

# Third Theme: Applying the Lessons of History



## North European Popular Heroes: Representing the Past?

Joonas Ahola

Folklore carries memories from the past. Among different folklore genres, sacred folklore is the most invariable and stable since variation of its content is not accepted by the people: sacred folklore is considered to represent sacred truth, and conscious changing of its content is comparable to blasphemy.<sup>1</sup> Heroic traditions are close to sacred tradition in this sense, and often also part of it. Heroic traditions may thus preserve archaic features for ages.<sup>2</sup>

Heroic traditions tell typically of exceptional persons who are filled with qualities considered to be good and admirable, and whose deeds are brave and noble according to the prevailing values of the folk reciters recounting tales.<sup>3</sup>

However, narrative traditions of the North also represent a somewhat different kind of main character within narrative groups that may be defined as heroic.<sup>4</sup>

In Russian folklore, the epic songs called *bylina* (pl. *byliny*) tell of these popular heroes. *Byliny* were not recorded earlier than the 19<sup>th</sup> century; they were recorded from unlearned rural people, mostly in the peripheral regions of the North - Siberia and Archangel Karelia. However, the contents of *byliny* derive from centuries past.<sup>5</sup>

In the so-called Kievan cycle of *byliny*, Kievan heroes surpass other men in appearance and nobleness and

all alone they slaughter monsters and whole armies, in order to protect their people, usually under the rule of Prince Vladimir. Most recorded *byliny* belong to the Kievan cycle.

The Novgorodian *bylina* hero Vasili Buslaev<sup>6</sup> differs in many respects from the Kievan *bylina* heroes: he is described as an individualistic, arrogant, solitary and rather badly behaved hero, hostile to his own people.

These differences from the "Kievan hero" bring Vasili Buslaev closer to other North European heroic figures: Kaukomieli<sup>7</sup>, of Finnish epic poetry and Grettir the Strong<sup>8</sup>, told of in an Icelandic saga from the 14<sup>th</sup> century. All of these heroes used to be central popular heroic figures in their own narrative fields. They can all be characterized as individualistic, arrogant, badly behaved and rejected figures, hostile to their own people.<sup>9</sup>

On the other hand, the cardinal virtues of heroes in the West European heroic tradition (such as that of old Germany, England or Norway) were courage, loyalty and generosity - none of which is very descriptive of our heroes. Courage, loyalty and generosity as virtues represent the values of an aristocratic, authoritarian society in which the position of a leader was based on the loyalty of his followers.<sup>10</sup> The societies into which our heroes were born have differed from that.

What is common to Novgorodians, Finns and Icelanders, separating them from most other Europeans, is the non-authoritarian type of political system they lived under during the Viking Age; and, that they were later subjugated and ruled by foreign authoritarian sovereigns.

Iceland is famous for its early free state, the Icelandic Commonwealth, with "the earliest national parliament" or assembly in the world. Iceland was subjected to the Norwegian crown in 1262; the saga of Grettir, however, was not written before the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

Not much is known of Finnish society in the Iron Age. Apparently there were neither kings nor aristocracy, however, but only some kind of an assembly system until the 13<sup>th</sup> century when the Swedish monarchy expanded its territory to that of present-day Finland and reorganized governance.<sup>11</sup>

In early Novgorod, the political order was also based on a kind of an assembly system, "veche", until the late 15<sup>th</sup> century when the state was incorporated into the grand duchy of Moscow.

A rebellious heroic figure could thus rise to a central position in local heroic traditions after rule was shifted to foreign sovereigns.

Finns and Scandinavians - among whom there were also Icelanders and people who could pass narratives on to Icelanders - had active contacts with the Novgorodians during the Viking Age, and the comparable heroic ideals may indeed have their origin in these contacts. But even though Finns, Scandinavians and Novgorodians may have become aware of the heroic ideals of each other during these encounters, the ideals also had to fit the values of the people in order to be adapted.

Significant similarities between cultures require common, shared aspects in their sets of values, as well as cultural contacts.

Spontaneously developed social order is not only subordinate to environmental and social factors but,

according to structuralistic theory, also reflects and shapes shared cultural values.<sup>12</sup> It can be argued that the individualistic heroic figures of Vasili Buslaev, Kaukomieli, and Grettir the Strong have their origins in the socially homogenous period, during the Viking Age, when it was indeed possible to gain fame and honor not only by loyalty to a ruler but by one's own individualistically oriented deeds. In the Viking Age, Novgorodians, Finns and Scandinavians - Icelanders included - were in close cultural contact. It may be the case that in the later, authoritarian period of foreign rule, these rebellious heroic figures represented ideals of the glorious, independent past for these peoples.

Similarities between folkloric artifacts cannot, however, be considered as hard evidence about relationships between peoples in the remote past, and neither can they provide trustworthy information about old societies: there are too many random variables connected with the dynamic nature of folklore. Rather, they should be used as indicators in interpretations, like minor pieces in a puzzle, when we are trying to reconstruct a holistic picture of the North European cultures in the Viking Age by means of several disciplines such as archaeology, philology, linguistics and history at once.

Nevertheless, these similarities between the figures in heroic narratives do tell of similarity in the mental cultures of certain North European peoples - where extremely individualistic and rebellious characters are seen as heroic and exemplary figures.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> See for example Mircea Eliade: *The Myth of Eternal Return*. New York: Bollingen/Princeton University Press, 1971.

<sup>2</sup> Anna-Leena Siikala: *Suomalainen shamanismi*. Helsinki: SKS, 1991. esp. 29-35. This work deals mainly with the history of mentality and higher narrative structures.

<sup>3</sup> This definition is quite commonly accepted and, according to Carmen Blacker, derives from "mediaeval romances and chivalry, blended with tinted versions of Greek and Norse heroic literature." Carmen Blacker: Introduction in *The Hero in Tradition and Folklore*. The Folklore Society: Great Britain 1984. vii.

- <sup>4</sup> The Chadwicks are very strict with their definition of a heroic narrative: "...heroic stories are primarily concerned with adventure and with the prowess of heroes, whereas in non-heroic stories the interest lies in the doings of persons who are credited with the possession of supernatural or abnormal powers, or in the fortunes of those who have incurred the wrath - or gained the favour - of supernatural beings or transgressed laws or taboos of a vital character." H Munro Chadwick and N Kershaw Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature*: I. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge. 1986 (1932): 121-2. In this paper, heroic narrative is defined more liberally.
- <sup>5</sup> Felix J Oinas: Russian byliny. *Heroic Epic and Saga*. Indiana University Press: Bloomington 1978. 235-256, 238.
- <sup>6</sup> An English translation of a variant from the Lake Onega area is given in James Bailey and Tatyana Ivanova (ed.): *An Anthology of Russian Folk Epics*. Sharpe: Armonk (NY): 1999.
- <sup>7</sup> An English translation of a popular variant of the Kaukomieli poem is found in Matti Kuusi (et al): *Finnish Folk Poetry: Epic*. SKS: Helsinki 1977. 224-31.
- <sup>8</sup> Denton Fox and Hermann Pálsson (transl.): *Grettir's Saga*. University of Toronto Press: Toronto, Buffalo, London 1974.
- <sup>9</sup> Joonas Ahola: *Two Heroes of Nordic Epics: Kaukomieli and Grettir the Strong*. Unpublished MA thesis. University of Helsinki 2000.
- <sup>10</sup> H Munro Chadwick and N Kershaw Chadwick. *The Growth of Literature*: I. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge. 1986 (1932): 74.
- <sup>11</sup> Ella Kivikoski: *Suomen esihistoria*. WSOY: Porvoo 1961. 253.
- <sup>12</sup> A classic study, providing the basis for all structuralistic anthropology, is Levi Strauss: *Structural Anthropology*. Anchor Books: New York 1967.

## From the Heart of Asia - to a Threshold of the European Arctic Region

Venjamin V. Alekseyev

Russia is a Eurasian state. For centuries, waves of different conquests rolled over her territory; in bloody wars she was losing her population, her economic achievements, and slacking her progressive pace. At the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, both the world situation and circumstances in the country itself have drastically changed. Under these new conditions, Russia's Eurasian position seems likely to play a major geopolitical role. It will become a powerful economic resource of the world economy, first and foremost in shaping transcontinental transport corridors, a major trend in the new millennium. In this connection, the Russian North acquired special significance after the disintegration of the USSR as it embraces two-thirds of the national territory and contains most of its basic mineral resources.

The situation in the Russian North has, since the period of market reforms become extremely complicated. On the one hand, here, unlike in the central regions of the country, production constitutes a real sector of the economy and the North has become the principal supplier of currency revenues to the empty state treasury. On the other hand, the country, under present conditions, cannot ensure its peoples most basic needs. And, worse than that, we witness how the northern infrastructure is breaking down. According to the academician V. P. Kaznacheyev, its losses already equal more than 500 billion dollars,<sup>1</sup> and, as a result thousands more people have left the North, which has always been suffering from under-

population. The greatest diminutions of the population were monitored in the Chukotka Autonomous Region - 53.9%, and in Magadan Province - 39.2%; Kamchatka Province lost 18.5%; and the Taimyr and Evenk autonomous regions have lost, accordingly, 22% and 28%.<sup>2</sup>

The Soviet pattern of Northern development no longer corresponds to present realities, because the North has now become a part of "the global world", and its resources are incorporated into the technological chains of the global economy and compete with it. In this connection a number of complicated problems emerge. That of transport is one of them. A significant share of the traffic, and in particular the return-traffic, developed in the Soviet period appeared unnecessary under the conditions of market reform. The disproportionate growth of transport tariffs (twice as much, as compared with overall increases in prices) became an important factor contributing to the decrease of competitiveness in industrial production. Together with the dearth of major latitudinal rail lines, the shortage of reliable north-south transport arteries clearly hampers any solution to social and economic problems in the development of the northern territories.

In order to overcome the problems described above, the researchers at the Siberian and Ural branches of the Russian Academy of Sciences worked out a special program "Problem regions of resource type:

economic integration of the European Northeast, Urals and Siberia.” It presents objectives and requirements for the integration of contiguous regions which are not properly connected with transport corridors. Such problem regions as the Komi Republic, the Sverdlovsk and Tyumen provinces, the Krasnoyarsk region, Nenets, Khunty-Mansi, Yamal-Nenets and the Taimyr autonomous regions together with the Arctic, Northern and Trans-Siberian transport corridors, have been singled out for research in this regard. It demonstrates a deep synthesis of historical and economic analysis (which is still exceptional in our science) applied to the integration in regional processes taking place in the important industrial and natural resource core of continental Russia. The detailed historical analysis has shown itself to be highly useful in the structure of this research, as the historical experience reveals the real causes behind regional interests, and the characteristics of Russian spatial thinking much better than many courageous but abstract projects.

The idea of the introduction of Ural and Siberian resources into the Western European arena can be traced back to the activities of Peter the Great. At that time, Ural metals played, arguably, the main role in the course of the Northern War and Russian access to the Baltic Sea. In 1718, two thousand poods of iron were exported through the Petersburg seaport. In the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, two-thirds of the Ural factories’ production was exported to Europe, and it was, in fact, very important for the industrial revolution in many European countries.<sup>3</sup> By the 1720’s the idea arose of water communication between the Kama and Vychegda/Northern Dvina water basins in order to export production of the Ural factories via the port of Arkhangelsk to Western Europe. Realization of this idea involved the construction and operation of the Northern-Catherine channel between the Northern and Southern Kelma Rivers in 1785-1838. Up until the 1860’s, river communication was used between the Ural factories and the Arkhangelsk port, down the Vyatka, with exits to Sykhona and Northern Dvina.

In the early 1850’s, the first schemes for railway construction in Siberia were voiced. The main Trans-

Siberian Railway was actually constructed in 1891-1904 and played an extremely important strategic, social and economic role in exploiting the unique natural resources of Asian Russia. It guaranteed a reliable link with the European part of the country and, additionally, ushered the way to the Pacific. From the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, a number of railway construction projects in the North have been considered. In 1906, for access to the West-European market, the Ob-Northern (Polar) rail project, for the construction of a main rail line connecting Berezovo (or Obdorsk, i.e. Salekhard) via the Northern Urals to one of the bays at the Arctic coast of European Russia, or to Arkhangelsk, was proposed. The high-speed laying of the Murmansk Railway and construction of its seaport during the First World War became the practical ideal of transport construction in the North. These measures resulted in a vital prolongation of navigation and the creation of reliable facilities for complementing the freezing Arkhangelsk port.<sup>4</sup>

After the revolutionary shocks, when the young Soviet republic was searching for new contacts with the external world, wide discussion began concerning a projected Ob-Murmansk line for connecting the Northern ports of Murmansk and Arkhangelsk with Siberia and the Urals. The plans included various possible branch lines from the main line to seashore settlements convenient for navigation, such as the Firth of Indiga. In due course, this idea was transformed into plans for construction of the Great Northern Railway, connecting the future ports of the Arctic and Pacific oceans.<sup>5</sup>

The idea of creating a seaport on the Indiga connected by railway communication with the Urals and Siberia was actively discussed in the 1920-40’s. In the first half of this period, preference was given to the port of Arkhangelsk due to its centuries-long existence and tradition, but also because of the country’s limited technological resources for establishing an additional transport center. Even firm supporters of the Arkhangelsk agreed, however that the creation of a new seaport for handling the export potential of the Urals, Siberia and the Russian Northeast would eventually become an urgent economic necessity. With the outbreak of the Second World War, the situ-

ation of the First World War was repeated. The authorities were urgently forced to search for alternative communication and, once again, to consider the idea of construction of a port in the Firth of Indiga. This situation seems very instructive; in wartime, however, it seemed impossible to construct a new port connected with a railway.<sup>6</sup>

A half-century later, the new geopolitical position of Russia after the disintegration of the USSR has once again raised the same problem. It was necessary therefore to call attention to the century-long historical experience and to solve the old problem by new methods. Taking into account the previous projects, the Ural and Siberian scientists offered a new solution. The chief idea is a geostrategic, technical and economic proof of the necessity for constructing a railway line connecting the Urals, Komi, and the Barents Sea (Indiga), or Barentskomur, which will be capable of not only integrating the rich oil and gas reserves of Siberian North, the unique metallurgical facilities of the Urals, and the ore, coal and timber riches of the Komi Republic into a powerful macro-regional economic complex, but also of providing for them a shorter and more direct possible export route from the continental depths of Asian Russia to the coast of the Barents Sea. This route, making the heart of continental Asia closer to Western Europe, would create an absolutely new geo-economic configuration and inter-cultural perspective for the complex of strategic problems which today are discussed in terms of the "Northern Dimension" of European integration.

The proposed Barentskomur (Northern Path) project argues for the construction of a missing, 412 km long railway line connecting Troitsko-Pechorsk in the Komi Republic and the Midnight station in the Sverdlovsk Province, intersecting the Ural Mountains. It would carry the ores and concentrates from the Polar regions and Northern Urals, bauxites from Timan, coal from Vorkuta, liquid gas and oil from the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Region, and timber, as

well as millions of tons of other cargo for the oil and gas fields on Yamal. The total sum of savings, calculated in relation to the cost of cargo transported along the northern path up to 2030, taking into account the minimum volume/tonnage expected, would equal 2.23 billion dollars. Eventually, Barentskomur would become a link of other future railway lines, specifically, the longitudinal Eastern-Ural and the latitudinal North-Russian Euro-Asian railway lines, which will ensure the connection between the ports of the Barents Sea (Indiga) and the Pacific Ocean (Vanino) and will cross many problem resource type regions in the Russian North.<sup>7</sup>

In the projected program other transport, regional and inter-regional problems of the northern territories are discussed, including international transport corridors across Russian territory. In particular, a diagonal transport corridor connecting the White Sea, Perm, and Orenburg, as part of the Belkomur railway line which is under construction, can, together with existing roads, open the way to Finland and eventually to the countries of Northern Europe. The latter, in addition to connection with Russia, will provide a railway path to the countries of Central Asia and, further, to China or East Iran and Afghanistan. The Ural transcontinental corridor, Yamal-Central Asia, will cross the Asian continent from the Arctic Ocean to the Persian Gulf<sup>8</sup>.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Kaznacheyev V.P. Rossiya XXI veka prirastayet pripolyarnymi tsivilizatsiyami. // Chelovek I Sever. 2002. #1(2). p.20.
- <sup>2</sup> Strategiya dlya Rossii. 10 let SVOP. Moscow. 2002. p.738.
- <sup>3</sup> Problem Regions of Resource Type: Economic Integration with the European Northeast, Urals and Siberia. Ed. by Academicians V.V.Alekseyev, V.V.Kuleshov and Professor M.K. Bandman. Novosibirsk, 2002. pp. 22, 26, 27.
- <sup>4</sup> Ibid. pp.64-66.
- <sup>5</sup> Ibid. p.68.
- <sup>6</sup> Ibid. p.100.
- <sup>7</sup> Ibid. Cf. pp.212-239.
- <sup>8</sup> Ibid. p.242.



# Cows, Kin, and Future Sustainability: An Evolving Research Agenda

Susan A. Crate

How have native agropastoralists survived the transition from a communist infrastructure to a market economy? Similarly, how are these and other indigenous populations of Russia orienting themselves towards sustainable futures for their local communities and the generations to follow? These questions form the basis of my research with Viliui Sakha villages in northeastern Siberia, Russia. I begin this

paper with an orientation to the Viliui Sakha and the field site, followed by an explanation of 1999-2000 research findings and ending with a description of my current research project.

Viliui Sakha inhabit the regions along the Viliui River of western Sakha, Russia. Viliui Sakha live in a sub-arctic region between 62 and 64( latitude. In Figure 1 below, the map to the left shows the Sakha Republic within the Russian Federation and to the right, a close-up of the Sakha Republic, locating the Viliui



Figure 1: The contemporary Sakha Republic, above showing its location within the Russian Federation and to the right showing the location of the capital city, Yakutsk, the Viliui River, the Suntar regional center and the two research villages, Elgeei and Kutana.



Figure 2: The Mirnyi diamond mine.

River, the regional center, Suntar and the two research villages, Elgeei and Kutana.

Sakhas' Turkic ancestors migrated from Central Asia to the Lake Baikal area around 800 AD, then in 1300 fled from Genghis Khan's rule following the Lena River north to their present habitation, bringing their horse and cattle culture with them and making them the highest latitude modern cow-keeping agropastoralists in the world.

Viliui Sakha have adapted to an extreme natural environment. Annual seasonal temperature variations exceed 100(C, from summer highs of 40(C to -60(C in winter. The presence of winter 'calms' or windlessness and low humidity both work to make these extreme temperatures more bearable. The annual change in day length is also extreme, with the shortest days in winter at 4 hours 14 minutes and the longest days in summer at 19 hours 45 minutes.

Viliui Sakha are confronted daily with local environmental contamination resulting from regional diamond mining. Figure 2 shows one of a dozen dia-

mond mines in the Viliui Regions. In the 1950's the Soviet government began mining diamonds in the Viliui regions. Until the early 1990's these endeavors operated with no environmental controls. This resulted in contaminated drinking water, nuclear fall-out and massive relocations of native communities.

Elder birthplaces reflect this recent past, and the rapid transition from extensive subsistence to centralized farms. Beginning in the 1920's, Viliui Sakha were collectivized, culminating with the 1950s agro-industrial state farm system. Figure 3 covers the territory of the former Elgeei state farm. The circle symbols locate the birthplaces of 54 Viliui Sakha elders. Each of those elders reported making several moves during the consolidation process before reaching their present-day home in Elgeei when the final consolidation to the Elgeei state farm occurred.

Contemporary Viliui Sakha adaptation is understood through the analysis of the environmental, historical and cultural-ecological parameters specific to Viliui Sakha.

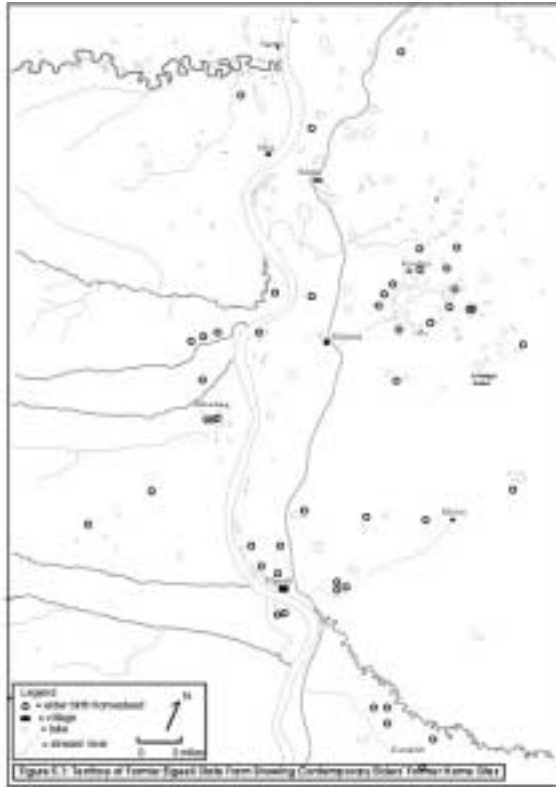


Figure 3: Territory of the former Elgeei State Farm showing Contemporary Elders' Former Home Sites

My main research question was: How are Viliui Sakha adapting to the post-socialist context? With the fall of the Former Soviet Union they lost the socialist infrastructure that provided for them in the Soviet period. To decipher this I conducted a localized two-village study, combining quantitative and qualitative research methodologies to analyze household-level food production.

What I found is that Viliui Sakha have adapted by developing a household and inter-household food production system I call "cows-and-kin," an adaptation based on the retrieval of horse and cattle agropastoralist production knowledge, the revival of ecological knowledge, and a reliance on kin for the pooling of resources, products and labor.

Think about these people . . . 80 years ago they lived in an extensive settlement pattern with an incredible adaptation to the subarctic environment. Think of all they have come through in the Soviet period-collec-

tivized into massive state farms and subjected to environmental havoc. Then the whole political economic infrastructure collapsed. And how have they adapted? By developing a unique household-level production system which is historically-founded, environmentally sound, and culturally resilient, and offers an immediate mode of food production for contemporary rural Viliui Sakha.

The future is less certain. Clearly the majority of Viliui Sakha have made the transition from dependence on centralized industrialized agriculture to decentralized household-level production based in the cow-kin system. Although cows are central to contemporary rural Viliui Sakha survival, cow-keeping in the villages is considered by most a set back to notions of modernity.

So what is the future of these contemporary adaptations when considering the external pressures of economic forces and globalization? Will the contemporary youth take up the cow-kin duties once their parents are unable? Questions such as this are in the hearts and minds of inhabitants and they are also part of a larger dialogue concerning the future of rural Sakha villages. They also inform my present research interests and the project I am currently seeking support for,<sup>1</sup> entitled, "Investigating the Long-Term Resilience of Viliui Sakha Villages: Building Capacity, Assessing Sustainability, Gaining Knowledge." The primary research objective of this project is the co-production of knowledge to gauge the local resilience of rural post-Soviet agropastoralist native communities in the face of economic and environmental change.

To these ends the project has three interdependent research areas as represented in Figure 4, which each investigate different questions:

- How do local populations define "sustainability" based on community goals?
- To what extent can locally-determined definitions of sustainability be operationalized for household and community-level adaptation to economic and environmental change?
- What aspects of local indigenous knowledge support household and community-level adaptation

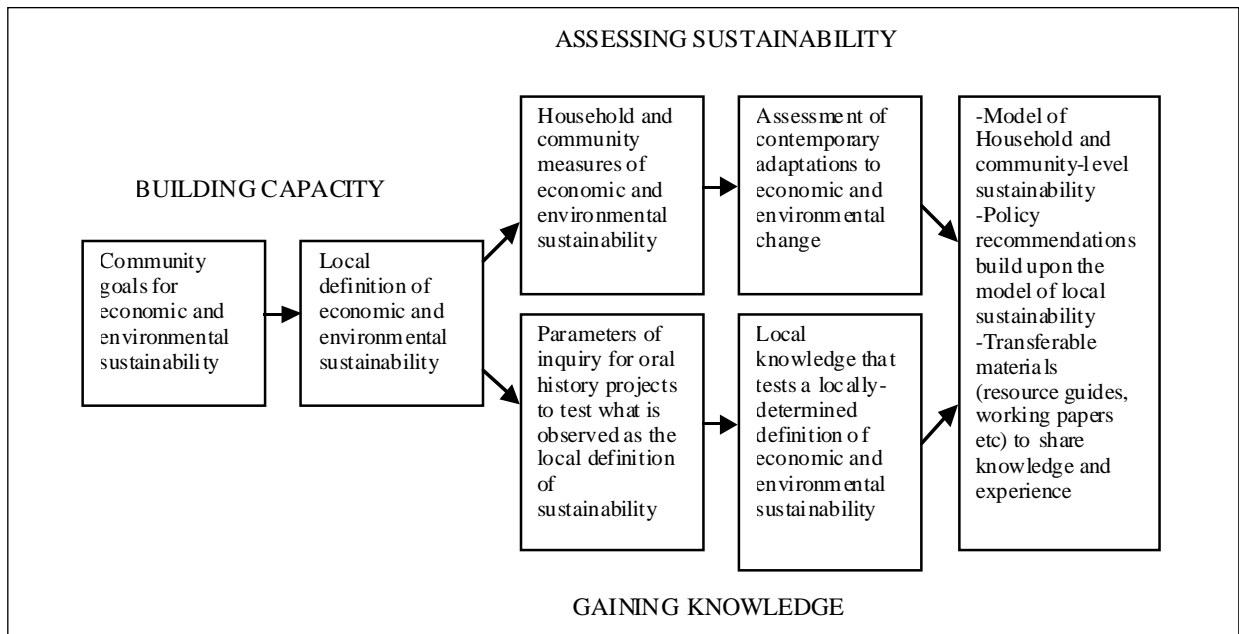


Figure 4: Schematic of Current Research Project

by upholding locally-determined definitions of sustainability?

The three interdependent research areas also interact to produce the overall objectives of this study:

- a model of household and community-level sustainability based on community goals in the context of economic and environmental change,
- policy recommendations based on that model, and transferable materials to share the research project methods and findings.

The initial project is slated for three years during which time fieldwork will be ongoing in the two Viliui Sakha villages, Elgeei and Kutana, the collection and analysis of data carried out by a research

team and the communities at large. Additionally, the team will collaborate with local community members and in-country research specialists for summary analyses.

In closing, I would like to thank the NRF for bringing me to Veliky Novgorod, and thank the Viliui Sakha communities that have made my research possible.

**Notes**

<sup>1</sup> Since this talk at NRF 2 in September 2002, I received a three-year grant for this project from NSF Arctic Social Sciences.

# Arts and Culture as Development Agents in the Northern Periphery

Tuulikki Karjalainen

In Novgorod, the Great one, it is appropriate to tell northern *sagas*. For us, Finnish people, the most important heroes in the old days were not warriors, but - as was often the case also in the old Nordic sagas - wise men and wise women, powerful in knowledge and speech. The main hero, Väinämöinen, in the Finnish national epoch, Kalevala,

could even rule over mankind and nature with his singing and *kantele* music.

The songs of Kalevala were sung and collected in the region near Kuhmo. My song and my saga tell about the magic and influence of other kinds of music in the Northern periphery today.

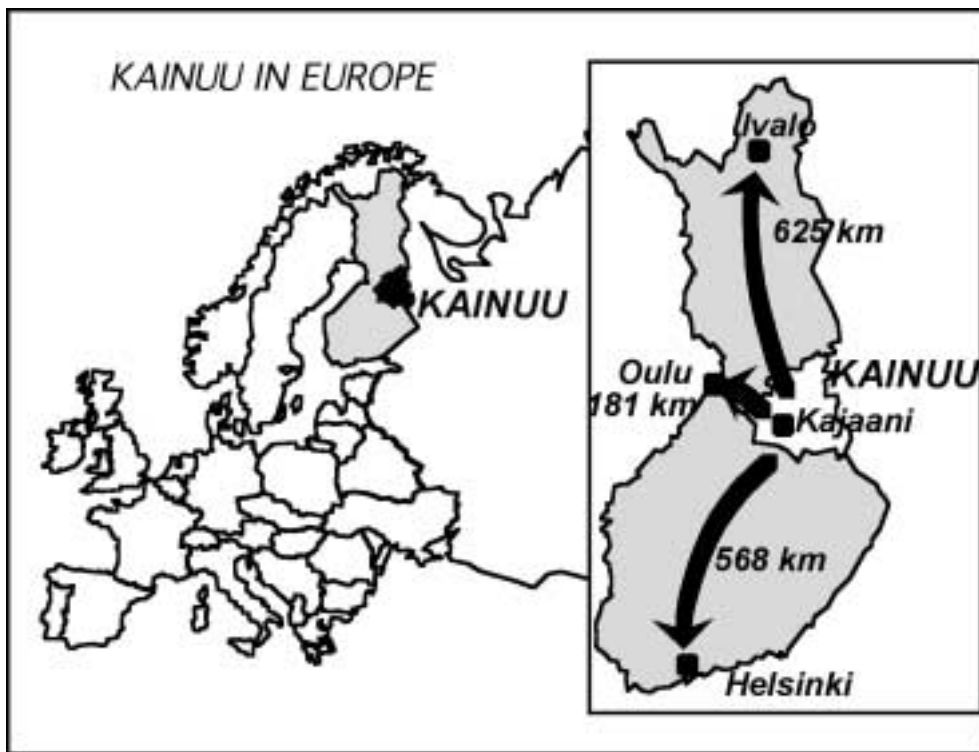


Figure 1a

(Kainuun liitto)

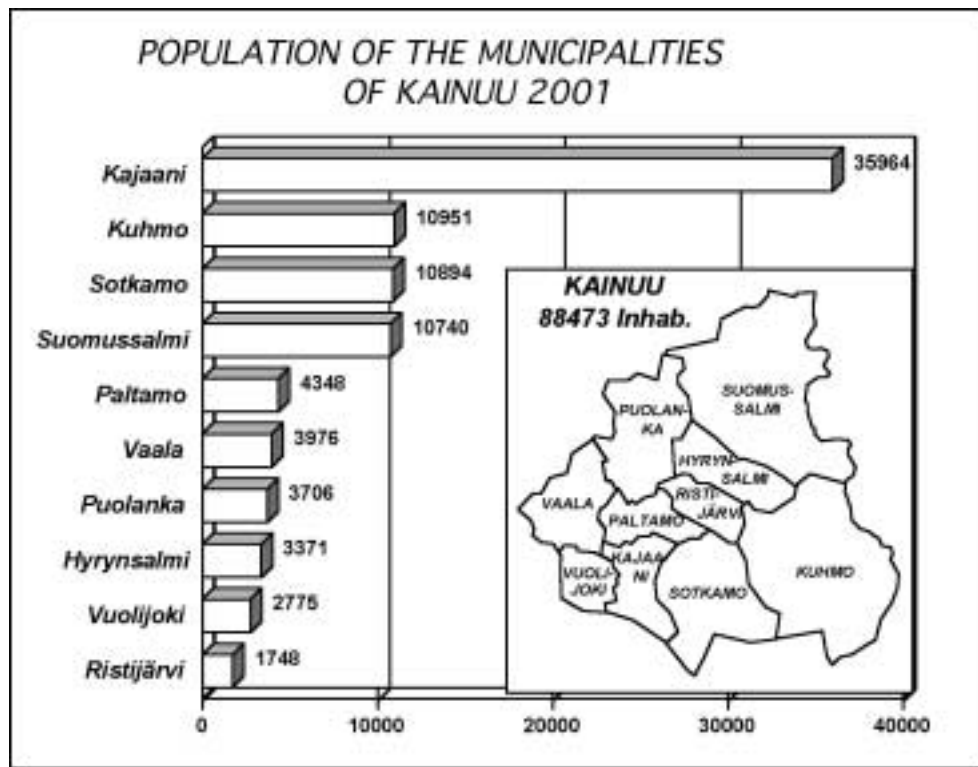


Figure 1b

(Kainuun liitto)

## Background and Short History of the Festival

Kuhmo is a township situated in Eastern Finland, on the Russian border, ca. 600 km northeast of the Finnish capital Helsinki (Fig.1a and 1b: *Kainuu Region and Kuhmo*); Its twin-town in Karelia is Kostamuksha. In the 1960's, livelihood in Kuhmo was based mainly on forestry and agriculture. It had 15 000 inhabitants, living, for the most part, in small villages scattered throughout the 5 500 square km municipality. There was very little musical tradition in the region. There were two choirs for amateur singers: one church choir, and one men's choir. A couple of accordion players made dance music. A music society arranged 3 or 4 recitals of classical music yearly, the musicians coming from Helsinki. As is often the case in agrarian societies, the arts were seen as amateur activity - leisure time fun not appropriate for decent farmers - and certainly not as serious work.

In 1970 a chamber music festival was begun in

Kuhmo, based on the idea and efforts of a young Finnish cello student. He found in Kuhmo an active music association with enthusiastic music lovers to work with him. The event was small to begin with but grew and flourished year by year: Today it is well known throughout the musical world and, according to international music critics, "one of the best, maybe the best chamber music festival in the world" (Financial Times 1997). The idea of combining first rate music with the beauty and peace of unspoiled nature has shown its strength. This summer (2002), during the last two weeks in July, there were 170 international musicians giving 85 concerts. The Festival had an audience of 42 000. Masterclasses had 120 international students.

## Benefits of the Festival

It has taken three decades for cultural work to gain recognition as a profession. In Kuhmo, the Festival has helped to change the prevailing attitude by

<i>KUHMO CHAMBER MUSIC FESTIVAL ECONOMIC FACTS 2002</i>	
<i><u>FINANCING</u></i>	
<i>Total Budget</i>	<i>€ 800 000</i>
<i>Ticket revenues</i>	<i>51%</i>
<i>Ministry of Education and Culture</i>	<i>19%</i>
<i>Kuhmo Municipal Council</i>	<i>8%</i>
<i>Sponsors</i>	<i>11%</i>
<i>Other income</i>	<i>11%</i>
 <i>MUSIC COURSES</i>	 <i>€ 85 000</i>
<i>Provided additionally by Kuhmo Municipality (free of charge):</i>	
<i>* all school premises</i>	
<i>* kitchen and cleaning personnel</i>	
 <i>VALUE OF VOLUNTARY WORK: over</i>	 <i>€ 170 000</i>
<hr/>	
<i>BENEFITS FOR KUHMO</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>• Tourist income ca. ≈ 1,5-2,5 million/festival</i></li> <li><i>• Positive promotion: 400.000 mm in newspapers</i></li> <li><i>• TV and radio programs and news, films, books, CDs</i></li> <li><i>• Tourism marketing via festival organisation (Finland &amp; abroad)</i></li> <li><i>• Tax income from the salaries of the festival staff</i></li> <li><i>• Kuhmo Arts Centre, tot. € 7,47 mill. € 4,15 mill. from state government, € 0,2 mill. collected by Festival organisation)</i></li> <li><i>• Rents and payments to the Arts Center from the Festival ca. € 33 000/yr</i></li> </ul>	
<i>* PLENTY OF SPIRITUAL AND SOCIAL BENEFITS -- hard to measure but recognisable</i>	

Figure 2

proving that a cultural event can be a source of economic and social benefits (*Figure 2: Economic Facts & Benefits of the Festival*).

The Kuhmo Municipality council invests in the Festival ca. €120 000/year and has built the magnificent Arts Centre for enhancing not only the Festival, but also the local year-round cultural life as well. The investment seems to be profitable, even when comparing the simple economic figures of expenses versus income.

The spirit of the Festival has also helped other people and associations in Kuhmo to establish and develop cultural activities and institutions. There are now two Kalevala inspired institutions: the Juminkeko folklore-centre, specializing in Karelian and Kalevala originated culture; and the Kalevala village, an imaginative attraction for tourists, recreating what is known of the ancient way of living in the Kalevala era. The Kuhmo municipal council now includes culture, and especially music, as one of the main factors in its development strategies. Ten years ago, Kuhmo

received from the Ministry of Education the right to establish a Music School. This autumn, the Senior High School in Kuhmo started a special curriculum in music studies.

Thirty-five years ago there was only one professional "cultural" worker in Kuhmo, the cantor-organist in the church. Today there are musicians, researchers, cultural managers, music network experts, audio technology specialists - a small community of innovative and enthusiastic professionals creating a new kind of working environment, teaching young people, developing a basis for new enterprises, and building networks worldwide. There is a rich local music life all year round.

The change has not been quick and it has not been easy. "The New Economy" - creativity, knowledge, skill, innovations, learning ability, interaction - seems to be demanding and abstract. But as old professions and attitudes have broken down, new ones have had an opportunity to grow.

Kuhmo and the Kainuu region suffer today from severe unemployment. The municipalities are losing young, skilled people. In Kuhmo there now live approximately 11 500 people. It is remarkable that of all the projects, programs and official development efforts financed by the state government, the municipal and the regional administration in the past 30 years, the Festival is almost the only survivor. This may prove something about the possibilities of the third sector: as was stated earlier, the Festival is based on one person's vision, and realized by an NGO.

### **Virtuosi - Centre of Expertise for Chamber Music**

The latest offspring of the Festival is *Virtuosi*, one of the 14 Centres of Expertise authorized by the Finnish government for the implementation of the Centre of Expertise Program, a regional development program. In this program are projects with skills and experience of international standards, chosen through a competition, which promotes the innovative use of high technology. The centre in Kuhmo is the only one

working with artistic content situated in the periphery, outside the regional centres.

The basic idea behind *Virtuosi* is to use culture as a strategic development tool, and to combine cultural content with high technology. The project goals are: 1) To build an international chamber music resource centre; 2) To create several content enterprises; and 3) To promote the cultural content of the Northern Dimension (See Appendix 1: *Virtuosi - Centre of Expertise for Chamber Music*).

Since 1999, the project has struggled to build necessary foundations in the region and in the municipality. The work is tough but fascinating. Progress is slow - but results can be noticed.

Music networking is the main sector in which *Virtuosi* is setting up cooperation with Karelia, Russia. This part of the project, especially, helps to build up the cultural content of the Northern Dimension.

### **Introducing the New Economy to the Periphery: Problems and Options**

In June 2002 a national committee in Finland made a proposal to the Government recommending the establishment of a *Creative Welfare Society*, and proposing that, in some years, the national cultural budget should be raised to 0.4 per cent of the GNP. The committee described the development of the role of arts and culture in the society to be as in figure 3 on next page: *Art, culture and regional development*.

The experiences already described in this paper conform to the model in figure 3. But when I showed the figure to cultural managers from countries in Eastern and Central Europe, they said that cultural development in their countries was going in exactly the opposite direction: from the innovative to the passive phase. Despite the differences in development phases, however, it is obvious that arts and culture are an essential part of development. Much more research is clearly needed though to clarify the interdependence between social, economic and cultural trends, as well



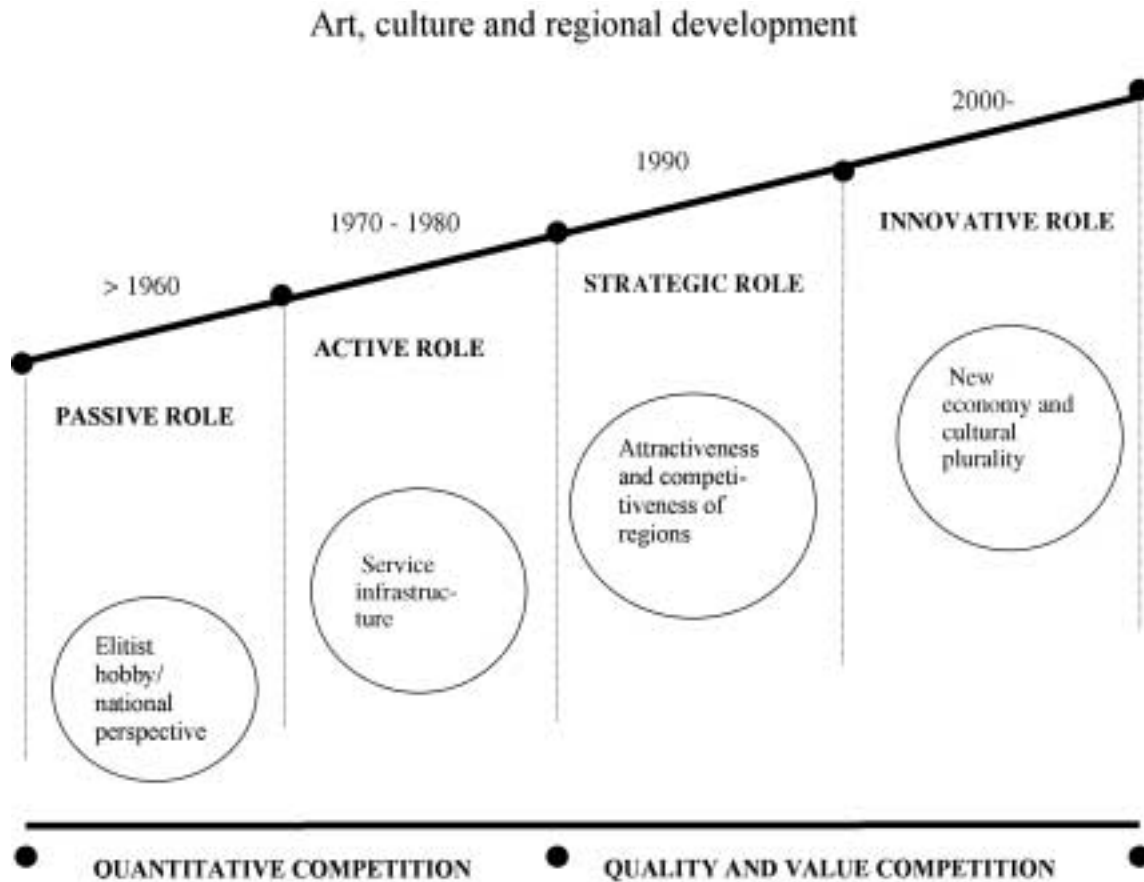


Figure 3

as the role and importance of cultural activities. Professor Lee Husky describes in his paper another interesting problem concerning the relationship between the real periphery and the new economy: High Technology in the Arctic Economy. He assumes that it is possible for the periphery to build up a technology based economy if there are some special advantages to offer skilled people based on, for example, cost or energy or quality of life. The most serious difficulty is the lack of array of technology.

The environment for the development work of the *Virtuosi* pilot project is basically rural. There are few resources, non-material or material, available - the necessary conditions must be created. The quality of life in Kuhmo, however, is better than average: the nature unpolluted and beautiful, the cultural life interesting, and the social services well taken care of.

The project officials believe that it is possible to develop a specialized audio industry in Kuhmo, even if it will certainly take more time and effort than it would in a larger centre with an array of industries. There is an intensive accumulation of cultural skills, know-how, experience and interaction. The content is there, and this makes the situation exceptional. The Kuhmo Chamber Music Festival began 32 years ago under unbelievable circumstances: no concert venues, one small hotel, young unexperienced organizers, no money. In Kuhmo we know that it is possible to compensate for assumed weaknesses with creative solutions - to be innovative.

## Appendix 1

National Expertise Centre Program 1999-2006  
14 centres in different regions: three with cultural content

VIRTUOSI - CENTRE OF EXPERTISE FOR CHAMBER MUSIC

Basic Ideas:

- To use culture as a strategic development tool
- To combine cultural content with high technology

Area of Expertise: Chamber Music

Fundamental Elements:

- Content represented by Kuhmo Chamber Music Festival
- Specific geographical features of the area
- Information technology

Project Goals

- To build an international information resource centre for chamber music
- To create several content enterprises
- To work for the cultural content of the Northern Dimension

Lines of Operation

- Compilation and digitizing of source material
- Audiovisual content production
- Services promoting music networking

Clients

- Music festival organisations
- Professional music field
- Amateur musicians, audience
- Content industry (TV, radio, recording companies, etc.)
- Schools, students, education

# Paper Vikings: Viking Voyages to the East in Written Accounts

Örnólfur Thorsson

Although the title suggests that I shall be exploring both the diverse and complex relations between the Vikings and the peoples in the lands east of them that Snorri Sturluson called Sweden the Great, and also the history of the Vikings in the west, my perspective in this paper will actually be half-way between the two - the viewpoint from Iceland, the mid-Atlantic island where prolific poets and storytellers devoted decades and centuries to the cultivation of literature, creating the most solid monument ever made to the golden age of the people of Northern Europe.

Creating monuments was actually one of the great motivations of people in the Viking Age, even though most of these monuments were built with words, not with stone. In *Hávamál*, "The Sayings of the High One", the ancient poem of wisdom from the Viking Age which is named after the god Óðinn himself and preserved in an Icelandic manuscript from the 13<sup>th</sup> century, one of the basic concepts is *orðstír*, which means "fame" or "renown". The renown an individual gains will survive his death. Renown - being permanently renowned for one's deeds - is the most important part of an individual's life, and may even be more important than the deeds themselves. Fame, through literature, meant immortality. Nowadays, this is called successful imagemaking, and doesn't last quite so long.

What lessons can we learn from the age of the Vikings, how can this history serve to strengthen cooperation and relations in the north? How can we bridge the gap created by cultural worlds and languages to assess this ancient history - which we all regard, in our respective ways, as our heritage - using the methodologies of different disciplines such as history, anthropology, archaeology and literary studies? How can we make these results visible - with seminars, publications or, perhaps, exhibitions along the lines of the impressive Viking travelling exhibition organized by the Smithsonian which has successfully toured the USA and Canada for the past two years and will finish in Minneapolis early next year? These are probably only a few of the questions that will be addressed and tackled at this seminar.

We have a wide range of evidence from various sources about the era known as the Age of the Vikings, which lasted from just before 800 until just after the middle of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. These sources are of two kinds: archaeological evidence including inscriptions on rune stones which have been discovered in many places outside Scandinavia; and literary accounts, some contemporaneous with the events they describe, but many more written later. Some written accounts about the Vikings are by witnesses or victims of the Vikings, chronicles and memorials often describing raids and attacks, while others were

recorded by interested observers, such as the well known description by the Arabian emissary from Baghdad, Ibn Fadlan, of his dealings on the banks of the River Volga with the armed merchants whom he called the Rus - from which the name Russia, as it happens, derives. Among the events that Ibn Fadlan describes is the funeral pyre of one of their leaders in the year 922. Other accounts of Vikings take the form of highly evolved literary works, most of which were written down on calfskin in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and even later, but which were based on orally transmitted poetry and stories which preserved memories of the Viking Age - memories which were, however, certainly coloured and shaped by being handed down from one generation to the next in Iceland.

We Icelanders tend to look at the Vikings from this literary perspective, a perspective we might call Calfskin Vikings or Paper Vikings, to adapt a term coined by the great scholar and translator, the late Hermann Pálsson. The Icelanders are former Vikings, their feats performed not in reality, but in splendid accounts extending to the boundaries of the known world, and not in the present but in the past, thereby enabling them to draw strength for life's tedious routine from the adventures of their ancestors, and also lending some lustre to themselves. Icelanders preserved memories of adventure in the vast and continuous world picture of the Vikings, a kind of nostalgia that has shaped our nation and became a strong feature of its identity.

During the Age of Settlements, from 870-930, Iceland became a safe haven for travel- and battle-weary Vikings who wanted to settle down and farm the land in peace and harmony with their neighbours - we could call it a retirement home for elderly Vikings. According to *The Book of Settlements* and *The Book of Icelanders*, two of the central works of Icelandic medieval history, Iceland was settled mainly from Norway. There is, however, much to suggest that many settlers had stayed for varying periods of time in the British Isles: recent genetic research by the Icelandic anthropologist Agnar Helgason into the origins of the Icelanders indicates that over 50% of their maternal ancestors were of Celtic descent, and 20% of their paternal ancestors; this suggests that

Nordic men took women from the British Isles to Iceland, whether they went willingly or not. The common explanation in the *Sagas of Icelanders* of the migration to Iceland is, however, that people left Norway who could not stand the tyranny of King Harald Fine-hair, especially his taxation: men of rank did not want to be the tenants of a monarch, they wanted to be independent men in their own land, in charge of their own ships like the Vikings, and they wanted to own their wealth themselves, without the king digging his claws into their coffers. Iceland may therefore have been the tax haven of the Middle Ages, at least until the Church regulated its sources of revenue in the 11<sup>th</sup> century: the Cayman Islands or Monaco of the North.

The Vikings, these Scandinavian sailors, merchants and warriors, were, in a sense, pioneers in northern cooperation, all the way from Canada in the west to Russia in the east, although the methods they used would not perhaps fit within the limits imposed on international diplomacy today. People from the north penetrated south, east and west, engaging in various sorts of contact with different nations and peoples. They settled down and established kingdoms in Britain, France and Sicily, they sailed up the great rivers of Russia and took part in developing the remarkable urban culture there, and they served as mercenaries in Byzantium. They made their homes on uninhabited islands in the Atlantic, Iceland and the Faroe Islands, they established communities in Greenland that survived for four centuries before vanishing without a trace, and they sailed beyond there westwards, to North America which they called Vinland. *The Vinland Sagas*, that is *Eirik the Red's Saga* and the *Saga of the Greenlanders*, are "the oldest writings that preserve eye-witness memories of North America," as scholar Gísli Sigurðsson says in his recent book. Thought to have been written in the early 13<sup>th</sup> century, these sagas recount explorations by Leif the Lucky, Gudrid Thorbjarnardottir and other pioneers around the year 1000 and onwards, the settlement in Greenland, relations between the Northern Europeans and native Americans, the attempted settlement in the New World, and the birth of the first European there, Snorri Thorfinnsson. These are remarkable sagas which preserve a core of

truth which was orally transmitted from one generation to the next: memories of regular sea voyages between Iceland, Greenland and America, southwards along the east coast of North America into St. Lawrence Bay, and possibly even further south; of attempts at settlement and clashes with natives but also peaceful contact between totally different cultural worlds. After many such voyages these sailings presumably came to an end, but there is no way to ascertain when the last expedition by Northern Europeans from Greenland to North America took place. Icelanders are fond of the theory that Christopher Columbus visited their country in 1477 after learning from English sailors the art of ocean navigation out of sight of land; we think it likely that he acquired a sea map in Iceland that served to lead him to his destination, although such a hypothesis is difficult to establish scientifically.

The reasons for this expansion by people from northern Europe are disputed. Lack of land has been put forth as one explanation: younger sons had to seek land to settle elsewhere, after the eldest inherited the father's farm. Additionally, however, the Vikings had remarkable shipbuilding skills and were great seafarers: their vessels were equally suitable for ocean crossings and for navigating the lakes and rivers of Europe; and the external conditions were favourable too, as they say in the business world these days. The Vikings, with their vessels and their trade, fulfilled demand from markets in Europe and even beyond, to the Muslim countries, for a wide range of goods: weapons and honey, fish and horses, glass and hides, silk and amber; they could provide anything that was in demand. By crossing the boundaries that separated nations, languages and cultural worlds, the Vikings opened or reopened trading routes from west to east, from north to south, and, eventually, from remote places across the Atlantic to Europe - goods from the realms of the Inuit in Greenland and North America, skins and polar bears and narwhal teeth, which could be sold as "genuine" unicorn horns., Icelandic scholars have argued a strong case that one of the most important foundations for the economic well-being and thriving literary culture in the western part of Iceland was its contact with settlements in Greenland, and the importation from there

of rare and valuable goods which could be sold for a handsome profit in Europe.

Here in Novgorod was a unique marketplace, in the Viking Age and beyond. Ample evidence can be found here of Viking expeditions along the great rivers of Russia, signs of a common history stretching back more than a thousand years and widely alluded to in the Icelandic literature which was written down two centuries later. Archaeological evidence corroborates the accounts given in the Icelandic epics, although not perhaps in such explicit terms. Novgorod was a dynamic centre of culture, learning, and trade during the heyday of the Vikings, a melting-pot where influences and movements from all around converged to create a unique society which later became one of the mainstays of a major power.

For a long time, the Scandinavians and their descendants plied the great rivers that link the lakes in this region and engaged with the local peoples; some traded, others went in search of adventure, or land for themselves and their families and followers to settle. These people influenced in various ways the development of a very distinct type of society here, and they played a part in shaping the cities and centres which have, up to the present day, played a key role in this region. Among these cities were what the Vikings called Aldeigjuborg (*Staraja Ladoga*), just south of Lake Ladoga, Novgorod, and Kiev to the south.

Novgorod, or Hólmgarður as the Vikings called it, is often mentioned in medieval Icelandic literature, not least in *Heimskringla*, "The Orb of the World," which is the great history of the kings of Norway written by Snorri Sturluson - the undisputed master of medieval Icelandic literature - in the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Russia also features widely in other Sagas of Icelanders and Legendary Sagas, although exactly where its boundaries lay in the Saga Age is unclear. *The Tale of Thorvald the Far-Traveller*, part of a genre complementary to the saga tradition, tells how Thorvald Kodransson left Iceland in his youth in search of adventures: he went raiding in Britain with the Danish prince Svein Fork-beard, was converted to Christianity in Saxony, returned to Iceland as a

missionary, then "journeyed out into the world all the way to Jerusalem to visit holy places. He went all through the Greek empire and came to Constantinople." There, he was honoured "by the emperor in Constantinople himself and all his chieftains and no less by all the bishops and abbots throughout the Greek empire [e.g. Byzantine empire] and Syria. Most of all he was honoured in the eastern Baltic, sent there by the emperor as a leader or ruler appointed over all the kings in Russia and the entire Greek empire." While it is not certain that everything in this account would stand up to close scrutiny by historians, it is still a fascinating chronicle, presenting a vivid picture of the Viking world. Some of the accounts of expeditions by Vikings to Russia the Great are rather fantastical: one of the best known examples is the *Saga of Yngvar the Far-Traveller*, a legendary saga about the voyages of the Swedish Viking Yngvar Eymundsson in 1036-41, when he took 30 ships through Russia to Turkey. Scholars have, however, managed to match the description of that journey closely to real waterways all the way to the Caspian Sea, so that even though the saga has the character of a fantastic travelogue, it may still preserve memories of real events, similar to the way that the Vinland Sagas preserve memories of voyages to the west.

Novgorod was also the setting for an important episode in the life of Olaf Tryggvason, later King of Norway and a Christian missionary who was instrumental in Iceland's adoption of Christianity in the year 1000. He was fostered here for nine years, arriving in 980 as a young boy after being freed from captivity in Estonia by one of King Valdimar's tax-collectors. He ended up being sheltered by the queen after he killed his foster-father's murderer, because in Novgorod in the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, as Snorri Sturluson says in *Heimskringla*, "the peace was so sacred that it was the law that any man should be killed if he killed another man except by judgement of law." It is interesting to entertain the idea that Olaf was converted to Christianity here; that would mean that Christianity in Norway and Iceland had its origins in Novgorod. Gudleik the Russian came here in 1017, as an emissary of Olaf Haraldsson who had then just ascended to the throne in Norway," and

bought fine clothes there which he intended for the king as ceremonial dress, and with them expensive furs and elegant tableware." (*The Saga of King Olaf the Holy*, 66:308). As it happened, these goods ended up in Swedish hands, leading to another tale of retribution.

It was not without reason that Snorri sent his heroes here to trade. Novgorod's geographical location made it, in effect, the key to Russian trading routes stretching far along the great rivers. One account of the goods on offer here included rarities from distant parts of the world: Persian glass and Chinese silk, bottles from the Muslim world east of the Caspian, Arabian silver, exotic goods from India, rare spices and fine wines. All these could be found here in Novgorod a thousand years ago, brought here in exchange for the weapons, honey, wax and furs that its citizens had to offer.

Snorri frequently mentions Vladimir or Valdimar, the son of Svyatoslav, who in the last quarter of the 10<sup>th</sup> century consolidated his realm more firmly than any previous rulers had managed. When Vladimir was converted to Christianity in 988 he took the far-reaching decision that the language of the Church should be Slavonic, not Greek or the old Scandinavian tongue. Much closer links with the Nordic countries were enjoyed by Jarisleif, Grand Prince Yaroslav the Wise (1019-54), who is known for establishing the first school in this city in the year 1030. Yaroslav was the son-in-law of King Olaf of Sweden and brother-in-law and one of the most powerful supporters of King Olaf Haraldsson the Holy of Norway. Olaf's son Magnus was brought up at Yaroslav's court and later became king of Norway himself. A third king of Norway was Yaroslav's son-in-law: Harald Sigurdarson, who was not in bad company there, as Yaroslav's other daughters were married to Kings Andrew I of Hungary and Henry I of France, and four of Yaroslav's sons married into the courts of Byzantium and Germany. So channels of influence from Novgorod stretched far and wide in the first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

Let us finish by taking a brief look at the life led by this particular son-in-law of King Yaroslav, since it

gives an excellent picture of the scope of the Viking world in the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries. Harald Sigurdarson, who ruled Norway from 1046-66, was called Harald the Stern in the Sagas and is described in most detail in Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla*. He was the younger half-brother of King Olaf the Holy and fought with him at the battle of Stiklestad in 1030. Olaf was killed there but Harald escaped to Sweden and then on to meet King Yaroslav in 1031. Snorri says Harald spent several years at Yaroslav's court and "travelled far and wide in the eastern lands" before setting off with a band of men for Greece, and ending up in Constantinople. Michael IV Catalactus ruled Greece at that time, with the Empress Zoë the Great. Harald joined the Varangian Guard to enter her service, and sailed with his men on galleys. He led a band of mercenaries from 1034 to 1043, fighting many famous battles in the Aegean, Asia Minor, Jerusalem, Africa and Sicily. In Africa, Snorri says, he won 80 cities, acquiring huge wealth, gold and treasures. Everything surplus to the military costs he sent north to Novgorod to the command and safekeeping of King Yaroslav, and a huge amount of wealth was accumulated there, as was likely to have happened when he raided in the part of the world that was richest in gold and treasure." In Sicily he was also said to have won four cities, and shown great shrewdness in all his warfare. He then headed back to Constantinople, calling en route in Jerusalem "and wherever he went in the land of Jerusalem all the cities and strongholds were given over to his command," Snorri writes. He bathed in the river Jordan and devoted much money towards maintaining the Lord's grave and holy cross and other holy relics. When Harald returned to Constantinople in 1042 he announced that he wanted to go back home to Scandinavia. Empress Zoë became so angry at this news that she made the King of Greece, who was now Constantine IX Monomachos, throw him into a dungeon. Harald repaid that deed by breaking out of the dungeon, leading his Varangian Guard in an attack on the king, and blinding him. Then he returned to Novgorod where Yaroslav gave him a warm welcome, and the following winter, 1043-44, Yaroslav married his daughter Elisabeth to Harald.

Largely based on Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla*, this portrait of Harald is, certainly, larger than life, making him as important as possible. Much of this is supported by other sources, however, for example the *Book of Advice to an Emperor* which was written in Greek during the reign of either Michael VII of Byzantium (1071-78) or Alexios I (1081-1118). One piece of advice is to appoint only foreigners of royal lineage to high office, illustrated with an account of the duties undertaken by Harald the Stern and the Varangian Guard in the service of the Emperor of Byzantium:

"Araltes [Harald] was son to the king of Varangia, and had a brother Julavos [Olaf] who inherited his father's kingdom after his death and made his brother Araltes next after him in the kingdom. But while he was still young he decided to go on his travels and pay his respects to the blessed emperor Michael Paphlagon and acquaint himself with Byzantine administration. He had with him too a company of 500 valiant soldiers. Off he went, and the emperor received him as was seemly and proper, and dispatched him together with his company to Sicily, because the Byzantine army had a war on its hands on that island. And he went there and achieved mightily. And when Sicily had been conquered he returned with his troop to the emperor, who appointed him manglavites [belt-wearer, a mark of honour]. After this it befell that Delianos began a revolt in Bulgaria, and Araltes and his company went campaigning with the emperor and achieved mightily there against the enemy, as befitted a man of his lineage and valour. The emperor returned home once he had subjugated Bulgaria. I too fought for the emperor as best I might. And as soon as we reached Mesina (?) the emperor appointed him spatharokandates [troop-leader, a rank of honour] as a reward for his services. After the death of the emperor Michael and that nephew of his who succeeded him [Michael Calaphates], Araltes sought to obtain permission in the time of Monomachus to return home to his own country, but he was not given leave for this, but instead difficulties were put in his way.

Even so he got away by stealth and became king over his country in place of his brother Julavos.”<sup>1</sup>

This little comparison shows just how fruitful it can be to examine the Icelandic sources alongside diverse

contemporary records from other places, far away in Europe and Asia.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Gwyn Jones. *A History of the Vikings*. Oxford 1984, 405.