University of Winchester

Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
Department of History

Kings, Heroes and Ships: The Use of Historical Characters in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Perceptions of the Early Medieval Scandinavian Past.

Karl Christian Alvestad

Thesis submitted in fulfilment for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy (History)

July 2016

This Thesis has been completed as a requirement for a postgraduate research degree from the University of Winchester

DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Karl Christian Alvestad, declare that the thesis entitled 'Kings, Heroes and Ships: the use of historical characters in nineteenth- and twentieth-century perceptions of the early medieval Scandinavian past', and the work presented in the thesis are both my own, and have been generated by me as the result of my own original research. I confirm that:

- this work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
- where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
- where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
- where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
- I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
- Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
- Parts of this work have been accepted for publication as:

Alvestad, K., 'Den Nasjonale Olav: Bruk og Misbruk av Helgenkongens Bilde mellom 1920 og 1945' [The National Olaf: The Use and Abuse of St Olaf's image between 1920 and 1945], in Ekroll, Ø. (ed.), *Helgenkongen St. Olav i Kunsten* [Image of St. Olaf in Art], (Trondheim, 2016), 191-214.

Signed: ……..

Date: 30/03/16

Acknowledgments

First and foremost I would like to thank my supervisors Ryan Lavelle, Barbara Yorke and Emiliano Perra for their support, guidance and advice. Without their guidance this thesis would never have been completed. I would furthermore like to thank Chris Callow for his advice and guidance as part of the Upgrade from MPhil to PhD on the Research Degree; his feedback was highly valued.

My thanks also go to Den Norske Historiske Forening for HIFO's Reisestipendet 2013 specifically for archive visits and research for Chapter 3 and 5 in this thesis. I would also like to thank The University of Winchester for the Academic Excellence Awards for postgraduate Research students 2015, which enabled me to complete this thesis.

In addition I would like to express my gratitude to the Martial Rose Library and the Norwegian National Library for their help with locating and facilitating access to sources which formed the foundations of this thesis, for this I am very grateful.

I would also like to thank the research community at the University of Winchester, especially the communities of Stripe 11, Medecroft 101, and the Toast Club, but also to my colleagues and friends throughout the University, for stimulating conversations across disciplines and periods. Thank you!

Thanks must also be extended to Alan Bracken Dawson, although our journey has just started, your support and friendship over the last few months has been invaluable. Last, but not least, I would like to extend my gratitude to my family: my parents and my siblings for their support and patience with me and my studies. Without you I would never have been able to complete my studies for so many reasons.

UNIVERSITY OF WINCHESTER

ABSTRACT

Kings, Heroes and Ships: the use of historical characters in nineteenth- and twentieth-century perceptions of the early medieval Scandinavian past.

Karl Christian Alvestad

Doctor of Philosophy

July 2016

The Norwegian re-imagining of an independent Norway in the long nineteenth century (1770-1940) drew on the Viking age and the Fairhair dynasty to create a foundation myth for Norway. Manifestations of this appears in academic texts, museum exhibitions, archaeological interpretations of the Oseberg and Gokstad ships, and in the public sphere through commemorations, celebrations and textbooks in the long nineteenth century. This study examines these manifestations as part of the cultural construction of an independent Norwegian nation by drawing upon ideas about medievalism, memory studies, commemoration(s), and nationalism to examine medieval sentiment of Norwegian nationalism. This use and presentation of the Viking age in Norway 1770-1940 is extensively nationalistic, through which this medievalism aimed to highlight and legitimise the antiquity of the Norwegian people and its state with kings, heroes and ships of the Viking age. The presentation and celebration of Harald Fairhair, Olaf Tryggvason and Olaf Haraldsson during the long nineteenth century as explored in this study demonstrates both a democratisation process of historical knowledge and the reinvention of a national cultural and social memory in Norway. Through these lines of evidence, the study assessed the relationship between nationalism and medievalism in this material, and between academic and popular involvement in this process. This thesis thus highlights how Norwegian medievalism in form of this use of the Viking age was an intrinsic part of Norwegian nation building 1770-1940.

Contents

List of illustrations

Notes on translations, place names and spelling

Translations and quotes

The majority of the primary sources used for this thesis were published in either of the two official versions of Norwegian: Nynorsk and Bokmål. All quotations will therefore be given in an English translation within the main text, while the original text is given in the footnotes. The English translations will be as close to the original text as possible focusing on the content and syntax, not on the form of the text. Hence texts that originally were written in verse might not have the same rhythm in English as in their original. All translations of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Norwegian are mine unless otherwise stated. Elsewhere, I rely on published translations of the saga literature and medieval texts, all of which are acknowledged and referenced as appropriate.

In a few instances Norwegian words carry more meaning when left in their original form and not translated, such as *Stortinget* [Norwegian Parliament], *Fortidsminneforeningen* [Association for the Preservation of Antiquities], and titles of books or historical studies used as sources; a translation has been given with the first reference to them, after which the Norwegian word will be used. In both the footnotes and the bibliography a translation of the Norwegian title is given in square brackets [] in the first reference to the text, after which the original title will be used. This thesis has not differentiated between texts written in NyNorsk or Bokmål, not has it stated which version of Norwegian the text is written in, unless this is of the upmost importance.

Spelling

Additionally, as the Norwegian languages have three more vowels than the English language (Æ, Ø, and Å) names containing these letters in Norwegian have not been translated into the English alternative spellings (æ= ae, ø= oe and å= aa). This is done to be in line with the original texts, translations and to ease any instances where the reader wants to check the bibliography or the references. Books and sources from authors whose surname containing Æ, Ø and Å are placed at the appropriate place in the bibliography according to the Norwegian alphabet, where they make out the last 3 letters.

Place names

Throughout this thesis I have opted to use place names in the form they were in use at the time I am referring to at any given point. Therefore cities such as Oslo, and Trondheim, will at different times throughout the thesis have different spellings to illustrate the practical implementation of Norwegian nationalism after 1905 when Norwegian cities of medieval origins had their names changed by the Norwegian parliament to become 'more Norwegian'. For this thesis this is especially important when dealing with Trondheim, which until 1929 was called *Trondhjem*, but then changed name to original *Nidaros*, before reverting back to a hybrid version of *Trondhjem*, namely its modern name of *Trondheim* in 1931.[1] More importantly perhaps the city of *Oslo*, which until 1877 had been known as *Christiania,* changed its name to the more Norwegian *Kristiania*, before it in 1925 changed back to *Oslo*, by which it was known until 1624.[2] Similar developments also took place in Bergen, Tønsberg and Narvik. The rationale for these name changes will be explored in Chapter One alongside a brief introduction to modern Norwegian history. A graph of these name changes in relation to events, texts and discoveries explored in this thesis will be included in the appendices.

[1] K.A. Rosvold, G. Thorsnaes, 'Trondheim', *Store Norske Leksikon på nett [The Great Norwegian Encyclopedia online],* 10 July 2012, www.snl.no

[2] G. Thorsnaes, 'Oslo', *Store Norske Leksikon på nett [The Great Norwegian Encyclopedia online],* 10 July 2012, www.snl.no

Abbreviations

HFF	*Heimskringla i,* Snorri Sturluson, Finlay, A., Faulkes, A. (trans.) (London, 2011).
HFL	*Heimskringla; Part two; Saga of the Norse Kings*, Snorri Sturluson, Foote, P.(ed.), Laing, S. (trans.) (London, 1961).
HGS	*Kongesagaer; Harald Haarfagre's saga* [the Kingssagas; Harald Fairhair's saga], Snorri Sturlason, Storm, G. (trans.) (Kristiania, 1900).
JDN	*Jakten på det Norske* [The search for the Norwegian], Sørensen, Ø. (ed.) (Oslo, 1998).
NBL	*Norsk biografisk leksikon på Nett* [Norwegian biographical encyclopedia online], https://nbl.snl.no/.
NOS	*Nidaros og Stiklestad; Olavs-jubileet; 1930 Minneskrift* [Nidaros and Stiklestad; the Olaf-jubilee 1930; a memorial text], Kolsrud, O.(ed.) (Oslo, 1937).
SNL	*Store Norske Leksikon på nett* [Norwegian Encyclopaedia Online] https://snl.no/.

Chapter 1: Norwegian Nationalism through Medievalism and Memory: Questions and Frameworks of Study.

King Christian II's political and military victory over the last Norwegian Archbishop Olaf Engebrektson in 1537 marks the end of both an independent Norwegian Kingdom in the middle ages and the middle ages in Norway, and was followed by an almost 400-year-long period during which Norway was in political unions with, or part of, first Denmark then Sweden. This loss of political and cultural independence became a trauma for the once kingdom, a trauma that in the long nineteenth century, from 1770 to 1945, triggered a movement of re-discovery and re-identification of what it meant to be Norwegian; this movement of internal exploration coincided with both the Norwegian constitution of 1814, and the complete restoration of the Norwegian kingdom following the dissolution of the Swedish-Norwegian Union in 1905. As part of this internal re-discovery, a historical consciousness developed among both the Norwegian elite and large sections of the population, a consciousness which was aware both of the trauma of the loss of the Norwegian kingdom in the late medieval period, and of the origins of the kingdom in the ninth century battle of Hafrsfjord when the Norwegian king Harald Fairhair unified Norway under his rule. Throughout this period of self-discovery many Norwegians sought knowledge about the kingdom's past in the Norse Sagas, and especially Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla,* which in Norway was known as *The Norwegian King's Saga*. In *Heimskringla* Norwegians could read of the kings who founded, defended and converted Norway. These kings became national heroes and symbols of the antiquity of the Norwegian kingdom. This early medieval origin of Norway generated identity markers within both the elite and the non-urban population, and objects and geographic sites connected to Harald Fairhair, Olaf Tryggvasson and Olaf Haraldsson and their dynasty became part of the national memory landscape. From this situation the question arises: how was the early medieval Norwegian kingdom remembered and presented to Norwegians of the long nineteenth century, and how did this affect and stimulate the national identity of the kingdom in its process of re-discovery?

In this thesis I explore exactly this re-discovery and remembering, and how it spread and manifested itself through different elements of Norwegian society in the long nineteenth century. I will explore this remembering through the framework of medievalism, memory studies, nationalism and commemorations. The emphasis will be placed on the development of the historical discipline, the presentation of the origins of the

Norwegian kingdom in textbooks, the display and interpretations of the Viking ships, and the public remembering taking place at commemoration events in the second half of the nineteenth, and first half of the twentieth centuries. As such, the reception and use of the Middle Ages, or specifically the kings listed above and the Viking ships, will be examined through their role as identity markers within a medievalist nationalism in Norway throughout the long nineteenth century.

Medievalism and the remembering of characters and places from the early middle ages are not new to me. In my MA dissertation I explored the modern protestant cult of (St) Olaf Haraldsson in the context of the nation, but primarily focusing on the religious and theological adaptation of Olaf in 1930.[1] Although my MA dissertation attempted to deal with the duality of Olaf's identity as saint and king, it never fully tackled how this remembering fitted into the wider context and to what extent this kind of remembering was specific to Norway or representative of a trend throughout Europe at the time. In essence my previous study worked from the point of view that events of commemorations are reflections of the identities of those who commemorate and not a reflection of the event or person commemorated. As such, the 1930 celebration was an excellent case study (as shall be explored further in chapter 5), but it appears in a wider context and cannot be seen as an event that came out of nowhere. This then triggered the wider study you will find below, to analyse the material and case studies included in this thesis, and the context in which the 1930 celebration falls. The next section will explore the frameworks and methodology of this thesis as well as examining how this research fits into the existing literature.

1.1. Frameworks of Discussion

The ideas around what a nation consists of and its identity are closely linked with nationalism and memory, both of which are strong academic disciplines that overlap and have shared relationships with memory studies and medievalism; this section will therefore explore these topics and some of the scholarly framework in which they can be understood.

Patrick Geary claims that nationalism spreads through society in three stages: in the first one, the idea of the nation is the preserve of a small elite; in the second one, an educated elite tries to spread the ideas about the nation, its national characteristics and

[1] K. Alvestad, *The Protestant Saint: the use of King Olaf and the anniversary of the battle at Stiklestad in the creation and celebration of a Norwegian Identity*, unpublished MA Dissertation, (submitted: September 2012), University of Winchester.

distinct identity; in the third one, the greater public starts taking part in commemorating and considers itself a part of the nation and its national identity.[2]

To Ernest Gellner it does not matter so much how nationalism spreads, but more what it is capable of doing, or what it is, and in 1983 he stated that:

> Nationalism as a sentiment, or movement, can best be defined in terms of this principle. Nationalist sentiments [are] the feeling of anger aroused by the violation of the principle, or the feeling of satisfaction aroused by its fulfilment. A nationalist movement is one actuated by a sentiment of this kind. [3]

He claims that nationalism is only a political principle that seeks to align the political and ethnic units of a nation.[4] However, whether or not nationalism is merely a political sentiment, it would only be applicable if the members of the public and the elite viewed themselves as part of the same nation. Ernest Gellner also suggested what constitutes the foundation of a nation and its implication on identity:

> Two men are of the same nation if and only if they share the same culture, where culture in turn means a system of ideas and signs and associations and ways of behaving and communicating.
> Two men are of the same nation if and only if they *recognize* each other as belonging to the same nation. In other words, *nations maketh man*; nations are artefacts of men's convictions and loyalties and solidarities[5]

This means that for a nationalism to exist in the first place at least two or more people have to think of themselves as part of a group, a group that would extend further than just one's family or kinship. This group would then have to be able to acknowledge or imagine its own shared cultural foundation. This is what Benedict Anderson sees as an imagined community. He observes that all communities bigger than the smallest village will have more members than a single individual will ever be capable of meeting, acquainting or getting to know, but the members of that community will still think of each other as members of the same group.[6] This is why the community is imagined. Still, even if the community is imagined, as long as the members see themselves as members of the same group and share a common culture, heritage and traditions, alongside language and belief in the community, then they share not only a group, but also its identity. A very common group to divide people into in the modern world is a nation. Therefore, it has been of great interest for scholars to examine the growth of nationalism and its impact. Anderson

---

[2] P. Geary, *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Woodstock, 2002), 17-18.
[3] E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford, 1983), 1.
[4] Gellner, *Nations.*, 1.
[5] Gellner, *Nations.*, 7.
[6] B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London, 1991), 6.

claimed, following Ernest Gellner, that nationalism is not the awakening of nations, but rather the creation of them where none has previously existed.[7] However, if the community is imagined as Anderson suggests, then the manifestations of its identity might also be invented. Eric Hobsbawm claimed in 1983 that "traditions" that appear or claim to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented.[8] Moreover, he continued to say that these "traditions" 'establish or symbolize social cohesion or membership in groups, real or artificial communities.'[9] They can also be used to legitimize institutions and authority, as a state or nation. With all of this taken into account, nationalism appears to be not only a political sentiment, but also an ideology that can create and cement a community and nation where none has existed.

Another staple of the literature on nationalism is conveyed cogently by Anthony Smith. In his view:

> Nationalism provides perhaps the most compelling identity myth in the modern world, but it comes in various forms. Myths of national identity typically refer to territory or ancestry (or both) as the basis of political community (...).[10]

This myth of origins is therefore suggested, if one should believe the claim made above, to have climbed down the social ladder, and, through that, the myth spread throughout the nation until it reached the 'third stage', where nationalism could claim any sacrifice of the members of the nation to protect its continued existence. Furthermore, Smith claims that this growth could only take place when the societies in which it developed reach a certain level of industrial development and the nation becomes the unit its population starts to mirror itself in.[11] For the majority of Europe, this took place during the nineteenth century when the educated elite started to examine and be fascinated with the culture, language and history of the people. In this process, the use and study of history provided nationalist movements with new fuel to feed and justify the movements; this is highlighted by Eric Hobsbawm who stated:

> Historians are to nationalism what poppy-growers in Pakistan are to heroin-addicts: we supply the essential raw material for the market. Nations without a past are a contradiction in terms.[12]

---

[7] Anderson, *Imagined.*, 6.
[8] E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Traditions* (London, 1983), 1.
[9] Hobsbawm, *The Invention.,* 9.
[10] A. Smith, *National Identity* (London, 1991), viii.
[11] Smith, *National.,* viii.
[12] E. Hobsbawm, 'Ethnicity and nationalism in Europe Today', *Anthropology Today*, Vol. 8(1), (1992), 3.

History, in the form of textual analysis or objects thus provided the foundations for the nineteenth century foundation myths, and provided a narrative from which a national identity could draw its traditions, myths and sentiments. The early examinations of language and history gave an awareness of national distinctiveness among nations, and a sense of 'Us' versus an 'Other', which does not belong to the nation and thus is alien to its ways, heritage and identity. Trickling down from the educated elite, this 'awareness' (or imagined national idea) spread to artists and the middle classes, and finally reached the masses through schools and other institutions.

In Norway, this development took place during what has been referred to as the long nineteenth century,[13] stretching from 1770 to 1945. During this time Norway developed from a loyal part of the Danish-Norwegian double monarchy to a fully-fledged democracy and a nation-state. The long nineteenth century stretches from the short-lived period with freedom of print in the second half of the eighteenth century, to the liberation from the German occupation at the end of the Second World War. In this period the memory of an older Norway, the medieval kingdom, formed the foundation for a "re-awakened" nation. This period saw the production of artistic masterpieces such as Tideman and Gude's *Brudeferd i Hardanger* [A Wedding in Hardanger], Theodor Kittelsen's *Soria Moria Slott* [Palace of Dreams], Oscar Wergeland's *Eidsvold 1814* [Eidsvold in 1814] and I.C. Dahl's *Fra Stalheim* [From Stalheim], among many other artistic works celebrating, and supporting elements of, the national idea. It saw the gathering and publication of folklore and the creation of Nynorsk, the written language based on the spoken dialects of Norway, supposedly the living link between them and with the ancient Norwegians. It also saw the establishment of the Norwegian parliament, University, Bank, national historical narrative and, above all, national pride among the wider population. These notions of pride and awareness of national identity were tested twice in a very few years: first in 1905 for the nation to be ready to defend its homeland against the Swedes; and then secondly in 1940-45, when the same nation was called upon to defend its constitution and freedom, initially against the German invasion and then later to prepare for the liberation of the nation, its people and to rebuild the country after five years of war and occupation.

In Norway, like many other nations, the memory and continuous presence of a historical state, the Kingdom of Norway, fuelled the national vigour for a rebirth of this state and helped to justify the existence of both the young state emerging after 17 May 1814, and the nation on its own. Patrick Geary, examining the origins of Europe claims that

[13] Ø, Sørensen (ed.) *Jakten på det Norske* [The search for the Norwegian] (Oslo, 1998), 22.

the historical alibi or justification for the nation and its state is important for its existence. This alone suggests that history has been important for the development of nations and nationalism. Geary states that:

> This pseudo-history assumes, first, that the peoples of Europe are distinct, stable and objectively identifiable social and cultural units, and that they are distinguished by language, religion, custom and national characters, which are unambiguous and immutable. These peoples were supposedly formed either in some impossibly remote moment of prehistory, or else the process of ethnogenesis took place at some moment during the Middle Ages, but then ended for all time. Second, ethnic claims demand the political autonomy of all persons belonging to a particular ethnic group and at the same time the right of that people to govern its historical territory, usually defined in terms of early medieval settlements or kingdoms, regardless of who may now live in it.[14]

It is not a coincidence that we see the development of nationalism in the same period as the development of history as an academic discipline. As the myth of nationalism refers to origins of the nation and through that refers to its history, the construct of a national narrative to support nationalism is important for its existence. Ottar Dahl suggests that, for Norway, the development of a national historical narrative was an important nationalistic development in the nineteenth century, an act designed to set the nation apart from its neighbours.[15] This narrative aimed to justify national independence and explain the cultural difference between nations.

Nationalism can develop along two very different variations: the first path focuses on the state and uses the state, like France, Spain or Britain (or even the USA), as a mould for the nation. The second functions through the ethnic groups of the nation: the language, culture and/or tradition determine where the borders of the nation should be, such as the nationalism of Germany or within the multi-ethnic empires of the Ottomans and Habsburgs. With this version of nationalism it was the ethnicity and cultural identity that became the determining factor of nationhood and thus the person's national identity.[16] Geary describes how this second version of nationalism follows the three staged development and spread of nationalism as referred to above, observing:

> First, the study of the language, culture, and history of a subject people by a small group of 'awakened' intellectuals; secondly, the transmission of scholars' ideas by groups of 'patriots' who disseminate them throughout society (...).[17]

[14] Geary, *The Myth of Nations.,* 11.
[15] O. Dahl, *Norsk Historieforskning i det 19. og 20. Århundre* [Norwegian Historical Research in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century] (Oslo, 1990), 19.
[16] Geary, *The Myth of Nations.,* 17, 21.
[17] Geary, *The Myth of Nations*., 17-18.

Both forms of nationalism value the past and use history to justify the existence of the nation: the first through its emphasis on the history of the state, the second through the emphasis on the cultural continuation illustrated through a national history.

For many nations and nationalist movements this past and history which they see as their own revolves around the long years of the Middle Ages, stretching from the end of the Roman Empire to the reformation. This was a period in which kingdoms rose and fell, states appeared and peoples migrated to new homes. Many modern nations look back to these states and nations that bear their names or existed in their location during the Middle Ages.

This national fascination with the Middle Ages is what Umberto Eco calls the medievalism of Nationalism,[18] a fascination and cult of the medieval past into a glorified golden age of the nation that can be harvested and used to justify the nation and its claim for a nation-state.

This claim, and the use of the medieval past, fits with the idea that nationalism is not only a national sentiment to justify expansions, but also to unify and internally manifest the nation. In a recent survey by Pugh and Weisl, medievalism is explained as:

> The art, literature, scholarship avocational [sic] pastimes, and sundry forms of entertainment and culture that turn to the Middle Ages for their subject matter or inspiration, and in doing so, explicitly or implicitly, by comparison or by contrast, comment on the artist's contemporary sociocultural milieu.[19]

This statement argues that the medieval sentiment of many nationalist movements and the manifestation of these can, in fact be seen as medievalism. This use of the Middle Ages in relation to nationalism is, as Geary suggests, part of the construction of a national narrative, and has been used to justify violence on the basis of a 'lost' Golden Age.[20]

Medievalism in the service of the nation as described by Eco and Geary has its origins and manifestation in two key media which are relevant for this study. One is monuments or sites that are imbued with a particular selected or invented memory. As noted by Pierre Nora in his *Les Lieux de Mémoire*, this codification is more revealing of those who commit to the act of remembrance than of the matter remembered.[21] The other is a text-based myth and remembering similar to the one explored by Christina Lee in her

[18] U. Eco, *Travels in Hyperreality: Essays* (London, 1987), 70.
[19] T. Pugh and A. J. Weisl, *Medievalisms: Making the Past in the Present* (Abingdon, 2013), 1
[20] Geary, *The Myth of Nations*., 7-13, ;Pugh & Weisl, *Medievalisms.,* 141.
[21] P. Nora, 'Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*', *Representations*, Vol. 26 (1989), 9.

chapter on the use and reading of the *Edda* in Germany in the early modern period.[22] Both these two origins of memories invests the remembered with something that can be manipulated and reproduced to spread the shared memory imbued in the respective monuments, sites and texts. Lee's chapter highlights how the Old Norse text known as the *Edda* was used in the German lands from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth century as a link to a presumed lost Germanic heritage and pre-Christian literature. She points out how this was especially important when German scholars and academics sought to differentiate themselves from the French and the Latin influence on German culture. At the same time these scholars also sought to locate an untainted core of Germanic literature from which the true Germanic religion and culture could be re-constructed; this 'was sought and found in Iceland'.[23] Lee's chapter articulates a rationale and narrative of selective remembering and reconstruction of the past based on a political and cultural motivated selection of texts that was made available for a wider public. This development is also present in Norway in the long nineteenth century, where Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla* was perceived and used as the early history of Norway. The text, as will be explored in the chapters below, not only influenced historical discourse and archaeology, but was also used in textbooks and as part of national and regional commemorations; the Norwegian translations of *Heimskringla* were immensely popular and could be found in most homes throughout Norway at the turn of the twentieth century. References from *Heimskringla* were used in Norway, as will be discussed in chapter 4, in the context of archaeological sites and objects such as the Viking ships. Through linking these sites and objects with *Heimskringla*, and the memory embedded in the reading of the texts, these sites became what Pierre Nora called *lieux de mémoire*.

Nora's studies focused on selective remembering through objects and places in France and how these objects and places channel a selective memory of the past. He highlights that this memory can be changed, altered and adapted throughout time, but also has to be maintained, for the sites and objects in themselves mean nothing; it is through our projection of a memory or narrative onto these sites and objects that they become sites of memory. Nora argues that with the industrialisation and urbanisation of societies the traditional living memory carried from generation to generation, which in pre-industrial societies also embodied its history, is vanishing and at the same time it is separating into

[22] C. Lee, 'A useful Great-Grandmother: *Edda* Reception in Post Medieval Germany', in C. Lee and N. McLelland (Eds.), *Germania Remembered 1500-2009: Commemorating and inventing a Germanic Past* (Tempe, 2012), 99-119.
[23] C. Lee, 'A useful Great-Grandmother', 110.

two distinct parts: Memory and History. This development has produced a situation where memory is subjective and defined by the group remembering and is constructed. As such, memories which are constructed need to be preserved through active remembering or reshaping, whereas history seemingly exists universally beyond memory; it is the objective account of years past. Nora claims that: 'every great historical revision has sought to enlarge the basis for collective memory' through which he implies that historical writing is an expression of memory: as history as a text is a subjective representation of an objective history, historical writing reflects therefore the identity and mission of its author.[24] Through this statement Nora suggests that historical studies are not just an example of memories, but also contribute to the construction and maintenance of the memories of their respective societies. To these societies memory is absolute and the historical 'truth', while history can only conceive the relative.[25] As such memory evolves with the needs and identities of a community, but with the decline of living memory, communities have started constructing reminders to themselves about the memories through histories, monuments and sites.

Nora's work has influenced a number of studies examining the importance of sites, monuments and symbols of memory and remembering in a society. His imposing study *Les Lieux de Mémoire* examining the sites of memory in France has been replicated in many countries throughout Europe. Latest in a long line of studies that use this approach and theory, Geppert and Müller's study *Sites of Imperial Memory* explores the act of commemorating and its relationship with sites of memory in the colonial and post-colonial context.[26] In this study, the ideas about the role of these sites as works focused in a national framework are challenged and explored in the context of the colonial and post-colonial identities of former European colonies throughout the world. Xavier Guégan suggests the image or commentary on the sites helps to transmit their meaning and importance to the community that uses these sites of memory beyond the locality of the site itself.[27] As such, pictorial or textual references to sites that are considered of relative importance to the Norwegian nation are therefore not just reproductions of the sites of memories, but become vectors of memory themselves. They are embodied with the same

[24] Nora, 'Between Memory and History', 9.
[25] Nora, 'Between Memory and History', 9.
[26] D. Geppert and F.L. Müller (Eds.), *Sites of Imperial Memory: Commemorating Colonial rule in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centurie* (Manchester, 2015)
[27] X. Guégan, 'Transmissible Sites: Monuments, Memorials and their Visibility on the Metropole and the Periphery', in D. Geppert and F.L. Müller (Eds.), *Sites of Imperial Memory: Commemorating Colonial rule in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centurie* (Manchester, 2015), 23-25.

memory as the original or permanent site, and become through this a transmittable version of the same sites and an extension of the memory embedded in the permanent site. In this context, the commentary on archaeological or geographic sites in textbooks, guidebooks or images and representations of these sites (as will be explored in chapter 3 and 4) not only transmit knowledge about the sites, but help to transmit their meaning to a wider audience. It is precisely through this transmission that such sites achieve an enduring importance in the historical consciousness of the nation. As such the mnemonic abilities often attached to objects and sites become transmitted to a wider imagined community outside the centre of a state, establishing and maintaining the shared identity between the centre and the periphery.[28]

This memory projection and creation of sites of memory can result in a pseudo-religious or sacred relationship with the landscape which is either remembered or imagined through mnemonic activities. Anthony D. Smith suggests that a nation's potential relationship with a specific territory, ancestral or promised, has the ability to take on religious notes in its remembering or dreaming of this land as part of its identity development. In essence, Smith argues that some nations can project onto territories certain memories, resulting in a *territorialisation of memory*, where the cultural memory of a nation is placed into or embedded into a territory. Particularly important in this process is the *naturalization of history* by which Smith means: 'the provision of a natural setting for the resting places and tombs of *our* ancestors, such that it binds the generations to the land, and the tombs are built to be an intrinsic part of nature.'[29] Through this it can be suggested that the territory and land can be an integral part of a nation's historical memory, where monuments and territorial features become sites of memory connecting the nation to the land establishing legitimacy through inheritance and blood. Through the *territorialisation of memory* these origin myths manifest themselves in landscape, making the nation a chosen people for that particular landscape.[30]

The public and selective remembering of the past through monuments, texts or features in the landscape often occurs in the second and third stages of nationalism, as a product of the work undertaken in the first stage. Memorialisation and manifestation of nationalistic sentiments in this way in the second and third stages suggest an internal consolidation of the nationalist movement and the memory it presents. The second and

[28] G. Cubitt, *History and Memory* (Manchester, 2007), 195.
[29] A.D. Smith, *Chosen Peoples* (Oxford, 2003), 136.
[30] Smith, *Chosen Peoples*, 134-6.

third stage of nationalism in Norway according to some scholars occurred in the period after 1845-50,[31] and reached its height during the 1930s, just before the Second World War. In this context, the developing manifestations of the medieval within the nationalistic sentiment must be based on the first and second stages of nationalism: the work of a few ideological and educated people who brought about the development of nationalism in that nation.[32] On the basis of this logic, it is impossible to fully grasp the nature of the aspects of medievalism within nationalism without studying its origins in the first stage, a period which by some Norwegians is called the awakening of the nation.[33] Conventional wisdom has it that Norwegian nationalism began in the 1770s with the brief period of printing freedom, and with the literary production of that period, of which *Norges Skaal [Norway's toast]* is the most famous. Providing this is so, the ideas and literature of the period must be the starting point for this study, as these sources manifest the beginning of political and cultural nationalism in Norway. These sources have evidence for a medieval sentiment within their lines. This suggests that in order to fully understand the developments of Norway's medievalism within its nationalism, it will be necessary to examine not just the second and third stage of the nationalism up to the end of the Second World War, but also its roots within the first stage. Such an examination means that this study will have to span the years from 1770, with the first traces of Norwegian nationalist ideas and national awareness, up to the end of the Second World War and the political restoration in 1945, with the Unification government under Einar Gerhardsen.

1.2. Research Context

In comparison to their international colleagues, Norwegian scholars in history and sociology have mainly focused on the development of Norway's national identity from three vantage points. The first approach has been the examination of the acts and ideas of the 'great' men of the nineteenth century and their impact on political and social life of the nation. This approach can be seen as a biographical examination of these characters' involvement in political and cultural nationalism and their role in the construction of the nation. Among these studies of personalities and their impact on the development of the nation are

[31] Ø. Sørensen, *Nasjonal identitet- et kunstprodukt?* [National Identity- a product of art?] (Oslo, 1994), 9.
[32] Geary, *The Myth of Nations.,* 17-18.
[33] O. Christensen, 'En Nasjonal Identitet tar form: Ethniske og Nasjonalkulturelle Avgrensninger' [A National Identity takes shape: Ethnical and Cultural Borders are Established], in *JDN*, 71; S. Dyrvik. '1536-1814', in R. Danielsen, S. Dyrvik, T. Grønlie, K. Helle, E. Hovland, *Grunntrekk i Norsk historie,* [Basics to Norwegian history] (Oslo, 1991). 168.

countless biographies of heroes such as Roald Amundsen (1872-1928) and Fritjof Nansen (1861-1930), literary figures such as Henrik Ibsen (1828-1906), Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson (1832-1910), Sigrid Undset (1882-1949), Knut Hamsun (1859-1952), Ivar Aasen (1813-96) and Henrik Wergeland (1808-45), and above all of King Haakon VII (1872-1957) and the Norwegian Royal family.[34]

The second approach is related to the developments of the 'true' Norwegian culture and language, and the intellectual conflict between the two competing versions of written Norwegian. This approach to nationalism is an examination of the cultural forces in the nineteenth century trying to create and stimulate a national culture independent from either Swedish or Danish influence, or both. The focal point of this research approach has been the conflict between the supporters of NyNorsk and Bokmål, and their ideas about what foundation a new written Norwegian should be based upon. The studies of Arne Garborg and Ivar Aasen, their ideas and literary production, dominate this second path of Norwegian nationalism. This is, as Oddmund Løkensgård Hoel states:

> …because there were no agreements about what constitutes 'the Norwegian' and 'the National', thus these ideas were defined and redefined in the cultural-political struggle. This is most evident in the language struggle, where to this day it has not been possible to unite the Norwegians around what many see as the ultimate manifestation of a nation: a single written language.[35]

This fascination with the language issue seems predominantly to be present in circles that have NyNorsk as their main written language, and as the struggle for this to become the dominant language continues, this is a still ongoing significant and influential manifestation of the nineteenth century's nationalism.

---

[34] T. Bomann-Larsen, *Roald Amundsen : en Biografi*[Roald Amundsen: A Biography](Oslo, 1995); R. Huntford, *Fridtjof Nansen : Mennesket bak Myten*[Fridtjof Nansen: The Man Behind the Myth] (Oslo, 1996); M. Meyer, *Henrik Ibsen: en Biografi*[Henrik Ibsen: A Biography] (Oslo,1971); Ø. Sørensen, *Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson og Nasjonalismen*[Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson and nationalism] (Oslo, 1997); L. Bliksrud, *Sigrid Undset,* (Oslo, 1997); A. Østby, *Knut Hamsun : en Bibliografi* [Knut Hamsund: A biography] (Oslo, 1972); J. Krokvik, *Ivar Aasen : Diktar og Granskar, Sosial Frigjerar og Nasjonal Målreisar* [Ivar Aasen: Poet and Researcher, Social Liberator and National Linguist] (Oslo, 1996); O.A., Storsveen, *Mig selv : en Biografi om Henrik Wergeland* [Me Myself: A Biography of Henrik Wergeland] (Oslo, 2008); T. Bomann-Larsen, *Haakon & Maud* [Haakon and Maud] (Oslo, 2002-2008), 4 Volumes.

[35] 'Eit slikt perspektiv kan likevel lett få oss til å oversjå at det ikkje fanst noka grunnleggjande semje om kva «det norske» og «det nasjonale» var, og slike omgrep vart (og vert) definert og omdefinerte i den kulturpolitiske striden. Klårast kjem dette til uttrykk på det språkelege felt, der det til no ikkje har lukkast å samla nordmennene og –kvinnene om det som mange ser som det fremste uttrykket for ein nasjon: eit samlande skriftmål.' O. L. Hoel, 'Ivar Aasen som Opposisjonell Nasjonalist' [Ivar Aasen as Nationalist in Opposition], in *JDN*, 303.

The third and last of the Norwegian approaches to studying nationalism is, in some aspects, connected to the second one because it relates to cultural nationalism. This approach has focused on the process of recording and publishing traditions amid folklore and their impact on Norwegian culture in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. This includes the recording and publishing of fairy tales, folk music and folk culture, but also their impact on the cultural production of the nation in the nineteenth century, and their importance as national symbols for Norway in the nineteenth and twentieth century.

Studies such as Ørnulf Hodne's article on fairytales and Astrid Oxaal's article on national costumes,[36] both from 1998, illustrate the importance of folklore and folk culture in the context of Norwegian nationalism. Folklore in the nineteenth century was as Ørnulf Hodne puts it: 'used as sources for researchers who sought traces of myths and other ancient ideas about the distant past, and was an important contribution to the increase in love for nation and the homeland.' [37] Folklore was also important as it helped identify the character of the 'nation' (i.e. people).[38] In his book from 1994, Hodne states: 'it was all about a historically based group mentality for the nation, a Volks- or National-Geist, that created its own way of expression through among other things language and folklore.'[39] This supports the idea that the memory of ancient origins of a nation can be found, extracted and interpreted from fairy tales, folklore and cultural traditions of the people. The importance of folklore for the national identity can be read in the words of Jørgen Moe: 'those splendid memories should fill us with sacred and deep joy for our people's value and importance.'[40] Another important man for Norwegian nationalism, the historian P.A. Munch, said it thus: 'No property right should be more respected between nations, then

[36] Ø. Hodne, *Det Nasjonale hos Norske Folklorister på 1800-tallet* [The Norwegian among Norwegian Folklorists in the nineteenth century] (Oslo, 1994); A. Oxaal, *Drakt og Nasjonal Identitet 1760-1917: den Sivile Uniformen, Folkedrakten og Nasjonen* [Dress and National Identity 1760-1917: the Civilian Uniform, the National Costume and the Nation] (Oslo, 2001).

[37] 'Først da kunne de tjene som kildematriale for forskere som søkte spor etter myter og andre gamle fortistforestillinger i dem, og gi viktige bidrag til arbeidet med å styrke kjærligheten til folk og fedreland.' Ø. Hodne, 'Sagn og Eventyr som Nasjonalkultur' [Myths and Fairytales as National Culture], in *JDN*, 126.

[38] Hodne, *'Sagn',* in *JDN*, 126.

[39] 'Alt handlet om en nasjonal mentalitet basert på det historiske, en Volks- eller Nasjonal-Geist, som kom til uttrykk gjennom språk og folkeeventyr.' Ø. Hodne, *Det Nasjonale hos Norske Folklorister på 1800 tallet* [The National among Nineteenth Century Folklorists in Norway] (Oslo, 1994), 5.

[40] '[H]ine straalende Minder skulle fylde os med hellig Begeistring, med dyb Følelse for vort Folks Værd og Betydning.' J. Moe 'Tale til Bragebægeret' [Speech to Bragebægeret] 13 January 1846 in Ø. Hodne, 'Sagn og Eventyr som Nasjonalkultur' [Myths and Fairytales as National Culture], in *JDN*, 139.

the right to one's historical memory. To take that away from the nation is almost as unjust as conquering parts of its territory.'[41]

Both Moe and Munch referred here to a Norwegian nation whose folklore, culture and history are intrinsically Norwegian; and it was through this Norwegianness that the national spirit could be re-discovered. Munch's reference to a nation's right to own its history also refers to the nation's right to its own culture; as such the re-discovery of the popular culture of the farmers, alongside the culture of the urban elite, triggered a series of movements that aimed to unify the kingdom culturally. It is in relation to this and the unification of a nation into one culture that the Norwegian national costume known as *Bunad* has its connection to nationalism. It was seen as part of the cultural nationalisms of an elite group revolving around Arne and Hulda Garborg that saw the *Bunad* [national costume] as part of the nation's culture. In fact the *Bunad* , Hulda's 'child', together with the folklore dances are her contributions to the cultural nationalism, centred on the idea that the national culture should be based on the culture of the people, although a bit 'improved'.[42] Hulda's *Bunads* were to be based on the local costumes of the farmer class from the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, with variations depending on the owners' district of origins. The costumes became an integrated part of Norwegian identity, so much so that a large proportion of Norwegian women and a considerable amount of men today wear their *Bunad* when celebrating national holidays, weddings, confirmations, and other rites of passage. At the end of the nineteenth century the *Bunad* became fashionable not only among the free farmers of the countryside, but also among the growing elite and middle classes in the city.[43] This re-creation of the *Bunad* [as a part of the national cultural tradition, and its symbolism in establishing a national dress tradition that also distinguishes between regions and localities, justifies its examination in relation to nationalism. In a sense the *Bunad*, the most successful product of the Garborg-Aasen circle, unites the nation. These folklore and folk costumes reflect the cultural nationalism of the nineteenth century, where the culture of the rural population was recorded, 'improved' and then re-presented to the public as a national culture.

---

[41] 'Ingen Eiendomsret bør derfor mellom nationerne indbyrders mer respecteres, end den, enhver Nation har til sine historiske Minder. At berøve en Nation disse, er næsten ligesaa uretfærdigt som at berøve den et Stykke af dens Territorium.' P.A. Munch, *Det Norske Folks Historie* [The History of the Norwegian People], Vol. i part i, in Ø. Hodne, 'Sagn og Eventyr som Nasjonalkultur' [Myths and Fairytales as National Culture], in *JDN*, 139.

[42] A. Oxaal, 'Bunaden – Stagnasjon eller Nyskapning' [The Bunad- Stagnation or Innovation], in *JDN*, 142.

[43] Oxaal, *'Bunaden'*, 145.

As said above, the third approach to examining Norwegian nationalism is based on examining the cultural unification of the nation, and the creation of a national culture. Hulda's idea about the farmers and their lifestyle as the time capsule for information and cultural continuation was also reflected in the ideas of language and the importance of the folklore. These ideas have their origins in the Nordic Enlightenment, a period in which the free farmers of Scandinavia were perceived to be a direct link with the Viking past and the Germanic freedoms of the ancient world.[44] This Nordic Enlightenment flowered in the eighteenth- and first half of the nineteenth- century and drew heavily on the notion that the Scandinavian peasantry was the foundation for Scandinavian society as free men with political, financial and cultural agency. Unlike its continental counterparts, the Nordic Enlightenment was not elitist, but these ideas about the peasantry triggered the abolition of villeinage in Denmark, and the establishment of a separate estate for the free peasants in the Swedish Diet.[45] In this process the ideas of the Enlightenment filtered down to the population and by elections for the constitutional assembly in 1814, the Norwegian peasantry were aware of their status as 'cultural heroes' for they were the people.[46]

Together, these three approaches and foundations make up the main lines of Norwegian nationalism studies. However, these broad topics do not explain how Norwegian nationalism has been debated by scholars, as there are internal variations and combinations between these three main subjects. Also other minor subjects will be examined, such as the concept of 'nation' in textbooks, the use of the flag, and the development of the 17 May celebrations and their political context. These have been studied in relation to the *KULT* project, a project in the 1990s, which examined in an inter-disciplinary manner the main columns of the Norwegian culture of nationalism at the time; this project culminated in the publication of *Jakten på det Norske* [The Search for the Norwegian], containing a series of articles based on the different individual studies which made up the *KULT* (Kultur- og tradisjonsformidlende forskning) [Research conveying culture and traditions] project.[47]

While it is common to distinguish between two norms of nationalism through the focus on either the culture or the state, Ø. Sørensen has claimed in *Jakten på det Norske*

---

[44] Ø. Sørensen and B. Stråth 'Introduction' in Ø. Sørensen and B. Stråth, (eds.), *The Cultural Construction of Norden* (Oslo, 1997), 1.
[45] P. Kettunen, 'A Return to the Figure of the Free Nordic Peasant' in *Acta Sociologica*, Vol. 42(3) (1999), 262.
[46] Kettunen, 'A Return to the Figure', 263.
[47] *JDN*.

[The Search for the Norwegian] that a third version of nationalism developed in Norway.[48] This Norwegian version does not only focus on the state as the realization of the nation and celebrate its glory and its history; it also focuses on the cultural aspects of the nation (the Norwegian people) by seeking a unifying national culture not based on the culture of the political elite, but of the people themselves. Such a development and fusion was made possible through the tradition that Norway, even before the 'rebellion' of 1814, was seen as a territorial unit independent of Denmark as the Kingdom of Norway. This kingdom was held by Danish monarchs through inheritance, not by election, until 1537, and reappeared as Denmark's twin kingdom with the establishment of Absolutism in 1660. This made way for the notion of continuity between the New Norwegian state of 1814 and the pre-1537 kingdom, a state in succession and a manifestation of a nation that was waking up. Cultural nationalism developed in this context, promoted by the elite and academics with the aim of establishing a link between their current state and that of the ancient Norwegian kingdom of the Middle Ages on the one hand, and the nation's 'true' culture and language on the other. However, although political nationalism claimed all the areas of Norway within the borders of the country, a series of national minorities such as Sami, Kvens, Finns and Travellers were not taken into account. Efforts were made to eradicate their presence through forced cultural conversion to the majority culture of the nation, policies that continued throughout the period set for this study. This hybrid nationalism which encompasses both traditional nationalisms into one is reflected in the themes studied in relation to Norwegian nationalism. There are two key books that underline these trends and illustrate them greatly. The aforementioned *Jakten på det Norske* [The Search for the Norwegian] based on the KULT project,[49] and, *De nasjonale Strateger* [National Strategists] by Rune Slagstad, that contributes to the literature on great men and their impact on the political and cultural development of Norway.[50]

The trend in previous studies of the Norwegian nationalism has been to look away from the development of the Norwegian historical memory and narrative as an element of Norwegian nationalism, this is representative in the lack of studies of Norwegian historiographical nationalism. The historiographical studies of Norway that examine history's intertwining with nationalism are few, and the nationalism aspect appears as a side track of the main analysis. It is evident in Ottar Dahl's book on Norwegian

[48] Ø. Sørensen, 'Når ble Nordmenn Norske?' [When did Norwegians become Norwegian?], in *JDN*, 13-14.
[49] *JDN,* 15.
[50] R. Slagstad, *De Nasjonale Strateger* [The National Strategists] (Oslo, 2001).

historiography that the impact of nationalism in the nineteenth century cannot be set aside as a separate issue away from the main developments of the historical discipline. However, most studies focus on the ideas that influenced the literary production of historians, not their nationalist motivations.

The surge of literature about Norwegian nationalism and national identity correlates with a period during the 1990s, following the 1994 winter Olympics and the 1994 EU referendum, when the public started to question what it meant to be Norwegian, and thus to re-define their own identity. The greatest problem with these debates was their emphasis on the modern national identity of Norway, and how this had influenced the development of current Norwegian nationalism. Elements prima facie not seen as important in modern society such as language and folklore were not examined as a result. This might help explaining the failure of previous studies to assess the impact of nationalism and national identity of Norway on Norwegian historical writing and the development of the Norwegian historical narrative.

Outside the context of Norway, nationalism and the creation of national identities have been examined widely and thoroughly. The predominant trends of the 1980s and 1990s were based on an examination of nationalism in Europe according to the ideas and theories of Hobsbawm and Gellner. The twenty-first century has seen a rise of comparative studies and larger publications that compare developments throughout Europe, such as Evans and Marchal's edited volume, *The Uses of the Middle Ages in the Modern European States,*[51] which examines the use of medieval and medievalist literature in the construction of identities. With their focus on nations as dynamic and contested entities, the use of the Middle Ages and the role of historians as nation-builders their study provides a staple for this research. As highlighted above, the selective reading and use of medieval texts is a form for remembering, and the spread of Snorri's *Heimskringla* in Norway was part of the underpinning and commemorating of the Norwegian state and their historical narrative.

Commemorations are manifestations of nationalism through its recollection of the past and remembrance of history. The act of commemoration is key to understanding the memory of a society, however selective this memory might be, and through that the self-perception of the community that performs the commemorations. Studies of these acts are, therefore, inseparable from those of collective and public memory. A commemoration can, therefore, be seen as an invented tradition that manifests the group that performs the

[51] G.P. Marchal, R.J.W. Evans, (eds.), *The Use of the Middle Ages in Modern European States: History, Nationhood and the Search for Origins* (Basingstoke, 2010).

commemoration, and reflect how this society/group wish to see themselves and to be perceived by others. Commemorations themselves are not studied on their own but in the context of public memory and group identity. Studies like John R. Gillis' collection, *Commemorations* and Lyn Spillman's study *Nation and Commemoration* suggest that commemorations are neither independent of the matter commemorated, nor is it independent of those remembering.[52] The two, therefore, need to be seen in context of each other. As Gillis states:

> The core meaning of any individual or group identity, namely, a sense of sameness over time and space, is sustained by remembering; and what is remembered is defined by the assumed identities.[53]

He continues:

> Memories help us make sense of the world we live in; and 'memory work' is, like any other kind of physical and mental labour, embedded in complex class, gender and power relations that determine what is remembered (or forgotten), by whom, and for what end.[54]

Furthermore Gillis suggest that the link between memory and identity is old, and this link has throughout the centuries manifested itself through commemorations. These acts are the result of a negotiation between the personal and collective memory resulting in the exclusion of some elements of the memory from the commemorations, and the inclusion of others.[55] Or as Fentress and Wickham explained remembering in 1992: 'It is we who are remembering, and it is to us that the knowledge, emotions, and images ultimately refer',[56] highlighting that remembering comes from within an individual or group, and is a reflection if it. Gillis also suggests that these processes of unifying the memory of the group and the individual, was at their height in the period between the French and American revolutions on one end, and the Second World War on the other.[57] He further observes that:

> Nineteenth-century commemorations were largely for, but not of, the people. Fallen kings and martyred revolutionary leaders were remembered, generals had their memorials, but ordinary participants in war and revolution were consigned to oblivion.[58]

---

[52] J.R. Gillis (ed.), *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton, 1994); L. Spillman, *Nation and Commemoration: Creating National Identities in the United States and Australia* (Cambridge, 1997).
[53] J.R. Gillis, 'Memory and Identity; the History of a Relationship', in J.R. Gillis (ed.), *Commemorations: the Politics of National Identity* (Princeton, 1994), 3.
[54] Gillis, *'Memory',* 3.
[55] Gillis, *'Memory',* 5.
[56] J. Fentress, C. Wickham, *Social Memory* (Oxford, 1992) 201.
[57] Gillis, *'Memory', 5.*
[58] Gillis, *'Memory',* 9.

Also the dead were more eligible for commemorations than the living.[59] As such, heroes and kings of ages past lend themselves well to monuments and commemorations. Moreover, as Daniel J. Sherman suggests, the production of monuments and commemorations onto postcards, posters, artistic representations as well as in literature and film can be just as important in informing popular memory as the originals.[60] Lyn Spillman states that jubilees 'cast a new light on persistence, loss, and innovation on national representations'.[61] With this, she suggests that jubilees are lenses into the changing ideas of nationhood. She also states that these acts of celebration of the shared memory of the origins of the nation embody the cultural construct of the imagined community.

Commemorations are a selective mnemonic exercise. Memory studies are, therefore, useful to complement or to examine critically the collective memory and published historical truth of a group or nation, so that the mistakes or errors can be challenged and amended.[62] Pierre Nora's thoughts about the manifestation of memory in sites and monuments related to commemorations and events are an important part of memory studies, for these sites and memorials are embedded and reflections of the memories attached to them. In Norway this is best seen at Stiklestad and Haraldsshaugen, two key sites in Norwegian remembering of the Viking age. As we shall see in chapter 5, both present links with the Fairhair dynasty and host national acts of commemoration of remembering the impact of this dynasty. These two sites and the monuments connected to them represent the period in which they are being used rather than the early medieval events that are remembered at these sites. As such, these events are offer a gateway into Norwegian remembering during the long nineteenth century. This point has been made by Inge Lønning in his article from 1980. [63] In this article he briefly explores the commemorations of Olaf Haraldsson (St Olaf) in the twentieth century, but his research is unable to place this into a wider context of Norwegian remembrance and re-invention of Norwegianness. Among the Norwegian commemorations of the period which this thesis will examine are the millennium of the unification of Norway (1872) and the founding of Tønsberg (1871), the 900-year anniversaries of the founding of Trondheim (1897),

[59] Gillis, *'Memory',* 11.
[60] D.J. Sherman, 'Art, Commerce and the Productions of Memory in France after World War I', in Gilles (ed.), *Commemorations: the Politics of National Identity* (Princeton, 1994), 186.
[61] Spillman, *Nation and commemoration.*, 136.
[62] K. Hodgkin, S. Radstone, 'Introduction', in K. Hodgkin and S. Radstone,(eds.), *Memory, History, Nation; Contested Past* (London, 2003), 9.
[63] I. Lønning, 'Helgenkongen i Nytiden' [The Saintking in the New Age], in *Kirke og Kultur* [Church and Culture] Vol. 85 (1980), 626.

Sarpsborg (1916) and the Battle of Stiklestad (1930), all of which in their own way remember and refer to specific events in the Viking age as the origins of modern Norway.

Another medium for manifestations of memories and commemorations are textbooks used to teach the people about the nation's history. In 1979 Robert Kelley wrote in his review of American schoolbooks that:

> Academic historians generally ignore one of the most important tasks before their profession and its characteristic production: the textbook. Millions of Americans, in the public schools and in colleges and universities, get their larger historical understanding of their country from a textbook.[64]

More recent studies of textbooks have focused on the presentation of more specific elements of the past in textbooks, and how this presentation developed over time, or what they can tell us about the how societies remember or communicate the past.[65] Just like sites of memory and acts of commemorations, textbooks highlight how the textbook authors and producers in societies would like to present and imagine themselves. Although there are examples of history textbooks in Norway already from the 1830s, most books which this study is concerned with date from the 1870s to the 1940s, a period in which textbook production increased and which coincides with the second and third stage of nationalism in Norway. State-controlled standardisation of textbooks was only introduced after 1922, books prior to this only represent the selective remembering of their authors; after 1922 the content of the textbooks required approval by the State, and provide therefore an official narrative of Norwegian history. These books have not previously been examined in the context of medievalism or national remembrance of the Viking age. Two studies from 1996 and 2005 explored the role of Norwegian textbooks in the construction of a Norwegian nation and how it presented the Norwegian constitution as a national symbol.[66] But by focusing on the symbolism of the modern constitution these textbooks were unable to explore the historical re-discovery of Norway and its legitimisation of modern Norway.

1.3. Outlines of Norwegian History

[64] R. Kelley, 'The History the Masses Learn, and Historians ignore', in *Reviews in American History,* Vol. 8(3) (1980) , 296-303.
[65] J.G.Janmaat, 'History and national identity construction: The great famine in Irish and Ukrainian history textbooks', *History of Education*, Vol. 35(3) (2006), 364.
[66] H. Kjølberg, *Vore Fædre: det nasjonale i norske og franske lærebøker 1870-1905* [Our Fathers: The national in Norwegian and French textbooks 1870-1905] (Oslo, 1996); S. Lorentzen, *Ja, Vi Elsker-: skolebøkene som Nasjonsbyggere 1814-2000* [Yes We Love-: Textbooks as Nationbuilders 1814-2000] (Oslo, 2005).

The roots of the Norwegian kingdom lay in the second half of the ninth century, when a process of political centralisation began in the south, and in the north. This process is attributed to Harald Fairhair, who according to *Heimskringla* united Norway into one kingdom in 872 from his base in Vestfold.[67] Modern research suggests that the centralisation process first began on the western coast of Norway and that Vestfold and the Oslofjord area were integrated into the kingdom in the eleventh century. The kingdom passed from Harald to his son Eric Bloodaxe, who were later exiled by his younger brother Haakon Athalstanfostri (reigned c.933-961), who according to Snorri's account attempted to convert Norway. Haakon was succeeded by Eric's sons under whom the Norwegian kingdom fell apart resulting in the rise of the Earl of Lade Haakon Sigurdsson (reigned c.970-995), who was succeeded by Olaf Tryggvason (c.968-999/1000), Harald's great-grandson.[68] Olaf I restored the kingdom, until he in 999/1000 was ambushed and killed by an alliance between Danes, Swedes and the sons of Earl Haarkon at Svolder.[69] During five year long reign, Olaf converted Norway and adapted the regional law codes of Eidsivathing, Frostathing and Gulathing to the Christian laws. He also initiated the conversion of Iceland, Greenland, and the Faeroe islands.

Following Olaf II's death the kingdom was split between the victors of the battle of Svolder, but Olaf Haraldsson (c.995-1030) returned in 1015-6 from years of being a Viking chieftain raiding and fighting on the continent.[70] Olaf II Haraldsson methodically restored the kingdom that had been split following the battle at Svolder. He also re-enforced Christianity and converted the pagan chieftains of the Oppland areas. Olaf reformed the legal system to fit a new Christian society, and made it binding for all people living under his crown, rich and poor alike. Olaf's strict enforcement of the law caused him to be resented and hated among the aristocracy, and they began to plot against him. In 1028, King Cnut of Denmark and England invaded Norway and drove Olaf from the country.[71] Olaf returned from exile in 1030, together with a small army of volunteers and loyalists, but his attempt to reclaim the country was stopped at the battle of Stiklestad, where Olaf and most of his men fell.[72] Olaf's death did not end his relevance for the Norwegian kingdom. He was declared a saint the year after his death and became the patron saint of Norway. Olaf

[67] C. Krag, 'Harald Haarfagre' in *NBL* http://nbl.snl.no/Harald_1_H%C3%A5rfagre/utdypning
[68] Niels Lund, 'Óláf Tryggvason (*d.* 999)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/49266.
[69] C. Krag, 'Olav 1 Tryggvason' in *NBL* http://nbl.snl.no/Olav_1_Tryggvason/utdypning.
[70] C. Krag, 'Olav 2 Haraldsson' in *NBL* http://nbl.snl.no/Olav_2_Haraldsson_Den_Hellige/utdypning.
[71] Krag, 'Olav 2 Haraldsson'.
[72] M. Lawson, *Cnut: England's Viking King* (Stroud, 2004), 98.

Haraldsson became known as the Eternal King of Norway after the coronation of King Magnus V. Erlingson in 1161.[73]

Olaf II's son Magnus I succeeded Cnut's regime in 1035 and restored the Norwegian kingdom to independence. Olaf was succeeded in 1047 by his uncle Harald Hardrada, whose line ruled Norway into the mid-/end- twelfth century when King Sverri took the throne as part of the Norwegian civil war (1130-1240). The civil war ushered in an age of consolidation, occasionally referred to as the 'Golden Age' of Norway, when the Norwegian king's influence was at its greatest. This 'Golden Age' turned into decline following the death of the last king of Sverri's line Haakon V (1270-1319).

He was succeeded by his grandson Magnus VII (1316-1374) king of Norway and Sweden, this began the centuries of political unions, formally instigated by Queen Margaret (1353-1412) who was married to Magnus's son Haakon VI (1340-80), and together they had a son, Olaf IV (1370-87).[74] Following the death of Olaf IV, Margaret united Norway, Sweden and Denmark in the Kalmar Union (1397-1523/1814/1944/-) a union in which the crowns of the three kingdoms would follow her line of succession. Norway remained an independent kingdom under the union kings until 1537, when Christian III (1503-59) of Denmark-Norway abolished the Norwegian council of the realm as punishment of their opposition against him in the succession crisis of the 1520s and 30s.[75] Simultaneously Christian also abolished the Catholic Church in Norway, and introduced the Lutheran doctrine in his realm, thus ending the last independent Norwegian institution, the archbishopric of Nidaros. Norway remained in Union with Denmark until the kingdom ended up on the losing side of the Napoleonic Wars, when Denmark as part of the treaty of Kiel (14 January 1814) had to pass Norway over to Sweden. In the chaos that followed, Norway was declared independent and the Norwegian Constitution was signed on the 17th May 1814.[76]

The Norwegian rebellion resulted in full scale war between the newly independent Norwegian state and Sweden, resulting in a series of negotiations, whereby Norway would remain a semi-independent state with its own Parliament, Constitution and Government, whilst being in union with Sweden under a shared monarch, and shared Prime Minister.[77]

---

[73] K. Helle, 'Magnus 5 Erlingson', *NBL* http://snl.no/Magnus_5_Erlingsson.
[74] P. Norseng, 'Margrete Valdemarsdatter – dronning' [Queen Margareth Valdemarsdaughter] in *SNL [Norwegian Encyclopedia online],* https://snl.no/Margrete_Valdemarsdatter/dronning.
[75] E. Opsahl, 'Christian 3' [King Christian III], in *SNL [Norwegian Encyclopedia online],* https://snl.no/Christian_3.
[76] J. Gisle, 'Grunnloven' [The Constitution] in *SNL [Norwegian Encyclopedia online],* https://snl.no/Grunnloven.
[77] K. Helle, *Aschehougs Norges Historie: Mellom Brødre 1780-1830* [Aschehougs Norwegian History: Between Brothers 1780-1830], Vol. 7. (Oslo, 1996), 235.

Part of the union treaty was that the king would appoint the Government, including the Prime Minister for Norway and the Prime Minister for the Union, for as the king had authority over foreign affairs as this was regarded as important for the best of the Union. At the same time the treaty allowed a Norwegian Parliament to continue its legislative practice, and Norway also got its own Supreme Court. The Norwegian Parliament comprised until 2009 of two chambers, Odelstinget and Lagtinget, of which Odelstinget was the higher of the two chambers. One of the tasks given to the Odelstinger was to supplement the Supreme Court if any cases of impeachment were raised. The Norwegian Parliament entitled all men over a certain age with a certain income the right to Vote, most of them free landed farmers whom dominated the Parliament from the 1830s until the end of the nineteenth century. In this period the Parliament resisted most attempts of consolidation of the union with Sweden, and this came to a head in the 1870s and 80s when the Parliament attempted to get the king's Government to act upon the Parliament's commands and interact with the debates at the Parliament.

Until 1872 the king's Government had no access to the Parliament, and was not answerable to the elected assembly. The resolution of allowing the Government access to the assembly passed the assembly three times, in 1874, 1877, 1880, each time being vetoed by King Oscar II (1829-1907) who considered his veto right as being final in all cases and vetoed all laws he did not agree with,[78] whereas the Parliament considered the veto to only be a postponement. This case split the assembly and the voters between the Constitutional conservatives who sought to maintain status quo with the Government outside Parliament, and the Liberals who sought to bring the Government into the assembly, this split consolidated itself in the parties Høyre and Venstre. The case was voted over for the third time on the 9th June 1880, and the Parliament accepted this as a valid constitutional change giving the king's Government access to the assembly.[79] This constitutional change created an obligation for the king's Government to attend Parliament, and if the Government did not fulfil its obligations it could face prosecution. Following the election of 1882, the newly elected Parliament demanded that the king's Government joined them in session, the Government refused, resulting in an impeachment case being raised against the Government.

[78] R. Danielsen, S. Dyrvik, T. Grønlie, K. Helle, E. Hovland, *Grunntrekk i Norsk historie,* [Basics to Norwegian history] (Oslo, 1991), 219.
[79] G. Hagemann, *Aschehougs Norges Historie: Det moderne gjennombrudd 1870-1905* [Aschehougs Norwegian History: The modern breakthrough 1870-1905], vol. 9 (Oslo, 2005), 89.

The outcome of the impeachment was the dismissal of the king's Government and the established Parliamentarism, a system where the Government should be selected from the majority in the Parliament. The two sides of the conflict consolidated themselves into the two political parties Venstre and Høyre, Venstre became the radical liberal party which pushed for radical social and political reform, especially with regards to the union with Sweden,[80] whereas Høyre became the conservative value-driven party strongly allied with the king and sought to defend the union with Sweden for as long as possible.[81] It was Venstre, who in the 1890s and early 1900s, pushed for a more equal position for Norway within the Norwegian-Swedish union, a campaign which eventually resulted in the dissolution of the union in 1905.

1905 brought another constitutional crisis in Norway, where Oscar II refused to sign into law an independent Norwegian foreign office, this resulted in the Norwegian Parliament declaring independence from Sweden 7th June 1905, and offering the Norwegian crown to Prince Carl of Denmark following two referendums, one about if Norway should be independent, and one if it should be a monarchy. Prince Carl left Denmark on 24th November 1905 and arrived in Norway as King Haakon VII on the 25th. Haakon reigned until his death in 1957, although from exile during the German occupation 1940-45.

1.4. Sources

As established above, the majority of studies on the development of Norwegian national identity have been focused on the topics of great men and their impact, and the search for a national unifying culture. The investigation so far has revealed that the medieval aspect of nationalism is not extensively examined. To be able to answer the questions raised below, and examine the medieval aspects of Norway's nationalism this study will rely on written records and sources such as textbooks, academic studies and publications, newspaper and journal articles and reports from events commemorating medieval events, printed sermons and speeches from the same events and their contemporary artistic outputs and if possible mass produced objects of commemoration.

It is not uncommon to rely on newspaper accounts when examining the responses of the masses at events, or to see how events were understood and perceived by contemporaries. This can be seen in the studies of the developments of the 17 May

[80] O. Garvik, 'Venstre' [Left], in *SNL* https://snl.no/Venstre#menuitem1
[81] O. Garvik, 'Høyre' [Right], in *SNL* https://snl.no/Høyre#menuitem1

Celebrations in Norway;[82] for which newspapers in many different parts of the country print the same sermons and speeches after the nine hundred year anniversary of the battle of Stiklestad celebrated in July 1930 to disseminate a national event that took place outside the capital to the wider population.[83] Furthermore, without the records of newspapers it is difficult to obtain more than one eyewitness account to the event, or independent figures of attendance.

Around the time of the 900-year anniversary of the battle of Stiklestad, celebrated in 1930, speeches and sermons of national importance and relevance were printed in newspapers and, through that, were made available to the general public. However, even speeches and sermons held before the age of mass media and political newspapers offer a unique insight to the minds and ideas of the celebrators, and through those one might analyse the spread of academic ideas from the historical narrative into the public and elite. Although speeches are hard to locate prior to 1814, it is possible to obtain some speeches from the great national celebrations taking place in 1872, and 1930, as well as from the local celebrations in 1871, 1897, and 1916. In addition to speeches and sermons, which reflect the transition of knowledge and public relevance, songs and symbols used at the same events, and acts of commemorations, are also important. The latter have not been utilized in research on Norwegian medievalism, nor seen in the relevance of nationalism, although all these celebrations and their events have important places in Norwegian history.

Another source that reflects the transition from academic knowledge to both elite and public/popular culture is the cultural expression in which the elements of the nation and its medieval past have been used.[84] This includes Bjørnestjerne Bjørnsson and Henrik Ibsen's poetry and plays set in the Middle Ages which deal with historical events and issues,[85] and also texts as Sigrid Undset's novels about Kristin Lavransdatter and Olaf

[82] H. Bjørgen, *17 Mai Feiring som Politisk Redskap? En Studie om Nasjonaldagsfeiringen i Kristiania 1879-1905* [17 May Celebrations as Political Tools? A study Assessing the National Day Celebrations in Kristiania 1879-1905] (Oslo, 1997).
[83] E. Berggrav, 'Historiens Herre er over Vaare sinn' [The Lord of History rules Our minds], in *Stavanger Aftenblad,* 29 July 1930, 4; A. Hovden, 'Norskdom og Kristendom' [Norwegianness and Christianity], in *Inntroendelagen og Troenderbladet* [The Inntrondelag and Troender post]*,* 4 August 1930, 1.
[84] G. Bø, '«Land og Lynne» - Norske diktere om Nasjonal identitet' [' «Land and mindset» -Norwegian Poets on National Identity'], in *JDN*, 120
[85] B. Bjørnson, 'Olav Trygvason' [Olaf Tryggvasson] in *Samlede værker* [Collected works] (Kristiania, 1910) 35; H. Ibsen, 'Pretenders' in *Prose dramas, Vol. 3, Lady Inger of Ostrat; The Vikings at Helgeland; The Pretenders* (London, 1890) 209-373.

Audunson;[86] and Peter Nicolai Arbo's paintings.[87] These artists and their artistic productions represent what became the hub of the New National culture in Norway and are even today often seen as the masters of Norwegian culture. Their works were, and still are, quoted and reprinted in textbooks and other widely available sources for the general public in the cities and the countryside, sources that reminded readers about the medieval history of the nation. There are also regional and local variations of these artistic expressions related to the Middle Ages, such as the Olaf play written for the 900-year anniversary of the foundation of Sarpsborg in 1916.[88] This opens the possibility of utilising them to examine the public approval and support for the medieval aspects of Norwegian nationalism, as well as to explore which parts of the historical narrative were considered worthy of commemorations.

All artistic manifestations of medievalism and references to the medieval past in speeches and sermons, although they are widely available in the nineteenth century, are eclipsed by one kind of source that spread medievalism further than any other. School textbooks were introduced at the beginning of the nineteenth century as the history of the nation became part of the curriculum, and during the century the topic grew from being a side subject in the first half, to being an independent subject compulsory in school alongside Bible studies, reading and mathematics. However, as textbooks are normative in their approach to and narrative of the past, they do not include new and revolutionary knowledge or approaches towards history. The term 'normative' means that the content of the textbooks will follow the norms given by the government and parliament, and thus did not challenge the accepted historical narrative, and adapted and follow the norms as they are accepted by the educated elite. Although the three studies of Norwegian textbooks by Hilde Kjoelberg, Svein Lorentzen and Dag Thorkildsen, all examine textbooks of the nineteenth century for references to the national, they seem to look past the presence of the medieval and how it is represented in the textbooks. As textbooks are normative in their text selection and are some of the most common books in the country, they offer an important insight into the communication of the past to the masses. Textbooks take the knowledge of the past from academics to the masses, and are a gateway for the second to the third stage of nationalism.

[86] K. B. Aavitsland, 'Middelalder og Norsk Identitet. Litterære og Visuelle Eksempler på Norsk Medievalisme' [The Middle Ages and Norwegian Identity Literary and Visual Examples of Norwegian Medievalism], *Konsthistorisk tidskrift*, Vol. 75(1) (2006), 38-49.
[87] K. Ljøgodt, *Historien fremstilt I bilder* [History portrayed in Images] (Oslo, 2011) 68-109.
[88] E. Bakken, *Olavs By* [Olaf's city] (Sarpsborg, 2006), 25.

All of the sources mentioned above, speeches, sermons, artistic productions, textbooks and newspaper reports are all based or interlinked with the works of academic history, which form the foundation of the historical knowledge transmitted to the population. The historiographical material is easily available in printed 'collected works of…' as well as in the original publications such as books and journal articles. Although these sources have been scrutinized and examined from many points of view, it is necessary to examine them in context of the other sources mentioned above, to give a fuller picture of the medievalist aspects of the Norwegian identity and nationalism. The texts and ideas of P.A. Munch, R. Keyser and E. Sars are especially important to put popular medievalism and nationalism into context, as their works have been seen as among the most influential in the Norwegian historical tradition.

A comparative study of the sources outlined above, all carefully scrutinized, will be able to shed light upon the use of medievalism in the context of Norwegian nationalism, and its importance in creating an internal national culture through the cultural nationalism of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. This variety of sources also allows the study of the matter both on local, regional and national levels, and provides materials that will help to answer the questions raised below.

1.5. The Questions, Methodology and Structure

Because Norwegian studies of nationalism are mostly concerned with the acts of great men and their impact upon a unifying national cultural identity as illustrated above, readers are led to believe that the nationalism of Norway only has its roots in these great personas. In essence, while exploring Norwegian nationalism and national identity, the current scholarship suggests that Norwegian scholars have deliberately or by chance avoided examining the impact the medieval past and its memory, constructed or real, have had upon the development of the identity and culture of Norway in the long nineteenth century. This study will therefore seek to examine the medieval memory and its relationship with Norwegian nationalism. Due to this, this thesis focuses on the use and representation of Harald Fairhair, Olaf Tryggvasson, Olaf Haraldsson and the Viking ships as representations of the Viking age. The kings have been selected due to their standing in the *Heimskringla*, and similar kings sagas. Furthermore, they are also regarded among Norwegian scholars as three of the most influential kings in Norway in the Viking age.[89] As such they have received considerable attention both in academic studies and textbooks as

[89] S. Bagge, *From Viking Stronghold to Christian Kingdom* (Copenhagen, 2010), 25-32.

agents of change within the development of Norway. This examination will seek examples of medieval memory to examine the context in which each appears, and the manner in which it is related to the development of a national identity in Norway and the nationalism of the state and people. To be able to do this, the study has examined the use of the broader ideas of nationalism and national identity in Norwegian and international literature, while comparing them to the events and evidences explored in the chapters below. This study draws upon ideas about medievalism, memory studies, commemoration(s), and nationalism to examine the evidence, which normally would have been seen as independent and non-significant. It will argue that these sources are part of a greater manifestation of the medieval sentiment of Norwegian nationalism. Through these lines of evidence, the study will examine the way in which the use of Norway's Viking and early medieval political history has affected national identity, and how this contributed to the creation of Norway. This main aim is broken down into four objectives for investigation:

- To what extent the cult of an idealized past and a 'golden age' as part of the making of Norway manifested itself in the public sphere through commemorations, celebrations and textbooks between 1770 and 1945

- The roles which Vikings/early medieval political history played in the creation of Norway, and how these roles developed over time

- How the development of academic history impacted contemporary 'popular' views of the early medieval period, and especially the understanding about kings, heroes and ships from the early middle ages, and through this the popularity of these historical characters and the events commemorating them

- To what extent the Norwegian experience of the forging of a national identity and culture is comparable to other European experiences of the same process.

These objectives will be explored in the next four thematic chapters and a conclusion, where the conclusion will draw the material from across the chapters together to see the wider trends of Norwegian medievalism and its relationship with nationalism in the long nineteenth century.

The chapters below are subject based, with each chapter exploring the themes above through different media and sources. Chapter two explores the development of historical scholarship in Norway in the long nineteenth century by focusing on the development of Norwegian historiography of the Early Middle Ages, so that one can see the

ideas and scholarly thought that influenced the public and commemorations. This will be accomplished through a qualitative comparative study of works by a selected number of historians who have left their mark on the development of Norwegian history.

In chapter three, this thesis looks at textbooks, their role as tools for nation building and their content in relation to Harald Fairhair, Olaf Tryggvasson, Olaf Haraldsson and the Viking ships. For through examining textbooks and their content, understanding can be sought for how normative perceptions of the past and the national were portrayed by the government and textbook authors to the population. As public education and textbooks were designed to create better citizens in Norway, normative ideas were presented through this medium to create an impact on the population and teach them their shared history and shared identity. By carefully examining references to the Viking age kings and ships in textbooks, both qualitatively and quantitatively, this study aims to see how the state sought to create a nation based on one history, and through that to flatten issues with language and cultural differences between the regions of the realm.

Furthermore, chapter four examines the interpretation and display of the three Norwegian Viking ships, and the use of archaeological objects and landscape in the visualisation of the nation. In this, the chapter will explore the national remembering stimulated by the excavation and display of the Viking ships in the context of Pierre Nora's *Les Lieux de Mémoire* and the mnemonic role given to objects and sites as part of remembering the past.

Chapter five assesses three major national commemorations, their relationship with each other and how they projected and stimulated Norwegian nationalism and medievalism. Through this, the study will draw on the concept that the act of commemoration explains more about how the society sees itself, than it tells us about the object of the commemoration.[90] Commemoration and invented 'traditions' can inform us about how the contemporary society regarded itself, through what was emphasised at those celebrations. The final chapter, the conclusion, will return to the objectives of this thesis and draw together the broader themes across the chapter of the thesis. The conclusion will also explore the impact of the relationship between nationalism and medievalism in Norway on the ethnic minorities in Norway.

[90] I. Lønning, 'Helgenkongen i Nytiden' [The Saint King in the New Age], in *Kirke og Kultur* [Church and Culture] Vol. 85 (1980), 626; B.Yorke, *The King Alfred millenary in Winchester, 1901* (Winchester, 1999), 1.

The remembering of the Viking age in Norway is an indicator of what kind of nation Norwegians in the long nineteenth century imagined they lived in. This remembering, as manifested in academic scholarship, textbooks, museums and events of commemorations, suggests that both institutional and individual medievalism were part in the nation building of Norway during the long nineteenth century.

Chapter 2: Developments in Academic History During the Long Nineteenth Century.

2.1. Introduction

In 1814, 1872, 1897, 1905, and again in 1930, the Norwegian people made references to a distant, but 'glorious' past in Norwegian history. These references suggest that first the Norwegian elite, then the Norwegian people, believed it necessary to refer to the medieval kings of Norway throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to underpin the legitimacy of their cultural and political independence. These sorts of references increasingly appeared as Norway started moving towards a re-established Norwegian state. The Norwegians looked to the past to justify their present and to celebrate the existence of the nation; some historians studied the past to understand the real lives and stories that had shaped the origins of the Norwegian nation. This chapter examines the work of six of Norway's most prominent historians between 1770 and 1945, specifically what they wrote and thought about three of Norway's most influential early kings. The previous chapter discussed how nationalism is a construct of cultural and social awakening, a process considered to have three stages taking a top down approach to the development of nationalisms.[1] Consequently, in order to understand the roots of references made by the Norwegians throughout the long nineteenth century, this chapter will examine the historical scholarship and debates that formed the basis for the translation of knowledge from medieval texts to popular celebrations. As will be discussed below, there are clear links between historians and the dissemination of historical knowledge in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Norway.

This chapter therefore presents a series of historiographical considerations that may be thought of as mirroring previously published assessments of the Norwegian historiography. The chapter does, however, bring these considerations into the wider context of the creation of nationhood, re-imagining a past in the service of the present, and provides the basis for understanding the process by which Norwegian history moved from academia to the people, through which the people developed a shared understanding of the past and its connection to a sense of nationhood. The chapter will also assess what role academics, willingly or unwillingly, played in this transition. Norwegian historiography has previously been studied by Ottar Dahl in a book which is widely read and is used as a

[1] P.J. Geary, *The Myth of Nations; The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Woodstock, 2002), 17-18.

standard text for undergraduate students in history.[2] In addition to Dahl's overview narrative of the Norwegian historiography, there are also texts such as; Eivind Berggrav's *Brytningene omkring Olav og Stiklestad*,[3] Myhre's 'The "Decline of Norway": Grief and Fascination in Norwegian historiography on the Middle Ages',[4] and Kjeldstadli's *Fortida er ikke hva den en gang var*.[5] These all deal with the scholarship of the specific historians, commenting on topics and trends in modern Norwegian historical tradition. Dahl's study focuses on the ideas and writings by historians on a range of topics, such as the political situation in the saga period, the decline of Norway; the impact of the union with Denmark, and 1814.[6] However, along with those of Berggrav, Myhre and Kjeldstadli, his study does not include an examination of the origins of the nation; the role of personas and characters in Norwegian history; as well as battles and events of decisive importance for the political development of Norwegian history, which is what this study is exploring. By addressing these aspects, this chapter will offer a new perspective on the developments of the long nineteenth century, especially in the context of the interplay between history and identity in Norway in the long nineteenth century.

This chapter will analyse the works and impact of the historians Gerhard Schøning, Rudolf Keyser, Peter Andreas Munch, Ernst Sars, Gustav Storm, Edvard Bull (the Elder), and Halfdan Koht. The chapter addresses these through the examination of the treatment of three major historical figures, namely the three Norwegian Viking kings who are seen as playing an essential role in Norwegian nationhood. The chapter also addresses the approaches to their sources and how these historians were influenced by their political views and contemporary events. The chapter concludes by analysing the impact and importance these studies had in their time, and what role these kings played in Norwegian culture in the long nineteenth century. This chapter aims to analyse how the development of history as an academic discipline impacted the understanding and reading of these three kings. It also seeks to highlight that elements related to these kings were seen to have national relevance, and that affected the development of the Norwegian national identity. Furthermore, this chapter will assess how academic reading and understanding of Norway's

[2] O. Dahl, *Norsk Historieforskning i det 19. og 20. Århundre* [Norwegian historical research in the 19th and 20th century] (Oslo, 1990).
[3] E. Berggrav, *Brytningene omkring Olav og Stiklestad* [The debates about Olaf and Stiklestad] (Oslo, 1930).
[4] J.E. Myhre, 'The 'Decline of Norway': Grief and Fascination in Norwegian Historiography on the Middle Ages', In R.J.W. Evans and Guy P. Marchal (ed.), *The Uses of the Middle Ages in Modern European states. History, Nationhood and the Search for Origins* (Basingstoke, 2011), 18-30.
[5] K. Kjeldstadli, *Fortida er Ikke hva den En Gang var* [The past is not what it once was] (Oslo, 1999).
[6] Dahl, *Norsk Historieforskning i det 19. og 20. Århundre*, 330-331.

Viking kings is reflected in cultural and political developments of the long nineteenth century and how this is reflected in, and relevant for the theories and ideas about nation building and construction of community identities. To answer this, the chapter seeks to address whether Norwegian historians have perceived the kingdom and its people as a single entity, or if they have viewed the Norwegian nation as a cultural anachronism of the middle Ages that they, through their studies of the Middle Ages, have sought to reclaim during the long nineteenth century. First it is appropriate to provide some biographical information on the key historians of the long nineteenth century as well as the key protagonists whom they studied.

2.2. Biographical Information

Gerhard Schøning (1722-1781) is the first of our Norwegian historians in this study.[7] Originally from Vestvågøy in Northern Norway,[8] Schøning studied at the University of Copenhagen before working at the Latin School in Trondheim, Soloe Academy in Denmark and as Geheimearkivar at the Royal Archives in Copenhagen.[9] As part of his post as Geheimearkivar, Schøning worked with the Arní Magnússon collection of Norse and Icelandic manuscripts. He published a three-volume *Norges Riiges Historie* [*History of the Norwegian Realm*] and an extensive study of the Cathedral in Trondheim.[10]

Originally from Oslo, Rudolf Keyser (1803-64) studied theology at the University of Oslo before travelling to Iceland where he studied Icelandic and Norse language. He taught at the University of Oslo from 1827-61, a post that started as a lectureship in statistics and history, before developing into a history-only position.[11] During this time he took part in the Old Norwegian Law Project, a project that aimed to transcribe and published the Old Norse and Norwegian laws found in Danish and Swedish archives.[12] Peter Andreas Munch (1810-1863), worked with Keyser on this project for many years.[13] Munch had originally studied under Keyser at the University of Oslo, where he eventually gained a post. Alongside his teaching, Munch travelled extensively in Italy, Scotland, France, and Denmark to transcribe and publish sources on Norwegian medieval history. Munch, with Keyser, founded 'the Norwegian Historical School'.[14]

---

[7] R. Grankvist, 'Gerhard Schøning', in *NBL* http://nbl.snl.no/Gerhard_Sch%C3%B8ning/utdypning
[8] Grankvist, 'Gerhard Schøning'.
[9] Grankvist, 'Gerhard Schøning'.
[10] Grankvist, 'Gerhard Schøning'.
[11] O.A. Strosveen, 'Rudolf Keyser', in *NBL* http://nbl.snl.no/Rudolf_Keyser/utdypning
[12] Strosveen, 'Rudolf Keyser'.
[13] O. Dahl, 'P.A. Munch', in *NBL* http://nbl.snl.no/P._A._Munch/utdypning
[14] Dahl, 'P.A. Munch'.

Professor Ernst Sars (1835-1917), born in Sogn and Fjordane, received his first formal education at the Latin school in Bergen, before moving to Oslo to study at the University in Oslo.[15] Sars taught history at the University from 1869 onwards, where he introduced a critical approach towards historical sources, and emphasised the positive developments in Norwegian history.[16]

Gustav Storm (1845-1903) grew up as the son of a vicar in Vestfold and Oslo, where he studied at the University in Oslo. Storm studied philology and completed his doctorate in 1874 with a study of the legend culture surrounding Charlemagne and Didrik of Bern. Throughout his career, Storm continued the works of Keyser and Munch, while combining them with the scientific modern approaches to history and critical methodologies towards the source materials which were popular on the continent at the end of the nineteenth century. Like Munch and Keyser, Storm worked on the translation of sources for the middle ages in Norway. He was the leader of the *Kildeskriftkommisjonen* [The Commission for Translation of Historical Sources], the historical source commission, and among his works were major contributions to *Monumenta historica Norvegiæ*, the Norwegian version of *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. Through his studies and publication, Storm became an authority on the saga literature and the early medieval period.[17]

The fourth generation of Norwegian historians is represented by Edvard Bull (the Elder) (1881-1932),[18] and Halvdan Koht (1873-1965).[19]Bull was born in Kristiania and studied at the University of Oslo, where he completed his doctorate in 1908.[20] Bull can thus be seen as a member of the established elite culture in the capital at the end of the nineteenth century.[21] Koht, originally from Tromsø, started his studies in history at the University of Oslo before moving on to Copenhagen, Leipzig, and Paris. Both were active politicians in the Norwegian Labour Party *Det Norske Arbeiderparti* [The Norwegian Labour Party] alongside their work as historians at the University of Oslo. In their studies of history, they were influenced by Marxist ideas, through which they sought to explore emerging freedoms of the Norwegian people alongside their living conditions.[22] In doing this, they

[15] N. Fulsaas, 'Ernst Sars', in *NBL* http://nbl.snl.no/Ernst_Sars/utdypning
[16] Fulsaas, 'Ernst Sars'.
[17] O. Dahl, 'Gustav Storm', in *NBL* https://nbl.snl.no/Gustav_Storm.
[18] [Anon.], 'Edv Bull' in *NBL* http://nbl.snl.no/Edv_Bull/utdypning
[19] Aa. Svendsen, 'Halvdan Koht' in *NBL* http://nbl.snl.no/Halvdan_Koht/utdypning
[20] Aa. Svendsen, 'Halvdan Koht' in *NBL* http://nbl.snl.no/Halvdan_Koht/utdypning
[21] [Anon.], 'Edv Bull' in *NBL* http://nbl.snl.no/Edv_Bull/utdypning
[22] K. Kjelstadli, *Fortida er ikke*, 68.

sought the true history of the Norwegian People, not just of the Norwegian state and elite as their predecessors.

The Norwegian historians based their assessments of the Viking kings on Icelandic and Norse literature, and especially *Heimskringla*. The Norse Literature, or the Icelandic sagas as it is sometimes referred to, is a term used for a group of texts written between the end of the eleventh century and the fourteenth century.[23] This literature does not belong to a single genre because it consists of legendary sagas, family sagas, king's sagas, romances, mythology, chronicles, and poetry.[24] Much of this literature was written in Norse, a language used in Scandinavia in the Early Middle Ages.[25] Due to the dominant position which the Viking age and Medieval Iceland have within this literature, and as the texts were created in Iceland or have mostly survived in Iceland and were written in Norse. Although the summary above is based on modern interpretations and studies, historians such as Schøning [et al] tended to agree that the sagas provided windows into elements of the Norse world. Recent trends in research suggest that the content of the sagas might be an interpretation of the history and society that wrote them, not the society within which it sets its events. Among this literature is a text known as *Heimskringla,* often accredited to the Icelandic chieftain Snorri Sturluson (c.1178-1241).[26] *Heimskringla* is a text containing several kings' sagas telling the history of the Norwegian kings from Halvdan the Black until the Battle at Re in 1171 and Magnus Erlingson. *Heimskringla* also contains *Ynglinga Saga*, which serves to explain the origin of the Norwegian royal house, believed to descend from Norse God Yngve Frey. This part of *Heimskringla* was instrumental in the interpretations of the burial mounds of the Norwegian county of Vestfold as will be discussed in chapter 4.[27] *Heimskringla* is also referred to as the *King's saga*, or Snorri's *King's saga*. *Heimskringla* is believed to have been written around 1230 and is based on both oral and written sources. Due to the use of oral sources, *Heimskringla* has not always been perceived as a reliable text. A significant part of *Heimskringla*, as well as other texts in the Norse literature, is the Skaldic poetry, which is famed for using kennings, a method of using alternative words and sentences to mean something different. Margaret Clunies Ross stated that kennings are

[23] P.M. Sørensen, 'Social Institutions and Belief Systems of Medieval Iceland (c.870-1400) and their Relations to Literary Production', in M. Ross (ed.), *Old Norse Literature and Society*, (Cambridge, 2000), 8.
[24] H. O'Donoghue, *Old Norse-Icelandic Literature; A Short Introduction* (Oxford, 2004), 22-23
[25] Sørensen, 'Social Institutions', 8.
[26] R. Waerdahl, 'Snorre Sturlason' in *NBL* http://nbl.snl.no/Snorre_Sturlason/utdypning.
[27] *HFL*, 14.

'complex type of noun substitution, in which characteristically, a noun phrase comprising two nouns in a genitival relationship (or a compound noun with an implicit genitival relationship between two distinct elements) was used by a poet as a substitute for a noun referent, which was never actually mentioned in the text of the poem itself.'[28] As such a poem referring to Odin might choose to not use his name, but instead call him 'all father' or something else that describes his qualities or characteristics. An untrained reader may not understand such complicated texts.[29] Skaldic poetry preserved original meaning and contemporary views through the kennings and word by word repetition between skalds, and they were also used as sources for the sagas.[30] It is commonly believed to contain a core of the real events, even though elements such as dialogues might be artistic elements added by the author.[31] Norwegian historians in the long nineteenth century based their studies predominantly on the Norse literature, but this chapter will examine the works of these historians, and set them into a cultural and political context.

This chapter will, for the main part, focus on the scholarship of Schøning, Keyser, Munch, Sars, Storm, Bull, and Koht. The last two sections of the chapter will examine the cultural and political impacts of these historians through their personal letters, news articles and other biographic information of relevance. The assessment of the ideas of each historian is based on their own historical studies. For Schøning, this is the *Norges Riiges Historie* [History of the Norwegian Realm] published in Denmark in three volumes from 1771 to 1781.[32] However, it is only volumes 2 and 3 that are relevant for this study, as they deal with the period from Harald Fairhair's accession to the crown of Vestfold, until the arrival of Olaf Tryggvason in 995.[33] Schøning never completed the study due to his untimely death, and the last volume was published in the year of his death. It is worth noting that he worked during a period of strong censorship of printing in Denmark-Norway, which may have impacted the meaning and interpretations made by Schøning in the text and his access to sources and secondary material.

---

[28] M. Clunies Ross, *A History of Old Norse Poetry and Poetics* (Cambridge, 2005), 107.
[29] J.L. Barribeau,'William Morris and Saga Translation: "The Story of King Magnus, Son of Erling"' in R.T. Farrell (ed.), *The Vikings* (London, 1982), 248.
[30] P. Pulsiano (Ed.), *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopaedia* (London, 1993), 561.
[31] R. Kellogg, 'Introduction', in Ø. Thorsson (ed.), *The Sagas of Icelanders; A Selection* (London, 2001), xxiv, xxv, xxxiv
[32] Grankvist, 'Gerhard Schøning'.
[33] G. Schøning, *Norges Riiges Historie* [History of the Norwegian Realm], Vol.III. (Copenhagen, 1781), 1.

Keyser's *Norges Historie* [*Norwegian History]* was published posthumously, in two volumes 1866 and 1870, after Keyser passed away in 1864.[34] Keyser's study examines the history of Norway from the origins of the Norwegian people until the death of King Olaf iv Håkonsson of Denmark and Norway in 1387. Munch's books *Norges Historie I Kortfattet Udtog [Norwegian history in shorter version]* (1856)[35] and his *Det Norske Folks Historie* [*History of the Norwegian People]* (1851-63) were published during Munch and Keyser's lifetime.[36] The *Det Norske Folks Historie* [*History of the Norwegian People]* was dedicated to Keyser, and Munch seems to have published his own Norwegian history because he thought Norway could no longer wait for Keyser's version of the history of Norway, which was in progress at the time.[37] For the first volume, part one and two, Munch bases his study on chronicles and narrative sources only[38] and does not include a consideration of the Old Norse laws which he himself helped transcribe and publish in the 1830s and 40s.[39]

The first part of the first volume of Sars's *Udsigt over Den Norske Historie [Overview of Norwegian History]* was published in 1877,[40] it presented Sars's evolutionary historical views. He utilised a comparative and critical method in which he scrutinised the information of all his sources, including the Norse literature, to form a historical narrative of Norwegian history. Sars's *Udsigt over Den Norske Historie* [*Overview of Norwegian History*] also considers, unlike Munch and Keyser, the period when Norway was under Danish rule and sees it as a vital and integral part of Norway's journey in re-establishing itself as an independent nation.

This study will base its analysis of Bull and Koht's ideas on two articles, originally published during the 1920s and 30s.[41] Both articles are commentaries and criticism of other historians, and suggest that Norse literature cannot be trusted as closely as previously

---

[34] Strosveen, 'Rudolf Keyser'.
[35] P.A. Munch, *Norges Historie I Kortfattet Udtog* [Norway's history in Short Version] (Christiania, 1856).
[36] Dahl, 'P.A. Munch'.
[37] P.A. Munch, *Det Norske Folks historie* [History of the Norwegian People], Vol. i., Part i (Christiania, 1852), IV.
[38] Munch, *Det Norske,* vii-xi.
[39] Dahl, 'P.A. Munch'.
[40] J.E. Sars, *Oversikt over Den Norske Historie* [Overview of Norwegian History], Vol i., Part ii (Kristiania, 1877), iii.
[41] E. Bull, 'Sagaenes Beretning om Harald Haarfagres Tilegnesle av Odelen'[The saga Narrative about Harald Fairhair Acquisition of the Odel], in Andreas Holmen and Jarle Simensen, *Rikssamling og Kristendom, Norske Historikere i Utvalg* [Unification and Christianity, Norwegian Historians a Selection] (Oslo, 1967), 313-322; H. Koht, 'Kampen om Makten i Noreg i Sagatiden' [The Powerstruggle in Norway in the Sagaperiod], in Andreas Holmen og Jarle Simensen (eds.), *Rikssamling og kristendom, Norske historikere i utvalg* [Unification and Christianity, Norwegian Historians a Selection] (Oslo, 1967), 314-339.

thought. The articles advise historians to use contextual evidence such as the Old Norwegian laws to describe the unification of Norway and the consequences this had for the Norwegian people.

The chapter will now go on to assess the views of Schøning, Keyser, Munch, Sars, Storm, Bull, and Koht regarding the three Viking kings, and their approaches to the sources used for their studies. This section will then be followed by two additional sections that will set these findings in comparative contexts and highlight their importance within a nation building process.

2.3. Schøning

Although his three-volume study *Norges Riiges Historie* was published while Norway still was a part of the absolute monarchy of Denmark-Norway, Gerhard Schøning presents the first distinctive Norwegian historical understanding of modern historical research. Unlike Ludvig Holberg (1684-1754),[42] who, although born in Norway, adapted to the double identity of the Danish-Norwegian state and chose to write the history of the Danish kingdom,[43] Schøning developed a strong interest in Norwegian history that Ottar Dahl took as a statement of his Norwegianness.[44] Schøning was educated at the University of Copenhagen and published his first historical works while teaching at the Latin School in Trondheim..

Schøning believed that the foundation of Harald Fairhair's power was the conquest of Norway, and that his motivation for this was partially based on Ragna's refusal to marry him as he was not yet the King of all Norwegians.[45] Schøning's faithful adherence to the narrative as found in the saga tradition is a conservative approach to the trustworthiness of the sagas as a source, and as an accurate narrator of the past. Following a conservative line when reading *Heimskringla*, Schøning maintained self-censorship by not challenging the foundations of the absolute Danish-Norwegian king as the heir of the Norwegian medieval kings. However, in addition to Snorri's *Heimskringla*, Schøning also used *Fagrskinna* and Torfaeus's *Historia rerum Norvegicarum*. The Norse king's saga *Fagrskinna* was written sometime 1177-1210 and is regarded as one of the sources for Snorri Sturluson's

[42] E. Beyer, 'Ludvig Holberg', in *SNL* http://snl.no/Ludvig_Holberg
[43] Oe, Rian, 'Historie I Tvangstrøye; Kongemakt og Historieformidling I Danmark-Norge 1536-1814' [History in a Straitjacket; Royal Power and History in Denmark-Norway 1536-1814], in I. Bull (ed.), *Historisk Tidsskrift*, Vol. 92(1) (2013), 78.
[44] Dahl, *Norsk Historieforskning i det 19. og 20. Århundre,* 15.
[45] G. Schøning, *Norges Riiges Historie* [History of the Norwegian Realm], Vol. II. (Sorøe, 1773), 20.

Heimskringla. Alison Finley claimed in 2004 that the author of *Fagrskinna* had access to Agrip, Morkinskinna and Oddr Snorrason's *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar* suggesting that the text draws extensively on other texts rather than oral traditions.[46] Tormod Torfaeus's Latin study of the history of Norway published in 1711 was the first complete Norwegian history until that point, and was still regarded as an authority in the early nineteenth century. Torfaeus was critical to taking sources at face value, and laid through his assessment of *Saxo Grammaticus* the foundations for Scandinavian source criticism.[47]This varied use of sources is evident in the direct speech attributed to Harald Fairhair that Schøning has placed in his narrative, for example where Harald Fairhair states 'If I could have everlasting life, as the Gods, then I should conquer the entire world.'[48] This direct speech illustrates Schøning's selective narrative as an author where he switches between Snorri's *Heimskringla* and other sources,[49] meaning: Schøning adjusted the presentation of Harald based on his own knowledge of religion in Harald's contemporary period. This suggests that Schøning used the resources available to him among the sources in the Arní Magnússon collection effectively to create a Norwegian history.

Whereas the calculations of many subsequent historians suggest that the battle of Hafsfjord took place in 872,[50] Schøning's calculations place the battle in 885, and state that Harald's motivation for his conquest was, as stated previously, based on his wish to honour his promise towards Ragna.[51] Although Schøning's *Norges Riiges Historie* [History of the Norwegian Realm] was written in a period when the Danish monarchy reintroduced censorship on publications, his judgment over King Harald Fairhair might contain some criticism of the absolute king. For Schøning makes a point of stating:

> In the Eastern part of the land, also known as Uplandene he called a Thing, or a Rigsdag, and at it he [Harald] gave a new law regarding the nature of government and succession.[52]

By addressing the Norse concept of the legislative and judicial assembly, Schøning points out that Harald used the people to legitimize legal changes and to create a political stability

---

[46] A. Finley (Trans.), Fagrskinna A Catalogue of the Kings of Norway (Leiden, 2004) 1-3.
[47] O. Dahl, *Norsk Historieforskning i det 19. og 20. Århundre* [Norwegian Historical Research in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century] (Oslo, 1990), 13-14.
[48] Schøning, *Norges Riiges,* Vol. ii, 20.
[49] Snorri Sturlason, *Kongesagaer; Harald Haarfagre's saga* [the Kingssagas; Harald Fairhair's saga], G. Storm (trans.) (Kristiania, 1900), 2.
[50] *HGS*, 8.
[51] Schøning, *Norges Riiges.,* Vol. ii, 92-93.
[52] 'Til den ende lader han staevne et almindeligt Ting oester I landet, eller paa Uplandene, og paa dette ting eller denne Riigsdag en ny anordning eller en ny lov udgivet, angaaende regjeringsformen og successionen.' Schøning, *Norges Riiges.,* Vol. ii, 192.

in the country. Harald was thus not an absolute monarch in the eyes of Schøning. Schøning also points out that, through this use of the Thing, Harald achieved stability in the kingdom, and created a unified kingdom on the basis of his own political abilities.[53] By using the word Riigsdag, cognate with Reichstag, to describe and explain the Thing and its functions, Schøning indirectly reveals the importance of German language and culture in the Danish kingdom at the end of the eighteenth century. This is something that had been evident through the influence gained by the German-born Johan Struensee during the time Schøning was writing. Although Harald's lifestyle and many children caused political struggles in the years after his death,[54] the period of his reign was one of relative stability after the battle of Hafsfjord. This stood in sharp contrast to the political context in which Schøning was working, when King Christian VII was mentally ill and a series of de facto dictatorships and protectorates were established; first under the King's physician Johann Struensee and the Queen, and subsequently under the King's mother Queen Caroline Mathilde and the Crown Prince Fredrik.[55] Schøning's lengthy comments about Harald's ability to maintain political control until his death can to some extent be seen as a criticism of Christian VII's lack of control during his mental illness.

For his account of Olaf Trygvasson's reign, Gerhard Schøning relies on a comparative study of Theodoricus Monachus's *Historia de antiquitate regum Norwagiensium,* Oddr Munk's *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar*, Snorri's *Heimskringla*, *'St Olaf's Saga'* from *Flateyjarbók*, Torfaeus *Historia rerum Norvegicarum*, and Snorri's *St Olaf's saga*.[56] This wide range of sources is a sign of Schøning's understandings of the Norse literature to which he had access, through his involvement with the Arní Magnússon collection in Copenhagen. Schøning argues that Olaf's royal ancestry, as well as his reputation as a great warrior, contributed to him becoming king in 995. Unlike Harald Fairhair, Olaf Tryggvason is elected king; the Thing sanctions his reign and legitimizes his government. His election and negotiation of the power structures in Norway, following the fall of Haakon Jarl, indicated to Schøning that Olaf Trygvasson would have been an able leader and good king ruling in conjunction with the people and accepting of the limitations the thing system placed upon his kingship.[57] However, Schøning's narrative of the

[53] Schøning, *Norges Riiges.,* Vol. ii, 194-5.
[54] Schøning, *Norges Riiges.,* Vol. ii, 231.
[55] S. Dyrvik: O. Feldbaek, *Ascehougs Norges Historie* [Ascehougs Norwegian History], Vol. vii (Oslo, 2005), 17.
[56] G. Schøning*, Norges Riiges Historie* [History of the Norwegian Realm]*,* Vol. III (Copenhagen, 1781), 313-316.
[57] Schøning, *Norges Riiges.,* Vol. iii, 330.

Norwegian history unfortunately ends with the fall of Haakon Jarl in 995 and Olaf Tryggvason's succession. As this volume was published after Schøning's death, it is very difficult to piece together a complete synopsis of Schøning's assessment of Olaf Trygvasson and Olaf Haraldson. Yet, it is clear from Schøning presentation of the events that took place under Earl Haakon that he did not favour absolutist, cruel and illegitimate rulers.

2.4. Keyser

During his studies of Icelandic and Old Norse languages, Keyser developed a comprehensive understanding of Old Norse literature. Based on this understanding, Keyser argued that, as Norse literature openly said that Iceland had been settled from Norway, it could be claimed that Norse literature was truly Norwegian. His views were influenced by migration theory developed by Gerhard Schøning; which proposed Norway had been settled from the North and East and the population moved towards the south and west until the Norwegian people clashed with the neighbouring nations of Denmark and Sweden, which according to the theory had been settled from the East and South.[58] This caused first Schøning, and later Keyser, to suggest that Danes and parts of the Swedish population did not descend from the same origin as the Norwegian people. As Iceland, according to *Landnámabok* and *Heimskingla* was settled from Norway, Keyser thus found basis for his claim that the Norse literature was actually Norwegian literature. Keyser appears to have a positive view of the Icelandic sagas as they, in his view, contain the true historical events and narrative in among their lines. Keyser especially favours *Heimskringla*, by Snorri Sturluson, as he claims it contains elements of the true history of Norway's early kings, and through this the text contained the history of the development of the Norwegian nation.[59] This trust in *Heimskringla* and other Norse sagas influenced Keyser's presentation of the Norwegian kings, as he perceived this saga narrative to be based on real events and contemporary accounts. Based on this approach Keyser's studies of Norwegian history was fundamentally linked to the study of the elite history of Norway, its kings and the development of the governing bodies of the kingdom, and not the study of the people.

Keyser believed that Harald did not acquire the *Odel* [allodial possession] from the peasants in the process of conquering the country. Keyser suggested that the acquisition of the *Odel* was more likely to have been a tax levied on each person under Harald's rule, and

[58] R. Keyser, *Norges Historie* [Norway's history], Vol. I (Christiania, 1866), 19-23; G. Schøning, *Norges Riiges Historie* [History of the Norwegian Realm], Vol. i (Sorøe, 1771), 33-35.
[59] R. Keyser, *Efterladne skrifter* [collected essays], vol. i (Christiania, 1866), 453.

not the confiscation of land as Snorri suggested it.[60] Moreover, Keyser claimed that the changes to governing mechanics made by Harald, outlined by Snorri in *Heimskringla*, did not match the details, in the form of names and identifications, which Snorri himself had given in his account. Keyser's evidence was that the model of one *Jarl* [Earl] for each county and five *Hersi* [Lord] for each *Jarl*, as a governing system did not match the detailed accounts of those to whom Harald Fairhair had granted lands and territories.[61] Keyser understood the Skaldic poetry of the sagas as unbroken and unchanged over the generations, and thus contained the real views and information of contemporary events. This meant Keyser believed he, through drawing on information in Skaldic poetry, could reconstruct a network of *Jarls* under Harald, and this did not match the structure outlined in *Heimskringla*. This led Keyser to believe that Snorri had adapted a thirteenth-century model of governing the Norwegian territories and applied it to his account of the tenth century.[62] However, Keyser's model and theory regarding the one Jarl, four Hersi system, implemented by Harald Fairhair, had one key flaw within it. Keyser did not allow for the possibility that information concerning Jarls and Hersis had been lost between the reign of Harald Fairhair and the composition of *Heimskringla*. Yet Keyser was critical of a literal reading of *Heimskringla* as an outline for the governing and legal processes under Harald. He furthermore stated that:

> The great changes, however, that Harald undoubtedly aimed for, which the more learned and independent Norwegians perceive as an inevitable consequence of his [Harald's] unification of Norway, was not completed to the extent it originally had been planned.[63]

Harald reformed and adapted new governing processes within his newly conquered kingdom, but Keyser did not believe these changes represented a great break from the pre-unification period processes. For instance, Keyser points out that Harald maintained regional assemblies or Things as arenas for political and judicial changes.[64] Keyser furthermore argued that Snorri's presentation of Harald as a man who believed in one God,[65] did not agree with the religious and cultural context in which Harald lived. Yet, when

[60] Keyser, *Norges Historie.,* vol. i, 227.
[61] Keyser, *Norges Historie.*, vol. I, 226.
[62] Keyser, *Norges Historie.*, vol. I, 227.
[63] 'Den store Omvaeltning imidlertid, som Harald udentvivl tilsigtede, og hvilken de mere oplyste og uafhaengige Nordmaend forestillerde sig som uundgaaelig Foelge af hans Eneherredoemme, blev, som det lader, ingenlunde gjennemfoert i det omfang, som udtaltes i dens Grundsaetninger.' Keyser, *Norges Historie.*, vol. I, 227.
[64] Keyser, *Norges Historie.*, vol. I, 220.
[65] Keyser, *Norges Historie.*, vol. I, 229.

Keyser compared the references to Harald's religion in *Heimskringla* he found that the material and references do not signify the same monotheism as Olaf Tryggvason or Olaf Haraldsson would later introduce to Norway. For instance, Snorri states that Harald was buried in a burial-mound,[66] a custom usually associated with the pre-Christian religion in Scandinavia, a reading of *Heimskringla* that Keyser also promotes, this reading was solely based on Snorri's account of Harald's life. Once again this suggests that Keyser relied heavily on *Heimskringla* to construct an account of the reign of Harald as the founder of a unified Norway.

When Keyser examined Olaf Tryggvason, he again based his study on *Heimskringla* but also supplemented it with references from Oddr Munk's *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar*.[67] Oddr Munk, also known as Oddr Snorrason, wrote his saga of Olaf Tryggvasson c. 1190 in Latin, but it has survived in an Icelandic translation, the texts is regarded as one of the sources to *Heimskringla*.[68] Olaf's succession to the Norwegian kingdom was not based on military conquest. Keyser emphasised that Olaf was elected King and granted his authority from the Thing for the Trøndelag region.[69] Olaf's physical appearance had, according to Keyser, reminded the peasants of Haakon I the Good and brought back memories of the time he ruled Norway.[70] Whereas Haakon I the Good had failed in converting Norway, Keyser presents Olaf Tryggvason's conversion policies as the main theme of Olaf's reign.[71] Through this, Keyser also emphasised how Olaf used the Thing system to create a dialogue and engagement from the peasants and chieftains throughout Norway.[72] Even though Olaf used rather brutal acts to promote Christianity and to maintain power in the Norwegian counties, Keyser claims this did not create the foundation for the animosity and betrayal against him from his Norwegian subjects.[73] Although Olaf Tryggvason's reign lasted less than five years, his actions related to the conversion of Norway paved the way for Olaf Haraldsson. The memory of Olaf Tryggvason in *Heimskringla*, and other elements of the Norse literature, was highly impacted by Tryggvason as a John the Baptist figure in Norwegian medieval history, the king who prepared for the deliverance of the Norwegian kingdom from its pagan past, and foreign domination.

---

[66] Keyser, *Norges Historie.*, vol. I, 225.
[67] Keyser, *Norges Historie.*, vol. I, 294.
[68] M. Clunies Ross, *A History of Old Norse Poetry and Poetics* (Cambridge, 2005), 74.
[69] Keyser, *Norges Historie.*, vol. I, 295.
[70] Keyser, *Norges Historie.*, vol. I, 294.
[71] Keyser, *Norges Historie.*, vol. I, 317.
[72] Keyser, *Norges Historie.*, vol. I, 295.
[73] Keyser, *Norges Historie.*, vol. I, 329.

> King Olaf Haraldsson had, when he fell, lived for 35 years and ruled Norway for 15, under many shifting circumstances, but always striving towards national unity and independence. To establish a new faith and maintain order in the kingdom he used harsh methods, although they were accepted by his contemporaries, and he used them too often.[74]

This is how Keyser introduced and summed up King Olaf Haraldsson in his *Norges Historie* published in 1866. It is clear from the way Keyser sets the stage for his chapter about Olaf Haraldsson, that Olaf was a remarkable king who left a lasting impression through re-uniting the kingdom and liberating it from foreign rule. In explaining this legacy, Keyser said:

> They killed the king, but not his laws or his religion. On the contrary, both his laws and his religion found a solid foundation through his death. Awe replaced hatred, when the Norwegians felt the true meaning of serfdom under a foreign ruler, because this ruler used their hate to secure his power in Olaf's place.[75]

Even though Olaf Haraldsson was killed during his attempt to reclaim the Norwegian crown after Cnut's invasion in 1028, the cultural and legal changes he implemented survived him and laid the foundations for an independent kingdom of Norway. Keyser not only viewed Olaf as the turning point in the establishment of the Norwegian kingdom, but also as the king who through his legislative changes started to unite the Norwegian people into a cultural and political unit.[76] Consequently, Olaf's legacy created a Norwegian people from people living in the different Norwegian regions; Olaf united the people and gave them a shared cultural experience that fortified both the Church and the idea that Norway was a single kingdom. In a similar manner to how Keyser presented the interaction between king and people in the narrative of Harald Fairhair and Olaf Tryggvason, Keyser's presentation of Olaf Haraldsson suggests that Olaf Haraldsson used the Thing system to implement legal and cultural changes, and exercised judicial power on the basis of the new legislation.

To Keyser, it was Olaf's conservative attitude towards his own legal system, by which he meant that Olaf followed the law to its letter, that made him powerful enemies within the aristocracy, as Olaf did not want the aristocracy to get away with their traditional

---

[74] 'Kong Olaf Haraldssoen havde, da han faldt levet I 35 aar og styrt norge I 15, under mange lykkens omveltninger, men altid med kraftig og vistnok velmeent straeven for landets held og selvstaendighed. Til at befordre en ny tro og en bedre orden I riget brugde han haarde midler; dette medgav tidsalderens aand, og han brugte dem ofte uvarsomt.' Keyser, *Norges Historie.*, vol. I, 414.
[75] 'De faeldede kongen, men ikke hans lovgivening og ikke Christendommen som han havde indfoert. Tvertimod grundfaestedes begge dele ved hans doed. Thi snart traadte aerefrygt for ham og hans indretninger in I hadets sted, da nordmaendene fik foele den sande traeldom under en fremmed hersker, der listigen havde benyttet deres blinde had som et redskap for sin egen aergjerrighed.' Keyser, *Norges Historie.*, vol I, 415.
[76] Keyser, *Norges Historie.*, vol. I, 414-15.

behaviour of feuding with each other and plundering the population. Keyser presents an Olaf who believed all his subjects should be judged by the same law, a policy he maintained even when this would create hostility against him among his strongest supporters. This policy was Olaf's greatest mistake as a politician,[77] his feelings and ambition led him into difficult situations that did not cement the loyalties of his followers and this created an opening for King Cnut. Not only did this emphasis on Olaf's judicial policies and the unifying impact of his sainthood naturally occur in the sources Keyser used for his study, the ideas were also prominent among his contemporaries, and especially reflected in the Constitution of 1814. In this Constitution, Norway is one whole and indivisible kingdom, mirroring the re-unification by Olaf Tryggvason and the reinforcing of this by Olaf Haraldsson. The Constitution also maintained the idea that the law is equal for everyone, something Keyser, through his emphasis on Olaf's legal policy, created a tradition for to suggest that this equality had its roots back to the Saint-King himself.

2.5. Munch

In his *Norges Historie I kortfattet udtog* [*Norway's History in Short Version*](1856) a 74 page book Peter Andreas Munch presents the narrative of Harald Fairhair's reign as it is found in *Heimskringla*, and other texts of Norse literature.[78] However, in 1852 Munch published the first volume of his 8 Volume, c.6000 pages long, *Det Norske Folks Historie [The History of the Norwegian People],* which he dedicated to his mentor and colleague Rudolf Keyser. In this publication he claimed that due to the long tradition of toning down the importance of the Norwegian history, historians could no longer sit around and wait for Keyser to publish his *Norges Historie [Norwegian History]*.[79] This delay had created ignorance about the national past among the population that needed to be reversed.[80] Thus, Munch took it upon himself to present an updated history of the Norwegian people and their achievements that would take into consideration all the modern critical approaches to sources that had become popular on the continent.[81] Munch also believed that a complete history had to include a breakdown of why he trusted some sources more than others and

[77] Keyser, *Norges Historie.*, vol. I, 395-7.
[78] P.A. Munch, *Norges Historie I Kortfattet Udtog* [Norway's history in Short Version] (Christiania, 1856), 12-14.
[79] P.A Munch, *Det Norske Folks Historie* [The History of the Norwegian People], Vol. I, part 1 (Christiania, 1852), iv.
[80] Munch, *Det Norske.,* Vol. I, part I, iv.
[81] Munch, *Det Norske.,* Vol. I, part I, iv; vii.

what created the reliability of these sources.[82] He was aware that his Norwegian history could not be based on his words alone so he points out that, like all historians who write about early history, he saw the necessity of referencing. He stated:

> I have, as one will already have noticed, and what really no historian, who uses ancient sources to present the events of ages lost, may omit, assumed that my words can not be believed unless they are correctly proven. I have therefore everywhere, where I believe it is necessary, put notes of which sources that I have been using.[83]

By doing this, Munch approached his own study as a text that needed to have its validity proven; especially as his motivation for writing it was to rectify the misconceptions about Norwegian history that he had found among other authors.[84] Not only did he see the need to validate his viewpoints and ideas, but also that he needed to stretch his foundations for his *Det Norske Folks Historie* to include Danish, German, Frankish and British sources. Through this approach, Munch drew information from Bede, Asser, Æthelweard, Saxo Grammaticus, Einhard, The Fulda Annals, Adam of Bremen, Thietmar Bishop of Merseburg and William of Jumièges, as well as *Heimskringla*.[85] Even though Munch used these sources to support his narrative, and underpin his *Det Norske Folks Historie*, he did not use them carelessly without considering possible issues with the sources. His main consideration was that the information needed to be backed up by two sources or more, and that the main use of the sources was to clarify information where the Norse literature was either contradictory or deficient. Although Munch was sceptical of aspects of these sources, it is evident that he preferred chronicles and narratives in order to determine a fuller picture of Norwegian history. Even though Munch worked with Professor Keyser in the 1830s on the Old Norwegian Law project, he did not utilize these laws in his *Det Norske Folks Historie* [The History of the Norwegian People]. Munch allowed his sources to speak with the words of the current translation of the time in his narrative. He stated that he could not write a history of the Norwegian people better than the sagas already had.[86] Munch allocated space for a longer analysis of the legendary and historical sagas of Olaf Tryggvason and Olaf Haraldsson in part two of the first volume of the *Det Norske Folks Historie* [The History of

[82] Munch, *Det Norske.,* Vol. I, part I, vii.
[83] 'Jeg er, som man allerede vil have bemerket, og hva egentlig ingen historieskriver, der efter ældre kilder fremstiller svundne tidets begiventheder, kan undlade, gaaende ut fra forudsætningen af mine ord ikke ville staa til troende, med mindre deres rigtighed bevises. Jeg har detfor ogsaa overalt, hvor jeg troede det nødvendig, i noter under terten paaberaabt mig mine kilder.' Munch, *Det Norske.,* Vol. I, part i, iix.
[84] Munch, *Det Norske.,* Vol. I, part I, iv.
[85] Munch, *Det Norske.,* Vol. I, part I, vii-xi.
[86] Munch, *Det Norske.,* Vol. I, part I, v.

the Norwegian People]. In this analysis, he noted that although the legendary sagas are older and thus closer in time to the events they recount, they presented narratives that are full of supernatural and legendary elements. These elements of the supernatural and legends are not something Munch favoured in his construction of a narrative and understanding of the history of the Norwegian people. Through this, Munch drew upon the contemporary nineteenth-century ideas of a scientific rationale in history, and let this be his guidance for how he identified the supernatural from the historic elements in the sagas. Even though Munch favoured the 'historical sagas' more than the legendary sagas, particularly for their historical accuracy and logical explanation of the events in the king's lives, he points out:

> This exactness is, unfortunately, so great, that it has the opposite effect on the saga, that instead of increasing its reliability, it raises the question about how much of this accuracy is the saga writer's own construction, and how much is the true chronology of the saga.[87]

Even as he raised this question, Munch also stressed that as some of the saga writers present information that cannot be located elsewhere; he is forced to believe that the writers of the Historical Sagas of Olaf Tryggvason and Olaf Haraldsson must be correct, especially as long as this information cannot be contradicted.[88] Although these sagas are more reliable in the eyes of Munch, they also have some problems, especially with the dating of events such as Olaf Tryggvason's service to Emperor Otto of Germany. Furthermore, Munch thought that the narrative of Olaf Tryggvason's reign found in *Heimskringla* contains contradictory information. This critical consideration of the sagas allowed Munch to comparatively study and present the history of the Norwegian people, not just through the lives of kings, but also through the social and cultural development of the Norwegian people, both within the borders of the Norwegian kingdom, and in the colonies in Iceland, Greenland, and Faeroe Islands, as well as the more debated settlement in Normandy.

To Munch, Harald Fairhair was the unifier of the country, and it was through his conquest of the Norwegian petty kings that the kingdom developed. For Munch, as for Schøning, the marriage refusal of Ragna was the trigger of Harald's conquest of the surrounding kingdoms.[89] Munch saw this as such an important cause of Harald's conquest

---

[87] 'Denne Noeyagtighet er endog saa stor, at den har en modsat virkning af den tilsigtede, idet den nemlig vaekker mistanke om, at ordningen grunder sig paa sagaskriverens egen kritikk, ei paa de gamle tradisjoner selv.' Munch, *Det Norske.,* Vol. I, part II, vii.
[88] Munch, *Det Norske.,* Vol. I, part II, vii.
[89] P.A. Munch, *Norges Historie I Kortfattet Udtog* [Norway's history in Short Version] (Christiania, 1856), 13

that he choose to include this in his shorter Norwegian History, a text that compared to his 8 volume *The History of the Norwegian People* is a synopsis of the most important elements of the history of Norway in Munch's understanding. As such, *Norway's history in Short Version* functions like a barometer for Munch's emphasis within the narrative which is elaborated in the *The History of the Norwegian People*. The shorter text provides key insight into what Munch perceived as essential historical information that he needed to convey to his readers and make accessible to a wider Audience, for the shorter Norwegian History was not just shorter than *The History of the Norwegian People*, but also significantly cheaper when it was originally published as it then cost 12 shilling, compared to 600 shilling for *The History of the Norwegian People.*

Munch also believed that Harald started his conquest of the territories towards the north of his homeland in Vestfold. By this, he meant that Harald conquered the Trondelag area first, and then moved along the coast until in 872 he won the battle at Hafsfjord.[90] After this battle, Harald's kingdom stretched from the Goeta River in the Southeast to Finnmark in the north. These were borders that were the same as the Norwegian kingdom in the thirteenth century, the period the kingdom was at its biggest. Munch pointed out that Harald was strongly disliked for his harsh laws and strict judgment; which triggered the migration from Norway to Iceland and the Western Islands of Orkney, Shetland and Faeroe Islands. These were areas which were incorporated into the Norwegian kingdom in the high and late medieval period based on the family and historical ties to Norway. The legal changes were a cause of the resentment as were, in Munch's view, the governing policies and systems imposed by Harald to control his newly conquered kingdom.

Munch stated that Harald settled one Jarl to each county, and four *hersi* to each *Jarl*, positions that functioned as the king's tenants and servants in the provinces of Norway. Munch calls this governing system Feudalism.[91] Munch used the term *Lehnsvaesenet*, a word commonly used to describe the governing systems in Norway under the descendants of King Sverre after the Civil War of 1130-1240.[92] The reasons for Munch's word choice is not clear, but it is evident that by using this word he created a continuation between the unification and foundation of the Norwegian kingdom, and the Golden Age of the Norwegian Kingdom under the Sverri dynasty. By emphasizing this link, Munch not only

[90] Munch, *Norges Historie.,* 12.
[91] Munch, *Norges Historie.,* 13.
[92] Munch, *Norges Historie.,* 32.

bound the history together, but also attempted to strengthen the impact of Harald Fairhair's policies and political ideas.

Munch also suggested that, after the conquest, Harald claimed all land ownership, the *Odel,* for himself and made all the peasants his tenants, setting himself up as a feudal lord. In addition to this, Harald introduced a head tax on all his citizens.[93] This interpretation of the *Odel* and taxation policy of Harald Fairhair is perhaps the closest to the source text, and represents in many ways an uncritical reading of the information presented in *Heimskringla*. It is evident that Munch supports the Icelandic tradition that it was noblemen and peasants resentment of these policies that caused the migration to Iceland. Yet in his *Norges Historie I Kortfattet Udtog* [Norway's history in Short Version], Munch omits to describe how Harald presented his laws, for example whether his reign was an absolute monarchy; neither does he explain the role of the Things during Harald's rule nor how Harald's territories in Sogn in comparison to Vestfold, as highlighted in *Fagrskinna*, came to effect the conquest of Norway, this will be explored further in chapter 4. In this Munch is not just selective in this narrative, but also presents what he see as the essence of the history of Harald's reign. However, in his *Det Norske Folks Historie* [The History of the Norwegian People] Munch states:

> The foundations for the conquest of the counties of Norway were already laid by Halfdan the Black. This great conquest was completed by his son and successor Harald Fairhair, by which time Norwegian historical narratives claim the Kingdom was unified under one king.[94]

When talking about the conquest of Norway, Munch continuously and consciously refers to the petty kingdoms and chiefdoms, which Harald would later conquer, as counties or regions within Norway.[95] This suggests that Munch perceived Norway as a pre-existing unit that shared a common idea of community or identity prior to the conquest by Harald. Furthermore Munch, in his 1852 volume of *the Det Norske Folks Historie* [The History of the Norwegian People] puts the legends of Ragna and Gyda side by side as the explanation for Harald's conquest of the surrounding Norwegian kingdom.[96] Again, Munch maintained in his *Det Norske Folks Historie* [The History of the Norwegian People] that Harald gave *Lehn*

[93] Munch, *Norges Historie.,* 14.
[94]'Grundvolden til Sammenerobringen af Norges Fylker var allerede lagt af Halfdan Svarte. Det store verk fuldendets derfor af hans søn og efterfølger Harald Haarfagre, med hvilken derfor vore ældre historiske skrifter sædvanligviis begynde Enevoldskongernes tidsrum.' Munch, *Det Norske.,* Vol. I, part I., 459.
[95]Munch, *Det Norske.,* Vol. I, part I, 461.
[96] Munch, *Det Norske.,* Vol. I, part I, 462.

[fief] to his followers following the conquest.[97] This statement about *Lehn* [fief] once more bridges the gap between the different parts of Norwegian history whereby new regimes would place their own supporters into the system of government that King Harald supposedly devised.[98] Just as Keyser stated that Harald maintained the position of the *Thing* as an important arena for political and legal changes; Munch claimed that it was at the Things Harald adapted legal changes, and divided the country into kingdoms for his sons.[99] This indirectly suggests, however, that Harald Fairhair did not intend the unification to be permanent. With this Munch stays close to the narrative found in *Heimskringla.* Munch allows, as in other sections of his *Det Norske Folks Historie*, the Sagas to speak in their own words.

When Munch examined Olaf Tryggvason and his reign, he again applied the same sources used to describe the reign of Harald Fairhair, preferring the narrative sources such as the Norse sagas and European chronicles. On this basis, Munch suggests that Olaf Tryggvason had presented himself as a pretender, but also as the solution to the political crisis that had developed in Norway during the rule of Earl Haakon (c.935-995) who at the end of his life ruled Norway as a tyrant.[100] Munch also states that Olaf's arrival in Norway was unrelated to the contemporary turmoil in 995.[101] This, together with his reputation as a successful Viking warlord, contributed to his succession to the Norwegian kingdom at a Thing in 995.[102] Munch states that unlike Harald, Olaf Tryggvason was given the kingdom by the peasants, whereas Harald took the kingdom by force.[103] This is the foundation for Olaf's popularity among the Norwegian people during and after his own reign. Despite his harsh policies of forced conversion, the people mourned his death, and some of his soldiers grieved that they had not been at his side during the battle of Svolder. In his *Norges Historie I Kortfattet Udtog* [Norway's History in Short Version] Munch does not offer an analysis of Olaf's reign, yet in his *Det Norske Folks Historie* [The History of the Norwegian People] Munch allows for extensive analysis of the motivation of Olaf's opponents and enemies. He also maintains that Olaf was selected as king of Norway according to the

[97] Munch, *Det Norske.,* Vol. I, part I, 467.
[98] Lehn is the Scandinavian word for Fiefdom, and thus functions as part of a feudal system where the king can devide his kingdom into several fiefdoms and give it to whom he favours.
[99] Munch, *Det Norske.,* Vol. I, part I, 585.
[100] Munch, *Det Norske.*, Vol. i, Part II, 260-2.
[101] Munch, *Det Norske.*, Vol. i, Part II, 260-2.
[102] Munch, *Det Norske.*, Vol. i, Part II, 283.
[103] Munch, *Det Norske.*, Vol. i, Part II, 283.

tradition at the time,[104] not just at one of the Things, but at every Thing in the whole kingdom.[105] Not only did Olaf use the Things efficiently to legitimise his rule, but he also used them, according to Munch, as an efficient political tool in the conversion of Norway.[106] In the eyes of Munch, it was Tryggvason's spiritual abilities that allowed him to control and convert both the Gulathing, and leading nobles in Western Norway just through the strength of his words. Munch sees Tryggvason as a gifted politician, the perfect man among his contemporaries, both in body, mind, and actions.[107] Munch's Olaf Tryggvason is, as in *Heimskringla,* credited with the conversion of the Western Islands. This conversion narrative strengthens the link between the kingdom of Norway, and the western settlements within the history of the Norwegian people, and it prepares for these settlements to be fully incorporated into the Norwegian kingdom.

> Olaf Haraldson's entry in Munch's book from 1856 starts with:
>
> Norway was liberated after fifteen years of from the foreign occupation, and the old house of Harald Fairhair was restored to the crown.[108]

In the 1856 *Norges Historie I kortfattet udtog* [Norway's history in Short Version] version, Munch pointed out that Olaf restored the Norwegian kingdom after it had been divided into three parts following the fall of Olaf Tryggvason.[109] Olaf Haraldsson is credited, as the quotation shows, with the restoration of the Fairhair Dynasty after a period of foreign rule, as well as laying the foundations and legitimizing the subsequent generations of kings of Norway. Olaf Haraldsson secured his crown, as both the *Heimskringla* and the independent *Olaf's saga*, by Snorri Sturluson, suggests through a brief war against the Earls of Lade, and through marriage to the daughter of the Swedish king.[110] Munch described him as:

> Olaf Haraldsson is one of the noteworthy kings in Norwegian history. Not since Haakon Athelstanfostri, had there been anyone, who in the same way worked to unite the different parts of the country, to maintain the peace, to introduce culture and new costumes. He made paganism extinct, and that according to contemporary measures in cruel and gruesome ways.[111]

---

[104] Munch, *Det Norske.*, Vol. i, Part II, 283.
[105] Munch, *Det Norske.*, Vol. i, Part II, 287.
[106] Munch, *Det Norske.*, Vol. i, Part II, 288.
[107] Munch, *Det Norske.*, Vol. i, Part II, 355.
[108] 'Efter femten aars forløb befrieedes Norge fra det fremmede Aag, og fik atter en hersker af den gamle kongeæt.' Munch, *Norges Historie.*, 21.
[109] Munch, *Norges Historie.*, 22.
[110] Munch, *Norges Historie.*, 22.
[111] 'Olaf Haraldssøn er en af Norges Mærkeligste Konger. Siden Haakon Adelsteensfostre var der ingen, der saa troligt som han arbeidede paa at sammenknytte rigets forskjellige dele, at oprette orden I landet, indføre kultur og blidere sæder.' Munch, *Norges Historie.*, 22.

In this statement, Munch summed up the triumphs and criticism towards Olaf Haraldsson. To Munch, Olaf was a ruthless and yet powerful king, who by his continuous travels throughout the kingdom renewed the kingdom's shared identity and sense of community. Olaf's travels also laid the foundations for the many myths and legends that developed about him after his death, some of which transformed into local cults of St Olaf. Munch also accredits, and rightly so, Olaf Haraldsson with the re-foundation and re-unification of the Norwegian kingdom alongside his struggle to convert and Christianized the state,[112] even though the final conversions and Christianization did not take place until after the battle of Stiklestad in 1030. Comparatively , Munch in his *Det Norske Folks Historie* [The History of the Norwegian People] sees Olaf's use of the Things, especially the Mostrathing in 1024, as proof that Olaf used it as an important legislative tool in order to introduce changes when adapting the customary laws to the Christian laws.[113] Munch's reference to Olaf Haraldsson as the *'mærkeligste'* ['strangest'] king in Norwegian history is based on Olaf's contradictory reign and legacy.[114] Although he ruled as a harsh and sometimes brutal king, his memory left him as a saint and a beloved king compared to King Swein Cnutsson who succeeded Olaf as king of Norway.

2.6. Sars

Sars observes that prior to the unification of Harald Fairhair there must have been countless kings and royal lines throughout Norway and that these must have developed as a result of the Viking campaigns outside Norway, and as a representation of the tribal divisions internally in the country.[115] Furthermore, Sars attempted to explain why Harald's unification came, what caused it, and which Germanic trends between the Roman period and the ninth century can explain the reasons for Harald's success. This takes Sars away from *Heimskringla* and its narrative, and in opposition to Munch and the Norwegian Historical School Munch and Keyser represented. He suggests that the kings prior to Harald ruled within their regions, not over them, and were predominantly leaders in war and conquest, as the hersi and Things controlled the temples and justice system.[116] The origins of the nation did not follow the conquest of Harald, according to Sars, but had been

[112] Munch, *Norges Historie.*, 25.
[113] Munch, *Det Norske.*, Vol. i, Part II, 629.
[114] Munch, *Norges Historie.*, 22.
[115] J.E.Sars, *Udsigt over Den Norske Historie* [A Survey of Norwegian history], Vol. I. (Kristiania, 1877), 172.
[116] Sars, *Udsigt.*, Vol. I, 174.

recognised among the different tribes of the Norwegian people prior to Harald's conquest. In this way, Sars explained how Ohthere was able to refer to Norway as one country/nation, without mentioning Harald's conquest, or the different tribal divisions.[117] Ohthere was a ninth-century Norwegian trader who visited the court of King Alfred, during which time he told the story of his travels; this was recorded in the Old English translation of Orosius's *Historiarum adversum Paganos Libri Septem*.[118] Ohthere's story refers to the land of the Northmen [Norwegians].[119] As Ohthere must have visited the court of Alfred during his reign of 871-99, this reference to the Land of the Norwegians is thus contemporary with Harald Fairhair's conquest. Furthermore, Sars states that the Old Norwegian laws, as credible sources for the development of Norwegian society, can back up the developments and ideas found in the sagas regarding the narrative of national evolution. [120] Sars argues that due to the cultural contact South-East and South-West Norway maintained with the rest of the world in the ninth and tenth centuries, Harald Fairhair's unification attempt must have come from one of these regions.[121] Furthermore, he reasons that since the South Western regions of Norway were areas from where most migrants departed Norway for Iceland and the Atlantic Islands, this was the area Harald took by forcing his enemies and opposition to leave the area.[122] Sars goes on to suggest that Harald Fairhair's conquest and unification of Norway was the result of a longer process of liberation, and power struggle between the Ynglinga-line and the Danish and Swedish royal lines.[123] Sars thus acknowledges the idea that Norway might not always have been one kingdom but that the idea of cultural unity was harvested by Harald to create a 'unified' state under his rule.[124] Based on references to *Egil's Saga*, Sars believed that Harald's conquest was more than just a military conquest of territories, but rather that he altered the social and political structure of what became a new Norway, for his generation at least, by his claim of all *Odel.* Sars refers to this as a new governmental structure, which was just as significant, a cause for migration, as the initial conquest had been.[125] However, it is clear from his footnotes that

[117] Sars, *Udsigt.*, Vol. I, 176.
[118] J. Bately, 'Othere and Wulfstan in the Old English *Orosius*', in J. Bately and A. Englert (eds.), *Othere's Voyages* (Roskilde, 2007), 18.
[119] J. Bately, 'Text and translation: the Three parts of the known World and the Geography of Europe North of Danube according to Orosius' *Historiae* and its Old English version', in J. Bately and A. Englert (eds.)*, Othere's Voyages* (Roskilde, 2007), 46.
[120] Sars, *Udsigt.*, Vol. I, 176-7.
[121] Sars, *Udsigt.*, Vol. I, 180.
[122] Sars, *Udsigt.*, Vol. I, 181
[123] Sars, *Udsigt.*, Vol. I, 184.
[124] Sars, *Udsigt.*, Vol. I, 186.
[125] Sars, *Udsigt.*, Vol. I, 187-8.

Sars' ideas were not only his own, he had found inspiration and knowledge in both Munch and Keyser's works.[126] Yet he also read Moore's two volume *History of Ireland*, as well as a *Histoire de France* by an unnamed author..[127] This suggests that Sars' ideas were not solely nationalistic or lacking in knowledge of a wider historical context of the migration and unification of Norway in the late ninth century. Sars devotes eighteen pages to the cultural development of Iceland and the importance of the Irish and Celtic influence on the Norse Atlantic migration in the late ninth and early tenth century in his chapter on Harald, but he concludes with a remark suggesting that without Harald's conquest all the Norwegian counties and landscapes might very well have been a part of either the Danish of Swedish kingdom, and consequently an independent Norway might never have emerged.[128]

Sars' first comment about Olaf Tryggvason is not just remarkable in its content, but it also signals the fashion in which Sars would continue to refer to Tryggvason throughout the chapter.

> Olaf Tryggvason's first appearance in Norway was, as his entire life, fairytale-like and glittering.[129]

In explaining why this was so, Sars stated:

> …unlike his predecessors, without limits and limitation he could represent Norway's political independence, where the monarchy was unifying, and through that he sought his strength through representing it. He was not, like Haakon Adalsteinfostri, bound to the aristocracy. For when he came to Norway, and made his inheritance claim he based it upon his own name and inheritance; it was not the chieftains who had called him to them, or who presented him as a political option, and there was no prior agreement between him and the aristocracy, yet still they supported each other, king and aristocracy; for as the sagas tell "hvárir urðu øðrum fegnir", the case seems to have been that he came them to help, and they gave him the power and the realm.[130]

---

[126] Sars, *Udsigt.*, Vol. I, 174; 176.
[127] Sars, *Udsigt.*, Vol. I, 194.
[128] Sars, *Udsigt.*, Vol. I, 206.
[129] 'Olaf Tryggvessøns første optræden i Norge var, som hele hans liv, eventrytlig og glimrende.' Sars, *Udsigt.*, Vol. I, 267.
[130] '… i modsætning til sine nærmeste forgjængere, uden Afslag eller Indskrænkning kunde repræsentere Norges politiske selvstendighed, hvormed Kongedømet var sammenknyttet, og som det maatte søge sin styrke i at repræsentere. Han var heller ikke paa samme maade som Haakon Adalsteinfostre bundet ligeovenfor Aristokratiet. Han optraadte, da han kom til Norge for at gjøre sine Arvekrav paa Riget gjeldende, i egen Navn og paa egen Haand; det var ikke høvdingerne, der havede ingladt ham, eller som stillede ham op, og der bestod ingen Aftale mellem han og dem; de trøngte gjensidig til hverandre, saa at, efter Sagaens "hvárir urðu øðrum fegnir"; men Forholdet synes snarere at være at han kom dem til Hjelp, end at de hævede ham til magten Udtryk.' Sars, *Udsigt.*, Vol. I, 268.

Therefore, Sars sees Tryggvason as the liberator from the regime of Earl of Lade and that it was due to his personal abilities that he secured his takeover and gave his regime a stable foundation, even considering the sometimes brutal acts Tryggvason had to commit to convert the people.[131] Sars goes further; he claims that for Olaf the conversion of Norway and the resurrection of Harald Fairhair's kingdom were inseparable and the one could not happen without the other.[132] However, Sars is also convinced religious motives drove Olaf to return to Norway and that all his later political actions were founded in his missionary ideals, not in any political wish to dominate and extend the power of the crown, even when that became a side product of the actions.[133] It is Olaf's ability to complete the conversion of Norway in very few years that is the greatest proof of his abilities as a monarch and person, and, as Sars puts it:

> …it will always stand as something remarkable and admirable, as evidence for how irresistible a power he, with his personal abilities, could wield over his surroundings, and how competently he responded to the requests and challenges the Norwegians gave their chief and lord.[134]

To Sars, these abilities were the foundations on which the Norwegian people's love for Olaf Tryggvason was based, and it was in his memory that the idea of a single kingdom and the new religion found its greatest support.[135] Sars acknowledges that Olaf's memory not only gave a new beginning to the foundation of a unified Norway, it also together with Olaf's legal work created a legitimacy for further claimants to the crown, as well as for a unified nation and the church within it.[136]

The title of Sars's chapter on Olaf Haraldsson in his 1877 volume of *Udsigt over Den Norske Historie* [A survey of Norwegian history] was: Olaf the Holy–Christendom's, and the Unified state's final victory.[137] Through this title, it is clear that Sars saw these two elements of Olaf Haraldsson's life as the fruit of his labour, but he also saw Olaf's personality as a reason for his downfall. Although Olaf was a strong believer in the Christian faith, as Sars suggests:

---

[131] Sars, *Udsigt.*, Vol. I, 268.
[132] Sars, *Udsigt.*, Vol. I, 269.
[133] Sars, *Udsigt.*, Vol. I, 272.
[134] '… maa derfor altid staa som noget beundringsverdig, som et vidnesbyrd om, hvor uimodstaaelig en Magt han ved sine personlige Egenskaber har øvet paa sine omgivelser, hvor fuldkommen han har svaret til de fordringer, Nordmændene stillede til en Høvdind og en Hersker.' Sars, *Udsigt.*, Vol. I, 273.
[135] Sars, *Udsigt.*, Vol. I, 275.
[136] Sars, *Udsigt.*, Vol. I, 278.
[137] 'Olaf den Hellige. – Christiendomens og Eenhedsstatens endelige Sejr.' Sars, *Udsigt.*, Vol. I, 279.

> He was, like his predecessor Olaf Tryggvason, a committed Christian, and as he was raised by the hard way of life in the Viking Age, he became courageous, power hungry, easily violent, but also gifted with great spiritual and bodily gifts. These aspects have been presented as the difference between Olaf Tryggvason and Olaf Haraldsson's destiny, as it was so dependent on the king's personality and relationship with the people. Whereas Tryggvason more and more got a hold on the people through their love for him, Haraldsson, even though he worked for the same goal, and did not use quite as harsh means to achieve it, were instead generally hated, which in the end caused him the loss of the crown and his life.[138]

Yet Sars stresses that it was the memory of Tryggvason, and a growing national awareness within the aristocracy, that became Haraldsson's greatest strength in his fight to secure the crown and resurrect the kingdom internally as well as externally.[139]

Sars states that religious goals were the motivation of Olaf Tryggvason, and claims that Olaf Haraldsson's religiosity was more measured, and thus did not have the same thorough impact on his personality as it had on Tryggvason. This, in Sars' opinion, led to Olaf Haraldsson's tendency to be harsh and emotional with his opponents.[140] However, it was more than his emotions that caused resentment among the aristocracy. According to Sars, Olaf's legal reforms forced through the idea that everyone was equal before the Law,[141] which created a division between the king and leading families of the kingdom.[142] In Sars' view, it was when the legal implications of conversion began to be imposed on the population that the elite and the people truly understood the consequences of their choice on their way of life.[143] Sars seems to believe that the combination of Olaf's harshness, emotional and vindictive behaviour, mixed with the legal changes caused the aristocracy to look elsewhere for allies against Olaf. So it was the saint's personality that cost him his life.[144] Unlike Olaf Tryggvason, Olaf Haraldsson was not the ideal man of his time.[145] Nevertheless, he became the national saint, and the person who united the people, the

---

[138] 'Han var, som sin forgjænger og navne, ivrig Christen og, som denne opdragen i Vikinglivets haarde skole, dertil af Naturens dristig, herskesyg, fremfusende voldsom, udrustet med store Evner baade i aandelig og legemlig henseende. Det er bleven fremhæver som en iøjnefaldende Forskjel mellom hans og Olaf Tryggvessøns Skjæbne, der peger tilbage paa en Charakteerforskjel, at den sidstnævnte mer og mer befæstede sig i Folkets Kjærlighet trods sin hensynsløse Omvendelsesiver, medens Olaf Haraldssøn, skjønt han arbejdede for det samme Formaal og neppe anvendte mer voldsomme eller despotiske midler til dets opnaaelse, paadrog sig et almindeligt Had, der omsider berøvede ham Thronen og Livet.' Sars, *Udsigt.*, Vol. I, 280-1.
[139] Sars, *Udsigt.*, Vol. I, 279-80.
[140] Sars, *Udsigt.*, Vol. I, 281.
[141] Sars, *Udsigt.*, Vol. I, 286.
[142] Sars, *Udsigt.*, Vol. I, 285.
[143] Sars, *Udsigt.*, Vol. I, 285.
[144] Sars, *Udsigt.*, Vol. I, 286.
[145] Sars, *Udsigt.*, Vol. I, 313.

church and the nation.[146] It was through the saint's humanity that he became accessible thus an even better role model for the people,[147] but Sars makes a point of stating that the battle of Stiklestad was not about conversion, but power.[148] Olaf's legacy and the justification for his sainthood must be based on his legal foundation of the state and church, as these brought about the final conversion and unification of the country. Based on a letter from J.E. Sars to Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, it is clear, that Sars regarded Olaf as an important player in Norwegian history:

> Dear Bjørnson,
> I will be there; if there is any possibility of it. It does, however, happen in the middle of my holiday, but that does not matter. The possibility of joining the fight under St Olaf's banner as a good Crossman, Christman and kingsman is too tempting for me to resist. Therefore: See you in Trondheim. Best wishes from my mother, etc. to you and yours. Yours. J.E.Sars.[149]

The letter is dated 9 July 1897 and refers to Sars's attendance at the 1897 alternative jubilee of the foundation of Trondheim that took place on the 29 July. This suggests that Sars perceived Olaf as an important part of the contemporary culture, and worthy of remembrance.

2.7. Storm

Gustav Storm focused his authorship on the commentary of sagas, and other primary literature for the early and high medieval history of Norway and the wider North Sea world. Through his scholarship, he attempted to unite the narratives found in native Scandinavian sources with those found in Frankish and Irish Annals or Anglo-Saxon and Scottish materials. To Storm, the Viking age, and specifically the unification of Norway, could not be studied from a Norwegian perspective alone, for the political world of Harald Fairhair and his opponents spanned from Norway to Ireland. This is evident in Storm's article 'Slaget i Havrsfjord' (1880) where he examined the battle and its political impact across the Viking world. He achieved this by uniting the narratives found in *Heimskringla* with those found in

[146] Sars, *Udsigt.*, Vol. I, 322.
[147] Sars, *Udsigt.*, Vol. I, 309.
[148] Sars, *Udsigt.*, Vol. I, 289.
[149]'Kjære Bjørnson. Jeg skal komme, om det paa nogen Maade blir mulig. Detter her skjærer jo vistnok min Ferie midt over; men det faar ikke hjælpe. Lejligheden til at være med og fægte under Olav den Helliges Mærke som god Korsmand, Kristmand og Kongsmand er altfor fristende til at jeg kan modstaa. Altsaa: vel mødt i Throndhjem. De bedste Hilsener fra min Mor o.s.v. til Dig og Dine! Din J.E.Sars.' Halvdan Koth(ed.), *J.E. Sars, Brev 1850-1915* [J.E. Sars, Letters 1850-1915] (Oslo 1957), 198.

the Annals of Ulster. Through this combination of sources, he concluded that he could date the battle of Hafrsfjord to c. 872, based on the collapse of the Norwegian dynasty in Dublin, who he believed were the Vikings who joined in the alliance against Harald in the battle.[150] He deduces that the war for which Olav (Amlaib) Gudrødsson left Ireland for to help his father in Locklann (Norway) in 871-2 fits too well with the war between Harald Fairhair and Gudrød Ragnvaldsson King of Agder, to not be considered in the political context of this conflict.[151] Storm uses this evidence to highlight how the narratives in the Irish and Norse traditions of the wars of the 870s in the North and Irish Seas fitted together to prove that Harald Fairhair's victory in 872 resulted in a series of raids from the North Atlantic towards Norway, before Harald in the late 870s subdued the Norse settlements in Scotland and the Irish Sea, which weakened the Norse dynasty in Dublin and resulted in its collapse in 902.[152] Through this assessment of the battle of Hafrsfjord, one can glimpse elements of Storm's method and historical goal, to explore the history of the Viking age not through the lens of the nation, but through the lens of cause and effect, and to see the social and political networks of the Viking age in their widest possible sense in an attempt to see the whole picture. Unlike Keyser, Schøning, Munch or Sars, Storm never wrote a history of Norway, his focus was on the commentary of sources, and the use of international sources to confirm and assess elements of the Viking Age in a new light. His assessment of the Battle of Hafrsfjord, both re-established known orthodoxy with regards to who Harald was fighting, but also reflected on the political and social implications of Harald's victory. Although the focus was on the collapse of the Norwegian royal line in Dublin, Storm also saw Harald's victory as a contributing cause for the migration from Norway to Iceland. Storm argued that this was mostly due to the collapse of the Viking chieftains in the Irish Sea following Harald's conquest of Shetland, Orkney, the Hebrides, Man and Caithness in the late 870s to prevent raids on Norway. For with the collapse of the Norse kingdom in Dublin, and the Western Isles being under Norwegian rule, Viking chieftains who resisted the centralisation of power were forced to migrate to new areas, triggering the migration to Iceland, according to Storm. Unlike Keyser or Munch, Storm acknowledges the Western Isles as the stepping stones for the Norse migration in the Viking age, and proposed an explanation where Harald Fairhair's regime was not the direct cause for the migration from Norway, but

[150] G. Storm, 'Slaget I Havrsfjord' [The Battle of Hafrsfjord], *Historisk Tidsskrift* [Historical Journal], Vol. 2(2) (1880), 321.
[151] Storm, 'Slaget I Havrsfjord', 321-322.
[152] Storm, 'Slaget I Havrsfjord', 324-5.

for the migration from the Western Isles, highlighting the wider implications of Harald Fairhair's policies.

As highlighted above, Storm is more interested in themes in the Viking Age than persons or historical landmarks. As such, his scholarship was not as flavoured by nationalistic interpretations as that of Keyser, Sars or Munch, but it would still follow a somewhat conservative reading of *Heimskringla* with regards to crucial information or historical facts preserved within Snorri's text. This more moderate nationalism within his scholarship was challenged and to some extent presented through Storm's 1876 book *Nordmænd eller Danske i Normandie* [Norwegians or Danes in Normandie] which translates to Norwegians or Danes in Normandy. In this book, Storm responds to a book review which he came across in the Danish newspaper *Folkest Avis* [the People's Post] where the reviewer had claimed that Johannes Steenstrup's book *Indledning i Normannertiden* [Introductions to the Norman Age] had claimed Normandy was settled entirely from Denmark, and that Snorri Sturluson's account of Rangvald Jarl's son Gange Rolf as Rollo had no roots in historical tradition. Storm's reaction to this book review is a 24 page book exploring the sources and historiography of the Danish-Norwegian contest regarding who settled Normandy. His first statement about the book review is that it is wrong and that the source materials suggest that the Normans came from a mixed Danish-Norwegian origin. Based on the historical evidence, Storm argues over the 24 pages that history cannot be read from a national point of view, and that nationalism and the interest in the nation is the wrong way to sell history books.[153] Through this, Storm emerges as the least nationalist historian during the long nineteenth century, for he let his sources do the work and tell the past, not the political interests of the author or the developmental interests of the nation. This can be seen in his study of *Ynglingatal* and the origins of the Ynglinga dynasty in Norway.[154] In this article, Storm argues that Vestfold was one of Harald Fairhair's territorial bases for his conquest. Furthermore, this territorial base was an inheritance from his ancestors the Swedish Ynglinga kings who had taken Viken and Vestfold from the Danish kings in the late eighth, beginning of the ninth centuries, destabilising the Danish kingdom and triggering decades of war between the Ynglinga, later Fairhair dynasty and the Skjoldunga dynasty. Storm's argument is that Vestfold was part of the Danish kingdom in the eighth century, but at the same time held a semi-independent status laying the

[153] G. Storm, *Nordmænd eller Danske i Normandie* [Norwegian or Danes in Normandy] (Kristiania, 1876), 3.
[154] G. Storm, 'Om Ynglingatal og de Norske Ynglingekonger I Danmark' [About Ynglingatal and the Norwegian Ynglingakings in Denmark], *Historisk Tidsskrift* [Historical Journal], Vol. 3 (1875), 58-79.

foundations for a potential revolt against the Danish Skjoldunga kings after 812, when the Ynglinga king Gudrød was driven from power and killed. The Ynglinga kings had displaced the Skjoldunga dynasty in 803, according to Storm's use of Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne*, and Storm used the Carolingian and Frankish sources in combination with *Ynglingatal* to reconstruct the political conflict of the ninth century. Through this reconstruction, he argued that although Viken and Vestfold had been an integral part of Denmark, and although the Danish political and cultural influence was felt in Viken long after 872, Vestfold became the Norwegian base from which the Ynglinga dynasty could conquer Norway after they lost the control over Denmark in 812, and later again in 872, to the Skjoldunga Dynasty.[155] Storm states:

> What the dynasty lost in Denmark, they regained in Norway the same year through Harald Fairhair's victory at Hafrsfjord in 872.[156]

Storm repeatedly states that the Ynglinga dynasty is not a native dynasty to Norway, but that the emergence of the Norwegian kingdom is a result of the power struggle between the Swedish Ynglinga dynasty and the Danish Skjoldunga dynasty, highlighting once more that Storm's scholarship did not focus on the nation, but takes a step away from the modern borders of Scandinavia and let the history unfold through the sources to show the wider developments of the Viking Age, and at the same time illustrate that Norway emerged almost by chance. Although Storm takes a step back from the national scholarship of history which his predecessors had maintained, he contributed to the later developments of the historical discipline through his rigorous critical assessment of Norse sources. Translation of the Icelandic annals laid the foundation which allowed later historians to access the sources more readily, and presented a structured argument for why certain Norse sources were more reliable than others, and how one could utilise the information within the sagas and skaldic poetry to complement the Frankish and Anglo-Saxon materials to give a better picture of Scandinavia in the Viking Age. Among the documents Storm translated for both academic and public use were several of the medieval hagiographies from Norway, and the Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla*. Storm's translations became the text for Nasjonalutgaven (the National edition) which was ornately illustrated by leading contemporary artists at the time.[157] It is estimated that this translation reached a

[155] G. Storm, 'Om Ynglingatal og de Norske Ynglingekonger I Danmark' [About Ynglingatal and the Norwegian Ynglingakings in Denmark], *Historisk Tidsskrift* [Historical Journal], Vol. 3 (1875), 65, 75.
[156] 'Men hvad Ætten tabte I Danmark, gjenvandt den I de same Aar I Norge ved Harald haarfagre's seir I Havrsfjord 872.' Storm, 'Om Ynglingatal', 75.
[157] O. Dahl, 'Gustav Storm' in *NBL* https://nbl.snl.no/Gustav_Storm.

print run of 100,000 copies in 1900,[158] the first year it was on the market. The translation is still the standard translation available in Norwegian, highlighting the direct impact of Storm's translation work, which in many ways contradicts his academic production, which had a more holistic approach to the Viking Age explored above.

2.8. Bull

Edvard Bull's assessment of Harald Fairhair's regime, in his article from 1920, suggests that he believed the focus given to Harald's confiscation of the *Odel*, and through that the foundation of feudalism, had been given too much attention in the historical debate about Harald Fairhair, and the debates had not brought about solutions to bridge gaps between the different sources available covering the period.[159]

Bull states in his volume *Det Norske Folks liv og Historie gjennom tidene; fra omkring 1000 til 1280* [The Norwegian People's Life and History through the Ages; From 1000 To 1280], that:

> The big turning point in that generation came with the most renowned man in the line of Norwegian kings, Olaf Haraldsson. The Skald Olaf the Black called him 'Harald's heir', and there is no reason for doubting that his ancestry may, that traditions suggests, can be traced back to Harald Fairhair.[160]

It is clear that Bull does not doubt this part of Olaf's story, yet he finds Olaf's sudden change of heart in France startling. It does not seem to be the conversion in Rouen that triggers Olaf's return, but rather the wider political play around the North Sea; to Bull, it is evident that the two competing conversion accounts of Olaf are both evidence that the sources describing Olaf's life are not accurate and not contemporary. The first version preserved in *Heimskringla* suggests that it was in Olaf Haraldsson's childhood that Olaf Tryggvason supposedly baptised him and his family; the second conversion narrative, which was favoured by the church, claimed he converted at the court of the Norman Duke Richard II under the guidance of Archbishop Robert II of Rouen. Therefore, Bull saw Olaf more as a

---

[158] J.G. Jørgensen, 'Med Snorre skulle Landet Bygges' [With Snorri the Kingdom was to be built], *Aftenposten* (published 19/10/2011) http://www.aftenposten.no/meninger/kronikker/Med-Snorre-skulle-landet-bygges-6375793.html (Accessed: 04/10/2015).

[159] E. Bull, Sagaenes beretning om Harald Hårfagres tilegenelse av Odelen, [The saga's record of Harald Fairhair's confiscation of the Odel], in *Historisk tidsskrift* [Historical Journal], 5R., IV (Oslo, 1920), 481-92.

[160] 'Det store personlige vendepunktet i dette slektsleddet fører frem av den videst kjente mann i den norske kongerekken, Olav haraldsson. Skalden Olav Svarte kaller han "Haralds ætling", og der er sikkert ingen grunn til å tvile på at hans ættetavle – slik som tradisjonen vil- kan føres tilbake til Harald Hårfagre.' E. Bull, *Det Norske Folks liv og Historie gjennom tidene; Fra omkring 1000 til 1280,* [The Norwegian People's Life and History through the ages; From 1000 to 1280] (Oslo, 1931), 33.

politician at this stage in his career, and to Bull it would be understandable that Olaf's motivation was to return to Norway in order to make a name for himself and to reclaim his birth right.[161] Like Keyser, Bull turned to Skaldic poetry for details regarding Olaf's life, as the sagas had likely embellished the story, to him the skaldic poetry had not been changed for centuries and so had thus preserved the truth.[162] Bull's opinion of the sagas is clear in a statement about the chronology regarding Olaf's reign:

> It is so that there is no hope for us if we wish to follow Olaf's reign year by year. For the traditions are too constructed to offer a truth worthy account for this, yet for the two first years we have reasonably clear lines in the chronology. [163]

Bull seems to believe that Olaf manipulated the political environment in which he seized power, so that he did not always have to use military force while uniting the country, and especially while integrating the Oppland area into the Norwegian kingdom.[164]

> However, when he became king of all the Oppland area, it must have been important that he could offer the farmers something lasting and continuing: the Norwegian king lived further afield than their previous local kings, and taxation and regular financial burdens on the farms were virtually non-existing; he could let the farmers rule themselves and free them from their former masters. [165]

Bull claims that Olaf's alliance with the farmers reached further than just deposing their former aristocracy: as they were the decisive power at the Thing, Olaf was bound to work with them if he sought any legal changes during his rule.[166] Olaf's fame as a lawgiver is not without reason, because as Bull suggests, both contemporary Skaldic poetry and the early saga tradition suggest it; therefore according to this interpretation it must be so.[167] However, even though Bull emphasises the relationship between Olaf and the farmers, he also stresses that this was by no means a modern democracy. Below the farmers were several social layers that had no voice.[168] With regards to Olaf founding a fortress and settlement at Sarpsborg, Bull states that he does not believe it ever occurred as no fortress

---

[161] Bull, *Det Norske Folks.,* 35.
[162] Bull, *Det Norske Folks.*, 35.
[163] 'Det er så at det er intet håp for den som ønsker å følge Olavs regjeringstid år for år. For tradisjonene er for construert til å kunne gi oss den fulle sannhet i sin overlevering, skjønt de to første årene kan vi med noen lunde sikkerhet fremstille en kronologi for.' Bull, *Det Norske Folks.,* 36.
[164] Bull, *Det Norske Folks.*, 37.
[165]'Men da han ble konge over Opplandene, må det ha vært viktig at han kunne tilby bøndene noe varigt: for den Norske kongen satt lengre borte enn de tidligere lokale kongene, og skatt og finansielle byrder var nesten ikke eksiterende; han kunne la bøndene styre seg selv fri fra sine tidligere herrer.' Bull, *Det Norske Folks*, 38.
[166] Bull, *Det Norske Folks.,* 40.
[167] Bull, *Det Norske Folks.,* 40.
[168] Bull, *Det Norske Folks.,* 41.

of this type is known from this time, (yet this did not hinder the city of Sarpsborg from celebrating its 900-year anniversary in 1916; which will be further explored in chapter 5). Still, he acknowledges the politically strategic positioning of such a fortress in the struggle concerning lordship over Viken.[169] Although Bull thinks Adam of Bremen's comment regarding power struggles between power and freedom during the tenth and eleventh centuries does not give a clear and complete picture of events, he still thinks the facts regarding the struggle are conveyed.[170] For Bull it was not saga literature that contained the real story of Olaf's reign, but the Skaldic poetry, and a few German, French and English sources, most of these are the same as Munch used in his studies, which permit him to go beyond the constructed novels that are the sagas and see into the eleventh century Norway.[171] Bull emphasises this by comparing the relationship between free farmers and the great nobles in the context of the political developments of Olaf's reign. It is through this approach he makes sense of the changing fortunes of Olaf's reign, as well as explaining the influence Danish gold had on Norwegian aristocratic loyalties in the 1020's.[172]

On the basis of Sigvat Skald's poem about Olaf, Bull does not believe that the king followed any great religious motives with the exception of what political advantages this could give him in the conquest of Norway.[173] Bull suggests that shortly after Olaf's death his sainthood and religiosity were projected backwards, to construct a more perfect saint, evident in the skaldic poetry and sagas composed about Olaf in the decades and centuries after his death.[174] Bull suggests that Sigvat's personal friendship with Olaf and his later religious awakening and pilgrimage following their exile from Norway, might have resulted in a conflation of Sigvat's and Olaf's piety, suggesting that the milieu around Olaf took its piety seriously.[175] This, in Bull's eyes, suggests that even though there are few if any, direct sources for Olaf's Christianity, the king might still have been a good Christian, as well as a competent politician. Bull claims, perhaps correctly, that during the battle of Stiklestad Olaf only faced an army of rural peasants from a small part of Norway, as most of the west and south of Norway, as well as the Danish king, stayed away from the battle. For Bull it is clear that the battle took place on the 31 August 1030, not 29 July, as sources record a solar eclipse that occurred during the battle. This to Bull meant that the dating of Olaf's saint day

[169] Bull, *Det Norske Folks.,* 42.
[170] Bull, *Det Norske Folks,* 43.
[171] Bull, *Det Norske Folks.,* 42.
[172] Bull, *Det Norske Folks.,* 45.
[173] Bull, *Det Norske Folks.,* 46.
[174] Bull, *Det Norske Folks.,* 46.
[175] Bull, *Det Norske Folks.,* 48.

is wrong, and that the later sources have changed the date for one reason or another, something which indirectly could have had implications on the 900-year anniversary for the battle of Stiklestad in 1930. [176] Bull's interest in the social and economic elements of the stories, as well as his opposition to considering sagas as reliable sources, comes across clearly in his article 'Olav den hellige og Norges samling' ['St Olaf and the Unification of Norway'], originally published in 1931, republished in 1967.[177]

2.9. Koht

Halvdan Koht suggests that where his contemporary scholars tried, to some extent, to prove Snorri right, he himself found no evidence to support many of the supposed changes that Harald Fairhair brought about.[178] Koht estimates that on the basis of known names from the period, as well as the number of regions or counties granted to each earl, Harald's governmental changes regarding control of the territories did not match accounts given by Snorri.[179] Koht is convinced a thirteenth-century adaptation of traditional sagas blamed Harald and his hard regime for causing widespread migration out of Norway, across the North Sea and North Atlantic to Iceland and the British Isles. [180] Koht does not attribute the migration to Harald's harsh policies and hostility, but suggests that Harald encouraged some migration, and that evidence supports a peaceful agreement between emigrants and Harald rather than a flight in the night.[181] Koht suggests that the perception of long-standing hostility between Harald and the aristocracy might be overrated due to an uncritical trust in Snorri's narrative of the events.[182] According to Koht, the details presented by Snorri in *Heimskringla* and *St Olaf's saga* are so untrustworthy especially for the period between the ninth and the twelfth century, that historical research needs to explore the period from different perspectives and different sources to tell the true story of

[176] Bull, *Det Norske Folks.,* 50.
[177] Edvard Bull, 'Olav den hellige og Norges samling' [St Olaf and the Unification of Norway], in Andreas Holmen and Jarle Simensen (Eds.), *Rikssamling og kristendom, Norske Historikere i Utvalg* [Unification and Conversion, Norwegian Historians a Selection] (Oslo, 1967), 376-9.
[178] H. Koht, 'Kampen om makten i Noreg i Sagatiden' [The Power Struggle in Norway in the Saga Period], in A. Holmen and J. Simensen (Eds.), Rikssamling og Kristendom, Norske Historikere I Utvalg [Unification and Converstion, Norwegian historians a Selection] (Oslo, 1967), 325.
[179] Koht, 'Kampen om makten', 326.
[180] Koht, 'Kampen om makten', 329.
[181] Koht, 'Kampen om makten', 330.
[182] Koht, 'Kampen om makten', 331.

Norway from before the sagas were composed. For Koht, inconsistencies in Snorri's arguments did not agree with modern approaches towards sources.[183]

In his article on the power struggles of the saga period, Koht asks if Olaf Haraldsson's policies were anti-aristocratic in an attempt to explain the causes for Olaf's fall. However, Koht concludes that Olaf's regime and indeed his legal reforms were not anti-aristocratic, but that conflict was based on disagreement between the lifestyle of the Norwegian aristocracy and the ideals promoted and sanctioned by the king.[184] By questioning the motivations behind Olaf's policies, Koht indirectly presents the possibility that Olaf sought to restrict the aristocracy and thus was working with the free farmers to protect the freedoms of the nation.[185] However, it is clear from Koht's further analysis that this was not the real motivation of Olaf's policies.

2.10. Influence of Contemporary Politics

This section examines the way in which political developments influenced ideas and views of Norwegian historians during the long nineteenth century, and how their political commitment was reflected in their writings.

When Gerhard Schøning published his first volume of the *Norges Riiges Historie* in 1771, the Danish-Norwegian kingdom was enjoying a short period of freedom of the press. Although Schøning published his first volume under the regime of Johan Struensee, subsequent volumes were published after censorship had been restored by Crown Prince Fredrik in 1772, and yet it is evident that Schøning's publication in 1771 had not violated his royal favour. Schøning was subsequently given the position of *Geheimearkivar* [Royal Archivist]*,*[186] a position equivalent to the modern state archivist, at the Royal archives in Copenhagen. He would probably not have been given this position if he, like others, had voiced direct criticism against the royal family and the regime. These archives formed the basis of what would develop into the State archives of Denmark and Norway in the nineteenth century. Even though Schøning worked as a professional historian at the Royal Archives under an absolute monarchy, he evidently favoured the idea that a monarch needed to rule in conjunction with the people, this is particularly illustrated by the references made to the use the Things by medieval kings.[187] By showing that Norwegian rulers who used Things efficiently were good, Schøning also shows the alternative: that

[183] Koht, 'Kampen om makten', 338.
[184] Koht, 'Kampen om makten', 333, 337.
[185] Koht, 'Kampen om makten', 335.
[186] Grankvist, 'Gerhard Schøning'.
[187] Schøning, *Norges Riiges*, Vol. ii, 192; Schøning*, Norges Riiges,* vol. iii. 330.

kings who did not use the Things were bad. Yet this perception and division between good and bad rulers might be based on the narrative of the sources that Schøning used, rather than his own political views. The title of his study, *Norges Riiges Historie* [History of the Norwegian Realm], indicates that Schøning viewed Norway as more than just an integrated province of the Danish kingdom and that the Norwegian kingdom possessed an independent history separate from that of the Danish realm. Whereas this might be seen as separatism today, it is worth noting that the Danish kings held the Norwegian kingdom as heirs of the Fairhair dynasty, and thus Schøning's study supported the legitimacy of the Danish king's rule in Norway.

The awareness of Schøning's ideas and patriotic identity embodied in his historical writing influenced the 1814 constitutional assembly at Eidsvold in two specific ways: firstly through the assembly calling itself and all future assemblies Stortinget, and thus adapting the medieval term for a national assembly, and at the same time breaking away from the German and Danish words *Riigsdag* and *Reichstag*.[188] Secondly, by selecting Trondheim cathedral as the coronation church for all future kings of Norway, the assembly created a direct link between the medieval state of Norway and the modern nation.[189]

As the Norwegian parliament [Stortinget] in the 1820s and 30s went head to head with the king over the role of kings in Norwegian politics,[190] the parliament recognised the benefit of exploring the legal and legislative history of the realm during the Middle Ages. This led to the founding of the Old Law project, in which Old Norwegian laws were transcribed and published. This suggests that when the Norwegian political elite decided it was to its benefit, they could heavily promote the development of history as a discipline.

To Sars, Norwegian history, like all history, was a continual evolution of events leading up to a contemporary status quo and hopefully to full liberation for the kingdom. Even though he was an active member of the Norwegian Liberal party *Venstre* [Left], this did not greatly impact Sars' analysis of history.[191] Yet his two world views did overlap in the summer of 1897 when on 29 July Sars attended a commemoration event celebrating the founding of Trondheim in 997, and the importance of St Olaf in the development of the city in the Middle Ages.[192] The event was viewed by the established church and pro-Swedish

---

[188] *Kongeriget Norges Grundlov, given i Rigsforsamlingen paa Eidsvold den 17de Mai 1814*,'§67' [The Norwegian constitution] '§67' (Eidsvoll 1814).
[189] Ø. Østang, *Hjem til Nidaros* [Home to Nidaros] (Oslo, 1997), 32.
[190] D. Connery, *The Scandinavians* (London, 1966), 222.
[191] Dahl, *Norsk historieforskning,* 157.
[192] Østang, *Hjem til.*, 61-2

elite as provocation against King Oscar II who had refused to attend the event on 29 July in addition to the official celebrations just weeks before.[193] The celebration on the 29 July 1897 was also attended by a liberal poet who had been critical of the regime, Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, these two events both celebrating the 900-year anniversary of the founding of Trondheim will be explored in further detail in chapter 5.

Both Bull and Koht identified themselves as Marxist historians and were active members of the Norwegian Labour party. This socialist ideology did not flavour their opinions about the early medieval period, with the exception of *Heimskringla*, which they viewed as a product of the twelfth century that described actual events as well as its author's understanding of these events. To them the establishment of the kingdom in the ninth century marked the start of a long journey to freedom for the working classes, which would include the right to vote and active political involvement; these goals had been realised during the governments in which both Bull and Koht had held power, in a fully independent Norway. This suggests that the historical writings of both Bull and Koht thus mirrored early twentieth-century trends in Norwegian society and politics, in which the working class sought their place in society, politics and history after their emancipation. Indeed, the aims of the working class themselves emulated the ambitions of farmers and middle classes in the nineteenth century, who had sought to protect the kingdom and their own political and cultural influence against the elite. These developments were a part of a growing self-awareness among the farmers that they, according to the Romantic Movement, were the protectors of the true Norwegian spirit and political tradition. This political tradition seemed to be represented by the medieval Things, as they provided a channel for farmers and landowners to instigate political change of the kingdom. By emphasising the use of the Thing as a political institution Keyser and Munch both suggest that they favoured a constitutional monarchy above an absolute monarch. This provided support for an independent and politically strong parliament, and a democratic nation.

Political developments during the long nineteenth century corresponded to various degrees with messages conveyed through the writings and ideas of these historians. However, examining the impact and relevance within the wider cultural developments of the age might inform on how these views fitted into the wider context of nation building.

2.11. Contextual Impact on the Writing of History

[193] Østang, *Hjem til.*, 58.

Schøning, a third generation immigrant to Norway, exemplifies the trend of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when Danish, German, and Dutch merchants, nobles, priests, and skilled labourers were encouraged to migrate to Norway to stimulate the economy.[194] Schøning, like other second- and third-generation migrants adopted Norway as his homeland, and with that a Norwegian identity. This identity was evident in the title of his study, *Norges Riiges Historie* [History of the Norwegian Realm]. This emerging Norwegian cultural identity is also reflected in the establishment of the Norwegian Society in Copenhagen in 1770,[195] which consisted of Norwegian students celebrating their homeland whilst studying at the University of Copenhagen. Bishop Johan Nordahl Brun, who during his studies in Copenhagen was a member of this society,[196] in 1772, wrote the song *For Norge Kjempers Fødeland* [For Norway home of Giants], also known as *Norges Skål* [Norway's Toast].[197] In this song, Brun claimed that Norway would one day rise again and break its chains of enslavement from Denmark.[198] Although it is not possible to prove that Schøning and Brun ever met, it is commonly known that Brun was among the delegates to the constitutional assembly in the spring of 1814 that declared Norway independent. This suggests that the nationalistic awareness that surfaced in the 1770s among the educated elite contributed to the events of 1814.

Both the Keyser and Munch family can be found among this educated elite.[199] Rudolf Keyser was one of four members of his family to work at the University of Oslo in the first half of the nineteenth century. Keyser had, like Munch, an extensive network among the cultural and academic elite in Norway. One such connection was his nephew, the artist Edvard Munch.[200] This educated elite became known as the administration class, which held offices granted by the king and not parliament, and were thus answerable only to the king. Twentieth-century historians have termed this period, 1814-84, as the 'age of civil servants',[201] due to the financial and political importance of the national and regional administration leaders. These bureaucrats led a series of programmes that included establishment of the telegraph network, the postal service, roads, steam boat routes, railways and a reformed of school system. Such development was critical in tying the nation

[194] Connery, *The Scandinavians*., 221; Grankvist, 'Gerhard Schoening'.
[195] Store Norske Leksikon (ed.), 'Norske Selskab' [The Norwegian Society], in *SNL* http://snl.no/Norske_Selskab
[196] L. Bliksrud, 'Johan Nordal Brun' in *NBL* http://nbl.snl.no/Johan_Nordal_Brun/utdypning
[197] Bliksrud, 'Johan Nordal Brun'.
[198] J.N. Brun, 'Norges Skaal [Norway's toast]', in *Tradisjon.no* http://tradisjoner.no/text50.html
[199] Dahl, 'P.A. Munch'; Strosveen, 'Rudolf Keyser'.
[200] Anon., 'Edvard Munch', in *SNL* http://snl.no/Edvard_Munch
[201] K. Helle, *Aschehougs Norges Historie: Mellom Brødre 1780-1830* [Aschehougs Norwegian History: Between Brothers 1780-1830], Vol. 10. (Oslo, 1996), 235.

together. Much of the infrastructure that developed during the nineteenth century physically integrated the different parts of the kingdom into a state, the Romantic Movement of the 1840s and 50s stimulated the genesis of a nation within the state. Whereas the enlightenment and the final decades of the eighteenth century triggered an awakening of national awareness within the educated upper classes, the Romantic Movement spread to the urban middle class, and thus re-founded the nation through the people. The Romantic Movement sought to find the spirit of the nation in folklore and within the spoken language of the people, and aimed to find the true Norwegian culture based upon the traditional folk culture.

The ideas of equality, freedom and justice encapsulated in the Constitution of 1814 may explain parts of the focus of Keyser etc., on the use of the Thing system as a part of the governmental structures of the Norwegian kingdom under the Fairhair Dynasty. Equality and justice are themes which also recur in the history of Olaf Haraldsson and his judicial policies, suggesting that everyone is equal under the law. The themes that the historians picked out through their focus present a medieval legitimisation of the post 1814 Norwegian state, and its struggle to achieve freedom, helped underpin that Norway had not only been an independent kingdom, but also used to have a legislation that in essence was not too different in values from the Constitution written in 1814.

Sars came from the same social group, and although his political ideas placed him within the Romantic Movement, he developed into an evolutionist. His ideas about history, that everything develop along an evolutionary line, are seen in the way he rehabilitates the view of the Danish union and in his claims that it was during this union that the foundations for an independent Norway were set. This was evident through the economic and political roles played by Danish and German immigrants to Norway who, like Gerhard Schøning, adopted the Norwegian identity and national awareness in the eighteenth century. It is very reasonable to assume that Sars' nationalism was fuelled from an early age, as his uncle, Johan Sebastian Welhaven (1807-73), was one of the most prominent poets of the early nineteenth century in Norway, and a leading member of the Romantic Movement in Norway. Sars, a member of the party Venstre, fought for full liberation from Sweden after the parliamentary crisis of 1884, after which both he and Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson followed an anti-Scandinavian and anti-Swedish political line. As will be explored more thoroughly in chapter 5, Bjørnson and Sars both made references to Olaf Haraldsson in 1897, when arranging their attendance for the alternative celebration of Trondheim's 900-year anniversary. This suggests that members of the cultural elite, such as Bjørnson and Sars, were involved in driving popular commemorations and creating public history at the end of

the nineteenth century. A large crowd was drawn to the event, which may have helped create a lasting connection between Trondheim and national history.

The 1897 commemoration in Trondheim, like celebrations of the battle of Hafsfjord in Haugesund in 1872, were attended by the great and the good of the kingdom. In 1872, the Crown Prince of Sweden-Norway, the entire Norwegian government and leading members of the parliament all attended the event. Yet unlike the 1897 celebrations, the 1872 event culminated in the unveiling of the national monument *Haraldshaugen* [king Harald's mound].[202] This monument is a monolith erected on the supposed burial mound of Harald, surrounded by one pillar for each of the counties and landscapes Harald Fairhair conquered, and thus represents the construction of the Norwegian kingdom. *Haraldshaugen* [king Harald's mound] still stands today as a symbol of how the nation was created, and is a good example of Norwegian medievalism, alongside the restoration of St Olaf's burial church, Trondheim Cathedral.

These links illustrate Ernst Sars' connection to the liberal political elite in Venstre as well as the cultural elite in Norway. His published views, together with those of Keyser and Munch, may well have increase a historical awareness in the Norwegian elite of the late nineteenth century. Sars was part of an elite group, active during what can be described as the second stage of the development of nationalism in Norway, a group which worked hard to spread ideas of national awareness and pride to the masses.

One method of transmitting these ideas was through education, and Sars co-edited a series of textbooks that were published over five editions from 1900 to 1910. Sars was not alone in this. Gustav Storm and Edward Bull both contributed to textbooks, in series running over twenty years each. Therefore, the following chapter examines the content of Norwegian textbooks in the later part of the long nineteenth century. Chapter 3 will demonstrate the extent to which academic history of the nineteenth century filtered down to the lower classes through textbook and education, triggering the third stage of the development of nationalism.[203] Furthermore, links between historians and people attending the events of 1897 and 1930, which will be explored in chapter 5, suggest that events of national commemoration hold clues to how Norway and the Norwegian nation perceived itself in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. At the 1930 event both Bull and Koht published an article about St Olaf in Norwegian newspapers that suggests Norwegian historians used the opportunity to present their understanding of the

[202] J. Lie, *Sang ved Tusendårsfesten paa Haraldshaugen* [Song for the 1000-year Celebration at Haraldshaugen] (Haugesund, 1872).
[203] See chapter 1.1.

past at these types of events. Whereas chapter 4 will examine how the interpretation and presentation of objects from the Viking Age, helped visualise the shared origin myth of the nation, and how these interpretations helped naturalise the parameters of the nation geographically and ethnically as a part of the maintaining and developing of the third stage of nationalism.

As has been illustrated above, historians attempted, through their writings and studies, to legitimize their own political ideas. Schøning aimed to revitalise the identity and awareness of the Norwegians within the double monarchy; Keyser and Munch to secure a strong parliament, an independent kingdom, and a national history worthy a nation like Norway; Sars to prove that both the farmers and the elite were necessary in order to create a complete nation; Bull and Koht to integrate the workers into the nation and give them a place in the history of the nation. Through their different approaches to the sources, Schøning, Keyser, Munch, Bull, and Koht achieved quite different results in their histories, yet they all agreed that the reigns of Harald, Olaf and Olaf had a profound impact on the development of Norway. Without these kings and the changes that were brought about during their reigns, the medieval Norway might never have developed, and with that the modern state of Norway. It is evident that all of the aforesaid historians agree that prior to Harald's conquest and the battle of Stiklestad in 1030, the Norwegian kingdom consisted of separate cultural and political units. This suggests that these historians see the Norwegian nation as a cultural construct based upon the political unit of the Norwegian kingdom. It is evident that for the Norwegian nation to re-awaken in the nineteenth and twentieth century, history needed to reach the people. The events of 1872, 1897, and 1930 which commemorated the medieval past created a link between the historical narrative and the regions of Norway. These and other similar events of commemoration thus helped, like the historical integration of political groups, to link the national historical narrative to both social class and location. While the textbooks used in schools created a uniform historical narrative, supported by academic historians, the events of commemoration bound the people to the narrative, and both stimulated awareness of the national past and, through that, a national identity.

These considerations suggest that this chapter cannot stand by itself, as it only presents the historical understanding of six well connected men during the long nineteenth century. Although the chapter considers how the contextual events influenced their focus in their studies, it is evident that their overall goal was to make sense of the national history and to present it in a way that the nation could be proud of its past. This study will need to consider this chapter in the context of events of commemorations, and the content of

textbooks to see the popularisation and spread of history to the people, to assess the links between critiquing the sources, the national monuments, events of commemorations and the spread of a historical medievalist national identity.

Chapter 3: Teaching Nationhood, Identity and Heritage.

3.1. Introduction

In 1897, Siegwart Petersen stated that the aim of his *Norges historie, mindre udgave for folkeskolen* [Norway's History; Smaller Edition for the School for the Common School] was to present the 'historical truth' to the reader of the book, and at the same time remove from the textbook any anecdotes without any basis in history.[1] Nevertheless, while some of the historical truths he presented in the book might not have had any grounding in real historical events, his textbook was designed to teach young Norwegians aged 7-15 the then accepted historical truth about the Norwegian kingdom and state. Through this, he aimed to give a good and accurate account of the history of the *Fatherland*.[2] His aim was to encourage patriotism and to stimulate knowledge of the glory of the nation in the Norwegian people through the medium of the textbooks, so that future generations would know the history of their homeland, and know how Norwegian society had developed. To Petersen, the kingdom was a nation-state, which consisted of an ethnically homogenous population that shared a common origin in Norway, the land of their fathers.

Petersen's textbook is not alone in having this aim. For it is a common theme in most Norwegian textbooks from 1836 until the end of the 1930s that the authors wish to convey a concise, yet thorough account of the history of the Norwegian nation. On the basis that some of these textbooks, such as Jonas Vellesen's *Norigs Soga for Skule og heim* [*Norway's history for schools and homes*] from 1910, and Siegwart Petersen's earlier work *Norges historie læse og lærebog for almue- og borgerskolen [Norway's history: reading book for the common- and bourgeoisie-schools]*, from 1881 had a print run of 40,000 and 122,000 copies respectively, it is possible to assume that these Norwegian textbooks might have had extensive readership among Norwegian generations contemporary with the books. Furthermore, it is possible that these and other textbooks influenced or stimulated their contemporary society in its view of what it meant to be Norwegian, and what the Norwegian past contained and which 'glorious' events that had shaped the destiny of the Norwegian state and people. This chapter explores the imagery, interpretations and

[1] 'Thi en lære bog i historie maa give i sanddru fortælling fortidens virkelige be givenheder og disses sammenhang med nutiden, ikke optage fabler eller tvilsomme anekdoter og endnu mindre indeholde usikre formodninger eller übegrundede hypotheser.' S. Petersen, *Norges historie: mindre udgave for folkeskolen* [Norway's history; a small edition for the common school] (Kristiania, 1897), ii.

[2] 'Det er mit haab, at herved er istandbragt en paalidelig, forfolke skolen passende, smukt udstyret og i forhold til udstyret særdeles billig lærebog i fædrelandets historie.' Petersen, *Norges historie: mindre udgave,* ii.

historical truths which textbooks from the long nineteenth century presented to its readership in the context of the ideas of a Norwegian kingdom being born out of the battle of Hafrsfjord and a Norwegian nation emerging from the territories of the kingdom of the Fairhair Dynasty.

The long nineteenth century in Norwegian history, from 1770-1945, is often referred to as the awakening and recreation of Norway as a nation. Within other 'awakening' and aspiring nations, over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, is it evident that textbooks were seen as a tool to define and maintain the parameters of the nation. The same textbooks were also being used for constructing the foundations on which the nation's pride and glory was understood among the population. The role of textbooks in the context of nation-building and their impact on contemporary public opinion are highlighted by a 1949 UNESCO report on the role of textbooks in the period leading up to the Second World War.[3] UNESCO observed that the militaristic and national emphasis which many textbooks had before and during the war all contributed greatly to the conflict and its atrocities, as these books had glorified the nation and thus justified the defence of the nation and the state. In 2012, Edward James examined how the portrait of the Merovingians in French textbooks changed from before to after the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71, through which he highlighted the impact of the political context on textbooks at the time.[4] Within this article, James highlighted the problematic nature of the Merovingian and Frankish past in the context of the identity crisis following the German victory, and the imperial French defeat, for as the French and Germans shared a common Frankish past, this was not a positive element of history to highlight after the French defeat. The Merovingians could not be highlighted among the French heroes and as a part of the glorious past of France. This resulted in a major reduction of the pages dedicated to covering this period of French history within French textbooks.

It was not only in the late nineteenth century and interwar period that textbooks contributed to the construction and maintenance of ideas of nationhood and nations in Europe, but it is evident that in Post-Communist Eastern Europe, many of the Soviet successor states deliberately took early control over the production of textbooks so they

[3] 'A Handbook for the Improvement of Textbooks and Teaching Materials as Aids to International Understanding', UNESCO (Paris, 1949) cited in J.G.Janmaat, 'History and National Identity Construction: The great famine in Irish and Ukrainian History Textbooks', *History of Education*, Vol. 35(3) (2006), 364.

[4] E. James, 'The Merovingians from the French Revolution to the Third Republic', *Early Medieval Europe*, Vol. 20(4) (2012), 450-471.

could set the parameters of the new national identities and nationalisms within their states.[5] These new textbooks often struggled with unifying the complex ethnical, religious, political and historical past of such states. The aims were thus to justify the existence of the state on the basis of the historical evidence and, through that, nationalise the history and create a foundation for a cultural revival where a 'united' nation was the focus. Since gaining their independence, states such as Ukraine have struggled with dealing with the great famine, population displacement, the impact of the Soviet Union and the Russian elements of its population as highlighted by Janmaat's article, as such they have struggled with negotiating the balance of the identity, memory, and history of the dominant ethnic or political group, and the historical experiences of national minorities.[6] This is also the case in Ireland, which in twentieth-century textbooks faced the same struggle between the different aspects of the Irish identity. J.G. Janmaat questioned how some states have dealt with the problematic parts of the past, particularly when elements of the past are in direct conflict with the current identity of the nation-states, these conflicts often emerge and are manifested in the content of textbooks.[7] This suggests that textbooks are barometers for highlighting conflicts between historical tradition and potential reality.

It is in this context that this chapter will examine some of the Norwegian textbooks from the long nineteenth century, in relation to how they use and present the creation of the nation and the state in the Viking age. This chapter will particularly assess how these texts negotiate the historical contradictions and conflicts, with regard to the Danish influence on South-East Norway and the Sami population in the north, within the national history's quest for a linear national narrative that could stimulate both national pride and awareness of the past and so contribute to the contemporary identity. This chapter continues the approach taken in chapter 2, focusing on the presentation of the three Viking kings: Harald Fairhair, Olaf Tryggvason, and Olaf Haraldsson. The chapter will also explore the extent of the kingdoms of these kings in the context of how they are presented to the readers, and what comparisons are used in the textual references from the sagas to familiarise this history to the readers. Through this, the chapter sees textbooks as representations of the time in which they are written and not the periods and events they describe. As such it will highlight academic influences on the texts, and the changes to their

[5] Janmaat 'History and National Identity', 364; E. Davidova, 'Re-Packaging Identities: History Textbooks, European travel and the untarnished Bulgarian "Europeanness"', *East European Quarterly*, Vol. 40(4) (2006), 429-441; H. Blakkisrud and S. Nozimova, 'History Writing and Nation Building in post-independent Tajikistan', *Nationalities Papers*, Vol. 38(2) (2010), 173-189.
[6] Janmaat 'History and National Identity', 345-368.
[7] Janmaat 'History and National Identity', 345-368.

content and illustrations as these are indicators of continuity and change within the texts and can as such be seen in context of these books as formative national tools for shaping the minds of the population.

This chapter is, therefore, based on textual analysis of the content of a selection of textbooks from the long nineteenth century, with a focus on the second half of the period. During this time more than 30 different textbooks in history were published, by seventeen different editorial groups, most of whom were individuals writing textbooks for the 'Folke- and Borger-skole'[common- and bourgeoisie-schools]. Common schools were bases in rural locations with some in poorer parts of urban settlements, whereas bourgeoisie schools were urban schools many of which were former cathedral schools and provided schooling for the well to do in the cities, but nine of the textbooks selected were texts either approved or edited by an academic historian in conjunction with the original author. This, therefore, suggests a direct impact and relationship between the academic and the scholastic communities in Norway in this period. Some of the textbooks ran in multiple editions such as O.I.K. Lødøen's textbook which in 1939 reached its 12th edition, or Jonas Vellesen's textbook from 1900, which by its 5th edition in 1910 had a total print run of 40,000 copies.[8] These numbers alone suggest that textbooks like these must have had both an impact and a wide readership within the population and the narrative presented within them must, therefore, have been able to withstand the changes of ideas and political context over time. Furthermore, the blended nature of the source being both an accepted historical account of the history of the nation, and having such a wide readership as illustrated by the numbers above suggests that these sources play an important part in the transmission of knowledge and stimulation of identity in Norway in the long nineteenth century.

Even though these sources allow a study based on textual analysis of Norwegian history textbooks, this approach will have some limitations, namely that there is no way to assess what knowledge was transferred from the pages of the books into the students studying them. Neither is it possible to know exactly how long each title/edition was in circulation and when schools would purchase new textbooks, though new editions and reprinting of the textbooks can suggest an element of continual use of the texts. In addition, new titles introduced to the market may also function as an indicator of when schools and the government started using the new texts and older texts went out of use.

[8] O.I.K. Lødøen, *Norges Historie med bilder* [Norway's History with pictures] (Oslo, 1939), 1; J. Vellesen, *Norigs Soga for Skule og Heim* [Norway's History for School and Home] (Kristiania, 1910),1.

Nonetheless, it could be assumed that books were bought regularly on the basis of the print runs so an analysis of the number of editions printed and the print run in the final edition might indicate the dissemination of a particular textbook. Furthermore, this chapter will also include material from teachers' guides to highlight what aspects of the books were emphasised in teaching. This approach allows this study to not only examine the direct way in which the topics connected to nationhood and national 'glory' were conveyed and changed through these textbooks, but it also allows an assessment of what kind of audience this would reach, as well as the contemporary views on these books among the scholarly and political communities of the time. It also allows the examination of the impact the political and cultural context of the books had upon the focus of the texts, and, later, upon the curriculum.

Previous scholarship on the role of education in the creation and maintenance of the Norwegian nation has predominantly focused on the role of the teachers in communities on the west coast of Norway. This previous scholarship emerged from the 1994 projects dealing with Norwegian national identity which was explored in chapter 1.[9] These studies assessed how ideas which developed at the teaching college of Volda influenced how the teachers navigated and presented the ideas of the nation within the localities in which they worked. These studies are seen as significant as the areas in question on the west coast had strong local identities and the population were perceived to embody according to Bø the national character of the Norwegian people.[10] The role of the teacher, and not textbooks and school resources has, therefore, been the focus of previous research. This has allowed earlier scholarship to examine the interaction between the standardised ideas of the teacher training collage in Volda, as a representative of

[9] See chapter 1.1-2.

[10] The western coast of Norway, alongside the inner valleys of southern Norway was throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century perceived as been racially 'purer' Norwegian than coastal and urban regions of Norway due to lack of early modern migration to these regions. Norwegian ethnographers claimed therefore that the original Norwegian race and culture lived on from the medieval period in these regions through their popular culture and blood, suggesting that the true Norwegian culture, language and folklore could be found in these regions. This rationale triggered Ivar Aasen's linguistic cataloguing of these regions that resulted in the modern Nynorsk dictionary and language, and Asbjornsen and Moe's collection of fairy tales from these regions. G. Bø, '«Land og Lynne» - Norske Diktere om Nasjonal identitet' [' «Land and mindset» -Norwegian poets on National Identity'], in Ø. Sørensen, (ed.), *Jakten på det Norske* [The Search for the Norwegian] (Oslo, 1998), 112-124,R. Høydal, *Nasjon-Region-Profesjon: Vestlandslæraren 1840-1940* [Nation-Region-Profession: the West Country Teacher 1840-1940] (Oslo, 1995); R. Høydal, *Periferiens Nasjonsbyggjarar: Vestlandslæraren og Volda lærarskule 1895-1920* [The Nation Builders in the Periphery: The West Norwegian Teachers and the Teacher Training College in Volda 1895-1920] (Oslo, 1995).

contemporary cultural ideas, against the traditional Norwegian societies in the peripheries of the state. Although the teachers can be seen as representative of the emerging educated middle classes in the districts, these previous studies have not allowed a wider understanding of how the ideas of the nation were manifested in the national curriculum, particularly in textbooks before and after the standardisation of the curriculum in 1922. The only previous examinations of Norwegian textbooks were published in 1996 and 2005, and assessed the modern elements and symbols, such as 17 May and Joan of Arc,[11] as symbols of the nation within Norwegian and French textbooks at the end of the nineteenth century. The focus of that research was on national symbols that are still recognisable today, and did not allow for textual analysis of the intentions of the textbook authors, nor other elements of the content of their works which were deemed important by the contemporaries of the books which might have fallen out of fashion today.

Scholars such as Helge Blakkisrud and Shahnoza Nozimova,[12] Stuart J. Foster,[13] Evguenia Davidova,[14] Tomoko Hamada,[15] Pierte Troch[16] and Alexander Bukh,[17] all maintain that textbooks play a crucial role in instructing young minds into what to think, feel, and how to define concepts. It is thus not surprising to find that textbooks, according to the same authors, are designed and written on the basis of the contemporary understanding of the past, and, therefore, in truth reflect not only the political and cultural understanding of the past, but also the contemporary image the nation or state has chosen for itself. These images are reflected in the focus on historical 'truth' within the national narrative, even more so through the impact this 'truth' has upon the collective memory of the nation. Not only is the textbook teaching the students what to remember, but it also reflects what the authors' contemporaries see as significant in the national memory, and through that what is worthy of remembering and commemoration. Alternatively, the images would also present what the nation sought to forget to be able to find its own identity and be at peace

[11] H. Kjølberg, *Vore Fædre: det Nasjonale i Norske og Franske Lærebøker 1870-1905* [Our Fathers: The National in Norwegian and French Textbooks 1870-1905] (Oslo, 1996); S. Lorentzen, *Ja, Vi Elsker-: Skolebøkene som Nasjonsbyggere 1814-2000* [Yes We Love-: Textbooks as Nationbuilders 1814-2000] (Oslo, 2005).
[12] Blakkisrud and Nozimova, 'History writing and Nation building', 173-189.
[13] S.J.Foster, 'Constructing the Past to Serve the Present: Nation, Identity and World War II in French School Textbooks', *International Journal of Social Education*, Vol. 24(2), (2009-10), 193-219.
[14] Davidova, 'Re-Packaging identities', 429-441.
[15] T. Hamada, 'Constructing a National Memory: a Comparative Analysis of Middle-School History Textbooks from Japan and the PRC', *American Asian Review*, Vol. 21(4), (2003), 109-144.
[16] P. Troch, 'Between Yugoslavism and Serbianism: Reshaping Collective Identity in Serbian Textbooks between the World Wars', *History of Education*, Vol. 42(2), (2012), 175-194.
[17] A. Bukh, 'Japan's History Textbooks debate: National Identity in Narratives of Victimhood and Victimization', *Asian Survey*, Vol. 47(5), (2007), 683-704.

with itself. The content of textbooks can be seen as reflecting the needs of the contemporary society, and projecting the ideas which a society has about itself upon the readers of the textbooks, making textbooks an important element in the use and consumption of the past in the creation of the present.

3.2. The Contextual History of the Textbooks

The Norwegian school system of the long nineteenth century has its roots in the Lutheran reformation of 1537, from which sprang the idea that the people should read and hear the words of God in their native tongue. However, it was not until the *Konfirmasjon* [Confirmation] was introduced to Norway in 1736 that the educational provisions were sufficient enough to allow the population to read the bible in the native tongue.[18] The *Konfirmasjon* [Confirmation], a rite of passage between childhood and adulthood, was introduced with a dual purpose: firstly to confirm the population of Norway in the Lutheran faith and, through that, challenge catholic-influenced folklore and traditions, and secondly to increase the education levels of the residents and create a more responsible people. This ensured, in theory, that young Norwegians would learn how to read and write by the age of 15-16; the aim of this was to ensure that they (the Norwegian youth) knew both the word of God and the laws of the land so they would become obedient and good citizens of the realm.[19] Nevertheless, though these actions should have promoted reading and writing, neither had a lasting impact on the education level of the Norwegian people, nor on the production of textbooks, as both these laws bound the education provisions in Norway with the job of the local parish priests.[20] The introduction of *Konfirmasjon* in 1736 was also followed up by the education law of 1739 stating 'each parish should have their own school, and teach the children to read.'[21] Even when taking the 1739 law into account it is reasonable to assume, as Høigård suggested in 1947, that the quality of these educational provisions could vary greatly in quality throughout the country.[22]

In his 1795 revision of the Danish-Norwegian school system Duke Frederik Christian of Augustenborg claimed that the schools had to focus on reading, writing, and mathematics. Preferably the pupils should read historical texts, as well as poetry and novels.[23] Even though the Duke's ideas were revolutionary, they had little or no impact on

[18] E. Høigård, *Den Norske Skoles Historie* [The History of Norwegian School system] (Oslo, 1947), 40.
[19] Høigård, *Den Norske.,* 40.
[20] Høigård, *Den Norske.,* 43.
[21] Høigård, *Den Norske.,* 44.
[22] Høigård, *Den Norske.,* 52.
[23] Høigård, *Den Norske.,* 72.

the education system in the kingdom; this was entirely due to the outbreak of the Napoleonic wars and their impact on Denmark-Norway. It is estimated that in 1814 there were only four schools teaching subjects besides the catechism and reading, and these four schools in total had no more than 200 boys, and represented the continuing education culture of the cathedral cities of Norway from the middle ages.[24] This lack of sufficient educational provision triggered the establishment of the first Norwegian teacher seminars in 1821, and was followed in 1827 by the Norwegian parliament re-evaluating the educational provision and the creation of a new school law which established that all children in Norway between the ages of 7 and 15 had compulsory school attendance. For the most part, these educational providers travelled from place to place to secure a stable and good educational provision throughout the nation. By 1837, this policy resulted in the establishment of 7000 'schools' throughout the country, resulting in 175,000 children receiving education of some sort.[25] However, due to a lack of qualified teachers, suitable schoolrooms and the geography of the kingdom, only 8% of children attended a school in a fixed location where they received 90 days of education per year, whereas 87% of the children were attending travelling schools in which the teacher would travel from village to village and set up school for a few days of weeks in each location: such children received about 47½ days a year. Even with this high percentage of children receiving education of some sort, an estimate by Høigård suggests that at least 5% of Norwegian children did not receive any education at all in 1837.[26]

The impact of Norwegian geography and settlement pattern on the educational system in the nineteenth century is visible through the names used for the different types of educational institutions. These names described both the background of the students, and the location of the school, such as *Almueskole* [common school] which was the school for children in urban settlements from the lower strata of society. *Borgerskole* [bourgeoisie schools] were the former cathedral schools and Latin schools in the urban centres in Norway, which had a tradition of educating children with an elite background who would go on to study at the University. In the rural parts of the kingdom the *Omgangskole* [travelling school] and *Fastskole* [permanent school] developed as qualifiers of the *Folkeskole* [The common school] depending on whether or not the school and teacher was travelling from settlement to settlement. The names of the different school types were

[24] Høigård, *Den Norske.,* 72.
[25] Høigård, *Den Norske.,* 85.
[26] Høigård, *Den Norske.,* 86.

used in textbook titles of the late nineteenth century to identify the target audience of the books.

With the 'The common school laws' from 1889, a new unified system was introduced, standardising both the set up for the different schools throughout the country, and the subjects taught at these schools. Most importantly for this chapter this law introduced history education as part of the curriculum for all schools in Norway. Although history was part of a civics class in the beginning, history was a key component in this class, and the curriculum of the civics class was often included in the last chapters of history textbooks, especially in the early years of its implementation. The new school law of 1889 only distinguished between urban and rural schools in the name used to refer to them, namely 'Folkeskolen' [the common school] and 'Byskolen/Borgerskolen'[the city-/bourgeoisie -school], thus creating a standardisation of the education in Norway of which history was an integrated part.[27] Only after a change in the education law, which came in 1936, did seven-year primary education become compulsory for the entire population, this law also formalised secondary education in Norway as the foundation for university education.[28] It is, therefore, appropriate to assess within this framework the history textbooks used for the 7-15-year-olds year, groups for which attendance at school was encouraged, later (as we have seen) compulsory from 1827 onwards.

In his 1909 edition of *Det Norske folks historie fortalt for folke-og ungdomsskolen [The Norwegian People's history told for primary- and secondary- schools],* O.I.K. Lødøen acknowledges the strains put on history education in the 'folkeskole' throughout Norway and writes:

> The Folkeskole's history education is the only history education many children receive. This textbook should, therefore, give access to all the historical knowledge that a human being needs to know… …Unfortunately, many of our *folkeskoler* do not have time to cover it all. The most important material is, therefore, printed in a bigger font than the rest of the textbook. (See Figure 1 overleaf.)[29]

Lødøen states that although the textbooks could be used as the framework of the teaching, they were designed to be adaptable, and were thus a resource which complimented the

[27] Høigård, *Den Norske.,* 174-5.
[28] Høigård, *Den Norske.,* 301.
[29] 'Folkeskolens historie-undervisning er avsluttende for det store flertal av barn. Derfor bør læreboken gi adgang til saa megen historiekundskal som ethvert sannet menneske maa kjende til… Men desværre har man i mange av vore folkeskoler ikke tid til at gjennomgaa saa meget. Derfor er det stof som fortrinsvis egner seg for skoler med kort undervisningstid sat med større typer.' O.I.K. Lødøen, *Det Norske Folks Historie fortalt for folke- og ungdomsskolen [The Norwegian People's History told for primary- and secondary- schools]* (Kristiania, 1909), 2.

teachers' knowledge, the texts themselves could be used in a shorter or longer format depending on the timeframe given over to teaching history.

Even though it is evident from Lødøen's notes that the time given over to history varied from school to school and teacher to teacher, the amendments of the education legislation in Norway in 1922 further standardised the curriculum in Norwegian schools.[30] The 1922 amendments established the minimum amount of time to be dedicated to each subject, creating a legal framework in which the Norwegian Parliament and Government could standardise the history education Norwegian students received both in content and in quantity. Although these changes standardised the content of history education it was still seen as part of the subject of civic knowledge. However, the 1922 legal change established a stricter regulation of the curriculum, and a structured national curriculum emerged for history.

[30] S. Askheim, 'Norsk Utdanningshistorie', in *SNL,* http://snl.no/Norsk_utdanningshistorie

The national curriculum also meant that textbooks would have to be approved by the Ministry of Education and thus became normative texts that reflected the official and approved line of the government, rather than the ideas and opinions of the writers. There are examples of textbooks from the late nineteenth century where textbook authors state that their texts are in accordance with the spelling and grammatical standards of the Ministry of Religion, who at the time was in charge of the Norwegian education system. For instance, Gustav Storm edited and approved Siegwart Pedersen's *Norges historie læse og lærebok for almue og borgerskole* [*Norway's history: reading book for the common- and bourgeoisie-schools*] from 1881 onwards, so that the text could continue to be used and published after Pedersen's death in 1878.[31] In his editing of the text, Storm makes a point of stating that

15

nævert; der hadde den dødes lik ligget paa en seng. — Et stykke nord for Tønsberg, omkring ½ mil fra sjøen, fandt man i 1904 atter et skib fra vikingetiden (Oseberg-skibet). Det var ogsaa nedgravet i lere, og godt dækket med torv. Der laa begravet en dronning og hendes trælkvinde (?). — Adskillig tyder paa, at naar en høvding døde, lot hans hustru sig i de ældre tider dræbe for at følge ham.

Vogn fundet i Osebergskibet.

En tid efter begravelsen holdt man et stort gjestebud til minde om den døde („**gravøl**"). Da skulde hans venner og hele hans slegt være tilstede. Under gildet reiste hans nærmeste arving sig, drak en skaal for ham, og lovte at utføre et eller andet storverk til hans ære, — og først da hadde han lov til at sætte sig i hans høisæte. Siden delte arvingene den dødes eiendom mellem sig; hans ældste søn fik ætte-gaarden.

Man trodde at den dødes sjæl ofte blev boende i gravhaugen og passet paa sin gamle gaard. Især i julen brukte man derfor at sætte ut til ham øl og mjød, forat han skulde hjælpe dem. Hvis en mand vilde røve de vaaben og kostbarheter som laa i haugen, da overfaldt haug-bonden ham, og saa kom det an paa hvem som var sterkest.

Vikingetogene. I den ældre jernalder laget vore fædre hjemme paa sine gaarder alt det de trængte til hverdags av mat og klær. Staskær, vaaben o. l. maatte de derimot hente fra utlandet. En og anden gang lastet derfor storbonden sine skibe med kostbare skind, han og hans huskarer gik ombord, og saa seilte de til de nordtyske elvemundinger for at handle, saaledes som i bronsealderen. Men saa hændte det efter folkevandringen, at venderne kom fra Østeuropa og erobret Nordtyskland, og stængte de gamle handelsveier langs med de tyske elver. Herefter seilte handelsmændene („farmændene") fra Norge helst til de

Figure 1: Page 15 in O.I.K. Lødøen's *Det Norske Folks Historie* from 1920s which illustrated the difference in font used for different materials covered in the book as exemplified on page 80 and 83.

[31] T. Bratberg, 'Siegwart Blumenthal Petersen', in *NBL* http://nbl.snl.no/Siegwart_Blumenthal_Petersen.

the textbooks are in accordance with the 'current regulations for spelling and grammar'.[32] Although the government was not regulating the content of the textbooks as such, this standardisation of spelling and the Norwegian language introduced a much greater normative and standardised presentation within both the textbooks and the school system from the late nineteenth century compared to when Henrik Wergeland published his *Udtog fra Norges historie for brug I Borger- og almueskoler* [Extracts from Norwegian History to be Used in City and Country Schools] in 1836.[33]

However, with Storm as an 'editor' of Pedersen's textbook, a new paradigm of quality control of the historical material in Norwegian textbooks was created. This is evident in that subsequent textbook authors, until Jonas Vellesen in 1921,[34] got historians or other highly respected and educated members of Norwegian society to peer review their textbooks; the authors secured authority for the texts they presented. O.I.K. Lødøen used a lawyer, Solnørdal in 1909 but turned to Professor Edvard Bull the Elder for his 1921 edition of the same book;[35] whereas Jonas Vellesen in 1900 used Ernst Sars as both a historical consultant and as a proof reader for the translation of his work from Nynorsk to Bokmål.[36] Not only does this suggest that the Norwegian government was very slowly starting to control the quality and content of Norwegian textbooks at the beginning of the twentieth century, but also that textbook authors sought peer-reviews of their texts to guarantee the quality of the texts. The consultancy use of professional historians in the quality checking of textbook manuscripts suggests a willingness among these scholars to verify both the narrative and historical memory contained in these textbooks. These approvals, therefore, also suggest that there was a real link between the ideas of these historians and the textbooks which were contemporary to them. Moreover, it can imply that the search for historical 'truths' to teach the nation was vital in the creation of these textbooks. This trend of having historians approving textbooks was aborted when the Ministry of Religion and Education established systems of governmental approval of textbooks following the national curriculum introduction in 1922-5. This is evident in books such as Tormod

[32] S. Petersen and G. Storm, *Norges Historie Læse og Lærebok for Almue og Borgerskole* [Norway's history: reading book for the common- and bourgeoisie-schools] (Kristiania, 1881), 2.
[33] H. Wergeland, *Udtog fra Norges Historie for brug I Borger- og Almueskoler* [Extracts from Norwegian History to be used in City and Country schools] (Christiania, 1836).
[34] J. Vellensen, *Norigs Soga* [Norway's History] (Kristiania, 1921), 1.
[35] Lødøen, *Det Norske Folks*, 2; O.I.K. Lødøen, *Norigs Soga* [Norway's History] (Kristiania, 1921), 2.
[36] J. Vellesen, *Norigs Soga aat Folkeskulen* [Norway's History for Primary Schools] (Kristiania, 1900), 2.

Knutson's *Soga um Folket vårt* [The History of Our People] from 1935,[37] Bernhard Stokke's *Folket vårt gjennom tidene* [Our People through the Ages] from 1942 which was published under Quisling's Nationalist Socialist government,[38] and O.I.K. Lødøen's *Norges Historie med bilder* [Norway's History with Pictures] from 1939.[39] All these texts testify to a stricter control with Norwegian education and its content.

Of the three main textbook authors, Siegwart Petersen (1826-78) trained at the Trondhjem Cathedral School and the University in Christiania before becoming a civil servant and teacher in Tromsø. Petersen was later transferred to Krigsskolen, the Norwegian military academy, where he worked until 1860 when he left his position to become the editor two Christiania-based newspapers, *Rigstidende* [The Norwegian Times] and *Christiania Intellegentsseddler* [Christiania Intelligent Post]. During his employment at the military academy, Petersen had worked part-time at the national archives (*Rigsarkivet*), but had been dismissed after publishing a transcript of documents which had been sent to the Swedish-Norwegian king Karl III Johan about the political turbulence in Norway in the 1820s and 30s. In addition to writing history textbooks, Petersen was also an active member in *Det norske Oldsskrifts Selskab [the Norwegian Society for ancient texts]* and *Foreningen til norske Fortidsminnemerkers Bevaring [the Association for the Preservation of National Monuments]*; the first of these was founded with the intention of editing and publishing medieval documents from and regarding Norway.[40] The second aimed at preserving the surviving monuments and buildings from the middle ages, which will be explored further in chapter 4.

The second of these authors is difficult to trace, Ole Iver Knudsen (O.I.K.) Lødøen (1869-1939), was born in Hornindal in Sogn and Fjordane, and worked as a school teacher in several places throughout Norway before settling in Oslo. He published several textbooks in history from 1905 onwards. Other biographic information about him is unobtainable.[41]

---

[37] T. Knutson, *Saga um Folket Vårt* [The History of Our People] (Oslo, 1935), 3.
[38] B. Stokke, *Folket Vårt gjennom Tidene* [Our People through the ages] (Oslo, 1942), 1.
[39] O.I.K. Lødøen, *Norges Historie med bilder* [Norway's History with pictures] (Oslo, 1939), 2.
[40] [Anon.], 'Petersen, Peter Siegvart Blumenthal', in *Norsk Biografisk Leksikon*, Vol. 11 : Pedersen, Oscar-Ross, (Oslo, 1953), 72-4.
[41] C. Brinchmann, *Hvem er Hvem? : Haandbok over Samtidige Norske Mændt og Kvinder [Who is Who?: a Guidebook to Contemporary Men and Women]* (Kristiania, 1912),170; [Anon.] 'Kjende Personar i Hornindal fødde før år1900' [Famous People in Hornindal born before 1900], in *Norsk Rikskringkastings fylkesleksikon for Sogn og Fjordane* [NRK's county encyclopedia for Sogn and Fjordane] http://www.nrk.no/sf/leksikon/index.php/Kjende_personar_i_Hornindal_f%C3%B8dde_f%C3%B8r_%C3%A5r_1900, accessed 27.09.2015, 9.26pm.

The third to be considered in this chapter, Jonas Vellensen (1842-1915), grew up as a member of the landowning farming class in the nineteenth century. He attended teaching seminars together with the Nynorsk enthusiast Arne Garborg. Vellesen went on to become a renowned teacher, and a textbook author for subjects such as history, reading, bible studies and civics. Most of Vellesen's publications are written in Nynorsk.[42]

As we have seen, the use and control of Norwegian textbooks in the long nineteenth century changed dramatically, yet there seems to have been a steady and continuous presentation of the same topics throughout the period. The chapter will now evaluate the way in which Norwegian textbook authors presented topics related to the origins of the nation, some of its kings and decisive events in the creation of the Norwegian state. It will, furthermore, highlight any changes and shifts in the way these topics are presented.

3.3. The Foundation of Norway and Harald Fairhair's reign

The origin of the Norwegian people was presented by Lødøen in 1909, as the Germanic tribes who did not feel the need to travel and invade the Roman Empire at the end of the fourth century.[43] Lødøen maintained the traditional foundation and unification myth of Norway, the dream of Queen Ragnhild, found in Snorri's *Heimskringla*,[44] in which Harald Fairhair's mother Ragnhild dreams about her son and his descendants. In her dream she sees a tree growing out of a thorn which she picked out of her dress, 'its roots are covered in blood, but its stem and bark are green and the branches white as snow, the branches stretched out to cover the entire country, and even lands outside Norway.'[45] This story is also referenced and referred to in textbooks as late as Aksel Skretting's *Historie: fedrelandet og verden* [*History: the Fatherland and the World]* in 1952.[46] In his 6th edition of *Momenter til støtte for hukommelsen ved den mundtlige undervisning I Norges historie [Elements to support the memory in the teaching of Norwegian History]* from 1886, Siegwart Petersen presented Queen Ragnhild's dream as the second key feature of Harald

[42] J.B. Halvordsen, 'Vellesen, Jonas', in *Norsk Forfatter-Lexikon 1814-1880: paa Grundlag af J.E. Krafts og Chr. Langes "Norsk Forfatter-Lexikon 1814-1856"*. 6: 'U-Ø' [Norwegian Biographical Encyclopedia 1814-1880] (Kristiania, 1908), 99; [Anon.], 'Dødsannonse for Jonas Vellesen' [Obituary], *Øieren*, 1 December 1915, 3.
[43] Lødøen, *Det Norske Folks.*, 8.
[44] Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla i,* A. Finlay and A. Faulkes (Trans.) (London, 2011), 51.
[45] *HFF*, 51.
[46] A. Skretting, *Historie; fedrelandet og verden, [History: the Fatherland and the World]*(Oslo, 1952), 28.

Fairhair's life and reign, as it sets Harald in context and let him become the root from which the Norwegian kingdom comes.[47] This prophetic dream is seen as an element of the origin myth of the nation, and functions as a prophesy establishing that Norway was always meant to be united. Although Petersen highlights this dream as a key feature of Harald's life, Lødøen's edition from 1909 did not give over much space to it, although he includes it in his text, and it is located in a section indicated as 'less important'. He stated:

> Where one has more time, the children might learn the most important of the additional material; of course according to the different schools own adaptation of the curriculum… … the less important elements of Norwegian history are marked with two lines in the margins.[48]

Whereas Petersen and Lødøen include the story of Ragnhild's dream, Jonas Vellesen in his textbook also included the dream of Halvdan the Black, Harald Fairhair's father. In this dream, Halvdan sees his hair starting to grow and some locks of hair become more beautiful and longer than others, thus predicting the glory and length of the reigns of his descendants. By including this dream, Vellesen maintains the narrative presented in *Heimskringla* that it was not only Queen Ragnhild who foresaw the unification of Norway and the greatness of their dynasty, but also Halvdan. With Vellesen including an interpretation of these dreams,[49] sourced from *Heimskringla*, in his textbook, he is indirectly signposting from the pre-unification narrative to the variations of power possessed by the different kings descendent from Halvdan and Ragnhild, as well as to the destiny of Norway.

Although some textbook writers saw these dreams as an integral part of Norway's history, others did not. For instance, neither Ragnhild's nor Halvdan's dream were included in the 1897 edition by Siegwart Petersen and Gustav Storm.[50] It is perhaps revealing of a change in policy that there are also no references to this anecdote in most of the textbooks after 1930, with the exception of Stokke (1942) and Skretting (1952).[51] This does not mean

---

[47] S. Petesen, *Momenter til støtte for Hukommelsen ved den Mundtlige Undervisning I Norges Historie* [Elements to Support the Memory in the Teaching of Norwegian History] (Kristiania, 1886), 3.

[48] 'Hvor man har mere tid, kan børnene, selvfølgelig efter vedkommende skoleplans nærmere anvisning, lære også det vigtigste av det øvrige stoff…de mindre viktige norgeshistorie-stykker med to streker.' Lødøen, *Det Norske Folks*, 2.

[49] J. Vellesen, *Norigs Soga for Skule og Heim* [Norway's History for School and Home] (Kristiania, 1910), 18.

[50] S. Petersen and G. Storm, *Norges Historie; Mindre utgave for Folkeskolen* [Norway's History; Smaller edition for the *Folkeskolen*] (Kristiania, 1897).

[51] Stokke, *Folket vårt.*, 38; Skretting, *Historie; Fedrelandet.*, 28.

that Ragnhild's dream was not included in the syllabus, but it might not have been seen as quite as a vital part of Norwegian history after the establishment of the national curriculum.

This dream prophecy of Harald Fairhair's life is often in textbooks accompanied by the tale of how the Princess Gyde refused to marry Harald until he had united the country under his rule, which according to the tale triggered Harald's quest to unite Norway.[52] Moreover, as these textbooks are aimed at children aged 7-15; it is perhaps not surprising to find a sometimes simplified version of the academically accepted reasons triggering Harald's conquest in textbooks. Yet, whereas authors like Vellesen, Lødøen and Petersen include the story of Gyda in some way or another with their textbooks, Magnus Jensen in his *Nordens Historie for Gymnaset [History of the Nordic region],* a book aimed at readers in upper secondary school (15-18-year-old) states that:

> How Harald's royal idea about unifying Norway came about we do not know. The tale about the proud Gyda who turned down the petty king's proposal is just a romantic legend.[53]

Although Jensen's text is aimed at an audience that is more advanced than the one that uses most of the textbooks included in this study, his statement suggests that not only were his textbooks influenced by contemporary source criticism of Snorri, but they were also able to challenge its readers and their perceptions. Oscar Albert Johnsen and Trond Pedersen's *Lærebok I Norges, Danmark og Sveriges historie for Gymnasiene* [Textbook in Norwegian, Swedish and Danish history for upper secondary school] from 1924, also refrain from mentioning Gyda as the cause of Harald's conquest of Norway, yet instead they draw comparisons to the movements of unification that happened in Harald's lifetime elsewhere in Europe, and then especially the reign of Charlemagne in Frankia.[54] As with Jensen's text, Johnsen and Pedersen's text is aimed at a higher age group, but they deliberately edit out the only interpretation presented of why Harald started his conquest. In Jens Hæreid's *Norigs Soga* [Norway's history] we find only half the story of Gyda, namely the part where Harald states that he would refrain from combing or cutting his hair until the entire country was under his control.[55] Unlike Jensen, Johnsen and Pedersen, Hæreid's textbook was

---

[52] Lødøen, *Det Norske Folks.*, 22; Petersen and Storm, *Norges Historie.,* 11; Vellesen, *Norigs Soga.,* (1900), 14.

[53] 'Hvordan Harald fikk in store kongstanke, å samle Norge, vet vi ikke. Fortellingen om den stolte Gyda som avslo småkongens beiling, er bare et romantisk sagn.' M. Jensen, *Nordens Historie* [History of the Nordic region] (Oslo, 1940), 29.

[54] O.A. Johnsen and T. Pedersen, *Lærebok I Norges, Danmark og Sveriges Historie for Gymnasiene* [Textbook in Norway's, Denmark's and Sweden's History for Upper Secondary Education] (Kristiania, 1924), 19-20.

[55] J. Hæreid, *Norigs Soga* [Norway's History] (Oslo, 1926), 19.

aimed at the *Folkeskole* [common school](7-15), yet his justification of Harald's conquests and the coverage of Harald's reign include few elements found in other older textbooks, such as the dream of Ragnhild and the declaration of Haakon Grjotgardsson as Earl of Lade. Yet, the text states,[56] similarly to Wergerland (1836),[57] Vellesen (1900),[58] and Petersen (1881),[59] that Harald's victory was secured through the battle of Hafsfjord in 872, following which Harald controlled all of Norway and its Odel.

In Lødøen's textbook from 1909, it is evident that the battle of Harfsfjord and Harald's governmental policies, with jarls and hersi ruling the provinces for the king and the king owning all the Odel, is a crucial element in the narrative of Harald's unification.[60] The significance of these elements is not only maintained by Petersen in his textbooks but also in his teacher's guide from 1886,[61] as well as other contemporary textbooks, such as those of Vellesen and Wergeland. Similarly Harald's conquest and regime is also portrayed as the key to the origin of the Norse settlements on Orkney, Shetland, the Faeroe Islands, Iceland, and in Normandy. By including these elements, Lødøen covered the entirety of the subject 'the Norwegian people's history' which he chose as the title of his 1909 textbook. Simultaneously, Lødøen presents the idea that the population in these regions was originally Norwegian, and thus these lands were part of the Norwegian North Sea Empire and part of the Norwegian nation. However, by including this, he also kept his textbook narrative close to those which can be found in *Heimskringla* about the origins of the Norse settlements in the North Sea and Northern France. In these aspects, there are no real changes or differences throughout the period; Harald Fairhair's regime is presented as the establishment of the Norwegian state, in the work of Wergeland,[62] Høst,[63] and Stokke.[64]

However, there is one aspect of the way Harald is presented that changes drastically over time. Whereas Wergeland and the 1872 edition of Siegwart Petersen's textbook both only refer to where Harald is buried, according to *Heimskringla*, Petersen (1881), Vellesen (1916), Lødøen (1939), Petersen (1886), and Lødøen and Bull (1921) all

---

[56] Hæreid, *Norigs Soga.*, 20-21.
[57] Wergeland, *Udtog fra Norges Historie.,* 14.
[58] Vellesen, *Norigs Soga.,* (1900), 14-15.
[59] S. Petersen, *Norges Historie Læse og Lærebog for Almue og Borgerskolen* [Norwegian History, Reading book for Schools] (Kristiania, 1881), 11.
[60] Lødøen, *Det Norske Folks.*, 28.
[61] Pertesen, *Momenter til Støtte.*, 3.
[62] Wergeland, *Udtog fra Norges Historie.,* 14.
[63] S. Høst, *Norges Historie for Middelskolen* [Norwegian History for Secondary Education] (Kristiania, 1924), 14.
[64] Stokke, *Folket Vårt.*, 40.

include a reference to the re-appropriation of the burial mound of Harald into Haraldshaugen, the national monument which was built in 1872, signalling the importance this monument and Harald Fairhair had in late nineteenth-century Norway. One author, Stokke, even goes so far as to write:

> On Haraldshaugen near Haugesund, a monument was erected in 1872 in memory of the unification of Norway under one king.[65]

This statement in itself does not dramatically change the perception and presentation of Harald Fairhair; it does, however, highlight the perceived impact and understanding of Harald Fairhair in the years after 1872. This statement also set out how Harald was understood in the long lines of Norwegian history, the king who united Norway.

3.4. Presenting the Hero: Olaf Tryggvason

In his presentation of Olaf Tryggvason, Lødøen starts the main section by describing Olaf's personality and beauty. He continues with comparisons between Olaf's conversion of Norway and Charlemagne's work in Saxony,[66] before moving on to a longer account attempting to explain how the Norse religion developed, and highlighting the differences between Olaf Tryggvason's Christianity and the Lutheran church in the nineteenth century. Lødøen states, whilst exploring religion contemporary to Olaf Tryggvasson:

> At that time, the Pope and the bishops used Latin whilst writing, and as and when the people of Europe converted, they too started using Latin for writing. However, in England the priests continued to use Anglo-Saxon alongside Latin. The first Christian priests in Norway were Englishmen; as a result Norwegians took to using their own language (Old Norse) as their written language, leading to the Norwegians writing down their sagas and poems. In Sweden and Denmark they wrote only in Latin.[67]

Lødøen is thus suggesting that all Norse literature should belong to the Norwegian people, and are manifestations of the Norwegian Viking culture, for the Danes and Swedes did not write in their vernacular tongue. This statement is not found elsewhere in other textbooks, and it is, therefore, likely that Lødøen shared the idea of Keyser and Munch that all Norse literature from Iceland and Norway was de facto Norwegian, as Iceland was settled from

---

[65] 'På Haraldshaugen ved Haugesund reiste dei I 1872 ein stein til mine om at Noreg vart samla under ein konge.' Stokke, *Folket Vårt.*, 40.
[66] Lødøen, *Det Norske Folks.*, 40.
[67] 'Den gang brukte pave og prestene næsten bare latin, naar de skulde skrive og efter hvert som Europas folk blev kristne, tok de derfor latin som skriftspråk. I England brukte dog prestene ogsaa Angelsaksisk. De første kristne prester i Norge var engelskmænd; derfor tok de nordmændenes eget maal (gammel-norsk) til skrift-maal i Norge, og nu skrev nordmændene op sine gamle kvæder og sagaer. I Sverige og Danmark derimot skrev man bare på latin.' Lødøen, *Det Norske Folks.*, 41.

Norway and thus its literature was written by Norwegians. This interpretation of the cultural ownership of the Norse literature is a continuation and manifestation of Lødøen's argument regarding the Norse settlements in the North Sea, seen above. This claim to Norse literature was about more than just the territorial ownership of the islands in the North Sea, it was primarily about access and ownership of some of the key sources for the early history of Norway. Through presenting these ideas about the Norse literature Lødøen indirectly not only emphasises the importance of Norse literature in the history of the Norwegian people (reflecting the title of his textbook), but he also draws attention to the pressing issue of the 'lost' Norwegian medieval archives and cultural treasures that were still kept in Denmark. Whereas Lødøen focused his account of Olaf Tryggvason on the religious and cultural developments in Norway and the Norse settlements that were partly caused by Olaf, in the sections of additional readings, Lødøen's account of Olaf's reign and life was more descriptive of how these changes took place as well as what stories *Heimskringla* presents about Olaf's succession to the Norwegian crown and the causes of his downfall.

In comparison, Siegwart Petersen's teacher guide strictly follows the narrative presented in *Heimskringla* with the main themes of Olaf's reign, yet through its emphasis on Tyra and Sigrid his textbook suggests that it was the women of the age who were the real schemers and politicians in the politics of Scandinavia. In particular, in Petersen's portrayal of Tyra, Olaf's wife is filled with blame and anger as Olaf is not able or willing to secure her inheritance and lands in Vendland, which triggered his journey to Vendland in 999/1000 just before the battle of Svolder. Similarly the Swedish queen, Sigrid, is portrayed as a scheming and manipulating woman who raised an alliance against Olaf, which finally defeats him at the battle of Svolder in the year 1000. It is clear through this that Petersen in his 1881 textbook chooses to emphasise the role of the wider society in the destiny of the king, particularly the role of women at the court. Indirectly, this was a warning against women's involvement in politics, as Tyra and Sigrid directly impacted the political developments in Scandinavia in the late tenth century. In comparison, the portraiture of Queen Ragnhild and her mother-in-law Åsa in early twentieth-century textbooks and scholarship is more positive towards them as mothers and protectors of the realm, thus fulfilling the accepted gender roles of nineteenth-century Norwegian women, but at the same time a warning to stay out of Norwegian politics. Furthermore, the importance of this warning is evident by the space used to cover this: compared with the narrative of the conversion of Norway which is only given 8 lines, the narratives of Tyra and Sigrid are given 36 lines of the total 165 lines regarding Olaf Tryggvasson. This focus on the women in Olaf's

life together with his human qualities drew Petersen's focus away from the norm when presenting Olaf Tryggvason, the conversion of Norway alongside founding Nidaros (modern day Trondheim), and thus Petersen presents Olaf as a role model and a perfect king.

In comparison to Petersen, Knudson's textbook from 1935 introduced Olaf as an heir of Harald Fairhair and one of the most renowned Vikings of his time. In Knudson's narrative, it was Olaf's political manoeuvres in the conversion of Norway that were emphasised, especially how he convinced the farmers of Western Norway to convert in exchange for Erling Skjallgsson marrying Olaf's sister.[68] In essence, Knudson's account of Olaf Tryggvason is much more focused on the outcome of Olaf's politics than their characteristics. Olaf thus moved from being a politician to a king who converted Norway, yet Knudsen emphasises that Olaf's political reach did not stretch into the Uppland areas of Norway.[69] This shift in how Olaf was perceived in the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries is suggestive of the significance of the impact of the nationalisation of the curriculum, in which the development of the nation and the ideas surrounding the foundations of the nation becomes the key elements of the narratives. Knudsen not only re-evaluates the most important features of Olaf's life in the way he presents the king, he also states:

> Even though he bore the name of a Christian, he was a pagan and a Viking in his heart and in all his ways. It could not have been different, as Viking attacks and murder had been his way of life since he in his youth left the kingdom of the Rus.[70]

Through this Knudsen suggests that Olaf's Christianity was skin deep, and although he laid the foundations for the faith in Norway, his actions did not raise the walls of the church. Simultaneously Knudsen also suggests that both Olaf and Norway in the late tenth century were heavily influenced by the traditional religions and customs in Norway even after the conversion on individuals. Where Knudsen emphasises Olaf's deal with the men of Western Norway, Sigurd Høst in his *Norges Historie for Middelskolen* [Norwegian History for Secondary Education] (1924) emphasises how Olaf is cunning as a politician. Olaf agreed to attend the *blot* with the farmers of the Trøndelag region, but he refused to do the sacrifice by sacrificing animals, he proposed instead to sacrifice some of the leading chieftains of the Trøndelag area which resulted in the farmers panicking and converting to save their

[68] Knutson, *Saga.,* 34.
[69] Knutson, *Saga.,* 34.
[70] 'Og endå han bar kristennamnet, var han sjølv ein heidning og Viking I huglag og all si ferd. Onnorleis kunde det vel heller ikkje vera. Vikingferd med herjing og dråp hadde vore livet hans frå han i ungdomen drog ut frå Gardarike.' Knutson, *Saga.,* 36.

kinsmen and leaders.[71] Bernhard Stokke (1942) suggests that Olaf Tryggvason's reign unified the country for a short period and that Olaf's main achievement was the conversion of the people, even though many of them lapsed back into paganism in the years after Olaf's death.[72] Whereas the twentieth-century history textbooks clearly emphasise Olaf's attempt to convert Norway and his successful conversions of Iceland, the Faeroe Islands, Orkney, and Shetland, the nineteenth-century writers seem to have a fascination with Olaf's handling of his women and the drama that happened at the battle of Svolder. The influence of the Romantic Movement is evident here through the focus on these dramatic turning events during Olaf's reign and crisis in the Norwegian historical narrative. The nineteenth-century authors' focus on these events exemplifies the nineteenth century trend of narrating the history to dramatic events that could inspire future generations through the use of the saga narrative, and at times, direct speech.

Henrik Wergeland, the poet, archivist and textbook author, is so drawn in by Snorri's account of the battle of Svolder that he quoted Einar Thambarskjelve's answer to Olaf when Olaf asked what broke, at the sound of Einar's bow breaking; 'your control of Norway, my Lord.'[73] Even though Wergeland can be seen as somewhat faithful to Olaf's story in *Heimskringla*, his narrative is more focused on the glory of Olaf in his defence of Norway's freedom than anything else. This approach seems to have been significant, Wergeland's 1836 textbook bears comparison with the 1879 textbook *Norigs Soga* [History of Norway], whose author is unknown, as both follows Snorri's account of Olaf Tryggvason's life very closely. Unlike Wergeland's textbook, the 1879 textbook does not quote the direct speech in the *Kings' sagas*, but focuses rather on narrating the events in the third person. Yet unlike the later textbooks or even Wergeland's book from 1836, the 1879 textbook states:

> The entire people happily received Olaf Tryggvason, even the chieftains in Uppland and in Vika, those who previously had taken their fiefdoms from the Danish king, took them now from Olaf. Likewise did Sigmund Verkersson on the Faeroe Islands, who previously had held the Islands from Earl Haakon. The sons of Haakon, Eirik and Svein, left the country and travelled to the Swedish king Olaf Skautkoning, and the entirety of Norway was once more united, from Finnmark to Gota-River.[74]

---

[71] Høst, *Norges Historie.*, 19.
[72] Stokke, *Folket Vårt.*, 45.
[73] *HFF*, 227;'Norges rige af dine hender, Hærre Konge.' Wergeland, *Udtog fra Norges Historie.,* 20.
[74] 'Heile folke tok med gleda mot Olav Tryggvason, og jamvæl hødvingarne på Upplandi og i Viki, som hadde havt landet sitt til len av Danekongen, tok det no til len av Olav. Sameleids gjorde Sigmund Verkersson på Færøyarne, som fyr hadde øyarne i len av Haakon Jarl. Sønerne hans Haakon, Eirik og Svein, for ut or landet til den svenske kongen Olav Skautkonung, og heile Noreg var samlat på nytt Lag, fraa Finnmarki til Gjøta-Elvi.' [Anon.] *Norigs Soga* [History of Norway] (Kristiania, 1879), 42.

What the author does here is to directly compare the area that Olaf controlled with that which Harald Fairhair had ruled decades before. Even though the author of the 1879 textbook attempts to mirror Olaf Tryggvason's kingdom to that of his great grandfather (Harald Fairhair), or even the kingdom of the high Middle Ages, it is clear that this statement clashes greatly with other textbooks as well as with *Heimskringla*, for most accounts that refer to the size of Olaf's kingdom suggest that the petty kings of the *Upplandi* [the county of Oppland in Norway, see appendix 5 for map] were independent as they were his kinsmen and had similar claims to the Norwegian kingdom. Even though the size of the kingdom differs in the different accounts of Olaf Tryggvason and his reign in textbooks from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it is one of the key points that continue to gain attention throughout these textbooks. These key points are predominantly Olaf's balancing of power and the conversion to the Christian faith.

3.5. Presenting the Saviour: Olaf Haraldsson

In his teacher's guide from 1886, Siegwart Petersen introduced the key features of Olaf Haraldsson's life and story with the words: 'After his father Harald Grenske's death he was raised by his stepfather Sigurd Syr in Ringerike.'[75] This suggests that although Petersen was familiar with *Heimskringla*, he does not seem to be faithful to Snorri's *Olaf's saga*, as he skips every reference to Rane who also helped by fostering Olaf, and who followed him on his Viking trip. By comparison, in his *Norges historie* [Norwegian History] from 1881, Petersen refers to Rane as Olaf's foster father. Furthermore, the 1881 text highlights Olaf's religious politics and how his first years as king were marked by resurrecting and maintaining the conversion of the Norwegian people.[76] Moreover, the text also examines the political relationship between Olaf and Cnut as the cause of the former's fall.[77] Petersen emphasises that Olaf was the rightful king of Norway and it was the aristocracy's unwillingness to accept the new laws introduced by Olaf that were a contributing factor to his former allies siding with Cnut. Petersen's use of dialogue and estimated numbers, taken from *Heimskringla*, in the 1881 textbook gives a much more vivid account of the build-up to the battle of Stiklestad[78] than other textbooks, such as the 1897 edition of the *Norges historie kortere utgave* by Petersen himself.[79] It is thus evident that the authors adapted

[75] 'Efter faderen Harald Grønskes død fostret hos stiffaderen Sigurd Syr paa Ringerike — Bukken', Petersen, *Momenter til Støtte.*, 5.
[76] Petersen, *Norges Historie*., 31.
[77] Petersen, *Norges Historie.*, 33.
[78] Petersen, *Norges Historie.*, 34-5.
[79] Petersen and Storm, *Norges Historie.,* 20.

their texts, and included evidence and narrative as they saw fit, depending on the textbook they wanted to produce. The textual difference between Petersen's earlier and later textbooks is mainly dominated by the length of the books themselves but it is clear that, in comparison to other parts of the Viking narrative, the Battle of Stiklestad and the lead up to it is given a substantial amount of lines and pages. In the earlier, longer, editions Petersen has given 99 lines over to this narrative.[80] By comparison in 1897, he only allowed 26 lines.[81] The same earlier, longer editions on used 246 of lines in to cover the entire reign of Olaf and his life, whereas there were 136 lines in the newer ones.[82] Other authors, such as Lødøen and Vellesen, approach Olaf Haraldsson with a different view, for although Petersen follows the saga narrative with varying length and detail, his focus is dominated by the conversion narrative and how it interplayed with the consequences of Olaf's legislative and religious politics.

Jonas Vellesen's textbook *Norgis Soga aat Folkeskulen* [Norway's History for Primary Schools] from 1900, dedicates five pages to Olaf Haraldsson, with equal division between Olaf's origins and youth, his conversion of Gudbransdalen, the rebellion of the aristocracy, the battle of Stiklestad, and last but not least Olaf as a saint.[83] These divisions also dominate the 1910 and 1916 edition of Vellesen's textbooks, although in these two editions the author put an emphasis on the events involving Asbjørn Selsbane, and the dynastic politics in Norway in the late 1020s, as a contributing factor to the fall of Olaf. Another factor Vellesen emphasises as contributing to Olaf's fall is the death of Erling Skjalgson. Vellesen even goes as far as to state outright: 'Erling could have helped Olaf back on the throne, but now it was impossible.'[84] In this statement, Vellesen evaluates the misfortune of Olaf and the causes of his political decline as well as signposting the events which would take place at Stiklestad when he attempted to return. In contrast to Petersen, who does not refer to the internal politics that led to the fall of Olaf, Vellesen attempts to create a balance between the role of Cnut, and that of the local aristocracy.[85] Vellesen, however, points out that Cnut paid money to Olaf's enemies, a line that Petersen also

[80] Petersen, *Norges Historie.*, 34-37.
[81] Petersen and Storm, *Norges Historie.,* 19-20.
[82] Petersen and Storm, *Norges Historie.,* 18-21.
[83] Vellesen, *Norigs Soga.,* (1900), 25-30.
[84] 'Erling kunde kanske ha hjulpet Olav til riket igjen; men nu var der ingen raad.' J. Vellesen, *Norges Historie for Skole og Hjem* [Norwegian History for School and Home] (Kristiania, 1916), 38.
[85] J. Vellesen, *Norigs Soga for Skule og Heim* [Norwegian History for School and Home, Nynorsk edition] (Kristiania, 1910), 43.

uses,[86] but Vellesen goes into depth about how Olaf acquired these enemies through including the story of Asbjørn Selsbane and Erling Skjalgson.

Lødøen's textbooks from 1920 and 1921 both look at the Olaf narrative in a way that incorporates both the long and the short version, represented by Vellesen and Petersen. Although he includes the story of Asbjørn Selsbane and Erling Skjalgson's deaths, both are seen as additions to the main texts, as they are marked out from the main text with the signs, smaller print in the case of Asbjørn, and double margins in the case of Erling. Unlike other textbook authors Lødøen includes, although as additional reading, the story of Aelfgifu of Northampton and her policies in Norway, and how that influenced Olaf's popularity post mortem.[87] Lødøen focuses on the religious aspect of Olaf's life and politics in the 1920 edition of his book, whereas the 1921 edition, edited by Edvard Bull the Elder, highlights the interplay between high and low politics, the king and the people more than just the king and the aristocracy,[88] although this is incorporated into the existing narrative presented in the 1920 edition, with the same additional readings.

Sigurd Høst's textbook from 1924, is very much in tune with Lødøen's ideas and textbook with the exception that he does not distinguish between core and additional reading. The most significant change between Lødøen and Høst is that Høst insists on referring to Cnut as 'the Danish King Cnut' highlighting that Cnut was not a native king, but a foreigner ruling over Norway.[89] By doing this, he creates a link to the Danish union of the early modern period and introduces the memory of the period when Norway was only a province in the Danish kingdom, and the idea that Norwegians in this period were an unfree people under the Danish rule. Sigurd Høst also emphasises Erling Skjalgson's independent position in Norwegian politics at the time by calling him Rygekongen,[90] i.e. 'king of Ryge' (the modern county of Rogaland). By pointing out this vernacular title of Erling Skjalgson, Høst brings out the true nature of the political landscape of Norway during the reign of Olaf Haraldsson by highlighting how the aristocracy could easily function independently from the kingdom, and in many cases could assume the local position of a king. For Erling's political and financial position in Western Norway had its foundations in his ancestral position as Hersi, and his marriage to Olaf Tryggvason's sister; these two factors had contributed to Erling ruling Western Norway independently of the Danish and Swedish king after the battle of Svolder. Through these factors, Erling Skjalgson represents the very

[86] Petersen, *Norges Historie.*, 33.
[87] O.I.K. Lødøen, *Norigs Soge* [Norwegian history] (Kristiania, 1920), 41.
[88] O.I.K. Lødøen, *Norigs Soga* [Norwegian history] (Kristiania, 1921), 36.
[89] Høst, *Norges Historie.*, 26-7.
[90] Høst, *Norges Historie.*, 23.

independent and self-aware Norwegian aristocracy which had problems accepting Olaf's rule as he challenged their traditional way of life and shifted the balance of power among them.

In comparison to the earlier texts, Bernhard Stokke's textbook (1942) presents Olaf Haraldsson, not as Olaf Haraldsson, but as Olaf the Holy and emphasises the holy element of Olaf's life.[91] This shift in presentation, compared with all the earlier textbooks, which all use Olaf Haraldsson as the title of the section, suggests a focus on Olaf's religious politics and his sainthood. In fact, whereas Høst, Vellesen, and Lødøen all attempted to reflect parts of the political reasons behind Olaf's fall from power, Stokke does not even attempt to explain that aspect of Olaf's decline, he simply just claims it is all due to Olaf's strict execution of the new Christian laws. He specifically refers to them as 'St Olaf's Laws', through which he maintains the idea that Olaf's laws laid the foundations for the new Christian society in Norway.[92] Furthermore, Stokke's emphasis on the religious aspects is also evident in his subheading for the battle of Stiklestad, 'Olaf painted the cross with his blood',[93] a line that is not only found in the Norwegian national anthem but also in several of the sermons and speeches at the 900-year anniversary of the battle of Stiklestad celebrated in 1930.[94]

Tormod Knutson's *Saga om Folket Vårt* [The History of Our People] from 1935, gives the section on Olaf Haraldsson the title: 'The conversion of Norway' [95]and although the section is introduced with a reference to the religious legacy of Olaf, the section, as the title of the book suggests, predominantly focuses on the impact Olaf's reign had on the culture and lives of the ordinary peoples of Norway. Knutson also divides the section on Olaf's narrative into his political aims and boils the story down to the essence of Olaf, about whose politics he states:

> It was this aristocratic control of power Olaf wanted to end. Olaf wanted to challenge the aristocratic families by tying the great farmers and the peasants to him as a counterpart to the Nobles.[96]

---

[91] Stokke, *Folket Vårt.*, 46.
[92] Stokke, *Folket Vårt.*, 50.
[93] 'Olav malte korset med sitt blod.' Stokke, *Folket Vårt.*, 51.
[94] I. Hole, 'Intimasjonstale' [Speech], in O. Kolsrud (ed.), *Nidaros og Stiklestad; Olavs-jubileet; 1930 Minneskrift* [Nidaros and Stiklestad; the Olaf-jubilee 1930; a Memorial Text] (Oslo, 1937), 85.
[95] Knutson, *Saga.,* 43.
[96] 'Det var dette stormannsveldet Olav ville få ende på. Dei gamle Storættene vilde Olaf koma til livs ved å tydja seg til dei vanlege storbøndene.' Knutson, *Saga.,* 45.

Knutson, similar to Stokke, presents the political backdrop to Olaf's reign to introduce the chapter, but also to signpost the tension between the political factions that Olaf wanted to subdue.[97] Although Olaf's religious legacy is included in Knutson's chapter, the narrative also presents a very contemporary understanding and interpretation of Olaf in the 1930s, with the line: 'Norway was unified once more, and Olaf was the only king in the land.'[98] This idea of Olaf as the king who reunited Norway is a new addition to the textbooks in 1935. Although the idea is indirectly presented in the earlier textbooks, it had never before been stated outright in this manner. It is perhaps not remarkable that this statement appears in the 1935 textbook, as it embodied the ideas about Olaf Haraldsson that surfaced in 1930 surrounding the 900-year anniversary of the Battle of Stiklestad. The shared essence of this statement formed the foundation of Olaf's popularity in 1930, for Olaf had saved the state and the nation; he had also united it and cemented it into the Kingdom of Norway. This statement about Olaf's unification, combined with the conversion narrative presented by Knudsen mirror ideas that were presented to the Norwegian public in 1930 at the Stiklestad jubilee. Whereas textbooks by Wergeland, Lødøen, Vellesen, and Stokke all deal with Olaf's reign and politics in a somewhat chronological manner, Knutson chose to divide the account of Olaf thematically: first with Olaf the politician, and secondly with Olaf the missionary. Although the two are unquestionably interlinked in the text, Knudsen sets them up as two different explanations to the fall of Olaf. He achieves this by the drawing on Olaf's personality and his behaviour in the contemporary context, and says: 'To show mercy and kindness towards your enemies was unknown among the ancient Norwegians.'[99] In this, Knudsen acknowledges that the ideals of Christianity did not apply to the political aspects of the

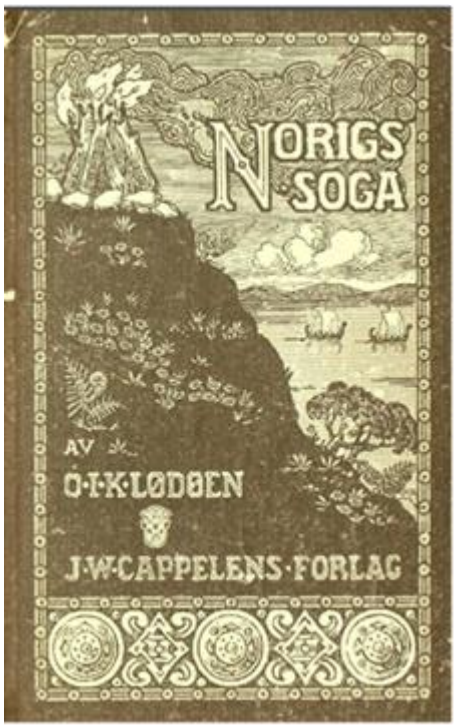


Figure 2: O.I.K. Lødøen, *Norigs Soga*, (1921), front cover.

[97] Knutson, *Saga.,* 43.
[98] 'So var Noreg paa nytt samla til eitt rike, og Olav var einaste kongen I helie landet.' Knutson, *Saga.,* 44.
[99] 'Aa syna miskund og mildskap mot fiendar var heller ukjent hjaa dei gamle Nordmenn.' Knutson, *Saga.,* 46.

conversion under Olaf Haraldsson. Knutson also goes on to accept that the conversion process took time and that the construction of churches initiated by Olaf after the establishing of the new Christian laws might have taken several centuries.[100] By including this commentary on the narrative, Knudsen deviates from the clear norm of textbooks in the period. He not only adds clarifying commentary on the narrative itself, but through this he also represents a break away from the close relationship with *Heimskringla* and its narrative which until this point had dominated the textbooks. Yet as Bernhard Stokke's textbook shows, this break from the domination of the saga narrative is not visible in textbooks from the period of this study. Although Knudsen's commentary did not have an impact on contemporary textbooks, his commentary provides a valuable insight into the ideas and focus points in history teaching at the end of the 1930s.

3.6. The Viking Ships and their Presentations in Textbooks

We encounter the interpretation and presentation of Viking ships in chapter 4, below, but the use of these ships in textbooks is worth noting here, as it shows the pace at which they became incorporated into medieval history teaching. Two Viking ships sailing on a fjord decorated the cover of Lødøen's 1921 *Norigs Soga* [Norwegian history] (see
2) as symbols of the Norwegian nation,[101] previous textbooks had displayed the Norwegian Parliament,[102] the Cathedral in Trondheim,[103] and Haraldshaugen in Haugesund,[104] all embodying important elements of the Norwegian nation. Whereas the Viking ships only decorate the front cover of the textbooks in 1921, their first introduction in the main text body of the textbooks appears in 1920, when Lødøen explored the Gokstad and Oseberg ship in the context of pre-Christian religion and burial customs in Norway.

Within this section, Lødøen narrates the discovery of the Gokstad and Oseberg burials, and what the mounds had contained. However, when Lødøen wrote of the Oseberg ship, he made sure to mention that the occupant of the grave was a Queen, who was buried with a maid. Lødøen suggested 'perhaps it was Åse, mother of Halfdan the Black.'[105] With this single comment, although written in brackets, he openly linked the ships to the narrative of the Norwegian kingdom, and to the unification process. Furthermore, the text

[100] Knutson, *Saga.,* 47.
[101] Lødøen, *Norigs Soga.,* (1921), Front cover.
[102] Vellesen, *Norigs Soga.,* (1900), Front cover.
[103] S. Petersen, *Norges Historie: Mindre Utgave for Folkeskolen* [Norway's History: Smaller Edition for Schools] (Kristiania, 1897) Front cover.
[104] S. Petersen, *En liden Norges Historie for de Første Gegyndere* [A small History of Norway for Beginners] (Kristiania, 1889), Front cover.
[105] Lødøen, *Norigs Soga*., (1920), 12-13.

which talked about the Viking ships was set in a smaller font, as seen above, this was Lødøen's method for supplementing the primary narrative with additional readings closely related to the primary narrative of the nation's history. This shifting font helped the schools select the material appropriate for their time tables. Thus, we cannot say how far the idea, of Åsa, Halfdan the Black's mother, as the Oseberg Queen might have reached. To illustrate the importance of the Oseberg burial, a picture of the Oseberg wagon (see figure 1 above, p. 93 was included in the textbook alongside the accounts of the ships,[106] this might have helped schools that were far from the capital, and unable to visit the Viking ships where they were displayed, to see the splendour of the burial, and connect with the historical importance of the find.

As Norwegian history textbooks only explore the Viking s in the context of burial customs in the pre-Christian period, their focus is on linking these graves and their content to the development of modern Norway. They are the only archaeological discovery that is identified geographically in the context of pre-unification history in these textbooks. By locating the Oseberg and Gokstad discoveries within the landscape and within the territory of the modern nation, Lødøen draws focus to this particular site and the narrative connected with it. In doing this, Lødøen in many ways re-emphasises the idea that Vestfold is the cradle of the Norwegian kingdom.

3.7. Reflecting the Medieval in the 'Modern'/Contemporary State

Whereas the textbooks between 1830 and 1942 all have minor variations of their presentation of Harald Fairhair, Olaf Tryggvason and Olaf Haraldsson, there are much clearer variations in the references to the medieval within the modern sections of the textbooks. Although the medieval anniversaries discussed in chapter 5 are contemporary with many of the textbooks, these events are not included in them. Some events that make reference to the medieval period such as the political developments of 1814 are included. Elements of 1814 that are highlighted in the textbooks, all of which are published after this event, vary greatly. On one end of the scale is Lødøen, whose 12th edition of *Norges Historie* stated that after signing the constitution the leader of the national assembly said:

[106] Lødøen, *Norigs Soga*., (1920), 13.

'Norway's old throne is, established again from where Haakon [Haakon Adelstansfostri] and Sverri ruled the kingdom with wisdom and power. God Bless Old Norway!'[107]

At the other end of the timescale, Henrik Wergeland introduces the events in 1814 with the line: 'Norway's resurrection'.[108] He continues with an account of the political circumstances of the 1814 constitution and an overview of the essence of the law. Similarly, Vellesen's account of the same events is more like that presented by Lødøen. Vellesen even included the same quotation of Georg Sverdrup.[109] Unlike both Wergeland and Lødøen, Siegwart Petersen did not refer to any element of the medieval past in relation to the events in 1814 in his *Norges Historie; Mindre utgave for Folkeskolen* [Norway's History; Smaller Edition for the School for the Common School] from 1897, nor did he refer to it in his *Norges Historie; Læse og Lærebog for Almue- og borgerskole* [Norway's history: reading book for the common- and bourgeoisie-schools] from 1881. Yet both Petersen, Vellesen, and Lødøen reference the memory of the medieval and the importance of Norway's medieval history in their contemporary society through the inclusion of images and references to *Haraldshaugen*, the monument that was erected in 1872 to commemorate the 1000-year anniversary of Harald Fairhair's victory at the battle of Hafrsfjord in 872.[110] These direct references to a monument of commemoration suggest that textbooks functioned, as previously suggested, as instruments encouraging the people to love their nation and history. Those references can also be seen as the manifestation of the cult of the glorious Middle Ages that is presented in these textbooks through the detailed accounts of the deeds of the Viking and medieval kings of Norway. These references, together with stricter control of textbooks introduced by the Norwegian government from 1910 onwards, suggest that these medievalist references were government-approved and can thus be seen as part of the official historical narrative for the nation. The pictures and references to Haraldshaugen can this be seen as a manifestation of the national re-awakening the textbooks refer to when assessing the nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries. Or as Jonas Vellesen stated it in the introduction to his 1910 edition of *Norigs soga for skule og heim* [Norway's History for the School and the Home];

---

[107] 'Reist er igjen Norges gamle kongestol, hvorfra Adelstener og Sverrer styrte riket med visdom og kraft. Gud bevare gamle Norge!' Lødøen, *Norges Historie med Bilder.*, 114.
[108] 'Norges Gjenopreisnings Tid.' Wergeland, *Udtog fra Norges Historie.,* 61
[109] Vellesen, *Norigs Soga.*, (1910), 133.
[110] Petersen, *Norges Historie.*, 13-14; Lødøen, *Norges Historie med Bilder.*, 135; Vellesen, *Norigs Soga.*, (1910), 22-23.

> In the light, there is warmth, and that warmth that comes from knowing one's ancestral history is Patriotic or nationalistic love. To awaken that love is the most important task of the national history. If one is to reach that goal, one has to tell the stories in a way so they connect together and the reader can emotionally connect with it, so that the reader can see how our people lived in the good times and the bad. Then the school children will not stay unaffected by the story of their ancestors. The children will then share in the pain of their ancestors as well as their joy.[111]

Here Vellesen is stating, as Siegwart Petersen did in his 1897 introduction, that the aim of the textbook is to encourage patriotism and widespread knowledge of the 'Fatherland'. This knowledge could be developed on the basis of familiarity with the rise and fall of the heroes of the Norwegian history: the kings who defined the Norwegian history and laid the foundations of the Norwegian nation.

3.8. Conclusion

It is evident that as the control of the Norwegian education system increased over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, so did the control over educational content. Moreover, as a direct result of this the specific subjects develop and take shape over the course of this period. Norwegian history textbooks started their lives as a sub-section of a civics class to instruct the students in the structures of the state, but developed into an independent self-standing subject that had its own content, guidelines and curriculum. Over the course of this development, there were textbooks in history available on the market since 1836, but the content of these books was not regulated by the state until the advent of the national curriculum in 1922. Textbooks cannot, therefore, be seen as a fully normative source for the teaching of history in Norwegian society. Textbooks prior to 1922 reflected contemporary historical research just as much as the ideas of the history authors about what served as good stories to include in the national narrative. This is especially evident in how different authors included different stories to illustrate how Olaf Haraldsson, through his own policies, caused his own downfall, or how they explained the causes of Olaf Tryggvason's popularity and fall. This is evident in the way Ragnhild's dream is presented in textbooks for secondary education in the 1920s and 30s, but also the

[111] 'I eit ljos er det varme, og den varmen som fylgjer med aa sjaa federne i det rette ljoset, er fedrelandselsk. Aa kveikja denne elsken, er det vigtugaste fyremaalet med fedrelandssoga. Skal ein naa det maalet, lyt ein segja sogorne med samhug og hekta deim i hop soleis at det kjem greidt fram, korleis det hev gjenge folket vaart ned igjenom tiderne, i vonde som i gode dagar. Daa karm skuleungdomen ikkje vera like sæl. anten det gjeng ille eller vel; men han liver liksom med federne vaare; det gjer han vondt, naar det gjeng ned med deim, og han er glad, naar det gjeng upp.' Vellesen, *Norigs Soga.*, 2.

elements of the Norwegian society that were emphasised in the context of the kings debated above. However, although textbooks prior to 1922 cannot be considered normative sources for a prescribed history of the nation taught at schools, it is possible to deduce from the material presented above that there was great continuity in the trends presented within these books throughout the long nineteenth century. This continuity has its roots in the Norse literature's, and especially in *Heimskringla's,* ability to support the idea of a Norwegian state and the Norwegian people as one nation. This continuity and national narrative was created, explored, adapted and maintained by historians such as Schøning over the course of the long nineteenth century and this research has clear links to the national history presented in contemporary textbooks. The most significant adaptations to the national history by contemporary research and historians are the highlighting of the role of the people in the 1921 textbook by Lødøen, which was edited by Edvard Bull, a Marxist historian. Another example is how Jonas Vellesen, supported by Ernst Sars, highlighted an evolutionary history in his presentation of Olaf Haraldsson to include references to Olaf's importance as a saint as well as a king. Similarly, the presentation of Olaf Haraldsson in Stokke's book from 1942 also encompassed contemporary ideas by focusing on Olaf the saint.

In this context, it is clear that although the use of the textbooks and the status of history in Norwegian schools had developed over the years, the content of the books mostly stayed the same, with minor changes in emphasis of different political issues during the king's reign. Most important are the clear links between the interpretations and ideas presented in the textbooks and their contemporary historical research and national politics. However, as is evident in the case of Haraldshaugen, the textbooks are also testament to the understanding and love for the medieval origins of the nation, an origin rooted in history that needed to be presented to the children so that they could develop a love for their homeland. On the basis of the print run of Jonas Vellesen's *Norigs Soga for Skule og heim* [Norway's History for the School and the Home] (1910) and Siegwart Petersen's *Norges historie læse og lærebog for almue- og borgerskolen* [Norway's history: reading book for the common- and bourgeoisie-schools] (1881), which had 40,000 and 122,000 copies printed respectively, it can be suggested that textbooks like these were key elements in the formation of the Norwegian population's understanding of the Norwegian past, and the origins of the nation between 1832 and 1942. This is especially significant considering the dramatic increase in education opportunities established in the nineteenth century. It is therefore desirable to compare the presentations of these three kings in the textbooks with

how they are remembered at national and regional events of commemorations celebrating events that ‘saved’ the Norwegian nation, and lay the foundations for the Norwegian state.

Chapter 4: Museums, Ships and Objects: Displaying and Reading the Past.

4.1. Introduction

In 1852, a group of workers constructing a road stumbled upon the remains of a Viking age ship burial at Borre, a site connected with Harald Fairhair in *Heimskringla*. Although the remains of the ship were insignificant in comparison to the later discoveries at Oseberg or Gokstad, these vessels may have helped manifest the image of Viking ships into the cultural consciousness in both Norway and abroad. Throughout the centuries, ships have played a significant role in Norwegian society both as tools for fishing and transportation but also for commerce and war due to the practical element that it is easier to sail or row over a fjord than to walk around it, but the nineteenth century saw a renewed interest in this maritime heritage and the Viking vessels were a key part in this. Norwegian geography was the reason Stortinget established a postal route along the coast from Halden to Kirkenes; this developed into the modern Hurtigruten.[1] Whereas the nineteenth-century steamboat routes around Norway represent the structural unification of modern Norway and the state overcoming its geographical challenges, the medieval *leidang* ships accounted for in *Heimskringla* and other sources were seen to represent both the defence and the institutional unification of Norway,[2] as discussed below. In the pre-unification and early kingdom of Norway ships were important symbols highlighting financial and political centralisation and dominance as demonstrated by Olaf Trygvasson's commission of the longship *Ormr in Langi*.[3] This account testifies to the cost of the construction of such ships and their importance in early medieval Norway. The modern rediscovery of Viking ships at Borre, Tune, Gokstad and Oseberg bridged the gap between the textual references to ships like *Ormr in Langi* and the use of ships along the Norwegian coast in the modern world with real objects and testaments to the skill and power embedded in these objects and the continuous use of ships along the coast.

This chapter will explore the use of museums and objects in the creation of a Norwegian imagined community. It will especially focus on the presentation and reception of the Viking ships and their interpretation in relation to Norwegian history. Through this exploration, it will highlight how museums were tools in the creation of a Norwegian

[1] K.J. Hovde, 'Hurtigruta' in *SNL*, https://snl.no/Hurtigruta.
[2] P. Norseng, 'Leidang' in *SNL*, https://snl.no/leidang.
[3] *HFF*, 209; O. Crumlin-Pedersen and B. Munch Thye (eds.), *The ship as Symbol in Prehistoric and Medieval Scandinaiva* (Copenhagen, 1995).

nation, as well as how they created and presented a social and cultural memory of the origins of the nation in a similar manner to the textbooks explored in the previous chapter. The three Norwegian Viking Ships which this chapter will engage with are the Tune Ship the Oseberg Ship and the Gokstad Ship.[4] They are today the pride and joy of the Norwegian Kingdom and are now in the Viking Ship Museum in Oslo. These ships have been an integral part of the Norwegian identity since their discovery and connect the modern Norwegian state with Norway's roots in the Viking Age.

A well-established trail of literature has explored the potential role of objects in the context of memory; a wider discussion of the theory is therefore necessary to contextualise the Norwegian case study below. Building on the ideas of Pierre Nora about the use of objects and sites in the construction and maintenance of memory, an edited volume by Siân Jones, Paul Graves-Brown and Shaun Hides stressed how archaeological objects can hold an important place in the cultural identity of nations, and other social groups.[5] Similarly, Geoffrey Cubitt argues that social groups can use objects and events as gateways for mnemonic reflection on their identity and existence.[6] As such, objects endowed with this mnemonic ability have to be both commonly known to the group and must have been selected to represent important elements of the imagined community that constitutes the group. Through the use of these objects and mnemonic activities connected to their use, social groups can produce and reproduce memories of their past, both imagined and real. It is in this process they create and maintain an invented tradition, and an imagined community.[7] By studying how reflection over the Viking ships was facilitated in Norway through the display and interpretation of these objects to the public, this study is able to see how museums and the scholars connected to it used their historical research and the contemporary historical understanding to explain and present these ships in the wider context of Norwegian history. Like other important archaeological finds of the last two centuries, such as Sutton Hoo in Britain,[8] and Preslav in Bulgaria,[9] the objects found in the boat burials excavated at Tune, Gokstad, and Oseberg offered scholars tangible objects and interpretations that could underpin the histories of their nation and their peoples. It is

[4] G. Williams, P. Pents, M. Wemhoff (Eds.) *Vikings Life and Legend* (London, 2014) 223.
[5] P. Graves-Brown, S. Jones and C. Gamble (Eds.), *Cultural Identity and Archaeology: Construction of European Communities* (London, 1996).
[6] G. Cubitt, *History and Memory* (Manchester, 2007), 195.
[7] Cubitt, *History.,* 193.
[8] A. Care Evans, *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial* (London, 1986) 9.
[9] F. Curta, 'With brotherly love: The Czech beginnings of medieval archaeology in Bulgaria and Ukraine', in P. Geary and G Klaniczay (Eds.), *Manufacturing Middle Ages: Entangled history of Medievalism in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Leiden, 2013), 378.

through this use and presentation that these ships and objects became symbols of the collective identity and imagined community of the Norwegian nation. Similar use of archaeological finds or objects is evident among other nationalist movements or emerging states in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Among these, the goal was to use these objects to highlight the origins of the nation and justify their existence. Péter Langó has pointed out that the find of the treasure of Nagyszentmikló in Hungary, alongside the return of objects from the Royal Treasury in Vienna, became symbols of the restored Hungarian nation in the second half of the nineteenth century.[10] In Bulgaria archaeological evidence was used to create a cultural continuation from the Old Bulgars to the modern Bulgarian state and through that an argument that the Bulgarians were a Slavic people, not a Turkish people thus differentiating the Bulgarians from the Ottoman Empire and the Turks.[11]

As highlighted by these few examples, archaeology, in the same ways as history, has fuelled the nationalistic movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Moreover, archaeological objects have a stronger impact on the imagination and sense of belonging to a group identity than texts. Unlike texts, objects displayed in museums, photographed, printed on postcards, in textbooks or on stamps and money are tangible and widely available links to the history of the nation. Through this, these objects became symbols of the imagined community, and a link to the community's legendary 'Golden Age', a historical period when the nation, kingdom or community was perceived to have been at its height. In addition to being a window and link to that particular golden age of the community, archaeological finds, such as the Viking ships, become objects that embody elements of the cultural memory of that specific community, through which the constant exposure to these objects strengthens the link to the imagined community that shares the ownership of these objects. With these principles in mind, the following discussion will address the discovery and excavations of the Viking ships; the interpretations and display of these objects; and the early use of these ships in national marketing and the simultaneous international interest into the ships; the re-assessment of the ships and the reactions against the early use and interpretations of the Viking ships.

[10] P. Langó, 'The Study of Archaeological finds of the Tenth-century Carpathian basin as National Archaeology: early Nineteenth-Century views', in P. Geary and G Klaniczay (Eds.), *Manufacturing Middle Ages: Entangled History of Medievalism in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Leiden, 2013), 399, 401.

[11] S. Detchev, 'Between Slavs and Old Bulgars "Ancestors", "Race" and Identity in late Nineteenth-Century Bulgaria', in P. Geary and G Klaniczay (Eds.), *Manufacturing Middle Ages,* 375.

4.2. Discovery and Excavations of the Viking Ships

Alongside the developments of a museum collection in modern day Oslo, three key developments took place in Norwegian society over the course of the long nineteenth century that contextualised the presentation and interpretations given to the Viking ships. Those were:

1. The establishment in 1844 of a national association working for the preservation of national monuments.
2. The restoration of surviving medieval buildings throughout Norway.
3. The accidental excavation of one of the mounds in the Borre field.

These three developments shaped and, in many ways, represented the relationship between the academic elite, the Parliament, and the past in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The association for the preservation of national monuments, *Fortidsminneforeningen*, was founded in 1844 by J.C. Dahl, Professor of Art, following a long struggle to preserve Vang stave church.[12] Dahl joined forces with historian Rudolf Keyser,[13] the Danish architect Johan Henrik Nebelong,[14] the artists Adolph Tidemand[15] and Joachim Frich;[16] the last four were elected together with Dahl the first committee of *Fortidsminneforeningen* [Association for the Preservation of Antiquities]. Alongside Keyser, P.A. Munch,[17] historian and archaeologist Oluf Rygh (1833-1899), archaeologist Ingvald Undset (1853-96),[18] Siegwart Petersen (1823-78),[19] and Sophus Bugge (1833-1907),[20] Professor of Indo-European languages at the University of Oslo and saga translator, can be found among the earliest members of the organisation.[21]

In a publication celebrating the first 50 years of the association, Nicolay Nicolaysen suggested that *Fortidsminneforeningen* and its ideas had its roots in and embodied the

---

[12] N. Nicolaysen, *Foreningen til Norske Fortidsmindesmærkers bevaring 1844-1894* [Norwegian Society for the Preservation of Antiquities] (Kristiania, 1894), 4; F.E. Haverkamp, 'J.C. Dahl', in *SNL* https://snl.no/J._C._Dahl

[13] See above, page 44.

[14] O.P. Bjerkek, 'Johan Henrik Nebelong', in *SNL* https://snl.no/Johan_Henrik_Nebelong

[15] F.E. Haverkamp, 'Adolph Tidemand', in *SNL* https://snl.no/Adolph_Tidemand

[16] I. Ydstie, 'Joachim Frich', in *NBL* https://nbl.snl.no/Joachim_Frich

[17] See above, page 41.

[18] B. Solberg, 'Ingvald Undset' in *NBL,* https://nbl.snl.no/Ingvald_Undset.

[19] T. Bratberg, 'Siegwart Blumenthal Petersen', in *NBL* http://nbl.snl.no/Siegwart_Blumenthal_Petersen, see above, page 91.

[20] E.F. Halvorsen, 'Sophus Bugge' in *NBL,* https://nbl.snl.no/Sophus_Bugge.

[21] H.J. Simonsen, 'Sophus Bugge', in *SNL* https://snl.no/Sophus_Bugge.

Romantic Movement of the nineteenth century.[22] As such, *Fortidsminneforeningen* was a network for people interested in Norwegian history, especially the preservation of the ancient monuments. The early works of the association included both the excavation and stabilisation of Norway's known medieval monasteries and ruined churches and the restoration and preservation of several of the stave churches. In addition to this, the Association saw it as its task to excavate and bring out of the ground evidence of the people's cultural condition in ages past.[23] Nicolaysen calculated that, as a consequence of these aims, by 1894 *Fortidsminneforeningen* had assisted in the planning and excavation of approximately 1,000 burial mounds throughout Norway, including the excavations that revealed the Tune and Gokstad ships.[24] *Fortidsminneforeningen* saw the need to acquire many of the properties they excavated, studied and restored, so that they would be protected from destruction and preserved for the future; this included the monument at Stiklestad, erected in 1807,[25] and the monument at Haraldshaugen outside Haugesund.[26] The relationship between the preservation work led by *Fortidsminneforeningen* and the rebuilding of medieval monumental buildings restored and preserved what was left of the visible traces of the origins of the Norwegian nation. This relationship forms the wider context of the re-discovery of Viking age through and the exploration the burial mounds at Borre and the excavations at Tune, Gokstad and Oseberg.

As mentioned above, the 1852 discovery uncovered a string of rusty iron nails, presumably from a long lost ship, and was located inside the northernmost mound at Borre. Borre lay in Vestfold on the western shore of Oslofjorden with 30 pre-Christian burial mounds known at the 1852 excavation, later research has revealed another 20 mounds pushing the total to 50 mounds.[27] The aforesaid accidental discovery came to the attention of a local teacher who promised a reward to the workers if they could produce more finds for him. Anton Wilhelm Brøgger (1884-1951), Professor of Nordic Archaeology at the University of Oslo, states with regret that this initiative had destroyed more than it had produced, as the consequence of the promised reward was that the workers damaged

[22] Nicolaysen, *Foreningen til Norske.*, 3.
[23] Nicolaysen, *Foreningen til Norske.*, 6-7.
[24] Nicolaysen, *Foreningen til Norske.*, 7, 13.
[25] Nicolaysen, *Foreningen til Norske.*, 9; Stiklestad Nasjonal Kultursenter, 'Olavsstøtte', http://stiklestad.no/historie/omradet/olavsstotta/, (viewed: 06.01.2015).
[26] H-E. Lidén, *Fra Antikvitet til Kulturminne: trekk av Kulturminnevernets Historie i Norge* [From Antiquities to Cultural Memory: Elements of the History of Preservation in Norway] (Oslo, 1991), 73.
[27] B. Solberg, 'Borrehaugene' [The Borre mounds] in *SNL* https://snl.no/Borrehaugene.

items due to their excitement. [28] Nonetheless, the finds were important and they were later given to the museum collection at the University of Oslo, and the mound was re-examined by Nicolay Nicolaysen and Rudolf Keyser in May 1852.[29] Nicolay Nicolaysen (1817-1911), one of the leading figures in *Fortidsminneforeningen*, worked from 1860 as state antiquarian in Norway, a post which made him responsible for the preservation and restoration of historical monuments and objects in the kingdom.[30] When Brøgger examined Nicolaysen's excavation report in 1916, he was neither impressed with their work, nor with the conclusions drawn from the excavation by Nicolaysen and Keyser. Brøgger was especially critical of the interpretations of the size of the ship remains discovered.[31] Brøgger acknowledged that this excavation did not have the best of foundations, as the road works had heavily damaged the mound and left it collapsed, and that this was one of the first mounds Nicolaysen excavated in his career, and at that point neither he nor Keyser knew how the mound was constructed.[32] Based on the excavation report Brøgger gendered the burial inside the mound as male and linked it to one of the kings of the Ynglinga dynasty in Vestfold.[33] This identification is significant for the discussion below.

It was not until 1867 that the subsequent ship burial was discovered and excavated. In the summer of that year a group of workers removing soil from a mound outside Fredrikstad found what looked to be a vessel of some sort(see appendix 5 for location), resulting in Professor Olaf Rygh stopping the digging and examining the mound from an archaeological perspective, assisted by the University of Christiania's Collection of Antiquities. The mound contained what became known as the Tune ship, the smallest of the preserved Viking ships in Norway. Although the surviving elements of the ship were relatively small, Rygh estimated the mounds to be among the largest surviving mounds, with a diameter of 80 meters. The excavation uncovered a male inhumation grave, but with the exception of a shield boss, a sword and a spearhead, and the bones of a man and a horse, most of the objects deposited in the burial had disintegrated beyond recovery. Like the mound-burials at Borre, Tune had been disturbed and robbed soon after its construction. Gutorm Gjessing (1906-1979), archaeologist and museum conservator of the

[28] A.W. Brøgger, *Borrefundet og Vestfold-kongernes graver*, [The Borre Find and the Burials of the Vestfold kings] (Kristiania, 1916), 1.
[29] Brøgger, *Borrefundet*., 2.
[30] B. Solberg, 'Nicolay Nicolaysen' in *NBL* https://nbl.snl.no/Nicolay_Nicolaysen.
[31] Brøgger, *Borrefundet*., 2.
[32] Brøgger, *Borrefundet*., 3.
[33] Brøgger, *Borrefundet*., 4.

University of Oslo's Collection of Antiquities, highlighted the evidence of this in his 1948 guidebook for the Viking ship collection when establishing the relationship between the Vestfold graves and Tune.[34]

In 1880, the Gokstad ship was discovered when a group of locals started digging on their own initiative on a mound locally known as *Kongshaugen* [the King's mound][35] where a local legend suggested a king was buried. The work was halted until Nicolaysen could join the project and under his direction, the excavation was conducted according to the standards of the age. Before the excavation, the mound had measured a diameter of 50 metres, smaller than that holding the Tune ship, but the internal layers of clay had helped preserve the organic materials within the mound. The excavation produced a substantial number of finds, including the Gokstad ship with its burial chamber equipped for a man of princely status. The bones of this man, who was presumed to be a king, were found lying in a tent-like chamber at the back of the boat, dressed in his finest clothing and equipped with weapons and animals suitable for a man of his standing, including a peacock, a bird not native to Scandinavia, highlighting this man's wealth and prestige.[36] Although Gokstad was the richest and best preserved Viking burial to that date in Norway, the ship and the burial had been plundered soon after its construction.

Information about another burial mound at Oseberg-Ødegaard, not far from Borre and Gokstad(see appendix 5 for location), reached the archaeologists at the University in Kristiania in 1903, resulting in a large-scale excavation of the site the following summer. During the 1904 dig the mound was examined and it produced another ship burial containing the grave of a woman. Of the three mounds revealing whole or large segments of ships, the Oseberg mound was by far the smallest in diameter, at only 40 metres, but was constructed entirely by peat that had hermetically sealed the mound and preserved its content.[37] The peat had unfortunately crushed most of the interior into pieces due to its weight and, like the other mounds, the Oseberg mound had been visited by grave robbers early on in its history. Despite this, the excavated mound produced numbers of objects of cultural and historical significance for the understanding and interpretations of political developments in early medieval Norway. It would be these discoveries and items that

[34] Gjessing, *Vikingskipsfunnene*., 4; A. M. Klausen, 'Gutorm Gjessing', in *NBL* https://nbl.snl.no/Gutorm_Gjessing.
[35] Translates to King's mound.
[36] Gjessing, *Vikingskipsfunnene*., 5.
[37] Gjessing, *Vikingskipsfunnene*., 6.

contributed to the interpretations of the Viking ships in the early years after their discoveries.

4.3. Early Interpretations of the Viking Ships

This next section will explore the early interpretations of these burials, particularly focusing on how Brøgger attempted to identify the individuals to whom these ships had belonged. The section will not only explore these identifications but also assess the methodology used to undertake these original identifications. In Scandinavia the early age of archaeology, like the development of history as an academic discipline as discussed in chapter 2, was influenced by the Romantic Movement and the rise of nationalism. Where nationalists sought a historical confirmation in the Norse literature for their claims and narratives, archaeologists used the sagas to guide them through the Scandinavian landscape. These antiquarian activities are comparable to developments in other parts of Europe, including Britain and Ireland,[38] but they are most closely comparable with Iceland. Adolf Friðriksson commented about the early years of Icelandic discipline of archaeology:

> In archaeology information is sought from many disciplines and from numerous sources that are not simply artefacts or ruins of structures […] In Icelandic archaeology references to medieval literature are common. It can be said with some justification that most archaeological finds in Iceland date to historical times, when abundant written sources seem to allow the reconstruction of earlier events.[39]

The circumstances in Icelandic archaeology of dating close to the date of the earliest written records of both Iceland and mainland Scandinavia are comparable with the situation found in other early medieval sites throughout Scandinavia. Furthermore, as Iceland had been settled in the ninth and tenth centuries the relationship between text, objects and culture was closer and more lasting in Iceland than in other parts of Scandinavia, where the cultural memory had not been quite as detailed. This allowed archaeologists a comparative source to examine their finds and to understand the meaning imbued in them by their original users and owners. However, Friðriksson shows in his study that the early antiquarians and archaeologists used references from the sagas and early literature, such as *Landnámabók*, in their studies to identify sites.[40] This detailed geographical knowledge is also relevant to *Heimskringla*, both illustrating the geographical knowledge of Norway, which Snorri acquired after his journey to Norway in the first

[38] J. Waddell, *Foundation Myths: The Beginnings of Irish Archaeology* (Bray, 2005), 58.
[39] Adolf Friðriksson, *Sagas and Popular Antiquarianism in Icelandic Archaeology* (Aldershot, 1994), 1.
[40] Adolf, *Sagas and Popular*., 2.

decades of the thirteenth century, and the knowledge preserved in the skaldic poetry which Snorri used in his *Heimskringla*. Snorri's geographical knowledge about some localities in Norway is evident in his description of the location of Harald Fairhair's burial mound:

> He is buried in a mound at Haugar by Karmsund. In Haugasund there stands a church, and by the very churchyard wall to the north-west is Haraldr hárfagri's mound. To the west of the church lies King Haraldr's tombstone, which lay over his tomb in the mound, and the stone is thirteen and a half feet long and nearly two ells broad. King Haraldr's tomb was in the middle of the mound.[41]

Similarly his description of the burial mounds at Borre and the account of who were buried in what mound also suggests considerable detailed knowledge of the local geography and folklore, although this knowledge may originate from the oral memory of the region and its antiquarian knowledge. However, it was these references in *Heimskringla* that contributed to the identification by Brøgger of the Borre cemetery as the burial site of the Norwegian/Vestfold branch of the Ynglinga Dynasty, the ancestral dynasty of Harald Fairhair.[42]

This reliance on the medieval literature to support and maintain the national narrative and the national community is evident in the historical project of Norwegian historians of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. This methodology gave Brøgger and other contemporary scholars the intellectual framework for interpreting the Norwegian Viking graves in relation to the saga literature. This archaeological tradition of reading the finds in the context of the Norse literature is evident in the interpretation of the Gokstad discovery.

The Gokstad skeleton was identified by Jacob Heiberg at the University of Christiania as a man in his 50s with clear evidence of arthritis. This evidence had correlations with information preserved in Snorri's *Heimskringla* and through this it became apparent to the early investigators in their identification that the bones had belonged to King Olaf Geirstaðaálfr, Harald Fairhair's paternal uncle. Alongside the skeleton the remains of several animals were found:[43] these animal bones were used to suggest the social, political and economic standing the Gokstad chieftain. It was estimated that the Gokstad mound was built year 900, making it contemporary with both the Tune ship and the reign of Harald Fairhair. This correlation pointed to plausible family links between Harald and the Gokstad man in the eyes of Brøgger.

---

[41] *HFF,* 86.
[42] Brøgger, *Borrefundet*., 25.
[43] Gjessing, *Vikingskipsfunnene*., 6-8.

Furthermore, the correlations between the Gokstad discovery and information found in the *Heimskringla* suggested to Brøgger that the burial mounds in Vestfold and at Borre had the potential for containing some precious objects, and might be occupied by prominent members of the local Ynglinga dynasty. The Ynglinga dynasty's link to the Fairhair dynasty indirectly made Vestfold the birthplace of Norway. Through this link, Brøgger argued, the Oslo fjord area can be seen as an integral part of Norway. This is a significant divergence from other historical traditions. *Heimskringla* itself reveals that the Oslo fjord region was disputed territory between the Ynglinga/Fairhair Dynasty and the kings of Denmark. Sverre Bagge and Torgrim Titlestad have suggested that this part of modern Norway might originally have been a part of the Danish sphere of influence until the mid-eleventh century.[44] *Heimskringla* itself hints at this in chapter 15 in *Olaf's Saga Tryggvasonar*, where it states:

> The king of the Danes [Harald Gormson] sailed his fleet from the south into the Vík, and all the people of the country submitted to him. And when he came to Túnsberg, large numbers thronged to him.[45]

The same saga later states in chapter 113 that Harald Gormson's son Swein Forkbeard took possession of the same area following Olaf Tryggvason's defeat at the Battle of Svolder. Snorri states:

> King Sveinn of the Danes now still had the Vík, as he had had before, but he gave Jarl Eiríkr Raumaríki and Heiðmǫrk.[46]

In this statement, Snorri indicated that there is a continuous presence of Danish authority in the south-east of Norway from the middle of the tenth century until Olaf Haraldson's succession in 1015.

Even though he was aware of this evidence, Brøgger argued in 1916 that the graves at Borre could be identified, and belonged to named Norwegian kings in Vestfold. Behind this argument were uncritical readings of *Ynglingatal* and the first chapters of *Heimskringla* confirming Vestfold's integral place in the Norwegian kingdom. Brøgger's positive attitude to the sagas in many ways reflects those of Munch and Keyser, who had accepted *Heimskringla* as the true history of the early kings of Norway, , rather than his contemporaries Ernst Sars and Edvard Bull, who both were cautious in their use of the saga

[44] S. Bagge, *From Viking Stronghold to Christian Kingdom* (Copenhagen, 2010), 25; T. Titlestad, *Norge I Vikingtid* [Norway in the Viking Age] (Hafrsfjord, 2011), 57-8.
[45] *HFF*, 147.
[46] *HFF*, 233.

material as they believed the sagas to be reflections of later memories of the events described in the text.[47]

In his 1916 *Borrefundet og Vestfold-kongernes graver* [The Borre Find and the burials of the Vestfold kings], Brøgger claims that he finds the mounds at Borre interesting due to their size, as well as the possibility of what they may contain when he compared them to the Oseberg and Gokstad mounds.[48] Brøgger reflects that in a period where the general tendency of burials in Scandinavia was a move towards smaller or unmarked graves, these mounds are a statement of the importance of these burial mounds. This is to him a trend visible in both these mounds, but also their contemporaries at Uppsala and Jelling.[49] Brøgger noted that, compared to other known burial mounds in Norway, the Borre field and Vestfold in particular were in an exceptional situation where the archaeological evidence could be compared with a historical narrative and textual evidence preserved in the Norse literature giving the researchers the opportunity to explore the origins of these mounds as well as the political and cultural context in which built them.[50] Brøgger furthermore noted:

> It is interesting to examine the Borre Field in this context. With redoubled strength, we may point to and claim that it to some extent could provide the key to understanding its historical setting. When the isolated mounds at Oseberg and Gokstad have shown that they contained royal burials from our oldest history, this the question arises: which royal line had such a strong family connection and sense of traditions that son after son buried their dead here? Within this extraordinary collection at one site lay a possibility that cannot be rejected without consideration, for the family that have found their rest here must have consolidated a great political power.[51]

Here Brøgger highlights the exceptional nature of the nine burial greater mounds at Borre; he also places the mounds alongside Oseberg and Gokstad in the national origin narrative. Although in this statement he does not explicitly state who he thinks rests there, he still sees them as an integral part of the history of Norway, and not a part of the history of

[47] See chapter 2.4.-2.8.
[48] Brøgger, *Borrefundet*., 33.
[49] Brøgger, *Borrefundet*., 32.
[50] Brøgger, *Borrefundet*., 33.
[51] 'det er ikke uten interesse at se Borregravfeltet paa denne bakgrund. Med dobbelt styrke kan vi peke paa det og hævde at det tildels maa kunne gi os nøklen til at forstaa helt historiske forhold. Naar de isoletede hauger paa Oseberg og Gokstad har vist sig at gjemme kongelige begravelser fra vor ældste historiske tid, vil det spørsmaal melde sig med styrke: hvilken kongeslegt har hat det sterke samhold, den sterke tradisjonsfølelse at den her sø efter søn har gravlagt sine døde? Alt I den betydelige samling paa ett sted ligger en sandsynlighet, som ikke kan avvises uten videre, for at den slegt som her har fundet hvile har hat en betydeligere politisk magt end almindelig.', Brøgger, *Borrefundet*., 33.

Denmark, or Scandinavia as a whole. Paradoxically, their closest comparisons are the Royal Burial of Gorm the Old and his wife at Jelling, and the seventh-century burial mounds at Uppsala in Sweden but Brøgger claimed that:

> While we sometimes have to settle with hypothesis, we are in an exceptional situation here, that about the kings of Vestfold, the Norwegian branch of the Ynglinga family, a text is preserved, the poem *Ynglingatal* composed by a man, Tjodolv of Kvines, who lived not long after the time when the last mound was built at Borre. An examination of this source combined with the local geographical traditions in Snorri's kings-sagas which will, therefore, be necessary for the identification.[52]

In this statement, Brøgger highlights his methodology for the identification of the burial mounds in the Borre Field. Through reading the ninth-century poem *Ynglingatal* in combination with the local geographical knowledge preserved in the thirteenth-century text *Heimskringla* by Snorri, Brøgger believed that he could identify not only the possible individuals buried in the mounds at Borre, but also that he could use this methodology to identify those buried at Gokstad and Oseberg.

Brøgger argues that the unification of Vestfold in the late eighth century, as narrated through *Ynglinga Saga* in *Heimskringla*, formed the foundation for Harald Fairhair's unification of Norway while simultaneously making his ancestral necropolis Borre the birthplace of Norway. Within the context of his study of the Borre cemetery, Brøgger uses the opportunity to test his theory about *Ynglingatal* and the burial mounds of Vestfold, before applying his methodology to Oseberg and Gokstad.

At the time of the excavation of the Gokstad and Oseberg ship, the occupants of these graves were not known to the excavators. However, Brøgger soon started to hypothesise about the identity of the woman found in the grave. Through a close reading of *Ynglingatal* and particularly the history of Gudrød and Åsa, he concluded that the age of Åsa at the time of her death must have been approximately 50. Combining this with the only two 'known' dates of her life, her abduction by Gudrød in 819 and the succession of her son to the Northern half of Vestfold in 840, meant that she would have been contemporary not only with the burial at Oseberg but also with Tjodolv the poet himself.[53] Brøgger assumed that Tjodolv had included her in the poem *Ynglingatal* because Tjodolv

---

[52] 'Mens man ellers kan være nødt til at slaa sig tilro med mere eller mindre funderede formodninger er vi I den enestaaende tilfælde, at vi om Vestfolds konger, den norske gren av Ynglingeætten, har bevart en litterar kilde, som er digted av en mand ikke længe efter den dag, da Borrekongen I den nordligste av de gjennemgaaende gravhauger blev gravlag,- Tjodolv av Kvines *Ynglingatal*. En undersøkelse av denne kilden sammenholdt med den historiske lokaltradition I Snorres kongesagaer vil derfor her fremstille sig som nødvendig.' Brøgger, *Borrefundet*., 33.

[53] *HFF,* 45; Brøgger, *Borrefundet*., 33.

presumably knew Åsa. Combined with her formidable political and personal strength, this presumed familiarity suggested to Brøgger that Åsa must have chosen to follow her son Halfdan 'the Black' Gudrødsson to Vestfold when he claimed his paternal inheritance there. Halfdan's inheritance claim was for Brøgger the key to explaining why he believed the Oseberg Queen was Åsa and why the Gokstad king was Olaf, Åsa's stepson. While that aspect of the interpretation is examined below, Halfdan's receipt of the northern half of Vestfold, the half where Borre lay, meant that Olaf had settled in the south near the trading settlement of Skiringshal and modern day Tønsberg. Brøgger proposed that because of Gudrød's abduction of Åsa, she had chosen not to be buried in his ancestral burial ground, but instead had been buried 10 kilometres away at Oseberg, which was still very much a part of the northern part of Vestfold, her son's kingdom.

However, Brøgger admitted that his theory was exactly that - a theory. He continued the exploration of the subject through an analysis of the name of Oseberg in an attempt to find supportive arguments for his claim. Brøgger found support in Rygh's linguistic analysis of the name Oseberg. Rygh suggested that the earliest known versions of Oseberg spelt Ósuberg, derived from the woman's name Åsa,[54] whereas Sophus Bugge derives Oseberg from Ósaberg, from the pre-Christian Gods called Æsir,[55] suggesting that the site would have had some significance in the pre-Christian religion in Vestfold.[56] By including both examples, Brøgger created both a logical reasoning for Åsa's choice of burial ground, but also highlighted a potential folklore element in the name of the site, and also why it would be reasonable to believe that the Oseberg Queen was Åsa. Brøgger combined his two strands of evidence in an overarching analysis where he proposed that as the woman in the Oseberg burial had an estimated age of 50 years and died in the 840-50s, this would fit very well with the known chronology of Åsa's life. Åsa and her son returned to Vestfold in 840 from her ancestral home in Agder, and she would at that point have been in her 40s, thus it would to Brøgger be natural that she was the queen in the Oseberg ship.

However, Brøgger focused only on one of the two women found in the Oseberg Ship, the older of the two, thus leaving the younger woman whose age was estimated to 20 years old, found alongside the 50-year-old Åsa, outside the considerations in his study. This is perhaps the greatest weakness of Brøgger's assessment of the ship burial and its occupants, for his argument seems transfixed on setting the burial within the context of the Ynglinga Dynasty and, through that, making it part of the foundations of the Norwegian

[54] Brøgger, *Borrefundet*., 51.
[55] S. Bugge, *Norske Gaardsnavn* [Norwegian farm names] Vol. vi (Kristiania, 1907) 223.
[56] Brøgger, *Borrefundet*., 51.

state. To achieve this, his argument had to fit with the narrative found in *Ynglingatal* and *Ynglinga Saga*, but that could only be obtained by projecting Åsa's identity, name and social status which was found in *Ynglingatal* onto the older of the two women found in the grave. Brøgger's argument for identification of the Oseberg Queen as Åsa, Halfdan the Black's mother, was put into the context of the Borre cemetery and the Vestfold kings to legitimise his argument.[57]

In his article in *Saga-Book*, based on a presentation to the *Viking Society for Northern Research* in 1923, Brøgger references his own previously published work identifying the Oseberg Queen as Åsa, Halfdan the Black's mother, adding that 'her figure stands out in history as fully worthy of the picture we obtain of her by means of the Oseberg discovery.'[58] This previously published work is possibly Brøgger's study from 1916 about the Borre Cemetery, and Brøgger's article in 1923 helped cement his argument and its acceptance. Brøgger's argumentation is solely based on the idea that this burial, found on the Oseberg ship, was suitable for a Queen and that she must have been Norwegian as the mound lay in Norway. In addition to this national complication of his evidence, Brøgger does not critically evaluate his sources: the burial itself and the poem *Ynglingatal*. Instead, his argument is infested, as his previous study was, with an idea that the burials in Vestfold must belong to the Norwegian branch of the princely family of the Ynglinga Dynasty. Through this he equates the modern borders of Norway with those of the political interest of the Ynglinga family's members in Vestfold.

Like the Oseberg burial, the Gokstad ship was considered a princely standard with its rich grave goods and animal sacrifices. Brøgger proposed in 1916, simultaneously with his analysis of the Borre field and Oseberg burial, that the Gokstad burial must have been that of Halfdan 'the Black' Gudrødsson's half-brother, Olaf 'Geirstaðaálfr' Gudrødsson. This interpretation was based on the correlation between the evidence found on the Gokstad skeleton and the evidence from *Ynglingatal* regarding Olaf 'Geirstaðaálfr' Gudrødsson. As mentioned above, it was Halfdan 'the Black' Gudrødsson and Olaf 'Geirstaðaálfr' Gudrødsson's inheritance division of Vestfold which Brøgger saw as the key to understanding why the Gokstad burial was placed so far away from the main burial site of the Ynglinga Dynasty in Vestfold.[59] Brøgger used his already existing methodology for

[57] Det tas med her for at bygge bro over til en antagelse som jeg her vil vaage at fremsætte, ut fra alle de paapekte forhold med Vestfolds kongsæt: at det er droning Aasa, Halvdan svartes mor, som ligger begravet I Oseberg-skipet. Brøgger, *Borrefundet*., 50.
[58] A.W. Brøgger, 'The Oseberg Ship', in *Saga-Book* Vol. 10, 1919-1927, 11.
[59] *HFF,* 46-7.

comparing the textual references in *Ynglingatal* and *Ynglinga Saga* with the folklore and local myths alongside the archaeology of the burial to back up his argument. In this argument, Brøgger supported his interpretation of the Gokstad burial through the earlier analysis of the burial by Nicolaysen, who had taken part in the excavation of the mound.[60] Although Brøgger claimed to find support in Nicolaysen's study of the Gokstad ship from 1882, for his identification of the Gokstad chieftain, Nicolaysen never identifies the Gokstad chieftain as Olaf. Instead Nicolaysen, in a nineteenth century English translation of his works, states:

> Who or what was the personage cannot now be decided. Consistently with rational probability only so much may be negatively said: -that he ranked not with royalty. For the burial place of all the kings of Vestfold within that term whereof we treat, as well as of almost all their nearest predecessors, the saga record is unbroken; and that place was not Sandehered, but oftenest Borre and, that in but two instances, Skiringssal or the present parish of Thjøldling. [Sic.][61]

In this Nicolaysen used *Ynglingatal* to argue his point, as Brøgger would in 1916 and 1917. Nicolaysen raises the possibility that the Gokstad chieftain was Olaf due to the similarities between the grave and the history of Olaf's life, he focuses on the information that the Gokstad chieftain has traces of arthritis on his bones, combined with the *Ynglingatal's* statement that Olaf had suffered from leg pain. Furthermore, Nicolaysen highlighted the similarities between the raiding of Olaf's tomb in Olaf Haraldsson's saga and the evidence for the Gokstad mound being plundered before it was excavated. It was these similarities which triggered Nicolaysen to suggest the similarities between the Gokstad Chieftain and Olaf. Even though Nicolaysen drew these comparisons, he is hesitant about identifying the grave with one particular individual. Instead of focusing all his attention on the identification of the Gokstad Chieftain, Nicolaysen concentrated his 1882 study on comparing how the Gokstad ship fits within the development of traditional Norwegian boats, many of which were still in use in the late nineteenth century, through which he highlights the exceptional nature of the discovery and the ship.[62] He attempted to avoid the identification question, although his statement about the tomb not belonging to anyone royal is not based on the content of the grave, but rather on the location away from the royal burial grounds at Borre.

---

[60] Brøgger, *Borrefundet*., 54-5.
[61] N. Nicolaysen, *Langskibet fra Gokstad: The Viking-Ship from Gokstad*, T. Krag (trans.) (Kristiania, 1882), 70.
[62] Nicolaysen, *Langskibet*, 65-66.

Unlike Nicolaysen, Brøgger went to great lengths to establish that the part of the farm of Gokstad, where the excavation uncovered the Gokstad ship, must once have belonged to the neighbouring farm of Gjekstad. The reasoning for this argument was that the farm Gjekstad, sometime in the Middle Ages might have changed its name from Geirstad to Gjekstad.[63] However, Brøgger claimed that although the linguistic argument might be hard to trust, the archaeological evidence strengthened the possibility of the Gokstad burial belonging to Olaf. Among the archaeological evidence Brøgger refers to is the dating of the burial to c. 860-70 based on the design of the ornamentation found in the burial and its relationship with other Viking age designs which, according to Brøgger, fits with *Ynglinga Saga's* record of Olaf's death. In addition to the dating evidence, Brøgger relied on the discovery of arthritis on the bones of the Gokstad man,[64] which to him correlated with a reference in *Ynglingatal* about Olaf suffering from and dying of 'leg-pain'.[65]

By identifying these burial mounds as belonging to the Ynglinga dynasty in 1916, Brøgger not only faithfully believed Snorri's account of these mounds from *Heimskringla* but also re-created a family context in which the Oseberg Queen, excavated in 1904, and the Gokstad chieftain, excavated in 1880, would fit comfortably into the early Norwegian history.

There are further implications of this approach. This methodology of reading a mix of saga literature and archaeology led not only to Brøgger's identification of the Viking burials in Vestfold, but also to a collection of publications analysing the Norwegian settlements of the Atlantic Ocean in the early medieval period.[66] In these studies, he makes it clear that he sees these settlements as purely Norwegian, and not a pan-Norse or population of mixed origins, suggesting his saga interpretations had some nationalistic tendencies, similar to those of Undset,[67] Keyser and Munch.[68]

At the time he completed the studies of the Norwegian settlements in the North Atlantic, Brøgger was actively involved in political debates of the late 1920s, particularly in those regarding an attempting to reclaim East Greenland as a Norwegian territory. This

---

[63] Brøgger, *Borrefundet*., 55.
[64] Brøgger, *Borrefundet*., 54.
[65] *HFF,* 46.
[66] A.W. Brøgger, *Gamle Emigranter: Nordmennenes Bosetning på Norskehavskystene: med billeder og karter* [Ancient Emigrants: Norwegian Settlements on the coasts along the Norwegian Sea: with images and maps] (Oslo, 1928).
[67] Undset, *Om et Norsk*., 5.
[68] See above, pages 44, 52-3.

claim was based on the historical evidence that Greenland in the High- and Late-Medieval period had been a part of the Norwegian kingdom. Brøgger favoured the idea of making East Greenland Norwegian precisely due to the evidence in the saga literature. The saga evidence suggested that Greenland had been settled from Iceland, which had already been claimed as Norwegian in origin by both Munch and Ingvald Undset[69] (see below) making Greenland an extension of the existing Norwegian settlements in the North Atlantic. The Greenland case triggered a Norwegian occupation of Eastern Greenland, resulting in Denmark taking Norway to the international courts in The Hague. The court upheld the Danish sovereignty over Greenland. Brøgger published in 1933 his response to the verdict at The Hague, mourning the loss of the last part of the Norwegian North Sea Empire.[70] These interpretations were influenced by Brøgger's political view as an active member of the Liberal party *Frisinnede Venstre* [Liberal Left], a party with strong nationalistic ideology and elements of political conservatives. Ernst Sars and Frithjof Nansen were also among the most notable members of the party.[71] By identifying the Norse settlements in the North Atlantic as Norwegian, Brøgger tied the Western Isles to the Norwegian historical narrative and alluded to the importance of ships, such as the Oseberg and Gokstad ships, in Norway's political fortunes throughout the medieval and modern periods.

Brøgger's identification of the Oseberg queen by tying her to the historical narrative of the nation and particularly the narrative of the Norwegian unification,can in many ways be seen in the context of his position as the director of the University of Oslo's Collection of Antiquities, where he was responsible for the presentation of the Viking ships to the public. It is therefore not surprising that Brøgger's analysis of the Viking burials in Vestfold tied them firmly to the national narrative, a narrative that also included the expansion of settlements and conquests of the North Atlantic. For through Brøgger's analysis it is evident that he saw the unification and expansion process that started in Vestfold as part of the greater Norwegian expansion of the Middle Ages, an expansion that formed Norway's 'golden age'. It is perhaps even less surprising that Brøgger and his contemporaries, and successors, focused on this while ignoring the conflicting evidence about the origins of Vestfold and its strong links to Denmark in the Viking period.

[69] Undset, *Norske Oldsager*, 5; Munch, *Norges Historie.,* 12-13.
[70] B. Solberg, 'Anton Wilhelm Brøgger -1', in *NBL* https://nbl.snl.no/Anton_Wilhelm_Br%C3%B8gger_-_1.
[71] K. Kjeldstadli, *Aschehougs Norges Historie: Et splittet Samfunn 1905-1935* [Aschehougs Norwegian History: A Divided Society 1905-1935], vol. 10 (Oslo, 1996), 36.

4.4. Early Displays of the Finds

Undset argued in 1885 for the establishment of a Norwegian national museum

> …to collect and present material to highlight the particular people's cultural development from the dawn of time until the current stage, from the most primitive stages that can be detected, until the cultural developments of the native art recently[72]

and one that could present and document the cultural progression of the Norwegian nation. He envisaged that the museum would be an important contribution to the development of the Norwegian nation. In his vision he imagined that:

> …in a national museum we would be able to demonstrate how we from the earliest times have been able to develop a spiritual independence, which has continuously grown stronger. In this we can acknowledge the foundation for our current and future spiritual independence and political independence.[73]

In his vision, Undset recognises the importance the past has to not only the cultural development of the nation but also to the political one. His estimate that a national museum could be a setting to present the foundations for a politically independent Norway would have been like music to the ears of many in the Norwegian parliament, especially the party *Venstre* [Left]. For it was to the Norwegian parliament that Undset addressed his book, arguing that the parliament should unite all the state-owned museums in Oslo under one roof and call it a national museum. With that unification, the state should give it a purpose-built venue to house and store these objects and artefacts that were so vital to the national history. This history of the displays is significant to the development of the national use of the Viking ships.

The ideas of a national museum that could present the history of the nation to the people first emerged soon after the signing of the Norwegian Constitution in 1814, when a collection of antiquities was founded at the University in Christiania.[74] Similar museum

---

[72] 'Et nationalmuseums opgave bliver at samle og fremstille materialet til belysningen af vedkommende folks hele kulturudvikling fra de ældste tider indtil de nyeste, fra de ældste primitive stadier, som vi kan komme på spor efter, indtil den nationale kulturs høieste blomstring i den hjemlige kunst fra de sidste tider.' I. Undset, *Om et Norsk National-Museum* [About a Norwegian National Museum] (Kristiania, 1885), 5.

[73] 'i et sådant nationalmuseum vil vi kunne belyse, hvorledes vi fra fjerne tider af har kunnet udvikle en vis ån delig selvstændighed, der stadig har vokset sig stærkere, i hvilken vi også må erkende et grundlag for og en berettigelse til vor nuværende og fremtidige åndelige selvstændighed og politiske uafhængighed.', Undset, *Om et Norsk*., 5.

[74] Undset, *Om et Norsk.,* 9.

foundations also emerged in cities such as Stavanger, Bergen, Trondheim and Tromsø.[75] These museum collections focused predominantly on their regional and local archaeology, which allowed scholars only to study the finds from the particular region of the collection but did not allow for a wider national comparative study. Although the collection in Oslo focused on the south-east of Norway, the collection's second director, historian Rudolf Keyser,[76] and especially the third director Oluf Rygh, broadened the collection's content to include elements from the entire kingdom.[77] Under Keyser's directorship the collection was catalogued and Keyser used his training in history to interpret these in context of the development of the Norwegian people. Keyser's candidacy for this job seems to have come down to two things, Keyser's educational background as a historian and training, and secondly the lack of people with similar experience. Through this he lay the foundations for archaeology as an independent discipline in Norway, although his successor Oluf Rygh became the first professor of archaeology in Norway. Rygh was very familiar with both Keyser's and Munch's work and philosophies as he had previously edited their collected volumes, and finished off Munch's last project in 1871: a translation of *Heimskringla*.[78] As a result Rygh, like Keyser, actively engaged in the historical discipline and saw the museum collection in Oslo as an extension of the written history of the Saga literature.[79] It was through Rygh's work that the regional museums and their archaeological collections were catalogued and gathered in a national inventory of the museums to aid research and historical understanding. This inventory and the later additions were updated yearly and published in a similar fashion to *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*. Under Rygh's directorship, Ingvald Undset (1853-93) published in 1878 a catalogue of Norwegian antiquities in foreign museums across Europe. Undset had most likely come across these antiquities while travelling through Northern Europe in preparation for his first study, on the origins of the Iron Age in Europe.[80] He saw the need to catalogue these for future reference so that the nation could be aware of objects of Norwegian origin that could be found abroad. Undset's

[75] H. Shetelig, *Norske Museers Historie: Festskrift til Thor B. Kielland på 50-årsdagen 9.12.1944* [The History of Norwegian Museums: Festschrift for Thor B. Kielland for his 50th birthday 9.12.1944] (Oslo, 1944), 58-103.
[76] See footnote 11 in chapter 2.
[77] Shetelig, *Norske museers historie*., 27, 38.
[78] Shetelig, *Norske museers historie*., 38; Å. Svendsen, 'Oluf Rygh' in *NBL* https://nbl.snl.no/Oluf_Rygh.
[79] Shetelig, *Norske museers historie*., 38.
[80] I. Undset, *Jernalderens begyndelse i Nord-Europa : en studie i sammenlignende forhistorisk arkæologi* [The Iron Age's beginning in Northern Europe: a study in comparative pre-historic archaeology] (Kristiania, 1881).

catalogue included, among other things the *St. Olaf Altar Frontal*,[81] and a selection of Icelandic objects from the Viking period.[82] Undset's argument for including the Icelandic material was 'that these, after all, can be considered Norwegian, and, in any case, are of particular interest for the younger Iron Age in Norway,'[83] suggesting that he, like Brøgger, viewed Iceland as an extension of Norway.[84] For it was through these artefacts the history of Norway could be told, even though the Norwegian claim to Icelandic artefacts in the nineteenth century is essentially imaginary. This imagining or reimagining of the link between Norway and Iceland also reflect how these objects represent the imagined community of the Norwegian people, a people that included its Icelandic relatives.

Although Undset approached the government in 1885, which at the time was controlled by the party *Venstre* [Left], favourable towards national ventures, his plea was unsuccessful. As a result, Undset's aim of shifting the preservation and conservation work in Norway from local and regional institutions in Tromsø, Bergen and Stavanger, to a national one was not possible. A national museum has never been created in Norway. As a consequence of this the collections were, until a restructuring in 1999, kept as individual museums housed largely in the same facilities, and under the administration of the University of Oslo.[85] Among these museums were the Museum of Cultural History and the Viking ship collection, into which the artefacts from the Tune ship and the Gokstad ship were deposited after their discovery.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Norway had no legislation regarding the sale and export of archaeological artefacts, so soon after the discovery of the Viking Ships at Tune, Oseberg and Gokstad, these objects became available for sale on the open market. This resulted in the situation where these three ships, in theory, could have ended in foreign hands, exported out of Norway, similar to the fate of Vang Stave Church, which ended up in Prussia. *Fortidsminneforeningen* [Assosiation for the Preservation of Antiquities] paid the bill for the excavation of the Gokstad ship and raised the money to

---

[81] I. Undset, *Norske Oldsager i Fremmede Museer* [Norwegian Antiquities in Foreign Museums] (Christiania, 1878), 67.
[82] Undset, *Norske Oldsager*., 53-6.
[83] 'da disse jo væsentlig kan betragtes som norske, og i ethvert fald har ganske særlig interesse for Norges yngre jernalder', Undset, *Norske Oldsager*., v.
[84] J.R. Hagland (Trans.) *Landnåmabok: etter Hauksbók* [Landnámabook: after Hauksbook] (Stavanger, 2002), 11; A. R. Nielssen*, Landnåm fra Nord: Utvandringa fra det Nordlige Norge til Island i vikingtid* [Landnám from the North: the Migration from Northern Norway to Iceland in the Viking Age] (Stamsund, 2012), 14.
[85] Store Norske Leksikon (ed.), 'Historisk Museum – Norsk Museumsbygning i Oslo' [Historical museum – a Norwegian museum in Oslo], in *SNL* https://snl.no/Historisk_museum%2Fnorsk_museumsbygning_i_Oslo

secure the vessel for the Norwegian nation.[86] In 1904, the Norwegian Government covered the cost of the excavation of the Oseberg Ship, and a major landowner in Vestfold, Fritz Michael Treschow, purchased the Oseberg ship from the owner of Oseberg farm and gave the ship to the Collection of Antiquities at the University of Oslo.[87]

Soon after their discovery, these ships were stored and displayed in two small wooden sheds build in the park between the two original museum buildings near the University campus on Karl Johans Gate in Oslo.[88] Ingvald Undset stated in 1885 that this shed was unsuitable for storage and displaying ships which were of such significant standing in the cultural heritage of the Norwegian nation,[89] using this as one of his arguments for the establishment of a national museum in Oslo. Following the excavation of the Oseberg ship, the University in Kristiania constructed another shed which offered shelter for the Oseberg ship, whereas the other finds associated with the vessel were displayed in other buildings nearby the University.[90]

The excavation of the three burial mounds produced an enormous amount of material that, after preservation and preparation, were exhibited to the public at the Museum of Cultural History in Oslo. Among the objects on display in the new museum alongside the ships were the so-called Buddha Bucket, and the Oseberg tapestry, alongside a number of beautifully carved wooden objects such as beds, tools, sledges and waggons.[91] Anton Wilhelm Brøgger composed in 1917 the first guidebook for the complete collection and the text had already reached its third reprint by 1918.[92] The guidebook was evidently intended to determine the path of the visitors to display (see figure 3).

[86] Nicolaysen, *Foreningen til norske*., 13; see also pp. 118-119.
[87] A.W. Brøgger, *Osebergskibet og Osebergsalen* [The Oseberg Ship and the Oseberg hall] (Kristiania, 1918), 3.
[88] Gjessing, *Vikingskipsfunnene*., 14; Sjøvold, *Vikingeskipene.*, 11-12.
[89] Undset, *Om et Norsk.,* 9-10, 20.
[90] Sjøvold, *Vikingeskipene.*, 11.
[91] Gjessing, *Vikingskipsfunnene*., 25-29.
[92] Brøgger, *Osebergskibet og Osebergsalen,*1.

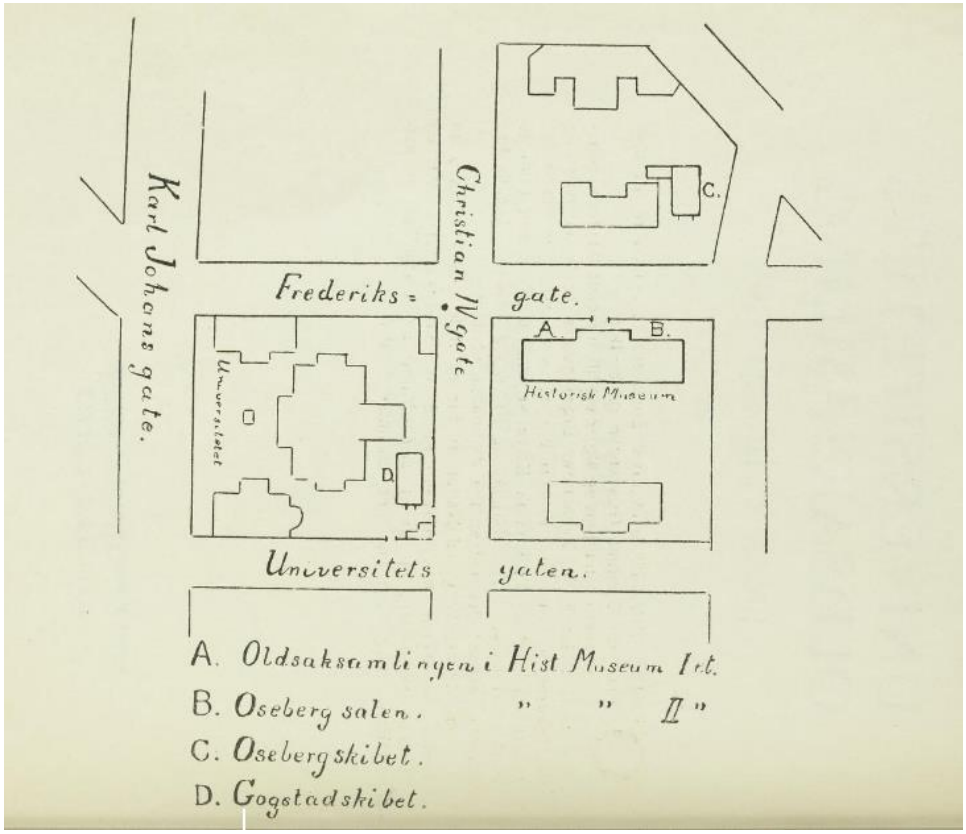


Figure 3: Map of the museum area in Oslo Centre. A.W.Brøgger, *Osebergskibet og Osebergsalen* (Kristiania, 1918), 2.

Within this guide, Brøgger focuses predominantly on the Oseberg ship and the display of some of the finds from the Oseberg burial. But his 1918 guidebook focused on the items of the displays themselves and not on their interpretation, whereas Gutorm Gjessing's guidebook to the Viking ships from 1934 set the objects within a historical context and analysed them in their national narrative. Gjessing based his book on a combination of Brøgger's earlier text and Ingvald Undset's presentation of the Gokstad ship from 1887.[93] Gjessing's book focused on four major components: The discoveries and excavations, the Viking ship house and the ships, the burial chambers and the Oseberg discovery, each section telling the story of the ship and guiding the visitors to the Viking ship museum through their visit. Additionally, the guidebook also presented the accepted academic interpretations of these finds to the public. For instance, the section on the excavations of the Oseberg and Gokstad ships starts off with the statement:

> On the other side of the Oslofjord lay the ancient realm of the Ynglinga kings, Vestfold. It is from this area both the Oseberg and the Gokstad ship originate.[94]

[93] G. Gjessing, *Vikingskibsfunnene: Fører* [The Vikingship Discoveries: a Guide] (Oslo, 1934), ix.
[94] 'Rett over på den annen side av Oslofjorden ligger Ynglingekongenes gamle rike, Vestfold. Herfra stammer bade Gokstad- og Osebergskibene.' Gjessing, *Vikingskibsfunnene*., 2.

Through this introduction, Gjessing not only introduces the ships, but also links these two ships directly with the Ynglinga Dynasty, and Vestfold unquestionably to the national narrative of Norway. Adding another layer of interpretation of the importance of these ships resulted in them at the end of the long nineteenth century being moved to their current location in the purpose built Viking ships museum at Bygdøy.[95] For these three ships were perceived to be of such importance and beauty that they deserved and needed a purpose-built museum to tell their story to both the Norwegian people and the international visitors in Norway and Oslo. This issue is discussed in section 4.7. but first it is appropriate to consider the wider implications of the ships attracted at the time of their discovery.

4.5. International Interest in the Ships

Following the discovery of the Gokstad ship in 1880, the international community found this discovery intriguing and fascinating. Several international newspapers reported on the discovery of the Gokstad ship in the 1880s. The focus of many of the articles was the exceptional nature of the discovery in the context of Scandinavian history. The *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle* noted:

> A recent antiquarian discovery of a most remarkable nature has put the scientific world of Scandinavia in commotion, and is attracting the general attention of the Scandinavian nations, fondly attached to their venerable history and ancient folk-lore, and full of devotion for the relics of their great past.[96]

The discovery was then compared with a series of excavations from the Greco-Roman world, stating that the discovery was not as important as those for the western world, yet the *Hampshire Telegraph* is the only newspaper of the period to draw the link between the Gokstad ship and the foundation of a Norwegian kingdom by Harald Fairhair. *The Huddersfield Chronicle and West Yorkshire Advertiser* drew a comparison between the Gokstad ship and the imagery of ships found on the Bayeux Tapestry, in addition to narrating the size and the design of the ship.[97] Like *The Huddersfield Chronicle and West Yorkshire Advertiser* most articles described the ship and the content of the burial establishing the ship in a historical context possibly known to the British readers before commenting on the historical importance of this discovery. Some newspapers went beyond

[95] T. Sjøvold, *Osebergfunnet og de andre vikingskipsfunn* (Oslo, 1957), 5-6.
[96] 'A Viking's Ship', *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle etc* (Portsmouth, England), 23 June 1880; Issue 4997, 1.
[97] 'A Viking's ship', *The Huddersfield Chronicle and West Yorkshire Advertiser* (West Yorkshire, England), 17 September 1881: Issue 4406, 7.

this, the *Hampshire Telegraph's* assessment of the implication of the ship for Norway believing the discovery to be of great significance for the history of the British Isles and Europe.[98]

The international interest was at an early stage capitalised upon. The ship was displayed for the public and used for tourism and commercial purposes only a few years after its discovery and initial conservation. An article by a certain Mrs O'Malley titled 'A Letter from Christiania', contains a description of a Viking ship during a visit to modern-day Oslo in the 1880s. The letter, published in a young women's magazine called *Aunt Judy's Magazine,* describes how Mrs O'Malley encountered the Viking ship displayed in a 'shed' in connection with the museum of antiquities in Christiania during her visit to the city. In the letter Mrs O'Malley describes how the ship looked at the time of her visit, and although the magazine is undated, it is evident that it was the Gokstad ship she saw at the museum, for the magazine was only in print between 1866 and 1885.[99] Alongside her description of the ship, which is followed by a reflection of the ship as a representative of the Viking age, Mrs O'Malley includes in her letter a printed image of the ship from the excavation (see figure 4), allowing the reader to see the ship as it was found.

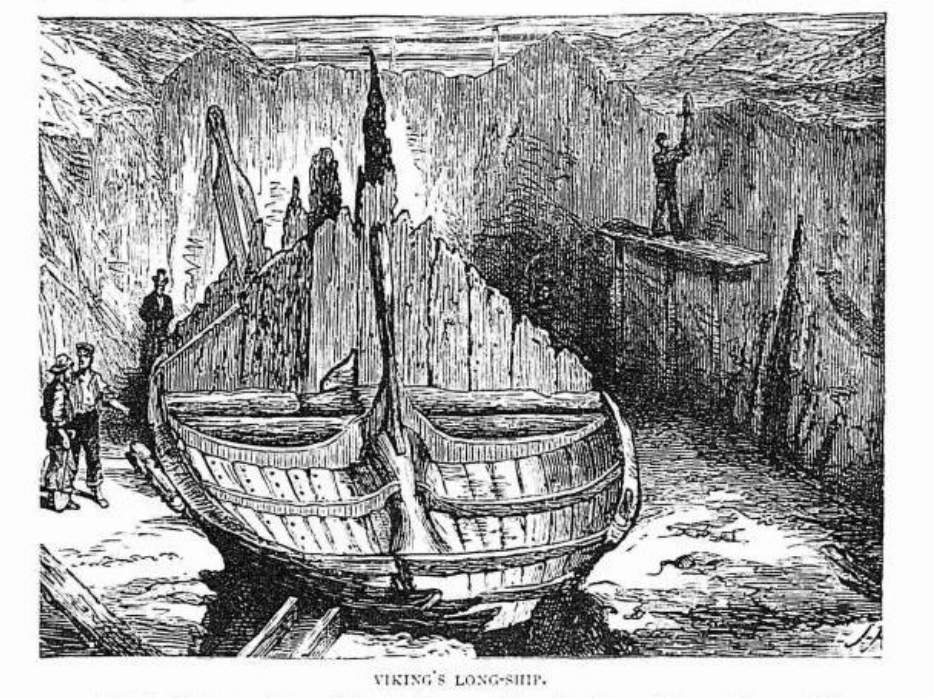


Figure 4: 'Viking's Long-ship' illustration from Mrs O'Malley's 'A Letter from Christiania' in Aunt Judy's Magazine (London, England), [Date Unknown], Issue 186, 729-30.

[98] 'A Viking's ship', The Huddersfield Chronicle, 7; 'Discovery of an Ancient Viking Ship', *The Dundee Courier & Argus and Northern Warder* (Dundee, Scotland), 18 June 1880: Issue 8397, 5.
[99] M. F. O'Malley 'A Letter from Christiania' in *Aunt Judy's Magazine* (London, England), [Date Unknown], Issue 186, 729-30.

These news reports and travel letters contributed to the information flow about the Gokstad ship, and the ship became synonymous with Norway and Oslo. The organising committee for the 1893 World Expo in Chicago therefore approached the Norwegian government with the idea of sending the Gokstad ship to the Expo. The American Government even offered to send a warship to Christiania to transport the ship over the Atlantic. Instead, Norway sent a replica of the Gokstad ship, funded by popular subscription, to the expo.[100] The replica ship was seen by the international press as an integral part of the Norwegian delegation for the Chicago World Expo and, from what can be seen of the press from the time, received more media coverage than any of the other elements in the Norwegian stand at the Expo. The Gokstad replica was an excellent promotion opportunity for Norway, where the kingdom could highlight its ancient origins as well as promote its modern industries at the World Expo. The funding, building and journey over the Atlantic of the ship was reported in British newspapers such as *The Hampshire Advertiser*,[101] *The Pall Mall Gazette*,[102] *The Morning Post*,[103] *Berrow's Worcester Journal*,[104] and *Daily News*.[105] Only *Daily News* reported that the organising committee for the building of the Gokstad replica linked this ship to the voyage of the Norwegian Viking Leif Eriksson, who discovered Vinland in 999/1000.[106] This claim that Leif Eriksson was Norwegian is an explicit extension of the idea presented by Ingvald Undset that Iceland and the Norse colonies in the North Atlantic were (and should continue to be) a part of Norway. There are no references to where Leif was born in *Eric the Red's Saga*, but it is suggests that he grew up in Greenland and discovered Vinland following a visit to Norway in the late 990's.[107]

[100] 'Subskriptions-Indbydelse' [Invitations for Subscriptions], *Norges Sjøfartstidende*, 16 May 1892, 1.
[101] 'A Viking ship for Chicago', *The Hampshire Advertiser* (Southampton, England), 30 April 1892, 2.
[102] 'The Pall Mall Budget 20th April', *The Pall Mall Gazette* (London, England), 24 April 1893, 4.
[103] 'Arrival of the Viking Ship at Chicago', *The Morning Post* (London, England), 13 July 1893, 5.
[104] 'Foreign News', *Berrow's Worcester Journal* (Worcester, England), 21 May 1892, 6.
[105] 'The Viking Ship', *Daily News* (London, England), 14 May 1892, 6.
[106] 'The Viking Ship', *Daily News* (London, England), 14 May 1892, 6.
[107] [Anon.], 'Leiv Eiriksson' in *SNL,* https://snl.no/Leiv_Eiriksson.

Figure 5: Leiv Eriksson oppdager Amerika [Leif Ericsson discovers America], Christian Krohg, 1893.

Leif's visit to Norway only tell us that he shared a cultural understanding with the Norwegian court, but not that he himself viewed himself as a Norwegian. The Norwegian linking of the replica Gokstad ship's journey with the voyage of Leif Erikson represents therefore a Norwegian appropriation of the history of the Norse settlements in the North Atlantic based on the political realities of the Norwegian dominance over these settlements in the high medieval period, when all these 'Norwegian' settlements were integrated into the Norwegian kingdom as Tax land. Even though Leif Eriksson might not have seen himself as Norwegian, the subscription committee for the Gokstad replica saw him as Norwegian and something they could use to highlight the longstanding link between Norway and North America.[108] The organising committee also hoped that by sailing a replica of the Gokstad ship to Chicago they could remind the American public of Leif Eriksson's discovery of Vinland and America almost 500 years before Columbus.[109]

The replica of the Gokstad ship named *Viking* sailed across the Atlantic for the World Expo in Chicago in 1893, but the ship was also intended to sail back to Norway and become part of an exhibition in Oslo. Actually, the ship sank on Lake Michigan at its

[108] 'Subskriptions-Indbydelse' [Invitations for Subscriptions], *Norges Sjøfartstidende*, 16 May 1892, 1; 'Vikingskibet til Chicago-Udstillingen' [The Vikingship to the Chicago World Fair], *Norges Sjøfartstidende*, 11 May 1892, 2.
[109] 'Vikingskibet til Chicago-Udstillingen' [The Vikingship to the Chicago World Fair], *Norges Sjøfartstidende*, 11 May 1892, 2.

moorings, but the crew returned safely to Norway.[110] This incident was reported in *The Yorkshire Herald, and The York Herald*, and later the captain of the *Viking* attempted to cover some of the financial losses caused by the sinking.[111] This is evident in a petition delivered to the Norwegian Parliament in 1893,[112] which the Norwegian parliament turned down, and the ship is today preserved by a group of Norwegian-Americans, and on public display in Illinois.[113]

The replica ship was part of a movement of the reproduction of significant cultural artefacts. Christian Krohg's famous painting of Leif Eriksson's discovery of America also dates from 1893 (see figure 5). In addition to the Gokstad replica, the Norwegian Pavilion in Chicago also contained a replica of a Stave Church, both regarded as cultural icons of the Norwegian people; this reflected the growing historical consciousness within the Norwegian intelligentsia (as discussed in chapter 2) and was a reflection of the growing interest in the Viking, Anglo-Saxon and Germanic heritage in the Anglophone world and Germany in late nineteenth century.[114] The international interest in the Gokstad ship, and later the Oseberg ship made these ships synonymous with Norway, yet the twentieth century saw a revision in the presentation and interpretations of these objects even though they remained intrinsically linked with the nation.

4.6. Re-interpretation of the Ships

Following the re-evaluation and introduction of a more critical approach in historical scholarship in Norway at the beginning of the twentieth century, the scholarly orthodoxy of the historical truth contained in *Heimskringla* and other sagas were challenged. Although Brøgger continued to read the sagas uncritically, historians such as Koth and Bull took a more critical approach triggering a response to the earlier interpretations of both the saga literature and the archaeological discoveries.

---

[110] 'Loss of the Viking Ship', *The Yorkshire Herald, and The York Herald* (York, England), 08 September 1894, 5.
[111] 'The Viking Ship', *The Star* (Saint Peter Port, England), 20 March 1894, 1.
[112] [Anon.] *Stortingsforhandlinger 1893* [Parliamentary Records of 1893], Vol. 6a. (Kristiania, 1893), 318.
[113] *Friends of the Viking Ship*, 'History' http://www.vikingship.us/history.htm (accessed 01/05/2015).
[114] D. Horspool, *Why Alfred Burned the Cakes: A king and his eleven-hundred-year afterlife* (London, 2006), 186, 198-200; R. Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces: Artefacts of German memory 1870-1990* (London, 2000), 35-38; C. Lee, 'A Useful Great-Grandmother: Edda receptions in Post-Medieval Germany' in C. Lee and N. McLelland (eds.), *Germania Remembered 1500-2009: Commemorating and Inventing a Germanic Past* (Tempe, 2012), 110-118; J. Parker, *'England's Darling' The Victorian cult of Alfred the Great* (Manchester, 2007), 33-45; A. Wawn, *The Vikings and the Victorians Inventing the Old North in the 19th-century Britain* (Cambridge, 2000), 3; B. Yorke, *The King Alfred Millennary in Winchester, 1901* (Winchester, 1999), 1.

While, was we have seen, Brøgger's 1917 interpretations identified the older of the two women in the Oseberg mound, 'the Oseberg Queen', as Queen Åsa Halfdan the Black's mother, Brøgger and Shetelig's student Gutorm Gjessing[115] challenged his tutors' interpretations. In 1934, he raised the possibility that it might not have been the older woman who was the Queen of the mound, but the younger one aged 20-30. Thus, Gjessing turned the whole explanation upside down and challenged Brøgger's accepted truth. Gjessing even went as far as claiming in his summary in the back of the guidebook that the names of the occupants of the Oseberg and Gokstad mounds were irrelevant for the study of history. Instead, he claimed:

> More important than identifying the names of those who are buried is to establish their social status, for the finds then give us a fascinating glimpse into the life of a petty-king's estate in the Viking Age. First and foremost is it the peacock that we think of, that gives us a indication of the international attitudes such a petty king might have had. Of great interest in this context are also the woodcarvings in the Oseberg burial, not only for their splendour and quality but also because a detailed analysis of the woodworks has shown that they were completed by several different artists. We see thus that the Oseberg Queen collected around her the best woodcarvers available at the time. […] At the court of the Oseberg Queen woodcarving and weaving had the same conditions [patronage] that poetry had at other Norwegian and west-European courts.[116]

Just as Bull and Koht in the 1920s and 30s had abandoned the close reading of the Sagas[117] and particularly *Heimskringla*, and approached the Norwegian history from a social and economic point of view, Gjessing abandoned in 1934 Brøgger's obsession with identifying who was buried in the ships at Oseberg and Gokstad. Gjessing's revisionism saw the ships instead in a context of the political and cultural development of what became the Norwegian in the Viking period rather than seeing these issues as the foundations for the unification of the Norwegian nation. Gjessing approached the Viking ships not as the roots of Norway, but as objects that could illustrate the life of the elite in Vestfold in the decades before the unification process. By comparing the objects from the mounds with similar

---

[115] A. M. Klausen, 'Gutorm Gjessing', in *NBL* https://nbl.snl.no/Gutorm_Gjessing.

[116] 'Viktigere enn å få rede på navnene på dem som er gravlagt er det imidlertid at deres plass på den sosiale rangstiden er sikkert påvist, og funnene gir da høist interessante glimt inn I livet på småkongenes kongsgårder just I vikingtiden. Først og fremst tenker vi på påfuglen I Gokstadgraven, som gir oss en liten idé om den internasjonale innstillingen en slik småkonge har hatt. –Av meget stor interesse er I denne forbindelse treskjærerkunsten I Osebergfunnet, ikke bare ved sin overdådige prakt og sitt høie kunstneriske nivå, men også fordi en detaljert gjennemgåelse av treskurden har vist at det har vært mange forskjellige kunstnere I arbeide. Vi ser således at Osebergdronningen har samlet omkring sig det ypperste tiden kunde by av treskjærere. […] Ved Osebergdronningens hoff har treskurd og vevekunst hatt samme vilkår som diktningen ved de fleste norske og vesteuropeiske kongers hoff.' Gjessing, *Vikingskibsfunnene.,* 32.

[117] See chapter 2.8 and 2.9.

objects from other parts of Scandinavia, Gjessing highlighted the the wealth of the burials at Gokstad and Oseberg.

Although Gjessing's study focuses on the objects displayed in the Viking Ship Museum and at the Museum of Cultural History in context of ninth-century Norwegian culture, his guidebook does not completely close the door on Brøgger's Ynglinga interpretation. For when comparing the differences between the Tune ship from Østfold, and the Gokstad and Oseberg ships from Vestfold he states that the Tune ship represents a royal line unique to Østfold, different from that of Vestfold and that the Vestfold burials represent the power and lives of a local family in Vestfold.[118] Through this Gjessing hinted at how the various parts of modern-day Norway in the ninth century had functioned as individual petty kingdoms and that the current Norwegian state was a product of conquest and forced unification resulting in an imagined community with a shared history. Later scholars such as Sverre Bagge and Torgrim Titlestad have much more recently confirmed and maintained Gjessing's interpretation of the political structures in the Oslo-fjord area in the ninth and tenth centuries.[119] Gjessing maintained the same presentation and interpretation of the ships and the burials throughout his career at the University of Oslo museum collections; the books which was reflected the gradual re-location and re-display of the viking ship collection at Bygdøy, were reprinted with the same content at least until 1948.

In a newer guidebook to the same objects, edited in 1953 by Thorleif Sjøvold the same text as 1934 is presented to the reader, just under a different name. In fact, the only difference between Gjessing's guidebook of the museum and Sjøvold's is that Sjøvold introduced a major section of text exploring the building techniques of the Viking ships in relation to the post-medieval shipbuilding techniques in Norway.[120] In this Sjøvold continued the a trend that first emerged from Haakon Shetelig's work contribution in *Osebergfundet* [The Oseberg discovery], where he focused on the ship and the woodworks found within the Oseberg mound. Shetelig's examination of the Viking ships at Oseberg, Gokstad and Tune looked beyond the Oslofjord area to set these graves in a wider archaeological context, both within the borders of the modern Norwegian state, but also within a larger Scandinavian context. Shetelig and Sjøvold's contextualising of the Viking

[118] Gjessing, *Vikingskibsfunnene.,* 2-3.
[119] S. Bagge, *From Viking Stronghold to Christian Kingdom* (Copenhagen, 2010), 25; T. Titlestad, *Norge I Vikingtid* (Hafrsfjord, 2011), 57-8.
[120] T. Sjøvold, *Vikingeskipene: en Kort orientering om Tuneskipet, Gokstadskipet og Osebergskipet* [The Vikingships: a Short guide about the Tuneship, Gokstadship and Osebergship] (Oslo, 1953), 4.

ships with post-medieval ship building traditions highlighted the cultural continuity and ethnographical development in Norway from the ninth century through to the twentieth.[121] By drawing these links their research not only emphasises cultural continuity in ship-building in Norway, but also underlined the sense that the cultural legacy of the Norwegian Vikings and the golden age had survived among the farmers and rural population. This methodology embodied both the Romantic Movement's ideas about the spirit of the people, and the mid nineteenth-century Norwegian tradition of collecting philological collections of words and oral traditions in an attempt to preserve and re-ignite the 'true' Norwegian language and culture.

Unlike the Gokstad and Tune ship, the Oseberg ship was given a separate publication, *Osebergfundet* [The Oseberg discovery], paid for by the Norwegian State, presenting and analysing the entirety of the Oseberg find. The publication series which today contains five volumes, was not completed until the beginning of the twenty-first century, but the initial four volumes (1-3 and 5) were published between 1917-27.[122] Within these four volumes, Norwegian scholars under the firm editorial grip of Brøgger and his colleague Haakon Shetelig explored the Oseberg mound and all its content as well as the history of the excavation and the construction of the mound itself. Little was left unexamined by the editorial team; everything from seeds and bones to woodcarvings and runes was discussed and compared with other contemporary evidence from other parts of Northern Europe. Although in his 1917 study of the Borre cemetery Brøgger identified the occupant of the Oseberg Burial as Queen Åsa, his and other scholars included in *Osebergfundet* [The Oseberg discovery] avoided any direct identification of the queen leaving the identification issue open. Instead, the four original volumes talked about the Oseberg-Queen without questioning who she had been.[123] Through the publication of the four original volumes, the Norwegian State saw the Oseberg burial as an important element in the cultural heritage of the nation and an important part of Norwegian history. The volumes were originally only printed in 715 copies,[124] and the editorial board intended to edit the material into a popular and affordable volume for public consumption.[125] However, with the exception of the guidebooks for the Viking ship museum there is no

[121] H. Shetelig, ' in Brøgger, Falk, Shetelig (Eds.), *Osebergfundet* , Vol. 1 (1917), 232, 242; Sjøvold, *Vikingeskipene.*, 7.
[122] Volume 4 was completed in 2006, almost 90 years after it was begun.
[123] Brøgger, Falk, Shetelig (Eds.), *Osebergfundet* , Vol. 1 (1917), 214.
[124] Brøgger, Falk, Shetelig (Eds.), *Osebergfundet* , Vol. 1 (1917), xiv.
[125] Brøgger, Falk, Shetelig (Eds.), *Osebergfundet* , Vol. 1 (1917), ix.

evidence that this popular reproduction ever was made. As discussed in chapter 3, the Viking ships and the Oseberg burial also made it into Norwegian textbooks following the publication of the first volume of the Osebergfundet study in 1917.][126]

Of the three editors of *Osebergfundet* [The Oseberg discovery], only Shetelig, then Professor of Archaeology in Bergen, had taken part in the excavation of the Oseberg burial. Unlike Brøgger, Shetelig maintained a scientific approach throughout the process as his focus was on the ship and the woodcarvings found in the mound. Shetelig's examination of the Viking ships at Oseberg, Gokstad and Tune looked beyond the Oslofjord area to set these graves in a wider archaeological context, both within the borders of the modern Norwegian state, and within a larger Scandinavian context with the finds from Jelling in Denmark and Uppsala in Sweden. All these three burial sites were sites of memories and the cornerstones of their respective nations commemorating the origins of each of the Scandinavian kingdoms. Interestingly the second most common comparisons Shetelig uses in his study, examples which were also used by Brøgger in his study of the graves of the Vestfold kings, are the mounds at Rolvsøy in Østfold, and the Grønhaugen on Karmøy in Rogaland.[127]

Through the identification of the Gokstad and Oseberg mounds as part of the Ynglinga narrative of Norwegian history, these sites and the discoveries associated with them functioned as mirrors of what Viking age Norway had been, an interpretation which had nothing to do with the fact that both the Oseberg and Gokstad ships dated from before the creation of a unified Norwegian kingdom in a battle in Rogaland. Furthermore, the study of the Oseberg ship in the official publication compared the burial mostly to other Norwegian graves, only referencing the graves putside Norway, at Jelling and Uppsala when talking about the size of the graves. Thus the Oseberg ship and its comparative study was maintained within the geographical borders of modern Norway without raising the question how did these people living in Vestfold, at the time of the construction of these mounds, identified themselves at the time. Taking the Ynglinga narrative at face value had been too tempting to resist when the mounds and sites fitted so closely to the narrative, preserved by Snorri in *Heimskringla*. Tune is the only site, among those Shetelig used as comparisons for the Oseberg burial in 1917, that received any academic attention in the first half of the twentieth century. Similarly sites west and north of the Oslo fjord area received relatively little attention in academic publications until the 1990s.

---

[126] See footnote 105 in chapter 3.
[127] Brøgger, *Borrefundet*, 32-33; H. Shetelig, 'Skipet' [the ship], in Brøgger, Falk, Shetelig (Eds.), *Osebergfundet* , Vol. 1 (1917), 251-78.

Further reactions to Brøgger's identification of the Viking graves of Vestfold came in 2007, when the Oseberg and Gokstad mounds were re-opened to allow for a re-examination of the bones. Per Holck's examination of the bones in 2007 suggested that Jacob Heiberg's assessment fo the Gokstad man in 1883 was more or less correct, with the significant exception that the Gokstad man died in battle, not of old age as previously assumed. In comparison Holck's assessment of the Oseberg women revealed that the percieved age of the two women of 50 and 25 was wrong, and that they are more likely around 80 and 50 years old. Through ^{13}C- examination Holck found that both of the women had lived an elite life with a meat based diet.[128] Such tests, which also included DNA tests, were all tests which were not possible to undertake in the late nineteenth century nor in the 1920s, but these tests were inconclusive and indicated no relationship between the Oseberg women and/or the Gokstad man.[129] Furthermore, modern research at the Viking Ship Museum in Oslo has re-dated both the Oseberg burial, suggesting that the mound was constructed in the year 834, while the Gokstad mound was built in 900 effectivly ending the possiblity of the Gokstad man and the Oseberg queen being Åsa and Olaf as suggested by Brøgger.[130] Both the Viking Ship Museum and the 2007 tests left the identity question completely open with regard to the occupants in both graves with suggestions of both secular and religious leadership being suggested in the modern research. This questioning and reassement of the identity of the occupants of the graves has resulted in a reassessment in the presentation of these burials and artifacts at the Viking Ship museum in Oslo, in which the Oseberg Queen and Olaf are both nameless and no definite identity is applied to the mounds.

4.7. Redisplay and Continuous Status as National Symbols

Following the excavations, as discussed above, the ships were stored and displayed in what contemporary observers called a 'shed' in the square between the National Gallery and the Cultural history museum.[131] It was therefore seen as beneficial to design and build a

---

[128] Kulturhistorisk Museum, *Levd liv: en utstilling om skjelettene fra Oseberg og Gokstad* [Lived life: an exhibition about the skeletons from Oseberg and Gokstad] (Oslo, 2007), 6-9.
[129] Kulturhistorisk Museum, *Levd liv.*, 14-15.
[130] *Kulturhistorisk Museum*, 'Kvinnene i Oseberggraven' [The women from the Oseberg grave] http://www.khm.uio.no/besok-oss/vikingskipshuset/utstillinger/oseberg/3-oseberggraven.html (Accessed: 05/02/16); *Kulturhistorisk Museum*, 'Gokstadskipet' [The Gokstad Ship]' http://www.khm.uio.no/besok-oss/vikingskipshuset/utstillinger/gokstad/2-gokstadskipet.html (Accessed:05/02/16); *Kulturhistorisk Museum*, 'Gokstadgraven' [The Gokstad grave] http://www.khm.uio.no/besok-oss/vikingskipshuset/utstillinger/gokstad/3-gokstadgraven.html (Accessed 05/02/16).
[131] Gjessing, *Vikingskipsfunnene*., 14; Sjøvold, *Vikingeskipene*, 11-12.

purpose-built museum for these artefacts, both to display them better to the public, but also to preserve them in the best possible way. The Viking Ship museum was designed in 1914 by the Norwegian Architect Arnstein Arneberg (1882-1961) as a new department of the Cultural History Museum at the University of Oslo.[132] Arneberg's design of the Viking Ship Museum alongside his design for the City Hall in Oslo established him as one of the leading figures of Norwegian architecture of the first half of the twentieth century; his style has since been seen as a National romantic style of architecture drawing inspiration in the surviving medieval buildings of Norway.[133] Although the first part of the museum opened in 1926 with the transfer of the Oseberg ship from central Oslo to Bydgøy, the building process took time, and the last section of the museum did not open until 1957.[134] The Gokstad ship and Tune ship were moved to Bydgøy in 1932, and the remaining objects from the burials were not transferred to the new museum until 1957 when the building was completed.[135] But through this new museum building the Oseberg, the Gokstad and Tune ships were finally displayed alongside each other giving context to each other, and providing a framework for re-displaying the finds from the excavations. The re-display allowed for new interpretations and a more accessible collection dedicated to the Viking ships and the graves they were found in. Yet the Oseberg ship was still given pride of place in the museum, while even in the re-display of the ships, the Tune ship was sidelined alongside the other artefacts from the graves, highlighting that the symbolic importance and beauty of the Oseberg ship placed it among the key treasures of the nation.

Following his publication in 1916 about the Borre mounds and the graves of the Ynglinga dynasty, examined above,[136] Brøgger started a campaign to preserve the Borre cemetery for the future, through which he aimed to create something akin to Pierre Nora's *sites of memory.*[137] Through converting the imagined and metaphysical sites of memory into a physical site, Brøgger attempted through his study to link the Ynglinga Dynasty to the Norwegian landscape. The key to Brøgger's aim was to convince the owners of the properties on which the burial mounds existed to preserve them for the future. Fortunately

---

[132] Gjessing, *Vikingskipsfunnene*., 12-13; A.W. Brøgger, *Osebergskibets Flytning til Bygdøy* [The Moving of the Osebership to Bygdøy] (Oslo, 1928), 8.
[133] E. Seip, 'Arnstein Arneberg', in *NBL* https://nbl.snl.no/Arnstein_Arneberg.
[134] C. Arnesen, *'Vikingskipshuset på Bygdøy'*[The Vikingship house at Bygdøy], in *SNL* https://snl.no/Vikingskipshuset_p%C3%A5_Bygd%C3%B8y
[135] E.M. Næss, 'Om Vikingskiphuset' [About the Viking Ship museum], on *Kulturhistorisk museum* [Museum of Cultural History], http://www.khm.uio.no/om/tall-og-fakta/om-bygningene/vikingskipshuset.html (accessed 12/07/16).
[136] See above, page 120; Brøgger, *Borrefundet*., 33.
[137] Nora, 'Between Memory and History', 7-29; See chapter 1.

for Brøgger, the Borre mounds were only split between two properties, half on land owned by the Norwegian State; the other half was part of a farm owned by the Norwegian industrialist Sam Eyde. Eyde and Brøgger convinced the Norwegian Parliament in 1927 that a permanent preservation of the mounds at Borre was needed, which resulted in a territory of 65,000 square metres including the mounds and their immediate surroundings becoming a protected site. King Haakon VII noted at the opening of Borre National Park that:

> The respect for the memories and the knowledge the past can give us contributes to an increased national identity and strengthens our society.[138]

Through Haakon VII's words, one might glimpse some of the importance the Viking past held for Norwegian society at this time, resulting in sites and artefacts of the age becoming visitor attractions both for domestic and international visitors.

As discussed above, in 1932 the Borre mounds were elevated to a national park to preserve them and their memory for the future, whereas the Gokstad and Oseberg mounds were rebuilt after their excavations, resulting them remaining monuments in the Norwegian mnemonic landscape, embodying the interpretations of Brøgger.[139] The idea of Vestfold as the cradle of the Norwegian kingdom is one of the key reasons for why the discoveries in Vestfold, the Gokstad and Oseberg burials, became such strong symbols of the Norwegian nation. The restoration of the Oseberg and Gokstad mounds following the excavations allowed them to maintain their place in the memory landscape of Vestfold and Norway. In addition to restoring the mounds as monuments, the bones discovered in the Oseberg mound were reburied in 1948,[140] whereas the Gokstad bones were returned to the mound in 1929.[141] By restoring both the mounds and the graves, the sites returned to their original status as burial sites, and through the proposed identifications of the bones as those belonging to Harald Fairhair's grandmother and uncle, the mounds assumed the status of royal burials and monuments to the origins of the Norwegian kingdom. Whereas the Oseberg and Gokstad mounds were restored and their occupants reburied within them,

---

[138] 'Aktelsen for minnene og den lærdom fortiden kan gi oss, bidrar til å høyne nasjonalfølelsen og styrke samfunnet.' Haakon VII, in Borre Kommune (Ed.), *Nasjonalparken i Borre : Jubileumsskrift ved et 50-års minne 1932-1982* [The National Park: an Anniversary book at the 50-year-anniversary 1932-1982] (Horten, 1982) 39.

[139] See page 125-29.

[140] T. Gansum, 'Oseberghaugen' [The Oseberg mound] in *Vestfold Fylkeskommunes avdeling for kulturarv på nett* [*Vestfold County Council's department of Cultural heritage online*] https://www.vfk.no/Tema-og-tjenester/Kulturarv/Hvordan-deler-vi-inn-fortiden/Vikinghistorie/Oseberghaugen/ (accessed 11/07/16). .

[141] A. Bakken, *Gokstadfunnet 1880 : Bygdefolk og gamle Aviser forteller* [The Gokstad discovery 1880: Locals and old Newspapers talk] (Tønsberg, 1959), 43.

the mounds at Borre received a different yet similar form of respect and restoration in the late 1920s and early 30s.

Following the excavation of the Gokstad ship (1880), and the Oseberg ship (1904), the Tune ship became a 'surplus' ship receiving less attention than before;[142] perhaps due to the relatively sparse furnishings of the Tune burial combined with the state of survival of the ship had compared to the two other ships. Similar to Tune the Viking ship burials around Avaldsnes on Karmøy excavated in a series of excavations between 1866 and 1902, as well as two earlier antiquarian digs in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,[143] were among the ships that had fallen into the shadows following the discovery of the Gokstad and Oseberg ships. This was evident in that unlike the Oseberg and Gokstad mound, the Tune mound was never reconstructed after its excavation. It was not until 1947 that a stone was raised to mark the site of the mound, and a relief of the ship was installed on the site to illustrate the ship's original size and location.[144] Through these two installations, the Historical Association and Rotary club in Østfold, the county where the Tune ship was found, re-established the Tune ship in the memory landscape of Østfold, even though the ship is almost forgotten in the national context.[145]

Other sites suffered the same fate as Tune and Avaldsnes: Farmandhaugen in Tønsberg, Halvardshaugen in Ringerike, and Raknehaugen in Romerike only assumed a role as a local or regional identity marker and were effectively forgotten in the national context.[146] For whereas the excavation of these mounds yielded finds that shed light on the Viking Age in Norway, they were rarely or never set in the context of the *Heimskringla* narrative. They became part of a memory landscape within the nation, but separate from the nation, thus being imbued with a history and identity only known to locals and historians and archaeologists studying the period of their construction. Their inclusion in Shetelig's and Brøgger's studies, therefore, highlights how they came to exist within the national memory landscape and part of it, but that their mnemonic role is only related to the identities of their respective localities.

4.8 Conclusion

[142] Shetelig, *Tuneskibet*, 2.
[143] A. Opedal, *De glemte skipsgravene: makt og myter på Avaldsnes* [The forgotten shipgraves: power and myths at Avaldsnes] (Stavanger, 1998) 13-28.
[144] Marstrander, *Tuneskipet.*, 27, 30.
[145] Marstrander, *Tuneskipet.*, 27, 30.
[146] Brøgger, *Borrefundet*, 21, 33, 61, 65.

Through Haakon VII's words at the opening of the Borre National Park in 1932, one can sense that in both objects and landscape Norway had now found a past worthy of remembering. Through the identification of the Oseberg and Gokstad ships as belonging to relatives of the Fairhair Dynasty, the Norwegian Government and the academic community gave these artefacts and sites an important role in the cultural memory of the Nation.

Internationally the discovery of the Gokstad ship was compared with the marvels of the classical world and became an effective tool for international promotion of Norway as a nation with a long history. Alongside the Gokstad ship replica at the Norwegian pavilion at the World Fair in Chicago in 1893, stood a replica stave church, another emblematic object from medieval Norway. In Norway too, the discovery of the Viking ships was linked to the stave churches, triggering the development of the so-called *Dragestilen* [the Dragon Style], referring to the dragons found both in Stave church portals and on Viking Ships.[147] The linkage between the eighth- and ninth-century Viking ships and the twelfth-century Stave churches originates from *Fortidsminneforeningen*'s [Association for the Preservation of Antiquities'] preservation work and the ideals they based their works on, resulting in the two very different items being perceived as part of the same cultural package and representing the same period: the Golden age of Norway.

Following the Oseberg discovery, the Viking ships made their way into Norwegian textbooks, as discussed in chapter 3, and became popularised through the displays first at the Museum of Cultural History and later at the purpose built Viking Ship Museum at Bygdøy. But the early interpretations of the Oseberg ship's occupant by Brøgger highlighted the significance of the Oseberg ship in Norway. Later interpretations turned away from Brøgger's Ynglinga interpretation of the Oseberg grave, and re-discovered Nicolaysen's ethnographic comparisons between the Viking ships and later ships still in use at the end of the nineteenth century in the North and the West of Norway. By re-examining this comparison, Shetelig and Sjøvold pointed to a cultural continuity in Norway from the Viking ships into the nineteenth century through the techniques for ship building, an argument that simultaneously suggested shared ethno-culture with relation to ships, a culture that in its geographical extent mirrored the modern state of Norway, making Viken just as integral to the nation as Northern Norway.

[147] O. Storsletten, 'Dragestil' [The Dragon style], in *SNL* https://snl.no/dragestil; O. Storsletten, 'Gamlehaugen' [The Old mound], in *SNL* https://snl.no/Gamlehaugen; Å.M.Torvanger, 'Jens Kielland' in *NBL* https://nbl.snl.no/Jens_Kielland

For, as highlighted above, the identification of Åsa as the Oseberg queen cemented not only the Norwegian claim to Vestfold and Viken but also gave the Norwegian origin myth tangible evidence for the power and prestige held by the Ynglinga dynasty. Alongside Queen Ragnhild whose dream prophesied the unification of Norway (chapters 2 and 3) Åsa, through Brøgger's identification, took on the symbolic role of the mother of the nation through their son and grandson Harald Fairhair and, through him his dynasty. Even though Vestfold in the tenth century might have been more Danish than Norwegian, the 'Norwegianness' of the Oseberg and Gokstad ships has never been doubted in the context of them as national symbols, imbued with cultural memory that cannot be changed in the mind of the nation, even if the historical interpretation of contextual narratives might have changed. The cultural memory imbued in the Oseberg ship is also hinted to in the 1981 edition of the seven-volume work on Norwegian Art History, where volume one bears the title *Fra Oseberg til Borgund* [From Oseberg to Borgund], suggesting that both the Oseberg ship and the Stave Church as Borgund are the two foremost examples of Norwegian art in the early and high medieval period.[148] Furthermore, it highlights the longevity of the intrinsic Norwegianness embodied in the Oseberg ship.

This resistance towards change is further evident in the current and the next planned imprint of the Norwegian currency Norwegian Kroner (NOK), where the prow of the Gokstad ship will decorate the present 20NOK coin, and is envisaged to decorate one side of the next 100NOK note.[149] Just as the Gokstad ship through the 20 kroner coin is part of Norway's everyday life and in that a transmittable site of memory, the site of Borre is still protected for its historical significance, alongside three other major historical sites in Norway Haraldshaugen, Stiklestad, and the Eidsvoll Building as national sites of memories. Two of these locations, Haraldshaugen and Stiklestad, and the memory they present will be examined in the next chapter, as we move from the cultural iconography to explore how the unification of Norway was remembered and celebrated in the second half of the long nineteenth century. Through this we can see an increasing popular involvement in the remembering the origins of Norway and, through that, Norwegian nationalism.

---

[148] K. Berg (Ed.), *Norges kunsthistorie. 1: Fra Oseberg til Borgund* [Norwegian Art History 1: from Oseberg to Borgund] (Oslo, 1981).

[149] H. Singsaas, 'Pressemelding' [Press announcement], *Norges Bank* [Bank of Norway], (accessed 28 March 2016) http://www.norges-bank.no/Publisert/Pressemeldinger/2014/Pressemeldin-7-oktober-2014/.

Chapter 5: Commemorations and the People.

5.1. Introduction

This study has previously referred to celebratory events attended by historians, politicians and royals in Norway throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, where the events themselves make clear references to the history of the Norwegian kingdom in the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries. Events such as the millennium of the unification of Norway celebrated in 1872, and the nine-hundred-year commemoration of the battle of Stiklestad make clear and undeniable references to Harald Fairhair's victory in 872, and the fall of Olaf Haraldsson in 1030. Events such as the millennary of the foundation of Tønsberg in 1871, and the nine-hundred-year anniversaries of the founding of Trondheim in 1897 and Sarpsborg in 1916, all based themselves on events in the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries. Celebrations like these stimulated the production of medievalist art, music and academic writing examining the events celebrated; they therefore represent a vital stimuli for the use of the middle ages in the development of an imagined community in Norway in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. As explored in Chapter 1, scholars such as Benedict Anderson, Lyn Spillman, Patrick Geary and Øystein Sørensen see a nation as the product of cultural and political processes where the participants believe they are part of one exclusive ethnic or national group. This group never changed, and will always maintain it is a natural and stable unit that exists beyond one's family and that one believes oneself to be linked with.

The imagined community believes as such that it shares a culture, language and history, and above all shares a common origin. In this sense, the Norwegian people might see itself as a homogenous ethnic group, where the ethnic nation and the political state of Norway share the same borders that through history textbooks (see chapter 3) were maintained through the centuries and thus were the natural unit of the nation. However, the imagined community of the Norwegian nation has, as with many other national movements, no room for non-national elements within its nation and state, for the nation believes that all within it must be a part of it, and that there is deliberately no room for diversity within the community. Furthermore, the imagined community of the Norwegian nation would see the kings of the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries as its own kings, and believes that the peoples who lived within Norway naturally must have become the modern Norwegians. However, already in Ohthere's account of his journey to King Alfred's court in the 890s it is evident that the territories which make up modern day Norway

contain a dimension of ethnic diversity through the Sami population.[1] Continuous references in *Heimskingla* from the reigns of Harald Fairhair and Olaf Haraldsson point to an ethnically mixed population in the Norwegian kingdom. Gro Steinsland highlighted in her book *Mytene som skapte Norge [The myths that created Norway]* that the historians Rudolf Keyser and P.A. Munch both ignored the Sami element in the family tree of the Earl's of Lade in *Håleygjatal*, and saw the Sami and Kven population in north of Norway as foreign nationals residing within the borders of the nation.[2] In his recent book on the *Landnám* of Iceland from north of Norway, Alf Ragnar Nielssen suggested that most of internal Norway in the Viking Age had a population which was not ethnically homogenous, but mixed between Sami and Norse settlements.[3] In addition to the indigenous Sami population, Norwegian society saw an influx of Finnish speaking migrants, first in the sixteenth century and later in the nineteenth century,[4] and then finally the Jewish migration at the end of the nineteenth century.[5] All these minorities in Norway were challenges to the imagined unity of the national community and therefore had to be nationalised. This challenge to the nation resulted in a policy of nationalisation of the minorities in the period 1850-1950, during which the minority languages were almost eradicated, and the traditional cultures replaced by a Norwegian culture. This policy was partially carried out through forced education of children in Norwegian speaking communities, away from their native settlements, resulting in the destruction of native language and cultural understanding.[6] In addition to the modern and external challenges to the imagined community of the Norwegian nation, the saga tradition in *Heimskringla* stating the extent of the Norwegian kingdom was in itself an imagined and invented unit of the nation. In addition to Keyser and Munch's lack of acknowledgement of the Sami element of the Norwegian population, the same authors, alongside their contemporaries, did not challenge *Heimskringla's* account of the borders of the Norwegian kingdom. Later scholarship suggests that the early kingdom of Norway did not emerge from Vestfold and spread north and west to create the Norwegian kingdom. Instead, this scholarship suggests that until the eleventh century,

[1] Bately, Englert (eds.)*, Othere's Voyages*.
[2] G. Steinsland, *Mytene som skapte Norge* [The Myths that created Norway] (Oslo, 2012), 103.
[3] Nielssen, *Landnåm fra Nord.,* 69.
[4] A. Minken, 'Skogfinner', in *Store Norske Leksikon på nett* [Norwegian Encyclopedia Online] https://snl.no/skogfinner; A. Minken, 'Kvener', in *Store Norske Leksikon på nett* [Norwegian Encyclopedia Online] https://snl.no/kvener.
[5] O. Mendelsohn, 'Jøder- de Nordiske land' [Jews in the Nordic countries], in *SNL* https://snl.no/j%C3%B8der%2Fde_nordiske_land.
[6] K. Olsen, Identities, Ethnicities and Borderzones, (Stamsund, 2010) 11.

eastern and central Norway, the area around the Oslo-fjord, was under Danish influence and seen as a more or less integrated part of the Danish kingdom.[7] This implies again that the burials at Borre and the Oseberg and Gokstad burial might have been local magnates or members of a Danish royal dynasty,[8] not members of the Ynglinga family as originally suggested.[9] With so many internal and external challenges to the nation, the Norwegian community needed to celebrate the golden age of the people, to stimulate a sense of community and historical continuity for the nation.

In this chapter, I will, therefore, explore how commemoration events presented and stimulated a social and popular memory of the Viking Age. This chapter will furthermore examine the way in which these messages were conveyed to the public, how opinion-forming newspapers were used to excite the public and what kind of reception the newspapers and the public observers gave the events. For as Aled Jones suggested in an article about the nineteenth century media and Welsh identity that: '…the expansion of print helped to generate and, in turn, to be further stimulated by, a cultural mobilization which enabled new forms of national identity to gain currency'.[10] However, there are issues with using newspapers to assess the reception of events of commemoration among newspaper readers, for reception theory suggests that:

> First, the reader is unable to test whether his/her understanding of the text is correct. And second, there is no regulative context between the text and the reader to establish intent: this context must be constructed by the reader from textual clues and signals.[11]

It is, therefore, impossible at the current time to assess how the parishioners or newspaper readers interpreted and received these events. For as Umberto Eco puts it 'the meaning of every message is dependent on the interpretative choices of the receiver',[12] in other words, what a newspaper reader can understand and receive of cultural references from reports on the celebration is quite open, some of this understanding could potentially be teased out from letters to the editor printed in the newspapers, but no such letters were found in relation to the 1872, 1897 and 1930 festivities. However, it is possible to state that the

[7] S. Bagge, *From Viking Stronghold to Christian Kingdom; State formation in Norway c. 900-1350* (Copenhagen, 2010), 25.
[8] See footnotes 42;44 in chapter 4.
[9] B. Solberg, 'Osebergfunnet' [The Oseberg discovery], in *SNL* https://snl.no/Osebergfunnet; C. Krag, 'Olav Geirstadalv' in *SNL* https://nbl.snl.no/Olav_Geirstadalv
[10] A. Jones, 'The Nineteenth-Century Media and Welsh Identity', in L. Brake, B. Bell, D. Finkelstein (Eds.), *Nineteenth-century Media and the Construction of Identities* (Basingstoke, 2000), 310.
[11] R.C. Holub, *Reception Theory: A Critical Introduction* (London, 1984), 93.
[12] U. Eco, *The Limits of Interpretation* (Bloomington, 1994), 45.

journalists attending the celebrations must have shared with both the readers and the celebration committees a set of common cultural references through which they could interpret these events. Newspaper reports covering the celebrations in 1872, 1897 and 1930 utilize the already presented interpretation of the events as the framework of their coverage of the celebrations. All of these newspaper accounts, alongside the textbooks, helped to set an infrastructure of memory and ownership for the nation, and through that emphasise how local and national celebrations were similar and related. Martin Conboy has pointed out that newspapers in the nineteenth century bridged the gap between the individual and the national community, and at the same time narrated to the reader a national framework for her/his identity.[13]

The chapter will also examine the legacy of the commemorations in the public sphere, to see the wider cultural reception of these celebrations and the historical memory they present. The study will examine these topics through three case studies which are both representative of the political context in which they take place, and well documented and represent a meeting point of different parts of Norwegian society in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These are the commemorations of the unification millennium in 1872, the nine-hundred-year anniversary of Trondheim in 1897, and the nine-hundred-year anniversary of the battle of Stiklestad in 1930. However, there are other commemoration events that fall within the time period of this study which will be briefly explored in the last section of this chapter, such as the millennary of the foundation of Tønsberg in 1871,[14] or the millennary of the foundation of Normandy in 1911, which was celebrated in Ålesund at the alleged birthplace of Rollo,[15] and the millennary of the foundation of Sarpborg in 1916.[16] However, these celebrations have not been extensively examined in this study as most are local celebrations of local events and thus do not represent a national representation and remembering of a national history. The centenary of the Norwegian constitution in 1914 will not be explored in this study as it falls outside the direct framework of medievalism, and the use of the Middle Ages in these commemorations.[17]

---

[13] M. Conboy, *The Press and Popular Culture* (London, 2002), 77.
[14] 'Tønsberg Lørdag Eftermiddag den 24de juni 1871' [Tønsberg Saturday Afternoon the 24 June 1871'] *Aftenposten* [The Evening Post], 24 June 1871, 2; 'Tønsbergs Tuisindaarsjubilæum' [Tønsberg's Millenia] *Aftenposten* [The Evening Post], 26 June 1871, 1.
[15] 'Ganger-Rolf-statuen' [The Rollo Statue], *Nordre Bergenhus Amtstidene* [*Nordre Bergenhus* County Times], 28 June 1911, 2.
[16] E. Bakken, *Olavs by* [Olaf's City], (Sarpsborg, 2006), 25.
[17] 'Amtsskulelærar R. Holes 17. Mai-tale' [Teacher R. Holes 17 May speech] *Nordlands Avis [Nordland's Post]*, 19 May 1914, 1.

Structurally this chapter will first introduce why these celebrations are relevant for the wider study, it will then explore the three main celebrations on which this chapter is based, and analyse the events through three main themes. This will allow the chapter to examine the acts of commemoration in relation to the messages they convey, their legacy, and how this legacy was presented to the Norwegian people. Finally, this chapter will assess how this plays into the context of memory uses and maintenance in Norway during this period. The chapter will then briefly examine how the local celebrations in Tønsberg in 1871 and Sarpsborg in 1916 fit with wider context, before moving on to conclude findings in relation to the previous chapters.

Just as with historical research, textbooks and museums, commemorations and celebrations are a reflection of the society and time in which they take place more than of the subject celebrated or commemorated. This has been illustrated and argued by scholars such as Inge Lønning,[18] Barbara Yorke,[19] Lyn Spillman and John Gillis through their case studies and theoretical frameworks.[20] These studies, as stated in the introductory chapter of this thesis, will form the methodological framework for this chapter. Of the three anniversaries and commemorations selected above, only the 1897 and 1930 anniversaries have been studied to any degree by Inge Lønning and Øyvind Østang.[21] Lønning's article from 1980 examined briefly the long lines of the modern religious Olaf cult within the Lutheran Church from 1890 onwards, whereas Østang's study explored these celebrations with the aim of justifying the establishment of a new archbishopric centred on Trondheim, based on the medieval archbishopric of Nidaros.

However, the research that exists on the 1930 anniversary is in part due to the nature of these commemorations and partly due to Olaf Kolsrud's immense undertaking after the anniversary. Kolsrud collected all the sources from the commemorations in Norway and abroad, which he published in 1937.[22] The text contains a full review and account of all the sermons, speeches, hymns, festivities and lectures held during the celebration summer of 1930 in Trondheim, both for the Lutheran and the Catholic

[18] I. Lønning, 'Helgenkongen i Nytiden' [The Saintking in the New Age], in *Kirke og Kultur* [Church and Culture] Vol. 85 (1980), 626.
[19] B. Yorke, *The King Alfred millennary in Winchester, 1901* (Winchester, 1999), 1.
[20] L. Spillman, *Nation and Commemoration: Creating National Identities in the United States and Australia* (Cambridge, 1997); J.R. Gillis (ed.), *Commemorations: the Politics of National Identity* (Princeton, 1994).
[21] Lønning, 'Helgenkongen i nytiden' 626-640; Østang, *Hjem til Nidaros.,* 129-143.
[22] O. Kolsrud, ed.), *Nidaros og Stiklestad; Olavs-jubileet; 1930 Minneskrift* [Nidaros and Stiklestad; the Olaf-jubilee 1930; a memorial text] (Oslo, 1937), viii.

celebrations. Kolsrud's volume also contains a large number of the telegrams and greetings sent to the celebration from all over the world, as well as a selection of reports from celebrations outside Norway, and speeches related to these events. The account does not contain newspaper accounts of these events or extensive accounts of the local celebrations that took place in relation to the 1930 celebrations. These exist in the collection of the Norwegian National Library.

To be able to piece together the events of 1872 and 1897, this study has had to rely on the accounts found in newspapers, from all over Norway. Since a publication similar to that of Kolsrud's does not exist, it has been beneficial for this study to use the summative narratives in the newspapers to give an overview over the events. By using regional, as well as national newspapers, this study will highlight how different political and social groups in the country presented and engaged with the ideas conveyed through the commemorations. To be able to examine the ideas conveyed through the commemorations, and this legacy, this chapter will to engage with newspapers, literature, meeting records, songs, speeches and pictures, all which have their own methods and political motivations for their message. This is particularly true for the 1897 commemoration of the foundation of Trondheim, where the celebrations were divided between two different days, with the two different political factions, those of Venstre and Høyre, publicly clashing over the celebrations throughout the summer in the newspapers of the city and in the regions around the city.

In the following section, the chapter will examine the events of commemoration in detail to assess their medievalist and nationalist nature and message. Attention will focus on details regarding the popular relationship with these events, often represented in attendance estimates and celebrations taking place in unofficial locations, or mimicking the official celebrations.

5.2. 1872: Thousand Years as a United Country.

The commemorations of Harald Fairhair's victory at the Battle of Hafrsfjord took place in Haugesund on 18 July 1872, a thousand years after the battle allegedly took place. Simultaneously with the great national celebrations in Haugesund, attended by the Crown-Prince and members of the government, similar celebrations took place in cities and towns

throughout Norway, including the capital Stockholm, where a group of Norwegians celebrated the unification of their homeland.

The festivities on the 18th of July started with a parade from the city centre of Haugesund out to the suburb Haugå where Skåre Church and the alleged burial mound of Harald Fairhair are located (see appendix 5 for location). Following the parade, a selected group, including Crown Prince Oscar and members of the Norwegian Parliament together with the great and the good of Norwegian and Haugesund Society, attended the service, while the spectators that had gathered to witness the events gathered outside the church. After the Mass, the Crown Prince and the invited guests, as well as the spectators, were witness to a series of speeches by the dramatist Henrik Ibsen,[23] by an Endre Thorsen who spoke on behalf of the Norwegians in America,[24] songs and most importantly the unveiling of Haraldshaugen Monument.[25] The celebrations concluded with an official state dinner in honour of the celebrations and the Crown Prince. *Aftenposten* [the Evening Post] noted on the 22 July that no official celebration had taken place in Stavanger on the 18 July, as most of the city's population had made their way to Haugesund by boat to attend the celebrations there, the newspaper also noted that Stavanger had celebrated the millennary of the unification on the 17 July instead, as that was the day when the Prince had stopped by the city on his way to Haugesund.[26] Other local and regional newspapers throughout Norway reported on similar local celebrations on the 18 July in cities such as Oslo, Steinkjær, Kristiansand in the south of Norway, Kristiansund in the north-west of Norway and Fredrikstad.[27] Bergen, on the other hand, celebrated the unification on both the 18 July as well as on the 24 July when Prince Oscar arrived in the city.[28] In addition to the

[23] H. Ibsen, *Ved Tusendårs-festen den 18de juli 1872* [At the Millennium Celebration the 18 July 1872], (Christiania, 1872).
[24] E.T. Thorsen, *Hilsen fra Amerika i Andledning as Norges Tusindaarsfest den 18. Juli 1872* [A Greeting from America at the occation of the Millenium of Norway 18 July 1872] (Chicago, 1872).
[25] O. F. (II.) Bernadotte, 'Ved Afsløringen av mindesmærket over Harald Haarfager' [At the Unveiling of the Memorial over Harald Fairhair], in O. F. (II.) Bernadotte, *Vers og Prosa* [Poetry and Prose] (Christiania, 1897), 43.
[26] 'Fredrikstad 19de juli' [Fredrikstad 19 July], *Fredrikstads Tilskuer [The Fredrikstad observer]*, 20 July 1872, 2; 'Prins Oscars reise' [Prince Oscar's journey], *Aftenposten* [The Evening Post], 17 July 1872, 2; 'Tusindaarsfesten' [The millennium celebration], *Aftenposten* [The Evening Post], 22 July 1872, 2.
[27] 'Tusindaarsfesten' [The millennia celebrations], *Aftenposten* [The Evening Post], 19th of July 1872, 1;'Steenkjær den 18de Juli' [Steinkjær the 18 July], *Indherreds-posten [The Indherreds Post]*, 19 July 1872, 2;'Kristiansund' [Kristiansund], *Romsdals Amtstidene [Romsdal County Times]*, 20 July 1872, 1; 'Fredrikstad 19de Juli' [Fredrikstad 19 July], *Fredrikstads Tilskuer [The Fredrikstad observer]*, 20 July 1872, 1, 2.
[28] 'Tusindaarsfesten' [The Millenium Celebration], *Aftenposten [The evening post]*, 22 July 1872, 2; 'Bergen' [Bergen], *Bergens Adresseontoir Effterettninger [Bergen Times]*, 25 July 1872, 3.

celebrations inside Norway, a Bergen newspaper reported that similar celebrations had taken place in both Stockholm and Copenhagen.[29] *Fædrelandet* [The Fatherland], a Christian conservative newspaper from the Oslo area, estimated that approximately 15-20,000 people attended the celebrations in Haugesund.[30]

In addition to the celebrations in Haugesund, the most important and best-documented celebrations of the millennary took place in the Norwegian capital Oslo, where an estimated 40,000 people attended where a replica of the Haraldshaugen monument in Haugesund was erected, as well as a temporary Harald Fairhair statue outside the parliament building, on the square known as Eidsvoll place.[31] By placing this temporary statue outside the parliament, the celebration committee in Oslo emphasised the links between Harald Fairhair's kingdom and him as the defender of the Norwegian nation, and the role of the Norwegian parliament in the nineteenth century, which until the dissolution of the Union with Sweden in 1905, was one of the most important symbols of an independent Norway. This deliberate placing of the statue also created a visual link between the unification battle in 872, and the 1814 constitution, both landmarks in the development of the Norwegian nation; the first establishing the Norwegian nation and the second confirming its sovereignty and independence. The replica monument bore the inscription '*In memory of Harald Fairhair, who united the Norwegian counties into one realm, the Norwegian people erected this statue a thousand years after the battle in Hafrsfjord 872*.' The celebrations in Oslo took place, just like those in Haugesund, on the 18 July; the day started with celebratory church services throughout the city.[32] However, unlike the celebrations in Haugesund, the open air celebrations in Oslo did not start until 5pm in the afternoon. The celebrations in the afternoon were a series of musical performances by the choirs of the city, and the military orchestra, followed by a dance on Eidsvoll Plass, and the night was concluded with fireworks from the royal palace on the hill above the parliament and Eidsvoll Plass.[33]

---

[29] *Bergens Adresseontoir Effterettninger*, 25 July 1872, 4.
[30] 'Tusindaarsfesten I Hugesund' [The Millennium Celebration in Haugesund], *Fædrelandet [The Fatherland]*, 24 July 1872, 1.
[31] E.M. Boge, H. Hals, *Christiania og Omegn* [Christiania and the Surrounding Area] (Oslo, 1963), 24.
[32] 'Programmet for tusindsaars-folkefesten' [The program for the millennium celebrations], *Aftenposten* [The Evening Post], 19 July 1872, 1.
[33] 'Programmet for tusindsaars-folkefesten' [The program for the millennium celebrations], *Aftenposten* [The Evening Post], 19 July 1872, 1.

5.3. 1897: Nine Hundred Years since the Foundation of Trondheim

In the summer of 1897, the city of Trondheim celebrated its 900th anniversary of being founded according to Snorri Sturluson's Heimskingla in 997 by King Olaf Tryggvasson(see appendix 5 for location).[34] The event, that initially could have been a magnificent and splendid celebration of the history and development of the city over a few days, became instead a battle ground for political and cultural ideologies embodying the political turmoil of the late nineteenth century. It all started with Christopher Bruun, a priest and teacher, in 1893 calling for a remembrance of St Olaf for his efforts in the establishment of the church in Norway. Bruun's idea did not receive much positive attention, as the leading church hierarchy at the time considered, in line with the Lutheran doctrine, that saints had no role in the Norwegian church. However, Christopher Bruun's ideas were reintroduced by the poet and liberal politician for the party Venstre, Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson (1832-1910) in the spring and early summer of 1897 when he encouraged the City Council of Trondheim to include St Olaf into the celebrations of the founding of the city,[35] and to hold the celebration on the 29 July, the date on which Olaf's sainthood had been celebrated prior to the Reformation. The city council, dominated by a conservative majority from the party Høyre, in cooperation with King Oscar II, arranged for the celebrations to take place on the 18 and 19 July,[36] not on the 29th.[37] This became the official celebration of the city jubilee.

Aftenposten [The Evening Post] reported that the celebrations started on the 18 July 1897 with the arrival of King Oscar II in the city, and that it continued through the day with a celebratory service in Trondheim Cathedral, followed by dinner at the royal residence for selected guests, a public parade, and an open-air gathering in the park at Ilevolden.[38] During the gathering, the king and the mayor of the city spoke. The following day the celebrations included a military parade and a royal visit to the city's anniversary exhibition. *Aftenposten*'s [The Evening Post] report estimated that 35,000 people had attended the gathering at Ilevolden in the evening of the 18th.[39]

---

[34] *HFF,* 198.
[35] A. Hannevik, 'Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson', in *NBL* https://nbl.snl.no/Bj%C3%B8rnstjerne_Bj%C3%B8rnson
[36] 'Jubilæet I Trondhjem' [The Jubileum in Trondheim], *Aftenposten*, 19 July 1897, Aften, 2.
[37] Østang*, Hjem til Nidaros.*, 58; 'Olavsdagen' [The Olafs Day], *Indherredposten*, 4 August 1897, 2; 'Olavsfesten' [The Olafs Celebration], *Indherredposten*, 4 August 1897, 1-2.
[38] 'Jubilæet I Trondhjem' [The Jubileum in Trondheim], *Aftenposten* [The Evening Post]*,* 19 July 1897, Aften, 2.
[39] 'Jubilæet I Trondhjem' [The Jubileum in Trondheim], *Aftenposten* [The Evening Post], 19 July 1897, Aften, 2.

As a response to the city council's decision, Bjørnson arranged, in coalition with his party allies in Venstre, an alternative celebration of the founding of the city, a celebration to take place on the 29 July to emphasise the impact Olaf Haraldsson had on the development of the city and the kingdom. Bjørnson's celebration started on the 28 July in the evening with an address given by the historian Ernst Sars in a venue known as the Circus. The following day started with Trondheim covered in flags, not the official union flag, but the clean Norwegian flag, without the Swedish colours, as favoured by Venstre.[40] Bjørnson and his allies had initially wanted to celebrate mass in the cathedral to commemorate the impact of Olaf Haraldsson on the city, but they had to settle for a concert instead due to strong opposition from the clergy. After the concert, the celebration continued with a procession to Ilevolden where Bjørnson spoke to an audience estimated at 10-12,000, the evening concluded with dancing in the park. The following day, the 30th, a guided tour of the cathedral was put on followed by a musical concert in the Circus, which concluded the celebrations.[41]

5.4. 1930: Nine Hundred Years since the Battle of Stiklestad

The nine-hundred-year anniversary of the battle of Stiklestad (see appendix 5 for location) became a global celebration with festivities taking place from Java, China and Australia in the east to the USA and Canada in the west. The nine-hundred-year celebrations were especially marked by Norwegian societies around the world. These worldwide celebrations came in addition to the festivities that took place locally in many Norwegian parishes and the national celebration in Trondheim in the week 28 July-3 August 1930.[42] During that week Trondheim Cathedral, also known as Nidarosdomen, became the centre of Norwegian attention and regained its status as the religious heart of the kingdom. Over the week from the 28 July to the 3 August the cathedral, as well as several other churches in the city, were venues where celebratory masses were held, masses that commemorated the conversion and Christianisation of the Norwegian people, and the Christian legacy of Olaf Haraldsson's regime and sainthood. The week started on the 28 July with the re-consecration of the nave of the Cathedral after it had been reconstructed to celebrate the nine-hundred-year anniversary of the conversion of Norway. This

[40] 'Olavsfesten' [The Olafs Celebration], *Indherredposten [The Indherred's Post]*, 4 August 1897, 1-2.
[41] 'Olavsdagen' [The Olafs Day], *Indherredposten [The Indherred's Post]*, 4 August 1897, 2.
[42] *NOS,* xii-xv; 'Olsok dagen i Oslokirkene'[The Olsokday in Oslo's churches], *Aftenposten [The evening post],* 31 July 1930, 2.; 'Fulle kirker'[Full churches], *Stavanger Aftenblad [Stavanger Evening Post],* 29 July 1930, 3.; 'Olsok feiringen'[The Olsok Celebrations], *Hamar Arbeiderblad [Hamar Workers magazine],* 30 July 1930, 3.; 'Kirkefesten i Nord Trøndelag'[The Church Jubilee in North Trøndelag], *Nordenfjeldske [North of the Mountain]*, 1 August 1930, 2.

reconstruction was part of a series of renovation programme that restored many of the medieval monuments found in Norway, such as the fortresses of Haakonshallen in Bergen, Akershus Festning in Oslo, and that restored the few surviving Stave churches as briefly discussed in chapter 4. In the following days, the Cathedral, as well as other venues in the city, and Stiklestad were sites of celebration through speeches, church services, receptions and concerts, all within a carefully planned schedule that tackled and accommodated the different elements of the Lutheran Norwegian Christianity alongside the historical and cultural celebrations of Olaf Haraldsson's legacy in the unity of the nation and the completion of the conversion of what became Norway. Although the 29 July was reserved for the celebration of Olaf Haraldsson's legacy and impact on Norwegian society, as one of the foundations of the Norwegian church, this celebration took place both in the cathedral in Trondheim and on the fields of Stiklestad, the site of Olaf's last battle.[43]

Other days such as Saturday 2 August were reserved to celebrate and remember the missionary activity undertaken by the Norwegian church.[44] 31 July marked and celebrated the Reformation and its gifts to Norwegian culture,[45] whereas the 30 July was used to celebrate the Lutheran Christian heritage preserved in the Norwegian-American communities in America, as well as a reception celebrating the ecumenical relations of the Norwegian church.[46]

The main justification for the nine-hundred-year anniversary celebrated in 1930 was not the fall and death of Olaf Haraldsson as the end of his life and reign in Norway, but rather on how Olaf's death and later sainthood contributed to the completion of the Norwegian conversion and the Christianisation of Norwegian society. This message was presented and supported through an inventive use of the biblical verses Matt. 16, 18; John 12, 24-26; Luke 9, 23-27; Matt. 13, 31-32; Luke 24, 44-49 connected with the medieval Olaf cult to create a new Lutheran liturgy for the remembrance of Olaf.[47] This undertaking was complicated because the new combined liturgy had to emulate both the Lutheran and

[43] E. Berggrav, 'Blodsdraapen' [The drop of Blood], in *NOS*, 90; R. Haugsøen, 'Preika ved Høgmessa i Nidaros-domen 29. Juli 1930' [Sermon at mass in Trondheim cathedral 29 July 1930], in *NOS,* 115.
[44] J.C. Petersen, 'Preken ved Misjonsgudstjenesten' [Sermon at the Missionary service] in *NOS,* 193-197.
[45] M. Bjønness-Jacobsen, 'Reformasjonens gave' [The Gift of the Reformation], in *NOS,* 173-176.
[46] J.A. Aasgaard, 'Preken ved Festgudstjeneten i Nidaros Domkirke paa Norsk-Amerikanernes dag 30 juli 1930' [Sermon at the Celebratory mass in Trondheim Cathedral on the day for Norwegian-Americans 30 July 1930], in *NOS*, 146-153.
[47] B. Stoeylen (ed.), *Liturgier, Tekster og Salmer til minnegudstjenester* [Liturgies, texts and psalms for the jubilee services] (Oslo, 1930).

medieval liturgy, but at the same time not appear as foreign or too catholic to the people attending the services.[48] The Norwegian Government's secretary of religion approved these attempts in February 1930 and sanctioned the newly developed liturgy.[49] The committee had chosen to extract the essence of the medieval liturgy, which focused on Olaf's martyrdom in the process of the conversion of Norway, and saw in it a core of missionary activities and a reflection of St Peter's status as the foundation for the Church.

During this celebration of Olaf's legacy in Norwegian history, Olaf's legacy became transformed and was integrated into the Lutheran Church. He took on a role similar to Luther as a one of the founding pillars of the Norwegian church. The church achieved this transition of Olaf from a Roman Catholic saint to a Lutheran saint through a series of theological moves, partly through the creation of a new liturgy and partly through creating a coherent rational for Olaf's sainthood within a Lutheran context. Christopher Bruun's argument from 1893 that Olaf's memory was worth celebrating, as he founded the Norwegian church, became a crucial element in the Church's justification for the 1930 festivities. However, the Lutheran tradition had no precedence for celebrating saints; instead it had a long tradition based on article 21 in the *Confessio Augustana* to remove non-biblical intercession of saints such as Olaf from the religious tradition. However, article 21 the *Confessio Augustana* was also the foundation for the re-assessment of Olaf, it states:

> Of the Worship of Saints they teach that the memory of saints may be set before us, that we may follow their faith and good works, according to our calling, as the Emperor may follow the example of David in making war to drive away the Turk from his country; for both are kings. But the Scripture teaches not the invocation of saints or to ask help of saints, since it sets before us the one Christ as the Mediator, Propitiation, High Priest, and Intercessor. He is to be prayed to, and has promised that He will hear our prayer; and this worship He approves above all, to wit, that in all afflictions He be called upon, 1 John 2, 1: If any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, etc.[50]

This article set a precedent through which Peter and other apostles were commemorated and celebrated in the Lutheran church as role models and inspiration for a good Christian faith. Peter's role as the foundation rock of the church, as detailed in Matt. 16, 18,

---

[48] O.Kolsrud, 'Olsok-Liturgien' [the Olsok Liturgy], in *NOS,* 40.
[49] S. Hasund; S. Oftenaes, 'Rundskrivelse fra det Kongelige Kirke og Undervisningsdepartement til Rikets sogneprester' [Letter from the Royal secretary of Church and Education to the ministers of the Kingdom], in *NOS,* 41.
[50] P. Melanchthon, 'Confessio Augustana' in *Triglot Concordia: The Symbolical Books of the Ev. Lutheran Church* (St Louis, 1921) http://www.iclnet.org/pub/resources/text/wittenberg/concord/web/augs-021.html.

alongside his missionary activities could, therefore, be remembered and celebrated within the Lutheran tradition. As the Norwegian Lutheran Church claims apostolic succession from the founders of the Church, in the twentieth century the Church also accepted that their Church tradition stretched further back than the Lutheran reformation. Just as Peter in the New Testament is presented as the foundation rock on which the early churches are built, Olaf became, in the words of the Bishop of Nidaros Johan Støren (1871–1956),[51] the foundation for Christianity in Norway.[52] Other bishops used similar analogies to explain the importance of Olaf's legacy. To them, Olaf Haraldsson, was the founder of Christianity in Norway, the instigator of the Christian Law codes, and the king who completed the unification of the country. As a result of this re-interpretation of the *Confessio Augustana* the new liturgy was developed for the celebration.

All of the selected readings in the new liturgy emphasise the missionary activities, and how one person's actions can be the foundations for the whole church. In this way, the Norwegian Lutheran church was able to accept the martyrdom of Olaf as the seed from which the Norwegian church tradition sprung, turning him into a Lutheran role model and saint. The chapter will return later to the relationship between the new liturgy with the bible reading that followed it, and the way this presented Olaf in 1930. Through these texts the Norwegian Church also created a link between the conversion of Norway in 1030 and the activities that the Norwegian missionary undertook throughout the world in the beginning of the twentieth century. Norwegian missionaries in both India and Madagascar sent their greetings to the commemoration of Olaf's fall, creating a link between Olaf's missionary work in Norway and those being undertaken by Norwegians in 1930 throughout the world.[53]

Simultaneously with the Lutheran celebration of St Olaf's sainthood, the Catholic Church in Norway had its celebration, both at Stiklestad on the 29 July and in Trondheim.[54] However, these festivities were all part of a year-long set of festivities in Trondheim, where 170 organisations and associations held their annual meetings and gatherings in the city to mark the occasion. In addition to these events, the organising committee of the

[51] The medieval archbishopric of Nidaros was abolisted in 1537 with the reformation, and has subsequent bishops of Nidaros has only used the title Bishop. A new Archbishop of Norway was established in 2014, this seat is also located in Trondheim (Nidaros), but have no authority in the City.
[52] J. Støren, 'Kirkens Grunnvoll' [The Foundations of the Church], in *NOS,* 73.
[53] E. Ueland, 'Fra Nordmenn paa Madagaskar' [From Norwegians in Madagaskar], in *NOS,* 282; P.Bodding, 'Fra nordmenn i Asia' [From Norwegians in Asia], in *NOS,* 283.
[54]H. Irgens, 'Den Katolske Kirkens Olsok-fest i Nidaros og på Stiklestad 1930' [The Catholic church's Celebraton of Olsok in Trondheim and at Stiklestad in 1930], in *NOS,* 215.

celebrations curated a set of exhibitions on the history of the Norwegian Church, a selected number of St Olaf's statues from the middle ages, and historical artefacts from the Norwegian church, in addition to a display of the economic and industrial production from the two Trøndelag counties in a similar fashion as the international exhibitions. As a part of these exhibitions, the Danish government returned to the Norwegian government the so-called Olaf Antemensale, the front of the altar originally from the Stave church in Haltdalen, dated back to the first half of the fourteenth century. The altarpiece had been part of the Danish National Museum collection for 250 years before it was returned to Norway in 1930 to be displayed in the Archbishopric museum in Trondheim.[55] During this period the altarpiece had been commented on by Ingvald Undset in the catalogue of Norwegian antiquities in foreign museums.[56]

5.5. Speeches, Sermons, and Songs: Retelling the Past to the People at Commemorations.

These three events in 1872, 1897 and 1930 took on a national character due to their content and their message, as well as the number of spectators that attended them. The 1872 and 1930 celebrations can be classified as national events because of the national relevance of the events celebrated. The 1897 events by contrast started out as a local celebration, but became relevant for the nation due to the conflicting political interests that manifested themselves in the celebrations. As the overall aim of this study is to look at the use of medievalism as a component in the development of Norwegian nation identity during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, this chapter will now assess the three main strands of using the medieval history through these commemorations of the medieval past.

- Political and cultural messages which were conveyed at these celebrations,
- The way these messages were manifested; this section will highlight the nature and way in which medieval history was integrated with those political and cultural moments of time when the festivities took place.
- Legacy created by these messages and celebrations, this section of the chapter aims to explore their cultural importance in Norwegian society as markers of identity and nationhood.

[55] M. Mackeprang, 'Tale' [Speech], in *NOS,* 58.
[56] See chapter 4.4.

During the summer of 1872, the nature of Norwegian medievalism and the cultural identity of the nation were changed through the celebrations that took place in Haugesund and other cities throughout the kingdom. In the decades following the establishment of the Swedish-Norwegian union, the relationship between Norway and Stockholm was strained at many points, but the Bernadotte dynasty and especially the future Oscar II developed a high regard and deep understanding for the Norwegian kingdom. Oscar II was king of Norway from 1872-1905, and was the only king of the Bernadotte family who mastered the Norwegian language and would consequently use Norwegian while in Norway or talking to Norwegians,[57] while his predecessors used predominantly Swedish. Oscar was only the heir apparent in July 1872 when he attended the millennium of the unification of Norway in Haugesund, and through his celebration speech for the outdoor celebration and at the invite-only dinner in the evening, Oscar conveyed a very understanding line of interpretation. 'In love and strength lives our fatherland, Norway the ancient realm.'[58] In these lines spoken during the dinner Oscar revisited a theme that he had spoken about earlier that day, the antiquity and age of the Norwegian kingdom, and the unity of the nation that would not survive unless the Norwegian people gave their love and strength to it. Oscar's words were:

> By remembering this, Norway's sons and daughters feel gratitude and pride; for God has through challenging times and struggles, kept his hand over Old Norway, and free and independent is the people, who today can harvest the fruits of his [Harald Fairhair's] works. But let us, as the veil falls from the memorial of the founding of the Norwegian kingdom, look not just to the past but also forward. From the depths of our hearts arises then a wish that the great works, which Harald Fairhair thousand years ago completed, must survive through the ages.[59]

Through this speech Oscar touched, just as in the dinner speech, on the core of the millennary, that the Norwegian people and kingdom could trace its origins through the ages, and that the natural unity of the kingdom needed to be protected if it was to last.

---

[57] T. Bratberg, 'Oscar 2', in *NBL* https://nbl.snl.no/Oscar_2.

[58] 'Ja, I kjaerlihet og Kraft leve vort faedreland, Norges gamle rige.' O.F. (II.) Bernadotte, 'Tale ved Festmiddagen' [Speech at the Gala dinner], in O.F. (II.) Bernadotte (ed.), *Vers og Prosa* [Prose and Poetry] (Christiania, 1897), 46.

[59] 'Ved erindringen herom føle Norges sønner og døtre taknemmlighed og stolthed; thi Gud har under skjæbnesvangre tider haarde prøvelser holdt sin haand over gamle Norge, og frit og selvstændigt er det folk, der idag høster gjerningens frugt. Men lader os, idet sløret falder fra mindestøtten over Norges riges grundlægger, skue ikke blot tilbage, men ogsaa fremad. Fra hjertets dyb opstiger da ønsket om, at det storværk, Harald Haarfagre for tusinde aar siden udførte, maa bestaa gjennem tiderne.' O.F. (II.) Bernadotte, 'Ved Afsløringen af Mindesmærket over Harald Haarfagre' [At the Unveiling of the Memorial over Harald Fairhair], in O.F. (II.) Bernadotte (ed.), *Vers og Prosa* [Prose and Poetry] (Christiania, 1897), 43.

Oscar, like his contemporaries was crucially aware of what happened just eight years earlier in the war between Denmark and the German states. Denmark had lost most of its southern provinces on Jutland which had triggered a constitutional crisis in Denmark. Many in Scandinavia had before the war of 1864 dreamed of a unification of the Scandinavian kingdoms under one sovereign king, after the death of Fredrick VII of Denmark, who did not have any children. Fredrick was king in Denmark 1848-1863,[60] and was succeeded by his distant cousin Christian IX, who reigned 1863-1906.[61] The Danish loss of territories highlighted for the Swedish-Norwegian kingdom that territorial integrity needed to be maintained both politically and militarily. The idea that the unity of the kingdom, and the product of Harald's conquest needed to be protected was a theme that re-occurred throughout the celebrations. Andreas Munch (1811-1884), [62] the author who was a cousin of the historian P.A. Munch, wrote in his adaptation of the new national anthem 'Ja vi Elsker' for the celebration:

> Although one for thousand years have been building, done is not this castle, dark nights have shadowed over it with sorrow. But in the new light of day we now may build, a thousand years is no measure for our motherland.[63]

Andreas Munch's emphasis is on the resurrection of the kingdom, and through this he equates the constitution and the new independence after 1814 to that which the kingdom had experienced before entering into the unions with Sweden and Denmark from 1319 onwards. To Munch it was this period of unions which constituted the dark nights that had cast shadows of sorrow over the land and kingdom for in this time Norway had lost its independence gradually until becoming a Danish province in 1536. Unlike the original 'Ja vi elsker', written by Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson for the 50 year anniversary of the Norwegian constitution, it became immensely popular gaining it the status of Norway's national anthem,[64] Andreas Munch's adaptation of the song only appeared in *Aftenposten* [The Evening Post] on the 19 July 1872 and is not traceable in any Norwegian publications after that date.[65] The poet and writer Jonas Lie (1833-1908) also stressed the revival of the

[60] M.A. Mardal, 'Frederik 7', in *SNL* https://snl.no/Frederik_7.
[61] M.A. Mardal, 'Christian 9', in *SNL* https://snl.no/Christian_9.
[62] S.A. Aarsnes, 'Andreas Munch', in *NBL* https://nbl.snl.no/Andreas_Munch
[63] 'Skjøndt man tusind aar har bygget, endt er ei den borg – dunkle nætter have skygget, over den med sorg. Men i Dagens fulde Straaler nu vi bygge kan: Tusind aar ei tiden maaler for vort Fædreland!' A. Munch, *Sang ved Tusind-aars-festen I Haugesund* [Song at the Millennium Celebration in Haugesund] (Haugesund,1872), 3.
[64] N.N., 'Ja vi elsker dette landet', in *SNL* https://snl.no/Ja%2C_vi_elsker_dette_landet.
[65] 'Tusindaarsfesten' [The Millennium Celebration], *Aftenposten [The Evening Post]*, 19 July 1872, 2.

kingdom as the central theme in his song for the celebrations in Haugesund.[66] Lie also highlights the importance of the Haraldshaugen monument as a reminder of the national unity.[67] Henrik Ibsen, who was the principal speaker at the unveiling of the Haraldshaugen monument, emphasised that the unity and independence that the monument of Haraldshaugen embodied and symbolised, had come again with the 1814 constitution and the Norwegian kingdom's new relationship with Sweden. Ibsen envisaged that the kingdom prophesied in Ragnhild's dream, about Harald Fairhair's descendants, had returned and that ancient greatness would be restored.[68] Similarly, the Norwegian-born Professor of Art History in Stockholm Lorentz Dietrichson (1839-1917)[69] understood the thousand year anniversary as a new beginning and resurrection of the kingdom founded and cemented by Harald Fairhair through the battle of Hafsfjord. The jubilee was to Dietrichson a celebration of the continuing unity of the nation of Norway.[70] Through these references it is evident that, both at the main national celebration of the jubilee in Haugesund and at an event marking the same anniversary in Stockholm, the speakers found the same political and cultural meaning, that the current kingdom of Norway had its roots in the victory of Harald Fairhair in 872.

Unlike the 1872 celebrations, the 1897 commemoration of the foundation of Trondheim did not have a unified idea and message to promote, the celebrations in Trondheim became a political and cultural conflict between the two leading political parties, Høyre and Venstre. Høyre allied itself with King Oscar II, and celebrated the nine hundred year anniversary of the foundation of Trondheim from 18 July to 20 July, whereas Venstre together with Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson joined forces with, amongst others, the historian Ernst Sars, and politician and poet Elias Blix in an attempt to gain popular engagement for their festivities.

The official celebration of the founding of Trondheim on 18-20 July focused on Olaf Tryggvason's role as the founder of the city. However, in most of Oscar II's speeches during this celebration he skilfully avoids directly mentioning the reason the celebration is taking

---

[66] P. Aaslestad, 'Jonas Lie-1', in *NBL* https://nbl.snl.no/Jonas_Lie_-_1.
[67] J. Lie*, Sang ved Tusindaarsfesten paa Haaraldshaugen den 18de juli 1872* [Song at the Millennium Celebration at Haraldshaugen the 18 July 1872] (Haugesund, 1872), 2-3.
[68] H. Ibsen, *Ved Tusendaars-festen den 18de juli 1872* [At the Millennium Celebration the 18 July 1872] (Haugesund, 1872), 7.
[69] M.B. Guleng, 'Lorentz Dietrichson', in *NBL* https://nbl.snl.no/Lorentz_Dietrichson.
[70] 'Professor Lorentz Dietrichsons tale ved Hoeytidligholdelsen af Tusinaarsfesten I Stockholm,' [Professor Lorentz Dietrichson's speech at the Celebration of the Millennium in Stockholm] in *Aftenposten [The Evening Post]*, 22 July 1873, (a reprint from *Aftonbladet [the Evening Magazine])*, 1.

place, i.e. the founding of Trondheim by Olaf Tryggvason, instead he continuously made references to 'the celebration' and 'this anniversary'. This is especially visible in Oscar's speech on the 18th at Ilevolden:

> Men and women of Trondheim and Trøndelag!
>
> When it is time for celebration in the family, old customs in Scandinavia dictate that as many as possible should come to the event. Therefore, I gladly received the invitation to attend this anniversary celebration. I stand here, therefore, among you, with my most beloved son. And as my voice now sounds in your ears, I hope it convinces your hearts that the joys of the people also are the joys of the King and his house, that fidelity and love is mutually fortified and will increase our joint happiness and honour. Let this be my greeting to you all at this sacred moment of celebration.[71]

In this Oscar just alludes to the celebration, without referring to Olaf Tryggvason, as did Supreme Court attorney Bachke in his speech in honour of the nation, he stated:

> Norwegian men and women! The future happiness for the nation is our greatest hope each time we raise our glasses.[72]

According to the standards of the time, Bachke kept his speech short and efficient, and as with Oscar's speech at Ilevolden he refrained from referring to Olaf Tryggvason and the founding of Trondheim. However, in Oscar's dinner speech, initially meant to be the Ladies speech, he felt inspired by the mood of the city and stated:

> Yesterday, when I travelled to the celebration, then I witnessed to my great pleasure, what I had been waiting for so long, the celebration that commemorated Olaf Tryggvasson, Trondheim's founder. He showed therefore not only that he possessed the qualities that the sagas usually credit the Viking kings in Old Norway, but also the skill of foresight, when he chose this site to found the capital of the Trøndelag area.[73]

---

[71] 'Naar det stunder til høitid i slægten, da er det gammel god skik i norden, at de flest mulige i samme stavne til mødet. Derfor modtog jeg med tak kaldelsen til at bivaane jubilæumsfesten. Derfor staar jeg her i eders midte, ledsaget af min høitelskede, ældste søn. Naar min stemmes lyd naar eders øren, maatte ogsaa da den faste overbevisning naa eders hjerter, at folkets glæde er kongns og kongehusets, at troskab og gjensidig kjærlighed befæster og forøger begges varige lykke og glæde. Ja, dette er min hilsen til eder alle i dette høitidlige øieblik. Dog ikke alene i høitidsstunden, men ogsaa under hverdagslivets pligtopfyldelse beder jeg den høieste skjænke held og lykke for Trondhjems by, for Trøndelagen!' 'Trondhjems Jubileumsfest' [Trondheim's Anniversary Celebration], *Flekkefjord Posten [The Flekkefjord Post]*, 21 July 1897, 2.

[72] 'Norske mænd og kvinder! Fædrelandets lykkelike fremtid er vort fælles bedste haab, hver gang vi udbringer et leve for færelandet. Fædrelandet Leve!', 'Jubilæet: den Første Festdag' [The Anniversary: the First day of Celebrations], *Stenkjær Avis [The Steinkjær Port]*, 24 July 1897, 4.

[73] 'Da jeg igaar rærdedes [reisedes?] til folkefesten, da saa jeg til min store glæde hviad jeg længe havde ventet paa, den høie kjæmpestiftelse, der erindrer om Olaf Trygvesøn, Nidaros's grundlægger. Han viste sig derved ikke alene at besidde egenskaber, som Sagaerne jo pleier at tillægge

The speech also contained, as it should, praise of the women of Trondheim and the female ideals all women inhabit. This speech was printed in the *Flekkefjords Posten* [The Flekkefjord Post].[74] However, the news coverage of the official celebrations in newspapers such as *Aftenposten* [The Evening Post],[75] *Stenkjær Avis* [The Steinkjær Post],[76] *Nordenfjeldske Tidene* [The Times North of the Mountains],[77] and *Stavanger Afternblad* [Stavanger Evening Post] omitted to refer to the reason the celebration took place.[78] Despite this they all, with the exception of *Nordenfjeldske Tidene* [The Times North of the Mountains], published a thorough and detailed account of the celebrations. Unlike the official celebrations from 18 to 20 July, the unofficial celebrations led by Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson received far more attention in the press, and Bjørnson's speech was reproduced in several newspapers, as well as published in a separate publication by the newspaper *Verdens Gang [As the World Turns]*. In Bjørnson's eyes, the development of Trondheim due to the cult of St Olaf was more important for the history of the city than the founding of the city in 997 by Olaf Tryggvasson. In his speech Bjørnson stated:

> People such as Olaf Tryggvasson, Peter Wessel and Henrik Wergeland are born ready. They live their genius lives quickly, in one breath, and then their spirit leaves them…[79]

He continued to comment on Olaf Tryggvason's impact on Norway by noting:

> With Olaf Haraldsson, the people developed. Olaf Tryggvasson converted them, but let them continue as they had for centuries, and the same he allowed for himself,

---

vikingkongerne i gamle Norge, men ogsaa fremsynets egenskaber, da han valgte det rette sted for Trøndelagets hovedstad.' 'Trondhjems Jubileumsfest' [Trondheim's Anniversary Celebration], *Flekkefjord Posten [The Flekkefjord Post]*, 21 July 1897, 2.

[74] 'Trondhjems Jubileumsfest' [Trondheim's Anniversary Celebration], *Flekkefjord Posten[The Flekkefjord Post]*, 21 July 1897, 2.

[75] 'Jubilæet I Trondhjem' [The Anniversary in Trondheim], *Aftenposten [The Evening Post]*, 19 July 1897, 1-2.

[76] 'Jubilæet: den Første Festdag' [The Anniversary: the First day of Celebrations], *Stenkjær Avis [The Steinkjær Port]*, 24 July 1897, 3-4.

[77] 'Under Kongefesten I Trondhjem' [During the King's Celebration in Trondheim], *Nordenfjeldske Tidene* [The Times North of the Mountains], 19 July 1897, 2.

[78] 'Jubilæet I Trondhjem' [the Anniversary in Trondheim], *Stavanger Aftenblad* [Stavanger Evening Post], 19 July 1897, 2; 'Jubilæet: Festmiddagen' [The Anniversary: The Gala Dinner], *Stavanger Aftenblad* [Stavanger Evening Post], 20 July 1897, 2.

[79] 'Slige som Olav Trygvesson, Peter Wessel, Henrik Wergeland er foedt faerdige. De lever sit geniale solvejrsliv fort, I et frad, og aander sin sjael ud.' Bjørnson, *Tale i Trondhjem paa Olavsdagen den 29de juli 1897* [Speech in Trondheim on the Olaf's day the 29 July 1897] (Kristiania, 1897), 3.

> happy, indifferent, splendid, and without much attention to foresight, which lead to both his and the kingdom's demise.[80]

's aim for the celebration was to re-establish the 29 July as St Olaf's day. Bjørnson's speech alongside Sars's lecture[81] compared with Oscar II's speeched and festivities illustrates how the 1897 celebration had become cultural and political battleground. At the core of the conflict stood the Union, aftermath of the political conflicts of the 1870s and 1880s and the question of what to do with Olaf Haraldsson as a cultural and historic symbol for Norway.

Where the 1897 celebrations were heavily charged politically, the 1930 anniversary celebrated the unity of the kingdom and promoted an official interpretation of history and its impact. As with the 1872 event, the Olaf anniversary in 1930 had one unified message, and critical voices were few and far between. This sense of unity was highlighted by emphasising that the newly recreated liturgy for the celebration, which was mostly church-based, was printed and available in both Nynorsk and Bokmål from day one, making it accessible for the whole population regardless of their preferred political party or language.[82]

Unlike the Church, King Haakon VII and cabinet member and farmer Sigvald Hasund (1868-1959) did not need to find their supportive evidence and explanations in the Bible when approaching Olaf,[83] they turned instead to the sagas and the kingdom's history to explain and emphasise the reasons for the celebrations in 1930. As such they emphasised the historical elements of the festivities and their implications for the development of Norway, Haakon stated:

> He [Olaf] lost the battle but won through his death a greater victory. The Stiklestad battle became the turning point in our country's ancient history. It became the breakthrough for Christianity and the idea of one Norwegian kingdom, and it

[80] 'Med Olav haraldsson er folket vaekst. Olaf Trggvasson kristnet det; men lod det ellers vaere som det var, og det same gjorde han med sig selv, glad, ligesael, straalende, uden synderligt Foresyn, hvad ogsaa foerte til hans og Rigets Fald.' Bjørnson, *Tale i Trondhjem*, 3.
[81] 'Professor Sars's foredrag' [Professor Sars's lecture], *Indherredsposten [The Indherreds Post]*, 11 August 1897, 1; 'Professor Sars's foredrag' [Professor Sars's lecture], *Indherredsposten [The Indherreds Post]*, 18 August 1897, 1.
[82] S. Hasund and S. Oftenæs, 'Rundskriv fra det Kgl. Kyrkje- og Unidervisningsdepartement til Rikets Sogneprester' [Letter from the Royal Ministry of Church and Education to the Vicars of the realm], in *NOS,* 41.
[83] B. Gjerdåker, 'Sigvald Hasund', in *NBL* https://nbl.snl.no/Sigvald_Hasund.

> created for the Norwegian people the saint king as a national symbol for their national unity.[84]

Hasund, on the other hand, embellished the importance of Olaf even more in his speech, he declared:

> King Olaf Haraldsson's life and work falls within a national and religious reaction period of our history. The petty kings and community and family interests had broken with Harald Fairhair's unification attempt, and Olaf Tryggvasson's conversion of the kingdom had still not achieved popular support; this primarily took place in the Trøndelag area and the interior valleys of the kingdom. This gives the background for the struggle Olaf had to take on, and for the sad conclusion that fight had. But through the battle of Stiklestad in 1030 the struggle ended. The ideas of the new age had won, and the kingdom gained peace for a time. King Olaf himself became a symbol for the unification that the people had needed - he became *Olaf the Holy* for the Norwegian people... The battle of Stiklestad was the turning of the tide in our land's history, and from that time on has Norway been one kingdom, established through a unification idea in the heart of the people.[85]

Hasund highlighted in his speech the twofold nature of Olaf's legacy; the conversion, and the unification, both of which were significant symbols in 1930. The first and most evident in the celebrations was the conversion narrative as promoted by the Church, but the second and more subtle message was that without Olaf, the kingdom of Norway might never have remained unified through the centuries. Although this message was promoted in a more subtle way, it was much more significant for the sense of a national community, as through this message Olaf emerged as the saviour of the Norwegian nation. These two messages, presented through the commemoration of Olaf, encompass both the need for a religious revival in Norway at the time, and the celebratory national attitude that emerged after the kingdom became independent in 1905. As such, the 1930 celebrations, as 1897 and 1872, reflected in their messages and statements the political and cultural situation in Norway at the time of the celebrations. In the next section, this chapter will explore some

[84] 'Han tapte kampen, men vant i døden sin største seier. Stiklestad-slaget blev det store vendepunkt i vaart lands eldre historie. Det banet vei for kristendommens og rikstankens endelige gjennembrudd, og overgav til det norske folk Helgenkongen som det nasjonale samlings lysende symbol.' Haakon 7, 'tale' [Speech], *NOS,* 96.

[85] 'Kong Olav Haraldssons liv og yrke fall inn i ein nasjonal og religiøs reaksjonsperiode. Smaakongar og bygde- og ætteinteressor hadde brote med Harald Haarfagres store samlingsverk, og Olav Tryggvasons kristning av landet hadde enno inga aalmenn underbygning i folkehugen; det var atterslag paa det umkverve òg, serleg i innlandsbygdene og i Trøndelag. Dette gjev bakgrunn for den strid Olav maatte føra, og for den tragiske utgang av stiden. Men med slaget paa stiklestad i 1030 var striden slutt. Den nye tids taknar og tru hadde vunne, og landet fekk fred. Kong Olav vart sjølve det symbol og samlingsmerke folket den tid trong – han vart Olav den heilage for Noregs folk. (...) Slaget paa Stiklestad er det store tidsvende i vaar historie; fraa den tid er Noreg eitt rike, ut ifraa ei indre samlingsmakt i folkehugen.' S. Hasund, 'Tale' [Speech], in *NOS,* 97-8.

of the ways these statements and ideas were presented and retold through these commemorations.

The nature of these three commemorations and how they presented their messages to the people are quite similar. With the exception of the 29 July celebration in 1897, all celebrations included, partly or entirely, a church service. Although the 1897 celebration on the 29 July had a church concert in the cathedral in Trondheim, the political landscape of the celebration did not allow for a commemoration to include a mass celebrating the memory of Olaf Haraldson and Olaf Tryggvasson and their impact on Trondheim. However, all the other celebrations in 1872, 1897 and 1930 used biblical imagery and liturgy to highlight and explain the historical events to their audience. This is particularly noticeable when the Norwegian Government developed a new celebratory liturgy for the celebrations in 1930, a liturgy that unified the traditional Olaf cult with the modern Lutheran ideals.

Christopher Bruun had accused the Norwegian bishops in 1897 of not accepting that the Church was older than the Lutheran reformation in 1537.[86] This had changed by 1930 and the letter from the Department of Religion and Education addressed to all the parishes in the kingdom the Government highlights that the battle of Stiklestad was perceived as the moment of conversion by the Norwegian people and through that the actions of Olaf Haraldsson were seen as missionary activities that stimulated this religious change.

The newly adapted theology and liturgy was made available for all parishes in the kingdom in the two Norwegian languages Nynorsk and Bokmål, meaning that practitioners of either of the two variations of the Norwegian language could access the liturgy. In 1929 Nynorsk and Bokmål received an equal status as the official language of Norway, prior to that point only Bokmål, or Rigsmål as it was known then, had been recognised as an official language. The short space of time between the establishment of both languages as official, and the celebrations in 1930 might help to explain the challenges faced by the organising committee regarding the use of Nynorsk in Trondheim.[87] Trondheim as a city favoured Bokmål as its official language, and the hostility to Nynorsk also increased with the Norwegian Parliament's decision to rename the city Nidaros in 1929 in an attempt to nationalise the city and cleanse it from its Danish name Trondhjem. Other cities such as

[86] Østang, *Hjem til Nidaros,* 60.
[87] A. Bergsgaard, 'Olav Haraldsson' [Olaf Haraldsson], in *NOS,* 456; O. Kolsrud, 'Kantater' [The Cantatas], *NOS,* 45.

Bergen and Oslo both went through similar nationalising of the city name, but Bergen and Trondheim both offered such resistance to the Parliament that a compromise was found. Trondheim was renamed in 1931 as Trondheim, which was a more Norwegian spelling of the original Trondhjem, whereas Bergen, after a short period as Bjørgvin, returned to Bergen at the same time. By publishing the liturgies in both Nynorsk and Bokmal the Government, after accepting the equal status of the two languages, attempted to bridge the great rift in Norwegian intellectual tradition in the modern area. For Norway did not have one clear language that embodied the nation, and in which the nation could find its identity. The country was more or less split in the middle between the established elite using a language derived from Danish, and the up and coming regional artists, poets, and academics who sought a new language based on the spoken language found in the rural regions of the kingdom. Although the two languages are mutually understandable, users of either of the languages would see it as a betrayal to their nation and identity to accept the use of the other language. Examples of this can be seen in the cancelling of the performance of *Heimferd* [The Journey Home], and Arne Bergsgard's (1886-1954) lecture, as well as an incident in 1913 where the Nynorsk adaptation of Ludvik Holberg's play *Jeppe paa Bjerget* [Jeppe on the Hill] was received with major unrest among the audience, where members of the audience heckled the performers and disrupted the performance as it was being preformed in NyNorsk.[88]

Heimferd [The Journey Home] by Ludvig Irgens Jensen was the winning cantata of a competition held by the organising committee for the Olaf celebrations in 1930. The competition produced 56 entries, but the winner *Heimferd* despite unpopular beginnings, became one of Norway's most played musical pieces in the 1930s and 40s.[89] Alongside other cantata's *Heimferd* became an integral part of the Norwegian musical identity in the first half of the twentieth century and thus, just like the national anthem and the *Kongesangen*, contributed to the maintenance of the cultural identity and memory landscape created through the 1930 anniversary. The cantata which came second, Heming Skre's *Eystein* [Eystein (a Norwegian personal name)], focused on the conversion theme in Olaf Haraldsson's narrative, and its relation to the development of the Norwegian Church though the ages.[90] Theodor Caspari's *Her banker Norges hjerte* [Here beats the heart of

[88] O.L. Hole, 'Ivar Aasen som Opposisjonell Nasjonalist' [Ivar Aasen as Oppositional Nationalist], in *JDN*, 319.
[89] O. Kolsrud, 'Historiske Upplysninar' [Historical Information], *NOS,* 364-5.
[90] H. Skre, 'Eystein', in *NOS,* 366-381.

Norway], emphasised the role of Olaf in medieval and modern Norwegian culture, and presented Olaf as a mirror for the nation, where when the independence of the nation was lost, Olaf slept in his grave, but when the nation re-awoke after 1814 Olaf rose again to greet the free Norwegian People.[91] Caspari, as well as Skre maintained that there was no conflict between the Lutheran tradition, and the celebration and remembrance of St Olaf, through which they built a bridge between the Catholic and Lutheran tradition and maintained the new medievalist nationalism of the long nineteenth century.

Newspaper records from 1872 and 1930 suggest that church services did not only take place in Haugesund and Trondheim,[92] but also that local parishes were encouraged to celebrate these anniversaries. This encouragement resulted in a number of celebratory masses both commemorating the unification of Norway in 1872, and the conversion of the kingdom in 1930. There is no evidence in the letters from the Norwegian Government to the parishes in 1930, to suggest there would be consequences if the parish did not celebrate the anniversary. The localised celebrations of 1930 and 1872 indicate positive receptions of these events, at least among the clergy. This again suggests that parish priests received these letters and perceived these celebrations to be important enough to be included into the church calendar for 1930. Detailed reports from the celebrations in numerous newspapers throughout the country indicate the same. Additionally many of the sermons and speeches from the national celebrations were printed in national and regional newspapers, an act that in many ways spread the ideas from the festivities in 1872,[93] 1897[94], and 1930[95] to large swathes of the population, and influenced their perception of the past.

---

[91] T. Caspari, 'Her banker Norges hjerter', in *NOS,* 383-391.

[92] 'Steenkjær den 18de Juli' [Steinkjær the 18 July], *Indherreds-posten [The Indherreds Post]*, 19 July 1872, 2;'Kristiansund' [Kristiansund], *Romsdals Amtstidene [Romsdal county Times]*, 20 July 1872, 1; 'Fredrikstad 19de Juli' [Fredrikstad 19 July], *Fredrikstads Tilskuer [The Fredrikstad Observer]*, 20 July 1872, 1, 2; 'Gudstjenester og møter'[Services and Meetings], *Aftenposten [The evening Post]*, 26 July 1930, 5; 'Gudstjenester'[Services], *Stavanger Aftenblad [Stavanger Evening Post]*, 28 July 1930, 3; 'Gudstjenester' [Services], *Sarpsborg Arbeiderblad [Sarpsborg Workers Magazine]*, 28 July 1930, 4.

[93] 'Prins Oscars reise' [Prince Oscar's journey], *Aftenposten [The Evening Post]*, 17 July 1872, 2; 'Tusindaarsfesten' [The Millennium Celebration], *Aftenposten [The Evening Post]*, 22 July 1872, 2; 'Tusindaarsfesten' [The millennia celebrations], *Aftenposten [The Evening Post]*, 19 July 1872, 1; 'Tusindaarsfesten I Haugesund' [The Millennium Celebration in Haugesund], *Fædrelandet*, 24 July 1872, 1.

[94] 'Jubilæet I Trondhjem' [The Jubilee in Trondheim], *Aftenposten [The Evening Post]*, 19 July 1897, Aften, 2; 'Olavsfesten' [The Olafs celebration], *Indherredposten [The Indherred's Post]*, 4 August 1897, 1-2.

[95] 'Olsok Feiringen'[The Olsok celebrations], *Hamar Arbeiderblad [Hamar Workers Magazine]*, 30 July 1930, 3; 'Olsokhøgtidi I Nidaros og paa Stiklestad' [Olsok Celebrations in Trondheim and at

5.6. A Constant Reminder: Legacy of the Commemorations

Following the celebrations in 1872, 1897 and 1930, the ideas embodied in these celebrations remained visible in Norwegian society through monuments, art and music. This was perhaps more the case for the 1872 and 1930 events than the 1897 celebration. For Norwegian society experienced political stability and unity simultaneously with the celebrations in 1872 and 1930 which did not undermine the messages embodied in the festivities. However, with the political and cultural tension of 1897 taken into consideration, it is noteworthy that the ideas of Bjørnson and Christopher Bruun about St Olaf's importance for the development of Trondheim formed the foundation for the early celebrations of Olsok from 1898 onwards and even made the 1930 commemoration possible. The legacy of the political and cultural conflict of 1897, therefore, indirectly triggered and heightened the possibilities of encompassing the Olaf legacy into a modern Norwegian identity.

Unlike the 1897 celebration, other events of commemoration created a much more visible legacy in the memory landscape of Norway. Rudy Koshar pointed out that:

> History uses dates, documents, diaries and statistics. Memory, in contrast, builds its sense of the past primarily from commemorations, monuments, memorials, historical sites and honor rolls.[96]

Stiklestad], *Firda Folkeblad [Firda people's Magazine]*, 30 July 1930, 2; 'Olsok-dagen' [Olsok], *Nordlands Avis [Nordland's Times]*, 29 July 1930, 2; 'Kirkefestlighetene I Nidaros' [The Church Celebrations in Trondheim], *Nordlands Avis [Nordland's Times]*, 1 August 1930.

[96] R. Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces: Artifacts of German Memory, 1870-1990* (London, 2000), 9.

To Koshar, these elements are part of the building blocks of a cultural memory, that is a memory landscape of monuments that reinforces a cultural memory that has been partly constructed and maintained through commemorations. The monument of Haraldshaugen, which was made for the 1872 celebration as a marker of the national unity and antiquity of the kingdom became an element that reinforced the messages of the commemoration in 1872. Haraldshaugen as it stood in 1872, and as it still stands, is built on the mound believed to be the burial mound of Harald Fairhair. The monument (see Figure 6, above) was designed with one central column representing the unity of the kingdom dating back to the Harald's victory at Hafrsfjord in 872. Surrounding this central column, on a lower platform, are a series of obelisk shaped columns, each representing a county or landscape that were a part of Harald Fairhair's kingdom. Together these elements emphasised that one kingdom that had emerged from a fragmented set of landscapes and developed victoriously until the monument was unveiled in 1872. Symbolically the idea of a national unity transcended regional interests and identities, also in many ways the nation-building projects of the late nineteenth century Norway. As a part of this project education and infrastructure aimed to bind the different parts of the kingdom together in one close-knit unit. The reinforcement of the

delt i godord (herad). Goden nemnde ut domsmenner og var ordførar paa tinge. Dersom folk ikkje kunde verta forlikte paa heradstinge, skulde saki avgjerast paa alltinge. Dette var eit sams ting for heile øyi. Dei heldt det kvart aar midsumarsbil paa Tingvellir ved Øksaraai. Det varde i 14 dagar. Til alltinge strøymde folk saman som til ein marknad, mange berre for moro skuld. Godarne valde ein lovsegjemann. Han skulde læra loverne utanaat, og segja dei fram paa tinge. Nye lover vart ogso vedtekne der.

Underkongar. Harald Haarfagre hadde mange søner. Daa han var 70 aar, gjorde han dei til underkongar og skifte lande millom dei. Han fastsette at alle etterkomarane

Haraldsstytta.

hans paa manssida skulde vera kongar. Underkongarne skulde hava halve skatten. Men sønerne kunde ikkje semjast. Eirik Blodøks drap Bjørn Farmann, og Halvdan Svarte, bror deira, vilde hemna draape; men Eirik fekk hjelp av far sin. Herarne møttest paa Reinssletta ved Trondheimsfjorden. Men so stod der fram ein gjæv skald, som heitte Gutorm Sindre. Han hadde dikta visor um faren og sonen og vilde ikkje hava noko for det; men dei hadde lova at dei ein gong skulde gjera det han bad um. Han minte dei um dette og bad dei forlika seg, og det gjorde dei.

Figure 6: Page in Jonas Vellesen's Norigs soga aat Folkeskulen containing an image of the monument at Haraldshaugen. J. Vellesen, Norigs soga aat Folkeskulen [Norway's story for primary schools], (Bergen, 1900), 16.

commemoration and the cultural memory is evident in the inscription carved into the on the central obelisk of the monument.[97]

Through this inscription, the architect of the monument Christian Christie (1832-1906) and the press which later reported on it, drew a direct line from the battle of Hafrsfjord in 872 and the Norwegian kingdom in the second half of the nineteenth century. It re-emphasised the unity message and foundation story presented at the celebrations. In placing the monument and celebration near the presumed grave of Harald Fairhair, and noted the location of his victory (which is located in a bay outside Stavanger) the organising committee highlighted the idea of national unity, and edited out the possibly provocative statement a celebration at Hafrsfjord could have created. The battle of Hafrsfjord was a victory for the centralisation of the kingdom in one state, and represents in the nineteenth century the state's control over its outlying interest spheres, a re-integration of the medieval territories into a new independent state. This is not too different from the conflict that arose in Oslo in the 1820s between King Karl III Johan (1763-1844) of Sweden-Norway and his Norwegian subjects,[98] when he used military power to suppress popular celebrations of the 1814 constitution,[99] and through this suppression attempted to secure greater control over Norway. Unlike the battle of Hafrsfjord, Karl did not succeed and was later condemned for his actions. Thus, the political differences between Oslo and Stockholm lay in the background of the 1872 celebration. As has been highlighted in chapter 3, the depiction of the Haraldshaugen monument in textbooks from 1900 onwards, as well as the deliberate inclusion of textual references to the monument in textbooks from the 1880s and 90s both create a re-emphasis on the unification aspect of the celebration, and its historical continuity. As highlighted in chapter 3, textbooks were designed and written to stimulate and create an awareness of the nation in a population that until this point had been fragmented and localised. The direct references in textbooks to the commemorations in 1872 and the Haraldshaugen monument established the unification in 872 as a vital element in the cultural memory of the Norwegian kingdom. King Haakon VII and Queen Maud visited, on their way back from their coronation in Trondheim in 1906, both Haraldshaugen and Hafsfjord creating a link between their reign and that of Harald

[97] See page 159.
[98] M.A. Mardal, 'Karl Johan' [Charles XIV (III) John of Sweden-Norway], in *SNL* https://snl.no/Karl_Johan
[99] M.A. Mardal, 'Torgslaget' [The Battle of the Square], in *SNL* https://snl.no/Torgslaget

Fairhair.[100] However, there were complaints made in the regional newspaper *Nordenfjeldske Tidene* [The Times North of the Mountains] against the king, as he chose not to visit Stiklestad as a part of the same trip, but this seems to have passed without much comment elsewhere.[101] The link created by Haakon and Maud's visit to Haraldshaugen and Hafsfjord was also strengthened through Prince Carl of Denmark taking the name of Harald Fairhair's son Haakon as his name after being elected monarch in Norway in 1905. This link stressed continuity from Harald Fairhair, through the Fairhair dynasty and on to the modern kingdom of Norway. Harald Fairhair's victory in 872 and his kingdom also created the historical legitimacy of the Norwegian state in the nineteenth century, which might be a contributing factor as to why the temporary statue of Harald Fairhair was raised outside the Norwegian parliament in 1872, as both Harald and the Parliament in their respected periods defined the Norwegian kingdom.

Figure 7: The Chasubles commissioned by the Norwegian Women's collection for the Rose Window in Nidaros Cathedral, designed by Frøydis Haavardsholm, 1929.

Such a direct legacy from the 1930 celebration is hard to find in Norwegian culture of the interwar years. However, it is noteworthy that as a result of the celebration, the restoration of the western aisles of the Cathedral in Trondheim was completed, and a new great Rose Window in the west front was commissioned and produced for the celebration. In addition the artistic interpretation of St Olaf which is known in the modern Olaf iconography, where the king is carrying the axe, an orb and has a dragon at his feet, is the direct result of the

[100] 'Kongeparret I Stavanger' [The King and Queen in Stavanger], *Stavanger Aftenblad [Stavanger Evening Post],* 27 July 1906, 1.
[101] 'Kongeparret har under sit Besøk…' [The Royal couple have during their Visit…], *Nordenfjeldske Tidene [The North of the Mountain Times],* 2 July 1906, 1.

restoration of the Cathedral.[102] This design was, in 1929-30, developed further by Frøydis Haavardsholm in her designs for the new chasubles for the Cathedral, two of which depict Olaf, according to the new iconography (see figure 7 above). Visible products that sprung out of the ideas and politics of the 1930 commemorations were the inclusion of Olsok into the calendar as a national feast day, and the cantatas written for the celebration, as discussed above.[103]

As a symbol of governmental support and official sanctioning of the celebrations in 1930, the 29 July, also known as Olsok, made its way into the list of official flag days and public holidays.[104] The constant reminders of the 29 July through annually flying the Norwegian flag at Olsok from 8am to 9pm at all public buildings, and the references to the Haraldshaugen monument maintained a cultural memory in the consciousness of the Norwegian people, for the attachment to these places and events was maintained through the projection of their image or name, sustaining the emotional bond between the Norwegian people and their past.[105] This combined with the statue of Olaf Haraldsson in Sarpsborg and early twentieth century street names such as *Harald Hårfarge's gate* [Harald Fairhair's street] in Oslo and *Olav Tryggvason's gate* [Olaf Tryggvason's street] in Trondheim created and maintained the cultural memory landscape of the developing nation both during the long nineteenth century and today. In the next section, the next part of the chapter will explore how regional and local festivities commemorating events in the medieval past can be interpreted and seen in the context of the celebrations in 1872, 1897 and 1930.

5.7. Regional and Smaller Celebrations, a Need for Regional Links with the Nation

In the later part of the long nineteenth century, two smaller places in Norway celebrated the legacy of the Viking kings Harald Fairhair and Olaf Haraldsson, in addition to the national celebrations in 1872, 1930 and the Trondheim celebration in 1897. These two celebrations were the 1871 millennium of the foundation of Tønsberg and the 1916 900-year anniversary of the foundation of Sarpsborg (see appendix 5 for locations). This section of this thesis will explore these events in relation to the national celebrations and the

[102] K. Alvestad, 'Den Nasjonale Olav: Bruk og Misbruk av Helgenkongens Bilde mellom 1920 og 1945' [The National Olaf: The Use and Abuse of St Olaf's image between 1920 and 1945], in Ø. Ekroll (ed.), *Olavsbildet Igjennom 1000 År* [St Olaf's Image through a Millennia], (Trondheim, 2016), 191-214.
[103] See page 175-6.
[104] T. Rasmussen, 'Olsok', in *SNL* https://snl.no/olsok
[105] Cubitt, *History and Memory,* 140.

construction and maintenance of a cultural memory. These two celebrations will be explored through newspaper reports from Norwegian newspapers of the age.

The celebrations in Tønsberg took place on St John's Eve, 23 June 1871, with parades, speeches and music in the streets of Tønsberg. The newspaper *Fædrelandet* [The Father Land] claimed on the 28 June 1871 that the celebrations had been attended by 3-4000 people,[106] whereas *Aftenposten* [The Evening Post] estimated that it was more like 7-8000 people attending, and that people came from towns and villages around Tønsberg to attend the festivities.[107] The focus of the speeches and songs was the relationship between the city and the national history, highlighting that the history of the city mirrored the history of the kingdom. As the first of the medieval anniversaries celebrated in the long nineteenth century, the millennium of the founding of the city cannot be seen to emulate any of the national celebrations of medieval events; it might instead have inspired the later celebrations in Haugesund and Trondheim. Yet, the celebration itself suggests that Norwegian society in the 1870s saw the need to remember the origins of both the kingdom and the integral part Vestfold and Tønsberg played in the unification process. By maintaining that the city of Tønsberg was older than the kingdom of Norway, the celebration in Tønsberg remembered itself as a Norwegian city and claimed a part in the unification process of the kingdom. This suggests that the city imagined itself to be the same city that Harald Fairhair had founded in 871, highlighting that long lines of the history of the city and the kingdom went hand in hand, and at the same time claiming the national history as their own in the development of a local identity for the city.

On St Olaf's day in 1916, Sarpsbord celebrated its 900th anniversary of the foundation of the city with parades, flags, speeches and music similar to the Tønsberg event in 1871 and the millennium in 1872 in Haugesund. The 900 year anniversary celebrations in Sarpsborg were headed by the local city council which at the time was controlled by the Socialist party, who chose to not invite King Haakon VII of Norway, resulting in a scandal where members of the government refused to attend the celebrations because the King was not present.[108] This political scandal overshadowed much of the news coverage in the days after the anniversary, but as part of the celebration

[106] [Anon.] 'Tønsberg og dens Tusendaarsfest' [Tønsberg and it's Anniversary Celebrations], *Fædrelandet [The Fatherland]*, 28 June 1871, 1.
[107] [Anon.] 'Tønsbergs Tusindaarsjubilæum' [Tønsberg's Millenium], *Aftenposten [The Evening Post]*, 26 June 1871, 1.
[108] [Anon.] 'Sarpsborg høgtidar 900 aarsdagen' [Sarpsborg's 900-year-anniversary], *Den17deMai [The 17th of May]*, 29 July 1916, 3.

the city erected a statue depicting St Olaf, the founder of the city, on the newly named St Olaf's square. The celebration and the statue were paid for by the citizens and the leading enterprises in the city. Money was raised through appealing to the patriotism of the citizens of Sarpsborg; Erling Bakken estimates that after the celebrations were over the collection had a surplus of 424.91 NOK, which was given to the city for the upkeep of the square. In comparison, the statue itself cost 8,500 NOK.[109]

These two celebrations were designed to be street parties, like others throughout the long nineteenth century, one contemporary commentator claimed in 1916: 'the entire city was taking part, for unlike 1st of May or 17th of May, there was no need for protests or conflict.'[110] This comment suggests that the May Day and Constitution day celebrations in Sarpsborg were political celebration, whereas the whole city agreed that the founding of the city by Olaf Haraldsson was something worth celebrating. This reflection following the celebrations points to a sense of ownership of the Norwegian national and regional history which transcended political barriers and conflicts of the 1910s. The author of the '*Post Festum*' goes on to state that it was a shame for both the city and the celebration that the King had not been invited, but he emphasises that this did not impact the mood of the city during the celebrations. Although there is no evidence of any speeches from the 1916 celebrations in Sarpsborg, which made references to elements of the national history and the reign of St Olaf, news coverage of the events, particularly from Kristiania, sets the founding of Sarpsborg in 1016 in the wider national context.[111] The celebratory cantata written for the event allowed the wider national context of the foundation of the city to emerge. In the text of the cantata the singers, and presumably the audience, encounter reminders of the role of the city in the early medieval unification process of Norway. The cantata also highlighted the importance of the church which Olaf built when he founded the city and its role in the wider conversion of Norway, although the importance of this church might have been a local adaptation of the national conversion narrative to link the local with the national memory of Olaf Haraldsson. A member of the organising committee, a Mr P.A. Selmer, stated in *Aftenposten* [The Evening Post] on the 1 August: 'the

[109] E. Bakken, *Olavs By* [Olaf's city] (Sarpsborg, 2006), 25.
[110] 'Men jeg har vilde gjerne se den en dag, da alle var med. Det er som bekjendt ikke tilfældet hverken 17de eller 1ste mai eller nogen av de aarvisse festdage. For jeg visste at alle vilde bli med. […] De blev med. De heiste sine flagg, pyntet sine huse, pyntet sig selv og familien og smaa og store drog de ut I det drivende solvier.' [Anon.] 'Post Festum' *Smaalenenes Social-Demokrat [Smaalenene's Social-democratic Times]*, 1 August 1916, 1.
[111] [Anon.] 'Sarpsborg høgtidar 900 aarsdagen'[Sarpsborg's 900-year-anniversary], *Den17deMai The 17th of May]*, 29 July 1916, 3.

celebrations were always meant to be a local event, due to both the serious political situation in Europe, and the tensions in Sarpsborg between workers and factory owners.'[112] Through this, it is evident that the organising committee assessed the situation and wanted a local event that tied the city to the nation and that re-established a marker in the landscape of the city, reminding the citizens about the origins of the city and its links with the nation through the statue of St Olaf.

Through the structure and content of the 1916 celebration in Sarpsborg, there are elements to suggest that the city wanted to emulate the millennium celebrations in 1872 and the 900 year anniversary of Trondheim in 1897. Yet P.A. Selmer's reflection and commentary on the celebration from 1 August, alongside the erection of the statue, suggests that the city and the planning committee wanted to claim Olaf Haraldsson as their own and to tie the national history into the regional and local history, through which they would stimulate a local identity and ownership of the past. This is also the case of a rather small commemoration in Ålesund in 1911(see appendix 5 for location). The city celebrated in 1911 the millennium of Gange-Rolf's foundation of the Duchy of Normandy. Rollo, as he is referred to in the anglophone literature, originated, according to Snorri's *Heimskringla*, from the area where Ålesund is today. Unlike the magnificent national celebrations of 1872 and 1930, and the local celebrations in 1871, 1897 and 1916, the Ålesund affair appears from the newspapers to have been much more restrained. It appears from newspaper reports that the commemoration took the form of the erection of a statue of Rollo, a copy or twin

Figure 8: Statue of Rollo/Gange-Rolf in Ålesund by Arsène Letellier, erected in 1911.

[112] 'Høitideligheden var imidlertid altid fra kommunalt hold tænkt som en enkel festelighed af nærmest lokal art. Dette tilsagdes baade af de alvorlige tider I almindelighed og specielt af de vanskelige tider for arbeiderbyen Sarpsborg.' P.A. Selmer, '900 aars festen I Sarpsborg' [Sarpsborg's 900-year-anniversary], *Aftenposten [The Evening Post]*, Aften [Evening edition], 1 August 1916, 2.

to the statue erected the same year in Rouen in Normandy. With this statue, the city remembered one of the great sons of the region, and simultaneously presented a claim on Normandy and the Normans as Norwegians by remembering Rollo not as a Danish Viking chieftain, but as a named member of the local aristocracy from Møre in the ninth century. With the city having been razed to the ground by a great fire only seven years previously, and it being rebuilt almost entirely in Jugend-style it is perhaps not surprising that the city choose to erect a statue of its Viking age hero in the city park.[113] There is no evidence of any major celebrations related to the unveiling of the statue, but like the anniversary in Sarpsborg five years later, the erection of a statue commemorating Rollo in Ålesund imprinted him permanently on the memory landscape of the city in the same way as the new architecture reminded the city of the fatal fire. Through this, the city not only reconstructed a memory landscape after the trauma of the fire, but also amalgamated its local and regional identity as the birthplace of Normandy, with the national medievalist identity of the homeland of the Vikings. At the same time, through the statue the city gave its contribution to who the Normans were by claiming Rollo as their own. With this Ålesund settled the long debate of where the Normans came from, establishing the Normans as being at least partly Norwegian and at the same time suggesting that Møre had not always been part of Norway and had its own heroic past to celebrate and remember.

5.8. Conclusion

Norwegian newspaper reports about commemorations and church sermons must be seen in the context of them trying to stimulate a new cultural identity for the Norwegian people. They reiterate references to the battles of Hafsfjord and Stiklestad, and the founding of Norwegian cities and the conversion of the kingdom until this knowledge had become common currency for the nation. It is possible to see through these commemorations, and reports of them, a broader acceptance and acknowledgment of the origin of Norway and the continuing importance of the ninth, tenth and eleventh century kings within the cultural memory and identity of both the nation and regions in Norway.

[113] 'Ganger-Rolf-statuen' [The Rollo Statue], *Nordre Bergenhus Amtstidene [The Nordre Bergenhus County Times]*, 28 June 1911, 2.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Throughout the previous chapters, this thesis examined how Norwegian society during the long nineteenth century used medieval history as part of its cultural nation building. Norway needed throughout the long nineteenth century to be reminded of its origins and early history. Central to this was the story of the three Viking kings: Harald Fairhair, Olaf Tryggvasson, and Olaf Haraldsson for their role in the early stages of Norwegian history. Through exploring Norwegian remembrance of these kings and the Viking age, this thesis has been able to highlight developments in the use and presentation of historical narratives surrounding these kings during this period.

These developments have been examined through four chapters: (i) the interpretations and presentations of the kings in academic scholarship from 1770-1940, which relied heavily on Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla* ; (ii) the presentation of the same kings in history textbooks for Norwegian schools and their development reflecting the changes in the historical and political ideas of the time; (iii) the presentation of the Oseberg, Gokstad and Tune ships in museums as representations of material culture in relation to the Viking age and reflecting the historical orthodoxy of the origins of the Norwegian nation; (iv) the remembering and celebrating of important historical events celebrated as national or regional anniversaries, which indicated these events importance in a national, regional and local identity. This use of medieval history in the long nineteenth century represents an important aspect of the development of a national consciousness and identity, based on a medievalism of selective remembering of the origins and development of Norway that had not been examined in previous scholarship. This study began with an examination of the literature surrounding nationalism and medievalism, and pinpointed a gap in the literature on the use of history as part of the development of Norwegian national identity.[1]

This existing scholarship has been a useful framework for the interpretations of the use of history in Norway and its correlation with the growing sense of sameness evidenced in the popular involvement in, and engagement with, historical anniversaries. This concluding chapter provides a summary and an opportunity to address the broader themes, as highlighted above,[2] of this thesis across the chapters. Simultaneously I will situate the evidence and themes from this thesis in a wider international context to explore their

[1] See chapter 1.1 and 1.2, pages 14-32.
[2] See page 39.

relationship with similar trends and developments elsewhere, and how this research might develop in the future.

By selecting the abovementioned themes, this thesis explores how Norwegian medievalism drawing on the Viking Age relates to Norway's national identity and how this contributed to the creation of Norway. Methodologically this study has focused on the use, remembering and forgetting of how the three kings Harald Fairhair, Olaf Tryggvasson and Olaf Haraldsson shaped Norway in the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries, and how artefacts and the landscape throughout Norway have been interpreted in relation to their narrative during the long nineteenth century. Events such as the 900-year anniversary of the battle of Stiklestad celebrated in 1930 by more than 40,000 people at Stiklestad and through numerous church services throughout the country highlights, through the popular interest in the festivities, the importance of studying these events and the historical memory contained within them to better understand wider European medievalism and the relationship between history and politics in modern Norway. This conclusion will also highlight where this research can progress from its current state, and what limitations have been placed on this thesis that with future research might shed more light upon the medievalist nationalism of Norway in the long nineteenth century and medievalism in general.

6.1. Remembering an Idealised Past

In Brøgger's 1917 study of the burial mounds at Borre and the identification of the Oseberg and Gokstad burials as belonging to the Ynglinga dynasty Norwegian academic and popular readers were presented with a textual interpretation of the origins of Norway.[3] Within this text, the author embedded a historical memory of the origins of Norway that differs from modern research on ninth- and tenth-century Norway, as he, like other academic authors before him, and the millennium celebration in Tønsberg in 1871, remembered the Oslo-fjord area as an integral part of Norway, and not as a part of Denmark.[4] Even though Gustav Storm in 1875 pointed out that Vestfold and probably most of the Oslo-fjord area in the eighth and for parts of the ninth century had been part of the Danish kingdom, the Ynglinga interpretation remained prevalent for some time thereafter. This particular interpretation and idealization of the past, by projecting the modern borders of Norway upon the kingdom of Harald Fairhair legitimised to the kingdom's modern territorial claims. By using

[3] Brøgger, *Borrefundet*., 51.
[4] Brøgger, *Borrefundet*., 33; [Anon.] 'Tønsberg og dens Tusendaarsfest' [Tønsberg and it's Anniversary Celebrations], *Fædrelandet [The Fatherland]*, 28 June 1871, 1. See chapter 4.3..

evidence taken from Snorri's *Heimskringla* and reading them through a lens of nationalism, Norwegian scholars produced a narrative of the Norwegian nation transmitted through textbooks, museums and anniversaries that highlighted the political and cultural legitimacy and exceptionality of the Norwegian people. However, this reading of Snorri's text is in itself flawed, as seen in references from *Ynglinga Saga* highlighted by Storm in 1875 suggesting that there was close political and cultural contact between Denmark and South-East modern Norway indicating a shared political and cultural identity in these regions in the late eighth and early ninth centuries.[5] The accepted memory of Vestfold and the Oslo-fjord as Harald Fairhair's ancestral kingdom enabled Brøgger to identify the burial mounds in Vestfold, as belonging to the Norwegian Ynglinga Dynasty. As an extension of this uncritical reading of Snorri's narrative, the Oseberg and Gokstad ships were identified as intrinsically Norwegian, giving Norway, and Vestfold, a new focal point to centre their remembering of the unification of Norway. This selective remembering of the unity of Norway, and the role of Harald Fairhair not as a conqueror, but as a unifier, implies a centralisation of historical memory through academic interpretations that fed these memories to the people through textbooks and public commemorations.

As explored in Chapter 5, most big commemorations during this period took place outside the capital, Oslo, with enormous crowds attending implying a local claim of ownership of both the local and the national history in the south. This local support and interest for these events indicate also a sense of shared ownership in the historical memory presented through the reading of Snorri and the nineteenth-century scholarship discussed in chapter 2. However, this shared sense of historical and ethnic unity manifested in Harald Fairhair's unification of 872 was tested in the North where the unification and conversion process was remembered more indirectly and at a distance.

Unlike the southern regions where Haugesund, Trondheim, Tønsberg and Sarpsborg all embraced and claimed part of the national narrative as their own, the North and especially Tromsø Museum struggled to balance Norse history and the history of the regional minorities of Sami and Finnish populations. Although no great Viking age events are remembered in the history of the north of Norway and thus nothing was evidently deemed worthy of commemoration, Tromsø Museum brought the national narrative into the North: Norway was a land of Norse population and a Norse history. This is suggested by the Tromsø Museum catalogue, which focuses on the Norse legacy in the region and

[5] Storm, 'Om Ynglingatal', 75.

through that establishing Norwegian legitimacy in the region, creating another instance of selective remembering, this time with regards to the ethnic mix and identity of the population in Northern Norway. Tromsø Museum only has 42 objects identified as *Lappisk* (Sami) in their catalogue in 1904.[6] This selective remembering, in the case of Tromsø, was a reflection of the governmental policy of *Fornorsking*,[7] turning the population and the area Norwegian, thus removing any elements of a non-Norwegian culture and identity among the native populations. This Norwegianisation policy represents the prescribed national remembering of Norway, similar to the prescription of textbook content after 1922, suggesting that certain regions of Norway experienced a centralisation of its identity in line with the official identity in the early twentieth century. Tromsø's Norwegianisation of its museum collection stands in stark contrast to identities celebrated in Sarpsborg and Tønsberg in 1916 and 1871 (see appendix 5 for location).[8] The celebrations in both cities had a local and regional focus and did only allude to their place in the context of the history of the nation when reflecting on the history of their cities. Thus suggesting that for these two cities, on these two days, the local identity trumped the national identity of the population, although these cities maintained that they were Norwegian cities not part of a lost Danish province. Perhaps these cities were seen at the time as too connected to the capital to be any threat to the national unity and identity, whereas a strong Sami identity in the North could be dangerous as it would be harder to control from the capital. Although there are suggestions of similar local commemoration events taking place in Voss and Gudbrandsdalen in 1921 and 1923 (see appendix 5 for location),[9] there are not sufficient sources available to explore the agendas of these celebrations, but it is worth noting that at the two national anniversaries examined in this thesis: 1872 and 1930, newspaper reports suggests that services of commemoration were held in most parishes throughout the kingdom. These services of commemoration point towards a nationwide acceptance and subscription to the ideas of the national past that were embedded in these celebrations.

---

[6] O. Nicolaissen, *Katalog over Oldsager i Tromsø Museum* [Catalogue over Antiquities at Tromsø Museum] (Tromsø, 1904), 180.
[7] S. Funderud Skogvang, 'Fornorskningpolitikk' [Norwegianization Policy], in *SNL* https://snl.no/fornorskingspolitikk.
[8] [Anon.] 'Tønsbergs Tusindaarsjubilæum' [Tønsberg's Millenium], *Aftenposten [The Evening Post]*, 26 June 1871, 1; [Anon.] 'Sarpsborg høgtidar 900 aarsdagen' [Sarpsborg's 900-year-anniversary], *Den17deMai [The 17th of May]*, 29 July 1916, 3.
[9] F. Paasche, *Olav den hellige : til 900-aarsfesten i Gudbrandsdalen 29. juli 1921,* [Olaf the Holy: for the 900-year Celebration in Gudbrandsdalen 29 July 1921] (Kristiania, 1921); L. Ekseland, *Heilag Olav : minneskrift til 900-års-høgtidi på Voss 29. juli 1923*, [Olaf the Holy: for the 900-year celebration in Voss 29 July 1923] (Bjoergvin, 1923).

6.2. The Role of the Viking

During this period the reconstruction and rediscovery of a Norwegian nation focused not only on the deeds and actions which had created Norway, but used the Viking kings: Harald Fairhair, Olaf Tryggvasson, and Olaf Haraldsson as focal points in both the remembering of an independent Norwegian kingdom in the Viking age, and as a gateway to the Viking world the Norwegian kingdom grew out of. The narrative of the Viking age its objects and sites dating from the ninth to the eleventh centuries, took on these mnemonic abilities and similarly became symbols of and gateways into the Viking Age and its memory. The Viking ships of Oseberg and Gokstad through their identification became popular as objects due to the combined power of nationalism and allure of the Vikings. Within this memory, there is no differentiation between being Norwegian or pseudo-Norwegian, and being Viking; for, through the selective remembering and interpretations around these objects became interlocked, inseparable and the very definition of the nation. The key to this interlocking, and the key to the role of the Vikings in Norwegian national identity in the long nineteenth century lay in the idea that the modern Norwegian state was the Kingdom of Harald Fairhair reborn. This re-born kingdom was populated by the descendants of the Vikings, and these descendants held in their blood and ethnicity the legitimacy of the Norwegian nation. Folklorists in Norway, as well as nineteenth-century linguists, believed that the blood of the Vikings, their language and culture had been preserved in the rural parts of Norway and that within this legacy lay the true Norway.[10] These ideas re-confirmed the Norwegian constitution's claim from 1814 that the state arose from the people through the democratic processes and the sovereignty which was based on the legitimacy embodied in the Norwegian people. This political sovereignty idea manifested in the Norwegian Parliament *Stortinget* represented the legitimacy of the blood and descendants of Harald Fairhair through being the people's elected representatives. The *Stortinget* styled itself on the early medieval Things of Norway as described by Keyser, Munch and Schøning in their studies of the reign of the Fairhair dynasty.[11]

In this political manifestation, the legitimacy given to the Norwegian people from their Viking legacy through their blood, history and cultural memory strengthened the internally perceived legitimacy of the Norwegian nation and its persistence in protecting its autonomy. By highlighting how the regional assemblies checked, controlled and advised the

[10] Ø. Hodne, *Det Nasjonale hos Norske Folklorister på 1800-tallet* [The Norwegian among Norwegian Folklorists in the nineteenth century] (Oslo, 1994).
[11] Schøning, *Norges Riiges.,* Vol. ii, 194-5; Keyser, *Norges Historie.*, vol. I, 220; Munch, *Det Norske.,* Vol. I, part I, 585.

monarch under the Fairhair dynasty in historical studies and textbooks, the readers of these texts were allowed to imagine and sense that the democratic experience of nineteenth-century Norway was the proper nature of government in Norway. Through these narratives, the Vikings in their abstract, physical and historical sense, based on Snorri's *Heimskringla*, were used to underpin the Norwegian cultural and political projects of the long nineteenth century. They even contained within them ambitions of future greatness and restoration of the North Sea Empire of the Norwegian crown, a legacy evident in both the Greenland case, and Brøgger and Undset's writings on the Norse settlements in the North Atlantic, in which these territories were seen as extensions of Norway and their inhabitants as Norwegians.[12]

Although the western isles remained out of reach of the modern Norwegian state, their names and the ideas of them became mental sites of memories. Within these isles the memory of the lost North Sea Empire and the extended Norwegian nation through the migration from Norway to Iceland was preserved and retold through the narratives in textbooks and academic studies. Similar to the western isles, that became and remained sites of memories in their abstract form, the monument at Haraldshaugen, the mounds in Vestfold and the field at Stiklestad also became sites of memories, sites that connected the Norwegian nation to its origins and moments that had defined the development of Norway. Embedded in them we find the legacy of the Vikings and the memory of Norwegian legitimacy, they become imbued with the narrative of the origin of Norway, its medieval decline and the resurrection in 1814. Alongside these physical sites, the Viking ships and references made to the ships and the sites retell the narratives and memories embedded in the original sites. The reprinting of images and the narratives connected to these sites strengthened both the memories embedded in the sites of memories and the role and the cult of the Viking past in the Norwegian cultural consciousness.

In the 1930s, Norway saw the emergence of fascist movements within the Norwegian political landscape. These movements, like Norwegian nationalist movements before them, turned to the Viking age for symbols and sites to use in their activities, this marked the beginning of the change in how these symbols and sites were used in the last decade of this period, up to 1940, as well as during and after the war (1940-45). For instance, the Norwegian fascist party *National Samling* (National Unification) held their

[12] Brøgger, *Gamle emigranter.*; Undset, *Norske Oldsager*.

annual gathering at Stiklestad in 1934,[13] one year after the party had been formed, and it became a party tradition to hold rallies at sites of historical significance linking to Norwegian medieval history. Among the sites used by *National Samling* are Stiklestad, Borre, Harfsfjord, Haraldshaugen, and Hamar's ruined cathedral, all sites of memory embedded in the history of Norway's medieval past. The use of these sites and the associated history is mirrored throughout north-western Europe by fascist movements harking back to a Viking and Germanic past. Although this experience was not exclusive to Norway, the Norwegian rehabilitation of both the sites and the history during and following the war seems to reflect the importance of these memories for Norway, as well as to suggest that the memory of the Vikings changed over time in response to these abuses. For instance, the warrior aspect of Olaf Tryggvasson and Olaf Haraldsson's lives which in the nineteenth century prepared them and qualified them to become kings of Norway, was abandoned after 1945 in favour of a narrative focusing on state building and conversion. Moreover, this change in focus in the medieval narrative is also reflected in the post-1960s trend of open air theatre companies performing scenes from the Viking past in the landscape they originally took place in. Although this trend of open air plays covers the whole history of Norway, from the unification of Norway until the eighteenth century, the majority of these plays, and the festivals connected with them, draw inspiration from the Viking age. A common theme in these plays is the political and cultural conflicts of the tenth and eleventh centuries in which questions of local and national identities are explored. In some instances the plays, such as *Spelet om Heilag Olav* which takes place at Stiklestad,[14] have been written for a location, whereas in other cases the location and memory landscape have been selected for the play,[15] as was the case with *Ragnhilds Drøm* in Skjerstad highlighting the importance of re-using and maintaining these landscapes as sites of memory.

This shift towards the local Viking history and away from the long nineteenth century's focus on the nation, is a reflection of the new wave of historical interest emerging in Norway from the University of Tromsø in the 1970s; where the impact on the periphery

[13] K. Alvestad, 'Den Nasjonale Olav: Bruk og Misbruk av Helgenkongens Bilde mellom 1920 og 1945' [The National Olaf: The Use and Abuse of St Olaf's image between 1920 and 1945], in Ø. Ekroll (ed.), *Olavsbildet Igjennom 1000 År* [St Olaf's Image through a Millenia], (Trondheim, 2016), 207.
[14] M. Stene (ed.), *Slag i Slag : Minner fra Spelet om Heilag Olav på Stiklestad : 40 års Teaterhistorie* [Memories from the Play about St Olaf at Stiklestad: 40-year Teathre History], (Verdal, 1995).
[15] [Anon.], 'Om Ragnhilds Drøm' [About Ragnhild's Dream], *Ragnhilds Drøm* [Ragnhild's Dream] https://ragnhildsdrom.wordpress.com/about/ (Accessed:22/03/16).

of the unification process, and the history of the periphery were examined in more detail compared with the earlier historical traditions in Norway.[16] This development has not deconstructed the national unity constructed in Norway during the long nineteenth century but has allowed regional identities to emerge from the shadow of the nation drawing on their own Viking heritage. After the war (1940-45) the focus of the national commemorations and remembering has shifted, from the Viking age to the Constitution of 1814 and the re-founding of the Norway at the constitutional assembly at Eidsvoll. Such a shift in focus for the commemorations of the nation are the result of both the Norwegian nation's inability to completely reclaim the Viking past from the fascist abuse during the war, and that Constitution Day celebrations (17 May) during the war became a symbol of resistance against the occupation and Quisling's government whilst protecting the memory of the democratic constitution and with that the nation. This has led to the annual Constitution Day celebrations on the 17 May becoming the main commemoration event in the Norwegian calendar, whereas the feast of St Olaf, Olsok, has passed out of relevance for the current imagined community of Norway, although it is still seen as a public holiday and the Norwegian flag still flies from all public buildings on this day.

From the Vikings the Norwegian nation, during the long nineteenth century, could claim its political legitimacy, similar to Geary's ideas on the origin narratives of the nation as discussed above, its political geography, and ambitions all of which were embedded in the Norwegian remembrance of the Vikings through a memory cult of the Viking kings, heroes and ships. And in this process the re-construction, re-use and re-discovery of the medieval landscape and history of the Viking age supported and strengthened the existing ideas of a shared cultural identity and heritage realised at the unification in 872.

6.3. Academic and Popular Remembering

The sources used in this thesis have unfortunately not been able to offer up a way of fully engaging with the popular and mass involvement and support for the use of the Vikings in the construction of a Norwegian nation in the long nineteenth century. Chapter four and five have both highlighted some popular support in the estimated attendance numbers at the celebrations at Stiklestad and in Haugesund, and through the funding of the Gokstad replica and the rose window for Trondheim Cathedral.[17] However, most of the evidence

[16] Dahl, *Norsk Historieforskning.,* 291.
[17] K. Alvestad, 'Den Nasjonale Olav', 191-214; 'Subskriptions-Indbydelse' [Invitations for Subscriptions], *Norges Sjøfartstidende [The Norwegian Shipping TImes]*, 16 May 1892, 1.

explored above points towards an active involvement from the Norwegian academy in the construction of memory of the Viking age. Through the editing of the history of Norway, and their work in publishing textbooks, sources and preservation work of medieval monuments, Norwegian historians and the educated cultural elite embodied what Patrick Geary called the second stage of nationalism. The driving force behind many of the movements and presentations of the Viking age in Norway during the long nineteenth century was the academic community centred on the University of Oslo. Although the estimated attendance numbers for the events in 1930 and 1872 both suggest considerable popular interest in the events, the continuous trend throughout the long nineteenth century is that most the work related to the use and remembering of the Viking age was done by the academic community. This is illustrated by Ernst Sars's involvement in the festivities in 1897, and his, Keyser's and Storm's memberships in *Fortidsminneforeningen*.[18] There is little evidence suggesting that any of the commemoration events of the long nineteenth century was initiated by the general public. Instead, evidence suggests that preparations were instigated by a group of enthusiasts who later invited the public once the events were already planned. Once such events had been initiated the general public were quick to support them.

Similar popular support is seen in the print run and sales of *Heimskringla* in 1900, which reached 100,000 copies in the first year alone.[19] These sales suggests that Geary's model of the three stages of nationalism seems to fit and that from the political crisis of 1881-2 and the educational reforms of 1889 the population were more aware and better taught of their national history, making them better equipped to take part in the medievalist nationalism of Norway. From the Trondheim celebrations in 1897 and until the occupation in 1940 there is an increase of non-academic involvement in the remembering and commemoration of the Viking kings, heroes and ships, whereas the fascist abuse of the Vikings during the war led to an academic retreat into the archives and classrooms and the remembering and commemorations were left to popular movements, and as an extention of this a stronger popular engagement with the past in more recent times.

Through this periodization, this thesis has claimed that during the first half of the long nineteenth century, academic involvement in the cultural remembrance of the Viking

[18] Nicolaysen, *Foreningen til Norske.*, 4-5.
[19] J.G. Jørgensen, 'Med Snorre skulle Landet Bygges' [With Snorri the Kingdom were to be built], *Aftenposten* (published 19/10/2011) http://www.aftenposten.no/meninger/kronikker/Med-Snorre-skulle-landet-bygges-6375793.html (Accessed: 04/10/2015).

age was considerable; whereas in the second half after 1881 popular involvement became more prevalent. This is evident in the collections for the Viking ship replica in 1893, the collection for the rose window for Trondheim Cathedral in 1929-30, and the collection of the statue for Olaf Haraldsson in Sarpsborg in 1916, all of which relied heavily on private funds and popular support in realising project imagined by leading figures in the contemporary cultural landscape.[20] The lengthy engagement and academic interest in the Vikings throughout the long nineteenth century both in Norway and internationally contributed to the continuing popularity of the Vikings Age until today.

6.4. The Norway Experience in Context of Other Nations

Although this thesis has focused on the use and presentation of Harald Fairhair, Olaf Tryggvasson, Olaf Haraldsson and the Viking age in Norway during the long nineteenth century, introductions to each chapter hint, through references to other studies, to similar developments in other parts of the world. The question then arises, was the Norwegian experience of medievalist nationalism, and its aspects explored in this thesis, particular to Norway? This section will discuss these elements and explore to what extent the Norwegian experience resembles other nations or movements.

In chapter two, this thesis discussed how historians in Norway in the long nineteenth century were influenced by their personal political views, and how they through their writings, cultural network and political affiliations shaped the political and cultural developments in Norway in this period. The correlation between the political loyalties and the historical ideas of the academics highlights their relationships with the world around them. Stefan Berger pointed out in his book *The Search for Normality: National identity historical consciousness in Germany since 1800*, that German historians in the nineteenth century were actively involved in the search for the historical normality to legitimise Germany's then current political situation.[21] In the Norwegian context, this is best exemplified by Keyser's and Munch's commentary on the early medieval power balance between kings and their things. Similar political involvement was also found among nineteenth century historians in Britain, as pointed out by John Burrow,[22] and David Cannadine.[23]

[20] See chapter 5.6.
[21] S.Berger, *The Search for Normality: National Identity Historical Consciousness in Germany since 1800* (Oxford, 1997), 2-4.
[22] J. Burrow, *A History of Histories* (London, 2007), 405-422.
[23] D. Cannadine, *Making History Now and Then* (Basingstoke, 2008), 171-195.

Furthermore, the deliberate use of textbooks through the second half of this period in Norway brought to the readers and pupils a particular interpretation of Norwegian history which supported the idea of a shared cultural identity throughout the state. This policy and the conscious choice were not special for Norway, for Ireland, Ukraine, Japan, and France,[24] have all over the last two hundred years used textbooks as tools in identity construction and nation building. Textbooks have been used in these countries to project and present to schoolchildren the politically correct historical narrative of the state and its people. Examples from France after the Franco-Prussian War and in Ukraine after the collapse of the Soviet Union suggest that the narratives and content within these books can be adjusted following political and cultural changes. This suggests that the use of textbooks to convey the origin myths and foundations of the nation to the population is not an exceptionally Norwegian phenomenon neither is the commemoration of past events and heroes in monuments or celebrations.

Rudy Koshar explored in her book *From Monuments to Traces* a construction of monuments and memory landscapes in Germany in the last decades of the nineteenth century and early decades of the twentieth century.[25] These constructions are similar to the monuments at Haraldshaugen and the establishment of Borre as a national park in that they were designed to convey a memory of the past. Such constructions are known from most countries in the western world, including the Unknown Soldiers graves in France and the Lincoln memorial in the United States of America, as well as their colonial empires in this period and their purpose, as suggested by Pierre Nora,[26] was to be sites of memories that were designed to remind the societies that built them of the deeds they commemorate. Koshar highlights that the monument building was, like all commemorations, to create and maintain a memory landscape reminding the nation about where it came from, and its origins in the distant past. Monuments, like commemorations, reflect the needs of the time they are created; it is therefore not surprising that countries such as Germany, France and the United Kingdom built monuments and commemorations in stone or metal, such as the statues of King Alfred the Great in Winchester (1901) and Wantage (1877),[27] to help define and protect their identity while undergoing the cultural

[24] See chapter 1.3., and 3.1-2.
[25] Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces: Artifacts of German Memory, 1870-1990* (London, 2000).
[26] Nora, 'Between Memory and History', 7-24.
[27] B. Yorke, *The King Alfred millennary in Winchester, 1901* (Winchester, 1999), 9-12; J. Parker, *'England's Darling' The Victorian cult of Alfred the Great* (Manchester, 2007),181.

and political changes of the late nineteenth century. However, both Nora and Guégan maintain,[28] as discussed in chapter 1, that as time passes the use of and memory embedded in, these monuments and sites changes with the needs of the social structures that uses them. These ideas correlate with the use of Stiklestad in the 1930s and 40s.[29] As such, Norwegian monuments of the long nineteenth century are not exceptional within an international context, but exist within a wider re-identification which took place in modernising Western societies at the time, and tell us more about the ideas of the builders of monuments embedded in these monuments and sites of memories than they do about the persons or acts commemorated through them.

Similarly, mass commemorations, like the 1930 celebration of the battle of Stiklestad, or the 1872 celebration of the millennium of the unification of Norway, reveal more about those remembering than about the matter remembered and celebrated. Unlike commemorations in France and America or other republican states, Norway's commemorations until 1940 focused on two things: Firstly, the constitution of 1814, and secondly, the kings and heroes of the medieval and Viking age kingdom of Norway. These national heroes, and, in particular, the kings, defined how Norway saw itself: a democratic kingdom founded in 872 at the battle of Harfsfjord. The open air celebrations, with a religious component, that defined the national celebrations in Norway in the long nineteenth century, have similarities in Britain with the 1901 millennia commemorations of King Alfred. The increasing popular support appears to be a democratisation of these commemorations, in a society where state and religion were still one, and where states without a monarch were unthinkable. Within the Norwegian commemorations, the role of the historic monarchs and their part in defining the development of the kingdom were significant as they were the foundation for the Norwegian nation and its political independence. Through these kings, and the royal legacy, it could be argued that Norway would one day re-emerge and resume its rightful place as an independent nation in the world. Following the dissolution of the union with Sweden, the commemorations of the Ynglinga and Fairhair dynasty strengthened the legitimacy of the newly independent kingdom, by enhancing the centuries old royal lineage which had returned to the kingdom with Haakon, Maud and Olaf. Prince Carl of Denmark's deliberate choice of changing his name to Haakon on the way from Denmark to Norway was part of this commemoration, his act of commemoration created an imagined continuation from Harald Fairhair to Haakon

[28] Nora, 'Between Memory and History', 7-24; X. Guégan, 'Transmissible Sites', 23-25.
[29] K. Alvestad, 'Den Nasjonale Olav', 206-212.

VII, defining Norway as a kingdom whose origin lay in the battle of Harfsfjord. However, simultaneously the remembering of the Norway's historical experience was also influenced by the loss of the monarch in the union with Denmark and the loss of the independence of the kingdom. The Danish union became a historical trauma of Norwegian cultural memory. The increasing awareness of the mixed ethnic origins of the population especially in the north was also an inconvenient fact for the nation that was best forgotten in favour of the idealised image of a united kingdom under the leadership of the Ynglinga and Fairhair dynasty. As such, these traumas are certain particularities within the Norwegian commemorations that perhaps are not as prevalent in events elsewhere, with a possible exception in Finland with its traumatic civil war and long history of colonisation from both Sweden and Russia.

Overall, all the elements and aspects which the Norwegian medievalist nationalism and nation building consisted of, are individually not unknown in other countries with different historical experiences. This means that the Norwegian experience with medievalism is by no means exceptional in its motivations, or source of knowledge, but rather in its success and longevity. It is, however, exceptional in its complexity and well-documented nature which through this thesis have been brought to light as part of the nation-building of Norway, and the use of the Viking Age through the centuries. For although the democratic legacy of 1814 has surpassed the medieval legacy in popularity in Norway today, its memory is still with the Norwegian nation in symbols and traditions developed during the long nineteenth century in an attempt to link the modern state with the kingdom of Harald Fairhair and Olaf Tryggvasson.

6.5. Further Research

In the chapters above, this thesis has examined the use and remembering of the lives of Harald Fairhair, Olaf Tryggvasson and Olaf Haraldsson in the academy, schools, museums, and celebrations in Norway from 1770 to 1940. However, the majority, if not all, of the sources used stem from authors who belonged to a Norwegian white educated upper or middle class with a Lutheran, if any, faith. This means that large sections of the Norwegian people have not been examined based on the lack of sources, but I also have due to the restrictions of this thesis not examined extensively the impact migration and conversion had on the remembering and forgetting of the Viking past. To facilitate a more complete understanding of Norwegian medievalism of the long nineteenth century future research would have to examine the relationship Norwegian Catholics had with the Viking history of Norway, and then particularly with St Olaf, but also how this relationship was seen from the

Lutheran perspective, as it is reported in 1930 that Catholic and Lutheran celebrations took place side by side.

Further detailed examination of the funding of *Haraldshaugen [The Harald's mound]*, the 1893 Viking ship replica, and the rose window for Trondheim Cathedral from 1930, could present an opportunity to examine the phenomena of 'crowd-funding' and the democratisation of medievalism within Norway and through that the popular support and adaptation of the ideas presented by historians and celebrations in the long nineteenth century. Such a study would explore the funding of these monuments and symbols as a way to understand the socio-economic importance these acts of remembering within Norwegian communities of the nineteenth and twentieth century.

In addition to this; this thesis only examines the aforesaid elements of Norwegian medievalism and national remembering of the Viking Age, up to 1940, it is natural that future research also will examine Medievalism in Norway, and Scandinavia following the Second World War, and explore in more detail its changes in relation to the shifts in the social, cultural and economic foundations for Scandinavian society following the arrival of peace in May 1945.

Furthermore, as the sources for both the 1872 and 1930 celebrations suggests a considerable Norwegian-American involvement in these celebrations, the impact of migration and the development of a Norwegian diaspora in North America upon this remembering is a potential way forward with this research in regards to both the Norwegian-American involvement in the remembering in Norway, and the development of a Norwegian medievalism inside the diaspora in North America. In this context, the question of religious identity and the national identity of the one who remember would have to be negotiated, as a series of both Lutheran and Catholic institutions connected to the diaspora take their names from the Viking Age generally and St Olaf in particular.

These diaspora ideas, and the relationship with Norway and the remembering of the origins of Norway can also be brought further in studies of the Norwegian community in London, with its St Olaf Church in Canada Waters, and King Haakon VII's choice of parish church in London while in exile,[30] St Olave Hart Street; and of the potentially conflicting identities of Norwegians in Rome, where the St Olaf's altar in San Carlo al Corso served as a

[30] K. Alvestad, 'Den Nasjonale Olav', 206.

meeting point for both Catholics and Lutherans in the fourth quarter of the twentieth century.

As highlighted above there are many elements of Norwegian medievalism in the long nineteenth century which can be explored and which can provide a broader foundation to understand both the use and presentation of the Viking Age in Norway in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and the Norwegian society current and past with regards to its remembering and reinvention of itself through the last centuries.

6.6. Implications and the Nation Today

As explored above, medievalist use of the Viking age in the construction of a Norwegian national identity can in many ways be defined as medievalist nationalism where the goals and objectives of the modern Norwegian state are supported by historical claims and a cult of the origin of the Norwegian kingdom. The development of this medievalism follows Patrick Geary's three stages of nationalism, and is closely related to the social and cultural construction of Norway, the Norwegianisation of Norway's Norse and Sami population, into a coherent nation-state with one people, one language, and one history. The post-war deconstruction of the official and academic medievalist nationalism following the abuse of the Viking age during the war, is one of the contributing factors to the current revisions and acceptance of the multi-ethnic origin of the Norwegian nation. This medievalist nationalism, although it contributed to the sense of a shared sameness among the Norwegian speaking population of Norway, must be seen as an element of the cultural imperialism of the capital over the periphery, where the unification and standardisation of the cultural memory through historical education, commemorations and monuments contributes to the continuing re-imagining of the Norwegian community. This study, therefore, offers an additional analysis of the cultural construct taking place in Europe during the nineteenth and twentieth century, and the use of the Viking age in the post-medieval world.

Following the traumatic defeat of the Norwegian Archbishop Olaf Engebrektson in 1537 and the subsequent years of Norwegian integration into the Danish realm, Norwegian scholars sought to rediscover the origin of Norway and convey it to the people.[31] The use and presentation of the Viking age in Norway throughout the long nineteenth century is

[31] See chapter 2.

extensively nationalist in its nature and focus. Through this, as we have seen in this thesis medievalism aimed to highlight and legitimise the antiquity of the Norwegian people and its state with kings, heroes and ships of the Viking age.

Bibliography:

[Anon.], 'A Viking ship for Chicago', *The Hampshire Advertiser* (Southampton, England), Saturday, 30 April 1892, 2.

[Anon.], 'A Viking's Ship', *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle etc*. (Portsmouth, England), Wednesday, 23 June 1880; Issue 4997, 1.

[Anon.], 'A Viking's ship', *The Huddersfield Chronicle and West Yorkshire Advertiser* (West Yorkshire, England), Saturday, 17 September 1881; Issue 4406, 7.

[Anon.], 'Amtsskulelærar R. Holes 17. Mai-tale' [Teacher R. Holes 17th of May speech], *Nordlands Avis [The Nordland Times]*, 19 May 1914, 1.

[Anon.], 'Arrival of the Viking Ship at Chicago', *The Morning Post* (London, England), Thursday, 13 July 1893, 5.

[Anon.], 'Bergen' [Bergen], *Bergens Adresseontoir Effterettninger [The Bergen Observer]*, 25 July 1872, 3.

[Anon.], 'Discovery of an Ancient Viking Ship', *The Dundee Courier & Argus and Northern Warder* (Dundee, Scotland), Friday, 18 June 1880; Issue 8397, 5.

[Anon.], 'Edv Bull' in *Norsk biografisk leksikon* [Norwegian biographical encyclopedia online] http://nbl.snl.no/Edv_Bull/utdypning.

[Anon.], 'Edv Bull' in *Norsk biografisk leksikon* [Norwegian Biographical Encyclopaedia Online] http://nbl.snl.no/Edv_Bull/utdypning

[Anon.], 'Edvard Munch', in *Store Norske Leksikon paa nett* [Norwegian Encyclopedia Online] http://snl.no/Edvard_Munch.

[Anon.], 'Edvard Munch'. In *Store Norske Leksikon* [Norwegian Encyclopedia Online] http://snl.no/Edvard_Munch

[Anon.], 'Foreign News', *Berrow's Worcester Journal* (Worcester, England), Saturday, 21 May 1892, 6.

[Anon.], 'Fredrikstad 19de Juli' [Fredrikstad 19th of July], *Fredrikstads Tilskuer [The Fredrikstad Observer]*, 20 July 1872, 1-2.

[Anon.], 'Friends of the Viking Ship, 'History', *Friends of the Viking Ship* http://www.vikingship.us/history.htm (accessed 01/05/2015 23:06pm).

[Anon.], 'Fulle kirker' [Full churches], *Stavanger Aftenblad [Stavanger Evening Post]*, 29 July 1930, 3.

[Anon.], 'Ganger-Rolf-statuen' [The Rollo Statue], *Nordre Bergenhus Amtstidene [The Norder Bergenhus County Times]*, 28 June 1911, 2.

[Anon.], 'Gudstjenester og møter'[services and meetings], in *Aftenposten [The Evening Post]*, 26 July 1930, 5.

[Anon.], 'Gudstjenester' [Services], in *Sarpsborg arbeiderblad [Sarpsborg Workers Magazine]*, 28 July 1930, 4.

[Anon.], 'Gudstjenester'[Services], in *Stavanger Aftenblad [Stavanger Evening Post]*, 28 July 1930, 3.

[Anon.], 'Historisk museum – norsk museumsbygning i Oslo' [Historical museum – a Norwegian museum in Oslo], in *Store Norske Leksikon på nett* [Norwegian Encyclopaedia Online] https://snl.no/Historisk_museum%2Fnorsk_museumsbygning_i_Oslo.

[Anon.], 'Ja vi elsker dette landet', in *Store Norske Leksikon paa nett* [Norwegian Encyclopaedia online] https://snl.no/Ja%2C_vi_elsker_dette_landet.

[Anon.], 'Jubilæet I Trondhjem' [The Anniversary in Trondheim], *Aftenposten [The Evening Post]*, 19 July 1897, Aften, 1-2.

[Anon.], 'Jubilæet I Trondhjem' [the Anniversary in Trondheim], *Stavanger Aftenblad [Stavanger Evening Post]*, 19 July 1897, 2.

[Anon.], 'Jubilæet: den første Festdag' [The Anniversary: the first day of celebrations], *Stenkjær Avis [The Stenkjær Post]*, 24 July 1897, 3-4.

[Anon.], 'Jubilæet: Festmiddagen' [The Anniversary: The Gala Dinner], *Stavanger Aftenblad [Stavanger Evening Post]*, 20 July 1897, 2.

[Anon.], 'Kirkefesten i Nord Troendelag' [The Church jubilee in North Tronedelag], *Nordenfjeldske* [The Times North of the Mountains], 1 August 1930, 2.

[Anon.], 'Kirkefestlighetene I Nidaros' [The Church Celebrations in Trondheim], *Nordlands Avis [The Nordland Times]*, 1 August 1930.

[Anon.], 'Kongeparret har under sit Besøk' [The Royal couple have during their visit], *Nordenfjeldske Tidene* [The Times North of the Mountains] , 2 July 1906, 1.

[Anon.], 'Kongeparret I Stavanger' [The King and Queen in Stavanger], *Stavanger Aftenblad [Stavanger Evening Post]*, 27 July 1906, 1.

[Anon.], 'Kristiania' [Kristiania], *Aftenposten [The Evening Post],* 19 July 1872, 1-2.

[Anon.], 'Leiv Eiriksson' in *Store Norske Leksikon på nett* [Norwegian encyclopedia online] https://snl.no/Leiv_Eiriksson.

[Anon.], 'Loss of the Viking Ship', *The Yorkshire Herald, and The York Herald* (York, England), Saturday, 08 September 1894, 5.

[Anon.], 'Olavsdagen' [The Olafs day], *Indherredposten [The Indherreds Post]*, 4 August 1897, 2.

[Anon.], 'Olavsfesten' [The Olafs celebration], *Indherredposten [The Indherreds Post]*, 4 August 1897, 1-2.

[Anon.], 'Olsok dagen i Oslokirkene' [the Olsokday in Oslo's churches], *Aftenposten [The Evening Post]*, 31 July 1930, 2.

[Anon.], 'Olsok feiringen' [The Olsok celebrations], *Hamar Arbeiderblad [Hamar Workers Magazine]*, 30 July 1930, 3.

[Anon.], 'Olsok-dagen' [Olsok], *Nordlands Avis [The Nordland Times]*, 29 July 1930, 2.

[Anon.], 'Olsokhøgtidi I Nidaros og paa Stiklestad' [Olsok celebrations in Trondheim and at Stiklestad], *Firda Folkeblad [Firda People's Magazine]*, 30 July 1930, 2.

[Anon.], 'Post Festum' in *Smaalenenes Social-Demokrat [Smaalenenes Social-Democratic Times]*, 1 August 1916, 1.

[Anon.], 'Prins Oscars reise' [Prince Oscar's journey], *Aftenposten [The Evening Post]*, 17 July 1872, 2.

[Anon.], 'Professor Lorentz Dietrichsons tale ved Høytidligholdelsen af Tusingaarsfesten I Stockholm,' [Professor Lorentz Dietrichson's speech at the Celebration of the Millennium in Stockholm] in *Aftenposten [The Evening Post]*, 22 july 1873, 1-2.

[Anon.], 'Professor Sars's foredrag' [Professor Sars's lecture], *Indherredsposten [The Indherreds Post]*, 11 August 1897, 1.

[Anon.], 'Professor Sars's foredrag' [Professor Sars's lecture], *Indherredsposten [The Indherreds Post]*, 18 August 1897, 1.

[Anon.], 'Programmet for Tusindsaars-Folkefesten' [The programme for the millennium celebrations], *Aftenposten [The Evening Post]*, 19 July 1872, 1.

[Anon.], 'Om Ragnhilds Drøm' [About Ragnhild's Dream] in *Ragnhilds Drøm* [Ragnhild's Dream] https://ragnhildsdrom.wordpress.com/about/ (Accessed: 22/03/16).

[Anon.], 'Sarpsborg Høgtidar 900 Aarsdagen' in *Den17deMai [The 17th of May]*, 29 July 1916, 3.

[Anon.], 'Subskriptions-Indbydelse' [Invitations for subscriptions], *Norges Sjøfartstidende [The Norwegian Shipping Times]*, 16 May 1892, 1.

[Anon.], 'The Pall Mall Budget 20th April', *The Pall Mall Gazette* (London, England), Monday, 24 April 1893, 4.

[Anon.], 'The Viking Ship', *Daily News* (London, England), 14 May 1892, 6.

[Anon.], 'The Viking Ship', *The Star* (Saint Peter Port, England), Tuesday, 20 March 1894, 1.

[Anon.], 'Trondhjems jubileumsfest' [Trondheim's anniversary celebration], *Flekkefjord Posten [The Flekkefjort Post],* 21 July 1897, 2.

[Anon.], 'Tusindaarsfesten I Haugesund' [The millennium celebration in Haugesund], *Fædrelandet [The Fatherland]*, 24 July 1872, 1.

[Anon.], 'Tusindaarsfesten' [The millennium celebration], *Aftenposten [The Evening Post]*, 19 July 1872, 1-2.

[Anon.], 'Tusindaarsfesten' [The millennium celebration], *Aftenposten [The Evening Post]*, 22 July 1872, 1-2.

[Anon.], 'Tønsberg Lørdag eftermiddag den 24de juni 1871' [Tønsberg Saturday afternoon the 24th June 1871'] *Aftenposten [The Evening Post]*, 24 June 1871, 2.

[Anon.], 'Tønsberg og dens Tusendaarsfest', in *Fædrelandet [The Fatherland]*, 28 June 1871, 1.

[Anon.], 'Tønsbergs tuisindaarsjubilæum'[Tønsberg's millennium] *Aftenposten [The Evening Post]*, 26 June 1871, 1.

[Anon.], 'Tønsbergs Tusindaarsjubilæum', in *Aftenposten [The Evening Post]*, 26 June 1871, 1.

[Anon.], 'Under Kongefesten I Trondhjem' [During the king's celebration in Trondheim], *Nordenfjeldske Tidene* [The Times North of the Mountains], 19 July 1897, 2.

[Anon.], 'Vikingskibet til Chicago-Udstillingen' [The Vikingship to the Chicago World Fair], *Norges Sjøfartstidende [The Norwegian Shipping Times]*, 11 May 1892, 2.

[Anon.], 'Norske Selskab' [Norwegian Society], in *Store Norske Leksikon på Nett* [Norwegian Encyclopedia Online] http://snl.no/Norske_Selskab

[Anon.], *Norigs Soga* [Norway's History] (Kristiania, 1879)

[Anon.], Store Norske Leksikon (ed.), 'Norske Selskab' [The Norwegian Society], in *Store Norske Leksikon på nett* [Norwegian encyclopedia online] http://snl.no/Norske_Selskab.

[Anon.], *Stortingsforhandlinger 1893* [Parliamentary records of 1893], Vol. 6a, (Kristiania, 1893).

[Anon.], 'Kristiansund' [Kristiansund], *Romsdals Amtstidene [The Romsdal County Times]*, 20 July 1872, 1.

[Anon.],'Steenkjær den 18de Juli' [Steinkjær the 18th of July], *Indherreds-posten [The Indherreds Post]*, 19 July 1872, 2.

'John 12, 24-26', *Standard King James Bible Online* http://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/book.php?book=John&chapter=12&verse=24.

'Luke 24, 44-49.', *Standard King James Bible Online* http://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/book.php?book=Luke&chapter=24&verse=44.

'Luke 9, 23-27', *Standard King James Bible Online* http://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/book.php?book=Luke&chapter=9&verse=23.

'Matt. 13, 31-32.', *Standard King James Bible Online* http://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/book.php?book=Matthew&chapter=13&verse=31.

'Matt. 16, 18', *Standard King James Bible Online* http://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/book.php?book=Matthew&chapter=16&verse=18.

Aarsnes, S.A., 'Andreas Munch', in *Store Norske Leksikon paa nett* [Norwegian Encyclopaedia online] https://nbl.snl.no/Andreas_Munch.

Aasgaard, J.A., 'Preken ved Festgudstjeneten i Nidaros Domkirke paa norsk-amrikanernes dag 30 juli 1930' [Sermon at the celebratory mass in Trondheim Cathedral on the day for Norwegian-Americans 30th of July 1930], in Kolsrud, O. (ed.), *Nidaros og Stiklestad; Olavs-jubileet; 1930 Minneskrift* [Nidaros and Stiklestad; the Olaf-jubilee 1930; a memorial text] (Oslo, 1937), 146-153.

Aaslestad, P., 'Jonas Lie-1', in *Store Norske Leksikon paa nett* [Norwegian Encyclopaedia online] https://nbl.snl.no/Jonas_Lie_-_1.

Aavitsland, K. B., 'Middelalder og Norsk Identitet. Litterære og Visuelle Eksempler på Norsk Medievalisme'[The Middle Ages and Norwegian Identity Literary and Visual Examples of Norwegian Medievalism], *Konsthistorisk tidskrift*, Vol. 75(1) (2006), 38-49.

Adolf Friðriksson, *Sagas and Popular Antiquarianism in Icelandic Archaeology* (Aldershot, 1994).

Alvestad, K., *The Protestant Saint: the use of King Olaf and the anniversary of the battle at Stiklestad in the creation and celebration of a Norwegian Identity*, unpublished MA Dissertation (submitted: September 2012), University of Winchester.

Alvestad, K., 'Den Nasjonale Olav: Bruk og Misbruk av Helgenkongens Bilde mellom 1920 og 1945' [The National Olaf: The Use and Abuse of St Olaf's image between 1920 and 1945], in Ekroll, Ø. (ed.), *Helgenkongen St. Olav i Kunsten* [Image of St. Olaf in Art], (Trondheim, 2016), 191-214.

Anderson, B., *Imagined Communities* (London, 1991).

Anderssen, K., *Olsok I Nidaros Domkirke* [Olsok in Nidaros Cathedral] (Trondheim, 2005).

Angell, S. I., *Frå Splid til Nasjonal Integrasjon: Norsk Nasjonalisme i Mellomkrigstida* [From Conflict to National Intergration: Norwegian Nationalism in the Interwar Period] (Oslo, 1994)

Arnesen, C., 'Vikingskipshuset på Bygdøy'[The Vikingship house at Bygdøy], in *Store Norske Leksikon på nett* [Norwegian Encyclopaedia Online] https://snl.no/Vikingskipshuset_p%C3%A5_Bygd%C3%B8y.

Askheim, S., 'Norsk Utdanningshistorie', in *Store Norske Leksikon på nett* [Norwegian Encyclopaedia Online] http://snl.no/Norsk_utdanningshistorie

Bagge, S., *From Viking Stronghold to Christian Kingdom; State formation in Norway c. 900-1350* (Copenhagen, 2010).

Bakken, A., *Gokstadfunnet 1880 : bygdefolk og gamle aviser forteller* [The Gokstad discovery 1880: locals and old newspapers talk] (Tønsberg, 1959).

Bakken, E., *Olavs By* [Olaf's City] (Sarpsborg, 2006).

Barribeau, J.L., 'William Morris and Saga-translation: "the Story of King Magnus, Son of Erling"' in Farrell, R.T. (ed.), *The Vikings* (London, 1982), 239-261.

Bately, J., 'Othere and Wulfstan in the Old English *Orosius*', in Bately, J. and Englert, A. (eds.), *Othere's Voyages* (Roskilde, 2007), 18-39.

Bately, J., 'Text and Translation: The Three Parts of the Known World and the Geography of Europe North of Danube According to Orosius' *Historiae* and its Old English Version', in Bately, J., Englert, A.(eds.), *Othere's Voyages* (Roskilde, 2007), 40-50.

Berg, K.(ed.), *Norges Kunsthistorie 1: Fra Oseberg til Borgund* [Norwegian Art History 1: from Oseberg to Borgund] (Oslo, 1981).

Bergens Adresseontoir Effterettninger, 25 July 1872, 4.

Berger, S. (ed.), *Writing the Nation* (Basingstoke, 2007).

Berger, S., *The Search for Normality: National Identity Historical Consciousness in Germany since 1800*, (Oxford, 1997).

Berggrav, E., 'Blodsdraapen' [The drop of blood], in Kolsrud, O.(ed.), *Nidaros og Stiklestad; Olavs-jubileet; 1930 Minneskrift* [Nidaros and Stiklestad; the Olaf-jubilee 1930; a memorial text] (Oslo, 1937), 90-94.

Berggrav, E., 'Historiens Herre er over vaare sinn' [The Lord of History rules our minds], *Stavanger Aftenblad*, 29 July 1930, 4.

Berggrav, E., 'Norges folk på Stiklestad' [Norway's people at Stiklestad], *Kirke og Kultur* [Church and Culture], Vol. 37 (1930), 386-7.

Berggrav, E., *Brytningene omkring Olav og Stiklestad* [The debates about Olaf and Stiklestad] (Oslo, 1930).

Bergsgaard, A., 'Olav Haraldsson' [Olaf Haraldsson], in Kolsrud, O.,(ed.), *Nidaros og Stiklestad; Olavs-jubileet; 1930 Minneskrift* [Nidaros and Stiklestad; the Olaf-jubilee 1930; a memorial text] (Oslo, 1937), 456.

Bernadotte, O. F. (II.), 'Ved Afsløringen av Mindesmærket over Harald Haarfager' [at the unveiling of the memorial over Harald Fairhair], in Bernadotte, O. F. (II.), *Vers og Prosa* [Poetry and Prose] (Christiania, 1897), 43.

Bernadotte, O.F. (II.), 'Tale ved Festmiddagen' [Speech at the Gala dinner], in Bernadotte, O.F. (II.)(ed.), *Vers og Prosa* [Poetry and Prose] (Christiania, 1897), 46.

Beyer, E., 'Ludvig Holberg', in *Store Norske Leksikon paa nett* [Norwegian Encyclopaedia online] http://snl.no/Ludvig_Holberg.

Bjerkek, O.P., 'Johan Henrik Nebelong', in *Store Norske Leksikon på nett* [Norwegian Encyclopaedia Online] https://snl.no/Johan_Henrik_Nebelong.

Bjønness-Jacobsen, M., 'Reformasjonens Gave' [The Gift of the Reformation], in Kolsrud, O.(ed.), *Nidaros og Stiklestad; Olavs-jubileet; 1930 Minneskrift* [Nidaros and Stiklestad; the Olaf-jubilee 1930; a memorial text] (Oslo, 1937), 173-176.

Bjørgen, H., *17 Maifeiring som Politisk Redskap? En Studie om Nasjonaldagsfeiringen i Kristiania 1879-1905* [17 May Celebrations as a Political Tool? A Study of National Day Celebrations in Kristiania 1879-1905] (Oslo, 1997).

Bjørnson, B., *Tale i Trondhjem paa Olavsdagen den 29de juli 1897* [Speech in Trondheim on the Olaf's day the 29th July 1897] (Kristiania, 1897).

Bjørnson, B., 'Olav Trygvason' [Olaf Tryggvasson] in *Samlede værker* [Collected works] (Kristiania, 1910).

Blakkisrud, H., Nozimova, S., 'History writing and Nation building in Post-independent Tajikistan', *Nationalities Papers*, Vol. 38(2), (2010), 173-189.

Blanning, T., *The Romantic Revolution* (London, 2011).

Bliksrud, L., 'Johan Nordal Brun' in *Norsk Biografisk Leksikon* [Norwegian Biographical Encyclopedia Online] http://nbl.snl.no/Johan_Nordal_Brun/utdypning.

Bliksrud, L., *Sigrid Undset* (Oslo, 1997).

Bodding, P., 'Fra Nordmenn i Asia' [From Norwegians in Asia], in Kolsrud, O. (ed.), *Nidaros og Stiklestad; Olavs-jubileet; 1930 Minneskrift* [Nidaros and Stiklestad; the Olaf-Jubilee 1930; a memorial text], (Oslo, 1937), 283.

Boge, E.M., Hals, H., *Christiania og Omegn* [Christiania and the surounding area] (Oslo, 1963).

Bomann-Larsen, T., *Haakon & Maud* [Haakon and Maud] (Oslo, 2002-2008), 4 Volumes.

Bomann-Larsen, T., *Roald Amundsen : en biografi* [Roald Amundsen: A Biography](Oslo, 1995).

Bratberg, T., 'Oscar 2', in *Store Norske Leksikon paa Nett* [Norwegian Encyclopaedia online] https://nbl.snl.no/Oscar_2.

Bratberg, T., 'Siegwart Blumenthal Petersen', in *Store Norske Leksikon paa Nett* [Norwegian Encyclopedia Online], http://nbl.snl.no/Siegwart_Blumenthal_Petersen.

Brottveit, Å., Hovland B. M., and Aagedal, O., *Slik Blir Nordmenn Norske: Bruk av Nasjonale Symbol I eit Fleirkulturelt Samfunn* [This is How Norwegians become Norwegian: The Use of National Symbols in a Multi Ethnic Society](Oslo, 2004)

Brun, J.N., 'Norges Skaal [Norway's toast]', in *Tradisjon.no*, http://tradisjoner.no/text50.html.

Brøgger, A.W., 'Haugen' ['The Mound'] in Brøgger, A.W., Falk, H., Shetelig, H. (eds.), *Osebergfundet*, Vol. I. (Kristiania, 1917), 123-164.

Brøgger, A.W., 'The Oseberg Ship', *Sagabook* Vol. 10 (1919-1927), 1-11.

Brøgger, A.W., *Borrefundet og Vestfold-kongernes graver*, [The Borre Find and the burials of the Vestfold kings] (Kristiania, 1916).

Brøgger, A.W., *Gamle Emigranter: Nordmennenes bosetning på Norskehavskystene: med billeder og karter* [Ancient Emigrants: Norwegian settlements on the coasts along the Norwegian Sea: with images and maps] (Oslo, 1928).

Brøgger, A.W., *Osebergskibet og Osebergsalen* [The Oseberg Ship and the Oseberg hall] (Kristiania, 1918).

Brøgger, A.W., *Osebergskibets flytning til Bygdøy* [The Moving of the Osebership to Bygdøy] (Oslo, 1928).

Brøgger, A.W., Schetelig, H., Falk, H. (eds.), *Osebergfundet* [The Oseberg discovery], Vol. i-v. (Oslo, 1917-1927).

Bugge, S., *Norske Gaardsnavn* [Norwegian farm names] Vol. vi, (Kristiania, 1907).

Bukh, A., 'Japan's History Textbooks Debate: National Identity in Narratives of Victimhood and Victimization', *Asian Survey*, Vol. 47(5), (2007), 683-704.

Bull, E., 'Sagaenes Beretning om Harald Haarfagres Tilegnesle av Odelen' [The Saga Narrative about Harald Fairhair Acquisition of the Odel], in Holmen, A. and Simensen, J. (eds.), *Rikssamling og Kristendom, Norske Historikere i utvalg* [Unification and Conversion, Norwegian historians a Selection] (Oslo, 1967), 313-322.

Bull, E., 'Olav den Hellige og Norges Samling' [St Olaf and the Unification of Norway], in Holmen, A. and Simensen, J. (eds.), *Rikssamling og Kristendom, Norske Historikere i utvalg* [Unification and Conversion, Norwegian Historians a Selection] (Oslo, 1967), 340-358.

Bull, E., *Det Norske Folks liv og Historie Gjennom Tidene; Fra omkring 1000 til 1280* [The Norwegian People's Life and History through the Ages; From 1000 To 1280], Vol. 2. (Oslo, 1931).

Bull, E., Sagaenes Beretning om Harald Hårfagres Tilegenelse av Odelen [The Saga's Record of Harald Fairhair's Confiscation of the Odel], in *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 5R., Vol. 4 (Kristiania, 1920), 481-92.

Burrow, J., *A History of Histories*, (London, 2007).

Bø, G., '«Land og Lynne» - Norske Diktere om Nasjonal identitet' [' «Land and mindset» - Norwegian poets on National Identity'], in Sørensen, Ø.(ed.), *Jakten på det Norske* [The Search for the Norwegian] (Oslo, 1998), 112-124.

Cannadine, D., *Making History Now and Then*, (Basingstoke, 2008).

Caspari, T., 'Her banker Norges hjerter', in Kolsrud, O. (ed.), *Nidaros og Stiklestad; Olavs-jubileet; 1930 Minneskrift* [Nidaros and Stiklestad; the Olaf-jubilee 1930; a memorial text], (Oslo, 1937), 383-391.

Christensen, O., 'En nasjonal Identitet tar form: Ethniske og Nasjonalkulturelle Avgrensninger' [A National Identity takes shape: Ethnical and Cultural Borders are Establishes], in Sørensen, Ø. (ed.), *Jakten på det Norske*, [The search for the Norwegian] (Oslo, 1998), 51-71.

Christoffersen, S. Å., Furre, B., Sejersted, F., Bruland, K., and Gilje, N., *Hans Nilsen Hauge og det Moderne Norge* [Hans Nilsen Hauge and the Modern Norway] (Oslo, 1996).

Clunies Ross, M., *A History of Old Norse Poetry and Poetics* (Cambridge, 2005).

Conboy, M., *The press and popular culture* (London, 2002).

Connery, D., *The Scandinavians* (London, 1966).

Crumlin-Pedersen, O., Munch Thye, B. (eds.), *The Ship as Symbol in Prehistoric and Medieval Scandinavia* (Copenhagen, 1995).

Cubitt, G., *History and memory* (Manchester, 2007).

Curta, F., 'With brotherly love: The Czech beginnings of medieval archaeology in Bulgaria and Ukraine', in Geary, P., Klaniczay, G. (eds.), *Manufacturing Middle Ages: Entangled history of Medievalism in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Leiden, 2013), 377-396.

Dahl, O., 'Gustav Storm', in *Norsk Biografisk Leksikon på nett* [Norwegian biographical encyclopedia online] https://nbl.snl.no/Gustav_Storm.

Dahl, O., 'P.A. Munch', in *Norsk Biografisk Leksikon på nett* [Norwegian Biographical Encyclopaedia Online] http://nbl.snl.no/P_A_Munch/utdypning.

Dahl, O., *Norsk Historieforskning i det 19. og 20. Århundre* [Norwegian Historical Research in the Nineteenth and Twentieth century] (Oslo, 1990).

Dalhaug, O., *Mål og Meninger: Målreisning og Nasjonsdannelse 1877-1887* [Language and Opinion: Language Development and Nation Building 1877-1887] (Oslo, 1995).

Danielsen, H., *"Fædrelandssind" og "Fosterlændshet": Nasjonsoppfatninger i de Norske og Svenske Høyrebevegelsene 1885-1905* ["Nationalism" and "Symphathy": Ideas about the Nation among Norwegian and Swedish Conservative Politicians 1885-1905] (Oslo, 2004).

Danielsen, R., Dyrvik, S., Grønlie, T., Helle, K., and Hovland, E., *Grunntrekk i Norsk Historie* [Basics to Norwegian History] (Oslo, 1991).

Davidova, E., 'Re-Packaging Identities: History Textbooks, European Travellers and the Untarnished Bulgarian "Europeanness"', *East European Quarterly*, Vol. 40, No. 4, (2006), 429-441.

Detchev, S., 'Between Slavs and Old Bulgars "Ancestors", "Race" and Identity in late nineteenth-century Bulgaria', in Geary, P., Klaniczay, G. (eds.), *Manufacturing Middle Ages: Entangled history of Medievalism in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Leiden, 2013), 347-376.

Dyrvik, S., Feldbaek, O., *Ascehougs Norges historie* [Ascehaugs Norwegian history], vol . 7 (Oslo, 2005).

Dyrvik, S., Feldbæk, O., *Aschehougs Norges Historie bind 7; Mellom Brødre 1780-1830 [*Aschehoug's History of Norway, vol. 7; Between Brothers 1780-1830] (Oslo, 1996).

Eco, U., *The limits of interpretation* (Bloomington, 1994).

Eco, U., *Travels in Hyperreality: Essays* (London, 1987).

Ekseland, L., *Heilag Olav : minneskrift til 900-års-høgtidi på Voss 29. juli 1923*, [Olaf the Holy: to the 900-year celebration in Voss 29th of july 1923], (Bjørgvin, 1923).

Engelhardt, J., *Borgerskab og Fællesskab: De Patriotiske Selskaber i den Danske Helstat 1769-1814* [Bourgeoisie and Fellowship: The Patriotic Societies in the Danish State 1769-1814] (Oslo, 2010).

Enzensberger, H. M., *Norsk Utakt* [Norwegian Discordant] (Oslo, 1984).

Eriksen, T. H., *Kampen om Fortiden: et Essay om Myter, Identitet og Politikk* [The Fight over the Past: a Essay about Myths, Identity and Politics] (Oslo, 1996).

Evans, A. C., *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial* (London, 1986).

Fentress, J. and Wickham, C., Social *Memory* (Oxford, 1992).

Finley, A., (Trans.), Fagrskinna A Catalogue of the Kings of Norway (Leiden, 2004)

Foster, S.J., 'Constructing the Past to Serve the Present: Nation, Identity and World War II in French School Textbooks', *International Journal of Social Education*, Vol. 24(2), (2009-2010) 193-219.

Frøyen, M. H. and Time, S., *Arne Garborgs Kulturnasjonalisme: To Studiar* [Arne Garborgs Cultural Nasjonalism: Two studies](Oslo, 1996).

Frøyen, M. H., *Ein Kulturnasjonalist: Arne Garborgs Kulturelle og Politiske Ståstader, 1877-1883* [A Cultural Nationalist: Arne Garborgs Cultural and Political Ideas 1877-1883] (Oslo, 1996)

Fulsås, N., 'Ernst Sars', in *Norsk Biografisk Leksikon på nett*[Norwegian Biographical Encyclopaedia Online] http://nbl.snl.no/Ernst_Sars/utdypning.

Fulsås, N., *Historie og Nasjon: Ernst Sars og Striden om Norsk Kultur* [History and Nation: Ernst Sars and the Struggle over Norwegian Culture](Oslo, 1999).

Funderud Skogvang, S., 'Fornorskningpolitikk' [Norwegianization policy], in *Store Norske Leksikon på nett* [Norwegian Encyclopaedia online] https://snl.no/fornorskingspolitikk.

Furre, H., *Evig Eies Kun det Tapte: Island si Rolle i Norsk Nasjonal Ideologi på 1800-talet* [The Enchantment of the Lost: Iceland's role in Norwegian National Ideology in the Nineteenth Century] (Oslo, 1995).

Gansum, T., 'Oseberghaugen' [The Oseberg mound] in *Vestfold Fylkeskommunes avdeling for kulturarv på nett* [*Vestfold County Council's department of Cultural heritage online*] https://www.vfk.no/Tema-og-tjenester/Kulturarv/Hvordan-deler-vi-inn-fortiden/Vikinghistorie/Oseberghaugen/ (accessed 11/07/16).

Garvik, O., 'Venstre', in *Store Norske Leksikon på nett* [Norwegian Encyclopaedia online] https://snl.no/Venstre#menuitem1.

Garvik, O., 'Høyre', in *Store Norske Leksikon på nett* [Norwegian Encyclopaedia online] https://snl.no/Høyre#menuitem1.

Geary, P., *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe (*Woodstock, 2002).

Gellner, E., *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford, 1983).

Gillis, J.R. (ed.), *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton, 1994).

Gillis, J.R., 'Memory and Identity; the History of a Relationship', in Gillis, J.R. (ed.), *Commemorations: the Politics of National Identity* (Princeton, 1994), 3-24.

Gisle, J., 'Grunnloven' [The Constitution] in *SNL [Norwegian Encyclopedia online],* https://snl.no/Grunnloven.

Gjerdåker, B., 'Sigvald Hasund', in *Store Norske Leksikon på nett* [Norwegian Encyclopaedia online], https://nbl.snl.no/Sigvald_Hasund.

Gjessing, G. , *Vikingeskipsfunnene: små Håndbøker utgitt ved Samlingens bestyrer* [The Viking ship finds: a Guidebook published by the Director of the Collection] (Oslo, 1948).

Gjessing, G., *Vikingskibsfunnene: Fører* [The Vikingship Discoveries: a Guide] (Oslo, 1934).

Glenthøj, R., *En Moderne Nation Fødsel: Norsk National Identifikation hos Embedsmænd og Borgere 1807-1820* [A Modern Nation is Born: Norwegian National Identity among Civil Servants and the Bourgeoisie] (Oslo, 2008).

Glenthøj, R., *Skilsmissen: Dansk og Norsk Identitet før og etter 1814* [The Divorce: Danish and Norwegian Identity before and after 1814] (Oslo, 2012).

Goksøyr, M., *"Vi gir alt for Norge" – om Nasjonal Reisning og Kulturell Tilhørighet: Idrett som Historisk Arena for Identitetsskapning* ["We give all for Norway" - about Nation Building and Cultural Identity: Sports as a Historic Arena for Identity Formation](Oslo, 1996).

Grankvist, R., 'Gerhard Schøning', in *Norsk biografisk leksikon på nett* [Norwegian biographical encyclopedia online] http://nbl.snl.no/Gerhard_Sch%C3%B8ning/utdypning.

Graves-Brown, P., Jones, S., Gamble, C., *Cultural Identity and Archaeology: Construction of European Communities* (London, 1996).

Guégan, X., 'Transmissable sites: monuments, memorials and their visibility in the metropole and periphery' in Geppert, D., and Müller, F.L. (eds.), *Sites of Imperial Memory: Commemorating Colonial rule in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Manchester, 2015), 21-38.

Guleng, M.B., 'Lorentz Dietrichson', in *Store Norske Leksikon på nett* [Norwegian Encyclopaedia online] https://nbl.snl.no/Lorentz_Dietrichson.

Haakon VII, in Borre Kommune (Ed.), *Nasjonalparken i Borre : Jubileumsskrift ved et 50-års minne 1932-1982* [The National Park: an Anniversary book at the 50 year anniversary 1932-1982] (Horten, 1982) 39.

Haakon VII., 'Tale' [Speech], in Kolsrud, O. (ed.), *Nidaros og Stiklestad; Olavs-jubileet; 1930 Minneskrift* [Nidaros and Stiklestad; the Olaf-jubilee 1930; a memorial text] (Oslo, 1937), 96.

Hagemann, G., *Aschehougs Norges Historie: Det moderne gjennombrudd 1870-1905* [Aschehougs Norwegian History: The modern breakthrough 1870-1905], vol. 9 (Oslo, 2005).

Hagland J.R. (trans.) *Landnåmabok: etter Hauksbók* [Landnámabook: after Hauksbook] (Stavanger, 2002).

Halvorsen, E.F., 'Sophus Bugge' in *NBL,* https://nbl.snl.no/Sophus_Bugge.

Hamada, T., 'Constructing a National Memory: a Comparative Analysis of Middle-School History Textbooks from Japan and the PRC', *American Asian Review*, Vol. 21(4), (2003), 109-144.

Hannevik, A., 'Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson', in *Store Norske Leksikon paa nett* [Norwegian Encyclopaedia online] https://nbl.snl.no/Bj%C3%B8rnstjerne_Bj%C3%B8rnson.

Hastings, A., *The Construction of Nationhood; Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge, 1997).

Hasund, S., Oftenæs, S., 'Rundskriv fra det Kgl. Kyrkje- og Unidervisningsdepartement til Rikets Sogneprester' [Letter from the Royal Ministry of Church and Education to the Vicars of the Realm], Kolsrud, O.(ed.), *Nidaros og Stiklestad; Olavs-jubileet; 1930 Minneskrift* [Nidaros and Stiklestad; the Olaf-jubilee 1930; a Memorial Text], (Oslo, 1937), 41.

Hasund, S., Oftenæs, S., 'Rundskriv fra det Kgl. Kyrkje- og Unidervisningsdepartement til sokneprestar og sokneraad i Riket' [Letter from the Royal ministry of Church and Education to the Vicars and Parish Councils in the Realm], in Kolsrud, O. (ed.), *Nidaros og Stiklestad; Olavs-jubileet; 1930 Minneskrift* [Nidaros and Stiklestad; the Olaf-jubilee 1930; a Memorial Text] (Oslo, 1937), 41-2.

Hasund, S., 'Tale' [Speech], in Kolsrud, O.(ed.), *Nidaros og Stiklestad; Olavs-jubileet; 1930 Minneskrift* [Nidaros and Stiklestad; the Olaf-jubilee 1930; a Memorial Text] (Oslo, 1937), 97-8.

Haugan, J., *400-årsnatten: Norsk Selvforståelse ved en Korsvei* [The 400-Year Night: Norwegian Selfawareness at a Cross Road] (Oslo, 1991).

Haugsøen, R., 'Preika ved Høgmessa i Nidaros-domen 29. Juli 1930' [Sermon at Mass in Trondheim Cathedral 29 July 1930], in Kolsrud, O.(ed.), *Nidaros og Stiklestad; Olavs-*

jubileet; 1930 Minneskrift [Nidaros and Stiklestad; the Olaf-jubilee 1930; a Memorial Text] (Oslo, 1937), 115-117.

Haverkamp, F.E., 'Adolph Tidemand', in *Store Norske Leksikon på nett* [Norwegian Encyclopaedia Online] https://snl.no/Adolph_Tidemand.

Haverkamp, F.E., 'J.C. Dahl', in *Store Norske Leksikon på nett* [Norwegian Encyclopaedia Online] https://snl.no/J._C._Dahl.

Helle, K., 'Magnus 5 Erlingson', *Norsk Biografisk Leksikon på nett* [Norwegian Biographical Encyclopaedia Online] http://snl.no/Magnus_5_Erlingsson.

Helle, K., Kjeldstadli, K., Lange, E., Sogner, E., *Aschehougs Norges Historie: Mellom brødre 1780-1830* [Aschehougs Norwegian History: Between Brothers 1780-1830], vol. 10. (Oslo, 1996).

Hemstad, R., *Historie og Nasjonal Identitet: Kampen om Fortiden i det Dansk-Tyske Grenseland 1815-1840* [History and National Identity: The Struggle over the Past in the Danish-German Borderlands 1815-1840] (Oslo, 1996).

Hobsbawm, E., 'Ethnicity and nationalism in Europe Today', *Anthropology Today*, Vol. 8(1), (1992), 3-8.

Hobsbawm, E., Ranger, T. (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (London, 1983).

Hodgkin, K. and Radstone, S. (eds.), *Memory, History, Nation; Contested pasts* (London, 2003).

Hodgkin, K. and Radstone, S., 'Introduction', in Hodgkin, K., Radstone, S. (eds.)*, Memory, History, Nation; Contested Past* (London, 2003), 1-21.

Hodne, B., *Norsk Nasjonalkultur: en Kulturpolitisk Oversikt* [Norwegian National Culture: A Cultural Political Survey] (Oslo, 1994).

Hodne, Ø., 'Sagn og Eventyr som Nasjonalkultur' ['Myths and Fairytales as National Culture'], in Sørensen, Ø. (ed.), *Jakten på det Norske* [The Search for the Norwegian] (Oslo, 1998), 125-140.

Hodne, Ø., *Det nasjonale hos norske folklorister på 1800-tallet* [The national element among Norwegian Folklorists in the nineteenth century] (Oslo, 1994).

Hoel, O. L., 'Ivar Aasen som opposisjonell nasjonalist' [Ivar Aasen as Nationalist in Opposition], in Sørensen, Ø. (ed.), *Jakten på det Norske* [The search for the Norwegian] (Oslo, 1998), 303-319.

Hoel, Oddmund Løkensgard, *Nasjonalisme i Norsk Målstrid 1848-1865* [Nationalism in the Norwegian Language Struggle](Oslo, 1996).

Hognestad, P., 'Vil du leva, lyt du døy' [if you want to live, then you have to die], in Kolsrud, O. (ed.), *Nidaros og Stiklestad; Olavs-jubileet; 1930 Minneskrift* [Nidaros and Stiklestad; the Olaf-jubilee 1930; a memorial text] (Oslo, 1937), 85-88.

Hole, I., 'Intimasjonstale' [Speech], in Kolsrud, O.(ed.), *Nidaros og Stiklestad; Olavs-jubileet; 1930 Minneskrift* [Nidaros and Stiklestad; the Olaf-jubilee 1930; a memorial text] (Oslo, 1937), 85.

Holub, R.C., *Reception Theory: A Critical Introduction* (London, 1984).

Horspool, D., *Why Alfred Burned the Cakes: A king and his eleven-houndred-year afterlife*, (London, 2006).

Hovde, K.J., 'Hurtigruta' in *SNL*, https://snl.no/Hurtigruta.

Hovden, A., 'Norskdom og Kristendom' [Norwegianness and Christianity], in *Inntrøndelagen og Trønderbladet* [The Inntrondelag and Troender post], 4 August 1930, 1.

Huntford, R., *Fridtjof Nansen : mennesket bak myten*[Fridtjof Nansen: The Man Behind the Myth] (Oslo, 1996).

Hæreid, J., *Norigs Soga* [Norway's history] (Oslo, 1926).

Høigård, E., *Den Norske Skoles Historie* [The History of Norwegian School System] (Oslo, 1947).

Høst, S., *Norges Historie for Middelskolen* [Norwegian History for Secondary Education] (Kristiania, 1924).

Høydal, R., *Nasjon-Region-Profesjon: Vestlandslæraren 1840-1940* [Nation-Region-Profession: The West Norwegian Teachers 1840-1940] (Oslo, 1995).

Høydal, R., *Periferiens Nasjonsbyggjarar: Vestlandslæraren og Volda lærarskule 1895-1920* [The Nation Builders in the Perifery: The West Norwegian Teachers and the Teaching College in Volda 1895-1920] (Oslo, 1995).

Ibsen, H., 'Pretenders' in *Prose dramas, Vol. 3, Lady Inger of Ostrat; The Vikings at Helgeland; The Pretenders* (London, 1890) 209-373.

Ibsen, H., *Ved Tusendaars-festen den 18de juli 1872* [At the millennium celebration the 18th July 1872] (Haugesund, 1872).

Irgens, H., 'Den Katolske kirkens Olsok-fest i Nidaros og på Stiklestad 1930' [The Catholic church's celebraton of Olsok in Trondheim and at Stiklestad in 1930], in Kolsrud, O.

(ed.), *Nidaros og Stiklestad; Olavs-jubileet; 1930 Minneskrift* [Nidaros and Stiklestad; the Olaf-jubilee 1930; a memorial text] (Oslo, 1937), 213-224.

James, E., 'The Merovingians from the French Revolution to the Third Republic', *Early Medieval Europe*, Vol. 20(4), (2012), 450-471.

Janmaat, J.G., 'History and National Identity Construction: The Great Famine in Irish and Ukrainian History Textbooks', in *History of Education*, Vol. 35(3), (2006), 345-368

Jensen, M., *Nordens Historie* [History of the Nordic Region] (Oslo, 1940).

Jenssen, D., *Ernst Sars: Norsk Historie som Eksistensiell og Europeisk Erfaring* [Ernst Sars: Norwegian History as Existencial and European Experience] (Oslo, 2002).

Johnsen, O.A., Pedersen, T., *Lærebok I Norges, Danmark og Sveriges Historie for Gymnasiene* [Textbook in Norway's, Denmark's and Sweden's History for Upper Secondary Education] (Kristiania, 1924).

Jones, A., 'The Nineteenth-Century media and Welsh identity', in Brake, L., Bell, B., Finkelstein, D. (eds.), *Nineteenth-century Media and the Construction of Identities* (Basingstoke, 2000), 310-325.

Jørgensen, J.G., 'Med Snorre skulle Landet Bygges' [With Snorri the kingdom were to be built] in Aftenposten (published 19/10/2011) http://www.aftenposten.no/meninger/kronikker/Med-Snorre-skulle-landet-bygges-6375793.html Accessed: 04/10/2015.

Kelley, R., 'The History the Masses Learn, and Historians Ignore', *Reviews in American History,* Vol. 8(3), (1980), 296-303.

Kellogg, R., 'Introduction', in Thorsson, Ø. (ed.), *The Sagas of Icelanders; A Selection*, (London, 2001), xv-liv.

Kettunen, P., 'A Return to the Figure of the Free Nordic Peasant' in *Acta Sociologica*, Vol. 42(3) (1999), 259-69.

Keyser, R., *Efterladne Skrifter* [Collected Essays] vol i (Christiania 1866).

Keyser, R., *Norges Historie* [Norway's History], vol i (Christiania, 1866).

Kjeldstadli, K., *Fortida er Ikke Hva Den En Gang Var* [The Past is Not What it Once Was] (Oslo, 1999).

Kjølberg, H., *Vore Fædre: det Nasjonale i Norske og Franske Lærebøker 1870-1905* [Our Fathers: The National in Norwegian and French Textbooks 1870-1905] (Oslo, 1996).

Kjølsvik, I., *Olavssteinen på Stiklestad* [The Olaf Stone at Stiklestad] (Oslo 2012).

Klausen, A. M., 'Gutorm Gjessing', in *Norsk biografisk leksikon på Nett* [Norwegian biographical encyclopedia online] https://nbl.snl.no/Gutorm_Gjessing.

Klausen, A. M., 'Gutorm Gjessing', in *Norsk biografisk leksikon på nett* [Norwegian biographical encyclopedia online] https://nbl.snl.no/Gutorm_Gjessing.

Knutson, T., *Saga um Folket Vårt* [The History of Our People] (Oslo, 1935).

Koht, H. (ed.), *J.E. Sars, Brev 1850-1915* [J.E.Sars', Letters 1850-1915] (Oslo 1957).

Koht, H., 'Kampen om Makten i Noreg i Sagatiden' [The Powerstruggle in Norway in the Sagaperiod], in Holmen, A. and Simensen, J. (eds.), *Rikssamling og Kristendom, Norske Historikere i Utvalg* [Unification and Conversion, Norwegian Historians a Selection] (Oslo, 1967), 324-339.

Kolsrud, O. (ed.), *Nidaros og Stiklestad; Olavs-jubileet; 1930 Minneskrift* [Nidaros and Stiklestad; the Olaf-jubilee 1930; a memorial text] (Oslo, 1937).

Kolsrud, O., 'Historiske upplysninar' [Historical information], in Kolsrud, O. (ed.), *Nidaros og Stiklestad; Olavs-jubileet; 1930 Minneskrift* [Nidaros and Stiklestad; the Olaf-jubilee 1930; a memorial text] (Oslo, 1937), 364-5.

Kolsrud, O., 'Olsok-Liturgien' [the Olsok Liturgy], in Kolsrud, O.,(ed.), *Nidaros og Stiklestad; Olavs-jubileet; 1930 Minneskrift* [Nidaros and Stiklestad; the Olaf-jubilee 1930; a memorial text] (Oslo, 1937), 39-40.

Kolsrud, O.,'Kantater' [The Cantatas], in Kolsrud, O.,(ed.), *Nidaros og Stiklestad; Olavs-jubileet; 1930 Minneskrift* [Nidaros and Stiklestad; the Olaf-jubilee 1930; a memorial text] (Oslo, 1937), 45.

Kongeriget Norges Grundlov, Given i Rigsforsamlingen paa Eidsvold den 17de Mai 1814, '§67' [The Norwegian Constitution] '§67' (Eidsvoll, 1814).

Koshar, R., *From Monuments to Traces: Artefacts of German memory 1870-1990* (London, 2000).

Krag, C., 'Harald Haarfagre' in *Norsk Biografisk Leksikon på nett*[Norwegian Biographical Encyclopaedia Online] http://nbl.snl.no/Harald_1_H%C3%A5rfagre/utdypning.

Krag, C., 'Olav 1 Tryggvason' in *Norsk Biografisk Leksikon på nett*[Norwegian Biographical Encyclopaedia Online] http://nbl.snl.no/Olav_1_Tryggvason/utdypning.

Krag, C., 'Olav 2 Haraldsson' in *Norsk Biografisk Leksikon på nett*[Norwegian Biographical Encyclopaedia Online] http://nbl.snl.no/Olav_2_Haraldsson_Den_Hellige/utdypning.

Krag, C., 'Olav Geirstadalv' in *Store Norske Leksikon på nett* [Norwegian Encyclopaedia online] https://nbl.snl.no/Olav_Geirstadalv.

Krokvik, J., *Ivar Aasen : Diktar og Granskar, Sosial Frigjerar og Nasjonal Målreisar* [Ivar Aasen: Poet and Researcher, Social Liberator and National Linguist] (Oslo, 1996).

Kulturhistorisk Museum, 'Gokstadgraven' [The Gokstad Burial] http://www.khm.uio.no/besok-oss/vikingskipshuset/utstillinger/gokstad/3-gokstadgraven.html (accessed 05/02/16).

Kulturhistorisk Museum, 'Gokstadskipet' [The Gokstad Ship] http://www.khm.uio.no/besok-oss/vikingskipshuset/utstillinger/gokstad/2-gokstadskipet.html (accessed 05/02/16)

Kulturhistorisk Museum, 'Kvinnene i Oseberggraven' [The women from the Oseberg grave] http://www.khm.uio.no/besok-oss/vikingskipshuset/utstillinger/oseberg/3-oseberggraven.html (Accessed 05/02/16)

Kulturhistorisk Museum, *Levd liv: en Utstilling om Skjelettene fra Oseberg og Gokstad* [Lived life: an Exhibition about the Skeletons from Oseberg and Gokstad] (Oslo, 2007).

Kvistad, Y., *Stiklestad Spelet* [The Stiklestad Play] (Oslo, 2003).

Langó, P., 'The Study of Archaeological finds of the tenth-century Carpathian basin as national archaeology: early nineteenth-century views', in Geary, P., Klaniczay, G. (eds.), *Manufacturing Middle Ages: Entangled History of Medievalism in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Leiden, 2013), 397-418.

Langslett, L.R., Ødeggård, K., *Olav den Hellige; Spor etter Helgenkongen* [Olaf the Holy; Traces After the Holy King] (Oslo, 2011).

Lawson, M., *Cnut: England's Viking King* (Stroud, 2004).

Lee, C., 'A Useful Great-Grandmother: Edda receptions in Post-Medieval Germany' in Lee, C., and McLelland, N. (eds.), *Germania Remembered 1500-2009: Commemorating and Inventing a Germanic Past* (Tempe, 2012), 99-119.

Lidén, H-E., *Fra Antikvitet til Kulturminne: Trekk av Kulturminnevernets Historie i Norge* [From Antiquities to Cultural Memory: Elements of the History of Preservation in Norway] (Oslo, 1991).

Lie, J., *Sang ved Tusindaarsfesten paa Haaraldshaugen den 18de juli 1872* [Song at the millenium celebration at Haraldshaugen the 18 July 1872] (Haugesund, 1872).

Ljøgodt, K., *Historien fremstilt I bilder* [History portrayed in Images] (Oslo, 2011)

Lorentzen, S., *Ja, Vi Elsker- : Skolebøkene Som Nasjonsbyggere 1814-2000* [Yes we Love-: Textbooks as Nationbuilders 1814-2000] (Oslo, 2005).

Lorenz, C. and Berger, S. (eds.), *Nationalizing the Past: Historians as Nation Builders in Modern Europe* (Basingstoke, 2010).

Lorenz, C. and Berger, S. (eds.), *The Contested Nation: Ethnicity, Class, Religion and Gender in National Histories* (Basingstoke, 2008).

Lund, N., 'Óláf Tryggvason (d. 999)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, (2004) http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/49266.

Lunden, K., *Norsk Grålysning: Norsk Nasjonalisme 1770-1814 på Allmenn Bakgrunn* [Norwegian Awakening: Norwegian Nationalism 1770-1814] (Oslo, 1992).

Lødøen, O.I.K, *Norges Historie med Bilder* [Norway's History with Pictures] (Oslo, 1939).

Lødøen, O.I.K., *Det Norske Folks Historie fortalt for folke- og ungdomsskolen* [The Norwegian People's History told for primary- and secondary- schools] , ed. 3 (Kristiania, 1909).

Lødøen, O.I.K., *Norigs Soga* [Norwegian history], ed. 6 (Kristiania, 1921).

Lødøen, O.I.K., *Norigs Soge* [Norwegian history], ed. 5 (Kristiania, 1920).

Lønning, I., 'Helgenkongen i Nytiden' [The Saint King in the Modern Age], *Kirke og Kultur* [Church and Culture] Vol. 85 (1980), 626-640.

Mackeprang, M., 'Tale' [Speech], in Kolsrud, O. (ed.), *Nidaros og Stiklestad; Olavs-jubileet; 1930 Minneskrift* [Nidaros and Stiklestad; the Olaf-jubilee 1930; a memorial text] (Oslo, 1937), 58.

Maerz, S., *Okkupasjonstidens Lange Skygger: Fortidsbearbeidelse i Norge som Identitetsdiskurs* [The Long Shadow of Occupation: Memory work in Norway as Identity Discourse] (Oslo, 2010).

Magerøy, H., 'Finnur Jónsson', in *Store Norske Leksikon på nett* [Norwegian encyclopedia online] https://snl.no/Finnur_J%C3%B3nsson.

Mangan, J.A. (ed.), *Tribal Identities; Nationalism, Europe, Sport* (London, 1996).

Marchal, G.P. and Evans, R.J.W. (eds.), *The Use of the Middle Ages in Modern European States: History, Nationhood and the Search for Origins* (Basingstoke, 2010).

Mardal, M.A., 'Christian 9', in *Store Norske Leksikon på nett* [Norwegian Encyclopaedia online] https://snl.no/Christian_9.

Mardal, M.A., 'Frederik 7', in *Store Norske Leksikon på nett* [Norwegian Encyclopaedia online] https://snl.no/Frederik_7.

Mardal, M.A., 'Karl Johan', in *Store Norske Leksikon på nett* [Norwegian Encyclopaedia online] https://snl.no/Karl_Johan.

Mardal, M.A., 'Torgslaget' [The Battle of the Square], in *Store Norske Leksikon på nett* [Norwegian Encyclopaedia online] https://snl.no/Torgslaget.

Marstrander, S., *Tuneskipet* [The Tune Ship] (Sarpsborg, 1999).

Melanchthon, P., 'Confessio Augustana' in *Triglot Concordia: The Symbolical Books of the Ev. Lutheran Church* (St Louis, 1921) http://www.iclnet.org/pub/resources/text/wittenberg/concord/web/augs-021.html.

Mendelsohn, O., 'Jøder- De Nordiske Land' [Jews in the Nordic Countries], in *Store Norske Leksikon på nett* [Norwegian Encyclopaedia online] https://snl.no/j%C3%B8der%2Fde_nordiske_land.

Meyer, M., *Henrik Ibsen: en biografi* [Henrik Ibsen: A Biography] (Oslo, 1971).

Minken, A., 'Kvener', in *Store Norske Leksikon på nett* [Norwegian Encyclopedia Online] https://snl.no/kvener.

Minken, A., 'Romanifolket', in *Store Norske Leksikon på nett* [Norwegian Encyclopedia Online] https://snl.no/romanifolk.

Minken, A., 'Skogfinner', in *Store Norske Leksikon på nett* [Norwegian Encyclopedia Online] https://snl.no/skogfinner

Munch, A., *Sang ved Tusind-aars-festen I Haugesund* [Song at the millenium celebration in Haugesund] (Haugesund, 1872).

Munch, P.A., *Det Norske Folks Historie* [The history of the Norwegian people], Vol. I., Part I (Christiania, 1852).

Munch, P.A., *Det Norske Folks Historie* [The History of the Norwegian People], Vol. i., Part ii (Christiania, 1853).

Munch, P.A., *Norges Historie I Kortfattet Udtog* [Norway's History in Short Version] (Christiania, 1856).

Myhre, J. E., *Historie, Etnisitet og Politikk* [History, Ethnicity and Politics] (Oslo, 2000).

Myhre, J.E., 'The 'Decline of Norway': Grief and Fascination in Norwegian Historiography on the Middle Ages', In Marchal, G.P., Evans, R.J.W. (ed.), *The Uses of the Middle Ages*

in Modern European states. History, Nationhood and the Search for Origins (Basingstoke, 2011), 18-30.

Nicolaissen, O., *Katalog over Oldsager i Tromsø Museum* [Catalogue over antiquities at Tromsø Museum] (Tromsø, 1904).

Nicolaysen, N., *Foreningen til Norske Fortidsmindesmærkers bevaring 1844-1894* [Assosiation for the Preservation of Antiquities 1844-1894] (Kristiania, 1894).

Nicolaysen, N., *Langskibet fra Gokstad: The Viking-Ship from Gokstad*, T. Krag (trans.) (Kristiania, 1882).

Nielssen, A. R., *Landnåm fra Nord: Utvandringa fra det Nordlige Norge til Island i vikingtid* [Landnám from the North: the Migration from Northern Norway to Iceland in the Viking Age] (Stamsund, 2012).

Nora, P., 'Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*', *Representations*, Vol. 26 (1989), 7-24.

Norseng, P., 'Leidang' in *SNL*, https://snl.no/leidang.

Norseng, P., 'Margrete Valdemarsdatter – dronning' in *SNL [Norwegian Encyclopedia online],* https://snl.no/Margrete_Valdemarsdatter/dronning.

Nygaard, K., *Nordmenns syn på Danmark og Danskene i 1814 og de Første Selvtendighetsår* [Norwegians view of Denmark and the Danes in 1814 and in the First Years of Independence] (Oslo, 1960).

Næss, E.M., 'Om Vikingskiphuset' [About the Viking Ship museum], on *Kulturhistorisk museum* [Museum of Cultural History], http://www.khm.uio.no/om/tall-og-fakta/om-bygningene/vikingskipshuset.html (accessed 12/07/16).

Odland, E. J.V., *Fra Enstemthet til Flerstemthet? : Nasjonalt Selvbilde i Ungdomsskolens Lærebøker 1974-1987* [From Unity to Diversity? : National Self-image in Norwegian Secondary Education Textbooks 1974-87] (Oslo, 2010).

O'Donoghue, H., *Old Norse-Icelandic Literature; A Short Introduction* (Oxford, 2004).

Olsen, K., *Identities, Ethnicities and Borderzones; Examples from Finnmark, Northern Norway* (Stamsund, 2010).

O'Malley, M. F., 'A Letter from Christiania' in *Aunt Judy's Magazine* (London, England), [Date Unknown], Issue 186, 729-30.

Opedal, A., *De Glemte Skipsgravene : Makt og Myter på Avaldsnes* [The Forgotten Boatgraves: Power and Myths at Avaldsnes] (Stavanger, 1998).

Opsahl, E., 'Christian 3', in *SNL [Norwegian Encyclopedia online],* https://snl.no/Christian_3

Oxaal, A., 'Bunaden – Stagnasjon eller Nyskapning' [The Bunad- Stagnation or Innovation], in Sørensen, Ø. (ed.), *Jakten på det Norske* [The Search for the Norwegian] (Oslo, 1998) 141-157.

Oxaal, A., *Drakt og Nasjonal Identitet 1760-1917: Den Sivile Uniformen, Folkedrakten og Nasjonen* [Dress and National Identity 1760-1917: The Civilian Uniform, Folkdress and the Nation](Oslo, 2001).

Paasche, F., *Olav den hellige : til 900-aarsfesten i Gudbrandsdalen 29. juli 1921*, [Olaf the Holy: to the 900-year Celebration in Gudbrandsdalen 29th of July 1921] (Kristiania, 1921).

Parker, J., *'England's Darling' The Victorian cult of Alfred the Great* (Manchester, 2007).

Pedersen, T., *Lærebok I Norges, Danmark og Sveriges historie for Gymnasiene* [Textbook in Norwegian, Swedish and Danish history for upper secondary school] (Kristiania, 1924).

Petersen, J.C., 'Preken ved misjonsgudstjenesten' [Sermon at the missionary service] in Kolsrud, O. (ed.), *Nidaros og Stiklestad; Olavs-jubileet; 1930 Minneskrift* [Nidaros and Stiklestad; the Olaf-jubilee 1930; a memorial text] (Oslo, 1937), 193-197.

Petersen, S., *En liden Norges Historie for de Første Begyndere* [A Small History of Norway for Beginners] (Kristiania, 1889).

Petersen, S., *Momenter til Støtte for Hukommelsen ved den Mundtlige Undervisning I Norges Historie* [Elements to Support the Memory in the Teaching of Norwegian History] (Kristiania, 1886).

Petersen, S., *Norges Historie Læse og Lærebog for Almue og Borgerskolen* [Norway's history: reading book for the common- and bourgeoisie-schools] (Kristiania, 1881).

Petersen, S., Storm, G., *Norges Historie; Mindre utgave for Folkeskolen* [Norway's History; Smaller Edition for the School for the Common School] (Kristiania, 1897).

Projekt Runeberg, 'Henrik Schück', in *Projekt Runeberg* http://runeberg.org/authors/schuckhe.html.

Pugh, T., and Weisl, A. J., *Medievalisms: Making the Past in the Present* (Abingdon, 2013).

Pulsiano, P., *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia* (London, 1993).

Rasmussen, T., 'Olsok', in *Store Norske Leksikon paa nett* [Norwegian Encyclopaedia online] https://snl.no/olsok.

Rian, Ø., 'Historie I Tvangstrøye; Kongemakt og Historieformidling I Danmark-Norge 1536-1814' [History in a Straitjacket; Royal Power and History in Denmark-Norway 1536-1814], *Historisk Tidsskrift*, Vol. 92(1) (2013), 63-89.

Rindal, M., *Studier i Kilder til Vikingtid og Nordisk Middelalder* [A Study in Sources to the Viking Age and the Nordic Middle Ages] (Oslo, 1996).

Roshwald, A., *The Endurance of Nationalism* (Cambridge, 2006).

S. Lorentzen, *Ja, Vi Elsker-: Skolebøkene som Nasjonsbyggere 1814-2000* [Yes We Love-: Textbooks as Nationbuilders 1814-2000] (Oslo, 2005).

Sars, J.E., *Oversikt over Den Norske Historie* [A survey of Norwegian history], Vol i., Part ii (Kristiania, 1877).

Sars, J.E., *Udsigt over Den Norske Historie* [A survey of Norwegian history], Vol. I., part i (Kristiania, 1877).

Schøning, G., *Norges Riiges Historie* [History of the Norwegian Realm], Vol . i-iii (Sorøe, 1771- 1781).

Seip, A-L., *Aschehougs Norges Historie Bind 8; Nasjonen bygges 1830-1870* [Aschehoug's History of Norway, vol. 8; The Nation is Constructed 1830-1870] (Oslo, 1997).

Seip, E., 'Arnstein Arneberg', in *Norsk biografisk leksikon* [Norwegian biographical encyclopedia online] https://nbl.snl.no/Arnstein_Arneberg.

Sherman, D.J., 'Art, Commerce and the Productions of Memory in France after World War I', in Gilles J.R. (ed.), *Commemorations: the Politics of National Identity* (Princeton, 1994), 186-211.

Shetelig, H., 'Graven' ['the Burial'], in Brøgger, A.W., Falk, H., Shetelig, H. (eds.), *Osebergfundet*, Vol. i. (Kristiania, 1917), 209-278.

Shetelig, H., *Norske Museers Historie: Festskrift til Thor B. Kielland på 50-årsdagen 9.12.1944* [The History of Norwegian Museums: Festschrift for Thor B. Kielland for his 50th birthday 9.12.1944] (Oslo, 1944).

Shetelig, H., *Tuneskibet* [The Tune Ship] (Kristinia, 1917).

Sigurdsson, J.V., *Den Vennlige Viking; Vennskapets Makt i Norge og på Island 900-1300* [The Friendly Viking; the Pover of Friendship in Norway and Iceland 900-1300] (Oslo, 2010).

Simonsen, H.J., 'Sophus Bugge', in *Store Norske Leksikon på nett* [Norwegian encyclopedia online] https://snl.no/Sophus_Bugge.

Singsaas, H., 'Pressemelding' [Press announcement], *Norges Bank* [Bank of Norway], (accessed 28 March 2016) http://www.norges-bank.no/Publisert/Pressemeldinger/2014/Pressemeldin-7-oktober-2014/.

Sjøvold, T., *Vikingeskipene: en kort Orientering om Tuneskipet, Gokstadskipet og Osebergskipet* [The Vikingships: a Short guide about the Tuneship, Gokstadship and Osebergship] (Oslo, 1953).

Sjøvold, T., *Osebergfunnet og de andre vikingskipsfunn* (Oslo, 1957).

Skifte O. (ed.), Tromsø museum 100 år [Tromsø Museum 100 years] (Tromsø, 1972).

Skjæveland, Y., *Nasjonal Retorikk I Det norske Nationalblad 1815-1821* [National Rethorics in The Norwegian National-Magazine] (Oslo, 1996).

Skre, H., 'Eystein', in Kolsrud, O. (ed.), Nidaros og Stiklestad; Olavs-jubileet; 1930 Minneskrift [Nidaros and Stiklestad; the Olaf-jubilee 1930; a memorial text] (Oslo, 1937), 366-381.

Skretting, A., *Historie; Fedrelandet og Verden* [Histroy; the Fatherland and the World] (Oslo, 1952).

Slagstad, R., *De Nasjonale Strateger* [National Strategists], (Oslo, 2001).

Smith, A., *National Identity* (London, 1991).

Smith, A.D., *Choosen Peoples* (Oxford, 2003).

Snorri Sturlason, *Kongesagaer; Harald Haarfagre's Saga* [the Kingssaga's; Harald Fiarhair's Saga], Strom, G. (trans.) (Kristiania, 1900).

Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla i,* Finlay, A., Faulkes, A. (trans.), (London, 2011).

Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla ii: Óláfr Haraldsson (The Saint),* Finlay, A., Faulkes, A. (trans.), (London, 2014).

Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla; Part two; Saga of the Norse Kings*, Foote, P. (ed.), Laing, S. (trans.), (London, 1961).

Solberg, B., 'Anton Wilhelm Brøgger -1', in *Norsk biografisk leksikon på nett* [Norwegian biographical encyclopedia online] https://nbl.snl.no/Anton_Wilhelm_Br%C3%B8gger_-_1.

Solberg, B., 'Borrehaugene' [The Borre mounds] in *Store Norske Leksikon på nett* [Norwegian encyclopedia online] https://snl.no/Borrehaugene.

Solberg, B., 'Haakon Shetelig', in *Store Norske Leksikon på nett* [Norwegian encyclopedia online] https://snl.no/Haakon_Shetelig.

Solberg, B., 'Ingvald Undset', in *Norsk biografisk leksikon paa nett* [Norwegian biographical encyclopedia online, https://nbl.snl.no/Ingvald_Undset.

Solberg, B., 'Nicolay Nicolaysen' in *Norsk biografisk leksikon på nett*, [Norwegian biographical encyclopedia online] https://nbl.snl.no/Nicolay_Nicolaysen

Solberg, B., 'Osebergfunnet' [The Oseberg discovery], in *Store Norske Leksikon på nett* [Norwegian Encyclopaedia online] https://snl.no/Osebergfunnet.

Spillman, L., *Nation and Commemoration: Creating National Identities in the United States and Australia* (Cambridge, 1997).

Steinsland, G., *Mytene som Skapte Norge* [The myths that Created Norway] (Oslo, 2012).

Stene, M. (ed.), *Slag i Slag : Minner fra Spelet om Heilag Olav på Stiklestad : 40 års Teaterhistorie* [Memories from the Play about St Olaf at Stiklestad: 40-year Teathre History], (Verdal, 1995).

Stenseth, B., *En Norsk Elite: Nasjonsbyggere på Lysaker: 1890-1940* [A Norwegian Elite: The Nationbuilders from Lysaker: 1890-1940] (Oslo, 1993).

Stiklestad Nasjonal Kultursenter, 'Olavsstøtte' [the Olaf monument], *Stiklestad Nasjonal Kultursenter* [Stiklestad National Cultural Centre] http://stiklestad.no/historie/omradet/olavsstotta/ (viewed: 06.01.2015).

Stokke, B., *Folket Vårt gjennom Tidene* [Our People through the Ages] (Oslo, 1942).

Storm, G., 'Om Ynglingatal og de norske Ynglingekonger I Danmark' [About Ynglingatal and the Norwegian Ynglingakings in Denmark], in *Historisk Tidsskrift* [Historical Journal], Vol. 3, (Kristiania, 1875), 58-79.

Storm, G., 'Slaget I Havrsfjord' in *Historisk Tidsskrift*, Vol 2(2), (Kristiania, 1880), 313-331.

Storm, G., *Nordmænd eller Danske i Normandie* [Norwegians or Danes in Normandy] (Kristiania, 1876).

Storsletten, O., 'Christian Christie', in *Store Norske Leksikon på nett* [Norwegian encyclopedia online] https://snl.no/Christian_Christie.

Storsletten, O., 'Dragestil' [The Dragon style], in *Store Norske Leksikon på nett* [Norwegian Encyclopaedia online] https://snl.no/dragestil.

Storsletten, O., 'Gamlehaugen' [The Old mound], in *Store Norske Leksikon på nett* [Norwegian Encyclopaedia online] https://snl.no/Gamlehaugen.

Storsveen, O. A., *Henrik Wergelands Norske Historie: et Bidrag til Nasjonalhistoriens Mythos* [Henrik Wergeland's Norwegian History: A Contribution to the Mythos of the Nations History] (Oslo, 1997).

Storsveen, O. A., *Norsk Patriotisme før 1814* [Norwegian Patriotism prior to 1814] (Oslo, 1997).

Storsveen, O.A., 'Rudolf Keyser', in *Norsk Biografisk Leksikon på nett* [Norwegian Biographical Encyclopaedia Online] http://nbl.snl.no/Rudolf_Keyser/utdypning.

Storsveen, O.A., *Mig selv : en Biografi om Henrik Wergeland* [Me Myself: A Biography of Henrik Wergeland] (Oslo, 2008).

Støren, J., 'Kirkens grunnvoll' [The foundations of the Church], in Kolsrud, O. (ed.), *Nidaros og Stiklestad; Olavs-jubileet; 1930 Minneskrift* [Nidaros and Stiklestad; the Olaf-jubilee 1930; a memorial text] (Oslo, 1937), 73-77.

Støylen, B. (ed.), *Liturgier, Tekster og Salmer til Minnegudstjenester* [Liturgies, texts and psalms for the Jubilee Services] (Oslo, 1930).

Svendsen, Å., 'Halvdan Koht' in *Norsk Biografisk Leksikon på nett*[Norwegian Biographical Encyclopaedia Online] http://nbl.snl.no/Halvdan_Koht/utdypning.

Svendsen, Å., 'Oluf Rygh' in *Norsk biografisk leksikon på nett* [Norwegian biographical encyclopedia online] https://nbl.snl.no/Oluf_Rygh.

Svendsen, Å., *Konservativ og Nasjonsbyggende Historieskrivning?: Ludvig L. Daaes og Yngvar Nielsens Konservative Nasjonalhistoriske Fortelling 1882-1884* [Conservativ and Nationalistic History Writing? Ludvig L. Daa and Yngvar Nielsens Conservative National Historical Presentation 1882-1884] (Oslo, 1997).

Sørensen, E., *Demringen: Formkrefter og Skjebnekrefter i det Nasjonale Gjennombrudds Historie* [The Awakening: Destiny and Other Forces in the History of the National Breakthrough] (Oslo, 1946).

Sørensen, P.M., 'Social Institutions and Belief Systems of Medieval Iceland (c.870-1400) and Their Relations to Literary Production', in Ross, M. (ed.), *Old Norse Literature and Society* (Cambridge, 2000), 8-29.

Sørensen, Ø. and Stråth, B., 'Introduction', in Sørensen, Ø. and Stråth, B. (eds.), *The Cultural Construction of Norden* (Oslo, 1997), 1-24.

Sørensen, Ø. (ed.) *Jakten på det Norske* [The search for the Norwegian] (Oslo, 1998).

Sørensen, Ø., *Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson og nasjonalismen* [Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson and nationalism] (Oslo, 1997).

Sørensen, Ø., *Kampen om Norges Sjel* [The Struggle over Norway's Soul] (Oslo, 2001).

Sørensen, Ø., *Nasjonal Identitet- et Kunstprodukt?* [National Identity- a Product of Art?] (Oslo, 1994).

Sørensen, Ø., *Nationalism in Small European Nations* (Oslo, 1996).

Sørensen, Ø., *Nordic Path to National Identity in the Nineteenth Century* (Oslo, 1994).

Thorkildsen, D., *Nasjonalitet, Identitet og Moral* [Nationality, Identity and Moral] (Oslo, 1995).

Thorkilsen, D., Klippenberg, M., and Jensen, J.I., *Grundtvigianisme og Nasjonalisme i Norge i det 19. Århundre* [Grundtvigianism and Nationalism in Norway in the Nineteenth Century] (Oslo, 1996).

Thorsen, A.T., *Nasjonaldagsfeiringene i Paris og Berlin 1895-1905: To Nasjonaldager – Ett Komparativt Nasjonalismebarometer* [National Day Celebration in Paris and Berlin 1895-1905: Two Celebrations- One Comparative Nationalism Barometer] (Oslo, 1997).

Thorsen, E.T., *Hilsen fra Amerika i Andledning as Norges Tusindaarsfest den 18. Juli 1872* [A greeting from America at the Occasion of the Millennium of Norway the 18 July 1872] (Chicago, 1872).

Titlestad, T., *Norge I Vikingtid; Våre Historiske og Kulturelle Røtter* [Norway in the Viking age; Our Historic and Cultural Roots] (Hafrsfjord, 2011).

Torvanger, Å.M., 'Jens Kielland' in *Norsk biografisk leksikon paa nett* [Norwegian biographical encyclopedia online] https://nbl.snl.no/Jens_Kielland.

Troch, P., 'Between Yugoslavism and Serbianism: Reshaping Collective Identity in Serbian Textbooks Between the World Wars', *History of Education*, Vol. 42(2) (2012), 175-194.

Ueland, E., 'Fra Nordmenn paa Madagaskar' [From Norwegians in Madagaskar], in Kolsrud, O. (ed.), *Nidaros og Stiklestad; Olavs-jubileet; 1930 Minneskrift* [Nidaros and Stiklestad; the Olaf-jubilee 1930; a memorial text] (Oslo, 1937), 282.

I. Undset, *Jernalderens begyndelse i Nord-Europa : en studie i sammenlignende forhistorisk arkæologi* [The Iron Age's beginning in Northern Europe: a study in comparative pre-historic archaeology] (Kristiania, 1881).

Undset, I., *Norske Oldsager i Fremmede Museer* [Norwegian Antiquities in Foreign Museums] (Christiania, 1878).

Undset, I., *Om et Norsk National-Museum* [About a Norwegian National Museum] (Kristiania, 1885).

UNESCO, 'A Handbook for the Improvement of Textbooks and Teaching Materials as Aids to International Understanding', (Paris, 1949) in Janmaat, J.G., 'History and national identity construction: The great famine in Irish and Ukrainian history textbooks', *History of Education*, Vol. 35(3), (2006), 345-368.

Vellensen, J., *Norigs Soga* [Norway's history] (Kristiania, 1921).

Vellensen, J., *Norigs Soga for Skule og Heim* [Norway's History for the School and the Home] (Kristiania, 1910).

Vellesen, J., *Norges Historie for Skole og Hjem* [Norwegian History for the School and the Home] (Kristiania, 1916).

Vellesen, J., *Norigs Soga aat Folkeskulen* [Norway's History for Primary Schools, Nynorsk Edition] (Kristiania, 1900).

Vellesen, J., *Norigs Soga for Folkeskulen* [Norwegian History for Schools, bokmål edition] (Kristiania, 1900).

Waddell, J., *Foundation Myths: The Beginnings of Irish Archaeology* (Bray, 2005).

Waerdahl, R., 'Snorre Sturlason' in *Norsk Biografisk Leksikon på nett* [Norwegian Biographical Encyclopaedia Online] http://nbl.snl.no/Snorre_Sturlason/utdypning.

Wagle, F., *Hva er det med Nidaros; Tro som Forener, Fordyper og Forandrer* [What is it with Nidaros; Faith that Unites, Deepens and Changes] (Trondheim, 2012).

Wawn, A., *The Vikings and the Victorians Inventing the Old North in the 19th-century Britain* (Cambridge, 2000).

Wergeland, H., *Udtog fra Norges Historie for Brug I Borger- og Almueskoler* [Extracts from Norwegian History to be Used in City and Country Schools] (Christiania, 1836).

Wikborg, T., *Gustav Vigeland I Nidarodsomen* [Gustav Vigeland in Trondheim Cathedral] (Trondheim, 1992).

Williams, G., Pents, P., Wemhoff, M., (Eds.) *Vikings Life and Legend* (London, 2014)

Ydstie, I., 'Joachim Frich', in *Norsk Biografisk Leksikon på Nett* [Norwegian biographical encyclopedia online] https://nbl.snl.no/Joachim_Frich.

Yorke, B., *The King Alfred millennary in Winchester, 1901* (Winchester, 1999).

Zimmer, O., *Nationalism in Europe 1890-1940* (Basingstoke, 2003).

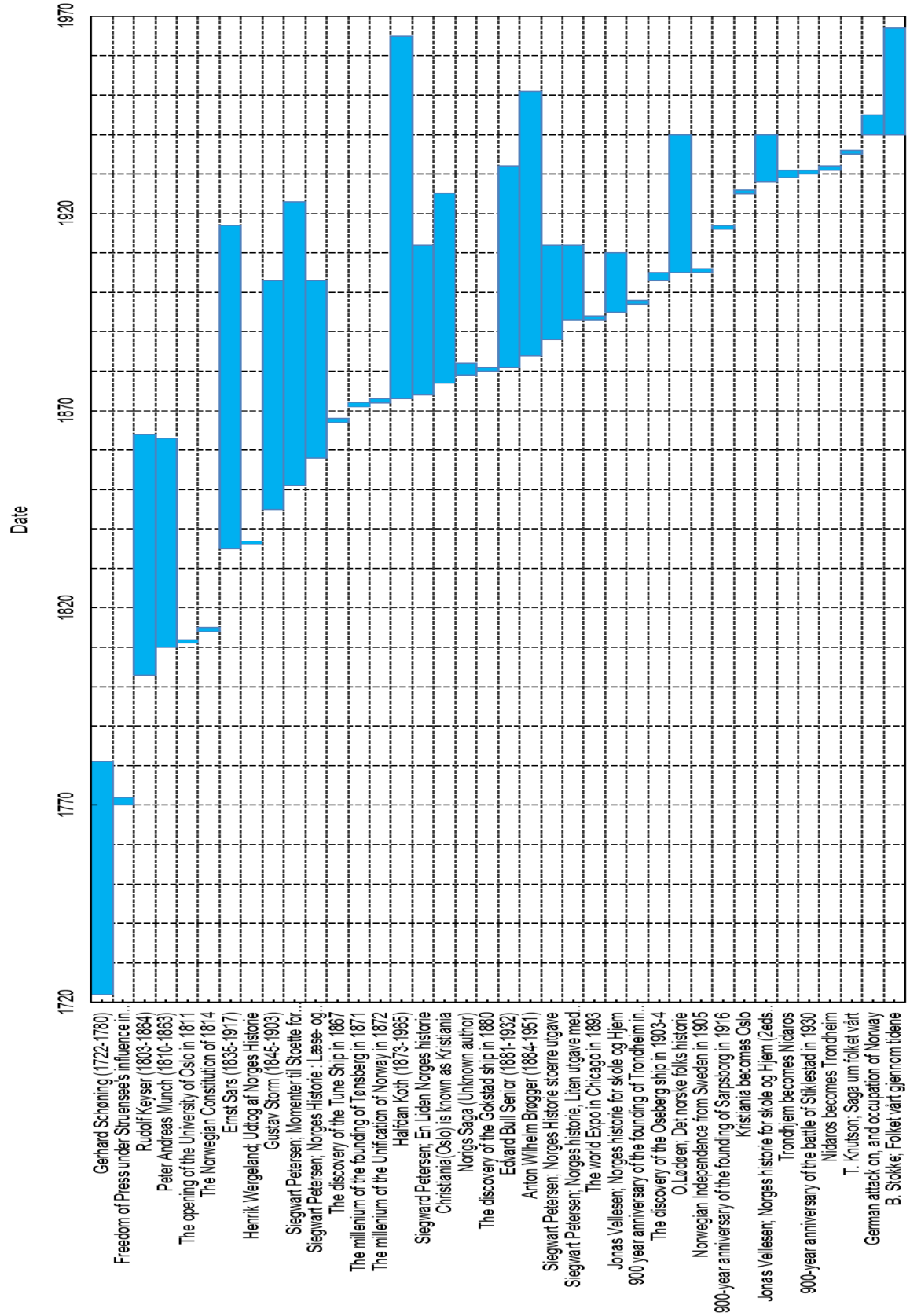
Østang, Ø., *Hjem til Nidaros; Norges Nølende Vandring siden 1814* [Home to Nidaros; Norway's Long Journey since 1814] (Oslo, 1997).

Østby, A., *Knut Hamsun : en Biografi* [Knut Hamsund: A Biography] (Oslo, 1972).

Østigård, T., *Norge uten Nordmenn: en Antinasjonalistisk Arkeologi* [Norway without Norwegians: an Anti-Nationalistic Archaeological Study] (Oslo, 2001).

Appendices

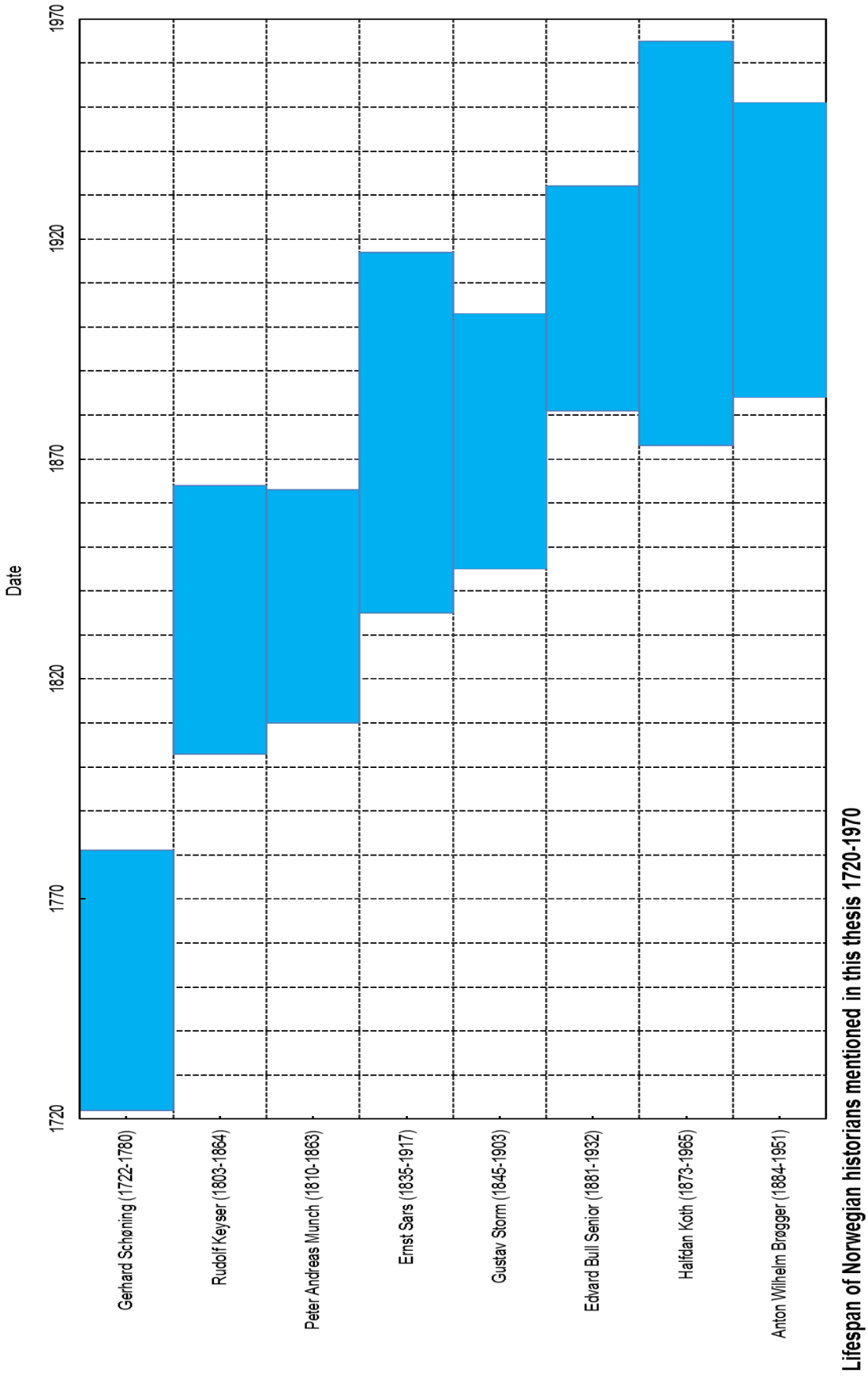
Appendix 1 a: Key events, people or books referred to in this thesis 1720-1970- The Graph



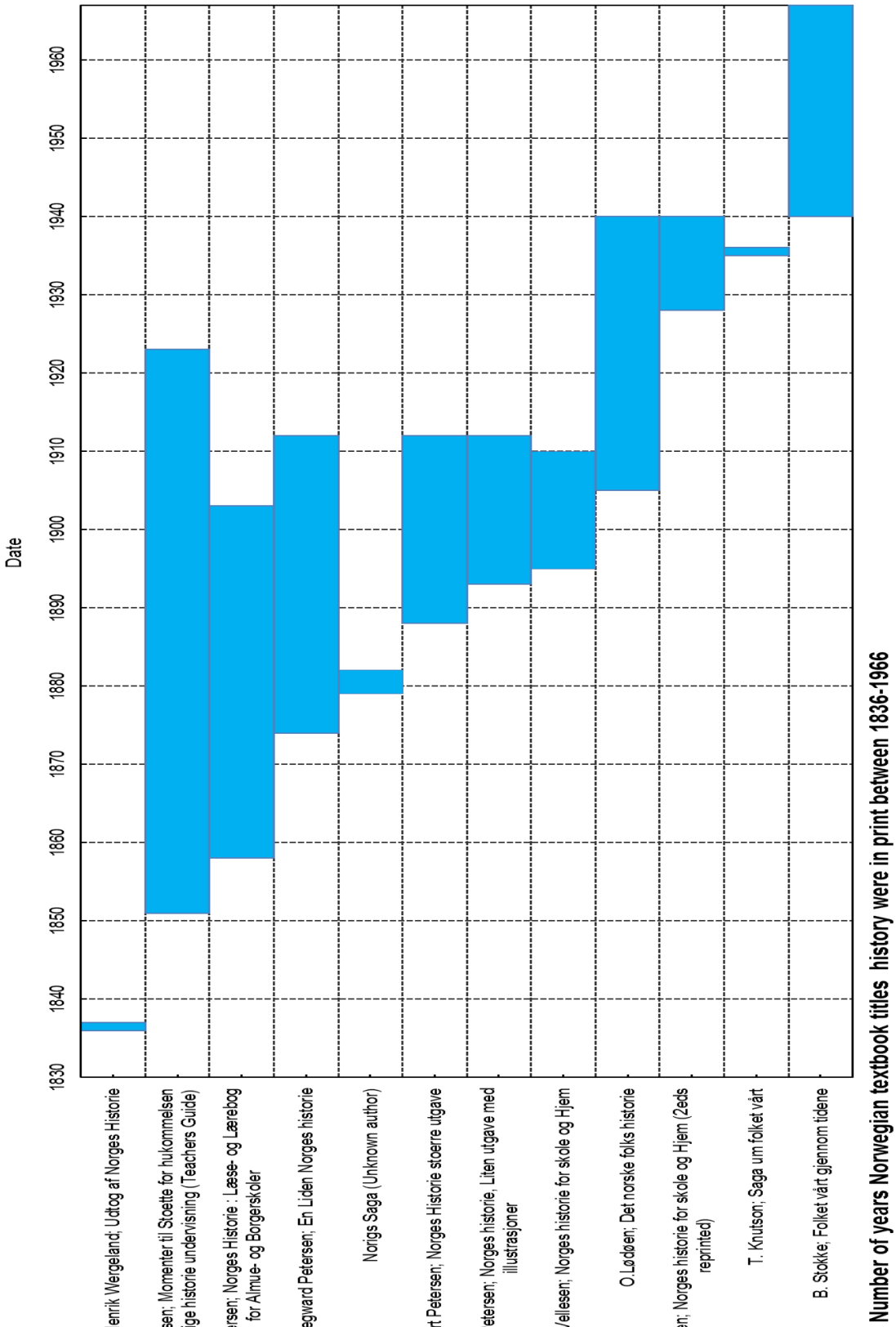
Appendix 1 b, Timeline.

Gerhard Schøning (1722-1780)	1722
Freedom of Press under Struensee's influence in Denmark-Norway 1770-2	1770
Rudolf Keyser (1803-1864)	1803
Peter Andreas Munch (1810-1863)	1810
The opening of the University of Oslo in 1811	1811
The Norwegian Constitution of 1814	1814
Ernst Sars (1835-1917)	1835
Henrik Wergeland; Udtog af Norges Historie	1836
Gustav Storm (1845-1903)	1845
Siegwart Petersen; Momenter til Stoette for hukommelsen ved den Mundlige historie undervisning (Teachers Guide)	1851
Siegwart Petersen; Norges Historie : Læse- og Lærebog for Almue- og Borgerskoler	1858
The discovery of the Tune Ship in 1867	1867
The millenium of the founding of Tønsberg in 1871	1871
The millenium of the Unification of Norway in 1872	1872
Halfdan Koth (1873-1965)	1873
Siegward Petersen; En Liden Norges historie	1874
Christiania(Oslo) is known as Kristiania	1877
Norigs Saga (Unknown author)	1879
The discovery of the Gokstad ship in 1880	1880
Edvard Bull Senior (1881-1932)	1881
Anton Wilhelm Brøgger (1884-1951)	1884
Siegwart Petersen; Norges Historie stoerre utgave	1888
Siegwart Petersen; Norges historie, Liten utgave med illustrasjoner	1893
The world Expo in Chicago in 1893	1893
Jonas Vellesen; Norges historie for skole og Hjem	1895
900 year anniversary of the founding of Trondheim in 1897	1897
The discovery of the Oseberg ship in 1903-4	1903
O.Lødøen; Det norske folks historie	1905
Norwegian Independence from Sweden in 1905	1905
900-year anniversary of the founding of Sarpsborg in 1916	1916
Kristiania becomes Oslo	1925
Jonas Vellesen; Norges historie for skole og Hjem (2eds reprinted)	1928
Trondhjem becomes Nidaros	1929
900-year anniversary of the battle of Stiklestad in 1930	1930
Nidaros becomes Trondheim	1931
T. Knutson; Saga um folket vårt	1935
German attack on, and occupation of Norway	1940
B. Stokke; Folket vårt gjennom tidene	1940

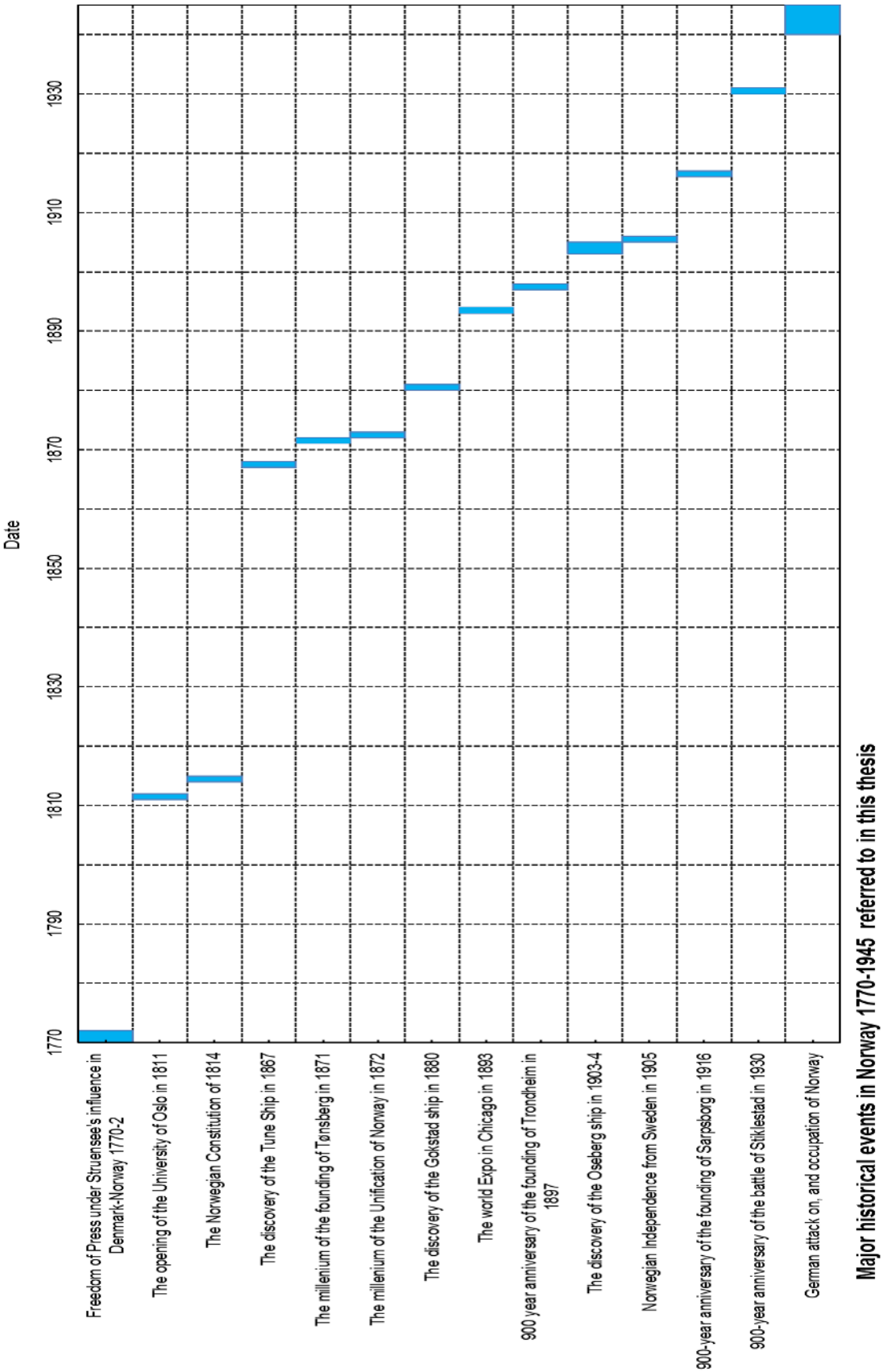
Appendix 2: Lifespan of Norwegian historians mentioned in this thesis 1720-1970.



Appendix 3: Number of years Norwegian textbook titles history were in print between 1836-1966.



Appendix 4: Major historical events in Norway 1770-1945 referred to in this thesis.



Appendix 5: Map of Southern Norway with added markers for significant sites referenced.

The sites marked are: A: Stiklestad; B: Trondheim; C: Kristiansund; D: Ålesund; E: Bergen; F: Haugesund and Haraldshaugen; G: Stavanger; H: Kristiansand; I: Vestfold, Tønsberg; J: Borre, Gokstad, and Oseberg; K: Oslo; L: Tune and Sarpsborg; M: Voss; N: Gudbrandsdalen.