ perhaps comes closest according to Price. In Old Norse we find several different terms for it, the most important being *seiðr*, and in the Old Norse world important agents were the *vylur*. Price also discusses links with and the interaction between Scandinavians and Sami on *seiðr* and shamanism.

The Viking world of language, runes, literature and art is covered in the next section. *Michael P. Barnes* discusses the language of the Vikings, which we can reconstruct mainly thanks to the runes, and this importance of the runes for any study of the Viking period is stressed by *Henrik Williams*. One of the main cultural contributions by the Scandinavians has been the sagas and the poetry from the Viking Age and the Middle Ages. *Judith Jesch* presents the Viking poetry (the *Eddas* and skaldic poems), while *Terry Gunnell* explores the way these poems may have been performed. The Icelandic sagas are given an overview by *Lars Lönnroth*, and *Anthony Faulkes* gives a biography of the most famous scholar-politician of them all, Snorri Sturluson. *Guðrún Nordal* discusses the important genre of Icelandic sagas and *Stephen Mitchell* the heroic and legendary sagas, which have seen a lot of attention in recent times. The unique Viking art and artistic tradition are given an extensive presentation by *Sir David M. Wilson*.

We then turn the attention to the exploits that have given the Vikings their international reputation, namely their voyages abroad, their interaction with other cultures, their explorations and colonisation of new land. *Clare Downham* gives an overview for the British Isles, and of the interactions between the Vikings and the Anglo-Saxons, followed by a discussion by *Julian D. Richards* of the form and extent of Scandinavian settlement in England, and special articles on the Danelaw by *Dawn M. Hadley*, the kingdom of York by *Richard Hall* and the Isle of Man by *Sir David M. Wilson*. In a longer article the important primary sources dealing with Vikings – or vikings, as Professor Dumville prefers to label them – in insular sources are discussed by *David N. Dumville*, and *Gillian Fellows-Jensen* gives an overview of the toponymic evidence, in the form of place names. Viking contacts with Wales, Scotland and Ireland are covered by the experts *Mark Redknapp*, *James H. Barrett* and *Donnchadh Ó Corráin*, with a special article by *Patrick F. Wallace* on Viking Dublin.

— *Introduction* —

The Viking activities on the Continent are presented by *Johan Callmer*, discussing encounters between the Viking world and the Franks, followed by a survey of colonisation and contact with France, in Normandy by *Jean Renaud* and in Brittany by *Neil Price*, who also discusses Spain and North Africa. The expansion to the east is covered by articles on Viking archaeology in Finland by *Torsten Edgren* and the Baltic by *Heiki Valk*. Viking activities in eastern Europe from an archaeological aspect are discussed by *Fjodor Androschuk*, and an overview, drawn from the written sources, is presented by *Jonathan Shepard*, who also focuses upon the role played by the Vikings in the emergence of the Russian state. Viking interaction with Byzantium and the Middle East is discussed by *Egil Mikkelsen* regarding Islam, and *J. E. Montgomery* presents an extensive article on Arabic sources on the Vikings.

The Viking expansion into the North Atlantic region is given an overview by *Gísli Sigurðsson*. The discovery and settlement of Iceland is covered in depth by *Jón Viðar Sigurðsson*, looking at its unique laws, power structure and social organisation. *Símun V. Arge* presents the evidence from the Faroes. The colonisation of Greenland is discussed by *Jette Arneborg*, and *Paul Buckland* tells the history of life on a typical farm. The much discussed history of the discovery of America is given an overview by *Birgitta Wallace*, followed by a presentation of the evidence we have of expeditions that set out to North America and the High Arctic by *Patricia Sutherland*.

The volume concludes with the last phase of the Viking period, and Scandinavia's developing links with the medieval, Christian world of Continental Europe. Here *Stefan Brink* explores the process of Christianisation and the organisation of the early Church, while *Anne-Sofie Gräslund* and *Linn Lager* look at the evidence on the runestones. *Anne-Sofie* also presents the material culture and the early Christian burial customs. With Christianisation and the emergence of the medieval kingdoms in Scandinavia, the Viking Age ended. These emerging kingdoms are presented for Norway by *Claus Krag*, for Denmark by *Else Roesdahl* and for Sweden by *Thomas Lindkvist*. An important special case, discussed by *Niels Lund*, is the enigmatic Cnut the Great, king over 'England, Denmark, Norway and parts of Sweden'.

NOTE

In this volume some authors use *viking(s)*, other *Viking(s)*. The background for this different usage is as follows: since the beginning of modern English-language academic discourse, some scholars have written *viking* while others have preferred *Viking*. The implication of the former is that the word is a common noun (what latinate writers would have expressed as *pirata*), of the latter that it is an ethnic term. There is a further complication, 'the Vikings' has become common (especially as a book-title) and it implies our ability to generalise, which some scholars reject by always preferring 'vikings' to 'the Vikings' or 'the Vikings'. In this book, the various authors have been allowed their preferred usage.

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