University of Silesia in Katowice

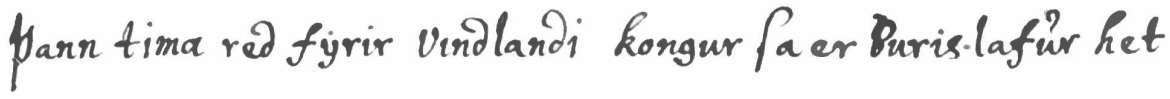
Andrzej Kaube Museum in Wolin

The 1st Jómsborg Conference

Defining and Applying Social Norms in Mediaeval Scandinavia

20th-22nd April 2017

Wolin - Katowice



The 1st Jómsborg Conference

Defining and Applying Social Norms in Mediaeval Scandinavia

20th - 22nd April 2017

University of Silesia in Katowice & Andrzej Kaube Museum in Wolin

Preprints of Abstracts

Edited by

Jakub Morawiec, Aleksandra Jochymek

and Grzegorz Bartusik

Wolin - Katowice 2017

Bradliga eptir þetta latur Palna-toki giöra eina borg stora oc var hun sidan kölluð Joms borg.

Social development in the Viking Age and mediaeval Scandinavia was categorized by various markers such as reputation, honour, or friendship, to name but a few. These norms seem to have affected everyday political, economic, and cultural life in both individuals and whole societies as indicated in numerous literary, legal, and material sources.

Despite numerous studies on these topics, we propose to approach them once again from several angles, such as law-making, politics, religion, literature, and more that could add to our understanding of the creation and functioning of societies in the mediaeval North.

We hope that the beautiful surroundings of Wolin will let all contributors have three fruitful days of discussions and analyses of these ever intriguing questions.

Jakub Morawiec Aleksandra Jochymek Grzegorz Bartusik

Programme

Thursday 20th April 2017

9.30-10.00 Registration
10.00 Welcome: Jakub Morawiec, Ryszard Banaszkiewicz

10.15-11.15
Chair: Leszek Słupecki
Rudolf Simek (University of Bonn), *Laws for Vikings - but whose Vikings?*
Helen F. Leslie-Jacobsen (University of Bergen), *Definitions of Terms and Social Norms in Medieval Norwegian Law*
Włodzimierz Gogłoza (Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin), *Úlfljótr's laws as legal transplants - a critical evaluation*
11.15-11.45 Discussion

12.00-13.00
Chair: Jakub Morawiec
Leszek P. Słupecki (University of Rzeszow), *Burisliefr Vindakonungr in Jomsvikinga saga and his counterparts. Burislefis versus King Arthur, Hrodgar, Charlemagne, Cracus and and other souveraignes*
Michael Irlenbusch-Reynard, (University of Bonn), *The perception of Jómsborg in the German reception of Jómsvíkinga saga*
Dariusz Adamczyk (German Historical Institute in Warsaw), *The Use of Silver by the Scandinavians of Truso and Wolin – the Logic of the Market or Social Prestige?*
13.00-13.30 Discussion

14.30-15.30
Chair: Jürg Glauser
Simon Nygaard (University of Aarhus), *Ritualised Oral Transmission of Poetry in Pre-Christian Scandinavian Religions*
David Ashurst (University of Durham), *Modes of Satire and Social Commentary in the Heathen Funerary Ode*
Katherine Rich (University of York), *Skáld as sökudólgr. Negotiated Boundaries in the Íslendingasögur*
15.30-16.00 Discussion

16.15-16.45
Chair: Anita Sauckel
Charlotte Hedenstierna-Jonson (Uppsala University, The Swedish History Museum in Stockholm), *The fabric of a warlike society. On warrior identities and norms and their impact on Viking Age society*
Leszek Gardeła, (University of Rzeszow), *Scandinavian Women in Viking Age Poland. Roles, Lifestyles, and Identities*
16.45-17.00 Discussion

Friday 21st April 2017

10.00-11.00
Chair: David Ashurst
Grzegorz Bartusik (University of Silesia in Katowice), *Cognitive metaphors in the sagas of antiquity (Antikensagas) and the vernacular sagas - looking for evidence of transfer of social norms from the continental Europe*
Sabine Walther (The Department of Scandinavian Research, The Arnamagnæan Institute, Copenhagen), *Translated Literature and the Transfer of Social Norms. The Narrativization of Appropriate Aristocratic Behavior in Old Norse Trójumanna saga*
Roderick McDonald (University of Nottingham), *Educating Percy: the ethical didactics in Parcevals saga and the developing courtly norms in thirteenth century Norway. But where are the liberal arts?*
11.00-11.30 Discussion

11.45-12.45
Chair: Rudolf Simek
Łukasz Neubauer (Koszalin University of Technology) *Quid Sigurthus cum Christo? Fulfilling Sigurd's Christian Potential in Medieval Scandinavia*.
Remigiusz Gogosz, *Hostageship in Scandinavia in the Middle Ages*
Jürg Glauser (University of Zurich/University of Basel), *The Swimming Viking Sovereign. Olav Tryggvason and the sea*
12.45-13.15 Discussion

14.15-15.15
Chair: Włodzimierz Gogłoza
Keith Ruiter, (University of Aberdeen), *A Deviant Word Hoard. A Semantic Study of Non-Normative Terms in Early Medieval Scandinavia*
Alexander Wilson (University of Durham), *The unfamiliar other. Distortion of familiar social cognition in Íslendingasögur*
Rebecca Merkelbach (University of Cambridge), *Enchanting the Land: Monstrous Magic, Social Concerns and the Natural World in the Íslendingasögur*
15.15-15.45 Discussion

16.00-16.40
Chair: Marion Poilvez
Marta Rey-Radlińska (Jagiellonian University), *Friendship and man's reputation – a case of "Odds þáttr Ófeigssonar" and other Morkinskinna þættir*
Aleksandra Jochymek (University of Silesia in Katowice), *Social order in Karlamagnús saga*
16.40-17.00 Discussion

Saturday 22nd April 2017

10.00-11.00
Chair: Helen Leslie-Jakobsen
Joanne Shortt Butler (University of Cambridge), *Þótti mönnum…hann myndi verða engi jafnaðarmaðr. The narrator, the trouble-maker, and public opinion.*
Viktória Gyönki (University of Iceland), *The Wolf and the Fox – A Comparative Approach to Grettis Saga and Króka-Refs Saga*.
Marion Poilvez (University of Iceland), *Discipline or Punish? Viking life and Outlawry as Social Structures in Medieval Scandinavia*.
11.00-11.30 Discussion

11.45-12.25
Chair: Leszek Gardeła
Yoav Tirosh (University of Iceland), *Authorship and Collective Memory in Ljósvetninga saga: A Late Response to Barði Guðmundsson*
Anita Sauckel (University of Iceland), *"We're not gonna take it!". Silk, Settlements and Society in Íslendingasögur*
12.25-12.45 Discussion

Dariusz Adamczyk, German Historical Institute in Warsaw, Poland

The Use of Silver by the Scandinavians of Truso and Wolin —the Logic of the Market or Social Prestige?

It is well-known that Viking expansion included the Southern coasts of the Baltic. The emporium of Janów Pomorski/Truso was, mostly during the ninth century, dominated by various Danish and/or Gotland traders and craftsmen. In the Slavic settlement complex of Wolin, in turn, Nordic merchants as well as warriors lived since c. 970. In both „ports of trade" many silver finds have been discovered, but a striking difference should be noted: while in Truso the most of more than 1000 silver coins are single finds, in Wolin appear mainly hoards.

Subsequently, some questions arise: did silver serve primarily as meaning of payment or as prestige good? Can we explain this finds by looking for economic or rather social and politic contexts? And last but not least, did the use of silver in Truso differ from that in Wolin?

David Ashurst, Durham University, Great Britain

Modes of Satire and Social Commentary in the Heathen Funerary Ode

The paper will demonstrate and discuss the submerged but pervasive strains of satire and commentary on social norms in the apparently eulogistic funerary odes composed amid the intellectual turmoil of the late heathen period, when Christianity was impacting on heathen poets. It will focus primarily on *Eiríksmál* and Eyvindr skáldaspillir's *Hákonarmál*, with some analysis of Egill Skalla-Grímsson's *Sonatorrek* and, for purposes of comparison and contrast, some glancing references to Egill's *Arinbjarnarkviða* (effectively a funerary ode before the fact) and *Höfuðlausn*. In the case of *Eiríksmál* it will consider, amongst other things, the complex implications of the fact that Eiríkr is mistaken for Baldr, which reminds the audience that Baldr cannot return until Eiríkr and the *einherjar* have failed to save Óðinn; it will also note that Eiríkr is greeted by Sigmundr and Sinfjötli, in particular, with their connotations of wildness, kinslaying and sexual deviance. The needy but treacherous Óðinn presented here will also be noted in *Hákonarmál*, where the slaughtered warriors are said to go to him with heavy hearts. The positive connotations of the welter of 'blood' kennings, juxtaposed with the ineffectiveness of shields, in stanzas 7 and 8 will be pointed out, as will the contradictory reasons why Hákon keeps his armour on in Óðinn's hall. Particular attention will be paid to the last four stanzas and the multi-layered ways in which Hákon's greatness is there made to assert the value of heathen practices despite his Christian beliefs. In connection with *Sonatorrek*, the paper will suggest that Egill adopts a self-satirising posture, repudiating his best son amid his grief over the impossibility of taking vengeance in battle for the sons he has lost through natural causes, claiming to be more vulnerable than he really is, yet asserting that his one consolation is an art whose function is to provoke hostility.

Grzegorz Bartusik, University of Silesia in Katowice, Poland

Cognitive metaphors in the sagas of antiquity (*Antikensagas*) and the vernacular sagas - looking for evidence of transfer of social norms from the continental Europe. The case of *Rómverja saga* (*AM 595 a-b 4o*)

The medieval manuscript known as AM 595 a-b 4° contains the earlier version of *Rómverja saga*, the history of Romans, which is preserved there fragmentally. *Rómverja saga* is a collection of Old Norse translations of selected ancient Latin works: Sallust's *Bellum Iugurthinum* and *De coniuratione Catilinae*, and Lucan's *De Bello Civili*. By focusing on this 'displaced' text I intend to point at the cultural connections between the two apparently unrelated times and places: Antiquity and Middle Ages, the Roman Empire and the Icelandic Commonwealth. This paper aims at describing the phenomenon of how certain Latin manuscripts, that contained ancient texts, were imported from continental Europe and the British Isles to Scandinavia and Iceland to a certain monastery or cathedral school. There, they ended up in the hands of monks who not only used them to teach Latin and, possibly history, but also translated into the vernacular. A further consequence of this proces is that it influenced production of texts in situ, education of the intellectual elites in the country, and social change sensu largo. With the inflowing of Latin learning to Iceland, the Old Norse-Icelandic conceptual world did not remain intact. To what extent was Old Norse-Icelandic language and literature, in the sense of semantics/meaning, influenced by Latin language and literature? Through language-changes, also the mentality was changed. What exactly was the influence of classical ideas on Old Norse-Icelandic ones? Might these ideas have been to a certain degree integrated in the mentality of the medieval Icelanders, or at least of certain groups inside medieval Icelandic society? In my paper, I explore these questions looking for evidence of transfer of social norms, in the form of cognitive metaphors, from the continental Europe in the sagas of antiquity (*Antikensagas*) and the vernacular sagas.

Leszek Gardeła, University of Rzeszow, Poland

Scandinavian Women in Viking Age Poland. Roles, Lifestyles, and Identities

During the turbulent period spanning the late eighth and eleventh centuries, the Viking Age Scandinavians established their colonies and trading centres in various parts of the early medieval world, including the southern Baltic and what is now the area of Poland. Their presence in the multicultural ports-of-trade, such as Wolin or Truso, and elsewhere in the interior of the emerging Piast state is indicated by the discoveries of small, portable objects decorated in distinctive Scandinavian styles. These finds demonstrate unequivocally that the Viking Age Scandinavians were not only transient in Poland but lived there on a more permanent basis and interacted with the autochthonous population in a variety of ways. Although extant textual sources say very little about these interactions, archaeological finds show that among the Norse migrants were not only men but also women, and perhaps children too. This paper will take a closer look at the roles and lifestyles of Scandinavian women in Poland, in particular by examining their distinctive jewellery and other small tools and utensils. By viewing this material in an interdisciplinary context, it is possible to learn more about the ways in which the Norse women manifested their distinct identities, worldviews and beliefs while living in a foreign environment and among the Slavic population.

Jürg Glauser, University of Zurich/University of Basel, Switzerland

The Swimming Viking Sovereign. Olav Tryggvason and the sea

The present paper takes its point of departure in a recent observation made by the German art historian Horst Bredekamp in his book *Der schwimmende Souverän. Karl der Grosse und die Bildpolitik des Körpers. Eine Studie zum schematischen Bildakt,* Berlin 2014, that Charlemagne used to stage himself as a swimming sovereign, and that many medieval literary and visual representations of this king display him in fact with regard to water, rivers and the sea. Modern rulers with a similar affinity to swimming in public are, among many others, Mao Tse-tung or Vladimir Putin. What I propose, then, is to scrutinize some Old Norse-Icelandic texts, mainly examples from saga literature (especially Sagas of the Icelanders and Kings' Sagas), which describe comparable constellations of swimming rulers or outstanding heroes as important features in the respective narratives. I will look primarily at King Óláfr Tryggvason, but also at such figures as Kjartan Óláfsson, Sigmundr Brestisson, Sigurðr Jórsalafari, or Grettir Ásmundarson. It is hoped that by focussing on these and others kings' and heroes' relationship to and interaction with the sea and water in general, hitherto overlooked facets of water imagery can contribute to the understanding the fabric of the sagas and iconic representations.

Włodzimierz Gogłoza, Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin, Poland

Úlfljótr's laws as legal transplants - a critical evaluation

According to the account of Teitr Ísleifsson preserved in Ari *fróði*'s *Íslendingabók*, the first laws adopted by Icelanders when the Alþing was established were based on the Gulathing law which was brought out to Iceland by a man called Úlfljótr. While the Book of Icelanders is widely regarded as one of the most reliable sources dealing with the Icelandic Commonwealth, the story of Úlfljótr's law preserved therein is enigmatic, and modern scholars have raised several objections to its validity. Sigurður Lindal, in particular, compares it to other legitimizing myths about first law-givers, e.g. Moses. The aim of my paper is to analyze the tradition of the *Úlfljótrlög* using the concept of legal transplants developed within the field of legal anthropology. I will show that only those norms that are capable of being articulated in a definite and bounded way can be transplanted successfully, and that customary norms do not fulfill those criteria. Since the earliest Gulathing laws were oral and based entirely on custom, it is highly improbable that they could have been brought to Iceland from Norway. Therefore my analysis will provide new arguments for treating the story of *Úlfljótrlög* as a product of constructivist rationality, and not a historical account.

Remigiusz Gogosz, University of Rzeszow, Poland

Hostageship in Scandinavia in the Middle Ages

Hostageship has a social and cultural state. It involves people from different cultures and countries. It involves family ties and kinship. Exchanging the hostages (sons, brothers, kin etc.) is known from ancient times. It never disappeared from human life and unfortunately still exist nowadays, but in very different shape.

In the Middle Ages hostages were guarantees of surety and fidelity "not of ongoing or vanquished foes, but rather of putative friends and subordinates". Hostageship created new social structure of authority, social hierarchy between hostage and hostage taker. When it comes to hostage exchange, as new research shows social and representative aspect of hostageship. A hostage became symbolic representation of bigger entirety.

Not different situation is seen in the Scandinavia during Middle Ages. In *Gylfaginning* of Snorri Sturluson one may see in the war between the Vanir and the Æsir. In the sagas Óláfr Tryggvason keeping the sons of the chieftains to make Iceland convert and Snorri Sturluson has to send his son Jón Murtr to Earl Skuli as a hostage to provide assurance that Snorri will remain loyal to the earl and Hákon on his return to Iceland and in history of reign of Valdemar II of Denmark, whose hostages were granted with a ten-year time limit. Seeing those and many other situations where hostageship evolved there is no big study approaching this institution.

In my paper I would like to lay ground for further studies of idea of hostageship in the Scandinavia during the Middle ages by showing examples and analyzing them from the social and cultural point of view.

Viktória Gyönki, University of Iceland

The Wolf and the Fox —A Comparative Approach to *Grettis Saga* and *Króka-Refs Saga*

In this paper I would like to present a comparative approach Króka-Refs saga and Grettis saga. The latter saga is know as one of the outlaw sagas with a focus on Grettir, who can not fit into the Icelandic society as he still holds the values of a viking. His outdated heroic lifestyle causes troubles, and ends up outside from the society. Refr is different from this classic picture.

However he also finds himself outside of society, after facing his enemies. Since both of these sagas were written in the 14th century, the question of the mixed genres will be discussed first. The rich legal tradion of Iceland was affected the saga literature, and one of the most obvious cases that we can study here is outlawry. Since Refr is known as an outlaw, I would like to present his character from this angle with the help of Grettir. My aim is to discover the differences and similarities between these two protagonists. I will argue the satyric nature of Króka-Refs saga and the representation of Grettir and Refr as childeren, their relation to the supernatural and when they are depicted as animals.

Charlotte Hedenstierna-Jonson, Uppsala University, the Swedish History Museum in Stockholm, Sweden

The fabric of a warlike society. On warrior identities and norms and their impact on Viking Age society

During an era where violence in different forms remained constantly present, the life of the warriors was admired and their achievements praised. The way they lived their lives and the identity they held provided guidelines for others and had bearing on how society was structured. Contemporary evidence of warrior identities can be found partly in the archaeological remains and partly in the skaldic poetry and runic inscriptions. Together these materials provide an insight into the ideals and values that formed the life of the warriors and ultimately created their concept of identity and belonging. This paper aims at exploring some of the elements that formed the Viking warrior identities and how these affected individuals, groups and society as a whole.

Michael Irlenbusch-Reynard, University of Bonn, Germany

The perception of Jómsborg in the German reception of *Jómsvíkinga saga*

As far the site of Jómsborg is concerned, Jómsvíkinga saga gives some physical outlines of a fortress that sheltered a band of Vikings. Beyond that, the saga presents but scanty statements on the nimbus of the place and its occupants, that is a brief mentioning of the Jómsvíkings' reputation and a hint to a certain attraction for young roughnecks. Nevertheless, the German reception of Jómsvíkinga saga expanded this idea with much fantasy and even more intent: What had begun in the wake of enthusiasm for alleged most heroic ancestors, was to turn into manifest propaganda with a clear attitude towards the local Slavic peoples; Jómsborg turned from a romantic warrior community into a genuine Germanic socio-cultural institution, culminating in the suggestion of a normative epicentre for the whole North. This paper will analyse a number of German publications, dating from late 19th century to the early 1940s, that make use of Jómsvíkinga saga, be it as retellings, part of saga anthologies or excerpts in thematical or ideologic treatises.

Aleksandra Jochymek, University of Silesia in Katowice, Poland

Social order in *Karlamagnús saga*

This paper's goal is to explore the social structure in *Karlamagnús saga ok kappa hans*, a collection of medieval translations of the Old French *chansons de geste* written in Norway for the king Hákon Hákonarson (1217-1263). During king Hákon's reign a number of European texts were translated as a part of his ideological programme. Within this corpus, *Karlamagnús saga* gathers various narratives centered around the figure of Charlemagne. I will discuss the influence of konungasǫgur on the representation of the king in the saga by comparing it to *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*. Main focus of the paper will be the analysis of the relationship between the king, nobility and Church in the saga within the historical context of the 13-th century Norway.

Helen F. Leslie-Jacobsen, University of Bergen, Norway

Definitions of Terms and Social Norms in Medieval Norwegian Law

My paper analyses definitions of terms in the narrative of a medieval Norwegian law text. Law codes of course had a regulating function on social norms in the Middle Ages. How certain terms were defined had an impact on the interpretation and implementation of the law and on these social norms. My paper will consider both the role of definitions in the law in creating and maintaining social norms and also give an insight into how terms are actually defined in the legal narrative. This can be done, for example, by giving a definition of a term outright in the narrative (not always at the first time it is used however!). For example, when defining a "villainous killing": !It is a villainous killing when a man kills [another] man with whom he has pledged peace. It is also a villainous killing if a man slays [another] man in asylum." A definition of a term might also be conducted via judgment in each case; for example, a man is excused from attending a law parliament if he suffers a "legal impediment" to doing so. Exactly what a legal impediment is is not directly defined in the code but must be assessed by a justice and public court of law case by case. The exact definition of "legal impediment" is thus fluid, although socially, some general boundaries would be understood. A more general judgement in society is also implied in the definition of an accident, which is to discerned "with reason in each circumstance." These various methods of how terms in the law are defined and how they intertwine with social norms will be studied with reference to the Norwegian *Landslov* of 1274, the first law code to apply to all of Norway.

Roderick McDonald, University of Nottingham, Great Britain

Educating Percy: the ethical didactics in *Parcevals saga* and the developing courtly norms in thirteenth century Norway. But where are the liberal arts?

Tristrams saga ok Ísöndar and *Parcevals saga*, were both translated from the French as part of an apparent 'programme'[1] of courtly cultural improvement under the authority of King Hákon IV of Norway. While the former contains clear references to the medieval curriculum of the seven liberal arts, and sets these as an important component of the education of the ideal courtier, the latter saga is devoid of such references. Nevertheless, *Parcevals saga* is a text that does indeed deal with the education of the knight. Both of these translated *riddarasögur* can be seen to be carrying signs of influence from late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century Parisian cathedral school ethical teachings that influenced the form that courtly behaviours took in northern Europe, however their educational content appears to diverge significantly. This paper explores ways in which *Parcevals saga* may be interpreted as playing an educational role, through the incorporation of both exemplary and didactic material, and considers what issues may arise from the apparent absence of explicit references to the liberal arts from Parceval's curriculum, and what the implications might be for the uptake of courtly behaviour in the Norway of Hákon IV and Magnus VI.

References

Gunnar Ágúst, Harðarson. 2016. "Old Norse Intellectual Culture: Appropriation and Innovation." In *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Scandinavia c.1100-1350*, edited by Stefka Georgieva Eriksen, 35-73. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols.

Lönnroth, Lars et. al. 2003. "Literature." In *The Cambridge History of Scandinavia* edited by Knut Helle, 521-549. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

1 Lönnroth et. al. (2003, 544) describes it as "a royal campaign to introduce French … courtly manners and aristocratic culture" and Gunnar Harðarson (2016, 43) refers to it as Norway's "conscious adaptation of European models of literary and material culture, of ecclesiastical organization and of political structure."

Rebecca Merkelbach, University of Cambridge, Great Britain

Enchanting the Land: Monstrous Magic, Social Concerns and the Natural World in the *Íslendingasögur*

One of the most frequently occurring paranormal phenomena in the Sagas of Icelanders is magic, and approximately 70 characters who practice this magic are depicted in the texts. While not all of them use it for harmful purposes, most practitioners of magic employ their abilities to cause harm and disruption. If considered in the framework of my concept of social monstrosity, this disruption through the use of paranormally connoted magical practises renders magic-users monstrous.

In this context of monstrous disruptiveness, it is particularly significant that the disruption caused by magic-users is almost always based on the natural world: they operate through an association with animals, affect the landscape, cause changes in the weather, and generally utilise their power over the environment to affect ordinary humans. Through this use of the natural world against society, they also have a severe impact on the economy of the local area, so that, eventually, they turn into a problem that has to be removed. In this paper, I intend to establish the magic-users of the *Íslendingasögur* as socially monstrous figures who operate within and through the natural world and use it to cause harm to society. Since, however, the monster always communicates, since it always embodies social and cultural concerns of the time that created it, in a second step I will situate magic-users in the socio-historical context in which they arise. The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were a time of growing climatic variability that must have caused significant anxiety to contemporary Icelanders, and I will argue that this anxiety found its expression in the monstrous practitioners of magic. Through them, concerns about a changing and uncontrollable natural world could be explored — a world in which humans move, on which their livelihood is based, and without which no other social norms and structures could exist.

Simon Nygaard, University of Aarhus, Denmark

Being Óðinn Bursson: The Creation of Social and Moral Obligation in Viking Age Warrior Bands through the Ritualised Performance of Poetry

The oral nature of Old Norse poetry is almost a commonplace within scholarship today, and recently the idea of the performance aspect of these poems has been re-examined and re-actualised by Terry Gunnell (e.g. 2016). This aspect is entirely in keeping with oral poetry throughout the world; yet the question of precisely how Old Norse poetry was transmitted orally through generations (and perhaps centuries) is more complex still. The late John Miles Foley, among others, stressed that a vital part of oral poetry and its transmission lies in context: "the performance, the audience, the poet…the ritual and the myriad other aspects of the given poem's reality." (2002, 60). What I propose to examine in this paper, and what has not been sufficiently researched yet, is the last aspect: the ritual.
I propose that emphasising the poems' ritual dimension could prove fruitful by allowing us to view ritual as a structured medium capable of preserving and transmitting cultural memory almost verbatim through generations and maybe longer (cf. Assmann 2010). Therefore, rituals would be a relevant place to search for traits of pre-Christian religious ideology (cf. Nygaard & Schjødt forthcoming). However, ritual descriptions in the Old Norse corpus are scarce, and collective rituals are only mentioned sporadically. If we want to know anything about how these rituals were performed and functioned — and thus how oral transmission was secured — then (re)construction is necessary.
Such reconstructions can further our understanding of the continuity, transmission, and function of pre-Christian Scandinavian religion through the proposed ritualised performance of Old Norse poems like *Grímnismál* or *Eiríksmál*. By applying Roy A. Rappaport's ritual theory (1999) to these poems, I will argue that not only was such poetry meant for oral performance, but that it may also contain ritualised 'performatives' (1999, 114-19) and produce 'high-order meaning'(1999, 71-72) features crucial to the formation and upholding of pre-Christian Scandinavian religion.
Ritualised performance of such poems could thus have involved a warring ruler actually taking on the identity of Óðinn in a bid to secure the loyalty of his warriors and uphold their shared community by creating social and moral obligation towards the warrior band.

Literature

Assmann, Jan 2010 "Communicative and Cultural Memory" in *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies*, eds. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning. Berlin & New York: de Gruyter, 109-118
Foley, John Miles 2002 *How to Read an Oral Poem*. Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press
Gunnell, Terry 2016 "Eddic Performances and Eddic Audiences" in *A Handbook to Eddic Poetry: Myths and Legends of Early Scandinavia*, eds. Carolyne Larrington, Judy Quinn and Brittany Schorn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 92-113.
Nygaard, Simon and Jens Peter Schjødt Forth. "Memory and Ritual in Pre-Christian Scandinavian Religion" in *The Handbook of Pre-Modern Nordic Memory Studies*, eds. Jürg Glauser, Pernille Hermann and Stephen A. Mitchell. Berlin & New York: De Gruyter.
Rappaport, Roy A. 1999 *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Łukasz Neubauer, Koszalin University of Technology, Poland

Quid Sigurthus cum Christo? Fulfilling Sigurd's Christian Potential in Medieval Scandinavia

The title question is of course a somewhat provocative paraphrase of the famous remonstrance of Alcuin *quid Hinieldus cum Christo* "What has Ingeld to do with Christ" (itself probably an imitation of 2 Corinthians 6:15). In this way, the Anglo-Saxon scholar evidently tried to express his reservation about the widespread interest of his contemporaries in heroic poetry, often at the expense of the of the Word of God. In the north Germanic world the part of the heroic role model is often played —before and after the coming of Christianity —by Sigurd, the central character in the thirteenth-century *Vǫlsunga saga*. However, in addition to his numerous depictions on the rune- and picture-stones of evidently pagan content and iconography, the legendary slayer of Fáfnir could also appear in a less familiar guise, as a leading figure in four of the six scenes carved on the portal doors of the Hylestad stave church. Needless to say, this curious appearance immediately invokes a number of cross-cultural connotations, at the heart of which lies the hero's enormous Christian potential. The proposed paper seeks to examine those features of Sigurd's character that might have once prompted the unknown late-twelve- or early-thirteenth century artist to turn —by means of subtle visual associations —the legendary Germanic hero into the essentially Saint-George-like figure of the Hylestad stave church.

Marion Poilvez, University of Iceland

Discipline or Punish? Viking life and Outlawry as Social Structures in Medieval Scandinavia

Outlawry is a legal sanction widely mentioned throughout Norse sources from the Middle Ages, whether taking the shape of Viking activities abroad or of a deadly hunt in the wilderness. Often associated with the legal *apparatus* of "Germanic" pre-state societies, its main function was to punish criminal behaviour by making a man liable to be killed by anyone, while at the same time getting rid of the troublemaker and therefore restoring peace within a given lawful territory (Van Houts, 2004). Outlawry in medieval Scandinavia has been recently a source of scholarly interest, whether on its literary aspects (Ahola, 2014), its association with monstrosity (Merkelbach, 2015) or its connection to canon law and excommunication (Walgenbach, 2016). From these perspectives, outlawry was mostly analysed as punishment and marginalization, taking for granted that the sanction itself—being outside the protection of the law—was an exclusion. In many cases, however, outlaws still play a role within the dynamics of the society they are excluded from, and this especially in Iceland.

This paper aims to discuss outlawry as a social structure from an inclusive perspective. It argues that many forms of outlawry did not function as actual exclusion, but were social structures made to respond, in a didactic way, to anti-social behaviours, with the final goal to re-educate wrongdoers, or at least give them a fitting function within the dynamics of the given society. Both legal and literary sources will be assessed and contrasted in order to question the authenticity of outlawry as a historical social structure, and Viking activities in the Northern Seas and the Baltic will be analysed through this scope. More widely, this paper will question the use of punishment in stateless societies, and its evolution through social and political changes.

Marta Rey-Radlińska, Jagiellonian University, Poland

Friendship and man's reputation —a case of *Odds þáttr Ófeigssonar* and other *Morkinskinna þættir*

There is no doubt that in medieval society of Scandinavia the reputation was one of the most important values. That might give a reason to bloody feuds, complicated lawsuits and extended in time negotiations. The honor of people and the family had to be protected by all means —we can follow many interesting examples reading the old Icelandic sagas. It could be explained by, among others, the exceptionally strong bonds between the family members, loyalty and deep belief, that one could not survive outside the supporting clan. Those ties were often extended on the foster children and close friends.

There is a special type of medieval Icelandic texts, that are discussed to be a separate and independent literary genre, while others assume they are just a part of a larger whole, and treating them as a genre is an late invention of modern literature studies (Ármann Jakobsson 2013). *Þættir* are however commonly regarded as a relatively homogeneous group of texts, although there is no there is no consensus on the number of *þættir* (Ashman Rowe & Harris 2005). Their epic thread is simple, the sequence of events progress steadily, the characters are interesting and the dialogs animated (Bjarni Guðnason 1982). There are many different motifs taken by those short prose narratives, but some most common are friendship, generosity, exchange of gifts, cleverness, or Christian influences (Harris 1972). The story takes place often at the court of King and the core of the story derives from the some kind conflict, dispute or difficult situation.

In this paper I carry out a case study based on one of the *þættir* preserved in the *Morkinskinna*, the oldest collection of the kings' sagas, *"Odds þáttr Ófeigssonar"* (Jónas Kristjánsson et al. 2011). The tale tells of the Icelandic merchant Oddr, who came into conflict with King Haraldr and came out unscathed from oppression with the help of a friend, a courtier of the Norwegian King. I focus both on the motive of friendship in the story and the stylistic devices used to achieve an emotional effect —a deviation from the objectivity of the narration and a language that highlights negative emotions. I examine the consequences that entails loyalty to a friend as well as a desire to give back for the help. In order to make my case study more complex, I give some other examples of friendship featured in *þættir*.

Bibliography

Ármann Jakobsson. (2013). 'The Life and Death of the Medieval Icelandic Short Story', *JEGP, Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 112/3: 257–291. DOI: 10.5406/jenglgermphil.112.3.0257

Ashman Rowe, E., & Harris, J. (2005). 'Short Prose Narrative (þáttr)'. McTurk R. (ed.) *A Companion to Old Norse-Icelandic Literature and Culture*, pp. 462–78. Blackwell Publishing: Oxford.

Bjarni Guðnason. (1982). 'Þættir'. Granlund J. (ed.) *Kulturhistoriskt lexikon för nordisk medeltid*, 2nd ed., Vol. 20, p. col. 405-410. Malmö.

Harris, J. (1972). 'Genre and Narrative Structure in Some Íslendinga þættir', *Scandinavian studies*, 44: 1–27.

Jónas Kristjánsson, Þórður Ingi Guðjónsson, & Ármann Jakobsson (Eds). (2011). *Morkinskinna*. Íslenzk Fornrit, Vol. XXIII. Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag.

Katherine Rich, University of York, Great Britain

Skáld as sǫkudólgr. Negotiated Boundaries in the *Íslendingasögur*

This paper will discuss the prominence of boundaries in skaldic verse in the *Íslendingasögur*, as well as the function of poetry in the context of land disputes and claims. In doing so, I will consider ways these verses reflect or enact aspects of the Icelandic law codes. Saga conflicts are expressed verbally as well as physically, and verse exchange often becomes the means by which boundaries are tested and disputes played out.

Keith Ruiter, University of Aberdeen, Great Britain

A Deviant Word Hoard. A Semantic Study of Non-Normative Terms in Early Medieval Scandinavia

While scholars in the social sciences have long demonstrated a rich and mutually-informative relationship between normativity and deviance, scholars of medieval Scandinavia have tended to focus their attention primarily on normative individuals and practices. Given that, as a rule, it is easier to define something by what it is not rather than what it precisely is, this hole in the research is surprising. In an effort to more clearly understand non-normative behaviours in medieval Scandinavia, this paper will consider some of the particular lexical choices in early medieval Scandinavian texts to better understand the contemporary web of associations surrounding deviance and deviants. Utilising philological, historical, literary, and legal methodologies, this paper sets out to consider some words used to describe non-normative peoples and behaviours in three categories: terms relating to law, honour, and morality. These terms will be compared across textual forms and regional divides. This comparative approach will yield a greater understanding and more nuanced definition of the conceptual associations surrounding three broad types of normative transgression in early medieval Scandinavia.

Anita Sauckel, University of Iceland

We're not gonna take it!. Silk, Settlements and Society in *Íslendingasögur*

The literary significance of clothing in *Íslendingasögur* has rarely been discussed; although the last ten years have witnessed a number of relevant publications, a broader scholarly discussion is still due. In an attempt at stimulating further debate, my paper will take into account clothing and social norms at the ting-assemblies as depicted in *Íslendingasögur*, an occasion on which exclusive fabrics played an important role. In particular the fabric silk is connoted very differently within the genre: in Egils saga Skalla-Grimssonar, for example, the silk garment (slœður) Egill receives as a gift from his friend Arinbjǫrn (chapter 67) represents power, wealth, and taste. Egill stores the floor-length silk tunic in his chest, and is never said to wear it. His son Torsteinn, however, takes the dress and wears it at the Alþing, and since he does not treat the garment carefully, the silkislœður are ruined. In this episode the *slæður* both reflect social norms and symbolise the difficult relationship between father and son. By wearing a garment made from extraordinary fabrics in a public place like the Alþing, Þórsteinn represents the social status he claims as the highborn son of a famous chieftain; the saga narrator's remarkable comment "Egill did not love his son very much" (ch. 79) is preceded by the depiction of Torsteinn as a handsome man with fair hair and a fair outer appearance. These characteristics are thus reflected in the garment: the silk glimmers and glistens just like its wearer. Given this connection of clothing, social status, and family relationship, the dirty dress eventually foreshadows the ruined relationship with Egill, who, when he discovers his once precious gift, feels all the more justified in disliking and mistrusting his son (he even calls Þórsteinn a betrayer in one of his *lausavísur* (ch. 79)). In *Brennu-Njáls saga*, where continental courtly influence also holds true for the descriptions of the characters' clothing, exclusive colourful garments are mentioned frequently. The most famous scene, in which a silk garment is in the focus of attention, is to be found in chapter 123: Njall adds silkislœður to the silver hoard at the Alþing, seemingly intended for settlement. This gift, however, actually turns out to be the very cause for the then broken settlement that finally leads to his family's death in the burning. Because of this, saga-scholars have been discussing the dress as a symbol of femininity and a deadly insult to the chieftain Flosi Þórðarson. However, I suggest that this opinion underestimates the chapter's complexity, which thus asks for a different interpretation. Two different episodes, which yet share one similarity: the *silkislæður*: However, why are the connotations of silk so different within the genre *Íslendingasögur*? Are

there other connotations regarding this rare fabric in the sagas? In which way influences clothing the outcome of settlements? Deciphering fabrics offers different approaches for further interpretation of crucial episodes like the above-mentioned chapter 123 of *Brennu-Njáls saga*. The complicated language of clothing in *Íslendingasögur* is far from being decoded.

Joanne Shortt Butler, University of Cambridge, Great Britain

Þótti mǫnnum … hann myndi verða engi jafnaðarmaðr: the narrator, the trouble-maker, and public opinion

When 'public opinion' is expressed in the Íslendingasögur do we always, inevitably, hear the anonymous narrator's own opinion of events? Lönnroth argued that this was the case in 1970 and the idea has not been challenged since. In this paper, I will explore the ways in which public opinion is invoked by saga narrators relating to the frequently occurring figure of the ójafnaðarmaðr ('inequitable person'). Characters introduced and described as such act against the social norms of the society depicted. Although I treat this society as a narrative medium, and not representative of either an historical 'Saga Age' Iceland, or thirteenth-century Iceland, Miller's definition of the ójafnaðarmaðr as one who goes against the reciprocal nature of the society depicted is a useful one (1990). These characters are therefore defined in opposition to social norms, and we would expect public opinion and the narrator's opinion to align when it comes to their nature. The case is more complex than this, however, and in this paper, I will use examples from a number of sagas, including Laxdœla saga and Harðar saga, to show that public opinion in the Íslendingasögur is not always a straightforward representation of the narrator's opinion.

The norms of character introduction in the sagas prime an audience to receive important information about individuals that will prove relevant to the plot. I will explore how replacing the 'narrator's opinion' — hann var ójafnaðarmaðr mikils — with the opinion of the public — þótti mǫnnum hann var engi jafnaðarmaðr — affects character introductions. Following Lönnroth's assertion, the use of public opinion should give a strong indication of how the narrator wishes the audience to think, implying that the construction involving public opinion is simply identical to saying hann var ójafnaðarmaðr. Yet in the majority of cases, this sort of construction indicates a character who — for reasons of status, usually — is not presented as an out-and-out villain in the vein of most ójafnaðarmenn, and public opinion has the effect of distancing the narrator from making an explicit judgement of a character's worst excesses. The narrative and rhetorical implications of this distancing will be considered in my paper, contributing to our understanding of the way in which saga literature describes the norms of the society it depicts.

References cited

Lönnroth, L. 1970. 'Rhetorical Persuasion in the Sagas', Scandinavian Studies 42 (1970), 157–89.

Miller, W. I. 1990. Bloodtaking and Peacemaking: Feud, Law and Society in Saga Iceland (Chicago, IL).

Rudolf Simek, University of Bonn, Germany

Laws for Vikings - but *whose* Vikings ?

The so-called Viking laws of *Jómsvíkinga saga* belong to the best known and often quoted items in this saga of heroic deeds and utter foolishness. They are mirrored by similar summaries of a Viking Age "code of practice" in other sagas and have been compared to other medieval chivalric codes. The current paper intends to investigate the literary functions of these codified lists of Viking age behaviour.

Leszek P. Słupecki, University of Rzeszow, Poland

Burisleifr Vindakonungr in Jomsvikinga saga and his counterparts. Burislefr versus King Arthur, Hrodgar, Charlemagne, Cracus and other sovereigns

The paper will be devoted to a question who Burisleifr was in *Jómsvikinga saga*. The focus will be however put not on the real roots of this half-historical personality, but on its function in the story with conclusion proposed that Burisleifr had to play the role of sovereign king of imperial size (who is doing completely nothing but ruling) in similar way as comparable epic figures of the kind of King Arthur, Hrodgar, Charlemagne (legendary Charlemagne!), Polish legendary King Cracus and many others.

Yoav Tirosh, University of Iceland

Authorship and Collective Memory in *Ljósvetninga saga*: A Late Response to Barði Guðmundsson

In his 1950 "Stefnt að höfundi Njálu", and subsequently in his 1953 „Ljósvetninga saga og Saurbæingar", Barði Guðmundsson put forth the 13th century Þórðr Þorvarðsson as the author of *Ljósvetninga saga*. Barði Guðmundsson sees Ljósvetninga saga as an intricate *roman-à-clef*, written by Þórðr Þorvarðsson as a response to an indirect slur on him and his father in *Njáls saga*, through the characters of Mörðr Valgarðsson and his father Valgarðr hinn grái. Barði Guðmundsson's reasoning is complex and comprehensive but failed to make a lasting impression on *Ljósvetninga saga* scholarship, which has been much more concerned with issues of origins and transmission. Thus, while Þórðr Þorvarðsson's authorship has never reached the heart of scholarly consensus, it has also never been properly dealt with. Rather than to confirm Barði Guðmundsson's argument, or to disprove it and find an alternative author, this paper sets out to understand the implications of finding such an author from a collective memory perspective. Aleida and Jan Assmann have offered a distinction between communicative memory, which signifies the memory dynamics of generations that are close to each other, and cultural memory, which signifies the memory of a longer and broader scope. This paper suggests that to look at *Ljósvetninga saga* through the prism of an individual author puts emphasis on its communicative memory function, and through the prism of the 13th society that generated the text puts the emphasis on its cultural memory function. These two need not be contradictory, but their dynamics are important to understand. This discussion will help understand norms of authorship in medieval Iceland, and how sagas interacted with society.

Sabine Walther, The Department of Scandinavian Research, The Arnamagnæan Institute, Copenhagen, Denmark

Translated Literature and the Transfer of Social Norms. The Narrativization of Appropriate Aristocratic Behavior in Old Norse *Trójumanna saga*

Social norms are cultural products. Apart from the law, and in a more informal way, literature can define and promote social norms. As they are cultural products, social norms undergo changes to adapt to changes in society. The societal changes in Scandinavia in the Middle Ages were —broadly spoken —a result of cultural contacts with the Continent and England. One element in this process of Europeanization was the import and translation of literature from the European centers at the Norwegian court under Hákon Hákonarson (1217-1263). But it seems that the import and translation of literature was not a one-time event but a continous process. It was also not an event confined to the Norwegian court but a process that reached out to Iceland as the manuscript production reveals. The paper examines how social norms are presented in Old Norse *Trójumanna saga*, a translated text of probably Icelandic origin, which through its different versions is an example of this continous literary transfer. The basic assumption is that these versions are not pure translations but adaptations which are adapted with the help of secondary sources to fulfil certain needs in society at a certain time. The paper asks: How is this cultural knowledge about social norms narrated? To answer this question the paper analyses the adaption of the classical heroes to the new social norms. Can they serve as aristocratic models? What are their values and virtues? Do they show the appropriate behavior to conform with these values and virtues?

Alexander Wilson, University of Durham, Great Britain

The unfamiliar other. Distortion of familiar social cognition in *Íslendingasögur*

The field of social cognitive research can be most simply defined as an attempt to understand how people make sense of other people, and thereby construct social norms. On its most basic level, the term 'social cognition' refers to how people create and make use of various levels of identity, both within themselves and their communities, to structure how they cognitively perceive the world around them. In this paper, I will use the concepts elucidated by social cognitive theory to analyse how two of the *Íslendingasögur*, *Droplaugarsona saga* and *Fóstbræðra saga*, portray particularly violent conflicts between different communities as relying on distortions of social cognition, and therefore of the social norms that are created by this framework of thinking.

Social norms are, of course, defined in large part by *what they are not*—that is, they are defined against the antithetical Other—and for such norms to remain stable, the things against which those norms are defined must also remain fixed. We might call this type of Other a 'familiar Other': something that is recognisably non-normative, but about which there is a generally accepted view as to how it operates. This process works to safely contain the Other as a fixed point of reference for one's identity, whilst restricting the possibility of that Other being actually dangerous for the individual.

In both these sagas, however, the protagonist of these episodes undertakes the process of obtaining blood-vengeance for his brother, but in doing so he adopts the identity of one of that society's familiar Others. The protagonist then subverts the fundamental characteristics of that familiar Othered identity to distort his opponent's frame of reference by embodying an 'unfamiliar Other', which completely disrupts his enemy's conception of social norms. By recognising what a society views as a familiar Other and distorting that fixed notion through his actions, the protagonist creates a dangerous and chaotic environment in which he can take vengeance in a particularly emphatic manner. I argue that considering these scenes in relation to the basic conclusions of social cognitive theory is important for our understanding of why these figures are motivated to disrupt social norms in this way, and discuss how a medieval audience may have perceived such instances of social distortion.

Notes

SEPTENTRIO
MERIDIES
OCCIDENS
ORIENS
MARE BALTICVM.
Oost Zee
DAS GROSSE HAFF
Odera Fluvius
POMERANIÆ
DVCATVS TABVLA.
Auctore
Eilhardo Lubino.
Miliaria Germanica communia.
Miliaria Gallica communia.
AMSTELODAMI,
Guiljelm. Blaeuw excudit.
S. Rogiers sculpsit.