

Anglo-Norse Review



PÅ DETTE STED KOM
ITALIERENEN
PIETRO QUERINI
ILAND MED DE GJENLE-
VENDE AV SITT SKIPS-
MANNSKAP 6 JANUAR
1432
INNBYGGERNE I ROST
REISTE DENNE STEN
ÅR 1932



ANGLO-NORSE REVIEW

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Patrons: H.M. King Charles III

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Chairperson: Mr Paul Gobey

Editor: Marie Wells

marie.wells@btinternet.com

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The memorial stone on Sandøy where it is assumed Querini and the remaining members of his crew first landed before being rescued by the fishermen of Røst. Photo credit: Marzia Liuzza (slightly adapted).

Editorial

Each January and July after sending one issue of the *Review* off to the printers I have to start finding contributors and material for the next issue, as I do not have a great reserve I can draw on. It is a very hand-to-mouth existence, so any help readers can give me in the form of suggestions for articles or possible contributors will be gratefully received. This *Review* contains several articles that have come to me by this route.

It was a former student of mine who is now working in northern Norway who told me about Pietro Querini, and when I looked into his story I found that it was indeed a fascinating one. Most of what is written about him for tourists concentrates on his time in northern Norway, the kindness of the people who rescued him and eleven others, his observations on them and his discovery of stockfish, and the trade which developed from that. Rather than repeat what can be found elsewhere, I decided to concentrate on the last part of his voyage till he and the others got washed up on Sandøy.

It was an Anglo-Norse committee member who suggested the author of the Kistefos museum article to me and I am very grateful both to her and the author of the article for a fascinating account of an important museum that I knew nothing about.

It was also a happy accident that a friend who brought a bundle of newspapers with her on the plane to England, then gave them to me and that one contained the review of the book on Magnus Lagabøter and the 750th anniversary of his *Landslov*.

I have long felt that there ought to be something on immigrant literature that gives expression to the experience of those who came to Norway mainly from the 1960s onwards, especially as it is not the kind of literature that is often translated – though it appears that it is, and that *Pakkis* is an early and important example of that. The problem was finding someone to write the article. Now that problem is happily solved.

Certainly not to be forgotten are the reports from the two Anglo-Norse Scholarship holders. They are both deeply grateful for what our support has enabled them to achieve and experience and they both write interestingly about their research and its importance in a wider context.

The Account of a Shipwreck on Røst, January 1432

By Marie Wells



Pietro Querini. Image courtesy of Via Querinissima

On 25th April 1431 the Venetian merchant Pietro Querini sailed from Candia (Crete) with a cargo of Malvasia wine, cedar wood and spices bound for Flanders. On the 5th January 1432 he and 16 of his crew ended up on the island of Sandøy at the southern tip of the Lofoten islands. We know this because Querini later wrote an account of his journey which was first published in Venice in 1559 in *Navigazioni e viaggi*. The story spread to a wider audience and was translated into German in 1613, and in 1763 parts of the German text were translated into Norwegian. There was a full translation into Norwegian by Amund Sommerfeldt in 1908 and this appeared as

an e-book in 2012. To the best of my knowledge there is as yet no English translation of the whole of Querini's account. There clearly should be!

The tourist industry in northern Norway caught on to the account, not least because it had the earliest reference to air-dried cod, or stockfish. Now a whole industry has grown up round Querini's time in the Lofoten, and in Italy the Via Querinissima International Cultural Association was set up in 2022. The following is an extract of Querini's account from the time he and his crew had to abandon ship somewhere in the North Atlantic (5 on the map) to the time when they were washed up at the southern tip of Lofoten.

'On 17 December the sea was somewhat calmer, so at daybreak we began with great difficulty to launch the two boats on the vast and terrifying sea. We took the provisions that were left and divided them fairly and honestly, in that we gave the 21 who were in the small boat their part and the



1. Querini departs Crete 25.4.1431.
2. Arrives Cadiz 2.6.1431 with a damaged hull. Crew unload and upturn the ship to repair it.
Departs Cadiz 14.7.1431 with a crew increased to 68 because of war between Venice and Genoa.
3. Arrives Lisbon 29.8.1431. On the way there the clamps holding the rudder break so have to be fixed with ropes.
Departs Lisbon 4.9.1431.
4. Arrives at Muros 26.10.1431 after battling terrible head winds.
Departs Muros 27.10. 1431.
5. After departing Muros, the ship much buffeted by winds; the rudder breaks, sails become so torn as to be useless. and the ship is blown off course, so 17.12.1431 the crew take to the two lifeboats.
6. 5.01.1432 the crew are washed up on Sandøy.

47 in the big boat their part. But both parties took as much of the left-over wine as their boats could carry. (...)

We set off at daybreak and abandoned the wretched ship that we had built with such care and to which I had attached so much hope. We left behind 800 *botti* (about one barrel) of Malvasia wine, a large quantity of the prepared and sweet-smelling cedar wood, pepper, ginger and many other precious items. We did indeed change boats that day, but our fate was no different. During the long night which followed between Tuesday and Wednesday the southerly and westerly winds were so strong that our poor comrades in the small boat, which we could not see, disappeared and we did not know how they met their end. As the waves were constantly breaking over us because we were overloaded, as a last resort and in order to prolong our lives we threw things overboard that we actually needed to sustain life (...)

For the salvation of the 11 of us who survived God in his mercy let the storm cease the following day, the 18th; we set our course towards the east since we expected to find the west coast of Ireland as the closest land. But we could not hold our course as the winds kept changing; now they came from the northeast, now from the southwest. We sailed on with little or no hope of being rescued, particularly since we lacked water.

Now I must tell of the unfortunate events whereby the 47 who went on board the boat began to decline. Because of the buffetings that the unfortunate boat had sustained while it rolled and pitched, it was damaged and leaked so that two lots of 7 men had to take it in turns to bail and be at the tiller to steer in the severe cold. In addition to that we had only a little wine left, and it was therefore necessary to come to a decision. We drank a quarter of a not large cup twice a day, and that was misery. But we were in a better position with regards to food, as there was reasonable amount of salt meat and biscuits. But as we lacked drink we were afraid to eat salt meat.

In these circumstances one after another began to die; there was no sign in advance that death was near, and they suddenly dropped dead before our eyes. I can further narrate that the first to die were those who on board had drunk immoderately. (...) One day two died, and another day three or four, and this was between the 19th and 29th December; we immediately threw them overboard.

On the 29th when there was no wine left, and as we did not know how far we were from land, I longed to join those who were already dead. But God in his mercy gave me such stamina that I remained alive. (...) As

they were in extreme need of water, many who were mad with thirst began to drink seawater. That way one after the other died. Some of us wretches began to drink urine and that was the main reason that we survived. In order not to be tormented by thirst I almost stopped eating as we had nothing but salt food. In this wretched state we lasted five days. At daybreak on January 4th we sailed on in a gentle north easterly breeze, and that was when one of the men who was in the stern of the boat saw what seemed to be the shadow of land to leeward ahead of us. He shouted excitedly about what he thought he had seen, and in the hope of rescue we all looked in that direction. Day had not yet dawned and we waited for it so that we could know whether it was land.

(...)But when day came, the previously sighted land had disappeared, but to leeward we saw another rocky island a good deal closer, and it looked as if we could more easily land there. We fixed its direction with the compass so as not to lose it the following night, and with a favourable wind from the stern we got close to it at 4.00am. (...) But nowhere was there a beach on which we could land, because for the whole of its circumference there were cliffs. As if by a miracle our leader and saviour led us to the only small beach to be found. We were like weak birds that reach land at the end of their journey. We pulled the boat up by its prow and those who were in front leapt at once onto land. The place was completely covered in snow, and of this they took great quantities to quench their burning thirst. Then they gave those of us who had remained on board to prevent our fragile vessel from being broken to bits snow in buckets and pails. I swear I ate more snow than I would have been able to carry on my shoulders; I felt as if my whole salvation and welfare depended on getting enough. But quite the opposite happened to five of our unfortunate crew, because that night while they were still eating snow, they died. We assumed that the salt water which they first had drunk, was the primary cause of their death.

We stayed on board that long night to prevent the boat from being smashed to pieces. We had neither seaweed nor anything else to secure it with. We waited for the short day to come, and then the 16 who remained of the 47 went ashore; we found nothing but snow; we lay down to rest, while thanking God, who had led us to a resting place on land and saved us from drowning at sea. Hungrily we looked to see what was left of our provisions, but found nothing apart from some ships biscuit crumbs mixed with rat droppings in the bottom of a sack, plus a ham and a small piece of cheese. These bits we

warmed over a small fire, which we had made with the bottom-board of the ship, and we livened up a bit after our hunger (...).

As we now were stuck on such a barren place full of snow, we became very despondent, but not to the same extent as earlier when we were in our small boat on the open sea; we believed that our lives had been extended by a few days, but that death was close. What else could we believe, since we, weak as we were, lay on a tiny rock, wretched, without a roof over our heads and without food to eat? But with God's help we did something, which was the last and least we could do. We built two tents with the oars, two capes and the sails, then we took the ribs and frame of the boat and made a fire to warm ourselves.

In order to find some kind of food, we took to the beach and collected mussels, though there were few to be found, and with these we stilled our raging hunger a bit.'

* * *

Three further men died, but the remaining eleven were eventually found and cared for by fishermen from the neighbouring island of Røst and in May 1432 they were helped to reach Trondheim and to carry on their journey overland.

Migration Literature in Norway and Scandinavia

By Professor Ingeborg Kongslie:

Migration literature

Migration literature is a term that has been much discussed, and defined in different ways and contexts in Norway and Scandinavia as a whole at different times; for example in connection with broad historical novels by Swedish and Norwegian writers who dealt with their nation's part in the European exodus to the 'New World' in the 19th and 20th centuries. They include for example the four novels that make up the series *The Emigrants* (1949 – 1959) by the Swedish writer Vilhelm Moberg and the three novels that make up the trilogy *I de dage* (1925-1931) by the Norwegian-American writer O.E. Rølvaag, who emigrated and lived his adult life in the Midwest. He originally wrote in his native Norwegian, and was at first read by his fellow immigrants, but the trilogy was later translated into English as *Giants in the Earth*, and became quite popular both as a Norwegian immigrant saga as well as the saga of settling the prairies. These were stories of the great emigration

from Europe and eventually world-wide to the Americas in the 19th and the 20th centuries.

Today, the term migration literature in Norway and Scandinavia will most likely be referring to literature written by immigrants to the Scandinavian countries as part of the contemporary immigration movement into western countries from many parts of the world in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. Thematically, these novels deal with migration experiences like cultural encounters, double perspectives and negotiations of identity and belonging. The contrapuntual nature of these literary texts, includes learning and adopting a new language and they are representations of both dislocation and relocation.

Pakkis – the first Norwegian migration novel

The first book in Norwegian described as migration literature was, and remained for quite some time, a book for young people: Khalid Hussain's *Pakkis* (1986), in English also called *Pakkis*, (Nordic Studies Press, Chicago 2005). The story is narrated from the point of view of the 15-year old Sajjad and includes scenes from school, with friends, out in the city and in the home, with numerous conflicts with his father in particular. He is afraid that Sajjad will be influenced too much by western ways, and in particular that different relations with girls and alcohol might be harmful for his son. He even plans to send the young boy back to Pakistan for a couple of years for him to learn about his own language and culture. But they talk about the problems and seem eventually to solve their differences. The narrator adds to the picture of reactions to the early immigration in Norway by referring to racist propaganda sent to the local school, and to many anti-immigrant statements uttered by other local characters in the book, negative points of view typical of these early times of immigration. The book received a lot of attention at the time of publication, despite a certain simplicity of language and narrative scope, but it has a sincerity in tone and demonstrates good knowledge of characters and environments presented. Besides, it was the very first literary representation in Norwegian of a new generation and thus a new perspective.

Second generation writers in Scandinavian languages

Contemporary Scandinavian literature relating to migration is most prolific in Sweden, in line with the country's early generous attitude to immigration. The first and most important writer among these younger

writers using Scandinavian as first language is, I would say, Jonas Hassen Khemiri, who has Swedish and Tunisian parents. He thus combines some Swedish language and cultural knowledge in addition to having an immigrant background. His 2003 debut novel *Ett öga rött* (One Eye Red), written partly in 'immigrant Swedish', a Swedish mixed with elements from different immigrant languages, stands at the beginning of a new literary tradition. He has written 6 or 7 novels, the latest in 2024, several plays as well as essays and articles. All of his novels are translated into English and into several other languages; his latest, *The Sisters*, was written in English.

Jonas Khemiri's language use in *Ett öga rött*, which included elements of immigrant languages, seems to have been an inspiration for the Norwegian Seshan Shakar's language use especially in his first novel. He has written three books in Norwegian: *Tante Ulrikkes vei*, *Gul bok* and *De kaller meg ulven*, published in 2017, 2020 and 2022 respectively, and they are the foremost literary works in Norwegian to be called migration novels or migration literature. It is not a trilogy as such, but the first book starts by



Seshan Shakar. Photo credit Marianne Ruud.

describing a group of immigrant boys growing up in Stovner, a typical low income and immigrant community in Oslo, their friends and families. The book takes its title from the name of a central street in this community. It is

structured by a social services research project to investigate the situation of the young people in the area. The head of the project has invited two boys, Mo and Jamal, to answer a set of questions as material for the investigation. Mo is a good student who likes to write, his friend Jamal prefers to talk and asks to submit his answers on tape. His language is that of the community, a language strongly influenced by the young in particular, and of the languages of the different immigrant groups. Jamal's language can be characterised as ethnic language and is also called 'kebab' language, indicating its origins or influence. It is full of grammatical mistakes both in grammar and spelling, but it is also wonderfully alive and descriptive. The book was a great success and sold 50,000 copies when it first came out and later there were reprints. It received the prestigious Tarjei Vesaas Prize for the best first novel in 2017. But there were also critical and worried voices and comments about this language being used and learned by the young.

In Shakar's next novel *Gul bok*, the main character is Mani who has pursued an education, is seeking jobs and starts in 'Oppvekstdepartementet' (which points in the direction of the real life *Kunnskapsdepartementet* ('Ministry of Education and Research')) placed in the slightly iconic *Y-blokka* with its special decorations. The title indicates that Mani gets to work with financial issues in his area. 'Gul bok' is the name of the proposal for next year's 'statsbudsjett', or state budget. He meets new people as well as people from the past. He keeps living with his father who is single, and takes care of him. The terrorist attack of July 22 in 2011 is covered in the book, as *Y-blokka* was damaged. Speculations around who was behind it at first pointed to possible immigrant involvement in the event, but soon it was clear that the terrorist was 'one of our own'.

The third volume in this particular trilogy is titled *De kaller meg ulven*, possibly 'nodding to' the main character's wish to have 'everything', even if his background is a Norwegian mother from working class background in Finnmark and a hardworking immigrant father from Pakistan. His father decides to go back to his home country, and when the son helps him to pack up his belongings and move, he is surprised to consider how little the father leaves behind. The narrator, on the other hand, is established with a nice house and family.

Early Scandinavian translingual writers of migration novels

In addition to the writers mentioned so far there are translingual

writers, i.e. adult writers from abroad who have come to a Scandinavian country and chosen to write in a Scandinavian language. A Norwegian example would be Michael Konupek who has Czechoslovakian background, and writes in his second language Norwegian: His novel *I sin tid* (1993) is a book about political exile. A young man in Prague decides to leave and flies to Norway to find freedom. The book tells of his life in Norway with the challenges of integration into the Norwegian society. It is a novel, not a biography, but includes many of his experiences.

Other examples are Zinaida Lindén who has Russian background, lives in Finland and writes in Swedish, Rubén Palma who has a Chilean background and writes in Danish. The theme of cultural encounters including learning a new language is frequent in their works. A literary critic expressed it this way: The most common character in today's novel is the migrant. Many of these writers have been well received in their new homelands. The most prominent, and possibly the most productive and most read one, is the Swedish Theodor Kallifatides who has a Greek background, lives in Sweden and writes in Swedish, and some of whose novels have been translated into English.

Epilogue

Writers who have grown up in the new countries of their parents like Seshan Shakar and who can use the language as their first language have written wonderful books of migration literature. Another group is the translingual group - that is those writing their texts in their second language, a language that they have learnt as a grown-up, and having thus taken ownership of the linguistic and cultural references of their new nation, made themselves a legitimate part of it; both these groups belong to migration literature. Thus, they can also be said to rewrite what it means to be Scandinavian, or to depict new ways of being Scandinavian.

A Gem of a Cultural Destination

By Anne Christine Kroepelien

Kistefos is a museum like no other. It has a contemporary sculpture park, where the sculptures resonate with each other, and a gallery in a building that twists across the river, housing different art exhibitions by acclaimed international artists each season. The museum is also home to a

historical wood pulp mill, where the artworks interact seamlessly with the original industrial activity. The museum has energy and flow; each visit offers a different experience.

Every destination has a history. Kistefos' history is linked to the vision and creativity of two men: Anders Sveaas and Christen Sveaas. Consul Anders Sveaas was Christen Sveaas' grandfather, who established A/S Kistefos Træsliberi in 1889. Norway was at that time the world's leading producer of wood pulp. A hydroelectric plant, using the power of the river, was built to provide energy to the new mill. The wood pulp from Kistefos Træsliberi was



Kistefos Træsliberi in about 1900. Photographer Christopher Gade Rude. Source: Kistefos Museum

exported to paper producers all over Europe. Anders Sveaas's ambition was to create something big, and he succeeded.

The mill provided income, lodgings, a school and kitchen gardens for the 70 employee families but working at the mill was hard, with dust, noise, temperature fluctuations and dangerous machines. The mill produced wood pulp until 1955, was extremely lucrative and Anders Sveaas made one of

Norway's biggest fortunes of the time.

Christen Sveaas was born the year after the mill closed. When he turned ten, his father gave him 'Share no. 1' in A/S Kistefos Træsliberi. However, two years later, the young Christen was not allowed to sign the protocol at the shareholders' meeting, his relatives deeming him too young. Christen Sveaas has later stated that on that day he decided that one day he would buy the company. This turned out to be a challenge: the inheritance from his grandfather was lost due to unfortunate investments, divorces, and family quarrels and Christen Sveaas started his career as businessman with two empty hands. After 25 years and after buying all the shares he could get hold of at any time, Christen Sveaas finally managed to take over the worn



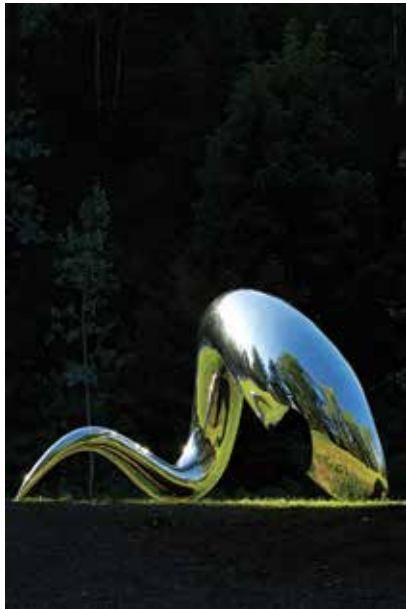
The Twist, designed by the Danish architect firm, BIG (Bjarke Ingels Groups) Photo credit: Laurian Ghinitoiu. Kistefos Museum

down industrial area. Patience prevailed.

Kistefos Museum opened in 1999. The historical collection at the industrial museum consists of buildings, machines, industrial fixtures and objects, which are used to convey stories of work and social life for the people who worked and lived at Kistefos Træsliberi. There are exhibitions in the



Another view of The Twist. Photo credit: Arvid Høidal. Source: Kistefos Museum



I'm Alive by Tony Cragg. Photo Credit Frederic Boudin. Source: Kistefos Museum

pulp mill, furnace house, foreman's house, wagon shed, wagon house and carpentry workshop.

Establishing a sculpture park is an evolving process. Initially, the plan was to exhibit works made by Norwegian artists together with the industrial exhibitions. However, already in 2001, the ambition grew and the Christen Sveaas Art Collection started to acquire works from international artists. Today Kistefos commissions international established artists to create site-specific works for the park. The collection includes works, many site-specific, by Bjarne Melgaard, Fernando Botero, Tony Cragg, Anish Kapoor, Jeppe Hein, Claes Oldenburg & Coosje van Bruggen, John Gerrard, Elmgreen & Dragset, Lynda Benglis, Yayoi Kusama,

Marc Quinn, Phillip King, A Kassen, Marianne Heske, Per Inge Bjørlo and Olafur Eliasson, to mention a few. The park has become an area to explore, be surprised by, and reflect in. As one may never enter the same river twice, every visit to the park is different, it varies according to season, weather, acquisition and location of new sculptures.

The Twist (completed in 2019) is designed by the Danish architect firm BIG - Bjarke Ingels Groups and is a sculpture, gallery and bridge in one. It is recognised as a 'must-see' cultural destination by the *New York Times*, Bloomberg, and *The Telegraph*, amongst others.

Establishing a museum for contemporary art in addition to the sculpture park was an idea that dawned on Christen Sveaas during the

process. 135 years after the first industrial adventure, the old energy is transformed into new energy and a centre for contemporary art.

Tatiana Trouvé is this year's sculptor of the year. She has created two site-specific works displayed in the historical wood pulp mill. Trouvé draws inspiration from the surroundings, history, and the humans who shaped Kistefos, composing the objects as memories of the past, and guardians of the present. The works allude to the workers' community, the defining feature of Kistefos until the mid-1950s, while also ruminating on universal human experience.



Tatiana Trouvé, *The Guardian*. Photo credit: Vegard Kleiven. source : Kistefos Museum

This season The Twist shows Hurvin Anderson's exhibition *Salon Paintings*. Anderson draws from his background, still life, photographs

and found images. He deconstructs the Jamaican barbershop interior as an imaginative space to explore ideas, experiences of memory and national identities over time and distance.

Nybruket gallery shows an immersive multi-channel video

installation by Pipilotti Rist. Through large video projections and digital manipulation, she has developed immersive installations that draw life from slow caressing showers of vivid colour tones.

The newly launched 'Springbrett' project offers young curators an opportunity to curate exhibitions and garner valuable museum experience. In *Has My Place Forgotten Me?* Noor Bhangu explores the theme of migrant aesthetics. With works from the Christen Sveaas Art Foundation, the curator brings together artists who work within various localities, histories, and media and addresses key questions related to the sense of place and belonging.

Kistefos is an experience. The production of wood pulp in its time contributed to the spreading of public information, and the contemporary sculpture park and the yearly exhibitions invite visitors to reflect on the ideas of contemporary artists. Sculptures are placed in surprising locations and blend into the landscape and communicate with each other and Kistefos' unique history. It is a melting pot between industry, history, ground-breaking architecture, and contemporary art. Kistefos is well worth the trip (and don't forget to visit the toilets in the Twist).

Kistefos is located in Jevnaker, one hour north-west of Oslo, and one hour from Gardermoen. The exhibitions in 2024 are on show from 4th May to 13th October. The sculpture park is always accessible, even outside regular opening hours and the season. There are two entrances to the park with parking on both sides. People with reduced mobility are asked to arrive from Entrance South. For more information see Kistefos Museum.

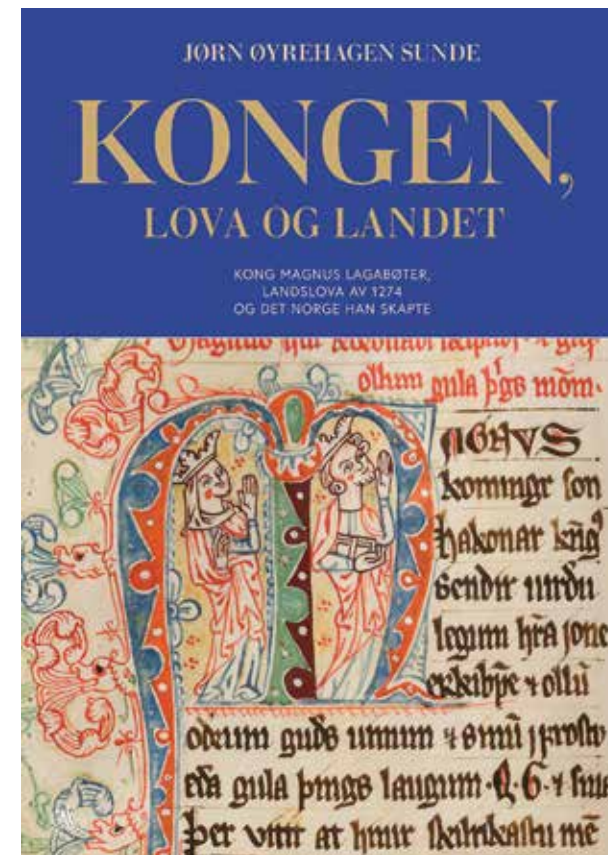
Kong Magnus Lagabøters Landslov av 1274

By Carline Tromp and Marie Wells

This year marks 750 years since King Magnus Lagabøter, known in English as Magnus the Lawgiver, gave Norway a set of laws that changed the course of Norwegian history. The Norwegian historian, Jørn Øyrehagen Sunde who has been involved in *Landslovenprosjektet* (The Law of the Land Project) since 2014 has written a major book on it, and a review of the book by Carline Tromp appeared in *Klassekampen* 30.12.2023. This article is a translation of that review.

Med lov skal landet bygges (the country shall be built on law) is an expression that is so much part of, so embedded in, Norwegian culture that it seems itself like a law of nature. But the idea that it is law, not armed force that

is central to the state is not obvious. In *Kongen, lova og landet* Jørn Øyrehagen Sunde establishes that the formation of the state of Norway did not happen at Stiklestad in 1030 or at Eidsvoll in 1814, but in the 1200s – and that Magnus the Lawgiver's *landslov*, (law of the land), was a milestone. Sunde is Professor of Legal History at the University of Oslo, and since 2014 has led the Law of the Land Project, the aim of which has been to research the law of 1274 and spread knowledge about it. The project culminated this spring 750 years after



the law was given to the people by the king at at Frostating in Trøndelag.

Sunde's book, paints a rich background. Magnus was born in 1238, the second son of Håkon Håkonsen (reigned 1217-1263). In fact Magnus was not meant to be king, but his brother died young. The main project in the period 1263-1280 was to reform the legal system. In addition to *Landsloven* he created a new law for the city, an Icelandic Law and one that concerned the King's court,.

If one reads the Norwegian Sagas of the Kings there is a sudden change from the warrior

kings in the Viking period and through the years of civil war up to Magnus. He is described as gentle and peace-loving, and that is not necessarily meant positively. In volume 3 of *Norges Historie* (1976) which Sunde quotes, Kåre Lunden writes that the powerful blood of King Sverre was 'utspedd til det ukjennelige' ('diluted till it was unrecognizable'). He writes scornfully about

the king's 'refined, aristocratic features'. If one disregards the facial features, the criticism, - and Lunde is not alone in this - focuses on the fact that Magnus gave too much power to the church and the nobility, and that he was not a warrior. He even gave away parts of Norway (the Hebrides and the Isle of Man) in order to make peace with the Scottish king in 1266.

Sunde argues against such a story of decline. He maintains instead that Magnus brought Norway into the High Middle Ages, and lay the foundations for a centralised state power. To create a national law was a dangerous project, which only four princes in Europe managed. Magnus realised that war and conflict required resources. Sunde explains the negotiations with the Church as smart diplomacy by a king with new ideas about power.

This is a modern view, but on the other hand why should kings from the Middle Ages always be measured according to the warrior ideal? For the majority of people 'a good year and peace' has been the most important thing a king could provide, and it would not have been less important after nearly 90 years of civil war and knifing among the pretenders to the throne. If Magnus did not manage to get rid of corruption and conflict in his kingdom he created a Norwegian legal system that remained standing even under large parts of the Danish period.

The book feels larger than it in fact is: in 284 richly illustrated pages Sunde finds room for a lot. He explains '*tosværdslæren*' ('the doctrine of two swords') about the division of power between church and state, and the transition from a family and slave society to a rule-based society, which among other things had to deal with poverty in a new way.

The book opens with a panorama, where Sunde imagines the young Magnus's school route from Håkon Håkonsen's imposing residence on Holmen, to the west in Bergen, through the teeming merchant city to the Franciscan monastery at the city's boundary, where it stinks of skins dipped in urine and where the wretched of the city lived. It is a literary device as the author quickly explains, because 'princes don't go to school'. Sunde is a very good narrator and his interpretations and assumptions are generally well founded. The most important is that the Franciscan concern for the poor and those without power must have rubbed off on the prince.

Landsloven is marked by distinct social thinking. Take the rules about '*kuleie*' (cow leasing)* as a means of getting the unemployed into work. In order to start farming one needed a cow. If by some misfortune it died, it had

to be replaced - but the law decreed that it must not be replaced for three years if one was impoverished. The thinking must have been not to throw people back into destitution, but to give them a chance.

Even more radical is the idea of 'necessity'. If one stole food because one was disabled and hungry, this was not punishable. With amazing skill Sunde lifts the debate of the time out of a variety of handwritten lawbooks: this law has headings which go from 'beggars and their rights' and those 'who walk with the beggar's staff' to 'those who will not work' and 'pack of rogues'.

Embedded here is a discussion about worthy and unworthy needy which is still alive today. For politicians responsible for employment and social welfare who might be interested, it is worth noting that the law also placed a duty on the rest of society to take care of the weakest. Freedom from punishment was linked to the obligation to give alms - which should make it unnecessary for anyone to steal food. Not even the market was above the law. If there was famine in the land and a merchant refused to sell at a reasonable price, it might ultimately be lawful to kill him.

It is quite a way from here to the modern state governed by law, a development which Sunde describes in his other major publication of the year, *1000 år med norsk retts historie* ('1000 years of Norwegian legal history' published by Dreyer). 'Norway is a law-based country' he asserts in his book about *Landsloven*. The lawyer will perhaps always contend that it is the law that makes the country, but with the magnificent celebration of the Constitution in 2014 in mind, he has a point. *Landsloven* deserves to be celebrated in the same way.

* Editor: I am assuming that this means one pays the 'lease' on the cow in milk and butter till it has produced a calf, which one can keep, but I have not yet had this confirmed. If I am wrong I will add a correction in the next issue.

Nordlands Jeanne d'Arc. The Jeanne d'Arc of the North.

Compiled by the Editor

→ On 30th January 2024 those members of the Anglo-Norse Society who were able to, met for the first time at St Anne's Church Soho, which may become a favoured meeting place in the future. We were there to watch

the film, *Nordlands Jeanne d'Arc* about the work of Liv Grannes, who became Norway's highest decorated woman after World War II.

Liv Grannes had only just finished her education when in 1940 she got the job of typist in the German police station at Mosjøen - a very exposed position. Right from the start she worked for the resistance, gathering information, forging passports and hiding letters containing sensitive information from the Germans.



Liv Grannes. Photo credit; Jørgen Christian Hauge/ Helgeland Museum

When Churchill set in motion 'Operation Jupiter', the plan for an Allied invasion of North Norway, Liv became an agent for the British. Norwegian agents came from Britain with orders to transport and hide 50 tons of weapons and set up a guerrilla army to assist the invasion forces. Liv was an important cog in this operation, using her network of 500 local resistance volunteers to transport the weapons over the mountains.

In this highly dangerous position she fell in love with the enigmatic leader of the operation, Birger Sjøberg. Tragedy happened when the Rinnan group infiltrated the operation and several Germans were shot. The reprisals led to 34 Norwegian being shot, leaving widows and children whom Liv supported, both with empathy and economically.

Liv had eventually to flee to London where she married Birger Sjøberg. She stayed on in London where she worked for the SOE while Sjøberg returned to Helgeland to continue the weapon transport. This was in order to lure the Germans into thinking that an invasion was imminent. To prevent this, Hitler kept 430,000 German soldiers in Norway, which in turn led to there being fewer troops in Normandy, something which made the Allied landing in France easier to carry out. While Liv was celebrating the D-Day landings in London, Captain Sjøberg was shot in a major German offensive in Helgeland.

After the war it emerged that Sjøberg was not the person he had given himself out to be, namely a Swedish volunteer, but a Norwegian, Nils Berdahl, who had fled to Sweden to avoid police investigation and had adopted a false

identity.

In 1958 Liv became the second wife Jens Christian Hauge, who had been the leader of Milorg, and became Minister of Defence in Einar Gerhardsen's first *Arbeiderparti* government.

Report on the Year by the Dame Gillian Brown Scholarship Holder

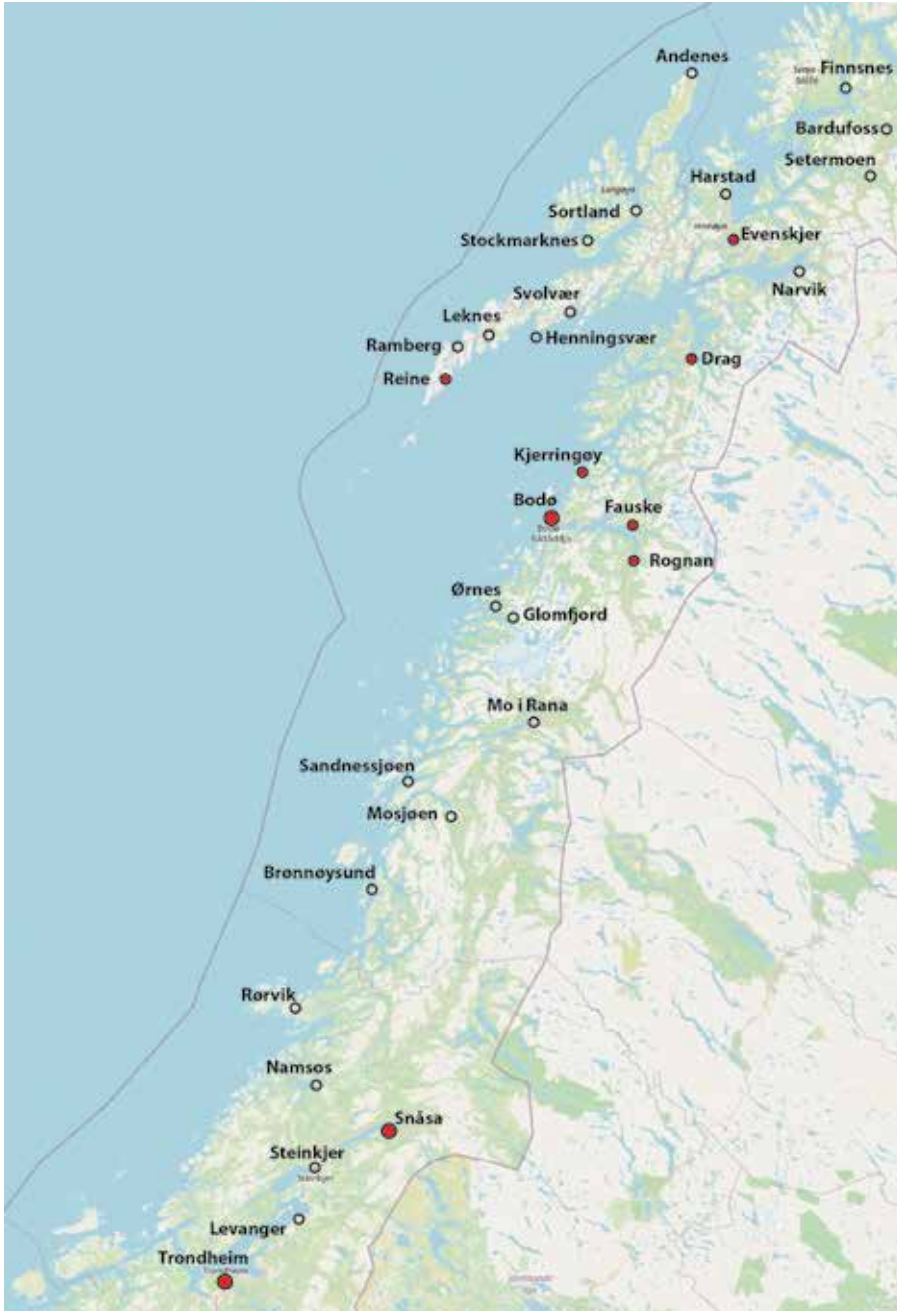
By Rory Cassie

When I nervously arrived at Bodø airport last September, I had no idea that this year would prove to be as life changing as it has. Not only did I quickly realise that my jackets from my home in Scotland might not fully equip me for the arctic winter, but I began to understand that the realities of fieldwork are much less predictable than I had ever imagined – for better and for worse. Thanks to the generous Dame Gillian Brown Postgraduate Scholarship which the Anglo-Norse society kindly awarded me I have been better able to navigate the complexities of my year-long stay here in Norwegian Sápmi (which is the Norwegian area of the transnational traditional homeland of the indigenous Sámi). While here, I have been busy in my role as a visiting scholar at Nord Universitet while also conducting interviews and participant observation with members of Sámi communities as part of my PhD project.

This project seeks to gather Sámi perspectives on the recent Truth and Reconciliation Commission and to question whether, and how, reconciliation can take place alongside ongoing conflicts (such as the Fosen case in Storheia) between the state and Sámi communities in Norway. In doing so, this research will look to map the present postcolonial landscape of Norwegian Sápmi through developing an understanding of the hopes, concerns and memories that have surfaced in Sámi communities in response to the Commission's proceedings. Interviews have been conducted with individuals in Bodø, Tysfjord, Trondheim and Snåsa, with further trips to Alta, Karasjok and Kautokeino planned for later this summer.

The importance of upholding rigorous research ethics is heightened in an indigenous context, especially due to the long colonial history of malicious and harmful research that has been conducted in Sámi communities. Hence, in order to critically explore these research questions – as a non-indigenous male researcher – it is fundamental to this project that it embraces a participant-

centred approach. This approach requires a sensitivity that builds upon



The red dots on the map opposite (apart from Bodø, where Rory was based,) show the 9 places (Trondheim, Snåsa, Fauske, Rognan, Kjerringøy, Reine, Drag and Evenskjer) which Rory visited to talk to the Sámi about their reaction to the Truth and Reconciliation Committee. In each place established contacts were initially asked to participate, before further participants were contacted via the snowball effect.

trust with those this research involves, ensuring that all participants have a clear vision of what this project is and what it seeks to do. This further necessitates enabling participants to direct the conversation to topics that they wish to highlight or discuss during interviews. Following data-collection, this



Rory relaxing on the beach near Kjerringøy. Photo from the author.

research will be continuously informed and read over by research participants, and those who request further information will receive regular updates and drafts, further building a robust data setting.

Norwegian Sápmi is a largely rural area, in spite of the larger population centres such as Bodø and Tromsø that are scattered throughout.

Consequently, I have undertaken much of the data-collection for this project in villages and towns that are not easily accessible without a car. For one interview, I had to meet with a contact at a Sámi institution located in a somewhat remote hamlet, more than 4 hours away from Bodø by bus. With only one coach running there and back per day, I had to ensure I made its 7 am departure and, more importantly, that I was on the returning bus at 7pm the same evening. Travelling to such areas can quickly become expensive as there is often little flexibility or choice when it comes to bus or train tickets, and add to this living expenses and accommodation if they become necessary. This one trip alone cost me more than £100, with the price of bus tickets making up nearly half of this cost. Thanks to The Dame Gillian Brown Postgraduate Scholarship I have been able to contend with most of these expenses and conduct this project to the best of my ability.

During initial interviews, participants in this research have sought to highlight concerns surrounding the Commission's structure and the state's lack of response to its findings. Many expressed suspicion that the government might only be superficially engaged in the reconciliatory process – confirming a 'crisis of trust' between participants and the state (Andersen & Dankertsen. 2023). While most participants stated that they hoped the Commission would lead to long-term change, as it seeks to do, many emphasised that the responsibility to enact this change should now lie with the state. As one participant expressed: "It's like if I punched you in the face and then asked you to work out how to reconcile with me".

Report on the Year by the Anglo-Norse Scholarship Holder in Tromsø

By Savanna Hirth

As I reflect on the incredible opportunity to study in Tromsø, Norway on a scholarship, I am filled with deep gratitude for the transformative experiences this exceptional journey has offered. Immersing myself in the distinctive environment of the Norwegian Arctic has not only enriched my academic pursuits but has also profoundly shaped my personal growth.

My academic studies in Arctic Politics and Northern Studies were greatly enriched by the lived experience of residing in the Arctic. The opportunity to ground my theoretical knowledge in real-world experiences has provided a depth of understanding that would have been impossible to

achieve elsewhere. The integration of academic learning with everyday life in Tromsø has been an invaluable aspect of my education.

Participating in the Arctic leadership program, The Arctic Academy



Savanna, third from the left, receiving her certificate at the Arctic Circle conference in Reykjavik- where she had completed the 10 month intensive ARCADE (The Arctic Academy for Social and Environmental Leadership) leadership programme.

for Social and Environmental Leadership (ARCADE), in collaboration with the University of Tromsø (UiT), the University of Greenland, and the University of Iceland, provided me with invaluable insights into the unique challenges that the circumpolar north faces. Engaging with peers and experts from different parts of the Arctic region broadened my perspective and deepened my understanding of the geopolitical and environmental challenges in the Arctic. As part of the programme, I had the opportunity to visit Greenland, where I gained insights into their rich history and explored the complex challenges that Greenlandic society faces today.

In addition, during my time in Tromsø, I had the opportunity to present my research at the Arctic Circle Conference 2023 in Iceland. In my presentation, I proposed conducting a pilot study to assess the impacts of utilising wind turbines in the Arctic as multi-use artificial reefs. This significant event provided me with the chance to share my findings with leading experts and policymakers in the field of Arctic studies. It was a rewarding experience and gave me a platform to contribute to the ongoing discourse on Arctic issues. This event was a great networking opportunity where I met a variety of fascinating people and organizations involved in the circumpolar north. It eventually inspired my thesis research, which focuses on the recent transition from Yukon College to Yukon University - the development of Canada's first university north of 60 degrees. I spent a month in the Yukon this summer conducting fieldwork for my research.

Exploring the natural beauty surrounding Tromsø has been a true highlight of my stay. I had the opportunity to venture to nearby places such as Kvaløya and Senja, where I was treated to breathtaking landscapes that are quintessentially Norwegian. These excursions further deepened my understanding of the importance of nature, particularly as I observed climatic changes in Tromsø while investigating how climate change is impacting Arctic lifestyle and communities.

Experiencing the natural phenomena of the Arctic has been truly awe-inspiring. From witnessing the midnight sun during the summer months to enduring the polar nights in winter, these experiences were surreal. The northern lights, with their mesmerizing dance across the sky, served as a constant reminder of the natural beauty and mystery of the Arctic. Overall, these experiences have instilled in me a profound respect for the natural world and its intricate cycles.

A particularly significant opportunity during my stay was my

internship with the Norwegian Government's Department of Indigenous and National Minority Affairs. This experience provided me with practical insights into the policies and initiatives aimed at supporting indigenous and national minority communities and preserving their cultural heritage. Working on



Savanna on what looks like a fairly demanding excursion arranged by Den norske turistforening in northern Norway. Photo supplied by the author.

projects that directly impact these communities was both challenging and rewarding, reinforcing my commitment to advocating for indigenous rights and sustainable development in the Arctic.

As I near the completion of my master's program, I am filled with a sense of gratitude for the transformative experiences this scholarship has

provided. The skills and knowledge I have gained, coupled with the personal growth I have experienced, have prepared me for a future dedicated to Arctic issues and global leadership. The scholarship has opened doors that I never thought possible and has given me the confidence to pursue my aspirations with renewed vigor.

Overall, my journey in Tromsø has been nothing short of life-changing. The scholarship enabled me to experience the Arctic in its full complexity, from its cultural richness to its stunning natural landscapes. I am profoundly grateful for the opportunities and experiences that have shaped my time here and am hopeful for what the future holds as I move forward in my career. Thank you for believing in me and supporting my academic and personal growth.

